



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

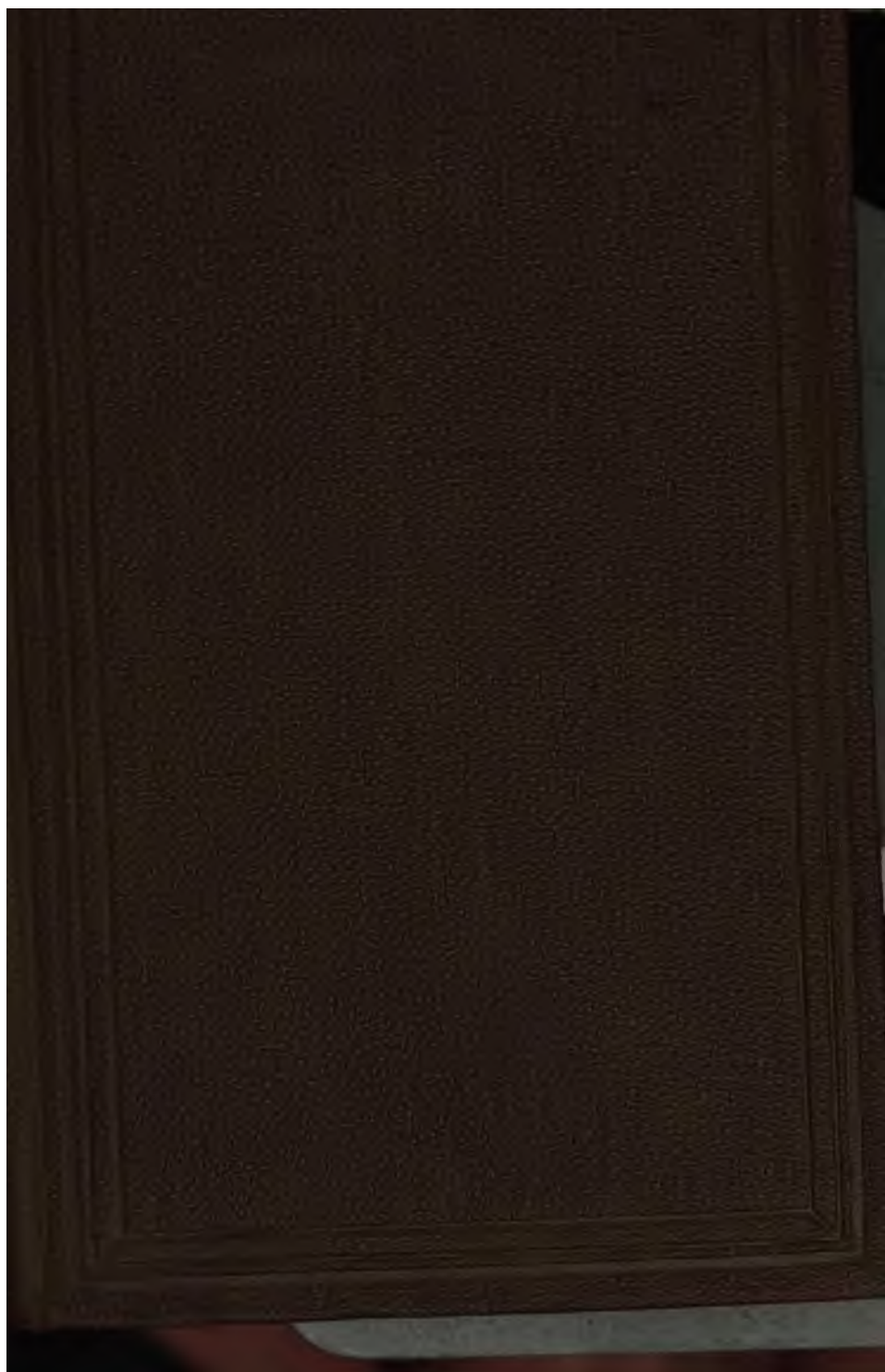
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

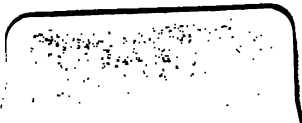
About Google Book Search

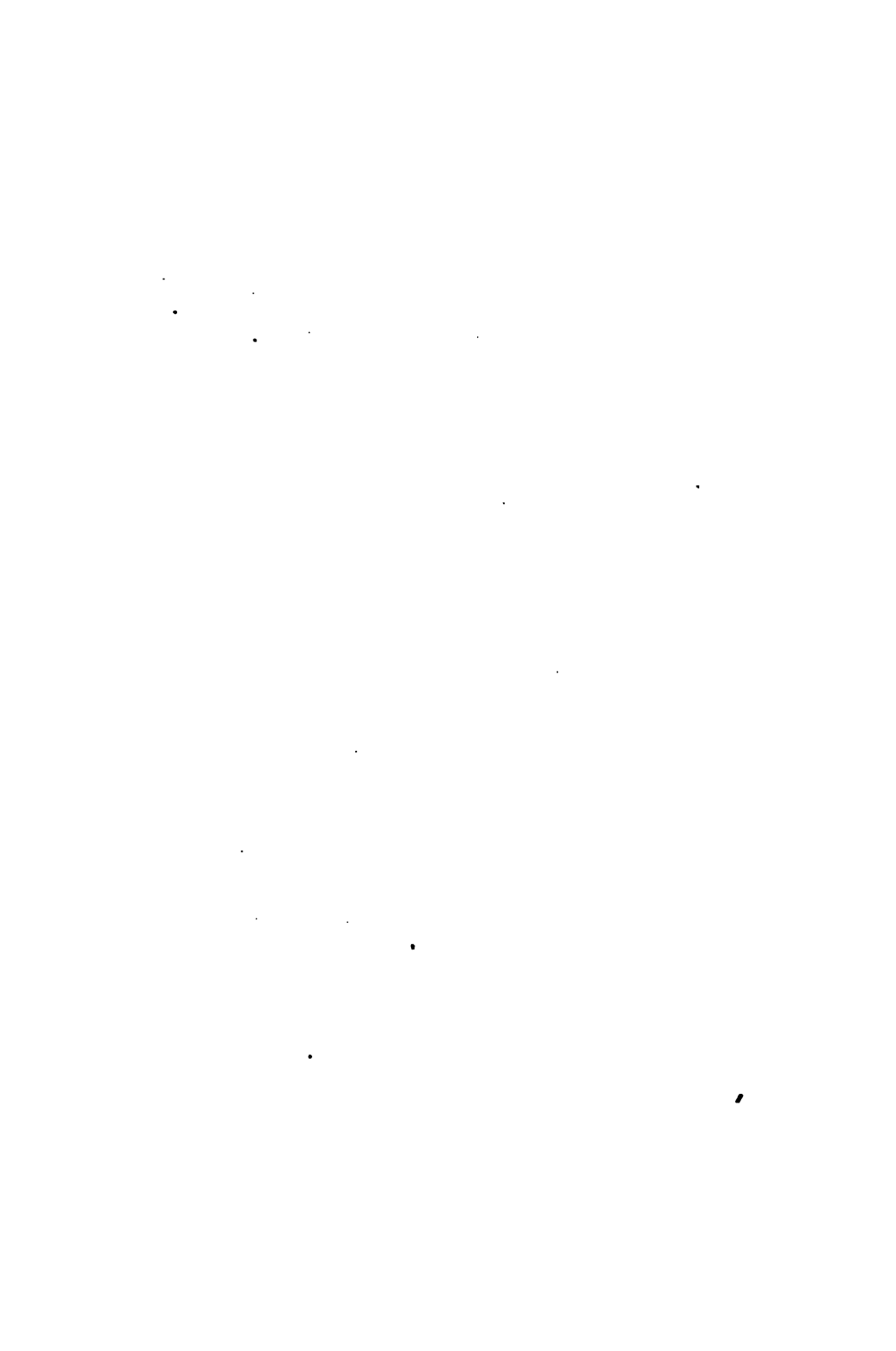
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600090308Q







LIFE OF JESUS.

A MANUAL FOR ACADEMIC STUDY.

BY

DR. CARL HASE,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH IMPROVED EDITIONS,

BY

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

BOSTON:
WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,
245 WASHINGTON STREET.
1860.

101. f. 4.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1860, by
WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.



University Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by Welch, Bigelow, & Co.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE "Life of Jesus," by Carl Hase, which is now offered to the American reader in an English form, has been long known and appreciated in Germany, where it has passed through several editions. The present translation was made from the third improved edition, printed at Leipsic, 1840, but has been compared and corrected from the fourth edition, 1854. The first edition appeared in 1829. Among the many works on the same subject which have appeared in Germany, this of Hase is distinguished by uniting decision with impartiality, and moderation of opinion with entire freedom. The book avoids extremes, without trying to avoid them. It treats its subject with fearless earnestness, but the result arrived at is neither the conclusion of Strauss nor that of Hengstenberg. While the scientific object is always supreme, there is no cold indifference, but a warm heart of love throbbing beneath. Reverence for the character of Jesus is combined with a cool sifting of all the Gospel statements concerning him. Hase avoids no question because of its difficulty, and hurries to no solution with wilful precipitation. As a philosopher,

he accepts miracles, accounting them necessary to the Divine government of free moral agents. As an historian, he receives as fact the miraculous phenomena attending the course of Jesus. But as a critic, he examines every particular miracle by itself, and, while admitting most of them as real supernatural phenomena, rejects some on account of insufficient evidence. Thus he declares the truth of the resurrection of Jesus "to be immovably sustained by the testimony," and by "the very existence," of the Apostolic Church. Of the transfiguration, he says that "it must be received as a matter of fact, that Jesus appeared to his Apostles with two unknown companions surrounded by a singular splendor." But the tribute-money in the mouth of the fish, (and so of a few others,) he pronounces an apocryphal miracle, which crept in by a misunderstanding of a figurative form of speech.

One great merit of Hase is his careful examination of the opinions of other writers, on each point, before pronouncing his own; and his giving in compact form the reasons for each conclusion. Thus, in studying this book, one feels in an atmosphere of reason; not of prejudice, dogmatism, or feeling. The scales are held by a very impartial hand. We know what the writer thinks, and why he thinks so.

Another merit of the book is its style. The statements are concise, and the language clear. Few German writers have these merits in as high degree as Hase. In reading Neander, for example, we wish to put his book into a press and reduce it to about one third of its size,—as they treat cotton-bales in the cotton-presses at New Orleans;

and in reading Schleiermacher, each sentence is like a tangled skein of silk, very hard to unwind. His sentences sometimes stretch throughout a page and a half, inter-twisted and involved, the nominatives playing hide and seek with their verbs, while all sorts of parenthetical clauses and limitations are stuffed into the body of the sentence. A single paragraph of such a writer is like the carpet-bag of a hurried traveller, into which books and boots, clean shirts and brushes, inkstands, stockings, and bootjacks, are all crowded together. But Hase usually writes clean, compact, and grammatical sentences. He is remarkable for picturesque phrases, which characterize by a single word, where others would use a multitude of adjectives.*

This book is perhaps too concise for the general reader,

* This lucidity of style is of course liable to exceptions. Hase would be no German if he were not often involved and obscure. In translating, we have often been obliged to break up and reconstruct his periods. Take the following example from § 22:—

“Gfrörer wollte nachweisen, wie auf dem Boden des auch über die Zeiten des Talmud hinaus sich immer gleichbleibenden Judenthums das Christenthum aufgewachsen sey, indem er aus dem durch historische Mathematik, mit herzlicher Verachtung aller Metaphysik, als ächt erkannten Johannisevangelium und aus den zustimmenden Anklängen der andern Sagen-Evangelien, die nur den Glauben der Christen in Galiläa gegen Ende des 1. Jahr. enthielten, den historischen Christus als religiösen Messias nach dem Vorbilde Mosis darstellte, der die sinnlich übernatürliche Messias idee zum rein religiösen Glauben vergeistigt, Heilungswunder vollbracht habe und in dem Conflict mit dem weltlichen Messiassthum frei untergegangen sey.”

How the Translator helped himself out of this sentence may be seen by referring to the section.

but will be found very satisfactory, we think, by the student. We hope it may be useful as a manual for theological students, Bible-classes, and perhaps for the more advanced scholars in Sunday schools. Clergymen and laymen who wish to read the New Testament carefully may also derive advantage from the many striking suggestions of this writer.

In the original, there is appended to nearly every section a list of writers and books to be referred to. Many of these writers have a local and temporary interest to German students, but would have none to us. Many of the books referred to cannot be found in this country, and are only to be met with in some of the large libraries in Europe. Hase himself says that in these lists of books he has far exceeded the need even of German students. Clearly, to translate these lists of titles would be to increase the size and expense of the book with a useless parade of learning. On the other hand, to omit entirely the literature of the subject would be to omit what might be useful to some readers. Yet to select some books from this list, and omit others, demands a knowledge of their contents, and a judgment, which the Translator does not possess. He has therefore added in an appendix a list of works, partly selected from Hase, and partly in addition, which the reader may refer to or not as he pleases.

CARL HASE, the writer of this "Life of Jesus," was born August 25th, 1800, at Steinbach in Altenburg, where his

father was a clergyman. After the early death of his father, he was educated in the Gymnasium at Altenburg, and the University at Leipsic. He stayed at Leipsic till 1820, and then studied theology at Erlangen. He became a member at these places of the patriotic associations of the young students, and, in consequence of some political offence committed by these Burschenschaften, was imprisoned for seven months in the castle of Hohenapsberg. After his release, he fitted himself at Leipsic for the office of a professor, by the advice of his friend Tzschirner. He was a popular teacher at Leipsic, but afterward was called to Jena as Professor of Theology in that University, where he has since remained. His principal works are the "LIFE OF JESUS," Leipsic, 1829; "SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE," Stuttgart, 1825, third edition, Jena, 1841; and "CHURCH HISTORY," Jena, 1834, fifth edition, 1844. The last of these works has been translated in this country, and was published by the Appletons in New York, 1855. Beside these books, he has also published a work in three volumes called "GNOSIS," and several others, including one called "THE NEW PROPHETS" (Leipsic, 1851), containing three lectures on "The Maid of Orleans," "Savonarola," and "The Anabaptists."

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

I PUBLISH this work because I do not find in our literature a purely scientific and scholarly delineation of the life of Jesus. I have doubted whether to give a complete manual, or only an epitome; and have finally chosen the latter, in consequence of my academic position. I could wish by means of this form to do something toward causing the life of Jesus to be made a regular part of the course of theological study, and to be treated in lectures, like those of Schleiermacher and Winer. For there is, perhaps, no other theological exercise which, by its subject, takes such immediate hold of the whole man, and so demands the boldest freedom of investigation joined with genuine enthusiasm. But this manual may also be useful to those students who have not the opportunity of hearing lectures on the life of Jesus.

As regards the fundamental questions concerning the Nature and the Work of Jesus, I shall probably satisfy neither extreme of the theological parties; but I think my

view is that which the best of our contemporaries have either adopted or will adopt. The time has passed in which the President of a Consistory could say to a pastor (who excused himself by the example of Jesus for an action which had been found fault with), "Imitate our Master on his good side, and not his bad side." But neither will that time return in which one could say, as a good old gentleman once said to me, "You must treat of the *Human Nature* of Jesus in the first part of your history, and of his *Divine Nature* in the last." The good spirit of our time has rejected the Naturalistic history of the great Prophet of Nazareth; but no sickly spirit of the time will succeed in forcing upon us any Unnatural history of the God-Man.

It will be seen that I have spoken doubtfully concerning some events in the Life of Jesus, and stated the opposite views without deciding between them. I love nothing better than a brief, decisive word. Any one can see, both in my writings and my life, that in regard to my convictions I do not think whether I shall please or displease. In philosophy we ought to have distinct convictions; for we may find them in our own mind, and be certain about them. But in matters of history, where our judgment is determined by traditions, the imperfections of which we are unable to supply, prudence may often require us to abstain from any conclusion. Our science will then consist in a thorough knowledge both of our ignorance and of its cause. In such cases it is usual for each writer to select amid historic uncertainties the facts which suit his own doctrinal system, while he ignores the opposite

facts which may be equally strong. If it is desirable that this superficial controversy shall cease, in which the same Pros and Cons are repeated again and again; we must state all the different views, fairly admitting the historic basis of each, and pronounce a judgment on every extreme opinion, according to its degree of probability in itself and its harmonious relation to the whole.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

OUR age has been fruitful in laborious studies on the present subject. Writings like those of Ullmann on the "Sinlessness of Jesus," and some exegetic works, have stimulated thought in this department. I have been helped by my opponents. All serious objections have been seriously considered. I have been exceedingly helped by Dr. Lücke's acute opposition, which I have critically examined, and which has changed my opinions on an important point. But I have nothing to say to those objectors who bring forward their complaints in the form of mere lamentations; and who say that their Christian feelings have been hurt by this historical criticism, or that they miss something belonging to their idea of Christ. The feeling is natural; but until it becomes a distinct thought, it cannot help us. For example, I have been thought to injure the dignity of Jesus by saying that his discourses are "*sometimes* full of spirit" (Geistreich),—because his words contain always the highest revelation of the Spirit. But I have evidently here used the word "Spirit" in the

usual sense of *esprit*. The dignity of Jesus would not suffer in the least from his not possessing this quality, since it is a merely casual and temporal advantage. Occasionally, a sprightly turn of thought might come in his way, but it would be quite unsuitable for such sprightliness to be a prominent feature in his discourse, as witty sprightliness is prominent in the style of Voltaire, and sentimental sprightliness in that of Jean Paul. Those who are displeased because I do not regard the discourses of Jesus as always spirited or sprightly, ought, if consistent, to be equally displeased because I do not regard him as a great poet, scholar, or musician. . . . I too have found many results to which I have arrived at unsatisfactory to myself. For example, the feelings which I have on Christmas morning would make it exceedingly pleasant to accept the whole story of the birth of Jesus as genuine history, and, if possible, to believe that this event happened on the twenty-fifth of December; but the reasons which opposed this view were so strong, that I was not able to do so. For even in science there is a twofold condition of success, effort on the one side, resignation on the other; and he who cannot sacrifice his wishes to the truth is not made for science. Let me therefore be refuted by the Scripture itself, or by other clear and cogent reasons; else I can take back nothing. The fundamental thought of this book is this, that a divine principle revealed itself in Jesus, but in a purely human form. From this thought I have not varied. But in the details of its historic execution I have yielded many points which it was by no means pleasant to surrender, moved thereto by the force of sufficient

objections. Let those to whom our Christ is no Christ consider that to us and to many like-minded, he is a Master and Saviour upon this stand-point of ours.

One worthy critic has accused me of "a certain impatience, with which the author, after laborious and serious preparation, suddenly hastens to his conclusion, hurrying over the final steps of the argument." I have nothing to reply to this, but that I am writing an epitome, which requires one to spring upon the truth as on a prey, omitting many steps of the process. When I consider how much we are daily suffering from the immense diffuseness of theological writings, I may perhaps, in the shortness of our human life, take some slight credit for having labored in the opposite direction.

With regard to the literature, much may be said against such a mass of titles of books, of which the same thing is true which is generally true of titles. If I have sought a certain completeness in these lists, it may surely be permitted to a German scholar to have yielded to such a temptation.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE alterations in this Edition have been mostly occasioned by Strauss's Life of Jesus, and by the literature caused by that work. Most of what I have said has been said in opposition to his opinions. But it would be unjust to rank a manual, with its concise expressions, among the list of books, sufficiently numerous, already written in opposition to that much-talked-of work. I have merely indicated the points where Strauss, in my opinion, is to be contradicted. But indeed I think that the scientific study of the life of Jesus has been really promoted by the merciless criticism of Strauss, and that he has sharpened our eye to notice the points upon which pure historic criticism depends.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

THIS little book was written at first with great joy, and with a single flow of thought. My old and favorite teacher, DR. WINER, has, in his Biblical Dictionary (*Realwörterbuch*), that noble monument of the delight which German Protestantism takes in the Holy Scripture, spoken of this book, and said that it has kept watch over the growth of criticism, in regard to the Life of Jesus, since 1829. I may add, also over the sprouts of No-Criticism. What I have added to the present edition is mostly in opposition to those who have been led to deny the historic substance of the New Testament in their enthusiasm at escaping from the bondage of its letter; and also in opposition to those who have, from pious reverence for the Scripture, tried to protect its letter by cunningly devised answers to the historic objections. I cannot expect any enthusiastic interest in a work occupying this middle ground, but it is the position to which I am constantly more and more impelled by all the studies and best convictions of my life. . . .

In the Preface to the First Edition I expressed a wish, the

fulfilment of which I now rejoice over. There is now scarcely a Protestant University in Germany where lectures are not read upon the Life of Jesus. I send my book again into the world, hardly daring to hope for it the high mission of winning hearts to Christ. But it may nevertheless do some good by leading them through the difficulties and entanglements of the understanding of their Master's earthly life. A venerable pastor wrote to me that this book, twenty-four years ago, had helped to make him FREE, in a healthy study of the historic and moral character of the Redeemer. Perhaps, with God's blessing, it may also help to BIND some arbitrary wilfulness, and inspire respect for that lofty Soul, whose earthly footprints remain impressed, not indeed on the summit of the Mount of Olives, nor on the stones of the Roman Chapel of "Quo Domine Vadis," but unalterably deep on the face of all human history.

JENA, August, 1853.

LETTERS TO THE TRANSLATOR

CONCERNING

HASE'S LIFE OF JESUS.

I. *From REV. BARNAS SEARS, D.D., of Providence.*

PROVIDENCE, September 24, 1858.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I regret that I cannot do exactly what you want. I am indeed acquainted with Hase's works, and have carefully studied his "Church History" and "Hutterus Redivivus," and have read his "Dogmatik": I happen not to have read his "Life of Christ." He is one of the most accurate theological writers of Germany, and the "Life of Christ" has the reputation of being one of the most learned and acute on the subject. I know that this is Professor Hackett's opinion. Its place in theological literature is very high. I might not agree with *all* his opinions.

Truly yours,

B. SEARS.

II. *From REV. DR. OSGOOD, of New York.*

NEW YORK, September 24, 1858.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I make a point of reading all that Hase writes, and am glad that you have translated his "Life of Christ." The author combines literary taste with profound learning more than any other leading German theologian; thus his works are alike for scholars and for general readers who have inquiring minds.

I think that any publisher of good standing would do well to bring out your translation. Just now the minds of men are especially alive to the discussion of Christian subjects; and a book like Hase's, that is at once free and reverential, reasonable and evangelical, cannot fail to meet a decided want.

With all good wishes, yours ever,

SAML. OSGOOD.

III. *From REV. E. E. HALE, of Boston.*

BOSTON, September 23, 1858.

MY DEAR CLARKE,—I constantly feel the want of a book written in the spirit of Hase's "Life of Jesus," both in my own work, and for others. The whole series of our Sunday-school instruction seems to suffer from an uneasy feeling on the part of the teachers that there is learning regarding the Gospels which they do not get at in the popular commentaries. This uneasiness, and the desire to learn which it indicates, would be met at once by such a hand-book as this is.

Indeed, it is not teachers only, but everybody, who would be the better for reading or studying it.

IV. *From PRESIDENT SCHAFF, of Mercersburg.*

MERCERSBURG, PA., October 11, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am hardly able to speak of the propriety and prospect of publishing a translation of Hase's "Leben Jesu." It has the characteristic merits of all the compends of that genial and spirited author, in giving a miniature picture of its subject of high artistic finish, and a very complete and useful literary apparatus to the different sections. But owing to its subject it is likely to meet with greater opposition from the reigning type of Anglo-American theology than his "Church History," recently published by the Appletons. And I must say myself, that while the book gives a valuable and interesting account of the human development of Christ, as the religious ideal of the race, it is unsatisfactory in not rising high enough to the full divine-human grandeur of its sublime subject, and contains, especially at the beginning and the end of the Gospel History, too many sceptical elements. The fact is, however, that none of the existing biographies of Jesus do justice to the Saviour of mankind; and perhaps it is as impossible for mortals, in the present state of knowledge, to write such a biography, as it is to paint the glory of the rising sun with charcoal.

Yours, very respectfully,

PHIL. SCHAFF.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

§§ 1-23.

Sect.	Page
1. General Survey of the Subject	1

CHAPTER I.

SOURCES. (§§ 2-11.)

2. Sources of the First Rank	2
3. The Four Gospels	2
4. The Synoptic Gospels	4
5. The Gospel of John	7
6. Credibility of the Gospels	10
7. The Mythical Element	12
8. Discourses of Jesus	14
9. Writings of Jesus	16
10. Sources of the Second Rank	17
11. Sources of an Uncertain Character	18

CHAPTER II.

PLAN OF THE WORK. (§§ 12-23.)

12. Notion of a Biography	20
13. Relation of the History to its Sources	21
14. Idea of the Life of Jesus	22
15. The Historical and the Supernatural	23
16. Order of Time and of Events	24
17. Periods	24
18. Difficulties in the Life of Jesus	26

Sect.	Page
19. Survey of the Literature of the Subject	27
20. Harmonies	28
21. Historic Treatment. No. I.	30
22. Historic Treatment. No. II.	32
23. Poetic Treatment	38

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

§§ 24 - 42.

24. Survey	41
25. Criticism of the Nativity	41
26. Legends of Infancy	43
27. Descent	45
28. Year and Day of the Nativity	47
29. The Holy Family	49
30. Childhood of Jesus	50
31. Culture	52
32. Sinlessness and Infallibility	54
33. Descriptions of the Character of Jesus	57
34. The Master in Flesh and Blood	58
35. The Century	60
36. The Messianic Prophecy	62
37. Mission and Purpose	65
38. Plan of Jesus in General	68
39. Jesus as the Theocratic National King	69
40. Jesus as King of Truth	73
41. The Result	77
42. Means	78

FIRST PERIOD.

THE ACCEPTABLE YEAR OF THE LORD.

§§ 43 - 77.

43. Survey	80
44. The Forerunner	82

CONTENTS.

xxi

Sect.	Page
45. The Baptism	86
46. The Temptation	89
47. The First Disciples	94
48. The Miracles of Jesus	96
49. The Demoniacs	100
50. The Marriage at Cana	102
51. Commencement of the Work of Teaching, and Expulsion from Nazareth	104
52. The First Passover of the Messiah	106
53. Baptizing in Judæa	110
54. The Messiah in Samaria	112
55. Cures effected at a Distance	114
56. Abode in Capernaum	116
57. The Son of God as a Country Rabbi	117
58. Celibacy of Jesus	118
59. The Flesh and the Spirit	120
60. The Twelve Apostles	122
61. The Sermon on the Mount	127
62. Spirit of the Teaching of Jesus	131
63. Judaism and Christianity	132
64. Jesus announced as the Messiah	134
65. Divinity and Divine Mission	137
66. Mode of Teaching	139
67. Parables	142
68. Cleansing of Lepers	144
69. Palsy, and Forgiving of Sin	145
70. The Storm	146
71. The Demons, and the Herd of Swine	148
72. The Issue of Blood, and the Trance	149
73. Sabbath-Breaking	150
74. The Great Banquet	151
75. On the Lake	154
76. The Hard Saying	157
77. The Death of John the Baptist	158

Sect.		P
19.	Survey of the Literature of the Subject	
20.	Harmonies	
21.	Historic Treatment. No. I.	
22.	Historic Treatment. No. II.	
23.	Poetic Treatment	

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

§§ 24 - 42.

24.	Survey	
25.	Criticism of the Nativity	
26.	Legends of Infancy	
27.	Descent	
28.	Year and Day of the Nativity	
29.	The Holy Family	
30.	Childhood of Jesus	
31.	Culture	
32.	Sinlessness and Infallibility	150
33.	Descriptions of the Character of Jesus	152
34.	The Master in Flesh and Blood	153
35.	The Century	154
36.	The Messianic Prophecy	157
37.	Mission and Purpose	158
38.	Plan of Jesus in General	158
39.	Jesus as the Theocratic National King	158
40.	Jesus as King of Truth	
41.	The Result	
42.	Means	

AND GLOSSARY.

FIRST PART

	THE ACCEPTABLE YU	191
		192
	§§ 43 -	195
43.	Survey	197
44.	The Forerunner	198

CONTENTS.

xxiii

	<i>Page</i>
	201
	202
	204
	207
	209
	212
	214
	216
	217
	218
	221
	222
	224
	225
	229
	230
	234
rection	236
, and Angels	237
earth	238
LED TO BY HASE IN THIS WORK	241
LIFE OF JESUS, IN ENGLISH	250

SECOND PERIOD.

THE YEAR OF CONFLICT.

§§ 78-97.

Sect.		Page
78.	Survey	159
79.	Opposition to Jesus	160
80.	Hostile Designs	162
81.	The Inconsistency	164
82.	The Feast of Tabernacles	164
83.	Story of the Woman taken in Adultery, narrated as an Appendix	166
84.	The Dying Messiah	167
85.	Importance of the Death of Jesus	170
86.	Prophecy of the Resurrection	172
87.	The Transfiguration	174
88.	The Tribute Money	176
89.	The Followers of Jesus	177
90.	The Seventy Disciples	179
91.	The Kingdom of God, and the Church	180
92.	The Departure from Galilee	182
93.	Domestic Life at Bethany	183
94.	Raising of Lazarus and of the Young Man at Nain	184
95.	The Bloody Council	187
96.	Zaccheus	188
97.	The Ointment	188

THIRD PERIOD.

PASSION-WEEK.—SUFFERINGS AND GLORY.

§§ 98-122.

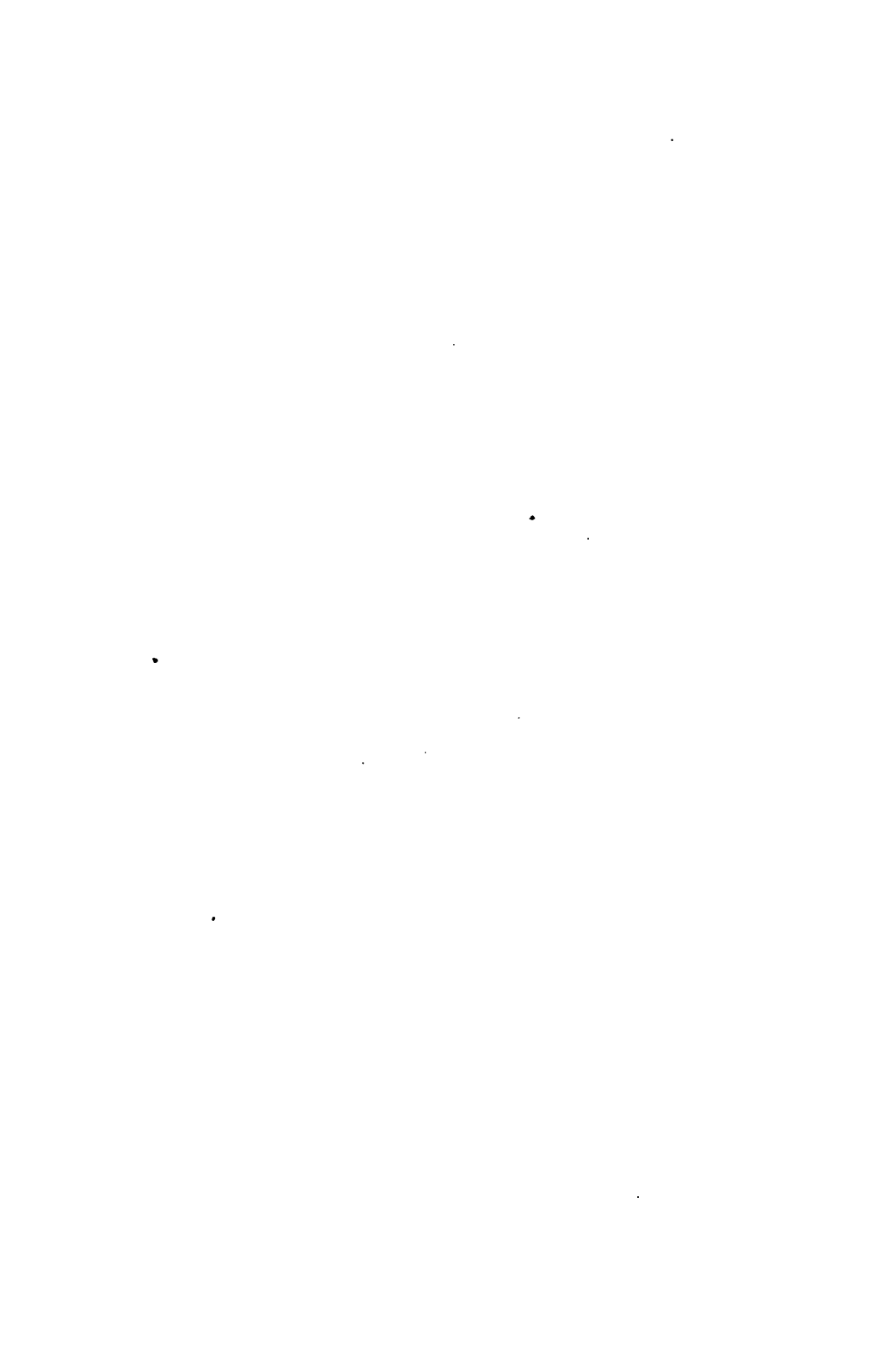
98.	Survey	191
99.	Chronology of Passion-Week	192
100.	The Triumphal Entrance	195
101.	The Fig-Tree	197
102.	Disputes	198

CONTENTS.

xxiii

Sect.	Page
103. A Vision of the Future	201
104. Death-Schemes	203
105. The Traitor	204
106. The Feast of Love	207
107. Soul-Struggle in Gethsemane, and Glory in Death	209
108. The Arrest	213
109. The Examination and Trial	214
110. The Denial of Peter	216
111. The Messiah and the Heathen	217
112. The Justice of the Sentence	218
113. Ill-Treatment	221
114. The Hours of Suffering	222
115. The Crucifixion	224
116. The Death	226
117. The Grave and the Watch	229
118. The Resurrection	230
119. The Life of the Risen One	234
120. Reason and Result of the Resurrection	236
121. The Earthquake, risen Saints, and Angels	237
122. The Departure from the Earth	238

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO BY HASE IN THIS WORK	241
LITERATURE OF THE LIFE OF JESUS, IN ENGLISH	260



LIFE OF JESUS.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. 1. — *General Survey of the Subject.*

THE History of Jesus is an attempt to show how Jesus of Nazareth, according to the Divine purpose, by the free action of his own will, and moved by the circumstances of his time, became the Saviour of the world. For every human life results from three factors: first, a nature originally determined to the individual; secondly, something freely chosen; and thirdly, something which comes from circumstances. The first we can recognize only as a matter of fact, the explanation of which lies hid in the mystery of creation. The second can be traced by other free spirits in their own intellectual experience. The third may be perfectly explained; that is, shown to be necessary under the existing circumstances. All these three elements of life, which in actual existence cannot be distinguished from each other, are arranged by the Divine Being, but more or less mediately.

CHAPTER I.

SOURCES.

§ 2. SOURCES OF THE FIRST RANK.—§ 3. THE FOUR GOSPELS.—§ 4. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.—§ 5. GOSPEL OF JOHN.—§ 6. CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPELS.—§ 7. MYTHICAL ELEMENT.—§ 8. DISCOURSES OF JESUS.—§ 9. WRITINGS OF JESUS.—§ 10. TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS AND OF THE CLASSICS.—§ 11. CHURCH FATHERS. APOCRYPHA. THE KORAN.

SECT. 2.—*Sources of the First Rank.*

CHRISTIANITY itself, regarded as the life of Christ prolonged on earth, is the authentic monument of the existence of Jesus, and of his personality, religious, creative, and world-historic. But since the course of time may have introduced foreign elements, or suffered original ones to fall away, we must have recourse to the narrations of eyewitnesses and contemporaries, in order to learn what was the true character of Jesus. Hence the immediate sources are the Four Gospels,—the mediate are the Acts of the Apostles and their Letters; both as containing allusions to the words and history of Jesus, and as showing the original impression which his life made.

SECT. 3.—*The Four Gospels.*

THE Four Gospels have been unanimously recognized by the ruling Church, since the middle of the second century, as containing the only authentic

accounts of the life of Jesus. They have a religious aim, to which the historic purpose is subordinate. Hence they do not describe the education of Jesus for the office of Messiah, but only his actions and fate in that office; this alone being regarded as the subject of the apostolic testimony. (Acts i. 21.) Each of the Gospels proposes to give a picture of his whole Messianic life, and therefore they all have in common the main points of its development. The first three Gospels, up to the last Passover, follow no chronological order which can be distinctly traced, though they intend to relate the events in a certain succession of time. (See Luke i. 3.) But the fourth Gospel indicates the order of time by means of the journeys made to attend certain festivals. The first three Evangelists, until they come to the final Passover, contain only the life of Jesus in Galilee: John describes particularly what occurred at the festivals in Jerusalem. These chiefly give his miracles and his discourses bearing on the universal condition of man, — social, moral, and religious: John records his spiritual discourses, and what he says of his own relation to God. The Synoptics produce the impression of a period of joy and hope: John, from the first, has the dying Messiah in his view, as the climax of the long conflict between light and darkness. The Synoptics describe the Christ chiefly in relation to the Jewish nation: John speaks of him as the religious Saviour of the world. Finally, the Synoptics appear to give the events as they learned them, without much selection: John selects those events which will contribute to the idea he means to give of the Christ.

SECT. 4. — *The Synoptic Gospels.*

PAPIAS communicates a testimony from the apostolic age, and one against which no suspicion rests, that Matthew wrote his account of Jesus in the Aramaic language.* Our present Gospel of Matthew can be shown to have been ascribed to this Apostle by the unanimous judgment of the Church, since the middle of the second century. It neither sounds like a translation, nor has it the vivid descriptions and peculiar style of an eyewitness. Also (apart from some contradictions with the fourth Gospel, which make it impossible for both writings to have proceeded from Apostles) it has places (Matt. xxi. 7, xxvii. 52, &c., xv. 29, &c. ; comp. xiv. 14, &c., xxi. 19, &c. ; comp. Mark xi. 14, 20 ; Matt. xxvii. 44 ; comp. Luke xxiii. 39, &c.) which indicate a distant contemporary. It therefore follows that this our Gospel is a free Greek translation of the Aramaic text of the Apostle, which was in use among the Jewish Christians, down to the fifth century, as the Gospel to the Hebrews.† According to the same testimonies, Mark wrote his account of the words and acts of Jesus from his recollection of what he had heard from the Apostle Peter.‡ But that

* Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, Book III. § 39.

† Schleiermacher, "Upon the Testimony of Papias in regard to the first two Gospels" (Studien und Kritiken, 1832). Sieffert, "On the Origin of the First Canonical Gospel" (Königsberg, 1832). Schneckenburger, "On the Origin of the First Canonical Gospel" (Studien d. ev. Geist., Würtemb., 1834). Schott, "Authenticity of the Gospel of Matthew" (Leipsic, 1837). See Olshausen, &c.

‡ Eusebius, Eccles. Hist., III. 39. "Mark being the interpreter of

which Papias says of the want of order and connection in the second Gospel (which, according to him, was composed merely according to Peter's needs as a teacher, for purposes of edification) does not seem to apply to our Gospel of Mark, at least not according to Luke's view of method. Therefore the identity of our second Gospel with the original work of Mark must finally rest on the judgment of the later Christian Church. The author of the third Gospel describes himself (Luke i. 1-4) as an historian who still enjoyed the society of eyewitnesses. And in the Book of Acts (xvi. 10, &c., xx. 5, &c., xxvii. 1, &c.; comp. Col. iv. 14) he appears as the travelling-companion of Paul, and as revising in a characteristic manner, but without distinct purpose, the sources of his relation. Hence the unanimous opinion of the Church that Luke is the writer possesses a high probability, though the fact is unimportant as regards historical security. The existence of a literature concerning the life of Jesus indicates the last part of the apostolic age (Luke i. 1), and the twenty-first chapter seems to assume the destruction of Jerusalem. (Comp. Luke xi. 49, &c.; compare Matt. xxiii. 35; 2 Chron. xxiv. 20-22. Josephus's Jewish Wars, Book IV. § 6. 4.) The period in which

Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy; but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, for he neither heard nor followed our Lord. But, as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Lord's discourses in order. So that Mark has made no mistake, in writing some things as he has recorded them. For he cared for this one thing, not to omit anything he heard, or to misstate anything."

the Book of Acts was composed does not contradict this supposition; for, notwithstanding the manner of its conclusion, when we consider the elegiac tone of the account of Paul's last journey (Acts xx. 22-38, xxi. 13, &c.), it could hardly have been composed before the death of Paul, which would be its natural conclusion, which also is taken for granted in the oldest testimony we have concerning the time of the composition of Luke's Gospel. (Irenæus, III. 1.) At all events, the whole circle of narration in the three Gospels is so similar that their origin cannot fall far apart. The theatre upon which they place the actions of Jesus show also that these Gospels were principally composed of traditions which came from the neighborhood of the Lake of Galilee. Notwithstanding this essential resemblance between them, Matthew places himself most decidedly on Old Testament ground, and takes pleasure in arranging in symmetrical groups similar transactions belonging to different periods. Mark confines himself more to the events, and gives many vivid descriptions, with natural, yet usually unimportant traits. Luke was inclined to foreign Jewish culture, and has a certain historic method in view.* We must recognize in all a common ground, and in each an individual action of mind, however we may explain their enigmatical relation to each other. This consists in an agreement which extends even to accidental phrases where there is no reason for it, and a discrepancy which

* Schleiermacher, "Critical Essay on the Writings of Luke" (Berlin, 1817; Works, Berlin, 1836). H. Planck, 1819.

extends even to matters of fact.* It is certain as regards Luke, and probable as regards the first two Evangelists, that they were acquainted both with oral traditions and with written records; none of which, however, were of sufficient importance to be referred to by name.

SECT. 5. — *The Gospel of John.*

THE author of the fourth Gospel declares himself an eyewitness (chap. xix. 35; comp. i. 14; 1 John i. 1, &c.), and reaffirms the truth of his testimony in an appendix to his Gospel (xxi. 24); but the name of the writer not being given might easily throw suspicion on the testimony. The agreement in form and contents between the Gospel and the first of the Epistles ascribed to John indicates plainly the common origin of the two. A characteristic passage of this Epistle seems to be the basis of an expression of Polycarp; and, according to Eusebius, Papias has quoted from it several passages. In Justin and Tatian we find allusions to the fourth Gospel, with an application to Christ of the doctrine of the Logos. The use of this Gospel in the school of Valentine, about the middle of the second century, would have been no recommendation of it to the Catholic Church. Theophilus of Antioch, about A. D. 180, has cited a passage from the fourth Gospel as an expression of John.

* De Wette, Introduction to the New Testament, Fred. Frothingham's translation, (Boston, Crosby, Nichols, & Co., 1858,) §§ 79-96. See also the Introductions of Hug (Fosdick, Andover), Michaelis (London and Cambridge, by Herbert Marsh, 1798), and especially Horne (last edition, greatly enlarged, 1857).

Irenæus assumes, as an undoubted fact, that John the Apostle was the author of this Gospel. He was the spiritual grandchild of John, and his youth, passed in the school of Polycarp, stood clear and bright in his memory. To be sure, he does not rely in this matter upon Polycarp, but yet finds the Gospel agreeing in all respects with the traditions communicated by Polycarp from the mouth of the Apostle. The belief of the Church has always held John to be the author of the Gospel, and the first serious historic doubts on this subject have come from modern criticism. It is true that the oldest testimonies in favor of John as the author of the Apocalypse are still more distinct. The opposite objections of speculative depth and superficial tautology were urged about the same time against the apostolic origin of the Gospel. The difference between the mode of narration and that of the Synoptics proves by itself nothing against John. On the contrary, a forgery would have kept more closely to the traditional character of the Gospels, whilst the loved disciple might well transcend any traditional and received style. The journeys to the festivals are unknown to the Synoptics, though not contradicted by Mark (x. 32, xi. 11); but it is in itself probable that Jesus should have followed the custom of his nation, and carried out his aim as the Messiah by visiting Jerusalem before he went there to die. (Comp. Luke vi. 1, x. 38; Matt. xxiii. 37; and the parallel passages.) Since a great, unfathomed character must be differently apprehended by those who surround him, according to the difference of the observers in the measure of each man's mind,

it follows that John's different view of Jesus proves nothing against the authenticity of his Gospel, unless it could be shown that a higher unity of these diverse views is an impossibility. And even then, it might be that the aged Apostle has correctly communicated to us his idea of Jesus. The character of the Gospel agrees with the unanimous tradition that John wrote it, after all the others, in extreme old age. The inward opposition of Christianity to Judaism has already been overcome, and yet his recollection of the matters of fact are still vividly fresh. The distinction made between the first and subsequent understanding of a saying or an action of Jesus indicates an eyewitness. (John ii. 21, xii. 16.) The manner in which John himself is indicated in the Gospel (chap. xiii. 23, xx. 2, &c. ; comp. xxi. 20, i. 35, &c.) ; the way in which Peter is placed a little in the background, showing how zealously he maintains the pre-eminence of his love ; the connection shown between Christianity and the influences before in the world drawing to God ; and, finally, the whole of religion summed up as Love, — all point distinctly to John, though it remains possible that this may be a mode of speech and thought belonging to a community having an affinity to him. But two writings of so sharply marked an individuality as the Gospel and the First Epistle could hardly have been falsely attributed to an Apostle without exciting contradiction, especially at a time when he alone survived of the intimate associates of Jesus, and was certainly known and revered through the widest circles of the Church. Neither, if the Gospel is an invention,

could so deep-minded and creative an intellect as its author must have been, have passed away leaving no trace of his existence. Accordingly, John must be recognized as the author of the Gospel, until criticism shall be able to demonstrate, by means of separate passages, the impossibility of his having written it. In that case, the next likelihood would attach to his *double** at Ephesus, the Presbyter John, in which case the historic importance of the Gospel would be very little diminished. (Eusebius, III. 39.) John could not have been ignorant of the traditional Evangelical narrative, either in its oral form or as written down by the Synoptics. He must, therefore, have intended to complete it by additions from his own reminiscences. A constant feeling in the Church has regarded his view of the Master as more deep and interior than that of the others, yet his Gospel fluctuates between the popular conception of the Messiah and the most spiritual view. And, moreover, for the perfect understanding of Jesus, we also need those other accounts which bear the stamp of strong national actuality.

SECT. 6.—*Credibility of the Gospels.*

THE Church was not founded by means of writings. And the Gospels could only become sacred scriptures by containing essentially the same thing which was already held firmly in the faith of the Church. As regards localities and events, they show clearly the

* In the German, "Doppelgänger."

ation of contemporaries, though not with-
sional oversight. In the worst cases the
f the third Gospel comes to the aid of that
two. By their agreement, as well as by
sional artless discrepancies, all three appear
, and in a measure independent narrators.
resentation of the Christian faith shows a
which disappeared directly after the apos-
, and an elevation quite foreign from their
mitation and narrowness. As regards their
nal contradictions of each other, we must
up our minds on internal evidence, or, where
is not sufficient, we must admit the difficulty,
leave it unexplained. John has the advan-
of being an eyewitness, which yet allows the
optics to be sometimes more exact and minute
he, on occasions where he troubles himself very
te about the mere outside matter of fact. The
fidence in Luke which comes from his expressly
clared intention of writing with care (chap. i. 3),
inspired by John's consciousness of the importance
what he is writing (xx. 31). But as the con-
nts of single passages in the Gospel of John may
asion doubts concerning their genuineness, and
cause, owing to the mode in which the other Gos-
s originated, single unhistoric passages may have
ot in, there remains to decide these questions an
mitted right to the freest historical criticism. It
r also have happened that, by means of the Jewish
on of a standing connection between facts and
hecy, as well as by means of the dazzling light
ted back after the resurrection upon the earlier

life of Jesus, many events assumed a foreign coloring in the memory of the Apostles. On the other hand, an assumption of infallible accuracy in the sources, considering the peculiar relation they have to each other, would make all historic research unnecessary and impossible, and bring back upon us only the constraint and untruth of the old-fashioned Harmonies.

SECT. 7. — *The Mythical Element.*

IF the narrations of the Gospel are to be proved un-historical, then they must be regarded either as fabulous reports or sacred myths. The latter might arise in this way. Jewish expectations or original Christian ideas might take the historic form of events in the life of Jesus, by means of an unconscious plastic power of fancy at work in the first Christian communities. In this case the thought would create the fact, or transform the fact to suit itself, or enlarge the fact by some mythical additions. The culture of the Jewish nation in that age would lead us to expect nothing more than popular fables; but in the Christian churches, with that enthusiasm and inspiration which was sometimes mixed with a human alloy (1 Cor. xiv.; comp. 1 Tim. i. 4; 2 Peter i. 16); there was at least not wanting the power to produce such sacred legends. The origin of the Synoptic Gospels does not exclude their harmless reception. But the fourth Gospel, so long as its genuineness cannot be disproved, will make the admission of such myths impossible, unless it can be proved, in any

case, that John was not present, or except it can be made probable that his historic judgment has been disturbed by subsequent personal feelings, or feelings imbibed from the Church. But the established traditions, so far as they can be regarded as the fountain of the Synoptic Gospels, which traditions took their place in the Church under the eyes of the Apostles and of eyewitnesses, are very different things from the poetic, popular legends which spring up accidentally from seed scattered carelessly and without a purpose. Yet it may be granted that such legends may have occasionally found their way in; and Luke (i. 1-4), as well as Papias (Eusebius, H. E., III. 39), pointed out, even in their age, the need of distinguishing what was certain from what was uncertain. The fundamental traits of the character and the work of Jesus, which were opposed as well to Jewish expectations as to Apostolic prejudices, conclusively prove that this character was his own, and not imagined by the Church. The poetry of its form and substance, which indeed is of the most simple character, is an indication of the legend, but not a certain one. The wonderful is the natural subject for sacred legends, but the entire wonderful glorification of Jesus is not in itself legendary. It is grounded deep in the historical connection, and the same picture of Jesus is drawn in the Pauline letters, which are the unquestionable testimony of an earnest-minded man, in the immediate confidence of the Apostles. Nor is the mere resemblance of a New Testament event to one in the Old Testament in itself any evidence of the legend, for such resemblances might well have occurred of de-

sign, especially among a people so closely bound to its past. Still less is there any proof of myth in the profound and extraordinary character of Jesus, for without this we could not explain the immense impression of his person and work. But if a single legendary portion of the Gospels is discovered, the whole must be studied in reference to this element, with no narrow prejudice, and no fear mistaking itself for piety. But the credibility of the four Gospels having been established by external and general reasons, we are by no means bound to prove the truth in detail of each single matter of fact, for such a demand would overturn all history. The burden of proof rests upon criticism, to show, if it can, with respect to any single fact, that, notwithstanding this general credibility of the Gospels, there are internal reasons why it could not have happened.

SECT. 8. — *Discourses of Jesus.*

CONSIDERING the circumstances, it is not probable that the words of Jesus were written down on the spot. But the way in which they grow out of the transactions; their high individuality; the fact that their style differs to a great extent from that of the Evangelists, as well as from other discourses, especially those in the Acts of the Apostles; and, lastly, the high value which already in the Apostolic Church was given to the very words of the Master (1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25),—all show that these discourses are not the work of the Evangelists. Nevertheless, they are translated from a foreign language;

not protected against involuntary changes from defective memory; and, from the nature of the case, retained by means of the leading phrases and most striking expressions. John gives some utterances of Jesus quite in the practical tendency of the Synoptics (John vii. 17, xiii. 12, &c., 34, &c.), and the Synoptics give some discourses in the ideal style of John. (Matt. xi. 25-30, xxviii. 18, &c.; Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4, &c.) And, moreover, some of the expressions of Jesus recorded by John may be found, almost word for word, in the Synoptics. (John xii. 8, 25, xiii. 20, ii. 19; Matt. xxvi. 11, x. 39, xxvi. 61; Mark xiv. 58.) Hence the different character of their communications must depend upon a different mode of selection. The oral tradition embodied by the Synoptics held fast, according to its nature, whatever in the words of Jesus was national, parabolic, laconic, and pointed. But John retained the lofty, calm flights and soliloquies which corresponded to his idea of Jesus. But the discourses of Jesus, in the Gospel of John, so far as they are not essential parts of the events narrated, have a far greater resemblance to the style of John's epistles than to that of the discourses of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. Even the Baptist speaks in the same style. And many of the discourses of Jesus in John's Gospel appear to be adapted to produce in their immediate effect only misunderstanding and ill-feeling, and do not correspond to the wisdom which Jesus shows as a teacher according to the Synoptic Gospels. The memory of men unused to writing is often very strong, and the first great impression of John's youth always re-

mained for him the fixed centre of his whole life. But the longer discourses of Jesus are so constructed, that without some formal record they could hardly have been preserved with accuracy. They have allusions and references to each other (John x. 27 ; comp. x. 13, &c.) which could result only from being written down at the same time. Nor does John scruple to allow the discourses of his two teachers to run into reflections of his own without marking the transition. (John iii. 16, &c., 31, &c.) Yet he is so conscientious in giving, with objective precision, the expressions of Jesus, that he notices his own earlier misunderstandings of those expressions, and takes occasion to comment from his subsequent point of view. (John ii. 19, &c., vii. 38, &c.) It is, moreover, difficult to believe that he could have tampered with the expressions of one whose word to him was the basis of eternal life. (John xx. 31.) Accordingly, his reports of the teachings of Jesus may be regarded as somewhat free recollections of that which he had retained in his heart of his Master's words, but which in the course of a half-century he might unconsciously have confounded with his own. The closer these recollections relate to the doctrine of the Logos, the more uncertain is their historic value.

SECT. 9.— *Writings of Jesus.*

THE fact that Jesus left nothing behind in writing is perhaps to be considered as accidental, and is by no means explained by referring to the distinction between the letter and the spirit. Yet it stands re-

lated with the character of his whole life and influence, as something present and immediate, and with the nature of original Christianity. For the object of Christianity was, not to be a system of opinions, but a new life and a new community. Therefore, Jesus commanded his Gospel to be preached, and did not command it to be written down. (See the Apoc. Letter of Jesus to Abgarus of Edessa, in Eusebius, H. E., I. 13.)

SECT. 10. — *Sources of the Second Rank.*

THE testimony of Josephus, which is first mentioned by Eusebius, is altogether, or in part, spurious. (Antiquities, XVIII. 3, 3.) A motive for interpolation existed in the wish for a testimony concerning Jesus from beyond the circle of the Christian Church, and on the other hand in dissatisfaction at the silence of this historian. Some passing allusions of Latin writers are sufficient, when we consider the ignorance and contempt of the Jewish superstition existing among the Romans, to prove the existence of a wide-spread belief that the founder of a religious sect among the Jews by the name of Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate. (Taciti Ann. XV. 44; Plinii Epp. X. 97; Sueton. Vita Claudii, c. 25; Lucian de Morte Peregrini, c. 11; Lamprid. Vita Alex. Sev., c. 29, 43.) But all the writings of contemporaries will serve as helps toward the history of Jesus.

SECT. 11. — *Sources of an Uncertain Character.*

THERE are passages in some of the oldest of the Church Fathers, not derived from the canonical Gospels, which are, so far as they profess to be sayings of Jesus, either parallels to Gospel passages, and of little importance, or, so far as they contain anything actually original, have less the appearance of historic tradition than of marvellous views based chiefly on Old Testament prophecies. The APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS, of which not one can be traced higher than the second century, as to its origin, or as to the form in which it has reached us, contain usually only tasteless fables. They have nothing of an historic character; little that is even probable or worthy of Jesus; and merely serve, by way of contrast, to make apparent the historic truth of the canonical Gospels. They carry out to an extreme the notion of Jesus as a magician and master of spirits; and also mark the points to which the legendary element first attached itself. These Gospels fall into three groups. First, those in honor of the Virgin Mary, intended to glorify her birth and virginity, occasioned by the worship of Mary before the Nestorian controversy. Second, Gospels of the childhood of Jesus, filled with narrations for which the silence of the genuine Gospels, and the opposition to Gnostic assertions, gave occasion. Lastly, Gospels of Christ's passion, intensifying the story according to the old legends concerning Pilate, intended to oppose hostile inventions on the same subject, and to bring out the doctrine of the descent into Hell. On the other hand, the

few fragments of Gospels, like that to the Hebrews, which come down from the apostolic age, and in their contents run parallel to the canonical Gospels, not unlike them in value, can only be criticised according to internal evidence. The narratives in the Koran, and some other popular legends of the Arabs and Persians, concerning the youth of Jesus, are borrowed from the Apocryphas, but with poetic additions. The stories of the later Jews and Sabæans are grossly abusive writings, full of contradictions.

CHAPTER II.

PLAN OF THE WORK.

§ 12. NOTION OF A BIOGRAPHY.—§ 13. RELATION OF THE HISTORY TO ITS SOURCES.—§ 14. THE CHRISTIAN SUPPOSITION.—§ 15. HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF THE MIRACLES.—§ 16. ORDER OF TIME AND OF EVENTS.—§ 17. PERIODS.—§ 18. DIFFICULTIES IN THE LIFE OF JESUS.—§ 19. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT.—§ 20. HARMONIES.—§ 21. HISTORIES, No. I.—§ 22. HISTORIES, No. II.—§ 23. POETRY.

SECT. 12.—*Notion of a Biography.*

UNIVERSAL history is an organic whole, resulting from the concurrence of Divine Providence and human freedom, and by means of which the infinite life of humanity is manifested. As in every true organism every particular member is also organic, therefore each member of this history is again for itself an organic unity; that is, a definite link of the universal human life, or an individual life. This arises from the fact, that the universal freedom of mankind takes form in distinct personalities, which draw to themselves everything coming within their circle, and then work back again from this centre to its circumference. Biography is the description of such an individual life. The biographer, therefore, must have a clear view of the precise way in which the universal human spirit appears in this individual form. It is possible to obtain this view, because humanity comes to consciousness in each individual

according to the measure of his mind. And therefore, also, every particular form of the human spirit can find a place in our consciousness by the contemplation of its manifestations and memorials. Without this view or idea of an individual life, out of which all external manifestations must be explained as their inmost centre, the mere enumeration of the external adventures of a life is unintelligible and dead. In the choice and representation of the events of a biography, those which serve the development of an individual life, moulding it, and moulded thereby, are to be selected, because expressing the connection of the individual with the universal history, and its action and reaction thereon. Biography is both an art and a science. An art, as manifesting perfectly a particular idea in outward form; a science, as connecting itself, both in form and in substance, with the objective truth of history. The problem of the biographer is to call up in other minds by his narrative that image of an individual life which he has himself obtained from the facts which he narrates.

SECT. 13. — *Relation of the History to its Sources.*

THE story of Jesus ought, through this scientific and artistic treatment, to call up an image of his life. As regards the facts, it finds its limits in the sources; but it ought not merely to reproduce these, but to select from them such as will show what Jesus was, what he became, and what he accomplished through the reciprocal influence of his character and his time. As historical criticism, it has to mediate between the

subjective and objective material ; that is, it must discover what the Evangelist meant to say, and what actually occurred ; so far as it is possible, by a comparison of the different sources among themselves, with their age, and with the course of history, to raise one's self above the point of view of each separate narrator.

SECT: 14. — *Idea of the Life of Jesus.*

ACCORDING to the faith of Christendom, God becomes man in Christ, and thereby procures the salvation of the world. This Christian prepossession can, when we proceed scientifically, only have weight as an idea by which to measure the facts of the life of Jesus. Therefore the aim of science is to remove the prepossession as such. A truly religious interest cannot in this contradict the most rigorous demand of historic objectivity. Since the Divine can reveal itself in humanity only as the truly human, the perfect image of God only as the religious standard for humanity, the life of Jesus must be regarded as a purely human life, and without this regular human development we could not speak at all of a history of Jesus. According to this, the prepossession of which we speak must be considered as the question, How far has the religious ideal of humanity been actually realized in Jesus? If a stand-point outside of Christianity might give us a greater assurance that this idea was not a mere supposition ; yet, on the other hand, if the life of Jesus is to be truly understood, Christ must have taken some distinct shape, at least in our imagination.

SECT. 15. — *The Historical and the Supernatural.*

THE government of a world, the moving principle of which is human freedom, is only conceivable by means of the intervention of Divine freedom. Every operation of God in the world, which is usually recognized as such only by its mysterious and extraordinary nature, appears to the religious contemplation as something supernatural. Especially on the standpoint of antiquity, of the East, and of the founding of a religion, there was naturally found the recognition of an immediate Divine operation, elevated above the laws of nature. But to the standpoint of our age and culture belongs the recognition of a Divine operation whose medium is the connection of Nature and the powers of humanity. For the operation of God is not outside of the world, but according to the laws of the world, because the world itself is in and through God; hence no particular fact can ever be known with scientific certainty to be miraculous. In every matter of fact which has been handed down as a miracle, it belongs to science to search for its natural causes. Where these cannot be shown with historic truth and certainty, there the miracle indicates either the limits of our natural powers and natural knowledge, or else those of the age in which the miracle is recorded. No other law belongs to this inquiry than the strict law of an honest and modest historic investigation, which pretends to know no more than it is able to know by means of authentic sources of knowledge and exact balancing of all circumstances which can be known, and which

especially regards each separate matter of fact only in connection with the whole life to which it belongs. By this process, though much in the actions and adventures of Jesus may remain unexplained, yet nothing need be supposed which shall conflict with the course of a truly human life.

SECT. 16. — *Order of Time and of Events.*

To confine ourselves to the chronological order of narration will cause similar events to be scattered and separated too widely. The opposite method, of comprehending all similar events occurring between the baptism and the crucifixion under general subjects, without any chronological order, prevents us from observing the historical development of events, and the living movement of the biography. We must, therefore, unite both methods,—by treating the history in distinct periods, and the course of events in an order of time,—so far as the nature of our sources will enable us to do it. But whenever it is necessary for the understanding of a particular event, or whenever the course of history introduces us to a central fact which is the key to a class of facts, a survey of the whole subject should be given. This may be referred to afterward, when we are obliged by the connection to consider again in detail that which has already been treated generally.

SECT. 17. — *Periods.*

THE life of Jesus divides itself, according to time and character, into a preliminary history, embracing

everything which preceded his coming forward as the Messiah; and into three periods of his public life. First, from his baptism, a short time before the first Passover, till the neighborhood of the second Passover. Secondly, until his entrance into Jerusalem, on Palm Sunday, to the third Passover. Thirdly, until his Ascension. This division, which supposes the public life of Jesus to have embraced three Passovers, or two years and some months, rests wholly upon John (ii. 13, vi. 4, xiii. 1), and it may be objected to it, that John may have omitted other Passovers, which would make the conclusion of the life of Jesus fall at the end of the government of Pilate (A. D. 36 or 37). But neither in the events themselves, nor in any tradition, have we reason for extending the public life of Jesus beyond the period indicated by John. The shorter period of one year, which some of the Church Fathers seem to have assumed, they were led to by the indefinite character of the Synoptics, and by misunderstanding a prophecy of Isaiah (Isaiah lxi. 2).*

* The Fathers who accepted this shorter period were Tertullian (Cont. Jud., c. 8), Clement (Strom., I.), Origen (De Princ., IV.), Lactantius (Instt. Div.), Augustine, the Valentinians according to Irenæus, the Alogi according to Epiphanius. For two years and some months, i. e. for three Passovers, Epiphanius (Hær., XX. 2), Jerome on ch. ix. of Daniel. For three years and some months, therefore regarding John v. 1 and vi. 4 as two different Passovers, Ignatius, Eusebius (Ecc. Hist., I. 10), Theodoret. But Irenæus, though he opposes the three Passovers mentioned by John to the Gnostic opinion of a single year, asserts as his own opinion that Jesus, in order to sanctify every period of life, lived to be fifty years old. (John viii. 57.)

SECT. 18. — *Difficulties in the Life of Jesus.*

IN one respect the history of Jesus is easy to treat, apart from the usual difficulties of a biography taken from ancient and Oriental sources; since his character is free from the ambiguities and inconsistencies which elsewhere are to be found paradoxically joined together in great characters. But in another respect it is the most difficult of all biographies; since it marks the highest flight of the human spirit, to contemplate which the biographer must elevate himself in soul high above his own actual condition. Again, it is easy, because the spirit of Jesus is not a variegated image, produced by the influence of the external world, but was itself by its own clear will a cause from which history has taken its form. But it is difficult, because the hopes attached to the name of the Messiah, the importance belonging to Jesus as founder of the Church, and especially a confusion between the national and religious Messiah in the first record of his history, disturbed, and down to the present time has continued to disturb, the impartiality of history. It is also unavoidable that our habit of looking at the Master only upon the Mount of Transfiguration causes us to feel somewhat disturbed by any attempt to penetrate among the smaller relations and questions of his life. Hence this examination will not be extended further than is necessary to give as clear a view as possible of his individuality; but the simple truth is great enough in itself, and in the kingdom of Christ there is no need of a censorship. The history of Jesus as science

distinguishes itself from other modes of treating his life, by this, — that its only aim is to give a clear view of its events; and that it uses for this end whatever helps may be offered by the scientific knowledge of the human mind, and by learned, historic research. Hence it is intelligible only to those who are able to make use of these means. It is not co-ordinate with other modes of representation which have particular aims or special limits, but stands above them as their common defender and critic. Without any aim beyond itself, it gives the grounds and conditions by which the temporal life of Jesus becomes the fountain of Christianity, and thus proves itself to be a special theological science.

SECT. 19. — *Survey of the Literature of the Subject.*

THE literature of the life of Jesus has not the peculiar interest of a progressive science. It is not the development in reality of its idea, so that its present form is the result of this development, and can only be understood by it. It merely shows how variously the life of Jesus has been treated according to the needs and views of different ages. The principal classes of this literature are these: first, works whose object is an outward arrangement of the sources; second, works which give an historical view of their contents; third, those which contain an artistic handling of these contents; — or the harmonious, historic, and poetic treatment. The multitude of these writings shows the constant and enduring need of bringing the life of Jesus near to every stage of

popular culture, or science ; which cannot be done by means of the Gospels alone. Yet the Christian sentiment of all ages has found the most perfect image of Jesus in these Gospels, so that all works derived from them have value only on that account, and only in so far as they introduce us to the true and profound understanding of the Evangelical narrative.

SECT. 20. — *Harmonies.*

So soon as four narratives of the life of Jesus differing among themselves, yet with frequent verbal agreements, had been received by the Church as of equal authority, it became necessary to arrange them, and especially to arrange the first three Gospels into a whole. This was necessary in order that they should be understood, necessary for the defence of Christianity, and necessary as the first step toward a connected history of Jesus. This necessity was continually felt anew whenever the course of historic inquiry detected new harmonies or new diversities. The facility with which artificial arrangements could be multiplied has produced an innumerable series of essays in this kind, which, nevertheless, can be mostly regarded only as editions of the Gospels, or commentaries upon them. Their principal forms are these. First, the Monotessaron, or an arrangement of the four Gospels in one story, so as to tell the same event only once, and usually indicating by particular signs what belongs to each Evangelist. Second, Harmonies, which place side by side in parallel columns the parallel passages in the several Evangelists. Third,

the Synopsis, which, without fully transcribing the text, indicates the passages which belong together by means of suitable signs or rubrics. These names are often interchanged, and all the three forms connected together. The chief object of all is to show the correspondence of the writers, and to give a correct order of time. With respect to the first, from the earliest times there was no timidity in refusing to admit trifling diversities; and with respect to the order of time, though there were various principles, there was no slavish adherence to the order of the Evangelists. But Osiander introduced into the Lutheran Church the superstition that each of the Evangelists was an organ of the Holy Ghost, and that therefore he must have followed exactly the true order of time, and could not have been mistaken in any particular. Therefore the same events, being recorded by the Evangelists in different places and with different attendant circumstances, were represented as having happened twice, or even three times. Freedom of arrangement, which had never been wholly relinquished by the Catholic or the Reformed Churches, not even by Chemnitz and his successors, was restored by J. A. Bengel, even on the ground of the doctrine of Inspiration. Recently the needs of academic study, requiring a synoptic interpretation, have produced critical arrangements of the original text; with the addition of John's Gospel in the history of the Passion.

SECT. 21.—*Historic Treatment.* No. I.

THE ancient Church never went beyond the explanation and harmonic arrangement of the Gospels in prose. The treatment of the history of Jesus in the Middle Ages, as afterwards in the Catholic Church, was without criticism, fantastic and legendary, and consisted chiefly in works for entertainment and devotion. BONAVENTURA'S *Life of Jesus* is less a history than the meditations of a fair poetic soul upon the history. LUDOLPHUS DE SAXONIA has filled his history with the spiritual reflections of Augustine, the observations of Crusaders, and the whole extent of apocryphal legends, and naively promises to relate, not only what has happened, but also how a pious mind may anticipate what will happen hereafter. SIMON DE CASSIA approaches nearer to a learned examination of the subject, by bringing together different events under general heads. HIERONYMUS XAVIER, in his *History of Christ*, gave to his new converts the apocryphal fables. After the Reformation, extracts and paraphrases form the transition from harmonies to history. In subsequent labors upon this subject two different tendencies, which are often mingled together, may be distinguished; an ascetic tendency, which seeks in the life of Jesus a practical example, and a critical, which seeks for the matter of fact. The *ascetic* direction embraces in part writings for the purpose of edification, a mere narration of matters of fact, with their moral application to life. They are well intended, and to some degree well written, but usually too superficial to

satisfy a deeper longing for acquaintance with the Master. This tendency also embraces popular writings, and writings for the use of the young in instructive outlines and pictures. The *critical* tendency first arose by way of contrast, in writings which represented Jesus as the author of an unsuccessful rebellion, or as the head or instrument of a secret society, in the acute, bitter fragments of REIMARUS, in the popular writings of BAHRDT, and in the romances of VENTURINI, (by the last two in good faith,) all attempting to bring the prophet of Nazareth to the level of the culture of their own age. VON LANGSDORF described under the name of Jesus a pious Jesuit, who had the fixed idea of becoming a Messiah, in a work which is the echo of a culture which itself has passed away. General reflections upon the life of Jesus received an apologetic aim, as helping to show the truth of his history and the pure grandeur of his plan. Especially REINHARD, in his book on the divine plan of Jesus, became unintentionally an eloquent interpreter of his purely human majesty; and HERDER, in his *Ideal of Humanity*, a work rich in suggestions, has seen the unity of the Divine and human. After older and less perfect attempts in a purely historic form, the life of Jesus was written with psychological and antiquarian explanations, for the use of the educated classes. HESS, who began by being a lover of novelty and an admirer of the French opinions, and who afterward returned to old-fashioned Orthodoxy, has for more than half a century satisfied the demands of piety, by a narrative which is a careful paraphrase mediating between extreme views.

OPITZ brings the events before the eye, but his attempts at naturalness become trivial, his style is ornate, and in attempting to supply what is unknown he becomes apocryphal. GREILING, taking the results of the commentary of Paulus, has with feeling and eloquence described the life of Jesus as the symbol of a history of humanity. PLANCK, with much historic skill, has endeavored to prove the Divine origin of Christianity by its rational contents, which skill, however, helps him to spring too easily over difficult places. BODENT has here introduced the most remote results of his studies. Finally, PAULUS has made a translation of the Gospel harmony in a careful and idiomatic form, accompanying it with an historical paraphrase, in direct opposition to the received view concerning Christ. Yet he tries to unite the character of a pre-existent Messiah with that of a mere school-teacher within the narrow limitations of human nature. His attempt so to explain everything wonderful as to reduce it to the common course of events, stands side by side with his assertion of the thoroughly historical contents of the Gospels.

SECT. 22.—*Historic Treatment.* No. II.

AFTERWARD, STRAUSS, carrying the critical tendencies fully out, by means of an acute polemic, in opposition both to the miracles of supernaturalism and to the natural interpretations of the Rationalists, looks upon the facts of the Gospels as myths. In these myths, which are magnified reflections of previous Old Testament events and of Messianic expectations,

he can find but few simple lines of historic truth. The prepossession in his mind is, partly the origin of all the Gospels from tradition, and partly his disbelief in the possibility of the miraculous, and of the attainment of human perfection by *one* historic person. The scientific importance of his work is, that it collects and carries out all that can be urged in detail against the agreement and historic credibility of the Gospels. In the third revision of his work, we find, instead of enthusiastic denial, only doubt; and the recognition of extraordinary character and gifts in Jesus gives him the opportunity to admit more of historic reality, though still often passing into myths. Next, WEISSE, starting with a great and religious conception of Jesus, and, in opposition to the traditional hypothesis, assuming the genuineness and superiority of the Gospel of Mark, endeavored to separate the historic and unhistoric parts of the Gospel history, by means of an original and talented subjective criticism; ascribing what is not historic to the limited aims of the other Evangelists, or to an allegoric interpretation. GFROBER attempts to show how Christianity may have grown up upon the soil of Judaism, which always remained the same, even beyond the time of the Talmud. Heartily despising all metaphysics, and making use of historical mathematics, he supposes the historic Christ to have been a religious Messiah, according to the idea of Moses, and that he spiritualized to a pure religious faith the idea of a temporal and supernatural Messiah; that he performed miraculous cures, and that he was destroyed in the conflict with the worldly Messianic

party. He recognizes the Gospel of John as genuine, and finds in the other Gospels corresponding statements, though he considers the last as legendary, and containing the faith of the Christians living in Galilee toward the end of the first century. SALVADOR has written the Life of Jesus with the results of modern Jewish culture, representing Christianity as the final mingling of Hebraism with the religious notions and images of the East. HENNELL, (London, 1838,) in a purely religious interest, and with the originality of an inquirer unacquainted with the labors of his predecessors, has composed a Life of Jesus according to different ideas, which in Germany we should name those of Bahrdt, Paulus, and Strauss. LUTZELBERGER (1842) describes the historic Jesus as a preacher of repentance, belonging to the school of John, and like him announcing the approach of the Messiah ; but put to death on account of a tumult in the temple, and, in the imagination of his disciples, himself converted into the Messiah.

BRUNO BAUER, taking his stand upon the fragments which Strauss had left, and with the most laborious criticism of the Evangelical story, substituted, for the mystery of an unconscious mythical creation, the deliberate formation of the Gospel narrative by its writers. He thinks that the basis is to be found in Mark, to whose story the other Evangelists have added an increasing series of misunderstandings. This was done, he thinks, to meet a need of the Church ; which, having created a notion of the Messiah, applied it to its founder, with suggestions out of its own history. Becoming constantly more bitter in

his feeling toward the Christ of the Gospels, as well as toward the Prussian ministry, he has in the last editions of his work given up Christianity as something wholly passed by; and nevertheless gives his hand to an imaginary Jesus, whom he regards as the hero of a terrific revolutionary conflict. In this great battle of criticism there mingled the levity which invented Apocryphal Gospels. (Works by TRUELLE, pretended to be from MSS. found in Alexandria.) This struggle also occasioned a more thorough criticism of the sources. Since the time of Strauss, the subordination of the Synoptics to John has been given up. An anonymous German writer ("The Gospels, their Spirit, their Authors, and their Relations to each other," Leipsic, 1845) has with much ingenuity resolved all the differences in the Gospels into results of the personal rivalry of the Apostles in the Apostolic Church. The school of Tübingen went to work in a more serious way, and came to these conclusions: that the canonical Gospels were written in the second century; that the Gospel of Matthew is the most genuine, and is a comparatively authentic translation of the Gospel to the Hebrews; that the Gospel of Luke is a compilation of the materials already existing, proceeding from the stand-point of Paul, as a balance against the Ebionites; that the Gospel of Mark consists of extracts from the two others, with the purpose of taking middle ground between them, and so forming a stepping-stone from one to the other; and that the fourth Gospel was composed subsequently, as a spiritual romance about the Logos, out of materials taken

from the Synoptics, — which opinion assumes that its ideal contents are necessarily opposed to historic truth. But all this criticism of the sources comes back at last to rest for its foundation upon a criticism of the Gospel narrative itself. Baur himself says (in his work on the Gospels, Tübingen, 1847, page 530), “The principal argument for the later origin of the Gospels must always remain this, — that separately, and still more when taken together, they give an account of the life of Jesus which involves impossibilities.”

The opposition which necessarily arose to Strauss showed itself also in the production of a positive literature. NEANDER, whose prepossession concerning the nature of Christ fluctuates, but who is fully inclined to believe in a perfectly historic basis of fact, and who develops with much ability the facts of the Gospels as not contradictory to each other, is yet frequently obliged to depart from the mere historic contents of the Gospels, or to leave his opponent's objections unconsidered. Still more decidedly has KRABBE maintained that the Gospels were preserved by the Holy Ghost, though without any literal inspiration, from anything mythical or un-historic, and, with a constant view to the objections of Strauss, he supplies by faith and love the weakness of his apologetic reasonings. KUHN has undertaken to raise the life of Jesus to a science by means of the exact equilibrium of the historical and the ideal, in the form of an imitation of the Gospel of Matthew, which he regards as the purest Gospel type. In this work, starting with the authority of the Church in

support of the divine contents of the Gospels, he seems to yield something to modern culture, but only so much as will confirm that authority. **EBBARD** ("Scientific Criticism of the Evangelical Narrative, a Compendium of complete Gospel Criticism," Frankfort, 1842) defends the entire reliability and agreement of the Gospels, in the spirit of an advocate rather than that of an inquirer. He opposes what he calls "a God-forsaken criticism;" which **WIESELER** also opposes, in a scientific manner, arranging the events according to their position in space and time. **LANGE** attempts to reconcile the ancient faith and modern culture in his work, ("Life of Jesus, according to the Gospels," Heidelberg, 1844-47,) in three parts, asserting with believing energy the wealth of unity, instead of want of it, in the four Gospels. But his book is more fantastic than profound, more full of paradox than of orthodoxy, and has therefore brought him opponents from his own side. **AMMON**, like a scribe of the kingdom of heaven, ("History of the Life of Jesus," Leipzig, 1842-47,) tries to pass by what is too wonderful without exactly denying it. **HARTMANN** has written, especially for the use of educated readers in the Church, a Life of Jesus, which believingly assumes the truth of the whole historic and divine contents of the Gospels. **FRANCKE** has written another, which maintains as historically certain the divinely gifted life of Jesus so far as is necessary for Christian faith, but with open admissions in behalf of criticism. **THEILE**'s work, sufficiently unequal in its contents, is in the main a large and learned com-

pendium, taking the middle ground between opposite tendencies, HAHN (Werner Hahn, "Life of Jesus," Berlin, 1844) gives us only a popular and pleasant story, being too careless concerning criticism, and taking too much for granted without investigation.

SECT. 23. — *Poetic Treatment.*

As soon as the fine arts acquired the right of citizenship in the Christian Church, the history of Jesus began to be treated in the epic form. Then the poesy of Paganism adapted itself, though with difficulty, to the new spirit, and Pagan thoughts received Christian names. JUVENCUS (about A. D. 331) kept closely to the Gospel narrative, merely explaining it and spiritualizing it. NONNUS (about A. D. 400) described the Christ of John's Gospel with interpretations and additions expressed in the same glittering phrases with which he had celebrated the deeds of Bacchus. CÆLIUS SEDULIUS (about A. D. 430) treated the life of Jesus as a continued miracle, in a style in which wit predominated, though not without traces of nature and poesy. In SANNAZAR'S "Birth of the Virgin" (1505-25), and in VIDA'S "Christias" (A. D. 1520-30) this mingling of heathenism and Roman Catholicism perfected itself in epic splendor,—the former collecting its images around the cradle at Bethlehem, and the latter around the cross of Calvary. Besides this free imitation, the history of Jesus was made out in an artificial manner by means of verses from Virgil and Homer. In the ninth century the Life of Jesus by OTFRIED OF WEISSENBURG appeared, to

mark the beginning and centre of the German Christian poetry. Contemporaneously there arose from the impulse of Louis the Pious a more free harmony of the Gospels in the Low Dutch dialect. Both are thoughtfully simple, in the highest degree pictorial, according to the colors of their time, and in their free mode of treatment sometimes truly poetic, sometimes merely composed of moral and allegorical reflections. OTFRIED'S "Krist" is more musical and lyric in its rhymes and assonances; the "Heliand" has more of descriptive epic in alliterative verses. By slow degrees, this kind of poetry melted down to rhymed prose, above which some, like SCHOEN and GREIFF, elevated themselves by naive true-heartedness, or, like LAVATER, by vivid painting, or, like WEIHE, by nature and simplicity, or, like GOEPP, by an inward feeling. KLOPSTOCK has renewed the antique form, with the German heart. His "Messiah" as a poetic work stands at the entrance, and as an ecclesiastical work at the close, of an epoch. But the feelings are strained by the continued effort at sublimity; the images vanish in shadowy forms; and the story of a god, already completed at its commencement, awakens no human interest, which is only excited by the episodes of human fate in heaven, in hell, and upon the earth. On the other hand, RÜCKERT has used the infinite flexibility of the rhymed stanza only to retain the simplicity and Oriental character of the Gospel. HALEM (Hanover, 1810, Poem in twelve cantos, on Jesus as the founder of a new kingdom) avoided the wonderful element even in poetry; and SALLET (Gospel of the Laity, Leipsic, 1842) has poetized the

Gospel of Strauss. The happy treatment of single traits of the life of Jesus, in poetic images, has given occasion to lyrical collections in recent times. The monuments of lyrical treatment begin with PRUDENTIUS; but this style is itself far older, and, according to its nature, treats single events, and fulfils itself as it began, in songs for the festivals of the Church. The tragic treatment is necessarily concentrated on the history of the Lord's Passion. The "Christus Patiens," a work of the younger Apollinaris, and not of Gregory of Nazianzus, is only in words an imitation of the "Prometheus Bound," with no trace of the lofty simplicity of Æschylus, nor any understanding of the inward relationship of that mythus. "La Passion," by Cristal, (Paris, 1833,) is a modern drama, for the theatre, executed with French skill. The evangelical history can never be freely treated in poetry, because its contents will bear no alteration; but poesy will never cease to try its powers on this highest of all themes.

PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

SECT. 24. — *Survey.*

THE preliminary history of the public life of Jesus, from his birth to his thirtieth year, treats of the influences on the inward nature of Jesus, by means of which he became the Messiah and Saviour of the world. It is the story of his childhood and of his culture. The first depends on the testimonies of Matthew and Luke, and has been treated, apart from its scientific criticism and learned commentaries, as a cycle of pictures from the childhood of Jesus, with a just feeling of its character, in popular legendary or poetic form. The history of his culture must consist in a great measure of inferences from the events of his public life, from the well-known condition of his nation, and from the general laws of human development.

SECT. 25. — *Criticism of the Nativity.*

1. THE accounts of Matthew (chap. i.) and of Luke (i. and ii. 1-39) are well authenticated as

essential parts of their Gospels. They have the same tendency, but are in detail so different that each of them has evidently been drawn from different sources of information. A particular account from Mary herself was therefore not known in the Church; and this, connected with the silence of Mark, shows that the childhood of Jesus made no part of the traditions of the Church. John, by his position toward the mother, the only authoritative witness, is silent, even when mentioning a popular opinion, (vii. 41,) according to which Jesus did not come from Bethlehem.

2. The two accounts to some extent exclude each other. Luke carries the mother to Bethlehem by means of a Roman census, which is not in accordance with the Roman method of taking the census, and which only by means of forced explanations can be freed from the suspicion of being a mistake for the census of Quirinus, ten years later. According to Matthew (ii. 1, 22) Bethlehem appears to be the residence of Mary. If the Magi came *before* Jesus was carried to the temple, he would have fallen into the hands of Herod on that occasion; but if they came *after* it, Jerusalem would not have been astonished at the strange intelligence (Matt. ii. 3; comp. Luke ii. 38), and they would not have found the child any more in Bethlehem (Luke ii. 39).

3. The silence of Josephus concerning Herod's attempt to murder the Messiah is possible; but the sagacious Herod could hardly have chosen the uncertain method of destroying all the children, whilst the Messianic child had been generally made known

to the people of the small village by the visits of the shepherds and Magi, and must have been in danger of being betrayed by every mother whose own child was threatened.

4. The doubts entertained by the nearest relations of Jesus of his prophetic and Messianic dignity, and even of his sound reason, (John vii. 5, Matt. xii. 46–50, Mark iii. 21,) cannot be reconciled with these wonderful stories, which therefore would scarcely serve to prepare strangers for faith in the Messiah. We cannot, therefore, discover their purpose, and their only known result was the murder of the children.

5. The supposition of a guiding star, and the correctness of an astrological observation, are altogether in the spirit of that age, while, taken seriously, they vanish before a higher and more accurate knowledge of the starry heavens.

SECT. 26. — *Legends of Infancy.*

THESE traditions are, therefore, opposed to every rigorous historic conclusion ; their substance is the Wonderful, as antiquity believed it ; their form is Poetry, by Matthew treated in simple, popular style, — by Luke, in idyllic style, with lyrics imitated from the Old Testament ; finally, the historic aspect seems only the unconscious symbol of religious ideas. They must, therefore, be regarded as sacred legends, formed in different circles of the Church by involuntary means, and by an unconscious wish to elevate the divine child in significant images and by fitting phe-

nomena. Types in the Old Testament, and national expectation of a Messiah, contributed their part. But the creative force was the Christian feeling of a restoration of human nature, a contemplation of the subsequent fate of Jesus, and forebodings concerning the condition of his cause. The aftergrowth of these legendary tendencies appears in the apocryphal writings. But the mention of a cave as the birthplace of Jesus is very ancient, and fixed in the memory of the Church. Many incidental circumstances suited to the legendary impulse have held their place even in the Protestant imagination. Some branches of the legend have put forth subsequently in the Catholic Church, and have seldom been meddled with by criticism. On the other hand, Protestant theologians in part have taught the letter of Gospel tradition, and in part, for purposes of edification, have analyzed the story with great simplicity, till in the vanishing point of their natural explanation the consciousness of its mythical meaning revived. The origin of the tradition may be more easily explained by supposing historical elements to have laid the foundation of the legend, in connection with the great world-historic event of the birth of the Saviour. But the traces of history can only be eliminated from the poetry of this circle of legends by an arbitrary process. And the explanation based on natural psychology, which must itself admit of traditional embellishment, misunderstands the character of the legend, and degrades its lofty forms into traits which belong less to Bethlehem than to Bedlam. Its truth is ideal and eternal, but while we

deny the historic truth of this story, we by no means interfere with the historic credibility of the apostolic testimony, which only first begins with the baptism of John. (Acts i. 21 ; x. 36 - 41 ; comp. Mark i. 1.)

SECT. 27. — *Descent.*

ONLY the birth from the Virgin, the central point of this circle of legends, is connected with the doctrinal system of Christianity. But since even the deity of Christ depends only apparently on the miraculous conception, and since, as the child of the Virgin, he must still inherit a fallen nature, all that remains to support the doctrine is the hierarchal Essene opinion, that the fulfilment of the ancient blessing (Gen. i. 28) has in itself something impure. The legend is only the expression of the feeling of the spiritual purity and divinity of Jesus (Rom. i. 3), though having its origin among Jewish Christians, and in this precise form, occasioned by the interpretation given at the time to Isaiah vii. 14 and Psalm ii. 7. Similar traditions, central points in the mythical systems of antiquity and of the East, indicate indeed a general human need ; not, however, to be satisfied in this low form. The Eastern traditions point at the renewal of the world, and the return of the human race into the unity of God. The Greeks and Romans in their mythology suffered the idea to degenerate to a mere play of fancy for poetical entertainment, or for a political purpose. But the legends of sons of God through blood and the will of the flesh (John i. 12) contain only the symbols of the

birth of the divine in humanity through faith and spirit. Jesus, with a significant name, though not an unusual one, passed for the first-born son of Mary and Joseph. This is only contradicted by the first chapters of Matthew and Luke. (Comp. Matt. iii. 23.) But the places in which Joseph is called the father of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55, Luke ii. 48, John i. 46, vi. 42, &c.) may be taken in all the Evangelists, as they must be in Matthew and Luke, as the usual phraseology of Galilee, or in a general sense. If Jesus were not born according to the law, it would not impair his own worth; but it is not historically probable, for it would have been made use of in Nazareth as a reproach. Nor does it appear providentially credible that the purest of all men should have been born in violation of the moral order which God has instituted. Every special attempt to prove anything of the kind, particularly with the purpose of introducing the birth of the Messiah, is deceptive or fantastic. The descent from David is not entirely proved by the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, since these can only be reconciled with each other by very artificial means. The greeting as Son of David may also merely mean the Messiah, but the descent of Jesus from David, which is not considered in Mark (xii. 35) to be a false axiom of the scribes, was regarded by the Apostles as an unquestionable fact. (Acts ii. 30; Rom. i. 3.) The descendants of a brother of Jesus were received at the court of Domitian as descended from David. (Euseb. H. E., III. 20.) But this descent from royal blood is in itself a matter of indifference, though important for psychological explanations.

SECT. 28. — *Year and Day of the Nativity.*

THE Church Fathers have only a fluctuating tradition. Dionysius in the sixth century first placed the year of the birth of Jesus in the 754th year after the building of Rome, and the 4714th year of the world, according to the Julian period. This *Æra Dionysiaca* rests upon the assumption (Luke iii. 1) of the commencement of the public ministry of the Baptist in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, reckoned, according to, the highest probability, from the day of the death of Augustus, August 19, 767 U. C. According to the custom of his nation, John must have been thirty years old. He already had disciples and great influence with the people when Jesus appeared. But a mission like his requires no long time for its success, and Josephus appears to regard him only as a transient phenomenon. In no case can the baptism of Jesus be placed a year later, for we cannot suppose in Luke such a want of historic method as to commence his biography of Jesus with a careful statement of the time in which a subordinate person came forward, unless he meant to fix thereby also the period of his principal character. And since a call like that which Jesus felt for his work would lead him to commence it as soon as the national custom to which Luke alludes would allow, this appears to be fixed exactly (Luke iii. 23) about the beginning of his thirtieth year. Calculating then backward from the public appearance of the Baptist about twenty-nine years, we have the year of the Nativity given by Dionysius. In opposition to

this view, modern scholars would place the birth of Jesus in the fourth year before the Dionysian epoch, or still further back, because Herod had already died before the Passover in the year of Rome 750. But those who doubt the thoroughly historic contents of the first chapter of Matthew have no right to base an argument on this foundation; for popular legends have often committed greater anachronisms than in thus bringing together these two great kings of Israel. Nor does the star of the Magi justify an astronomical calculation, for a guiding star in a poetic legend is not a planetary conjunction. All such astronomical calculations fix the year 747 or 748 of the building of Rome. See Kepler, Ideler (Manual of Chron., with Encke's additions). The day of Jesus's birth has been celebrated in the Church since the third century, and fixed at different times. (Comp. Clement, Stromata, I. 407.) The Roman festival of the twenty-fifth of December, which is not inconsistent indeed with shepherds watching all night in the open air in the fields, according to the climate of Palestine, seems, nevertheless, not so much to have resulted from any definite tradition, as from the adaptation of a festival of pagan Rome (*Natales solis invicti*). The calculations which have been made, backward or forward, from the course of the priests' service of the order of Abia (Luke i. 5), indicating December, are obliged to assume as facts a whole series of mere possibilities.

SECT. 29. — *The Holy Family.*

MARY appears as a tender and thoughtful mother (Luke ii. 48–51), afterwards submissive to her great son (John ii. 3), on one occasion misunderstanding him (Matt. xii. 46, Mark iii. 21, 31, etc.), but with love strong to endure the deepest anguish (John xix. 25). In the story preserved by Luke, she appears as a meek, devout servant of the Lord, well acquainted with the poetic past, and deeply moved with the highest hopes of her nation. In the legends of the Church, she has been regarded as the type of her sex, uniting in herself what nature has eternally separated. A religious want was the cause of this creation, but history is altogether opposed to this idea. Joseph was a workman in wood (Matt. xiii. 55), and, from different motives, sometimes described in the legend as an able workman, and sometimes as unskilled. That he should be represented as an old man accorded with the interests of the Church, as well as those of art. He probably did not live to see the greatness of Jesus, and certainly was not alive at the crucifixion. Both parents were carefully obedient to the directions of the Law (Luke ii. 41). Four brothers of Jesus are named; James, Joses, Simon, and Judas (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). His sisters (Matt. xiii. 56) have been named, by tradition, Esther and Thamar. His brothers, mentioned with his father (Matt. xiii. 55), and often with his mother (Matt. xii. 46, Mark iii. 31, Luke viii. 19, John ii. 12), only believed in him subsequently, and are not to be confounded with

his cousins (John vii. 5, Acts i. 13). It was natural for the Church so to consider them, or at least to regard them as half-brothers by a former marriage of Joseph. That Jesus committed his mother to the care of John (John xix. 26) appears favorable to the supposition that they were not her own children. But Matthew unequivocally supposes that Jesus may have had brothers, and, from the connection in which he names him as the first-born (Matt. i. 25; comp. Luke ii. 7), seems to assert that he actually had them. His mother's sister was named Mary, the wife of Cleopas, in another form, Alpheus, and she was the mother of James the younger, and of Joses (John xix. 25, Mark xv. 40, iii. 18); probably, also, of Judas Lebbeus (Luke vi. 16, Acts i. 13; comp. Jude 1), and according to Hegesippus (Euseb. H. E., IV. 22) also the mother of Simeon, and the Apostles James and Jude. According to this the names of the sisters, as well as of their children, were the same, but tradition may early have confounded them together. A relationship with Elizabeth rests only on Luke (i. 36); with Salome, only on a subsequent tradition.

SECT. 30.—*Childhood of Jesus.*

AMID the cheerful and grand scenery which surrounds the hill-summit on which stands the town of Nazareth, Jesus grew up subject to his parents, in rich but gradual development, (comp. Luke ii. 40, 52,) without which growth his childhood would be a mere illusion. The event of his twelfth year

(Luke ii. 41–50) is, to be sure, not confirmed by apostolic testimony, but makes the full impression of historic truth, in contradistinction to the fabulous character of the *Evangelium Infantiaë*. There is nothing to cause this historic narration to be regarded as a myth, but the probable wish of the Apostolic Church to have something valuable to record of this part of the life of Jesus, and the subsequent legends which ascribed a splendid youth to Moses, Samuel, and Solomon. The significance of the transaction itself, which made it worth recording, is the only additional reason for treating it as unhistoric. There is no difficulty in supposing that Jesus remained behind from some accidental circumstance, without attributing neglect to his parents. His education on their part appears to have been liberal and confiding. His words show the same sense of the nearness of God in a purely human and childish form which is the idea of his life, and which indicates that his subsequent spiritual majesty was not the result of struggle and conflict with early errors, but of an unpausing development of his free choice. Moreover, Mary received her child's answer as full of significance, though she did not fathom its profound sense; and this, too, distinguishes this story from legendary histories concerning the children of God. But if we try to find in it a distinct supernatural consciousness of his destiny, we shall tear open the folded bud of this sentiment, and do injustice to childhood with its real wonders.

SECT. 31.—*Culture.*

THE mental culture of Jesus depended upon the happy endowment of his nature, and was conditioned by the aim of his life, which being once recognized, or even felt in obscure longing, must quickly develop every talent and capacity suited to itself. Yet this might not overstep the common means of culture belonging to Palestine, nor the limits of humanity; for though that which Jesus aimed at had never before entered the human heart, it still belonged to the heart of humanity. It cannot be proved that Jesus understood any other language than the Syro-Chaldaic popular dialect, and also probably the ancient Hebrew, or that he possessed any other learning than that of the Old Testament and of Pharisaic tradition.

The following of his father's trade did not exclude him from the highest culture of his nation, since, according to Eastern customs, the learning of a trade, in order to be independent, and to be prepared for any change of fortune, is not unusual even with scholars and princes. Full opportunity was afforded for the development of innate intellect amid the cheerful activity of a middle station in life; among a people who, without strongly marked division of castes, looked upon the careful instruction of youth as a religious duty; and also by means of the great festivals which collected the whole nation together. Galilee united the advantages of Judaism, whose whole peculiarity and energy rested upon religious principles, with the opportunity of a free, though

also a simple culture. In particular cases Jesus showed great knowledge of mankind, powers of utterance, presence of mind, and almost every royal trait belonging to a born ruler of men. But in such qualities of worldly greatness of mind others may appear superior to him ; for its highest development was not suited to his position. There is no evidence of his ever belonging to any particular school of his nation, or having had an actual learned education, but much rather the contrary (John vii. 15, Matt. xiii. 54), though certainly he used the schools of his nation both to gain and to give knowledge (Luke ii. 46 ; comp. Matt. xiii. 52). The appellation of Rabbi does not always indicate a particular rank or office, but was given as a free token of respect. Many resemblances between primitive Christianity and the system of the Essenes lead us to think of personal intercourse. Jesus may have compared together the different Jewish sects, and perhaps was acquainted with the Alexandrian spiritualization of the Mosaic system. But any attempt to derive Christianity from a particular school, not only involves in itself insuperable difficulties, but leaves unexplained the superiority of Jesus to all the ages. For his peculiarity was something which could not be learned in any school of the East or of the West, but lay in the perfect fulness of his religious life. This, like every act of genius or freedom, is inexplicable ; but being purely human, is something always possible to humanity. Equally unsuitable, therefore, is it wholly to separate the culture of Jesus from the means of culture belonging to his time, or to attempt to de-

rive from any external influences his world-creative and world-transforming nature.

SECT. 32.— *Sinlessness and Infallibility.*

THE perfection of the religious life in relation to morals, taken negatively, is *sinlessness*, which consists in every moment of life being filled with the greatest possible fulness of Divine Love, so as to leave no room for any disturbance of feeling, thought, or action. This neither excludes inward conflict nor outward temptation (Heb. iv. 15); but it does exclude all yielding in the conflict, and all evil desire in the temptation. It is necessary to such a purity that Jesus should be separated, even in his origin, from all connection with depraved human life, which was only possible by an act of God; but this implies no contradiction to the law of human descent; for the religious genius is born no less than the artistic genius, and all individual life depends upon an originally determined essence, which itself is derived from the Creator. This only renews a pure humanity. Jesus, like the first man, had the power to conquer, but also the capacity to fall; therefore he is what he is by the grace of God, and yet also by his own will. And in this every one else, according to the measure of his capacity, resembles him. The objective historic proofs of this position are only of a secondary order. The hatred of his enemies, which found nothing to accuse in the purity of his walk, the admission of Pilate, the interest expressed by the noble Roman lady, the confession of the centurion at the

cross, the despair of Judas,— these only testify to a righteous man, whose blood was undeservedly shed. That the accounts of the Gospels show no stain in the character of Jesus is something which might occur in the biography of a much inferior man, without implying deception on the part of the friends who composed it, in order to honor his memory and to do good to the readers. The significance lies in the fact, that even the further development of our moral notions enables us to discover nothing impure in this history. The homage paid to Jesus by the austere Baptist, the unlimited reverence of his Apostles, and their declaration that he was just, holy, and without sin, (Acts iii. 14; 1 Peter ii. 21, iii. 18; 1 John ii. 29, iii. 7; Heb. iv. 15,) are incontrovertible proofs of his moral grandeur. But they did not know his past history, nor could they look into the secrets of his heart, so as to testify that no sinful desire had ever found place therein. Nor do we find this rigorous notion of sinlessness, as modern times has conceived it, in the assertions of the Apostles. Their evidence, therefore, implies little more than that of Xenophon concerning his own teacher (*Memorabilia*, Book I. 1. 11). The consideration of the moral influence of Christianity proves decidedly the moral spirit of its founder, but not with equal historic certainty that all the imperfections of Christianity are of later origin, whilst all its glories are to be referred to its founder. But looking at this merely in an historic view, this also would be possible, if, after the custom of other founders of communities, the peculiarity of Christ's kingdom, and the moral effort which he excited, was

only relatively strongest in himself. According to this strict notion of sinlessness, therefore, the only certain proof is to be found subjectively in the self-consciousness of Jesus himself. The truth of this self-consciousness may receive additional support from these objective proofs. Such a self-consciousness he has expressed in the demand (John viii. 46) to convince him of a sin. This, indeed, might be supposed to refer to an error or mistake; yet, profoundly considered, and regarded according to the Hellenistic use of language, it refers to purity of heart, and this is recorded by the same Apostle who declares that in the case of other men the denial of sinfulness is self-deception (1 John i. 8). But Jesus, even in the presence of God, never assumes the position of a sinner, unless we except the prayer of Matt. vi. 12, which is not necessarily to be considered his own individual confession. Again, this self-consciousness is expressed in his declarations of his oneness with God, which, looked at in a purely human manner, exclude all disturbance of the Divine love through sin. This is the hidden truth in the ancient argument for the sinlessness of Christ derived from his Deity, or, as it stands in a later form, from the testimonies of God to his sinlessness. But as Jesus was not morally perfected before his death (comp. Philip. ii. 8, Heb. ii. 9), it must follow that his perfection is human and limited, and that therefore God alone is perfectly good (Matt. xix. 16). The infallibility of Jesus is the other side of his religious perfection, in its relation to knowledge and to the communication of knowledge. Its limits are those of the age and of

humanity. And it belongs to religious knowledge, without implying an infallible acquaintance with other arts and sciences. But every age has found that the pure teaching of Jesus has been the measure of its highest religious convictions.

SECT. 33. — *Descriptions of the Character of Jesus.*

EVERY attempt to give the character of Jesus runs the risk of becoming a merely personified system of morals or of psychology, and to result in a superficial enumeration of all possible virtues and qualities. For to the ideal of humanity, as to that of Deity, it is essential to have no sharply marked features, but a beautiful harmony of all powers. Quick susceptibilities and depth of feeling appear as characteristic traits in Jesus. Yet even these may belong to the Gospel manner of description. This advantage, at least, therefore, may belong to a biography of Jesus, that, instead of an abstract analysis of his character, it may follow the example of John in making a concrete and living picture of his inmost soul, as expressed in words and deeds. This character appears fully rounded even at the beginning of his public life. It is essentially an entire love of God, manifested in the purest humanity. History has greater examples of the energy of single virtues and qualities, but in this Jesus stands alone, that every virtue, so far as it was possible to manifest it in his work, appears in full harmony and concord with every other, and includes what in other cases a one-sided development has excluded. If, indeed, we

should take single actions and even speeches of Jesus, we might find in them something one-sided. This must necessarily be the case with every individual utterance as such; but other discourses of Jesus will almost in every case supply what is wanted to the perfect whole. (Compare, for example, Matt. x. 34 with Matt. v. 9; John x. 8 with Matt. v. 17; Matt. xii. 30 with Mark ix. 40.) In such a character, the religious frame of mind must be the prevailing one, but it is apparently exclusively so, because the Evangelists have selected what belonged to their object from the life of Jesus. They mention his tears, but not his smiles, and allude, without design, to the simplicity of his manners, and his confidential intercourse in domestic life. His character is thoroughly manly, and therefore a model for the other sex only so far as a pure humanity belongs also to woman, and because she often possesses the most uncorrupt feeling for genuine manliness.

SECT. 34. — *The Master in Flesh and Blood.*

THE Apostolic Church laid little stress on descriptions of the personal appearance of Jesus. The Jewish abhorrence of images permitted no portrait to be taken, and the oppressed Church, in opposition to the Greek view of their deities, represented its Master, in the language of Isaiah (liii. 2), as without form and comeliness. The first images of Jesus, in the second century, are found in the sanctuaries of the heathen, and of those with heathen sentiments. The victory of the Church over the Greek spirit was a conquest

which introduced that spirit, with its human tendencies, into the Church itself. So soon as portraits of Jesus were actually made, all intentional deformity became impossible. Eusebius (H. E., VII. 18) had seen such portraits of Jesus. The votive statue of Jesus and the woman with the issue of blood, at Paneas, may be authentic. At the time of Augustine (De Trin., VIII. 4) the style of the representation was still variable. After that, a fixed type formed itself, which represented the Master, so far as the frigid condition of art admitted, in serious Oriental beauty, with long hair, parted on the head, and with a short double-pointed beard. The wish for an historic basis caused, in the sixth century, old images to be revered as the work of St. Luke, or as made by supernatural hands. By such Byzantine portraits, and by some mosaics in the Roman churches, has this artistic tradition come down to us. All descriptions of the form and face of Jesus reach no farther back than to these. They first represented Jesus as a teacher; afterward, so far as the monuments give evidence, as a boy; then on the Cross; and not before the fifth century as an infant. History contradicts the supposition of any deformity, for that which excluded one from the priesthood would have been objected to him who wished to be the Messiah. The supposition that he possessed a lofty manly beauty is indeed only supported among the later Church Fathers by the works of art, and among the older Lutheran dogmatical writers is doctrinally grounded upon Psalm xlv. 3. Yet this view is favored by the first impression fre-

quently made by his appearance (comp. Luke xi. 27, John xviii. 6), and corresponds to the feeling which naturally expects that the model of humanity shall inhabit a beautiful form. History indicates in Jesus a sound health with a certain tenderness (Matt. viii. 24, Mark xv. 44), and the absence of any specially marked characteristic features (John xx. 14, Luke xxiv. 15).

SECT. 35.— *The Century.*

ALL great influences exerted by individuals have this condition, that in them the tendency of their age is perfected; and if this tendency corresponds to the will of God, expressed in history and reason, their influence becomes a part of universal history. The will of God in the reason is always the same, in history it is always different. The true tendency of an age is not always apparent, but is often the opposite of that which predominates outwardly; for while the outward tendency is that which has reached its ultimatum in external manifestation, it has lost all hold over the inward mind, which already has been taken possession of by a new life. The Indo-Germanic races constituted entire circles of religious life, which had the capacity for yet greater development. But in the age of Augustus, this religious life had no influence on the nations which had been collected together by the victories of Alexander and the Romans. And history proves that it was also incapable of developing a religion adequate for the needs of humanity. The Roman-Greek culture had

done all it could to beautify earthly life as such, and at the period of its widest diffusion announced its downfall by the loss of its noblest organs,—popular freedom and plastic art. The spiritual grandeur and beauty of the Old World did not pass away as suddenly as our sweeping rhetoric usually asserts; but already unbelief contended with superstition, and the love of pleasure triumphed over moral weakness. To unite the nations in one religious family, a people was needed who could meet the first condition requisite,—an energy of faith in one God. And this could happen only at the period of such a downfall of its religious nationality as would permit its noblest minds to be at least susceptible of a spiritual revolution. One nation possessed these requisites, and that one situated between the three continents, hated by all other nations, poor in human culture, Oriental in its natural disposition, but by the sword of conquest driven into contact with Western history, and scattered throughout the world. The original paradox of Judaism— one God for the whole world, yet limiting his favor to a single nation—appeared always more striking with this nation's increasing wretchedness. Its law was a burden, and even its faith led it into error; but in the most frightful degeneracy and immorality the energy of this faith remained, and in the midst of general ruin announced itself in a wide-spread hope and longing after a higher life, together with a calm preparation for its coming.

SECT. 36.— *The Messianic Prophecy.*

[NOTE.— A thorough and reliable work upon the state of opinion among the Jews in the time of Christ is still a desideratum in the English language. In German there are many works, all learned, but affected by the prepossessions of Rationalism on the one hand, or of Orthodoxy on the other. Among these are *Bertholdt*, "Christologia Judæorum Tempore Jesu et Apostolorum," &c.; *Gfrörer*, "Das Jahrhundert des Heils;" *Hengstenberg*, "Christologia des Altes Test.;" *Ammon*, "Entwurf einer Christologie des A. T.;" and the History of *Ewald*, *passim*. — TRANS.]

THE longing of humanity after its ideal took a peculiar and powerful direction among the Hebrew people; partly by its consciousness of possessing a religion destined by its truth, when it became perfect, to become the religion of the human race; and partly by means of a national pride, which, in the midst of its constant misfortunes, could only maintain its belief in being the favorite of God by faith in the future. This faith was expressed as Messianic prophecy; but very differently, according to the needs and insight of different periods and characters. Not, therefore, by the fulfilment of its details, but by its influence as a whole, it was a means by which Providence called forth the Messiah. The Hebrew state was, according to the popular opinion, a theocracy,—a kingdom governed by God, through his law, and through a constant exertion of his power by means of his representatives. It was essentially a community immediately held together by its national religion. Before the exile, theocracy was regarded more as

something actually existing, and the nation's hopes referred only to its continued development. During the exile, and afterward, it existed more as an ideal (Dan. vii. 18-29), that is, a future national splendor, effected by a moral and religious regeneration of the people. In opposition to a worldly kingdom, it is called the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of Heaven, and, as brought about by the Messiah, kingdom of the Messiah. It was considered as an inheritance belonging to this peculiar people, and in the popular mind referred to foreign nations only so far as they should come under the yoke of the Jews. But, according to the higher views of the prophets, the heathen themselves were to belong to the kingdom, by receiving the true religion. The idea of this kingdom was conceived in a more or less material form, according to the culture of particular individuals and periods. But both elements, the political and the religious, — national happiness brought about by means of pure worship, — though one or the other might predominate, remained always combined, both being essential to the notion of a theocracy.

As already Moses had hoped that a prophet would come after him to succeed him in his own spirit (Deut. xviii. 15; comp. xxxiv. 14); so from the theocratic monarchy there was unfolded an expectation of a king of the perfected theocracy who should be dear to God; called the Christ after Dan. ix. 25, that is, a king anointed after the patriarchal fashion (1 Sam. xvi. 13). But both kinds of Messianic prophecy — that of the Messianic realm, after the im-

age of the republican theocracy, but without the Messianic king, and that of the personal Messiah — were held simultaneously. Among the prophets the first notion predominated. In the time of Jesus the second prevailed among the people. Yet the other seems to have been continued in the school of Hillel, perhaps almost universally among the learned sects, and in the view of Philo and the Essenes. The Messiah passed for the visible representative of the Deity, and therefore the names and attributes of Jehovah were attributed to him. In the periods and among the races which were favorable to the royal house of David, he was expected from the race of David; but after the exile the expectation of a supernatural Messiah was formed in consequence of the belief in demons, and attached itself to Dan. vii. 13. The belief of the people varied between these two views (John vii. 27, 42; comp. Origen contra Celsum, IV. 2; and Heb. vii. 3); although a century after Christ the expectation of the son of David was the prevalent opinion. The attempt which has been made (by B. Bauer, Zeller, Fleck, Ebrard) to deny the existence of any Messianic expectation in the age of Jesus, is justified so far as this, that the hope then existed in a variety of forms, and there was certainly no fixed Messianic dogma. But the strong popular faith in a Messiah, which we find in Jewish writings after the time of Jesus, can certainly not have been borrowed from Christianity. Many proofs in the Gospels of the existence of this Jewish popular belief show their genuineness by their variety of form, and their difference from the belief of the Apostolic Church. Final-

ly, though Josephus degrades the great hope of his nation to a courtier's flattery (Jewish War, Book VI. 5. 4), he yet confesses at the same time that it was received by his nation and their teachers in a meaning of their own. He breaks off intentionally from the prophecy of Daniel concerning the realm of the Messiah, giving as his reason that his purpose was not to relate the future, but the past. He mentions also a number of adventurers who excited the people by claiming to be prophets, and promising to work miracles. These men must have relied for their influence upon the Messianic faith, as afterward did the leader named Bar Cochba. If, therefore, in the age of Jesus, all the higher life of the nation was concentrated around this prophecy, the national and necessary form was herein given by which alone the people could be helped.

SECT. 37. — *Mission and Purpose.*

JESUS was from eternity destined to become the Messiah and Saviour of the world. But this mission, for the very reason that it belonged to him, he had freely and independently chosen. Accepting for himself the will of God, as he saw it expressed in his own mind, in the expectations of his nation, and in the whole course of universal history, he applied to himself the Messianic prophecies, because he knew himself to be the one whom God had called to be the Messiah. This certainty, without which his life becomes unintelligible, perfectly harmonizes with an independent choice of his mission. According to a

Rabbinical tradition, every Israelite, and especially every descendant of David, must wish to be the Messiah, and it is the manner of great men to turn into a fact the ruling wish of their life. The thought of a supernatural Messiah could not alarm him who knew that a truly Messianic work must be fulfilled by the human Messiah. The supposition of his Messianic consciousness existing even in his childhood, is contrary to the idea of this history, and contrary to the Gospel (Luke ii. 40; see § 14); and even in the popular view it was considered possible that the Messiah, in his hidden condition, might be unknown even to himself. It has been asserted that Jesus could have been called to the office of the Messiah only by an immediate revelation, because this was not a duty imposed upon every one, but rather a call which could only come to a single individual. But we must consider that every call is individual, and that the greater the mission is, and the more it makes a part of universal history, so much more is it adapted only to one person, whose mind and circumstances fit him for the work. Also those destinies which extend far beyond any merely subjective knowledge or will are sometimes announced beforehand to individuals by a profound presentiment. Yet two suppositions are possible,—either that his Messianic consciousness was developed at the same time with his self-consciousness and his acquaintance with the national hope of the Messiah, or else that it became a determined purpose, after a conflict between inward doubts and hopes. It is possible that the first germ of this consciousness was in

the hopes of his mother ; but we should interfere too much with the originality of Jesus if we laid much stress on this. Therefore, even those who accept as historic the marvellous legends of the nativity, are obliged, if they wish to maintain a genuine human development, and to avoid an education like that of the Dalai-lama, to suppose that these indications of the Messiah were not communicated to the child himself. It is also possible that the faith of Jesus was strengthened partly through the coincidence of Messianic signs with his outward circumstances, and in part by the unusual power over nature which he afterward manifested. But, on the other hand, some of the Messianic indications pointed out by the prophets or believed in by the people were not realized in his case ; and those which were, were common to many others ; and it is uncertain whether in his youth he became conscious of his peculiar power in its full extent. But his faith in himself was decided inwardly by his perfect love to Deity and humanity, constituting in him a perfect human and divine life, which raised him above the common human lot ; and outwardly by that ruin into which the human race had fallen, which left for it but a single hope, which he determined to fulfil. It was formerly usual to prove that Jesus was the Messiah by a laborious comparison of single Messianic prophecies with their fulfilment in him. But history furnishes a more irresistible proof, by showing, as a matter of fact, that

† r Jesus actually intended and accomplished that which a Messiah, occupying the highest position of religious insight, ought to have intended and accomplished.

That he would change the whole current of universal history, was clearly conscious to the mind of Jesus. He expressed it, and it was written down at a time when, to the common apprehension, it must have seemed unmeaning; and his word has been fulfilled.

SECT. 38. — *Plan of Jesus in General.*

BY the plan of Jesus we must only understand the subjective conception in his mind of the office to which God had appointed him, and not anything arbitrarily arranged by his own reflections. Jesus adopted into his plan, out of the Messianic prophecies, only that in which, as eternal truth, no error could be contained. He accepted as his own God's plan in behalf of mankind; determining to found a kingdom of heaven, first among his nation, and then by it to unite humanity, by means of pious love, into lasting communion, and so to become its Saviour. This reference of his work to universal humanity, which he undeniably expressed at the end of his life, (Matt. xxi. 43, xxiv. 14, xxviii. 19, and parallel passages,) did not result from his being rejected by his own nation. For, first, it was already given in the higher tone of Messianic prophecy, (Isaiah ii. 2, &c., Micah iv. 2, Malachi ii. 11,) and even in the character of later Judaism. Secondly, it corresponds with the all-loving heart of Jesus, as well as with the pure spiritual principle of his religion, and was already early indicated by him (Luke iv. 43; Matt. viii. 11; John iv. 21-24, x. 16). Thirdly, some opposite expressions (Matt. x. 5, xv. 24; comp.

Acts x. 11) may be explained as coming from a wise consideration for the national pride, and as a priority which was historically necessary to be given to the Jewish people.

SECT. 39. — *Jesus as the Theocratic National King.*

THE assertion that Jesus had a merely political object, and that he used religious motives merely as a means to this end, (Reimarus, *Of the Aim of Jesus and his Disciples*,) is contradicted by the unconditional supremacy in him of the religious tendency, by his utter neglect of all political measures, and by the divine peace of his death. But a very different view from this is the belief of an original theocratic plan on the part of Jesus, in which the moral and religious principle predominated, yet without excluding the political side of the theocracy.* But since Jesus continued to believe himself victorious, though outwardly overthrown, it is necessary to suppose, in addition to the general notion (§ 38), an onward movement in his plan, — mainly this, that at the commencement of his public life he hoped to effect the moral and religious regeneration of his nation, also renewing thereby the outward glory of the theocracy, which should gradually draw all nations into it. But

* Ammon, *Biblical Theology*; an article in *Henke's Magazine*, Vol. V.; De Wette, *Biblical Dogmatic*, in which he gives the reasons for and against, and decides "that Jesus allowed the earthly expectations of his disciples to remain uncorrected, and may even have seemed to confirm them by expressions, which had, however, a spiritual sense; though such expressions were transmitted in ruder forms, by the misunderstanding of the disciples." The opposite view was argued by J. C. Doederlein, and by Suskind, in *Flatt's Magazine*.

after he had seen, in his own rejection by his people, the divine rejection of any national limitation of his work, there opened before him the higher meaning of his life, which was to found a spiritual kingdom of religious life undisturbed by the confusion of states and the division of nations. The groundwork of this view consists in the following reasons: *—1. The political element belonged not only to the essence of the theocracy, but to the essence of the Messiah. To all for whom the name of Messiah possessed a significance, there was contained in it a political expectation, and each one who announced himself as Messiah must excite that expectation. Jesus, indeed, always directed the attention from the outward to the inward,—from the political to the religious element. And this corresponded to the notions already held by the nation; but he never openly and distinctly declared that he did not intend to become the Messiah in the popular sense. On the other hand, in the circle of his disciples, he rather confirmed to some extent their worldly expectation, which was encouraged by the correspondence of their number with the national remembrance of the twelve tribes. (Matt. xix. 27–29.) And he sent out these Apostles to announce the kingdom which they anticipated as a political one. 2. We cannot prove by clear evidence

* This view was maintained in the first edition of this manual. It was opposed by Heubner, in an appendix to his edition of Reinhard's Plan. See the English translation, by Oliver A. Taylor, New York and Andover, 1831, page 279. Also by Lücke, in a Latin treatise, published in Göttingen, 1831; by J. G. Ossiander, *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1831; and by Ullmann, in his second edition of the work on the Sinlessness of Jesus, contained in "German Selections" by Edwards and Park, Andover, 1839.

any alteration to have taken place in the plan of Jesus ; for the Evangelists could not have noticed such a change, since they themselves, with the whole Apostolic Church, held fast to the notion of a worldly Messiah ; being merely compelled afterward by the pressure of events to apply to a second coming of the Messiah what they had formerly expected from his first coming. But the burden of proof rests more properly upon those who maintain that the aim of Jesus was purely spiritual, because such an aim, as it differed from all that the prophets had announced, and the people had expected, should be sustained by distinct declarations on the part of Jesus himself. Accordingly they appeal to the following passages : — (*a.*) Matt. iv. 9 ; but here he merely refused a worldly kingdom, to be obtained by Satanic means. (*b.*) John vi. 16. The people who would here make him a king were impelled by a transient impulse, and did not represent the earnest collective will of the nation. (*c.*) Luke xii. 14. His refusal here to be a judge or a divider was because he had not received any public authority to that effect, through the will of the people. (*d.*) John xviii. 36. Apart from the consideration that this declaration belongs to a later period of his life, Jesus here merely rejects a desperate attempt of his followers to deliver him by force. For it is certain that at no time had he anything to do with a worldly kingdom of this kind, to be contended for by cunning and force ; but rather a divine kingdom, the foundation of which was to be in the heart. 3. Another proof of the view we have taken is to be found in the cheerfulness shown by

him at the commencement of his mission, and the sadness in the neighborhood of its termination. This change could not have been occasioned, in so great a character as his, merely by the approach of an event which had made a part of his original plan. The blessings announced in his first Gospel (Luke iv. 18-21), and the threatenings subsequently (Matt. xi. 20-24, Luke xix. 41-44); his plain declaration that he meant to have delivered Jerusalem, and that now it must undergo political ruin (Luke xix. 41-44, Matt. xxiii. 37),—all show that he had hoped to be recognized as the Messiah, and had changed his plan after the failure of this hope. But had he been recognized by the collective will of the nation, and confirmed by its moral support and religious enthusiasm, the highest power in the state must naturally have come to him. 4. It is difficult to see why a mere teacher of morals and founder of a religion should apply to himself the Messianic name, which necessarily occasioned so much misunderstanding, and finally cost him his life. 5. Jesus would have shown less ardor than prudence, if he had despaired of the power of his spirit over his nation, before trying it. If it be so, that all truly human effort seeks to realize and actualize in the outer world the Divine law which it perceives in the depth of the soul; then the striving for a true theocracy was a perfectly religious one, and the error of confining within the limits of man's earthly life this highest development of human universal life was natural, even with lofty spiritual powers of observation and powers of insight, to him who saw in the

declarations of the prophets that which called him to the office of Messiah. Since we have supposed a gradual development of mind to have taken place in Jesus, it follows that he freed himself only by degrees from those errors, not of sentiment, but of insight, which belonged to the national conception of his office. But his character, which fulfilled the highest hope of humanity, is not degraded by the supposition of this tragic error. Much rather will this error, as a moral act, become more lofty than any single incident in the life of Jesus, if we suppose he at first thought the throne of his ancestor David to be intended for him, and when instead of a throne he saw a cross erected, that where another would have despaired, he became, instead of a Jewish Messiah, the Saviour of the world. His ideal majesty, therefore, is not injured by this opinion, while the human interest becomes much greater to us than if we regard him as a being complete from the beginning, with no human progress.

SECT. 40.—*Jesus as King of Truth.*

THE received opinion that Jesus intended only to found a religious kingdom, without reference to political considerations, is argued in opposition to the theocratic view thus. In reply to the first argument, it is said that the national hope of a Messiah bridged over the gulf between their view and his, and that Jesus had no right to break down this bridge. He could only indicate the passage from the outward to the inward, and therefore openly declared, in presence

of the people, that the freedom which he came to bring was the true freedom from sin (John viii. 31), and that his kingdom would not come in outward form in this place or in that (Luke xvii. 20). But the political expectation was so deeply rooted, that even the declaration of his approaching death could not take it from the Apostles. There is certainly in Matt. xix. 27 the appearance of a declaration which can only be arbitrarily explained away by adopting an ironical interpretation. Still this promise was made at a time in which Jesus promised no earthly reward to his followers except death (Matt. xvii. 22, xx. 22). The conjecture that it belongs to an earlier period is arbitrary. At all events, the Evangelist could only have understood it as being connected with earthly overthrow and ruin. It belongs to the circle of images concerning the coming of Christ. In reply to the second argument, it is said that an historic assertion which is unsusceptible of proof must always remain a mere conjecture. At all events, the burden of proof rests equally on both sides. For it is admitted that there was a time in which Jesus relinquished the political element; therefore it belongs to those who believe that any such element ever existed in his plan to prove it. Among the passages cited, that in Luke xii. 14 proves how little pleasure Jesus took in mingling in civil disputes. For, according to the Jewish view, a public office was by no means essential to justify him as a prophet or judge in deciding this difficulty. The testimony of Jesus before Pilate, who was to decide on his life or death concerning the purposes of his life,

if it can be taken unconditionally, is at all events sincere and heroic. The whole Gospel of John is evidence from a primitive source that the object of Christ was purely spiritual. One might indeed say that John has dropped out of his narrative the original national form of the plan of Jesus, as throughout his narrative he has everywhere dropped the Jewish form. But according to the way in which John regards his Master, it appears morally impossible that he can have thought of him as having passed through error to truth. This, therefore, is evidence that even the confidential companions of Jesus knew nothing of his having at first entertained any political expectations. If traces of the theocratic Messiah appear in the other Gospels, there is nowhere to be found any trace of the preparation for a political movement. In reply to the third argument, it may be said that Jesus brought a joyful message, and therefore announced it joyfully, and must necessarily have felt pained in leaving a nation which had rejected his salvation, even though he never had any direct political purpose. But as the national welfare of the people would have been renewed by its moral renewal, so likewise the murder of the Messiah betokened their political downfall. Had Jesus been recognized as the Messiah, it would always have depended on himself to accept or refuse any other than spiritual authority. In reply to the fourth argument, it may be said that it was this faith of Jesus in himself as Messiah, and of his Apostles in his Messianic call, from which the enthusiasm proceeded, by which the Church was founded, and by which a higher faith in Christ was

formed, and which gave to Christianity a power among the nations of the world which a mere religion of reason could never have possessed. In reply to the fifth argument, it may be said that there are reasons which might deter a thoughtful man from expecting salvation from a political Messiah. For example, the Messianic theocracy could not exist as a Roman province. There is no intimation of a miraculous power to be exercised by Jesus in order to overthrow Roman legions. Jesus appeared too considerate to plunge the nation into a war with Rome, (as a theocratic Messiah would have been compelled to do by the national enthusiasm, even against his own will,) in the expectation of miraculous aid from Heaven. It is true that the prophets believed that a theocracy and a worldly kingdom might be reconciled; but as soon as this union was actualized in outward form, its evil character would become apparent. A hero who strives up through error to truth is certainly more attractive, but he is not better, than one who sees his way from the first, and walks firmly in it. Though such an error might not disturb the moral greatness of Jesus, it would, nevertheless, be hard to believe the loftiness and transparency of his character, with the infallible and divine voice which speaks in his discourses, (for example, in John xiv. 6,) not to be impaired, if we suppose that he attained his own idea of life through such mistakes and inward struggles.

SECT. 41. — *The Result.*

JESUS must at some time have examined and rejected the theocratic view of the Messiah, since in this form only could any faith in the Messiah have come to him. But it cannot be proved that this did not happen, through the clear insight of his spirit, before the commencement of his mission. It cannot be shown that he came to this conclusion by means of disappointments experienced in the course of his work ; yet it can hardly be denied that in the documents before us the political element is more prominent than we usually believe. Hence, there continued to exist an apostolic hope of an outward coming of Christ, and the idea revived again in the Middle Ages in the assumption that all the worldly power on earth was possessed by Christ and given to St. Peter. But if Christ never laid claim to the government of the state, nor gave his Apostles commission to exercise lordship on earth in the manner of earthly kings (Luke xxii. 25), yet he wished to redeem his country by sowing broadcast the seeds of virtue, and to renew by his spirit the national character of his people. His plan was a moral reformation and a spiritual kingdom. But the divine law which he would install was surely destined also to overcome the world in the course of time ; or, rather, it was destined to penetrate it as its highest law, and the King of Truth was also to become the King of Nations.

SECT. 42. — *Means.*

THE means used by Jesus for the execution of his plan must naturally have been, and according to all historical evidence actually were, of a purely spiritual character. (See, for example, Matt. xix. 21.) They consisted of doctrine, example, education, the power of love, and the innate superiority of a great character over all that surrounds him. To this were added the miraculous powers of Jesus, so far as he knew himself to possess them; yet these could not give him the certainty of victory. He was never either member or chief of any secret society.* His solitary nights passed beneath the vault of heaven in the company of God and glorified spirits and angels, to which the Gospels sometimes allude, give no occasion for any suspicion of a secret conspiracy. His plan would not have been forwarded by mystery, and he himself appealed to the publicity of his whole life, and ascribed his mission always to God alone (John viii. 20). The manner, too, in which the Apostles, after his departure, founded the Church and gradually overcame their own errors (John xviii. 15), shows an entire independence of all such aids. The greater degree of confidence shown by Jesus toward his disciples (Luke viii. 9, xii. 41), and the preference given to some of them, was the usual relation sustained by intimate disciples, in consequence of their capacity

* A romantic machinery of this kind has been suggested by Bahrdt and Venturini. But see, on the other hand, Reinhard's "Plan of the Founder of Christianity," translated by Oliver A. Taylor, New York and Andover, 1831, § 43 and the following sections, and the Appendix.

and his affection, and had nothing in common with the degrees of initiation belonging to the Pagan mysteries. Much rather, in the teaching of Jesus, the mystery comes first and is followed by publicity. (Matt. x. 27; Mark iv. 21; Luke xii. 2.) For this is the nature of the kingdom of Heaven, that it commences in the secret places of the heart, but is afterward publicly announced before the world. Before he began to execute his plan, Jesus kept it profoundly hidden, and appears to have remained in a mental solitude which even the friends of his youth did not penetrate. His reliance upon these means came from an assurance of his Messianic destiny, and from the nature of his plan, which, as a divine idea, floated in advance of human history, and which therefore would be victoriously executed, even if the name of Jesus should be wholly forgotten.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE ACCEPTABLE YEAR OF THE LORD.

SECT. 43. — *Survey.*

THIS period begins with the baptism of Jesus, which preceded the first Passover of his public life (Sect. 28). At this time the sons of Herod the Great, Herod Antipas and Philip, governed as Roman vassals; the first, Perea and Galilee; the other, Iturea and Trachonitis. Judæa, after the banishment of Archelaus to Syria, was a Roman province, governed, since the year A. D. 26, by the Procurator Pontius Pilate, and, under his authority, by the Supreme Council, according to the ancient Jewish laws. Before the Passover, Jesus was for a short time (John ii. 12) in Galilee. The Passover is described in John ii. 13, iii. 21. There was nothing in the tendency of John's narrative which could have made it necessary for him to assume a hostility on the part of the Jews, founded on their unbelief, if it had not been actually existing. In this their principal seat of power he does not represent it as existing at that time in any great strength (John ii. 23). Such a tendency in his narrative requires a growth in this

hostility which would have been interfered with by laying much stress upon it at this early period. This supposition of Bauer, therefore, deserves little weight. After this time Jesus worked more publicly in Judæa, where John the Baptist was also teaching, as appears from John iii. 23, in conformity to the statement of the Synoptics. (Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14.) These agree with the fourth Gospel in regard to the coming of Jesus out of Judæa, but consider his manifestation of himself to have taken place in Galilee immediately after the Temptation. (Matt. iv. 17; Luke iv. 13; see Acts x. 37.) The truth may consist in this, — that Jesus, after the imprisonment of John, went through Samaria to Galilee; but probably toward the end of the harvest. (John iv. 3–35.) The object which Jesus had in leaving Judæa (John iv. 1–3) could not have been attained, and the favorable reception which he met in Galilee (John iv. 45) could not have been used, if he had not remained there for some space of time. The termination of this visit is fixed by the next coming Passover. (John vi. 4.) On the other hand, the feast of the Jews mentioned John v. 1, in the absence of the article, does not indicate any particular feast. But from the succession of events, and the indications of time in the fourth Gospel, it becomes probable that one of the feasts less generally known, and therefore not to be mentioned by name to foreign readers, — the Purim, for example, — may be intended. The motive for not visiting Jerusalem on the subsequent Passover is given John vii. 1–4. The feeding of the people, with its connected events, forms the concluding point; where

also the Synoptics coincide with John; on which account, their communications concerning the events in Galilee, down to this time, may be brought into the circle of the first year. According to Epiphanius (*Heresies*, LI. 25), this is the acceptable, or pleasant, year of the Lord (Luke iv. 19; Isa. lxi. 2);—a year filled with hope, and the prophecy of coming joy,—a year in which conflict was still remote, and only at the close of which the symptoms of misfortune began to appear.

SECT. 44.—*The Forerunner.*

Matt. iii. 1–12; Mark i. 1–8; Luke iii. 1–20; John i. 19, &c.

JOHN the Baptist was commissioned to prepare the way of the Messiah by a moral awakening of the nation; and, as the personification of Judaism in its highest form, to express and fulfil its destiny by introducing to the leader of the new age his first friends. The story of his birth (Luke i. 5–57), though hardly originating in the circle of a Christian church, is yet so closely interwoven in its character and place with the accounts of the birth of Jesus, that it must be judged in the same manner as these. In the apocryphal legends, John is also wonderfully rescued from the hostility of Herod, and, in the opinion of his later followers, miraculously born as an incarnate God. As a nazirite, his mode of life imitated that of the prophets, and perhaps that of the Essenes. But it was not his place, either when speaking to the people (Luke iii. 15) or to the

Great Council (John i. 19), to claim a higher authority than that of truth, uttered in a lofty, patriotic form; and the voluntary reverence of the people alone accounted him a prophet. (Matt. xxi. 26; Mark xi. 32.) He appeared in the wilderness of Judæa, and taught in the presence of disciples, to whom he prescribed prayers (Luke xi. 1) and fasts (Matt. ix. 14, Mark ii. 18, Luke v. 33), and preached to alternating multitudes in the valley of the lower Jordan. His doctrine consisted in a rigorous morality, with sharp practical application to individuals. His baptism to repentance was both a vow and a symbol, according to the manner of ablutions frequent in the East, especially among the Essenes, but yet intended to mark an epoch for the whole life. Josephus would not recognize his Messianic character. But it is, in itself, not at all probable that such an enterprise of reform, making so deep an impression upon the nation, should not have had a definite relation to the great hopes of the people. His baptism, too, acquired its full significance only as a fulfilment of a symbol of the Messiah given by the prophets (Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, Isaiah i. 16), and its relation to the Messianic baptism of fire, as well as the image of the Messiah with the fan in his hand (Matt. iii. 11), is so characteristic, that it could hardly have come from the Christian stand-point. But John might have spoken of himself thus generally, and toward the close of his life, as precursor of the Messiah, according to the existing popular faith in the coming of a prophet as the Messiah's predecessor and companion (Mal. iii. 1, 23, Mark i. 2, Luke

ix. 19), as it is expressed in Matt. iii. 2, Acts xiii. 25, xix. 4, while the Christian tradition may have been unintentionally led to give this a more individual character after the event. Moreover, Jesus himself first called him his Elias, with a distinct recognition of the allegory. (Matt. xi. 14; compare John i. 21.) But there is no internal appearance of contradiction, which can justify us in rejecting the plain testimony of all the Evangelists, and of his early personal recognition of Jesus. That John continued to baptize in the name of Him who was to come, and that he kept together a particular school of disciples, is explained by the fact that Jesus himself had, up to this time, only announced the near approach of his kingdom. The continuance of this school, even after his death, was owing to its arbitrary preference of their teacher, who, in the Jewish point of view, stood higher than Jesus. The message, Matt. xi. 2, Luke vii. 18, was not principally on account of his disciples, nor did it indicate any doubt, nor new-risen faith, in his own mind; but was simply admonition, and fully grounded in the theocratic view taken by the Baptist of the Messiah. The Synoptics could not possibly have seen in it a doubt inconsistent with the clearness of his testimony to Jesus. They rather described the Baptist in his Jewish national character; and John, assuming this, has rather described that side of his character which was related to Jesus. The play upon words in John i. 15 does not imply in the mouth of the Baptist, necessarily, the pre-existence of Jesus. The idea in John i. 29, that the Messiah must pass through conflict and pain, like a sacrificial

animal on which was laid the sin of the world, was not necessarily opposed to the national faith in a victorious earthly theocracy. (Compare Isa. liii. ; Luke ii. 34.) The recognition of Jesus as Messiah (in John iii. 23, 30) only implies that John saw a divine mission in his lofty spirit and character, and with manly feeling subordinated himself by the highest act and sacrifice of friendship ; thus securing his own continued place in the kingdom of Heaven. This may be singular, and perhaps, in the recollection of the Evangelist, some simple action may have been transformed into this free recognition of the claims of Jesus ; yet it lies in the moral order, that the lower and more limited nature should subordinate itself to the higher and larger one. But the judgment of Jesus (Matt. xi. 11, Luke vii. 26, 28), which recognizes him, with subjective truth, as the greatest soul of antiquity, but yet places him wholly outside of the kingdom of God, can only be reconciled with this view, as it contemplates him for the moment merely as the closing point of Judaism. (Matt. xi. 13.) The discourse of the Baptist (John iii. 31) passes so entirely into the mode of thought and speech of the Evangelist, that (compare iii. 11, 18) it must be considered as containing his own reflections. If characteristic and proverbial sayings, in which (according to Matt. iii. 2, 5-12) the Baptist sums up the meaning of his life, afterwards reappear in the mouth of Jesus (Matt. vii. 19, xxiii. 33), they express the fulfilment by Jesus of that which was foretold by John (Matt. iv. 17) in a milder and larger form (Matt. xiii. 30). Possibly also both dis-

courses may have been confounded together in the recollection of contemporaries. According to Matt. iii. 14, before the baptism of Jesus the Baptist had already the highest respect for him. All the feeling of his dignity arose in his mind at the moment of their meeting. According to John i. 33, he did not at that time know him as the Messiah, which is only opposed to Luke i. But something special may have disturbed the recollection either of one or another of the discourses of the Baptist. There is nowhere any trace of conspiracy or combination between Jesus and John. When Herod Antipas had cast into prison this terrible preacher of morals, Jesus went into Galilee, but not in order to labor for the rescue of his friend.

SECT. 45. — *The Baptism.*

Matt. iii. 13 – 17; Mark i. 9 – 11; Luke iii. 21, 22; John i. 32 – 34.

JESUS could not have been baptized with the baptism to repentance, or in the name of the promised Messiah, without untruth. That he should then first have known himself to be the Messiah, or have given himself to the Deity to be declared the Messiah, at this important time, is inconsistent with his subsequent Divine confidence, and would give an appearance of indecision, and of the want of a clear consciousness of his mission. Lange supposes it to have been a necessary washing of purification, to remove the impurity derived from the communication had with an impure, excommunicated people.

But this supposition overlooks the fact that the people, from a theocratic point of view, must have been considered the people of God. Ebrard ascribes to the baptism of Jesus a symbolic meaning in reference to death and resurrection, which errs in giving to the baptism of John a sense which only came afterward in Christian baptism. (Rom. vi. 4.) According to Matt. iii. 15, he allowed himself to be baptized, in order to fulfil all that the law, and its continuation by its subsequent divine ambassadors, required of the perfect Israelite. But since this explanation might have been added afterward, in order to remove the apparent difficulty, and since Jesus elsewhere displayed no zeal for any ceremonial enlargement of the law, it is conceivable that he may have received the baptism of John in both of its meanings as an individual,—as a personal dedication to God, and consecration as the Messiah, according to the public expectation, while the Christian baptism was yet not introduced. Either the people and the disciples were not present, or, since this is improbable in itself, especially according to the representation of Luke (iii. 21), they did not perceive the miracle; which would have produced a decided impression upon the disciples of John, and would have been appealed to by John and Jesus as the highest evidence. The voice from Heaven is related somewhat differently by Matthew and by Mark and Luke. The testimony of eyewitnesses through the immediate tradition of the Baptist's disciples is found in John's Gospel, who yet does not himself appear as a witness of the transaction. The Baptist

testifies to have seen a heavenly appearance; but he says nothing of a heavenly voice; which, if he had heard it, would have prevented the question and answer in Matt. xi. 3. This voice the Synoptics, and especially Luke, represent as an actual voice, and not merely as the interpretation of some sign. (Bath Kol.) Therefore the interpretation which the Baptist gave to this phenomenon (John i. 34) became, in tradition, a heavenly voice; in connection with Isaiah xlii. 1; Psalm ii. 7. The continuation of the legend appears in monuments supported by evidences not less ancient than the canonical Gospels. Luke relates the phenomenon as an outward matter of fact; while in the other writers it has more the character of an inward impression. According to Mark, Jesus saw it himself; according to Matthew, he may have seen it; according to John, the Baptist alone testifies to have seen it; and in his account, that which manifested the Messiah is scarcely described as a sensible appearance. The truth of the story, therefore, is, that in the moment in which, in the mind of the Baptist, the consciousness came to him, "This is the Messiah!" he expressed his conviction in traditional images (compare Acts vii. 55, Luke x. 18, John i. 51), or even represented it to himself in an outward form, which may have been occasioned by some actual phenomenon. The attending circumstances are given. (Matt. iii. 14; John i. 33.) The indication of the Messiah by the Spirit resting upon him, is derived from the prophetic visions of the fulness of spirit belonging to Messianic times. (Compare John iii. 34; Acts ii. 17.) The

comparison with the dove, from its form or its gentle flight, is a symbol which, even if it had never been used in those times, belongs in itself to nature and poetry. Some external communication of spiritual influence, as a genuine dedication of the Messiah, belongs to the view of all the Evangelists, but without strict consistency in the first and third Evangelists, and with a contradiction as regards the fourth. (See Neander, Strauss, Olshausen, Lücke, etc.) But the mere omission in this Gospel of the peculiar baptismal act by no means proves it foreign to the idea of the Logos (as Bauer thinks). For the entire harmony of what is told by John with the record of the Synoptics shows that the act of baptism is assumed by John as known to his readers. When Bruno Bauer asserts that the baptism of Christ arose afterward as a tradition in the Church, and denies the general preparation for the Gospel by the baptism of John, he shows himself incapable of perceiving what traditions belong to true history. Jesus did not need an outward form of spiritual communication, but his joy may have been strengthened by this first recognition on the part of this the greatest of all the prophets. But that which marks the epoch is, that at this time he passed from the sphere of his private consciousness into that of public manifestation (Epiphany).

SECT. 46. — *The Temptation.*

Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13.

THE temptation of Jesus, regarded as an actual appearance of the Devil, is a useless spectacle, full of

inner contradiction, opposed to the character of Jesus, and to every conceivable character of an actual Devil. One writer (L. Konnemann, Article in the Journal for Lutheran Theology and Criticism, 1850) has supposed the temptations to be directed against the three main pillars of redemption, and, having been overcome, to have laid the foundation of the three essential doctrines of Christianity, viz. that of the union of two natures in Christ, that of the Communicatio Idiomatum, and that of Justification by Faith. He regards the last temptation as an attractive offer by the Devil of the whole realm of fallen souls. But this resembles the mythical notion of a Satan deceived by Christ, and contradicts the Gospel, which speaks only of an offer of all the kingdoms of the world. Eberard strengthens the notion by supposing a threat to have been added by Satan, to let loose against Jesus the whole frightful power of sin. But of all this the Gospel knows nothing. These contradictions are by no means diminished, if we assume a human tempter sent by the Sanhedrim, or by any other persons, whether for the purpose of helping, testing, or destroying Jesus. To attempt to combine the two views, as Lange has done, by supposing an emissary of the Sanhedrim, and behind him the Devil, is merely to bring together the contradictions from both sides. Considered as a vision brought about by the excitement of his residence in the wilderness; or as a vision in which this residence itself is included, produced by the Devil for the purpose of temptation, and sent by God for trial; or as a natural growth of the imagination, like that of St. Anthony, or like Luther's bat-

tle with the Devil,—it stands without object in the Gospel history. For in visions and dreams virtue can have no real exercise, since the element of freedom is wanting; and the inspiration of Jesus is, in its calm self-possession, opposed to such a view. Regarded as a myth,—modelled on the type of the solitude of Moses and Elias (Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28, 1 Kings xix. 8), or on the temptation of Job, or the legendary temptation of Abraham, or on the Jewish expectation of a conflict between the Messiah and Satan,—or as a mythical representation of the battle between the antagonist principles of absolute good and evil,—it has no historical meaning in the development of Jesus, and is inconsistent with the place given it in the Apostolic record. Bruno Bauer supposes it an inward event in the life of the Church, which shrank back in terror before the Christian principle of miracles and of passionate expectation of the last day,—principles which, like an abyss, threatened to swallow up and destroy the natural and historic course of things; and therefore placed this event in the life of the Master. But it is a sufficient argument against this hypothesis, that no such terror is to be traced in the Church of that day. As an inward temptation, represented in the form of a parable, it has been so explained as to imply some sinful inclination in the mind of Jesus. Consequently, it has latterly been regarded as a parable only in the sense that Jesus intended to show in what way he was not to appear as Messiah, and would not have the Messianic work carried forward by his Apostles; or else, as a parable meant as a warning against earthly Mes-

sianic expectations. But this view gives up all the essential character of a temptation. Much rather is it a true inward history, embracing the whole development of the life of Jesus, probably put in this form of a personal experience by himself, with allusion to Exod. xvi.; Deut. viii. 2; and Psalm xci. 11. (Compare Matt. xxv. 31; Luke x. 18.) For a long circle of inward experiences could scarcely be communicated in a more intelligible and instructive manner than in this picturesque form. In the Evangelical tradition it is indeed represented as actual history, in accordance with the national expectation of such a personal encounter between the Messiah and Satan; but it is placed, with a just feeling, at the commencement of the life of Jesus. And thus it shows the development of Jesus, not only by means of tranquil, undisturbed growth (Luke ii. 40, 52), but also in free conflict, after a purely human manner, with the spirit of the world (Heb. iv. 15). Here the battle is with the attractions of the world; as, at the close of his life, with its terrors. Luke, who has confused the order of events, appears (chap. iv. 13) to have had a suspicion of the symbolical meaning of the narrative; while Mark wholly misunderstands it, and has substituted instead an historical notice of a mere adventure. The tendency of John's mind would naturally lead him to omit the manifestation of any inward conflict. Therefore the Temptation is a picture of humanity becoming, through holy convictions, victorious over self-love. So it stands as a striking contrast to the Temptation and Fall of the first man. It also is a representation of the moral

victory by which Jesus became the Messiah. These temptations are those which beset humanity everywhere, but which belong especially to great men, and therefore most especially to Jesus. The lower earthly impulses—the love of fame, and the love of power—were indeed never accepted by the will of Jesus as motives, nor became fixed as sinful desire; but were brought before his mind by the necessary influence which the common habits of thought exercise on the imagination. In this respect, therefore, they were well represented as outward temptations. This view combines the underlying historical truth, the form of parable, and the mythical tradition. Since the scene of the last two temptations has a poetical aspect, since the order of the temptations and their continuance are narrated differently, and the forty days have a typical, sacred number, there arises a doubt also concerning the abode in the wilderness; and the fourth Gospel hardly leaves a space for this residence after its commencement. But it is possible that Jesus, following the example of his spiritual precursors, withdrew into a desert (Quarantania), in order, on the eve of his great enterprise, to meditate once more on the course of his life in the presence of God; which circumstance would give an occasion for individualizing this general fact.

SECT. 47. — *The First Disciples.*

John i. 35–51; Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20; Luke v. 1–11.

ACCORDING to John, the testimony of the Baptist led to Jesus, directly before his return into Galilee, his first disciples, who were seeking the Messiah. John does not mention himself as one of these, but betrays himself tenderly by his minute description of this never-to-be-forgotten hour of his life. After affording a proof of his being the Messiah in his power of looking into the human mind, — a power belonging more or less to all royal natures, but described by John as mysterious knowledge (ii. 24, iv. 17), — the Master began the education of Peter by a remark on his name; which play upon words was afterwards (Matt. xvi. 18) repeated and carried out on a particular occasion. Nathaniel also, who came from Cana (John xxi. 2), where Jesus had friends, was drawn to him by a remark which showed Jesus to be well acquainted with an apparently accidental circumstance, — a wonder of knowledge which the Master himself regards as small, compared with the manifest Divine Providence prevailing through his life. According to the Synoptics, it was later than this, and on the shore of the Lake of Galilee, that Jesus called the four fishermen to be his Apostles. John mentions a call to follow him, and to become his disciples (i. 44, ii. 2, 12), which Jesus thus early gave; and the Synoptics also mention the call of his Apostles. But the fact seems to be, that though the

spiritual attraction was at work, and a community of disciples was forming, a return to their homes and their toil was not at this time excluded. So that afterward a second call commanded the disciples to leave all. This has only been preserved in oral tradition, and was modelled after the type in 1 Kings xix. 19-21. In John i. 40, one side of this transaction is indicated, and the other in Luke iv. 38. Luke has supplied a motive for the call by an event which, standing by itself, might be explained as a natural transaction, but which appears in its place in the narrative as a miracle of power or knowledge. Since the first two Evangelists plainly say nothing of a miracle in this place, and its historical necessity and moral purpose may be easily doubted, we may perhaps infer that Luke has here inserted in his narrative an event or a story, which is found in the fourth Gospel (John xxi. 3) in another form, with traits very characteristic of Peter. Whilst the six disciples, thus called by degrees, not yet indeed inspired with enthusiasm for the work of Jesus, but with a true interest for his person, left property and employment, though with the hope of a rich recompense, they acquired a greater power than they themselves knew, of sacrificing all earthly things. Those who were unable to endure this first test, Jesus rejected, (compare Matt. viii. 19-22, Luke ix. 57-62,) in the conviction which each one feels who ascends a lofty path, that his victory might demand great sacrifices, and could be secured only by the determination to make the greatest.

SECT. 48. — *The Miracles of Jesus.*

ALL attempts to explain the miracles of Jesus by bringing these extraordinary actions to the level of common events, — whether the material explanation (physical and psychical), or the formal explanation (allegorical, mythical, and exegetical), — injure in various ways the truth of the Evangelical story, the purity of the character of Jesus and his Apostles, the seriousness and fidelity of historical criticism. That Jesus possessed a certain miraculous power, that is to say, a power of healing, which far surpassed the knowledge and power of his contemporaries, is certified historically by its continuance in the Apostolic Church (1 Cor. xii. 10, 28); and, so far from being improbable in itself, is essential to an explanation of the events of his life. Yet it lies in the nature of any marvellous narration rather to be enlarged than diminished by tradition, even in the memory of witnesses. And since single events are adduced merely as examples of an invisible agency, it might easily happen that here and there parts of different transactions may have been woven together. These miracles could not indeed contradict the laws of the world, which are the constant expressions of Divine will. Therefore amid all apparent contradictions we must seek for an accordance with law. The recognition of the possibility of the miraculous can only be relative, and in this sense there are degrees of the miraculous. But our notion of the laws of nature is very elastic, — limited in its expansion only by the laws of thought and the amount of sure knowledge.

The change of water into wine (John ii. 11) marks the commencement of the miraculous agency of Jesus. But here his mother's expectation appears already to suppose a certain acquaintance with his power. And since Jesus, according to the laws of a purely human development, must have become acquainted with his miraculous powers, at first accidentally or gradually, but hardly in any way except that of action, it is probable that before his public appearance some slighter manifestations of the sort occurred, as they have been related by the Synoptics (Mark i. 21). According to Mark vii. 33, viii. 23; John ix. 6; Matt. viii. 16, xvii. 21, his acts of healing, after the occupations of the day, and after repeated accusations of Sabbath-breaking, were not always unconnected with outward means, or at least bodily contact; possibly, so far having a connection with Rabbinical or Essene methods of cure, and in some measure communicable. But the power of the Word and of the Spirit was always predominant. He demanded of the sick a trustful submission (faith), which is useful, though in a less degree, in all attempts to cure disease. But if this had been the indispensable physical condition of the cure, failures would have occurred, of which we do not find a single historic trace. But his power of healing was not always exercised (Mark vi. 5), nor did all the sick who sought a cure find it (Mark i. 32; compare verse 34). On one occasion (John v. 3) he healed but one out of many collected for that purpose. The description given (for instance, Mark vi. 56) of the universality of these cures does not wholly agree with

the excitement produced by a single cure, and with the possibility of doubt concerning their reality (John ix. 1, 18), or with the presence in Jerusalem, after the death of Jesus, of persons suffering from chronic disease, who yet possessed the subjective condition of cure. The raising of the dead may indeed be explained by the Old Testament types (1 Kings xvii. 17; 2 Kings iv. 18), and by misunderstandings of the Messianic work, (Matt. xi. 5, John v. 28,) as having originated in the belief of the Church. But the manner in which they are related, and the mysterious proximity of death and life, so long as the organs of life are not absolutely destroyed and the body not decayed, give reason for regarding them only as the highest manifestations of the miracle of healing. Perhaps all cures are confined to the region where the power of will over the body exists; which is often noticed in single cases and in less degree. These cures, therefore, are not without analogies in all ages and times. (Compare Matt. vii. 22, xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22; 2 Thes. ii. 9; Acts xiii. 12.) A resemblance is afforded us in animal magnetism, only so far as it contains a mysterious power over disease, arising out of the great life of nature; and perhaps, moreover, the means which Jesus used may have stood in some relation to magnetic phenomena. But the miraculous power of Jesus appears far more like intelligent mastery of nature by the soul. The soul of man, originally endowed with dominion over the earth, recovered its old rights by the holy innocence of Jesus, conquering the unnatural power of disease and death. Here, therefore, there was no violation

of the laws of nature, but, on the contrary, the disturbed order of the world here recovered its original harmony and truth. Even the wonderful power exercised over external nature may be reduced under the same law, and be understood according to the analogy of an accelerated process of nature. Yet, as these acts have a somewhat fantastic appearance; as Jesus sometimes avoided performing them (Matt. xvi. 1, compare iv. 3, &c.); as they form no coherent cycle of phenomena, and have no essential influence in the work of Jesus,—the suspicion of something mythical having crept into the narrative can only be set aside by the irresistible power of experience, which makes up the full weight of historical evidence. It is indeed the destiny of man to control Nature, but only while with indefatigable inquiry he investigates her laws. The miracles, taken together, constitute no complete proof of the truth of the doctrine of Jesus; but as such events were expected in the Messiah as an evidence of his mission, and almost universally were the first means of drawing hearts to him, this talent became, in fact, the historical condition of his recognition; and, accordingly, must in some way or other have been given by God to the appointed Messiah. Jesus might, therefore, blame the wish for miracles which desired the means rather than the end (Matt. xii. 38, John iv. 48, &c.); and, nevertheless, he may have appealed to his miracles as a national proof of his being the Messiah (Matt. xi. 4, xii. 27; John x. 25). His repeated command that his miracles should not be made public (Matt. ix. 30, Mark vii. 36, viii. 26, Luke viii. 56) may

have been intended to correct the false wish for miracles, and to prevent inconvenient requests. But we have no adequate explanation of this, since the knowledge of the miracles by the people seems favorable to his object as the Messiah, and, at all events, could not be prevented. Perhaps this command was given only in particular cases (as Mark i. 44). Therefore we sometimes find an opposite command. (Mark v. 19 ; Luke viii. 38.) With few and doubtful exceptions (Matt. viii. 32, xiv. 25, xxi. 19), Jesus used his power only for benevolent purposes, regarding it, indeed, as one part of his work (Matt. xxi. 5, Luke xiii. 32), but never as an ultimate object.

SECT. 49. — *The Demoniacs.*

THAT Jesus drove out demons, — which fact supposes a possession by evil spirits, — must be maintained by all who consider themselves bound by the letter of Scripture. The modern attempt (by Ols-hausen, Hoffmann in his “Life of Jesus,” Theo. Meyer, Article in “Studies and Criticisms,” 1834, Ebrard, J. P. Lange, Neander) to accept the fact by means of a theory of influence from Satanic powers, acting upon nervous patients, but under moral limitations, has made something entirely different of these accounts. The objection that a demonic possession is opposed to human freedom and Divine Providence, is set aside by the fearful evidence of insanity. But those forms of sickness which the Jews and the Hellenists regarded in their popular faith as demonic possession, and which were treated

as such usually by the exorcists, were even at that time described and treated as mental diseases by educated Greek physicians. All their chief symptoms appear also in cases of insanity at the present time. Therefore, these New Testament cases may partly be regarded as mental derangement, the subjects of which were led by the popular opinion to consider themselves to be possessed, as is still the case where people believe in possession, and where there are exorcists. Partly they may have been cases of high-wrought magnetic excitement; and partly also severe bodily diseases which the people ascribed to demons. It is indeed true, that insanity in general results from sin; and that natural evils not unfrequently come from self-surrender to moral evil. But undoubted facts are opposed to the opinion that insanity universally results from guilt. It was necessary for Jesus to use the popular language in order to be understood by the people, and especially in order to effect the cure by adapting himself to the patient's state of mind. But we have no evidence in the Synoptic Gospels that he himself differed in opinion from the people on this point. His miraculous power was shown in the instantaneous and certain result, which left behind nothing of that incurable mental stupor or feebleness which we observe at the present time; though it was not in accordance with the feeling of the Evangelists to institute particular examinations into these matters. Luke xi. 24-26 seems to refer to dangerous relapses. His method differed from the usual exorcisms (see Matt. xii. 27, and parallel, Mark ix. 38) in that he only worked on

the spirit by the power of his spirit, and was favored by the national opinion that demons must obey the Messiah. These cures, therefore, must be regarded as belonging to the works of power performed by the Messiah. John, who is silent in regard to this kind of miracles, appears to have obtained a view in regard to them, either from his Master's teaching, or from his later Greek culture, which caused him to have respect to the opinions of educated Greeks. It is necessary to suppose the Apostle incapable of this culture, or the fourth Evangelist to have been incredibly ignorant, in order to find in this silence (as Strauss does) an argument against the genuineness of John's Gospel.

SECT. 50.—*The Marriage at Cana.*

John ii. 1–12.

THE answer of Jesus to his mother, whose question expressed a distinct expectation, which was justified by the event, is not without some difficulty, even according to the mode of speech at that time. The change of water into wine, taken by itself, might be considered, as Venturini has done, an illusion; or, as Langsdorf has explained it, an artificial manufacture of wine by means of vegetable essences; or, as Paulus has done, a gay surprise and marriage-gift. But the Gospel undeniably relates a miraculous transformation, in which Jesus manifested, not only his friendliness, but also his glory. (In particular, the 9th and 11th verses, and iv. 46.) There is little in

the Old Testament types to give occasion for such a story. (Exodus xvii. 1, vii. 17, xiv. 23; Judges xv. 18; 2 Kings ii. 19.) It can be explained as a parable only by means of the secondary incidents, verses 4 and 10. To consider it, as Baur does, (following a spiritual application of Luther's,) a poetic fiction, invented to mark the opposition between the water of Judaism and the wine of Christianity, or between the watery nature of John's influence and the fiery spirit of Christ, is to assert what is not suggested by anything in the narration. One might as well refer the miracle to the mysteries of Bacchus as its type. To suppose, with Bruno Bauer, an allusion to the death of Christ and to the wine of the Supper, lacks connection, and implies absence of thought in the Gospel poets. The objections which have been brought against the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, or, at least, against this fragment of it, can by no means be strengthened through the miraculous character of this event. An immediate change of one substance into another is indeed opposed to our laws of thought. But even if none of the analogies which have been suggested (certainly not that proposed by Lange, of a mere exaltation of mind at a feast by which one drinks water as though it were wine) are sufficient, the supposition yet remains possible of the water being animated into the apparent qualities of wine. Some objection certainly lies against the resulting material, as a luxury not demanded by the needs of refined society. Its moral meaning, in the contrast of Christ's larger ethics with the ascetic life of the Baptist, is not expressed, but rather excluded

(by verse 11). The higher symbolic meaning of the act is possible indeed, yet nowhere indicated. Another objection to the fact may be drawn from the silence of the Synoptics; since such a miracle, from its character no less than from the place where it was performed, could hardly have been lost from the Galilæan traditions. Nor do the concluding words of John's account have the aspect of an eyewitness. Therefore, we are led to conjecture that an occurrence not originally regarded as a miracle, as Jesus at that time was not known to his disciples as a worker of miracles, (John ii. 11,) became transformed afterward to its present shape in the remembrance of the Church and of the Apostle under the influence of later feelings and views. But the difficulty of reconciling this view with his character as an eyewitness, and with his earnestness, leaves a question remaining which we can hardly hope ever to see answered, even in the last development of Christian thought.

SECT. 51. — *Commencement of the Work of Teaching, and
Expulsion from Nazareth.*

Luke iv. 16-30; Matt. xiii. 54-58; Mark vi. 1-6;
John iv. 44.

JESUS, during his summer residence in Judæa, had the Apostles with him. (John iii. 22, iv. 2.) But their call, which took place in Galilee, supposes that he had already appeared there in public as a teacher. We see, therefore, that his original

connection with Galilee was the cause of his first appearing there in this public capacity. The prophecy (Matt. iv. 14) quoted in regard to this, is but the echo of the fact (compare Luke xxiii. 5). In this case, he must have been in Galilee teaching, before the Passover; of which even John gives a hint (iv. 44), alluding to this first visit, the results of which were not important. But we must admit, that, according to this view, John, in his enumeration of the miracles performed in Galilee, omits at least one case,—that of a cure performed on a demoniac in Capernaum. The teaching of Jesus consisted, in the main, of exhortation to moral reformation, giving as a reason, that the kingdom of God was at hand. His doctrine was distinguished from the theme of the Baptist only by its more precise announcement that the new epoch had arrived (Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 15; Luke iv. 43. John (ii. 12) mentions out of this period only a short abode in Capernaum. Also Mark (i. 21), agreeing with Luke, places here the commencement of his teaching and actions. Luke's relation (iv. 31) is to be placed (according to verse 23) previous to the expulsion of Jesus from Nazareth. The first two Gospels indicate a subsequent appearance in Nazareth, with the same fruitless result, though having a less violent termination. It is possible that tradition has given us the same event in two different forms, but the account of Luke must not be regarded as the most probable because of its more minute description and clearness. It is likewise possible that Jesus afterward, in the glory of his renown, made another visit to his pater-

nal city; in which case, the account of this second transaction, standing by itself, might easily become entangled with a trait borrowed from the first. In any case the representation of Luke is only adapted to the commencement of the career of Jesus, and gives the motive for his change of residence to Capernaum, which is also fixed at this period by Matthew (iv. 13). The expulsion of Jesus from his paternal city is regarded by Luke as symbolical of his destiny; but the cause is not clearly explained. His first address (Luke iv. 23) was evidently a reply to some public charge, but still one does not see why Jesus, who could so easily win hearts, should have embittered against him the Abderites of Galilee. His rescue, according to the account of the Evangelists, appears miraculous; though the prophet's aspect of authority might easily have opened a path for him through the angry crowd.

SECT. 52.—*The First Passover of the Messiah.*

John ii. 23–25; iv. 45; ii. 13–22; iii. 1–21.

JESUS, while in Jerusalem, obtained the attention and favor of the people. He knew the fickleness of the multitude, and looked through the hearts of men. Among the signs by means of which he elicited faith, may have been miracles of healing; but we must also include his character as manifested in actions, and his wisdom as displayed in words. These last are the only occurrences at the festival which John has selected for his narration.

1. His driving the tradesfolk out of the court of the Temple, which is described as a picture of the power and indignation of love, might have been done in accordance with the right of every Israelite (Num. xxv. 6-13; Selden and Grotius on Natural Law), to show his zeal for the law of his fathers,—a right founded on national recollections and feelings,—or it may be a manifestation of the authority of the Messiah, commencing thus a reform of worship (Malachi iii. 1). (See Gfrörer, *Hist. of Primitive Christianity*, especially his reference to the Targum of Jonathan on Zach. xiv. 21.) In the first case, the only question is, to what this bold action should lead. In the other case, which is John's supposition, a miracle is expected as proof of his authority. The answer of Jesus suits either view (John ii. 19). If it was correctly understood by the Jews, it would seem that he only wished to free himself from their importunity by an evasion. If the allegorical interpretation of the Apostle is correct (John ii. 21), it contains a questionable provocation, excusable only by being wholly unintelligible to them. Baur's notion that it was placed in the mouth of Jesus by the writer himself from his own consciousness, is opposed to his admission that he did not understand it at the time. The apparent ostentation of the first view disappears when we enter into its full meaning, by which the Temple appears as the outward symbol of the national worship; and Jesus then utters a prophecy concerning his whole work and influence which the purification of this worship itself explains and fulfils. (John iv. 21.) A repetition of this transaction

at the final passover is indeed possible (Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; Luke xix. 45); but the circumstantial differences in the Synoptical accounts make it improbable. The Synoptics only mention one Passover, and therefore are compelled to refer to this all transactions which belonged to any Passover. For the safe accomplishment of this action, there was wanting neither a miracle, nor an appeal to public sympathy, nor the influence acquired by a year's public activity, to give Jesus authority for an heroic act, also less in accordance with his position and frame of mind at the last Passover. 2. The conversation with Nicodemus is recorded on account of the subject, and on account of the person. Jesus changes the subject of conversation from his own praise, always unsuitable when spoken to one's face, and, passing to the deeper questions contained therein, speaks of the condition of entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. The image of a new birth was traditional in the East, and could not be misunderstood by a man of learning, through pretence or involuntarily, with a good or a bad purpose. A dissatisfaction occasioned by an Israelite's national pride does not appear; and this would have objected, not to the possibility, but to the necessity of the new birth. The meaning of this figurative answer of Nicodemus may be, that the young Galilæan was making a too severe demand upon an old man, who, after a worthy life, had a right to be what he was. But this subjective or personal discussion passes into a larger and more universal topic. It is not to be wondered at, if, in private conversation, two teach-

ers in Israel should go more deeply into spiritual mysteries than was proper in public instruction. They spoke of the necessity of an entire change in the state of the soul, and of the creative power of moral freedom, in the figurative language of Oriental philosophy. The student of the law denied this miraculous power of freedom, and took his position on the plane of the understanding and sensible experience. Jesus maintained its necessity as the condition of entering the kingdom of Heaven, both from the ground of reason and of his own spiritual experience. His closing words rise even above the moral stand-point, to the highest intuitions of the religious consciousness. Although the lifting up of the Son of Man as a means of salvation must, in the mind of the Apostle, be referred to the death of the cross (John xii. 32), it is evident that this meaning could not be apparent to Nicodemus, and could hardly be of use to him in the way of moral stimulus. The conversation which took place that night is communicated only as to its most striking expressions, and it is uncertain how directly these may have come to John. His own tone plainly glimmers through, and in the closing words becomes predominant. Such a conversation as this was no subject for oral tradition; and in the Apostolic Church there was no tendency to invent, consciously or unconsciously, associations with the great men of this world. (Compare 1 Cor. i. 26.) Nicodemus certainly represents a whole class of the Jewish nation in their relation to Christ, and not merely those who, unbelievers even in their belief, remained timidly concealed.

(John xii. 42.) But a good historian finds his representative man in an historical person, and does not have to invent him, as Baur supposes. That Nicodemus at that time, or subsequently, became convinced of the claims of Jesus; and that the moral power which he had doubted showed itself in him by its only possible evidence, action, John has told us (vii. 50-52, xix. 39).

ECT. 53.—*Baptizing in Judæa.*

John iii. 22; iv. 1-3.

CONCERNING the period from the Passover till the journey into Galilee, John has merely informed us that Jesus found more disciples in the country of Judæa than did John the Baptist, and that he did not baptize in person, but by means of his disciples. His reasons were the same with those which afterward influenced the Apostle Paul, and, as in his case, this course was probably sometimes varied from. (1 Cor. i. 14-17.) Since we find no trace of all this in the Synoptics, but, on the other hand, the practice of water baptism seems opposed both to the expectation of the Baptist (Matt. iii. 11, John i. 26) and to the promise of Jesus (Acts i. 5, xi. 16), and since Paul (Rom. vi. 3, Col. ii. 12) makes the death of Jesus an essential point in the notion of baptism, and finally, since, according to Matthew (xxviii. 19, compare Mark xvi. 16), Jesus first gave a command to baptize when leaving the world, which command was not strictly observed in the time of the Apostles,

it might be inferred that baptism first began with the Apostles. This would suppose that they revived the practice of the Baptist, but added to the rite the new meaning of an initiation into their own community. (See Weisse.) But in order to find proof of this, even in the fourth Gospel, we must suppose an incredible carelessness in those who have copied it. The way in which, immediately after the departure of Jesus, baptism was adopted without hesitation as the means of introducing converts (Acts ii. 38, 41), indicates, at least as regards Luke, that something of the same sort had taken place before. These contradictions may perhaps be reconciled by the supposition that Jesus in the first place exhorted men to be baptized, in the same way as the Baptist did; but that afterward this ceremony was less insisted upon, and that only at the close of his life, when about to found a Church, was it made a universal ordinance. According to the hint in John (iii. 5, compare 1 John v. 6), and according to the distinction between baptism by water and the spirit, the first must be regarded as a symbol, or as an act of purification, perhaps applying more distinctly to the kingdom of the Messiah than did that of John. If Jesus at that time left Judæa to avoid a conflict with the Pharisees, it might have been because he saw clearly what John, from his narrower point of view, expresses less intelligibly (iv. 44), that the time had come to obtain an influence in Galilee by means of the reputation previously obtained elsewhere.

SECT. 54.—*The Messiah in Samaria.*

John iv. 4–43.

ON his way back to Galilee, Jesus began to reunite the people of Samaria in the Messianic kingdom with their former brethren of kindred tribes. He was passing through a region full of the recollections of the common ancestors of the nation. Here, meeting a woman of Samaria, whose character, as it appears, was not good, he first interested her by his figurative discourse, and then moved the depths of her soul by his prophetic earnestness. It was in her presence, after she had sought, by an adroit question concerning the religious controversies existing between the nations, to divert his attention from her own involved relations, that he expressed, deeply moved by the hope and joy of this day, the fundamental idea of his religion,—spiritual communion with God in piety of life, and the abolition of all ceremonial service. At the same time he openly declared himself to be the Messiah who was to establish such a worship of God. The woman, and the people of her city, recognized him as such without any external evidence, but merely impressed by the inward truth of his discourse. This city was the ancient Sichem, called by the Jews in mockery Sychar (after Isa. xxviii. 1, 7), and was situated at the foot of Mount Gerizim. (Josephus, Antiquities, Book IV. § 8. 45; Robinson's Palestine, Book III.) The Samaritans, already inclined to a more spiritual mode of worship, were then expecting a human Messiah from the race of Joseph, whose

chief office should be that of a teacher and moral reformer. This view of the Samaritan belief is confirmed by the oldest genuine monuments, as well as by the latest information concerning the descendants of these Samaritans now living in Naplous. And this view goes to explain and confirm this narration of John. Opposed to this is the command in Matt. x. 5, which, in connection with John iii. 16, and the full knowledge of character which Jesus is presumed to possess, would imply that his great answer and large view were unsuited to the notions of this immoral woman. Hence this story has been regarded as a myth, relating to the spread of Christianity in Samaria after the death of Jesus, and founded on the patriarchal blessing (Gen. xxiv. 15, xxix. 9), with which accords the allegorical understanding of the five husbands as the five idolatries of the country. (Bretschneider.) Bruno Bauer considers it a religious view, in the form of history, concerning the position of the Jews and Samaritans to the Gospel; Baur as an historic poem, contrasting with the timidity of Nicodemus the receptive condition of the heathen mind. But a certain favor toward the Samaritans also appears in Luke (x. 30, xvii. 15; compare John viii. 48). Therefore, the command in Matthew may have been occasioned by merely temporary reasons. (Compare Luke ix. 52-56.) The knowledge of her conduct may have been obtained without a miracle, though this cannot be shown; and considered miraculous, as John regards it, it has an analogy in magnetic clairvoyance. It was suitable for Jesus to answer in a strain loftier and more

noble than was the question, and the Jewish side of his answer passes away in the lofty insight which alone can reconcile such antagonisms. John himself refers to the common origin of both nations from Jacob. That the Samaritans were received without question by the Apostles (Acts viii. 5) implies many transactions like the one here narrated, and many expressions like that in Acts i. 8. But the form of the story is poetical, and, the conversation having been without witnesses, literal accuracy is not to be expected in the tradition.

SECT. 55.—*Cures effected at a Distance.*

John iv. 46, 53; Matt. viii. 5-13; Luke vii. 1-10.

JOHN marks the entrance of Jesus into Galilee by the healing of a person in Capernaum, mortally sick with fever, whose father, a nobleman, obtained his cure by entreaties addressed to Jesus, still in Cana. This cure might be explained, not indeed by medical, but by prophetic foresight; but that the crisis of the fever should have happened in the precise hour in which the request was made, indicates an influence exerted from a distance. It is no contradiction, as Bruno Bauer asserts, but wholly accords with the lofty manner of Jesus, that, after giving a general reproof, he should have granted more than was at first asked. According to Matthew and Luke, the sick son of a centurion at Capernaum was healed when absent, in a similar way, at the father's request, immediately after the Sermon on the Mount. The

great difference of details, John agreeing now more with Matthew, and now more with Luke, will not justify us in assuming two different transactions. But according to the Synoptical narration there is something so characteristic in the humility and strong faith of this stranger in Israel, and in its deep impression upon Christ something so anti-Jewish and profoundly significant, that, if it had been once present in the traditions of the Church, it could not possibly have been so diluted away, and almost changed into its opposite (John iv. 48), by a writer like the fourth Evangelist. John's nobleman asking for help can hardly be considered as such an example of faith as the centurion in the Synoptics; considering the reproof, however general, addressed to him by Jesus. Still, it is possible that oral tradition without the knowledge of the fourth Evangelist should have adapted the same facts to a commonplace account of a miracle. But, on the other hand, the first and third Evangelists show, by their agreement as to time and place, that they are describing the same transaction. Their differences only show how freely these events were treated by tradition. A cure performed at a distance, such as is undeniably narrated by the Synoptics, and especially by Luke, is nowise incredible when regarded as a spiritual influence; and that a third person's faith should be the medium has its parallel in more than one instance of apparent death. We conclude, therefore, considering the full resemblance of this to other miraculous narrations, and the great particularity of time and place, that there seems no reason from their miraculous

contents to regard the substance of the two stories as a parable, or as a myth, based on the dissimilar story in 2 Kings v. 9. Nor is there any more ground for this opinion in the grandeur of the thought, which is one belonging to the historic substance of the Synoptic narration.

SECT. 56.—*Abode in Capernaum.*

AFTER his return to Galilee (John iv. 43), a cultivated and populous hill-region, inhabited by a laborious and warlike race, independent to a degree, both politically and in sentiment, of the hierarchy at Jerusalem (see the Art. in Winer, Biblical Dictionary), Jesus adopted as his residence the small town of Capernaum, situated on the beautiful Lake of Genesareth. (Matt. iv. 13, ix. 1; Mark i. 21, ii. 1; compare John vi. 59.) His first disciples either themselves resided here, or were acquainted with the inhabitants; and the general feeling of good-will had previously manifested itself among the inhabitants in their endeavor to detain him among them. (Luke iv. 42; Mark i. 38; compare John ii. 12. See also Robinson's Palestine.) Here, on the west shore of the lake, near the entrance of the Jordan, on the great highway of the trade of Damascus, or in short expeditions and journeys from this point as a centre, occurred those events which have been narrated by the Synoptics without connection or chronological order. Here, probably, under the government of Philip (Josephus), Jesus lived in safety, and revered by the common people. Even the teachers of the law, who

gradually collected around him, observed his course without taking decided ground themselves, though becoming more and more displeased by his particular actions.

SECT. 57.—*The Son of God as a Country Rabbi.*

THE appearance of Jesus at this time was thoroughly national, and not essentially different from the position of a travelling country Rabbi. His religious addresses were made on all occasions; now as connected harangues, and now as familiar conversations with friends or opponents. His journeys were intended partly to preach the Gospel; partly they were also journeys to the national feasts at Jerusalem; and subsequently they were attempts to escape the interruptions which interfered with the leisure and security necessary for the education of the Apostles. Some women are found in the company, on the longer expeditions, who provided for the needs of the party. (Luke viii. 1–3.) Sometimes they tarried with hospitable friends. (John xii. 1.) Occasionally Jesus proposed himself as a guest (Luke xix. 1), and also accepted invitations from strangers or opponents (Luke xi. 37). When they travelled through the wilderness, through Samaria, or through distant regions, the means of life were purchased. (Matt. xiv. 17; John iv. 8.) But there is no trace, nor probability, that Jesus worked at his trade during any portion of his Messianic life. His mother, Mary, does not seem to have been rich. (Luke ii. 24; compare John xix. 26.) Jesus either

possessed no inheritance, or left it to his brothers. (Matt. viii. 20; compare xix. 21.) But the expressions concerning his poverty (2 Cor. viii. 9, Phil. ii. 7) only refer to the contrast between his lowly and laborious life and the royal prerogatives of the Messiah. He lived, with his Apostles, upon Oriental hospitality, or on a common purse, made up by the contributions of his friends (John xii. 6, xiii. 29), in a situation which permitted him to give alms, and even to procure some costly necessaries (John xiii. 29, xix. 23), and which did not even allow the covetousness of Judas to make a pretext of possible future need in order to increase their possessions (John xii. 5); and accordingly he was raised above the cares belonging either to wealth or poverty.*

SECT. 58.—*Celibacy of Jesus.*

MARRIAGE, according to Jewish morality, was a universal duty, and a condition to be entered into in early life, especially by the first-born of a family. And according to its Christian signification, it is the completion of the individual, and belongs therefore to the idea of a perfect man, unless when some special providential reason hinders. Christ had also reflected upon the subject of marriage, and had expressed his view of its sanctity (Matt. xix. 4.) The

* The Franciscans were induced by the customs of their order, and the Lutheran Theologians by the logic of their system, to maintain the entire poverty of Jesus. See J. G. Walch, on the Poverty of Christ, Halle, 1756 (Latin). Siebenhaar, in Kauffer's Biblical Studies (German), 1843; a Latin Essay, maintaining that Jesus was "pauper, non egenus."

question, therefore, why he himself did not enter into this relation, is one which has been discussed from the earliest antiquity. The answer, that he was prevented by the laborious nature of his public office and the foresight of his early death, does not account for the peaceful ten years which preceded his public life; and rests on what would have been a narrow anxiety in regard to his own sufferings, or those of another. The opinion that the love to God and to man, which filled him with longing for his future career, left no room in his soul for the thought of a happy personal union, takes for granted that those feelings are antagonistic and exclusive, which might find ample space together, at least in a rich heart. The opinion that the dignity of Christ would allow only a spiritual posterity has led logically to the celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy. It might, indeed, appear that Jesus, like the Baptist, preferred the unmarried state from ascetic reasons, borrowed from the Essenes. (Matt. xix. 12.) But such a one-sided view is inconsistent with the pure, human majesty of his life. If, therefore, the true reason does not lie concealed in some unknown events of his youth, we may allow a conjecture that he, from whose religion that ideal view of marriage unknown to antiquity has proceeded, found no soul living in his time equal to his own, and capable of such a bond. The only passage (Matt. xix. 12) which considers a voluntary celibacy as something specially adapted for the kingdom of Heaven, appears even in its form an echo of the Essene-Ebionite opinions, though it seems certainly to ac-

cord with the recommendation of Paul. (1 Cor. vii. 32.)*

SECT. 59. — *The Flesh and the Spirit.*

WE should expect to find an absolute opposition between the spirit and flesh in one whose life showed such immense energy of aspiration toward the Eternal, and such a conflict with a hostile world given over to its lusts. But Jesus himself only regarded the flesh as the weak and fugitive element. (Matt. xxvi. 41; John iii. 6.) When (in John vi. 63) he says that "the flesh profits nothing," this is merely in order to correct another statement (John vi. 56), understood as though life was to come from the flesh alone. It profits nothing unless penetrated by the vitalizing spirit, which, as the word of Christ, would not cease to create spirit and life after the sacrifice of his flesh. Jesus made the traditions of the fathers subordinate to the demands of nature. (Mark ii. 23–27 and parallel passages.) His hostility to riches is moderated by being made applicable to those who trust in riches (Mark x. 24), and he recognizes a nobler use of wealth than even that of helping the poor (Matt. xxvi. 8–11). By calling the publican to be an Apostle, (Matt. ix. 9–17, Mark ii. 13–22, Luke v. 27–39,) Jesus defended, in opposition to

* See Clement, Stromata, Book III. "They do not know the reason that the Lord was not married. For in the first place he had his own bride, the Church; and next, he was not a common man to need such an earthly helpmate; nor was it necessary to him to have children, being the only begotten Son of God, and remaining eternal."

the assumed superiority of the Pharisees, his mission to the whole debased part of humanity. By the same act he opposed to the rigor and external strictness of the disciples of John the free and joyful spirit of his doctrine, which would not suffer limitation, on the one hand, by arbitrary human maxims, and yet, on the other hand, was ready to judge the errors of others in the mildest way. Though fasting was a custom belonging to the national morals, the Master did not cause his disciples to fast. (Matt. ix. 14, but compare xvii. 21.) Not that he wholly rejected such practices, but that he wished them to be kept for the hour of real need, and then to be veiled in the secret of a smiling face. (Matt. ix. 15, vi. 16.) He took the most joyous moment of earthly gayety as symbol of the highest communion. No religious hero was ever less afraid of the joys of this life than was Jesus. He did not scruple to visit scenes whose customs seem to us strange; and so to offend pious zealots, of whose objections he makes cheerful mention. (Matt. xi. 19; John ii. 10.) But a trait of earnestness, and even of sadness, runs through his manner even in his most cheerful hours (for example, Matt. ix. 15).

There was nothing in the mind of Jesus analogous to that enthusiastic contemplation of nature which is found in the Book of Psalms; or to that deep, loving immersion in the life of nature which belongs to the poetry of India. But his teaching in the open air, in the midst of beautiful scenery, his spending his nights upon the mountains, and his discourse about the lilies, indicate that he loved to pass his time

with nature, of which he constantly makes use in an ethical way as an illustration of moral nature and of the spiritual kingdom. (Matt. v. 45, vi. 26, xiii. 24.) He does not appear to have ever directed his discourse to children, nor to have given the Apostles any directions on this point. But the innocence of childhood was to him sacred ; his kingdom belonged to it ; he loved and blessed the little ones. (Matt. xviii. 1 - 6, xix. 13 - 15, and the parallel passages.)

SECT. 60. — *The Twelve Apostles.*

Mark iii. 13 - 19 ; Luke vi. 12 - 16 ; Matt. x. 1 - 4, x. 5 - 43 ; Mark vi. 7 - 13 ; Luke ix. 1 - 6, 10.

ACCORDING to Mark and Luke, Jesus chose from among the disciples who gradually collected around him twelve Apostles, in order that they, as his confidential companions, intimately acquainted with his doctrine and his life, might become his special agents in announcing the kingdom of God. This choice and inauguration was deliberate, and the result of a previous acquaintance with the Twelve, although the time when it took place has not been fixed even by Luke with sufficient precision. But such a deliberate choice has been doubted, for the following reasons : first, because John could not well remain silent in regard to so important a point in the development of the history of Jesus ; secondly, because, according to this, the traitor must also have been selected by Jesus ; and lastly, because, after the death of Jesus, the Apostles returned to their home and work, and

did not possess exclusively even the apostolic name. But John mentions the circumstances with which the apostolic call commenced (i. 37), and, like Matthew, always assumes this circle of the Twelve to be around his Master (John vi. 67). Jesus himself testifies (John xv. 16) that he has chosen the Apostles, and that they have not chosen him. If he knew what was in man (John ii. 25), this, nevertheless, was not omniscience, certainly not knowledge of that which was still hidden, undeveloped in the self-consciousness of another. If the condition of becoming an Apostle was to leave all (Matt. xix. 21), it was at all events fulfilled by the Apostles (Matt. xix. 27), but still did not prevent them, when not employed, from working with their relatives, and living with their families. The choice of one to complete their number (Acts i. 15), even if it proceeded from a misunderstanding, shows that the Apostles regarded themselves as members of a definite association; so that the choice of the eleven and of Judas must have been the work of Jesus. Their number, twelve, to which also Paul bears witness (1 Cor. xv. 5, comp. Acts xxi. 14) was chosen with a national purpose. They were all of the humbler classes, and, as men of the people, were well adapted (Matt. xi. 25) to be the messengers of a Divine revelation, which should call forth a spiritual revolution proceeding from the people. Men of established position could hardly have been found to take the office of an apostle (John xii. 42), and the kind of learning then prevalent would have been a somewhat dangerous help in fulfilling the simple work of announcing the

Gospel. If one considers what a decisive element in the victory of Christianity was the mighty mind of Paul, and how often Jesus felt himself saddened and alone on account of the misunderstandings of the Apostles, we may believe that he chose the best whom he could find from a very limited circle. (Matt. ix. 38.) But from among these men, mostly undistinguished, yet faithful and incorruptible, there came, through the forming influence of their teacher's wisdom, their own stern experience, and the blessing of God, the independent founders of an eternal, universal, spiritual union. And while they were still flattering themselves with the hope of obtaining posts of honor in the kingdom of an earthly Messiah (Matt. xix. 28, xx. 20, Mark x. 29), Jesus was arousing within them moral energies, which enabled them to dispense with all such earthly hopes. The Apostles considered their Master, during his earthly life, as divinely commissioned, and endowed with great and miraculous powers (Luke ix. 54); but yet as a MAN, and one by no means elevated above error and danger (Luke viii. 45; John xi. 8; compare Luke xxiv. 21). The national reverence for his dignity, and the feeling of his spiritual elevation, infused into their relation to him a feeling of distance and awe. (Compare Matt. xvi. 7; John xiii. 22, xvi. 18.) Jesus allowed this feeling to remain until the pain and tenderness of separation urged him to take them as friends to his heart. (John xiv. 15.) His sending them out with wise and courageous advice, so that, by being lifted above all care and anxiety in regard to temporal things, they might be

made equal to any future emergency, must be regarded — if we consider their limited views at that period — as only a preparatory work for their own benefit, and that of the people. In addition, Jesus gave them power to drive out demons, and to cure diseases with oil. Yet there was wanting to them at first spiritual force for a fully successful exercise of these gifts. (Matt. xvii. 16.) And latterly, Peter alone appears to have possessed the full power. (Acts iii. 6, &c., v. 15, ix. 32, &c.) That which in the Synoptic relation (Matt. x. 5–43, Mark vi. 7–13, Luke ix. 1–6, 10) appears like a sending out of all at once, was perhaps only a sending out of a single couple at one time, and others in like manner again. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee stand in closest relation to their Master; according to the fourth Gospel, only John and Peter (compare Gal. ii. 9). Prominent among them are these: — SIMON, who was named, as a sign of what he should become, Cephas, that is, PETER, full of marked antagonisms of soul and sense, in the storms of which conflict he would have sunk had he not been made, by means of the word of Jesus, the Rock on which the Church in Judæa was founded, and by which its communication to the heathen was prepared. (John i. 43; Matt. xiv. 23–26; John xxi. 7; Matt. xvi. 16–19, 22, &c.; John xviii. 10, &c., 25, &c.; Matt. xxvi. 58, 69–75; John xxi. 15–21; Acts i. 15, &c., iv. 8, &c., v. 3, &c., 29, &c., xv. 7–11; Gal. ii. 11–14.) JOHN, as a youth impatient, irritable, proud, deep-minded, poetic, an eagle, and a son of thunder, but perhaps with small capacity for

utterance, and shut up in himself. . In his love to his Master, who had loved him on account of his love, and who perhaps saw in him the reflection of his own youth, his whole being was glorified to an infinite love, in which the highest wisdom was revealed to him. (Mark ix. 38, &c. ; Luke ix. 54 ; Mark iii. 17 ; Matt. xx. 20-22 ; John xiii. 23, xix. 26, &c.) THOMAS, according to slight indications, possessed a manly character, with a strain of melancholy tenderness. Jesus founded the brotherly love of the Apostles, the condition and image of Christianity, upon his own love. (John xv. 12.) To destroy their ambition, he sets before them the unpretending character of a child (Matt. xviii. 1, Mark ix. 33, &c., Luke ix. 46, &c.), shows them the grandeur of Christian service, endurance, and martyrdom (Matt. xx. 20, &c.), and his own service of love (John xiii. 4, &c.). In such brotherly love, which can only exist where man grants without limit to his brother what he needs without limit from God, he promised to remain always with his friends in his essential spiritual being. (Matt. xviii. 20, xxviii. 20.) By this brotherly love they should be known as his. (John xiii. 35.) In this sense he answers the question of Peter (Matt. xviii. 21), who wished to set an arbitrary limit to the duty of forgiveness. In reply to a question of John, itself almost a confession, Jesus, with as much wisdom as goodness, directed the stranger to be allowed to cast out demons in his name. (Mark ix. 38-40 ; Luke ix. 49.) But he who would not break the bruised reed yet demanded the highest sacrifices from the aspiring young man, because he loved him.

(Matt. xix. 16-22.) For from all whom he loved he asked that they should sacrifice the temporal to the eternal. The particular form of the demand depended on circumstances of time and person.

SECT. 61.—*The Sermon on the Mount.*

Matt. chap. v. - vii. ; Luke vi. 17 - 49.

THE accounts in the first and third Gospels must be intended to refer to the same discourse of Jesus, if we consider the similarity of the situations and of the introduction, and the identity of the leading thoughts, the conclusion, and the event immediately following. (Matt. viii. 5, &c. ; Luke vii. 1, &c.) The shorter communication of Luke does not bear throughout the stamp of an original record. Single passages from the discourse in Matthew are found in the other Gospels, and even scattered in different places through his own, as if spoken upon different occasions. Especially the Lord's Prayer, which, containing allusions to Jewish formulas of prayer, embraces the whole circuit of common religious needs as a model and direction for supplication, stands in Luke (xi. 1) in a shorter form indeed, but in a precise, individualized relation. To be sure, it is also placed by Matthew in a suitable connection ; but still a prayer which is not addressed to God, but given, unasked, as a model, has a singular position in the midst of a public discourse. That Jesus should have repeated single sayings at different times is opposed, at first sight, to our idea of his mental ful-

ness, but is authenticated with respect to proverbial sayings, and belongs to the position of a teacher who is not speaking to himself, but to others. The Sermon on the Mount is a well-connected whole, bound together by a single thought ; but this thought is expressed in so many different directions, the fulness and variety is so great, especially according to Matthew, it is so well carried out, and so much like written discourse, that such a speech, even if it contained many passages before thought out, could not easily have been all spoken at once, freely, from the heart. Moreover, the Master, though able to speak thus in a manner opposed to the psychological laws of the development of thought, would hardly have been willing to speak in this way, since such a discourse would scarcely have left behind a single impression, or have led to a single purpose. A hearer who was moved by any one of these thoughts, and whose mind was pursuing it, would only have been disturbed, and had his attention distracted, by the variety and movement of the rest. Still, both of the Evangelists intend to describe a single discourse, delivered under certain precise circumstances in the neighborhood of Capernaum. The course of tradition usually connects the sayings of Jesus with accompanying events. Yet it is natural that evangelical tradition, or the separate Evangelists, should have wished to present a general picture of the great Teacher of their nation and the world ; and this was most easily done by making use of some one particularly striking case. Hence it might happen that to this particular discourse other sayings became attached, and that

other remarks of Jesus, which seem suitable to this collective image, should be connected with it; especially as the recollection of portions of an harangue would be less distinct than a tradition of events. Both Evangelists have pursued this aim, intentionally or otherwise, and, after mentioning in general terms the works of Jesus (Matt. iv. 23, &c., Luke vi. 17, &c.), have given his portrait as Teacher. Both discourses are therefore identical as regards the purpose of the historian and the actual occasion.* But Matthew has treated his subject more extensively, or has found a richer crystallization of traditions. He does not allude to any inauguration of the Apostles on this occasion, such as Luke might seem to intend; but the sermon is addressed primarily to the disciples, secondarily to the people, and ultimately to the whole of Christendom. It is a Constitution for the kingdom of Heaven considered as founded in the moral and religious nature of man. Matthew also gives it the aspect of a reform of the Jewish law.

The introduction of the sermon (Matt. v. 1-16) pronounces a blessing on those who, through a sense of their poverty, are longing for such a kingdom of love. The important place which such persons are to fill in the world's history is shown by Matthew; whereas Luke has only seized the other side of the same view in its outward form, and added to it a woe against those who enjoy earthly happiness. In the first division of the discourse, to chap. v. 48, the relation of the kingdom of Heaven to the Jewish theocracy is pointed out in general terms, and shown by means of single instances to be that of inward

morality to outward righteousness. In the second division, to chap. vi. 18, is shown the contrast between this spiritual fulfilling of the law, and the Pharisaic conception of obedience as consisting of external works of almsgiving, fasting, and prayer. In the third division, down to chap. vi. 34, is pointed out the distinction between the temporal and the eternal, and the supreme value of the last; but also how the entire submission to the Infinite moves cheerfully out into the Finite. In the fourth division, down to chap. vii. 12, we have unconnected aphorisms of ethics and proverbial wisdom. In the conclusion, to chap. vii. 27, is the practical application of the whole theory to the life and the heart, with the most penetrating appeal to the depths of the soul. It is possible that sayings might be found similar to every separate utterance of this discourse, since Jesus did not invent the Moral Law. Among the commands are some which are expressed in the parabolic form of a single illustration, according to the custom of that age and the popular form of teaching. These have been taken literally by fanatics, by scoffers, and by pedantic grammarians. But Jesus, with all his moral strength and clearness of insight, can hardly have intended to approve a course of conduct which, instead of contending courageously, despairingly throws away any of the sacred gifts of God, and which would give the world over as a prey to evil-doers (Matt. v. 29 and 39). But he must rather have intended to indicate by these maxims the spirit in which one should act,—the spirit of brotherly love, of social sympathy and heroic self-sacrifice.

Whilst Jesus contemplated the Mosaic law of marriage (Deut. xxiv. 1, see Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*, 1646) as a relaxation of the original divine law allowed on account of the hardness of the human heart, he considered marriage in its idea as indissoluble. Yet in practice he allowed it to be dissolved, though only in an extreme case, so recognizing the element of actual life. In his kingdom of truth the prohibition of the oath is absolute. The Sermon on the Mount is one side of Christianity, and not the whole of it.

SECT. 62. — *Spirit of the Teaching of Jesus.*

THE immediate work of Jesus was not to teach a doctrine, but to found a kingdom which should be a community for the religious culture of universal humanity. But since this community was based on the knowledge of religious truth, and opposition to its antagonist errors, it became an essential part of his work to teach. His doctrine is the communication of the insights of a perfectly pious soul, with the purpose of laying the foundation of a pious community. The pious soul is as old as humanity, and we accordingly find among the ancients many sayings parallel to the separate sayings of Jesus. But we never find anywhere that complete insight and that perfection of character from which these proceeded. The religion of Jesus differs from the Christian religion only as cause and effect, and Christianity is both an historic and positive religion, and also the eternal, universal religion of man. It is the first, if

we regard it objectively as a definite community for religious culture proceeding from Jesus himself. It is the other, if we consider it subjectively as that religious state of mind which is developed into full life by means of this Christian culture. Therefore, in Christianity any appointed ceremonies can only be intended to express this common life, and to awaken this pious sentiment, but not as a mode of worship necessary in itself. (John iv. 21, 24.) And so, too, distinct doctrines have a place only as the natural expression of this heart of piety, and not in distinction from this as an appointed confession of faith. (Matt. vii. 21-23 ; John xiii. 34.)

SECT. 63. — *Judaism and Christianity.*

CHRISTIANITY was an institution no less than Judaism. But it was not outwardly limited to a particular nation, through a positive theocratic law ; but, as a spiritual religion, was to embrace all nations and ages in time and eternity. Remote, indeed, was this spirit from the narrowness and the external character of Judaism. But still, indicated by the foreboding spirit of the Mosaic and Prophetic teaching, it stands related to these like the fulfilment of a prophecy ; a new creation, but yet one growing out of popular expectations, and erected on the basis of national ideas. The personal relation of Jesus to the Jewish law is an enigma ; but yet this much stands fast as a matter of fact. On the one side, it may be said that Paul was the first who, by an energetic conflict, accomplished the emancipation of Christianity from the

Jewish law. Again, that in this independent development of the Apostolic Church no party appealed to the sayings of Jesus; and, though the Messiah was justified, in the popular opinion, in doing away certain parts of the law, yet Jesus has declared its permanence until the time of the great expected catastrophe, in a manner which could then only have been understood by his hearers in a literal and unlimited sense, and hardly otherwise by the Evangelists themselves. (Matt. v. 17-19; compare Luke xvi. 16.) His referring all goodness to the state of the mind (Matt. xv. 11, Mark xii. 33) does not necessarily suppose a decisive opinion in opposition to the Jewish law. But on the other hand, the spirit of Christianity must of necessity bring to an end the Jewish law in its national limitations and in its ceremonial worship. Jesus announced the approach of this crisis at Jerusalem. (John ii. 19.) In Samaria (John iv. 21-24) he spoke of it as already commenced. He expected the destruction of the temple (Matt. xxiv. 2), recognized the need of a new form (Matt. ix. 17), declared himself Master of the Law (Matt. xii. 6-8), and even in the Sermon on the Mount, strictly considered, he opposed not only the Pharisaic additions to the law, but changed more than one iota in the demands of the law itself, regarding some things as merely permitted for a time because of the hardness of their hearts. (Matt. xix. 8.) We may bring these contradictions into unity by considering that Jesus allowed the ancestral law to stand, from tenderness to the popular attachment toward it, and from fear of lawlessness and license in those not sufficiently

prepared, by a change of sentiment, for its immediate abolition. But he gave to it a liberal interpretation, and did away the Pharisaic additions. To this we must add, that he foresaw and prepared the way for its entire termination, and trusted to the development which would necessarily take place of the ideas set in motion by his own spirit and life. (John xvi. 12.) But since the highest meaning of the law consisted in its being a preparation for the Gospel, finding in this its fulfilment, and obtaining lasting vitality only thus in an external overthrow, Jesus might well say that the law was fulfilled by that spiritual obedience which he should bring. (Compare Romans iii. 31, viii. 4, and the parallel Luke xvi. 16.)*

SECT. 64. — *Jesus announced as the Messiah.*

JESUS only announced that the kingdom of Heaven was at hand (§ 51), and caused this to be proclaimed (Matt. x. 7), but was silent concerning himself, even so far as to forbid the demons (Mark iii. 11) and the Apostles (Matt. x. 20 and parallels, compare xii. 16, &c.) to reveal him as the Messiah. The demons were considered to possess superior knowledge, and it might actually occur, in certain cases, that a diseased person, by sympathetic clairvoyance, might discover him to be the Messiah out of his own consciousness. The Apostles, indeed, followed him as the Messiah

* The law and the prophets are considered to extend only to the time of the Baptist; hence the reading of Marcion, which substitutes, for "the law," "my words," (Matt. v. 18,) is true in the spirit, if not in the letter.

(John i. 44, 45, 49, compare Luke v. 8); but it would seem, according to Matthew (xiv. 33, xvi. 15, &c., and the parallels; compare John vi. 67, &c.), that his full recognition as such was rather a matter of surprise and momentary astonishment than of firmly-rooted, fixed conviction. Therefore, also, the opinions concerning him wavered even among the well-disposed (Matt. xii. 23, xvi. 14, John vii. 26, 31), and even late in his ministry the request was made that he should publicly declare himself. (John vii. 24.) This uncertainty and concealment in regard to a matter which appeared capable of and needing the greatest publicity, does not prove that there was anything uncertain in the mind of Jesus himself, or that he reluctantly accepted the title of Messiah; for the Messianic office appears, quite evidently, to be the one fixed pivot on which his whole life turned. According to the Synoptics, also, Jesus called himself Messiah from the first (Luke iv. 18), and at the close of his career, even when it was at the risk of his life. (Matt. xxvi. 64.) Throughout the fourth Gospel is everywhere the same open assumption of the Messianic dignity, yet wholly foreign from the popular conception of the office, consisting in the religious claim of union with God. But the true motive and necessity for his reluctance in admitting the name was this: that he meant to be the Messiah in a wholly different way from that which the people anticipated, so that, if he had announced himself as such without previously preparing their minds, he would have excited hopes which he did not intend to gratify, and would have compelled the public

authorities, who must either acknowledge the Messiah or put him down, to a conflict which he wished as yet to avoid. Therefore Jesus usually called himself the Son of Man; which expression, alluding to Daniel (vii. 13), contains a Messianic meaning (Matt. xxvi. 64, John iii. 13), and was also intelligible to the people (John xii. 34), and is found in Jewish writings (see the Book of Enoch), but according to his prohibition, and according to Matthew (xvi. 13), is not exactly the same thing as the Messiah, and for that very reason was preferred by Jesus. For this phrase only indicated the Messiahship in a covert manner, turning the attention away from all political expectations to something belonging to universal humanity. (Compare Matt. ii. 27; 1 Cor. xv. 47.) This phrase, in its deep significance appropriated by Jesus to express his own individual conception of the Messiah's office, and seldom used by the Apostolic Church (only in Acts vii. 56), can only mean the perfect humanity of Jesus, and his devotion to the interests of all mankind. The title of Son of David was merely allowed by Jesus. (Compare Matt. xxii. 41.) The title of Son of God, which, according to the Biblical use of language, marks the most different degrees of union with God (for example, Matt. v. 9, 45, Luke vi. 35), and which, in the highest sense, indicates absolutely the Messiah, (Matt. xvi. 16, xxvi. 63, John i. 50), is, in the fourth Gospel, assumed by Jesus in its purely religious sense. But also the strongest assertions of his dignity in the discourses made, according to John's Gospel, at the festivals at Jerusalem, were only the rightful claims to a royalty given by God; by which, in the

national opinion, he was lifted above the humble habits of private life, as, by his human perfection, he was taken out of those limitations which first came to human nature through sin.

SECT. 65.—*Divinity and Divine Mission.*

WHAT Jesus says concerning his oneness with God (John x. 30), of the power given to him in heaven and earth (Matt. xxviii. 18), and of himself as the exclusive medium of the knowledge of God (Matt. xi. 27, and parallel passages, John xiv. 6), is not exhausted by considering his will in moral harmony with the Divine will, nor by the authority which belongs to each teacher of truth. Yet he describes his oneness with God as dependence on God (John v. 19, viii. 28, Matt. xxvi. 39), and as destined for all mankind. (John xiv. 23, xvii. 21; Matt. v. 48.) He ascribes perfect goodness (Mark x. 18, Luke xviii. 19), and perfect knowledge (Mark xiii. 32), and exclusive honor (John vii. 18) to the Father alone. And when accused of arrogating to himself the name of God, he claims only that of the Son of God, appealing with entire humility to the Old Testament use of language. (John x. 33–36.) Therefore, the expressions above used refer partly to his religious oneness with God, and partly to his Messianic destiny as the founder of the kingdom of Heaven. For both by thought and action he elevated the popular notion of the Messiah to the highest religious idea; the idea of his life being oneness with God in a divine life, and his aim being the edu-

cation of humanity to the same unity. But if any single expressions can be explained as referring to a pre-existence (John viii. 56, &c., xvii. 5), so that thereby the purely human consciousness of Jesus is taken away, others also may be explained, on the contrary, as referring to a merely political Messiahship, (§ 73,) and we must, therefore, consider both to be merely echoes of the popular faith in its two forms. (§ 68.) If Jesus declares himself to have come down from Heaven (John iii. 13, 31), this, taken literally as referring to a place, would have no meaning, when we think of that pure knowledge of God which he communicates; for Heaven is God, and the fulness of a divine life. Since Jesus recognized himself as the Messiah, he was divinely sent in the highest national meaning of the phrase; and since he made God's order of the world his own, he was himself divine in the highest religious meaning of the term. When he says that his doctrine was not his own, but that of his Father, he opposes the conjecture, that he might either have learned it from another, or thought it out for himself. And thus the difficulty explains itself. The divine consciousness in Jesus is an original revelation which God makes of himself in the experience of his Son. Therefore, Christ, as the archetype of man's religious nature, not only brought a revelation, but was himself a revelation. All true religion is revelation, for only God can convey a true knowledge of himself to the human heart. (John vi. 45.) Therefore Jesus appealed to each man's experience for proof that his word was from God, and knew that whoever loved

the truth and was of God would be drawn to him. (John vii. 16, viii. 42, 47.)

SECT. 66. — *Mode of Teaching.*

NOT in a systematic way, but with the unity given to separate utterances by the full religious life from which they flowed, Jesus gave discourses and taught single doctrines, as they were called forth by single events, each with a present application. Therefore, it sometimes happened that one side of truth was subsequently completed by the other side, producing an apparent contradiction. (John v. 31, viii. 14; Luke ix. 50, xi. 23; Matt. ix. 17, xiii. 52.) But always the outward and earthly form was made the symbol of the inward and spiritual truth. The method was sometimes catechetical, sometimes polemical and rhetorical, sometimes one of abstract propositions; yet even these always more practical than theoretical. It often made use of figurative expressions, and even figurative actions (John xiii. 4, &c.); it sometimes took the form of wit (Matt. iv. 19, v. 3-11, viii. 22, xii. 49, Luke viii. 21, xi. 27), sometimes of friendly or bitter irony (Luke vii. 47, Mark vii. 9, Luke xiii. 33), and is not unlike the Rabbinical method of teaching. (Matt. xiii. 52.) But while the Scribes taught what they had learned, and supported it with laborious citations, the teaching of Jesus came immediately from his own soul, and this gave it its power over human hearts. (Matt. vii. 28; Mark i. 22; John vii. 46.) Beside this loftiest and most human authority of insight (John vii. 17), it associated

with itself the authority of the Holy Scripture, which was most influential with the nation, quoting it now by way of allusion, and now as proof. These two kinds of authority are often interchanged, so that the last sometimes is made prominent (Luke xxiv. 46) where the first lies at the foundation; or it is sometimes used only in a dialectic way (Matt. xxii. 32), or that which once occurred, and which now occurs again in a higher form, is regarded as prophecy and fulfilment. (Luke iv. 18; John xiii. 18; compare Matt. xi. 14.) Willingly, too, did Jesus appeal to the sound common sense of his hearers, usually in striking examples taken from daily life (for instance, Matt. xii. 10-12). In all moral relations bearing on practical life, great clearness stands united with great intelligibility. But in the relations more immediately religious, there is often required the power of looking into an infinite depth of mystery, especially according to the record of John. The discourse of Jesus is also characterized by a trait which has been called, somewhat inaccurately, a tendency to paradox. An objection is answered by expressing in its entire fulness the thought against which, in a lower potency, the objection was urged. By this means the greater difficulty swallows up the less; and this, by its striking character, overwhelms the mind. (John iii. 12, v. 17; compare viii. 58.) Moreover, the answers of Jesus go beyond the question, and for that very reason become answers to the eternal questions of the human mind. (John vi. 26, xi. 25, xii. 23.) Jesus also pays the most careful attention to the different

powers of comprehension in his different hearers (Mark iv. 33), by whose receptivity he understood his influence to be conditioned. (Luke viii. 5, &c.; John viii. 43.) He intentionally passes over whatever they were as yet unable to bear (John xvi. 12), which is especially noticeable in the Synoptic Gospels. But there are many cases when it would seem to have been easy for Jesus to have removed a misunderstanding by a single word (for instance, John viii. 52, &c., vi. 52, 66; compare § 51). At other times he seems to throw away his words of lofty truth in opposition to his own principle (in Matt. vii. 6). These cases may be explained by the sharply defined relation to the Jews which Jesus occupied in John's recollection, and by the impression which his character had made, as one elevated so far above his contemporaries that none were able wholly to understand him. If his manner of teaching stands as the ideal of all popular instruction in religion, this perfection, though favored indeed by a great talent, is still more the result of his moral character and his consciousness of his destiny. His teaching of the Apostles differed only in having distinct reference to their intellectual culture. It is true that, while Jesus taught the people with a singular mystery, which may indeed belong only to the Synoptic manner of narration, (Mark iv. 10-13, Luke viii. 9, Matt. xiii. 10-18,) allowing his parables to remain unexplained, he allowed his disciples the privilege of a further insight into secrets plain enough without explanation if there were any power of insight. But according to John (xvi. 25, 29), in parting from his

disciples, he admitted that he had before spoken to them in dark figures. The assurance (John xv. 15) that he had made known to them the whole revelation which he had himself received, must be limited by John xvi. 12.

SECT. 67. — *Parables.*

ALTHOUGH Matt. xiii. 34 and Mark iv. 34 must not be taken too literally, it yet appears from the Synoptics that Jesus was fond of teaching by parables. By a parable we mean a religious truth conveyed by a narration of facts, borrowed, for the most part, from common life, and either invented, or treated in a picturesque form. Jesus made use of the parable, not to conceal his truth, nor to leave behind him mysteries for future centuries, but partly, by the interest belonging to this method, to fix the attention, to exercise the intellect, and to fix truth in the memory; and partly because the entanglements of theory in doctrine and in life are often made plain most easily by means of practical illustrations. These purposes appear from the nature of the case itself, and are recognized (Mark iv. 33) even without referring to the singular want of insight in the disciples who make the record. This mode of teaching, which in the East was very ancient, Jesus found existing among his people, although not frequently occurring in the Old Testament. (2 Samuel xii. 1-4; Isa. v. 1, &c., xxviii. 23, &c.) Yet these masterpieces of popular eloquence do not justify us in ascribing to Jesus poetic talent, which would be but

doubtful praise for one engaged in the work of founding a religion. Matthew (chap. xiii.) has, according to his custom, made a collection of these parables. As Jesus turned the same natural fact so as to look at it from different sides in his parables (Matt. xiii. 3, &c., compare verse 24, &c., John x. 1, &c., compare verse 7, &c.), he may also have narrated the same parable differently at different times (Matt. xiii. 24, &c., compare Mark iv. 26, &c.), so that the one report may contain the more simple form (Matt. xxv. 14, &c., Luke xiv. 16, &c.), and the other the more complex (Luke xix. 12, &c., Matt. xxii. 2, &c.). For although such changes in form may have originated in the tradition itself, yet these parables belong to those discourses of Jesus which are the most certainly and peculiarly his own, — a fact which we infer from the instantaneous cessation of this mode of teaching in the Apostolic Church. The central point of the parable is the idea of the kingdom of Heaven in all its manifold relations. The picturesque execution frequently gives occasion to details which convey no essential meaning. Those parables are the most perfect in form in which the inward meaning and the outward image are so exactly harmonized that they have often been popularly taken for true histories, yet without losing their spiritual significance. And those are the least perfect in form which, like that of the unjust steward, have given occasion to the greatest variety of interpretations. Such a parable, to an audience who needed an explanation of the simple story of the sower, must have seemed to be merely a recommendation of worldly prudence in

advancing the kingdom of Heaven, — a meaning lying on the surface, and in harmony with their ancient opinions. The supposition of an unvarying perfection of form and meaning has necessarily driven interpreters to artificial and labored explanations of that side of this parable which does not contain a spiritual meaning.

SECT. 68. — *Cleansing of Lepers.*

Matt. viii. 1-4; Mark i. 40-45; Luke v. 12-15.

THE healing of the leper by Jesus is not, according to the narration, intended as a mere declaration of ceremonial purity, for it is asked of Jesus as a free act of good-will, and described as being performed by him in this sense, and that with an immediately successful result. Taking the matter by itself, it is indeed possible that Jesus, on these occasions, only came in contact with that milder form of leprosy, easily relieved, which occasioned no ceremonial impurity. But since it is related that on one occasion (Luke xvii. 11-19) he healed, at once, ten lepers, it is impossible that such a number should have separated themselves from society from a mistaken notion concerning the nature of their complaint. It may be said, indeed, that the joining a Samaritan with the nine Jews, together with his singular and extraordinary gratitude, looks somewhat like the change of a parable into a matter of fact. (Compare Luke x. 30.) Yet it remains as an unquestionable fact, that the actual healing of lepers is included in the account

of wonderful deeds which Jesus performed, and this is the meaning of *καθαρίζω*. (Matt. xi. 5, x. 8.) The sudden healing of either kind of leprosy would be the most marked example of a power going beyond the domain of mental and moral influence. Nevertheless (in Luke xvii. 14), this suddenness of healing is the very thing which is left uncertain; and diseases of the skin are often subject to great changes. At all events, the power of Jesus over leprosy was not an infringement of any well-known law of nature. Therefore, to assert that this miracle is too wonderful to be believed, and to maintain, with Strauss, that these narrations, given by all the Synoptics, are only copied from Old Testament legends (Exod. iv. 6, Num. xii. 10, 2 Kings, chap. v.), must be considered as a prejudice. The command to keep the matter secret would be without meaning in the situation described by Matthew (viii. 1).

SECT. 69. — *Palsy, and Forgiving of Sin.*

Matt. ix. 1-8; Luke v. 17-26; Mark ii. 1-12.

THE *general* connection existing between sin and suffering appeared to the thoughtful and pious of ancient times as a *special* connection of particular suffering with personal sin. For their view of the world demanded an exact retribution in this life, without looking forward to another. A paralytic man was once brought to Jesus, according to Luke in a peculiar way, which Mark in his description

makes still more extraordinary. On this occasion Jesus might, very properly, have been led to rouse the spiritual nature of the sick man by the consolation which his assurance brought that his sins were forgiven. (Compare John v. 14.) Elsewhere he opposed the prejudice which maintained such an exact connection between sin and evil in individual cases. (John ix. 2; Luke xiii. 4.) And this view, which had become a part of the national character developed through its history, he changed into its very opposite in his own teaching. (Compare Matt. v. 4, &c.; Luke vi. 20, &c.) He opposed the scribes' misapprehension that he forgave sin by an arbitrary choice, by the fact of the cure, which to them was a valid argument. Certainly in this cure both mind and body were acted upon, and similar effects have resulted in like diseases, even in modern experience. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the Evangelical narrative which intimates that the sick man was merely under the influence of a diseased imagination.

SECT. 70.— *The Storm.*

Matt. viii. 23-27; Mark iv. 36-41; Luke viii. 22-25.

SOME have contended that Jesus, by natural means, was able to predict the approaching end of the tempest, while others have maintained that he controlled the storm by his power over nature. The first supposition is possible in regard to a lake surrounded by mountains, through whose openings the storm breaks

suddenly in and as suddenly subsides, with phenomena of a regular character. In this case, the words intended to console them by communicating this termination of the storm, might have been mistaken for the cause of its cessation. The second view, however, was that taken by eyewitnesses, who were men acquainted with the lake. If to believers Jesus appears on this occasion as lord over nature, able to still its paroxysms by the old creative words, there is much akin to this power over the tempest to be found in ancient legends and popular traditions. But the necessity of a mythical origin cannot be maintained; for Psalm cvi. 9, Gen. xiv. 16, 21, offer but a remote archetype, and the image of the Church as an ark of safety had its own origin in this narration, together with the fact of the deluge. Still, it might easily have happened that the Messiah, who had slumbered in the storm, may, in his figurative manner (Matt. xxi. 21, Luke xvii. 6), have commanded the storm in the Apostles' minds to be at peace, and that they afterward, when the storm was allayed, had misunderstood the ground of his confidence. In the first instance his physical power, and in the other his moral power, would be more manifest. But it is certain that the confidence which he expressed and demanded was connected with his trust in God, and is an example of that assurance which every man holding an essential place in the history of the world always feels, that his life is safe, even in the midst of deadly peril, until he has finished his course.

SECT. 71. — *The Demons, and the Herd of Swine.*

Matt. viii. 28 – 34 ; Mark v. 1 – 20 ; Luke viii. 26 – 39.

THE sharply-marked individuality of the man possessed with devils, living at Gadara, is unfavorable to the account in Matthew, which speaks of two such. The parenthetical addition (Mark v. 8, Luke viii. 29), concerning the details of the transaction, only interferes with a clear view of the events. The character of the Evangelical narrative in this account has disturbed those most favorably disposed to it, on account of its assuming a multitude of demons as inhabiting a single individual, — a conception belonging only to the popular belief ; on account of the human behavior of these demons, and their mad conduct in destroying the organs which they had asked leave to inhabit ; and finally, on account of the injury done to private property by the consent of Jesus, who, in proportion as his power was unlimited, was the more responsible for the use made of it. The insanity of the possessed may have been that of a double consciousness, by which, as there is no real division, human and demonic thoughts are interchanged. A positive transfer of the demoniac state from the man to the beast, in accordance with any laws of nature, is opposed to the free moral influence exercised on all other occasions by Jesus, and may have had its source only in the imagination of the possessed man himself. But if Jesus entered into this mad fancy of a maniac, it was only thus to open a way into his mind, in order to heal him by the wonderful power of his will.

The destruction of the herd of swine followed as an unforeseen event, which might easily have happened from the panic-struck and sympathetic movements of these animals. Every attempt to explain the death of the swine as occasioned by some cause unconnected with these transactions is quite opposed to the Gospel narrative. To regard this hecatomb, with Strauss, as a mythic addition, makes of it an invention belonging to the strangest and most unmeaning kind of apocryphal narrations.

SECT. 72.—*The Issue of Blood, and the Trance.*

Matt. ix. 18–26; Mark v. 22–43; Luke viii. 41–56.

THE opinion that a healing power went forth from Jesus without his own will, is not expressed by Matthew, but is mentioned by Mark at the close of the narration, and is placed by Luke in the mouth of Jesus himself, and is in accordance with the popular opinion. (Matt. xiv. 36, and parallel passage; compare Acts v. 15, xix. 11.) The woman with the bloody issue was healed by means of her own confidence and the will of Jesus. The completeness of the cure could not have been known at the time. But the mythical origin of the event out of the popular belief is one of those assertions which may be made to-day and taken back again to-morrow. (See Strauss and Bruno Bauer.) The officinal plant on the votive monument at Paneas (Eusebius, H. E. VII. 18; see § 34) represented the cure as its symbol, and not as its means. When Jesus said of the

daughter of Jairus that she was not dead, but sleeping, he may have meant, considering the mysterious affinity of sleep to death, that this was only a sleep, since he was able to awaken her out of it. (Compare John xi. 11; Matt. xi. 5.) Yet it may also be regarded as a statement of fact based on personal knowledge of one who wished to receive no reputation not founded in perfect truth. The facts themselves correspond equally well with the assumption either of a trance or of actual death. The account of the first Evangelist is more simple, and that of the two other Evangelists more precise; indicating different forms of the tradition, of which one can be preferred to the other only from subjective reasons. The command (Mark v. 43, Luke viii. 56) has, perhaps, if we consider the impossibility of its being executed, (compare Matt. ix. 26,) been transferred from some other place to this narration, (§ 95,) or it may refer to the manner of resurrection, which is favored by the selection of the three Apostles as witnesses.

SECT. 73. — *Sabbath-Breaking.*

John v. 1 - 18.

JESUS might easily have avoided the frequent disputes concerning his conduct on the Sabbath, but did not do so. (Matt. xii. 5, 11; Mark ii. 27; Luke xiii. 15, xiv. 5.) This conflict expresses, in a variety of ways, the antagonism between a free soul and arbitrary rules of outward morality. The command to

the man at the Pool of Bethesda, sick with an infirmity for many years, to take up his bed and walk, cannot be explained, if we consider John v. 5, as the skilful detection of an impostor; though while sick he showed no great faith, nor after being cured much thankfulness. This cure is especially narrated on account of the blame which followed for breaking the Sabbath. Jesus defended his action by the example of the Deity, who never rests on the Sabbath; and by this comparison increased the anger of his opponents at Jerusalem. An Apostle might share (verse 4) the popular opinion concerning the pool. Had it been merely a poetic creation, the historic circumstances would have been omitted. It is, to be sure, unusual with Jesus to perform a cure like this, alone, unnoticed, and without being asked to do it; but all this may be accounted for by so many suppositions, that it throws no improbability upon the narrative, any more than does its resemblance, in some respects, with the narration in Mark ii. 9-12, from which it differs wholly in its internal character.

SECT. 74.—*The Great Banquet.*

Matt. xiv. 13-21; Mark vi. 32-45; Luke ix. 10-17;
John vi. 1-15.

ALL four Evangelists describe the marvellous creation of food, the miraculous character of which is not to be denied, especially when we notice such chance expressions as frequently occur. (Matt. xiv. 20, and parallel passages; Mark vi. 41; John vi. 11.) The

miraculous increase of food is, to be sure, not expressly stated, but it is implied in the statement of the quantity of food provided in proportion to the number of men amply fed ; and the purpose of the Evangelist scarcely can admit the explanation of a banquet in which the guests, moved by the hospitable example of Jesus, themselves supply food from their own private stores.* Obscure explanations of the fact by means of a satiety produced by magnetism or spiritual influence fail, on account of the wholly material character of the fragments collected after the feast. Certainly, an increase of the nourishing substances without material means, escapes from every earnest attempt to make it intelligible, and can only remain before the fancy as something magical. According to the customs of the East, it is not probable that thousands, of whom some were pilgrims to the feast (John vi. 4), should have been travelling without provisions, and that only a single lad should have thought of their needs. But if villages were as near as they seem to have been (according to Luke ix. 10, 12), the need of this extraordinary miracle was all the less ; and the result, besides, (according to John vi. 15,) was not desirable. The anxiety of the disciples about food (Matt. xvi. 5, &c., Mark viii. 14, &c.), just after witnessing the miraculous supply of thousands, is hardly credible, even in the case of low-minded men. But to suppose that the story originated in a parable of Jesus (John vi. 35, &c.) turned into a myth (Weisse), is not supported by Matthew

* I am by no means sure that I have translated the last clause accurately.

(xvi. 8, &c.), since Jesus here refers the Apostles to something actually experienced. To suppose it a myth, founded on Old Testament narratives (Exod. xvi.; 1 Kings xxvii. 8-16; 2 Kings iv. 42, &c.) and upon Messianic expectations (John vi. 30), is opposed to the absence of any necessity and any ideal meaning. Nor could a myth have originated in the misunderstanding of Biblical expressions. (John vi. 27, &c.; Matt. xvi. 5, &c.) And the demand for a miracle on the part of the multitude, as the condition of believing in Jesus as the Messiah (John vi. 30), when, the day before, they had experienced the very height of the supernatural, and had shown themselves only all too ready to recognize him as the Messiah in their sense of the word, is difficult to bring to historical consistency. Nor does the leaving the fragments on the ground correspond with a general view of the fact as a miraculous one; nor do the Apostles themselves appear immediately to have understood its nature. (Mark vi. 52.) That it was a friendly banquet, where a multitude ate together, and to which Jesus actually contributed merely his own presence and hospitable society, is opposed to nothing except the testimony of John as an eyewitness. National remembrances and expectations may have caused this quickly to grow into a legend of miraculous increase of food. In the fourth Gospel the commencement of the transaction (John vi. 5; compare Matt. xiv. 14, Mark vi. 34) is less exact than in the Synoptics, and an eyewitness could not so have narrated it. Since (according to Mark vi. 30, Luke ix. 10) the Apostles returned from a mission immediately before the event, it might

possibly be that John first met Jesus again in Capernaum, and the story of this event came to him under circumstances and at a time in which it corresponded too well with his conception of Christ to be made a subject of critical inquiry. A second transaction (Matt. xv. 32-39, Mark viii. 1-10), not more different from the first than the Synoptic narrations of the same events often are, and yet singularly unconnected by the Apostles with any recollection with the first, may indeed, in the main, have been correctly stated. Or it may be only another form of the same story, adopted by the two Evangelical writers for no other reason than their historical conscientiousness. According to this view, the otherwise not unimportant discourse (Matt. xvi. 9, and parallel passages) may have taken its form subsequent to these accounts.

SECT. 75. — *On the Lake.*

Matt. xiv. 22-34; Mark vi. 45-53; John vi. 16-21.

THE sending away of the Apostles and of the people (Matt. xiv. 22; Mark vi. 45) has no connection with the conflict with the people. (John vi. 15.) The supposition that Jesus walked *by* the sea, as John xxi. 1, and not *upon* it, is grammatically possible; but the latter view appears in Matt. xiv. 28, 29, 24; Mark vi. 47. The fourth Gospel does not make this view so plain; but it rather seems, since they were expecting their Master (John vi. 17), that the Apostles, after crossing from the wilderness on the eastern side to the western coast of the lake, coasted along the shore, and

(according to John vi. 21) landed to take him in.* But John would, in this case, have given us a narration which contains nothing worth telling, and it would have been his intention to contradict the Synoptic tradition, which, certainly, he has not distinctly done. (John vi. 19.) That he himself, being an eyewitness, believed that he saw Jesus walking on the sea, being optically deceived, or self-deceived by Jewish prejudices, and that he nevertheless has truly narrated the fact as it was, which was opposed to his own view, is a theory (Gfrorer) which cannot be made clear to the mind. Another supposition, which assumes a swimming or wading in the middle of the sea in a stormy night, is an absurdity. An explanation by means of magnetic influences, or through the commencement of the glorification of the body, is founded in the first case upon facts which are not yet proved, and in the second case upon a theory not made intellectually clear; and in neither case is the adventure of Peter explained, but a walking upon the stormy waves must be judged according to Matt. iv. 7, and an ethical purpose to strengthen the faith of

* The place where he landed (according to Matt. xiv. 34, Mark vi. 53) was the Plain of Genesaret, in which were situated the towns of Bethsaida (Mark vi. 45) and Capernaum (John vi. 17), of neither of which does any trace remain. (Robinson's Palestine, Vol. III.) But Luke (ix. 10) places the feeding of the people in the neighborhood of Bethsaida Julias, on the eastern shore of the Jordan before it empties into the lake. The supposition of Wieseler, which suits some of the facts very well, that Jesus (according to Mark vi. 45) commanded the Apostles to go before him only to Bethsaida and wait for him there (therefore to Bethsaida Julias, on the side where he was), is obliged to assume arbitrarily that the "other side" intended their ultimate purpose, and Bethsaida their stopping-place; and it is opposed to the fact that Bethsaida Julias was not upon the lake.

the disciples is opposed to Mark vi. 48, and would also justify the most extravagant and adventurous miracle. If the attempt and failure of Peter, as narrated by Matthew, and the stilling of the storm, as narrated by Matthew and Mark, are both historical, and if John was an eyewitness, it is difficult to see why he left an empty place in the middle of his story, — especially since his Gospel does not contain any similar exercise of power over the storm, — or why the adventure of Peter should be wanting to the general tradition. The type of this episode, according to nature, and with a far more reasonable motive, is given in John xxi. 7. The special story in Matthew symbolically represents the turning-point in the life of Peter, (Luke xxii. 31, &c., John xxi. 15, &c.,) and the universal history of faith. Therefore, the legends of the Church may have taken possession of the subsequent event, and have introduced it in an ideal form on the occasion of the voyage of Jesus on the lake. Accordingly, the Messiah walking on the sea would be the type of the Messiah's resurrection on the land: to which, also, the popular conceptions of a magical power over the liquid element have contributed (Exod. xiv. 21, &c., 2 Kings ii. 14, vi. 6), or in which an allegorical meaning may have prevailed. But how could a pure creation of fancy have obtained a like sharply marked place in two independent and different Evangelical narratives. Therefore, we must suppose some transaction to have occurred that night which was developed into the true legend, and made the basis of the idea. (Compare Job ix. 8, Septuagint.) John therefore

remains in the same position as in § 74, and his description is truly not without individual traits, but without the picturesque character belonging to the descriptions of an eyewitness, and in the conclusion is to be reconciled with the Synoptics only by some little violence.

SECT. 76.—*The Hard Saying.*

John vi. 22—69.

THE people asked for manna, which gave occasion to Jesus to describe himself as the Bread of Heaven; which must be eaten in order to obtain eternal life. There was no allusion to the Lord's Supper in his words, for they would at that time have been wholly unintelligible; but probably John selected and unfolded this discourse on account of its reference to the Supper. This figurative discourse expresses the necessity of making Jesus a part of our spiritual life. The wisdom of Jesus as a teacher is opposed to the idea that he could have driven away his disciples merely by the harshness of figures, not in themselves foreign to the Hebrew mind, yet often misunderstood by those immediately around Jesus. There runs through the discourse the thought of the necessity of his death, which is a sufficient reason for it; but which could only have been felt dimly as the disappointment of earthly expectations. The substantial correctness of the discourse, as we have it, is proved by its very failure. Jesus found in the faithfulness of his Apostles, expressed by Peter in his joyful confession, a consolation for his deeply wounded feeling.

SECT. 77.—*The Death of John the Baptist.*

Matt. xiv. 3–12; Mark vi. 17–29; Luke iii. 19, &c., ix. 9.

JOSEPHUS (*Antiq.*, XVIII. 5. 2) relates the circumstances attending the execution of John the Baptist differently from the Evangelists, but the main fact in the same way. If their tradition is correct, and if Herod's festival was the celebration of his entrance upon his government, this event occurred immediately before the Passover. The truth of the Evangelical narration is attested by its individual character, in which there are but slight variations between Matthew and Mark, while Josephus has only general traits, such as might easily have been taken for granted. Yet that characteristic picture of the indignant prophet, the coquettish woman, and the sacred head danced off and carried in a child's hand, might more easily have originated in the people's legends, than been forgotten by history. Possibly the two accounts may be united, yet they must appear as belonging to two different points of view. As, according to the Evangelical account, the head was immediately brought to Herod, the residence of Herod at that time is essential to complete the picture. As regards John himself, the judgment of the nation always remained distinct and unanimous. (*Matt.* xxi. 26.) Great in everything to which the national remembrances attached a lofty value, he still had not the dangerous grandeur of the Messiah, or even the doubtful claim of being a worker of miracles. (*John* x. 41.) This reputation gives importance to his testimony in behalf of Jesus.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE YEAR OF CONFLICT.

SECT. 78. — *Survey.*

THIS period begins about the time of the second Passover, and closes immediately before the journey to Jerusalem to the Passover of Death. During the summer Jesus moved about through Galilee (John vii. 1), and returned, after a short period of retirement, on the borders of Phœnicia, to his usual work near the lake. (Matt. xv. 21, &c.; Mark vii. 31.) In the space of time between the Feast of Tabernacles (October), and the Feast of Dedication (December), which is not distinctly stated by John (x. 22), the last stay in Galilee seems to be fixed by the Synoptics. For it is improbable that before the Feast of Tabernacles Jesus should have already announced so fully his near-approaching death: nor is it likely, considering his favorable position in Galilee at that time, (John vii. 1-4,) that he should never again have returned to his home. Moreover, the Synoptic description of the journey to Jerusalem would, absolutely contradict the private journey to the Feast of Tabernacles, if this was the last (John

vii. 10). After the Feast of Dedication, Jesus taught in Perea. (John x. 40.) After the transaction in Bethany (John xi. 7, &c.), which was just before the Passover, he remained concealed in Ephraim, near the wilderness of Judah. (John xi. 54, &c.) On the other hand, the Synoptics, according to their general view of the working life of Jesus, notice but a single journey from Galilee to Jerusalem at the time of his death. (Luke ix. 51; Matt. xix. 1, xx. 17; Mark x. 1, 32, &c.) Matthew and Mark make this journey to be through Perea; Luke, who unconsciously has mingled together fragments of different journeys, makes it to be through Samaria (ix. 52, x. 38, xiii. 31, xvii. 11). The three accounts meet again before Jericho. (Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46; Luke xviii. 35.) The journey to the Passover may have commenced here, and, according to John (xii. 1), must have begun at Bethany. The character of this period is a conflict between the power of the kingdom of Heaven, just begun, and a mighty reaction against it. The fulness of the life of Jesus now seldom takes the form of that early, hopeful cheerfulness, and often shows itself as indignation against the perversity of the time, and finally always as a profound sadness, yet full of hope of a final victory.

SECT. 79. — *Opposition to Jesus.*

JESUS had addressed himself in the first place to the poor and the oppressed, (Luke vi. 20, &c.*; Matt. ix. 11, &c., xix. 23, &c., and parallel passages,)

drawn to them both by the impulse of his heart and the democratic character of the theocracy. The hostility of the higher classes was aroused by his necessary opposition as a moral reformer to their immoralities; as a friend of the people, to their contempt of the people and bad influence over them; as the founder of a religion, against the degenerate orthodoxy of the Pharisees, and the unbelieving rationalism of the Sadducees. All the Gospels relate the conflict occasioned by his healing on the Sabbath; the Synoptics chiefly speak of the public rebukes which Jesus gave to the sins of the Scribes and Pharisees; and John describes the anger which he excited among the Jews by asserting his religious position and dignity at Jerusalem. But his claim to be the Messiah, which continually grew more prominent, might of itself have caused distrust even to well-intentioned statesmen, on account of a series of unfortunate popular tumults which had taken place before. Such men might easily consider the peaceful life of the people, even in their degradation, to be better than a desperate conflict with the Roman power. This anxiety, to be sure, might have been allayed by the method which Jesus adopted to improve the people radically, — working from within out, — and by his abstinence from all political measures. Yet not only must this have appeared a mask and preparation so long as the people only believed in a political Messiah, but every announcement of a Messiah, whether public or private, must have excited political hopes. The upper classes were collected together in the Great Council, which, though a recent

institution, and not in accordance with theocratic laws, yet, according to its position, claimed to be the highest organ of the national will, and to have the power of deciding upon the claims of Prophet and Messiah. The national view was, that this Council must either accept as Supreme Master him who claimed to be Messiah, or pronounce sentence upon him as a usurper. The true decision, however, lay with the people themselves. So long as the contest was waged with spiritual weapons, by influences upon the people, the victory inclined to the Messiah. But this very office of Messiah, which had opened for him a path, became also fatal to him; since it was natural that all who believed in him should expect, as the Apostles themselves did, that he was to establish a splendid temporal kingdom. If it was not the purpose of Jesus to satisfy this hope, it was to be expected that the majority would forsake one who, in the popular opinion, was a false Messiah, as soon as the state authorities determined on bloody measures, — authorities which, however hated and opposed, yet retained the power and the respectability which belonged to an established priesthood.

SECT. 80. — *Hostile Designs.*

Matt. xii. 22–50; Mark iii. 20–35; Luke xi. 14–22,
viii. 19–21.

PHARISEES sent from Jerusalem, who from this time forward are found attending him as spies, sought to destroy him in the public opinion; first, by

explaining his power of driving out demons to have been obtained by a compact with the Devil ; and next, by demanding a sign from heaven. Matthew's way of mentioning twice both the objection and the demand (ix. 32-34, compare xii. 22, &c. ; xii. 38, &c., compare xvi. 1, &c.) seems (from the parallels, Luke xi. 14, &c., Mark viii. 11, &c.) to be only a repetition of the same incident. Jesus showed the illogical character of the objection, and exposed the unpardonable wickedness of this wilful misunderstanding of goodness. He withdrew himself from their demand for a sign, which was one certainly justified by the popular opinion. Then his opponents endeavored to place him under the control of his family ; giving out that his inspired manner was merely insanity. (Compare John x. 20 ; Acts ii. 13.) This fact, though connected with the charge of using evil spirits, is so foreign from the subsequent glory attached to the character of Jesus, that it can belong neither to legend nor to a combination of Mark. Jesus avoided the pain of a conflict with his family, remaining in the close circle of those who adhered to him, whom he sadly recognized as those who were to replace mother, brethren, and sisters ; and offered his opponents open battle. (Luke xi. 37, xii. 12 ; compare Matt. xxii. 1-33.) He saw in the signs of the times a wide and difficult struggle, in the dangers of which he, however sadly, longed to engage. (Luke xii. 49-56.)

SECT. 81. — *The Inconsistency.*

Matt. xv. 21–28; Mark vii. 24–30.

JESUS had retired toward the borders of Phœnicia, not to escape assassins, who could have found him also there, but probably to gain time for the education of the Apostles; and, at all events, in order to remain concealed. But, touched by the tenderness of a heathen mother, he performed a miracle, by which he destroyed his hope of remaining unnoticed. His previous treatment of the woman was not intended to try her faith or to instruct her, but was merely decided refusal. The contradiction (to § 55) is by the difference of circumstances only so far removed as we consider that Jesus wished at this time to avoid publicity. (Mark vii. 24.) But Luke can hardly have transformed the woman of Canaan into the captain of Capernaum. It is not necessary to suppose this event to be a parable on account of the cure at a distance, which is a thing not incredible, nor on account of the severity of Jesus, which was not unkindness, if we consider him to have had a sufficient motive.

SECT. 82. — *The Feast of Tabernacles.*

John vii. 2–10, 21.

URGED by his relations, Jesus at last went up to the Feast of Tabernacles, but in a manner indicating prudence. The discourse may have been held at this

time (Luke xiv. 25–35), which showed that he had carefully asked whether he was fully prepared for the conflict before him, and that he felt such a certainty of victory as to venture his all upon the contest. The events occurring at the festival indicate the vacillation of public opinion in regard to the Messianic character of Jesus, together with the danger, and the necessity, of his presence in the Holy City at these national feasts. The healing of the man born blind is explicitly narrated, with picturesque circumstances. The extraordinary nature of the event; an ungrammatical, mystical interpretation, in the spirit of the age (John ix. 7; see Lücke);* and the silence of the Synoptics concerning a transaction, which, however, occurred at a distance from the scene of their narrative,—do not offer sufficient reasons for suspecting any artificial fabrication in this narrative. On the other hand, the lofty tone of thought on the subject of evil, the proof immediately given by action, and the reflections of Jesus afterward (ix. 39), have the stamp of originality, notwithstanding that the judicial proceedings are not reported in a regular manner. It is equally unhistorical to ascribe a medical cure to proceedings which remind us of the magical processes of healing customary at that period, or, on the other hand, to call this act an unnecessary addition, having nothing to do with the cure. A determination and attempt on the part of the Great Council to arrest Jesus (vii. 45, &c.) appears, even according to this passage, (and according to xi. 47,

* On the Pool of Siloam, see "Robinson's Palestine."

&c.) without sufficient motive ; and that which is mentioned by the way (ix. 22) may have been a private agreement, or a decision of a Synagogue Court. It was only in transient excitements that occasional threats were uttered against the life of Jesus. With boldness and self-possession he met his enemies. His elevated expressions concerning his divine life and his Messianic authority were so misrepresented by his opponents as to make a false impression on the minds of the people. In his last discourses is plainly shown both the universality of his plan, and his determination to sacrifice himself on account of it. When the festival closed, and the people dispersed, there was no public or apparent decision in their minds as to the question of his Messiahship. But the cause of Jesus, so far as external success was concerned, was really lost, since it had not conquered.

SECT. 83. — *Story of the Woman taken in Adultery, narrated as an Appendix.*

John viii. 1 – 11.

THIS fragment, gradually received into the text since the fourth century, has all the external evidence against its genuineness. The conjecture that this omission from the text was occasioned by the fear of encouraging a too indulgent view of the violation of the marriage contract, is not sufficient to account for its being so generally wanting. Nor are the internal arguments, apart from antiquarian diffi-

culties, favorable to the truth of the event as an historical fact. If the question was intended to entangle Jesus, it was so easy for him to evade it (compare Luke xii. 13) that the Scribes might have foreseen this. If Jesus departed from his usual course, from his wish to deliver a human life from the sentence of a severe law, and to secure for it a higher life, yet the supposition that only sinless men could pronounce a sentence is wholly unallowable. And therefore it is difficult to suppose that the scribes, considering their judicial position, should have so silently acquiesced in this opinion. The story, also, has the usual character of the better kind of apocryphal narration, which represents justly, and even with splendor, one side of the character of Jesus, but is wanting in that well-balanced truth which usually distinguishes a fact from an invention. It is not reasonable, therefore, to give up John's authority as the author of this fragment, and yet to maintain its historic truth. And equally unreasonable is it to assert that it makes a part of the Gospel, and thence to argue against the genuineness of the whole.

SECT. 84. — *The Dying Messiah.*

A GREAT heart, which has adopted a great resolution, is naturally led to ask itself the question, whether, in case of necessity, it could also give up life for the cause. It is possible, therefore, that images of death hovered around the Master even in early youth; but only as the indistinct visions of his lofty soul. It is certain, indeed, that after he

came forward in the bloom of manhood, conscious of a destiny the highest possible to man, there was no further change in his inward purpose. But yet a purely human development does not permit us to suppose that his whole relation to a changing, external world was from the beginning equally clear before his own mind, and that he saw already the cross erected at the end of his course. If one says that even human foresight could conjecture that his nation would reject him, this may appear like a charge of inadequacy against the divine institutions appointed to educate the Jewish people, or of want of power in the word of Jesus himself,—for many less developed nations have since received Christ. Only experience could decide whether the nation would accept or reject him. In the prophetic books, the idea of a suffering Messiah was at most only indicated by types of very various meaning, representing the whole nation in its entire history, —in its guilt, its penance, and ultimate triumph. (Isa. lii. 13 – liii. 12.) In the oldest examples of its application to the Messiah, all idea of suffering is excluded. But contemporaries of loftier views might accustom their minds to the idea of a Messiah who should pass through conflict and sorrow. (Luke ii. 34 ; John i. 29.) In human nature itself lies the faith THROUGH CONFLICT TO VICTORY. And this path of pain was foreshadowed in the fate of the prophets, and in the whole history of the nation. But everywhere behind the conflict stood the victory; and the Messianic fundamental idea, as all the prophets had announced it, was of a triumphant

and fortunate king. (Compare Luke xxiv. 21; John xii. 34; 1 Cor. i. 23.) With such hopes, even if of a purely spiritual kind, had Jesus begun his work. (§§ 73 and 76.) Even if he knew from the first that the people whom he greeted with blessings would murder him, this fact must be hard to prove. It is true that hints of death, though in obscure figures, are to be found throughout the whole Gospel of John. But the Synoptics fix with precision the point of time in which Jesus began to speak with certainty of a death by violence. (Matt. xvi. 21-26; Mark viii. 31-37; Luke ix. 22-25.) It is much more probable that John should have given more distinctness, after the event, to general expressions and heroic words of daring, than that the oral tradition, which everywhere finds it so difficult to retain distinctions of time, should have fixed this epoch without any historical foundation. And after this period, these allusions to death do not come merely for the instruction of the Apostles, but the mouth of Jesus overflows with that of which his heart is full. It was so impossible to make the Apostles realize this, on account of their previous circle of ideas, that they, though made mournful (Matt. xvii. 23), and when the Passover drew near not unconscious of the danger (John xi. 8, 16), yet considered it as nothing but a dark foreboding, from which they tried to relieve his mind. He, on the other hand, asserted the moral necessity of his death with an emphasis which almost seems like that of a newly formed purpose. Apart from any communication from his friends in the Sanhedrim, its hos-

tility and the fickleness of the people were sufficiently apparent to leave no doubt concerning the abyss which lay in the path of a Messiah like himself. So far as Jesus foretold the particular circumstances of his death which lay out of the sphere of human calculation, we are referred by many traditions to visions of his death for an explanation. But since these circumstances are regarded as necessarily grounded in prophecy, (for instance, Luke xviii. 31-33,) whilst the places referred to do not plainly bear this meaning, it is much more probable that the faith of the Apostolic Church should have afterward applied passages of the Old Testament, from some apparent similarity, to the details of Christ's sufferings; as this evidently appears to have been done in John xix. 24, 36. At all events, Jesus must have found the necessity of his death in the prophets (Luke xxiv. 26, 44, &c., Mark ix. 12) only after he had recognized the Divine plan by means of its historical necessity. His kingdom he

- knew to be eternal, because the kingdom of God; and himself destined, since thousands of years, to be its founder. In this conviction was rooted the faith, that, if Providence brought about his death as an historical necessity, his death also belonged to the triumph of his kingdom.

SECT. 85.— *Importance of the Death of Jesus.*

THE only methods by which Jesus could escape a violent death were by declaring that he laid no claim to the office of Messiah, or by flying from

Palestine, which would be declaring the same thing by his conduct. Both were morally impossible with his conviction of his Messianic destiny. An armed resistance to the authority of the state would have been equivalent to a return to the worldly Messiahship. Accordingly, it was his simple and rigorous duty to meet death. But this moral necessity was also, according to our general conception of moral relations, at the same time an act of freedom; because there remained the physical possibility of avoiding death (John x. 18). Consequently Jesus sacrificed himself to his work, and since this was the salvation of man, it follows that he died for man (John x. 15, vi. 21), as Eleazar for his nation (see Josephus), a covenant victim and atoning sacrifice (Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiii. 24, Luke xxii. 20, Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45), giving the highest proof of his love (John x. 11, &c., xv. 13). And, as an immediate historical consequence for his Apostles (John xii. 24), he foresaw the destruction of their earthly hopes, and the attainment of self reliance and enthusiasm by following in his footsteps (John xvi. 7, xii. 26, xv. 20). But it was not for these ends that he died. He had not contributed to his own death; on the other hand, life was dear to him; and as long as it seemed necessary for his work, he repeatedly avoided both the rage and the ambushes of his foes. But when no further deliverance remained while within the path of his calling, he went with a clear mind on that way of duty which led to death, without caring whether or not he could in any way postpone for a few days this inevitable doom.

SECT. 86. — *Prophecy of the Resurrection.*

THE more we contemplate the continuance of existence after death as something in accordance with the laws of nature, the more easily can we conceive of its being foreknown or foreboded. But in opposition to the expressions in which Jesus announced, together with his death, his resurrection on the third day, (Matt. xvi. 21, xvii. 22, &c., xx. 19, Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, Luke xviii. 33; compare Matt. xvii. 9, Mark x. 9, &c.) stand the hopelessness of the disciples after the crucifixion; their unbelief when, from all quarters, the news of the resurrection came; and the fact that none of the witnesses appealed to the promise of Jesus as a confirmation of their report. Next, at the farewell interview, among so many words of consolation, this promise was nowhere distinctly expressed, though at a time when it was most needed. Lastly, the mournful frame of mind of Jesus himself at this supper does not look like the certain expectation of meeting them again in a few days, and its elevated tone only indicates a spiritual continuance with them, and a renewal of intimacy in another world. But if Jesus expressed, for the consolation of his friends and himself, the immortality of his work and the conquering nature of his death, (compare Hosea vi. 2, Septuagint,) it would almost necessarily happen that this should be afterward explained by the disciples in the way to which the Deity himself seemed to point. In some expressions of Jesus where, on account of the connection, a misunderstanding was impossible, his

promise of continuing with his friends in a spiritual manner has been preserved unaltered. (Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20.) In other discourses (preserved by John, x. 17, &c., xiv. 18-21, xvi. 16-22) the thought is apparent of a higher life obtained even through death itself (as in xii. 24). But the misunderstanding is already near by. Its actual appearance is shown by means of the truthfulness of John even in his error (ii. 19-22; § 104). In like manner Matt. xii. 40 contains an allusion to his resurrection not reported by Luke (xi. 29, &c.), and not by Matthew himself afterward (xvi. 4). Consequently, those short, simple, and distinct predictions, claiming to be founded on declarations of the prophets (John xx. 9), which nevertheless no grammatical interpretation can discover, are to be regarded as additions which, after all was fulfilled, took form in the preaching of the Church concerning Christ's Passion. Accordingly they can everywhere be omitted without injuring the connection; and the disciples of Jesus were always excited by these discourses to sorrow alone (Matt. xvii. 23), and never to inquiries concerning this wonderful consolation. The true grandeur of Jesus is not diminished by his ignorance of a matter which was only in God's hand (compare Acts i. 7); on the contrary, only from this point of view do the joy and confidence of Jesus in the hour of death, and in the apparent ruin of all his hopes, appear in their highest moral greatness.

SECT. 87. — *The Transfiguration.*

Matt. xvii. 1 – 13 ; Mark ix. 2 – 13 ; Luke ix. 28 – 36.

THE actual presence of Moses and Elias on the mountain (according to the tradition, Tabor, according to Matt. xvi. 13, Luke ix. 28, Paneas or Hermon) cannot be reconciled with the free application to the Baptist of the legend concerning the coming of Elias ; whilst the question of the Apostles corresponds exactly to their state of mind as it may be supposed to have been, according to the Evangelical narrative. This luminous appearance of Jesus has been explained as signifying his self-dedication to death as a manifestation to strengthen the faith of his disciples, as intended for a message of redemption to the saints of the Old Testament, as a point in the development of the spiritual body of Jesus, or as only a breaking forth of his inward glory and a momentary return to the eternal world. The explanation as a miraculous vision offers no adequate aim ; and, so far as this vision is regarded as an organ by which the spiritual world manifests itself, it is exposed to the same objections. The explanation of naturalism, by means of electric or magnetic appearances, meets only one side of the transaction. The explanation as a dream is opposed to the number of dreamers, who, in opposition to the Gospel account, must be reduced to Peter, and also makes it necessary to assume a special coincidence in the remarks of Jesus. In favor of a mythic creation, founded on the type of the luminous face of Moses (Exod. xxxiv. 29, &c.,

compare xxiv. 1, &c.), and upon the expectation that prophets were to return at the time of the Messiah (Mal. iv. 5, compare Matt. xvi. 14), may be urged the unexplained silence of John in regard to a purely historic matter of fact. For John would have the highest motive to mention an event which he had himself witnessed, and which showed his Master in glorious intercourse with the order of a higher world. The allusion in 2 Peter i. 16-18 proves only that what the Synoptics related was early spread abroad. But the representation of the ideal contents of the narrative as a thoroughly carried out allegory of the insight then possessed by the Apostles of the true meaning of the Messiahship, is at once contradicted by the fact that no such lofty insight, with its spiritual enthusiasm, existed at that time in the minds of the Apostles. And in opposition to every purely mythical view stand the accurate determination of time in regard to what preceded and followed, the naming of eyewitnesses, some of whom were alive at the time when the myth must have originated, the command of Jesus not to tell of it (inexplicable on this supposition) contained within the myth itself, and a method of narration so simple as to enable us to distinguish, even now, between the facts themselves and the way they appeared to the witnesses. According to the Evangelical narrative, it is a matter of fact that Jesus appeared to the Apostles in unwonted splendor in the company of two unknown persons. That they were Moses and Elias is a conclusion not sufficiently supported, considering the situation of the eyewitnesses; especially

according to Luke. The command to be silent, and the abrupt conclusion, indicate some secret circumstances in the history. But this matter of fact, historically established, contains nothing remarkable as history, nor ideally important. This came in through the mode in which the Apostles conceived it; in which, unconsciously to themselves, the idea of a spiritualized Messiah, standing on a national basis, took form. Accordingly, the Synoptic narratives show the innocent birthplace of a myth resting on an historic foundation.

SECT. 88. — *The Tribute Money.*

Matt. xvii. 24 – 27.

THE event shows the unresisting manner in which the Messiah submitted to the common burdens of the people; and the meaning of the transaction is this, that Jesus expressed by a strong figure, that it was not worth the trouble of offending others by asserting even a just right, whose surrender could be made good by the blessing which God gives to industry. It is less to our purpose here to support by quotations, as Paulus and Storr have done, either of the views of the meaning of *εὐρίσκειν*, than to refer, as Ammon has done, to the national custom of speaking by figures, and its suitableness to the purpose of Jesus. But the opening of the fish's mouth, and the whole description, are in the style of a miraculous history, and would be unintelligible if the Evangelist did not intend to relate a miraculous story. Yet Jesus only

gives as the reason of his procedure, the avoiding of unnecessary offence; and, apart from an imaginary decorum, this miraculous method of obtaining a piece of money in the midst of a friendly city was not a necessary one. Therefore, such a miracle done only for display, and in the amount of money found in the fish's mouth exceeding all need, contradicts the maxim of Jesus, Matt. iv. 3. If we assume the principle that Jesus could pay, by the use of divine power, the debt which he owed as a human being, it would reduce his life to a series of fantastic adventures. For a myth, it is wanting in a probable occasion and ideal substance. Nothing, therefore, remains but to suppose that a figurative mode of speech has grown, through a popular tradition, into an apocryphal miracle.

SECT. 89.—*The Followers of Jesus.*

CONSIDERING the small extent of Palestine, and the thousands who came in contact with Jesus during his journeys and wanderings, his influence may have extended itself to the greater part of the native Jewish population. But many only sought either aid in their physical necessities, or transient excitement and emotion. If among the higher classes Jesus possessed many friends (John xii. 42), their fear of appearing openly in his behalf shows that their friendship was at that time not confirmed. Repentance and improvement were the conditions which Jesus made for those who wished to become subjects of his kingdom; conditions, however, which were complied

with in very different degrees. At other times, it seemed sufficient for entrance into his kingdom to manifest a noble tendency of mind, and to recognize Jesus as the Messiah. (John ix. 35-38; Luke xxiii. 40-43.) One passage in John, indeed, (iii. 3, &c.,) makes a higher demand. But the characters of the Apostles themselves show that this was an ideal demand, and not a condition essential for admittance. With the promises made by Jesus to his followers, their hopes may have become mingled (Luke xxii. 30, xviii. 29), whilst he, at least at the close of his career, promised them only trials and death for following him. (Matt. x. 16, xx. 22; John xvi. 2, &c.) The more he discouraged their hopes, the more did those draw back who stood the nearest to him. (§ 76.) If, at the time of his death, he still knew himself powerful enough to meet the force of the state with his adherents (John xviii. 36), this only means that, if he would raise the standard of an earthly kingdom, as its Messiah, all would again collect around him. But adherents, according to his own ideas, were few even at the last; and of these perhaps not one understood him, though there were some who loved him for his own sake. As he considered the already existing tendency to truth and to God to be the condition of his own reception, (John v. 38, 42, &c., viii. 42, 47,) so also he consoled himself in view of the small visible result of his mission by regarding this likewise as divinely ordained. John vi. 44, xii. 38, &c.)

SECT. 90.—*The Seventy Disciples.*

Luke x. 1–21.

JESUS chose seventy Disciples, as confidential friends of a second order, and sent them out before himself. Their wisdom was only an immediate consciousness of the nearness of God and of the kingdom of Heaven. Nothing is said of any effect of their preaching, but only of the success of their miraculous power. Yet Jesus was moved with joyful emotion. Therefore, their being sent out seems not so much a great undertaking to produce a final and decisive effect upon the people, but rather something intended for their own education. Their number reminds us of the elders appointed by Moses (Numb. xi. 16, &c.), of the members of the Sanhedrim, and of the seventy nations of the earth. In their commission the limitation to the Jews is omitted, which is contained in the almost exactly similar address reported by Matthew on occasion of sending out the Twelve. (§ 60.) But there is no mention of a universal missionary purpose. Luke has placed the period of their mission and return during the journey to Jerusalem. Considering the silence of all other sources of Apostolic information, it was natural to regard their choice and number as mythical, and their instruction as transferred from that which (according to Luke ix. 1–5) was given to the Apostles. The resemblance of the Seventy to Paul and to Pauline Christianity is too remote to allow them to be considered as a symbol of these. Nevertheless, Matthew

is also silent concerning the choice of the Twelve, and John concerning their mission. That Jesus had numerous professed disciples appears from Acts i. 15, 21; 1 Cor. xv. 6; compare John vi. 60. To suppose that a legend arose in the Apostolic Church concerning seventy disciples as a symbol of the later missions, without any one of them being known, is not so probable, as that they should have been afterward forgotten by the Evangelists in consequence of the subsequent insignificance of most of them.

SECT. 91.—*The Kingdom of God, and the Church.*

JESUS wished to establish a community, a kingdom in which all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19) should be one, as children of the same Father, and united in Christ as the source of their higher life and action. (John xv. 1–15, xvii. 20, &c.) Since this kingdom should never be overcome by the power of evil, (Matt. xvi. 18,) since the death of the founder should not scatter, but rather strengthen the community, (John xvi. 7,) and since each citizen of this realm has already conquered death, and found eternal life within himself, (John v. 24,) the kingdom is consequently an eternal one, embracing this world and the other. That it should be described, not so much as already present, but rather as near, and always coming, corresponds to its ideal nature. But it is hard to say whether Jesus intended that this kingdom in the hearts of men (Luke xvii. 20) should appear in the Church as an outward institution. As a matter of fact, the Apostles and other disciples (§ 90) formed a

kind of community, which, however, was only kept together by the personal influence of Jesus. (Compare John vi. 67.) Baptism does not appear anywhere during the lifetime of Jesus to have been the sign of a definite association. (§ 53.) The Lord's Supper might be a feast appropriated to this union, but might also be used by a merely social assembly of individuals. When Jesus referred difficulties between brethren to the decision of the Church (Matt. xviii. 15, &c.), this could and must, at that time, have been understood as referring to the Synagogue. But the Church which was founded on Peter (Matt. xvi. 18) appears as something new,—a collective community,—and it is only the peculiarity of the word which may belong to a later Hellenistic culture. We may indeed conceive of Peter's office as consisting in a purely spiritual influence for the edification of believers, which was founded in his individual character. But there is given to him in this passage, as afterward to all the Apostles, authority to govern the kingdom of Christ, and to give laws to it after the departure of Jesus; not arbitrarily indeed, but according to the Divine laws. (Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18; compare John xx. 22, &c.) In this is intimated that the kingdom of Heaven shall take an outward form, which is not described as one which should afterward vanish away upon the earth. So also the promise of Jesus (Matt. xviii. 19) supposes the habitual coming together of believers in a Christian community. The as yet undecided relation to Judaism was the reason why this was not more distinctly expressed. When the Church should be sep-

arated from Judaism, its establishment was intrusted to the power of self-development belonging to the kingdom of Heaven. (Mark iv. 26-32.) All the forms of the Church, therefore, were left to be decided by the plastic power of the Spirit. Yet the Master has expressed some religious facts which were to find their application in the Church. The Spirit is the highest power; Christ alone is the head; no man is master, and he shall be the greatest who shall make himself most useful. (John xvi. 13; compare vi. 63; Matt. xx. 25, &c., and parallel passages.) The Spirit continually reveals the hearts of men, and judges the evil. (John xvi. 8; compare Luke ii. 35.) But good and bad will continue to be blended together in the Church until the end of the world. (Matt. xiii. 24-30.) No worldly nor hierarchal power may circumscribe the Gospel. (Matt. x. 17, &c., xxviii. 32; John xvi. 2.)

SECT. 92.—*The Departure from Galilee.*

ABOUT the time of the Feast of the Dedication, Jesus left Galilee without any hope of returning thither. He saw himself forsaken by his countrymen and threatened by Herod, who feared to find in a friend of the Baptist an avenger of his death. (Matt. xiv. 1; Mark vi. 14, &c.) In his answer to the prince was a high manly pride, and that bitter irony which refers to a whole age, and which terminates in deep sadness of heart. (Luke xiii. 31-35.) He must have endured many painful experiences, of which we have no knowledge. His last word concerning a

country on which he had before pronounced the highest blessing was not a curse, but a word of pain and of dark foreboding. (Matt. xi. 20-24; Luke x. 13-15.)

SECT. 93.—*Domestic Life at Bethany.*

Luke x. 38-42.

A FLYING leaf of tradition, fixing neither time nor place, and which, in the most incidental way, corresponds with events noticed by John, agrees with John both as to the names and as to the characters of those two sisters who since that time have been always regarded as the types of a twofold tendency in their sex. We have here a picture of family life in Bethany, which, however, is not necessarily taken from the first visit of Jesus to that place. The complaint of the housekeeper and the reply of Jesus are friendly expressions, half in pleasantry, of social human intercourse. But they are not to be degraded to commonplace insignificance by supposing that Jesus only meant by the one thing needful a single kind of provision or a single dish of meat. (Michaelis.) But the "one thing" here is certainly the eternal; and this connection of the loftiest truth with pleasantry of expression and urbanity of manner accords with the habits of high thinking and highly cultivated men.

SECT. 94. — *Raising of Lazarus and of the Young Man at Nain.*

John xi. 1 – 44; Luke vii. 11 – 17.

WHILE in Peræa, Jesus received information concerning the sickness, and perhaps also concerning the death, of Lazarus : in the message lay a request ; in the answer, a promise. It does not seem to accord with our conceptions of the character of Jesus, that he should neglect the cure of the sick in order to raise the dead ; and in the fifteenth verse he rejoices over an actual event, and not over anything intended. It was no part of his regular work to bring the dead to life, for which opportunities would never have been wanting ; and there is no historical proof that Jesus possessed any unconditional power over death. Accordingly, to assert that Jesus selected those whom he raised from the dead from a regard to their spiritual condition and interests, proves too much, and is more than can be authenticated. But, considering the dangers from the Jewish custom of precipitate burial, it would not be strange if, among so many miracles of healing, Jesus had sometimes met with a case of apparent death. According to the general view, Lazarus was really dead ; and though the expression of Martha in the thirty-ninth verse was based on no sufficient reason, there is, on the other hand, no ground for questioning the reality of his death, unless we suppose that, on account of the mysterious proximity of life to death, the power of Jesus had enabled the force of life to triumph once more

over its antagonist. Though Jesus might have foreseen this by a prophetic vision, yet any clear foresight can with difficulty be reconciled with his painful emotion (verses 33 and 35), and in this case his prayer would not have been a real prayer, but only an apparent one. On the other hand, a word of consolation or of hope, such as may still be recognized in verses 23-26, might easily, after the result, have been unintentionally changed into a promise, without these being removed arbitrarily from the text. He who formerly had seen the daughter of Jairus awaken, might first wish, and then hope, that in this instance his prayer for the life of his friend would be heard by God, since in this instance his private wishes were in harmony with the glorification of the kingdom of Heaven. And so it happened. In deep emotion he expressed his thankfulness for this result, whilst the immediate outbreak of feeling passed at once into the reflections which belonged to his position as the Messiah. The silence of the Synoptics concerning the most splendid and important of all the miracles is not explained by their relations to the family of Lazarus, who were still living, nor in any other way, but is hidden amid those unknown reasons which made the Synoptics silent in regard to all the early events which occurred in Judæa. Nothing but the assumed impossibility of a man's coming to life when apparently dead, can justify the supposition of a myth founded on similar events in the Old Testament (1 Kings xvii. 17, &c., 2 Kings iv. 18, &c., xiii. 21), and intended as a pledge of the future general resurrection. For this still leaves unex-

plained the origin of some particulars,— of those, namely, which are opposed to the idea of a distinct foresight on the part of Jesus ; it does not explain the incidental coincidence with Luke, (§ 93,) nor the interweaving of the transaction with the personages of a family so well known in Jerusalem and to the Church,— a family, also, whose actual relation to Christ is indicated by scattered notices of the Synoptics. And therefore the explanation which regards it as an allegory, or as a misunderstanding of a discourse of Jesus concerning the resurrection of the dead, is merely arbitrarily to assume the opposite of that which the Evangelist narrates. To suppose that John has exceeded the truth in his narration, from a polemic purpose, and that he has confounded this transaction with that at Nain, is to imagine a John much enfeebled by age. The event at Nain is open to suspicion from the impressive character of the event, which has even been copied in heathen literature (see Baur, “ Apollonius of Tyana and Christ ;” also, Celsus, *De Med.* II. 7 ; Pliny, *H. N.*, XXVI. 8) ; from the silence of the first two Synoptics, and the want of allusions in John (xi. 24, 37). The conviction of the Apostolic Church that Jesus raised the dead (*Matt.* xi. 5, *Luke* vii. 22, *Eusebius*, *H. E.*, IV. 3) might easily be confirmed or caused in limited circles by anonymous narrations of so striking a character as this. Either the information, or else the purpose of Luke, does not afford means for a judgment concerning the way in which Jesus exerted this influence.

SECT. 95. — *The Bloody Council.*

John xi. 46 – 57.

TERRIFIED by the universal admiration which the raising of Lazarus had excited, the Sanhedrim determined on the death of Jesus. The political expediency given as a reason was not a mere pretence, although a deadly hatred was hidden under it. Josephus named Caiaphas, who had been high-priest since the eleventh year of the reign of Tiberius, and called high-priest this year (xi. 49, 51, xviii. 13), perhaps by a want of precision in the mode of statement, both a favorite of the Romans and their deadly enemy, was the man who dared to propose the measure, which was not only a bold one, but a prudent one, when regarded from the stand-point of a selfish policy. He said what the rest had either not yet thought, or had not ventured to express. As it often happens in history that a selfish measure brings about a general good, and as the speech of the priest expresses not only the principle of the tyrant, but the zeal of the patriot, John was led to recognize in it a thought belonging to universal history, and gave the remark this twofold interpretation (compare ii. 21; xii. 32; xviii. 9). He expresses in a striking and acute manner the thought of a prophetic gift belonging to the high-priest, who had involuntarily expressed the truth. The command to point out the abode of Jesus was intended to accustom the people to the thought of the imprisonment of their Messiah; and the multitude began now to take the comfortable position of spectators, curious to see the issue of the conflict.

SECT. 96. — *Zaccheus.*

Luke xix. 1-10; compare Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46.

SPREADING joy continually around him on his journey toward death, Jesus became the guest of a man in Jericho, whom he was moved to select by a kind feeling at the moment, and so brought to his house the joy of earth and the bliss of heaven. So far as may be conjectured, this host of Jesus was neither a specially good nor a specially bad man, but of the average character of those occupying his odious office. There needed not a longer or more explicit exhortation. But when the prophet whom he had admired at a distance chose him from among thousands, and entered his despised house, the course of his future life was decided; and in his inward elevation he learned to despise his earthly possessions.

SECT. 97. — *The Ointment.*

Luke vii. 36-50; John xii. 1-8; Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9.

LUKE relates the anointing of Christ by a woman, the censure pronounced upon it, and the answer. The other three Evangelists, on the other hand, give another account, entirely differing from this as to the time, the person, and the meaning, which is in the one case ethic, and in the other sentimental. And as both stories offer a picture complete in itself, full of meaning, and presenting no ground of sus-

pcion, we must conclude that two different events are the basis of the narrative. And, on the other hand, the points of difference between the first, second, and fourth Gospels are not greater than the oral tradition of the same event naturally becomes in the narration of independent witnesses. Its greater distinctness in its own connection (§ 94), and in the description of Luke (§ 93), prove it to belong to history. The trait of luxury in this story, which appears not only in John but in Mark (xiv. 3, 5), makes an essential part of the event. The name of Simon, however, (Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3,) seems to have been caught in some way from the other story. In some slighter traits of the narrative Luke coincides with John. Church tradition and Church art have often interchanged the two characters of Mary Magdalen (considered as a sinner according to Luke viii. 2) and Mary of Bethany, showing thus how easily the two anointings can be confounded, with each other. But to derive both stories from one transaction, we must assume either that the account in John is correct and the others derived from it, or else give the original place to the first and second Gospels. In the first case, the story in Luke will appear full of extraordinary misunderstandings. In the other case, we must suppose that Luke has mingled with his story allusions to a fragment of John's Gospel (John viii. 1) which is not regarded as genuine. And in this case the fourth Evangelist may in like manner have made use of a fragment of Luke (x. 38, &c.). But there is nothing improbable, according to Jewish customs, in a trans-

action of this sort occurring twice, especially under such different circumstances. According to Luke, a woman outwardly ruined, yet not having lost a concealed longing after a higher life, awakened to this life by a bodily cure which Jesus had performed, came to thank her deliverer with the ardor of Oriental reverence. And Jesus defended her action in a manner equally convincing and benevolent ; explaining at the same time his own connection with the disreputable classes in a tone of cheerful irony, which was directed against the inhospitable pride of the Pharisee. According to John, it was six days before the Passover, and according to Matthew and Mark somewhat later, that, during the feast at Bethany, Mary, moved by love and sorrow, poured a costly oil over the head and feet of Jesus. He protected her against narrow-minded objections, not only because her intention was friendly, but also in the feeling that other things are important beside mere utility. Gladly, on this one occasion in life, he received an offering belonging to earthly luxury, without asking the cost of that which had fulfilled its highest purpose, since it had served to express a noble idea. Surrounded with images of death, this token of love seemed not so much the anointing of a Christ as of a corpse. But beyond the grave he saw an earthly immortality also opening ; and promised that her action, which sought no reward but that of a friendly look, should have an immortal memory in the records of his Gospel, and so make a part of the history of the world.

THIRD PERIOD.

PASSION-WEEK.—SUFFERINGS AND GLORY.

SECT. 98.—*Survey.*

THIS period begins with the entrance of Jesus into the Holy City, and ends with his departure from the earth. The writers of the four Gospels necessarily accompany each other here, and their differences indicate the different sides of the transaction which they saw, and their various points of view in looking at each event. The first part is narrated with the minuteness of detail with which one is accustomed to recall the last hours of a friend. The second part contains only fugitive outlines. The *literature* is partly *scientific*, consisting especially of antiquarian explanations or of harmonies, partly that of *edification* and of *poetic* description. The miraculous powers of Jesus now retire and give place to his moral power, displayed in patience, and to the great miracle of Divine Providence. The most marked antagonisms meet together in this period. The most frightful entanglements of fate, and their supernatural resolution, are here brought down into earthly existence. Therefore in this history is seen, as in a lasting mirror, the

contradiction between the course of events and the struggles of the individual. But here is also seen that harmonious solution of the conflict which, in other instances, must be referred to the future life, and can in this world only be foreboded by the hopes of the human heart.

SECT. 99.—*Chronology of Passion-Week.*

ACCORDING to the account of the Synoptics (Matt. xx. 29, xxi. 1, &c., and parallels), Jesus went immediately from Jericho to Jerusalem. According to John (xii. 1–12), he first passed a night in Bethany. But both describe the same festal procession accompanying his entrance into the city. The two characteristic traits, the jubilee of the people and the melancholy of Jesus, appear in each of the narrations. One could hardly imagine why Jesus should repeat a spectacle which would be significant if exhibited once, but which, repeated, would become trite and without object. The Synoptical account must be the description of the first entrance; but John (xii. 1, 9, 12, compared with xi. 56) does not justify us in assuming that Jesus visited Jerusalem immediately before passing the night in Bethany. It is not sufficient, therefore, to assimilate the two entrances. But it might easily happen that the tradition, troubling itself very little about fixing the dates of transactions, should have described the journey from Jericho as a whole. We cannot deny the chronological inconsistency in relation to the supper at Bethany, and a similar one appears in the Synoptic narra-

tions. Jesus died on Friday afternoon before the commencement of the Sabbath, (Mark xv 42, Luke xxiii. 54, John xix. 31,) and instituted the Supper the evening before, but on the same day, according to the Jewish reckoning. John and the Synoptics speak of the same farewell supper, (compare Matt. xxvi. 21-25, John xiii. 21-26,) immediately after which came the arrest. According to the Synoptics, (Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7,) it was the usual Jewish Passover at the beginning of the fifteenth of the month Nisan; so that Jesus was crucified on the first day of the feast. But according to John (xiii. 1, 29, xviii. 28, xix. 14, 31), Jesus did not eat the Paschal lamb, but died on the day of preparation, the festival beginning with the Sabbath, and accordingly Jesus was crucified on the fourteenth of Nisan. The attempts at an explanation are inconsistent either with the Gospels themselves, or with the legal arrangements of the Paschal feast. They assume that John is not giving a complete description of the farewell supper; that the Paschal feast, in the general celebration, was put forward a day on account of the Sabbath; that it was anticipated by Jesus; and finally, that a Paschal meal on the fourteenth of Nisan, and on a work-day, is to be distinguished from the regular Paschal feast, which began on the fifteenth of Nisan. The Synoptical account unconditionally contradicts any explanation which might be favorable to the accuracy of John. It is true that a skilful explanation has been found for each of the passages in John, by means of which the inconsistency between them and the Synoptic narrative is removed. But it

is unscientific thus to treat an independent witness, who in many expressions, made with apparent freedom concerning the point of time, is always in entire harmony with himself. Such a witness should not have his account explained differently from what it would be if it stood alone, merely in order to accommodate it to the accounts of other witnesses. Granting as undeniable this difference in the point of time, it is still inexplicable what reason a contemporary should have to vary, consciously or unconsciously, from the general and impressive tradition which made the last meal of Jesus the Passover. In the typical allusion (John xix. 36, compare Exod. xii. 46) the question of time does not occur, or, if it did, would be suited much better by the fifteenth of Nisan. On the other hand, since the supper had from the first a tendency to be the sacred feast of the new covenant (Matt. xxvi. 28), since Christ himself was regarded as the true Paschal Lamb, and the celebration of his death in the Church of Jewish Christians coincided with that of the Passover, it might easily happen that the farewell meal, which in the fourth Gospel appears as a solemn supper at Jerusalem, might come to be regarded as the Paschal supper. Moreover, even the Synoptics regard the day of crucifixion as a work-day and day of preparation; and the Talmudic tradition of the arrangements of the Passover at that time corresponds with John's view. If Jesus died on the fourteenth of Nisan, and the Passover began with sunset of that Friday, then Jesus probably came to Bethany on Sunday, the ninth of Nisan, (John xii. 1, 12,) and entered Jerusalem on the tenth. The grave

was found empty in the morning twilight of the next Sunday (Mark xvi. 1, Luke xxiv. 1, Matt. xxviii. 1, John xx. 1,) or the sixteenth of Nisan. This plainly appears from the rhetorical statement of a resurrection after three days (John ii. 19, Matt. xxvi. 61, xxvii. 63) and nights (Matt. xii. 40), when compared with the more precise expression of a resurrection on the third day (Mark ix. 31; Luke xviii. 33; 1 Cor. xv. 4).

SECT. 100. — *The Triumphal Entrance.*

Matt. xxi. 1-17; Mark xi. 1-19; Luke xix. 28-46;
John xii. 12-19.

ENTERING into the sacred city amid the jubilees of the people, who welcomed him as the Messiah, he wept, contemplating his own death as a cause of ruin to his country. It happened here, as it so often happens, that the world once more spread a dying flame of glory around him whom it was about to forsake. The character of this entrance was that of a Messiah; but its relation to the prophecy (Zech. ix. 9, compare Isaiah lxii. 11), which the Rabbins referred to the Messiah, was the result of subsequent reflection on the part of the Apostles, (Matt. xxi. 4, John xii. 16,) and without such reference the transaction was perfectly intelligible. The command to bring the ass is considered by the Synoptics as implying miraculous knowledge, (not so in John xii. 14,) and the mention of two animals by Matthew comes from his interpretation of the prophecy. So

the fact commemorated by the other Synoptics, of the change of the animal intended for riding for one intended for sacrifice, shows that, in both accounts, general thoughts had been substituted for precise facts. The rejoicing of the people might have been partly occasioned by the voice from the grave of Lazarus (John xii. 17), and partly by their belief that the reign of an earthly Messiah would now commence. Jesus had himself given the occasion for the commencement of this procession, which in his situation was an open declaration against the state authorities, and in the lofty consciousness of his true dignity refused to hinder its continuance. (Luke xix. 40.) Still it could not have been a final, desperate attempt, by means of force. For, in this case, it would be impossible to understand why he did not use the enthusiasm of the masses. That the Roman garrison in the tower of Antonia took no offence at this movement, and that even the priests in their charge of high treason founded no proof upon it, is decisive. He assumed the position which, by divine right, belonged to him, and showed the world that, if he wished to rule by force, he had the power so to do. This entrance excited the hope of the coming of a political Messiah; but in view of his coming death, it was no longer to be feared. Some time or other, Jesus must openly announce himself as the Messiah; and this is the meaning of this public entrance.

SECT. 101. — *The Fig-Tree.*

Mark xi. 12-14, 20-26; Matt. xxi. 18-22.

THE explanations of this event which suppose that Jesus merely foresaw that the tree was about to die (Paulus), or that Jesus only hastened by his influence a decay already commenced (Neander), is opposed to the Evangelical narrative, and to the application of the event which is made by Jesus. Though the cursing of a tree, especially in the way in which Mark narrates the result, is conceivable through natural magic, yet a penal miracle is neither suited to the spirit of Jesus, (Luke ix. 55, compare Matt. xii. 20,) nor would it have an appropriate object in vegetable life. A mere proof of the miraculous power of Jesus for the sake of the Apostles (Heydenreich, Ullmann) has no sufficient motive in the disappointment; nor would a merely destructive power be of any special use as an example of the might of faith (Neander), among so many opportunities already used for beneficent miracles. Therefore, this act of Jesus has been regarded as a prophetic symbol, perhaps of the destruction of Judæa. (Olshausen, &c.) But not only do the Gospels omit all mention of this meaning, but they rather make a wholly different application to the power of faith. Moreover, a parable would have been sufficient, if only a symbol was required. The Passover was not the season of figs (Mark xi. 13), and the foliage of the tree, at that time, by no means justified the expectation of ripe fruits. Since the

thought which the action would symbolize (Matt. iii. 10, vii. 19) is found as an apothegm in Matthew, and as a parable in Luke (Luke xiii. 6) it is very probable that a similar parable was changed by tradition into a fact by the literal interpretation of a metaphorical expression, which is here found in the subsequent application (Matt. xxi. 21, Mark xi. 23), and, in a form still more liable to be misunderstood, in Luke (xvii. 6).

SECT. 102. — *Disputes.*

THE passage, John xii. 36, cannot refer to a merely temporary seclusion on the evening of his public entrance, like that in Matthew (xxi. 17, comp. Mark xi. 11); for though the words are not very well chosen, they are yet intended by John to express the close of the public teaching of Jesus. But the day is not so exactly indicated, that it might not be the Wednesday before the festival. Yet it can hardly be believed that Jesus, after so splendid a reception, should have wholly withdrawn himself from the people on the last days of his life. After this, some days intervene, which are occupied by the discussions reported by the Synoptics. But it might be that disputes, which had taken place at some former feast, should have been transferred by the Synoptics to this collective Passover, and Luke (xix. 47, xx. 1) seems to suppose a longer circle of days. Among these disputes, those which indicate the most mortal hostility are the ones which most certainly belong to this last Passover. These discussions originated partly in the

wish of the Supreme Council to procure materials for an accusation, or at least to degrade Jesus in public esteem, and partly in attacks made by individuals for their own satisfaction, and on their own account.— 1st. (Matt. xxi. 23--46; Mark xi. 27—xii. 12; Luke xx. 1—19.) The demand concerning the authority of Jesus did not relate especially to his Messianic pretensions, but generally to his position as teacher and guide of the people; as in John i. 19, &c. It was intended partly to see what position Jesus would take towards his opponents and judges; and partly, if he answered the question, to gain thereby his admission of their right to examine the claims of a Divine messenger. The question with which Jesus met them in return was adapted for every possible answer. The priests confessed that they were unable to decide whether John was, or was not, a Divine ambassador; and Jesus was justified in refusing to submit his own claims to their judgment after such a confession of their incapacity. He then added two parables, expressing, with terrible clearness, the one, the rejection of Israel, and the other, its reason in the approaching public murder of the Messiah.— 2d. (Matt. xxii. 15—22; Mark xii. 13—17; Luke xx. 20—26). The question about paying tribute required either an answer which would be offensive to the Roman authorities, or one which would displease the Jewish people. Jesus replied to their question concerning the Roman authority by a proof triumphantly addressed to the senses, showing that they themselves recognized this authority by using the foreign coin. And, on the other hand, he claimed for the theocracy

the rights which belonged to it, in free and popular language.—3d. (Matt. xxii. 23–32; Mark xii. 18–27; Luke xx. 27–38.) This was a private discussion with some Sadducees. Negatively, Jesus replied to their objection against immortality, based on a material view, by taking a higher spiritual view of it; and, positively, defended immortality with dialectic skill.—4th. (Matt. xxii. 35–40; Mark xii. 28–34.) A question was put to Jesus as to which was the greatest commandment, not with a theocratic, but rather a practical aim, for the sake of a decision in a conflict of duties. Jesus gave, as an answer, unlimited love as the principle of religion and morality,—a principle which had already been expressed in Judaism, but rather as a prophecy, and with limitations. Matthew supposes, on account of the time and place, that the question was captious; but Luke (x. 25–37) gives the essential points of this conversation as occurring at an earlier period.—5th. (Matt. xxii. 41–46; Mark xii. 35–37; Luke xx. 40–44.) Perhaps it was in order to deprive his opponents of courage to continue these verbal disputes, by showing his own dialectic superiority, that he himself put a question in turn, demanding an explanation of the Messianic meaning of the one hundred and tenth Psalm. It is singular, indeed, if they could find nothing to reply (Matt. xxii. 46); but this is only an expression of the Christian view of the mental superiority of Jesus.—6th. (Matt. xxiii. 1–39.) Finally, he addresses his disciples in a speech, of which Mark reports (xii. 38–40, comp. Luke xx. 45–47) only a single striking expression, and Luke some fragments (xi. 37, &c., xiv.

1, &c.) on other and less suitable occasions. In this he unmasked the crimes and faults of the whole hierarchal power with such terrible eloquence, that he departed with the feeling that he must never again return to the Temple, or that he must return as the Messiah.

SECT. 103. — *A Vision of the Future.*

Matt. xxiv. — xxv.; Mark xiii. 1 — 37; Luko xxi. 5 — 36;
compare xvii. 22 — 37.

WHEN leaving the Temple, and while contemplating its noble architecture, Jesus announced its future destruction. Upon the Mount of Olives he gave the Apostles his views of the future; of monstrous storms in the life of nature and of nations; of the destruction of Jerusalem, and his return as Judge and King of the world. Ascribing, indeed, to God the sole knowledge of the day and hour (Acts i. 6, Matt. xxiv. 36, Mark xiii. 32), he nevertheless fixed his return during that generation, and immediately after those commotions (Matt. xvi. 28, xxiv. 29, 34, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27). The Apostolic Church, in fact, expected this event from day to day. If thousands of years intervene, there must be an error in the prophecy or in the tradition; but if the Apostles have mingled together distant periods in one account, if the destruction of Jerusalem is introduced as an image of the general judgment, if an invisible coming of Jesus at the destruction of Jerusalem is to be distinguished from his visible coming to judgment, or if he continually comes in the history of the world,

there vanishes all assurance of any future coming in the clouds of heaven, as distinguished from these. It is, indeed, conceivable that Jesus, by means of this hope, rescued his own Messianic faith, transferring it to the future out of the gloomy present. But since such a return of the Messiah is nowhere announced by the prophets, nor contained in the popular faith, — since Jesus, from the first, had elevated the national notion of a Messiah to a religious idea, which could not be injured by his death, — he did not need to frame out of visions of a pretended prophet (Dan. vii. 13) the fantastic hope of such a speedy return, whilst in his prophetic pictures a profound view of the future manifests itself. The images of a general judgment are indeed those which are traditionally connected with the coming of the Messiah; the destruction of Jerusalem is described after Dan. ix. 26, xii. 11 (compare Josephus's *Antiquities*, XII. 5), and after reminiscences of its former destruction (2 Kings xxv.; 2 Chron. xxxvi.; Jerem. xxxix. 8). These may have been made more distinct after the events occurred, yet the presence of predictions which were not fulfilled goes to show the genuineness of the prophecy. But it is undeniable that Jesus foresaw this destruction, and the revolutions which followed it, in which the old world was wrecked, and the sign of the cross conquered. This was his view of universal history. The prophets represented the rise of the theocracy as Jehovah coming among his people; and, in like manner, Jesus might predict the victory of his kingdom, under the image of his own splendid return. In

like manner, traces are found in the Synoptics of such a free application of Old Testament prophecies (Matt. xvii. 11, &c.), of the inward character of his kingdom (Luke xvii. 20, &c.), and of a presence which needs no return to precede it (in Matt. xxviii. 20; compare xviii. 20). But especially in the fourth Gospel has the notion been preserved of this spiritual presence and return. (John xiv. 3, 18, &c., 21, 23.) The misunderstanding of the Apostolic Church was occasioned by the fact that Jesus had left the theocratic national hope unfulfilled, which was therefore only postponed, so that the hope of the coming of the Messiah transformed itself into a hope of his return. The tradition of the discourses of Jesus was necessarily affected by this error of the Church; and however suitable to time and place this discourse may be, the relation of Matthew to the other Gospels, and the inward connection of his prophecy, shows that he has collected in this focus expressions of a different tendency, on account of their common relation to the future.

SECT. 104. — *Death-Schemes.*

THE enthusiasm of the people necessarily changed into indifference or hatred as soon as they saw their hopes disappointed. Jesus could not deceive himself in relation to the loss of the popular favor. His opponents saw the necessity of being hasty in their measures. (John xii. 19; Luke xix. 47, &c.) The question would arise whether he should be destroyed by a judicial murder, or by assassination. Jesus

must desire to avoid the latter fate, which would expose him at his death to calumny; and perhaps this is seen in his passing the nights at Bethany, and possibly in the question about weapons, which can hardly have been exactly reported. (Luke xxii. 36-38.) But the Jewish Council might also believe that a public and shameful execution would be the most terrible blow to this deadly enemy and his adherents. Those who thought more deeply must have seen that this Galilæan, so prudent and powerful, having neglected one great opportunity, would in no case make use of force. Accordingly, if force was used against him, the people would immediately forsake him; regarding him as a false Messiah when they found him helpless in the hand of his enemies. Yet, from fear of an insurrection, the Council did not wish to take any decided steps at the time of the feast. (Matt. xxvi. 3-5; Mark xiv. 1, &c.; Luke xxii. 2.) A certain anxiety and want of decision in their measures may also be ascribed to a fear of the wonderful powers of Jesus. But he himself expected to die on the national festival. (Matt. xxvi. 2.)

SECT. 105. — *The Traitor.*

JUDAS of Kariot accelerated their decision by enabling the Council to get possession of Jesus without the danger of popular tumult (Matt. xxvi. 14-16; Mark xiv. 10, &c.; Luke xxii. 3-6; compare John xiii. 2); but John only mentions (xiii. 27, 30) the last irrevocable act, the execution of the treason.

Jesus may, from the beginning, have recognized in him the thief and traitor. (John vi. 64, xii. 6.) But it is less likely that, in this case, he would have permitted him to remain among his confidential friends, and have placed him in a situation the most dangerous to his character, than that John should have interpreted in this way an earlier expression of blame (John vi. 70, compare Matt. xvi. 23), in accordance with his view of Jesus (John ii. 24), and in reply to some misconception (compare Matt. xix. 28). All of the Gospels contain a notice of the fact that Jesus, at the farewell supper, indicated one of those present as a traitor. (Matt. xvi. 21-25; Mark xiv. 18-21; Luke xxii. 21-23; John xiii. 18, &c., 20-30.) The accounts cannot be brought into exact uniformity as to the mode of indication; it is just as likely in itself, that the second and third Gospels are correct, as the fourth. The accounts of the death of Judas may be reconciled, by the conjecture that Matthew (xxvii. 3-10) relates the beginning, and Acts (i. 18-20) the end, of his mode of death; but it would be strange if two narrators shared between them so exactly the same event, if the other half had been known to each of them. The purchase of the Field of Blood also seems differently conceived of by the two. Therefore, it is probable that in those days, when the Apostles were occupied with far more important interests, only the fact of a violent death was known, whilst no one thought of critically sifting the testimony concerning its manner. But this difference in the tradition concerning the manner by no means shows that the death itself is merely a Christian

myth, constructed out of various Old Testament incidents remote from each other. Nor is it probable that a man, regarded with horror by a widely spread community, should never have been heard of afterward during his lifetime. That the motive of the traitor was disappointed avarice, is hardly made evident by John (xii. 7). A trick to win money out of the enemies of Jesus, while relying on his miraculous power of protecting himself, would be too dangerous an experiment. If Judas, already desponding or despairing, wished to cast the whole matter upon Providence to decide, or if, foreseeing the destruction of Jesus, he wished only to save himself and his small profits, the result would not have driven him to despair. If he was a fiend, thinking only of treachery from the first, Jesus could never have chosen him as an Apostle. For mere avarice, the gain seems too small when compared with the advantages and hopes of his existing position. It is true that the first Gospel does not increase the certainty of the amount by the Old Testament attestation (Matt. xxvii. 9); but since Jesus might have been watched, and the place where he went at night thus discovered, any large sum would scarcely have been given. All historical intimations are harmonized by the conjecture that Judas was not an honest man, but a merely worldly and energetic character of a common order of intellect (compare John xii. 5, Matt. xxvi. 48),—one, moreover, whom it was always morally possible to rescue from evil, and to secure for the service of the kingdom of Heaven; and that his motive was to compel the Messiah, who seemed to

him hesitating, to make use of popular force in establishing his kingdom. In vain warned (Matt. xxvi. 24), he perhaps mistook the words of Jesus, who, despairing of changing him, sent him from the circle of his friends, (John xiii. 27-30,) and supposed that Jesus acquiesced in his plans.

SECT. 106. — *The Feast of Love.*

John xiii.-xvii.; Matt. xxvi. 17-29; Mark xiv. 12-25;
Luke xxii. 7-38.

THE appointing of this feast has a miraculous aspect in Mark and Luke, for which there is neither any occasion nor ethical justification in the facts themselves. The accounts of the Synoptics and of John differ as widely as (according to the contents of the last) a general tradition might have been expected to differ from the recollections of an eyewitness. The only obscurity arises from the very exact distribution of the two symbolic actions between the two sources. The washing of the feet, which can only appear theatrical to our Occidental and modern ways of thought (compare § 97), not being adopted among the ceremonies of the Church, might also have been lost by the Church tradition. The place where it belongs is given by Luke (chap. xx. 24-27). The mere silence of John in regard to a usage spread through the whole Church, cannot possibly be regarded as a denial of the fact, or as ignorance concerning its origin. The demand of exact precision in John's record of the speeches of

Jesus (Strauss and Baur), mistakes their nature, which is that of a whole freely unfolded by the writer's mind out of recollections long treasured in his heart. But the character of these discourses everywhere corresponds to the feeling expressed in the words of initiation. If the account of the Synoptics was merely a reflection of the Church ceremony, it would be impossible to explain the universality of this custom at so early a time in connection with Paul's belief (1 Cor. xi. 22-25), about which there can be no doubt, that it was originally instituted by Jesus. Moreover, in the first two Evangelists there is nothing said of the feast being instituted as a memorial; if there had been, it might have indicated that the account originated in a gradually established feast of commemoration. But the sacred meal of that night, even if the Pauline account had been omitted (1 Cor. ii. 24, Luke xxii. 19), would only obtain its full significance if Jesus, either according to a previous intention, or in the consciousness of the importance of the moment, made it a memorial feast in commemoration of his death, and a covenant festival. In the symbols used on this occasion, he expressed the blessedness conferred by his spiritual reception (as in John iv. 14, vi. 32, &c.), and the promise of continuing spiritually with his friends wherever they united together in love; as he expressed the same thing, without a figure, in Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20; John xvi. 23. The doubt whether Jesus himself partook of the bread and wine has arisen from later opinions. By instituting the Lord's Supper, Jesus showed his faith that the association founded by himself would

continue to exist, held together, indeed, by his very death: an assurance which explains the divine cheerfulness pervading his discourses as narrated by John. Whatever there is of elevation in piety, of pathos in sorrow, and of pure affection in love, is united in this conversation. Even when on the point of going out of the room (John xiv. 31), Jesus turned to speak again in words of infinite tenderness, deterred as well by the terrors of the night of betrayal without, as detained within by attachment to the circle of those so dear. His prayer was giving an account of his life before God; undeniably moulded in its form by the imperfect recollection of the Apostle in regard to what was said so long before. But in its essential substance it is in full accordance with the feelings of this hour, and with the consciousness of a life which was to found a religion, and to take its place in universal history.

SECT. 107. — *Soul-Struggle in Gethsemane, and Glory in Death.*

Matt. xxvi. 36–46; Mark xiv. 32–42; Luke xxii. 39–46;
John xviii. 1–12, 20–32.

JESUS was deeply depressed in the garden of Gethsemane, a place which is on the side of the Mount of Olives. This is not ascribed in the narrative to physical weakness, nor to anxiety about any unknown evil, nor related as if it were vicarious suffering, but it refers to his own approaching fate (compare Matt. xx. 22; Luke xxii. 11). It is a trembling of the

sensitive nature before an approaching death of martyrdom. It is also spiritual pain in view of the night which was to put an end to his career and his hopes. In his prayer is a wish, and therefore also a momentary hope, of deliverance ; not by means of flight, but by the agency of God, who, satisfied with this submission, might interfere to rescue his Messiah. But the hope immediately vanished before his insight, and the wish before his unconditional submission to the Divine will. The repeated struggle in prayer, related by Matthew and Luke, is certainly suitable to such circumstances, even though the prayer as it stands should be only a well-expressed summary of its actual contents. The angels and the bloody sweat recorded by Luke are figurative expressions changed into a legend. But it is impossible to ascribe to a legendary source the deep distress of Jesus, since this does not correspond to the Church view respecting him, and still less to the opinion that he expected to rise again in three days. These sudden alternations from sorrow to joy, and joy to sorrow, which undeniably belong to the last days of Jesus, (Luke xii. 49, &c., John xi. 35, xiii. 21, compare Heb. v. 7,) are not owing to his being momentarily forsaken by God, nor to any sudden loss of courage, (which are equally opposed to the Church belief and to the human character of Jesus,) but rather to the fulness and depth of his human feeling, and his disappointment in regard to his aim. No martyr was ever in his situation, and least of all Socrates. Therefore a struggle of the natural man, for the very reason that it could not change

his sentiments, might naturally affect his mood. A different spirit breathes in the last discourses recorded by John. But no one, who is still in the flesh, has obtained such a perfect conquest over himself as to prevent the possibility of new conflicts arising in his soul. An event in which the same frame of mind showed itself on its two sides is related by John as occurring between the entrance into the city and the departure from the Temple. (John xii. 20.) The wish of the Greeks to speak to Jesus brought before his mind the universal recognition of his character which was to come. But the path to this recognition lay through the grave. Therefore, anguish seized him in view of the gloomy termination which was at hand. But the free soul recovered itself immediately, in the thought that this death was a destiny freely chosen, (compare John x. 18,) and lifted itself into a prayer that the Father might be glorified in such a death, endured for the sake of the kingdom of Heaven. A voice from heaven in reply might be understood as a divine answer, so far as we can depend on the uncertain brevity of the account. The impression it made on those around is truthfully described as resembling the sound of thunder. Some took it to be an answer from heaven, and this was the view of Jesus himself; but, in the confidence of a self-poised mind, he declared that he himself needed no outward sign for his own satisfaction. The supposition that this event is a confused account of what occurred at Gethsemane is contradicted by the difference in all the circumstances. The assertion that it is a pure invention of the

Evangelist, in order to embrace in one anecdote some genuine traditions which had come from John, or that he composed it from gossiping rumors derived from the death-anguish at Gethsemane and the Transfiguration on the Mount, supposes such levity in the writer, and such an ignorance of the actual events or the prevailing traditions about the life of Jesus, that it is contradicted by the unquestionable facts of the fourth Gospel. If the material facts were borrowed from the story of Gethsemane and the Transfiguration, in order by uniting them with the incident of the Greeks, as representatives of believing heathenism, to represent the glorification of Christ through death (Strauss), then this idealizing author has only injured his allegory, already sufficiently obscure, by his mention of thunder. John has omitted the transaction after the supper, because he never relates any event on its own account, and because he had already given a full account of the spirit manifested at that time. Possibly he preferred to insert the earlier incident, because the prayers of anguish at Gethsemane and on the cross, if inserted after the prayer of farewell, would certainly interfere a little with the literary unity of his work.

SECT. 108.—*The Arrest.*

Matt. xxvi. 47 – 56; Mark xiv. 43 – 50; Luke xxii. 47 – 54;
John xviii. 3 – 12.

It is more probable that John (xviii. 3, 12) gave a Roman name to the Temple guard (Neander, Gfrörer; on the other hand, Theile, Lücke) than that the high-priest, fearing a popular tumult, should have strengthened his officers with a detachment of the Roman cohort. If the legend has not heightened the unnatural deed of Judas (compare John xviii. 5), then his kiss, described by the Synoptics, may be harmonized with John's account of the meeting, and of the question of Jesus, in the following way. We may suppose that Judas preceded the troop, and that Jesus, after his sorrowful reproof, went to meet the soldiers, not in order to rescue his disciples, but meeting an unavoidable danger with that manly pride which appears in his whole demeanor. (Tholuck on John, Olshausen, Lücke, Neander.) Peter's act of violence, and its reproof, are expressed most distinctly in the fourth Gospel; and the miraculous healing narrated by Luke may be believed, since it appears suitable to the circumstances. The shrinking back and falling down of the officers were probably regarded by John as miraculous, though in that view aimless, and, in fact, not so related. Regarded as instinctive reverence and awe before the great prophet, it is not only most impressive, but tends to soften beforehand the effect of the subsequent scene of cruel scorn.

SECT. 109.—*The Examination and Trial.*

John xviii. 13, 19–21; Matt. xxvi. 57, 59–66; Mark xiv. 53, 55–64; Luke xxii. 66–71.

ACCORDING to John's account, Jesus was carried first before Annas, who, having ceased to be high-priest since the first year of Tiberius, still exercised an influence through his son-in-law, Caiaphas. This appears to have been merely a preliminary investigation. Jesus only appealed to the publicity of his whole life; regarding any other defence as unworthy in the presence of foes who had already pronounced his doom. (Compare Luke xxii. 53.) According to the Synoptics, who agree essentially together, (see the differences in Strauss,) Jesus was brought before the Sanhedrim, who were assembled together in the palace of Caiaphas. The question regarded the proper judicial form of a sentence. The charge of offending against the national religion, or of impiety, could not be directly proved for want of satisfactory evidence. Accordingly, the accusation was based on an assumption of the Messiah's dignity. And it was upon this charge, proved by the confession of Jesus, who openly claimed the majesty of the Messiah, that the sentence of death was pronounced, as upon an indirect act of impiety. It is not remarkable that the Galilæan tradition should have omitted the preliminary investigation before Annas, which did not contribute to the development of the process. But it is strange that John should have passed over the decisive trial, whose historic position (xviii. 24,

28) he was well acquainted with; and the substance of whose proceedings (John xix. 7) he also knew. Therefore, by the assumption that John xviii. 24 is to be regarded, by means of an *enallage temporum*, as a remark referring backward to what precedes, the trial is made to be the same with the one before Caiaphas, recorded by the Synoptics. (So Calvin, Lücke, De Wette, Tholuck, etc.) In opposition to this explanation is the difficulty of understanding why, in this case, Annas should have been at all mentioned; but in favor of it is the fact that John (xviii. 24, compare 18) makes the place of Peter's denial the same. But even in this case, instead of giving an account of the main transaction, John has related only a supplementary and secondary one. This would show that he had in his mind the fact that the other Gospels contained what he omitted. And perhaps he may have considered his own account sufficiently complete, as the result of the decision of the Council is contained in the delivery of Jesus to Pilate, and the decision itself had been previously related by him (§ 95) at the time when it was really made. (Weisse.) Baur supposes a desire to heighten the unbelief of the Jews by a double priestly sentence pronounced against Jesus. This is contradicted by the fact that it is not John's custom to strengthen his case by repeating a second time the incident which supports it, and he does not in this instance relate even once the sentence of condemnation pronounced by Annas.

SECT. 110.—*The Denial of Peter.*

John, xiii. 33 - 38, xviii. 15 - 18, 25 - 27; Matt. xxvi. 31 - 35, 69 - 75; Mark xiv. 27 - 31, 54, 66 - 72; Luke xxii. 31 - 34; 54 - 62.

NOTHING but the prediction by Jesus of such a weakness in the greatest of the Apostles explains the motive which led all the Evangelists to record it. Its occasion might be either the one given by the first two Evangelists, or that recorded by the fourth. Though the exact prediction would not be unexampled, yet according to the intimation (Luke xxii. 31) it is less to be regarded as a tragic fate than as a moral warning. The common tradition of three different denials takes a different form in each of the Gospels, and these differences cannot be reconciled with each other. (See Paulus and Strauss.) In favor of John's narrative, which places the scene of the denial in the palace-court of Annas, it may be said that Peter would have been less likely to enter the palace of one whose servant he had just wounded. (Schleiermacher.) The terror of Peter arose from the fact of his recent act of violence, connected with his wish to remain near to Jesus. It was easier not to commit the error than not to repeat it; but the disgrace of the situation, and the contrast between his action and his opinion, necessarily brought the pain of self-contempt upon this noble soul.

SECT. 111.— *The Messiah and the Heathen.*

John xviii. 28 – xix. 23 ; Matt. xxvii. 2 – 26 ; Mark xv. 1 – 15 ; Luke xxiii. 1 – 25.

THE Sanhedrim, which had been deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishment, carried him whom they had condemned before the tribunal of the Procurator. The character of the proceedings is the same in all the Gospels. The accounts of any process, however, not reported from attested records, but narrated by different persons, are very apt to differ from each other. These differences appear, in part, as incomplete statements, which mutually complete each other. Thus the question in John xviii. 33 is conditioned by the accusation in Luke xxiii. 2 ; and, again, Luke xxiii. 4 needs the passage John xviii. 34 – 38 to make it perfectly clear. The reluctance of Pilate is, perhaps, more decidedly marked in the account of John, but the Synoptics also narrate that he found no fault in him, and Matthew says distinctly that the Jewish people took the guilt upon themselves (Matt. xxvii. 25). Baur's notion is therefore unfounded, which considers the fourth Gospel unhistoric, and intended to excuse Pilate and throw all the blame upon the Jews. That which was said in the Prætorium might have been afterward reported to John in this conversational, lapidary style, by some belonging to the household of the Procurator ; for to invent it would have required an extraordinary talent. The accusation of usurping the office of Messiah must have sounded to a Roman tribunal like a charge of

high treason (Luke xxiii. 2, John xix. 12, 19), and the religious accusation could have been added only from a zeal to accumulate and strengthen the proofs of criminality (John xix. 7). Pontius Pilate—a sceptic in regard to truth and justice, despising the Sanhedrim, but fearing it from his consciousness of his tyrannical and venal administration, unacquainted with the Messianic hope of the Jews, yet scarcely wholly unacquainted with the character of Jesus—regarded him as an innocent enthusiast pursued by sectarian hatred. But, interested by the calm dignity of his defence,—and, according to Matthew (xvii. 19), moved moreover by a dream of his wife,—he made some imprudent and inconsistent attempts to protect him against the accusation of the Sanhedrim and the hatred of the people. Caught in his own schemes, and possessing in himself no moral courage or firmness of mind, he finally consented to inflict the punishment of high treason, according to the Roman custom in the provinces.

SECT. 112.—*The Justice of the Sentence.*

THERE can be no possible doubt that, according to objective and eternal justice, a judicial murder was here committed. The question in regard to the justice of the procedure only relates to the subjective conviction of the judges, according to the then traditional judicial views, and according to the actual laws. Therefore no odium should attach to the decision of the question, though it were that the judgment was legally correct. For many benefactors of

mankind have been put to death with strict legality, and in accordance with established forms. Positive law, adapted to the usual course of things, can often reward only with the prison and scaffold actions demanded by extraordinary times and dared by extraordinary characters. The witnesses who testified before the council, judging by what we are told of their statements and the result (Matt. xxvi. 59-61, Mark xiv. 55-59, compare John ii. 19), were not false witnesses, but only hostile witnesses. The sentence against Jesus by the Sanhedrim was on the charge of his calling himself the Messiah. In a theocratic state, a false pretence to a divine mission must be regarded as the highest crime; for it contains the assumption of superiority to the whole existing power of the nation. The power of deciding whether a prophet was true or false belonged originally to every individual, and to the whole people of God (Deut. xiii. 1-11); but, in the development of an official system, it afterward fell into the hands of the Sanhedrim as the highest national organ. (John i. 19, &c.) With respect to the Messiah, there could not exist any established rule of inquiry; for it would be supposed that the splendor of his coming would leave no room for doubt. If such a doubt should exist, it would indeed be owing to the position taken by him who, knowing himself to be the Messiah, might feel himself raised above all jurisdiction by his divine mission. But the Sanhedrim must consider themselves justified, according to the analogy of their laws, in pronouncing sentence on a false Messiah. Since Jesus did not intend to be a Messiah according

to the popular expectation, but meant rather to overthrow the religion of the state, every zealous Jew, who was only a Jew, must regard him as a false Messiah. Yet the very thing which made him so, that is, his renunciation of the political theocracy, withdrew him from the rigor of theocratic procedure. Hence there might arise such a view in the council as took form afterwards (Acts v. 34, &c.), that the decision of this matter must be left to God and to time. But at that period, this purely spiritual view of the enterprise of Jesus was as foreign to the majority of the Sanhedrim as it was to the Apostles themselves. It therefore only remained for them to decide whether they would submit to him who claimed to be the Messiah, or destroy him. They decided to destroy him; blinding themselves, indeed, to the moral greatness and marvellous glory of Jesus, and openly confessing that they yielded to a political necessity, and without strict attention to legal formalities; but still in accordance with the traditional notions of justice which belonged to their time. Pilate unquestionably believed the accused to be innocent; and merely wanted moral energy to rescue him. But if acquainted with the Jewish Messianic hope, he would, according to Roman law, and in the interest of his government, have considered the charge one of treason. Even without this knowledge, he did not pass beyond the limits of his official authority. It is true that the execution of all capital sentences was notoriously given to the Procurator, that he might protect from the vengeance of the Jews those who sold themselves to the Romans. But according

to Roman policy, no governor was bound to rescue from the religious fanaticism of a conquered nation a victim whose fate was indifferent to them in other respects. Therefore Pilate did not undertake to pronounce a sentence according to Roman law, but set aside all Roman judicial forms, and turned himself to the assembled multitude, in order to find in their sympathy a point of support against the religious persecution of the Sanhedrim. But failing of any response here, he publicly declared that he had pronounced no judgment, but merely, according to the principles of Roman tolerance, had allowed the fanaticism of a superstitious people to run its course.

SECT. 113.—*III-Treatment.*

THE abuse inflicted on Jesus (of which there may have been as many repetitions as there are said to be in the Gospels) was practised and allowed by the Jewish authorities, no less from hatred, than by such disgrace to bring the cause of the Messiah into contempt with the people. (Matt. xxvi. 67; Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 63–65.) It was encouraged by the courtiers of Herod in mockery, to defend their own shadowy king from inward annihilation, by the outward annihilation of the King of Truth. (Luke xxiii. 8–11.) It was allowed by Pilate partly from the unwise purpose to move the people to sympathy, (a plan to be explained only by his ignorance of the Messianic idea,) and partly in accordance with the procedure in Roman criminal trials, which often permitted the soldier's jests and mimicry. (John xix.

1-5; Matt. xxvii. 26-30; Mark xv. 15-19.) Only once did Jesus complain of the unreasonableness of these cruelties (John xviii. 23); afterward he bore them silently.

SECT. 114.—*The Hours of Suffering.*

ACCORDING to Matthew (xxvi. 57), the council seems to have been assembled at the house of Caiaphas before Jesus arrived; while, according to Luke (xxii. 52), the members of the council were present at the arrest. Three Gospels speak of the judgment as taking place in the night-time; according to Luke (xxii. 66), the council assembled at day-break. But Matthew (xxvii. 1) and Mark (xv. 1) also intimate that it was not till morning that the decisive conclusion was reached, and that immediately after this Jesus was led away to Pilate (compare John xviii. 28). According to John (xix. 14), the hour in which Pilate pronounced his sentence was about the sixth hour, ὥς ἕκτην (12 o'clock); according to Mark (xv. 25), the beginning of the crucifixion was the third hour, τρίτη (9 o'clock). A reading adopted by Nonnus, and otherwise supported rather by curious than by important authorities, makes this verse of John read *third*, τρίτη, instead of *sixth*. It is certainly possible that the Greek numeral signs γ' and ς' (gamma and stigma) may have been exchanged by the transcriber; but it seems more likely that this change should have been designedly made to restore the harmony, than accidentally to occasion the contradiction. It was a Jewish

custom to divide the day into quarters, and the same quarter would be called the third hour from its beginning, or the sixth from its end. But this explanation will not here apply, since both Evangelists show, by their statement of the hour, that they are counting by hours, and not by quarters of the day. The supposition that John makes use of the old Roman reckoning, from midnight to midnight, would give us the sixth hour in the morning; which makes a pretty good harmony with Mark. But if the proceedings before Pilate began in the morning, and the episode with Herod is to come in (Luke xxiii. 7, &c.), the judgment could not have been pronounced as early as six o'clock in the morning, though scarcely as late as noon. According to another statement of the Synoptics (Matt. xxvii. 45, and parallels), the Master was already hanging from the cross at twelve o'clock. This gives no new weight to Mark's account, for the three Synoptics, in their relation to John, are but as a single witness; but it diminishes also the necessary amount of difference. This contradiction is, at all events, an accidental one, and can only be explained by the personal situation of each writer in relation to the facts. The time of the death, according to Matthew (xxvii. 46), was about the ninth hour, *περὶ τῆν ἐννάτην ὥραν* (three o'clock; compare Mark xv. 34; Luke xxiii. 44). The time of burial was before sundown. (John xix. 42; Luke xxiii. 54.)

SECT. 115.—*The Crucifixion.*

Matt. xxvii. 32-56; Mark xv. 20-41; Luke xxiii. 26-49; John xix. 16-30.

JOHN (xix. 17) says that Jesus bore the cross himself; but according to Mark (xv. 21, and parallel passages), it is said to have been carried by one whom they met. Yet the Synoptics also imply that at first it was carried by Jesus himself. The place of execution—thence called the Place of a Skull—was situated, according to the Jewish custom, (compare Matt. xxvii. 33, John xix. 17, Heb. xiii. 12,) outside the walls of the city, as it then existed. The Roman customs are to be supposed;—the cross little above the height of a man; the naked body supported between the limbs upon a peg which came out of the middle of the shaft; the hands tied and nailed to the cross-beams. According to John (xx. 20, 25, 27) it would seem that the feet were not nailed, especially as the Evangelical history does not allude to a prediction lying so close at hand (Psalm xxii. 16). On the other hand, Luke (xxiv. 39) favors the other view; and the Church Fathers assume the existence of this custom at the time when crucifixion was still in use, with strong allusion to Psalm xxii. 16. Over the head was the tablet indicating the crime; in which the Procurator, in irony, and in lapidary style, gave the first public recognition of Jesus as Messiah in the three principal languages of the world. The division of the clothes (Matt. xxvii. 35, and parallels) in the particular way related by

John (xix. 23, &c.) is indeed connected with a prophecy, but is probable also in itself. According to the manner of life of Jesus, according to the way in which he looked at death, and the deep impression left behind on his contemporaries, it is not to be expected but that he should have expressed himself in his own great manner during the slow agony of this death, though some of his last expressions are related by one Evangelist without the knowledge of the rest. It is told by Luke (xxiii. 27-32, 34) in the style of his time, but wholly in the spirit of Jesus, that upon the road to death he thought more of the ruin of those who were weeping around him than of his own; and that he fulfilled his own difficult command (Matt. v. 44) in the midst of the mockery of his enemies, who quoted against him a passage perverted from the Psalms. (Matt. xxvii. 43; Psalm xxii. 9.) The accounts of the drink vary, and are also perplexed by their allusions to prophecy (especially Matt. xxvii. 34, compare Psalm lxix. 21); but refer to a custom historically authenticated, and contain what is suitable in itself. It is probable that Jesus first refused the intoxicating drink, and only relieved his thirst when about to die. (Mark xv. 23; John xix. 28, &c.) John speaks of those crucified with Jesus, but does not mention that they spoke. Matthew and Mark (Matt. xxvii. 44, Mark xv. 32) tell of their deriding him; while Luke (xxiii. 39-43) relates that one in spirit took hold of the fettered and mangled hand of Jesus, to be led by it into a higher life. This may easily be regarded as a legend, but can by no means be proved such, since there was so little

occasion for it in the circumstances, and since the fact itself is at once so unexpected and yet so psychologically deep, true, and great. There was no reason why any other Evangelist than John should mention the bequest of Jesus. (John xix. 25-27.) Since the mother of Jesus was not supposed to be childless, there is no reason for supposing a mythical origin of the story; and according to Luke (Acts i. 14), Mary was at that time in Jerusalem. But the Synoptics seem to have been ignorant of this painful scene. (Compare Matt. xxvii. 55, &c., and parallels.) Using the first words of the twenty-second Psalm, Jesus expressed the feeling of this moment. (Matt. xxvii. 4, 6; Mark xv. 34.) A legend would never have placed in the mouth of Jesus an expression which has occasioned so much difficulty. That which Luke (xxiii. 46) regards as his last words, may have been a formula for the dying, partly modelled on Psalm xxxi. 6. According to John (xix. 30), the last words were an expression of triumph.

SECT. 116. — *The Death.*

Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 37; Luke xxiii. 46; John xix. 30.

AFTER a small loss of blood, which soon ceased by inflammation and swelling, crucifixion produced death only through spasms, exhaustion, or hunger. It began with rigidity in the extremities, and was sometimes several days in coming. The death of Jesus after a few hours was indeed so unusually sudden (Mark xv. 44), that it was regarded often in the Church as his own free and divine act; but

might not improbably have been caused by his bodily and spiritual sufferings during this day. Since, however, a crucifixion of some hours did not necessarily produce death; but, on the contrary, a fact is reported from that very time and region, of a man taken from the cross and cured by the physicians (Life of Josephus, Chap. LXXV.); experienced persons have regarded the proof of his death as resting on the wound in the side. (John xix. 31 – 37.) There is no historical confirmation elsewhere of any custom of breaking the legs as a regular part of crucifixion. But since, according to the Jewish laws, the crucified must be taken down before sunset (Deut. xxi. 22), which necessity was made more urgent by the sanctity of the approaching festival (John xix. 31), it was necessary, in some way, to hasten the death. And according to the Roman legal analogy, the “Crurifragium” was naturally chosen. The object of piercing with the spear was not to produce death, but to see how much life remained. The flowing of blood and water has occasioned various explanations, on account of the indefiniteness of the expression. If the water came from the pericardium, it would be already mixed with blood, supposing the position of the body to allow it to run out; at all events, a wound in the pericardium is not necessarily fatal. Since only in extremely rare cases does the blood run from deep wounds in a corpse after it has undergone the change into *cruor* and *serum*, this could not have been a familiar sign of death. Therefore John perhaps only meant the running out of lymph, with which the bleeding of a wound in the

open air usually ends. Yet a difficulty remains on account of the two fluids being mentioned separately, to which a mystic interest might belong, if more stress be laid on it than the nature of the case demands (compare 1 John v. 6). But thus a tasteless hendiadys would stand here, instead of the natural expression of fluid blood. Yet we may also suppose that the water, which might have issued to a remarkable degree from the vessels of the pleura, which are principally lymphatic, was not already mixed with the blood. The statement of John on this point was hardly intended to furnish a proof of the certainty of the death of Jesus, which no scepticism at that time called for. It was rather meant as a token of his presence as an eyewitness, and as a fulfilment of the prophecies referred to. (Ex. xii. 46; Zach. xii. 10.) Yet in these prophecies there is not enough, either of Messianic necessity, or of allusion to blood and water, to authorize the conjecture that the story could have originated in them.* It is impossible to demonstrate absolutely the death of Jesus, since there is no certain criterion of death in any case except the commencement of decay, or the destruction of an organ essential to life. But there was no human power or contrivance which could have prevented death; and we have the assurance of all,

* Two other opinions, one that the death was occasioned by dropsy (Schmidtman, *Philosophical and Medical Proof of the Death of Jesus*, Osnaburgh, 1830), and another, that he died literally of a broken heart (William Stroudt, M. D., *Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, London, 1847, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, Boston), are destitute of any historic basis, especially when applied to one who was the source of life and healing to such multitudes.

both friends and enemies, that death had actually taken place. Therefore, the fact that the death of Jesus was universally preached and everywhere believed is a perfectly satisfactory proof of its reality. On the other hand, the assertion of naturalism that his death was only apparent, is derived wholly from objections to the subsequent resurrection; for it (considering the mystery of all death) we can only say, according to a universally recognized truth (Acts ii. 31, xiii. 35, &c.), that the organic principle of the body is not released till the lower powers of decay commence their work. In the case of Jesus this decay of the body had not begun.

SECT. 117.—*The Grave and the Watch.*

Matt. xxvii. 57–66, xxviii. 2–4, 11–15; Mark xv. 42–47; Luke xxiii. 50–56; John xix. 38–42.

ACCORDING to Matthew (xxvii. 60), the tomb in the rock belonged to Josephus; and according to John (xix. 42), the body of the Lord was placed in a grave close by, on account of the nearness of the Sabbath. The last fact may have been the occasion of the belief of the other; but John relates that Josephus and Nicodemus immediately embalmed the corpse in the most costly way, according to the Jewish custom. If, therefore, the women only came on Sunday morning to complete the embalming, whilst, according to all the Synoptics, they had been present when the body was laid in the grave, we may conjecture that their motive was, after the manner of

women, to add another, though superfluous, proof of their love. The fact recorded by John is ignored by the Synoptic narrative. In opposition to the conjecture that this is a legend which gradually grew up, originating in the facts of Matthew and ending in the story told in the fourth Gospel, we may say that, if rich friends of Jesus, in high positions, could now, after his death, express themselves boldly, which accords with human nature, it is likely that they would also have paid to his remains the last honors which Jewish customs required of persons in a good situation. (Compare Mark xiv. 8, and parallel passages.) The story of guarding the grave, which is only told in the first Gospel, is so improbable as to the reason given, and as to the behavior of all those implicated, that it must be considered a legend, the motive for which Matthew himself has given (xxviii. 15) in the Jewish rumor of the body being stolen. If, in order to avoid the chief difficulty (Acts v. 34, &c.), it is supposed that this matter was arranged only by Caiaphas, this is almost an admission of the historic uncertainty of the story.

SECT. 118.—*The Resurrection.*

Matt. xxviii.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xx.

THE Gospels are only unanimous in this: that on the morning after the Sabbath the women found the grave empty, and went and told the Apostles of the resurrection. All the Gospels relate that Jesus showed himself immediately in various ways; and

these appearances are in part the same. (Luke xxiv. 13-35; compare Mark xvi. 12; John xx. 1-10; compare Luke xxiv. 12, 34; John xx. 19-23; compare Luke xxiv. 36, &c.) But these accounts differ materially, and sometimes so much as not to refer to the same thing. Of the appearances mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 5, &c.), that to James is only mentioned beside with mythic additions in an uncanonical Gospel; that to the five hundred has dropped out of the Gospels altogether. In trying to harmonize these accounts, we meet the difficulty that, according to Matthew and Mark (Matt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7, 10, Mark xiv. 28, xvi. 7), the Apostles were directed to go to Galilee, there to meet their risen Master; and Matthew relates only this one meeting. But, on the contrary, according to Luke (xxiv. 36, &c.) and John (xx. 19, &c.), Jesus comes to the Apostles in Jerusalem, on the very day of the resurrection, and according to John (xx. 26, &c.) was seen again seven days after. A command in Luke (xxiv. 49), not to leave Jerusalem, nevertheless leaves room for a temporary abode in Galilee, according to a subsequent explanation of the same writer (Acts i. 3, 4). The three appearances of Jesus contained in Mark must be located in the territory of Jerusalem; but Mark xvi. 9, &c. has so little connection with what precedes, that it seems like a conclusion by a foreign hand. The only other meeting in Galilee is related in John (xxi.); but this additional chapter of John enumerates, in the 14th verse, the times Jesus had showed himself to his disciples in a way which, if it be considered authentic,

excludes the possibility of reconciling the different accounts. The particulars, therefore, of these meetings remain as fluctuating traditions; as might be expected from the strangeness of the facts, and from the inartificial character of the history. For, without a regular transition, the narrative passes at once from the last story in the Gospel of Luke, to the first story in the Book of Acts. But it is proved beyond all question by the Apostolic letters, and especially by 1 Corinthians (xv. 5, &c.), that the Apostles and many other disciples were convinced that they had repeatedly enjoyed the sight of the risen Christ. This excludes all possibility of a pure myth. That the Apostles should themselves have been deceived is impossible, from their cause, their character, and their fate. The very thing on which every rejection of the resurrection as an historic fact must be supported, that is, the contradictions or want of accuracy in the Evangelical narratives, is precisely no support at all to this hypothesis. If Jesus had appeared openly in public, it might have had some important results, nor would it necessarily have forced any to believe to the detriment of moral freedom and responsibility. But it would have produced a violent conflict between the people and the authorities, or else very unsatisfactory investigations concerning his identity. One view is, that the Apostles became gradually reconciled to the death of their Master, and accepted him according to the Scriptures, and so, as he took his place in their belief as the Messiah, each of them imagined that he saw him also visibly present in visions. (Strauss; also Thomas Woolston,

London, 1729.) But in order to give probability to this view we must assume the strangest misunderstandings, and suppose visions to be poetized into proofs of material existence at Jerusalem. This would be more like falsehoods than like myths. But we must in such a case, moreover, suppose a power of faith of a nature hitherto unknown to be produced out of utter despair. An immeasurable effect is thus ascribed to the most insignificant cause, and a revolution in the history of the world is supposed to have come from an accidental self-deception. Therefore, those who adopt this view are moreover obliged to suppose that Jesus, after his death, had, by means of some magical and miraculous power, assured those who believed in him of his actual existence, and in this way produced these strong convictions. (Weisse.) The historical basis for such a view consists in the fact that Paul places his own inward experiences with the risen Jesus on the same plane as the outward manifestations made to the other disciples. Paul was inclined to this way of looking at the subject by his personal wishes. He was also justified in doing it, since the catastrophe of his own life was the personal, but inward, appearance to him of Jesus Christ. Yet his faith in the resurrection of Jesus was not derived from these experiences of his own; for the disciple of Gamaliel could not have considered the ascent of a soul out of Hades to be equivalent to a resurrection. Any merely spiritual appearances, necessarily a matter of purely subjective perception, must immediately sink to the rank of mental visions. These would leave only an uncer-

tain and uneasy impression, and never create such a great moral enthusiasm. Whatever may be said of the historic contents of the first chapter of Acts, it cannot be denied that the early establishment of the church at Jerusalem was based on faith in the risen Master, who, unless he arose from the dead, would be nothing but a disgraced corpse. Hence the truth of the Resurrection stands immovably based upon the testimony, and we may even say upon the very existence, of the Apostolic Church itself.

SECT. 119.—*The Life of the Risen One.*

AFTER this, the Gospels no longer give a connected account of the life of Jesus, but only describe his separate appearances, by which the history is not developed further, and which, apart from the closing chapter of the fourth Gospel, have very little which is peculiar in their contents. In these accounts of the risen Master a twofold tendency appears. First, to represent him as manifesting himself in a strange and ghost-like way. (Matt. xxviii. 17; Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv. 31; John xx. 19, 26.) The other, to consider him as possessing his former human body. (Matt. xxviii. 9; Luke xxiv. 39-43; John xx. 20, 27, xxi. 5.) To reconcile these views, some have supposed that it was a glorified body, and not the same earthly one. If anything distinct is intended by this, the process of decay must have been changed into a sudden obliteration of the earthly element. But in this case, it would be a mere illusion that Jesus ate food and was actually touched. The Resurrection

and Ascension are not the same event, either in the view of the Fourth Evangelist (Baur ; see John xx. 17 and 22), or as a matter of fact. For in that case the appearance of Jesus after the Resurrection would be that of a ghost (Weisse), or we must else accept a series of ascensions (Kinkel). The view of Rothe (Theolog. Ethik.), that "death, resurrection, and ascension fall in the same moment, as the excarnation of the indwelling God," involves a repeated resumption of the body for the purpose of showing himself to his disciples. Something magical appears in this manifestation of a dead and decaying body as one alive with the marks of its wounds. This view is also opposed to Luke xxiv. 39, and is borrowed from Gnosticism. Yet it is not likely that these proofs of the reality of his body should have been invented by the legends, since there was very early a tendency to believe that the risen body was a glorified body, and the same as that which ascended to heaven. And the ghost-like element in these appearances, (which, however, according to the Evangelists, do not exceed the limits of earthly phenomena,) so far as it has not subsequently crept in, or belongs to the style of narration, may have come from the feeling of strangeness with which everything belonging to the dead is beheld by the living, and from the sense of majesty inspired by this earthly immortality. (Compare Matt. xxviii. 10 ; Mark xvi. 8 ; Luke xxiv. 37, &c. ; John xxi. 12.) But we find no solution of the mystery of his place of residence, (which the disciples do not seem even to have asked after,) or of his manner of coming and going. The Divine plan of the

world, which he had believed in during the darkest hours, was now clearly spread out before him as the fulfilment of all prophecies. He sent out the Apostles in order to collect humanity into a spiritual kingdom of divine and human love, which should be independent of all the relations of state, and of all the divisions of races and nations.

SECT. 120.—*Reason and Result of the Resurrection.*

SOME (Gfrörer) have conjectured that the friends of Jesus prevented his limbs from being broken, and managed to control his burial, in the hope of rendering him some sort of aid. This can neither be historically proved, nor historically disproved. Unquestionably, one who had been crucified was not brought to life again on the third day by merely medical assistance; and a weak convalescent (Paulus; in opposition to him, Strauss), moving about here and there, would never have appeared to the Apostles as the conqueror of death and the grave. We might expect beforehand that the wonderful power of healing which was at the command of Jesus would have certainly powerfully manifested itself in his own person. We can scarcely venture to give an account of the first revival of his consciousness. Yet the thought immediately occurs that death, as violent dissolution of the body, could not originally belong to the nature of an immortal being, but first arose through sin; and therefore that He who was untouched by sin could not have been subject to this element not natural to death. At all events, it is

historically certain that Jesus himself did not, by any combinations, produce a merely apparent death, but seriously expected to die. And therefore his resurrection, in whatever way it occurred, is a manifest work of Providence. Christianity in its essence — that is, as a perfect religion, essentially true — does not depend on the resurrection. But Christianity in its existence does; for it was victoriously established, and the Church actually founded upon the grave of the risen Master.

SECT. 121. — *The Earthquake, risen Saints, and Angels.*

THAT during the crucifixion the sun was veiled in vapors (Matt. xxvii. 45, Mark xv. 33, Luke xxiii. 44, 45), and that the earth shook (Matt. xxvii. 52), as though it sympathized with the sorrows of her greatest son, is indeed made suspicious on account of the prophecy (Amos viii. 9), which, nevertheless, was first noticed by the fathers of the Church. Doubt is also thrown upon these events by the silence of John, who, however, might very easily have omitted such facts as these. Nor is there any satisfactory confirmation of them from other quarters. Yet the publicity belonging to such facts, which are in themselves not improbable, prevents their being regarded as wholly legendary. That the curtain of the Holy of Holies was rent (Matt. xxvii. 51, Mark xv. 38, Luke xxiii. 45), is wholly in the symbolical style of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 19, x. 19, 20, and other places), and is not used in this epistle as a matter of fact. The resurrection of the saints, only mentioned by Matthew (xxvii. 52), — beginning in a

bodily way, but vanishing afterwards in a spectral obscurity,— is opposed to another opinion of the first Christians. (Col. i. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 20.) As a matter of fact, it seems incapable of a natural explanation; and its historical basis vanishes as soon as we try to conceive of it intelligibly. (Steudel.) Whether open graves or Messianic expectations lie at its foundation, the story is apocryphal (compare “Gospel of Nicodemus”), though every attempt has failed to remove it from the Gospel of Matthew as spurious. The angels at the grave (Matt. xxviii. 2, 3, 5, 6, John xx. 12, 13) might, indeed, if not explained as natural appearances, or visions, yet according to Mark (xvi. 5) and Luke (xxiv. 4) be regarded as men. But the stories concerning them are contradictory, and they come without any motive being assigned, except in Matthew (xxviii. 2), and in a fragment of Mark (xvi. 6, 7), which, compared with the other Gospels, has not the appearance of entire originality. Hence, judging them like other angelic manifestations, they seem to belong to early legendary additions to the Gospels. (See account of these events in Furness’s “Four Gospels” and “Jesus and his Biographers.” — Transl.)

SECT. 122. — *The Departure from the Earth.*

Matt. xxviii. 16–20; Mark xvi. 19, 20; Luke xxix. 50–52; Acts i. 2–11.

THE epilogue by Mark indicates, and Luke narrates, that the Master was taken into heaven before the eyes of his Apostles. The relation of the Gospel

to the Book of Acts shows that Luke, after writing his Gospel, (with which the Epistle of Barnabas agrees,*) obtained a full and precise account of an ascension from the Mount of Olives, forty days after the resurrection. The other accounts concerning the last days of Jesus point toward Galilee. Matthew describes his Master as there taking leave of his disciples in words which intimate neither that he ascended into heaven, nor that they met again on earth. Any one who had been an eyewitness of this distinct and splendid close of the Messianic life of Jesus could hardly have omitted speaking of it; but John preferred to end his Gospel without any such distinct closing incident. The same silence prevails in the other apostolic writings. They take for granted that Jesus is in heaven, but a bodily ascension does not belong to the contents of the first Christian creed. (John vi. 62. Perhaps there is a trace of the ascension in 1 Tim. iii. 16.) It is opposed to history, and a dangerous opinion, to declare that the resurrection has no meaning except conjoined with the ascension. (Krabbe.) It was the faith of the Apostolic Church (Rom. vi. 9) that Jesus did not pass into a higher existence through a second death, and it is probable in itself that Jesus did not leave this world in the usual manner. But we need not infer from this the necessity of a visible ascension.† The natural

* Barnabas, Ep. c. 15: "For which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and, having manifested himself to his disciples, ascended into heaven."

† Some who defend the ascension do not intend by it a visible one, which they feel to be opposed to any correct view of the spiritual world, which is not to be located above us in the sky. So Neander (*Life of*

explanation (Paulus) first accepts uncertain authorities as historical, and afterwards forces them to its purpose. It is neither conceivable from the character of Jesus, nor can it be shown from a single trace in history, that he lived concealed upon the earth for a number of years. (Brenneke, "Biblical Proof that Jesus remained on Earth Twenty-seven Years after his Resurrection, and labored for the Good of Mankind in Silence." See Gfrörer, &c.) To regard the ascension as a vision is only to express one's despair of giving any historical account of it. There is no proof of any influence derived from legends; though similar thoughts may be shown in some of them. (Gen. v. 24; 2 Kings ii. 11, 12, 16.) The ascension of Jesus is to be regarded as a mythical expression of his return to his Father, — not in the strictest sense apostolic, — occasioned by the need of having a distinct conclusion to the mysterious close of the life of Jesus; also occasioned by the hope of his return in the clouds of heaven, a view based upon popular conceptions in ancient times. For his departure was not the sad departure of a mortal, but the blessing of a glorified being, who, being one with the Godhead through his love, promised also to remain an undying presence with his friends. And he *has* thus remained with us.

Jesus, § 306): "The essential feature is, that Christ did not pass from his earthly existence to a higher through natural death, but in a supernatural way." Lange says: "Any last appearance of Jesus on earth would have been his ascension." But we need not deny the historic ascension when we receive the ideal and universal view of it. The critic may remember that the ascent of an earthly body into the air is not an incredible event, so long as there are such creatures as birds in existence.

LIST OF BOOKS

REFERRED TO BY HASE IN THIS WORK.

[For the reason given in the Preface, the translator has omitted many of the references, where the books referred to are such as can hardly be obtained even in Europe, and are of little importance for the investigation of the subject. The more important works are indicated by Hase by a star, and these are retained. A few of the most valuable works in English are added in a list at the end.]

SECT. 3. — *The Four Evangelists.*

Clausse (Latin), "Dissertation on the Reasons why more concerning the Life of Jesus was not written by the Evangelists." Frankfort, 1766. *A. H. Niemeyer* (Latin), "Conjectures, &c., on the Silence of the New Testament Writers." Halle, 1790. *F. A. Krummacher* (German), "On the Spirit and Form of the Evangelical History," &c. Leipsic, 1805. *Küchler* (Latin), "Simplicity of the Sacred Writers," &c. Leipsic, 1821. *Sander* (German), "On the Plan of the Four Gospels." 1827. *Lachmann* (Latin), "Order of Narration in the Synoptics" (*Studien u. Krit.*, 1835). *Kuhn* (German), "On the Literary Character of the Evangelists" (*Jahrbuch d. Theol.*, 1836).

SECT. 4. — *The Synoptic Gospels.*

Eusebius (Greek), "Ecclesiastical History," III. 39. *Schleiermacher* (German), "On the Testimony of Papias concerning the first two Gospels" (*Studien u. Krit.*, 1832). *Sieffert* (German), "On the Origin of the First Canonical Gospel." *Königsb.*, 1832. *Klenert* (Latin), "Authorship of Matthew." Götting., 1832.

Schneckenburger (German), "Origin of Matthew's Gospel." 1834. *Schott* (German), "Authenticity of Matthew." Leipsic, 1837. *Kem* (German), "Origin of Gospel of Matthew." Tübingen Quarterly, 1834. *Olshausen* (Latin), "Defence of the Apostolic Origin of Matthew." Erlangen, 1835. *Fritzsche* (Latin), "Gospel of Matthew." Leipsic, 1826. *Gfrörer* (German), "History of Original Christianity." *Koster* (German), "Composition of the Gospel of Matthew" (Theol. Mitarbeiten, 1838). *Van Willes* (Latin), "Gospel of Mark." 1811. *J. D. Schulze* (German), "Gospel of Mark." *Saunier* (German), "Sources of Gospel of Mark." Berlin, 1825. *De Wette* (German), "Gospel of Mark" (Studien u. Krit., 1828). *Knoble* (Latin), "Gospel of Mark," 1831. *Schleiermacher* (German), "On the Gospel of Luke." Berlin, 1817. *H. Planck* (Latin), "Remarks on Schleiermacher," &c. Götting., 1819. *Theile* (German), "Relation of the Synoptics" (Winer's Critical Journal). *De Wette* (German), "Introduction to the New Testament." Berlin, 1834. *Credner* (German), "Introduction to the New Testament." Halle, 1836. *Wilke* (German), "The Original Gospel, or Mark," &c. Dresden, 1838.

SECT. 5. — *Gospel of John.*

Storr (German), "Purpose of the Gospel of John." Tubing., 1786. *Schulze* (German), "Literary Character of John." Leips., 1803. *Russwurm* (German), "John the Son of Thunder." 1806. *Wegscheider* (German), "Introduction to John." 1806. Other writings upon John's Gospel by *Borger* (Latin), 1816; *Seuffarth* (German), 1823; *Rettberg* (Latin), 1826; *Reinecke* (Latin), 1827; *Heydenrich* (German), 1827; *Fleck* (Latin), 1831; *Frommann* (German), 1839. The best German Commentaries upon John are those of *Lücke* and *Tholuck*. For modern doubts concerning the authorship of John, consult *Bretschneider* (Latin), "Probabilities," &c., Leipsic, 1820; *Strauss, Weisse, Eckermann, Hensen, Hauff, Crome*. See, also, *Polycarp* ad Philipp. c. 7; *Eusebius*, H. E., III. 39 (about Papias); *Justin*, Apol. I. c. 61 (quotes from John iii. about the new birth); *Clement*, Homil. XI. 26; *Tatian* c. Græc. Or. c. 13 (quotes John i. 5); *Theoph.* ad Autol. II. 22 (quotes John i. 1); *Irénæus*, III. 1; *Eusebius*, H. E., V. 20.

SECT. 6. — *Credibility of the Gospels.*

Lardner (English), "Credibility of the Gospel History." London, 1727. *Tholuck* (German), "Credibility of the Gospel History." Hamburg, 1838. *Mosheim*, "Demonstratio Vitæ J. C. ex Morte Apostol." 1724.

SECT. 7. — *Mythical Element.*

Strauss (German, and English translation), "Life of Jesus," in the Introduction; and the different replies to this work.

SECT. 8. — *Discourses of Jesus.*

Consult *Bertholdt* (Latin), "On the Origin of John," *Lücke* (German), and other commentaries. See *Thucyd.*, I. 22.

SECT. 9. — *Writings of Jesus.*

Sartorius (Latin), "Reasons why Jesus left nothing in Writing." Basel, 1818. *Witing* (German), on the same subject. 1822. *Giesecke* (German), on the same subject. 1822. *Kuhn* (German), "Life of Jesus." Apocryphal Letter of Jesus to Abgarus, in the *Eccles. Hist.* of Eusebius, I. 13. *Grabe*, "Spicilegium Patrum," 1700.

SECT. 10. — *Sources of the Second Rank.*

The passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* XVIII. 3. 3) concerning Christ, is first referred to by *Eusebius*, *Eccles. Hist.* I. 11, *Demonst. Evang.*, III. 5. Examined, among others, by *Bretschneider*, *Knüttel*, *Böhmert* (1823), *Schoedel* (1840), *Paulus*, *Olshausen*, and *Gieseler* in his *Church History*. Christ referred to by *Tacitus*, *Annals*, XV. 44; *Pliny*, *Epistles*, X. 97; *Suetonius*, *Life of Claudius*, § 25; *Lucian*, *De Morte Peregrini*, § 11; *Lampridius*, *Life of Alexander Severus*, §§ 29, 43.

SECT. 11. — *Uncertain Sources.*

Grabe (Latin), *Spicilegium*, Tom. I. *Fabricius* (Latin), "Of the Sayings of Christ which are not in the Canonical Gospels."

Korner (Latin), "On the Unwritten Words of Christ." *Thilo* (Latin), "Apocryphal Codex of the New Testament." Leipsic, 1832. *Kleuker* (German), "On the New Testament Apocrypha." 1798. Arabian Legends concerning Jesus in *Herbelot* (French), "Oriental Library." *Augusti* (German), "Christology of the Koran." Leipsic, 1800. *Schmidt* (German), "Sayings of Jesus from Oriental Writings." On the Jews and Sabians, see works by *Eisenmenger* (German), *Werner*, *Staudlin*, *Lorsbach*, and the Encyclopædia of *Gesenius*, Art. Zabians.

SECT. 17. — *Periods in the Life of Jesus.*

Priestley (English), "Two Letters on the Duration of our Saviour's Ministry." 1780. *Newcome* (English), "Reply to Priestley." 1780. In German, an Essay by *Cludius* in Henke's Museum. *Jacobi* (in Studien u. Krit., 1838). *Joseph Scaliger* (who maintains five Passovers) and *F. Burmann* (who maintains only one). The Church Fathers who maintain one year for Christ's ministry are *Tertullian*, *Clement*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Augustine*, the *Valentinians*, and the *Allogi*. Those who extend it over three Passovers are *Epiphanius* and *Jerome*; over three years and some months, *Ignatius*, *Eusebius*, and *Theodoret*.

SECT. 20. — *Harmonies of the New Testament.*

The number of Harmonies, and writings on that subject, is so great, that we give only the more recent ones. *Priestley* (English), "Harmony of the Evangelists," in Greek, to which are prefixed Critical Dissertations. London, 1777. *Newcome* (English), "Harmony of the Gospels," who follows Le Clerc's method, 1778. *Griesbach* (Latin), 1822. *J. White* (Latin), "Diatessaron," &c. Oxford, 1800. *De Wette* and *Lücke* (Latin), "Synopsis of Matthew, Mark, and Luke." Berlin and London, 1818. *Matthäi* (German), "Synopsis," 1826. *Clausen* (Latin), "Four Synoptic Tables," &c. 1829. *Rödiger* (Latin), Synopsis. 1829. *Küchler* (Greek), "Monotessaron." Leipsic, 1835. *Tischendorf*. Synoptic Commentaries: *Paulus*, *Thiess*, *Olshausen*. *Glöckler* (German), "The Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, harmonized and explained." Frankfort, 1834.

SECT. 21, 22. — *Historic Representations.*

The Lives of Jesus being so numerous, and the principal ones having been mentioned in the text of this section, the names will be omitted here.

SECT. 23. — *Poetic Representation.*

The principal works having been named in the text, the names will be omitted here.

SECT. 24-26. — *Infancy and Childhood of Jesus.*

Niemeyer (Latin), "Conjectures on the Silence of the New Testament Writers concerning the Childhood of Jesus." Halle, 1789. *Annon* (Latin), Gott., 1798, and *Schubert* (Latin), 1815, "On the Infancy of Jesus." *J. J. Hess* (German), 1771, Zurich. See *A. Dann* (German), Stuttgart, 1830, "On the Infancy of Jesus." *Tholuck* (German), "Credibility of the Gospel History." *Otto Thiess* (German), "On the Magi." 1790. *Venturini*, and especially *Paulus* in his Commentary. Consult, also, on the Magi and the Star, *Schleiermacher* (German), "On the Gospel of Luke," *De Wette* (German), "Dogmatics," *Strauss* and *Weisse*; and in answer to them, *Neander* and *Lange*.

SECT. 27. — *Descent.*

See, for the expectation of a Messiah in Eastern nations, on the Hindoos, *Müller*, *Rhode*, and *Bohlen* (all in German); on China, *Du Halde* (French). See also *Jamblichus* (Latin), "Life of Pythagoras." Modern works in German, by *J. E. C. Schmidt*, *Rosenmüller* (in *Gabler's Journal*, 1806), *Neander*, *Ludewig*, 1831. *Hug* (German), "Introduction to the New Testament," translated by *Fosdick*, Andover. *Winer* (German), "Realwörterbuch."

SECT. 28. — *Year and Day of Christ's Birth.*

A few of the more important writings on this subject are by *Bennigsen*, 1778; *J. G. Frank*, 1783; *Siskind* (in Bengel's "Archives"); *Wurm* (the same); *Ideler*, "Handbook of Chronology," Berlin, 1826; *Paulus*; *Goschen* (in *Studien u. Krit.*, 1831); *Lightfoot*, on Luke ii. 8, &c.

SECT. 29. — *The Holy Family.*

Antonio Sandini (Latin), "History of the Holy Family, collected from Ancient Monuments." Padua, 1734. *Spanheim* (Latin), "Dissertation upon Mary the Mother." Leyden, 1686. *J. A. Schmid* (Latin), "Essays upon the Virgin Mary, edited by Mosheim." 1733. Upon Joseph, see Justin against Tryphon, chap. 88. Epiphanius, *Heresies*, 51. 10; 88. 7. Augustine, *Consensus Evan.* 2. 1. Jerome, against Helvid. 7, and upon Matt. xii. 46. *Thilo*, *Codex Apocryph.* In opposition to the common tradition, *Hilarius* and *Beda* regard Joseph, not as a carpenter, but as a blacksmith. On the brethren of Jesus, *Clemen* (German). "On the Brethren of Jesus" in *Winer's Zeitschrift*, 1829. *Schott* (German), in *Rohr's Magazine*, 1830. *Kuhn* (German), in the *Jahrbuch für Theologie*, &c., 1834. *Winer* (German), "Biblical Realwörterbuch." "Legends of the Virgin," by Mrs. Jameson.

SECT. 30. — *Childhood.*

See among German writers essays by *Gabler*, *Grulich*, *Schuderoff*, and the works of *Strauss*, *Weisse*, *Tholuck*, *Olshausen*, and *Reinhard*.

SECT. 31. — *Culture.*

Reiske (Latin), "On the Vernacular of Jesus." Jena, 1670. *Diodati* (Latin), "On Christ as speaking Greek." Naples, 1767. *Pfannkuche* (German), Essay in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl.*, Vol. VIII. p. 365. *Paulus* (Latin), "Language of Palestine," &c. Jena, 1803. *Wiseman* (Latin), "Language of Christ and the Apostles."

Rome, 1828. *Greiling* (German), in Henke's Museum, 1805. *Kuhn* (German), in Tübingen Quarterly. 1838. *Gfrörer* (German), "Philo and the Alexandrians." Stuttgart, 1831. *Stüdtlin* (German), "History of the Moral System of Jesus." *Bengel* (German), in Flatt's Magazine. *Atger* (French), "On the Originality of the Moral System of Jesus." Strasburg, 1838.

SECT. 32. — *Sinlessness of Jesus.*

Ulman (German), "On the Sinlessness of Jesus." Translated in the Selections from German Literature, by Edwards and Park. Andover, 1839. (Athanasius believed in the existence of sinless beings, and of perfect virtue on the earth.) *Schweizer* (German), "On the Dignity of the Founder of a Religion" (Studien und Kritiken, 1834).

SECT. 33. — *Descriptions of Character.*

Greiling (German), "Life of Jesus." *Kahler* (German), "Christ in Relation to his Predecessors" (Schuderoff's Annual). *Reinhard* (German), Sermon upon John ii. 1 - 11.

SECT. 34. — *The Lord in Flesh and Figure.*

Thomas Lewis (English), "Inquiry into the Shape, Beauty, and Stature of Christ and Mary." London, 1735. *Ammon* (German), "On the Portraits of Christ" (Magazine for Preachers). *Munter* (German), "Portraits, &c. of the Early Christians." Altona, 1825. *Tholuck's* (German) "Literary Index." 1834. *Beausobre* (French), "Treatise on the Image at Paneas."

SECT. 36. — *Messianic Prophecies.*

Ernesti (Latin), "Critical History of the Interpretation of the Prophecies of the Messiah in the Christian Church." *Hengstenberg* (German), "Christology of the Old Testament." *Michaelis* (German), "Plan of a Typology." *Kuinoel* (German), "Prophecies of the Messiah in the Old Testament translated and explained." Leipsic, 1792. *Jahn* (Latin), "Prophecies of

the Messiah" (in the Appendix to Hermeneutics). Vienna, 1813. *Kanne* (German), "Christ in the Old Testament." 1818. *Seudel* (Latin), "Essays &c. on the Messianic Prophecies." Tübingen, 1824. *F. Münter* (Latin), "Progress of the Messianic Notion among the Jews." 1789. *Stahl* (German), "Of the Messianic Times" (in Eichhorn's Universal Library). *Ammon* (German), "Plan of a Christology of the Old Testament." Erlangen, 1794. *Konynenburg* (German), "Examination of the Nature of the Old Testament Prophecies of the Messiah." *Winzer* (Latin), "The Jews' Hope of a Golden Age." Leipsic, 1800. *Griesinger* (German), "Examination of the Usual Proof of the Supernatural Origin of the Prophetic Predictions." Stuttgart, 1818. *Veck* (German), "Representation of the Messianic Idea in the Holy Scriptures." Hanover, 1835.

SECT. 37. — *Messianic Kingdom.*

Schöttgen (Latin), "Dissertation on the Kingdom of Heaven" (Horæ Hebraicæ). *Rhenferd* (Latin), "Dissertation on the Future Age" (*Menschenius*, "New Testament illustrated from the Talmud"). *Hess* (German), "Essence of the Doctrine of the Kingdom of God." Zurich, 1812. *Keil* (Latin), "History of the Doctrine of the Kingdom of the Messiah." Leipsic, 1781. *Fleck* (German), "Exegetical-Historical Books on the Kingdom of Heaven, embracing the Doctrine of the Four Evangelists." Leipsic, 1829. *Immanuel Schwarz* (Latin), Targumic Commentary upon Jesus. 1758. *Bertholdt* (Latin), "Christology of the Jews in the Age of Jesus and his Apostles." Erlangen, 1811. *Gfrörer* (German), "History of Primitive Christianity."

SECT. 38. — *Plan of Jesus.*

Storr (Latin), "On the Notion of the Kingdom of Heaven in the New Testament." *C. G. Bauer* (Latin), "On the Notion of the Kingdom of Heaven in the New Testament." Leipsic, 1810. *Theremin* (German), "Doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven." Berlin, 1823. *Reinhard* (German), "Plan of Jesus." Translated, and printed at Andover. *Zütman* (Latin), "Consciousness of Jesus of his Work." Leipsic, 1816.

SECT. 44. — *John the Baptist.*

Writings by *Cellarius*, *Witsius*, *Hottinger*, *Abegg*, *Leopold*, *Usteri* (in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1829), *Rohden*, *Winer* (*Realwörterbuch*), *Wessenberg*, *Krummacher* (A Drama, Leipsic, 1815). *Silvio Pellico* (*Erodiade*). *Endeman* (Latin), "On the Food of John the Baptist." 1752. *Annell* (Latin), "Food and Clothing of John the Baptist." 1755. *Ammon* (Latin), "Doctrine of John." 1809. *Ernst* (Latin), "Doctrine of John." 1831. *Bengel* (German), *Antiquity of the Jewish Baptism of Proselytes.* Tübingen, 1814. *Schneckenburger* (German), "On the Antiquity of the Jewish Baptism of Proselytes and its Connection to the Johannic and Christian Rite." Berlin, 1828. *Batt* (English), "Dissertation on the Message from John the Baptist to our Saviour." London, 1789. *Comp. Monthly Review*, 1789. See also *Lücke*, *Strauss*, *Weisse*, *Neander*.

SECT. 46. — *The Temptation.*

See *Ullmann* on the "Sinlessness of Jesus," and monographs by *Hottinger* (1709), *Heumann*, *Storr*, *Fritzsche*, *Feilmoser* in the *Tübingen Quarterly*, 1828. Among the Church Fathers was a common opinion of a vision produced by the Devil. So *Origen*, *Cyprian*, &c. As a vision produced by God, *Farmer* (English), "Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation." As natural, *Gabler*, *Bertholdt*, *Le Clerc*, &c. As myth, *Thiess* (German), *Commentary*; *Ziegler* (German), in *Gabler's Journal*; *Löffler* (German), in the *Preacher's Magazine*, 1804; *Usteri* (German), in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832; *Strauss*, *De Wette*, *Gfrörer*. As a parable describing an inward temptation, *Ammon* (German), "Biblical Theology," *Eichhorn*, *Augusti*, and *Ullmann*. Also, to some extent, *Schleiermacher*, *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Schweizer*, and *Theile*.

SECT. 48. — *The Miracles.*

Works taking the Naturalistic View: *Blount* (English), "The Oracles of Reason," London, 1693; *Thos. Woolston* (English),

"A Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour," London, 1727; "Defence of his Discourse," 1729; *Eck* (German), "Attempt to explain the Miracles of the New Testament by Natural Causes," Berlin, 1795; *Paulus* (German), "Commentary on the Life of Jesus;" *G. L. Bauer* (German), "Hebrew Mythology of the Old and New Testaments, with Parallels from the Mythology of other Nations," Leipsic, 1802; *Gabler* (German), "Essay on New Testament Myths," in the *Journal for Foreign Literature*; *Krug* (German), in *Henke's Museum*, Vol. I.; *Strauss*. In reply to these views: *J. Bradley* (English), "An Impartial View of the Truth of Christianity" (against Blount), London, 1699; against Woolston, *Edmund Gibson* (English), "A Pastoral Letter," &c., London, 1728; *Rich. Smalbrooke* (English), "Vindication of the Miracles," London, 1728; *Noesselt* (Latin), "Dissertation on Miracles," Halle, 1762; *Bahnmeier* (Latin), "On Miracles," Tübingen, 1797; *Thienemann* (German), Leipsic, 1798; *Heubner* (Latin), 1807; *Fritz* (German); *Wagner* (German); *Neander* (German), "Life of Jesus;" *Daub* (German), Berlin, 1839; *Julius Müller* (Latin), "On the Nature and Necessity of the Miracles of Jesus," Marburg, 1839. On the analogy of cures by magnetism: *Gutsmuths* (Latin), Medical Dissertation, Jena, 1812; *Kieser* (German), "System of Tellurism," Leipsic, 1822; *Meyer* (German), "Natural Analogies," &c., Gotha, 1839; *Koester* (German), "Immanuel," &c., Göttingen, 1826; *De Wette* (German), in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1828. In opposition to the proof from miracles: *Eckermann* (German), "Did Jesus perform Miracles as Proofs of his Divine Mission?" 1796; *Paulus* (German), in *Theological Journal*, 1797; *Johannsen* (German), "Jesus and his Miracles." The opposite side taken by *Storr* (German), in *Flatt's Magazine*; also by *Flatt* in the same. *C. L. Nitzsch*, 1796. *Schott* (Latin), various writings.

SECT. 49.—*The Demoniacs.*

Different opinions stated by *Jahn* (German and English), in his *Biblical Archæology*. *Josephus's Jewish War*, VII. 6, 3, mixes the Hebrew view with that of Greece and Rome. *Storr*, Dissertation in his *Works*. *Olshausen*, in his *Commentary*. *Meyer*, in the

Studien und Kritiken, 1834. *Kerner*, "History of those who are possessed by Evil Spirits in Modern Times." Carlsruhe, 1834. *Semler* (Latin), 1760. *Farmer* (English), "Essay on the Demoniacs of the New Testament." London, 1775. *Timmermann*, Latin Essay. *Winzer* (Latin), 1812. *Heinroth* (who deduces insanity from sin). Leipsic, 1836. For the resemblance between the methods of Jesus and the usual exorcisms, see Matt. xii. 27; Mark ix. 38; Josephus's Antiquities, VIII. 2, 5. Justin against Tryphon, § 85. Lucian, Philo-Pseud., § 16.

SECT. 52. — *The First Passover.*

Gurlitt (Latin), "Lectures on the New Testament," on John ii. 13. Hamburg, 1805. *Voretzsch* (Latin), "Inquiry as to the Nature of the Works to which Jesus appealed." 1834. *Kohlshutter* (Latin), "Commentary on John ii. 19." Dresden, 1839. *Storr* and *Süskind*, in *Flatt's Magazine*. *Kling*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1836. *Henke* (Latin), "On some of the Apothegms of Jesus." *Bleek*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1833. For the identity of the two transactions with the money-changers, see *Lücke* on John. On the conversation with Nicodemus, see *Holwerda* (Latin), "Dissertation," &c. 1830. *Scholl*, in *Klaiber's Studien*. *Goldhorn* (Latin), "On the Phrase, 'To be born again.'" Leipsic, 1799. *Menken*, "On the Brazen Serpent." Frankfort, 1812. Also, *Kern*, in *Bengel's Archives*, 1822. *Jacobi*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1835.

SECT. 58. — *Celibacy of Jesus.*

Clemens, in the "Strommata," 3. See *Schleiermacher*, Christian Doctrine. Luther's Letters, by *De Wette*, Book II, page 675. *Fichte*, "System of Morals," page 449.

SECT. 60. — *The Twelve Apostles.*

Spanheim, "Three Dissertations," 1679. *Burmann* (Latin). *Walch* (Latin). *Mahn* (Latin). *Ernesti* (Latin). *Kortholt*, upon the Apostle Peter. *Meyer*, in *Pelt's Magazine*, 1838, upon Peter. *Gurlitt*, upon John. Also *Lücke* and *Fronmann*.

SECT. 61. — *Sermon on the Mount.*

Augustine, Luther, Pott, and especially Tholuck, whose very complete Commentary contains all the literature on this subject.

SECT. 64. — *The Messiah.*

Haumann (Latin), "Why did the Son of God very frequently call himself the Son of Man?" Göttingen, 1740. Schmidt, on the Expression, "Son of Man," in Henke's Magazine, 1798. Scholten (Latin), 1809. Horn, in Rohr's Magazine.

SECT. 66. — *Mode of Teaching.*

Olearius (Latin), "On the Method of Christ in Teaching." 1747. Weise (Latin), "Method of Jesus differing from that of the Jews." Martini (Latin), "Of the Orations of Christ." 1793. Winkler (German), "The Mode of Teaching of Jesus." 1797. Winer (German), "Exegetic Remarks on the Irony in the Discourses of Jesus." 1822. Grulich (German), "Irony in the Discourses of Jesus." Leipsic, 1838. Bleek (German), "On the Use of Old Testament Places in the New Testament" (in the Studien und Kritiken, 1835). Tholuck (German), "Of the Old Testament in the New." Hamburg, 1836. Hemert (Latin), "On the Prudence of Christ and the Apostles in their Discourses, and their accommodating themselves to the Understanding of the People." Amsterdam, 1791.

SECT. 67. — *The Parables.*

Herder (German), "Letters concerning the Study of Theology." Krummacher (German), "Spirit and Form of the Evangelical History." Lücke (German), "Principles of New Testament Interpretation." Schott (German), "Theory of Oratory." Fleck, (Latin), "On the Kingdom of Heaven." Gray (English), "Lectures on the Parables." Storr (Latin), "Dissertation on the Parables." Eylert (German), "Sermons on the Parables." 1818. Bartel (German), "Special Homiletik on the Parables."

1824. *Pflaum* (German), "The Parables," &c. 1823. *Krome* (German), "All the Parables of Jesus translated and explained." 1823. *Lisco* (German), "The Parables treated exegetically and homiletically." Parallels from the Rabbins, in *Wetstein*, *Lightfoot*, and *Schöttgen*.

SECT. 77. — *The Death of John the Baptist.*

The testimony of Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII. 5. 2, is as follows (Translation of Sir Roger L'Estrange, New York, 1775): "Now the generality of the Jews were of opinion that this was only a just judgment of God upon Herod and his army, for the benefits of John surnamed the Baptist, which excellent man this tetrarch murdered. And what was his crime, but only his exhorting the Jews to the love and practice of virtue; and in the first place, of piety and justice, and to a regeneration by baptism and a new life, not by abstaining from this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity of mind as well as of body? Now so great was the credit and the authority of this holy man, as appeared by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine (for he could do what he would with them), that Herod did not know how far the reputation of a man of his spirit might influence the people toward a revolt. So that, for fear of the worst, he chose rather to take him out of the way in time before any hurt was done, than to put it to the hazard of an unprofitable repentance, when it should be too late. Wherefore he sent him away bound to Machærus (the place before mentioned), with order to have him put to death, which was accordingly executed; and that impious fact was followed with a divine vengeance upon Herod, for the blood of that just man, as the Jews reasonably enough persuaded themselves."

SECT. 82. — *Feast of Tabernacles.*

On John vii. 8, οὐκ ἀναβαίνο, see Lücke and Tholuck on John. See description of the customs at this feast in the Talmud, with the remarks of *Lightfoot*. *Robinson's Palestine*.

SECT. 83. — *The Criminal Woman.*

See the literature on this passage in the Commentaries of *Lücke* and *Kuinoel*. The most important defenders of the genuineness of the passage are: *Dettmers* (Latin), "Vindication," &c., 1793; *Stüudlin* (Latin), "Defence of the Authenticity," &c., 1806; *Hug* (Latin), "On the Permanence of Christian Marriage," 1816. See also *Schulthess* (German), in *Winer's Critical Journal*, 1826, and *Dieck* (German), "A Legal View of the Question," &c., in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832.

SECT. 84. — *The Dying Messiah.*

For the prophecies see *Gesenius* (German), "Commentary on Isaiah;" *Umbreit* (German), in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1828; *Valke* (German), "Religion of the Old Testament;" *Hengstenberg*, "Christology;" *De Wette* (Latin), "On the Expiatory Death of Jesus," 1813; *Menken* and *Kern*, "On the Brazen Serpent," Frankfort, 1812, and *Bengel's Archives*, 1822; *Jacobi* (German), in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1835; *Heydenreich* (German), "On Christ's Foresight of his own Death" (*Zimmermann's Monthly*, 1823); *Gabler* (German), "On the Necessity of the Death of Jesus, considered from the Stand-point of Rationalism," in his own Magazine; see *L. Nitzsch* (Latin), "Moral Necessity of the Death of Jesus," 1810; opposed by *Flatt*, from the stand-point of Supernaturalism, in *Süskind's Magazine*, 1805.

SECT. 86. — *Prediction of the Resurrection.*

For the prediction: *J. G. Walch*, 1754; *J. F. Reuss*, 1768; *F. V. Reinhard*, 1784, — (all in Latin); *F. G. Süskind*, in *Flatt's Magazine*; *Krehl* (Latin), 1830. Against it: *Herder* (German), "Of the Redeemer of Men;" *Paulus* (Latin), "Meletemata," &c., Jena, 1796; *Haserb* (German), "Prophecy by Jesus concerning his Death and Resurrection," Berlin, 1839.

SECT. 87. — *The Transfiguration.*

Heumann, 1732, Essay in Teller's Magazine for Preachers. Comp. *Olshausen*, *Schleiermacher* on Luke, and *Strauss*.

SECT. 94. — *Lazarus.*

Jahn, "Biblical Archæology." *De Wette*, "Jewish Archæology." *Schubert* (German), "History of the Soul." Stuttgart, 1838. *Gabler*, in his Journal. *Flatt*, in Süskind's Magazine. *Gfrörer* (German), "History of Primitive Christianity." *Baur* (German), "Apollonius of Tyana and Christ."

SECT. 98. — *Passion Week.*

Vossius (Latin), "Harmony of the Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus." Amsterdam, 1656. *Müller* (Latin), "History of the Passion, Crucifixion, and Burial of Jesus." 1661. *Sagittarius* (Latin), "Harmony of the Story of Christ's Passion." Jena, 1684. *Bynaeus* (Latin), "On the Death of Jesus Christ." Amsterdam, 1691. *Iken* (Latin), "Harmony," &c. 1743. *Baumgarten* (German), "Interpretation of the Passion-History, with a Paraphrase." Semler, 1757. *J. D. Michaelis* (German), "Comments on the History of the Burial and Resurrection." 1783. *Glanz* (German), "Passion-History," &c. 1809. *Schlegel* (German), "Passion-History." 1775. *Krummacher* (German), "Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus." With twelve plates. 1817.

SECT. 99. — *Chronology of Passion Week.*

Petavius (Latin), "On the Year and Day of our Lord's Passion." 1632. *Witsius* (Latin), "On the Day of the Passover." *Gabler* (German), "Did Christ really eat the Easter Lamb?" Smaller Works (Latin). *Lightfoot* (English), "Horæ Hebraicæ." *Gude*, 1742. *Ikenius*, 1749. *Ranch*, in Studien und Kritiken, 1832. *De Wette*, in the same journal, 1834. *Theile* (German), "On the Last Passover of Christ" (in Winer's Critical Journal). *Ideler* (German), Chronology.

SECT. 103. — *Prediction by Christ of the Future.*

Walch (Latin), Dissertation. 1754. *Tychsen* (Latin), "On the Second Coming." 1785. *Nisbett* (English), "An Attempt to illustrate Various Important Passages in the Epistles of the New Testament." Canterbury, 1789. *C. F. Ammon. J. G. Süskind. J. F. Flatt. Kistemaker* (German), "Prophecy of Jesus," &c. 1816. *Jahn* (German), "Prophecy of the Destruction of Jerusalem," &c. (in *Bengel's Archives*, 1816). *Scheibel* (in *Kothe's Periodical*, 1818). *Weizel*, "Doctrine of Immortality among the First Christians" (in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1836).

SECT. 105. — *Judas Iscariot.*

Selden (Latin), "Essay upon Judas Iscariot." *Winer*, *Bibl. Real-Lexicon. G. Schollmeyer* (German), "Jesus and Judas." 1836. *Gronovius* (Latin), Leyden, 1683. See also *Olshausen, Neander, Lücke, Strauss. Daub* (German), "Judas Iscariot." 1816. Essay in *Priestley's Theological Repository*, &c.

SECT. 106. — *The Last Supper.*

On the circumstances which preceded it, see *Gabler* (in the *Theological Journal*, 1799), and the Commentaries of *Paulus, Olshausen*, &c. On the Foot-washing, see *Ittig* (Latin), Dissertation, &c. 1699. *Schulthess* (in *Winer's Critical Journal*). On the Memorial Feast, see *Süskind* (in *Flatt's Magazine*, 1804). *Weisse. M. Claudius* (German), "The Holy Supper." Hamburg, 1809. *Ruperti* (German), "The Holy Supper," &c. 1821. *Sartorius* (in *Zimmermann's Monthly*). *Scheibel*, 1823. *Schulz*, 1824. *Fritzsche* (in *Winer's Critical Journal*).

SECT. 107. — *The Garden of Gethsemane.*

See writings by *Harwood*, 1774; *Gurlitt*, 1800; *Tiebe*, 1825; *Dettinger* (German), "Christ's Struggle in Gethsemane, with references to the Criticisms of Strauss" (in the *Tübingen Quarterly*, 1837). *Klaiber* (German), "New Testament Doctrine concern-

ing Sin and Redemption." Stuttgart, 1836. *Goldhorn* (German), "On the Silence of John the Baptist," &c. (in *Tzschirner's Magazine*). See also Commentaries by *Strauss*, *Neander*, *Olshausen*, *Paulus*, *De Wette*, and *Lücke*.

SECT. 111. — *Pontius Pilate*.

Josephus, Antiquities, XVIII. 2. *Philo*, De Legatione. *Baddeus* (Latin), "Dissertation concerning Pontius Pilate," &c. 17. *P. J. J. Mounier* (Latin), Leyden, 1825. On the Jews' power of inflicting capital punishment, see *Josephus*, Antiq. XX. 9. 1. *Lightfoot* (English), Commentary on Matt. xxvi. 3. *Michaelis* (German and English), "On the Jewish Laws." *Selden* (Latin), "De Syned." On Pilate's question, see *J. Walch* (Latin), Dissertation. On the justice of the sentence, see *Thomasius* (Latin), Dissertation. Leipsic, 1675. *Goesius* (Latin), "Pilate the Judge." 1677. *Salvador* (French), "Judgment and Condemnation of Jesus." *Dupin* (French), "Jesus before Caiaphas and Pilate." Paris, 1829. *Caröbee* (German), in the *Kirchenzeitung*, 1830. *Ammon* (German), "Development of Christianity." *Baumgarten-Crusius*. *A. Neubig* (German). 1836.

SECT. 115. — *The Crucifixion*.

Bartholinus (Latin), 1695. *J. Lydius*, 1701. *Yobel* (German), "On the History of the Crucifixion" (in his *Magazine of Biblical Interpretation*). *L. Hug* (German), "Critical Remarks on the History of the Death of Jesus" (*Freiburg Zeitschrift*, 1831). *Lipsius* (Latin), "On the Cross." 1670. *Plautus*, *Mostellaria*, 2. 1, 13. *Justin* against Tryphon, 97. *Tertullian* against Marcion, 3. 19. *Lucan*, *Pharsalia*, VI. 547. *Lucian*, *Prometh.* I. *G. B. Winer*, "De Pedum in Cruce affixione." Leipsic, 1845. In favor of the opinion that the feet were nailed are *Bengzenberg*, *Hengstenberg*, *Hug*, *Böhr*. For an account of the controversy, see *Winer* (*Bib. Realwörterbuch*), *Strauss*, *Theile*, *Neander*. For the cry on the cross, "My God," &c., see *Olshausen* (*Kendrick's Translation*), who considers it a *κρῖνός* of the Deity. *Ebrard's* view is that it was "an inward trembling of God within himself. In the

essence of the Eternal Love, consequently in the Father himself, is the necessity that love manifested in time should be torn away from the feeling of the Eternal Love, in order to be perfect in Love, by this tremendous experience." The difficulty, however, is only in the Orthodox view, — how could the Second Person of the Deity be forsaken by the Deity? *Walch* (Latin), Dissertation on the Drink given to the Dying Saviour. *Hartmann* (German), in *Bengel's Archives*, 1826. On the conversion of the thief: *Wickenhofer* (German), in *Zimmermann's Monthly, Psychological Examination of Matt. xxvii. 47.*

SECT. 116. — *Death.*

Richter (Latin), Medical Dissertation, 1775. *Gruner* (Latin), 1805. *Bretschneider* (German), in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832. *Schuster*, on *Matt. xxviii. 2* (in *Eichhorn's Universal Library*). *Schulthess* (in *Winer's Studien*).

SECT. 117. — *The Grave.*

Stroth (German), "Exegetic Hand-Book. *Süskind* (in *Flatt's Magazine*). *Kern* (in the *Tübingen Quarterly*, 1834).

SECT. 118. — *The Resurrection.*

J. G. Rosenmüller (Latin), "On the Sepulchre of Christ." Erlangen, 1780. *J. J. Griesbach*, "Dissertation on the Sources of the Accounts of the Resurrection." Jena, 1784. *C. F. Ammon* (Latin), "Essay." Erlangen, 1808. *Frage*, "Dissertation on the Resurrection." Hamburg, 1833. *Niemeyer*. Halle, 1824. *G. C. Storr* (German), "History of the Resurrection and Ascension." Tübingen, 1782. *Reimarus*, in the *Wolfenbüttele Fragments*, 1777. *Chubb* (English), *Posthumous Works*. London, 1748. *G. Less*, "Reply to Reimarus." *Semler* (German), "Reply to the Fragmentist." *Michaelis*, another Reply. *Friedrich*, "On the Certainty of the Resurrection of Jesus." *Brescius*, "Defence of the Resurrection," 1804. *Thomas Sherlock* (English), "Trial of the Witnesses." 1729. *J. Jahn*, "What did Jesus do

during the Forty Days?" Tübingen, 1821. *Müller* (Latin), "On the Resurrection of Jesus." 1836. *H. Kuhn* (German), "How did Jesus pass through the Grave?" 1838.

SECT. 121. — *The Wonders attending the Resurrection.*

Eusebius, "Ad Olymp.," quotes from the Chronicle of Phlegon: "A greater eclipse of the sun than was ever known before, so that night came on the sixth hour of the day, and the stars were seen in the sky." (Comp. *Paulus*, Exegetic Hand-Book, and the parallel passages collected by *Wetstein*.) *Schöttgen* (German), "Jewish Testimony for the arising of the Saints with the Messiah." *Friedrich* (German), "On the Angels" (in *Eichhorn*).

SECT. 122. — *The Ascension.*

G. F. Seiler (Latin), "On the Question, Did Jesus ascend into Heaven with Body as well as Soul?" Erlangen, 1798. *Baur* (German), "On the Practical Ideal Point of View, from which the Ascension of Jesus can be regarded" (in *Süskind's Magazine*). *Weichert*, 1811, *Heinrichs*, 1812, and *Fogtman*, 1826, Essays in Latin on the Ascension. *J. J. Griesbach* (Latin), "Collection of the Passages of the New Testament concerning Christ's Ascension." A German writer, *J. A. Brennecke*, published a book in 1819, called "Biblical Proof that Jesus remained on the Earth in Bodily Form Twenty-seven Years after his Resurrection, working for the Good of Humanity in Seclusion." This book has been answered by *Wolfe*, *Iken*, *Soltmann*, *Tinius*, *Haumann*, *Wütting*, *Stamm*, and especially *M. Weber*, Halle, 1820.

LITERATURE OF THE LIFE OF JESUS, IN ENGLISH.

The following list of English Books, useful for the student of this subject, is added, not because it is complete, or even as full as it might easily be made, but as a list out of which a student might select a sufficient number of works to aid him in this study.

1. INTRODUCTIONS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Introduction to the New Testament. By John David Michaelis, late Professor in the University of Göttingen, &c. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German, and considerably augmented with Notes, explanatory and supplemental. By Herbert Marsh, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

An Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. By Wilhelm Martin Leberecht De Wette. Translated from the Fifth improved and enlarged Edition. By Frederick Frothingham. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, D.D. Assisted by the Rev. Samuel Davidson and Rev. Samuel Tregelles. Tenth Edition. London. 1856.

Hug's Introduction to the New Testament. Translated by David Fosdick, Andover.

The "Introduction" by Michaelis, was, in its day, a most valuable contribution to theological literature, both in Germany and England; but it is now rather obsolete. The late edition of Horne's "Introduction" contains everything one needs to have in such a work. It is a treasure of information; but it is large and expensive. Hug's Introduction (translated by Fosdick) is a valuable work, but is out of print. The best Introduction — full, accurate, and bringing the information down to the most recent date — is that of De Wette, translated by Frothingham. This, moreover, is not a costly work.

2. COMMENTARIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Biblical Commentary on the New Testament. By Dr. Hermann Olshausen, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. First American Edition. Revised after the fourth German Edition. By A. C. Kendrick, D.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester. To which is prefixed Olshausen's Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament. Translated by David Fosdick, Jr. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. By Augustus Tholuck. Translated by Charles P. Krauth, D.D. Philadelphia. 1859.

A. Barnes. Notes on Gospels. 2 vols. Harper. 1859.

The Gospels. By P. Quesnel. With Moral Reflections on each Verse. Philadelphia. 1855.

Notes (Practical and Expository) on the Gospels. By Rev. Charles H. Hall. New York. 1857.

The Four Gospels, and a Commentary. By Rev. A. A. Livermore. Boston. 1854.

An Exposition of the Historical Writings of the New Testament. By Rev. Timothy Kenrick. 3 vols. Boston. 1828.

Gnomon of the New Testament. By J. Albert Bengel. Edinburgh. 1858.

Olshausen's Commentary is only objectionable from its size. It is orthodox enough for Princeton, yet liberal enough for Cambridge. Its orthodoxy is mitigated by its learning and wisdom. A concise and compact Commentary on the New Testament, embodying all that we need to know about it, learned but simple, profound but clear, is yet a desideratum in English.

3. MONOGRAPHS ON THE LIFE OF JESUS.

Selections from German Literature. By B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, Professors in the Theol. Sem. Andover. Andover: Published by Gould, Newman, and Saxton. New York. 1839. — Containing Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus."

Jesus and his Biographers; or Remarks on the Four Gospels. Revised, with Copious Additions. By W. H. Furness. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard. 1838.

The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster. With a Preface and Notes, by James Murdock, D.D. New York: Published by Harper and Brothers. 1844.

Plan of the Founder of Christianity. By F. V. Reinhard, D.D., Court Preacher at Dresden. Translated from the Fifth German Edition, by Oliver A. Taylor, A. M., Resident Licentiate, Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover: Printed at the Codman Press, by Flagg and Gould. 1831.

A Connected History of the Life, &c. of Jesus Christ, from the Notes of Rev. Newcome Cappe.

Observations on our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Instructor. By William Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh.

The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined. By Dr. David Friedrich Strauss.

All objections to the letter of the Gospels are collected here.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench. London. 1854. (Reprinted, United States.)

Notes on the Parables of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench. London. (Reprinted, United States.)

These books of Trench, like all his writings, are alive with suggestion, and solid with information.

History of Jesus. By W. H. Furness. Boston. 1850.

Thoughts on the Life and Character of Jesus of Nazareth. By W. H. Furness. 1859.

These books, by Dr. Furness, are invaluable to the student of the character of Jesus.

Legends of the Madonna. By Mrs. Jameson.

Life of Jesus Christ in its Historical Connection and Historical Development. By Augustus Neander. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by John McClintock and Chas. E. Blumenthal, Professors in Dickinson College. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1848.

This is one of the most valuable works on the Life of Jesus. It was written after the appearance of the work of Strauss, and is intended partly as a detailed reply to his criticisms. It is the best kind of reply, because,

instead of merely refuting the objections of Strauss, it gives a picture of the events, to which the objections cannot apply. It is a thorough discussion, in a learned and liberal way, of the events in the life of Jesus.

4. WORKS ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other Pieces now extant, attributed in the First Four Centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament by its Compilers. Translated from the Original Tongues, and now first collected into One Volume. London: Printed for William Hone, Ludgate Hill. 1820.

Proving the genuineness of the New Testament, by force of contrast.

A View of the Evidences of Christianity. In Three Parts. Part I. Of the direct Historical Evidence of Christianity, and wherein it is distinguished from the Evidence alleged for other Miracles. Part II. Of the Auxiliary Evidences of Christianity. Part III. A Brief Consideration of some Popular Objections. By William Paley, M. A., Archdeacon of Carlisle.

The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. Translated from the Original, by the Rev. C. F. Crusé, A. M., Assistant Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Boston: James B. Dow and C. Stimpson. 1836.

Carrying back the evidences to the fourth century.

Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By Andrews Norton. 3 vols. Second Edition. 1846.

Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By Andrews Norton. Boston. 1856.

Nature and the Supernatural. By Horace Bushnell. New York. 1859.

A profound work, deserving study.

An Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists by the Rules of Evidence administered in Courts of Justice, with an Account of the Trial of Jesus. By Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Second Edition. London. 1847.

5. HARMONIES OF THE GOSPELS, &c.

An English Harmony of the Four Evangelists. By William Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh. Philadelphia. 1809.

Harmony of the Gospels in Greek, after Le Clerc and Newcome. By Edward Robinson, D. D. Andover. 1834.

Greek Harmony. By William Newcome. Andover. 1814.

McKnight's Harmony of the Gospels. (English.) London. 1763.

Harmony of the Gospels, after the Plan proposed by Lant Carpenter. By John Gorham Palfrey, D. D. Boston. 1831. (English.)

Harmony, or Synoptical Arrangement of the Gospels, with Dissertations. By Lant Carpenter, LL. D. London. 1835.

Dr. Palfrey's Harmony (now out of print) is one of the most convenient with which the editor is acquainted; having used it in Bible Classes with success. It ought to be reprinted.

6. GREEK TEXT.

The Student's Testament. The New Testament in the Original Greek. Printed from the Text and with the Various Readings of Knapp; together with the commonly received English Translation. Designed for the use of Students. New York: Published by Charles Starr. 1835.

An invaluable book for a student.

Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Griesbach's Text, with Various Readings of Mill and Scholz, &c. Third Edition. Bohn. 1859.

Cheap and good.

Alford's Greek Text. Harper and Brothers. 1859.

Very valuable; but expensive.

A Grammar of Idioms of the New Testament. By Dr. G. B. Winer. Translated by Agnew and Ebbcke. Philadelphia. 1840.

Grammar of the New Testament Diction. By G. B. Winer. Translated from the Sixth Edition, by Edward Masson. Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. 1859.

See Christian Examiner, Nov., 1859, for an exposure of the translator's indefensible tampering with the work, by omitting passages which militate against the Trinity, without giving any notice of such omissions.

7. DICTIONARIES AND CONCORDANCES.

Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible. American Edition. Revised, with large additions, by Edward Robinson, Professor of Sacred Literature, Andover. Boston: Published by Crocker and Brewster. 1832.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia: being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopædia, with additions from other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D. In three volumes. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1858.

The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. Edited by John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Illustrated by numerous Maps and Engravings. Tenth Edition. New York: Ivison and Phinney. 1857.

The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament: being an Attempt at a Verbal Connection between the Greek and the English Texts; including a Concordance to the Proper Names, with Indexes, Greek-English and English-Greek. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1848.

An invaluable book. With this, and the "Student's Testament," a student would hardly need anything else for the study.

Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, &c. By Rev. B. B. Edwards. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1859.

An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures. By John Eadie. Boston. 1857.

Kitto's Popular Cyclopædia condensed. 1 vol. 8vo.

Cruden's English Concordance.

Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti Auctore Carolo Gottlieb Bretschneider. Lipsiæ. 1829.

8. WORKS ON PALESTINE.

Scripture Lands; described in a Series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. And illustrated by a Complete Biblical Atlas, — comprising twenty-four maps, with an index of reference. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1850.

Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan. By W. F. Lynch. Philadelphia. Ninth Edition. 1856.

The Land and the Book; or Biblical Illustrations drawn from

the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land. By W. M. Thomson, D. D., twenty-five years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. New York. 1859.

Palestine Past and Present. By Rev. Henry S. Osborn, Salem, Va. Philadelphia. 1859.

Biblical Researches in Palestine in 1838. By E. Robinson and E. Smith. In 2 vols. Boston. 1856.

Land of Promise. By H. Bonar. New York. 1858.

Sinai and Palestine. By Arthur P. Stanley. New York: Redfield. 1859.

9. CONNECTION OF OLD TESTAMENT AND NEW.—JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, &c.

A Collection of Theological Essays from Various Authors. With an Introduction, by George R. Noyes, D. D., Professor of Sacred Literature in Harvard University. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1856.

Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Prof. of Theol. in Berlin. Second Edition, greatly improved. Translated from the German by the Rev. Theod. Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1854.

Biblical Antiquities. By John Jahn, D. D., late Professor of the Oriental Languages, of Biblical Antiquities, and Theology, in the University of Vienna. Translated from the Latin, with Additions and Corrections, by Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, and of the Hebrew Language, in Bowdoin College, United States. Andover. Third American Edition. 1832.

The Relation between Judaism and Christianity, illustrated in Notes on Passages in the New Testament containing Quotations from, or References to, the Old. By John Gorham Palfrey, D. D., LL. D. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company. 1854.

Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities. By J. G. Palfrey, D. D. In 4 vols. Boston. 1836.

Josephus. Translated by William Whiston. Complete in one vol. New York. 1860.

Josephus. By William Whiston. In 4 vols. Philadelphia. 1859.

Jahn's Biblical Archæology. Fifth Edition. New York. 1858.

10. TRANSLATIONS OF THE GOSPELS, &c., WITH AND WITHOUT NOTES.

A Translation of the Gospels with Notes. By Andrews Norton. Vol. I. The Text. Vol. II. Notes. 1856.

The Four Gospels. Translated from the Greek; with Dissertations and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By George Campbell, D. D. London. 1790. 2 vols. 4to.—1807. 2 vols. 8vo. Third Edition. Aberdeen. 1814. 4 vols. 8vo.

New Testament. Translated from the Syriac (Peshito) Version. By James Murdock, D. D. New York. 1858.

THE END.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

BOOKS PUBLISHED

BY

WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,

PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS,

(ALSO PUBLISHERS FOR THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,)

245 WASHINGTON STREET,

BOSTON.

Important Books Just Published.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By **CARL HASE**, Professor of Theology at Jena. Translated from the German of the Third and Fourth Improved Editions by **JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE**. 75 cents.

New Commentary on the New Testament.

DISSERTATIONS AND NOTES ON THE GOSPELS. — MATTHEW. By Rev. **JOHN H. MORISON**, D. D.

This important book, long expected, is now ready, and will be followed by a volume from Dr. Peabody on the Epistles.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR; or, Low Wages and Hard Work. By **Mrs. C. H. DALL**. Paper, 50 cents; cloth, 63 cents.

HITS AT AMERICAN WHIMS, AND HINTS FOR HOME USE. By **F. W. SAWYER**. A thoroughly live, vigorous, and practical volume. 12mo. \$1.00.

ALICE'S DREAM. An exquisite Christmas Story. *With Illustrations by Billings.* 50 cents.

This little book has been received with a unanimity of commendation quite remarkable.

All the Children's Library,

PUBLISHED BY

WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,

245 WASHINGTON STREET,

BOSTON.

Noisy Herbert, and other Stories, for Small Children.

By the Author of "Daisy," "Violet," &c.

The R. B. R.'s : my Little Neighbors.

A Story for the "Younger Members."

Bessie Grant's Treasure.

By AUNT DORA.

A Summer with the Little Grays.

By H. W. P.

Modesty and Merit ; or, The Gray-Bird's Story of Little May-Rose and John.

From the German.

Faith and Patience.

A Story — and something more — for Boys.

ALL THE CHILDREN'S LIBRARY.

THIS *entirely new and original series* of Juveniles combines several especially attractive features. The plan adopted is that of *gradation*, the first two books on the list being designed for very young children, just commencing to read. Numbers 3 and 4 meet the requirements of those three or four years older; while the last two of the set will interest older boys and girls, and may be read with pleasure by almost any one.

Noisy Herbert, and other Stories,

FOR SMALL CHILDREN,

Is from the pen of one whose books are always sought with avidity by the young. This little volume is *printed in Great Primer*, which renders it specially attractive to youthful eyes. The *illustrations* are numerous and good, and the book cannot fail to be a favorite in the family circle. Price, 50 cents.

The R. B. R.'s: my Little Neighbors.

This charming little narrative — as fresh and piquant and musical as though written in the language of the “little neighbors” themselves — is contributed by the author of several successful juveniles, and bears unmistakable evidences of genius. It also is printed in *readable Great Primer*, and *profusely illustrated*. No “six-year-old” will be content to do without it. Price, 50 c.

Bessie Grant's Treasure,

Could only have been written by a mother. It is a domestic story in the best sense, — natural, affectionate, suggestive. The incidents are interesting; the moral teachings most admirably and happily conveyed. It is printed from clear, handsome type, and *illustrated with original designs*. Price, 50 cents.

A Summer with the Little Grays.

This sprightly and beautiful narrative of "Life among the Children" abounds with entertaining incidents of juvenile adventure and pastime, and will be read and re-read by those intelligent boys and girls into whose hands it may fall. It is written in a style of great simplicity and beauty. *Enriched with fine engravings on wood*. Price, 50 cents.

Faith and Patience,

A STORY — AND SOMETHING MORE — FOR BOYS.

The author of this pleasant volume declares his object in writing it to have been, "*first*, to compose an attractive volume for boys; *second*, to illustrate familiarly and practically the virtues which form the title of the book; and, *third*, to introduce pertinent truths, interesting facts, and useful information, in such a manner as will be likely to impress the minds and influence the characters of the readers."

In this we believe it will be conceded that he has been fully

successful; and we hazard little in affirming that it will be sought with eagerness, and read with pleasure. *Embellished with original illustrations on wood.* Price, 75 cents.

Modesty and Merit ;

OR, THE GRAY-BIRD'S STORY OF LITTLE MAY-ROSE
AND JOHN.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing this one of the most fascinating Juveniles ever issued from the press. It is from the purest and most classical German sources, skillfully translated by a man of taste and education; the exquisite gems of poetry with which it abounds were rendered by Professor CHILD, of Harvard. A number of charming stories are introduced into the narrative, each illustrative of some moral truth.

The easy flow of language, the simplicity, freshness, and sustained interest of the story, will render the volume acceptable to old and young.

The illustrations are *beautifully printed in Oil Colors*, by a new process, and have been executed at considerable expense. It is believed they will be acknowledged as the best specimens of this sort of illustration as yet produced in this country. Price, 75 c.

☞ *The above are all printed on fine paper, from clear, handsome type, attractively illustrated, and neatly bound in muslin. The sets are put up in pasteboard boxes, but any work can be had separately.*

STANDARD

Devotional and Theological Books.

The Altar at Home.

A Collection of Prayers for Private and Social Use, written by eminent Ministers in and near Boston. Nine editions of this well-known work have been published.
60 cents. Bevelled boards, antique, 80 cents.

The Christian Doctrine of Prayer.

By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. It discusses the whole subject of the foundation of prayer, objections to it, reasons and preparations for it, its results and bearings upon the spiritual life, in the bold and clear style of its author. 60 cents.

The Rod and the Staff.

By Rev. THOMAS T. STONE. Second Edition. 60 cents.

The Harp and the Cross.

By Rev. S. G. BULFINCH. The work contains between one and two hundred gems of sacred poetry, culled from the best writers in the English language, by one who has himself added some of the choicest contributions to this department of letters.
60 cents.

Athanasia ; or, Foregleams of Immortality.

By Rev. E. H. SEARS. Third Edition. In this work, the subjects of death and a future life are fully considered; and cheering views are presented, which "turn the shadow of death into the morning."
60 cents.

Seven Stormy Sundays.

Dedicated to those who are kept from church by stormy weather. This is a series of religious services to be read in the quiet of one's home. There are seven sermons, never before printed, written by distinguished divines. 60 cents.

Selections from the Works of William E. Channing, D. D.

A handsome 12mo volume of 480 pages, containing "all the clearest and fullest statements he gave of his views concerning theology and religion." 60 cents.

Unitarian Principles confirmed by Trinitarian Testimonies ;

Being Selections from the Works of eminent Theologians belonging to Orthodox Churches, showing what concessions have been made by Trinitarian writers to the essential truth of Unitarian views. \$ 1.

Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ.

By ANDREWS NORTON. Second Edition. With a Memoir of the Author, by Rev. Dr. NEWELL of Cambridge. This is the fullest, the ablest, and most conclusive argument that has ever been published on this subject. \$ 1.

A Collection of Theological Essays from various Authors.

With an Introduction by GEORGE R. NOYES, D. D. \$ 1.

Studies of Christianity ; or, Timely Thoughts for Religious Thinkers.

A Series of Papers by JAMES MARTINEAU. Edited by WILLIAM R. ALGER. \$ 1.

Regeneration.

By E. H. SEARS. Sixth Edition. It describes the necessity and process of the great transformation which the Gospel is designed to make in the individual life, and is written in a style of exceeding freshness and beauty. 44 cents.

The Discipline of Sorrow.

By Rev. WILLIAM G. ELIOT, D. D., of St. Louis. Second Edition. Hundreds of bereaved families have expressed their grateful sense of the value of these soothing and hopeful words. 30 cents.

Grains of Gold.

Selections from the Writings of Rev. C. A. BARTOL. A beautiful little gift, containing gems of thought from one of the most gifted writers. 25 cents.

Channing's Thoughts.

This attractive little gift-book contains those short, epigrammatic sentences into which Dr. Channing so often condensed his grandest thoughts. 25 cents.

Highways of Travel; or, A Summer in Europe.

By MARGARET J. M. SWEAT,

AUTHOR OF "ETHEL'S LOVE LIFE," ETC.

Printed on superfine paper, calendered and tinted. 12mo. Price, \$ 1.00. Sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

Although our author's route was confined for the most part to the usual track of Continental tourists, the time chosen for the trip afforded opportunities for observation which would not occur, probably, twice in a lifetime. Being at Paris at the time of the grand *Exposition Universelle*, and also on the occasion of the visit of Queen Victoria to the Emperor, her brilliant pen found ample and congenial employment in chronicling the gorgeous displays incident to those important events. And those most familiar with the published records of Continental travel, and even those who have passed many times over the routes, will read this volume with interest, from the keenness of its observation, the freshness of its style, and its multiplicity of interesting detail.



