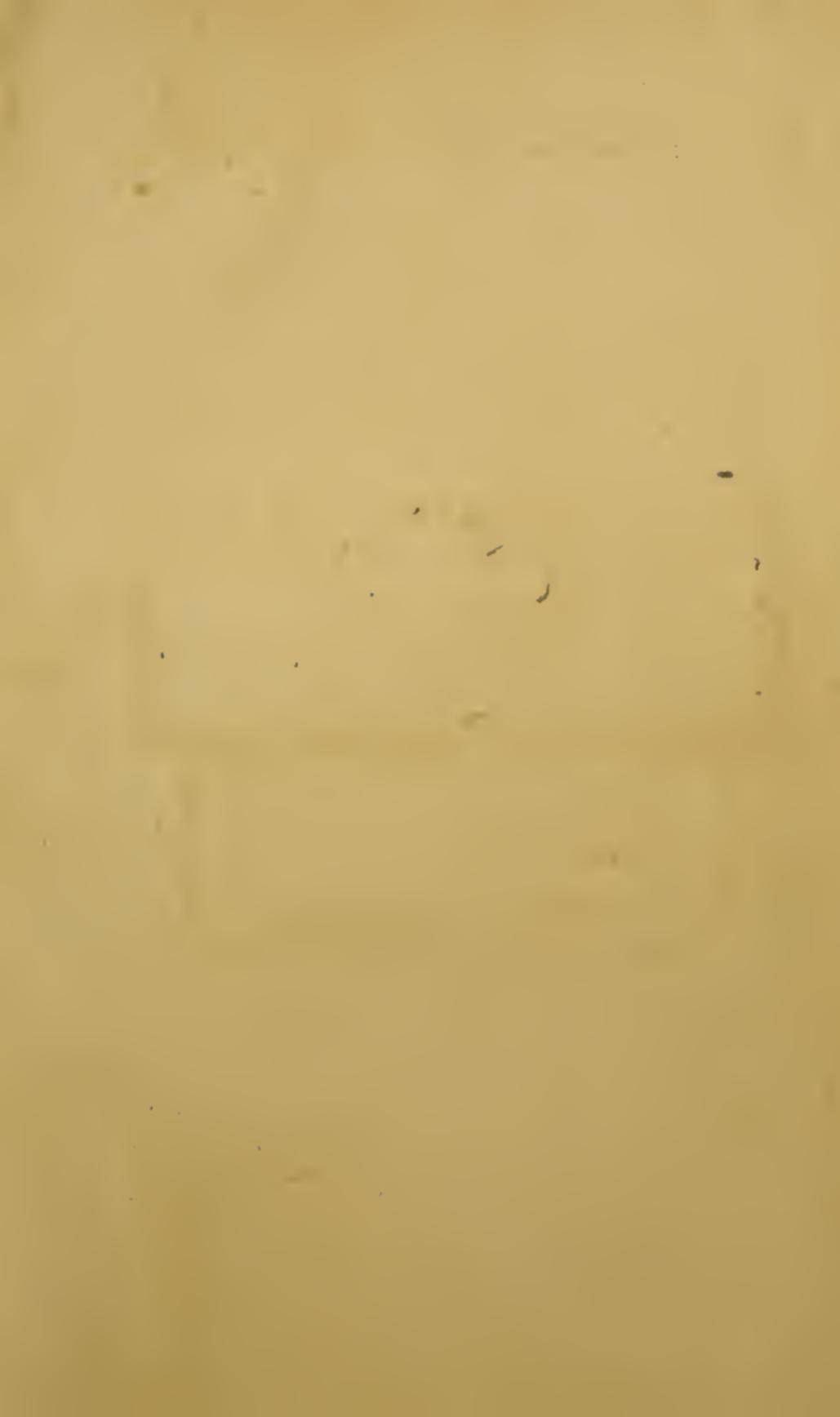


50-5
31

~~38~~

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Princeton, N. J.

BS 413 .B58 v.36
Neander, August, 1789-1850.
History of the planting and
training of the Christian



HISTORY
OF THE
PLANTING AND TRAINING
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH
BY THE
APOSTLES.

BY
DR AUGUSTUS NEANDER,
ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
BERLIN, CONSISTORIAL COUNSELLOR, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD EDITION OF THE ORIGINAL GERMAN,

BY
J. E. RYLAND.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:
THOMAS CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCXLII.

De Deo homo dixit et quidem inspiratus a Deo sed tamen homo.

Augustinus.

It is a rule of infinite importance, that the Scriptures always speak not *ad rem in seipsâ, sed quoad hominem*. It is a moral and religious, not a physical revelation, and in order to render us good moral agents, not accurate natural speculators—to make us know ourselves and our relations both present and future; not to make us knowing in nature without industry or intellectual exercitation.

Marginal Note by S. T. COLERIDGE.
(in a copy of STILLINGFLEET'S *Origines Sacre*,
4th ed. 4to, 1675.)



CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

A REVIEW OF THE LABOURS OF JAMES AND PETER DURING THIS PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTER OF JAMES—REMARKS ON HIS EPISTLE.

Whether he was a brother or only a near relation of the Lord, and identical with the apostle? Dr Schneck- enburger's hypothesis that there was only one James, examined, 1-7

James distinguished by the strictness of his life; hence called *The Just*...the testimony of Hegesippus, 7-10

His epistle important for illustrating the state of the Jewish-Christian churches, 10

Reasons for believing that it was not written with a reference to Paul's doctrinal views, 10-17

The epistle addressed to churches consisting entirely or chiefly of Jewish believers, mostly poor, . . . 17-19

The Christian doctrines imperfectly developed in it... its importance in connection with the other writings of the New Testament, 20-21

The martyrdom of James, 22

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLE PETER.

His parentage...natural character...call to the apostle- ship,	21-28
His labours in propagating the gospel,	29
His first epistle,	30-32
Probable spuriousness of the second epistle,	33
Traditions respecting Peter's martyrdom at Rome,	34-41

BOOK V.

THE APOSTLE JOHN AND HIS MINISTRY AS THE CLOSING
POINT OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

His education...maternal influence...early piety...gene- ral character...contemplative yet ardent...his piety moulded by personal intercourse with the Saviour,	42-46
His labours among the churches in Lesser Asia,	47, 48
Errors prevalent in these churches, practical and theo- retical...especially the Judaizing...the Antimonian, the anti-judaizing Gnostic, and the Cerinthian,	49-54
Tradition of John's banishment to Patmos...authorship of the apocalypse,	55-60
John's writings...their general character...his gospel,	61-64
His first epistle,	64-70
His second epistle...injunctions respecting intercourse with false teachers,	70-71
His third epistle...Diotrephes,	72-73
Traditions respecting John's labours preserved by Cle- mens Alexandrinus and Jerome...the close of the apostolic age,	74-76

BOOK VI.

THE APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.

- The living unity of the doctrine of Christ combined with a variety in the forms of its representation... three leading varieties...the Pauline, the Jacobean (with the intermediate Petrine) and the Johannean, 77

CHAPTER I.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.

1. The connection and contrast of Paul's earlier and later standing-point are contained in the ideas of δικαιοσυνη and νομος, which form the central point of his doctrine, 79
 - The δικαιοσυνη of his earlier standing-point depended on the observance of the Mosaic law (νομικη)...the Christian δικαιοσυνη and ζωη correlative ideas, 80
 - The fundamental principle of his late standing-point... No righteousness by the works of the law available before God...no essential distinction between the ritual and moral εργα νομου. The idea of the law as a unity; an outward rule of action, requiring not effecting obedience...applicable to the universal law of conscience, 81
 - Works the marks of the state of the disposition; but the law can effect no change in the disposition... hence εργα νομου are set in contrast to εργα αγαθα (Eph. ii. 10), 82
 - The law not deficient as a *standard* of duty, 83
2. The Central-point of the Pauline anthropology...human nature in opposition to the law.

a. The nature of sin.

σαρξ...*σαρκικός*...The disunion in human nature not necessary...but voluntary and blameworthy, 84
σαρκικός does not import merely the predominance of the senses, or sensual appetite...sometimes equivalent to *ψυχικός*, in opposition to the *Θεῖον Πνεῦμα*; but sometimes the body as the organ of sinful tendencies, 85, 86

b. Origin of sin and death.

The consciousness of sin and of the need of redemption presupposed as a universal fact; hence the origin of sin seldom adverted to, but the idea of an original state of perfection, and the voluntary fall of the first man, lies at the basis of Paul's doctrine, 87, 88

The first man not the representative of human nature generally...The origin of sinful desire from apparent guiltlessness (Rom. vii. 9) not referrible to Adam, 89

According to Rom. v. 12, the sinful direction of the will was produced by Adam's voluntary act, from original sinlessness, and continues itself in the whole development of the race, 90-91

Through sin, death comes upon all men, not by an essential change in the physical organization of man, but in man's view of death...death appears not as a step in the development of life, but as a consequence of the withdrawal of the divine life through sin, 92, 93

c. Suppression by sin of the natural revelation of God.

The original affinity to God not destroyed but suppressed...The use of the works of creation in awakening the religious sentiment...Religious susceptibility injured by sin...the origin of idolatry...deterioration of man's moral nature, yet the power of convenience not destroyed, 93-96

d. The state of disunion.

Two contending principles in human nature...spirit and flesh...states of bondage...either uncon-

scious, living without law, or conscious, living under the law...Rom. vii. a delineation of both these states, taken from Paul's own experience, but applicable to all mankind, 97-100

3. Preparatives for Redemption...Judaism and Heathenism.

a. Judaism...preparative in two ways...by awakening an anxiety for redemption, and by pointing to the means by which it would be effected...Only one universal purpose of God, who reveals his redeeming grace in its promise and its fulfilment...faith, one universal condition...the fundamental relation between God and man not altered by the law, which served partly to repress the outbreakings of sin...partly to excite the consciousness of sin, 101-103

b. Heathenism.

Judaism a progressive revelation, but heathenism only a development of nature...Though idolatry suppressed the original revelation of God in the works of Nature, still the law of conscience remained (of which the Mosaic law was a representative), and with that a sense of the need of redemption... Partial fulfilment of the law by heathens, 103-106

c. Hinderances and conditions of salvation in both Jews and Heathens.

The gross security of heathenism...The legal righteousness of Judaism...The sign-seeking of the Jews, and the wisdom-seeking of the Gentiles...Redemption the object of the whole history of mankind ...Attestations to the universal need of redemption in Christ's discourses, as recorded in the three first Gospels, 106-112

4. The Work of Redemption.

A. Its accomplishment by Christ, both actively and passively, 113-115

- a.* The life of Christ exhibits the destruction of sin, and the realization of the law in human nature, 114
- b.* The sufferings of Christ (constantly to be viewed in connection with his own life), 115-118
- B.** The results of the work of Christ.
- a.* Reconciliation with God.
- The life and sufferings of Christ a revelation of the eternal love of God...Men, once the enemies of God, become through Christ objects of divine love, 118, 119
- Possibility of reconciliation as merely subjective . . . a change in the disposition of man towards God effected by the work of Christ...but even on this supposition the amendment in man is the effect, not the cause of God's love; 2 Cor. v. 20, 120
- But this view inadequate and untenable...the sense of the wrath of God has an objective basis...a revelation of the divine holiness, 121
- The distinction between *παρεσις* and *αφεσις*, 122, 123
- The divine holiness revealed in Christ in a two-fold manner, 124, 125
- b.* ἀπολυτρωσις and σωτηρια, freedom from guilt and punishment; in a wider sense as effected objectively by Christ, and realized in individuals in a more limited sense, 126
- c.* δικαιοσις.
- The Pauline *δικαιοσις*, like the Jewish, inseparable from a participation in all the privileges of the kingdom of God...but only to be obtained through fellowship with Christ, the only perfect *δικαιος*,
- Hence *δικαιοσις* the induction of a believer in Christ into the relation of a *δικαιος*; *δικαιοσυνη* the appropriation of Christ's righteousness as the objective ground of faith, as well as the subjective principle of life; hence its necessarily supposed departure from a life of sin, and entrance into the holy life of Christ, 126, 127

5. The Appropriation of Salvation by Faith.

a. The nature of Faith.

The reception of divine revelation by an internal determination of the will...in this respect, and not in reference to the object, Abraham was a pattern of the righteousness that is by faith; Rom. iv. 19, 128

Christian faith modified by its object...a twofold reference to Christ as crucified and risen, 129

b. *πιστις* the peculiarity of the Christian standing-point, in distinction from the Jewish legal.

The law requires every thing which faith already contains; Rom. x. 5, 130, 131

The law is in itself a deadly letter...the gospel a life-giving spirit...In the believer, the law is not an object merely of knowledge but of efficient love, 132

The law is so far abrogated for believers, that their *δικαιοσυνη* and *ζωη* are independent of it through faith, from which *εργα αγαθα* spontaneously proceed, 133

Paul's appeals to the *νομος* are only to the outward Mosaic law as an expression of the eternal law of God, 134

Hence the term *νομος* denotes in a more general sense what is common to both Judaism and Christianity; in the one to an outward, in the other to an inward law, 135, 136

Under the Jewish theocracy, the service was external, *εν παλαιστητι γραμματος*...under the Gospel internal, *εν καινοτητι πνευματος*...its *δουλεια* identical with *υιοθισια*; the worship of the former *σαρκικη*, of the latter *πνευματικη*; in the one was *κατα σαρκα*, in the other *εν κυριω*, 137, 138

6. The New Life proceeding from Faith.

a. The transformation of the sinful nature by the Divine; accomplished gradually; the *σαρξ* opposed not merely by the higher nature of man but by the Spirit of Christ (*πνευμα αγιον*), 139

All the mental and bodily powers become organs

- of grace...The Spirit of Christ pervades all the peculiar talents of individuals; hence charisms, 140, 141
- Objective justification as an unchangeable ground of confidence, distinguished from subjective sanctification, which is often an uncertain ground, . 142
- b. The principles of the new life—Faith, Love, Hope.
- πιστις* sometimes denotes the whole extent of Christian ability...*δυνατος τη πιστει* relates particularly to the judgment formed by the Christian of outward things...hence proceeds Christian freedom, which is shewn even in submitting to outward restraints, 143-147
- Love the natural effect of faith...By the revelation of the love of God in redemption, love to him is continually kindled, 148
- Faith and love partly relate to the kingdom of God as present, but they have also a marked relation to the future, for the new life is in a state of constant progression, it longs after the perfect revelation of the children of God, 149-152
- Hence hope necessarily belongs to faith and love...Perseverance in the work of faith is the practical side of hope, 152, 153
- The knowledge of divine things proceeds from faith...proceeds from the spiritual life...depends on the increase of love...being necessarily defective in the present state is connected with the hope of perfect intuition, 154
- Love the greatest of the three, because it alone abides for ever; 1 Cor. xiii. 13, 155, 156
- c. Special Christian virtues proceeding from Faith, Love, and Hope.
- α. ταπεινοφροσυνη* distinguishes the Christian from the Heathen view of the world; only partial even on the Jewish standing-point; though its direct relation is to God alone, yet its effects are, opposition to all self-exaltation, and moderation towards others, 157-159
- β. σωφροσυνη* sober-mindedness in conflict with the world, 2 Tim. i. 7; and in self-estimation, Rom. xii. 3, 160

γ. σοφία...The understanding under the influence of faith...wisdom and prudence, 161

Analogy to the cardinal virtues of heathen philosophers...Love occupies the place of *δικαιοσύνη*, 162, 163

7. The Church and Sacraments.

The immediate relation of each individual to Christ of primary importance...hence the idea of a community founded on the unity of the Holy Spirit in believers, which counterbalances all other differences, Gal. iii. 26, 163, 164

The *ἐκκλησία* is the body of Christ...faith in Christ its foundation...marks of its unity, Eph. iv. 4, 166

The Old Testament terms applied to Christians, *ἀγιοί* denotes their objective consecration joined with subjective sanctification. *κλητοί* the outward and inward call considered as one...The idea and the appearance in general not separated by Paul, 166

But in particular instances, the spurious members are distinguished from the genuine...where the difference is perceptible the former are to be excluded, in other cases the separation must be left to God, 167, 168

The care of the general good committed to all according to their respective abilities and charisms, 169

8. The Sacraments—Baptism, and the Supper.

a. Baptism...“putting on Christ”...Its twofold reference to the death and resurrection of Christ; includes a reference to the Father and the Holy Spirit...The outward and the inward are supposed to be combined, 170, 171

b. The Supper.

A feast of commemoration, 1 Cor. xi. 24, the celebration of Christ's sufferings and a pledge of constant communion with him; *εστίν* = *it represents*, involves a reference to the mutual communion of believers, 172-174

9. The Kingdom of God. 175
- A. Its idea and extent.
- a. Its extent at successive periods.
- Preparation by means of the Jewish theocracy
 ...and completed by Christianity; the former
 sensible and national, the latter spiritual and uni-
 versal, 176
- By faith in Christ, the Messianic kingdom, the
αιων μελλων as opposed to the *αιων ουτος* or *πανηρος*
 becomes already present...Hence the kingdom of
 God coincides with the idea of the invisible
 church on earth, 177
- But the idea is still imperfectly realized, 178
- A threefold application of the term, 1. The
 present internal kingdom of God, 1 Cor. iv. 20,
 Rom. xiv. 17. 2. The future completion of it,
 1 Cor. vi. 10. 3. The present as one with the fu-
 ture, 1 Thess. ii. 12 ; 2 Thess. i. 5, 179
- b. The heavenly community co-existing with the in-
 visible church.
- The kingdom of God embraces a higher spiri-
 tual world in which the archetype of the church is
 realized...mankind are united to this higher world
 by the knowledge of God, Eph. iii. 15, Col. i. 20,
 compared with Eph. ii. 14, 180
- Christ is the head of this universal church, as
 uniting the divine and human natures...The idea
 of the Logos...not accidentally connected with the
 person of Christ...enters into the essence of Chris-
 tianity, 181-186
- B. The opposition of the kingdom of God to the king-
 dom of evil.
- The prevalence of sin among mankind connected
 with the prevalence of evil in the higher world...All
 ungodliness the power of a spirit whose kingdom is
αιων ουτος...false gods not evil spirits, 187-189
- Christ the destroyer of this kingdom...His death

- apparently a defeat, but in reality a victory...char-
 isms the tokens of his triumph, 190
- The conflict with the kingdom of evil carried on
 by Christians, 191, 192
- C. The development of the kingdom of God till its
 final conjunction.
- The accomplishment of the scheme of redemp-
 tion a work of free grace, 192
- a. As opposed to pre-eminence of natural descent, 193
- b. As opposed to legal merits, 193, 194
- Apparent denial of free self-determination in
 Rom. ix., but not the apostle's intention to give a
 complete theory...but an antithetical reference to
 the arrogance of the Jews, 195-198
- Confidence in their own righteousness the cause
 of the rejection of the Jews...The Gentiles warned
 against presumptuous reliances on divine grace, 199
- To excite Christian confidence, the apostle re-
 fers to the unalterable counsel of divine love...al-
 lusions to the consummation of the kingdom of
 God, 200, 201
10. The doctrine of the resurrection and the state of the
 soul after death.
- a. The doctrine of the resurrection.
- The spiritual awakening by faith a preparation
 for the future...the Palengenesia of nature, Rom.
 viii. 19, 201, 202
- b. State of the Soul after death till the Resurrection.
- Whether Paul considered the state of the soul
 after death till the resurrection to be one of sus-
 pended consciousness like sleep?...apparent ground
 for it in 1 Thess. 204
- But his expectation of continued communion with
 Christ, as signified in 2 Cor. iv. 16, opposed to this
 supposition; also Phil. i. 21, 23; 2 Tim. iv. 18, 205, 206
- Possibility of an alteration in his views by pro-

gressive illumination...but a comparison of 1 Cor. 15 with 2 Cor. v. 1 is against this,	207, 208
Therefore he held the unbroken consciousness of the soul after death, even at an earlier period of his ministry, though not then brought forward,	209
The end of the Mediatorial kingdom and the con- summation of all things,	209-211

CHAPTER II.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

The author of this Epistle compared with Paul,	212
Points of agreement in their views,	214
Points of difference...Paul contemplates the Jewish eco- nomy as abrogated...In this Epistle it is spoken of as still existing, though only typical,	215-218
Treating of salvation in its relation solely to the de- scendants of Abraham, though unpauline, not con- trary to Paul's sentiments,	219
The work of Christ...The exaltation of Christ to heaven more frequently adverted to than his resurrection... Allusions to the High Priesthood,	220, 221
The sufferings of Christ,	222
The consequences of the redemption accomplished by Christ...Their appropriation by faith...Connection of faith, hope, and love...The Alexandrian Jewish theology...Philo,	222, 227

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF JAMES.

1. Revelation of faith and works in connection with his general view of Christianity. Comparison of a pretended faith with a pretended love...Works not the soul of faith but the marks of its vitality,	229
--	-----

- A twofold sense of the term Faith...The faith of evil spirits forced and passive...that of Abraham spontaneous, and in harmony with the other principles of the mind, 230
- The *νομος* used to signify the doctrine of Christ, 231
- Unity of the law...Love its fulfilment...Language the organ of the disposition...the Christian life a work, 232, 233
- Christianity as the *νομος τελειος* not merely a new law, but a new internal creation, 233
- The difference from Paul only in the development, 234
2. His views of the law compared with the Pauline.
- His object was to lead the Jews from Judaism to the Gospel...hence he represents Christ as the fulfiller of the law, Matt. v. 17; and allows its observance by the believing Jews, Acts xv. 21, xxi. 21, 235
- Paul acted with greater latitude among the Gentiles...became a Gentile, Gal. ii. 14, which was not required of James, as his ministry was confined to Jews, 236
3. The duty of veracity.
- James repeats the injunctions of Christ verbally (Matt. v. 12)...Paul enforces the duty from the mutual relation of Christians, Eph. v. 12, and on certain occasions used forms of asseveration equivalent to an oath, 237
4. The free self-determination of man in reference to sin...The sentiments of James on this point form an important supplement to Paul's doctrinal statements, 238, 239

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOCTRINE OF JOHN.

- In John's mind the intuitive element predominates over the dialective...His Christian course emphatically a life in communion with Christ, 239

1. The Central-point of his doctrine...divine life in communion with Christ...death in estrangement from him.

The theoretical and the practical are intimately blended in his view...His leading ideas are light, life, and truth, in communion with God through the Logos...death, darkness, falsehood in separation from him, 240

Satan the representative of falsehood...“ a liar and the father of it”...his personality (note 242)...truth and goodness...sin and falsehood are one...the children of God and the children of the world, 241-243
2. Original Estrangement of Man from God...opposition of the *σαρκικον* and *πνευματικον*...the consciousness of sin...a condition of the new life, 244
3. Susceptibility of Redemption.

Need of an inward sense corresponding to the outward revelation...Hence faith presupposes a preparatory operation of the Holy Spirit...This divine impulse not compulsory; but unsusceptibility voluntary and criminal, 245, 246

Twofold sense of the phrases...“ *εἶναι ἐκ Θεοῦ*” and “ *εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας,*” 246
4. The Person and Work of Christ.

The life of Christ the manifestation of God in human form...grace and truth in Christ correspond to love and holiness in God, 248

The whole life of Christ a revelation of God...hence his miracles and the descent of the Spirit only mark a new epoch in his ministry, 249, 250

Christ's miracles intended to lead men to higher views of his *δοξα*; meanings of the term Faith in John's writings, 250, 251

Import of the sufferings of Christ...the idea of reconciliation at the basis...the communication of divine life connected with his sacrifice...and depending

on his exaltation to glory...the spiritual maturity of his disciples depending negatively on this, but positively on his divine influence...the *πνευμα ἅγιον* the result of his glorification, 252, 253

5. Faith as the Principle of a New Life.

Faith the one work acceptable to God, John vi. 29...complete surrender to Christ...one commandment of the Lord, *brotherly love*, 254, 255

Faith the victory over the world...a superstitious faith in the Messiah easily changed to absolute unbelief, 256, 257

The children of God and the children of the devil, 258

Progressive purification of believers, 259

Christian perfection...Christian hope, 260, 261

6. Resurrection and Judgment.

Peculiarity of John's conceptions...the internal and present predominate...mysticism, 262

Judgment something taking place in the present life...the publication of the gospel necessarily involves a separation of the susceptible from the unsusceptible...Judgment opposed to *σωτηρια*...The unbeliever condemns himself...the believer is not condemned, 262, 263

But this judgment and the spiritual awakening are preparatory to the final judgment and resurrection, 264, 265

7. The Second Coming of Christ.

This is represented by John as internal...first by the coming of the Spirit, xvi. 13, then of Christ's own spiritual coming, 16...yet a personal visible *παρουσια* is not excluded, 266, 267

8. The Idea of the Church.

Not literally expressed...yet metaphorically by "one fold and one shepherd," also the distinction of internal and external communion, 1 Eph. ii. 19, 268

9. The Sacraments.

The institution of Christian baptism not mentioned...but its spiritual element noticed in iii. 3... in the same manner the Supper, vi. 269, 270

The essence of Christianity according to Paul and John...worshipping God as the Father through the Son, in the communion of the Holy Spirit...this the basis of the doctrine of the Trinity, 271

Closing remarks, 272

I. HISTORICAL INDEX, 273

II. INDEX OF TEXTS QUOTED OR EXPLAINED, 284

III. INDEX OF GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES, 295

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOL. I. 297

..... VOL. II. 300



BOOK IV.

A REVIEW OF THE LABOURS OF JAMES AND PETER
DURING THIS PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTER OF JAMES—REMARKS ON HIS EPISTLE.

As along with that unity of the spirit which proceeded from Christ, we have observed an important difference existing in the forms of its representation among the apostles, so the apostle Paul, and that James who was known as a brother of the Lord, present the most striking contrast to each other, whether we regard their natural peculiarities, their Christian conformation, or the sphere of their labours. In Paul, Christianity is exhibited in its most decided self-subsistence, freed from the preparatory garb of Judaism; while James represents the new spirit under the ancient form, and we may observe in him the gradual transition from the old to the new. Hence Paul and James mark the two extreme limits in the development of Christianity from Judaism; as Paul was the chief instrument for presenting Christianity to mankind as the new creation, so was James for exhibiting the organic connection of Christianity with the preparatory and prefiguring system of Judaism. After the martyrdom of the elder James, who was a son of Zebedee and brother of John, only one very influential person of this name appears in the Christian history, who stood at the head of the church at Jerusalem, and under the titles of *the Brother of the Lord*, and *the Just*, was

held in the highest esteem by Christians of Jewish descent. But from ancient times it has been doubted, whether this James was, strictly speaking, a brother of the Lord, that is, either a son of Joseph by a former marriage, or more probably a later son of Mary,* and therefore a different person from the apostle the son of Alpheus, or whether he was in a general sense a relation of Jesus, a sister's son of Mary, a son of Cleopas or Alpheus, and accordingly identical with the apostle of this name,†

* See *Leben Jesu*, p. 40.

† This question is one of the most difficult in the apostolic history. Dr Schneckenburger in his acute and profound investigation (in his *Annotatio ad Epistolam Jacobi*. Stuttgart 1832, p. 144) has brought the hypothesis of only one James to a higher degree of probability than it had before attained, and has said many things deserving consideration, which tend to remove the difficulties attached to it; but after all his remarks, many reasons for doubting remain. Later investigations, especially those of Credner in his *Einleitung*, p. 573, have thrown additional weight into the opposite scale. We wish to present in an impartial manner the arguments for and against this hypothesis. Since, after the death of James the son of Zebedee, only one James is mentioned as one of the most influential men in the first apostolic church, and ranking with those apostles who were most esteemed, there is the highest probability that this James was no other than the only apostle still living of this name. If the term ἀδελφός is understood only in a laxer sense, the title of "Brother of the Lord" proves nothing against the identity of the person; for, from comparing Matt. xxvii. 56; xxviii. 1, Mark xv. 40, with John xix. 25, it is evident that James the apostle, son of Alpheus or Cleopas (both names derived from the Hebrew הלפי), was really a sister's son of Mary the mother of Jesus. As so near a relation of Jesus, he might accordingly be distinguished from the other apostles by the title of a brother of the Lord. But then it is asked, why was he not rather distinguished by the strictly appropriate name of ἀνεψίος? And if at that time, there were persons in existence who might with strict propriety be called "*Brothers of the Lord*," is it not so much the less probable, that this name in an improper sense would be applied to him? Nevertheless, we may suppose, that in common discourse—since it was not a point of consequence to mark definitely the degree of kin between Jesus and this James, but only to represent him

If we put together all that is handed down to us in the New Testament, and in other historical records, the

in general terms as enjoying the honour of near relationship to the Lord,—it had become customary to designate him simply a brother of the Lord, especially among the Judaizing Christians, by whom such distinctions of earthly affinity would be most highly prized, and this might be still more easily explained, if we admit with Schneckenburger, that after the death of Joseph (which took place at an early period), Mary removed to the house of her sister, the wife of Alpheus; hence, it would be usual to designate her sons who lived from their childhood with Jesus, who had no other brothers, simply as the brethren of Jesus. Thus, then, this James would be one of the brethren of Jesus who are named in Matth. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3. Among these we find a Joses, who, in Matth. xxvii. 56, is distinguished as the brother of James, and a Judas; and if we explain the surname *Ἰακωβίου* given to the apostle Judas, on comparing it with the Epistle of Jude, v. 1, by supplying the word *ἀδελφός* (which cannot be assumed as absolutely certain), we shall also again find in him a brother of the apostle James. And the one named Simon among these brethren, we may perhaps find again in the list of the apostles, as all three are named together in Acts i. 13. According to that supposition, it would be no longer surprising that the brethren of Christ are often mentioned in connection with his mother; and yet from that circumstance no evidence can be deduced that would prove them to be in a strict sense his brethren. We must then assume with Schneckenburger, that when Matthew (xiii. 55) after the mention of the twelve apostles, distinguishes the brethren of Jesus from them, it proceeded from the want of chronological exactness in his mode of narration.

But if several of the so-called brethren of Jesus were among the apostles, still the manner in which the former are distinguished from the latter in Acts i. 14, is remarkable. Besides, according to the account in Mark iii. 31, a state of mind towards Jesus is supposed to exist in these brethren, which could not be attributed to the apostles, and yet it appears from comparing this account with the parallel passages in Matt. xii. and Luke viii, that this incident must be placed after the choice of the twelve apostles. This view is confirmed by the disposition manifested by these brethren of Christ, even in the last half year before his sufferings. All this taken together, must decide us in favour of the supposition, that the brethren of Jesus, commonly mentioned in con-

most probable result of the whole is, that this James was one of the brethren of Christ, of whom we have spoken

nection with Mary the mother of Jesus, are to be altogether distinguished from the apostles, and therefore they must be considered as the brethren of Jesus in a stricter sense, either as the sons of Joseph by a former marriage, or the later born sons of Joseph and Mary, which from Matt. i. 25, is most probable. That Christ when dying said to John, that from that time he should treat Mary as his mother, can at all events oppose only the supposition, that these brethren were the offspring of Joseph and Mary, and not the supposition that they were the step-sons of Mary. But even against the first supposition, this objection is not decisive; for if these brethren of Jesus still continued estranged from him in their disposition, we can at once perceive why at his death he commended his mother to his beloved disciple John. It may indeed appear surprising, that these brethren of Christ, according to Matthew xiii. 55, bore the same names as their cousins, but this can be affirmed with certainty only of two, and as the two sisters had one name, it might happen, owing to particular circumstances, that one son of each was named alike.

But from what has been said, it by no means follows, that the James who is distinguished in the New Testament as a brother of the Lord, was one of these brethren of Christ in a stricter sense. It might still be consistent with that fact, that this James was to be distinguished from the James who was the actual brother of the Lord, and, as a cousin of Christ who was honoured with this name, was to be held as identical with the apostle, although in this case it is less probable that when an actual brother of Jesus bore the name of James, the cousin should be honoured with the same title, instead of being distinguished by the epithet *ἀνεψίος* from that other James, to whom the surname of Brother of the Lord would in strictest propriety be given.

If we are disposed to examine the passages in the Pauline epistles which contain a particular reference to this point, there are two especially deserving of notice. As to the passage in 1 Cor. ix. 5, “*καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀποστολοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου,*” it cannot be proved from these words that the brethren of the Lord were distinct from the apostles, for they may be supposed to mean, that Paul, by “*the other apostles,*” understood those who could not claim such a relationship to the Lord, and that he particularly distinguishes those who were brethren of the Lord from the other apostles, because,

in our "Life of Jesus," p. 40. Thus it appears how very much the course of his religious development, was dis-

in virtue of that relationship, they stood high in the opinion of the party with whom he had here to do. That he names Peter immediately after, rather favours the notion that the brethren of the Lord, as well as Peter, belonged to the number of the apostles. Yet this is not a decisive proof, for it would surely be possible that, although the brethren of the Lord did not belong to the apostles, Paul might mention them in this connection, because they, or some of them, were held in equal estimation by the Jewish Christians of Palestine; and as, along with them, Peter was most highly respected, he is particularly mentioned at the same time. It is indeed possible, that Paul here uses the term apostle, not in the strictest sense, but in a wider meaning, as in Rom. xvi. 7; and so much the more, since he afterwards mentions Barnabas, to whom the name of an apostle could be applied only in that more general acceptance of the term. The second important passage is Gal. i. 19, where Paul, after speaking of his conference with the apostle Peter at Jerusalem, adds, that he had seen no other of the apostles, "save James the Lord's brother." Yet, from this passage, it cannot be so certainly inferred as Dr Schneckenburger thinks, that the James here named was one of the apostles. The state of the case may be conceived to have been thus: Paul had originally, in his thoughts, only a negative position, he had seen no other apostle but Peter at Jerusalem. But as it afterwards occurred to him, that he had seen at Jerusalem James the brother of the Lord, who, though no apostle, was held in apostolic estimation by the Judaizers, on this account he added, by way of limitation, a reference to James. We must therefore add to the *ἑμῆ*, a complementary idea allied to that of *ἀποστολος*; on a construction of this kind, see Winer, p. 517. It may be asked whether Paul would have expressed himself in this manner, if he had reckoned James in the stricter sense among the apostles? Would he have expressed the negation so universally, and, after he had so expressed it, have here first introduced the limitation, if from the first he had thought of saying that he saw none of the apostles excepting two. When Schneckenburger, from the words in Acts ix. 27, infers that Paul must at that time have conferred with at least two apostles at Jerusalem, he attaches greater weight than can be allowed with certainty to single expressions in this short narrative.

Yet, if we compare on this point the oldest ecclesiastical

tinguished from that of the apostle Paul. The latter, during the life of Christ on earth, was at a distance from

traditions, the comparison of the account in the gospel of the Hebrews (see Hieronym. de V. I. c. ii.) with 1 Cor. xv. 7 appears to favour the identity of the one James, for in that gospel it is said that Christ, after his resurrection, appeared to James the Just, the brother of the Lord. But in the passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the same James seems to be mentioned as one of the twelve apostles. Still we find here nothing absolutely certain, for it cannot be shewn that the reference in that gospel is to the *same appearance* of Christ as in the epistle. And if it be assumed that James, the brother of the Lord, was then held in such great esteem, that when this name was mentioned only one individual would be generally thought of, it is not perfectly clear, from his being brought forward in this connection, that he was reckoned by Paul among the apostles. Now, in reference to the tradition of Hegesippus, in Euseb. ii. 23, when he says that James the brother of the Lord undertook *with the apostles*, μετα τῶν ἀποστόλων, the guidance of the church at Jerusalem, it is most natural to suppose that he means to distinguish James from the apostles, otherwise he would have said μετα τῶν λοιπῶν, although we would not consider the other interpretation as impossible, especially in writers of this class, in whom we do not look for great precision in their mode of expression. Also the whole narrative of Hegesippus leads us to believe, that he considered James as distinct from the apostles; for although this representation bears upon it, at all events, marks of internal improbability, yet it would not appear altogether irrational, on the supposition that this James was an apostle appointed by Christ himself. But we must compare with this passage the words of Hegesippus in Euseb. iv. 22, μετα το μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰακωβον τον δικαιον, ὡς και ὁ κυριος ἐπι τῷ αὐτῷ λογω, παλιν ὁ ἐκ θειου αὐτοῦ Συμεων ὁ τοῦ κλωπῆ καθισταται ἐπισκοπος, ὃν προεδεντο παντες ὄντα ἀνεψιον τοῦ κυριου δευτερον. If we understand by these words, that this Simeon was called the second nephew in relation to the aforementioned James the Just, as the first nephew of the Lord, it would follow that that James, as a nephew of the Lord, is called his brother. Yet if another interpretation is possible, according to which Hegesippus agrees with himself, in reference to the words before quoted, such an interpretation must be readily preferred. And this interpretation is that which agrees best with the words in their existing position. For, since James is the principal subject in the first half of

all personal outward communication with him, and learnt to know him first by spiritual communication. James, on the contrary, stood in the closest family relation to the Redeemer, and from the first was present with him during the whole of his earthly development; but it was exactly this circumstance which contributed to his being more slow to recognise in the son of man, the Son of God; and while he clung only to the earthly appearance, he was prevented from penetrating through the shell to the substance. Paul, by a violent crisis, made the transition from the most vehement and unsparing opposition to the gospel, to the most zealous advocacy of it. James gradually advanced from a Judaism of great earnestness and depth, which blended with a faith that constantly became more decisive in Jesus as the Messiah, to Christianity as the glorification and fulfilling of the law.

There is probably some truth in what is narrated by the Christian historian Hegesippus, that this James led from childhood the life of a Nazarene. If we consider what an impression the appearances at and after the birth

the sentence, the *αυτοῦ* must refer to him. Cleopas, accordingly, is called the uncle of James, and his son Simeon cannot therefore be the brother of James, but is his cousin; as Cleopas (= Alphus) is the uncle of Jesus, (and, according to Hegesippus in Euseb. iii. 11, both on the side of Joseph as well as of Mary), Simeon the cousin of Jesus and the cousin of James, which again favours the opinion that they were brothers. But Hegesippus might call this Simeon a second nephew, since he looked upon the apostle James, the son of Alphus, who was no longer living, as the first nephew. We might also insert a stop after *αυριου*, and connect *δευτερον* with *προςδεντο*; by this construction, mention would be made of only one cousin of the Lord, as the successor of his brother, as the second overseer of the church. But the position of the words is very much against this construction. Certainly the testimony of Hegesippus must have great weight, on account of his high antiquity, his descent, and his connection with the Jews of Palestine. But it is undeniable, if we compare the two passages from the Hypotyposes of Clement, quoted by Eusebius, ii. 1, that he distinguishes James, who bore the surname of the Just, as an apostle in the stricter sense of the word.

of Christ, and the conviction that the first-born son of Mary was destined to be the Messiah—must have left on the minds of his parents, it may be easily explained how they felt themselves compelled to dedicate their first-born son James,* to the service of Jehovah in strict abstinence for the whole of his life. To this also it might be owing, that the freer mode of living which Christ practised with his disciples was less congenial to him; and from his strict, legal, Jewish standing-point he could not comprehend the new spirit which revealed itself in Christ's words; many of these must have appeared to him as "hard sayings." Proceeding from the common Jewish standing-point, he expected that Jesus, if he were the Messiah, would verify himself to be such in the presence of the people by signs that would compel the universal recognition of his claims, by the establishment of a visible kingdom in earthly glory. By the impression of Christ's ministry he became indeed excited to believe, but the power of early habit and prejudice always counteracted that impression, and he found himself in a state of indecision from which he could not at once free himself. Only half a year before the last sufferings of Christ we find him in this vacillating condition, for John does not in this respect distinguish him from the other brethren of Jesus, with whom this was certainly the case; John vii. 5. But after the ascension of Christ, he appears as a decided and zealous member of the company of disciples; Acts i. 13. We see how important the Saviour deemed it to produce such a faith in him by his honouring him with a special appearance after the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 7), whether this was occasioned or not, by his having expressed doubts like Thomas.† This James obtained constantly increasing respect in the church at Jerusalem.

* His being described by the appellation of the son, indicates that he was the eldest.

† The narrative in the Gospel of the Hebrews (see *Leben Jesu*, p. 720), is not an authority of sufficient credit to allow of our following it here. It tells us that James, after partaking of the Last Supper with Christ, made a vow that he would not again taste food till he had seen him risen from

Every feature of his character which we can gather from the Acts, from Josephus,* and from the traditions of Hegesippus in Eusebius†, well agrees with the image of him presented in the epistle that bears his name. By his strict pious life, which agreed with the Jewish notions of legal piety, he won the universal veneration, not only of the believers among the Jews, but also of the better disposed among his countrymen generally: on this account, he was distinguished by the surname of the Just, צַדִּיק, δίκαιος; and, if we may credit the account of Hegesippus, he was viewed as one of those men of distinguished and commanding excellence who set themselves against the corruptions of their age, and hence was termed the bulwark of the people.‡ According to the representations of this writer, he must have led a life after the manner of the strictest ascetics among the Jews. The consecration of his childhood had already introduced him to such a mode of life, and we might suppose, that he had already won by it peculiar respect among the Jews, if it were not surprising that no trace can be found of it in the gospels, no marks of special distinction awarded to

the dead; that Christ appeared to him as the Risen One, and said, "Now eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from the dead." We must certainly consider how important it was for the wavering-minded James, who, in his epistle, has so vividly described the unhappiness of such a state (i. 5), to attain to the certainty on this subject, which such an occurrence would give him, and which such a vow led him to expect. But not only is the work of the Jewish Christian who bestowed so much pains in embellishing the history of James, not a credible source of information in itself, but there is also a palpable contradiction in the chronology of the history of the resurrection between this narrative and Paul's account.

* Joseph. Archæol. xx. 9.

† Hist. Eccles. ii. 23.

‡ Perhaps עַפְלָעַם or עֵב לְעַם, which comes nearer the phraseology of Hegesippus; unless, which is indeed less probable, we read, with Fuller, עֵז לְעַם, which Hegesippus translates περιοχη τοῦ λαοῦ.

him by his brethren. At all events, he might afterwards avail himself of this ascetic strictness as a means of attracting the attention of the multitude to his person, and thereby to the doctrine he published. This mode of life considered in itself, provided its value was not rated too high, was by no means unchristian. What Hegesippus narrates of him perfectly suits his character, that he frequently prostrated himself on his knees in the Temple, calling upon God to forgive the sins of his people, (probably having a special reference to the forgiveness of their sins against the Messiah),—that the divine judgments on the unbelievers might be averted,—and that they might be led to repentance and faith, and thus to a participation of the kingdom of the glorified Messiah.

But some important doubts may be raised against the credibility of this account of Hegesippus, taken in its full extent. That Ebionite party among whom an ascetic, theosophic tendency prevailed, and who circulated apocryphal writings under the name of James, had probably formed an ideal conception of his character in harmony with their own peculiarities, and Hegesippus might mistake the image delineated in their traditions for an historical reality. The Epistle of James by no means bears decided marks of such a tendency, for every thing which has been supposed to be of this kind may very properly be referred to the simple Christian renunciation of the world, such as has its seat in the disposition. If the Jewish love of gain is here spoken against, if the earthly-mindedness of the rich, the homage paid to this class and the contempt of the poor, is condemned, and it is declared that the gospel has found the most ready access to the latter, and exalted them to the highest dignity, yet it by no means follows, that the author of this epistle entirely condemned, like the Ebionites, all possession whatever of earthly goods.

This epistle is especially important, not only for illustrating the character of James, but also for giving us an insight into the state of the Christian churches which were formed from Judaism, and unmixed with Christians of Gentile descent. According to an opinion very gene-

rally prevalent from ancient times, we should be led to believe that the peculiar doctrinal system of the apostle Paul had already been formed and disseminated when this epistle was written, and that those churches particularly to whom it was addressed, had been affected by the influence of this Pauline system. The opinion we refer to is, that James in this epistle either combated the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith in and for itself, or a misunderstanding and an erroneous application of it. And it would not be difficult to support this opinion by many isolated passages in the epistle taken alone, without a reference to their connection with the whole :* for it seems as if the express reference to the Pauline formula of the justification to be obtained by faith alone, and to which works can contribute nothing, could not be mistaken ; especially as the same examples of faith as those mentioned by Paul, namely those of Abraham and Sarah, are adduced. But this opinion, though plausible at first sight, if we examine more closely the relation of particular passages to the whole tenor of the epistle, will soon appear untenable. The error in reference to faith which James combats in this epistle, is certainly not one altogether isolated : but it appears as an offset proceeding with many others from the root of one false principle : and this principle is quite distinct from that which would admit of an application, whether correct or incorrect, of the Pauline doctrine. It was the tendency of the Jewish spirit, refusing to acknowledge the life of religion as seat-

* We wish to remark in passing, that among those who have thought that they have detected a contradiction between James and Paul in the doctrine of justification, is the celebrated patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris of Constantinople, who was led to the opinion by reading the epistle. It also struck him that the name of Christ is scarcely mentioned above once or twice, and then coldly (*anzi del nome di Jesu Christo a pena fa mentione una o due volte e freddamente*) ; that the mysteries of the incarnation of the Son of God and of redemption are not treated of, but only morality (*solo a la moralita attende*) ; see Letter vii. in *Lettres Anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar*. Amsterdam, 1718, p. 85.

ed in the disposition, every where taking up the mere dead form, the appearance instead of the reality, in religion; this tendency, which substituted a lifeless arrogant acquaintance with the letter for the genuine wisdom inseparable from the divine life—which prided itself in an inoperative knowledge of the law, without paying any attention to the practice of the law—which placed devotion in outward ceremonies, and neglected that devotion which shews itself in works of love—which contented itself with the verbal expression of love, instead of proving it by works; it was the same tendency of the Jewish mind estranged from the spirit and life of religion, which, as it laid an undue value on the *opus operatum* of outward religious acts, so also on the *opus operatum* of a faith in the one Jehovah and in the Messiah, which left the disposition unchanged;—and which presumed that by such a faith, the Jew was sufficiently distinguished from the sinful race of the Gentiles, and was justified before God even though the conduct of the life was in contradiction to the requirements of faith. Thus we find here one branch of that practical fundamental error which chiefly prevailed among these Jewish Christians, whom James combats in the whole of the epistle, even where faith is not the immediate subject of discourse. It was the erroneous tendency, which belonged to those that commonly prevailed among the great mass of the Jews, and which had found its way also among those Christians in whose minds the gospel had not effected a complete transformation, but whose Jewish spirit had only connected itself with faith in Jesus as the Messiah.* (See

* That Jewish mode of thinking which Justin Martyr describes, in *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* fol. 370, ed. Colon.—“*ως ὑμεῖς ἀπατατέ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ὑμῖν ὁμοιοὶ κατὰ τοῦτο (in this respect Jewish-minded Christians), οἱ λεγούσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ᾧσι, θεὸν δε γινώσκουσιν, οὐ μὴ λογισθῆται αὐτοῖς κυρίως ἁμαρτιαν.*” That mode of thinking which is found in the Clementine homilies, according to which faith in one God (*το της μοναρχιας καλον*) has such great magical power, that the *ψυχη μοναρχικη*, even while living in vice, had this advantage before idolaters, that it could not perish, but through purifying punishments

above, vol. i. p. 25, and my Church History, vol. i. p. 47.)

But as to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, whether correctly or incorrectly understood and applied, we cannot suppose its influence to be possible in churches of this class, and hence argumentation against it from the standing-point of James is utterly inconceivable.* As the superscription and contents of his epistle inform us, it was manifestly addressed only to churches that were composed entirely of Jewish Christians. But such persons were least of all disposed to attach themselves particularly to Paul, and least of all disposed and fitted to agree to the Pauline doctrine, which presented the most direct opposition to their customary mode of thinking. It was precisely from persons of this stamp that the intemperate fanatical outcry was raised against this form of Christian doctrine, as if, by depending on grace, men were made secure in sin, or that they were

would at last attain to salvation; see Hom. iii. c. 6. The idea of faith, which, from an entirely different source than from a misunderstanding of Paul, found entrance afterwards among Christians themselves, and to which a Marcion directly opposed the Pauline idea of faith. Against such perversions Paul warned the churches, both by word of mouth and in writing, when he so impressively charged it upon them that their renunciation of heathenism was nugatory, and could not contribute to their participation of the kingdom of God, if they did not renounce their former sinful habits; see Gal. v. 21. The *κενοι λογοι*, against which he warns the Ephesians, v. 6.

* Dr Kern, in his essay on the Origin of the Epistle of James, in the Tübingen "*Zeitschrift für Theologie*," 1835, p. 25, on account of what is here asserted, charges me with a *petitio principii*; but I cannot perceive with any justice. This charge might be brought home to me if I had assumed, without evidence, that this epistle was addressed to an un-mixed church; or if I had passed altogether unnoticed the possible case which Kern considers as the actual (though he has abandoned it lately in the Introduction to his Commentary on this Epistle), that it was forged by a Jewish Christian in James's name, in order to controvert the Pauline doctrinal views which prevailed among the Gentile churches.

authorized in doing evil that good might come, Rom. iii. 8. In an entirely different quarter, from an Hellenic (gnostic) Antinomianism, which was also Antijudaism, arose at a later period an erroneous, practically destructive appropriation and application of the Pauline doctrine of justification, such as Paul himself thought it needful to guard against by anticipation; Rom. vi. 1; Gal. v. 13. And this later erroneous application of the idea of faith, which tended likewise to the injury of practical Christianity, proceeded from an entirely different exposition of this idea than that presented by the one-sided direction of the Jewish spirit. It manifested itself rather as an Oriental Hellenic than as a Jewish spirit; it was not the abstract idea of faith, but a one-sided contemplative or idealising tendency which deviated from the conception of faith as an animating principle of the will and a practical determination of the life.

From what has been said, therefore, it is impossible to suppose, in an epistle addressed to such churches as these, any reference whatever to the Pauline formula of faith. And even admitting such a reference to exist, yet the notion that it consisted only in combating a *misunderstanding* of the Pauline doctrine, would be wholly untenable. For how can we suppose that James, if he did not intend to contradict Paul, but to maintain apostolic fellowship with him, and the knowledge of it in the churches,—would not, while combating an erroneous interpretation of the Pauline doctrine, at the same time expressly state the correct interpretation, and guard himself against the appearance of opposition to Paul, especially when an opposition might otherwise be so easily imagined by the Jewish Christians. But if we assumed that the intention of James was really to combat Paul's doctrine, this view would be at variance with what we know from history of the good understanding between the two apostles, and which cannot be set aside by the fact that some of Paul's opponents were those who appealed to the authority of James. See vol. i. p. 134.

Another supposition still remains, that some one forged

the Epistle under James's name,* in order to give currency in the church to a belief in an opposition between the two apostles, and this design would well suit the one-sided tendency of a Jewish Christian. But such a person would not only have expressed himself in a more decided manner than that James, of whose reputation he wished to avail himself; but he would have pointed out by name the individual (Paul) against whom he directed his attack, and would have expressed in stronger terms the censure of his doctrine. The subordinate place which in this case the confutation of the Pauline doc-

* The assertion made by Kern, p. 72 of the essay before quoted, that, according to the principles of that early Christian age, such a literary imposture would be irreproachable, I cannot acknowledge as well-founded, if expressed without limitation. There was indeed a certain standing-point, on which such a *fraus pia*, as we must always call it (when a palpable falsehood was made use of to put certain sentiments in circulation,) would be allowed; but that this was a generally approved practice, appears to me an arbitrary assumption. We ought carefully to guard against supposing that to be an universally received principle, which was only the peculiarity of individual mental tendencies. There was a one-sided, theoretic, speculative standing-point, from which lax principles respecting veracity proceeded, as we have remarked in Plato. It was connected with that aristocraticism of antiquity, first overturned by the power of the gospel, which treated the mass of the people as unsusceptible of pure truth in religion, and hence justified the use of falsehood to serve as leading-strings for the πολλοι. As the reaction of such an earlier standing-point, we find this view in parties of kindred tendencies, such as the Alexandrian Jews, the Gnostics, the Platonising Alexandrian fathers. But from the first, a sounder practical Christian spirit combated this error, as we see in the instances of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian. The anti-gnostic tendency was also zealous for strict veracity. Now a similar practical tendency distinguishes this epistle, in which I cannot find an Ebionitish anti-pauline standing-point. This spirit of strict veracity is shewn in what is said respecting swearing. This epistle, indeed, wears altogether a different character from the Clementines, which show a decided party tendency and party bias.

trine occupies in relation to the whole of the epistle, certainly does not agree with this hypothesis. Or, if it be said that the author of this epistle, who presented himself under the mask of James, did not belong to the violent Judaizing opponents of Paul, but to a milder, more accommodating party, who only aimed at smoothing down the peculiarities of the Pauline scheme of doctrine, and so modifying it as to bring it nearer the Jewish-Christian standing-point, and for that reason adopted a gentler method, and avoided the mention of Paul's name; in this case, there would still have been a necessity of naming him, and explicitly stating that the writer of the epistle impugned not his doctrine in itself, but only a harsh and overstrained construction of it. And after all, the singular fact would remain unaccounted for, that the main object and design of the writer occupies only a subordinate place in relation to the whole of the epistle.

What has given occasion to all these various suppositions, is the apparent allusion to expressions and illustrations made use of by Paul. But is this allusion really so very evident? Let us recollect, that the Pauline phraseology formed itself from Judaism, from the Jewish-Greek diction—that it by no means created new modes of expression,* but often only appropriated the ancient Jewish terms, employed them in new combinations, applied them to new contrasts, and animated them with a new spirit. Thus neither the term *δικαιοῦσθαι* in reference to God, nor the term *πίστις* was entirely new; but both these terms and the ideas indicated by them

* On the manner in which Paul employed phrases which were already in use among Jewish theologians, compare Dr Roeth's work, *De Epistola ad Hebræos*, p. 121, &c., though I cannot agree with the author in what he attempts to prove; for in the use which Paul makes of an existing form of dogmatic expression, he forms the most decided contrast to the Jewish meaning. But it appears from this, how James, proceeding from the Jewish standing-point, without any reference to the Pauline doctrine, would be led to the choice of such expressions.

(and indeed, in reference to the first, the same idea the existence of which among the Jews Paul must have assumed in arguing with his Jewish opponents) had been long familiar to the Jews. The example likewise of Abraham as a hero in faith must have been obvious to every Jew, and the example of Rahab (which is adduced only in the Epistle to the Hebrews—an epistle neither composed by Paul nor containing the peculiarly Pauline doctrinal statement of justifying faith), since it proved the benefit of the monotheistic faith to a Gentile of impure life, must have especially commended itself to the Jews who were disposed to extol the importance of faith in Jehovah.*

Since it appears that a reference to the Pauline doctrinal scheme is not indicated in this epistle, that mark is withdrawn by which it has been thought that the late period of its composition could be proved; in order, therefore, to determine this point, we must seek for other marks in the epistle itself. It is remarkable that, according to its superscription, it is addressed only to the Jews of the twelve tribes who lived in the dispersion, and yet it is manifestly addressed to Christians. Yet this may be very well explained if we consider the standing-point of James, such as it is shewn to be by the whole of the epistle. He considers the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus as essentially belonging to genuine Judaism, believers in Jesus as the only genuine Jews, Christianity as perfected Judaism, by which the *νομοσ* had attained its completion. And it is not impossible that, although he addressed himself especially to Christians, he also had in his thoughts the Jewish readers into whose hands the epistle might fall, as Christians lived among the Jews without any marked separation. From the mention of their descent from the twelve tribes, we may infer that these churches consisted purely of Jewish Christians, or that James, who considered himself pecu-

* Thus it appears to me that what Dr De Wette says in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, p. 349, in order to point out an intentional opposition of James to Paul, is nullified.

liarily the apostle of the Jews, addressed only the Jewish part of the church. Yet as no notice is taken of the relation of Jewish to Gentile Christians, it is by far the most probable opinion that these churches consisted entirely of the former. Partly from the peculiar standing-point of James, and partly from the peculiar situation of these churches which had retained all the Jewish forms, we may account for the use of the ancient Jewish name *συναγωγη*, instead of the peculiar Christian term *εκκλησια* as the designation of the meeting of the community of believers.* Such churches might exist during the later apostolic age in the inland parts of Asia, perhaps in Syria. But if the epistle was addressed to churches in these parts, it appears strange that James, to whom the Aramaic must have been much more familiar than the Greek, (although it was not impossible that he had so far learnt the Greek as to be able to write an epistle in it,) should have made use of the latter language. We must therefore conclude, that this point was determined by a regard to the wants of his readers, and that part of them at least belonged to the Hellenists. This being assumed, we must fix the date of the epistle at a time preceding the separate formation of Gentile Christian churches, before the relation of Gentiles and Jews to one another in the Christian church had been brought under discussion,† the period of the first spread of Christianity in Syria, Cilicia, and the adjacent regions.‡

* Our knowledge of the spread of Christianity at this period, is indeed far too defective to give a decisive opinion with Kern on this point.

† The view which Dr Schneckenburger has acutely developed, and defended in his valuable "*Beitrage zur Einleitung in's Neue Testament*," Stuttgart 1832, and in his *Annotatio ad Epistolam Jacobi*. He has expressed his agreement respecting the object of the argumentative portion of this epistle, with the views I have developed in this work, and in my earlier occasional writings. See his essays on this subject in *Steudel's Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1829, and in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1830, part ii.

‡ An allusion to the use of the name *χριστιανοι* has been erroneously supposed in James ii. 7, and hence an attempt

These churches consisted for the most part of the poor,* (though some individuals among them were rich),† and they were in various ways oppressed by the wealthy and influential Jews.‡ Certainly these churches were so con-

to fix the date of the epistle. By *καλον ονομα* we may most properly understand the name of Jesus, and this is the simplest explanation, since the words will be most naturally applied to the invocation of the name of Jesus as the Messiah, to whom believers were consecrated at baptism, the baptism *εις το ονομα του Ιησου*. See Schneckenburger's Commentary on the passage.

* According to the views brought forward by Kern, the author of this epistle, in an Ebionitish manner, marked the genuine Christians, that is in his opinion the Jewish Christians, as the poor, and the Gentile Christians as the rich, whom he would not acknowledge to be genuine Christians. But the condition of the Christian churches among the Gentiles generally in this first age, certainly will not allow us to suppose, that it would occur to any one to impose this name upon them, and in every point of view this supposition appears to be entirely unsound.

† James i. 10.

‡ The passage in James ii. 7, is referred most naturally to the blaspheming of Jesus by the enemies of Christianity, although the preceding context relates not to religious persecutions but to oppressions and extortions of a different kind. Compare v. 4. It is by no means evident, that by the rich in this epistle, we are always to understand members of the Christian community. The author may refer partly to the rich among the Jews, who were averse from Christianity, partly to the rich among the Christians, who formed a very small minority. From the contrast in i. 9, 10, it by no means follows that by the rich in the latter verse only Christians are intended. By those of low degree who were to rejoice in being exalted, he could indeed mean only Christians; but among the rich, he might include those wealthy Jews, who by their entire devotedness to earthly objects were prevented from becoming Christians. It was the duty of these persons to learn the nothingness of earthly possessions, which they had hitherto made their highest good, to humble themselves, and in this self-humiliation to find their true glory; for with the nothingness of earthly things they would learn the truly highest good,—the true dignity or elevation which was imparted by the Messiah. In this manner they were required to become Christians.

stituted, that, in many cases, their Christianity consisted only in the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, and of his peculiar moral precepts, which they considered as the perfecting of the law. Since they were far from recognising and appropriating the real essence of Christianity, they resembled the great mass of the Jewish nation, in the predominance of a carnal mind, and the prevalence of worldly lusts, contention, and slander. Accordingly, we must either assume that Christianity among them was still novel, and had not yet penetrated the life, as from the beginning, (see vol. i. p. 25), there were many among the Jews, who, carried away by the impression which the extraordinary operations of the apostles had made upon them, and attracted by the hope that Jesus would soon return, and establish his kingdom on earth, the happiness of which they depicted agreeably to their own inclinations, in such a state of mind and with such expectations, made a profession of Christianity, without having experienced any essential change of character—or we must suppose, that these churches had sunk into a state of degeneracy from a higher standing-point of the Christian life. In the constitution of these churches there was this peculiarity, that as the direction of the office of teaching had not been committed to the presbyters, but only the outward management of church affairs, many members of the community came forward as teachers, while no one acted officially in that capacity; (see vol. i. p. 41–164). Hence James deemed it needful to admonish them, that too many ought not to obtrude themselves as teachers; that none ought inconsiderately to speak in their public meetings, but that each should recollect the responsibility he incurred by such a procedure; James i. 19; iii. 1–2.

As to the doctrine of James and the mode of its exhibition in this epistle, we find nothing whatever which stands in contradiction to the more fully developed doctrine of the New Testament, as we shall shew when we come to treat of Doctrine; and the Christian ideas actually presented in this epistle are evidently in unison with the whole extent of Christian truth. But the contents

of the Christian system are not exhibited separately in all their details; what is purely Christian is more insulated; the references to Christ are not so predominant and all-penetrating as in the other epistles. References to the Old Testament, though placed in connection with the Christian standing-point, are most frequent. For the explanation of this phenomenon, to allege the peculiar standing-point of the persons addressed is not sufficient, for a Paul, a John, or a Peter would certainly have written to them in a very different strain; we must rather seek the explanation in the peculiar character of the writer himself. We might hence infer (with Schneckenburger) that James wrote this epistle at a time when Christianity had not thoroughly penetrated his spiritual life, during the earliest period of his Christian development; but it may be questioned whether we are justified in drawing such a conclusion, for no proof can be given that he enlarged his doctrinal views at a later period. It is possible that he remained confined in this form of imperfect doctrinal development, although his heart was penetrated by love to God and Jesus. He still maintained the character which belonged to him on his original standing-point as a teacher of the Jews, as the guide of his countrymen in passing over from the Old to the New Testament. True it is, that much would have been wanting to the church for the completeness of Christian knowledge, if the statement of Christian doctrine by James had not found its complement in the representations of the other apostles; but in this connection it forms an important contribution to the entire conception and development of Christian truth, and furnishes all that can be expected from such a standing-point.

It was exactly this form of doctrine that secured for James a long and undisturbed ministration among the Jews, and many were led by his influence to faith in Christ; but this excited so much the more the hatred of the basest among the party-leaders of the Jewish people, who sought for an opportunity to sacrifice him to their rage. One of the most impetuous among them, the

high priest Ananus, who was disposed to all the violent acts of party hatred, availed himself for this purpose of the interval between the departure of the Roman Procurator Felix, and the arrival of his successor Albinus, about the year 62. He caused James with some other Christians to be condemned to death by the Sanhedrim as a violater of the law; and in conformity with that sentence he was stoned.* But the better disposed

* We here follow the account of Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9, which certainly is more credible than the legendary narrative of Hegesippus in Eusebius, ii. 23. How can it be supposed that the heads of the Pharisaic party would have been foolish enough to demand of James, and to suppose it possible that he would bear a public testimony against Christianity? Nor can I be induced by what Credner has said in his *Einleitung*, &c. p. 581, in which Rothe and Kern (see his *Commentary on the Epistle of James*, published in 1838, p. 341) agree with him, to give up the opinion I have here expressed. It would place the question on a different footing, if the interpretation of the passage in Josephus could be really proved. In that case, we must admit, that although the history of the martyrdom of James was garnished after an Ebionitish legend, yet the historical truth is to be discerned lying at its basis. But this interpretation does not appear to me proved. The words of Josephus, xx. c. 9, § 1, in which we include in brackets what is considered suspicious by Credner and others, are as follows; (he is here speaking of the high priest Ananus):—“καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν και παραγαγων εις αὐτο [τον ἀδελφον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομενου Χριστοῦ, Ἰακωβος ὄνομα αὐτῶ, και] τινας [ἑτερους] ὡς παρανομησαντων ποιησαμενος παρεδωκε λευσθησομενους· ὅσοι δε ἰδοκοῦν ἐπιεικιστατοι κατα την πολιν εἶναι, και τα περι τους νομους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρειως ἠνεγκαν ἐπι τουτῶ.” Credner considers the clauses I have marked as the interpretation of a Christian, because Josephus as a Jew would not have so emphatically prefixed the epithet ἀδελφον, &c., but rather have placed first the proper name, and because he must rather have called Jesus τον δικαιον, and not left his readers in almost total darkness as to the meaning of that very general epithet. But since James was best known by that appellation, which gave him the greatest importance whether in a good or bad sense, according to the standing-points of those who employed it, since Jesus who was considered to be the Christ might be presumed to be known under that title, both among Gentile and Jewish readers, we have reason for thinking, that the person of the

among the Jews were greatly dissatisfied with this proceeding, and Ananus, on account of it, was accused to the new governor, for which there was sufficient reason, as he had manifestly exceeded the limits of the power guaranteed to the Jewish Sanhedrim by the Roman law. See vol. i. p. 64.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLE PETER.

FROM James we now proceed to the apostle Peter, who, as appears from the course of historical development already traced, forms a connecting link between the two most widely-differing spheres of action and tendencies of

brother of Jesus first presented itself to Josephus, and he mentioned this before adding the designation of the proper name. When those persons are mentioned who had been accused as violaters of the law, and whose condemnation had been blamed by the most devout of the Jewish nation, this would certainly lead us to think of the Christians who strictly observed the Mosaic law, and above all, we should refer this to James. When Christians were persecuted as Christians, or as opponents of the prevalent corruptions, the persecution would especially affect James, who had the greatest influence among the Jews, and was the firmest pillar of the Christian community. It is therefore in itself probable, that the persecution excited by the high priest would fall particularly on James. And if a Christian had interpolated this passage, he would hardly have satisfied himself with only foisting in these words, as a comparison with the interpolation of other passages, which relate to Jesus himself, will convince us still more. In reference to the incredibility of such traditions as those of Hegesippus respecting the martyrdom of James, a comparison with the tales reported by Papias about the death of Judas Iscariot will serve for a proof. Perhaps the image of the martyrdom of Stephen suggested to the Ebionites their method of forming the account of the martyrdom of James.

Paul and James. We must here take a brief survey of his situation and character in early life.

Simon was the son of Jonas, a fisherman in the town of Bethsaida, on the western shore of the Sea of Genesareth in Galilee. The interest universally excited in this region respecting the appearance of the Messiah, which seized with peculiar force the ardent minds of the young, led him, among others, to that divinely enlightened man John the Baptist, who was called to prepare the way for that event. His brother Andrew, who had first recognised the Messiah in Jesus, imparted to him the glorious discovery. When the Lord saw him, he perceived, with his divinely-human look, what was in him, and gave him the surname of Cephas, Peter, the Rock. These surnames, like others which Christ gave his disciples, may be taken in a twofold point of view. The principal point of view which, without doubt, the Redeemer had in the imposition of this name, related to what Simon would become in and for the service of the gospel. But as the influences of transforming grace, always attaching themselves to the constitutional character of an individual, purify and ennoble it, so in this instance, what Peter became by the power of the divine life, was in a measure determined by his natural peculiarities. A capacity for action, rapid in its movements, seizing with a firm grasp on its object, and carrying on his designs with ardour, was his leading characteristic, by which he effected so much in the service of the gospel. But the fire of his powerful nature needed first to be transformed by the flame of divine love, and to be refined from the impurity of selfishness, to render him undaunted in the publication of the gospel. By the natural constitution of his mind, he was indeed disposed to surrender himself at the moment entirely to the impression which seized him, without being turned aside by those considerations which would hold back more timorous spirits, and to express with energy what would move many minds; but he was easily misled by a rash self-confidence to say more, and to venture more, than he could accomplish; and though he quickly and ardent-

ly seized on an object, he allowed himself too easily to relinquish it, by yielding to the force of another impression.

It was desirable that the first impression made on Peter's mind should continue to act upon him in quiet,—on which account Christ at first left him to himself; and when, by repeated operations, every thing in his disposition was sufficiently prepared, he received him into the number of his disciples, who afterwards accompanied him every where. Peter must often have heard him teach in the Synagogue, and seen him heal the sick. But all this would be only a preparation for the last decisive impression, which was exactly adapted to Peter's former mode of life, and his peculiar character. After Christ had finished one of his discourses in Peter's vessel, he desired him to let down his net for a draught. Although he had toiled in vain during the whole of the preceding night, yet he was quite ready to obey the command of the Redeemer, a proof of the confidence he already placed in him; and since, after the various preceding impressions which he received of the Divine in Christ, he was so astonished by the successful result,—the sense of the dignity and holiness of the personage who stood before him, as well as of his own unworthiness, so overpowered him, that he deemed himself not fit to be so near the Holy One,—Christ took advantage of the state of mind thus produced to draw him altogether to himself, and made this instance of success in his worldly occupation, by which Peter had been so wonder-struck, a symbol of the spiritual success which would attend his future labours in his service.

We find many indications of Peter's constitutional disposition in the intercourse of Christ with himself and the other disciples. When many of those persons who had been induced to join themselves to Christ for a length of time by the impression of his miracles, at last, from the want of a deeper susceptibility for divine truth, forsook him, Christ said to the twelve disciples who still faithfully followed him, "Will ye also go away?" Peter testified of what they all felt, and how deeply he

felt the divine impression which the words of Christ had made on his inmost soul, more than he could yet distinctly apprehend,—that a divine life proceeded from his words, and that those who received his sayings were made partakers of a divine and blessed life enduring for ever. “To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. We believe, we know that thou art the Messiah of God.” The conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, which Peter here expresses, was without doubt of a different kind than that which only was produced by beholding the miracles he wrought. It was a conviction deeply seated in his religious and moral nature, which originated in his inward experience of the divine intercourse with the Redeemer. Thus Christ declared, when Peter said to him, “Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God,” Matt. xvi. 16, that this conviction was produced on his heart by the Spirit of God,—that he spoke not according to human opinion, but from the confidence of divine excitement,—that not flesh and blood but his Father in heaven had revealed this to him. And since the conviction, thus grounded in the depths of his disposition, that Jesus was the Messiah, was the foundation on which the kingdom of God rested, in allusion to this fact Christ called him the Rock, the Rock on which he would build his Church, which was to exist for ever. There is indeed a personal reference to Peter, but only on account of the faith he had confessed, which forms the foundation of the kingdom of God. On another occasion, when Christ announced to his disciples his approaching sufferings, Peter felt impelled instantaneously as it arose in his heart, to express the sentiment which all felt, but hesitated to express, “That be far from thee, Lord!” But here the feeling of love to Him who was most fitted to kindle the fire of love in the heart, expressed itself in a natural human form so strongly, that Peter, with this state of disposition towards the cause of God, which requires the sacrifice of self, and of whatever is dearest to the heart, could not be an instrument in its service; and hence the Lord addressed him with words of severe rebuke, and assured

him that, with such a disposition, valuing the person of man higher than the cause of God, he could not remain in his fellowship; that by this disposition he became a tempter; Matt. xvi. We recognise the same tendency to be carried away by the sudden impulse of feeling, and to surrender himself to the vivid impression of the moment, when the Lord assured him that, on the night of his Passion, all would forsake him; the too confident Peter at once exclaimed, "Though all men should forsake thee, yet will not I; I will lay down my life for thy sake." This overhasty self-confidence soon turned, as the Lord foretold, to his disgrace, and gave occasion for bitter repentance. Yet this false step, no doubt, served to advance him in that self-knowledge which is the indispensable condition of true faith in the Redeemer, and true knowledge of him, and thus to the whole development of the Christian life. And the Lord forgave him his sin; he reminded him of it in a manner the most tender, and yet piercing the very depths of his soul, by the question thrice repeated, "Lovest thou me?"* and required from him, as the proof of his love, the faithful discharge of his apostolic calling, the care of his sheep.†

* We proceed here on the conviction, that the 21st chapter of John's gospel, although not composed by him, contains a credible tradition.

† It is indeed possible that these words referred personally to Peter, in the sense that he was to take the lead in the guidance of the church, as *he* it certainly was who spoke in the name of all, and who guided the deliberations on their common affairs;—and if the words are so interpreted, a peculiar apostolic primacy is by no means committed to Peter, but the position entrusted to him was only in relation to existing circumstances, which he was peculiarly fitted to occupy by the *χαρισμα κυβερνησεως*, which harmonised with his natural talents. But these words may very probably be considered as a general description of the vocation of preaching the gospel—which, from a comparison with the parable in the 10th chapter of John, is very probable—and in this case, they contain nothing personal in relation to Peter as distinguished from the other apostles. Peter always appears as peculiarly fitted by his natural character to be the representative of the fellowship of the disciples, and hence he expressed what all

But it is this peculiar character of Peter, when transformed by the divine life, with which we see him afterwards operating as an organ of the Holy Spirit in the service of the kingdom of God. We have already pointed out, in the 1st volume, what an important position he occupied in this respect at the commencement of the Christian dispensation, until the appearance of the apostle Paul, and subsequently as an intermediate point between his sphere of action among the Gentiles and that of the older apostles among the Jews. Though his nature, not yet thoroughly penetrated by the Divine, might still at times disturb and mar his exertions by its peculiar failings, yet the power of the divine principle of life within him, his love and fidelity to the Lord, were too great to be repressed by those corrupt tendencies, when the essential interests of the kingdom of God were at stake. The effect of sudden impressions is shewn in his conduct at Antioch (vol. i. p. 246), but the subsequent history proves that, although Peter might be hurried by the power of a sudden impression to act in a way which involved a practical denial of principles which he had formerly avowed, yet he could not be seduced to be permanently unfaithful to these principles in his capacity of Christian teacher, and so to lay the foundation of a lasting opposition to Paul. On the contrary, he willingly allowed himself to be set right by Paul, and, for the future, continued firmly united to him in the bond of apostolic fellowship.*

deeply felt, and Christ particularly addressed to him those sayings which in their full extent related generally to all genuine disciples.

* We can by no means agree in the opinion expressed by a distinguished young theologian, Professor Elevert of Zurich, in his Essay on Inspiration in the "*Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Würtemberger*, vol. iii. p. 72, that the old distinction for securing the idea of inspiration between *vitium conversationis* and *error doctrinæ* is wholly untenable, and therefore, the possibility of a mixture of error in the teaching of the apostles must be allowed. When Peter, in consequence of a sudden overhastiness or weakness, suffered himself to be misled in reference to his Jewish fellow-believers, and to act in

From Peter's ardent zeal, and from what we know of his successful efforts for spreading the kingdom of God till the conversion of Cornelius, we may infer that, during that period of his life, respecting which we have no information, he extended still further the circle of his operations for the propagation of the gospel. As he is not mentioned in the Acts later than the account of the deliberations at Jerusalem* recorded in the 15th chapter, it seems probable that the scene of his subsequent labours lay at a distance from that city. According to an ancient tradition,† Peter published the gospel to the Jews scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia. But this account has most probably been derived only from a misunderstanding of the superscription of his first epistle.‡ This epistle of Peter leads us rather to suppose, that the scene of his labours was in the Parthian empire, for as he sends

a manner which corresponded rather to the prejudices of others, than to his own better views, such a sudden practical error by no means justifies us in the conclusion, that his own knowledge of Christian truth had been eclipsed, and that his sounder views had entirely vanished. The most we could infer would be, that at this instant, when overpowered by impressions from without, he had no clear perception of the principles on which he was acting. Had he indeed not repented of this sudden false step arising from the fear of man, —had he hardened himself in this moral delinquency, a permanent obscuration of Christian consciousness must have been the consequence, and, as the history of many similar instances of backsliding exemplifies, a practical denial of the truth would have been followed by a theoretical one; but this could never come to pass in an individual in whom the spirit of Christ had attained such a preponderance over the selfish principle. And thus we are not at liberty to suppose, that Peter allowed the act into which he had been hurried by the power of a sudden temptation, to establish itself in his teaching, and so far to prevent or obscure his perception of Christian truth.

* What Paul says in 1 Cor. ix. 5, of the travels of the apostles, and of Peter's taking his wife with him, agrees with 1 Peter v. 13.

† See Origen, t. iii. *in Genes.* Eusebius, iii.

‡ Origen's expression is very doubtful; *κακηπουρχεσαι εοικεν.*

salutations from his wife in Babylon,* this naturally supports the conclusion, that he himself was in that neighbourhood. And in itself, it is by no means improbable that Peter, whose ministrations related particularly to the descendants of the Jews, betook himself to a region where so many Jews were scattered; and what we know of the early spread of Christianity in those parts, serves to confirm the opinion. Yet the fact that Peter exercised his ministry at a late period in the countries composing the Parthian empire, by no means renders it impossible that he laboured earlier in Lesser Asia. Still it contradicts this supposition that, in the Pauline epistles, in which a fair opportunity was given to touch upon such a relation, we find no trace of Peter's residing in the circle of Paul's labours; this, however, we do not adduce as perfectly decisive evidence. But we must attach greater weight to the fact, that, in this epistle of Peter, there is no reference to his own earlier presence among the churches to whom it is addressed, though the object of this epistle must have especially required him to remind them of what they had heard from his own lips.

It appears then, that, after Peter had found a suitable field of exertion in the Parthian empire, he wrote to the churches founded by Paul and his assistants in Asia, an epistle, which is the only memorial preserved to us of his later labours. All the marks of its date unite in placing it in the last part of the apostolic age, in the period subsequent to Paul's first confinement. We find Silvanus, one of Paul's early fellow-labourers, in direct communication with Peter, which agrees very well with our never meeting with the former as Paul's companion after his last journey to Jerusalem. The Christian

* By a most unnatural interpretation, this has been supposed to mean an inconsiderable town in Egypt, a *φρουριον* *εβραϊκον* at that time, Strabo xvii. 1, although this small town existed as late as the fifth century; see *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 25. The opinion of the ancients is perfectly arbitrary, that, under this name, Rome was meant; and there is nothing against our supposing that an inhabited portion of the immense Babylon was still left.

churches to whom the epistle is directed, appear to us exposed to such persecutions as first arose about this period. The Christians were now persecuted *as Christians*, and according to those popular opinions of which Nero took advantage, were looked upon and treated as "evil-doers," (*κακοποιοι, malefici*). By the seriousness and strictness of their daily conduct, and their withdrawal from the public shows and other licentious amusements, they rendered themselves obnoxious to the hatred of the heathen populace; 1 Peter iv. 4-5; and if we reflect on the circumstances in which these churches were placed during Paul's first confinement, the design of the epistle will at once be apparent. As these churches had to combat with persecutions from without, so they were internally disturbed by those heretical tendencies of which we have spoken in the first volume. Since the propagators of these errors accused Paul of falsifying the original Christian doctrine, and had appealed to the authority of the elder apostles in behalf of the continued obligation of the Mosaic law, Peter availed himself of the opportunity for addressing these churches, in order to establish them in the conviction, that the doctrine announced to them by Paul and his disciples and companions, of whom Silvanus was one, was genuine Christianity. These churches consisted for the most part of those who had been previously heathens, for such, in several passages, he supposes his readers to be; ii. 10; iv. 3. The superscription of the epistle is not inconsistent with this fact, for as Peter, by his training and peculiar sphere of labour, was apt to develop Christian truths in Old Testament images and comparisons, he transferred the name of *διασπορα* to the true church of God scattered among the heathen.

In reference to the internal and external circumstances of the churches, the object of this hortatory composition is two-fold; partly to ground them more firmly in the consciousness, that the source of happiness and the foundation of the everlasting kingdom of God, was contained in that faith in the Redeemer which had been announced to them and received by them into their hearts; that

the doctrine announced to them was indeed the everlasting, unchangeable word of God, and hence they were to aim at appropriating, with child-like simplicity, the pure simple doctrine of the gospel delivered to them from the beginning, and thus continually advance to Christian maturity; and partly it was the apostle's design to exhort them to maintain their steadfastness in the faith under all persecutions, and a corresponding course of conduct by which they would shine forth in the midst of the corrupt heathen world, and refute the false accusations against Christianity and its professors.

Both these objects are pointed out by the apostle at the close of the epistle, when he says, "The faithful brother Silvanus is the bearer to you of this a short epistle considering what I would gladly say to you, and which I have written for your encouragement, and to testify that it is the true grace* of God, in the firm possession of which you stand by faith."† The unassuming manner

* Grace, the grace of redemption, a description of the whole contents of the gospel.

† The words may be certainly taken to mean, that Silvanus was the writer of the epistle, dictated by Peter, either in Aramaic or Greek; but in this case, a salutation from Silvanus would probably have been added, especially since he must have been well known to these churches. The possibility of the interpretation which I have adopted, is evident from the phraseology which is adopted in the subscriptions of the Pauline epistles; and the use of the aorist, *ἔγραψα*, allowing for the epistolary style of the ancients, can prove nothing against it. It also shews at once the design of the commendatory epithet, "a faithful brother." The words *ὡς λογιζομαι*, may indeed relate to what goes before, for this verb is used by Paul in Rom. viii. 18; Rom. iii. 28; 2 Cor. xi. 5, to denote a subjective conviction, without the accessory idea of any uncertainty in holding it. Peter might also wish to mark the subjective of his own judgment, for it was precisely the peculiar authority of Peter, to which many opposers of the Pauline school appealed. But if *λογιζομαι* is referred to what follows, it is equally a mark of subjective judgment or feeling. That which he wrote was to Peter, in relation to what he had in his heart to say to the churches only a little. Yet had he intended to express that sentiment, he would rather have said *δι' ὀλίγων ὡς λογιζομαι*.

in which the writer of this epistle calls himself simply an eye-witness of the sufferings of Christ, and represents himself to the presbyters of the churches to whom it is addressed, as one of their number, one of the number of Christian overseers, bears with it the impress of the apostolic spirit.

But such marks of genuine apostolic origin and character are by no means visible in the second epistle extant under Peter's name; many traces of a contrary kind are to be found in it, many marks of its apocryphal origin, and as it is slightly supported by external evidence we have made no use of it as a source of information for the biography of the apostle.*

* The principal marks of the spuriousness of this epistle, are the difference of the whole character and style compared with the first, and the use here made of the Epistle of Jude, which is partly copied and partly imitated. The author assumes, that he is writing to the same churches as those to whom the First Epistle of Peter is addressed, and yet what he says of his relation to his readers, is at variance with that assumption, for, according to the Second Epistle, they must have been persons who had been personally instructed by the apostle Peter, and with whom he stood in a close personal connection, yet this was a relation in which the churches to whom the First Epistle was addressed could not stand. The solicitude with which he endeavours to make himself known as the apostle Peter betrays an apocryphal writer. The allusion to the words of Christ, John xxi. 18, in i. 14, is brought forward in an unsuitable manner. In order to distinguish himself as a credible witness of the life of Christ, he appeals to the phenomena at the transfiguration. But it certainly is not natural to suppose that one of the apostles should select and bring forward from the whole life of Christ, of which they had been eye-witnesses, this insulated fact, which was less essentially connected with that which was the central point and object of his appearance; the apostles were rather accustomed to claim credit as witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ. Also the designation of the mountain on which the transfiguration occurred as "the holy mount," betrays a later origin, since we cannot suppose that the mountain usually so denominated, Mount Zion, was intended. Among the circumstances that excite suspicion, is the manner in which the same false teachers, who, in

Since the second half of the second century, a report was generally circulated that Peter died a martyr under the Emperor Nero at Rome.* According to a later tradition, when Peter was condemned to crucifixion, he scrupled, from a feeling of humility, to be put to death exactly in the same manner as the Saviour, and therefore requested that he might be crucified with his head downwards, and his feet upwards. Such a story bears on its front the impress of a later morbid piety rather than simple apostolic humility. The apostles exulted and rejoiced in all things to imitate their Lord, and the tradition thus formed does not appear to have been known to Tertullian, for though his peculiar turn of mind would have disposed him to receive such an account, he says

the Epistle of Jude, are described as actually existing, are here represented with prophetic warning, as about to appear. The doubts respecting the second coming of Christ, occasioned by the expectation of the occurrence of that event, in the first age of the church, and the disappointment of that expectation, leads us to recognise a later period. What is said of the origin of the world from water, and its destruction by fire, does not correspond to the simplicity and practical spirit of the apostolic doctrine, but rather indicates the spirit of a later age, mingling much that was foreign with the religious interest. The mode of citing the Pauline epistles, confirms also the suspicion against the genuineness of this epistle. A passage from Rom. ii. 4, is cited in iii. 15, as if this epistle were addressed to the same church. A collection of all the Pauline epistles is referred to, and it is assumed, that Paul in all of them referred to one subject which yet by no means appears in all. Paul's epistles are quoted as *γραφαί*, as one apostle would certainly not have expressed himself respecting the epistles of another apostle, for this term in the apostolic epistles is always used only to designate the writings of the Old Testament. This epistle was probably forged by those who wished to combat the gnostic errors, and the opinion broached by the Gnostics of a contrariety between the apostles Peter and Paul, by the borrowed authority of the former.

* The first trace of this is to be found in Origen, Euseb. iii. 1. The complete narrative in Jerome *de viris illustrib.* I.

expressly that Peter suffered in the same manner as Christ.*

With respect to the tradition according to which Peter at last visited Rome and there suffered martyrdom,—it does not well agree with what we have mentioned above respecting his residence in the Parthian Empire, for since this is supposed to have been after the Neronian persecution, and since the martyrdom of Peter, according to ancient accounts, must have happened at the same time as Paul's, Peter must within a short period have changed the scene of his labours from one very distant region of the globe to another. And it appears strange that he should have relinquished his labours in a region where so much was to be done for the spread of the gospel, and betake himself to one at so great a distance, where Paul and his associates had already laid a good foundation, and were continuing to build on the foundation already laid. But so many circumstances unknown to us might conspire to bring about such an event, that with our defective knowledge of the church history of these times, what we have stated cannot be considered a decisive evidence against the truth of the tradition, if it can be sufficiently supported on other grounds. We can also easily imagine a particular interest which would induce Peter to change his scene of labour to Rome, the same interest which was the occasion of his writing his first epistle, that of healing the division which in many parts existed between his own adherents and those of Paul. This division would find a rallying point in the opposition between the Gentile Christians and Judaizing elements in the church at Rome, and the movements in the metropolitan church would exert an influence over the whole church; and this might be a consideration of sufficient weight with Peter to induce him to undertake a journey to Rome. We are called upon therefore to investigate whether this tradition is adequately supported by credible witnesses.

* De præscript. 36. Ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adequatur.

The Roman Bishop Clemens appears as the first witness of the martyrdom of Peter. If he expressly stated that Peter was martyred at Rome, we should have incontrovertible evidence and require no further examination. But such an exact determination of the place is wanting. Yet it cannot be concluded that Clemens did not know the name of the place where Peter suffered martyrdom, for there was no need of such particularity for his readers when he was writing of an event which he might assume to be generally known. It cannot be maintained, that when he was writing at the place where Peter shed his blood as a witness of the faith, and simply enumerating examples of steadfastness in persecuted champions of the faith, he should feel himself bound expressly to mention the scene of his last sufferings. Even in commemorating Paul's martyrdom, we find no such phrase as "here before our eyes," "in the city from which I am now writing to you." It may appear strange that Clemens speaks in such general terms of Peter as a person of whom he possessed no precise information,* and on the other hand speaks in such definite terms of Paul. This might justify the conclusion that he had really no exact information respecting Peter's end, and hence we might be allowed to infer that the scene of Peter's labours was to the very time of his martyrdom at a distance from Rome.† Yet on the other hand it may be said, that Clemens, as one of Paul's disciples, was induced to speak of him in more definite terms, and though Peter met with the close of his labours at Rome, that Clemens could not say much of his earlier conflicts.‡ The first person who distinctly states the martyrdom of Peter at

* οὐχ ἓνα, οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλειονας ὑπηνεγκε πονοῦς καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρησας.

† I cannot consider as historically accredited what is narrated of the connection between Clemens and Peter, in legends such as the Clementines, which bear the impress of being framed to answer a certain purpose.

‡ Frederick Spanheim, and lately Baur, have endeavoured to prove too much from the manner in which Clemens here expresses himself.

Rome is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who wrote in the latter half of the second century. In his epistle to the church at Rome,* he calls that and the Corinthian the common planting of Peter and Paul. Both had planted the church at Corinth, and had equally taught there. In the same manner they had both taught in Italy and suffered martyrdom at the same time. Here we find a definite statement of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, though blended indeed with many inaccuracies. Dionysius does not absolutely say that Peter and Paul taught at Corinth at the same time, which, in reference to the time before the first confinement of Paul at Rome, certainly cannot be admitted, and, in reference to the time after that event, can hardly be credited. But at all events, he is not correct in terming the Corinthian church the common planting of the two apostles. For, supposing that the tradition of Peter's journey to Rome is credible, it might happen that, after the first confinement of Paul, he visited Corinth, but he could do nothing towards founding a church which already had been established there. Perhaps this whole account proceeded from misunderstanding the references to the apostle Peter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, partly from tracing the origin of this *Ecclesia Apostolica* from the two most distinguished apostles. The same remark will apply to the church at Rome. And according to what we have stated above in vol. i., Paul came from Spain as a prisoner to Rome, and could not have appeared there as a teacher in conjunction with Peter.† But

* Eusebius ii. 25.

† The passage in Dionysius has been explained by Dr Schott in his "Examination of some chronological points in the History of Paul," Jena 1832, p. 131, so as to remove this difficulty. In the sentence "ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτυρήσαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν," ὁμοσε may be so understood, that only the equal extension of their labours in Italy may be intended by it; but does not the repetition of ὁμοίως, the distinguishing of this word from ὁμοσε, and the comparison with the κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, of the martyrdom of both, favour another interpretation?

this inaccuracy in the representation of events long past, in which Dionysius allowed himself to be guided more by uncertain inferences, than by historical traditions, cannot be employed to weaken the weight of his deposition respecting a fact not strictly connected with the other points, and on which he could easily obtain certain information from his contemporaries. We have no sufficient ground to deny that Dionysius, in what he says of Peter's martyrdom at Rome, followed an ancient credible tradition, although he falsified his report to a certain extent by the circumstances with which he arbitrarily connected it. From his times, this account appears the unanimous tradition of ecclesiastical antiquity. The graves of the two apostles were pointed out at Rome, as the Roman presbyter Caius, at the end of the second century, appeals to them; but yet these graves do not furnish incontestible evidence. When the report was once set afloat, the designation of the locality where the apostles were buried would easily be added. Even by Caius the misstatement is made, that both the apostles were the founders of that church.

This tradition would be more deserving of credit, notwithstanding a defect of positive historical evidence, if its origin could not in any way be easily accounted for. We cannot account for it from the attempt to place on a sure basis, the authority of the *Cathedra Petri* in Rome, for this tradition is more ancient than the attempt to secure to the *Cathedra Petri* at Rome a decisive authority in matters of doctrine; such an attempt, which it is difficult to deduce only from the transference of the homage paid to the *urbs* to the *ecclesia urbis*, would rather presuppose the existence of the tradition. Since the pretensions of the Roman church were not universally acknowledged, but in many quarters met with opposition, they will not serve to explain how it came to pass, that such a tradition designedly propagated by Rome, was every where so favourably received. But in truth, many other circumstances combined to give rise to this report and to promote its circulation. As Peter concluded his labours in a region so separated

from connection with the Roman empire, there would be the greater temptation to fill up the gaps of authentic history by hearsays and legends. The practice of representing Peter as the victor over Simon Magus, in the contest for the simple faith of Revelation, gave rise to manifold legendary tales about his travels, such as the story of his earlier residence in Rome under the Emperor Claudian, and the disputation he there held with Simon. And besides, it seemed suitable that the church of the metropolis of the world should be founded by the two most distinguished apostles, who had also founded the Corinthian church, and be signalised by their death; it was also thought desirable to be able to present the co-operation of these two apostles in the church to which, as the church of the metropolis, all eyes were turned, in contrast with the attempts of the Judaizers, as well as of the abettors of Gnosticism, to establish the existence of a decided opposition between the two apostles. When after the Apocalypse came into circulation, it was usual to designate the imperial city by the name of Babylon, as the stronghold of the heathenism which opposed the kingdom of God, this name as it occurred in the First Epistle of Peter, was naturally applied to Rome, and thus, too, an argument was found for the belief of that apostle's visit to Rome. The confounding of Marcus, who is mentioned in that epistle as a son of Peter,* with the other Marcus known as the companion of Paul and Barnabas, and the author of one of the gospels, was the occasion of placing him in the same relation to the apostle Peter as that in which Luke stood to Paul.

Although the origin of the story of the journey of the

* As we can find no reason for taking the word *υιος* in a spiritual sense, and as we more naturally understand the word *συνεκλεκτη* of Peter's wife, than of a personified church, especially as we know that he was married and was accompanied by his wife on his travels, we may refer this to an actual son of Peter. Tradition says expressly that Peter had children. *Πιστρος και Φιλιππος επαυδοποιησαντο*. Clemens Stromat. iii. 448.

apostle Peter to Rome, and of his martyrdom there, may in this way be in some measure explained, yet the high antiquity of the tradition, which can be traced back to the very boundaries of the apostolic age, presents an objection of great weight to this hypothesis. Papias, the bishop of Hieropolis,* who appeals to an oral tradition of an individual belonging to the apostolic age, the presbyter John, reports, that the Gospel of Mark† was composed by the same person who accompanied Peter as an interpreter, for the purpose of preserving in writing what he had heard Peter narrate in his public addresses,‡ and what had been impressed on his own memory. Now, it is evident that this account (whether it relates to that Gospel of Mark which is still extant, or to a lost original document of the evangelical history, which served for its basis) cannot be true in its full extent; for how can we suppose, that Mark the nephew of Barnabas, who at all events must have come when young to Jerusalem, and lived there in company with the apostles, could have first planned his evangelical narrative according to what he heard at a much later period, incidentally from the preaching of Peter? This account therefore is suspicious; but may it not be so far true, that Mark accompanied the apostle Peter to Rome, and acted there as his interpreter, for those persons who were familiar only with the Latin language? Yet after all, it is difficult to explain how such could have existed so early, unless there had been a tradition that Peter had left the scene of his labours in the Parthian empire at a later period, and visited Rome,—especially since what Papias says rests on the report of a man in the

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

† Although the marks attributed by Papias to the Gospel of Mark, do not agree with the form in which it has come down to us, it does not follow that Papias referred to another document; for in such a description of the qualities of a book lying before him, much depends on the subjective judgment, and we certainly cannot give Papias credit for the talent of acute and accurate observation.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 110.

apostolic age. As Silvanus, the early companion of Paul, joined Peter in the Parthian empire, so Mark might likewise remove thither from Lesser Asia, Coloss. iv. 10, and travel with him to Rome, although he was not the Mark whom Peter mentions in his first epistle. There is an ancient tradition preserved for us by Clemens of Alexandria, that when Peter saw his wife led to martyrdom, he called out to her, mentioning her name,* "O remember the Lord!" We have no reason for casting a doubt on the truth of such a simple tradition. But that characteristic traits of this kind were in circulation, agrees best with the supposition that his last years were not spent in the Parthian empire, between which and the Roman there was little intercourse. In the existing circumstances of the Parthian empire in reference to the mixture of native and foreign religions, it would be difficult to account for the martyrdom of a Christian woman. Hence, we are led to refer it most naturally to the effects of the Neronian persecution at Rome.

* *φασι γ' οὖν τον μακαριον Πετρον θρασσασαμενον την αυτου γυναικα αγομενην την επιθανατον, ησθηται μεν της κλησεως χαριν [και της εις οικον ανακομιδης] επιφανησαι δε εν μαλα προτρεπτικως τε και παρακλητικως εξ ονοματος προσειποντα μεμνησθω αυτη του κυριου.*" Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. [Vol. iii. p. 253, ed. Klotz. Lipsiæ. 1832]. The words I have enclosed in brackets are difficult, whether we understand by them that his wife, before she was led to death, came home once more, and then was thus addressed by Peter, or, more naturally, that she would be restored to him again, being redeemed from death. Yet in the connection there are great difficulties in either interpretation, and we must rather understand the words of a return to her heavenly home, if the reading be correct, and we ought not (which yet I do not venture to maintain) to read *οικον ουρακιον*.

BOOK V.

THE APOSTLE JOHN AND HIS MINISTRY AS THE CLOSING-
POINT OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE ministry of the apostle John reaches to the limits of the apostolic age. He was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman (probably wealthy),* in the small town of Bethsaida or Capernaum, on the western side of the Sea of Gennesareth in Galilee. Many eminent men in all ages who have been great blessings to the Church, have been indebted to their pious mothers for the first excitement of their dispositions to piety and the first scattering of the seeds of religion in their hearts, and this appears to have been the case with John.† The man-

* As we may conclude from Mark i. 20.

† Compare Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1, and Matt. xxvii. 56. If an opinion, advocated with great acuteness and learning by Wieseler in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, iii. p. 648, could be established, it would shew that Salome and John were closely connected with Christ by the bonds of relationship. According to this view, not *three* women (as has hitherto been supposed), but *four*, are named in John xix. 25; the Mary the wife of Cleopas must be identified with the sister of the mother of Jesus, but is quite a different person. Hence it follows, that we have to search for the name of the remaining sister of the mother of Jesus. Now, since in Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40, besides Mary of Magdala and Mary the mother of James and Joses = the wife of Cleopas, Salome also, or the mother of the sons of Zebedee, is named as present at the crucifixion, it would appear that the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, whose name is not given by John, can be no other than Salome his own mother. Thus the difficulty of the same name belonging to both sisters is entirely obviated. It would also follow that, in fact, James the son of Alphaeus or Cleopas, was not the sister's son of Mary the mother of

ner in which his mother Salome united herself to the company which was formed round the Saviour leads us to attribute to her the predominance of a pious disposition, and from the petition which she made to the Redeemer, we may conclude, that her mind was filled with the expectation of the approaching manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom, an expectation which had been so vividly excited in the devout part of the Jewish nation, by the predictions of the prophets and the exigencies of the age; we may therefore imagine how strenuously she endeavoured to inflame her son's heart with the same earnest desire. The direction thus given to the mind of the youth impelled him to join John the Baptist, by whose guidance he was first led to the Saviour; John i. 37. In his company he spent several hours,* but Christ

Jesus (consequently not *his* cousin), and this would furnish fresh proof for our supposition, that James the brother of the Lord was not identical with the apostle. But the manner in which (John xix. 25) Mary the wife of Cleopas is mentioned without any connective particle, appears to me to imply that these words are only in apposition to distinguish the (otherwise) unnamed sister of the mother of Jesus. If the sister of the mother of Jesus, according to one of her names, was then a universally known person in the circle in which John wrote his gospel, I could then more easily conceive, that, by that collocation of the words, such an ambiguity might be occasioned; but I do not believe that such a supposition is justifiable; and was it not to be expected from John, that though he had not mentioned the sister of the mother of Jesus by name, he yet would have pointed her out more definitely as the mother of the disciple whom Jesus loved. Also, it does not seem probable to me, since the relationship of John to Jesus would be so important for explaining the early and peculiar connection in which he entered with Christ, that no trace of it should make its appearance in the narrative of our gospels, where there was so often an opportunity of mentioning it. The origin of later accounts of such a relationship between the apostle John and Christ, may be easily explained without the supposition of an historical foundation.

* In order to know the length of time spent by John in this first interview with the Redeemer, we must determine the mode of computing the hours adopted in John's gospel. According to the commonly received mode of reckoning, it

wished not to bind him to himself at once. He allowed him to return for the present to his usual occupation. He drew him, like Peter, gradually into closer communion with himself, and his operations on his mind were intended to call forth an anxiety for a more intimate connection. And when he had for some time been wishful after an abiding nearness to Him who had wrought with such power on his inmost soul, when the call at last was issued, Matt. iv. 22, he was ready at once to forsake all and follow Him. What distinguished John was the union of the most opposite qualities, as we have often observed in great instruments for the advancement of the kingdom of God,—the union of a disposition inclined to repose and deep meditation, with an ardent zeal, though not impelling to great and diversified activity in the outward world; not a passionate zeal, such as we may suppose filled the breast of Paul before his conversion. But there was also a love, not soft and yielding, but one seizing with all its might and firmly retaining the object to which it was directed, vigorously repelling whatever would disgrace this object or attempt to wrest it from its possession, and this was his leading characteristic. Yet this love had a selfish and intemperate tincture, of which we have several instances, as when he wished to call down divine judgments on the Samaritans, who had not shewn due honour to the Saviour; and when he expressed his displeasure that some persons who had

could not have been more than three hours, and then it is remarkable that John should say “they abode with him that day,” of which only so few hours were left. On the contrary, if, like some of the older writers, (see *Wolffi Curæ* on John xix. 14), and more recently *Retteg* (in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part i. p. 106), we suppose that John adopted the Roman mode of counting the hours from midnight, the length of time would be from ten in the morning to sunset. Yet the words of John, as a more negligent mode of expression, may be understood according to the common interpretation; and the passage in John iv. 6, favours our thinking that he reckoned time in the usual manner. And in itself it is more probable, that the first impression which the Redeemer made on John’s mind, resulted only from a short interview.

not united themselves to the disciples of the Lord, had performed similar miracles to their own by calling on his name; and when his mother, in concert with her two sons, presented a petition to Christ for stations of eminence in his kingdom. Probably the title "Son of Thunder," which the Redeemer bestowed upon him, related not less to his natural temperament than to what he became by its purification and transformation in the service of the gospel. But this ardent love with which he devoted himself wholly to the service of the Redeemer, became now the purifying principle of his whole being, while he sought to form himself on the model of that holy personality. And hence he could receive the image of it on the side which corresponded with his peculiarly contemplative mental tendency, and reproduce it in a living form.

John was certainly distinguished from James the brother of the Lord, in this respect, that from the first his communion with Christ was independently developed on the peculiar basis of Christian consciousness; the fountain of divine life which had appeared among mankind, became at once the central point of his spiritual existence: yet he did wholly agree with Paul, for his Christian consciousness was not formed in direct opposition to an earlier and tenaciously held Judaism. His whole character and mental formation disposed him to a different development. The mystical contemplative element which finds its archetype in John, is more prone to adopt outward forms (attributing to them a spiritualized, elevated meaning) than to disown them, and John, whom Judaism had led to the Saviour as its ultimate object, found no difficulty in employing the forms of the Jewish cultus as the prefiguring symbols of his Christian views. It was not expected, therefore, from him that he should, like a Paul, abolish those forms with which the Christian spirit was yet enveloped.* Though John (Gal. ii. 9)

* Irenæus, after taking a sound survey of the process of development of the Christian church, says: "Hi autem qui circa Jacobum Apostoli (among whom he also ranks John)

appears as one of the three pillars of the church among the Jewish Christians, yet it never happened that they appealed to him as to Peter and James; but it may be explained from the peculiar standing-point and character of this apostle, and serves to set in a clear light his relation to the contending parties. Hence also we gather, that though John had formed a scheme of doctrine so decidedly marked, and though in relation to the other great publishers of the gospel, he might have formed a party who would have attached themselves particularly to him, and principally or exclusively have valued his idea of Christianity, yet, in the Pauline age, we see no Johannean party come forward by the side of the Jacobean,

gentibus quidem libere agere permittebant, concedentes nos Spiritui Dei. Ipsi vero perseverabant in pristinis observationibus." And a little afterwards—"Religiose agebant circa dispositionem legis," iii. 12. But what Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, says of John, in his letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in Euseb. v. 24, *ὅς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεταλλοῦ πεφορεκῶς*, is untrue if taken literally, as it insinuates something far beyond the presumption that John was a faithful observer of the Jewish law so long as he remained at Jerusalem. It would follow that he had held the office of High Priest among the Jews, for this *μεταλλον* = *עֵץ הַזָּהָב*, the golden front-plate, which was one of the distinctive insignia of this office. Such a presumption would, however, be in contradiction to history and all historical analogy. Nor can Polycrates himself, however credulous we may think him to have been, have meant it. It is moreover clear from the context, that he affirms of John only such things as would be consistent with his Christian standing-point. Or, are we to assume that John, as the President of all the Christian communities in Lesser Asia, adopted, as a symbolical token of his position in the guidance of the church, the insignia of the Jewish High Priest? This would be in direct contradiction to the apostolic, and especially the Johannean views, for these included the acknowledgment of the sole high-priesthood of Christ, and the universal priesthood founded upon it of all believers. Polycrates, therefore, could have said this of John only with a symbolical reference, whether he intended to denote by it what he had suffered for the confession of the Christian faith, or the place which he occupied at the head of the guidance of the church.

the Petrine, and the Pauline. The peculiar doctrinal type of John was also of a kind little suited to find acceptance with the peculiar tendencies of the Jewish Christians in Palestine, and its influence would be more powerfully felt, where a Christian element had already combined itself with the form of the Grecian mind.

Thus John disappears from public history, till he was led by the divine call to other regions, where the minds of the people were already prepared for his peculiar influence, and where the deep traces of his operations, undeniable to every one capable of historical investigations, were still visible far in the second century. After the martyrdom of Paul, the bereaved scene of his labours, so important for the development and spread of the kingdom of God, and exposed to so many polluting and destructive influences, required above all things the guiding, protecting, and healing hand of apostolic wisdom. The Epistle of Peter, to the churches in that region, and the journey of Silvanus thither, shew how much this necessity was felt. It is probable, that John was called upon by the better part of the churches, to transfer the seat of his activity to this quarter. All the ancient traditions, which may be traced back to his immediate disciples, agree in stating that Lesser Asia was the scene of his labours to the end of the first century, and Ephesus its central point.

The constitution of the churches of Lesser Asia, as it appeared soon after the age of John in the time of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was altogether different from that which originated in the Pauline age, in which these churches were founded, and we are obliged to presuppose some intervening influences by which this alteration was produced. Originally these churches formed, as we have seen above, a pure opposition against the Jewish-Christian form of cultus. They had no day excepting Sunday devoted to religious celebration, no kind of yearly feast; but afterwards we find among them a pascal feast transferred from the Jews, and receiving a Christian meaning, though imitating the Jewish reckoning as to the time of its celebration, to which probably a feast of Pentecost

was probably annexed, and in their disputes with the Roman church they appealed particularly to a tradition originating with this apostle. Now we can readily imagine that the fourteenth day of the month Nisan,* on which he was an eye-witness of the sufferings of Christ, would excite a deep interest in his Christian feelings. It is self-evident how those Jewish feasts, which had gained a new importance for him by their association with those great facts of the Christian faith of which he had been an eye-witness, and which he had been wont to celebrate with Christian devotion, might be introduced by him into these churches founded on Pauline principles.

From the state of the church at that time in these parts, it may be concluded that John must have had to endure many conflicts, both from within and without, in his new field of labour. After license had once been granted under Nero to public attacks on the Christians, persecutions were carried on in various parts. In Lesser Asia, many circumstances combined, then as in later times, to excite a more vehement persecution—fanatical zeal for the ancient idolatry—the danger which threatened the pecuniary interests of those who were gainers by the popular worship, from the rapid progress of Christianity—the hatred of the Jews widely scattered through Lesser Asia, who blasphemed Christianity and stirred up the heathen populace against it. Hence in the Apocalypse the rebukes uttered against the synagogues of Satan, against those who “say they are Jews, but are not and do lie;” Rev. iii. 9. The civil wars and the universal misery that followed, contributed still more to excite the popular fury against the enemies of the gods, to whom they readily ascribed the origin of all their misfortunes. Thus, indeed, the Apocalypse testifies (which was probably written in the first period after John’s arrival in Lesser Asia) throughout of the flowing blood of the

* The gospel to which Polycrates appeals in Eusebius v. 24, may certainly be that of John; see my *Leben Jesu*, p. 712.

martyrs, and of the tribulation which threatened Christians in prison, as well as of the fresh recollections of Nero's cruelties. In the churches themselves, those conflicts continued which we noticed at the close of the Pauline age, and the seeds of discord and heresy then germinating had now sprung up and advanced towards maturity. Falsifiers of the original truth, who gave themselves out for apostles, had come forth; Rev. ii. 2. Various kinds of enthusiasm had mingled with the genuine Christian inspiration, against which Paul had already raised a warning voice. Pretended prophets and prophetesses, who, under the appearance of divine illumination, threatened to plunge the churches into errors both theoretical and practical; 1 John iv. 1; Rev. ii. 20.

In Lesser Asia, the most opposite deviations from the genuine evangelical spirit sprang up together. On the one side, the Judaizing tendency, as we have noticed it in the Pauline age; on another side, in opposition to it, the tendency of an arrogant licentiousness of opinion, such as we have noticed in the freethinkers of the Corinthian church, only carried to greater lengths, and mingled probably with many theoretical errors; persons who taught that whoever penetrated into the depths of knowledge,* need no

* Revel. ii. 24, they are described as such, *οἵτινες ἔγνωσαν ταβαθεα τοῦ σατανᾶ, ὡς λεγουσιν*. But a doubt here arises, whether these persons made it their peculiar boast that they knew the depths of the Deity; but the author of the Apocalypse, as if in mockery of their pretensions, substitutes for the depths of the Deity the depths of Satan (as Ewald thinks),—(for which interpretation the analogy may be adduced where the synagogue of God is converted into the synagogue of Satan);—or whether they really boasted that they knew the depths of Satan, and hence could tell how to combat Satan aright,—that they could conquer him by pride and contempt,—that they could indulge in sensual pleasures, and maintain the composure of their spirit unaltered,—that the inner man might attain such strength that it was no longer moved by what weaker souls, who were still under the servitude of the law, anxiously shunned,—and thus could put Satan to scorn even in his own domains.

longer submit to the apostolic ordinances, as he would be free from all the slavery of the law, which freedom they understood in a carnal sense, and misinterpreted to an immoral purpose. Such a one need no longer fear the contact with heathenism or with the kingdom of Satan; in the consciousness of his own mental strength he could despise all temptations, partake of the meat offered to idols, and indulge in sensual pleasures without being injured thereby. In the Apocalypse these people are called Nicolaitans, whether because they were really the adherents of a certain Nicolaus,* and that this name as a translation of the Hebrew **נִיְלַעַם**, occasioned an allusion to the meaning of the name, and a comparison with Balaam, or that the name was altogether invented by the author with a symbolical design, a seducer of the people like Balaam.

With these practical errors were connected various theoretic tendencies of a false gnosis, which since the close of the Pauline age had extended more widely in opposition to one another. We have noticed in the church at Colossæ (Vol. I.) the adherents of a Judaizing gnosis, who probably considered Judaism to be a Revelation from God communicated by angels (Vol. I.), attached a perpetual value to it as well as to Christianity, and pretended that they possessed peculiar information respecting the various classes of angels. To this Jewish angel-worship, Paul opposes the doctrine of Jesus as the Son of God, the one head of the church of God, on whom angels also are dependent, the common head of that universal church to which men and angels belong. He extols him as the being who has triumphed over all the powers which would make men dependent on themselves, over all the powers that set themselves in opposition to the kingdom of God, so that men need no longer fear them. He then infers the doctrine ground-

* We are by no means justified in confounding this Nicolaus with the well-known deacon of this name. But in this case, it is more probable that the Nicolaitans of the second century originated from this sect.

ed on this, of the high degree and freedom of the redeemed through Christ, the children of God, who are become companions of angels in the kingdom of God. But this elevated doctrine of the dignity and freedom of Christians was perverted by those who confronted the limited Jewish standing-point by a bold antinomian gnosis, and affirmed that Judaism was to be despised as the work of limited spirits; that the sons of God were more than these spirits and exalted above their maxims. They thought themselves sufficiently exalted to insult these higher powers, and to ridicule all law as a work of these limited and limiting powers. With this was connected that reckless immoral tendency which we have before noticed, and which presented itself in opposition to the legal asceticism, which we find connected with the Judaizing gnosis in the church at Colossæ. This is the tendency which is combated on the side of its blended theoretical and practical errors, in the warning Epistle of Jude addressed probably to the Christians in these parts.*

* This is, for the most part, the view developed by Schneckenburger in his work before mentioned. As to the author of this epistle, he evidently distinguishes himself from the apostles, when he speaks of the prophetic warnings of the apostles (v. 17), such as we certainly find in Paul's writings; we cannot explain the passage otherwise without doing violence to it. The description of the state of the church is also such as suits only the end of the apostolic age. It is therefore evident, that, if the epistle be genuine, it cannot have been written by an apostle Jude, who was a brother of James. It would likewise have been more natural in this case, to have designated himself an apostle instead of calling himself a brother of James. Hence we should rather suppose him to have been Jude, one of the brethren of the Lord. But why should he not call himself a brother of the Lord, instead of "brother of James," since thus his personal authority would have added weight to his warnings? It may be said that he omitted this title through humility. But is this answer satisfactory? By the addition of various epithets, as *ἀδελφος κατα σαρκα* and *δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατα πνεῦμα*, he might have prevented all misunderstanding, and removed all appearance of arrogance. A similar objection may indeed be made in reference to James, who, in his epistle, does not de-

We see here how, from the Pauline ideas carried out with one-sided extravagance and thus distorted into error, the gnostic doctrine was educed of the opposition between Christianity as the revelation of the Son, and Judaism as the revelation of the Demiurgos and his angels. These two opposite tendencies of gnosis developed themselves in this age in various combinations.

The Judaizing gnosis found its representative in Cerinthus, who forms the transition both from the common stiff carnal Judaism to Gnosticism, and from the common limited Jewish mode of thinking, which retained only the human in Christ, to the gnostic which acknowledged only the divine in him, only the ideal Christ.* He agreed also with the common Jewish view of the Messiah in this respect, that he considered Jesus as a mere man, that he denied the original indwelling of the divine Being in him, and treated the entrance of the Divine into his life as something sudden, by which, at his solemn inauguration, he was made capable of discharging his calling as the Messiah. But Cerinthus differed from the common Jewish notions, that, in place of a peculiar inworking of the divine power, by which the man Jesus was fitted for his Messianic office, he supposed a new animation by the highest spirit emana-

signate himself a brother of the Lord. But here the case is altogether different. He does not distinguish himself by any epithet expressive of consanguinity,—not out of humility, but because he deemed it to be the highest honour to be a servant of God and Christ. We may suppose another Jude as well as another James, since the name Jude was so frequent among the Jews, and since, according to Hegesippus, there were many distinguished men of this name in the church. But as the epithet “brother of James” is used here as a distinction, it is most natural to refer it to that James who was held in such high esteem. It might be said that he described himself only as the brother of James, because he was so pre-eminent, and was accustomed to be described by the name—a brother of the Lord. But the manner in which elsewhere in the New Testament the brethren of Christ are named together, does not favour this view of the matter.

* See my Church History, vol. i. part 2, p. 675.

ting from God, and forming the connection between God and the Creation, the divine Logos. This Spirit, representing itself to sensible appearance under the form of a Dove, as a usual symbol of the Divine Spirit, had settled upon him at his baptism; he had revealed through him the hidden Supreme God, the knowledge of whom among the Jews had been the privilege of only a small number of enlightened persons,* through him he had performed miracles, but before the last sufferings of Jesus had withdrawn from him, and left him to himself. As Cerinthus in this manner held no original and indissoluble unity between the Logos (the Messiah and Redeemer in a special sense) and the Humanity of Jesus, but only a transient relation, a connection suddenly formed and as suddenly dissolved, and thus he granted only a very subordinate place to the purely human in Christ. According to this view, the man Jesus was only an accidental vehicle, of which the redeeming Spirit the Logos made use, in order to be able to reveal himself in humanity; could the Logos without this medium have made him cognizable and perceptible to men, he would not have made use of such an organ as the man Jesus. From the same tendency, but more coarsely conceived, proceeded another view, according to which it was believed, that a revelation of the Logos might be made in humanity without any such mediation through a human being, which it was wished to supersede. In place of the real human appearance of Christ, only a semblance, a phantom was substituted in which the Logos was enshrined. Every thing that came under the notice of the senses was explained as only a phantom, an optical illusion, of which the higher ethereal Being, who from his nature could not be perceptible to the senses, made use, that he might manifest himself to sensuous mortals. A theory which already had been used for the explanation of Theophanies and Angelophanies of the Old Testament,† was applied by those

* The genuine *θεραπευται*.

† As, for example, Philo on Exod. xxiv., where the subject

who held these views to the appearance and life of Christ. At his transfiguration, said they, Christ manifested himself without that sensible appearance to his disciples, who were rendered for the time capable of beholding him in his true etherial form.*

Against such persons John was now called to defend the announcement of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐν σαρκί. We have no reason for calling in question the traditions respecting his conflicts with Cerinthus. Irenæus, amongst others, mentions as an account given by the aged Polycarp, that on one occasion when John was about to bathe, and heard that Cerinthus was in the bathing-house; he retired with abhorrence, and exclaimed, "Surely the house will fall in ruins since the enemy of the truth is there!" We can perfectly reconcile it with his character, and find in it nothing unapostolic, if, in a momentary ebullition of feelings naturally lively and ardent, proceeding from holy zeal,† he expressed in such strong terms (in which, nevertheless, every thing is not to be taken quite literally) his displeasure against a man who threatened to rob the churches, over whose salva-

is the appearance of the divine δόξα, which may be understood partly of the appearance of the angels by whom God revealed himself, partly of the symbolical appearances under which God represented himself to the perceptions of men; τῇ δοκῆσει αὐτοῦ μονοῦ καὶ ὑπολήψει δόξης Θείας ὡς ἐνεργασθαι ταῖς τῶν παρόντων διανοαῖς φαντασίαν ἀφίξεως Θεοῦ, ὡς ἤκοντος εἰς βεβαιότητα πῆν πιστίν των μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι (in order that men might have the firm conviction that what was revealed to them proceeded from God, he therefore thus operated on their consciousness, that they believed that they saw himself.) τοῦ Θεοῦ δεικνυτος ὅπερ ἐβουλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι, προς την τῶν Θεωμενων καταπληξιν, μη ὦν τουτου, ὅπερ ἐφαινετο. *Philonis Opera*, ed. Lips. 1829, vol. vi. p. 245.

* A pure spiritual intuition was something wholly foreign to such persons. Light and spirit were one and the same thing to them!

† We must not allow ourselves to imagine, that the apostle, by the sanctifying influence of the Divine Spirit, was at once dis severed from all connection with his former native character, as well as from the peculiar phraseology of his countrymen; we must, with Jerome, recognise in the apostle *homo adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo*.

tion he watched with fatherly care, of what was dearest and holiest to him, the foundation on which his whole Christianity rested, and to destroy the root of the Christian life; still the pledge for the credibility of this anecdote is very slight, and it may easily be attributed to an extravagant hatred of heretics.*

According to a widely spread, ancient tradition, the apostle John was banished to the Island of Patmos, in the Ægean Sea, by one of the emperors who was hostile to the Christians, but by which of them is not ascertained.†

* Irenæus did not receive this account in his youth from the lips of Polycarp, but could only appeal for the truth of it to what others had heard from Polycarp, iii. 3, "εἰσιν οἱ ἀκηκοοτες αὐτοῦ." The question then is, whether the persons who reported it to Irenæus are credible. We know indeed, that much of what Irenæus reports as tradition, leaves on it the impress of falsehood. Thus he himself, ii. 24, appeals to the testimony of all the presbyters in Lesser Asia, who had been in the society of the apostle John, that Jesus was about fifty years old. The difficulty involved in this does not appear to me so easily removed as Credner maintains in his *Einleitung*, p. 225. The tradition of the presbyters, according to the report of Irenæus, certainly appears not to have been that Jesus first entered on his office as teacher at the commencement of that riper mature age, which was required by the Jewish customs for assuming such an office, but he received from their own lips the deposition that Christ had taught in an age which was beyond the *ætas juvenilis*, and approached to the *senilis*. If the passage is genuine in all its extent, he expressly distinguished this age from the *ætas perfecta magistri*, which was well known to him, in which Christ first appeared in Jerusalem as a teacher. From his words, therefore, we must deduce such a tradition as he supposed was understood by the presbyters. But we can hardly suppress the suspicion of interpolation; for however little we are justified in depending on the critical judgment of Irenæus, we cannot reconcile it to a man of his powerful mind, that he who had shortly before said that Christ had spent three years, from the beginning of his thirtieth year to his death, in his office of teaching, could afterwards attribute twenty years more to him.

† See Tertull. præscript. c. 36. Clemens, Qui dives salv. c. 42, speaks of the return of John from exile, τοῦ τυραννοῦ τελευτησαντος, without specifying any name. Origen, t. xvi.

Only Irenæus leads us to suppose that Domitian was the emperor, for he says* that John, at the end of Domitian's reign, received Revelations, which he committed to writing; and since, according to the Apocalypse, this must have happened in the Isle of Patmos whither he was banished, it follows that he was sentenced by that emperor. But owing to the uncertainty of the traditions of that age, we cannot acknowledge this account as sufficiently accredited; it is indeed possible, that it proceeded only from a peculiar interpretation of this obscure book, and not from any historical testimony. And if the Apocalypse contains certain marks of having been written before this time, this opinion would at once cease to be tenable. As this is really the case, for certainly the Apocalypse, which we cannot acknowledge as a work of the apostle,† must have been written soon after the

in Matt. § 6, also uses the indefinite expression, ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς.

* V. 30.

† We refer on this subject to the celebrated work of Dr Lucke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannes*. Bonn. 1832. (An attempt at a complete introduction to the Revelation of John). Much may be said in favour of the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria, that not the apostle John, but another Ephesian presbyter of the same name, was the author of this book. I cannot deem pertinent what Guericke has said against the existence of an Ephesian presbyter named John, contemporaneous with the apostle, and must agree with Dr Lucke, that in the passage of Papias of Hierapolis, in Eusebius iii. 39, such a presbyter John is undeniably to be found; for since he classes the presbyter John with Aristion, who was not an apostle, and distinguishes him from the apostles before named, among whom John is also mentioned, no other person can be reasonably supposed to be referred to than a presbyter who was not an apostle. If we assume that such a presbyter named John proceeded from the apostle's school, or, with a peculiar character already formed, had become his adherent and laid himself open to his influence, it will be easily understood, how such a person might compose a work, which, with much that bore the impress of John's mind, would combine much that was dissimilar, and would stand in the same relation to the genuine productions of that apostle as the Epistle to the Hebrews, writ-

death of Nero. The whole account of the banishment of the apostle John to the Isle of Patmos may have

ten by an educated Alexandrian of the Pauline theological school, stood to the epistles of Paul. Thus it may be explained, how the book at so early a period was held to be the apostle's composition, since a presbyter little known was confounded with the apostle; especially at a period when certain widely spread religious views, those of the Millennarians, gave a bias for such a change of authorship. Yet we cannot admit this supposition, if we find in the work several indications that the author professed to be no other than the apostle John. Such an allusion appears to be made in i. 2. Yet it is possible either so to explain the words that they may refer to the testimony contained in the book itself concerning the revelations and visions imparted to the author in the Isle of Patmos, as if the words are applied universally to the whole publication of the gospel; so the presbyter John, if, according to Papias, he was an immediate disciple of Jesus, could also, in reference to this, say that he testified of what he had seen. And if it should appear strange, than any other person than the apostle John should designate himself simply a servant of Christ, and write with such confidence and earnestness to the churches, we may account for it, by his believing that in the visions imparted to him he had received a commission to write in such a tone, although his personal standing-point did not give him this importance in the Christian church. But if another person had written this work under John's name, it does not appear that such a one, in order to deceive, has borrowed a reputation not his own, for in this case he would have designated himself more pointedly and decidedly as the person for whom he wished to be taken. It is, then, more probable that the author, a disciple of John, by some circumstance unknown to us, having devoted himself to write on a subject which he had received mediately or immediately from the apostle (as Schott and Lucke suppose), thought himself justified in introducing John as the speaker. But in reference to the origination and circulation of the work, if we place it in so early a period many difficulties will remain. The most probable supposition is, that the author, since he did not see his prophecies fulfilled in individual instances, although the ideas lying at the basis of his prophetic visions contained truth, put a stop to the circulation of the book,—that after his death, and the death of the apostle John, it was again made public, and passed more easily as the work of the

been taken chiefly from the Apocalypse, and if this book can be shewn not to belong to John, the credibility of this account at once falls to the ground. Yet here two cases are possible. If the Apocalypse proceeded from another John than the apostle, if it was the composition of

latter. This book appears to assume the existence of such a scheme of doctrine as we find in John's gospel, and this seems to be at variance with the opinion of the earlier origin of the Apocalypse. Yet the main outlines of John's peculiar doctrinal scheme might have been formed very early, from the mode in which he had received the life of Christ, according to his own mental conformation, before he appeared in Lesser Asia as a teacher in the Greek language; he also might have already adopted the use of such an expression as the term *λογος*, to designate the indwelling divine life of the Redeemer, according to the Aramaic word from which it was taken, (as this term in the Alexandrian theosophic phraseology, certainly arose originally from a translation).

* We remark in this book, the vivid impression which Nero's persecution of the Christians, his setting on fire part of the city of Rome, and especially his cruelties, had made on the minds of man. The story that Nero was not really dead, but had retired to the Euphrates, and would return again from thence (see my Church History, i. 137) appears here more fully delineated by a Christian imagination. He is the monster to whom Satan gave all his power, who returns as anti-christ and the destroyer of Rome, who will force all to worship his image. The Roman empire at that time is set forth as the representative of heathenism, and of ungodly power personified, and in this connection, under the image of the beast with seven heads (the seven Roman emperors which would succeed one another till the appearance of anti-christ), Nero is signified as one of these heads (xiii. 3,) which appeared dead, but whose deadly wound was healed, so that to universal astonishment he appeared alive again. Nero reappearing after it had been believed that he was dead, is the beast "which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit—and yet is," Rev. xvii. 8. Of the seven emperors who were to reign until all appearance of anti-christ, it is said that five have fallen—one (Nero's successor) is now reigning, and the other is not yet come; and when he comes, he must remain only a short time, and the beast which was and is not, is itself the eighth and one of the seven; (Nero as one of the seven Emperors is the fifth, but inasmuch as he

the presbyter John who was his contemporary at Ephesus, the banishment to the Isle of Patmos would relate

comes again as anti-christ, and founds the last universal monarchy following the succession of the seven emperors, he is the eighth.) Nero comes from the East, supported by his tributaries—the ten kings (his Satraps, the ten horns of the beast) leagued with him to destroy Rome, and to make war on Christianity. The waters of the Euphrates are dried up, to make a way for Nero with his ten Satraps, xvi. 12, who, in his service, would burn and destroy Rome, xvii. 16. All this marks the time in which the Apocalypse must have been written, the change of the emperor after Nero, while the image of this monster was yet in vivid recollection, and men were disposed to depict the future in magnified images of the past; it also agrees with this date, that the temple at Jerusalem is described as still in existence, i. 1, therefore it must be before the year 70. But in this book, I am struck with one contradiction, of which I have never met with a satisfactory solution. I shall rejoice to find that it has been explained by Dr Lucke in his Commentary, which I am anxiously looking for. In vii. 4, the whole number of believing Jews, is given as one hundred and forty-four thousand; and though this number may seem to be merely an assumed round number, yet the number of Christians then existing among the Jews might not differ very greatly from it. See Acts xxi. 20. Besides these, an innumerable company of believers from all nations and tongues appear before the throne of God, from which the former as Jews are expressly distinguished. On the other hand, in xiv. 4, the hundred forty and four thousand appear as the company of the elect from the great body of Christians in the whole world, who present the model of a holy life, as belonging to which a life of celibacy seems to be reckoned, a view which would not accord with John's sentiments. Origen has indeed noticed this contradiction, T. I. *Joh.* § 1, 2; but he avails himself of the allegorical interpretation; he thinks that in the first passage, the Jews in a spiritual sense, the flower of Christians out of all nations are to be understood; this opinion, which others also have adopted, cannot be correct, for it is evident from the other passage, that here only believers of Jewish descent are intended. As in the last quoted passage I can find nothing predicable of Jewish Christians, I cannot satisfy myself with the solution proposed by Credner in his "*Einleitung*, p. 711.

to him, and not to the apostle of this name. And this change, by which the Apocalypse was attributed to the apostle, would have occasioned also the report of his banishment to this island, although it is possible that the same outward causes might have led to the banishment of both these distinguished teachers of the *religio illicita*. But if we admit that another person wished to represent these revelations as those which the apostle John had received, and if we hence infer, that in order to personate John, he made use of certain passages in his life, then the words in i. 9, in case they are to be understood of a banishment to the Isle of Patmos,* yet always presuppose the fact of such an exile of the apostle, and we must in this case place his banishment in the first period after his arrival in Lesser Asia. But it is possible that, independently of the Apocalypse, such a tradition might be spread that the apostle John was banished by the Emperor Domitian (in whose reign such banishments to the islands on account of passing over to Judaism or Christianity were not uncommon) to the Isle of Patmos or some other island; and it is possible that, from this tradition, the supposition was formed that the Apocalypse ascribed to the apostle was written during this period. Certainly we cannot refuse to believe the unanimous tradition of the Asiatic churches in the second century, that the apostle John, as a teacher of those churches, had to suffer on account of the faith, for which reason

* Here every thing depends on the interpretation of the words in Rev. i. 9. There is no necessary reference to sufferings on account of the gospel. The words may be understood thus: "I was in the Isle of Patmos for the purpose of publishing the word of God, and testifying of Christ;" which would be only saying that John had visited that Island for the sake of publishing the gospel. But a comparison with vi. 9—*τῶν ἐσφαγμένων δια τον λογον τοῦ θεοῦ, και δια την μαρτυριαν ἣν εἶχον*—xii. 11, *λογος τῆς μαρτυρίας* xx. 4, *πεπελεκισμενος δια την μαρτυριαν*—would rather lead us to understand the words of sufferings, for the profession of the faith, and the phrase *συγκοινωνος εν τη θλιψει* favours this reference.

he is distinguished as a martyr in the epistle quoted above of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus.*

As in those regions where the general superintendence of the church devolved on John, manifold attempts were made to adulterate the Christian faith, as well as to disturb and suppress the spirit of Christian love, it was the main object of his protracted labours to maintain and propagate the essence of the Christian faith and of Christian love, in opposition to these injurious influences. Of this fact his writings bear witness, which as they were produced under such circumstances, gave indications of their tendency even where they are not professedly and intentionally polemical. But as his natural character was rather contemplative than argumentative, the controversial element in his writings is not so decidedly indicated, nor developed with so definite and complete an outline, as in the dialectic Paul. His controversial style is more that of simple affirmation: from the fulness of his heart he testifies his inmost convictions of the basis of salvation, and he only marks occasionally, and points out with abhorrence, the opposite of these convictions, instead of entering into a full confutation. This especially applies to his gospel. Since he wrote it among such churches and for such, among whom a multitude of traditions respecting the history of Christ, oral and written, must long have been in circulation, as Paul had assumed the existence of the memorials in the exercise of his ministry, it might be expected that in his historical representations he would take these circumstances into account, and hence designed to give only a selection from the evangelical history, such a one appeared to him best fitted to represent Jesus as the Son of God, from whom alone men could receive eternal life,—to transfer to others the impression which the exhibition of his life had made upon himself, as he declares at the close of his gospel, where he says, “and many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in

* The words of the epistle in Euseb. v. 24, quoted above, *και μαρτυς και διδασκαλος ουτος εν 'Εφισω κατοικηται.*

this book. But these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing (by the virtue of this faith) ye might have life (true, divine, eternal life) through his name (through him as the Son of God); xx. 30, 31. John accordingly made exactly this selection from the evangelical history, in order to lead men to this faith, to aid, strengthen, and uphold them in maintaining it. As, in the application of the idea of faith in John there were various shades of meaning, all these varieties may be included in the words "that ye may believe;" and as they are all embraced in the apostle's design, those polemic references must be understood which belong to the maintenance and confirmation of that faith. And the delineation of the life of Christ in its unity, as it proceeded from the heart and mind of John, must of itself have been adapted to form a barrier against all those tendencies which disturbed the purity of Christianity. But as this adaptation did not assume a direct polemical form, owing to the peculiarity of John's mind, and the nature of the work (that of simple narrative), it cannot be proved that he had in his eye any special controversies. Even those which, from his peculiar scene of labour, we might consider as most probably aimed at, cannot be ascertained from the gospel itself by any fair deduction; as, for example, the declaration "*ὁ λογος σαρχξ εγενετο,*" which occurs in the introduction, and marks the spirit of the whole historical development, as describing the revelation of the divine life in human form, is peculiarly suited to form a refutation of the Cerinthian gnosis. But there is no indication that John made this refutation a leading object of his gospel. In his narrative of Christ's baptism, he might have had a strong inducement to bring forward this controversy, as Cerinthus had affixed a peculiar interpretation on this event, in accordance with his general scheme. But in order to combat Cerinthus, he must have commenced the history of Christ at an earlier period, and have adduced those marks of the Divine, which accompanied the birth of Christ. So also, though the manner in which the purely human in Christ is developed throughout the gos-

pel is most decidedly opposed to Docetism, yet we can find in it no trace of a designed and continuous refutation of that heresy. The “ὁ λογος σαρεξ εγενετο” is not in the least suited for this purpose, for, taken by itself, it may be fairly understood in the docetic sense, that the λογος itself became σαρεξ, since Docetism considered σαρεξ only as the apparent sensuous guise in which the λογος presented itself to eyes of flesh. From this standing-point it might with propriety be affirmed that the λογος became σαρεξ, or presented itself in the form of σαρεξ. And in what John says of the flowing of water and blood from Christ's side, it has been very erroneously attempted to find a refutation of Docetism. This argumentation cannot affect the Docetæ, for they would be as ready to allow that the Roman soldier and John saw the blood and water flowing, as to grant that Jesus presented himself to the senses of men in his life and passion, as is narrated in the evangelical history. They only denied the objective reality of the sensuous perceptions, and this denial would apply to one fact as well as to another. But John mentions it in that connection simply as a sign of the reality of Christ's death, in order thereby to establish faith in the reality of his resurrection from the dead.

It is only in the introduction to his gospel that John appears to design a special reference to men of any peculiar mental tendency; a reference to those who busied themselves with speculations respecting the Logos as the Mediator between the hidden God and the creation,—and to this class those now belonged, who, after they had professed Christianity, threatened to adulterate it by mingling with it their former speculations. It cannot indeed be denied that John, independently of any outward reference, might have been induced, by his Christian consciousness and by what Christ had declared respecting himself, to name him simply as the Logos. As Christ represents his word or words (his λογος, his ρηματα, his φωνη) as the word of God himself, that whereby alone God reveals himself to men, the fountain of life, the word of life; so John might thereby be induced to distinguish him as the word which is God, (the self-revealing Divine

Being simply), the Word, the Source of life, and also the reference to a Word of God, by which God already in the Old Testament* had revealed himself, might here be added, to point to its preparation in the Old Testament, for the revelation of the Divine Being in Christ. Meanwhile, the manner in which John places this word without further definition at the head of his whole representation, makes it probable that, although he was perhaps led to the choice of this expression from within, since he sought for a new designation for a new idea, yet he connected with it an idea already existing, and the train of thought with which he opens his gospel serves to establish this opinion. John wished to lead those who busied themselves with speculations respecting the Logos as the medium of all communicated life from God and of every relation of God, the central point of all the Theophanies—from their religious idealism, to a religious realism, to the acknowledgment of God revealed in Christ—to the consciousness that the Logos, as the divine fountain of life, had appropriated human nature, and through it communicated himself as the fountain of all true life and light to every one who only believed in this his human appearance. Instead of wishing to investigate the hidden which no human mind can penetrate, he called on every one to contemplate Him who had revealed himself in human nature—to believe and experience, as he testified that he had seen and experienced.

In the circular pastoral letter, which is distinguished as the first of his catholic epistles, the apostle presents himself to us under a fatherly relation to the churches of Lesser Asia, whose concerns, during his residence at Ephesus, he regulated with wakeful anxiety. Lücke has justly remarked, that the hortatory or paracletical element is by far the most conspicuous in it, and the

* See the remarks of Dr Lange of Jena in the "*Studien und Kritiken*" 1830, part iii. And this interpretation does not necessarily depend on the other forced explanations of John's introduction, occasioned by the peculiar dogmatic system of the estimable and highly esteemed author.

polemical holds a very subordinate place, which agrees with John's peculiar style. This epistle contains an admonition to the churches, to preserve the original faith steadfastly and truly under the manifold temptations which threatened them both from Jews and Gentiles, as well as from various classes of false teachers—and an exhortation to a course of life corresponding to their faith,—with a warning against a formal Christianity, destitute of the true Christian spirit, and a false confidence grounded upon it. When we think of the churches in Lesser Asia, in the transition from the Pauline age to that of John, as we have described their state in the preceding pages, we probably shall not be able (since they were exposed to manifold diversified conflicts from within and without, and to dangers of various kinds) to find a unity in the hortatory and controversial references of the beginning, nor can we point out such a unity in the contents of the epistle itself without a forced or too subtle an interpretation. Many passages may appear to be exhortations to steadfastness in the faith, amidst the allurements to unfaithfulness or apostacy presented by the outward enemies of the church, both Jews and Gentiles. As to the latter, there were reasons for such exhortations, as the Christians were still closely connected by so many ties to the Gentile world; new members were added continually to the Christian communities from the Gentiles, whose faith required confirmation; and since the first Neronian persecution,* individual persecutions were constantly repeated, which were dangerous to the weak in faith. Under the same head may be classed the exhortation at the close of the epistle, faithfully to preserve the knowledge of the true God revealed through Christ as the source of eternal life, and to keep themselves at a distance from idolatry. As it concerned the Jews, the churches in Lesser Asia for the most part consisted of persons of Gentile descent,

* If we do not directly admit that this epistle was written in the last part of the Johannean period, under the Emperor Nerva.

but those who were formerly proselytes and individual Jews, who were mixed with them, formed a point of connection, by which the Jews could exert an influence on the churches, as we have remarked in the Christian communities of the Pauline and even of the Ignatian period. It might also seem, that when John combated persons who refused to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, he intended Jewish adversaries; but a closer examination will suggest several objections to this view. As in accordance with the prophetic expressions in the discourses of Christ himself, it was expected that a special revelation of the anti-christian spirit would precede the triumph of the kingdom of God, which was to be effected by the second coming of Christ, so John recognised as a mark of this approaching crisis, that many organs of this anti-christian spirit had already made their appearance. Now this could not refer to Jewish adversaries, for these from the very first were never wanting. The apostle moreover says of them, "They have gone out from our midst, but they belonged not in disposition to us; for had they belonged in disposition to us, they would have remained with us; but by their outward separation from us, it became manifest that not all who belonged outwardly to us belong to us also inwardly." This may indeed be understood of those who, while they still made a profession of Christianity, were always in their disposition more inclined to Judaism, so that at last they openly passed over to it, and became the opponents of Christianity. But such frequent conversions or apostacies to Judaism in the Asiatic churches of this period were by no means probable. It is more natural to think of those members of Christian communities, who had fostered in their bosoms heretical tendencies foreign to Christianity, which must have at last resulted in their open separation from them. With justice, John says of a time like this, in which churches were formed out of various mental elements not all in an equal measure attracted and penetrated by Christianity, that whatever portion was truly animated by the Christian spirit, must be separated by a refining process proceeding from the life of the Church itself, from

what was only superficially affected by Christianity, and wore the mere semblance of it. Besides the manner in which the apostle exhorts believers to hold fast the doctrine announced to them from the beginning—his saying to them that they required no farther instruction to put them on their guard against the spread of those errors—that they need only to be referred to the anointing of the Holy Spirit already received, to their indwelling Christian consciousness (ii. 22), all this rather imports an opposition to false teachers, rather than to decided adversaries of the gospel, who could not be so dangerous to believers.

Although John describes his opponents as those who did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, yet, according to the remarks that we just made, this cannot be understood of decided unbelieving opponents of the Messianic dignity of Jesus. And we must explain this shorter description of his opponents by the longer, according to which they are represented as those who would not acknowledge Jesus Christ as having *appeared in the flesh*, or Jesus as the Messiah appearing in the flesh. Therefore, from their Docetic standing-point they would not receive the annunciation of a Messiah appearing in the flesh; the reality of the life, actions, and sufferings of Christ in the form of earthly human nature.* And since John could not separate the divine and the human in the person and life of the Redeemer from one another, for both had revealed themselves to him as inseparable in the unity of the appearance of the Son of God,—it appeared to him, that whoever did not acknowledge Jesus as the Son of God in the whole unity and completeness of his divine and human life, did not truly believe in Jesus as the Son of God, the Messiah; and

* If it be objected, as by Lange in his "*Beiträge zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte*," Leipzig 1828, vol. i. p. 121, that if John designed the confutation of Docetism, he would have expressed himself in some precise terms, such as we find in the Epistles of Ignatius; the answer is, that it is John's favourite method not to mark the object of controversy more distinctly and fully.

since only thus the eternal divine source of life revealed itself in human nature and imparted itself to men, and a way to communion with God was opened for all,—it appeared to him that whoever denied the reality of the revelation of the divine Logos in the flesh, denied the Son of God himself and the Father also. This was the real anti-christian spirit of falsehood, which, though connecting itself in appearance with the Christian profession, in fact threatened to destroy faith in the Son, and in the Father as revealed in the Son. In a passage which is rather practical than controversial, where John, for the purpose of exhortation, lays down the position that faith in Jesus as the Son of God arms with power for all conflicts with the world, he adds, “Jesus is he who has revealed himself as the Messiah by water* and by blood,—by means

* As the “*ἔρχεσθαι δι' αἵματος*” relates to Jesus subjectively, as the person who had revealed himself by his own sufferings, so also the second clause, “*ἔρχεσθαι δι' ὕδατος*,” is most naturally referred to something affecting Jesus personally, and, therefore, not to the baptism instituted by him. This reason is not perfectly decisive, for, if the sufferings of Christ are not contemplated in their subjective aspect, (that is simply in relation to Jesus as the sufferer,) but rather on their objective aspect, as redeeming sufferings, as that by which Christ effected the salvation of mankind, then the coming by water might be taken to denote the institution of baptism, which is necessarily required for completing the redeeming work of Christ. But what Lücke in his Commentary, 2d ed. p. 288, has urged against the view I have taken, does not appear pertinent. The Messiah (he thinks) was to be inducted to his office by a solemn inauguration. This was performed through John as the appointed prophet by means of the Messianic baptism. Hence the coming by water is placed first, by which Jesus at first revealed himself as the Messiah, and from which his whole public Messianic ministry dates its commencement. This must have been peculiarly important in John's estimation, who was first led to Christ by the testimony of the baptist. On the contrary, I believe that if he had meant the baptism instituted by Christ, he would place first the coming by blood, for I cannot agree with what Lucke says in p. 291. “But because though *ὕδατος* from the beginning denotes purification, yet the full purification lies in the *αἷμα*, John emphatically adds, “*οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον* (with which

of the baptism received by him,* and by means of his redeeming sufferings and that which the Spirit of God, whose witness is infallible, has effected, and still effects, by him, testifies the same. The threefold witness of the water, the blood, and the spirit, thus unite to verify the same."

It is possible that John in this passage collected such marks as appeared to him most striking, which distinguished Jesus as the Son of God, without any special controversial reference. But it is also possible that he connected a polemical with a parænetical design, and therefore was induced to select exactly these marks; and in this case it would be certainly natural to suppose an intended contradiction of the Cerinthian view which separated the Christ who appeared at the Baptism from the crucified Jesus.

This epistle then contains an impressive appeal against the practical adulterations of Christianity. The apostle declares that only he who practised righteousness was born of God,—that a life in communion with Christ and a life of sin were irreconcilable,—that whoever lived in sin was far from knowing him; whoever committed sin transgressed also the law, and sin was peculiarly a transgression of the law. From this contrast, it might be inferred that the false Gnosis here combated had produced and confirmed practical errors; and we may believe that we here find traces of the false liberalism and antino-

alone John the Baptist appeared, and therefore was not the Messiah, Matt. iii. 14) ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ αἵματι," The Baptism of Christ was in the apostle's view altogether different from that of John. With it was connected perfect purification. Water-baptism and Spirit-baptism cannot here be separated from one another, and this Christian baptism necessarily presupposes the redeeming sufferings of Christ. See Ephes. v. 25, 26. As far as Cerinthus acknowledged the Messiah only as ἐλθῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, not as ἐλθῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, this would agree with a designed opposition to his doctrine.

* On account of the importance which is attributed to it in the Gospel of John, in reference to the unveiling of the Messiah's dignity and the hidden glory of Jesus.

mianism of the later Gnosis, such as we have pointed out above, p. 49, in many appearances of this age. In this case his opponents would be only those who opposed the ethical under the form of law, and said, What you call sin appears so only to those who are still enthralled in legal bondage; we must give proof of our being free from the law by not regarding such commands. But if John had been called to oppose such a gross antinomianism, he would have had to maintain against it the dignity and holiness of the law, and his line of argument would have been in a very different direction, indeed quite the reverse. He must have said, whoever transgresses the law, commits sin, and the transgression of the law is sin. Also from his saying "whoever sinneth, knoweth not Christ," it by no means follows that those against whom he is writing, taught a Gnosis of immoral tendency. Nor is it evident that the practical errors which he combated proceeded in general from erroneous speculation; nothing more was needed for their production than that unchristian tendency which would naturally spring up in Christian communities, after they had been for some time established, in which Christianity had passed from parents to children, and become a matter of custom, and thus easily gave birth to a reliance on the *opus operatum* of faith and of outward profession, instead of viewing *faith as an animating principle of the inward life*. In opposition to such a tendency, which disowned the claims of Christianity on the whole of life, and palliated immorality, the apostle says, "Whoever lives in sin, whatever be his pretensions, is far from knowing Jesus Christ; all sin is a transgression of the divine law, which in its whole extent is sacred to the Christian."

The view of the false teachers to which we have been led by the First Epistle of John,* is confirmed by the

* It is remarkable that the author of the two last epistles of John styles himself a presbyter, a term which is not suited to designate an apostle, and particularly since at that time, and in that region, a person was living who was usually distinguished by the name of the presbyter John. Such was

second, addressed to a Christian female in those parts, named Cyria, and her children; for in this we find similar warnings against false teachers who would not acknowledge the appearance of Jesus Christ in human nature.* He speaks of their efforts as forming a new feature of the times, and describes them not as the ad-

the presbyter John to whom Papias appeals, Euseb. iii. 29, and we might be tempted to attribute this epistle to him. He appears to have been commonly distinguished by the name of the presbyter (which is here a title of office) John from the apostle John, and hence the word *πρεσβυτερος* was wont to be placed before the name John. It is indeed improbable that, during the lifetime of the apostle, another could have attained such high repute among the churches, as this epistle leads us to suppose of its author; but it might have been written after the apostle's death, for that the presbyter survived him may be inferred, as Credner justly remarks, from the circumstance that Papias, in speaking of what John and the other apostles had said, uses the word *εἶπεν*, but when speaking of the two individuals who had not heard Christ himself, Aristion and the presbyter John, he says *λεγουσιν*. On the other hand, we are obliged to acknowledge, that the great harmony of colouring, tone, and style, between the first epistle and the two others, favours the opinion of their being written by the same person; nor can this be counterbalanced by the instances of single expressions that do not occur elsewhere in John's writings. It is difficult to imagine how that presbyter, especially if we are to consider the Apocalypse as his work, could adopt a style so foreign to himself, in so slavish a manner, during the latter years of his life. As to the name of presbyter which John here assumes, we can hardly think it of consequence that Papias distinguishes the apostles by the term *πρεσβυτεροι*, for it is evident that he so calls them only in relation to their contemporaries as belonging to a still earlier period, and it cannot hence be inferred that John gave himself that title. But since there is no original document extant, in which John marks his relation to the church, we cannot pronounce an opinion that he was never known by such an epithet.

* It appears to me most natural to explain the present in 2 John 7, *ερχομενον* instead of *εληλυθота*, by supposing that John used this form owing to the impression on his mind that these false teachers not only refused to acknowledge the historical manifestation of Jesus Christ, but also denied the possibility, in general, of a Messiah's appearing in the flesh.

versaries of Christianity in general, but as persons who had apostatized from the original doctrine of Christ. He solemnly protests against all falsifiers of that doctrine, enjoins on the faithful not to receive them into their houses, nor to salute them as Christian Brethren.*

The Third Epistle of John, which is addressed to an influential person, probably an overseer in one of the churches, named Gaius, also contains several important hints respecting the existing state of the church. This Gaius had distinguished himself by the active love with which he had received the messengers of the faith, who had come from foreign parts and visited his church. But in the same Christian community there was a domineering individual, Diotrephes, who had shewn a very different disposition towards these missionaries. He not only was not ready to give them a hospitable reception, but wished to prevent others from doing so, and even threatened to exclude them from church-communion. He refused to acknowledge the authority of the apostle, and even indulged in malicious invectives against him. It is evident, that if a member of a Christian community ventured to conduct himself in such a manner towards

* Although we may recognise in the form of this expression a natural characteristic of John, a vehemence of affection as strong in its antipathies as in its attachments, yet its harshness is much softened by a reference to the circumstances under which he was writing. He certainly wished only to express, in the strongest terms, that every appearance should be avoided of acknowledging these persons as Christian brethren. Only on this account he says, that they are not to be saluted, which, in the literal sense, he would not have said even in reference to heathens. We must restrict it to the peculiar sense of Christian salutation, which was not a mere formality, but a token of Christian brotherhood. But to preserve the purity of Christianity and the welfare of the Christian church, it was very important to exclude from the very beginning the reception of these persons (who, by their arbitrary speculations and fabrications, threatened to destroy the grounds of the Christian faith) into the churches, which were not sufficiently armed against their arts, and into which they had various methods of insinuating themselves.

an apostle, he must have had personal reasons for not treating him with that reverence which was shewn to an apostle by all believers; just as those who were hostile to Paul had special grounds for disputing his apostolic authority.* It is also very improbable, that this unfriendly behaviour towards the missionaries, could have arisen at this period from an aversion to their calling simply as such. We must rather attempt to discover a special ground of dislike to these individual missionaries. Nor is it unnatural to suppose that there was one common ground for his hostility both to the apostle and the missionaries. Now, let us suppose that the latter were of Jewish descent. It is said to their praise, that they went out to publish the gospel, without taking any thing of the heathen for their maintenance. If they were Jewish missionaries this would serve as a praise-worthy distinction, for from what Paul has said respecting this class of persons, we know that many of them abused the right of the publishers of the gospel to be maintained by those for whose salvation they laboured. Now, as there existed in the Gentile churches an ultra-pauline party, of a violent, one-sided, antijewish tendency, and the forerunner of Marcion, Diotrophes possibly stood at the head of such a body, and his hostile conduct towards these missionaries, as well as towards the apostle John,

* It may appear strange that Paul, the most influential of the apostles, is not mentioned in the Apocalypse, and that in xxi. 14, only twelve apostles are named as forming the foundation of the New Jerusalem. Though the reference to the twelve tribes might induce the author, whose imagery was borrowed from the Old Testament, to mention only the original number of the apostles, still the apparent undervaluation of the great apostle of the Gentiles which this seems to imply, must excite our surprise. And we are ready to ask, whether the author did not belong to those who did not place Paul exactly on a level with the older apostles, and did not sufficiently acknowledge his fitness for the apostolic work, though we must at the same time perceive how very free he was from the Judaism that would easily ally itself with such a tendency, and how deeply he was imbued with the Christian universalism of John's school of theology.

who on his arrival in Lesser Asia had sought to reconcile the differences that were on the point of breaking out, by the harmonizing influence of the Christian spirit—may be traced to the same source. Thus, at a later period, Marcion attached himself to Paul alone, and paid no deference to the authority of John.

Various traditions respecting the labours of John in these regions, which he continued to a very advanced age, perfectly agree with that image of fatherly superintendence presented to us in these epistles. In a narrative attested by Clemens Alexandrinus,* we see how he visited the Christians in the parts round about Ephesus, organised the churches, and provided for the appointment of the most competent persons to fill the various church-offices. On one of these occasions, he noticed a young man who promised to be of much service in the cause of the gospel. He commended him to one of the overseers as a valuable trust committed to him by the Lord. The overseer carefully watched him till he received baptism. But he placed too much reliance on baptismal grace. He left him to himself, and the youth, deprived of his faithful protection, and seduced by evil associates, fell deeper into corruption, and at last became captain of a band of robbers. Some years after, when John revisited that church, he was informed to his great sorrow of the woful change that had taken place in the youth of whom he had entertained such hopes. Nothing could keep him back from hastening to the retreat of the robbers. He suffered himself to be seized and taken into their captain's presence; but he could not sustain the sight of the apostle; John's venerable appearance brought back the recollection of what he had experienced in earlier days, and awakened his conscience. He fled away in consternation; but the venerable man, full of paternal love, and exerting himself beyond his strength, ran after him. He called upon him to take courage, and announced to him the forgiveness of sins in the name of the Lord. By his fatherly guidance he succeeded in rescu-

* *Quis dives salv.* c. 42.

ing his soul, and formed him into a worthy member of the Christian community.* Another tradition preserved by Jerome† bears also the impress of the apostle's spirit. When the venerable John could no longer walk to the meetings of the church, but was borne thither by his disciples, he always uttered the same address to the church; he reminded them of that one commandment which he had received from Christ himself as comprising all the rest, and forming the distinction of the New Covenant, "*My children, love one another.*" And when asked why he always repeated the same thing, he replied, "That if this one thing were attained, it would be enough."

Thus the aged apostle laboured to the close of the first century; and the spirit that diffused itself from the churches of Lesser Asia during the first half of the second century, testifies of his protracted ministry in those regions. The Lord made use of his instrumentality to prevent the foundation of the faith here laid by the apostle Paul from being buried under a heap of heterogeneous speculations—and to preserve the unity of the Christian faith and life from being distracted by various extravagances; that the glorious body of the Christian church

* Clemens gives this narrative, which breathes the spirit of John, as a veritable historical tradition, and no legend, *μυθος* = *λογος*, not a *μυθος* in the sense of a fable, a legend; *ακουσον μυθον, ου μυθον, αλλα οντα λογον παραδεδομενον και μνημη πεφυλαγμενον*. See Segaar on the passage. Such late traditions are indeed not sufficient pledges to authenticate a narrative as true in all its parts. It is possible that such a narrative might be so constructed, partly to check the injurious confidence in the magical effects of baptism, and to set in a clear light the truth, that every one after obtaining baptism needed so much the greater watchfulness over himself—and partly to counterwork the opinion of the Rigorists on the nature of Repentance, that whoever violated the baptismal covenant by *peccata mortalia*, could not again receive forgiveness of sins. But at all events, this narrative, which is free from all colouring of the miraculous, gives the impression of a matter of fact lying at its basis.

† *Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. c. vi.*

might not be divided into a multitude of sects and schools, and especially that a schism might not be produced by the increasing opposition of the Judaizing and Hellenistic elements. His peculiar tendency, which served to exhibit rather the fulness and depth of a heart filled with the spirit of Christ, than the sharpness and distinctness of doctrinal ideas, was adapted, while it rejected with ardent love whatever threatened to endanger the foundation of faith in the Son of God, to conciliate subordinate differences, and to promote the formation of a universal Christian communion out of heterogenous elements. The extent of his influence is marked by the simple practical spirit, the spirit of zealous love to the Lord, and the spirit of Christian fidelity in firmly adhering to the original apostolic traditions, even though not perfectly understood, which distinguished the Christian teachers of Lesser Asia in their conflict with the Gnosticism which was then beginning to prevail.

With John the apostolic age of the church naturally closes. The doctrine of the gospel which by him had been still exhibited in its original purity was now exposed, without the support of apostolic authority, to a conflict with a host of opponents, some of whom had already made their appearance ; the Church was henceforth left to form itself to maturity without any visible human guidance, but under the invisible protection of the Lord : and finally, after a full and clear development of opposing influences, it was destined to attain the higher and conscious unity which distinguished the spirit of the apostle John.

We wish now to contemplate more closely the development of the Christian doctrine in its original form, and to observe how the unity of the Spirit exhibited itself in the manifoldness of the natural varieties animated by that Spirit, and in the various modes of conception which proceeded from those varieties.

BOOK VI.

THE APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.

THE doctrine of Christ was not given as a rigid dead letter, in one determinate form of human character, but it was announced as the word of spirit and of life with a living flexibility and variety, by men enlightened by the Divine Spirit, who received and appropriated it in a living manner, in accordance with their various constitutional qualities, and the difference of their course of life and education. This difference served to manifest the living unity, the riches and the depth of the Christian spirit in the manifoldness of the forms of conception, which unintentionally illustrated each other and supplied their mutual deficiencies. Christianity, indeed, was designed and adapted to appropriate and elevate the various tendencies of human character, to blend them by means of a higher unity, and, agreeably to the design of the peculiar fundamental tendencies of human nature, to operate through them for the realization of the ideal of Man, and the exhibition of the kingdom of God in the human race through all ages.

In the development of the original Christian doctrine, we can distinguish three leading tendencies, the Pauline, the Jacobean (between which the Petrine forms an intermediate link), and the Johannean.* We wish first

* Dr Nitzsch, in reference to the various forms of apostolic doctrine, admirably remarks,—“ To disown them in favour of a one-sided dogmatism, is to abandon that completeness and solidity which these modes of contemplating the Christian faith impart, while they reciprocally complete one another; it is to slight that by which scripture truth maintains its elevation above all conflicting systems.”—See “*Die*

to review the Pauline form of doctrine, since in this we find the fullest and most complete development of Christian truth, which will best serve as the basis of comparison in tracing the leading tendencies of the other apostles.

CHAPTER I.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.

IN order to develop from its first principles the peculiar system of this apostle, we must take into consideration the peculiar qualities of his ardent and profound mind—his peculiar education, how he was formed in the Pharisaic schools to a dialectic and systematic development of his acquirements—the peculiar manner in which he was led from the most rigorous Judaism to faith in the gospel, by a powerful impression on his soul which formed a grand crisis in his history. We must recollect the peculiarity of his sphere of action as an apostle, in which he had to oppose an adulteration of Christianity arising from a mixture of those views which he himself had held before his conversion. In reference to the sources from which he derived his knowledge of the Christian doctrine, we must also bear in mind what he says respecting his independence and separate standing as a teacher of the gospel. There is no doubt, for he occasionally alludes to it, that he had met with a traditional record of the sayings, actions, and precepts of Christ, and these formed the materials for the development of his Christian knowledge, (Vol. I. p. 111); but the Spirit promised by Christ to his disciples, who was to disclose to them the whole meaning and extent of the truth an-

nounced by him, enlightened Paul in an independent manner, so as to develop the truths of which the germ was contained in those traditions, and form them into one whole with the earlier divine revelations, and with the truths implanted in the original constitution of man as a religious being. Those who blamed him for blending foreign Jewish elements with Christianity, entirely misconceived the views of that apostle, who most clearly apprehended and most fully developed the points of opposition between Judaism and Christianity. Nor does it in the least justify their censures that he made use of certain Jewish elements, which contained nothing at variance with Christianity, but rather served as the groundwork of the new dispensation. A comparison of the Pauline leading ideas with the words of Christ as reported by Matthew and Luke, proves that the germs of the former are contained in the latter.

That which constituted the preparative standing-point for Paul's whole Christian life, and determined his transition from Judaism to Christianity, laid also the foundation for the peculiar form in which the latter was received and intellectually apprehended by him. Here we find the natural central-point, from which we proceed in the development of his doctrine. The ideas of νόμος and δικαιοσύνη form the connection as well as the opposition of his earlier and later standing-point. The term δικαιοσύνη in the Old Testament sense, designates the theocratic way of thinking and life, and also that unrestricted theocratic right of citizenship which entitled to a participation in the temporal goods of the community, and to eternal felicity. According to his former views, Paul believed that he had acquired a title to the epithet of δίκαιος by the strict observance of the law; as, in truth, the Pharisees, to whom he belonged, placed their confidence and indulged their pride in that observance, while they guarded against the violation of the law by a variety of prohibitions. He was, as he himself asserts (Phil. iii.), blameless as far as related to this legal righteousness. And now from his Christian standing-point the epithet of

δικαιος,* was in his esteem the highest that could be given to a human being, and *δικαιοσύνη* expressed complete fitness for participation in all the privileges and blessings of the theocracy, and consequently of salvation, *ζωή*. *Δικαιοσύνη* and *ζωή* were always in his mind correlative ideas. But his conceptions of the nature of this *δικαιοσύνη* had undergone a total revolution since he was convinced of the insufficiency and nullity of that which he had before distinguished by this name. That *δικαιοσύνη νομική* he now regarded as only an apparent righteousness, which might satisfy human requirements, but could not, however plausible, deceive a holy God, and therefore was of no avail in reference to the kingdom of God. It was henceforth his fundamental principle, that no man by such works as he might be able to accomplish from the standing-point of the law, could attain a righteousness that would avail before God.† This maxim, which marks the opposition between his earlier and later views, it was his main object to develop in arguing with his Judaizing opponents. Now he certainly in this controversy first treated of the *εργα νομου* as an observance of the ritual prescriptions of the law; for his adversaries wished to impose even these on the believing Gentiles as belonging to the true *δικαιοσύνη* and as essential to fitness for the kingdom of God; and this it was which he would not allow. Yet from the standing-point of Judaism such a distinction between the ceremonial and moral law was not possible, for every thing was contem-

* Paul was very far from employing the word *δικαιοσύνη* merely to designate a subordinate moral standing-point like the later anti-Jewish Gnostics, for he always proceeded on the theocratical principles of the Old Testament. I cannot therefore admit that, in Rom. v. 7, a higher degree of morality is intended by the word *ἀγαθος* than by *δικαιος*. The opposite is evident, from the manner in which Paul places these words together in Rom. vii. 12.

† The Pauline expression *οὐ δικαιοῦνται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ ἔργων νομον* or *ἐκ νομον πᾶσα σαρξ*, is a phrase which most probably Paul very soon formed, from the peculiar development of his Christian convictions, arising from the method of his conversion.

plated as a divine command; both equally involved obedience to the divine revealed will, and both required a disposition of sincere piety.* Though Paul in different passages and references had sometimes the ritual, and at other times the moral portion of the *νομος* especially in his thoughts, yet the same general idea lies always at the basis of his reasonings. When he had occasion, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, to impugn the justifying power and continued obligation of the ceremonial law, still his argumentation proceeds on the whole idea of the *νομος*. It is the idea of an externally prescribed rule of action, the law as commanding, but which by its commands can never produce an internal alteration in man. Satisfaction can be given to the law—which indeed is true of every law as such—only by perfect obedience. Now since no man is able to effect the obedience thus required by the divine law, it of course pronounces condemnation on all as guilty of its violation; Gal. iii. 10. This is true of the imperative moral law which is revealed in the conscience, not less than of particular injunctions of this law exhibited in the Old Testament theocratic form, as Paul himself applies it in the Epistle to the Romans to the law written on the hearts of men, the law of conscience, which, as he asserts, calls forth the consciousness of guilt in those to whom the *νομος* was not given in the external theocratic form.

In reference to the whole idea of the *νομος* in the revelation of the divine requirements to Man in the form of an imperative law, the apostle says, Gal. iii. 21, that if it could make men inwardly alive, if it could impart a true internal life from which all goodness would spontaneously proceed, then it would be right to speak of a *δικαιοσυνη* proceeding from the law. Yet in that case, if Man were truly in harmony with the requirements of the law in the constitution of his internal life, it could not be properly said that he obtained a righteousness available

* When Christ, in the Sermon on the Mount, says that he came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil, he certainly made no such distinction.

before God by the works of the law; for the external supposes the internal; the disposition of true righteousness is manifest of itself to the eye of omniscience;* the internal cannot proceed from the external, but the external must proceed from the internal. Still in this case, works corresponding to the requirements of the law would be the necessary marks of the truly righteous and of the righteousness that avails before God, of what is truly well-pleasing to God. But in the present condition of Man, this is nowhere to be found. The disposition corresponding to the requirements of the law does not exist in man, and an external law cannot produce a change internally, cannot communicate power for fulfilling its own commands, nor overcome the opposition that exists in the disposition. Even if a man be influenced by inferior motives, by carnal fear or hope, by vanity which would recommend itself to God or man, to accomplish what is commanded according to appearance, still the disposition required by the spirit of the law would be wanting. The works resulting from such attempts, whether they related to the moral or ritual part of the *νομος*, would want the disposition which is the mark of the genuine *δικαιοσυνη* pre-

* This is acknowledged by Aristotle; *ὅτι δεῖ τα δίκαια πραττοντας δικαιοὺς γινεσθαι.—τα πραγματα δίκαια λεγεται, ὅταν ἡ τοιαῦτα οἶα ἂν ὁ δικαιοὺς πραξείεν· δικαιοὺς δὲ—εστίν οὐχ ὁ ταῦτα πραττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ οὕτω πραττων ὡς οἱ δίκαιοι—πραττουσιν.* Eth. Nich. ii. 3. As Paul contrasts the standing-point of the righteousness of the law and that of true righteousness, so Aristotle contrasts the *τα ὑπο τῶν νομῶν τεταγμενα ποιεῖν*, and the *πῶς ἔχοντα πραττειν ἕκαστα, ὡς εἶναι ἀγαθόν, λεγα δ'οἶον δια προαιρεσιν* (the *φρονεῖν τα τοῦ πνευματος*, from which all right action must proceed; Rom. viii. 5). But Christianity elevates the reference of the mind above the reflection of the good in the *πραττομενα* to the *αυτο αγαθόν*, the original source and archetype of all good in God, to communion with God, and the exhibition of this communion in the actions of the life. It is the *disposition* of the truly righteous which refers every thing to the glory of God. Morality is a manifestation and exhibition of the divine life. And Christianity points out the process of development through which a man, by means of regeneration, may attain to that *ἀρετη* which produces the right *προαιρεσις*.

senting itself before a holy God. It results from this connection of ideas, that though *ἔργα νομου* may in themselves be works which really exhibit the fulfilling of the law, they would be considered by Paul as acts of a merely superficial external, and not internal obedience, they would bear the impress of mere legality in opposition to true piety and morality. The *ἔργα νομου* are not classed with *ἔργα ἀγαθὰ* but opposed to them; Eph. ii. 10. Of such a legal righteousness he speaks when he says, Phil. ii. 6, that in this respect he had been a Pharisee without blame, though viewing it afterwards from the Christian standing-point he esteemed it as perfectly nugatory. Thus, in a twofold sense, Paul could say that by works of the law no man could be justified before God. Taking the expression *works of the law* in an ideal sense, no man *can* perform such works as are required by the law; taking it in an empirical sense, there are no works which are really performed on the standing-point of the law, and correspond to its spirit and requirements.

If the assertion of the insufficiency of the righteousness of the law be made without more exactly defining it, it may be supposed to mean, that the moral commands of the law exhibit only an inferior moral standing-point, and on that account can lead no one to true righteousness. According to this supposition, our judgment respecting the claims of Christianity would take a particular direction, and we should consider the exhibition of a complete system of morals, as forming its essential pre-eminence over the former dispensation. But from the manner in which Paul makes this assertion, it is evident that this is not his meaning. He never complains of the law as defective in this respect, but on the contrary eulogizes it as in itself holy and good; Rom. vii. 12. The single commandment of love which stands at the head of the *νομος*, contains in fact every thing (Romans xiii. 9) essential to moral perfection, and whoever fulfilled this would be truly righteous. And in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, his aim is to prove that the Jews in relation to their *νομος*, as well as the Gentiles in

relation to the moral law inscribed on their hearts, were not wanting in their knowledge of what was good, but in the power of will to perform what they knew to be good. The reason why the law could not produce true righteousness, consisted in the fact that it presented goodness only in the form of an external command, and also in the relation of the command to the moral condition of those to whom the law was given. This leads us to the central point of the Pauline Anthropology; namely, human nature as estranged from the divine life and standing in opposition to the requirements of the law; whether the eternal moral law, or the law in its outward theoretical form. This opposition we must now examine more minutely.

That principle in human nature which strives against the fulfilment of the law, the apostle generally distinguishes by the name of *the Flesh*, and the man in whom this principle predominates, or the man whose mind is not yet transformed by Christianity, by the name of σαρκικός or τα τῆς σαρκος φρονῶν. He represents this principle striving against the law as a law in the members, which opposes the law of reason; he speaks of "the motions of sin in the members" which obstructed the fulfilment of the law acknowledged by the mind; Romans vii. 5. The body as the seat of sinful desires he calls the σῶμα τῆς ἀμαρτίας, Rom. vi. 6, the σῶμα τῆς σαρκος, Col. ii. 11. Hence we might conclude, that the apostle deduced sin from the opposition between sense and spirit in human nature, and that he considered evil as a necessary transition-point in the development of human nature, till spirit acquired the perfect ascendancy. But this could not be the apostle's meaning, for he considered this conflict between reason and sense, not as founded in the original nature of man, but as the consequence of a *free* departure from his original destination, as something blameworthy; and here we see of what practical importance in the Pauline doctrine is the supposition of an original perfection in man and a fall from it. Hence we must consider in every instance, the preponderance of sensual inclination over reason, according to Paul's view, only as

an essential consequence of the first moral disunion. There are indeed many things to be urged against the supposition that when he specifies the *σαρξ* as the source of sin, he meant nothing but sensuality in opposition to the spiritual principle in man. In Gal. v. 20, among the works of the *σαρξ*, he mentions *divisions* (*διχοστασισαι*) which cannot be attributed to sensual impulses. It is possible indeed to argue in favour of such an interpretation by saying, that Paul had in view those divisions which he traced to sensual impulses, to a sensual way of thinking, to a Judaism that adhered to sensual objects, and opposed the more spiritual conceptions of Christianity. But it appears still more surprising that he traces every thing in that erroneous tendency which he opposed in the church at Colossæ to the *σαρξ*, to a *νους σαρκικος*; and here it would be difficult to attribute every thing to a sensual addictedness, for we meet on the contrary with a morbid striving at freedom from the senses, an ascetic tendency which would defraud the bodily appetites of their just claims. And even if in all these attempts we detected the workings of a refined sensuality, that tendency which, while cleaving to outward objects, could not rise to the pure inward religion of the spirit; still we find that in the Corinthian church also, the apostle traced to the *σαρξ* every thing which either openly or secretly opposed Christianity, not excepting even the speculative Grecian tendency, the *σοφίαν ζητεῖν*, which treated the simple gospel with contempt. From all these considerations, we may infer with certainty that something more than sensuality was included in the Pauline idea of *σαρξ*. And it confirms this conclusion, that Paul not only uses the phrase *κατα ἀνθρώπον περιπατεῖν* as equivalent to *κατα σαρκα περιπατεῖν*, but also employs the designation *ανθρώπος ψυχικος* as equivalent to *ανθρώπος σαρκικος*, 1 Cor. ii. 14. All this relates only to the opposition of the Human to the Divine, whether the *σαρξ* or the *ψυχη*,* against the *θεῖον πνεῦμα*.

* Paul indeed might distinguish the *πνευμα* from the *ψυχη* as a power inherent to human nature, which serves as an organ for the Divine, or for the Holy Spirit, and under that

Paul detected in the philosophic conceit of the Greeks, which with all its striving could not pass beyond the bounds of earthly existence, and satisfied itself without finding the highest good which alone can give true satisfaction to the mind, and in the arrogance of the imaginary legal righteousness of the Jews, the same principle of the *σαρξ* as in the thirst for sensual pleasure. There was a *σοφία κατὰ σάρκα*, a *δικαιοσύνη κατὰ σάρκα*. These ideas *σαρξ*, *κοσμος*, *πνεῦμα τοῦ κοσμου* correspond to one another. Thus the term *σαρξ* denotes human nature generally in its state of estrangement from the divine life; and from this designation we cannot determine what Paul considered as the one fundamental tendency from which all the forms of sin might be deduced, or whether he admitted one such source. On this last point we find no precise explanation in his writings. But as he represented the *θεω ζῆν*, the *χριστῶ ζῆν*, to be the principle of good in man, it is implied that the *ἑαυτῶ ζῆν*, the selfish tendency (the *ἔγω* in relation to self, not subordinating itself to the religious sentiment, Gal. ii. 30,) was the fundamental tendency of evil. Now, partly because the power of the sinful principle in the present condition of human nature makes itself known by the conflict of sensual inclinations with the law acknowledged by the Spirit—partly because Christianity first spread itself among those classes in which it had to combat most of all with the power of rude sensuality—partly because the body serves as the organ of the sinful tendency which has the mastery in the soul, and the power of sinful habit continues in it with a sort of self-subsistence even after the soul has been made partaker of a higher life;—on all these accounts, Paul often employs the term *σαρξ* to express the whole being of sin.

Paul commonly refers to the consciousness of sin as

influence acquires a predominant activity. This may be inferred also from the trichotomy (a threefold division of man) in 1 Thess. v. 23. According to that trichotomy, the *ψυχικος* would be a person in whom, by the predominance of the lower powers of the soul, the higher, the subjective *πνεῦμα* was depressed.

an universal fact in human nature, and appeals to what every man may know from his own inward experience. By this means, his preaching every where found acceptance, because it was based on a fundamental truth, which was not received on tradition, nor on the testimony of foreign authority, but manifested itself in the consciousness of every individual. The consciousness of this schism in human nature, and the feeling arising out of it, of the need of redemption, remains in its unchangeable validity, independent of all historical tradition, and though man must acknowledge this schism as a given fact without being able to explain its origin. This internal fact, to which Paul appealed as a matter of immediate consciousness, we must distinguish from all attempts to explain it,* which may appear untenable, while this fact, and the sense of a need of redemption springing out of it, and faith in a Redeemer, retain their value undiminished. Hence it is very natural, and a proof of the apostle's wisdom, that he treats in so few passages of the original perfection of the first man, and of the first sin, compared with the number which relate to this universal fact. But it by no means follows, that what he says on this subject has a merely accidental connection with his Christian convictions; that every thing which he says of the first man, only served as a foil borrowed from the notions in vogue among the Jews, to set the redeeming work of Christ in a more striking light by the contrast. We may rather affirm that this

* This fact, the only one necessary to be presupposed in order to faith in a Redeemer, is in itself independent of all investigations respecting the derivation of the human race; and as something known by immediate inward experience, belongs to a province of life which lies out of the range of all speculation, or of inquiries into natural science and history. And the doctrine of a pre-existence of souls, though insufficient to explain this fact, leaves it untouched, or even requires to be explained by it. It is essential to Christianity that it rests on an historical basis, which, in order to be acknowledged in its true meaning, only presupposes experiences which every man can make for himself.

fact is intimately and closely connected with the whole Christian consciousness of the apostle, for it lies everywhere at the basis, where he represents this schism not as something included in the plan of the divine creation itself, and necessary in the development of human nature, but as something blameworthy. To justify the holiness and love of God, it must have been important for him to be able to say, that man was not created in this condition by God, but that it originated in an abuse of the freedom bestowed upon him.*

But this view of the subject is not admissible if, as many have maintained, Paul exhibited the first man as a representative of human nature, and wished to shew by his example how, by virtue of the original constitution of human nature, love of pleasure appeared in opposition to

* Krabbe, in his excellent work "*Die Lehre von der Sunde*," p. 56, remarks, that he does not clearly understand what are my views respecting the origination of sin in the primitive state of man. But it was foreign to my object—since I only wished to develop the doctrines of the apostle Paul in the form in which they were conceived and represented by him, and their mutual connection—to explain myself further on this topic, and to state, as I must have done as a believer in Revealed Religion, that, according to my conviction, the origin of evil can only be understood as a fact, a fact possible by virtue of the freedom belonging to a created being, but not to be otherwise deduced or explained. It lies in the idea of evil, that it is an utterly inexplicable thing, and whoever would explain it nullifies the very idea of it. It is not the limits of our knowledge which make the origin of sin something inexplicable *to us*, but it follows from the essential nature of sin as an act of free will, that it must remain to all eternity an inexplicable fact. It can only be understood *empirically* by means of the moral self-consciousness. το ἔρωτημα, ὁ παντων αἰτιον ἐστι κακῶν, μαλλον δε ἢ περι τουτου ᾧδεις, ἐν τη ψυχῃ ἐγγιγνομενη, ἢν εἰ μη τις ἐξαιρεθησεται, τῆς ἀληθειας ὄντως ὅυ μη ποτε τυχοι. Ep. II. Platon. Whoever in his arrogant littleness can satisfy himself with mutilating human nature, and reducing it to a minimum, with substituting thinking in a certain form in place of the whole man, may adjust after his own fashion all the phenomena in the moral world, but the unconquerable voice of Nature will know how to assert her rights against all such fine-spun theories.

the rational principle or to the capability for religion—that this is constantly repeated in the case of every individual, in order that man, from the consciousness of this opposition, may attain through redemption to the efficient supremacy of religion in his nature. This chain of ideas we should certainly find in Paul's writings, if it could be shewn that, in Rom. vii. 9, he alluded to and intended to mark the condition of original innocence; and how by the commandment that state of childlike ingenuousness was removed, and the slumbering love of pleasure was brought into consciousness, and raised to activity. But it cannot be proved that the apostle, where he speaks of an apparent freedom from guilt, in which the principle of sinfulness, though scarcely developed, lay at the bottom, had in his thoughts that original freedom from guilt which he rather describes as sinfulness. Certainly he could not have said that by one man sin came into the world, if, in Rom. vii. 9, he had assumed the existence of sin already in the first man according to his original constitution, as something grounded in the essence of human nature. In order to reconcile this, something foreign must be introduced into Paul's train of thought, which evidently does not belong to it. If we proceed on the supposition that a freedom, in the sense in which it must be allowed according to this Pauline doctrine, and a transition from sinlessness to sin, is something inconceivable, still we are not justified in explaining Paul according to a representation of which no trace can be found in his writings, not to add that such a view is opposed to his moral and religious spirit, as well as to that of Christianity in general; for according to it, the consciousness of freedom, and the sense of guilt connected with it, could be nothing else than a necessary deception imposed by the Creator himself in the development of human nature; an unavoidable illusion in the consciousness of each individual.

The sin of the first man occupies so important a position in Paul's views, because it was a free act from which a course of life proceeded, contradicting the original moral nature of man or the image of God in man. When

he says, Rom. v. 12, "By one man sin entered into the world," we shall most naturally understand it (as he adds no other limiting clause) in this manner; that the sinful tendency of the will, or the opposition between the human and the divine will, now first made its appearance in the hitherto sinless human nature, and propagated itself with the development of the race from this first point. This is according to a law which regulates the propagation of human kind as a whole, and in particular tribes, nations, and families, without which there could be no history, no development of human kind as a race. And, in fact, we see Paul applying the same law, when he contemplates evil in its combined and reciprocal effects on the great mass of mankind, the collective body of Jews or Greeks.

All men have sinned, since they have followed the sinful tendency that has passed upon them through the development of the race. In this sense, Paul says that by the disobedience of one many became sinners.* He also

* It is now indeed generally acknowledged, that in the last clause of Rom. v. 12, the relative pronoun cannot be referred to Adam. It is not evident to me (as Rothe, p. 32 of his acute essay on this passage, Wittenberg, 1836, has maintained), that $\epsilon\phi' \tilde{\alpha}$ cannot be translated "for that;" the original meaning of this preposition with the dative, by means of which it expresses something conditional, an accompaniment, easily passes into the sign of a certain causal relation; and as $\epsilon\pi\iota$ with a dative signifies this, hence $\epsilon\phi' \tilde{\alpha}$ by an attraction may signify "for that," "because that." This meaning is certainly to be adopted in 2 Cor. v. 4. What Rothe, p. 25, has said against this construction in the last passage is quite untenable. Nor does Philipp. i. 21-24, contradict this interpretation, for anxiety after eternal life by no means excludes the repugnance necessarily founded in human nature against the conflict with death. Man would always prefer passing to a higher state of existence without so violent a process of transition, and the $\beta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tilde{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is certainly (what Rothe denies) quite as necessary and constant a mark of the Christian life as the $\epsilon\pi\iota\pi\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\tilde{\nu}$. I will readily allow that Paul has made use of this expression in the Romans to designate causality, since it corresponds more than any other to the form under which he is here thinking of causality.

connects sin and death together, and affirms that with sin death came into the world, and had propagated it-

The first original causality is the sin of Adam—the secondary cause, the connecting link for this continuation of death from Adam, is the sinning of individuals, on which the connection between sin and death, subjectively considered, depends. But if the $\epsilon\phi' \varphi$ be not referred to Adam, still the passage might be so taken that the imputation of Adam's sin would be maintained by it, if either the $\eta\muαρτον$ is referred to the participation of all in Adam's sin, (which yet would be entirely arbitrary, since no more definite expression is added to indicate that the apostle is speaking of the sinning of all in one), or the $\epsilon\phi' \varphi$ is understood in Rothe's sense. The reasoning of the apostle would then be this: Men sinned indeed from the time of Adam to the appearance of the Mosaic law, but they did not sin like Adam by the violation of a positive law, and without a law there can be no imputation of sin. Consequently, to that time, not men's own sins, but only *that* sin of Adam was punished as the common guilt of humanity; only in this relation could death affect them as a punishment of sin. But Paul could not say this without contradicting what he had asserted a little before; for he had distinctly shewn, that the want of an outward theocratic law by no means excused the Gentiles in their sins, since its place was supplied by the divine law revealed in their consciences; and always when he refers to the consciousness of guilt in men, he appeals to this internal judgment on their own sins, without taking account of Adam's sin as reckoned to the whole human race. And if, with Rothe, we distinguish a positive juridical connection formed by imputation between sin and death, from an internal, real, natural, and therefore immediate connection, (which is a leading idea in his essay, and expressed fully in p. 54), this self-contradiction in Paul would not be obviated, for the divine imputation and the voice of conscience, the internal sense of guilt, are correlative ideas. The voice of conscience, in the internal sense of guilt, is nothing else than the subjective revelation of the divine imputation; and as Paul assumes the first independently of a positive law, he must therefore assume the second as something independent of positive law, as he himself develops it in Rom. ii. 14–16, and also marks the connection between sin and death established by the divine justice, and manifested as such in the consciences of men; Rom. i. 32. If we allow Paul to be his own interpreter, we shall find the train of thought in Rom. v. 13, 14, to be the following. He

self among all men. Now, according to Paul's views, this cannot be understood of an essential change in the physical organisation of man, and that the body by that event first became mortal instead of immortal, for he expressly asserts the opposite in 1 Cor. xv. 45, since he attributes to the first man a *σῶμα χαϊκον, ψυχικον** in contrast with the *σῶμα πνευματικον* of the resurrection.

brings forward the objection that the sin of Adam had reigned in the world till Moses, although no positive law was in existence, and without law there could be no imputation of sin. He repels this objection by the fact, that death still reigned even over those who had not sinned like Adam against a positive law. This fact is an objective evidence of imputation, and, as is evident from the preceding remarks, this imputation approves itself to be just in the conscience, which exhibits men as transgressors of an undeniable divine law.

* What Paul here says of the *ψυχικον* of man, certainly relates only to the constitution of the body, which only has in it the principle of earthly life; he could not mean to designate by it the nature of man in general, as if, since it had in itself nothing higher than an animal principle, and was destitute of the divine principle of life which was first imparted through Christ to human nature, it must necessarily succumb to temptation. That supposition which we have already combated would then follow, that sin was something already deposited in the psychical constitution of human nature, and a necessary link in its development, which would manifest its power when once aroused from its slumbers, and that sinlessness could only emanate from Christ. But according to the doctrine of Paul, the indwelling *πνεῦμα* of the human nature itself is to be distinguished from the supernatural *πνεῦμα*, as the receptacle in the human soul for the operations of the Divine Spirit, that which, in connection with the supernatural influence, belongs to its right activity; see Vol. I. p. 152. Even in the spiritual nature of fallen man, he recognises something higher as the *ψυχη*. I cannot agree with Usteri, that, in the passage 1 Thess. v., by the term *πνεῦμα*, we are to understand the operation of the Holy Spirit, or the divine principle of life communicated by it, as some individualized in man. In reference to this, Paul could not express the wish that it might be preserved blameless, for in itself it could not be affected by any sin: wherever anything sinful found entrance, it must retire. The passage in 1 Thess. i. 19, "Repress not the operations of the Divine

This change, therefore, can only relate partly to the manner in which our earthly existence would terminate, the forcible disruption of the connection between soul and body which we designate by the name of death, partly to the manner in which the necessity of such a death would appear to the human mind. But both are closely connected with one another. As life, life in communion with God, a divine, holy, happy, and unchangeable life, are ideas indissolubly connected in the New Testament phraseology, particularly in the writings of Paul and John, so, on the other hand, are equally connected the ideas of sin, unhappiness, and death. As Man in communion with God becomes conscious of a divine life raised above all change and death, and the thought of the cessation of life or annihilation is unknown; so when by sin this connection is broken, and, in estrangement from God as the eternal fountain of life, he becomes conscious of his contracted existence, the thought of death first springs up. Without this, the transition from an earthly existence to a higher—objective in itself, and subjective to the mind*—would have been only the form of a higher development of life. In this sense, Paul calls sin, the sting of death, 1 Cor. xv. 56, by which he

Spirit; let inspiration have its free movement," cannot be considered parallel; and as little the exhortation in Eph. iv. 30, not to grieve by evil passions the Spirit of God working in the souls of believers, which is very different from keeping it blameless and spotless. In all these passages, *πνεῦμα* is not spoken of as a property of man; in the first, on the contrary, the *πνεῦμα* is represented as altogether homogeneous, as a component part of human nature with the soul and body.

* Krabbe, in his work already quoted, although the premises deduced by him from 1 Cor. xv. 45, ought to have led to the same view as mine, yet he has opposed it, under the supposition that I have not admitted an objective alteration of the form of death, but only a subjective alteration in reference to the form in which it is represented to the mind of man. To guard against this misunderstanding, I have added several new observations to render my meaning more explicit.

marks the internal connection between death and a sense of guilt; as the wounding power of death is founded in sin, death as that terrific object to the mind of man exhibits itself only in connection with the consciousness of sin.

Paul certainly represents a corruption of human nature as the consequence of the first sin, and admits a supremacy of the sinful principle in the human race, but not in such a manner that the original nature of man as the offspring of God, and created in his image, has been thereby destroyed. Rather he admits the existence in man of two opposing principles—the predominating sinful principle, and the divine principle depressed and obscured by the former, yet still more or less manifesting its heavenly origin. Hence he deduces an undeniable consciousness of God and an equally undeniable moral self-consciousness as a radiation from the former. And as he recognises an original and universal revelation of God to the human consciousness, so also he acknowledges in human nature a constitution adapted to receive it; as there is a self-testimony of God, in whom the spirit of man lives, moves, and exists, so also there is an original susceptibility in human nature corresponding to that testimony. The whole creation as a revelation of God, especially of his almightiness and goodness,* is designed

* In Rom. i. 20, Paul first asserts in general, that the invisible being of God is manifested to the thinking spirit by the creation; he then specifies the revelation of his power, and adds to it the general term *θειοτης*, (on the form of this word see Rückert,) including every thing besides which belongs to the revelation of the idea of God, to our conceptions of the divine attributes to the *ἀορατα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. We cannot deduce from the words (for it was not the apostle's intention to be more definite) a special reference to any other divine attribute; but it is not without reason that he brings forward the idea of Almightiness, because this first strikes the religious consciousness on the contemplation of Nature, and hence the consciousness of dependence on a higher power is the predominant sentiment in Natural Religion. Still we may infer, from the term *ἡν χαρισθησαν* in v. 21, that the goodness of God was present to his thoughts, which is favoured

to arouse the spirit of man to a perception of this inward revelation of God. But since by the predominant sinful tendency of man the susceptibility for this revelation of God is impaired, he has lost the ability to raise himself by means of the feelings awakened by outward impressions to a development of the idea of God, to serve as an organ for which is the highest destiny of the human spirit.* Since the consciousness in man of an interior being, by virtue of which he is distinct from nature, and exalted above it, is capable of appropriating the supernatural, has been depressed by sin,—since he has enslaved himself to that nature over which he was destined to rule,† he is no longer able to develop the feelings excited in his breast, of dependence on a higher

by a reference to Acts' xiv. 17. In this result I agree with Schneckenburger in his Essay on the Natural Theology of Paul and its sources, contained in his "*Beitrag zur Einleitung, &c.*" But I cannot perceive the necessity for deducing the manner in which Paul has expressed himself from any other source than from the depths of his own spirit, enlightened by the Spirit of Christ; and in Philo's far less original investigations, I can find nothing which can serve to explain Paul's thoughts and language, although I see nothing in the use Schneckenburger is disposed to make of Philo for the illustration of the New Testament, which tends to depreciate the latter; and I must entirely agree with his excellent remarks on the relation of the Alexandrian-Jewish school to the appearance of Christianity. He also justly remarks, that those who in their folly think that they can illustrate the greatest revolution in the human race (the moral creation effected by Christianity) by excerpts from Philo (an attempt as rational as to explain the living principle by a corpse), must serve quite a different object than that which they have proposed to themselves.

* The connection of the inward and outward revelation of God is probably hinted at in the phrase *ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Romans i. 19.

† The dominion of man over nature presupposes in its true significance the free development of the knowledge of God, on which the elevation of the spirit over nature and its affinity to God is founded, as a means of exercising that true dominion.

power, and of gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon him, so as to believe in an Almighty God as Creator and Governor of the world, but he allows these feelings to terminate in the created beings, in the powers and phenomena of nature by which they were first excited. Thus, as Paul describes in the Epistle to the Romans, idolatry originated in the deification of Nature, which yet implies a depressed consciousness of God, and to this, as lying at its basis, Paul appealed in his discourse at Athens. This depression of the consciousness of God by the substitution of sensible objects, tended more and more to the deterioration of man's moral nature; Rom. i. 28. Yet this, as it belonged to the essence of humanity, could not be entirely obliterated. It manifested itself in the conscience as the undeniable emanation from the consciousness of God. According to Paul, this is the revelation of an internal law for the life, and a judgment upon it, undeniable by man, even should he not deduce from it the consciousness of that God who here manifests himself as a hidden legislative and judging power. Men, in passing judgment on one another, give evidence of the power of that innate law of their nature, and condemn themselves; Rom. ii. 1.*

Thus Paul represents two general principles in the natural man as striving against each other; the principle peculiar to the offspring of God, and allied to God, an implanted consciousness of God, and (grounded on that)

* I cannot agree with those who think that Paul, in this passage, alluded to the Jews, who are expressly mentioned in v. 9. Had this been the case, the transition from those of whom he had been speaking, the Gentiles, to this new subject, the Jews, must have been in some way marked. But the *dis* only refers us to what immediately precedes, i. 32, which relates to the Gentiles, though it does not follow that Paul confined himself to the same class of Gentiles. Since whoever knows the law of God (according to which they who do such things are worthy of death), and yet does what it forbids, cannot excuse himself, thou canst allege no excuse for thyself; thou, whoever thou mayest be, thou who testifiest of thy knowledge of God, when thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself.

a moral self-consciousness, the reaction of the religious and moral nature of man; and the principle of sin; or, in other words, Spirit and Flesh. And as the former, the original nature of man, is checked in its development and efficiency by the latter, and detained a prisoner as by a hostile force, he describes the state of the natural man in general as one of *bondage*.* Still a distinction is to be made between the different states of this bondage, whether it is conscious or unconscious; whether the depressed higher nature has become unconscious of its own prerogative, and of the restraint imposed upon it, or whether the sense of bondage in which man's higher self is held has been excited, and hence a longing after freedom in the developed higher self-consciousness. The latter is the state to which the apostle has affixed the name of bondage in the more restricted sense of the word, the bondage under the law; a state in which the consciousness of the depressed higher nature is combined with that of the law revealing itself in it. Hence these two states of unconscious or conscious bondage are distinguished as living without the law, or living under the law. These two states the apostle describes in the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; he here depicts, in his own person, and from his own experience, two general states.

The first state he represents as one in which a man lives in delusive satisfaction, unconscious both of the requirements of the holy law and of the power of the counteracting principle of sinfulness. He awakes from this state of security when the consciousness of the law and its requirements is excited. The moral ideal, which is presented by the law to the self-consciousness of man, exerts an attractive influence on his higher nature. He feels that he can find satisfaction and happiness only in the agreement of his life with this law. But then he sees that he has been woefully deceived, for the law when it brings forth into consciousness the sinful desires that had hitherto been slumbering in his breast, irritates them to

* The δουλεια τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

greater activity by the opposition of its commands. The man who is enduring this conflict is represented by Paul as saying, "The commandment that should have tended to life brought only death; for sin which now took occasion to break forth, deceived me by the commandment and by it slew me."—Rom. vii. 10–11. The deception which was practised by the power of the hitherto slumbering but now rampant sinful desires, consisted in this, that when the law in its glory, the moral archetype, first revealed itself to the higher nature of man, he was filled with earnest desire to seize the revealed ideal; but this desire only made him more painfully sensible of the chasm which separated him from the object after which he aspired. Thus, what appeared at first a blissful ideal, by the guilt of death-producing sin became changed into its opposite. The higher nature of man aspiring after a freer self-consciousness, is sensible of the harmony between itself and the divine law, in which it delights; but there is another power, the power of the sinful principle striving against the higher nature, which, when a man is disposed to follow the inward divine leading, drags him away, so that he cannot accomplish the good by which alone his heavenly nature is attracted.* In the consciousness of this wretched disunion, he exclaims, "Who shall deliver me from this power of sin?"† After thus vividly calling to mind the state of disunion and unhappiness from which Christianity has set him free, he is car-

* By the opposition between the inner man and the law in the members or the flesh, Paul certainly does not mean simply the opposition between Spirit and Sense; for if the spirit were really so animated by the good which is represented in the law as it ought to be according to its original nature and destination, its volitions would be powerful enough to subordinate sense to itself. But the apostle represents the spirit as powerless, because a selfish tendency predominates in the soul. He therefore intends by these terms to express the opposition between the depressed higher nature of man, and the sinful principle which controls the actions of men.

† Paul terms it the body of death, inasmuch the power of evil desires manifests itself particularly in the body as the slave of sinful habits.

ried away by emotions of thankfulness for redemption from that internal wretchedness; and dropping the character he had for the moment assumed, he interrupts himself by an exclamation occasioned by the consciousness of his present state, and then, in conclusion, briefly adverts to the state of disunion before described. "I myself therefore am a man who with the spirit serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." If we understand the phrase, "*serve the law of God*," in the full strictness of the idea, more seems to be expressed by it than the standing-point of the natural man allows: for taking the words in their highest sense, they describe such a development of the whole life to God, such an animating of it by a practical sense of God, as must proceed from regeneration, and supposes its existence. But we must first of all accurately fix the meaning of δουλευειν and of νομος in this passage. Both terms are used by Paul in a two-fold manner. The fundamental idea of δουλευειν is that of a life corresponding to God's law and to the consciousness of dependence on him. But this consciousness of dependence may be of two sorts; either one with which the tendency of the will harmonizes, one in which the man consents with freedom; or one which stands in contradiction to the will. And so likewise in the application of the term Law, of which the general idea is a rule of life and action. This rule may be either, according to the second meaning of δουλεια, a rule presenting itself to the spirit of man from without, an outwardly commanding constraining law, which contradicts the predominant internal tendency of the Will, and whose supremacy is therefore only acknowledged by compulsion; or it may be a rule proceeding from within, founded on the internal development of the life, with which the predominant tendency of the will is in perfect harmony, according to the first meaning of δουλεια. Now the apostle here employs δουλεια in the second sense, and describes a state in which the consciousness of God makes its power felt in the opposition to the sinful tendency of the will, that controls the life; for if the other sense of the term were intended, that unhappy disunion would imme-

diately cease. If the consciousness of God had become an internal law of the life with which the determinations of the will were in harmony, the *σαρξ* would no longer exercise its power as a determining principle of the life.

No doubt, the apostle took the materials of this description from his own experience, which put it in his power to delineate the condition in such lively colours. Though educated by pious parents in Judaism, still there was for him during childhood a period of ingenuous simplicity, in which the consciousness of the law and of the contrariety between its requirements and the indwelling principle of sin, could not be developed with the same clearness as in maturer life. And from this first epoch of childhood, he was led on by his Pharisaic education to the summit of servitude to the law. But he represents in his own person the two general standing-points of human development, by which the race, as well as individuals, have been trained for the reception of redemption. He here describes in an individual example the use of Judaism as the legal religion, viewed in its peculiar nature of Christianity, in reference to the development of the human race. Very different was that part of Judaism which constituted the point of union between it and the gospel, and the aspect under which it might be viewed as the gospel veiled, the prophetic element, by which it was connected with the promises made before the giving of the law, and formed a continuation of them till the Redeemer himself appeared. As in order to prepare for the reception of the Redeemer, it was needful, on the one hand, to excite a consciousness of internal disunion and bondage, and the consequent sense of a need of redemption; and on the other hand, to point out the relief about to be afforded for this misery, and the personage by whom it would be effected; so Judaism was in both these respects a divine revelation and a religious economy preparative to Christianity.

In confutation of the Jews and Judaizers, who would not recognise in Judaism a preparative dispensation, but maintained its perpetual validity, the apostle evinced that all the leadings of the divine government from the

beginning of the world related to the fulfilment of a design embracing the salvation of the whole fallen race of man, a design of communicating among all men by the Messiah's redeeming grace, for the obtaining of which no other means would be requisite than surrendering themselves to it and receiving it by means of faith. There was, therefore, only one fundamental relation between God and man; on the part of God a revelation of his grace in its promise and fulfilment; on the part of Man, an appropriation of this grace by faith. The legal Judaism could make no alteration in this unchangeable or fundamental relation between God and Man, which had been already established by the promises given to Abraham; it could not add a new condition, such as the observance of the law, for the fulfilment of the promises, Gal. iii. 15, in which case the fulfilment of the promise would be attached to something that could not be performed, since no man is capable of observing the law. The law, therefore, formed only a preparatory, intervening economy for the Jewish nation,* partly designed to check in some measure the grosser indulgences of sin,†

* To this Rom. v. 20, refers νόμος παρεισήλθεν.

† τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, Gal. iii. 10. The interpretation which I have here followed of this passage requires to be supported against the objections of Usteri in his "*Entwicklung des paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*" (Development of the Pauline Doctrines) 4th ed. p. 66, 67, and in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 114. The reasons alleged by him are, that the idea of transgression presupposes the idea of law—that according to the Pauline association of ideas, sin was called forth by the law, the law could prevent no check to sin, but, on the contrary, must tend to hasten the outbreak of sinfulness. Paul would therefore contradict himself, if he said that the law was added in order to check sin. But although Paul by describing ἀμαρτία as παράβασις, conceived of it as a transgression of the law, yet sin without reference to the Mosaic law might be so denominated in reference to the law of God revealed in the conscience. When the internal law as a revelation of God is outwardly presented in a literal form, it only serves to bring this opposition into clearer consciousness, and to counterwork the manifold influences by which this consciousness is obscured and de-

but more especially to call forth and maintain a vivid

pressed. Indeed, the law, according to Paul, cannot conquer sin internally, but only serves to manifest it in its full extent. It can produce no true holiness in the disposition; nevertheless, we can readily conceive how a positive law, bringing into clearer consciousness the opposition of good and evil, opposing the distinctly expressed divine will to sinful inclinations, by threatening and alarming would check the outward indulgence of sinful desires, act as a check on grosser immorality, and promote outward moral decorum. This, it is true, can be attained only in a very imperfect degree by the law, since it has not the power of operating on the internal ground, from which all the outward manifestations of sin proceed. On the one hand, the law checks the grosser outbreaks of sin; on the other, it occasions that the sinfulness called forth by opposition from its concealment, is displayed in the form of particular transgression of the law, and a man thereby becomes conscious of the hidden and deeply-seated root of all evil. Both may be represented as the work of the law; the check put on the outbreaks of sinfulness, and the greater prominence given to it in the form of particular transgressions of special commands. Both may be considered as the objects of that divine wisdom which gave the law to man, if we only keep the various references distinct from each other. On the one hand, to prevent the total brutalization of human nature, and on the other, not to permit the self-deception that any other means of training can avail short of that method which will effect a radical cure. As to the first point, Paul marks it in Rom. iii. 23, where he says that men were kept as prisoners by the law, which agrees with what Christ says when, in the Sermon on the Mount, he opposes the holiness of disposition attained through the gospel, to the theocratic political law, which would only restrain from without the outbreaking force of evil, and with what he says in Matt. xix. 8, on the relation of the law to the *σκληροκαρδία* of men. With respect to the other interpretation of the passage—"the law is added in order to make sin knowable as such, to bring men to a clear consciousness of it;" the words do not so plainly convey this meaning. According to that interpretation they would mean,—the law was given to favour transgressions, in order that transgressions might take place; the thought would after all be very obscurely expressed, and if this were said without further limitation, it would convey such a mean estimate of the law, which Paul from his standing-point certainly could

consciousness of sin.* Since the law put an outward check on the sinful propensity, which was constantly giving fresh proofs of its refractoriness—as by this means the consciousness of the power of the sinful principle became more vivid, and hence the sense of need both of the forgiveness of sin and freedom from its bondage was awakened,—the law became a παιδαγωγος εἰς χριστον. The bondage of Judaism partly consisted in the union of religion with a multitude of sensible forms, which could only typify the divine that was not yet distinctly apprehended; the dependence of the development of the internal religious life on outward and sensible† objects, might also contribute, like the moral part of the law, to restrain rude sensuality, to awaken the internal

not allow. And as Ruckert justly remarks, the use of the article with the word παραβασεων (on account of certain existing sins in order to put a check to them) better suits the method of interpretation we have followed and the connection of the passage, since it is the design of Paul to acknowledge the importance of the law in its own though subordinate value. See Schneckenburger's review of Usteri's work on the Pauline doctrines, which agrees in this and several other points with our own views, in Rheinwald's *Repertorium*, No. vi, &c.

* Rom. v. 20, ἵνα πλεοναση ἡ ἁμαρτια, "so that sin might abound," that is, that the power of indwelling sin, the intuitive force of the sinful principle as such, might be manifested so much more strongly. In reference to the development of the Pauline sentiment, Fritsche, in his excellent commentary, to which I am much indebted, justly remarks (p. 350), that this cannot be the literal sense of the passage, for here ἁμαρτια is spoken of as a single violation of God's law. The sense of the passage is, in order that transgressions may increase. But this must serve to make them more conscious of the intrinsic power of the evil principle, by its coming forth more distinctly in outward manifestation, as we detect in the symptoms of a positive disease the morbid matter which has been for a long time lurking in the system. Thus, Rom. vii. 13, in order that sin might shew itself abundantly as sin; sin in its destructive power, so that the law, in itself salutary, must bring destruction to man on account of sin.

† The δουλωσθαι υπο τα στοιχεια = τα σαρκικα. Vide Vol. I. p. 378. *Note.*

religious sentiment, to arouse it to a consciousness of the bondage that oppressed it, and to a longing after freedom.* In this aspect, the unity of the Moral and the Ritual in the Mosaic law is apparent; both belonged to this standing-point of religious and moral development, and subserved the same object.

In the ages preceding Christianity, mankind were divided into Jews and Gentiles. The distinction between them consisted in the opposition between natural development, and revelation among the Jews. God had from the beginning communicated and propagated the knowledge of himself by a connected series of revelation; by a positive law, the need of a redemption was manifested, and promises were given with gradually increasing clearness of Him who was to justify this need; Rom. ix. 4. The theocracy was here presented in the form of a particular nationality, until at last the Redeemer arose from the midst of this nation and verified in his own person the promises made to them. The Gentiles, on the contrary, were left to themselves, and shut out from the organized historical preparation of the kingdom of God. Still the apostle recognises, as we have here remarked, an original revelation of God among the heathen, without which even idolatry could not have arisen. He presents us with a twofold idea of divine revelation, distinguished by two names. The universal revelation of God in the creation, and through that in the reason and conscience, in which three factors are combined—the self-revelation of God in creation acting from without—the adaptation to the knowledge of God in the spirit of man, (reason and conscience)—and the undeniable connection of created spirits, with the original Spirit whose offspring they are, in whom they live and move and have their being, the fountain from which proceed all the movements of the higher life; this universal revelation the apostle distinguishes by the name *φανερωσις*. Revelation

* Thus Peter calls the law in its whole extent, contrasted with the grace of redemption, “a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.” Acts xv. 10.

in a more restricted sense (which proceeds not from an operation of the Divine Spirit through the medium of creation like the former,) by means of which man apprehends in a divine light the truths relating to salvation, the knowledge of which he could not attain by his own reason,—Paul terms ἀποκαλύψις.

But that universal revelation, owing to the corruption which repressed the awakened consciousness of God,* could not be manifested purely and clearly; the deification of nature, which gained the ascendancy over its partial illumination of mankind, formed an opposition against the element of divine revelation in Judaism which was implanted there in its purity, and presented by the providence of God. But in considering the opposition of Heathenism to Judaism, we must distinguish from its injurious influences that internally revealed law of conscience which corresponded to the positive law in Judaism.† That law of conscience would lead to the know-

* Rom. i. 18, τὴν ἀληθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντες. “They repressed the truth that manifested itself to them, the consciousness of truth that was springing up in their minds—through sin.” In these words, Paul particularly referred to the Gentiles, though they might also be applied to the Jews. It was not needful for him to point out to the Jews that they could not allege as an excuse for their conduct, the want of a knowledge of God and of his law, since they were only too much disposed to pride themselves on the mere knowledge of what had been revealed to them.

† Although Paul was accustomed to form his connection of νόμος from Judaism, and to apply it to the Mosaic law; yet his Christian universalism, and his unfettered views of the process of human development among heathen nations, led him to recognise every where a law of undeniable authority in the hearts of men, and to consider the law, under the special Mosaic form, as the representative of the universal law in force for all mankind; this is evident from Rom. ii. Hence, we cannot allow that Paul, wherever he speaks of νόμος, had only in his thoughts the Mosaic law; but, on the contrary, we must maintain that when he represents the law as one that condemns man, reveals his guilt, it appears to him as the representative of the divine law as it reveals itself, and is applicable to all mankind though less clearly. Although

ledge of the disunion in the inner man, and of the need of redemption, without which Christianity could find no point of connection or entrance in men's minds, and as such a point of connection Paul on all occasions employs it in arguing with the Gentiles.

The apostle places in opposition to each other the Jews incorporated in the kingdom of God, and the heathen who were living without God; still he does not put all who were living in heathenism on the same level. Certainly he could not say of every individual, what he says of the corrupt mass in general, Eph. iv. 19, that they had given themselves up to the indulgence of their lusts with a suppression of all moral feeling; he no doubt recognised in the civil and domestic virtues of the heathen some scattered rays of the repressed knowledge of God. In this respect he says, comparing the heathen with the Jews, that where the former fulfilled in some cases the commands of the law, following the law written on their hearts, they thereby passed sentence of condemnation on the Jews, to whom the positive law had been given, of which they boasted, but neglected to obey it. Not that we can suppose him to mean, that in any instance there was any thing like a perfect fulfilment of the law. To suppose this would be in direct contradiction to what Paul affirms respecting the consciousness of guilt uni-

Paul, when he speaks of the curse of the law, Gal. iii. 13, and describes it as "the handwriting of ordinances," Col. ii. 14, must have the Jews immediately in view, who were conscious of the obligation of the law, yet certainly, according to his conceptions, it relates to all mankind. As long as the law was in force, it denounced a curse on all who did not obey it, as the observance of it was the only means for participating in the kingdom of God, and obtaining eternal life. Hence the curse pronounced by it must be first taken away, that "the blessing of Abraham" which related to all mankind might come upon the Gentiles; Gal. iii. 14. Hence also among the heathen the revelation of the *οργη θεου* (to accomplish which is the work of the law), Rom. iv. 15, must precede, and they must obtain the knowledge that through Christ they are freed from this *οργη* in order to be partakers of redemption.

versally awakened by the law, that it could only call forth a sense of sin and deserved punishment; we cannot separate a single act from the whole life, if with Paul we refer every thing to the animating disposition, and do not form our estimate according to the outward value of good works. Where the whole of the internal life was not animated by that which must be the principle of all true goodness, that principle could not perfectly operate even for a single moment. Still the repressed higher nature of man, the seat of the law of God, gave more or fewer signs of its existence.

From the Jewish and from the Gentile standing-points there was only one mode of transition to a state of salvation, the consciousness of an inward disunion between the divine and the undivine in human nature, and proceeding from that, the consciousness of the need of redemption. And hence there were two hindrances which obstructed the attainment of salvation by men; either the gross security of heathenism, where the higher movements of life were entirely suppressed by the dominion of sinful pleasure, or the Jewish merit of works and self-righteousness, where men, pacifying their consciences by the show of devotion and of fulfilling the law, deceived themselves, and supposed that, by the mechanism of outward religious exercises, or by the performance of certain actions which wore the appearance of good works, they had attained the essence of the holiness required by the divine law. In reference to the latter, Paul says of the Jews, Rom. x. 3, that since they knew not the essence of true holiness which avails before God and can be imparted by God alone, and since they esteemed their own works to be genuine holiness—they could not perceive their insufficiency, and hence they could not appropriate the holiness revealed and imparted by God.* As the manner

* The *δικαιοσύνη του Θεού* here denote a righteousness which avails before God, and originates with him, in opposition to one which men suppose may be attained by their own power and works, and which, though men may deceive themselves by false appearances, cannot stand in the sight of a holy omniscient God. It denotes accordingly the manner in which

in which the Jews, insensible of their need of divine aid, endeavoured to attain holiness by the observance of the law, was the cause of their not attaining it; so on the other hand the heathen—those, namely, in whom self-conceit of another kind had not been produced by a philosophical training—since no such spiritual pride counteracted the feeling of the need of redemption in their minds, when once through particular circumstances, inward experiences, or perhaps through the preaching of the gospel,* the voice of the law had been distinctly heard—were easily awakened to this feeling of helplessness, and thus led to faith in the Redeemer.†

In another respect also, Paul compares the Jewish and the heathen or Grecian standing-points with one another. Among the Jews the predominance of the sensuous element in their religious life, which, being unsusceptible of the internal revelation of divine power, sought for extraordinary events in the world of the senses as marks of the divine, a tendency which he distinguished by the name of *sign-seeking*, was opposed to faith in a crucified Redeemer, who had appeared in “the form of a servant.” This revelation of the power of God, where the sensual man could perceive only weakness and ignominy, must have been a stumbling-block to their sign-seeking minds, which longed for a Messiah in visible earthly glory as the founder of a visible kingdom. Among the educated portion of the Greeks, on the contrary, that one-sided tendency, which sought only for the satisfaction of a love of knowledge in a new religion, the one-sided predomi-

men are justified through faith in Christ, in opposition to the righteousness of the law or of works. The apostle uses the expression *ὑπεταγησαν*, since he considers the cause of their not receiving what God is willing to bestow, to be a spirit of insubordination, a want of humility and acquiescence in the divine arrangements.

* Which in this connection must present itself at first as a revelation of the divine wrath against sin. Rom. i. 18.

† Hence, naturally, as among the Jews it was precisely their *διωκῆν νομον δικαιοσυνης* which was the cause of their not attaining true righteousness, so among the heathen their *μη διωκειν* was the cause of their more easily attaining it.

nance of speculation, which Paul designated *wisdom-seeking* and philosophical conceit—opposed faith in that preaching which did not begin with the solution of intellectual difficulties, but with offering satisfaction to hearts that longed for the forgiveness of sin and sanctification; hence to this class of persons the doctrine which did not fulfil the expectations of their wisdom-seeking tendency, and demanded the renunciation of their imaginary wisdom, must have appeared as foolishness; 1 Cor. i. 22–23. Thus Paul said in reference to the Greeks, 1 Cor. iii. 18, He who thinks himself wise, let him become a fool, that he may be able to find true wisdom in the gospel. To the Jews the language addressed on the Pauline principles would be, He who esteems himself righteous must first become in his own eyes a sinner, that he may find in the gospel true righteousness. Thus must nations as well as individuals be brought to their own experience, to a sense of the insufficiency of their own wisdom and righteousness, in order, by feeling their need of help, to be in a suitable state for receiving that redemption which was prepared for all mankind; Rom. xi. 32. The whole history of mankind has redemption for its object, and there are, according to the measure of the diversified standing-points of human development, diversified degrees of preparation; but this is the central point to which the whole history of man tends, where all the lines in the development of individual generations and nations meet. According to this, we must understand what Paul says, that God sent his Son into the world in the fulness of time, Gal. iv. 4—when he speaks Eph. iii. 9 of the mystery of redemption as hidden from eternity in God—and which was to be fulfilled in the dispensation of the fulness of time, Eph. i. 10. In the divine counsels he could not suppose there was a before and after; but by this mode of expression he marks the internal relation of the divine counsels and works to each other, the actual establishment of the kingdom of God among men by redemption, the final aim of the whole earthly creation by which its destiny will be completely fulfilled. This globe is created and destined for the pur-

pose of being the seat of the kingdom of God, of being animated by the kingdom of God, the body of which the kingdom of God is the soul. The end of all created existence is that it may contribute to the glory of God, or to reveal God in his glory. But in order that this may be really accomplished, it must be with consciousness and freedom, and these are qualities which can be found only in an assemblage of rational beings. It is such an assemblage therefore which is distinguished by the name of the kingdom of God, and when the reason of the creature has been brought by sin into a state of contrariety with the end of its existence, Redemption is a necessary condition of establishing the kingdom of God on this globe.

Paul could not indeed have represented human nature under the aspect of its need of redemption in this manner, if he had not been led to the depths of self-knowledge, by his own peculiar development. But so far was he from mingling a foreign element with the doctrine of Christ, that from his own experience he has drawn a picture which every man, who like Paul has striven after holiness, must verify from his self-knowledge; it is a picture, too, the truth of which is presupposed by the personal instructions of Christ, as we shall find by reading the three first gospels. We gather this not so much from single expressions of Christ respecting the constitution of human nature, as from the representations he gives of the work he had to accomplish in its relation to mankind.* When he compares Christianity to leaven which was designed to leaven the whole mass into which it was cast, he intimates the necessity of transforming human nature by a new higher element of life which would be infused into it by Christianity. Christ calls himself the Physician of mankind; he says that he came only for the sick, for sinners; Matt. ix. 13; Luke v. 32. It is impossible that by such language he could intend to

* That the work of Christ presupposes a condition of corruption and helplessness, is acknowledged by De Wette in his "*Biblischen Dogmatik*," § 246.

divide men into two classes—the sick, those who were burdened with sin, and who needed his aid ;—and the righteous, those in health and who needed not his assistance or could easily dispense with it ; for the persons in reference to whose objections he uttered this declaration, he would certainly have recognised least of all as righteous and healthy. Rather would he have said, that as he came only as a Physician for the sick, as a Redeemer for sinners, he could only fulfil his mission in the case of those who, conscious of disease and sin, were willing to receive him as Physician and Redeemer ; that he was come in vain for those who were not disposed to acknowledge their need of healing and redemption. Christ, when he draws the lines of that moral ideal after which his disciples are to aspire, never expresses his reliance on the moral capabilities of human nature, on the powers of reason ; he appeals rather to the consciousness of spiritual insufficiency, the sense of the need of illumination by a higher divine light, of sanctification by the power of a divine life ; wants like these he promises to satisfy. Hence in his Sermon on the Mount, he begins with pronouncing *blessed* such a tendency of the disposition, since it will surely attain what it seeks ; compare Matt. xi. 28. When Christ, Matt. xix, Luke xvii, enjoined on the rich man who asked him what he must do to inherit eternal life—to “keep the commandments,” it is by no means inconsistent with what Paul asserts of the insufficiency of the works of the law for the attainment of salvation, but is identical with it, only under another form and aspect. Christ wished to lead this individual, who according to the Jewish notions was righteous, to a consciousness that outward conformity to the law by no means involved the disposition that was required for participation in the kingdom of God. The test of renouncing self and the world which he imposed upon him, would lead one who was still entangled in the love of earthly things, though from his youth he had lived in outward conformity to the law—to feel that he was destitute of this disposition. Nor can we, from the expressions in which children are represented as models of the state of mind with which men

must enter the kingdom of God, Matt. xix. 14, Luke xviii. 15, infer the doctrine of the incorruption of human nature,* partly because the point of comparison is only the simplicity and compliance of children, the consciousness of immaturity,† the disclaiming of imaginary pre-eminence, the renunciation of prejudices ; and partly because childhood is an age in which the tendency to sin is less developed,‡ but by no means implies the non-existence of such a tendency. Still Christ could not have used these and similar expressions (as in Matt. xvii. 10) in commendation of what existed in children as an undeveloped bud, if he had not recognised in them a divine impress, a glimmering knowledge of God, which when brought from the first into communion with Christ, was carried back to its original, and thereby preserved from the reaction of the sinful principle. || And the recognition of a something in human nature allied to the divine, is implied in what Christ says of the eye of the spirit, of that which is the light of the inner man, by the relation of which to the source of light, the whole direction and complexion of the life is determined ; so that, either by keeping up a connection with its divine source, light is spread over the life of man, or if the eye be darkened by the prevalence of a worldly tendency, the whole life is involved in darkness. But as we have seen, Paul presupposes such an undeniable and partially illuminating knowledge of God in human nature, and this assumption is supported by what he says of the various degrees of moral development among mankind.

* As Baumgarten Crusius appears to do in his "*Biblischen Dogmatic*," p. 362.

† See my *Leben Jesu*, p. 547.

‡ On this account Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 20, speaks of a *νηπιαιζειν τῇ κακια*.

|| The qualities which Christ attributes to children, are entirely opposed to a harsh Augustinian theology, and the gloomy view of life founded upon it, although this must be recognised as relatively a necessary step in the development of the Christian life, in reference to certain circumstances, and as the root of important phenomena in the history of the church.

The idea of the need of redemption leads us to the work of redemption accomplished by Christ. Paul distinguishes in the work of Christ, his doing and his suffering. To sin, which from the first transgression has reigned over all mankind, he opposes the perfect holy life of Christ. To the evil whose consummation is death, representing itself as punishment in connection with sin by virtue of the feeling of guilt and condemnation founded in the conscience, he opposes the sufferings of Christ as the Holy One; which, as they have no reference to sins of his own, can only relate to the sins of all mankind, for whose redemption they were endured. In reference to the former, Paul says in Rom. viii. 3, that what was impossible to the law, what it was unable to effect owing to the predominant sinfulness in human nature, (namely to destroy the reign of sin in human nature, which the law aimed to effect by its holy commands), was accomplished by God, when he sent his Son into the world in that human nature which hitherto had been under the dominion of sin, and when he condemned sin, that is despoiled it of its power and supremacy, and manifested its powerlessness in that human nature, over which it had before reigned, in order that the requirements of the law might be fulfilled in believers, as those whose lives were governed not by sinful desire but by the Spirit, the divine vital principle of the Spirit that proceeded from Christ.* Paul does not here speak of any particular point in the life of Christ, but contemplates it as a whole, by which the perfect holiness required by the law was realized. Thus the reign of holiness in human nature

* The other interpretation of this passage, according to which it means that Christ bore for men the punishment attached to sin by the law, appears to me not to be favoured by the context, for it is most natural to refer the *αδυνατον του νομου* in the first clause to the *κατακρινειν την αμαρτιαν* in the last. But this will not suit if we take the first in the sense of condemning and punishing, for it was precisely this which the law *could* do; but to condemn sin in the sense in which the word is used in John xvi. 11, and xii. 31, the law was prevented from doing by the opposition of the *σαρξ*.

succeeds to the reign of sin, the latter is now destroyed and the former established objectively in human nature ; and from this objective foundation its continued development proceeds. And in no other way can the human race be brought to fulfil their destiny, the realization of the kingdom of God, which cannot proceed from sin and estrangement from God, but must take its commencement from a perfectly holy life, presenting a perfect union of the divine and the human. The Spirit of Christ, from which this realization of the ideal of holiness proceeded in his own life, is also the same by which the life of believers, who are received into his fellowship, is continually formed according to this archetype. In Rom. v. 18, Paul opposes to the one sin of Adam the one holy work (the *ἐν δικαιομα*) of Christ. And if, induced by the contrast to the one sin of Adam, he had in view one act especially of Christ, the offering up of himself, as an act of love to God and man, and of voluntary obedience to God, still this single act, even according to Paul's statement, ought not to be considered as something isolated, but as the closing scene in harmony with the whole, by which he completed the realization of the ideal of holiness in human nature, and banished sin from it. In this view indeed the whole life of Christ may be considered as one holy work. As by one sin, the first by which a commencement was made of a life of sin in the human race, sin, and with sin condemnation and death, spread among all mankind ; so from this one holy life of Christ, holiness and a life of eternal happiness resulted for all mankind. This holy life of Christ, God would consider as the act of the human race, but it can only be realized in those who, by an act of free self-determination, appropriate this work accomplished for all, and by this surrender of themselves enter through Christ into a new relation with God ; those who through faith are released from the connection with the life of sin propagated from Adam, and enter into the fellowship of a holy life with Christ. Since they are thus in union with Christ, in the fellowship of his Spirit, for his sake they are presented as *δίκαιοι* before God, and partake of all that is indissolubly con-

nected with the holiness of Christ and of his eternally blessed life. In this sense, Paul says that from the one *δικαιοσύνη* of Christ, objective *δικαιοσύνη* and the consequent title to *ζωή* comes upon all (Rom. v. 18); that by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous (v. 19); in this latter passage, he probably blends the objective and the subjective; the objective imputation of the ideal of holiness realized by Christ, founded in the divine counsels, or the manner in which the human race appear in the divine sight; and the consequent subjective realization, gradually developed, which proceeds from faith.

With respect to the second point, *the sufferings of Christ as such*, we find this (not to mention other passages where this idea forms the basis) distinctly stated in two places. In Gal. iii. 13, after the apostle had said that the law only passed sentence of condemnation upon men* who had shewn that they were guilty of violating

* Although the use of *ἡμᾶς* (Gal. iii. 13) and the contrast with the *ἐθνη*, v. 14, make it probable that Paul had the Jews chiefly in his thoughts, yet this by no means excludes a reference to mankind in general; (agreeably to what we have already said respecting the ideal and universal relation of the law.) Paul indeed says particularly of the Jews, that they could not attain righteousness by the law, as they expected, but, on the contrary, it denounced its curse against them, from which they must first be freed. But since the *νόμος* corresponds to the universal law written on the heart, so also this curse pronounced by the law corresponds to the sentence of condemnation which that internal law pronounces in the consciences of men. The curse is only first expressly pronounced among the Jews, and presented more distinctly to their consciousness; just as the express promises were first made to them. See the excellent remarks in Bengel's Gnomon. On this supposition, the natural connection between v. 13 and 14, is apparent, which is founded in the thought that the heathen must be first freed from the curse which rests on them as sinners, in order that the blessing which was to extend itself from Abraham to all mankind, and which could not be fulfilled in those who were estranged from God by guilt, might be fulfilled in them. The same sentiment, though expressed in another form, occurs in all the passages where it is said that all need forgiveness of sins. As in Paul's mind, there was a common reference to Jews

it, he adds, that Christ has freed them from this condemnation since on their account and in their stead* he had borne this condemnation, by suffering the punishment of the cross as a person accused by the law. The second place is 2 Cor. v. 21. Him who knew no sin, the sinless one, God has made sin for our sakes (the abstract for the concrete); he has made him a sinner, he has allowed him to appear as a sufferer on account of sin, that we might become through him the righteousness of God, that is, such as may appear before God as righteous; that therefore as Christ the Holy One entered by his sufferings into the fellowship of our guilt, so we sinners enter into the fellowship of his holiness.

In accordance with these views, Paul divided the life of Christ into two parts. At first Christ presented himself as a weak mortal, although conscious of possessing a divine nature and dignity, submitting to all the wants and limitations of earthly humanity, partaking of all those evils which affect human nature in connection with sin, and as the punishment of sin, so that in his outward appearance and condition he placed himself entirely on a level with men suffering on account of sin. The consummation of this state was the crucifixion, as the consummation of the misery entailed by sin is presented in death. The second part was the life of Christ risen and glorified, in which his unchangeable divine and blessed life reveals itself in perfection, corresponding to that perfect holiness which he manifested on earth—for as sin and death, so are sinlessness and a life of eternal blessedness correlative ideas in Paul's writings; and as in Christ's risen and glorified humanity, that divine life is presented which corresponds to perfect holiness, so it is a practical proof that he in the earlier portion of his life,

and Gentiles, he joins them together in the "λαβωμεν." And afterwards he says, that Christ when he appeared among that nation who typified the theocracy for the whole human race, and satisfied the requirements of the law, performed this for the whole human race, who therefore were brought into a filial relation to God.

* Both these ideas may be included in the *ὑπερ ἡμῶν*.

fulfilled the law of holiness in and for human nature, and, by enduring the sufferings incurred through sin, effected the release of mankind from the guilt and punishment, and has assured to them eternal life, which will be communicated to all who enter into fellowship with him by faith. Thus it is declared in 2 Cor. xiii. 4, that though Christ was crucified owing to human weakness, the crucifixion was the closing point of his life in the participation of human weakness—yet since his resurrection, he enjoys a life of divine power without any mixture of human weakness. In Rom. vi. 16, the death of Christ is spoken of as bearing a relation to sin—as an event which, but for sin, would not have taken place, and had for its only object the blotting out of sin; and that having perfectly attained that end, it was not to be repeated. The earthly life and sufferings of Christ bear a relation to sin, as being the means of redeeming the human race from it. But now the risen and glorified Saviour, having once completed the redemption of human nature, is separated from all relation to sin and the evils connected with it, and exalted above all conflicts and earthly weakness, lives in divine power and blessedness, to the glory of God. He no longer endures the sufferings to which human nature became subject by sin, and he needs to perform nothing more for the extinction of sin, having done this once for all. There remains only his positive operation for the glory of God, without the negative reference to the extinction of sin. Conscious of his divinity, he did not eagerly retain (Phil. ii. 6) equality with God for the mere exhibition of it, but divested himself of the divine glory which appertained to him, presented himself in the form of hu-

* An illustration of Paul's language may be found in an Epistle of Constantine, relating to some Christians who eagerly seized on an opportunity of returning from exile to their native country, *αἶτον ἀρπαγμα τι την ἐπανοδον ποιησαμενοι*. *Euseb. de vita Constan.* ii. 31, and the words of Eusebius himself, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 12, respecting those who preferred, rather than surrendering themselves to the heathen, *τον θανατον ἀρπαγμα δεμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας*.

man dependence, humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the ignominious death of the cross. Wherefore—on account of this perfect obedience rendered under all human weakness and suffering—God has exalted him to the highest dignity and rule in the kingdom of God. According to this train of ideas, as the sufferings of Christ are represented as having a relation to sin, so his resurrection is adduced as a practical evidence of the freedom from sin and the justification bestowed by him, by virtue of the connection existing, not only between sin and death, but between righteousness and eternal life. And in reference to the importance of the resurrection of Christ, as an objective proof of the release of human nature from the guilt of sin and the death that it involved, the apostle says in 1 Cor. xv. 17, “If Christ be not risen, ye are yet in your sins.” From this connection of ideas it follows, that the sufferings of Christ must be always considered in union with his whole life and as the close and consummation of it; and with a twofold reference which, according to the Pauline doctrine, they bear to the completion of the work of redemption, namely—the appropriation of human guilt, by entering into the suffering condition of man—and the perfect realization of the moral law. And therefore, when Paul speaks of what Christ effected by his blood and his cross, one single point which forms the consummation and close of the whole stands for that whole, according to a mode of expression common to the sacred writers, though in its full significance it can be understood only in connection with all the rest.

As the result of this work of Christ for sinful mankind, Paul specifies reconciliation with God, redemption, justification. With respect to the idea of reconciliation, it cannot have been conceived by Paul as if men had been objects of the divine wrath and hatred, till Christ appeasing the divine justice by his sufferings, by his timely intervention reconciled an offending God to mankind, and made them again the objects of his love; for the plan of redemption presupposes the love of God towards the race that needed redemption, and Paul considers the sending

of Christ, and his living and suffering for mankind, as the revelation of the superabounding love and grace of God ; Eph. iii. 19 ; Titus iii. 4 ; Rom. v. 8, viii. 32. And this counsel of God's love he represents as eternal, so that the notion of an influence on God produced in time falls to the ground, since the whole life and sufferings of Christ were only the completion of the eternal counsel of divine love. Therefore Paul never says, that God being hostile to men, became reconciled to them through Christ, but that men who were the enemies of God became reconciled to him ; Rom. v. 10 ; 2 Cor. v. 16. Thus he calls on men to be reconciled to God ; 2 Cor. v. 20. The obstacle exists on the side of men, and owing to this they do not receive the revelation of the love of God into their self-consciousness ; and since by the redeeming work of Christ this obstacle is taken away, it is said of him that he has reconciled man to God, and made him an object of divine love.

From what has been said, we may attach merely a subjective meaning to reconciliation ; and the ideas presupposed by it of enmity with God and of God's wrath, may appear to be only indications of subjective relations, in which man finds himself in a certain state of disposition towards God—indications of the manner in which God presents himself to the conscience of a man estranged from him by sin, or the manner in which the knowledge of God must develop itself in connection with the consciousness of guilt. Thus by the term *Reconciliation* only such an influence on the disposition of man may be denoted, by which it is delivered from its former state, and placed in another relation towards God. Since Christ by his whole life, by his words and works, and especially by his participation in the sufferings of humanity, and by his sufferings for men, has revealed God's love towards those who must have felt themselves estranged from him by sin—and has exhibited his sufferings as a pledge of the forgiving love of God, and his resurrection as a pledge of the eternal life destined for them,—thus he has kindled a reciprocal love and childlike confidence towards God in the souls of those who were un-

able to free themselves from the state of disquietude which was produced by the consciousness of guilt. The reconciliation of man to God (according to this view) consists in nothing else than the alteration of disposition arising from the revelation of God's love towards fallen humanity, which this revelation produces in their self-consciousness. Still it is supposed that the reconciliation of man to God is not the result of any amendment on the part of the former, but the amendment is the result of the reconciliation, since through the new determination of the self-consciousness by means of love and confidence towards God, an altogether new direction of the life, the source of all real amendment turned towards God and away from sin is produced. According to this view also, it is presupposed that man, who felt himself estranged from God by sin, finds in himself no ground of confidence towards God, and requires an objective ground, a practical revelation to which his own self-consciousness can attach itself, in order to excite and support his confidence. This latter is, without doubt, a leading point of the Pauline system, as it is of the doctrine of the New Testament in general. All the exhortations and encouragements of the apostle proceed continually from a reference to the practical revelation of God's redeeming love. Nor can it be a valid objection, on the other hand, that Paul, in 2 Cor. v. 20, addressing those who were already believers, and calling on them to be reconciled to God, meant that by amendment they entered into a new relation to God, and were brought out of their former state of enmity; for it makes here no difference whether Paul is speaking to those who had already professed Christianity, or to those with whom this was not the case. In every case according to his conceptions, the believing appropriation of the reconciliation of man with God effected through Christ was accompanied by a new direction of the life, and where this did not ensue, it was a sign that the believing appropriation had not taken place, and the man was still destitute of that reconciliation with God from which amendment proceeds. In that very passage Paul does not say, Amend yourselves in order that you may

be reconciled to God; but rather, Let not the grace of reconciliation appear to be in vain for you, as if you had not appropriated it. By Christ's offering up his life for man estranged from God, man is objectively reconciled to God. God has removed that which made the separation between himself and man. But what has been objectively accomplished for all mankind, must now be appropriated by each individual and thus become subjective. Hence, according to these different points of view, Paul could say—"Be ye reconciled (*subjectively*) to God," and "We are reconciled (*objectively*) to God by the death of his Son;" Romans v. 10.

But those views in conformity to which the life and sufferings of Christ are considered merely as a manifestation of God's love, and the reconciliation effected by him as the subjective influence of this manifestation on the human heart—appear by no means adequate to the meaning of the Pauline declarations already quoted respecting the redemption of Christ. And although the gross anthropopathical notion of God's reconciliation with man, is evidently inconsistent with Paul's train of ideas, it does not follow, that by the expression reconciliation, only a subjective change in the disposition of man is denoted, for we are by no means justified in explaining the correlative ideas of an enmity with God, and a wrath of God merely as subjective, and among the various designations of the divine attributes connected with them, acknowledge a reality merely in the idea of the *love* of God. On the contrary, the common fact of human consciousness, according to which a man addicted to sin feels himself estranged from God, and cannot get rid of the feeling of his guilt and ill-deserts, reveals to us a deeper objective ground in the moral constitution of the universe and in the essence of God. In this universal fact, we have a witness of the revelation of God's holiness in the consciences of mankind, which is as undeniable as the revelation of his love. By the "*wrath of God*," though in an anthropopathical form, something objective and real is signified, which is not fully expressed by the idea of punishment, but includes what is the ground of all pun-

ishment, (on which account this phrase "the wrath of God" is sometimes used to express merely punishment), the ground of the necessary connection between sin and evil, the absolute contrariety existing between God as the Holy One and sin.* God recognises evil as evil, as that which stands in contrariety to his holiness, rebels against him and his holy order, and would exist independent of him. The mode in which God recognises evil, is also a sentence of condemnation upon it, and is a proof of its powerlessness and wretchedness. Evil is denied, if not contemplated as something occupying the place of God.

Thus in the mode by which man is freed by the love of God from that unhappy relation to God, in which he stands owing to the divine holiness, the love of God reveals itself only in connection with his holiness, or as holy love. This connection is pointed out by Paul in Rom. iii. 24. In this passage, he contrasts the revelation of God's holiness at that time by the publication of the gospel, and the non-punishment of past sins before the appearance of the gospel. By the *παρεσις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων* and the *ἀνοχη τοῦ Θεοῦ*, he understands the manner in which the conduct of God was manifested in reference to sin before the publication of the gospel, especially towards the heathen world, who knew nothing of the Old Testament revelations of the holiness of God in opposition to sin, and also towards the Jews, who, notwithstanding these testimonies in the delay of the divine judgments for their sins, instead of interpreting the long-suffering of God as a call to repentance, were sunk in carnal security. We may compare with this, Paul's language in Acts xvii. 30, speaking of the times of ignorance that God had overlooked. Though this is to be understood only relatively, in reference to the different standing-points of historical development, for Paul recognised, as we have already shewn, in the moral nature of the heathen, a revelation of the divine law, of the divine holiness and punitive justice. But under their peculiar circumstances, there was from a kind of necessity a ge-

* Compare Twisten's *Dogmatik*, ii. p. 146.

neral obscuration of that religious and moral knowledge by which their thinking and acting was regulated. This induced on the part of God a passing over, a non-imputation of offences; though the reckoning taken of transgressions would never go beyond the measure of the possible knowledge of the law; Rom. v. 13. Thus there may be a chargeableness and a non-chargeableness under different aspects, by which the apparent contradictions in Paul's language may be reconciled.

Paul in Rom. iii. 25, declares that for both the Jews and heathens a revelation of the divine wrath must precede the revelation of the grace that forgives sin. The *παρεσις* denotes only what was negative and temporary, the non-punishment of past sins on the part of God; so that the sense of the guilt of sin is not presupposed, and the removal of that sense is not effected.* The *αφεσις*, on the other hand, denotes *objectively* that act of God by which sin is really forgiven, that is, is considered in relation to God and the moral constitution of the universe as not existing; and, *subjectively*, that operation in the heart of man by which it is really freed from the consciousness of guilt; this means far more than the non-punishment of sin during a certain period. In those to whom this act of God relates, the consciousness of guilt and of the divine *οργη*, the subjective revelation of the divine punitive justice, is presupposed; and the operation that takes place in their dispositions necessarily implies forsaking a life of sin, and the renunciation of all fellowship with sin. According to the connection of ideas in Paul's mind, we are led to take this view of the subject. In contrast with the former apparent overlooking of sin on the part of God, the holiness of God at this time is now manifested by his openly exhibiting Christ, through his offering up of himself, as a reconciler or sin-offering for the sins of mankind, so that he verifies himself as the Holy One, and permits every one to appear be-

* In scholastic language, *παρεσις* may be referred to the *voluntas signi*, and *αφεσις* to the *voluntas beneplaciti*.

fore him as holy,* who shews that he is in fellowship with Christ by faith. The holiness of God manifests itself (according to the Pauline connection of ideas already noticed) in the life and death of Christ in a twofold manner. First, inasmuch as he completely realized (in opposition to sin which had hitherto been predominant in human nature) that holy law to which the life of man was designed to correspond,—made satisfaction to the moral order of the universe, and glorified God in that nature which was originally designed to glorify him. God has verified himself as the Holy One, since he forgives sin only on the condition of the perfect fulfilment of the law; he has shewn that he remits nothing from the requirements of perfect holiness, and we always bear in mind that this remission to those who through it obtain justification, is not a mere outward act, but becomes in all the cause and pledge of the fulfilment of the law. Secondly, inasmuch as Christ, as perfectly holy, underwent those sufferings which the divine holiness considered as punitive justice † in its opposition against sin, had sus-

* That we ought not to translate *δικαιος* *righteous*, but *holy*, appears from that meaning of this word which lies at the basis of *δικαιοῦν*, to declare a person *δικαιος*.

† That divine attribute which reveals itself in the necessary connection of sin and evil, is founded in the reaction of the holiness of God against sin (= the wrath of God), exhibits itself in the reaction of the moral order of the universe against evil, whence punishment proceeds. If punishment is conceived of merely as a means of amendment, and this is supposed to comprehend all that is intended by it, this is a degradation of a rational being and of morality making it mechanical. But if punishment is viewed at first as a revelation of the divine justice, as an objective reaction of the moral order of the universe against evil, another mode of viewing it also presents itself, according to which the punishment necessary in itself is appointed by the love of God, in order, since punishment and sin stand in this internal connection with one another, to lead thereby to a consciousness of sin and guilt, to make rational creatures sensible of the relation they stand in to the moral world, and thus to call forth the feeling of the need of redemption. The self-will which rebels in sin against

pended over human nature. We are not to conceive of this, as if God arbitrarily imposed these sufferings, or Christ had arbitrarily subjected himself to them; but that it was grounded on the assumption of human nature in its present condition and relation to God—as the divine punitive justice revealed itself to them who were suffering the consequences of sin—and thus it was accomplished through the historical development of the life of Christ devoted to conflict with the sin that reigned in the human race, and through his condescending to their condition from the sympathy of love.*

the moral order of the universe and God's holy law, must be humbled by suffering before the holy omnipotence of God and the majesty of his law. Where submission is not yielded freely, it will be compelled. Without the idea of punishment, the reality of evil and the dignity of rational creatures cannot be acknowledged. It belongs to the privilege of rational beings created in the likeness of God, and distinguishes them from other *natural* objects, that the idea of punishment finds its application in them. See the excellent remarks of Twisten, in his *Dogmatik*, i. p. 148.

* The Pauline view of the work of redemption finds a point of connection in Christ's words in Matt. xx. 28, whether we consider *λυτρον* as a sum paid for release from captivity or slavery, or for redemption from deserved punishment; also in the institution of the Holy Supper, (in which he evidently alluded to the connection between the Passover and the establishment of the Old Covenant,) which by the offering of himself to obtain and confirm the forgiveness of sins to mankind, marked the establishment of the New Covenant. The Pauline views are also supported by the manner in which Christ adopts the ideas of the wrath of God and of punitive justice from the Old Testament, without casting a doubt on their validity. The parable of the Lost Son, and other expressions which relate to forgiving love, offer no contradiction, but mark precisely the side on which God reveals himself in the work of redemption, and what, humanly speaking, could be the only motive to such an act of God towards a race estranged from him by sin; they do not, however, determine the manner in which the result designed by divine love is to be attained; the form and order followed by the compassionate love of God, for the love of God acts only as a holy and righteous love.

With the idea of reconciliation, the ideas of ἀπολυτρωσις, σωτηρια, δικαιοσις are closely connected. The two first terms are used in a wider and a narrower sense; they denote the deliverance from the guilt and punishment of sin, the σωτηρια ἀπο τῆς οργῆς, Rom. v. 9, first objectively as what has been gained by Christ for the human race; and also subjectively, what is effectuated by progressive development in each individual by personal appropriation, from his first entrance into fellowship with the Redeemer, to the complete participation of his glory and blessedness in the perfected kingdom of God; but more especially what belongs to the perfect realization of the idea, the complete freedom from sin and all its consequences, from all evil,—natural and moral.*

With respect to the idea of δικαιοσις, in order to determine it, we must refer to what we have already remarked on the Pauline opposition to the common Jewish notion of righteousness. He sets out from the same point as his adversaries, as far as he considers the participation in all the privileges and blessings of the kingdom of God indissolubly connected with the δικαιοσυνη, the genuine theocratic disposition and condition of life. The correlative idea of righteousness in this sense was blessedness, the participation of the blessings promised through Abraham to all his posterity, the fulfilment of all the promises relating to the kingdom of God, all the privileges of the children of God; and an entrance into all the relations in which they stand to God. But Paul maintained against the Jews and Judaizers, that by the law and the working of the law, no one could attain this δικαιοσυνη, present himself a δικαιος before God, and enter into the relation with God founded upon it; but that every man appears as a sinner in God's sight, till entering by faith into fellowship with Christ (the only perfect δικαιος by whom mankind are delivered, in the way that we have described from the state of αμαρτια),

* ἀπολυτρωσις is found in the latter sense in Rom. viii. 23, Eph. i. 14; and σωτηρια in the latter sense in Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Pet. i. 5.

he presents himself in union with Christ (ἐν χριστῷ) as a δίκαιος before God, and enters into the entire relation with God, implied in this predicate, is viewed by God as δίκαιος, and established in all the privileges with this idea (δικαιοῦται). Consequently Paul includes in the idea of δικαιοσύνη that act of God, by which he places the believer in Christ in the relation to himself of a δίκαιος, notwithstanding the sin that still cleaves to him. Δικαιοσύνη denotes, then, the subjective appropriation of this relation, the appearing righteous before God, by virtue of faith in the Redeemer, and the whole new tendency and aim of the life, as well as the whole new relation to God, now received into the consciousness, which is necessarily connected with it; the righteousness or perfect holiness of Christ appropriated by faith, as the *objective* ground of confidence for the believer, and also as a new *subjective* principle of life. Thus the righteousness of faith in the Pauline sense includes the essence of a new disposition; and hence the idea of δικαιοσύνη may easily pass into the idea of sanctification, though the two ideas are originally distinct. Accordingly, it is not any arbitrary act on the part of God, as if he regarded and treated as sinless a man persisting in sin, simply because he believes in Christ; but the *Objective* on the part of God corresponds to the *Subjective* on the part of man, namely faith, and this necessarily includes in itself a release from the state inherited from Adam, from the whole life of sin and the entrance into spiritual fellowship with the Redeemer, the appropriation of his divine life. The realization of the archetype of holiness through Christ contains the pledge that this shall be realized in all those who are one with him by faith, and are become the organs of his Spirit; its germ and principle is already imparted to them in believing, although the fruit of a life perfectly conformed to the Redeemer, can only be developed gradually in its temporal manifestation. The connection of these ideas will be rendered clearer by developing the Pauline idea of faith.

What Paul distinguished by the name of Faith has its

root in the depths of the human disposition. It presupposes a revelation of God in a direct relation to man, and faith is the reception and vital appropriation of this divine revelation by virtue of a receptivity for the divine in the human disposition, of the tendency grounded in human nature and the need implanted in it for believing in the supernatural and divine, without which tendency and need, man, however his other faculties might be cultivated, would be no more than *an intelligent animal*.* Something must be presented as an object of knowledge adapted to this part of the human constitution, but this object must be of a kind that can be correctly recognised and understood only by the disposition; it presupposes a certain tendency of the disposition, in order to be known and understood, while it also tends to produce a decided and enduring tendency of the disposition. An inward self-determination of the spirit grounded in the direction of the will is claimed by this object, while a new and constant self-determination is produced by it. It is not in reference to the object of faith, but to the inward subjective significance of this act of the inner man, as that which forms the characteristic of true piety in all ages, that Paul compares the faith of Abraham with the faith of Christians, Rom. iv. 19, where he exhibits Abraham as a pattern of the righteousness of faith. When Abraham received a promise from God, of which the fulfilment seemed to be incompatible with the natural order of things, he raised himself by an act of faith above this impediment, and the word of the Almighty which held forth something invisible, had greater influence upon him than that order of nature which presented itself to his understanding and bodily senses. Hence this faith, as a practical acknowledgment of God in his almighty creative activity, and as a reference of his whole life to the sense of his dependence on God, a true honouring of God :†

* A state to which the intellectual fanaticism of a party in the present age, zealous for the pretended autonomy of reason, seeks to degrade man.

† Α δίδοναι δοξάν τῷ Θεῷ. Rom. iv. 20.

and it was this faith which gave its peculiar significance and character to the life of Abraham. This faith, says Paul, was counted to him by God for *δικαιοσυνη*; that is, although Abraham was not sinless, (as no man is), yet through this tendency of his inward life by virtue of his faith, he entered into the relation to God of a *δικαιος*; and this was no arbitrary nominal act on the part of God, but his faith was viewed by God, to whom the inward soul of man is manifest, as an index of the disposition by which Abraham became susceptible of all divine communications, and from which alone the sanctification of his whole life could proceed.* Now this is applied by Paul to faith with a special reference to Christianity. There is only added a peculiar direction caused by the object on which this faith is fixed, by which also the conception of it as subjective, is modified. Faith in this sense, presupposes the consciousness of sin, the renunciation of any merits of our own before God, the longing after freedom from the dominion of sin, and our not yielding to despair even under the most vivid sense of sinfulness,† but confiding in the grace of redemption; thus there is an entrance into communion with the Redeemer, and a new principle of life is received which continually penetrates and transforms the old nature.

As far as faith includes entering into vital fellowship with the Redeemer, and forsaking the old life of sin, it bears a special reference to the two chief points in which Christ presents himself as Redeemer, as the one who died for the salvation of men, and who also by his resurrection gave them the pledge of an eternal divine life: hence the twofold reference of faith to Jesus the Crucified and the Risen, the negative and positive side of faith in relation to the old life which it renounces and to the new life which it lays hold of; it is the spiritual act by virtue of

* The *διο* in Romans iv. 22, points to this connection. Wherefore, as faith includes all this, as the apostle had before explained, it was imputed to Abraham as *δικαιοσυνη*, as if the *δικαιοσυνη* had already been completed by it.

† In this respect, a *πιστευειν παρ' ἑλπιδα ἐπ' ἑλπιδι*.

which, in surrendering ourselves to him who died for us, we die to a life of sin, to the world, to ourselves, to all which we were before,—whether we are Jews or Gentiles—and rise again in his fellowship, in the power of his Spirit to a new life devoted to him and animated by him. Hence it appeared to the apostle, as he develops the sentiment in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, an absolute contradiction for any one to say that he believed in the Redeemer and yet to continue in his old life of sin. How shall we—he asks—we who (by the act of faith) are dead to sin, live any longer therein? And he demonstrates from the nature of faith in its reference to the death and resurrection of Christ, that faith cannot exist without a renunciation of the former sinful life and the beginning of a new divine life.

From the nature of *πίστις* as the governing principle of the Christian life, arises the peculiarity of the Christian standing-point, in relation to the Jewish as the legal standing-point; and the various indications of this contrariety serve more distinctly to characterize the nature of *πίστις* as the fundamental principle of the Christian life, on which account we wish to consider this subject more in detail.

The law always presents itself as imperative, and makes the salvation of men dependent on the perfect fulfilment of all its commands. “Do all this, and thou shalt live.” But since no one can fulfil those conditions, the law can only produce despair. But the gospel addresses the man who despairs of himself, “Do not give thyself up to the feeling of despair.* Ask not how thou canst make the impossible, possible. Thou needest only receive the salva-

* That interpretation of this passage, which supposes it to express the opposition between Belief and Doubt, appears to me not to be supported by the connection, which leads us to expect a contrast of the righteousness by faith with the righteousness by works, the *θεου δικαιοσύνη* with the *ἰδία*; and the *τουτ' ἐστι*, which, from comparing Rom. ix. 8, and other similar Pauline expressions, must be thus understood—“this is equivalent to saying;” and besides the relation of the Pauline words to the Old Testament quotation, since, according to the interpretation we have adopted, the Pauline application ad-

tion prepared for thee ; only believe and thou hast with thy faith all that is needful for thy inward life. Paul admirably illustrates this by applying to it the passage in Deut. xxx. 12.* Say not to thyself, Who shall ascend to heaven and prepare a path for me thither? For Christ has descended from heaven and has prepared such a path. To ask such a question, is to desire that Christ would descend again from heaven for thy sake. But say not, Who shall descend for me to the regions of the dead and deliver me thence? Christ has risen from the dead and has delivered thee from the power of death. To ask this, is to desire that Christ might now rise from the dead for thy sake, as if he were not already risen. Instead of asking such questions, only let the gospel be cherished with vital power in thy heart;—believe in Him who descended from heaven and rose from death, and thus obtained salvation for thee. Whoever has this faith is truly pious and may be assured of salvation.”†

mirably suits, in spirit and idea, the meaning of the Mosaic words, which is not the case with the other interpretation.

* This passage certainly refers to the Mosaic religious institutions, and the words are fitted to distinguish them in their simple religious and moral character from the other religions of the East. But as far as the law, understood according to its own spirit, made certain requirements which it gave no power to fulfil, Paul might justly apply these words to mark the peculiar Christian standing-point; he found an idea here expressed which is only realized by Christianity, and is thus prophetic of what Christianity alone accomplishes.

† Rom. x. 5. If Paul, in the second member of the contrast, has not opposed Christ to Moses, and employed Christ's own words—and such, no doubt, might have been found among the traditionary expressions of Christ which would have been fit to mark this contrast—it does not follow that he was unacquainted with any collection of the discourses of Christ, or that he could not suppose any such work to be known by the Christians at Rome, for his object was answered by borrowing from the Mosaic writings a motto for the righteousness of faith, which would first find its proper fulfilment in the gospel.

Viewed in the light of legal Judaism, the commandments appeared as merely an outward counteraction of the internal corruption of man, which refused to be cured from without; it was only rendered more apparent by the law; hence the letter only tended to death; it called forth the consciousness of spiritual death and of merited unhappiness, 2 Cor. iii. 6.

The law in reference to its operation on the conscience could be described only as *νομος γραμματος, κατακρίσεως, θανάτου, αμαρτίας*.* But when from faith in the Redeemer, a new divine principle of life proceeds, when from faith in the redeeming fatherly love of God, a child-like love develops itself as the free impulse of a life devoted to God, when, instead of the former opposition between the human and divine will, a union is formed between them—then the law no longer appears as a written code, outwardly opposing a will estranged from God, but the spirit of the law is transfused into the internal life of the believer. The life-giving spirit, harmonizing with the law, occupies the place of the dead and death-producing letter. In the love developed from faith, there is a voluntary fulfilment of the law proceeding from the disposition, instead of actions the result of outward compulsion. In a different sense from that in which Paul, from the standing-point of the natural man, says that he had the law written *on* his heart, he says, from the standing-point of believers, that he carried the law of God *in* his heart—for on the former standing-point, the law, even though internal, presents itself as the command of a foreign higher voice, of a holy power which man is forced to acknowledge in opposition to his corrupted will; hence, it remains a deadly letter, whether we consider it as an external law or an internal revelation. On the contrary, in believers the divine law, by virtue of the new spirit of life imparted by Christ, the

* It was perfectly consonant with the Pauline views to distinguish the law by these predicates, though it may be doubted whether, in Romans viii. 2, the Mosaic law is intended by the word *νομος*.

Holy Spirit, appears not merely an object of knowledge and recognition, but of an efficacious love practically influencing the life. In this sense, Paul says to believers, "Ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God," 1 Thess. iv. 9; and this teaching does not signify something addressed to the faculty of acquiring knowledge, but a real internal effect on the springs of action. From what has been said, we may learn in what sense Paul said of the law in reference to its *moral* not less than to its *ritual* contents, that it was abrogated for believers, that they were dead to it, and placed beyond its jurisdiction;* and as we have before remarked, no such distinction in reference to its perpetuity can be made in the *νομος*. The law is abrogated for the believer, and he is dead to it, as far as it was a compulsory, imperative, accusing code, as far as *δικαιοσύνη* and *ζωή* were to be sought for by the fulfilment of its commands. Justification and salvation by faith in the grace of redemption,† are independent of every law to the believer. The law can produce only outward works‡ by its compulsory enactments, but not those internal determinations of the life, which form the essence of true piety—these proceed in the believer from the new animation by the Divine Spirit—the Christian virtues are the fruits of the Spirit, and those in whom these qualities, unattainable from the standing-point of the law, are formed, are thereby exalted above what can

* The being dead to the law, Rom. vii. 4, and Gal. ii. 19, the removal of the law in its whole extent, Coloss. ii. 14, "for the handwriting of ordinances," which Christ nailed to his cross is manifestly the law, and there must be a special reference to its moral precepts, for in this consisted the difficulty of fulfilling it. It would be altogether consonant with the Pauline views, to understand the figurative expression in Rom. vii. 2, of being dead to the law itself, (namely, this law in its outward theocratic form,) though other exegetical reasons might oppose this interpretation in the former passages.

† The *δικαιοσύνη Θεου*, opposed to the *δικαιοσύνη ανθρωπινη*, *ιδια*, *εξ εργαων*, *εξ νομου*—*χωρις νομου*; Rom. iii. 21.

‡ The *εργα νομου*, which are not *εργα αγαθα*.

only be as a dead letter opposing the indwelling principle of corruption. But it by no means contradicts this relation of the law to the life of the believer, that Paul sometimes brings forward moral precepts as quotations from the *nomos*, for he considers the Mosaic *nomos* as an expression of the eternal law of God in a particular, temporary form, adapted to a particular, outward theocracy, in which the civil arrangements were subordinated to the religious, and hence both were intermixed. The substance of the eternal law of God lay at the basis of the *nomos*, though for a special purpose it was presented in the form of a theocratic national law, which checked its free and complete development. The obligatory force of the commands borrowed from the *nomos* by Paul, therefore, does not consist in their belonging to that *nomos*, but that they formed a part of the eternal law, from which they were transferred to the peculiar form presented in the Old Testament; that portion of the eternal law to which the moral consciousness of men bears witness, is divested of its national garb* by the spirit of the gospel, and developed with greater clearness by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. And when in Rom. xiii. 8, he appeals to the one command of love belonging to the law, he marks exactly the difference of the Christian standing-point from the legal; for if the spirit of love animates believers, and with love is given the fulfilment of the whole law, it follows that the law is no longer for them a compulsory, death-producing letter; and here is exemplified the truth of Christ's assertion, that he came not to destroy but to fulfil the law.

Though the idea of the *nomos* in that narrower sense, forms the distinctive mark between Judaism and the gospel, still there is no inconsistency in applying the

* To this release of the spirit confined in this garb, to the inward as contrasted with the outward theocratic law, we must refer the antithetical expressions in the Sermon on the Mount, which certainly are described not merely against the Phari-saïc expositions, but also against the letter of the law in its theocratic national form. See *Leben Jesu*, 130, 138.

term* in a wider sense, to denote the common relation in which both religions stand to the life of man. Both religions aim at a control over the life, and give a peculiar character to it. Legal Judaism aims at producing this by literal commands from without; Christianity aims at forming it from within through faith, and the Spirit that proceeds from it. In the former case, the law is outward; in the latter, it is inward, one which is the germ of a new life; for every living being develops itself according to a peculiar law.† In reference to these various uses of the term νόμος, Paul endeavours to guard against the misconception that because Christians no longer live under the law, they are in a lawless state; 1 Cor. ix. 21. They have still a law, the law of God, the law of Christ, not merely outward, but inward, entering into the very essence of the Christian life; and this distinction is marked by the phrases living *under* the law, and *in* the law. Hence also Christianity contrasted with Judaism is called a law, and we find various modifications of the term so applied, such as νόμος πίστεως, νόμος ζωῆς, νόμος πνεύματος.

The different relations of the two theocratic standing-points, are clearly connected with the different applications of the idea of law; the outward conception of the idea of the kingdom of God with the outward conception of the idea of law, and with the inward conception of that, the idea of the theocracy, as not outwardly constituted, but developing itself from within, and thus through-

* I cannot agree with those expositors who think that, when Paul describes Christianity as a νόμος, the general idea of law must be altogether given up.

† By Christianity or Regeneration, goodness again becomes a part of human nature, and thus the moral law becomes a higher law of nature harmonizing with the freedom of the will. We may here apply what Schleiermacher says in his academical essay, 1825, on the difference between the law of nature and the moral law, without adopting the views of the author respecting the relation of the law to the deviations from it, and especially the relation of the law to moral freedom.

out we meet with the contrast of the inward and the outward. On the legal Jewish standing-point, there was an outward submission to the will of God, the outward observance of the divine commands, without the opposition between the human and divine commands being taken away; the δουλευειν θεῷ ἐν παλαιότητι γραμματος, in the old state of a nature estranged from God, of which nothing can be altered by the literal, outward command. On the standing-point of faith, the δουλεια is inward, so that in the new state, by virtue of the inward renovation which proceeds from the influence of the Divine Spirit, the sanctified will determines itself in dependence on God, it is a servant of God (the δουλευειν ἐν καινοτητι πνευματος). Hence δουλεια in the latter sense, is voluntary and one with true freedom; 1 Cor. vii. 22. Δουλεια in the first sense, forms a contrast to the freedom of the children of God; on the contrary, δουλεια in the second sense, cannot exist without υἰοθεσια, and is at once a consequence and a mark of it, for what distinguishes the children from the servants of the family, is this, that they do not obey their father's will, as foreign to themselves, but make it their own; dependence on him is, as it were, the natural element of their life. That merely outward servitude of which the internal opposite to this consists, proceeds from the spirit of fear, the special characteristic of servitude; this inward service proceeds from the consciousness of communion with God obtained through Christ the Son of God, and of participation of his Spirit, the spirit of childlike relation to God, the spirit of adoption and of love. Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6.

So likewise the worship of God on the legal standing-point,* was an outward worship (σαρκικη, κατα σαρκα, by means of ἔργα σαρκικα) consisting in a number of outward acts,† confined to certain times and places. Worship

* This is true of the legal moral, as well as of the legal ritual cultus.

† Connected with the διδουλωσθαι ὑπο τα στοιχεια του κοσμου. We wish to offer a few remarks in vindication and confirmation of the interpretation of this expression given above, and

on the standing-point of faith, on the contrary, is *πνευματικη*, since it proceeds from the inworking of the *θειον*

against the common one of *στοιχεια*, as "the first principles of religious knowledge among men." If the word *στοιχεια* meant first principles, we should naturally expect to find in the genitive connected with it, the designation of the object to which these first principles relate, as in Hebrews v. 12, *τα στοιχεια τῆς αρχῆς των λογιων του θεου*. But in the Pauline passage, such a genitive of the object is altogether wanting, and we find instead only a genitive of the subject. The omission of the express mention of the leading idea can hardly be admitted. Paul, in Gal. iv. 8, plainly addressing those who had formerly been heathens, supposes that, before their conversion, they had been in bondage to these elements of the world, if we do not have recourse to an arbitrary interpretation of *παλιν*. According to the common interpretation, we must suppose that Paul, by the first elements of religious knowledge, intended to mark a universal idea, in a certain degree applicable both to Heathenism and Judaism. But how could this agree with the views of Paul, who recognised Judaism, as subordinate and preparative it is true, but yet a standing-point in religion founded on divine revelation, and who, on the other hand, saw in heathenism as such, that is in idolatry, of which he here speaks, not a subordinate standing-point of religion, but something entirely foreign to the nature of religion, a suppression through sin of the original knowledge of God? Neither does the predicate *ασθενη* appear suitable to the idea of the first principles of religion. On the contrary, according to the interpretation I have proposed, all is consistent. The confinement of religion to sensible forms, and therefore its enthrallment in the elements of the world, is common to Judaism and Heathenism. All idolatry may be considered as a bondage and submission to the elements of sense, and a kind of idolatry may be attributed to the Jews and Judaizers, who sought for the Divine for justification and sanctification in external rites. This will make it evident how Paul could say to the Galatian Christians, once heathens, who were infected with this Judaism (Gal. iv. 8), "How can ye, who by the divine mercy have been led to the knowledge of God and communion with him, turn back again to the weak and beggarly elements (a suitable description of them, in reference to persons who sought to find in them what the power of God alone could bestow), to which ye desire to bring yourselves again in bondage. I fear that I have indeed laboured in vain to turn you from idolatry to the worship of the living God."

πνευμα, and is an act of the spiritual nature of man, Philipp. iii. 3 ; hence it does not relate to certain isolated acts, but embraces the whole life ; Rom. xii. 1. On the former standing-point, men placed their confidence and pride in something human and earthly, whatever it might be, whether descent from the theocratic nation, or the righteousness of the law, or ascetic self-denial and mortification of the flesh, the *κατα σαρκα καυχασθαι, εν σαρκι πεποιθεναι*.* But on the standing-point of *πιστις*, after acknowledging the nullity of all such distinctions, of all human works of righteousness, men place their confidence and glory only in the redemption obtained through Christ ; they feel that they possess only what they all receive as believers on equal terms from him, and in communion with him ; the *εν κυριω καυχασθαι*. Here all imaginary distinctions, all differences vanish, which before separated men from one another and checked their fellowship in the highest relation of life ; every thing human is henceforth subordinated to the one spirit of Christ, the common principle of life ; Gal. iii. 28. The only universal and constantly available principle of Christian worship which embraces the whole life, is faith in Christ working by love ; Gal. v. 6.

The principle of the whole transformation of the life which proceeds from the Spirit of Christ is implanted at once in believing, by one act of the mind. Man by means of faith is dead to the former standing-point of a sinful life, and rises to a new life of communion with Christ. The old man is slain once for all ; Rom. vi. 4-6 ; Coloss. iii. 3. Paul assumes that in Christians, the act by virtue of which they are dead to sin, and have crucified the flesh with its affections and lust is already accomplished ideally in principle. Hence he infers, how can they who are dead to sin, live any longer therein ; Rom. vi. 2 ; Gal. v. 24. But the practice must correspond to the

* According to Paul's views, this will apply to the over-valuation of what is human in every form and relation ; as, for instance, the Grecian culture and philosophy ; see the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

principle ; the outward conformation of the life must harmonize with the tendency given to the inward life. Walking in the Spirit must necessarily proceed from living in the Spirit, Gal. v. 25 ; the former must be a manifestation of the latter. Hence Christians are always required to renew the mortification of the flesh, to walk after the Spirit, to let themselves be animated by the Spirit. The transformation of the old nature in man which proceeds from the divine principle of life received by faith, is not completed in an instant, but can only be attained gradually by conflict with sin ; for the renewed as well as the old nature consists of two principles, the πνεύμα and the σαρκίς, only with this difference, that no longer (as Paul represents the state of the natural man in Rom. vii.) the human self with its powerless desires after goodness opposes the principle of sinfulness, the σαρκίς, but instead of the human self, there is the divine principle of life which has become the animating one of human nature, the πνεύμα θεῖον, ἁγίον, the Spirit of Christ, Christ himself by his Spirit ; Gal. ii. 20. Hence it is not said from *this* standing-point that the Spirit wishes to do good but is hindered by the σαρκίς from accomplishing its wishes, so that the σαρκίς is the vital principle of action ; but it is enjoined on those who have received the divine principle of life, Gal. v. 16, " Walk in the Spirit,* so shall ye not fulfil the desires

* I cannot agree with Ruckert, in referring the πνεῦμα here spoken of, not to the Spirit of God, but to the higher nature of man. Certainly the word πνεύμα in this whole chapter is to be understood only in one sense, and taking every thing into account, the idea of the Holy Spirit is the only one which suits Paul's meaning ; as, for example, in v. 18. And generally in this epistle, the same idea of the Spirit is to be firmly held. Verse 17 contains no proof to the contrary ; for Paul here assumes, that the πνεῦμα has pervaded the characteristic faculties of man, that the new principle of life has taken possession of human nature, and given it a new and peculiar vitality. He wishes to mark the new higher principle that is now the antagonist of the σαρκίς in man. Men may with the strictest propriety be called upon to surrender themselves to this higher principle, to allow themselves to

of the flesh, for the Spirit and the flesh conflict with one another, so that you must distinguish what proceeds from the Spirit and what from the flesh, and you must not fulfil what you desire according to the carnal self, but what the Spirit within you desires."* This marks the contrast to the standing-point described in Rom. vii. 15. Accordingly, the divine life in the inner man must be in continual conflict with the operations of the *σαρξ*, and progressively converts the body hitherto under the control of sinful habits, into an organ for itself (Rom. vi. 11-13), so that the *μέλη τοῦ σώματος* be-

be led by it, according to its impulses, for Paul considered the operation of the Divine Spirit in man, not as something magical, but constantly assumes the working together of the divine and the human. It is perfectly true that, according to Paul's doctrine, the higher nature in man, the capability of knowing God, which before was confined and depressed, is set at liberty by the Holy Spirit, and now serves as the organ for the operations of the Divine Spirit in human nature, and hence, that as this higher nature of man can now operate in its freedom as the organ of the Divine Spirit, so the latter can now operate in man by means of this organ, and hence the two are blended together in the Christian life. But when Paul wishes to infuse courage and confidence for the spiritual conflict, he directs the attention, not to what is subjectively human, but to the almighty power of God.

* This passage, in my opinion, cannot be understood otherwise than in this manner, though later expositors have given a different interpretation. It has been supposed to mean, "So that ye cannot accomplish what you desire according to the spirit; ye are unable to follow the dictates of the better will;"—and referring these words to the state of the regenerate, this would form a special ground of exhortation for following the leadings of the Spirit, and withstanding the *σαρξ*, if Paul said to them that they were prevented from following the motions which proceeded from the Spirit by the prevalence of the *σαρξ*. But if it is understood of the condition of the natural man, and v. 18 is considered as a contrast, we do not see how Paul, who had before addressed those whom he assumed to be Christians, could make such a sudden transition to a different class of persons. The correspondence of the last words of v. 17, with the last words of the foregoing sense, confirms the opinion, that the "Θελῆσι" relates to the "ἐπιθυμίας σαρκος."

come ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης; all the powers and faculties which hitherto have been in the service of sin, being appropriated and sanctified by the divine life, are employed as organs of grace for the service of the kingdom of God; and here the doctrine of charisms finds its point of connection; (Vol. I. pp. 152–164). All the peculiar capabilities or talents founded in the nature of each individual, are to be transformed into charisms and employed as such. And it is the province of Christian morals to shew in what manner human nature must be pervaded in all its powers by the higher principle of life, and appropriated as an organ of its manifestation; how all human relations are set at liberty and referred to the kingdom of God; and how what is individual belonging to the representation of the image of God in man is not suppressed and annihilated, but is to be transformed and elevated to a peculiar form and manifestation of the higher principle of life. We here see the difference between Christian principle as Paul represents it, and a one-sided ascetic direction in morals. Paul brings forward as one side in the process of the development of the Christian life, the negative operation; to mortify the principle of sin which has hitherto reigned in the body, Rom. v. 3, to mortify the members as far as they serve sin, Coloss. iii. 5, * but this is only one side. The other is the positive operation, the positive appropriation, that as believers are now dead with Christ to sin, the world, and themselves, so now they lead a new divine life, increasingly devoted to him; the Spirit of Christ that dwells in them constantly animates their bodies afresh as his organ, Rom. viii. 11, so that the μέλη consecrated to God, are employed in his service according to the station God has indicated to each individual, as ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης. As the πνεῦμα ἅγιον is the common vital principle of all believers, the animating Spirit of the Church of God, so the diversity of the form in which he operates in and

* The μέλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which belong to a carnal earthly course of life, are directly opposed to the heavenly mind in v. 2.

through each individual, varied by their sanctified peculiarities and characteristics, is designated by the term *χαρισμα*.

But since this appropriation and pervasion of the old nature is a continual conflict, and the farther a man advances in holiness the more capable he is rendered by the illumination of the Holy Spirit of distinguishing what proceeds from the Spirit and what from the flesh, and of discerning all the disturbing influences of the latter; hence the distinction between the objective justification and subjective sanctification is always necessary, in order that the confidence of man may not be wavering as it must be, if he looks only to himself, Philipp. iii. 12, but may maintain its firm unchangeable ground, by being fixed on the objective, the grace of redemption, the love of Christ, from which no power of hell can separate the redeemed; Rom. viii. 31-32. In the Pauline idea of the justification and righteousness available before God which is granted to man by the redeeming grace of God, and appropriated by faith, the objective is always primary and predominant. At the same time something subjective is imparted with it, something new is deposited in the inner life which must be progressively developed; the righteousness of Christ appropriated by faith, is transferred to the inner life of the believer and becomes a new principle, forming the life according to the example of Christ.* And when this process of development shall be completed, believers will attain the possession of an eternal, divine, and blessed life inseparable from perfect righteousness; then the objective idea of justification will be wholly transferred to the subjective, Rom. v. 19-21; but till this is accomplished, in order to lay a firm foundation for the confidence of the soul, it is always necessary, while conceiving both ideas according to their essential and ultimate connection, still to keep in mind their distinction from one another.

* The scholastic expression, "Justitia Christi per fidem habet esse in animo," perfectly corresponds to Paul's meaning. -

Since the whole Christian disposition is produced from faith, and thereby the whole life is determined and formed, the term *πίστις* has been employed to designate the whole of the Christian disposition and of Christian ability.* Thus the predicate *δυνατός τῇ πίστει* designates the standing-point, where faith in the Redeemer, confidence in the justification obtained through him, has become to such a degree the animating principle of the convictions, and has so pervaded the whole tone of thinking, that a man is enabled to judge and act in all the relations of life according to it; that he cannot be drawn aside, as he otherwise would be, by any foreign element of other views which formerly influenced him; since otherwise it might happen that his earlier religious standing-point would exercise a kind of power over his conscience, from which he could not altogether free himself, even when raised to the Christian standing-point; as in the case of one who had become a believer from the Jewish standing-point; such a person would only by degrees free himself from its influences on his judgment of all the relations of life; as the new Christian principle proceeding from faith in the Redeemer gradually impregnated his whole mode of thinking. This power of faith over the judgment is shewn for example in this, that a man certain of his salvation in fellowship with the Redeemer, will no longer allow himself to be agitated by scruples in the use of outward things, which he before indulged on the Jewish standing-point, as if this or that thing could defile him. So we are to understand what Paul says Rom. xiv. 2. *ὅς μὲν πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα, ἰ. ε. δυνατός ἐστὶ τῇ πίστει ὥστε φαγεῖν πάντα*; he can no longer be misled by a mixture of scruples arising from his earlier legal standing-point. The *ασθενεῖν τῇ πίστει* forms the opposite to this strength of faith, in

* Hence the measure of faith as the measure of Christian ability, and the measure of grace bestowed on each individual, are correlative ideas; Rom. xii. 3. Christians are only to aim at rightly applying the measure of ability they have received; to do every thing according to its proportion; Rom. xii. 6. They are not to indulge conceit, or to pass beyond the limits of their own standing-point.

which, along with faith, another element arising from the former standing-point, controlled the convictions, and hence the internal strife between the principle founded in Christian conviction or *πιστις*, and the doubts that rebelled against it; Rom. xiv. 1. Though Paul took occasion from existing relations to develop his views on this subject with a special reference to the Jewish legal standing-point, yet they would apply to the relation subsisting between any other standing-point and the Christian or that of the righteousness by faith. The power of faith governing the life gives an independence and stability to the Christian character, imparts strength and freedom to the mind. This it is that forms the basis of Christian freedom, which consists in this, that the Christian since he has devoted his whole life to Christ as his Redeemer and through him to God, since he is animated only by the consciousness of this dependence and acknowledges no other,—for this reason, feels independent of all created beings, of all earthly things; hence, he acts in the consciousness of this independence, is master of all things by the animating Spirit of Christ, and is in bondage to no man, to no circumstances; nothing can so operate upon him as to determine him to a different course from that dictated by the Spirit of Christ, for this is the great determining principle of his life; 1 Cor. vii. 21; 1 Cor. vi. 12;* 1 Cor. iii. 22. While the Christian as an organ of the Spirit of Christ who has won the government of the world, to whom at last all things must be subject—is free from the world and every thing belonging to it, from all power of created beings, he likewise in spirit rules over all things. Freedom and mastery over the world here meet. This freedom and this mastery over the world proceeding from faith (like every thing

* *οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπο τινος*, I will not suffer myself to be mastered by any outward things, but in the spirit of Christian love I will use all things freely. Instead of availing myself of my Christian freedom, I should make myself really a slave, in eating the flesh of sacrifices, if I believed that I must do this in every case without a reference to particular circumstances.

Christian), and founded in the depths of the soul, can hence manifest themselves under all outward restrictions, and evince their power by the fact, that these outward restrictions for the spirit which is exalted above them and feels itself independent of every thing, cease to be restrictive, and are included in his free self-determination and mastery over the world. Paul proves his Christian freedom precisely in this manner, that for the good of others, and in order to make every thing subservient to the Spirit of Christ, he so acted in all things as would best contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and thus freely submitted to all the forms of dependence. Free from all, he made himself the servant of all; having the mastery over all, he submitted to all the forms of dependence ordained by God, and in doing so exercised his mastery over the world; 1 Cor. ix. 1-19.

It is evident that nothing can be excepted from this reference of the whole life to the kingdom of God, for the Christian disposition proceeding from faith, and referring every thing to God's glory, is the great arbitrator in all the events of life. Accordingly, there can be no empty space for things indifferent of which Christian principle takes no cognisance, nothing belonging to human nature which does not receive a moral impress from Christian principle, agreeably to Paul's exhortation, "Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," 1 Cor. x. 31. It may appear to contradict this principle, by which the whole of life becomes one great duty, and no room is left for an *αδιαφορον*, that Paul, in 1 Cor. vi. 12, x. 23, distinguishes from the province of the lawful, that which is useful or serves for edification; but the contradiction is only in appearance, and will vanish on a closer examination of the apostle's views. It could only contradict the principle in question, if Paul had reckoned what did not contribute to edification as still belonging to what was lawful on Christian grounds, or if he had not considered what contributed to edifying as what alone was matter of duty. But it was not so, for he declares it to be the *duty* of Christians so to

deny their selfish inclinations as would be for the best, or for the edification of the church, 1 Cor. x. 24; or, which is equivalent, as would be for the glory of God, 1 Cor. x. 31. This is the course of action prescribed by Christian love; but very different would be the course that proceeded from self-love, and for that reason sinful. The subject will be clearer, if we examine more closely the particular case under the apostle's consideration. He is speaking of partaking of certain kinds of food, more particularly of meat offered to idols. All this belongs to the province of things permitted, and in a religious and moral point of view indifferent, on which Christianity (unlike Judaism) laid no restrictions. "Meat commendeth us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the better; neither if we eat not are we the worse," 1 Cor. viii. 8. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," Rom. xiv. 17. But though all this in itself has no moral character, and without the addition of other marks belongs to things indifferent, yet like every thing belonging to human nature, it is not excepted from the impression of Christian principle, for it is included in the Pauline maxim, "Whatsoever ye do, whether ye eat or drink, do all to the glory of God;" and Paul himself adduces instances in which what is in itself indifferent may be either a matter of duty or criminal. An individual who, though not sufficiently advanced in Christian knowledge to attain the conviction that the eating of meat sacrificed to idols is in itself indifferent, is yet seduced by worldly considerations to partake of it, acts in a manner deserving of condemnation, since he does not act according to his convictions (*οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως*), Rom. xiv. 23. And whoever eats of flesh offered to idols, following his own inclination, and taking no account of the scruples of his weak brother, and thus seduces him to follow his example without a firm conviction of its rectitude, troubles his brother's conscience, and acts himself contrary to the law of love, and sins, 1 Cor. viii. 12; Rom. xiv. 15. From this exposition of the apostle's views, it appears that since what every one has to do, under the given condi-

tions and relations of the individual standing-point on which the Lord has placed him, is defined by Christian principles, no one can accomplish more than the measure of his individual duty. Indeed, so much will sinfulness still adhere to all his performances, that even the most advanced Christian will come short of the requirements of duty; as Paul, referring to himself, acknowledges, Philipp. iii. 12. Yet what Paul says in reference to his own conduct in one particular instance, may seem to contradict what has just been remarked, 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15, &c. The apostle was authorized, in preaching the gospel, to receive his maintenance from the Christian communities for whom he laboured; but he waved his claim to it, and supported himself by the labour of his own hands. He did, therefore, more than his duty demanded, since he made no use of what was allowable. Certainly he would not have hesitated for a moment to apply to himself the words of Christ in Luke xvii. 16, in reference to his conduct in this particular instance. But he held it to be his duty, under all circumstances, so to act as would most contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of God; and a regard to that object induced him in this instance to receive no maintenance from the church, in order that he might avoid all appearance of self-interest. Hence he felt an inward compulsion to act thus; and if he had not thus acted he would have violated the spirit of his calling, and have been dissatisfied with himself; for he went so far as to say, that he would rather die than act otherwise. The peculiar circumstances of his ministry, and the peculiar charism bestowed upon him, occasioned a peculiar modification of the general duty of all preachers of the gospel. What on his peculiar standing-point was a duty, might be contrary to duty on the standing-point of others,—those persons, for instance, to whom Providence had committed the maintenance of a family.

The fundamental ideas of Christian morals are in general to be deduced from the nature of faith as a practical principle. From faith spontaneously proceeds the love that refers the whole life to God, and consecrates it

to his service, for the advancement of his kingdom ; for from a knowledge of the love of God manifested in the work of redemption, love is kindled to him who has shewn such superabounding love. In faith as Paul conceived it, love is already contained in the germ, for what distinguishes faith in his view from superstition, was that the latter as it arises only from the dread of natural evil, only desires a Redeemer from such evil ; faith, on the contrary, is developed from the feeling of unhappiness in sin as sin, of estrangement from God, and of longing after communion with him, which presupposes the love of God in the heart, though checked and repressed. But when the revelation of God's holy love in the work of redemption, which faith receives, awakens the slumbering desire of man, or meets it already awakened, the germ of love deposited in the heart is set free from its confinement, that it may expand to communion with its original source. Entering into communion with the Redeemer, believers are penetrated by the love of God to them, and hence they are able rightly to understand the extent of God's love.* From this perception of God's love, the child-like love of believers is continually inflamed towards him, and this love operates incessantly for the renovation of the whole life after the image of Christ, and for the advancement of the kingdom of God ; it forms the life according to the heavenly model presented to it by faith. The whole Christian life appears as a work of faith, and thus all individual good works † appear as necessary immediate expressions of faith, its fruits, the signs of the new

* Rom. v. 5. By the Holy Spirit, the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts, and makes itself felt there. The voice of God himself in their hearts declares that they are his children ; Rom. viii. 16. Thus, in Eph. iii. 18, there is first the wish that Christ may dwell in their hearts by faith, whereupon it follows, that their inner life may be deeply rooted in the love of God—the love of God towards the redeemed, is the element in which their whole inward life and consciousness rests—and having been first penetrated by the feeling of love, they can then rightly understand its extent.

† The *εργα αγαθα* are to be distinguished from the *εργα νομου*.

creation effected by it.* And as all the actions of the believer may be traced back to the "*work of faith*," so likewise to the "*labour of love*."† Now faith and love have a relation on one side to something which is apprehended as present in the inward life: faith in communion with the Redeemer has already received a divine blessed life; believers are already incorporated with the kingdom of God, and have obtained the right of citizenship in it, and by partaking of the Holy Spirit operating in them by faith, they anticipate the divine power and blessedness of this kingdom; they have the foretaste of eternal life;‡ they already possess the germs and first-fruits of the New Creation, in which every thing proceeds from a divine living principle with which nothing heterogeneous is allowed to mingle—when it attains its completion after the resurrection. But it follows from this, that the Christian life cannot be conceived of without a reference to the future; as in the divine life the Future becomes in a certain sense a Present, so the Present exists only in reference to the Future,|| for it contains an anticipa-

* The σωτηρια not ἐξ ἔργων, as if men could gain salvation by works performed before conversion; for the announcement of the salvation obtained for men by redemption, belongs as a gift of unmerited grace to those who are destitute of the divine life, and thus of the true inclination to goodness, whether they are still sunk in gross sensuality, or are raised to an outward legal morality; and the εἶργα ἀγαθα which really deserve the name, presupposes that divine life which proceeds from faith; indeed the new creation must manifest itself by corresponding good works; is designed to produce such. Hence the contrast, that believers are not σεσωσμενοι ἐξ ἔργων, but κτισθεντες ἐπι ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, Eph. ii. 9, 10.

† 1 Thess. i. 3. το ἔργον τῆς πιστιως, ὁ κοπος τῆς ἀγαπης.

‡ The Holy Spirit as the ἀρράβων in relation to the whole assemblage of heavenly blessings; 2 Cor. i. 22, the earnest given as a pledge of the payment of the whole sum.

|| This must be carefully considered, in order rightly to understand the relation of the present to the future in a Christian sense, and to avoid the delusion of the pantheistic deification of self, which imposes on the language of Paul and John a sense quite foreign to the truth.

tion, the germ and preparation of that which will attain to perfect development and completion only in the Future. With the present earthly system a higher order of things is connected, which cannot be fully developed in believers, and whose nature is not yet wholly manifest, but in many respects veiled from their view. The development of the divine life, which they have received through faith, is now only giving signs of its existence, and feebly beginning to expand. The consciousness of this divine life is accompanied with a consciousness of the obstacles by which that life is fettered, till human nature is thoroughly pervaded by it and purified from all that is alien; while this consciousness at the same time produces a longing after that perfect freedom which is the destiny of the children of God. Though it is always presupposed that believers have already attained the dignity and privileges of the children of God, still their rights relate to something future, for all that is involved in the idea of adoption, all that belongs to the dignity, glory, and blessedness of the children of God, is very far from being realized on earth. For this reason, it is said in Romans viii. 23, that Christians who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan after the perfect manifestation of the dignity of the children of God,* after their

* The *υιοθεσια*, though, in Gal. iv. 5, this is attributed to believing as something present. If we compare this passage in the Epistle to the Galatians with that quoted from the Romans, we shall discover a threefold gradation in the idea of adoption. Paul first considers it as the predicate applied to the theocratic nation in the Old Testament, to whom promises were given of an inheritance (the *κληρονομια*) in the kingdom of God. Those persons to whom the law and the prophets were given, are certainly children and heirs, but they have not yet attained to the actual self-conscious appropriation of the filial relation, and the exercise of the rights grounded upon it. Since they are in a state of minority, are standing under the guardianship and discipline of the law, and their father's will is not consciously and freely become their own, their relation to him can be no other than that of outward dependence and servitude. By faith in the Redeemer, and communion with him as the Son, they become

redemption from all that checks and depresses their inward life. This longing after the other world is as essential a feature of the Christian life as the partial and fragmentary anticipation of the future in the participation of the divine life through faith. Paul uses expressions from this standing-point which would be most offensive to that deification of the world and self, which is diametrically and entirely opposed to Christianity. "We should be more miserable than any men if we had hope in Christ only in this life, with no higher future existence in which our hopes might be fulfilled; for the Christian life would be then a life full of delusive wants that would never be satisfied, a pursuit after unreal phantoms, the offspring of self-deceptive desires." Filled with divine assurance of his convictions and experience, Paul would turn away with abhorrence from views which would make all his conflicts and efforts appear as if expended on a nonentity.

If the soul under a sense of the burden which weighs down the higher life is absorbed in such longings not confined to one single object, and words fail to express the deeply felt necessities of the heart, these silent aspirations rising from the depths of a heart yearning after true and complete freedom, and yet resigned to the will of its heavenly Father, constitute prayer acceptable to God, inspired by the Spirit of God, the Spirit of adoption. The whole condition of such a soul is prayer. The Spirit of God himself intercedes with inexpressible and silent groans; Rom. viii. 26. Thus in Coloss. iii. 3 it is said, that as the glory of Christ exalted to the right hand of God is hid from the world, so also the glory of

freed from this dependence and servitude, and attain to a self-conscious, mature, and free filial relation. But this relation in its full extent includes all that which is founded in the idea of Christ as the Son of God, the perfect communion of his holiness, blessedness, and glory; hence a progressive development of this relationship takes place, until the appearance of the children of God will perfectly correspond to the idea of a child of God; which is the third application of this idea.

the inner life of believers proceeding from communion with him is still hidden with Christ in God, and its appearance does not correspond at present to its nature. But when Christ, the author and source of this life, shall manifest himself in his glory, then shall their hidden glory be manifest, and correspond in appearance to its original; Col. iii. 4.

From the relation of the Christian life of faith and love to a creation that is to be perfectly developed and completed only in the future state, it follows that *Faith* and *Love* cannot subsist without *Hope*.* Faith itself becomes hope, while it apprehends salvation as something to be realized in the future; Rom. viii. 24.† Faith is proved and strengthened by conflicts and sufferings;—by the opposition which it has to overcome, it develops the consciousness of its indwelling divine power, and of those divine results which are not yet apparent but stretch into eternity; and thus it expands into hope for the future.‡ The consciousness of the love of God contains the pledge for the certain fulfilment of hope. The faith

* If we reflect, how all the ideas relating to the dignity and blessedness conferred by Christianity refer alike to something Present and something Future, and accordingly admit of a variously manifold application, it will be easy to explain why, in Gal. v. 5, *δικαιοσυνη* is represented in reference to its perfect realization in the life of believers as an object of expectation and hope; and it belongs also to the contrast between the Jewish-legal and the Christian standing-point, that on the former it was supposed that *δικαιοσυνη* might be possessed as something outwardly perceptible and apparent, while the distinction between the idea and the appearance was not thought of.

† If *ἐλπῖς* be here understood subjectively, *ἐλπῖς* would be placed instead of *πίστις* as laying hold of *σωτηρια*; for *πίστις* itself can exist in necessary relation to the future only as *ἐλπῖς*. But if *ἐλπῖς* be understood objectively, then it will signify that *σωτηρια* is here presented as the object of hope, which may be affirmed, on account of the various meanings attached to the former.

‡ Rom. v. 4. Perseverance under sufferings produces a confirmation (of faith), and confirmation of faith produces hope.

that operates by love could not persist in the efforts, which so many obstacles oppose, in conflict with the inward and outward world, if the prospect were not granted of certainly attaining its end. Hence *Perseverance** in the work and conflict of faith is the practical side of hope. Ἐλπις and ὑπομονη appear as associated ideas,† and the latter term is sometimes used instead of ἔλπις.‡

We must here examine more closely the relation of knowledge in religion to these three fundamental principles of the Christian life, as laid down in the Pauline theology. Faith presupposes and includes knowledge, for it cannot exist without a reference of the disposition to something objective; there must be an object of knowledge to operate on the disposition. But the divine cannot be known from without in a merely abstract logical manner, but only by what bears an affinity to it in the soul, by the sense for the divine. As long as man is opposed to the divine in the bias of his disposition, he cannot know it. Hence Paul says, 1 Cor. ii. 14, the natural man who is estranged from the divine life, receives not what proceeds from the Spirit of God, for it appears to him (on account of this his subjective relation to the divine) as foolishness, and he is unable to know it, because it can be rightly understood and appreciated only in a *spiritual* manner, that is, by means of the πνεῦμα ἄγιον, so that a participation in this spirit of a higher life is presupposed. Hence, also, we are not to conceive of faith as something proceeding from unassisted human nature, from man in his natural state; but the manner in which faith arises in the disposition, presupposes the entrance of the divine into the conscience and inner life. But as the knowledge of divine things depends upon a participation of the divine life, it follows that, in proportion as the divine life received by faith progressively de-

* On this idea and its relation to the Christian idea of Hope, see Schleiermacher's academical treatise "*über die wissenschaftliche Behandlung des Tugendbegriffes*," 1820.

† 1 Thess. i. 3. ὑπομονη τῆς ἐλπίδος.

‡ 2 Thess. i. 4.

velops, as the matter of faith is vitalized by inward experience, the knowledge of this matter enlarges in a higher degree, and hence this wider expansion of knowledge is described as a fruit of faith.* And since the divine life of faith in love, since faith in the Pauline sense cannot be conceived of without love, it is evident that the true knowledge of divine things can only continue to be developed according to the measure of increasing love. Hence Paul says in 1 Cor. viii. 2, that without love there can be only the appearance of knowledge. But as the divine life in believers is constantly subject to disturbing and depressing influences, and exists only in a fragmentary and alloyed state, it follows that the knowledge arising from it will never be otherwise than defective. This may also be inferred from what we have remarked before respecting the relation of faith to the higher order of things still veiled from human sight, with which faith places us in vital communion, and to the nature of that adoption which is at present so imperfectly realized, owing to the opposition between the idea of it and its actual manifestation. Hence Paul forms a contrast between the inadequate knowledge of the matter of faith in the present life, and its perfect immediate intuition in eternity. He illustrates the relation of the two, by a comparison of the knowledge we possess of an object by seeing it reflected in a dim mirror, with the knowledge obtained by immediately beholding it; by comparing the notions of children (which contain a certain portion of truth, though not developed with clearness and certainty, so that there is a continuity of knowledge carried on from the child to the man), with the ideas of mature manhood; † by contrasting what is fragmentary and isolated

* Coloss. i. 9; Ephes. i. 18. In the last passage, knowledge is represented as an effect of the illumination proceeding from faith.

† We may here compare Plato's representation of a two-fold standing-point of knowledge at the beginning of the seventh book of his Republic. As if a person were confined in a cavern where the light only feebly glimmered, and he saw merely the shadows of objects by that faint light; and after-

with what is perfect; 1 Cor. xiii. 9-12. Such is the knowledge of divine things as they are shadowed forth to us in our temporal consciousness compared with the intuition of the things themselves. Hence, it is evident, that Paul was conscious that he could speak of these things only in a symbolical form, which veiled and contained a higher reality. Therefore, from the sense of the defectiveness and limitation of our present knowledge of God and divine things, a longing is excited after that perfect knowledge which the mind of man allied to its Maker and filled with a divine life, requires. This longing naturally merges into hope.

We are now led to inquire, why Paul, when he represents faith, hope, and love as the abiding, unchangeable foundations of the Christian life in its earthly development,* distinguishes love as the greatest of these three.

wards regaining his liberty, became acquainted with the objects themselves as they appeared in broad daylight. In this manner Plato contrasts two standing-points of the present life; the standing-point of the multitude, the slaves of sense, and the standing-point of the higher intellectual life, as it is presented by Philosophy. This higher standing-point of Philosophy might be allowed in the state of the heathen world: but Christianity will not authorize any such intellectual aristocraticism. This would become a beautiful image in a Christian sense, if applied not to the contrast between the degrees of knowledge in this life and those in the future, but to that between the views of the world entertained by the natural man, and those which the divine light of the gospel imparts to all who receive it. We may here compare with Paul's language, the beautiful remarks of Gregory Nazianzen; Θεον ὁ, τι ποτε μὲν ἐστὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, οὔτε τις εὗρεν ἀνθρώπων παποτε, οὔτε μὴν εὔρη. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν εὔρησει ποτε, ζητήσῃα τοῦτο. εὔρησει δὲ ὡς ἔμος λόγος, ἐπειδὴν το θεοιδέες τοῦτο καὶ θεῖον, λεγα δὲ τον ἡμεστερον νουν τε καὶ λογον. τῶ οἰκειῶ προσμιξῆ, καὶ ἡ εἰκων ἀνελθῆ προς το ἀρχετυπον, οὗ νυν ἔχει τὴν ἐφῆσιν, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ το πανυ φιλοσοφουμενον ἐπιγνωσεσθαι ποτε ἡμᾶς, ὁσον ἐγνωσμεθα, το δὲ νῦν εἶναι βραχεῖα τις ἀπόρροη πᾶν το εἰς ἡμᾶς φθانون καὶ οἶον μεγαλυ φωτος μικρον ἀπαυγασμα.—*Orat.* 34.

* In reference to understanding this, it makes no difference whether we consider the *νυν* in 1 Cor. xiii. 11, as an illative particle or one of time, for in either case, what Paul here says, can relate only to the present earthly condition of the

What is asserted by the Catholics is indeed true, that love alone can give faith its true value, since it makes it living, and hence forms the criterion between dead and living faith.* It is equally true, that love forms the difference between genuine Christian and carnal selfish hope.† But in this connection Paul could not, according to his own association of ideas, intend to say that love was the greatest, for love in its true Christian meaning presupposes faith—(love in a general sense is a different thing; that love which proceeds from the universal sense of God implanted in the human mind, and from the general manifestations of the love of God in the creation and in the heart of a man who follows the divine guidance;)—and faith again presupposes love, and that which Paul distinguishes by the name of faith stands in the closest connection with love. What the Catholic church understands by the term *fides informis*, Paul would not esteem worthy of being called faith. He calls love the greatest rather for this reason, that it is the only eternal abiding form of the connection of the human spirit with the divine; love alone endures beyond this earthly life; it will never give place to the development of a higher principle but will expand itself in perpetuity.‡

Christian life. According to Paul's views, hope necessarily relates to something still future, not yet realized; when the realization takes place, hope ceases to exist; Rom. viii. 24. And faith and the perfect knowledge of immediate intuition are ideas that reciprocally exclude one another; 2 Cor. v. 7. When Billroth in his late Commentary on this Epistle, supposes the “*μενει*” to mean the objects of these graces as eternal and abiding, this certainly cannot be Paul's idea, for they are indeed unchangeable, and the same for all the three operations of the Spirit; but these three terms refer to the subjective relation in which man stands to divine things, and this relation under the form of faith and hope, is suited only to the earthly standing-point, and is itself transitory. Love only is in itself the *μενον*.

* The *fides informis* and the *fides formata*.

† The *πνευματικη* and the *σαρκικη* as proceeding from a heathenish and from a Jewish element.

‡ Augustin beautifully remarks: “*Fides quare sit necessaria, quam jam videat? Spes nihilominus, quia jam tenet?*”

Thus these three fundamental principles of the Christian life, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*, are intimately connected with one another; and since every thing which directly or indirectly belongs to man's moral nature is brought under their control, and receives from them a peculiar character, they form a foundation on which to erect the whole structure of Christian morals.

The idea of ταπεινοφροσυνη is inseparable from these principles. This quality is closely connected with the whole system of the theocratic views developed in the Old Testament, and marks the contrast of the Christian and Heathen mode of contemplating human nature. The consciousness of dependence on God as the animating principle of life in all its relations, the innate weakness of all created beings, and that they can be and do nothing excepting through God, was in direct opposition to the prevailing sentiments of self-esteem and self-confidence.* But on the legal standing-point, this consciousness was either only partial as far as self-righteousness (which implied a desire of independence in reference to moral development and the attainment of salvation,) counteracted the perfect acknowledgment of dependence on God; or, where the feeling of internal disunion had been developed to its utmost extent, and the feeling of estrangement from a holy omnipotence became predominant, only the negative element of humility remained, the consciousness of personal worthlessness as something mortifying to pride, the consciousness of an impassable chasm between the limited sinful creature and the Almighty Holy Creator. But when to this feeling is added faith in the Redeemer, and the consciousness of having obtained redemption, the positive is blended with the negative element, the consciousness of the participation of

Caritati vero non solum nihil extrahetur, sed addetur etiam plurimum, nam et illam singularem veramque pulchritudinem quum viderit, plus amabit, et nisi ingenti amore oculum infixerit, nec ab aspiciendo uspiam declinaverit, manere in illa beatissima visione non poterit." *Soliloquia* I. § 14.

* See Knapp's excellent remarks on this opposition in his *Scriptis varii argumenti*, ed. II. p. 367.

the divine life and of the high dignity of adoption bestowed by God. If, on the contrary, the connection between these two points, which belong to the essence of Christian knowledge and of the Christian disposition, be dissolved, and the negative element be unduly brought forward, a false self-humiliation is produced,—a self-aborrence with a denial of the dignity founded on the consciousness of redemption,—a sense of depression without that sense of exaltation, which is blended with it in the consciousness of redemption. Such a false humility, which displays itself in outward gestures and ceremonies, Paul combated in the false teachers of the Colossian church; but he classed this mock-humility with spiritual pride, veiled as it was under the form of an ascetic self-debasement.*

With the consciousness of the nothingness of all that man can be and effect by his own power, Paul combined the elevating consciousness of what man is and can perform through the Lord; to the *κατα σαρκα, ἐν ανθρωπω κυχᾶσθαι* he opposes the *ἐν κυριω κυχᾶσθαι*.

As humility first acquires its true character through the love that proceeds from faith, as through love man's whole life is pervaded by a sense of his dependence on God, and the human will becomes an organ of the divine, so also Christian love cannot exist without an abiding consciousness of the difference between the creature

* This is a caricature of humility, which has often reappeared in the history of the church; and thus the nature of genuine Christian humility has been frequently mistaken by those who were strangers to the Christian standing-point, and knew not how to distinguish a morbid from a healthy state of the spiritual life. An individual of this class, Spinoza, justly says of that mock-humility, which alone can exist where the natural feelings are not overpowered by the force of a divine principle of life, and at the same time transformed into something higher, and where man has not risen from the depths of self-abasement to a sense of his true dignity: "Hi affectus, nempe humilitas et abjectio, rarissimi sunt. Nam natura humana, in se considerata, contra eosdem quantum potest, nititur et ideo, qui maxime creduntur abjecti et humiles esse, maxime plerumque ambitiosi et invidie sunt." *Ethices*, pars iii. § 29.

and the Creator, the redeemed and the Redeemer, and the sense of dependence which that difference involves. It is the sentiment which Paul expresses in the interrogation, "What hast thou, which thou hast not received?" I Cor. iv. 7. In the exercise of his ministry, his soul was pervaded by a consciousness of his weakness as a man (Vol. I. p. 202), which was deepened by his sufferings and conflicts, though accompanied by the conviction that he could do all things through the power of the Lord; Acts xx. 19. Thus that state of mind was produced which he describes as *μετα φοβον και τρομον*. This was far from being the mark of a slavish fear, but only of that state of mind which resulted from a sense of the insufficiency of mere human power for the discharge of his apostolic vocation.*

Ταπεινοφροσυνη bears an immediate relation to God alone, and according to the Pauline views can be transferred to no other being; men and created beings in general are not its objects; for humility is the sense of dependence on the Creator as such, and places the whole assemblage of created beings on a level. It follows, that a man who is thoroughly imbued with this sentiment does not make any fellow-creature the object of it, but as far as his spiritual life is concerned, is perfectly independent of men, while sensible of his continual dependence on God. To act differently would be to transfer to a creature the honour due to the Creator. As it is opposed to every slavish feeling, it inspires the soul with that true Christian freedom which Paul so admirably develops in the First Epistle to the Corinthians as opposed to every species of a slavish deference to men. But though *ταπεινοφροσυνη* does not directly affect our behaviour to our fellow-men, we may deduce from it the right line of Christian conduct towards others. He who is rightly penetrated with the feeling of dependence on

* Thus in Philipp. ii. 12, he deduces "working out salvation with fear and trembling," from the consciousness that all things depend on the power of God, who works "to will and to do."

God in reference to his whole existence and conduct, and with the nothingness of every thing human while living only for one's self, will not pride himself in his abilities, but feel that they are bestowed upon him by God for a definite object, and must be used in dependence on him; in his intercourse with others, he will bear in mind the defects, the limits, and imperfection of his own character and abilities, and his dependence with that of all other men, on their common Lord. From this ταπεινοφροσυνη will naturally arise an aversion from every kind of self-exaltation in a man's conduct towards others, and that which is the foundation of moderation in the Christian character, and hence is distinguished by no particular name in Paul's writings, but what may be deduced from the idea of ταπεινοφροσυνη, as in Phil. ii. 3. And it is not without reason, that kindness, meekness, and long-suffering are mentioned in connection with ταπεινοφροσυνη. Eph. iv. 2.; Col. iii. 12.

In order to preserve the purity of the divine life in its conflict with the κοσμος and the σαρξ from within and from without, to prevent unhappy mixtures of the human with the divine, the σωφροσυνη, the σωφρονεῖν is requisite, the self-government and conquest over the world that proceeds from love, or Christian circumspection and sober-mindedness. The Holy Spirit is represented as a spirit of ἀγαπη and of σωφρονισμος, 2 Tim. i. 7.* The latter word, as its etymology imports, signifies that quality, by which the Christian life is preserved in a healthy state, and kept free from all noxious influences. Humility which guards the boundary between the divine and the human, is accompanied by the φρονεῖν εἰς σωφρονεῖν, which acts as an antidote to the intoxication of self-esteem, and promotes a sober valuation of one's own worth, the consciousness of the measure of ability, and gifts granted to each one—the position which a man may take without arrogating too much to himself; Rom. xii. 3. With this is connected the εὐρηγορεῖναι καὶ νηφεῖν,

* Titus ii. 6, 12. σωφρονεῖν here means the exercise of a control over youthful and worldly lusts.

by means of which the sensual and the natural are prevented from interfering with the movements of the divine life, and the mind is kept clear of all enthusiastic tendencies. Moreover, since faith working by love ought to govern the whole life, animate it with a new spirit, and form it for the service of God, it will be requisite for this end, that the reason enlightened by this spirit, should acquire the capability of so regulating the whole life, of so managing and applying all the relations of social and civil life, as will be suited to realize the design of the kingdom of God, according to the place assigned to each individual by Providence. This is expressed by the term σοφία, which comprehends the ideas of wisdom and prudence,* of which the first relates to the choice of proper objects of pursuit; and the second to the choice of suitable means for their attainment, and both are blended in one idea, when every thing is employed as means for the all-comprehensive object of life, the realization of the kingdom of God,† and when Christian wisdom is conceived of as so shaping and controlling the life, that it may contribute as a whole and in all its subordinate relations for the advancement of the divine kingdom, according to the position of each individual; and thus what is in itself an object, becomes a means to a higher object. Christian prudence, which emanates from the clear undisturbed survey of the whole life by wisdom, is to be distinguished from what is not founded on such a

* Το σοφία is attributed the ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖν, careful examination relative to one's conduct in social life, that a man may discern on every occasion what is agreeable to the will of the Lord, and, under difficult circumstances, may choose the right opportunity for accomplishing what is good, the ἐξαγοραζέσθαι τον καιρον, Eph. v. 15. Σοφία would be shewn in the intercourse of Christians with heathens, in avoiding whatever would give them offence, and so regulating the conduct according to circumstances, as would be best fitted to overcome their prejudices against Christianity, and recommend it to their regard.

† From this point of view, Christ represents all Christian virtues under the form of prudence. See *Leben Jesu*, 206, 239.

basis, but would proudly assume a separate standing as capable of regulating the conduct independently of Christian wisdom. The prudence which subserves a selfish interest, or employs means which a Christian mind cannot approve, or one which places more confidence in human means than in the power and guidance of the Divine Spirit, the σοφία σαρκική, which, as such, is opposed to the simplicity and purity of the disposition produced by the Spirit of God; 2 Cor. i. 12. Paul requires the union of a matured understanding, and a childlike disposition, 1 Cor. xiv. 20, "In malice be ye children, in understanding be ye men," even as Christ enjoined his disciples to unite the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

Thus, in the renovation of human nature by the divine principle of life—in the inspiring of the whole life by the principle of believing and hoping love, we find the three fundamental virtues, which were regarded by the ancients in the development of morals as forming the grand outlines of moral character; ὑπομονή corresponds to ἀνδρεία, and includes *courage* in action, the ἀνδρίζεσθαι, κραταίουσθαι, 1 Cor. xvi. 13, and *patience*, μακροθυμία, under sufferings for the kingdom of God;—(this latter idea, from its connection with the Christian views of total dependence on God, and of the imitation of the sufferings of Christ, who by his sufferings conquered the kingdom of evil, stands out in more direct contrast to the principles of ancient heathenism;) σοφία corresponds to φρονήσις and σωφροσύνη. Of the cardinal virtues only δικαιοσύνη is wanting, for what is generally intended by Paul under this name, does not naturally belong to this place, since it bears no correspondence to the more confined sense of righteousness, but, according to the Hellenist phraseology, is put for the whole of moral perfection founded in piety. But the idea of δικαιοσύνη is closely connected with that which essentially distinguishes the moral development of the ancients from Christianity, namely, the practice of considering civil life as the highest form of human development which includes all others in it, and the state as the condition adapted for the com-

plete realization of the highest good.* As now by realizing the idea of a kingdom of God, morality was freed from this limitation, was exalted and widened in its application to all mankind, became transformed into a divine life in human form; and as it is the *Love of God* which manifests itself as the holy and redeeming characteristic of this kingdom—it follows that, in the divine life of this kingdom, love occupies the place of righteousness on the standing-point of antiquity, so that, as Aristotle and Plato traced back all the cardinal virtues to the idea of righteousness, and according to the Grecian proverb, righteousness included in itself all other virtues; so according to Paul, love is the fulfilling of the law, includes and originates all other virtues, and is, in short, the sum and substance of perfection. And in 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, he represents all the peculiar acts of the leading Christian virtues, as so many modes of love. Love is discreet, patient, persevering, always chooses what is becoming, is all things to all men, and thus acts with true sagacity. The idea of righteousness is not excluded, for all the acts of love may be conceived as determined by a regard to right; for love is not capricious but conformable to law; it acknowledges and respects those human relations which are agreeable to the will of God, and gives to every one what his position in society demands. In Rom. xiii. 7, Coloss. iv. 1, love is represented as the animating principle in the performance of the *δικαιον και ισον*, which may therefore be considered as only one mode of the operation of love.

Since Paul considered faith as the fundamental principle of the Christian life, it follows, that the immediate relation of each individual to the Redeemer was in his view of primary importance, and the idea of fellowship, the idea of the church, was deducible from it. Through faith each one entered for himself into fellowship with the Redeemer, partook of the Holy Spirit as the new

* The opinion of those who attribute to the *State* such an importance, and would constitute it a perfect model for the realization of the kingdom of God, is derived from unchristian premises, and leads to unchristian conclusions.

principle of life, and became a child of God, a temple of the Holy Spirit. The knowledge of God has been rendered attainable to all through Christ, for in him God has been manifested in the most complete and only conceivable manner to the human mind, and communicated to our race; and as the founder of reconciliation, he has established a new filial relation of man to God. Through his mediation the whole Christian life becomes acceptable to God, by a reference to him who is always the sole worthy object of the divine good pleasure, and from whom that good pleasure is extended to all who enter into spiritual fellowship with him. To this mediation, which forms the basis of Christianity, the foundation of the whole Christian life through the knowledge of the redemption received from Christ, the Pauline expressions relate, "*God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*"—"doing all in the name of Christ to the glory of God"—"giving thanks to God through Christ"—"praying to God"—"in the name of Christ"—"through Christ"—in which connection these propositions can be deprived of their strict meaning only by an utter misconception of the Pauline sentiments. Although the high priesthood of Christ and the universal priesthood of all believers are expressions not found in Paul's writings, yet from what has been said, the ideas implied in them enter largely into his religious conceptions. This apostle is distinguished by an immediate reference of religious knowledge and experience to Christ as the fountain-head, from whom every thing else is derived. Hence, he could treat of the nature of Christian faith in the eleven first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, without introducing the idea of the church. But the consciousness of divine life received from Christ, is necessarily followed by the recognition of a communion which embraces all mankind, and passes beyond the boundaries of earthly existence, the consciousness of the Holy Spirit as the spirit producing and animating this communion—the consciousness of the unity of the divine life shared by all believers, a unity which counterbalances all the other differences existing among man-

kind, as had been already manifested at the first promulgation of Christianity, when the most marked contrarities arising either from religion, national peculiarities, or mental culture, were reconciled, and the persons whom they had kept at a distance from each other became united in vital communion. To the extraordinary influence of Christianity in relation to these contrarities, Paul bears witness when he says, "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." There was in this respect no difference whether a member of the church was Jew or Greek, slave or freeman, male or female, for all were in communion with Christ as one person, there was in all the one life of Christ, Gal. iii. 26-28.* The consciousness of communion with the Redeemer cannot exist without the recognition of the existence of the community of believers animated by one spirit, who belong as his body to him the head, under whose continued influence alone it can grow to maturity, and in which all believers are members one of another. This body of Christ is *the church*, the *εκκλησια Θεοῦ* or *Χριστοῦ*.† This communion

* In Coloss. iii. 11, Paul notices particularly the contrast between the civilized and uncivilized, the Greek being the most striking example of the former class, and the Scythian of the latter. His language conveys a prophetic intimation that Christianity would reach the rudest tribes, and impart a new divine principle of life, the mainspring of all sound mental culture.

† This is no abstract representation, but a truly living reality. If in all the widely-spread Christian communities, amidst all the diversity of human peculiarities animated by the same spirit, only the consciousness of this higher unity and communion were retained, as Paul desired, this would be the most glorious appearance of the one Christian church, in which the kingdom of God represents itself on earth; and no outward constitution, no system of episcopacy, no council, still less any organization by the State, which would substitute something foreign to its nature, could render the idea of a Christian church more real or concrete, (if any are disposed to make use of scholastic terms, which, so applied, contain the germ of error, and rather obscure than illustrate

is formed and developed on the same foundation as the Christian life or the temple of God in each individual, namely, faith in Jesus as the Redeemer, 1 Cor. iii. 11. Hence the image so frequently used by Paul of representing the church as a building reared on this foundation, Ephes. ii. 20; and his application of the term *οικοδομεῖν*, to designate whatever contributes to the furtherance of the Christian life. That principle, from which the formation of this communion proceeded, always continues to be the bond of its union. Paul, in treating of this unity, adduces as marks of its internal formation, that one spirit which animated this one body, the one object of heavenly blessedness to which they were called, the one faith in one God, whom through Christ they acknowledged as the Father of all, with whom through Christ and the Spirit imparted by him, they were connected most intimately, so that he rules over them with his all-guiding, all-protecting might, pervades them all with his efficacious power, and dwells in all by his animating Spirit—and the one Redeemer, whom they all acknowledge as their Lord, and to whom they were dedicated by baptism.* The chosen people, under the Old Testament form of the theocracy, constituted a contrast to the heathen nations, which was now transferred with a more spiritual and internal character to the community of believers. They retained the predicate of *ἅγιοι* and *ἡγιασμένοι* as the holy, devoted people, in reference to the objective consecration founded on redemption, and their objective contrariety to the profane, the *κοσμος*; but yet the subjective consecration arising from the development of the divine principle of life, was necessarily founded on the former, and inseparable from it—even as justification and sanctification are connected with one another. They retained also the predicate

the subject). See, on the other hand, Rothe's work before quoted, pp. 290, 310.

* We cannot suppose that the *ἐν βαπτισμα* refers to unity in the outward institution of baptism, which would be here quite irrelevant. All the marks of unity manifestly relate to the same thing, to which the unity of faith also relates.

κλητοι, as those who were called by the grace of God to a participation of the kingdom of God and eternal happiness; and this calling is not to be considered merely as outward, by virtue of the external publication of the gospel, but agreeably to its design, and as the very idea imports, the outward is united with the inward, the outward publication of the gospel with the efficacious inward call of the Divine Spirit, so that hence the idea of κλητοι coincides with that of believers who really belong in heart to Christ. In general, Paul considers the outward and the inward, the idea and the appearance, in all these relations as intimately connected, the confession as an expression of faith, 1 Cor. xii. 3,—the being in Christ as a reality, the being a professed Christian as a sign of inward communion with the Redeemer, 2 Cor. v. 17; and thus also the church as the outward exhibition of the body of Christ, the fellowship truly established by the Spirit of God. The language in which he addresses individual churches, is conformable to these views.

But though in general the apostle sets out from this point of view, yet it could not escape his observation that not all who represented themselves as outwardly members of the church, were really members of the body of Christ. This distinction he does not make in the original idea of the church, since it is not naturally deducible from it, but must be considered as something incongruous and morbid, and not to be known excepting by observation, unless we refer it to the inevitable disorders in the development of the visible church, owing to the reaction of sin. Certain experiences of this kind forced the distinction upon him; in 1 Cor. vi. 9, he declares that those who professed Christianity outwardly, and represented themselves as members of the church, but whose conduct was at variance with the requirements of Christianity, could have no part in the kingdom of God. It followed, therefore, that they were already excluded by their disposition from that kingdom, from that communion of the faithful and redeemed which, strictly speaking, constitutes the church. In this passage, he treats of cases in which the foreign elements which had mingled with the out-

ward manifestation of the Church, might be easily detected and expelled by the judgment of the Christian community for the preservation of its purity; for such marks of an unchristian course of life are here mentioned, as are notorious and apparent to every one. But an unchristian disposition, a deficiency of faith working by love, might exist, without being manifested by outward signs which would be as easily understood as in the former case; and here the separation of the elements corresponding to the idea of the *ἐκκλησία* from those that were incongruous, could not be so accurately made. We learn this from Paul himself, in 2 Tim. ii. 19–20, where he contrasts with the apostates from Christian truth, those who constituted the firm foundation of God's house, and who wore the impress of this seal, "The Lord knoweth them that are his," and "let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and vessels of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour." The great house is here the visible church; in it there are those who are members only in appearance by an external superficial union, without really belonging to it by their disposition, and though reckoned by the Lord to be his, they are "the vessels to dishonour," and are thus distinguished from those who are united in heart to the church, "the vessels to honour," who, in order that they may be preserved as such, avoid all sin, and call on the name of the Lord without hypocrisy. He here intimates that the line of distinction between the genuine and spurious members of the Church can be drawn only by God, who knows the state of the heart. Accordingly, in the application of the idea of the visible church, the distinction arises between the collective body of those in whom the appearance corresponds to what is internal and invisible, and those who belong to the church in appearance, without having internally any part in it.

Since the *ἐκκλησία* as the body of Christ not merely lays claim to a part of the life of its members, but must embrace the whole as belonging to the Redeemer, and

animated by the Holy Spirit, the source of life to the Church, it follows that the care for the promotion of the good of the whole is committed not merely to certain officers and persons, but all the members are bound together as organs of that Spirit by whom Christ as the governing head animates each individual member, and thus connected, are to co-operate for the same object; Eph. iv. 16. Thus, accordingly, it is the duty of each one to consider the standing-point on which God has placed him by his natural character, his peculiar training, and his social relations, as that which determines the mode in which he may most effectually labour for this end. As all natural abilities are to be consecrated as forms of manifestation for the divine life, so the Holy Spirit, while animating the whole, appropriates each individual character, and gives to each one his special gifts by which he is ordained on his own standing-point to promote the general good. Here we have the idea of charism, which has been already explained. Without the Holy Spirit and the charisms as the necessary manifestations and signs of his continued efficacious presence in the collective body of believers, the church (which is the continued revelation of the divine life in human form proceeding from the glorified Saviour) cannot exist; 1 Cor. xii. By the spirit of love animating the whole, the charisms of all the individual members, forming reciprocal complements to each other, are conducted to the promotion of one object, the perfecting of the body of Christ; as Paul has so admirably represented in 1 Cor. xii.

Since the church is no other than the outward visible representation of the inward communion of believers with the Redeemer and one another, the institution of outward visible rites or signs corresponds to these two elements of it, (both as visible and invisible); these rites, Baptism and the Supper, are designed to represent the facts which form the basis of this communion. Baptism denotes the confession of dependence on Christ and the entrance into communion with him; and hence, the appropriation of all which Christ promises to those who stand in such a relation to him; it is the *putting on Christ*, in whose

name baptism is administered, an expression which includes in it all we have said ; Gal. iii. 27. As communion with Christ and the whole Christian life has a special reference to the appropriation of those two great events, his redeeming sufferings and his resurrection, Paul, alluding to the form in which baptism was then administered, and by this illustrating the idea of baptism, explains the outward act by a reference to these two events. (See Vol. I. p. 188). The twofold relation of man to the former standing-point of life which he had renounced, and to that new one which he had embraced, is here signified—entering into the communion of the death of Christ, into a believing appropriation of the work of redemption accomplished by his death, dying with him in spirit, to the world in which man has hitherto lived ; mortifying self, as it heretofore existed, and by faith in his resurrection as a pledge of resurrection to an eternal divine life in a transformed personality, rising to a new life devoted no longer to the world but to him alone ; Rom. vi. 4. In accordance with this train of thought, Paul terms baptism, a baptism into the death of Christ. And for the same reason, he could also call it a baptism into the resurrection of Christ. But this latter reference presupposes the former, in which it is naturally joined. From communion with Christ as the Son of God, the new relation follows of sonship to God, of filial communion with God, Gal iii. 26 ; and the participation of the spirit of a new divine life communicated by Christ, the Holy Spirit. It is Christ who imparts the true baptism of the Spirit, of which water-baptism is only the symbol, and this immersion in the Spirit makes the great difference between Christian baptism and that of John. Therefore, baptism in the name of Christ is equally baptism in the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. The single reference cannot be thought of without the threefold. In virtue of the connection of ideas before noticed, entrance into communion with Christ is indissolubly connected with entrance into communion with the body of which He is the head, the whole assemblage of believers. “ By one Spirit we are all baptiz-

ed into one body ;” 1 Cor. xii. 13. As entrance into communion with the Redeemer at baptism implies a cessation from communion with sin—the putting on of Christ implies the putting off of the old man—the rising with Christ implies the dying with Christ—the transformation by the new Spirit of holiness implies the forgiveness of sins—entrance into communion with the body of Christ implies a departure from communion with a sinful world ; so the distinction arises of a positive and negative aspect of baptism. Hence the washing away of sin, sanctification and justification, are classed together at baptism ; 1 Cor. vi. 11.* What we have remarked respecting Paul’s idea of *εκκλησια*, the relation of the inward to the outward, the ideal to the visible, will also apply to baptism. As Paul, in speaking of the church, presupposes that the outward church is the visible community of the redeemed ; so he speaks of baptism on the supposition that it corresponded to its idea, that all that was inward, whatever belonged to the holy rite and its complete observance, accompanied the outward ; hence he could assert of outward baptism whatever was involved in a believing appropriation of the divine facts which it symbolized ; whatever was realized when baptism fully corresponded to its original design. Thus he says, that all those who had been baptized into Christ, had entered into vital communion with him, Gal. iii. 27, language which was applicable only to those in whom the inward and the outward coalesced. Hence also he calls baptism the bath of regeneration and of renewal by the Holy Spirit ; Tit. iii. 5. And hence he says, that Christ by baptism has purified the whole church as a preparation for that perfect purity which it will exhibit, in that consummation to which the Saviour intends to bring his redeemed ; Eph. v. 26.

Relative to the Holy Supper, it appears from Paul’s language in 1 Cor. xi. 24, that he considered it as a feast

* As Paul here joins the *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου* and *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ*, it may be inferred that he is here speaking of subjective sanctification, by the communication of a divine principle of life, as well as of objective justification.

of commemoration on account of Christ's offering his life* for the salvation of men, and all the benefits accruing thereby to mankind. According to his explanation of the words of the institution, 1 Cor. xii. 26, believers, when they celebrate together the Last Supper of Christ with his disciples, are gratefully to acknowledge what they owe to the sufferings of Christ till his second coming, till they are favoured with the visible presence of the Saviour, and the perfect enjoyment of all that his redeeming sufferings have gained for mankind; they are to consider it as a pledge of their constant communion with him, till that communion is consummated in his immediate presence. Christ further designed, as Paul intimates, to remind his disciples of the new relation or covenant established by his sacrifice between God and man, which is naturally connected with what has been already mentioned; for as the work of redemption accomplished by Christ's sufferings is the foundation of this new relation, which supersedes the ancient legal economy, its connection with this ordinance is self-evident. And as in the institution of the Supper there are several allusions to the usages practised at the passover, a natural point of comparison is here presented between the establishment of the earthly national theocracy, which was accomplished by the release of the Jews from earthly bondage and their formation into an independent people,—and the establishment of an universal theocracy in a spiritual form, which consisted in releasing its members from the spiritual bondage of sin, and their formation into an internally independent community or church of God. If this subject is viewed in the Pauline spirit, it will be evident, that all this can be properly fulfilled only in vital communion with the Redeemer, apart from which nothing in the Christian life has its proper significance; and that the commemoration of Christ's redeeming sufferings can

* That this was the leading reference, I agree with what Lücke has stated in his essay, "*De duplices in sacra coena symboli actusque sensu ac ratione*," 1837. Yet other references appear to me not to be excluded, but to be originally given with it, and to be naturally founded upon it.

never be adequately performed except in vital communion with him. The solemn remembrance of Christ's sufferings is the leading idea in this holy ordinance, though the consciousness of communion with him is necessarily connected with it. And communion with Christ necessarily presupposes his redeeming sufferings, and their personal appropriation. Baptism also introduces believers into his communion as baptism into the death of Christ.

With respect to the manner in which Paul conceived the relation to exist of the outward signs to the body and blood of Christ, we must not forget that the latter are considered merely as being given for the salvation of mankind. Under this view the form in which he quotes Christ's words is important. He says, "This cup is the *καινη διαθνη*, which was established by the shedding of my blood." This can only mean: The cup represents to you in a sensible manner the establishment of this new relation. And by analogy the first *τοῦτο ἐστὶ* must be interpreted "It represents my body."* Though he afterwards says that whoever eats or drinks in an unworthy manner, that is, with a profane disposition, is not one who is interested in or recollects the design of the holy ordinance, so that, as Paul himself explains it in v. 29, he does not dis-

* Those who advocate the metaphorical interpretation of the expressions used in the institution of the Supper, are very unjustly charged with doing violence to the words, by departing from the literal meaning. If the literal interpretation of the circumstances and relations under which any thing is said, be contrary to the connection and design of the discourse, this literal interpretation is unnatural and forced. And this is certainly the case in the interpretation of these words of our Lord, for since Christ was still sensibly present among his disciples when he said that this bread was his body, this wine was his blood, they could understand him as speaking only symbolically, if he added no further explanation. Moreover, they were accustomed to similar symbolical expressions in their intercourse with him; and this very symbol receives its natural interpretation from another of Christ's discourses, (see the chapter on John's doctrine; also *Leben Jesu*, p. 644, and Lücke's Essay).

tinguish what is intended to represent the body of Christ from common food—that such a one sins against the body and blood of the Lord. But from these words we cannot determine the relation in which the bread and wine were considered by Paul to stand to the body and blood of Christ, for the sinning of which he speaks, as the connection shews, consists only in the relation of the communicant's disposition to the holy design of the ordinance. On the supposition that only a symbolically religious meaning was attached to the Supper, this language might be used respecting those who partook of it merely as a common meal. And what he afterwards says, that whoever partook of the Supper unworthily, partook of it to his condemnation, is by no means decisive, for this relates only to the religious state of the individual. Whoever partook of the Lord's Supper with a profane disposition, without being penetrated with a sense of the holy significance of the rite, by such vain conduct passed the sentence of his own condemnation, and exposed himself to punishment. Accordingly, in the evils which at that time affected the church, the apostle beheld the marks of the divine displeasure.

In the 10th chapter of the same Epistle, the apostle speaks of the Lord's Supper, and declares to the Corinthians that it was unlawful to unite a participation in the heathen sacrifices with Christian communion in the Holy Supper. He points out that, by participating in the heathen sacrifices, they would relapse into idolatry. These sacrifices bore the same relation to the heathen worship as the Jewish sacrifices to the Jewish cultus, and as the Lord's Supper to the social acts of Christian worship. And in accordance with this fact he says, "The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ;" this can only mean that it marks, it represents this communion, it is the means of appropriating this communion; for the rite is here viewed in its totality corresponding to the idea, in the congruity of the inward with the outward, in the same sense as when Paul says that as many as have been bap-

tized into Christ have put on Christ.* As to the two other points with which the Lord's Supper is here compared in its relation to Christianity, the essential is only the communion marked by it for the conscience; respecting the kind of communion nothing more can be ascertained from these words.

Since the Supper represents the communion with Christ, a reference is at the same time involved to the communion founded upon it of believers with one another as members of the one body of Christ. With this view Paul says, 1 Cor. x. 17, "For we being many are one loaf and one body, for we are all partakers of that one loaf;" that is, as we all partake of one loaf, and this loaf represents to us the body of Christ, so it also signifies that we are all related to one another as members of the one body of Christ.†

The idea of the church of Christ is closely connected in the views of Paul with that of the kingdom of God. The former is the particular idea, which may be referred to the latter as the more general and comprehensive one. The idea of the church is subordinate to that of the kingdom of God, because by the latter is denoted either the whole of a series of historical developments, or a great assemblage of co-existent spiritual creations. The first meaning leads us to the original form of the idea of the kingdom of God, by which the Christian dispensation was introduced and to which it was annexed. The universal kingdom of God formed from within, which is to embrace the whole human race, or the union of all mankind in one community animated by one common principle of religion, was prepared and typified by the establishment and development of a nationality, distinguished

* The older Fathers of the church not illogically inferred, that there was a bodily participation of Christ at Baptism as well as at the Supper.

† In 1 Cor. xii. 13, there may be an allusion to the Supper in the words [εἰς] ἐν πνεύματι ἐποτισθημεν, and in this case to the participation in the ἐν πνεύματι proceeding from spiritual communion with the Redeemer; this may be also the case in 1 Cor. x. 34.

by religion as the foundation and centre of all its social institutions, the particular theocracy of the Jews. The kingdom of God was not first founded by Christianity as something entirely new, but the original kingdom of God, of which the groundwork already existed, was released from its limitation to a particular people and its symbolical garb; it was transformed from being a sensuous and external economy to one that was spiritual and internal; and no longer national, it assumed a form that was destined to embrace the whole of mankind; and thus it came to pass, that faith in that Redeemer, whom to prefigure and to prepare for was the highest office of Judaism, was the medium for all men of participating in the kingdom of God. The apostle every where represents, that those who had hitherto lived excluded from all historical connection with the development of God's kingdom among mankind, had become, by faith in the Redeemer, fellow-citizens of the saints, members of God's household, built on the foundation laid by apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; Eph. ii. 19-20. The same fact is represented by an other image in Rom. xi. 18. Christianity allied itself to the expectation of a restoration and glorification of the theocracy, which was preceded by an increasing sense of its fallen state among the Jews. Those who clung to a national and external theocracy, looked forward to this glorification as something external, sensuous, and national. The Messiah, they imagined, would exalt by a divine miraculous power the depressed theocracy of the Jews, to a visible glory such as it had never before possessed, and establish a new, and exalted, unchangeable order of things, in place of the transitory earthly institutions which had hitherto existed. Thus the kingdom of the Messiah would appear as the perfected form of the theocracy, as the final stage in the terrestrial development of mankind, exceeding in glory every thing which a rude fancy could depict under sensible images, a kingdom in which the Messiah would reign sensibly present as God's vicegerent, and order all circumstances according to his will. From this point of view, therefore,

the reign of the Messiah would appear as belonging entirely to the future; the present condition of the world (the *αἰων οὗτος*, or *αἰων πονηρος*), with all its evils and defects, would be set in opposition to that future golden age (the *αἰων μελλων*), from which all wickedness and evil would be banished. But in accordance with a change in the idea of the kingdom of God, a different construction was put on this opposition by Christianity; it was transformed from the external to the internal, and withdrawn from the Future to the Present. By faith in the Redeemer, the kingdom of God or of the Messiah is already founded in the hearts of men, and thence developing itself outwards, is destined to bring under its control all that belongs to man. And so that higher order of things, which from the Jewish standing-point was placed in the future, has already commenced with the divine life received by faith, and is realized in principle. In spirit and disposition they have already quitted the world in which evil reigns; redemption brings with it deliverance from this world of evil,* and believers, who already participate in the spirit, the laws, the powers, and the blessedness of that higher world, constitute an opposition to the *αἰων οὗτος*, the *αἰων πονηρος*. Such is the idea of the kingdom of God presented by the apostle as realized according to the spirit on earth, the kingdom of Christ, coincides with the idea of the church existing in the hearts of men, the invisible church,† the totality of the operations of Chris-

* Deliverance from the *ενεστας αἰων πονηρος*, necessarily accompanies redemption from sin. See Gal. i. 4.

† This is the *ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλημ*, the mother of believers; Gal. iv. 26. Rothe disputes this interpretation (see his work before quoted, p. 290), but without reason. He is indeed so far right, that primarily something future is designated by it, as appears from its being contrasted with "the Jerusalem which now is;" but this future heavenly Jerusalem, which at a future time is to be revealed in its glory, is already, in a sense, present to believers, for in faith and spirit and inward life they belong to it; while the earthly Jerusalem is already passed away, they are dead to it, and are separated from it. From this it follows, that the heavenly Jerusalem stands to them in the relation of a mother: the participation of the di-

tianity on mankind ;—and the idea of the *αἰὼν οὐρανοῦ* is that of the ungodly spirit of the present world maintaining an incessant conflict with Christianity.

But as we have already remarked in reference to the Christian life generally, as founded on the necessary connection of the ideas of *πίστις* and *ἐλπίς*, the Pauline conception of the kingdom of God necessarily contains a reference to the future ; for as the Christian life of the individual is developed progressively by inward and outward conflicts, while aiming at that perfection which is never attained in this earthly existence, the same thing is also true of the manifestation of the kingdom of God on earth, which comprehends the totality of the Christian life diffused through the human race. The knowledge of the manifestation of the kingdom of God is necessarily accompanied by a recognition of this manifestation as still very obscure and imperfect, and by no means corresponding to its idea and real nature. Hence the idea of the kingdom of God in its realization, can only be understood if we view it as now presenting the tendency and germ of what will receive its accomplishment in future, and this accomplishment Paul represents not as something which will spontaneously arise from the

vine life by which they are regenerated, constitutes them the invisible church. The perfect development of this life belongs to the future ; their life is now a hidden one ; the manifestation of it does not fully correspond to its real nature. Though the idea of the invisible church is not expressed in this distinct form by Paul, yet in spirit and meaning it is conveyed in the above expression, as well as in the distinction which he makes in 2 Tim. ii. 19, 20 ; and when he forms his idea of the body of Christ according to this distinction, it entirely coincides with that of the invisible church. Hence, also, this idea was strikingly developed by the reformation which proceeded from the Pauline scheme of doctrine. And it is important to maintain it firmly against ecclesiastical sectarianism, against the secularization of the church, whether under the form of Hierarchy, of Romanism, or, what is still worse, the subordination of religion to political objects, the supremacy of the State in matters of religion, Byzantinism.

natural development of the church, but as produced, like the founding of the kingdom of Christ, by an immediate intervention of Christ. Hence various applications of this term have been made. Sometimes it denotes the present form assumed by the kingdom of God among mankind, the internal kingdom, which is established in the heart by the gospel; sometimes the future consummation, the perfected form of the victorious and all-transforming kingdom of God; at other times, the present in its union with the future and in reference to it. The conception of the idea of the kingdom of God in the first sense, is found in 1 Cor. iv. 20. The kingdom of God does not consist, the participation of it is not shewn, in what we eat or drink, but in the power of the life; not in ostentatious discourse, as in the Corinthian church, but in the power of the disposition; Rom. xiv. 7. The kingdom of God is not meats and drinks—its blessings are not external and sensible, but internal, by possessing which we prove our participation of it, such as justification, peace in the inner man, and a sense of the blessedness of the divine life.* The reference to the future is introduced, where he speaks of the *συμβασιλευειν* of believers with Christ; and where he says, that those who, although they have received outward baptism and made an outward profession of Christianity, yet contradict it by the course of their lives, shall not inherit the kingdom of God; 1 Cor. vi. 10. The passage in 1 Thess. ii. 12, where Christians are called upon to conduct themselves

* The connection of this passage, Romans xiv. 16, appears to me to be this: Give no occasion, for the good which you possess as citizens of the kingdom of God (more particularly in the present instance, Christian freedom,) to be spoken ill of by others; for it is not of such a kind that you need be afraid of losing it; even if you do not avail yourselves of your Christian freedom, if you neither eat nor drink what you are justified in partaking of as Christians, as free citizens of the kingdom of God. Your good is one that is situated within you, not dependent on these outward things, for the goods of God's kingdom are not outward, or objects of sense, they are within you, they consist in what is godlike, as the apostle proceeds to specify.

in a manner worthy of that God who had called them to his kingdom and glory, has certainly a reference to the future, as far as the *δοξα* of this kingdom has not yet appeared; in 2 Thess. i. 5, the apostle says that Christians, as they already belong to this kingdom, fight and suffer on its behalf, and therefore will enjoy a share in its consummation.

But it is not merely in reference to the series of events which are advancing to their completion that the external form of the kingdom of God is presented as part of a great whole; there is another consideration which is naturally connected with this view. As the church is a seminary for the heavenly community in which its members are training for their perfect development, it appears even here below as a part of a divine kingdom not confined to the human race, but comprehending also a higher spiritual world, where that archetype to the realization of which mankind are now tending, is already realized. The knowledge of God, according to the comprehensive views of Christianity, is represented not merely as the common vitalizing principle of the human race, but as a bond by which mankind are united with all the orders of beings in a higher spiritual world, in one divine community, according to that universal idea of the kingdom of God which is presented in the Lord's Prayer. Thus Paul represents, "God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, not merely as the common father of mankind, but also as Him after whom the whole community in heaven and on earth are named;" Eph. iii. 15. By sin men were estranged, not only from God, but from that higher spiritual world in which the kingdom of God is already realized. As Christ, when he reconciled men to God, united them to one another in a divine community, broke down the wall of partition (Eph. ii. 14) which separated them, and joined Jews and Gentiles in one body, which is animated by himself as their head; so also while men are brought back to communion with God, they are connected with all those who have already attained that degree of perfection in the kingdom of God to which the church on earth is aspiring. In this re-

spect Paul says, that Christ, in making peace, has united all things in heaven and on earth in one divine kingdom ; Coloss. i. 20.*

Accordingly, Christ is considered by the apostle as in a twofold sense *the head of the church of God*. He distinguishes the divine and the human in the Saviour, and, according to this twofold reference, exhibits him in a twofold though vitally connected relation to the creation and to the universal church of God. Paul and John, for the purpose of designating the indwelling divinity of the Redeemer, employed the idea already formed among the Jewish theologians of a mediating divine principle of revelation, through which the whole creation is connected with the hidden inconceivable essence of God. A primeval self-revelation of the hidden God, antecedent to all created life, the *Word* by which that hidden essence reveals itself, (as man reveals the secrets of his mind by *speech*), as hypostasized in a spirit in which the essence of Deity is represented in the most perfect manner ; this constitutes a universal revelation of the divine essence in distinction from the partial, individualized revelations of God in the variety of created beings. This is a designation of the idea of a self-revelation of God, (corresponding to the oriental cast of mind which is more addicted to symbols and images than to purely intellectual notions), which the whole creation presupposes, in which it has its root, and without which no sentiment respecting God could arise in the human soul. We are by no means justified in deducing this idea from Alexandrian Platonism, though a certain mode of expressing it, may be traced to that source.† On the contrary, this idea, which found a point of junction in the theophanies

* The passage in Coloss. i. 20, has some peculiar difficulties. See below.

† In Philo himself, those descriptions of the idea of the Logos, in which the Platonic element which forms their basis may be easily perceived, are to be distinguished from those which were manifestly deduced from a different tradition, and afterwards clothed in a Platonic dress.

of the Old Testament, and in the theory of revelation lying at their base, formed a natural transition from the legal Judaism, which placed an infinite chasm between God and man, to the gospel by which this chasm was taken away, since it revealed God communicating himself to mankind, and establishing a vital communion between himself and them. The ideas of a divine utterance, which prescribed its mode of being to the creation—of a word by which God operates and reveals himself in the world—of an angel representing God and speaking in his name—of a divine wisdom presupposed through the universe—were so many connecting links for a contemplation which ascended from a revelation of God in the world, to his most absolute self-revelation. And it was a result of this mode of contemplation, that the appearance of Him who was to effect the realization of the idea of the theocracy and was its end, to whom all its preceding development had pointed as the most perfect self-revelation and communication of God in human nature, was acknowledged as the human appearance of the Word, from whom the whole creation and all the early revelations of God, the whole development of the theocracy, proceeded. When the idea of the Messiah was freed from its popular theocratic garb, it would assume that higher element of the idea of a communication of the Divine Being in the form of human nature.

Certainly it could be nothing merely accidental which induced men so differently constituted and trained as Paul and John, to connect such an idea with the doctrine of the person of Christ, but the result of a higher necessity, which is founded in the nature of Christianity, in the power of the impression which the life of Christ had made on the minds of men, in the reciprocal relation between the appearance of Christ and the archetype, that presents itself as an inward revelation of God in the depths of the higher self-consciousness. And all this has found its point of connection and its verification, in the manner in which Christ, the unerring witness, expressed his consciousness of the indwelling of the divine

essence in him.* Had this doctrine, when it was first promulgated by Paul, been altogether new and peculiar to himself, it must have excited much opposition, as contradicting the common monotheistic belief of the Jews, even among the apostles, to whom, from their previous habits, such a speculative or theosophic element must have remained unknown, unless it had found a point of connection in the lessons received from Christ and in their Christian knowledge. What opposition had Paul to encounter—though Peter had already prepared his way—when he asserted the validity of the gospel apart from the observance of the ceremonial law! But *this* doctrine of Christ was equally opposed to common Judaism,†

* Though in the three first evangelists, owing to their peculiar character, in which the purely human predominates, such expressions of Christ are less frequent, yet even here we find some which declare or imply the idea of a Son of God in the sense of Paul and John; Matt. xi. 27; xxii. 44; xxviii. 18, 20. See the excellent remarks of Baumgarten-Crusius, in his *Outlines of Biblical Theology*, p. 378. The whole character of the Christ of the first Gospels, and several single expressions of divine confidence, correspond only to the Son of God as he is represented by Paul and John. And the predicates *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (the Messiah appearing as man, who realized the archetype of humanity, human nature exalted to the highest dignity), and the *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* (which, as used by Christ, denoted something different from the common Jewish idea of the Messiah), applied by Christ to himself, have a reciprocal relation to one another, and imply the distinction as well as the conjunction and unity of the divine and human in him; see *Leben Jesu*, p. 143.

† Paul himself, in opposition to the common Jewish idea of a Messiah belonging, as a descendant of David, peculiarly to the Jewish nation, who would never break through the forms of their theocracy, in Rom. i. 3, 4, describes Jesus as the Son of God, who, by natural descent, belonged to the posterity of David, but evinced himself to be the Son of God in a powerful manner by his resurrection through the Holy Spirit; that is, after his resurrection, he divested himself of all those peculiar, earthly, national relations, in which he appeared to stand as a native Jew of the family of David. With respect to his interior nature, though before veiled under a terrestrial form, he manifested and declared himself, through

which, when it afterwards appeared in a Christian form, directed its opposition against Christianity (which appeared as a new independent creation affecting both doctrine and practice) principally on this point. Certainly this Judaism can appear to no impartial observer of historical development, as a reaction of the original elements of the doctrine of Christ against foreign adulterations, but rather a reaction of the Jewish spirit against the spirit of Christianity, which had broken through the Jewish forms in which it was at first enveloped, and had developed itself into the new creation designed by its divine Founder. Thus, too, the doctrine of the Son of God, as the Son of Man in the sense of John and Paul, was not a mere isolated element accidentally mingled with Christianity, but it is closely connected with the whole nature of its doctrines and morals. God is no more a God at an infinite distance, but revealed in man; a divine life in human form. But this peculiar principle of Christian morals, the idea of the pure humanity transformed by a divine life, obtains its true significance only in connection with the doctrine of the historical Christ, as the God-man, the Redeemer of sinful humanity which from him must first receive the divine life, and persevere in constant unreserved dependence on him. The self-idolatry of pantheism, which denies equally the God and the Christ of the gospel, rests upon an entirely different basis, and is essentially opposed to it. On the Christian standing-point, the elements of the inward life are a consciousness of dependence on One Being, of a state of pupillage in relation to him, a surrender of the soul to him; with a sense of want, in order to receive from him what man cannot derive from himself, the key-tone of humility; on the anti-christian standing-point of pantheistic self-idolatry, the consciousness of self-sufficiency arises from the supposed union with God which it professes. Hence we see how enor-

the divine life that proceeded from him, to be the Son of God, belonging to all mankind, and exalted above all such earthly relations. Compare 2 Cor. v. 16.

mous a falsehood it is, when men make use of Christian phrases for conveying sentiments utterly at variance with their genuine meaning, as they have often been of late years.

Since Paul contemplated the Redeemer equally on the side of his divine re-existence, and on that of his human appearance, he united under one point of view the reference to the universe of created beings in general, and to the new spiritual creation in particular, which was introduced among mankind by the gospel; or in other words, the universal kingdom of God, which embraces the whole spiritual world, and that particular kingdom established in the form of a church on earth. Paul was led to exhibit this twofold reference in its unity in his Epistle to the Colossians, for the purpose of combating the pretensions of certain notions, then in vogue respecting spirits. He who is the image of the hidden incomprehensible God, he in whom that God revealed himself before all created existence, he who carries in himself the archetypes of all existences,* in whom all earthly and heavenly beings, all invisible as well as visible powers, have been created, by whom and † in reference to whom all things are created, who is before all, ‡ and in whom (in connection with whom) all beings continue to exist,—the same being, therefore, who is the head of all, of the whole all-comprehending kingdom of God, is also the Head of the Church which belongs to him as his body (by virtue of his entering into communion corporeally with human nature); since he, as the first born from the dead, has become the first-fruits of the new creation among mankind, that he may be the first

* Col. i. 16, the *ἐν αὐτῷ* must be distinguished from the *δι' αὐτοῦ*; the former indicates that the Logos is the ideal ground of all existence; the latter that he is the instrument of revealing the divine idea.

† Inasmuch as the revelation and glory of God in the creation can be effected only through him, in whom alone God reveals himself, through him every thing refers itself to God.

‡ The *ἴσται* denotes the divine existence, but also with a particular reference to the *ἴσται* in v. 13.

of every order of beings; as he is the *πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως*, so also the *πρωτοτοκος τῆς καινῆς κτισεως*.* According to his divine being deduced from the original of the divine essence before the whole creation, he forms the medium for the origination of all created existence; as the Risen One before all others in glorified human nature, he forms the medium for the new spiritual creation which proceeds from him among mankind. This combination of reference to the twofold creation which finds its point of union in Christ as the God-man Redeemer, is also made in the expressions by which Paul distinguishes the nature of Christian faith from heathenism; 1 Cor viii. 6;—one God the Father, from whom all existence proceeds, and to whose glory we as redeemed are conscious that we exist; and one Lord Jesus Christ (the mediator in our knowledge of God as Christians), through whom all things were created, and through whom, by means of the new creation, our destiny will be realized, so that our life and conduct will be referred to God, and be subservient to his glory.†

* It cannot be urged against this interpretation, that if Paul had intended to mark the reference to the divine and human, he would have pointedly marked the distinction of the *κατα σαρκα* and *κατα πνεῦμα*, for when Paul uses such marks he wishes to render the antithesis prominent; but here it is his main design, along with the distinction, to mark the unity of the subject, and therefore it would have been contrary to his intention to have marked the contrast more sharply. In the former passage (Rom. i. 3, 4) the dialectic element predominates, but here the soaring of inspiration.

† It is connected with the Pauline mode of conception here developed, that while he ascribes a truly divine yet derived being to Christ, he is wont to mark Him to whom he ascribes the divine original being, God the Father, simply as *ὁ Θεος*. Nor is it at variance with this, that, as he ascribes to him a *ὑπαρχειν ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, an *εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*, Phil. ii. 6, he could also designate him in that difficult passage, Rom. ix. 5, as *Θεος*, as elevated above all, according to his divine nature. But in the passage Titus ii. 13, I cannot but consider the Great God and the Saviour as two different subjects. “It is Christ our Saviour by whom the glory of the Great God is revealed.” The expression “the Great God hath given himself for us,”

The idea of the kingdom of God has also in Paul's writings an essential reference to a kingdom of evil. Although evil carries with it only division and internal contradiction, and forms no unity, and therefore we cannot speak of a kingdom of evil that is constituted for one precise object, yet the opposition against the kingdom of God imparts a unity to all the diversified manifestations of evil. As the kingdom of God, according to the Pauline views, in its most extensive sense, passes beyond the boundaries of earthly existence, and embraces the totality of the development of the divine life in all those beings who are destined to exhibit a conscious revelation of their Maker, so likewise the opposition against the kingdom of God is represented by the apostle as of vast extent and diversified relations. He considers the prevalence of sin in mankind to stand in connection with the prevalence of evil in the higher spiritual world; the principle of sin is every where the same,—the selfishness striving against the divine will in those rational beings who were designed to subordinate their will to God's with consciousness and freedom. All other evil is traced by Paul to the outbreak of this opposition in the rational creation as its primary source. As all sin among mankind is deduced from the original sin at the beginning of the race, and is considered as its effect, so all evil generally is viewed in connection with that first evil, and as the operation of the same fundamental tendency. This is of importance in relation to the whole doctrine of sin. Had Paul, according to the views ascribed to him by some, considered evil as only something necessarily grounded in human nature, and the first man as in this respect a type of all mankind, the idea of an evil extraneous to mankind in a world of higher intelligences, could have found in his mind no point of connection. But it constitutes the importance of this doctrine in relation to Christian Theism, that the

would be altogether un-pauline. Compare the remarks of that unprejudiced critic Winer, in his *Grammar*, p. 115, 3d edit. [p. 122, 4th edit.]

reality and inexplicability of sin as an act of the will, is thereby firmly established, in opposition to all attempts at explaining it, which go to deny the very existence of a Will, and deduce evil from a necessity which classes moral development with the chain of causes and effects in nature.* Thus the apostle recognises in all the ungodliness of men, whether it assumes a theoretical or practical form, the power of a principle of darkness—a spirit which is active in unbelievers.† The *αιων οὗτος* and the *κοσμος οὗτος* are the terms used to express the totality of every thing which opposes the kingdom of God, the collective assemblage of the ungodly, the kingdom of this spirit which is the representative of evil in general.‡

* This has been recognised in the light of an ethico-religious idealism by a Kant, whose earnest moral spirit (on this point at least) approaches much nearer to biblical Christianity, than the modern pantheistic idolatry of the understanding, and the logical monism of those who fancy they can reconcile, by dint of logic, the contrarieties in human nature which only admit of a practical settlement. See Kant's *Religion innerhalb der Gränzen der blossen Vernunft*.

† Eph. ii. 2. *τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.*

‡ Paul must naturally have regarded heathenism in itself (as a suppression by sin of the knowledge of God) as belonging to the kingdom of the evil spirit. But though the opinion that the apostle adopted the notion of the Jews, that the heathen gods were evil spirits who influenced men to pay them religious homage, has met with several advocates in modern times, much may be urged against it. When Paul speaks of the origin of idolatry in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, it would have been a most natural opportunity for saying, that men through sin were grown up to the influence of evil spirits, and were seduced by them to transfer to them the homage that was due to the living God. It would have marked more strongly the detestable quality of idolatry, and the predominance of unnatural lusts, to which he there refers, if he could have traced them to the influence of evil spirits, to whom men had subjected themselves, esteeming them to be divinities. But we find nothing of all this; Paul speaks merely of the transference to earthly things of the homage due to God, and he deduces all the enormities

Jesus appeared in humanity to annihilate the empire of sin and of Satan. All the powers of evil arrayed

he specifies only from the moral and intellectual course of development among men left to themselves. In Gal. iv. 8, when he says of those who had before been heathens, that they had served what was no god, as if it were God, it is no ways implied that they considered other real beings or evil spirits to be gods; but only that they had made themselves slaves of the *στοχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, instead of serving God alone, as became the dignity of human nature. The *στοχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* are the objects to which they ascribed divine power. In reference to the Corinthian church, I cannot retract the opinion I expressed above, Vol. I. p. 284. I cannot so understand the passage in 1 Cor. viii. 7, as if the persons indicated by Paul were Christians who could not altogether free themselves from faith in the reality of the heathen divinities as such; for, according to the relation in which Christianity at that time stood to heathenism, it is utterly inconceivable that, among those who became Christians, such a mixture could be formed of their earlier polytheistic views with Christian monotheism. Still, if they could not free themselves from belief in the reality of beings who had formerly exercised so great an influence over their minds, those whom they once held to be divinities must have appeared to them as evil spirits, in consequence of the total revolution in their modes of thinking. But if this be assumed, Paul could not at the same time hold as correct that view which he attributes to the weak as erroneous. He declares, moreover, that the views of the liberal party in the Corinthian church were correct in theory, but they proceeded on the supposition that the heathen divinities were only imaginary beings, and that for this reason the eating of the meat offered to them was a matter of perfect indifference. In 1 Cor. viii. 5, he contrasts only two subjective standing-points in religion, without speaking of the relation to the objective. The passage in 1 Cor. x. 20, is the strongest in favour of the view which we are here opposing. But we must determine the meaning of this verse by comparing it with verse 19. If we admitted that Paul considered the heathen divinities to be evil spirits, we must agree with Billroth (see his commentary on this passage), that he wished to guard against that misunderstanding to which the preceding comparison might have given rise, as if he really acknowledged their divinities to be actually divine. But, as we have already remarked, no member of the Corinthian church could be supposed to entertain such an opinion,

themselves against the Holy One of God ; his death, in which was manifested the mighty power of the kingdom of darkness among mankind, seemed to be their most splendid triumph, for here the mightiest opponent of this kingdom succumbed to their machinations. But the relation was reversed, and since the sufferings of Christ were the completion of his work of redemption, since Christ by his resurrection and ascension to heaven manifested the victorious power of the redemption he had completed, since now as the Glorified One, with the power of a divine life that overcame all opposition, he continued to work in and by those whom he had redeemed from the power of sin and Satan,—it was precisely by that event which appeared as a victory of the kingdom of darkness that its power was destroyed. In this connection Paul says, in Coloss. ii. 15, that Christ by his redeeming sufferings had gained a triumph over the powers that opposed the kingdom of God, and had put them openly to shame, just as the chiefs of vanquished nations are led in a triumphal procession as signs of the destruction of the hostile force,—thus the power of evil now appeared annihilated. And a similar image in Eph. iv. 8, represents Christ, after he had made prisoners of the powers opposed to him, as ascending victoriously to heaven, and distributing gifts among men as the tokens of his triumph, just as princes are wont to celebrate their victories by the distribution of donatives. These gifts are the charisms. As the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the impartation of divine life to believers, and especially the founding of a

nor can it be supposed that any one could have so misunderstood the language of Paul, who always maintained so strongly an exclusive monotheism. On the other hand, his words might be so understood, as if he considered these divinities to be real beings (though evil spirits), and hence ascribed an objective importance to what was offered to them. And in opposition to this mistake, he now says that he speaks only of what the heathens believed subjectively from their own standing-point, which stood in opposition to the Christian, and with which Christians could enter into no sort of communion, that those beings to whom they sacrificed were *δαίμονια* in the Grecian sense of the term.

church animated by a divine principle of life, are proofs of the conquest over the kingdom of evil, and of the liberation of the redeemed from its power; so likewise the manifold operations of this divine life in redeemed human nature, are so many marks of Christ's victory over the kingdom of evil, since those powers belonging to man, which formerly were employed in the service of sin, are now become the organs of the divine life. Now, through redemption the power of the kingdom of darkness is broken, and a foundation is laid for the complete victory of the kingdom of God and its total separation from all evil. But till this final consummation is effected, the kingdom of Christ can only develop itself in continued conflict with the kingdom of evil, for the power of the latter is still shewn in them, who have not been freed from it by redemption, and by them the kingdom of God as it exists in the believer is opposed, though all that opposes it must in the end contribute to its victory. And even in the redeemed themselves, points of connection with the kingdom of evil exist, as far as their lives are not purified from a mixture of ungodliness. Hence Christians are called to act as soldiers for the kingdom of Christ, 2 Tim. ii. 3, against all the power of evil, both that which meets them from without in their efforts for the extension and promotion of the kingdom of Christ among mankind, as well as against all from within, which threatens to disturb the operations of the divine life in themselves, and in so doing to retard the internal advancement of Christ's kingdom, Eph. vi. 11. It is the dictate of practical Christian morals, that as every talent is transformed into charism, it becomes appropriated for this divine equipment of the *militia Christi*. If Christians only rightly appropriate divine truth, and make all the powers of their nature subservient to it, they will find therein the most complete equipment (the *πανοπλια τοῦ Θεοῦ*) in order to carry on this warfare successfully. Whenever Paul mentions this invisible kingdom of evil, it is always in connection with the presupposed sinful direction of the will in human nature, for the doctrine of Satan can only be rightly understood by means of the

idea of sin derived from our moral experience. In the copious discussion on the nature and origin of sin, and on the reaction of the work of redemption against sin, which is given in the Epistle to the Romans, Satan is not mentioned; and when Paul first turned to the heathen and led them to the faith, he certainly appealed at first only to the consciousness of sin in their own breasts, as in his discourse at Athens. Moreover, he always contemplated this doctrine in connection with the redemption accomplished by Christ. Believers have reason to fear the invisible powers of darkness only when they expose themselves to their influence by the sinful direction of their will, and are not careful to make a right use of the means granted them in communion with Christ, for conflicting with the kingdom of evil; that kingdom which the Redeemer has overcome once for all. Paul employs this doctrine to arouse believers to greater watchfulness, that, under the consciousness of an opposing invisible power which avails itself of every germ of evil as a point of connection, they may carefully watch and allow nothing of the kind to spring up; and that they may rightly appropriate and use the divine weapons furnished by the gospel against all temptation; 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11; Eph. vi. 12.

We have now to speak of the gradual development of the kingdom of Christ, as it advances in conflict with the kingdom of evil, until the period of its completion.

With respect to the manner in which both nations and individuals are led by the publication of the gospel to a participation in the kingdom of God, Paul deduces the counsel of redemption and every thing belonging to its completion, both generally and particularly, from the free disposal of the grace of God, irrespective of any merit on the part of man. The peculiar form of his doctrinal scheme is closely connected with the manner in which he was changed from being an eager persecutor of the gospel into its zealous professor and publisher. And this free movement of grace, not measured and determined according to human merit, he brings forward in opposition to a theory equally arrogant and contracted,

according to which admission to the kingdom of God was determined by the merits of a legal righteousness; the Jewish people, by virtue of the merits and election of their progenitors, were supposed to have an unalienable right to form the main-pillar and centre of the theocracy. Accordingly, he contemplates the free arrangements of grace in a twofold contrast; in contrast to claims founded on natural descent from distinguished ancestors, and a peculiar theocratic nation—and to claims founded on the meritoriousness of a legal righteousness. In reference to the former, he makes the contrast on the one hand of natural descent determined by law, and therefore founded in a law of natural development, and defined by it; on the other hand, a development not to be calculated according to such a law of nature, but one which depends on the free disposal of divine grace and of the divine Spirit; the arrangement according to which the promise is fulfilled as the work of God's free grace. In the former case, the development of the kingdom of God proceeds by outward propagation and transmission—in the latter, a development ensues in virtue of the invisible and internal connection of the operations of the divine Spirit, and of the communication of divine life. Paul illustrates this universal contrast,* this law for the theocratical development through all ages by a particular example, the example of Abraham's posterity, from whom the Jews deduced their theocratic privileges. He points out how, among the immediate posterity of Abraham, not that son was chosen who would have carried on the line of his descendants according to the common course of nature, but one who was miraculously born† contrary to all human calculation; that this latter, and not the for-

* The same contrast, which has always made its appearance among the conflicting views in the Christian church, the contrast between Judaism in a Christian form, as in catholicism and other similar modes of thinking, and the free evangelical point of view of the visible church depending for its development on the invisible efficiency of the divine word.

† *κατα πνεῦμα, not κατα σαρκα*; Gal. iv.

mer, was destined to be the instrument of fulfilling the divine promises, and of continuing the theocracy; such, he shews, was the law of its continued development. Most unjustly has Paul been charged here with an arbitrary allegorizing which could carry weight only with the readers of that age.

We do not here perceive in him a theologian entangled in Jewish prejudices, of which his education in the school of Pharisaism could not divest him, but a great master in the interpretation of history, who, in particular facts could discern general laws and types, and knew how to reduce the most complex phenomena to simple and constantly recurring laws. Thus he here infers, with perfect correctness from a particular case, a universal law for the historical development of the theocracy, which he illustrates by that fact. He applies the same law to the Jews considered as the peculiar theocratic people in relation to the theocratic people formed from the mass of mankind by the gospel. Since those who, according to the law of natural descent from the theocratic people, imagined that they had a sure title to admission into the kingdom of God, were yet excluded from it; on the contrary, by a dispensation of the divine spirit, which could not have been calculated beforehand, towards the heathen nations, who according to the order of nature, since they were entirely distinct from the theocratic people, appeared to be altogether excluded* from the kingdom of God, a new theocratic race was called into existence, in whom the promises made to Abraham were to be fulfilled.

With respect to the second point, that of founding a claim for admission into the kingdom of God on the merits of a legal righteousness, Paul meets this arrogant assumption by the fact that the Jews, who by their zeal

* However improbable it appeared that Abraham would obtain offspring for the continuance of his race, in the manner which actually occurred, there was as little probability that the true worship of Jehovah would proceed from nations who had been hitherto devoted to idolatry.

in the righteousness of the law, appeared to have the most valid title to such a privilege, were excluded from it owing to their unbelief; and on the contrary the heathen, among whom there had been no such striving after a legal righteousness, were unexpectedly called to partake of it.

As in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he contemplates only this one aspect of the dispensation of divine grace in the perpetuation of the kingdom of God, and for a polemical purpose, it might seem as if he deemed the dispensation of divine grace to be in no respect affected by the determination of the human will—as if happiness and unhappiness were distributed among men by a divine predestination entirely unconditional; and as if he deduced the different conduct of men in reference to the divine revelations and leadings—from a divine causation which arranged every thing according to an unchangeable necessity. This principle if carried out, would lead to a denial of all moral free self-determination in general, contradict the essence of genuine theism, and would logically be consistent only with Pantheistic views. But on such a supposition, the line of argument which Paul here adopts would be entirely inconsistent with the general design of this epistle. He wishes to prove both to Gentiles and Jews, that, owing to their sins, they had no means of exculpating themselves before the divine tribunal; that all were alike exposed to punishment; he particularly wished to lead the Jews to a conviction that, by their unbelief, they deserved exclusion from the kingdom of God. But on the hypothesis to which we have just referred, he would have removed all imputation of guilt, and furnished the best ground of excuse for all, a necessity that guided all human actions by a secret machinery. Or we must explain his scheme by the distinction of a two-fold standing-point, one theoretical, the other practical, a hidden and a revealed will of God; but we can find nothing in his mode of thinking to authorize such a distinction. It is, in short, evident from the close of his whole argument, which begins in the ninth chapter—even if we do not

view this single discussion in its relation to the whole of his theology and anthropology—how very far he was from thinking of God as a Being who created the greater part of the human race, in order to manifest his punitive justice to them after involving them in sin and unbelief; and who had created a smaller part in order to manifest his redeeming grace, by rescuing them from the sin into which they had been involved by a divine destiny; for he represents as the final issue of all the divine dispensations with the generations of mankind, not such a partial, but the most general revelation of the divine grace. God hath suffered all, Jews as well as Gentiles,* to come to a knowledge of their sin, and by that of their need of redemption, that he may manifest his redeeming grace to all who are in this way fitted to receive it, Rom. xi. 32. Moreover, the doxology with which he closes the whole exposition of his views (xi. 33), contains a twofold reference,—to the infinite wisdom of God, which manifests itself in the development of the kingdom of God among the Gentiles by an unexpected course of events,—and to the grace of God, to which men are indebted for all those blessings which no merits of their own could secure. Therefore, in the discussion which is closed by this doxology, there is only a reference to a divine wisdom, whose proceedings are not to be calculated beforehand, according to any contracted human theory; and to a superabounding grace of God, which anticipates all human merit, reigns over all, and serves to explain all. These two relations are closely connected with one another; for as the superabounding grace of God is shewn by all Jews as well as Gentiles, and

* The great mass of mankind, as being either of the Jewish or Gentile race, seems to be the subject of discourse, rather than individuals; though what Paul here says is applicable to the plan and course of the divine dealings with individuals; the same preparation for the appropriation of redemption, is needed for individuals as for collective bodies consisting of individuals; the consciousness of the need of redemption is always the necessary intermediate step, though this may be awakened in various ways.

Gentiles as well as Jews, being brought to a participation of redemption, so the wonderful wisdom of God is manifested by the manner in which, by the dealings of his providence with the nations, the feeling of the need of redemption as the necessary preparation for obtaining it, is developed in various ways among them, according to their respective standing-points.

Thus, too, Paul says in Eph. iii. 10, that by the manner in which the church of God was formed among mankind, and especially in which the heathen were led to a participation in redemption, the *πολυποικιλος σοφια τοῦ Θεοῦ* was manifested; the epithet here given to the divine wisdom, serves to express the variety of methods by which it conducted the development of mankind to one end. But the praise of the divine wisdom in this respect, is directly opposed to the hypothesis of an arbitrary impartation of grace and of an unconditional divine causation. For this very reason, divine wisdom was requisite for the establishment of the church of God among mankind, because God did not all at once give that direction to men's minds which they required to attain a participation in redemption, but trained them to it with free self-determination on their part according to their various standing-points.*

In the discussion of this controversy, Paul dwells

* When Paul speaks of the incomprehensibility of the divine dealings towards the generations of men, it is in this sense, that the limited reason of man cannot determine *a priori* the proceedings of the divine government, and that man cannot understand its single acts till he can survey the connection of the whole in its historical development. But since he speaks of a revelation of the divine wisdom, it is evident that he assumes that a knowledge of these proceedings is possible in such a connection. And, in fact, the divine wisdom must have already manifested itself conspicuously in the transference of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, and in the preparation of the latter for that event, to those who only cast a glance at the events that were passing under their eyes. The divine wisdom will also be discerned at a future period, in the manner of bringing so large a portion of the Jewish people to faith in the Redeemer.

principally on the free grace and independent will of God, because it was only his object to humble the pride of the Jews, and to awaken in their minds the consciousness that man, by all his efforts, cannot seize what he can only receive from the grace of God under a sense of his own dependence and need of help; that God was under no obligation to choose the instruments for perpetuating the theocracy only from the members of the theocratic nation, but might make them the objects of punishment. But from this we are by no means to infer that Paul considered that this grace operated as a magical, unconditional necessity, or that the divine punishment was an arbitrary act, or, equally with sin and unbelief, a matter of divine causation. It was far from his intention to give a complete theory of the divine election of grace, and its relation to free will, but only to exhibit it under one special point of view. It was therefore natural, that if this antithetical reference was not always kept in view, and every thing else in connection with it, that much would be misunderstood, and a very one-sided theory of election would be formed from this portion of Scripture. When Paul says God hardeneth whom he will—the freedom of the divine will in reference to the divine punishment is maintained against the delusion of the Jews, that their nation could not be an object of the divine displeasure. But that this punishment should be conditional, depending on the criminality of man as a free agent, is by no means excluded, but rather implied in the idea of *hardening*.

By this expression that law of the moral world is indicated, according to which the moral self-determination gives its direction to the whole inward man; the sinful direction of the will brings on blindness of mind, and the manner in which every thing from without operates on man, depends on this his inward self-determination, and by his consequent susceptibility or unsusceptibility for the revelation of the Divine which meets him from without. And in this respect, Paul holds up the example of Pharaoh as a warning to the Jewish nation. As the miracles which, by another direction of his inward

man, might have led him to an acknowledgment of the divine almightiness in the dealings of God with the Jewish people, and to a subjection of his will to the divine will clearly manifested to him—as these miracles, on the contrary, only contributed to harden him in his self-will and delusion, so there was nothing to prevent God from acting in a similar way with the Jewish nation in reference to the reception they gave to the revelation of himself through Christ. When he says, that the Jews by all their efforts could attain nothing; but that the Gentiles on the contrary without such efforts had been admitted into the kingdom of God (Rom. ix. 30, 31), such language by no means implies that the conduct of men makes no difference in the impartation of grace, but exactly the contrary; for he thus expresses the hinderance to the reception of the gospel by the Jews arising from the direction of their minds, from the state of their hearts; namely, that a confidence in their own “willing and running,” prevented the consciousness of their need of redemption, while those classes of heathens among whom the gospel was first propagated were more easily led to embrace it, because they indulged in no such false confidence. And as he combated the presumptuous dependence of the Jews on their own works and exposed its nullity, so on the other hand, he warned the Gentiles against a false dependence on divine grace, which might mislead them to forget what was required on their part, in order to its appropriation. He represents the operations of grace as depending on their faithful retention on the part of man—the remaining in grace on the right direction of the will, Rom. xi. 20. “Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith.” In another passage, Paul allows it to depend entirely on the direction of the will whether a man should become a vessel of honour or of dishonour. “If a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour,” 2 Tim. ii. 21. But in his own sphere of action, the apostle was more frequently called to oppose a false confidence in a vain righteousness of works, than a false confidence in divine grace; and his own mental training

led him particularly to combat the former error. Both these circumstances together had the effect of disposing him to develop the Christian doctrine on this side especially, and to present what belonged to it in the clearest light.

Besides, when it was his object to arouse and establish the courage and confidence of believers, he could not direct them to the weak and uncertain power of man, but pointed to the immoveable ground of confidence in the counsels of the divine love in reference to their salvation, the foundation of what God had effected through Christ. The divine counsel of salvation must necessarily be fulfilled in them, nor could the accomplishment of this unchangeable divine decree be presented by any thing which might happen to them in life; on the contrary, all things would serve to prepare for its accomplishment, every thing which they might meet with in life must contribute to their salvation. This is the practical connection of ideas in Rom. viii. 28, &c., those whom God in his eternal intuition* has recognised as belonging to him through Christ, he has also predetermined that they should be conformed to the archetype of his Son, since he having risen from the dead in his glorified humanity, must be the first-born among many brethren. But those whom he had predestined to this end, he has also called to it; those whom he has called, he has also justified; those whom he has justified, he has also glorified. The train of thought is therefore this: first, the the divine idea of Christ, and of mankind contemplated in him, the divine counsel to realize this idea in believers; to conform them as redeemed to the archetype of Christ by the completion of the new creation. Then the gradual accomplishment of this counsel; first, the calling to believe (in the Pauline sense, the outward and the inward call are taken in combination for the pro-

* I do not mean a knowledge simply resulting from the divine prescience, which is quite foreign to the connection of the passage, but a creative knowledge, [such as in the Arts a man of genius has of his designs,] established in the divine idea.

duction of faith), as believers they become justified, and with believing the realization of the dignity of the children of God begins in their inward life. That God gave up his Son in order to secure this blessing to them, is a sure pledge of their obtaining it, and that nothing which appears to stand in the way shall really obstruct, but on the contrary must serve to advance it. Consequently, this doctrine of predestination and election, in the Pauline sense, is nothing else but the application of the general counsel of God for the redemption of mankind through Christ as the ground of salvation to those in whom it is accomplished by virtue of their believing. The greatness and certainty of the dignity of Christians is thus evinced; but nothing is determined respecting the relation of the divine choice to the free determination of the human wills. When Paul, in Eph. i. 4, represents Christians as objects of the divine love before the foundation of the world, his object is to shew that Christianity was not inferior to Judaism as a new dispensation, but was in fact the most ancient and original, and presupposed by Judaism itself, the election in Christ preceded the election of the Jewish nation in their forefathers; and redemption the verification of the archetype of humanity through Christ and proceeding from him, is the end of the whole terrestrial creation, so that every thing else appears as a preparation for this highest object in the counsel of creation in reference to this world.

Of the apostle Paul's views in reference to the last conflict which the kingdom of God will have to sustain, and his expectations of the victory to be gained by the approaching coming of the Lord, we have already spoken in our account of his ministry; Vol. I. p. 240. The prospects of the consummation of the kingdom of God bear the same relation to the development of the New Testament dispensation, as the prophetic intimations of the glorification of the theocracy by the work of the Redeemer bear to the development of the Old Testament dispensation. Every thing prophetic must be fragmentary, and hence cannot furnish us with clear and connected knowledge. We cannot, therefore, help considering

as a vain attempt, the endeavour to frame, by a comparison of particular apostolical expressions, a connected complete doctrine of the consummation of all things. From the standing-point of the apostles this was not possible. It might indeed happen, that in moments of higher inspiration and of special illumination, many higher but still isolated views might be imparted, which yet they could not combine into an organic systematic unity with their other representations on this subject.

With the doctrine of the consummation of the kingdom of God, is closely connected, in the Pauline system, the doctrine of the resurrection. This doctrine does not present itself here as an accidental and isolated fact, but stands in intimate relation to his general mode of contemplating the Christian life. It is the fundamental view of Paul and of the New Testament generally, that the Christian life which proceeds from faith carries in it the germ of a higher futurity; that the development of the divine life begun by faith, through which a man appropriates the redeeming work of Christ, and enters into fellowship with him, will go on until it has pervaded human nature in its full extent. Thus the appropriation of the body as an organ for the sanctified soul, as a temple of the Holy Spirit, must precede the higher state in which the body will be furnished as the glorified and corresponding organ of the perfected holy soul, Rom. vi. 5-8, 11; 1 Cor. vi. 14. Expositors, for want of entering sufficiently into the profound views of the apostle, and of grasping the comprehensive survey that stretches from the present into the future—have often erred by a mistaken reference of such passages either solely to the spiritual resurrection of the present state, or solely to the bodily resurrection of the future.

The difficulties which were raised, even in the apostle's time, respecting the doctrine of the resurrection, were founded particularly on the gross conceptions of it, and on the mode of determining the identity of the body. Paul, on the contrary, in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, teaches that, by the same creative power of God which caused a peculiar creation

to proceed from a grain of corn, an organ of the soul adapted to its higher condition would be formed from an indestructible corporeal germ. It may be asked, what is the essence of the body considered as an organ belonging to a distinct personality? Only this is considered by Paul as abiding, while the corporeal form is subject to change and dissolution; the former, as something belonging to the representation of the whole personality, will be restored in a form corresponding to its glorified state. And as the body of man is the mediating organ between the soul and nature, the idea is here associated of a Palingenesia of the latter, with the resurrection to which Paul alludes in Rom. viii. 19–23.* This idea stands in close

* The later distinguished commentators on this epistle have acknowledged this to be the only tenable exposition; and even Usteri, who had before brought forward the strongest objections against it, has been induced, for the same reasons which appear to me convincing, to accede to it. Against that interpretation, according to which this passage refers to the anxiety of the heathen world, the following reasons appear to me decisive. 1. Paul would in that case have used, as he generally does, the word *κοσμος*. 2. If we admit that he here pointed out the deeply felt sense of universal misery, the feeling of dissatisfaction with all existing things, the longing after something better, though without a clear knowledge of the object, as felt by the heathen, yet he would attribute such feelings to only a small and better part of the *κοσμος*; it is impossible that he could assert this of the whole mass of the heathen world sunk in sin. Yet we must grant that, in describing an age of great excitement, and pervaded by a vague and obscure anxiety, it might be said, that an anxiety of which they were unconscious was at the bottom of their wrestling and striving,—that they were in a state of unhappiness, which only he who had attained a higher knowledge could explain to them; and thus Paul might apply the expressions used by him to describe the spiritual condition of the world around him. But then, he must have described this state of men's minds as something peculiar to that age, and not as having existed up to that moment from the beginning, ever since the creation had been subject to this bondage. 3. According to his own ideas, he could not say that the *κοσμος* against its will was subjected, in a manner free from blame, by God himself to the bondage of a vain existence.

connection with the whole of the Pauline scheme of doctrine, and the Christian system generally: the κληρονομία τοῦ κόσμου, which promised to believers that they shall reign with Christ—that to them as to Christ all things in the future world shall be subject—that this globe is destined to be the scene of the triumphant kingdom of God—that in its progressive development this kingdom will subject all things to itself, until the consummation which Paul marks as the aim of this universal longing.

He usually connects the doctrine of the eternal life of the individual with the doctrine of the resurrection, and says nothing of the life of the soul in an intermediate state after death till the end of all things. The designation of death as a sleep in relation to the resurrection that is to follow, may favour the opinion that he considered the state after death to be one of suppressed consciousness like sleep, and admitted that the soul would first be awakened at the resurrection of the body, though in every other reference to death he could describe it under the image of sleep as a transition to a higher existence. When in the church at Thessalonica the anxieties of many were excited respecting the fate of the believers who had already died, he only intimates to them that, at the time of Christ's second coming, the believers then alive would not anticipate those who were already dead. But it might be supposed, that had he admitted a continuance of consciousness in more exalted and intimate communion with the Lord as taking place immediately after death, he would have reminded the persons whose minds were disturbed on the subject, that those for

4. According to this interpretation, Paul must have taught, that as soon as the children of God had attained their destined glory, it would spread itself over the heathen world, which would then enter into the communion of the divine life. But if it be assumed that Paul here so openly and clearly expressed the doctrine of a universal restitution, he must first have mentioned the appropriation of redemption by faith as a means of salvation equally necessary for all; he could not have admitted the possibility of such a state of glorification not brought about through faith in the Redeemer.

whom they mourned had already been admitted to a higher and blessed communion with their Lord, as the later Fathers of the church would not have failed to have done.

Yet since Paul was convinced that by faith men pass from death unto life*—since he testified from his own experience under manifold sufferings, that while the outward man perished the inward was renewed day by day, 2 Cor. xiv. 16, and this experience was to him a type of the future—since also the outward man would only pass to a higher life from the final dissolution of death—since he received a progressive development of the divine life in communion with the Redeemer—since he taught that believers would follow the Saviour in all things—from all these considerations it necessarily followed, that the higher life of believers could not be interrupted by death, and that by means of it they would attain to a more complete participation in Christ's divine and blessed life. This idea of a progressive development of the divine life in communion with the Redeemer, is indeed not one introduced from a foreign standing-point, into the doctrine of the apostles, but proceeds from his own mode of contemplation, as we learn from a comparison of his language in numberless passages. Still we are not sufficiently justified to conclude from that idea of such a process of development in the earthly life, that Paul believed in its progression after the close of our earthly life, in the period intervening till the resurrection. We may imagine

* For although he has not expressed this in precisely the same terms as John, yet the sentiment they contain follows of course from what he has repeatedly asserted respecting deliverance from spiritual death, and the life produced by faith. Between the two apostles there is only a difference of form, not of the manner in which the idea of ζων is employed by them,—for in this they agree in considering it as something that really enters the soul with believing; but John refers the idea of ζων αιωνιος to the present, Paul only to the future, although both substantially agree in the recognition of the divine life founded in faith, which bears in it the germ of a future higher development, anticipates the future, and contains it in itself as in bud.

the possibility that the consequences flowing from those premises, would not be consciously developed by him, since the thought of the resurrection and everlasting life were in his mind so closely connected, that he would be induced to leave the interval between the death of believers and their resurrection as an empty space. But, in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul expressly makes this distinction between the soul and the body, that the latter will die, and be given up to death on account of sin, the germ of which it carries in itself, but the former will be alive, exalted above death, so that it will have no power over them; accordingly, their life will be exposed to no repression or destruction, but be in a state of progressive development, never again to be interrupted by death. And the conclusion which we may draw from this single passage, is confirmed by those passages in the later Pauline epistles, which intimate that higher degrees of communion with Christ and of happiness are immediately consequent on death. The admission of this fact is by no means contradicted by his representing that the last and greatest result in the consummation of the kingdom of God, will proceed, not from its natural spontaneous development, but from without by the immediate event of Christ's *παρουσία*; as, in the same manner, the facts of the appearance of the Son of God in humanity, redemption, and regeneration, though they are not deduced from a preceding development, and constitute a perfectly new era in the spiritual life, are far from excluding, but rather presuppose, an antecedent preparatory development. Now, the later epistles of Paul contain such passages, in which he expresses most decidedly the hope of a higher development immediately consequent on death, of a divine life of blessedness in more complete communion with Christ; Philip. i. 22-23. We cannot in truth, perceive how Paul, if he supposed the second coming of Christ and the resurrection to be events so very near, could say, that he "desired to depart and to be with Christ which was far better," in case he placed the salutary consequences of death only in something negative—in freedom from the toils and conflicts of earthly

life, under which, as he so often declared, he experienced so much more intensely the blessed effects of the gospel on his own soul,—and had not contemplated a higher kind of communion with Christ, a higher development of the life which was rooted in that communion as a consequence of death. Must not a man of Paul's flaming zeal and devoted activity have preferred such a life of conflict for the kingdom of Christ, to a slumbering and dreaming existence or a life of shadows? In 2 Tim. iv. 18, he also describes an entrance into the kingdom of Christ as immediately following death; though this last passage is not so decisive, as the interpretation in this point of view may be disputed.*

It may perhaps be thought † that a progress on this subject in the development of Christian knowledge took place in Paul's mind. As long as he expected the second coming of Christ and the final resurrection as near at hand, he had little occasion to separate from one another the ideas of an eternal life after death and of a resurrection; and, in accordance with the Jewish habits of thinking, he blended them together in a manner that led to the idea of a certain sleep of the soul after death. But when, by the course of events and the signs of the times, he had learned to form clearer notions of the future, and when he was induced to think that the last decisive epoch was not so near (as appears from his later epistles), the idea of a higher condition of happiness beginning immediately after death must have developed itself in his mind, under the illumination of the divine Spirit, from the consciousness of the divine life as exalted above death, and as destined to perpetual progression, and from the consciousness of unbroken communion with the Redeemer as the divine fountain of life. The illumination of the apostles' minds by the Holy Spirit was

* The remarks by Weizel of Tubingen, in his essay on the original Christian doctrine of Immortality, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1834, Part iv., have not occasioned any alteration in my views on this subject.

† This seems to be the view taken by Usteri.

surely not completed at once; but was the operation of a higher power possessing a creative fertility, under whose influences their Christian knowledge and thinking progressively developed, by means of higher revelations which were not violently forced upon them, but coalesced in a natural manner with their psychological development, as we have seen in the example of Peter; Vol. I. p. 83. This might be the case with Paul; and it might happen that he was led to a more perfect understanding of the truth exactly at that point of time when it was required for his own religious necessities and those of future generations. But it is against this supposition that, in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he expresses himself on death and the resurrection, in the same manner as in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and yet we find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians written some months later, a confident expectation expressed, that a life of a higher kind in communion with Christ would immediately succeed the dissolution of earthly existence; for it is impossible to understand 2 Cor. v. 6-8 in a different sense; when Paul marks, as correlative ideas on the one hand, the remaining in the earthly body and being absent from the Lord (a want of that higher immediate communion with him which would belong to an existence in the other world), on the standing-point of faith; and, on the other hand, the departure from earthly life, and being admitted to the immediate presence of the Lord, and to an intimate communion with him no longer concealed under the veil of faith. How could he have described what he longed for, as a departure from this earthly life and being present with the Lord, if he intended to describe that change which would arise from the *παρουσία* of Christ, from his coming to believers? We also find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the same views presented as in the Epistle to the Philippians; yet it is not probable that in the few months between the time of his writing the First and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, such a revolution had taken place in his mode of thinking on this subject. From a comparison of the First

and Second Epistle to the Corinthians, we may therefore conclude that Paul, even when, in his earlier statements respecting the resurrection, he said nothing of the state of the souls of individual believers in the interval between death and the resurrection, still admitted the uninterrupted development of a higher life after death, though he did not particularly bring it forward, as he was accustomed to found all the hopes of believers on the resurrection of Christ, and to connect them with the doctrine of the resurrection; perhaps, also, he thought that last great event so nigh, and was so constantly turning his attention to it, that his mind was not directed towards the other fact. But as he became aware that the period of the consummation of the kingdom of God was not so nigh as he had formerly anticipated, he was induced to bring forward more distinctly a subject which had hitherto been kept in the background.

Paul represents as the ultimate object of his hopes, the complete victory of the kingdom of God over all the evil which had hitherto prevented its realization, over every thing which checked and obscured the development of the divine life. Believers, in their complete personality transformed and placed beyond the reach of death, will perfectly reflect the image of Christ, and be introduced into the perfect communion of his divine, holy, blessed, and unchangeable life. The perfected kingdom of God will then blend itself harmoniously with all the other forms of divine manifestation throughout his unbounded dominions. Inspired by the prospect of this last triumph of redemption, when sin with all its consequences, death and all evil, shall be entirely overcome, with the certain knowledge of the victory already won by Christ, the pledge of all that will follow, Paul exclaims (1 Cor. xv, 55-58), "Where, Death, is now thy sting? (Death has now lost its power to wound the redeemed from sin, since they are already conscious of an eternal divine life.) Where, Grave, is thy victory? (the victory which the kingdom of death gained through sin.) But the sting of death is sin; that which causes the power of sin to be felt is the law. (What the law could not do, which made

us first feel the power of sin in its whole extent, that Christ has done by redeeming us from sin and thus from death.) God be thanked who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Inasmuch as the kingdom of Christ is a mediatorial dispensation, which maintains a conflict with the kingdom of evil for a precise object, which is founded on the redemption accomplished by him, and by which all that his redemption involves in principle must be realized—the kingdom of Christ in its peculiar form will come to an end, when it has attained this object, when through the efficiency of the glorified Christ, the kingdom of God has no more opposition to encounter, and will need no longer a Redeemer and Mediator. Then will God himself operate in an immediate manner in those who through Christ have attained to perfect communion with him, who are freed from every thing that opposed the divine operation in their souls and transformed into pure instruments of the divine glory. The mediatorial kingdom of God will then merge into the immediatorial. Such is the declaration of Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. But if we understand what is said in that passage of the universal subjection and conquest of all the enemies of God's kingdom, in the strictest sense of the words, it would follow, that all subjective opposition to the will of God will then cease, and that a perfect union of the will of the creature with that of the Creator will universally prevail. This will necessarily be the case, if we understand the words that "God may be all in all,"* in absolute universality; for then it would follow, that the kingdom of God is to be realized subjectively in all rational creatures, and that nothing ungodlike will any longer exist. Then would be fulfilled, in the most complete sense, what Paul expresses in Rom. xi. 32. But though this interpretation is in itself possible, and founded on the words, still we are not justified by the connection to understand the expression in an unlimited sense. If that subjection were to be un-

* *παντα* may be taken either as masculine or neuter.

derstood as only objective and compulsory, it might be affirmed that the enemies of God's kingdom will have no more power to undertake any thing against it, that they will no longer be able to exert a disturbing influence on its development. By the "all," *πασι*, in whom God will be "all," *τα παντα*, we may understand merely believers, as in v. 22 by *παντες*,* those who enter by faith into communion with Christ; and it certainly appears from the connection to be Paul's design only to represent what belongs to the perfect realization of Christ's work for believers. The words in Philipp. ii. 10, 11, may indeed be supposed to mean, that all rational beings are to be subjected to the Redeemer as their Lord, although this will not be accomplished with respect to all in the same manner; in some there may be a subjectively internal free obedience, in others only what is outward and compulsory, the obedience of impotence, which can effect nothing against the kingdom of Christ. The question arises, whether in the words "bow the knee in the name of Christ, and confess that he is Lord to the glory of God," something more is meant than a description of such forced outward obedience, if we understand these words according to the Pauline phraseology.† The passage in Coloss. i. 20, we shall interpret in the simplest and most natural manner, if we can admit such a reference to the reconciling and redeeming work of Christ on the fallen spiritual world. And we can then combine in one view the three passages, and interpret

* If the emphasis be laid not on the *παντες* but on the *εν τῷ χριστῳ*, that here every thing proceeds from Christ as on the other side from Adam.

† The doctrine of such a universal restitution, would not stand in contradiction to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as it appears in the gospels; for although those who are hardened in wickedness, left to the consequences of their conduct, their merited fate, have to expect endless unhappiness, yet a secret decree of the divine compassion is not necessarily excluded, by virtue of which, through the wisdom of God revealing itself in the discipline of free agents, they will be led to a free appropriation of redemption.

them by a mutual comparison. A magnificent prospect is thus presented of the final triumph of the work of redemption, which was first opened to the mind of the great apostle in the last stage of his Christian development, by means of that love which impelled him to sacrifice himself for the salvation of mankind. At all events, we find here only some slight intimations, and we acknowledge the guidance of divine wisdom, that in the records of revelation destined for such various steps of religious development, no more light has been communicated on this subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

WE wish in this place to take some notice of the peculiar doctrinal character of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which we find the outlines of the Pauline doctrine under a peculiar form, as held by a man of an independent mind, who differed from Paul in his constitutional qualities, in his mental training, and in the mode of his transition from Judaism to Christianity. As to the first point, the author of this epistle seems to stand to the apostle in the same relation as Melancthon to Luther; the one quiet and gentle, the other ardent and energetic. As to their education, Paul was brought up in the school of Pharisaism; in the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we recognise the training of an Alexandrian Jew. Hence arose the difference, that Paul received a more dialectic education, by which his logical faculties were still further developed, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews a more rhetorical one; though Paul, like Luther, possessed in a high degree the gift of natural eloquence. Lastly, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews appears to have made the transition from Judaism to Christianity, not like Paul by a sudden crisis, but by

a quiet gradual development, in which the higher spirit concealed under the forms of Judaism revealed itself to him. Accordingly, we must consider his twofold relation to the Alexandrian-Jewish, and to the Pauline theology. Several differences in the development of doctrine, between these two great teachers of the church, may be explained from the peculiar design of this epistle, which was addressed to a community of Christians, who, though faith in Jesus as the Messiah had found ready acceptance with them, were still enthralled in the forms of Judaism.*

* This view we must maintain, notwithstanding the reasons alleged against it by Dr R \ddot{o} the in his Latin Dissertation, (Frankfort 1836), in which he endeavours to shew that this epistle was addressed to the church at Ephesus, consisting of Gentile Christians. As the epistle perfectly suits a church consisting of Jewish Christians, and the difficulties attached to this hypothesis are only apparent, so we cannot, on the other hand, conceive of a church of Gentile Christians to whom an epistle could be addressed of this form and of such contents. And, on the latter supposition, it would not be easy to explain the close connection of the didactic and parnetical elements from the beginning, for a church consisting of Gentile Christians could only be forced back by persecution into heathenism, and could never be moved from such a cause to pass over to Judaism. The contents of this epistle, which tend to shew the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, are by no means adapted to the purpose of encouraging its readers to perseverance under persecutions. Dr R \ddot{o} the appeals to ch. iii. v. 12; but apostacy from the living God need not imply a return to idolatry; as communion with God, according to the convictions of the writer, could only be through Christ, an apostacy from Christ must in his esteem have been equivalent to apostacy from the living God. Still less can the passage in ch. x. ver. 32, be adduced in evidence, for doubtless divine illumination appeared to the author as necessarily depending on the gospel; and a transition from any other religious standing-point, on which man could be set free from the dominion of the principle of sin, was looked upon by him as a transition from darkness to light. The same remark applies to ch. vi. ver. 4. Also, the enumeration of points of instruction for catechumens in ch. vi. ver. 1, does not prove that they were also such as would be imparted to heathens; for by "repentance from dead works," the author no

Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews agree in this, that they both represent Judaism as inadequate for satisfying the religious wants of man. This is the purport of what is said in ch. vii. 19, that Judaism could "make nothing perfect;" its religious institutions were not fitted to realize the ideas presented by them to the conscience; the sacrifices and the priesthood were unable to satisfy that religious want, to which both owed their existence; namely, to accomplish the removal of the disunion between God and man. Those religious

doubt understands conversion from all ungodliness, and by *πιστις* in this connection, agreeably to the Pauline ideas, he meant faith in the peculiarly Christian sense; so that faith in Jesus as the Messiah is included in it, which in articles of instruction for heathens must have been rendered very prominent. Also, for the instruction of Jews passing over to Christianity, it was requisite to define the nature of Christian baptism, in relation to that of John and other kinds of lustration; and the doctrine of the resurrection and of the judgment, though already acknowledged by the greater part of the Jews, must be promulged afresh with many peculiar modifications in connection with the doctrine of Jesus as the Messiah. Thus the author enumerates those universal articles of primary religious instruction, which needed to be addressed to Jews as well as to Gentiles. From ch. xiii. ver. 9, it does not follow that his readers had never before observed the Jewish laws relating to food, and therefore were not Jews, but only, that according to the supposition of the writer of the epistle, they no longer as Christians placed their dependence on such outward things. At all events, by "the divers and strange doctrines," some peculiar opinions must be understood which were placed by the false teachers in connection with the Jewish laws on food. The passage in ch. xi. 40, can only be intended to mark a later generation (in this case no matter whether of Jewish or Gentile descent) which had not yet come into existence, and therefore had not attained to a participation of the Messianic kingdom—if this had entered before, and thus the development of the human race had been earlier closed. According to the other interpretation also, it would have been necessary for the author to have addressed his readers in the second person, for the rhetorical figure *Anakoinosis*, on the supposition of the author being of Jewish descent, whoever he might be, would be as little employed as if the epistle had been written by Paul himself.

ideas were here represented in sensible images, which were first realized by Christianity. Both Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, place the central point of religion in redemption from guilt and sin, the restoration of communion with God, whence proceeds the impartation of a divine life, the source of true holiness; and the inability of Judaism to attain this object formed in the estimation of both its essential defect. In this epistle (viii. 12; vi. 4; ix. 15) the forgiveness of sins, the communication of a new divine life and divine power for sanctification, are described as the work of Christ, as the effect of Christianity; it is maintained, that by this new principle of life, the redeemed are able to render true spiritual worship, which comprehends the whole life, so that now the whole soul, animated by a new spirit, becomes a thank-offering for the grace of redemption bestowed upon it; xii. 28, ix. 14, xiii. 15; and in the same manner Paul contemplates the whole Christian life as constituting true spiritual worship.

But these two writers differ in their manner of carrying out the fundamental ideas which they hold in common. Paul, in opposition to the merit of works on the legal standing-point, and especially against the tenet that an observance of the law was absolutely necessary for the Gentiles in order to salvation—develops his doctrine of justification by faith alone, independently of the works of the law. This doctrine, that no one could become righteous before God by the observance of the law, but only through faith in Jesus as the Messiah and Redeemer, lies also at the basis of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the author of this epistle directs his argumentation especially against those who were still captivated by the pomp of the Temple worship, the priesthood and the sacrifices, and were in danger of being entirely seduced from Christianity by the impression these objects made upon them; this gave its peculiar direction to his reasoning, and it aimed at shewing that by all this ritual their religious wants could not be satisfied, but that its only use was to direct them to the sole true means of satisfaction. As Paul declared that the law

could not bestow the justification which man required, but that it only awakened the feeling of want, which nothing but faith in Jesus as the Redeemer could satisfy, so in the Epistle to the Hebrews it is shewn, that the mediation required by man's relation to God and heaven, could not be effected by the Jewish priesthood, but that it only availed to call forth a longing for such a mediation, and thus led to him who alone could bestow it.

But in one respect an opposition may seem to exist between the Pauline views and the doctrinal scheme of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Paul contemplates the standing-point of Judaism as abolished. Every thing in religion is represented as proceeding from faith in Christ alone, in receiving the gospel a man is in effect dead to his former religious standing-point; whatever was before the ground of his confidence, now appears to him as an absolute nullity. On the contrary, according to the views presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the whole Jewish cultus is, it is true, only a shadowy image of something superior; but the writer considers it as still continuing to exist till every thing earthly, and consequently this form of earthly worship, shall come to an end, when the higher dispensation of the Messianic kingdom shall be brought to its consummation. Thus we may here meet with a view, which actually existed among some Judaizing sects, that the communion with the sanctuary of heaven bestowed by Christianity, would be carried on in this world in combination with the forms of a cultus which typified heavenly things; that a new higher spirit would continue to operate in the ancient forms of religion. But still this is only an apparent contradiction between these two great teachers; for it is evident from the connection of ideas in this epistle, that the writer looked on the Jewish cultus as entirely superfluous, since it could contribute nothing towards effecting communion with heaven and reconciliation with God, on which every thing depended. But since Christianity effected all this, since it bestowed every thing demanded by the religious wants of man, of what use was another cultus?

If in connection with such views, the Jewish cultus

could still find a place, the only point of junction could be the representation that the conscientious observance of all that belonged to the Mosaic cultus, would be a preparatory purifying and sanctifying process, to qualify for the participation of divine things through the medium of Christianity. This was the standing-point from which Philo, in his work *de migratione Abrahami*, combats a religious idealism which would have explained away the whole of outward Judaism as superfluous. But in this epistle we can find no trace of attributing such a continued preparatory utility to Judaism; according to its fundamental ideas, connection with Christ as the true high priest renders superfluous all other methods of purification and sanctification. If the author of this epistle had some notion that these outward forms of Judaism, whose design was only preparative and typical, would linger in existence till the dissolution of the whole terrestrial economy, which event he, like the apostles, expected to take place at no very distant period,* it by no means follows that he considered these forms as of essential importance. We must only bear in mind in what light the author viewed the relation of the present to the future. This relation was the same in his conceptions as in Paul's. To Christians by faith the future is already become a present. They ascend with the confidence of faith into the holiest of holies in heaven, which Christ has rendered accessible to them; x. 22. They already belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, and are become the associates of angels; xii. 23. They have already been made partakers of an eternal unchangeable kingdom; xii. 28. They have already felt the powers of the world to come. Hence it follows, that, as they no more belong in their inward life to this transitory world, but to the higher future world, they are actually raised above the whole standing-point of Judaism. When in ix. 9, it is said, that, in the *καιρος ἐνεστηκως* (equivalent to *αἰων οὗτος*), there

* They were not aware that any considerable period would elapse between the destruction of the Temple foretold by Christ, and his second coming.

is a sacrificial worship, which yet, like all such outward things, cannot bestow* the right constitution of the inner life, the *purification* from guilt, which man requires in order to become a member of God's kingdom, it must be recollected that Christians do not belong to the *αἰων οὗτος*, but to the *αἰων μελλων*, and hence all this is nothing to them. When the author speaks of outward ordinances, † ix. 10, which were "imposed until the time of reformation;" it is added, that Christ ‡ is He from whom the *διορθωσις* emanates, which frees from the yoke of these ordinances, though in its whole extent it will first take effect in the *οἰκουμενη μελλουσα*. In fact, he contrasts with the Jews who serve an earthly sanctuary (xiii. 10), the Christians to whom the altar in heaven stands open, while it is closed against the Jews who cleave to an earthly sanctuary. This is the contrast between those whose worship still adheres to the veil of outward sensible forms, and those who rise at once to heaven. As Jesus suffered without the gates of Jerusalem, so, according to the symbolical representations employed in this epistle, must those who desire to belong to him withdraw themselves from the terrestrial Jerusalem, the earthly sanctuary, as from this world in general; xiii. 13. We here find the same principles as in Paul's writings. The author of this epistle does not, indeed, argue directly against the maintenance of the outward forms of the Jewish cultus, nor does he demand their abolition; but this even Paul would not have done in an epistle addressed to such Christians who belonged to Judaism by national descent and education.

It may appear as rather unpauline that he treats only of the salvation of those who belonged to the posterity of Abraham, and of Christ's relation to such. We may indeed doubt, whether Paul, if he was writing to a

* Paul would have said that all this could not contribute to their *justification*.

† The same which Paul asserts of the *σαρκικα του νομου* of the *στοιχεια του κοσμου*.

‡ As the contrast in v. 11 shews.

church composed entirely of Jewish Christians, could have so far restrained himself, as not to have dropped some expressions on a subject which so deeply interested him as the divine purpose to incorporate the Gentiles with the Jews in the kingdom of God, by faith in the Redeemer; and whether he would not have felt compelled to have adverted, at least in an apostolic manner, to his peculiar vocation as a preacher of the gospel among the Gentiles. Yet it is certain that a writer who expressed himself respecting the condition of admission into the Messianic kingdom and on the relation of Judaism to the work of Christ, as we find to be the case in this epistle, must have agreed with the Pauline doctrine in thinking, that as the attainment of eternal salvation was independent of Judaism and determined alone by faith in Christ, therefore by the fulfilment of this one condition it was attainable by all men. We also find that he selects as a type of Christ, not one of the family of Abraham, but Melchisedic—an indication of Messianic universalism. If we call to mind that he considers the λαος as representative of the theocratic people in general, the Abrahamidæ as representatives of the human family in general, who are destined for the kingdom of God, we shall not be able to detect any contradiction between himself and Paul.

With respect to the work of Christ, the author of this epistle appears to differ from Paul in not bringing forward the resurrection as a seal of the redemption effected by the Saviour. But it is not difficult to perceive, that this conception of the resurrection in relation to the whole of the Christian system lies at the basis of this epistle. There is the same connection between sin and death presupposed, as when it is said in ii. 14, that Satan had the power over death, that is, that death was not an original element in the creation, but was first occasioned by Satan, by means of sin, which is the work of Satan, and being thus connected with sin, belongs to Satan's kingdom. In the same sense as Paul intends, sin is also considered as the sting of death; for it is said that men oppressed by a consciousness of guilt are kept

in continual bondage through the fear of death,—that fear of death, which presents itself in connection with the divine judgment to the agonizing conscience as so terrible, and which blasts the cheerful enjoyment of life. When it is affirmed that Christ through death destroyed the kingdom of Satan, who had power over death, and thereby freed men from the bondage in which they were held by the fear of death,—it is presupposed that, by the power of his holy life, he left the grave victoriously at his resurrection, and by this event gave a pledge to his redeemed of a life of eternal happiness. It is said in ver. 7, that Christ, who, as he had assumed human nature with all its weakness, sin excepted, was subjected to death, poured forth in his struggle with death fervent prayers and tears to God who could redeem from death, and on account of his perfect resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, and his perfect obedience, was heard, that is, was delivered from death by means of his resurrection. The God of salvation is described in xiii. 20, as he who had brought from the dead the great leader and ruler of the church of God; and in these words it is implied, that Christ by his resurrection became the leader from death to life of the church of God formed by him as the Redeemer, and laid the foundation for its salvation; and therefore God, in raising him from the dead, proved himself to be the God of salvation.

We see, then, that the same view is taken in this epistle as in Paul's writings, of the connection of the resurrection with the work of redemption. But that the exaltation of Christ to heaven is more frequently adverted to than his antecedent resurrection in this epistle, may be traced to the prevailing form of its representations, in which Christ is compared to the high priest of the Old Testament dispensation; for as high priest, having ascended to heaven and remaining there, he fulfils his office by interceding with God for believers, and bringing them into perpetual communion with God and heaven. A contrast is pointed out between Christ and the Jewish high priest in this respect, that the latter could enter into the holy of holies in the temple, which was only a symbol of that

in heaven, but once a year, and was obliged to leave it again ; much less could he obtain an entrance into it for those on whose account he held the priestly office. It was a necessary consequence of this mode of representation, that there was less occasion for mentioning the resurrection, and that topic was brought forward more prominently to which the resurrection forms an introduction and transition.

But this idea of the high priesthood is only a particular form of representing the general Christian idea of Christ as the Mediator, by whom the communion of the human race with God, broken off by sin, is again restored. That the writer of this epistle made use of this form, was principally owing no doubt to the peculiar character of the churches whom he addressed ; but in part probably to the peculiarity of his own religious training. This form is indeed borrowed from Judaism. Yet it by no means denotes a transient relation in the historical development of Christianity, but is connected with one of its constant relations to human nature ; in virtue of which, under the consciousness of his earthly limitations and his sins, man feels himself in need of a mediation to fill up the infinite chasm that separates him from a Holy God. In all religions, and in various stages of civilization, methods were invented for satisfying this want ; a caste of priests, an order of mediators the offspring of the imagination, and a multitude of sensible objects, were made use of, in order to bring man into connection with God. Christ has for ever satisfied this undeniable want of human nature, which no human being who stood himself in need of redemption and mediation could satisfy, and consequently all priesthood and sacrificial worship are henceforth superfluous and abolished. The redeemed are dependent on no other being for the purpose of mediating their relation to God. Through Him they are brought into a lasting connection with God and the heavenly holy of holies ; through Him, as the ever-living high priest, they continually draw nigh to God : it is He who intercedes for them continually with God, and through their relation to Him their whole life is conse-

crated to God and acceptable to him; vii. 25, 26. Now this is in perfect harmony with what Paul teaches (according to the explanation we have given of his views) respecting the scheme of mediation for believers; respecting the whole Christian life as a thank-offering for the blessings of redemption, and the free access to God through the mediation of Christ; and from the manner in which he applies to Christianity the Jewish ideas of the temple and the sacrifices and the whole ceremonial worship, we are authorized to infer, that he would make a similar application of the idea of the priesthood.

In order to realize this idea for the benefit of the human race, it was needful that Christ, who, according to his divine nature as Logos, accomplished the derivation of all created existence from God and its connection with God—should become acquainted with all the weaknesses, sufferings, temptations, and conflicts of those for whom he was to intercede as high priest, from his own experience, that he might understand the exigencies in which they would require his aid, feel genuine sympathy with their infirmities, and infuse true confidence into their hearts. At the same time, the writer of this epistle considers the sufferings of Christ in the twofold point of view, of active and passive satisfaction, which we have explained in the representation of the Pauline doctrine. Both are here combined in the idea of the all-sufficient sacrifice presented by Christ as high priest, which effects that for which no human ritual was adequate. The relation of the sufferings of Christ as the sinless one to the sins of mankind is thus illustrated, that as the sins of the people were symbolically transferred to the victim, (as if it could suffer what the people deserved), so Christ in his sacrifice had taken upon himself the sins of mankind; his redeeming sufferings were the pledge that their guilt would be no more charged upon them; ix. 28. As to the other part of Christ's work noticed by Paul,—his active obedience—it is in this epistle expressly stated that Christ, according to the divine appointment, having proved himself to be the Holy One in all human temptations, and under the severest death-struggle, gained

thereby the dignity of high priest; v. 7-8. The sacrifice of Christ obtains its due significance only in this moral connection, not as an *opus operatum*, as the sacrifice of animals, but as the act of one who, revealing the eternal divine essence in human nature, and exhibiting the perfect union of the divine and human in a holy human life, verified it also in death, as the termination of a life which had been the revelation of the eternal Spirit of God in a sinless holy humanity. The significance of the death of Christ is founded on his having, "by an eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God." Thus the Epistle to the Hebrews distinguishes, as we find in Paul, two eras in the life of Christ; his appearance on earth, when he entered into fellowship with mankind, to bear the load of sin and to free them from it; and his life as the Glorified One, which no longer stands in relation to sin, but in which he only exhibits what he obtained by his perfect, holy life, and what those have to expect who are freed by him from sin, and called to the perfect communion of his blessed life; ix. 28.

By what Christ has in this manner accomplished, he has now once for all made objective satisfaction for mankind to the requirements of the holiness of God, of the moral order of the universe. Mankind defiled by sin cannot enter into the heavenly sanctuary. They must first be purified and consecrated in order to enter into the fellowship of heaven. This work, accomplished objectively by Christ, is now carried on in its consequences, till every thing is conquered which opposes the realization of the holy kingdom of God among mankind, till that higher world, first apprehended by faith, becomes an actual reality to the sanctified human race.

Faith is also represented in this epistle as the instrument of appropriating this objective work by individuals, and of accomplishing in them this subjective purification; that faith by which men enter into communion with Christ; iii. 6, 14. It is the confidence of faith which enables men to appropriate purification by the blood of Christ, and purges the heart from the consciousness of guilt; x. 22. We here find the same principle

which Paul describes as justification by faith, only with an allusion to sprinkling with the blood of the sacrifices, in accordance with the reference to the Jewish cultus, which pervades this epistle. As in Paul's writings, it is insisted that faith must prove itself genuine by perseverance; x. 36, iii. 14. And we find also the same connection indicated between Faith, Hope, and Love; x. 23, 24.

In Paul's writings, a general conception of faith lies at the basis of the particular Christian application of the idea, as a general fundamental tendency of the disposition without which no communion with the godlike, no religious life can exist; and this idea is expressed in this epistle in a still more general way. It is described as being an apprehension of the invisible by the whole tendency of the disposition,—a surrender of the spirit to something invisible by an act of inward self-determination, by which man raises himself above the natural connection of causes and effects, and enters by the tendency of his inward life into a higher order of things revealing themselves to him. Faith, according to Heb. xi. 1, is that by which the object of hope already becomes present; by which man is convinced of the reality of what he cannot perceive by the senses. While in the constant succession in the phenomenal world he sees only the visible develop itself from the visible, and one phenomenon from another, and the understanding, cleaving to earthly phenomena, would explain and define every thing from this causal connection;—faith, on the contrary, rises to an act of creative omnipotence as the original ground of all existence, and acknowledges that the universe was made by the invisible creative word of God; xi. 3. Even here, agreeably to what we have remarked above, there is involved a peculiar Christian application of the general idea of faith, only what Paul distinguishes as justification through faith, is here represented under other forms on account of the references to the Jewish cultus. Moreover, in accordance with the peculiarly hortatory character of this epistle, faith is exhibited in its aspect of perseverance under all the sufferings and conflicts of

earthly life;—faith in its persistive tendency towards the future, a faith which goes forth to the accomplishment of an object, and by which those who exercise it are matured for that object; (τελειωσις.) By this faith a man follows after Christ, in whom a perfect pattern is exhibited, and who has passed through all temptations and conflicts, with an unwavering constancy of faith, to that state of glory whither all believers must follow him by the same path; xii. 2. But it has been most unjustly attempted to find a contrariety between the idea of faith in this epistle and in Paul's writings, as if in the former it merely implied a reference to something future, a conception of its nature which would best suit a lifeless Judaism. It is evident from the general idea of faith as we have explained it, and from the whole train of thought in this epistle, that by means of faith a vital connection is formed between the Present and the Future. By means of faith, according to the doctrine of this epistle, the Future becomes in some measure a Present to the mind, although this Present has a necessary bearing to a more perfect development, a consummation in the Future. With faith is given the experience of the glory of the divine word, vi. 5; by faith Christians enter the future world, and become inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, xii. 22. By faith they partake of the power of the world to come, and obtain a partial anticipation of the Future; faith penetrates through the veil which conceals from human eyes the holy of holies in the heavens, and enters within it; vi. 19.

With respect to the relation between the ideas of this epistle and the ideas of the Alexandrian-Jewish theology as they are represented in the writings of Philo, we must here have recourse to the distinction between religious realism and religious idealism; in other words, that standing-point which considers the positive and historical in religion only as a symbolical clothing of general ideas, and as the means of stimulating and training the mind towards its highest aim, the contemplation of ideas—and that standing-point on which religion is acknowledged, not as an object merely of the intellect,

but as an independent power in the life, a living communion with God effected by means of certain historical facts, as the highest end of a created being, and a complete satisfaction of his religious wants.

On this complete difference of the religious standing-point, a difference is founded in the interpretation of the Old Testament and of Judaism. Philo viewed the historical and the positive in Judaism only as symbolical veils of general ideas, which for the most part were borrowed from a very different standing-point, and which he attributed to Judaism by an arbitrary disregard of historical accuracy. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews conceives of Judaism, according to its true historical destination and intention—to prepare the way for realizing the kingdom of God through Christ—to prefigure the divine in sensible forms—which would subsequently actually appear among mankind. If he arbitrarily explains some things according to the letter, yet a higher necessity lies at the basis of these meanings, the reference to the facts of religion from which the satisfaction of the religious wants of mankind proceeded, and which were really prepared by Judaism. The predominant idea of this epistle, the high priesthood of Christ, has a significance entirely real, founded on fact, and relating to the most pressing religious wants of mankind. The Logos in himself is not the high priest; he can only assume this character in consequence of his having assumed human nature, and thus accomplished, in the manner described, the redemption of mankind. Christ as glorified and exalted to heaven, has performed that for the religious life of men which their imperative religious wants sought in the priesthood. On the contrary, Philo calls the Logos himself the high priest, as the divine reason revealed in creation, by which it is connected with the deity. This reason, which reveals the highest being, the *dy*, and communicates worthy and elevated ideas of it, is hence called the high priest of God in the creation. As the ideal ground of the phenomenal world, it mediates for it before God, for in idea all is perfect, but defective in actual appearance. The Logos is hence re-

presented as the *κοσμος νοητος*, the *παρακλητος*, the *ικετης*, for the *κοσμος αισθητος*. This idea is symbolically represented in Melchisedek, and the Jewish high priest.* Thus we see here, on the one hand, abstract general ideas which can have no significance for the religious life; and on the other hand, appearances taken from the facts of religious experience. On the one hand, the language of religion is arbitrarily explained, on the speculative principles taken from a foreign soil; on the other hand, according to sentiments founded in the disposition which it was designed and adapted to express. Here it is proper to notice a passage, in which the author of this epistle describes the power of the Logos in a manner resembling Philo's, but which furnishes no sufficient evidence to assume that he had the language of Philo actually in his thoughts. It is the description (common to both) of the all-penetrating and cutting sharpness of the Logos. But, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,† we have presented to us a matter of religious experience, the living power of divine truth, penetrating, judging, and punishing the soul, the power which lays open all secret wickedness,

* See *Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 26, where Melchisedek is spoken of as the symbol of the Logos, *ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος, κληῖρον ἔχων τὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ λογιζομενος*. *De Cherubim*, § 5, the Logos is termed *ἱερεὺς* and *προφήτης* for the soul. *De Sacrif. Abel et Caini*, § 36, *ὁ πεφευγὼς ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἱκετὴς αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς λόγος*. The high priest in his robes is a symbol of the universe, *ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἰσραημινοὺς τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλητῶ χρησθῆναι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑψί*. The universe according to the Platonic idea. *De Vita Mos.* iii. § 14.

† Hebrews iv. 12. *Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνεργῆς, καὶ τομιωτερός ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μαχαιρὰν διστομόν, καὶ διῆκνουμενός ἀχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, ἄρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμησιῶν καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας*. *Quis rer. divinar. hæres*, § 26, *ἵνα τὸν ἀδίδακτον ἐννοῆς θεοῦ τιμνοντα, τὰς τε τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ πραγματικῶν ἐξῆς ἀπάσας ἠεροσθῆναι καὶ ἠνώσθῆναι δοκούσας φύσεις, τῷ τομῆι τῶν συμπαντικῶν αὐτοῦ λογῶν, ὅς εἰς τὴν ὄξυτάτην ἀκονηθεὶς ἀκμῆν, διαίρων οὐδέποτε ληγεὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεχρὶ τῶν ἀτομῶν καὶ λεγομένων ἀμερῶν διεξέλθῃ, παλιν ἀπο τούτων, τὰ λογῶν θεωρητὰ εἰς ἀμυθητοὺς καὶ ἀπρηγεγράφους μοίρας ἀρχεται διαίρειν οὗτος ὁ τομέυς*. *Philon. Opera*, tom. iii. p. 30, ed. Lips. 1828.

before which no deception can stand. But Philo understands by the term the power of logical discrimination, especially in reference to the divine reason, that efficiency by which it fixes the limits of the various kinds of existence, arranges the various classes of creatures, and forms compound bodies from the simple elements.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF JAMES.

FROM the consideration of Paul's doctrinal views, we proceed to those of James, in which, notwithstanding their apparent discrepancies, may be discerned a unity of spirit with the former, though they are not equally free from the external forms of Judaism, nor developed with the same logical precision. As to the peculiar character of James's mind, and the manner in which he was led to embrace the gospel, it is sufficient to refer to what we have said at the beginning of this volume. With respect to his peculiar sphere of labour, it must be recollected, that from his own standing-point he was not, like Paul, obliged to advocate the free and independent ministration of the gospel among the Gentiles, against the pretensions of Jewish ceremonial holiness, but felt himself compelled to urge the practical requirements of the Christian faith on those who had mingled their faith in Jesus as the Messiah with the common errors of carnal Judaism, and to shake the foundations of their false confidence.

Paul was obliged to point out to those who placed their dependence on the justifying power of the works of the law, the futility of such works in reference to justification, and to demonstrate that justification and sanctification could proceed only from the faith of the gospel;—James, on the other hand, found it necessary to declare to those who imagined that they could be justified

in God's sight by faith in the Jewish sense, as we have before explained, that this was completely valueless if their course of life was not conformed to it.

This apostle affirms, that as sympathy towards the distressed, which shews itself in mere verbal professions, is worthless, so faith without works is utterly vain. He compares a faith that does not manifest itself by works, to a pretended love that is not verified by active kindness. From this comparison, it is evident that as what he here describes as a vain love is in his judgment undeserving of the name of love, the same may be said of a vain faith. But as by what he says against the value of a love that only shews itself in words, he did not intend to depreciate the worth of love itself, just as little could he design to cast a slight on the worth of faith by what he says against the value of a faith that exhibits itself only in outward profession. He considers such a faith which is unaccompanied by works, as dead; it is a faith which is destitute of the divine life that spontaneously produces good works. In reference to this necessary intimate connection between faith and works, James says, addressing a man who depends on this inoperative faith (ii. 18), Shew me how thy faith can exist without works, and I will prove to thee my faith by my works. As the body without the soul is dead, so (he says, ii. 26) faith without works is dead. The comparison must be here general, without descending to particulars. It is evident, that James could not mean to say that works (the outward act) bear the same relation to faith as the soul to the body, but only (which agrees with the whole train of his thinking) that the absence of works is a proof that the faith is destitute of what corresponds to the soul as the animating principle of the body. Works, therefore, are signs of the vitality of faith.

We shall be assisted in forming correct ideas of his doctrine respecting faith, if we examine the examples which he adduces of genuine and spurious faith; on the other hand, the faith of evil spirits in one God, which only fills them with terror, and, on the other, the faith of Abraham. It is evident that, speaking from the

standing-point of those whose opinions he is combating, he here applies the same term to two distinct affections of the soul. In the first case, where the reference is to the faith of evil spirits, the feeling of dependence on an Almighty Supreme Being shews itself as something unavoidable, as an overpowering force, but it is only a passive state (a *παθος*), with which the spontaneity, the free receptivity and self-activity of the mind by no means corresponds, the whole internal constitution of a rational being is opposed to it. In the second case, faith is not merely something passive, existing independently of the self-determination of man, but a voluntary recognition of this dependence takes place by an act of the will, and thereby becomes a regulating principle of the whole life. Hence, in the former instance, works as well as the whole tendency of the life must stand in contradiction to what from this standing-point is called faith; in the latter, the inward tendency of the life proceeding from faith necessarily manifests itself by works. That work of Abraham which the apostle adduces, was indeed no other than an expression of that unconditional and trustful surrender to the Divine will, which is likewise by Paul considered as a mark of Abraham's genuine and divinely approved *δικαιοσυνη*.

Paul adduces this example with a special reference to its internal principle in opposition to a vain righteousness of works; James makes use of it in its outward manifestation against an *opus operatum* of faith; and in this point of view he could say that by his *εργα* Abraham proved that he was a *δικαιος*; faith co-operated with his works, by works his *πιστις* proved itself to be *τελειη*. When the Holy Scriptures tell us that Abraham's faith was imputed to him by God for righteousness, this can only be understood of a faith which was accompanied with good works as marks of its genuineness. Certainly James, who believed in the divine omniscience, could not suppose that the outward act was requisite to make Abraham's disposition manifest to God; but he meant to say that Abraham's faith could not have justified him before God, if it had not been such as would manifest its

inward quality by such works. But Paul would not have applied the same term *πιστις* to two religious standing-points that differed so widely from one another; he would hardly have designated by this name what James asserts of evil spirits.

A contradiction indeed may appear to exist between the two apostles, in this respect, that, while one gives as a mark of the standing-point of legal righteousness, "do this and thou shalt live;" the other, expressing his own views, says, "A doer of the work shall be blessed by (or in) his deed."* But this contradiction vanishes, if we are careful to distinguish the different references of these two statements. Paul speaks of the *νομος* as of the sum of certain imperative prescriptions, and of man under the legal standing-point antecedent to Christianity. James intends the new law of life revealed by the Messiah, which he designates the *νομος τελειος* in allusion to its forming the consummation of Judaism, as Christ, in his Sermon on the Mount, represents the gospel to be the fulfilling of the law. Viewing it under this aspect, he calls it (I. 25) the law of liberty, no doubt from the fact, that those who truly received it, rendered a free obedience which proceeded from an inward vital principle. He considers this law as equivalent to the *λογος*, the published doctrine of Christ. This doctrine is called a law, as exhibiting a rule of life, at the same time it is distinguished by such epithets as the *perfect* law and the law of *liberty*, that Paul would not have scrupled to term the gospel a law if thus designated. And it is all along implied that through Christ, the perfection and freedom of religion are established, compared with the defectiveness of the former dispensation which was one of bondage. Referring to the doctrine of Christ as being such a law, he says what Paul must have said of Christianity as the *νομος πνευματος*, that mere knowledge would be of

* Paul, from the legal as opposed to the evangelical standing-point, says, "ὁ ποιησας αὐτα ζησεται ἐν αὐτοῖς." James, from his own position, says, "ὁ ποιητης ἔργου οὗτος μακαριος ἐν τῇ ποιησει αὐτοῦ ἔσται."

no avail, but that the essential point was, not to make this doctrine an object of indolent contemplation, but to feel its power as a law determining the life; whosoever practically received this doctrine would be blessed in his deed;* only he who allowed his life to be regulated by Christianity, could experience its blessed effects; he alone would feel himself truly blessed in the influence proceeding from Christianity.

In relation to moral requirements, James was very unlike the advocates of a legal righteousness, who insisted more on a multiplicity of individual good works, than on the regulation of the whole life by one leading principle; for it is one of the characteristics of this epistle with which his argument respecting faith is closely connected, that he traces back believing, knowing, and acting to the unity of a whole life proceeding from a godlike disposition, and opposes the isolation of acts, which can maintain their true significance only in this connection.

Thus he says, Whosoever imagines that the worship of God consists in certain single acts, deceives himself; it consists in the whole direction of a life devoted to God, in preserving one's-self from contact with all ungodliness. He combats the superficial moral judgment, according to which a man believes that he may be excused for transgressing certain commands, if he only avoids certain sins. The law possesses a unity, and whoever violates it in only one point, is guilty of violating the whole. According to James, the fulfilling of the whole law consists in love; ii. 8. Hence he particularly speaks against those who were accustomed to consider an offence in words as a mere trifle, or who believed that they could exercise genuine devotion towards God while they were in the habit of passing uncharitable judgments on their

* *εἰς*, in James i. 25, ought by no means to be translated *through*. The *εἰς τὸν* implies, that James considered the blessedness not merely as something proceeding from the deed as an outward result, but as something involved in the deed, a feeling that necessarily accompanied it; we are led to think of the beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount. See Schneck-
enburgh's excellent remarks on this passage.

fellow-men. This was a contradiction ; good and evil could not proceed from the same fountain ; it was of the first importance that language should be the organ of a disposition that regulated the whole life both in word and deed. And in reference to the theoretical part of religion, he says that true wisdom and true knowledge must shew themselves in the general course of the life. He considers the whole Christian life as a work. That perseverance which consists in maintaining the faith under trials must have its perfect work, that is, must consist not merely in single good acts, but embrace the whole of life ; i. 4. Of practical Christianity, he says, that the *ποιητης έργου* is blessed in his *ποιησις* ; i. 25.

Although Christianity presented itself to this apostle as the consummation of the law, yet he by no means adopted the Ebionitish notion, that Christ had only perfected the Mosaic law by the addition of certain moral prescriptions, such as are given in the Sermon on the Mount, so that he might be considered simply as the Supreme lawgiver and teacher ; but he acknowledged as the peculiar distinction of Christianity, the impartation of a new divine principle of life, which by its internal operation produced the fulfilment of the law. He beheld in the Messiah the author of a new moral creation through the divine principle of life which he communicated ; he described the word of truth as the instrument of regeneration, giving birth to a new creation ; i. 18. The word (he affirms) must penetrate the very depths of human nature, and by an internal transforming power effect its deliverance from sin ; i. 21. But he was very far from believing that the Christian could altogether come up to the requirements of the law of liberty, which seeks for a free obedience proceeding from love, and could thus be justified by his own course of life. He declares (including himself) that “ in many things we all offend ;” iii. 2. Every man, he says, must be penetrated by the conviction, how much he stands in need of the divine mercy that he may be able to stand before the divine tribunal ; and ought to be impelled by this consideration to exercise mercy towards others.

After what has been said, it cannot be denied that there are differences between the two apostles, in the dogmatic and ethical mode of their instructions; but still it may be shewn, that though the Christian spirit appears more fully developed and more perfectly formed in one scheme of doctrine than in the other, yet the same spirit pervades both. Paul, though he considered good works as the necessary marks of the new spiritual creation, and the necessary fruits of an actual internal righteousness, would certainly not have expressed himself exactly in this manner, that a man is justified not by faith alone, but also by his works,—that faith and works must co-operate for his justification. He would not only have avoided saying this in reference to the legal works preceding the transformation of the life by faith, (in which James agrees with him,) but also in reference to the works produced by faith; for he always considered the πίστις alone as that, by which a man becomes just before God, and the source from which all other good develops itself by an internal necessity; and the life of believers proceeding from faith is always alloyed by a mixture of the σαρκί, for which reason a justifying power cannot be attributed even to those works which are the fruits of faith. But since James, as we have remarked, acknowledges the continual defects of the Christian life and the need of forgiveness of sin even on the standing-point of the gospel, all material difference vanishes. Paul approaches nearer to James on another side, where he is less dogmatically exact, and is not led to employ the strong contrasts which are frequent in the controversial parts of his writings, for even according to his own views, works necessarily belong to the Christian life as an expression of faith and of the δικαιοσύνη obtained by it, and faith must be verified by the whole course of life; hence he asserts, on occasions when it was of importance to bring forward this truth, that every man will receive according to that he hath done in his earthly life, whether it be good or bad, 2 Cor. v. 10. Nor is it difficult to deduce this mode of expression from the Pauline principles, and to shew its perfect harmony with them.

In the works which (apparently) proceed from faith, the difference must be verified between genuine and spurious faith, and the difference will gradually make itself known according to the degree in which faith has penetrated the life. Although in redemption, justification, and the impartation of a new divine life, by which man is first rendered capable of accomplishing good works, all is an act of grace, yet, according to Paul's doctrine, there is also a rewardable righteousness, and the bestowment of a reward, in proportion as men shew themselves active when the new creation has been effected, according as they make use of the grace bestowed upon them. And if such expressions, though strictly in accordance with the Pauline doctrine, were taken by themselves, they might be supposed to be contradictory to it, like those of James, to which they have an affinity.

Moreover, as James was altogether a Jew, though a Jew whose views were rendered complete by faith in Jesus as the Messiah, it was his aim to lead his countrymen by the same way which he had taken himself, from Judaism to faith in Jesus as the Messiah, though without departing from the national theocratic forms; hence he did not, like Paul, who laboured among the Gentiles that stood in no national relation to the law, represent Christ as the abolisher of the law, but as its fulfiller; and this view was countenanced by Christ's own language in Matt. v. 17. The law hence became to him changed in its spirit; from being imperfect, it became perfect; from being a law of bondage, it became a law of liberty. But he received the new spirit under the old forms, similarly to many Catholics who have attained to free evangelical convictions, and yet have not been able to disengage themselves from the old ecclesiastical forms; or like Luther, when he had already attained to a knowledge of justification by faith, but before he was aware of the consequences flowing from it in opposition to the prevalent doctrines of the church. And thus James, though he acknowledged that the Gentiles by faith in Jehovah and the Messiah were entitled to the same theocratic privileges as the Jews, did not enforce on the believing

Jews the non-observance of the law, Acts xv. 21. And what he says to Paul in Acts xxi. 21,* implies the opinion that he would have thought it wrong to have led the Jews who were scattered among the heathen to forsake the observance of the law. Now Paul was so far averse from this, that he allowed the Jews to remain Jews, as he allowed the Gentiles to retain every thing in their national character and habits which did not contradict the spirit of the gospel: he himself did not repudiate his Jewish character and education, but celebrated the Jewish feasts with the Jews, when there was opportunity. But since he considered the religious obligation of the law in every respect as abolished, he must naturally have been less scrupulous in its outward observance, and must have felt himself bound to depart from it when required to do so by higher considerations, as soon as the observance of the law was in any way incompatible with the duties and claims of his vocation, as for example, when it obstructed his free intercourse with the heathen. Among the Gentiles he lived as one by birth a Gentile; Barnabas and Peter did the same; Gal. ii. 14.† James would not have so easily agreed to this, nor indeed was such expansion of sentiment required for his peculiar sphere of labour, since his adherence to the observance of the law rather promoted his success among his countrymen, to whom his ministry was confined. We know not whether this difference, which did not affect the essence of the gospel in reference to the extent of the observance of the law by the believing Jews, was ever debated between the two apostles, or whether

* The believing Jews needed no new precepts; they knew what they were bound to observe as Jews. See Vol. I. p. 138.

† Perhaps the partizans of James, mentioned in Gal. ii. 12, went down to Antioch for the purpose of examining whether the Jews who lived among the Gentiles, allowed themselves to be led into violations of the law, which they were not justified in doing by the resolutions of the apostolic convention; but it does not follow from this, that they were acting by the command, or even in accordance with the wish, of James.

Paul, from a tender and wise forbearance, judged it best to avoid the discussion.

With the difference in the doctrinal scheme of the two apostles, their manner of enforcing the duty of veracity is also connected. James repeats the command of Christ to the letter, as it was originally given, yet shewing at the same time, that he correctly understood its sense and spirit. Among Christians, no oath ought to be required for a confirmation of what they asserted, their love of truth and mutual confidence ought to be so great, that their Yea and Nay should be a sufficient pledge. It was their duty to guard from the first against the guilt of falsehood or perjury; James v. 12. Paul does not mention Christ's command in this verbal form, but only enjoins, in reference to the disposition, that Christians should speak truth to one another, which they had a right to expect as being members one of another; and because language was intended for the very purpose of maintaining and exhibiting the spiritual communion, in which, as members of the same body, they must stand to one another. From this it was easy to deduce the obligation which they were under on this point towards society at large, since all men as rational beings, created for the realization of the kingdom of God, might be considered members one of another, and language was in like manner designed for the maintenance and exhibition of this more general relation; Ephes. iv. 25. And he had confessedly no scruple when sufficient confidence was not felt towards him by all the persons concerned, and where it was of special importance to obtain undoubting confidence in his affections, to make use of a form of confirmation which would be deemed equivalent to an oath.

As the ethical element predominates in the Epistle of James, the anxiety for the exclusion of every appearance of charging the causation of sin upon God is very conspicuous, and an emphatic maintenance of the freedom of the will, whose self-determination is the necessary condition of all the operations of divine grace. Let no one excuse himself (is the apostle's doctrine), for

yielding to evil, on the plea that he could not withstand its enticements, that a higher power, a fatality, a divine predestination hurried him into sin. It was far from God to tempt any man to evil. As no evil could affect Him, the holy and ever blessed One, so he tempts no one to evil; but it is the indwelling sinful desire of each man by which he is seduced to evil. This also gives an opening for the temptations of Satan, yet even by his power no one can be forced to sin against his will; iv. 7. Thus the ground is taken away from every man for throwing off the blame of his sins by pleading the temptations proceeding either from God or Satan; since to the believer the ability is given, by his own higher moral nature, (the image of God in his soul), and the guidance of the Divine Spirit, to withstand his sinful desires and the temptations of Satan, it must be his own guilt if he yield and allow himself to be carried away to the commission of sin. He has only to subordinate his own will to the will of God, and in communion with God to withstand the evil spirit who will then flee from him; all temptation to evil will fail before a will that is in real earnest devoted to God. Only let every man surrender himself to God by a steady determination of his will, and God's aid will not be wanting; i. 13-16; iv. 7-8. James and Paul both presuppose two principles of action in the believer—the image of God restored through Christ, and the sinful desire which still cleaves to the soul, and renders it accessible to temptations from without. When he says that the desire bringeth forth sin, i. 15, it is not meant, that the desire itself is something purely natural, or morally indifferent, but it is rather presupposed that the element in human nature, according to its actual condition, which, when a man does not withstand, but surrenders himself to it, gives birth to the sinful act, is in itself something sinful. But James limits himself, for the most part, to the outward manifestations of the moral life; he does, like Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, go to the root of the opposition between good and evil in the depths of the human heart; yet he forms even on this side an important link in the complete development of

Christian doctrine. The manner in which he expresses himself respecting the free determination of the will in relation to a divine causation in evil and good, furnishes us with an important supplement to Paul's doctrinal method, where, (as in discussing the doctrine of election, predestination, and the unconditionality of the divine decrees,) owing to his peculiar character, and his practical or argumentative object, only one side of Christian truth is brought forward, and other aspects of it are put in the background. Hence, if we wish to form a doctrinal system from such single passages, not taken in connection with the analogy of the whole New Testament doctrine, errors must arise, which we shall learn to avoid, by comparing the degrees of development and peculiar schemes of doctrine belonging to the several apostles which serve mutually to complete one another.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOCTRINE OF JOHN.

THIS apostle, compared with Paul, has one point in common with James, that, by his peculiar mental development, he was not adapted and disposed to that intellectual cast of thought which distinguished the dialectic Paul. But if in James the practical element predominated, in John we find the intuitive, though deeply imbued with the practical; he presents contemplative views of the fundamental relations of the spiritual life, rather than trains of thought, in which, as in Paul's writings, distinctions and contrasts are made with logical precision and minuteness. In reference also to the peculiar de-

* In reference to all the topics discussed in this chapter, I wish to direct the attention of my readers to an essay by Dr Charles Frommann, now pastor of the Lutheran church at St Petersburg, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, part 1.

velopment of his Christian life, he had not been led like Paul to faith in the Redeemer through severe conflicts and opposition, and at last attained peace after a violent crisis. He resembled James in having reached his Christian standing-point through a course of quiet development, but differed from him in this respect, that his higher life had not been first moulded to a peculiar form in Judaism—and that he had not from such a standing-point been gradually brought to faith in Christ, and at the same time had modified his conceptions of Christianity by his former views; but from the first, the whole development of his higher life had proceeded from the personal view of Christ and intercourse with him. As the consciousness of his own moral disunion was elicited by the contemplation of a perfect divinely-human life, in which the archetype of man was realized before his eyes, so by continuing to live in communion with this model of perfection, he gained power to overcome that disunion. Hence every thing in his view turned on one simple contrast;—divine life in communion with the Redeemer,—death in estrangement from him. And as the whole of his piety was the result of his personal experience and contemplation of the Redeemer, all his views of religion were grounded on the life of Jesus, and might be considered as so many reflections of it. It was this which gave them a vital unity, so that it was hardly possible to distinguish them into the practical and theoretical. This is shewn in those expressive words by which his style is marked,—*Life, Light, and Truth*; and their opposites—*Death, Darkness, and a Lie*. As in communion with God, the original fountain of life, which can be obtained only through his self-revelation in the Logos, the spirit of man finds its true life,—as when in this true life, the consciousness of the spirit develops itself, the life becomes the light of the spirit, and the spirit lives in the truth as its vital principle; so by the separation of the spirit from its original, by the disjunction of the knowledge of man's self and of the world, from the knowledge of God, death, misery, darkness and falsehood are the result. The human spirit created after

the image of the divine Logos, must be enlightened by communion with this divine fountain of life; a life in God, divine life as the true life of the spirit, is naturally accompanied by the true light of knowledge. But since man by the direction of his will has turned himself to the undivine, he has in so doing estranged himself from the source of his true light and life, and is no longer in a state susceptible of its reception. The divine Logos never ceases, indeed, to manifest himself to the souls of men, as Paul declares, that in God they live and move, and are; his light shines in the darkness of the human race, who have turned away from God; and from its illumination emanated all the goodness and truth that preceded the personal appearance of the Logos; but this revelation was opposed by an impenetrable intensity of darkness.*

Satan appears as the summit and representative of

* I cannot entirely agree with the interpretation proposed by Frommann, in his excellent work on the doctrinal views of John; Leipzig, 1839, p. 249;—that John, in the first clause of i. 5, depicts the relation of human nature in its original state to the revelation of the divine Logos, and that, in the second part of this verse, “*καὶ ἡ σκοτία*,” he speaks of that relation since the Fall. According to this, the *σκοτία* in the first clause, to use the language of the schoolmen, would describe the state of man on the standing-point of *pura naturalia* as *informis negative*, and from the revelation of the Logos the *gratia informans* must proceed, which man required for the perfection of his spiritual nature. But in John, we never find the representation of such a mere negative relation of the human spirit to the Logos, as existing apart from communion with him, and possessing a susceptibility not yet satisfied. “Darkness” always denotes, in his phraseology, an actual opposition against the divine light of the Logos, a predominance of the undivine. It is contrary to the style of his conceptions, that he should suppose the spirit of man, formed after the image of the Logos, to be in its original state otherwise than in communion with that divine source of life and light. Verse 4 relates to what the Logos was or ought to be, according to his essential nature, to mankind; and in verse 5, John passes on to the state of mankind estranged from God by the misdirection of their will.

this self-seeking tendency dis severed from connection with God, and hence given over to darkness and falsehood; John viii. 44. He stands not in the truth;* with the disposition that has become a second nature, he can find in the truth not a single point on which to rest, because there is no truth in him.

Where a created spirit yields itself wholly and purely to the revealed God, or the Logos, there is truth. Where-

* Frommann maintains, in his work before quoted, p. 332, that Satan, according to John's views, is no other than "the seductive spirit of the world conceived of in concrete personality;" the principle of evil in the world hypostasized; and that the idea of a fallen Intelligence is altogether foreign to this apostle. But if this were so, we must explain his language in one of three ways. Either he intentionally chose the form of such a personification, or the prevalent religious conceptions, which had been preceded by an incorporation of the spirit of evil, had taken possession of his mind without his making it a subject of special reflection (which is Scheiermacher's opinion); or that he really considered Satan as an absolutely evil being who had existed from eternity. There appears nothing to favour the first supposition; with respect to the second, this doctrine is too closely interwoven with the whole system of John's theology, that we cannot help believing that he had been compelled to reflect on the meaning of this representation, and to form a definite idea respecting the nature of Satan and his relation to God. But the admission of an absolute dualism is utterly irreconcilable with John's theism. There remains no other alternative but the supposition that he considered Satan as the Intelligence who first apostatized from God. The passage in John viii. 44, contains nothing contradictory to it. The persons whom Christ there declares to resemble Satan in their dispositions, he could not intend to describe as absolutely evil by nature, but as those who, by the repeated suppression of their nature derived from God, had attained this unsusceptibility for truth and goodness, this habitual perverseness. Frommann says, p. 335, that the fall of a good angel presupposes an original evil principle operating upon him, and that, in order to explain the existence of Satan, we are again driven to the assumption of another Satan. But this objection is obviated by what we have before remarked respecting the necessary inexplicability of the origin of sin, founded in the very idea of evil.

ever he dissevers himself from this connection, and lives, thinks, and acts in this state of selfish separation, there is falsehood. As the truth, according to John, proceeds from the tendency of the whole life towards God, the true and the good are in his view one, as on the other hand, sin and falsehood. When the spirit withdraws itself from the revelation of eternal truth, and suppresses its original consciousness of truth, self-deception follows, and the deception of others. Hence Satan is represented as a liar and the father of lies. And thus the universal contrast is formed. Those who are in a state of vital communion with God, who have received a divine life, are born of God, and hence are called the children of God; and those who live in communion with that spirit from whom at first proceeded all the tendencies of sin and falsehood, or who of the world belong to the world, understanding by the world not the objective world as such, the creation of God, which, as founded in the Logos and as a revelation of God, is in itself something good, but the world in a subjective reference as far as the heart of man is fixed upon it, and is separated from its relation to God, so that the world is treated as a supreme object of regard, while the knowledge of God is entirely lost sight of.

Since, according to John, participation in the divine life depends entirely on faith in the Redeemer, this forms a new era of development in opposition to the former prevailing principle, and that state of estrangement from God, and of moral corruption from which believers are extricated. Though we find in John no representation of human nature in its estrangement from God, as it is delineated in Paul's writings, (which may be explained from the peculiarity of his doctrinal method, and the peculiar style of his writings,) still it may be easily perceived that his views were essentially the same, and in perfect harmony with the essence of Christianity. We find here the same contrast between what human nature is, and is able to effect in the state of estrangement from God, and that higher standing-point to which it is raised by the transforming influence of a divine principle of life

communicated to it, or, in other words, the *σαρκικον* and the *πνευματικον*. When John, in the introduction to his gospel (i. 12), describes the children of God as those who owed this distinction, not to their descent from any particular race of men, and in general not from any thing which lies within the compass of human nature ;—when Christ says to Nicodemus, that what is born of the flesh is flesh ;—such language is, in the first place, opposed to the Jewish notion that outward descent from the theocratic nation gave an indisputable right to participation in the kingdom of God and in the dignity of his children ; but this particular application is deduced from a truth expressed in the most general terms, namely the general position, that the natural man by his disposition is estranged from the kingdom of God, and must receive a new divine life, in order to become a member of it. Hence in John, as well as in Paul, the same conditions and preparations are required for partaking in the blessing Christ is ready to bestow on mankind, the consciousness of the bondage of the higher faculties of man,—the consciousness of personal sinfulness—a sense of the need of help and redemption, a longing after a new divine life which alone can satisfy all the wants of the higher nature of man. We may here adduce the allusion to the brazen serpent (iii. 14), where the Jews, who in believing confidence expected by looking at it to be healed of their wounds, represent those who, under a sense of the destruction that threatens them from their spiritual maladies, look to the Redeemer with confidence for spiritual healing ; and all those parables in John's gospel, in which Christ speaks of thirst for that water of life, and hunger for that bread of life, which he is willing to bestow. Accordingly John, in his first Epistle, says that whoever believes himself to be free from sin, is destitute of uprightness, and deceives himself ; that such a man makes God a liar, since he acts as if all which the earlier divine revelations have asserted respecting human sinfulness, and which is implied in God's sending a Redeemer to the human race, were false ; 1 John i. 9.

But in order that men may attain to faith in the Re-

deemer, and avail themselves of his aid, the outward revelation of the divine, with all the attestations that accompanied it in the external world, are not sufficient. Without the inward sense for the divine which is outwardly manifested in the person of the Saviour, they can give it no admission into their hearts. The outward power of the divine can exert no compulsive influence, but requires the mind to be already in a susceptible state, in order to produce its right effect. Without this, all external revelations and appeals are in vain; the unsusceptible "have eyes but they see not;" John xii. 40. Hence the attainment of faith depends on a preparative operation of the Holy Spirit on men's minds, by which a sense of the divine is awakened within them, and a consciousness of their higher wants. Thus a susceptibility for what will give real satisfaction is developed, so that faith naturally results from the conjunction of this inward susceptibility with the external divine revelation. To this Christ refers when he says to the Jews, (to whom, on account of the enthrallment of their minds in earthly things, his words were necessarily unintelligible and strange), in order to draw their attention to the grounds of their being offended with him (John vi. 44, 45), that they could not believe, that they could not come to him, that is, attain to faith in him, owing to this tendency of their disposition.* No one (he declared) could come unto him who was not drawn to him by the Father who sent him; who had not heard the awakening voice of the heavenly Father in his inmost soul, and followed it. These words have indeed been misunderstood by the advocates of the Augustinian system, as if a divine excitement, independent of all human self-determination, were intended as producing that susceptibility for the divine; but this would be to impose a sense foreign to the connection and the design of the discourse; and greater importance has been attached to a single meta-

* In contrast to their bodily coming to him, which was only on account of their bodily necessities, for which they thus sought to obtain relief, the true spiritual coming to him must proceed from a feeling of their real spiritual necessities.

phorical expression than it can have in such a connection. The *divine* impulse must be here contrasted with what is merely sensible and human; and the figurative expressions denote the power with which the divine impulse, when it is once felt, operates on the soul,—the power with which the divine manifests itself to the self-consciousness; but it is by no means said that this divine impulse of an operation of God to arouse the suppressed knowledge of God acts alone, and that man, by his free self-determination, does nothing to promote it. This supposition would be inconsistent with the design of all the passages of this kind, since, taken in their connection, the words are intended to awake men to a sense of their criminal unsusceptibility as the cause of their unbelief. It would also contradict John's declaration of the condemnation that accompanied the appearance of the Redeemer and the publication of the gospel; for this condemnation implies the fact, that in the different reception given by men to the gospel, their different susceptibility or unsusceptibility for believing is manifested, and thus the difference of their entire disposition and character.

According to the doctrinal views of John, a twofold meaning is attached to the phrases, “*εἶναι ἐκ Θεοῦ,*” and “*εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας.*” They either indicate in the highest sense of the words, the inspiration first proceeding from faith through the divine spirit of life, which is the spirit of truth; or in a subordinate sense, the general connection of the human mind with God, the capacity for the true and the divine, that inward susceptibility founded on the developed knowledge of God, which is the preparative for faith. In reference to the latter it is said, in John viii. 47, “He that is of God, heareth God's words;” and xviii. 37, “Every one that is of the truth, heareth my voice.” Hence, though John presents in diametric opposition the idea of the natural man estranged from God, and the man who is born of God, yet according to his doctrine, various steps and transitions must be admitted between the first standing-point and the second, according as the original knowledge of

truth and of God which has been suppressed by the sinful bias of the will,* more or less prevents men from hearing the voice of God, and following the drawings of their heavenly Father. The slumbering knowledge of God may indeed be awakened by the immediate impression of the glory manifested in the appearance of Christ; but it may also happen that a man, by following the drawing of his heavenly Father antecedent to the revelation of Christ, uprightly strives after the divine and the good, and such a one is led through the divine to the divine. The confused partial revelation of God which had hitherto illuminated the darkness of his soul, and conducted him in life, leads him to the revelation of the divine original in human form, and he rejoices actually to behold the archetype in its effulgence which had hitherto shone upon him with only a dim and distant lustre; John iii. 21.

With respect to John's idea of the work of redemption, we meet first in his writings with an account of the appearance of Christ in the flesh, and its immediate impression on his religious self-consciousness. The life of Christ as the humanization of the divine, of which the design was to give a divine elevation to man, is the self-revelation of the divine Logos (as the revealing principle of the mysterious essence of God) in the form of humanity, appropriated by him in order to communicate divine life to human nature, and to transform it into a revelation of the divine life. John's remarkable words, "The Logos became man, and we have beheld his glory as it was revealed in humanity," describe the nature of Christ's appearance, and what mankind would become through him who is the central point of Christian faith and life. The same sentiments are expressed in his First Epistle, "We announce to you as eye-witnesses the manifestation of the eternal fountain of life, which was the Father, in order that you may enter into fellowship with it." He states as the essential marks of this

* The darkness which cannot admit the divine light that shines upon it.

manifestation of the divine glory in human form, that he appeared full of grace and truth; *grace*, which means the communicative love of God, God as love; and *truth*, according to John's conceptions of it, as we have already remarked, is not any thing speculative and abstract, but proceeds from the life, and embraces the whole unity of the life, and hence is one with goodness and holiness. Truth is the essential predicate of the inward unity of the divine life; and Christ (in John's gospel) calls himself the truth and the life. Hence, the ideas of love and holiness are the two divine attributes which (as far as it is possible to reduce John's pregnant words to precise intellectual notions) will most nearly express what he represents as the characteristic of the glory of God revealed in the life of Christ, and agree with his using love and holiness in his first epistle as designations of the divine being.*

God has been glorified in Christ (John xiii. 32), in him as the Son of Man, by whom the archetype of humanity is realized;—that is, he has exhibited in human nature, the glory of God, the perfect image of God as holy love, in man. As man was created in the image of God, and was destined to glorify God, that is, to manifest him in his glory with self-consciousness—this is now fulfilled by the Son of God in human form. The practical revelation of the heavenly Father in the obscure subjective consciousness of man, and his perfect revelation in the incarnation, are mutually related; the former was a preparation for the latter; and the latter reflects fresh illumination on the former. As whoever understands that revelation of God which pierces through the thick darkness of the soul, must be attracted by the perfect revelation of the same God in his Son, it follows, that whoever knows the Father must necessarily recognise the Father in the Son,—while the not recognising,

* John does not make use of the second term precisely, but it is implied in what he says; for when he affirms in 1 John i. 5, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all," as darkness is a designation of sin,—light, by contrast, is expressive of holiness.

or the denying of the Son, is a proof that a man knows not the Father, and is estranged from him. The image of the Father is perfectly exhibited in the Son, in his holy love to man, and in him also was first revealed in a comprehensible manner what a being that God is, whose holy personality man was created to represent.* Through him God closes up the chasm that separated him from the human race, and imparts himself to them in the communion of a divine life; and by that life it is taught that all living knowledge of God can only proceed from life; and thus the apostle was justified in saying, "Whoever hath not the Son, hath not the Father also."

John contemplates the whole life of Christ from the beginning as a revelation of the glory of the divine Logos, as in short a connected revelation of God; and hence the divine in reference to Christ must never be viewed as something isolated and extraneous. His miracles also, as marks of a divine power controlling nature, as witnesses to the presence of such a power, are not explicable from natural causes in the phenomenal world; they cannot be regarded as isolated or superadded from without, as a new order of facts differing in their essential qualities from the other works of Christ. Only as far as the glory of God which originally dwelt within him, which at the beginning of his public ministry as the Messiah was entirely veiled under the ordinary forms of human life—from that epoch came forth on particular occasions from its concealment, and manifested itself in such results in the world of the senses by which even carnal men might be roused to perceive the presence of the divine—only in reference to this beginning of a new epoch in his ministry for the revelation of the glory of God among mankind, John distinguishes the beginning

* After Christ had said (John vi. 45) that all must be led to him by the voice of his Father speaking in their hearts, he guards against a misapprehension, as if this was in itself a complete knowledge of the Father. This only the Son possesses, and he alone can reveal it. The former must be therefore something preparative, a way-mark to more perfect knowledge.

of the miracles of Christ (ii. 11) as the beginning of the revelation of his glory. When he tells us, that the Baptist saw the Spirit of God descending on the Redeemer, by which he was distinguished as the personage who would baptize with the Holy Spirit, he certainly did not mean to intimate that Christ, according to the common Jewish and Judaizing-Christian view, was then first furnished with the fulness of divine power for his Messianic calling;—for John's mode of contemplating his character is most decidedly opposed to such a representation. According to his conceptions, since Christ was no other than the incarnate Logos, all that was divine in former revelations became concentrated in him; hence, single transitory impulses and revelations of the Divine Spirit could not be attributed to him; but the Holy Spirit, which illuminated and inspired former prophets partially and occasionally, dwelt in him from the beginning in its totality, and operated by him from this time in those extraordinary signs which were perceptible to common men. It was precisely for this reason, that the Son possessed his divine life, not as something communicated from without, but dwelling in his very being, and essential to it, that the divine fountain of life itself was manifested in him, that he alone could communicate divine life to others, John v. 26, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit which he administers, is no other than the immersion of human nature in the divine life communicated by him, so that it becomes completely imbued with it; John vii. 39.

But as the miracles of Christ appear sometimes in relation to the inward essence of his appearance, to the *δοξα* which proceeded from the indwelling of the Logos as simply belonging to his nature; so, on the other hand, they are the marks or signs of the revelation of this indwelling glory for carnal men, in order to lead them from his appearance in the sensible world to the divine, to excite their susceptibility for the total impression and display of the divine *δοξα* revealed in the Son of Man. In this sense, Christ said to Nathaniel, whose faith was founded on these outward signs, "Thou shalt see greater things than these; from this time thou shalt see the heavens

opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man." Greater than all the signs and wonders which attended or followed it was his *advent* itself; for by it the chasm between heaven and earth was closed, it became the bond of communion between both, the medium by which the fulness of the divine power was poured forth on mankind, and in comparison with which the total assemblage of divine communications to the human race, all earlier Angelophanies and Theophanies, were only as so many single rays of the deity.

We thus ascertain the gradations in the use of the term *faith* by John; he understands by it, either the acknowledgment of a higher power proceeding from impressions made on the senses, from the impression of extraordinary facts in the sensible world, as in ii. 23; or the possession of the heart by an immediate spiritual impression of the divine in the life and words of Christ, as was exhibited in Peter's confession; vi. 68.

Though John presents, with peculiar earnestness, the self-revelation and self-impartment of Christ as the incarnate Logos through the whole of his earthly life for an object of believing appropriation, yet it is evident from various intimations, that he attributes the same importance as Paul to the sufferings of Christ in the work of redemption. As far as Christ in his sufferings manifested the love of God to the fallen race of man, and carried the moral ideal of his life through a series of conflicts to its triumphant conclusion—and with self-denying labour completed the work which his heavenly Father had commissioned him to fulfil—the Saviour affirms in reference to these his impending sufferings, that he had, in determination, already fulfilled them, xiii. 31; that now was the Son of Man glorified, and God was glorified in him. He speaks of his sufferings as the completion of his life devoted to God as a sacrifice, xvii. 19; that he thus devoted himself to God for his disciples, that they might be devoted or consecrated in the truth. The resolution of the ideal of holiness in Christ's life and sufferings, is here represented as the ground of the sanctification of the human race. Had he not him-

self realized this ideal, he could not have furnished this principle of sanctification for all mankind, which they receive only by entering into communion with him, and by appropriating the truth which he announced. In John's writings as in Paul's, we find the idea of Christ's bearing the punishment of sin for mankind, and the reconciliation of mankind with God through him, though this idea is not so expressly developed, and though greater prominence is given to the idea of Christ as the dispenser of divine life, and the founder of a communion in that life. Thus John the Baptist compares him, as innocent and full of heavenly mildness and patience under sufferings, to a Lamb, on whom the punishment of sin and the guilt of mankind are (as it were) laid and thus carried away;* and the apostle himself designates him in his first epistle, the sin-offering, the ἱλασμος for sin. And when Christ had been declaring that divine life would be attained only in communion with him, that as the bread of heaven he was the same for the spiritual life of man which material bread is for the bodily life, he added (vi. 51), that the bread which he gave† was his body,‡ which he would give for the life of the world; he then repeats the same idea though under a different form, and describes how he must be received in his whole nature, divine and human. We are therefore led to believe, that between these two views, of which one relates in general to the whole being of Christ, and the other to his offering up himself for the salvation of men, an internal connection must exist. The communication of divine life by the Redeemer,—all that his divine life could effect for mankind, depended on this, that as he himself had glorified the Father on earth, he had been

* We have not entered into the controversy respecting the sense in which the Baptist originally used these words, since it is here only of importance to determine the ideas of the apostle John on the subject.

† This is not exactly the same as his calling himself, in his whole being and appearance, the Bread of Life.

‡ To justify this interpretation, I refer to Lücke's commentary on these words,

exalted in that human nature in which he had so glorified him, above the limits of earthly existence to the fellowship of his Father's glory ; that he might now, by an invisible spiritual agency, complete among men the work of which he had laid the foundation during his earthly sojourn, that he might now glorify him through the development of the divine life, and the victorious progress of the kingdom of God on earth. Christ himself points out this necessary connection in that passage of John's gospel, where he compares his life on earth to a grain of corn which must first be dissolved, and lose its peculiar form, in order that it may not abide alone, but bring forth much fruit. The divine life remained hidden in himself as his own exclusive possession during his sensible presence on earth. There was indeed a natural reason for this, that the apostles, as long as they saw Christ sensibly present among them, and enjoyed on all occasions his personal guidance, were dependent on his outward superintendence ; they could not raise themselves above his human personality to the higher point-of-view of him as the Son of God, to an independent spiritual communion with him apart from his bodily presence and agency, and therefore had not attained to the vigorous maturity of the spiritual life which proceeded from the Redeemer. Under these circumstances, the disciples could not have been fitted for a participation of the Redeemer's life, if his sensible presence had not first been withdrawn. But this negative, the removal of this hinderance to the higher influence of Christ on the disciples, would not alone have been sufficient if a new positive power had not also been added. His ascension to heaven was only a necessary preparation, in order to make the disciples susceptible of the divine influences of the glorified Redeemer. In the firm consciousness that he could operate with such power on mankind, Christ said, (John xii. 32,) that when he should be lifted up from the earth, he would draw all men unto him. In reference to this state of things, John contemplates the communication of the divine principle of life which would be made by Christ to believers, and imbue the

character of each individual, as well as the life of the collective body, which would bring the Christian life to its full vigour and maturity, the *πνευμα αγιον*—as a result of the glorification of Christ, which would not take place till that was realized.*

Whatever is required on the part of men for the appropriation of what Christ effected as the Redeemer of mankind, John includes in *faith*. This is that one work which God requires, John vii. 29, in contradistinction from the *πολλα εργα* of Jewish legal holiness; and from this internal work, this one act of self-determination, every thing will spontaneously follow which is requisite for the salvation of men. But he distinguishes, as we have already remarked, the faith that proceeded from the predominance of a sensuous element, the faith of authority, (which as it arose more from an impression on the senses than on the mind, easily gave place to other sensuous impressions and vanished)—from the faith which, as it proceeds from the inner life, the deeply felt need of

* With respect to the question,—in what sense the words in John vii. 38 were originally spoken by Christ, they relate not to one definite future transaction, but, as John iv. 14, to a perfectly general position, that faith in him would be for any individual a fountain of divine life, which was represented under the image of living water. But John was justified in saying, that what Christ here spoke could not be fulfilled at that time, since the consciousness of a divine life received from Christ was not yet developed in believers, but would take place at the effusion of the Holy Spirit, which would produce that consciousness; his language is therefore somewhat prophetic. The New Testament ideas of *ζωη αιωνιος*, and of *πνευμα αγιον*, are closely connected; they are related to each other as effect and cause. Though with faith in Christ the impartation of a divine life was granted to believers potentially and in principle, yet the effect was first manifested after the effusion of the Holy Spirit. From that era, the divine life resulting from the participation of the Divine Spirit which believers received streamed forth on mankind, and subsequent history furnishes the correct interpretation to these words of Christ, and verifies their truth. John, therefore, gives an historical commentary rather than a verbal explanation.

a redemption from sin, or from an impression of the divine on the very depths of the heart, produced a permanent effect, the *μεινεν εν τῷ λογῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔχειν τον λογον μενοντα εν εαυτῷ*. Their faith (as in Paul) was such a direction and acting of the disposition, by which a man surrendered himself wholly to him whom he acknowledged as his Redeemer, and entered into communion with him. By this faith, entrance is made into communion with the Redeemer and a participation obtained in his divine life. Whoever believes on him has everlasting life, has passed over from death unto life, is regenerated by the Divine Spirit, by whom, instead of the former predominant principle of sin, his mind is now controlled, he is awakened to a divine life and has become a child of God. Hence his life is now developed according to a new form and a new law.

What John asserts respecting the relation of Christ's precepts to faith, reminds us of the Pauline view of the relation of the law to faith. He speaks, it is true, of the commands of the Lord in the plural number, but they are all traced back to that one which is the characteristic of the *καινη διαθηκη*, the command of brotherly love; and the novelty of this command compared with the commands of the old law, is shewn in its enjoining on believers to love as Christ loved, as he gave his life for the salvation of men, to exercise a self-sacrificing brotherly love according to his example. From this peculiarity, it is evident that such commands cannot be intended as are prescribed from without, in addition to believing, but only those which are spontaneously developed from the divine life, which accompany faith, as obligations necessarily involved in it, requirements of the law of the inward life, so many distinct traits in which the image of the life of Christ exhibits itself to believers. This new command presupposes faith in the redeeming self-sacrificing love of Christ, and from the knowledge of this love the impulse is awakened to exercise similar love towards the brethren; 1 John iii. 16; iv. 10-19. John says, 1 (Ep. v. 3), that the commands of Christ are not difficult though they exhibit an ideal of holiness, but he

terms them so, not on account of their contents, but on account of their peculiar relation to faith, and to the inward life of believers; because these commands do not as a dead letter oppose the principle of sin which rules in the hearts of men, but presuppose the vitalizing spirit of love which develops itself from faith, since both the inward impulse and the power to fulfil them, proceed from communion with the Redeemer, the new divine principle of life. John himself adduces as a proof that these commands are not difficult, this fact, that what is born of God receives power to overcome all ungodliness, that faith in Jesus as the Son of God has the power of overcoming the world, 1 John v. 4; even as Paul declares that a man with this faith is already practically dead to the world. Christ, in the gospel of John (xvi. 33), requires those who believe on him to confide in his having overcome the world (the whole power of evil)—to be assured that through him it had been brought to nothing; believers, accordingly, by virtue of their fellowship with him, share in this victory, they need no longer to dread the power of that enemy, and hence John could term faith itself "*the victory that overcometh the world.*" But whoever kept not Christ's commands proved by his conduct that he was destitute of that divine life and communion with Christ, and therefore could not in a true sense believe on him. Whoever lived in sin and pretended to believe in Christ and to know him, was in fact very far from knowing him or believing on him. According to John's conceptions, it was impossible to separate either faith or knowledge from the life. Whoever knew Christ could know Him only as the Holy One who had appeared to destroy the kingdom of evil among mankind, and to take away sin. And whoever had known him and believed in him as such, whoever had received the image of such a Christ into his inward life, could no longer live in the service of sin.

Very different from this faith in the real historical Christ, was the superstitious belief in that phantom which men formed of a Messiah in conformity with their own evil inclinations. An example of the latter kind of faith

is mentioned by John in his gospel, ii. 23, where he says that many believed in Jesus as the Messiah, on account of the miracles which they saw him perform. But since they were not actuated by the feeling of a higher necessity, nor sought and saw in Him a Saviour from sin—since they were not susceptible of the spiritual impression of the divine, but were only affected by an impression on the senses, only such an image of the Messiah could be formed in their minds as corresponded to desires that were composed of carnal elements. Hence their faith, or rather their superstition, when its carnal expectations were disappointed, was soon succeeded by unbelief. Hence Christ would not surrender himself to the enthusiasm with which they professed attachment to him, for by his penetrating glance into the secret state of their hearts, he knew that they were still far from that faith which would be capable of fellowship with himself. To such a faith, which would require to be purified from the alloy of the sensual element, by awakening the slumbering religious sentiment through intercourse with the Redeemer, Christ referred when he said to the multitude who professed to believe on him, (viii. 31), “ If they now really received into their hearts and appropriated that word to which they had hitherto given only a superficial acceptance, they would thus become truly his disciples—they would know the truth in their inward life, and by its power pervading their whole being, would be progressively freed from every thing by which their higher nature, the religious sentiment implanted in their constitution, had been held in bondage.”*

* In this passage, the idea of freedom is presented under a different aspect from what we find in Paul’s writings, not in contrariety to legal bondage, but to a political semblance of freedom. True freedom, Christ says, is inward, proceeding from redemption. Till man longs after this, he is still in slavery, though enjoying complete outward independence, since he does not freely regulate himself according to the law of his original and true nature, but is controlled by a foreign principle, by which this his original and true nature is oppressed. But it will easily be seen, that the same general

Though John contrasts the children of God, those who are born of God, with those who belong to the world, to the evil spirit, the children of the *δίαβολος*, but only in general terms without any gradations; yet in the idea of the former, he by no means supposes an equally definite and complete manifestation in every individual, and is far from excluding various degrees of development. He says, as we have already noticed, that faith involves victory over the world, and that whoever believes in Jesus as the Son of God, by the power of this belief overcomes the world. By virtue of the divine principle of life, temptation to sin can find in the believer no point of connection, and every thing which assails him from without, can only contribute to promote the development of the divine life in him, and the victory of the cause of Christ, which by its nature is all-conquering and tending to perfection, 1 John iv. 4. Whoever is born of God, sinneth not, but preserves himself from all the allurements to sin, and the evil one toucheth him not, (evil can find in him no point of connection, 1 John v. 18). Because he is born of God, it is impossible for him to sin; since the seed of the divine life dwells within him, from which nothing evil but only good can proceed; 1 John iii. 9. But from this description we are not to conclude that the idea and its manifestation perfectly correspond, and that it is intended to exhibit the Christian as sinless. John presupposes the contrary, since even in Christianity he still admits the need of forgiveness, and of progressive purification from sin. "If we confess our sins"—is his language,—that is, are penetrated by a consciousness of the sin that still cleaves to us, and are filled with a feeling of penitence,—“God is faithful and just* to forgive our

idea of the contrariety between freedom and slavery lies at the basis, as in Paul, and the threefold standing-point in the moral development of man may be readily deduced from it.

* Two ideas are here closely connected. The faithfulness of God consists in this, that God in his acts, in the government of the world, shews himself always self-consistent; he responds to the expectations which he has awakened by his revelation in words, or by his providence in general history,

sins and to cleanse us from all sin," 1 John i. 9. We must, therefore, take the following view of John's doctrine; though the Christian as such in reference to his life founded on communion with Christ, though his divine indwelling life cannot itself be affected by sin, yet as it is engrafted on a sinful nature which is continually opposed to it, it is always subject to being disturbed by its incursions, from which it can only be preserved by maintaining a constant warfare. The divine life, until it has pervaded and appropriated man's whole nature, which can never take place during his earthly existence, must develop itself by a progressive purification: To this subject relates what Christ says in the metaphor of the vine, John xv. His disciples were already pure through the word spoken by him, inasmuch as they had received it as a purifying principle into their souls; but it was needful for its purifying to be manifested by a continual purification of their whole nature. As the vine-dresser cuts off from the fruit-bearing branches of the vine all the useless shoots that it may produce more fruit, so God purifies the whole nature of man by a gradual process which develops itself from a life in communion with Christ, in order that the living sap received from him may not lose its power by mixing with the foreign sap belonging to the wild stock of the old nature, but manifest itself in continually richer fruits, the works of a genuine Christian disposition.*

In this manner we may easily explain the apparent

or by the operations of his Spirit in the lives of individuals, and fulfils his promises; and as he has promised the forgiveness of sins to those who confess them, he bestows that blessing. His justice is shewn by his fulfilling the laws which he established for his own kingdom; he gives to every one what belongs to him according to these laws; and thus the forgiveness of sins is granted, whenever the condition is fulfilled on which it was promised.

* The Pauline doctrine of good works as fruits of faith, and also the Pauline doctrine of charisms as the fruits of human nature, pervaded and purified by the divine principle of life, find here a point of connection.

contradiction in John's language, when he says that whoever sinneth knoweth not Christ, and yet speaks of the forgiveness of sins as needed by every Christian, and ready to be imparted to him. The life of the believer is distinguished from the life of the natural man by this, that it is animated, not by the principle of *αμαρτια* but of the divine life, and hence what is sinful appears only as something still cleaving to him, and therefore always opposed by him. Accordingly, John represents these two states and tendencies of life as totally irreconcilable; walking in the light is a life devoted to God by its prevailing tendency; and to walk in darkness is a life devoted to sinful inclinations, and proceeding from a sinful tendency.* We here may observe the unity of

* It is the object of the First Epistle of John to counterwork the false confidence in the forgiveness of sins, the error that a man continuing in sin can be a partaker of forgiveness; still a Christian sympathizing love towards erring brethren is not excluded. By these brethren, who have a claim on Christian sympathy, he understands those who, though in general they had evinced an earnest desire for sanctification, had yielded to some sudden temptation. It is true he considers all sin as standing in contradiction to the divine life, the *ζωη*; but still a transient decline of this higher life, which has already become predominant over the sinful principle, is to be distinguished from an absolute suppression or entire destitution of it. The apostle here refers to such a momentary decline which results from yielding to temptation. It is the Christian's duty to pray for such fallen brethren, and it may be expected that God will revive them again, since it is presupposed that the persons who are the objects of this intercession, have still within them the germ of the Christian life, and are in a state susceptible of such a divine operation. But, on the other hand, John, in describing the acts that proceed from such a sinful state, which is marked by a total destitution of the divine life, a continued spiritual death, employs the phrase *αμαρτιας προς θανατον*. To such cases the intercessory prayers for the forgiveness of sins could not relate, since the persons in question did not belong to the Christian community. But it by no means follows that believers were not to pray for their conversion; only they were not to consider them as Christian brethren, and pray for them in that sense in which those who were con-

John's doctrine with that of Paul. As Paul represents faith in its idea and principle, as an act by which a man dies to himself, the world, and sin—but yet, in the new life developed by its practical operation, infers a continued mortifying of the sinful principle; so likewise in John we find the same relation exhibited between being born of God, and maintaining a conflict with the world and sin. The distinction which is founded on these views between the objective of redemption apprehended by faith, and the progressive subjective development of the divine life, leads to the Pauline conceptions of *δικαιοσύνη* and *δικαίωσις*; John also contemplates the perfectly Holy Jesus, objectively as the intercessor with the Father for believers who are still burdened with sin.

As, according to John's ideas, the future is already apprehended by faith as present, so the divine life in the present is viewed as the commencing point and germ of a creation that embraces eternity. As an anticipation of the future thus exists in the present, there is a necessary reference to a future development and consummation. Whoever believes in the Redeemer (John declares) *hath* eternal life—he has passed from death unto life—he can die no more—he can no more experience death. The divine life which he has received, can no more be interrupted by death. During his earthly existence there is the beginning of the development of this divine life; it is a fountain which springs up to everlasting life, which continues to flow onward till it enters the ocean of eternity, John iv. 14. Believers have the firm consciousness that they are the children of God, 1 John iii. 2, and that they shall attain to the full possession of all the rights and privileges founded on this relation; but the full understanding of what belongs to the realization of this idea is not yet granted to them—the dignity of the children of God in all its extent can be known only by its actual manifestation. But as in divine things

conscious of sin still cleaving to them, prayed for one another. Lücke, in his excellent commentary, agrees with this view of the subject.

knowledge and life are inseparably united, the perfect knowledge of Christ and God will accompany the perfect formation of the life in their image, 1 John iii. 2. The same connection between the life of faith and of hope is here exhibited as in Paul's writings.

But it is a characteristic of John's views, that a reference to communion with the Redeemer in the inward life and in the present predominates over the reference to the future and to outward facts; he dwells upon the elements of the inner life, the facts of Christian consciousness, and only slightly adverts to outward matters of fact, and ecclesiastical arrangements. In accordance with this spirit, he exhibits all the particular incidents in the outward history of Christ only as a manifestation of his indwelling glory, by which this may be brought home to the heart; he always avails himself of these narratives, to introduce what the Redeemer declared respecting his relation to mankind as the source of divine life. John is the representative of the truth which lies at the basis of that tendency of the Christian spirit, which sets itself in opposition to a one-sided intellectualism and ecclesiastical formality—and is distinguished by the name of mysticism.

The same peculiarity marks his representations of the judgment and of the resurrection. The judgment he considers as something present, as a fact inseparable from the redemption of mankind and the publication of the gospel. There follows, as a necessary consequence, a separation between those who with susceptible minds receive the divine, and those who exclude themselves by their unsusceptibility; those who, with a sense of their spiritual necessities, receive the offered redemption—whether a longing and striving after the divine life had already developed itself in their higher nature—or that the religious consciousness was awakened through intercourse with the Redeemer;—and those who, either by the predominance of the sensual element, or by spiritual pride and confidence in a legal righteousness, were prevented from attaining a knowledge of their need of redemption, and from surrendering themselves to the in-

pression of the divine in the appearance, words, and works of the Redeemer. John always considers judgment as the opposite of salvation, *συνηγια*—for the judgment of a Holy God is such that no man can appear before it as guiltless. The ideas of the judgment of God and condemnation must meet in their application to man estranged from God by sin. But the revelation of God's love in redemption appears as a deliverance from the condemnatory judgment, and nothing more is required than the acceptance of the offered mercy through faith in the Redeemer. He who will not believe owing to his predominant sinful tendency, excludes himself from the offered salvation, and the judgment that he pronounces against himself is founded on the unbelief which proceeds from the state of his interior disposition; John iii. 17. God sent his Son into the world (that is, caused him to appear among the mass of mankind hitherto estranged from God)—not to condemn the world—(as the Jews imagined that he would pass sentence on the Gentile world), but that mankind, who were under the dominion of sin and estranged from God, might be rescued through him from impending ruin. Whoever now believes on him, is not condemned; he has appropriated salvation by faith, and such a one, being certain of eternal life in communion with the Redeemer, need no longer dread condemnation. But whoever does not believe on him is already practically condemned by his own unbelief. In this the judgment consists, that men from their love of darkness (the ungodlike), on account of the sinful tendency of their life, are not willing to admit the fountain of light, (this their conduct towards the divine as it proceeds from their disposition, is a practical judgment). As the gospel cannot reveal its power for the salvation of men without this process of separation taking place, which John calls judgment, hence the object of Christ's appearance must include with the redemption of the susceptible, their separation from the unsusceptible. "*For judgment,*" said Christ, "*I am come into the world, that they who see not,*" (that is, those who see not, but are at the same time conscious of their not

seeing), but are actuated by a sense of their need of illumination, "*may obtain their sight,*" may be cured of their blindness, in reference to divine things; "*but that they who see,*" who have the means granted them of knowing the truth, but who are not disposed to know it, and who are prevented from humbling themselves before the true light by the self-conceit of their imaginary far-sightedness, and though they have eyes to see, they see not, "*may be given up to their blindness;*" John ix. 39-40.* To such a moral judgment connected with the publication of the gospel we must refer what Paul says of the publication of the gospel, that to some it is the means of life unto life, and to others the poison of death unto death; 2 Cor. ii. 16. But the idea of this outward moral judgment, as well as the idea of the continued spiritual awakening of mankind by the publication of the gospel, by no means excludes a final judgment and a universal resurrection; but the former appears as a symbol and preparative of the latter, and the connection of the two is exhibited in Christ's discourse in the 15th chapter of John's Gospel. At first, Christ speaks of the power conferred upon him as the Messiah to awaken the spiritually dead, and at the same time to judge them according to their respective conduct towards the divine life that was offered for their acceptance. As the Father awakens and calls to life the dead, so also the Son awakens to a true divine life whom he will;† for the Father has committed to him all the power of judg-

* As in the instance which gave occasion to this whole discourse, the blind man was made to see by the Redeemer, and as one spiritually blind, who supposed that he could not see, he was healed of his spiritual blindness and enlightened; while, on the contrary, the deluded Pharisees shewed that, having eyes to see, they were blind, since, in spite of facts, they denied the truth.

† This was intended to point out to the Jews, that every thing depended on the manner in which they conducted themselves towards him; and that the communication of the divine life was not to be confined within the limits which they wished to assign from their national theocratic standing-point.

ment, that all may shew their reverence of the Father, by the manner in which they reverence the Son. He who honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who sent him.* “He who receiveth my word and believeth on him who sent me,” continued Christ, corroborating his former declaration, “*hath everlasting life,*” and cannot come into condemnation, but is passed over from death unto life.” By participation in a divine life, he is already removed beyond the stroke of judgment, which can only affect those who are estranged from God. “A time is coming and already is” (inasmuch as Christ by the power of his words had already produced such effects), “when the dead” (the spiritually dead) “will hear the voice of the Son of God” (by the publication of the gospel), “and those who hear, shall live; for as the Father hath the fountain of life in himself, he has also given to the Son to have life in himself;” (only because the original fountain of divine life in the Son has communicated itself to mankind, can divine life be imparted to the dead through him;) and he hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is a Son of Man.” As man he came to impart divine life to men; and thus as man to administer judgment to men. Then Christ passes on from the present to the future, from the process of development among mankind, to the last decisive result, and says, “Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in which all who are in their graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth; they who have done good to the resurrection of life, and they who have done evil to the resurrection of condemnation;” John v. 28, 29.

It is owing to the same peculiarity which characterises John as the author of the *εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν*, that in the last conversation of Christ with his disciples, he does not mention what relates to his resurrection,† his return

* In this consists the judgment, that every man proves by his conduct towards the Son what his feelings are toward the Father.

† If the view acutely developed by *Kinkel* (see *Studien und Kritiken*, 1841, part 3) be correct, the subject will appear in a different light. According to this, Christ inti-

to inflict judgments on the reprobate city of God, and his coming to the final judgment and the consummation of the church, but only the promises of an inward revelation of his Spirit to his disciples, that after his bodily presence was withdrawn from them, and when they might suppose that they were altogether separated from him, he would reveal himself to them in a more glorious manner, and receive them into his communion, never again to be separated from them. In order gradually to prepare their minds, he begins with assuring them that the Father would give them, instead of his own sensible presence among them, another helper to abide with them for ever,—the Spirit of truth, who alone could impart the full knowledge of the truth announced by himself,

mated that he should ascend to heaven immediately after his resurrection, and appear again on earth among his disciples. The words of Christ spoken to Mary, John xx. 17, relate to his ascension to heaven immediately after his resurrection. In this sense, he would say that he had *not yet* ascended to his Father, but that it was in his intention to do so. He would then descend several times from heaven and appear to his disciples; the last of these similar appearances of the glorified Christ would be that made to Paul. And thus what Christ said in his last discourses to his disciples (as given by John), of his coming to them again after he had been exalted to his Father, would receive its solution. If, according to the interpretation hitherto current, these words of Christ could *not* relate to his bodily reappearance after the resurrection, because expressions are used which imply that his exaltation to heaven had already taken place, the difficulty would thus be obviated. But it is certain that every thing which Christ says in those last discourses to his disciples about his reappearance, taken together, can refer only to one constant communion between him and them, though maintained by a number of separate acts. And how could those signs of a body subject to infirmities (such as the marks of his wounds on the cross, which are so particularly mentioned in John's gospel), agree with the supposition of his glorification having already taken place? A fuller examination of this view, for which much may be plausibly urged, and which deserves a close and impartial examination, I must reserve for a new edition of my "Life of Jesus."

and who would communicate himself through this truth, as he says (John xvi. 14.) that his Spirit would glorify him, since he would open to them the meaning of the doctrine he had taught. But since this Spirit is no other than the divine life communicated by Christ, the indwelling of God in the hearts of believers accomplished by him, he afterwards transfers what he had said to them of the coming of this Spirit, to his own coming to them in spirit. He points them to the great day, on which he would see them again in spirit, when the transient pain of separation from him would be succeeded by the everlasting joy of seeing him again and communing with him; when they would need no more to ask him questions, but he would speak to them concerning the Father openly and without reserve. But though John dwells at length on the spiritual element and on what relates to the revelation of Christ in the hearts of the disciples, he by no means excludes his bodily resurrection and his own prediction of it; John x. 18. And thus from this scheme of doctrine it cannot be concluded, that John had not learned from the discourses of Christ the doctrine of his personal coming (*παρουσία*) to judgment, and to the consummation of his church. The contrary rather follows from what we have already remarked respecting the connection in John's views of the judgment and the resurrection and the twofold mode of representing them. And what John says in his First Epistle of the signs of the last time, the marks of an impending manifestation of an opposition to Christianity, points to the same fundamental ideas respecting the development of the kingdom of God, as those that occur in Paul's epistles. There are not wanting also some intimations of an approaching personal *παρουσία* of Christ, (1 John ii. 28, iii. 2,) though the peculiarity of John's character is shewn by his only giving slight hints on the subject, and not, like Paul, a formal delineation of it.

It belongs also to this peculiar tendency of John's mind, that Christ is not represented by him as the founder of a church; even the idea of an *ἐκκλησία* is not distinctly brought forward, though its existence is im-

plied, 3 John 6. But what constitutes the essence of the idea of a church, the idea of a communion of hearts founded in faith on the Redeemer, of the communion of believers with one another and with the Redeemer, a communion of faith and love, was expressed by him most emphatically—for this idea would necessarily proceed from that which was the soul of his whole life, the consciousness of communion with the Redeemer, and of the divine life received from him.

Thus we find in John's gospel a reference to a religious community, to be formed out of all others among mankind, which would listen to the voice of the Redeemer, the "one fold under one Shepherd," a communion which would be founded on the equal relation of all to Christ the common head, and corresponds to the Pauline idea of one body under one head, John x. 16. As Christ and the Father are one, so are believers, since through him they are one with the Father, by virtue of their mutual participation of the divine life. Thus they form a union to which no other in the world is comparable, and the glory of Christ reveals itself among them. They constitute before the eyes of the world a living testimony to the divine call and work of Christ. The communion of the divine life thus manifested, points to its divine origin, John xvii. 21. John also describes an *inward* community; the assemblage of those who stand in communion with the Redeemer, and which embraces the whole development of the divine life among mankind—and an *outward* community of believers, which it is possible for those to join who have no part in the former. Thus in 1 John ii. 19, he speaks of those who went out from the believers, but in fact (as far as it regarded their principles and disposition) never belonged to them, for had they really belonged to them in their inward life, they would not afterwards have renounced their society. But by this outwardly expressed renunciation, by their opposition to the community of believers, it now became manifest that not all who were outwardly joined to that community shared in its essential qualities, and really belonged to it. We find here, as in Paul's writ-

ings, the distinction of the visible and the invisible church.

John does not mention in his gospel the institution of baptism by Christ, but he treats at length of that which forms the idea, the spiritual element of baptism—for to this the conversation between Christ and Nicodemus relates—that moral transformation by a new divine principle of life, in opposition to the old sinful nature of man, without which no one can become a member of the kingdom of God of the invisible church.* And this also applies to the Holy Supper. For as what Christ in his conversation with Nicodemus designated by the name of regeneration, has a relation to baptism, so what he represents in the sixth chapter of John, under the image of “eating his flesh and drinking his blood,” bears a similar relation to the Supper. Christ had described himself as the true manna, the true bread from heaven, the bread which is not of an earthly perishable nature, with only an earthly power to recruit the bodily life, but which is of divine origin and nature, capable of imparting divine life, and of satisfying the wants of the inner man for an eternal duration. He describes himself as having come down from heaven, in reference to his whole being, in order to impart divine life to mankind, so that every one can only by communion with the divine fountain of life, thus appearing in human nature, attain to a participation of a divine life. From stating what he is to mankind in his divine and human nature, Christ goes on to declare what he will *give* to mankind for their salvation, (corresponding to the bestowment of the manna which was sought for from him)—the surrender of his flesh (his life belonging to the sensible world) for the salvation of mankind. And since his words were so misunderstood by the Jews, as if he had spoken of eating

* The mention of “*water*” in John iii. 5, is only of secondary importance, in order, by referring to a symbol familiar to Nicodemus, to render palpable to his mind that all-purifying power of the Divine Spirit which was needful for every man. Hence, in the subsequent part of his discourse, Christ mentions only being “*born of the Spirit.*”

his flesh in a literal sense, he took occasion to express what he had before said of himself as the bread of life, in even stronger terms under an image still more striking, and marking the idea still more accurately; he represented the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood as a necessary means for the appropriation of eternal life. This eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood he considers equivalent to the *life of men*, by which the fountain of divine life itself enters into mankind, makes them entirely its own, as if men had converted into their own substance the flesh and blood of the incarnate Logos. He here speaks of the participation of divine life by means of his appearance in humanity, of the impartation of divine life depending upon and accomplished by the historical Christ, while he guards himself against being supposed to speak of his body in a literal sense, by giving as a key for the right interpretation of his words, "*The spirit giveth life—the flesh profiteth nothing;*" therefore, he could not have intended to say, that men should make use of his flesh as an object of sense, for, like all flesh, it could not profit the inner man, but that, by means of his appearing in the flesh in the sensible world, they should appropriate his spirit as the life-giving principle. "*The words that I say unto you, are spirit and life;*" they cannot be rightly understood according to their mere sound, their literal expression, but only according to their contents, which are spirit and life, possessing a divine vitality.* Therefore, the symbol "eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ," relates to the process of imbuing the whole nature of every one who is received by faith into his communion, with the *divine* principle of life,

* We cannot agree with those who think that Christ has here given the interpretation of his own words, and that he wished to say that, by his flesh and blood, nothing more was to be understood than his doctrine in reference to divine life-giving power. By *σαςξ* and *αιμα*, he certainly meant more than his *σηματα*. These words of Christ contain only the canon of correct interpretation, and leave the application to his hearers.

which, through him, has become a *human* principle in all who stand in communion with him, the constant humanizing of the divine, in which continued appropriation and imbuing the whole development of the Christian life consists. As regeneration, the commencing point in the Christian life, is represented by baptism, so is this, the sequel of regeneration, the continual regeneration (as it were) of man, the continued incorporation of mankind into the body of Christ, represented by the Supper. Thus John and Paul agree, and on this subject complete each other's views.

The essence of Christianity, according to John, is comprised in this, that the Father is known only in the Son, and only through the Son can man come into communion with the Father; 1 John ii. 23; 2 John 9. But no one can be in communion with the Son without partaking of the Holy Spirit which he promised to renew human nature in his image; 1 John iii. 24. Both John and Paul place the essence of Christian theism in worshipping God as the Father through the Son, in the communion of the divine life which he has established, or in the communion of the Holy Spirit, the Father through the Son dwelling in mankind, animated by his spirit, agreeably to the triad of the Pauline benediction,—the love of God, the grace of Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. xiii. 13); and this is the basis of the doctrine of the Trinity in the scheme of Christian knowledge. It has an essentially practical and historical significance and foundation; it is the doctrine of God revealed in humanity, which teaches men to recognise in God not only the original source of existence, but of salvation and sanctification. From this trinity of revelation, as far as the divine causality images itself in the same, the reflective mind, according to the analogy of its own being, pursuing this track, seeks to elevate itself to the idea of an original triad in God, availing itself of the intimations which are contained in John's doctrine of the Logos, and the cognate elements of the Pauline theology.

As, accordingly, James and Peter mark the gradual

transition from spiritualized Judaism to the independent development of Christianity, and as Paul represents the independent development of Christianity in opposition to the Jewish standing-point, so the reconciling contemplative element of John forms the closing-point in the training of the apostolic church, and now from the classical era of original Christianity, we must trace a new tedious development of the Church, striving towards its destined goal through manifold trials, oppositions, and conflicts. Perhaps this greater process of development is destined to proceed according to the same laws which we find prefigured in the fundamental forms of the apostolic church in their relation to one another, and in the order of their development.

I.

HISTORICAL INDEX.

-
- ABYSSINIAN Church, i. 74.
 ABRAHAM, ii. 17, 126, 128, 129, 219, 230.
 ABRAHAMIDÆ, ii. 219.
 ACHAIA, i. 229, 235, 242, 250, 299, 309, 326, 345.
 ADIABENE in Syria, i. 117, 120.
 AGABUS, i. 116.
 AGRIPPA II., i. 221, 363.
 ALBINUS, ii. 22.
 ALEXANDER of *Abonateichos*, i. 125.
 ALEXANDER of *Ephesus*, i. 318...the coppersmith, i. 407.
 ANNANIAS and SAPPHIRA, i. 26, 31-33.
 ANNANIAS of *Damascus*, i. 97, 104, 108.
 ANNANIAS the *High Priest*, i. 360.
 ANANUS the *High Priest*, ii. 22.
 ANDREW the *Apostle*, ii. 24.
 ANNÆUS GALLIO, i. 235.
 ANTIOCH in *Pisidia*, i. 126.
 ANTIOCH in *Syria*, i. 115, 116...Collection made there for
 the poor Christians at Jerusalem, 117...division in the
 church produced by the Jewish Christians, 133...
 apostolic convention held there, 134-148.
 APHRODITE, worshipped at Corinth, i. 230.
 APOLLONIUS of *Tyana*, i. 217, 222.
 APOLLOS, and the party named after him at Corinth, i.
 268-271, 302.
 APOSTLES, the, i. 173...their illumination by the Holy
 Spirit, 2, 112, 147...progressive, 33, 57, 83...their
 diversity and unity, ii. 77, 270...their station in the
 church, i. 34, 37, 43, 151.

- APOSTOLIC CONVENTION, i. 136...private conferences preceding it, 134...Epistle to the Gentile Christians, 144.
 AQUILA, i. 171...at Corinth, 231, 232, 319...at Ephesus, 243, 244...at Rome, 327.
 ARABIA, Paul's residence there, i. 106.
 ARATUS, quoted by Paul, i. 92, 225.
 ARETAS, King of Arabia Petraea, i. 106.
 ARISTARCHUS, i. 198, 374.
 ARTEMIS, worshipped at Ephesus, i. 252, 317.
 ARTEMONITES, i. 331.
 ATHENS, Paul's visit, i. 217-227.
 ATHINGANIANS, i. 382.
 AUGUSTIN, i. 140; ii. 245, 249 (de Mendacio).
 AUGUSTUS, i. 209.
 AZIZUS of Emesa, i. 74.

 BABYLON, Peter's visit, ii. 39...name applied to Rome, ii. 39.
 BARJESUS the Goës, i. 125.
 BARNABAS, i. 44, 113, 114...visits Antioch, i. 115...travels with Paul, i. 122...separates from Paul and takes Mark with him, i. 196.
 BARSABAS, i. 143.
 BARTHOLOMEW, i. 110.
 BERÆA, visited by Paul and Silas, i. 216, 228.
 BALAAM, ii. 50.
 BRETHREN of *Jesus*, ii. 2-7.
 BUDDHISM, i. 380.

 CÆSAREA *Stratonis*, i. 76, 85...Paul's arrival on his way to Jerusalem, i. 352...imprisonment there, 358, 361...appears before Agrippa, 363.
 CÆSARIANI, i. 370.
 CICERO, i. 209, 369.
 CAIUS or GAIUS, i. 198, ii. 72.
 CALIGULA, i. 107.
 CANDACE, Queen of Meroë, i. 74.
 CERINTHUS, i. 381; ii. 52, 53, 62, 69.

- CHRISTIANS; origin of the name, i. 115...other names previously used by themselves and others, i. 115.
- CHRISTIANITY compared with other religions, i. 7, 45, 46, 50, 94, 162, 226, 253, 369, 378...Its universalism, i. 58, 87, 129, 194, 328; ii. 176, 194...Spread among the poorer classes, i. 30, 233, 282; ii. 19...its essence, ii. 271.
- CHRIST in relation to the founding of the church, i. 2...collections of his discourses, i. 109, 277, 282...his works, ii. 113-118...his person, ii. 182...in the three first Gospels, ii. 183...in John's Gospel, ii. 249...his last promises, i. 2, ii. 266.
- CHRIST-PARTY at Corinth, i. 272-281.
- CILICIA, Paul's native country, i. 91...Paul preaches the gospel there, i. 114, 122, 198; ii. 18.
- CLEANTHES *the Stoic*, i. 225.
- CLAUDIUS, i. 118, 362...banishes the Jews from Rome, i. 231.
- CLEMENS of *Alexandria*, his tradition respecting John, ii. 74...the martyrdom of Peter, ii. 36.
- CLEMENS of *Rome*, on Paul's journey to Spain, i. 389...on Peter's martyrdom at Rome, ii. 36.
- CLEMENTINES, on the intercourse of Jews with Gentiles, i. 284, 285...Jewish sentiments, i. 380.
- COLOSSÆ, the church there founded by Epaphras, not by Paul, i. 199...Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, i. 200, 382-385...false teachers, i. 374-381.
- CORINTH, Paul's first visit, i. 229...character of the inhabitants, 230...style of Paul's preaching, 233...hostility of the Jews, 235...Parties in the church, 268-296...first epistle of Paul not now extant, 300, 323... (our) first epistle, 301...second epistle, 324.
- CORNELIUS, centurion at Cæsarea, and a proselyte of the Gate, i. 77...his wonderful conversion to Christianity, 79-82...his baptism, 88.
- CYBELE, worshipped in Phrygia, i. 378.
- CYPRUS, visited by Paul and Barnabas, i. 23...by Barnabas and Mark, i. 197.
- COMMUNITY OF GOODS, i. 29...mistakes respecting it, 30, 31.
- CYRILLUS *Lucaris*, Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 11.

- DAMASCUS, i. 96, 101, 104, 106, 107.
 DÆMONIACS, i. 206.
 DEMETRIUS, i. 317.
 DEMURGOS, i. 380 ; ii. 52.
 DERBE, Paul's visit, i. 132, 198.
 DEACONS, occasion of their appointment, i. 38...the seven Hellenists, 39...mode of election, 181...duties of their office, 40, 56.
 DEACONESSES, i. 179.
 DIONYSIUS, *the Areopagite*, i. 227.
 DIONYSIUS, *Bishop of Corinth*—his testimony respecting Peter's death, ii. 37, 38.
 DIOTREPHES, ii. 72.
 DOCETISM, ii. 53, 63, 67.
 DOMITIAN, ii. 56, 60.
 DRUSILLA, i. 74.
- EBIONITES, ii. 10, 233.
 ELEAZAR, i. 120.
 ENCRATITÆ, i. 336.
 EPAPHRAS, i. 200, 373.
 EPHESUS, i. 252...prevalence of magic, 253...disciples of John the Baptist, 254...popular tumult against Paul, 317...Paul's Epistle a circular letter, 386...Paul meets the overseers of the church at Miletus, 346...John's first Epistle written there, ii. 64...the central-point of his labours, ii. 47.
 EPICUREANS, their relation to Christianity, i. 219.
 ERASTUS, i. 392.
 ESSENES, i. 374, 375.
- FELIX, the Roman Procurator, i. 74, 361, 362.
 FESTUS, i. 361, 363.
 FRUMENTIUS, i. 74.
- GALATIA, Paul's visit, i. 200, 203...false teachers in the Galatian Churches, i. 257...Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, i. 259, 264.
 GAMALIEL, his character and relation to Christianity, i. 55...influence on Paul, 92.

- GNOSIS, i. 269, 286, 376...Judaizing gnosticism at Colossæ, 381...the oriental anti-Jewish gnosis at Antioch, 116...Antinomian gnosis, ii. 49, 70.
- GOETÆ, in Samaria, i. 67...in Paphos, 125...at Ephesus, 253.
- GENTILES, made acquainted with the gospel through the Hellenists, i. 75...position in reference to Christianity, 195...compared with the Jews, ii. 104...fondness for speculation, 109...moral corruption, i. 230, 233, 253.
- GENTILE CHRISTIANS, constitution of their churches, i. 149...dangers from the prevailing immorality, 195...and philosophical speculations, 196...division between them and the Jewish Christians, 249.
- HEBREWS, Epistle to the, 21...Contents of vol. 2, xv.
- HERMAS, his views of Christianity, i. 331.
- HEROD AGRIPPA, i. 74, 118.
- HYMENÆUS, i. 407.
- JEROME, tradition on the birthplace of Paul, i. 91...respecting John, ii. 75.
- JAMES, *the son of Alphæus*, whether the same as James the brother of the Lord? ii. 2-7.
- JAMES, *the brother of the Lord*, address at the apostolic convention, i. 138...held in high respect by the Jews, ii. 9, 10...his martyrdom, 22...his Epistle, v. *Contents*, vol. 2, xvi.
- JAMES, *the son of Zebedee*, i. 118, ii. 2.
- JASON, i. 215.
- JERUSALEM, the central-point of Jewish Christians, i. 116...famine, 117...poverty of the church, 31, 117...the heavenly Jerusalem, ii. 177, 225.
- ICONIUM, i. 129, 198.
- ILLYRIA, i. 326.
- JOHN, *the Presbyter*, ii. 56.
- JOHN, *the Evangelist*, his parentage, ii. 42...his call, 43...his natural character, 44...compared with James and Paul, 45...the scene of his labours, 47...his conflict with false teachers, 49...with the antinomian gnosis,

51...with the Judaizing gnosis, 52...Cerinthus, 53, 54
 ...tradition of his banishment to Patmos, 55... whether
 the author of the Apocalypse? 56, 59...his gospel, 61,
 265...genuineness of chap. xxi.? 27...traditions re-
 specting his labours, p. 74...their effects, 75...*his doc-
 trines*, see *Contents*, vol. ii.

JOHN, *the Baptist*, i. 254; ii. 24, 43, 250...his disciples
 at Ephesus, i. 254.

JOPPA, i. 83.

JOSES, ii. 3.

IRENÆUS, on the gift of tongues, i. 19...on Acts, xx. 346
 ...his tradition respecting John and Cerinthus, ii. 55
 ...his account of the apostolic convention at Jerusalem,
 i. 144...on the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jeru-
 salem, i. 118.

IRVINGITES, i. 14.

JUDE, *the brother of James*, the epistle ascribed to him, ii.
 51.

JEWS, their synagogues favoured the introduction of Chris-
 tianity i. 126-128...their views respecting meat offer-
 ed to idols, i. 283...the predominance of the sensuous
 element in their religious life (*sign-seeking*), ii. 108...
 their self-righteousness, 109.

Jewish Christians, their conceptions of the Messiah, i. 24
 ...their position relative to Gentile Christians, 115...
 their neglect of the decisions of the apostolic conven-
 tion, 148...their observance of the Jewish sabbath, 186
 ...disagreement with the Gentile Christians occasions
 an apostolic convention at Antioch, 246...this disagree-
 ment extends to the churches in Galatia and Achaia,
 250...also at Corinth, 267...theosophic and ascetic ten-
 dency among them at Colossæ, 376...opposition of
 James to their errors, ii. 11.

KANT, his earnest moral spirit, ii. 188.

LAODICEA, canon of the council, i. 382.

LUKE, the Physician, a companion of Paul, i. 204, (re-
 mains at Philippi) 209, 228, 346, 347...supposed
 apologetic design of his history, i. 123, 148, 342...its

- incompleteness, 90, 105, 114, 148, 228, 342...its truth, 51, 77, 346, 337.
- LUTHER, i. 57, 93, 94, 142 ; ii. 212.
- LYDIA, 205, 209.
- LYSTRA, visit to Paul and Barnabas, i. 132...Paul's second visit, 198...worship of Zeus, 131.
- MACEDONIA, Paul's journey thither, 204, 345.
- MARCION, i. 19, 111, 119, 192, 281 ; ii. 73.
- MARY, *the mother of Jesus*, i. 30 ; ii. 4, 7, 42.
- MARCUS, *Peter's son*, ii. 39.
- MARK, *the companion of Paul and Barnabas*, i. 123, 146, 196...Peter's interpreter, 12 ; ii. 39.
- MELANCTHON, compared to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 212.
- MELCHIZEDEK, ii. 219, 227.
- MESSIAH, views of the Jewish Christians, i. 46...expectations of the Samaritans, 66...popular Jewish nations, 25, 234, 380.
- MILETUS, Paul's meeting with the overseers of the Ephesian church, i. 345, 352.
- MONARCHIANS, i. 331
- MONTANISM, i. 20, 159, 281.
- MYSTICISM, i. 46, 281 ; ii. 262.
- NARCISSUS, in Rome, i. 327.
- NERO, i. 362, 394, 395, 403, 407 ; ii. 48, 49, 65.
- NICODEMUS, ii. 244, 269.
- NERVA, ii. 65.
- NICOPOLIS, i. 403.
- NICOLAITANS, } ii. 50
NICOLAUS, }
- NOAH, the seven precepts named after him, i. 138.
- ORDINATION, i. 180.
- ORIGEN, on the gift of tongues, i. 20...on Matthew's gospel, ii. 56...on John's gospel, 59 ; i. 353...against Celsus, i. 54.

- PAPIAS of *Hierapolis*, on Matthew's Gospel, i. 110...on Peter's residence at Rome, ii. 40...on the death of Judas Iscariot, ii. 23.
- PARTHIA...Peter's residence there, ii. 29, 30, 35.
- PAUL...Parentage and education, i. 90, 91...journey to Damascus, 95...conversion; various modes of explaining it, 96-103...Vision and interview with Ananias, 104...journey to Arabia, 106...flight from Damascus, 106...whether he acquired his knowledge of Christianity partly from historical documents, 109...his call to be an apostle to the Gentiles, 114...visits Antioch with Barnabas, 115...visits Jerusalem with the collection from the Christians at Antioch, 117...visits Cyprus with Barnabas and Mark, 123...Antioch in Pisidia, 126...Iconium, 129...Lystra, 130...Derbe, 132...Antioch in Syria, 133...journey to Jerusalem with Barnabas, 134...dispute with the Jewish Christians, 135...the apostolic convention, 136-145...return to Antioch, 146...on speaking with tongues, 159...on females speaking in public, 171...on the observance of certain days, 184...Second missionary journey, 196...separation from Barnabas and Mark, 197...visits Lystra, 198...Phrygia, 199...Galatia, 200...bodily sufferings, 201...spiritual strength, 202...Troas and Philippi, 204...Pythoness, 205...imprisonment at Philippi and miraculous release, 208...Thessalonica, 209...tent-making, 211...the second coming of Christ 212-214...Beræa, 216...Athens, 217...Epicurean and Stoic Philosophers, 219...Discourse on the Areopagus, the altar to the unknown God, 222-227...Timothy's return from Macedonia, 227...sent to Thessalonica, 228...Paul at Corinth, 229...the Jew Aquila, 231...Paul's preaching, 233, 234...persecution by the Jews, 235...the churches in Achaia, 235...First Epistle to the Thessalonians, 236-238...Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, 239...journey to Antioch and Jerusalem, 242...offering in the temple, 243...renewal of the controversy between the Jewish and Gentile converts, 245...Paul visits Phrygia and Galatia, 250...Ephesus, 252...Goëtæ, 253...Disciples of John the Baptist, 254

...Epistle to the Galatians, 258-264...disorders in the church at Corinth, 265...Paul on eating meat offered to idols, 283, 304...on the married and single life, 287-290, 305...on litigation, 291...abuse of the Lord's Supper and Agapæ, 292...on the Resurrection, 293-296...on party-spirit, 301-303...on slaves and slavery, 306-308...time of writing (our) First Epistle to the Corinthians, 309...intention of visiting Rome, 310...popular tumult at Ephesus, 317...Paul meets Titus in Macedonia, 322...Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 324-326...in Macedonia, Illyria and Achaia, 326...Epistle to the Romans, 332-341...meeting at Miletus, 345...Paul's address, 348-352...arrival at Cæsarea Stratonis, 352...his Nazarite's vow, 358...popular tumult, 359...brought before the Sanhedrim, 360...left in prison by Felix for two years, 361...speech before Agrippa, 363...removed to Rome, 364...interview with the Jews, 365...receives an account of the churches in Lesser Asia from Epaphras, 373...Epistle to Philemon, 373 (note)...false teachers at Colossæ, 374...Circular letter to the churches in Lesser Asia, usually styled the Epistle to the Ephesians, 386...Epistle to the Philippians, 387...whether Paul was released from his confinement at Rome, 388...whether he visited Spain, 389...proofs of his having been released, 391-394...travels in Lesser Asia, Crete, Spain, 400...Epistles to Timothy and Titus, 401-403...anticipations of his death, 404...martyrdom, 407.

PETER, discourse at the Pentecost, i. 21, 22...address to Ananias and Sapphira, 31, 33...address to the people on the cure of the lame man, 48, 50...address to the Sanhedrim, 52...second address, 53...visits Samaria with John, 71...address to Simon the Goës, 72...at Lydda and Joppa, 83...the vision at Joppa, 84...meets Cornelius at Cæsarea, 85, 88...address at the apostolic convention, 136, 137...Peter at Antioch, reproved by Paul, 246...Peter's parentage, ii. 24...his natural character, 24...conversion, 25...confession of Christ, 26...his power of performing miraculous cures, i. 48...his labours in the latter part of his life, ii. 29...first epis-

- tle, 31, 32...spuriousness of the second epistle, 33... traditions respecting his visit to Rome, 36, 39...martyrdom, 41.
- PHAROAH, his being hardened an example to the Jewish nation, ii. 198, 199.
- PHARISEES, at first not hostile to the Christians, i. 47... influenced by their common opposition to the Sadducees, 52...their rage excited by Stephen, 63...opposition to Christianity, 94...mixture of Pharisaic Judaism with Christianity, 374...their legal righteousness, ii. 83.
- PHILEMON, overseer of the Church at Colossæ, i. 374.
- PHILIP, the evangelist, in Samaria, i. 71...his daughters prophetesses, 172...(note).
- PHILO, (quotations from his works), i. 67, 211, 231, 269, 380; ii. 53, 227.
- PHŒBE, deaconess of the Church at Cenchrea, bearer of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, i. 327.
- POLYCARP, ii. 47, 55.
- POLYCRATES, *Bishop of Ephesus*, ii. 46, 48.
- PRESBYTERS, first notice of them, i. 35...probable origin, 41...relation to *ἐπισκοποι*, 167...to *διδασκαλοι*, 44...to the deacons, 40.
- PROSELYTES *of the Gate*, i. 78, 82, 126, 129, 142, 204, 209.
- ROME, banishment of the Jews from there, i. 231...Christian Church, the majority Gentiles, 369...Judaizing party, 372...Paul's confinement, 368...his labours during that period, 367...whether Peter visited Rome? ii. 38, 40...Rome called Babylon, 39...second imprisonment of Paul there, i. 403...Epistle to the Romans, 332-341...genuineness of the last chapter, 327, (note).
- SADDUCEES, their disposition towards the Christians, i. 52, 54, 293, 294.
- SERGIUS PAULUS, i. 125.
- SICARII, i. 348.

- SILAS (SILVANUS), companion of Paul and Barnabas, i. 143, 145, 198, 207, 209, 216, 228...of Peter, ii. 30, 32.
- SIMON MAGUS, the Goës, i. 67...his baptism, 69...his impious conduct in reference to the gifts of the Spirit, 72...Peter's rebuke, 73...Simon's subsequent conduct, 73, 74...the sect called after him Simonians, 74.
- ST SIMONIANISM, i. 29 (*note*).
- STEPHANAS, i. 181, 189.
- STEPHEN, his Hellenistic education, i. 56...Paul's forerunner, 58...his character, 60...his accusation and defence, 59, 63...his martyrdom, 64...its consequences, 65.
- STOICS, their relation to Christianity, i. 219.
- TERTULLIAN, on the gift of tongues, i. 20...on Acts xi. 30, 119...on the Christian assemblies, 156...on fasts, 204...on persons inspired by the Pythian Apollo, 205...on the martyrs, 208...on substitutionary baptism, 192...on Peter's crucifixion, ii. 35 (*note*)...on John's banishment, 55.
- TIMOTHY, his conversion, i. 199...joins Paul and Silas at Lystra, 199...is circumcised, 199...left at Thessalonica, 216...his return from Macedonia (uncertain), 227...return from Thessalonica, 235...sent to Macedonia and returns, 311...Paul's second epistle to him, 389...question respecting the genuineness of the first, 397...imprisonment at Rome and release probably after Paul's martyrdom, 407, 408.
- TITUS, of Greek descent, i. 134...sent to Corinth by Paul, 312...meets Paul in Macedonia, 322...bearer of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 324...in Crete, 400...Paul's Epistle to him, 401.
- TROPHIMUS, i. 392.
- TYCHICUS, i. 385.
- TYRANNUS, i. 253.

II.

INDEX OF TEXTS QUOTED OR
EXPLAINED.—
OLD TESTAMENT.

GENESIS.				DEUTERONOMY.			
Ch. xii.	3	... Vol. i.	50	Ch. iv.	19	... Vol. i.	379
xviii.	18	... i.	50	xviii.	15, 18	i.	50
xxii.	18	... i.	50	xxx.	12	... ii.	131
EXODUS.				PSALMS.			
Ch. xii.	2	... Vol. i.	6	xviii.	5, 6	Vol. i.	21
xix.	1	... i.	6	cxviii.	22	... i.	51
NUMBERS.				ISAIAH.			
Ch. vi.		... Vol. i.	358	Ch. xi.	2	... Vol. i.	20

NEW TESTAMENT.

MATTHEW.

Ch. i. 25	...	Vol. ii.	4
iii. 14	...	ii.	69
iv. 22	...	ii.	44
v. 17	...	ii.	235
ix. 13	...	ii.	110
x. 10	...	i.	210
xii.	...	ii.	3
xiii. 55	...	ii.	2, 4
xv. 17	...	i.	287
xvi. 16	...	ii.	26
xvii. 10	...	ii.	112
xvii. 20	...	i.	164
xix. 8	...	ii.	102
xix. 11, 12	...	i.	289
xix. 14	...	ii.	112
xx. 28	...	ii.	125
xxi. 42	...	i.	57
xxiv. 36	...	i.	212
xxvii. 56	...	ii.	2, 3, 42
xxviii. 1	...	ii.	2

MARK.

Ch. i. 20	...	Vol. ii.	42
iii. 31	...	ii.	3
v. 22	...	i.	42
vi. 3	...	ii.	3
xv. 40	...	ii.	2, 42
xvi. 1	...	ii.	42

LUKE.

Ch. iv. 20	...	Vol. i.	39
v. 32	...	ii.	110
vii. 3	...	i.	41
viii.	...	ii.	3
viii. 3	...	i.	31
viii. 41, 49	...	i.	41
ix. 51	...	i.	4
xvii. 16	...	ii.	147
xviii. 15	...	ii.	112
xviii. 22	...	ii.	111
xx. 2	...	i.	51

JOHN.

Ch. i. 4, 5	...	Vol. ii.	241
i. 12	...	ii.	244
i. 37	...	ii.	43
ii. 11	...	ii.	250
ii. 23	...	ii.	251, 257
iii. 5	...	ii.	269
iii. 21	...	i. 87, ii.	247
iv. 6	...	ii.	44
iv. 14	...	ii.	254, 261
iv. 22	...	i.	123
v. 26	...	ii.	250
v. 28, 29	...	ii.	265
vi. 44, 45	...	ii.	245, 249
vi. 51	...	ii.	252
vi. 50, 58	...	ii.	269

ACTS—*continued.*

ROMANS.

Ch. xvii. 14 ...	Vol. i. 216	Ch. i. 12 ...	Vol. i. 151
xvii. 22 ...	i. 220	i. 13, 14	i. 329
xvii. 30 ...	ii. 122	i. 16	i. 123, 197, 219
xviii. 5 ...	i. 231	i. 18	ii. 105, 108
xviii. 8, 18	i. 42, 102	i. 20 ...	ii. 94
xviii. 18, 22	i. 243, 245	i. 28 ...	ii. 96
xviii. 23 ...	i. 299	i. 32 ...	ii. 91
xix. 1 ...	i. 255, 299	ii. 1 ...	ii. 96
xix. 6 ...	i. 13, 44	ii. 4 ...	ii. 34
xix. 22 ...	i. 311, 392	ii. 9 ...	i. 197
xix. 33 ...	i. 407	ii. 14, 16	ii. 91
xx. 3 ...	i. 217	iii. 8 ...	ii. 14
xx. 4 ...	i. 198	iii. 21 ...	ii. 133
xx. 7 ...	i. 185	iii. 23 ...	ii. 102
xx. 19	{ i. 317, 319	iii. 24 ...	ii. 122
	ii. 159	iii. 25	i. 226, ii. 123
xx. 17, 28	i. 168	iii. 28 ...	ii. 32
xx. 23 ...	i. 399	iv. 15 ...	ii. 106
xx. 25, 31	i. 346	iv. 19 ...	ii. 128
xx. 34, 35	i. 212, 350	iv. 22 ...	ii. 129
xx. 37, 38	i. 352	v. 3 ...	ii. 141
xxi. 19 ...	i. 343	v. 4 ...	ii. 152
xxi. 20 ...	ii. 59	v. 5 ...	ii. 148
xxi. 21 ...	ii. 236	v. 7 ...	ii. 80
xxi. 23 ...	i. 355	v. 8 ...	ii. 119
xxi. 25 ...	i. 304	v. 9 ...	ii. 126
xxi. 27 ...	i. 358	v. 10 ...	ii. 119, 121
xxi. 39 ...	i. 91	v. 12 ...	ii. 90
xxii. 2 ...	i. 17	v. 13, 14	ii. 91, 123
xxii. 3 ...	i. 91	v. 18, 19	ii. 115
xxii. 17 ...	i. 102	v. 19, 21	ii. 142
xxiii. 5, 9	i. 360	v. 20 ...	ii. 101, 103
xxiii. 14 ...	i. 244	vi. 1 ...	ii. 14
xxiv. 11 ...	i. 358	vi. 2, 6	ii. 138
xxiv. 17 ...	i. 343	vi. 4 ...	ii. 170
xxv. 9 ...	i. 221	vi. 5, 8-11	ii. 202
xxvi. 28 ...	i. 364	vi. 6 ...	ii. 84
xxviii. 30 ...	i. 366	vi. 11, 13	ii. 140

ROMANS—*continued.*

Ch. vi. 16	...	Vol. ii. 117
vii. 4	...	ii. 133
vii. 5	...	ii. 84
vii. 9	...	ii. 89
vii. 10, 11		ii. 98
vii. 12	...	ii. 80
vii. 13	...	ii. 103
vii. 15	...	ii. 140
viii. 2	...	ii. 132
viii. 3	...	ii. 113
viii. 5	...	ii. 82
viii. 11	...	ii. 141
viii. 15	...	ii. 136
viii. 16	...	ii. 148
viii. 18	...	ii. 32
viii. 19, 23		ii. 203
viii. 23	...	ii. 126, 150
viii. 24	...	ii. 152, 156
viii. 26	...	ii. 151
viii. 28	...	ii. 200
viii. 31, 32		ii. 142
viii. 32	...	ii. 119
ix.	...	ii. 195, 199
ix. 4	...	ii. 104
ix. 8	...	ii. 130
x. 3	...	ii. 107
x. 5	...	ii. 131
xi. 12	...	i. 124
xi. 13	...	i. 329
xi. 17, 18		i. 332
xi. 18	...	ii. 176
xi. 20	...	ii. 199
xi. 32	ii. 109, 196, 210	
xii.	...	i. 165
xii. 1	...	i. 150
xii. 3	...	ii. 143
xii. 7	...	i. 164, 167
xii. 8	...	i. 175

ROMANS—*continued.*

Ch. xiii. 7	...	Vol. ii. 163
xiii. 11	...	ii. 126
xiv. 1	...	ii. 144
xiv. 1-6	...	i. 183
xiv. 2	...	ii. 143
xiv. 2, 3, 21		i. 335
xiv. 15, 23		ii. 146
xiv. 17	...	i. 287
xv. 7	...	i. 328
xv. 15	...	i. 332
xv. 17	...	i. 341
xv. 19	...	i. 326
xv. 20	...	i. 198
xv. 24, 28		i. 310
xv. 31, 32	i. 345, 348	
xvi. 1	...	i. 179
xvi. 3	...	i. 233, 244
xvi. 4	...	i. 319
xvi. 7	...	ii. 5
xvi. 17, 19		i. 327
xvi. 23	i. 176, 198, 282	

1 CORINTHIANS.

Ch. i. 12	Vol. i. 266, 272	
i. 14	...	i. 198
i. 16	...	i. 235
i. 1-18		i. 302
i. 23	i. 218, ii. 109	
i. 26	...	i. 233
ii. 11	...	i. 283
ii. 14	...	ii. 85, 153
iii. 9, 10		i. 153
iii. 11	...	ii. 166
iii. 11, 15		i. 303
iii. 12	...	i. 270
iii. 16, 17		i. 304

1 Cor.—*continued.*

Ch. iii. 18	Vol. i. 218, ii. 109
iii. 21	... i. 302
iii. 22	... ii. 144
iv. 7	... ii. 159
iv. 8-19	i. 313
iv. 17	... i. 311
iv. 20	... i. 292
v. 3, 5	i. 170
v. 7	... i. 186
v. 9, 11	i. 285, 300
vi.	... i. 165
vi. 5	... i. 170
vi. 7	... i. 313
vi. 9	i. 284, ii. 167
vi. 11	i. 234, ii. 171
vi. 12	{ i. 287, 305 ii. 144, 145
vi. 14	... ii. 202
vii. 14	... i. 192, 193
vii. 18, 20	i. 357
vii. 21	i. 307, ii. 144
vii. 22	... ii. 136
vii. 30	... i. 306
vii. 40	... i. 290
viii. 2	... ii. 154
viii. 7	... i. 284
viii. 8	... i. 287
viii. 8, 12	ii. 145
ix. 1	... i. 101, 281
ix. 1-19	ii. 145
ix. 5	i. 290 ii. 4
ix. 6	... i. 197
ix. 14, 15	i. 210 ii. 147
ix. 21	... ii. 135
x.	ii. 174, 175
x. 16, 18	i. 211
x. 23, 24, 31	ii. 145
x. 28, 29	i. 285

1 Cor.—*continued.*

Ch. xi. 2	... Vol. i. 299
xi. 5	... i. 171
xi. 23	... i. 109
xi. 24	... ii. 171
xii.	i. 151 ii. 169
xii. 2	... i. 299
xii. 3	... ii. 167
xii. 9, 10	i. 154, 164
xii. 11	... i. 152
xii. 13	{ i. 188 ii. 171, 175
xii. 26	... ii. 172
xii. 28	i. 40, 164, 175
xii. 29	... ii. 173
xiii. 2	... i. 162, 164
xiii. 4, 5	ii. 163
xiii. 9, 12	ii. 155
xiv. 14	... i. 158
xiv. 20	... ii. 112
xiv. 22, 24	i. 156
xiv. 25	... - i. 157
xiv. 30, 31	i. 160
xiv. 34	... i. 171
xv. 7	... ii. 6, 8
xv. 8	... i. 102
xv. 17	... ii. 118
xv. 19	... i. 191
xv. 27, 28	ii. 210
xv. 30	... i. 309
xv. 31	i. 319, 320
xv. 32, 35	i. 294, 295
xv. 45	... ii. 92, 93
xv. 55, 58	ii. 209
xvi.	... i. 166
xvi. 2	... i. 185
xvi. 7	... i. 298
xvi. 8	... i. 309
xvi. 10	... i. 311

1 COR.—*continued.*

Ch. xvi. 13	...	Vol. ii. 162
xvi. 15	...	i. 235
xvi. 20	...	i. 176
xvi. 26	...	i. 175

2 CORINTHIANS.

Ch. i. 1	...	Vol. i. 235
i. 8	...	i. 320
i. 12, 13	i. 325	ii. 162
i. 16, 22		i. 325
i. 22	...	ii. 149
ii. 4	...	i. 314
ii. 5-10		i. 322
ii. 12	...	i. 311
ii. 16	...	ii. 264
iii. 6	...	ii. 132
iv. 9	...	i. 320
v. 4	...	ii. 90
v. 6-8		ii. 208
v. 7	...	ii. 156
v. 10	...	ii. 235
v. 12	...	i. 280
v. 13	...	i. 325
v. 16	...	i. 95, 281
v. 16, 20	ii. 119, 120	
v. 21	...	ii. 116
vi. 9	...	i. 320
vii. 2	...	i. 250
vii. 5	...	i. 320
vii. 9, 12		i. 313
vii. 14	...	i. 315
viii.	...	i. 322
viii. 6	...	i. 316
viii. 13	...	i. 29
viii. 18	...	i. 324
viii. 19	...	i. 181

2 COR.—*continued.*

Ch. ix. 12, 15	Vol. i. 344
x. 7	... i. 274, 280
x. 10	... i. 323
x. 16	... i. 198
x. 14, 16	i. 326
xi. 4	... i. 278, 279
xi. 5	... ii. 32
xi. 6	... i. 271
xi. 8	... i. 280
xi. 9	... i. 237
xi. 22	... i. 91
xi. 26, 27	i. 243
xi. 29	... i. 256
xi. 30	... i. 106
xii. 2	... i. 101, 103
xii. 7	... i. 202, 320
xii. 12	... i. 234
xiii. 21	... i. 297
xiii. 4	... i. 95, ii. 117
xiii. 13	... ii. 271
xiv. 16	... ii. 205

GALATIANS.

Ch. i. 1	...	Vol. i. 101
i. 6	...	i. 250
i. 10	...	i. 259
i. 12, 26		i. 102
i. 19	...	ii. 5
i. 21	...	i. 143
ii. 2	...	i. 120
ii. 5	...	i. 136
ii. 9	...	ii. 45
ii. 10	...	i. 265
ii. 12	...	ii. 236
ii. 18	...	i. 247, 248
ii. 19	...	ii. 133

GALATIANS—*continued.*

Ch. ii. 20	...	Vol. ii. 139
ii. 30	...	ii. 86
iii. 10, 21		ii. 81
iii. 13, 14	ii. 106,	115
iii. 15, 10		ii. 101
iii. 19	...	i. 326
iii. 26, 28	{	ii. 165, 170, 171
iii. 27	...	i. 188
iv. i. 151,	261	ii. 193
iv. 2	...	i. 326
iv. 4	..	i. 4 ii. 109
iv. 5	...	ii. 150
iv. 6	...	ii. 136
iv. 8	...	ii. 137
iv. 9	...	i. 183
iv. 14	...	i. 203
iv. 16, 18		i. 252
v. 5	...	ii. 152
v. 6	...	ii. 138
v. 11	...	i. 263, 355
v. 13	i. 335	ii. 14
v. 16, 18		ii. 139
v. 20	i. 284	ii. 85
v. 21	...	i. 250
v. 24	...	ii. 138
v. 25	...	ii. 139
vi. 6	...	i. 177
vi. 11	...	i. 258
vi. 12	...	i. 263, 264
vi. 13	...	i. 257
vi. 15	...	i. 356

EPHESIANS.

Ch. i. 4	...	Vol. ii. 201
i. 10	...	i. 4 ii. 201

EPHESIANS—*continued.*

Ch. i. 14	...	Vol. ii. 126
i. 18	...	ii. 154
ii. 9, 10	ii. 149,	83
ii. 14	...	i. 57
ii. 19, 20	ii. 166,	176
iii. 5	...	i. 250
iii. 9	...	ii. 109
iii. 10	...	ii. 197
iii. 18	...	ii. 148
iii. 19	...	ii. 119
iv. 2	...	ii. 160
iv. 6	...	ii. 168
iv. 11	...	i. 166, 175
iv. 16	i. 165,	ii. 169
iv. 19	...	ii. 106
iv. 25	...	ii. 237
v. 6	...	i. 215, 251
v. 15	...	ii. 161
v. 25, 26	ii. 69,	171
vi. 21	...	i. 386

PHILIPPIANS.

Ch. i. 1	...	i. 166, 168
i. 15, 18		i. 371, 372
ii. 3	...	ii. 160
ii. 6	...	ii. 83, 117
ii. 10, 11		ii. 211
ii. 12	...	ii. 159
iii. 5	...	i. 91
iii. 8	...	i. 112
iii. 12	...	ii. 147
iii. 15	...	i. 387
iv. 6	...	i. 237
iv. 12, 13		i. 201

COLOSSIANS.

Ch. i. 20	...	Vol. ii. 211
ii. 1	...	i. 200
ii. 3	...	i. 162
ii. 8	...	ii. 378
ii. 11	...	ii. 84
ii. 14	...	ii. 106, 133
ii. 16	...	i. 183
ii. 18	...	i. 384
iii. 3	...	ii. 138, 151
iii. 4	...	ii. 152
iii. 5	...	ii. 141
iii. 11	...	ii. 165
iii. 12	...	ii. 160
iv. 1	...	ii. 163
iv. 11	...	i. 37
iv. 15	...	i. 163, 176

1 THESSALONIANS.

Ch. i. 3	...	ii. 149, 153
i. 9, 10		i. 210
ii. 9	...	i. 212
ii. 10, 11		i. 210
ii. 12	...	i. 215
ii. 18	...	i. 216
iii. 1	...	i. 228
iv. 6	...	i. 215, 251
iv. 9	...	ii. 133
v. 12	...	i. 166
v. 19	...	i. 236
v. 21	...	i. 161
v. 22	...	i. 238
v. 23	...	ii. 86, 92

2 THESSALONIANS.

Ch. i. 4	i. 225, ii. 153
ii. 2	... i. 238

2 THESS.—*continued.*

Ch. iii. 2	...	Vol. i. 239
iii. 17	...	i. 241

1 TIMOTHY.

Ch. i. 4	...	Vol. i. 401
i. 9	...	i. 398
i. 20	...	i. 407
ii. 12	...	i. 171
ii. 15	...	i. 399
iii. 1	...	i. 168
iii. 8	...	i. 40
iv. 1	...	i. 399
iv. 8	...	i. 398
v. 3, 16		i. 179
vi. 12	...	i. 189

2 TIMOTHY.

Ch. i. 7	...	Vol. ii. 160
ii. 17	...	i. 391
ii. 19, 20		ii. 168
ii. 21	...	ii. 199
ii. 23	...	i. 403
iv. 7, 8		i. 406
iv. 14	...	i. 407
iv. 16	...	i. 391
iv. 17	...	i. 404
iv. 18	...	ii. 207
iv. 19	...	i. 244

TITUS.

Ch. ii. 6, 12	Vol. ii. 160
iii. 4	... ii. 119
iii. 5	... ii. 171
iii. 9	... i. 401

PHILEMON.

Vol. 23 ... Vol. i. 91

HEBREWS.

Ch. ii. 7	...	Vol. ii. 220
ii. 14	...	ii. 219
ii. 6, 14		ii. 223
iii. 12	...	ii. 213
iii. 14	...	ii. 224
iv. 12	...	ii. 227
v. 7, 8		ii. 223
v. 12	...	ii. 137
vi. 4	ii. 214,	215
vi. 5	...	ii. 225
vi. 19	...	ii. 225
vii. 19	...	ii. 214
vii. 25, 26		ii. 222
viii. 12	...	ii. 215
ix. 9	...	ii. 217
ix. 10	...	ii. 218
ix. 15	...	ii. 215
ix. 28	ii. 222,	223
x. 22	ii. 217,	223
x. 23, 24		ii. 224
x. 32	...	ii. 213
x. 36	...	ii. 224
xi. 1, 3		ii. 224
xi. 40	...	ii. 214
xii. 2	...	ii. 225
xii. 22	...	ii. 225
xii. 23	...	ii. 217
xii. 28	ii. 215,	217
xiii. 9	...	ii. 214
xiii. 10	...	ii. 218
xiii. 20	...	ii. 220
xiii. 23	...	i. 407

JAMES.

Ch. i. 4, 18, 21	Vol. ii. 233	
i. 5	...	ii. 9
i. 9, 10		ii. 19
i. 13, 16		ii. 238
i. 19	...	ii. 20
i. 25	ii. 231,	233
ii. 7	...	ii. 18, 19
ii. 8	...	ii. 232
ii. 18, 26		ii. 229
iii. 1, 2		ii. 20
iii. 2	...	ii. 233
iv. 7, 8		ii. 238
v. 12	...	ii. 237

1 PETER.

Ch. i. 5	...	Vol. ii. 126
ii. 9	...	i. 150
ii. 10	...	ii. 31
iii. 21	...	i. 188
iv. 3, 5		ii. 31
iv. 11	...	i. 154
v. 1, 2		i. 167
v. 13	...	ii. 39

2 PETER.

Ch. i. 14	...	Vol. ii. 33
iii. 15	...	ii. 34

1 JOHN.

Ch. i. 5	...	Vol. ii. 248
i. 9	...	ii. 259
ii. 19	...	ii. 268

III.

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES.

- Ἀγαπᾶται, i. 27, 31; ii. 291.
 ἄγγελοι, i. 63.
 ἄγια, i. 193.
 ἄγιοι, ii. 166.
 ἀδιαφορον, ii. 145.
 ἄζυμοι, i. 186.
 ἀκαθάρτα, i. 193.
 ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖν, ii. 161.
 αἰὼν οὗτος, ii. 218.
 αἰὼν μελλων, ii. 218.
 ἁμαρτία, i. 295; ii. 260.
 ἀναστοιχειώσεις, i. 227.
 ἄνηρ λογίος, i. 268.
 ἀνοχη τοῦ θεοῦ, ii. 122.
 ἀνδρεία, ii. 162.
 ἀνδρίζεσθαι, ii. 162.
 ἀντιληψεις, i. 40, 164.
 ἄπιστος, i. 156.
 ἀποκαλύψις, i. 57, 155, 159,
 173; ii. 105.
 ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου, i. 159.
 Ἀραβία, i. 105.
 Ἀρμολογία, i. 167.
 ἀρχαγγέλος, i. 381.
 ἀρχισυναγωγός, i. 41, 169.
 Ἀσιαρχαί, i. 318.
 ἀφ᾽ ἑσθαι, ii. 123; i. 127.
 Βαρναβᾶς, i. 44.
 βαπτισμα, ii. 166.
 Γλωσσᾶς λαλεῖν, i. 14, 18, 19,
 155, 158, 160.
 γνωσις, i. 57, 162, 398.
 Δειπνον κυρίου, i. 27.
 δεσποταῖων, i. 220.
 δεσποταῖον, i. 220.
 διαθήκη, i. 6.
 διακονοί, i. 35.
 διακονοῦν τραπέζαις, i. 38.
 διακρίσις πνεύματος, i. 160.
 διασπορά, i. 329; ii. 31.
 διδασκαλοί, } i. 44, 155, 157, 159,
 διδασκαλία, } 161, 173, 177.
 διδασχῆ, i. 175.
 δικαιοσύνη, ii. 79, 80, 127, 152,
 162, 261.
 δικαιοῦν καὶ ἴσον, ii. 163.
 δικαιοσύνη, ii. 114.
 δικαιοσύνη, ii. 115, 126.
 δοξᾶ, ii. 250.
 δουλεία, ii. 99.
 δουλεύειν, ii. 99.
 Ἑβραῖος, i. 91.
 ἔθνη, i. 329.
 ἐκκλησία, ii. 18, 165, 168, 171,
 267.
 ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, i. 176.
 ἔλθων, i. 165.
 ἑλληνιστής, i. 91.
 ἔλπις, ii. 153.
 ἐπισκοποί, i. 167, 174, 346.
 ἐπειρωτήματα, i. 189.
 ἔργα νόμου, ii. 83.
 ἔργα ἀγαθὰ, ii. 83.
 ἔρμηνεια, i. 160.
 ἔρμηνευς, i. 12.
 ἔρμηνευτής, i. 12.
 ἐρχεσθαι δι' αἵματος, δι' ὕδατος, ii.
 68.
 εὐαγγελισταί, i. 173.
 εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν, ii. 265.
 ἑβραῖα γράμματα, i. 252.

- Ζεὺς*, i. 131.
ζωή, ii. 80.
- Ἡμέραι τινες*, i. 105.
ἡμέραι ἰκαναί, i. 105.
- Θησαυρίζων*, i. 185.
- Ἰδιῶται*, i. 156.
Ἰκετής, i. 67.
ἰλασμός, ii. 252.
- Κενοὶ λόγοι*, i. 195, 215.
κλητοί, ii. 167.
κοινωνία, i. 27.
κόσμος, ii. 160, 166.
κυβερνήσεις, i. 164, 167.
- Λόγος*, i. 67, 72; ii. 62.
λαός, i. 329.
- Μαθηταί*, i. 255.
μεταδίδους, i. 165.
μεταξὺ, i. 127.
- Νεώτεροι*, i. 35.
νεανίσκοι, i. 35.
νόμος, i. 304; ii. 81, 132-135,
 231.
νοῦς, i. 154, 158.
- Οἰκοδομεῖν*, ii. 166.
οἰκουμένη, i. 117.
οἱ τοῦ χριστοῦ, ii. 274.
οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ii. 274.
ὀπταίσαί, i. 159.
- Παρεῖσις*, i. 226; ii. 123.
παρακλητός, i. 67.
παρουσία, ii. 206, 208, 267.
πειθαρχούντες, i. 53.
πίστις, i. 57, 164; ii. 130.
- πληρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, τῶν καιρῶν*,
 i. 4.
πνεῦμα, i. 154, 158.
ποιμένες, i. 174, 175.
πρεσβύτεροι, i. 35.
προσευχή, i. 204.
προσευχή Ἰωσήφ, i. 68.
προφητεῖαι, i. 44, 157.
προφητεύειν, i. 155.
πρωτὸν Ἰουδαίῳ, i. 123.
- Ῥῆμα*, i. 72.
- Σαρξ*, ii. 139.
σαρκικά, i. 191; ii. 136.
σημεῖα, i. 153.
σοφία, i. 162; ii. 161.
σοφίαν ζητεῖν, i. 163, 272.
στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, i. 378; ii.
 136.
συμπόσια φιλικὰ, i. 292.
συναγωγή, ii. 18.
σωματικὴ γυμνασία, i. 398.
σωφρονεῖν, ii. 160.
σωφροσύνη, ii. 160.
σωφρονισμός, ii. 160.
- Υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, i. 44.
υἱὸς προφητείας, i. 44.
υἰόθεσία, ii. 150.
ὑπερών, i. 7.
ὑπομονή, ii. 153, 162.
- Ψυχή*, i. 154.
- Φανερώσεις*, ii. 104.
φανερώσεις τοῦ πνεύματος, i. 152.
φιλοσοφία, i. 376, 398.
φρονήσις, ii. 162.
- Χάρισμα*, i. 152; ii. 142.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

P. 7, (Note), *add* " It is related indeed, in Luke xxiv. 53, that the disciples met continually in the temple, and hence it might be inferred that such was the case on the morning of this high feast; but it would be possible that Luke when he wrote his gospel, had not such exact knowledge of the course of these proceedings, or only gave a summary account of them."

P. 8, (Note), *add* " As this account does not proceed immediately from an eye-witness, in some particulars that vividness is wanting which we should otherwise expect."

P. 16, l. 7, *add* " It is also easy to perceive that we have not literally that form of expression of which these persons made use."

P. 25, l. 10, *for* there was only one form of baptism. *read* the baptismal formula was no other than this.

Pp. 39, 139. " Second *Trullanian* Council"—so called from a vaulted chamber in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. *σεκρετον τοῦ θείου παλατιου το οὕτως ἐπιλεγομενον τροῦλλος*. Vita Stephani ed. Muratori, p. 482. *ὁ τροῦλλος, ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ᾠατον καλοῦμεν*. The first Trullanian (the sixth œcumenical or general) Council, was held in 680; the second in 691 or 692. At the latter, the injunctions of the Apostolic convention, (Acts xv.), which had long been considered in the Western Church as only of temporary obligation, were declared to be permanent, and the eating of blood or of " things strangled," was forbidden, under pain of excommunication. Vide Dr Neander's

“*Allgemeine Geschichte*,” &c. Vol. 7, p. 390; vol. 8, p. 590. [TR.]

P. 58. “Stephen was the forerunner of the great Paul.”

(Note). “To which Baur of Tübingen has properly drawn attention in his ingenious essay, *De orationis habitæ a Stephano, Act. c. vii. consilio*. In trying to establish a divine objective or historical pragmatism in the relative position of these two champions of the Christian faith (for which I am under obligations to Dr Baur, who probably first drew my attention to it), I cannot agree with Dr Schneckenburger, who thinks he has detected a subjective pragmatism purposely framed by Luke. In the simple representation given by Luke from the notices of single facts lying before him, I cannot discover any direct intention to exhibit Stephen in his public character and in his disputations with the Jews as a prototype of Paul. (See Schneckenburger’s work on the Acts, pp. 172, 184). If such had really been his design, it would, I think, have been more strongly marked, after the manner of his times. Indeed, the views ascribed to Luke of becoming the apologist of Paul in opposition to the partizans of Peter, are of too artificial a cast, and too little supported by his own language, to induce me to approve of such an hypothesis.

P. 66, l. 13, “the universal Restorer.” *add* (Note)
 “הַשָּׂרֵב or הַתֵּבָה; see . Gesenius’ *Weihnachtsprogramm de Samaritanorum Theologia*, 1822; and his *Carmina Samaritana*, p. 75.”

P. 94, “cloisters of Erfurt:” *add*, “both the apostle and the reformer were taught the power of the principle of sin, by means of its hidden internal movements, and not like Augustin by those open outbreaks of evil, from which they were preserved by their strict legal discipline.”

P. 108, “Barnabas.” (Note). “See p. 44. According to an account, not indeed sufficiently authenticated in the *Hypotyposes* of Clemens Alex. mentioned by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles. ii. 1*, Barnabas had been one of the seventy disciples.”

P. 122, (Note). “There is no necessity for our sup-

posing that the whole narrative of a second journey of Paul to Jerusalem for conveying the collection arose from a misunderstanding; and there is less probability of this, because Luke, when he mentions this journey a second time, states that they had then brought Mark with them from Jerusalem. The object for which Paul mentions his journey to Jerusalem, in the Epistle to the Galatians, by no means required the mention of a journey so unimportant in reference to the main subject of that epistle. See the remarks in the sequel on the Epistle to the Galatians; pp. 258, 265."

P. 148, (Note). "We have in the Acts no pragmatismal representation of history, but it is, like Luke's Gospel, compiled from a comparison of separate accounts. Wherever we find a pragmatism, it proceeds not from the historical art of the writer, but is a pragmatism founded in the history itself, which he composed according to the documents lying before him."

P. 349, "He foresaw that false teachers," &c. (Note.) "It is possible that v. 30 refers to the Presbyters personally, and the words would then mean 'false teachers will come forth from among yourselves.' But as the Presbyters appeared as the representatives of the churches, it is not necessary thus to restrict the meaning. It may be understood to express generally, that not merely false teachers from other places would find entrance into the churches, but also that such persons would make their appearance within their own circle."

P. 377. "But he (Philo) also taught," &c. (Note.) "Philo's words, *φυλαττομένων τούτων* (the outward, the literal) *ἀριθλοτέρων καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνωρισθήσεται ἂν εἰσὶν οὗτοι συμβολαί.* De Migr. Abrah. § 16, p. 313, Tom. II. Lips. 1828."

P. 396. "But it would be possible that after his release, he travelled first into Spain." (Note.) "Which Mynster (with whom otherwise I am glad to agree on many points in my view of this part of the Apostolic History) adopts in his Essay *De ultimis annis muneris apostolici a Paulo gesti*, in his smaller theological writings, p. 234."

VOL. II.

P. 64. "Lücke has justly remarked," &c. (Note.)
 "This epistle is in the apostolic sense a *λογος παρακλη-
 σεως*."

P. 106, (Note). "These remarks are of force against the views of Ruckert and Usteri—See especially their Commentary on Gal. iii. 13."

P. 119. "Therefore Paul never says," &c. (Note.)
 "If we only reflect upon the connection of the objective and the subjective in the doctrine of Paul respecting the reconciliation of men with God, it will easily appear that this passage is not chargeable with that want of logical connection and clearness of conception, which one of the most noted expositors of the Pauline Epistles—Ruckert—fancied that he found in it: the love of truth has, however, led this estimable man to a more correct view, and in the last edition of his able Commentary on the Romans, he has improved his analysis."

P. 120. "In every case, according to his conceptions," &c. (Note.) "This is distinctly marked by his exhortation *καταλλαγητε*."

P. 163, "according to the Grecian proverb," &c. (Note.) *ἐν δε δικαιοσυνη συλληβδην πα̃σ' αρετη ενι*. Aristot. Eth. Nicomach. Lib. v. c. 3."

P. 163, "according to Paul," &c. *συνδειςμος τῆς τελειοτητος*. Colossians iii. 14.

P. 170, "in whose name baptism is administered," &c. (Note.) "On the meaning of the formula, 'to baptize in the name of any one,' see the Remarks of Dr Bindseil in the 'Studien und Kritiken,' 1832, Part ii. Paul in Gal. iii. 27, might have said, All of you who have believed in Christ. But he said instead of this, 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ,' since he viewed baptism as the objective sign and seal of the relation to Christ into which men entered by faith."

P. 223. "Mankind defiled by sin cannot enter the heavenly sanctuary." (Note.) "By a transference of

the subjective to the objective, the writer of this epistle (ix. 25) speaks of a purification of the heavenly sanctuary itself, inasmuch as it would have been defiled by the sins of mankind, could they have entered it without a previous purification."

P. 224. "Faith according to Hebrews xi. 1, is that by which the object of hope already becomes present."
 (Note.) "As Theodoret says, 'δεικνυσιν ὡς υφισταῖτα τα μηδεπω γεγεννημενα.'"

THE END.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY J. GREIG, LAWNMARKET.





Doct.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01145 3950



