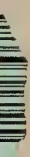
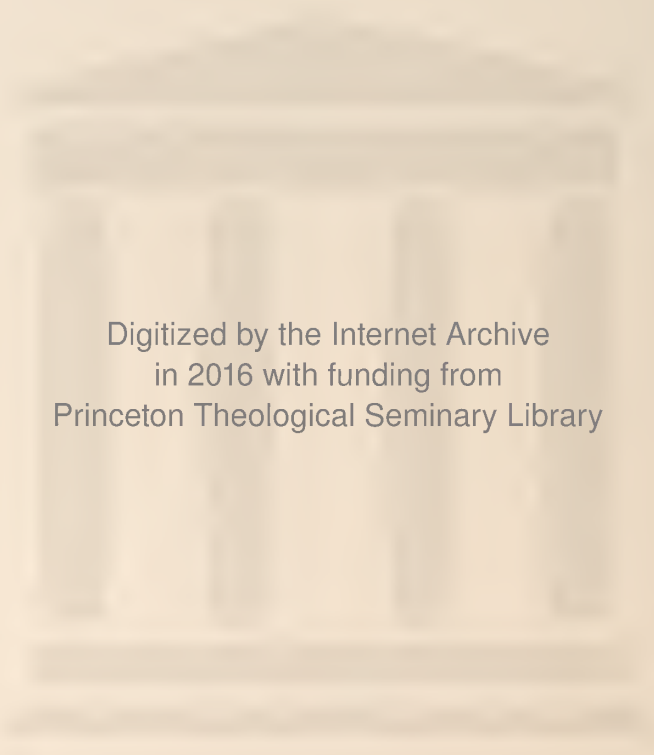


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Contents of No. 4.

[Vol. II.]

- I. THE STATE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN GERMANY;—BY THE REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE, M. A., OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND VICAR OF HORSHAM, SUSSEX.—
[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 442.]
 - II. HERDER'S DIALOGUES ON THE SPIRIT OF HEBREW POETRY.—TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY JAMES MARSH, PROFESSOR OF HAMPDEN SYDNEY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA.—[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 345.]
 - III. ON THE JEWISH PENTATEUCH; AN EXTRACT FROM JAHN'S EINLEITUNG INS ALTE TESTAMENT.—TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR PATTON.
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THE STATE
OF
THE PROTESTANT CHURCH
In Germany.

—
BY THE
REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE, M. A.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND VICAR OF HORSHAM, SUSSEX.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 442.]

THE STATE
OF THE
PROTESTANT CHURCH IN GERMANY.

DISCOURSE III.

ISAIAH XLVII. 10.

Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it has perverted thee.

IN my last Discourse, I brought down the history of the German church as far as the time of Semler, and gave you some view of his writings, and of the principles, which in the earlier and middle part of his life, he adopted and advocated. I thought such a view necessary, because Semler appears to be recognized by the members of the modern school, as its father and founder. By that expression, however, we are by no means to understand that they accede either to his principles or his practice in theology. On the contrary, they perpetually erect theories* in entire contra-

* There is a strong instance in the Life of Semler by Eichhorn, already referred to, p. 73: Eichhorn there reprehends Semler for treating of the Revelations as the work of a fanatic, written to promote enthusiastic notions of the Messiah, and says, that Semler's mind was not fit to treat of such a work. The fact is, that Eichhorn had himself proposed another theory as to the Revelation, viz. that it is a drama representing in many alternating scenes the downfall of Paganism and Judaism.

diction to his ; as for example, in the case of St. Paul, whom they frequently reprobate for his blind attachment to Judaism, while, if they listened to their founder, they would be told that the great apostle endeavoured to extirpate every mark of it from the Christian system, and placed himself at the head of the free-thinking party, which opposed it. But this designation of honour is given to Semler, because he first* taught the German divines to reject the divine origin of Scripture, and its universal obligation, to think and to speak lightly of a large portion of what at least is received by every Christian church as Christian doctrine, and to produce without hesitation and without awe, theories which *involve* charges of the most serious nature against the moral character of the Founder, and the first teachers of our religion. And his lessons have not been lost—the evil seed which he committed to the earth produced an hundred-fold—the harvest time has come—and even the sower would have contemplated with surprize and horror the evil and poisonous crop which has sprung from the seed he planted. Even in these days, when the novelty of any opinion seems too often to atone for its infamy, and he is most admired and most applauded, who casts farthest from him what the wise of former days venerated and loved, there are things to be found in the works of Semler's followers, which would not be heard without loathing and disgust. There is a daringness of disbelief, a wantonness of blasphemy to be found in them, which in a professed unbeliever we should expect and understand ; but when we turn from the works where it is found, to the page which records the name and situation of the writers, when we find that they not only still number themselves among the followers of the Saviour of the world, but that to many of

* This merit seems generally allowed him. See Wegscheider, p. 24. Note A.

them is entrusted that solemn charge of educating the younger brethren, and to almost all is committed that still more solemn charge of feeding and watching over Christ's flock on earth, there would be no consolation for the Christian heart, were it not intimately persuaded that God has some great end in view, some great lesson to teach, in allowing so dreadful a pest to infest this portion of his vineyard, and to threaten the destruction of all that is dear, sacred and holy. Indeed we may perhaps observe that already one great end has been gained—that in the largest division of Lutheran Germany, the evil has been so strongly felt, and its cause so clearly discerned, that measures are already taken for the introduction of a general liturgy, and it is intended to follow that step by the establishment of a more efficient church government. I shall not profane the place in which I stand, by repeating the most offensive among the assertions and opinions to which I have alluded. I should prefer even the serious responsibility of having brought forward an unfounded or exaggerated charge against the German divines, but I fear that even an heavier accusation than any which I have preferred, would be amply justified by what I shall now proceed to state, without diving into the depths of their unchristian inquiries and conclusions.

As of course they professed to rest on the great principle of Protestantism, that Scripture is the only source of truth, their first attention in their course of innovation was directed to Scripture itself and the notions commonly entertained with respect to it. Now when Scripture is considered as the ground of our knowledge of Christianity, there are three principal points involved, its credibility, its value as a source of revelation, and the manner in which a knowledge of that revelation can be gained from it. The credibility is assuredly the first of these in logical order, but the second, namely, the value of Scripture as a source of revelation, and the question so nearly connected with it, name-

ly the inspiration of Scripture, were, as was perhaps natural from their very great importance, the first object of discussion. And here it is only justice to say that the consideration of this first question was not forbidden by any declaration of their churches.* At least none of the confessions of faith which I have seen, lay down any express doctrine on inspiration, nor do there seem to be any very precise notions on the subject in the casual expressions which relate to it in the defence of the confession of Augs-
burgh. The first step was to renounce the old, and assuredly untenable,† hypothesis of an inspiration extended to

* It is sincerely to be regretted, that the right intentions of the present admirable king of Prussia [it is to that country I alluded,] have been frustrated for the moment by the objections entertained, to the liturgy proposed. I have understood that the king had laid his commands on the bishop of Potsdam [for there are now two bishops nominated in Prussia, though I need not say that the constitution of the Lutheran church there, is not episcopal, and that these bishops possess merely the name] to draw up a liturgy, which, when completed, was so unsatisfactory to his majesty, no mean judge in these matters, that he entrusted the business to a layman, in an official situation about his own person. The liturgy so composed, has been promulgated by the royal authority, but the substance of it has been objected to, and I think with reason, by the clergy; and the very right of the king to impose a liturgy questioned with a freedom which would astonish those who assert the slavery of the press in the Prussian dominions. Among other pamphlets, an anonymous one called, 'Ueber die Neue Liturgie,' had attracted great attention last year: and I believe that the celebrated Schleiermacher has since published on the subject. There is to be a convention of the Prussian clergy to consider the question this autumn, and every well inclined person will, I am sure, join in the wish, that the laudable intentions of the king may be seconded by good dispositions on the part of the clergy. P. S. Since this book went to press, I have observed a statement in the public papers, that out of between 7 and 8,000 churches in the Prussian dominions, above 5,000 have now accepted the Liturgy.

† The strongest expressions perhaps are to be found in the Confessions, Art. vii. de abus. p. 42, 44, and the Apology. Præf. 43. Art

every word and thing in the New Testament. But after proposing a variety of theories as to the various ranks* and degrees of inspiration, after accepting for a moment the reasonable belief, that although the supposition of an immediate supernatural agency, at every instant is superfluous. God who had appointed the apostles to teach Christianity, enabled them by the help of his Spirit to teach it rightly, and to avoid error and falsehood, this belief too was rejected, and it was determined that the notion of an immediate agency was to be rejected on some strange physical and

i. 81, ed. Rechenb. Artic. Smalcald. Part II. Art. ii. p. 303. Part III. Art. viii. 333 Form. Concord. Sol. decl. Præf. 635. These are pointed out by Wegscheider, p. 134.

* This was the old theory. See Athenagoras Legat. pro Christian. p. 32, et 36 ed. Ox. 1706. Justin Martyr Coh. ad Græc. p. 9. ed Ox. So most of the early dogmatical writers. Döderlein, Instit. Theol. Christ. I. p. 101. mentions a book of Schubert, Abhandlung von der heilig. Schrift and deren Canon, 1774, as maintaining the same opinions. Ernesti, in an article in the Theolog. Bibl. vol. III. p. 446, on a work called, Briefe über die Mosaischen Schriften und Philosophie, has some very powerful remarks on the subject. He says, p. 469, that however we may be content to depend on human writers, in human matters, yet in divine ones containing rules of faith and life, and written by men unused to composition, not possessing the ability which would enable them perhaps to explain themselves with the necessary clearness, or to express themselves so that the reader should think of nothing more nor less, nor other than they did, and not writing in a language they had learned by rule, we cannot be content to depend on mere human strength. For it is harder to write accurately, than to think rightly, a truth very conspicuous in the writings of philosophers, who so often fail to express their own meaning with accuracy. He concludes, that in the actual writing, the apostles were therefore assisted immediately by the Holy Spirit, the choice and order of matter pointed out, and the necessary accuracy and certainty given; and that otherwise, their writings could not properly be proposed as a rule of faith and life.

psychological grounds,* that it was repugnant to rea-

* On this point, there is a curious book of Töllner, called, 'Die Göttliche Eingebug der Heilige Schrift.' Linden et Leipsic, 1771. Töllner was a teacher of divinity at Frankford on the Oder. His book was reviewed by Ernesti in the Neueste Theol. Bibl. vol. II. p. 31. Of Töllner's notions on the practical part of Christianity, there is a sufficient account in Stäudlen's Geschichte der Christ. Moral. p. 763, and following; and it thence appears that Töllner considered that both the will, the matter, the words, and the order of both the matter and the words, might be objects of inspiration—that there were four degrees, 1, when the inspiration extended to all of them, 2, when to some of them only, 3, when all were partly under supernatural guidance, 4, when some were under natural guidance only, the others under partly natural, and partly supernatural. Some books he thinks written without any inspiration, and only confirmed by God, p. 50; in the Old Testament he thinks Moses might have been directed to a choice of his subjects, and his memory might have been strengthened—and so of the Psalms and prophecies. In the historical books he allows no inspiration. What degree exists in the new Testament, he cannot decide. In the Acts, there was a mediate and natural inspiration. In St. Mark's case, an immediate inspiration is improbable, as he adds little to St. Matthew, and the disproportion of the first and second parts of his Gospel betrays an human composer. St. Luke and Mark, were however, approved of by the inspired apostles, which is enough to give due authority to their writings. Others make three degrees of inspiration, an antecedent, concomitant and consequent; by which, respectively, unknown facts are communicated, errors are avoided in those the writers already knew, and human works are pronounced to be true. See Döderlein Inst. Theol. Christ. I. p. 102. and Quenstedt. Theol. Did. Pol. I. 70. The last answers to Töllner's notions of *confirmation*. The reader will find more such distinctions in Gerhard's Loci Theologici II. 26. Hollaz Examen Theol. ed. Teller. 74. and Danhauer's Hodosophia, 34. Döderlein says, that Luther also thought there were degrees of inspiration, and refers to the Preface to the German translation of the New Testament, 1524, and to that of the Epistle of St James in his Works. XIV. 104, 149. as also to Bretschneider's work, 'Luther an unsere Zeit.' Erlang. 1817. to Krause Opusc. Theoll. 207, to a passage in Luther's works II, 140,

son,* both with the freedom of the writers, and the quality of their works, and moreover that it admitted of no imagin-

and to Plank's *Geschichte d. Entstehung und Bildung des Protest. Lehrbegriff*: vol. II. 97.

See Tittman's *Pragmat. Geschichte*, 1824. p. 192. There are, indeed some extraordinary arguments to be found on this subject, in all the rationalist writers. I have noticed below one statement; namely, that 'the doctrine of inspiration supposes the Deity and the nature of the human mind to be *spirabilis*.'

* I abridge the objections to it from Wegscheider, p. 145, and following. The various notions of supernatural revelation in Scripture, must be referred to the *mystic* narrations and notions of all barbarous people, and explained by the known laws of nature. As to any appearance of God,* it is expressly denied, John i. 18, 1 John iv. 12. Visions of angels, and narrations about demons, are destitute of all grounds of history—and the names, &c. given to angels betray a Jewish origin, while the business attributed to them, as Gen. xviii. xxxii. 1, is unworthy of them. The voices said to be heard from heaven, are generally to be explained by thunder. Dreams and visions are best explained by psychology, and have no marks of truth. Finally, the notion of a divine inspiration is repugnant to the idea of a perfect spirit, and entirely takes away the intellectual and moral liberty and dignity of man; it must be explained from the disposition of a rude age, which attributes every thing out of the common way, even any unusual excitement of mind to the Deity. There is a *petitio principii* in all the orthodox arguments. For the orthodox require us to believe in the divinity of revelation, because it is contained in an inspired book, and then require us to believe in the inspiration of the book, because it contains the history of a divine revelation.† Again, other animals can attain their proper ends, this

* All these sentiments of Wegscheider, as to the natural explanations of the visions, dreams, voices, &c. in the New Testament, are held by Ammon. (See *Summ. Theol. Christ.* p. 24.) and they are noticed by Schröckh VII. p. 630. and VIII. p. 309.

† Plank, *Geschichte des Christenthums*, Göttingen, 1818. Pref. p. xi. answers to this, that the apostles as mere human writers, may be allowed to bear testimony to the divinity of Christianity, and that from that divinity, their inspiration may be proved. But, says Wegscheider, if we consider the evangelists as human writers, we may examine their narrations, like those of any other people. It would be unjust to assert the existence of mythi in other

able proof. When the declarations of Scripture were urged on them, when it was said that Christ had promised

is a very favourite argument, without extraordinary assistance, why should we think man alone unable to attain the end of his existence, viz. to be moral and religious, without such assistance? Farther, it is clear, that the scriptures cannot be inspired, from the difference in style, the different sources whence it is derived, Numb. xxi. 14, Josh. x. 13, the chronological difficulties, and the differences in doctrine,† from its containing an argument often ambiguously and obscurely expressed and amended, or still to be amended,‡ in process of time, and of such a nature, as to be manifestly within the power of human faculties.§ Besides, many of the books were not actually written by those, whose names they bear, but by amanuenses, of whose inspiration nothing is known. Again, if inspiration were necessary, interpreters would be inspired, as the Scripture is certainly often obscure. The revelation to which the Jewish and Christian religions are referred, may be fairly reckoned a natural, and mediate one, such that the authors of these two forms may be said to have been excited by Providence, acting by natural means, to give better notions of religion.

writers, and allow all the evangelists say to be true. All antiquity is bound together by very close ties, and cannot be understood, unless the same sort of events and histories in different nations, are judged of in the same way, and sacred and profane history are weighed with the same balance.

† Christ in the three first Gospels is very different from the picture drawn by St. John, [see Herder Vom Sohn Gottes. p. 177,] especially in his conversations and sentiments. See Gurlitt. *Lectionum in Novum Testamentum Specimen IV.* Hamb. 1805. *Briefe über den Rationalismus*, p. 325. *De Wette über Religion und Theologie*, p. 178. *Bretschneider Probabilia de Evang. et Epp. Joann. indole*, Leips. 1820, p. 1. sq. Generally, see *Thurn Sammlung abweichender Vorstellungen der N. T. Schriftsteller üb. einen und denselbe Gegenstand*. Leips. 1805. All these sentiments of Wegscheider are repeated by Ammon *Summ. Theol. Christ.* §. 2.

‡ The supposition made by some persons that God in revelation and inspiration, so accommodated himself to the understanding of uncivilized men, as to teach them even false opinions for a time, is entirely repugnant to every idea of a wise and true Deity. Another supposition, that inspiration only extends to divine things, and that we ought to separate from it the many errors found in Scripture, as to geology, astronomy, &c. is untenable, as some of those errors are connected with religious matters, Josh. x. 12, 13, 2 Cor. xii. 2, and God, if he gave any inspiration, would not sanction any error.

§ Many points supposed to be due to inspiration alone, have been found among nations, where no inspiration is thought of, as circumcision among the

to send a Comforter who should guide his disciples into all truth, and abide with them for ever, when it was shown

Then the ancients commonly spoke of any peculiar gift of genius, especially when attended with fervour of mind, and of any remarkable events, simply as the works of the Deity, and so the authors of a religion might appear to themselves to speak from God, and claim the title of messengers of God, without impropriety, inasmuch as they spoke what was worthy of God, the author of truth, and true religion. Wegscheider, p. 15Ċ, in a note on this point, gives the following strange explanation of John vii. 17. 'If any man will do his will.' 'Jesus ipse, Joh. vii. 17, doctrinam, quam tradidit, divinam esse professus est, quatenus divina ejus indoles ab homine vere religioso proboque bene cognosci protest atque dijudicari. Döderlein* certainly holds *somewhat* higher notions of inspiration than these. He tells us, that as all antiquity ascribes the books of Scripture to the apostles, who were commissioned to teach this divine religion, and had a promise of the help of the Spirit, every thing of a religious nature must be referred to the Holy Spirit, and as the institution is divine, the books may be reckoned so. But then, nothing but the religious parts of them can be so thought of; and for them, it is enough to consider them as sacred, as being the fount of salutary truth, without being too definite, as to the way in which they became divine. He adds, that it is very common to say of any persons, especially poets,† whose sentiments and discourses, show high excitement that they are inspired, and after considering the passages usually alleged to prove inspiration, proceeds to show how difficult it would have been for the apostles to err, even without any superhuman aid. See Ernesti's admirable remarks above. But Döderlein varies, as he afterwards says, that God preserved the memory of the apostles, when writing of Jesus, gave them a new revelation, if need was, and

Ethiopians, the notion about the devil among the Persees, the incarnation in India, the resurrection among the Chaldees, Americans, &c.

* The sentiments of Henke, Eckerman, Theolog. Beiträge II. S. 2, and Tieftrunk, Censur des Prot. Lehrbeg. Berlin, 1791, are mentioned by Döderlein, 1. p. 106, as exactly in unison with those just transcribed from Wegscheider, that is to say, as entirely denying all supernatural inspiration.

† This is a very favourite notion. I have quoted the words of Henke below, and in Wegscheider we have a long passage to show, that the Jews like other ancient nations did not discriminate between inspiration and poetic enthusiasm, that in the second century only after Christ, they began to talk of the inspiration

that the apostles themselves* said that they spoke not with St. Paul's writings were adduced, which by distinguishing between his own opinions and those which he delivered

an honest heart, when writing of themselves. And he adds, that *where* God did inspire the Sacred Writers, he thinks it must have been with words, as well as things, as he holds the last impossible without the first; and besides, as one great object was to enable the apostles to spread the religion clearly, it is surely probable, that the Spirit would have declared the truths of religion in such words as they could most clearly comprehend, and so best transmit to others. Döderlein Instit. Theol. Christ. I. p. 89, 106. Ammon [Summa. Theol. Christ. p. 22,] has the following observations. He thinks that some of the more recent writers have been too violent, because Jesus so constantly asserts his divine mission, and because the idea of a mediate divine instruction is applicable to all human knowledge, and does not admit the notion peculiar to revelation. It is easy, however, he adds, to answer the believers in Θεοπνευστία, [quotquot supersunt adhuc.] that the peculiar notion of inspiration cannot be applied without great moral inconvenience to the human mind, [for it not only 'numinis et mentis humanæ naturam, spirabilem esse innuit'] the expression is the same as Wegscheider's, p. 149, but takes away all man's intellectual and moral liberty, that the Sacred Writers never refer the divine instinct, with which they professed to be seized, to *prose discourse*, much less to *writing* but merely to *oracles*, that the diversity of style, &c. &c. shows that they were much left to their own device.

* In some of the passages alluded to, [Luke i. 3. 1 Cor. vii. 10. 2

of the Old Testament, and that *then* the ancient doctors of the church took up the same notions as to the New Testament. In his note, he cites a vast number of passages from Greek and Roman writers, to show, that they spoke of poets as *inspired*, and from other writers, to show that the eastern nations did the same. At the end of Bauer's edition of Glass's Philologia Sacra, he gives a dissertation on the myths of the Bible, and tells us that much error has arisen from supposing, that the prophecies, instead of being as they are, the works of men in a state of poetic furor, uttering their own complaints of their destiny, or thanking God for the mercies he had shown them, contain dogmatical notions, introduce Christ as speaking, and describe his death, &c. See Glass Philol. Sacr. ed. Dath. et Bauer. II. §. 2. p. 390. In fact, however, Wegscheider goes farther than all this, when he tells us in note [A] on §. 8, that all legislators have boasted of a divine influence, as Minos, Zoroaster, the founders of the Brachman, Sabæan, and other religions.

the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth—and when the several passages in by commandment, point out assuredly something not to be found within the mind of man, as occasionally acting on his, the reply was that no proof could be given that these expressions were to be understood of a supernatural assistance, or (to use the words* of Henke the professor of divinity at Helmstadt) in any higher sense than the expressions of Cicero as to the inspiration of the poets, or those of Quintilian respecting Plato, as it appeared from the use of words in Scripture, that the writers made no accurate distinction between immediate† and mediate agency. Certainly no proof can be given which is not to be found in the clear import of the words themselves; there are some things too clear to be proved by any thing but a statement of their clearness; some too absurd to be disproved except by a statement of their absurdity. It appears to me indeed that the German innovators have on this point, involved

Cor. xi. 17,] the writers, according to Wegscheider, only claim the use of their own powers of mind; in 1 Cor. ii. 13. 2 Pet. i. 21, they refer only to the prophecies, when they speak of the divine instinct, which they do not define; in others, they recommend a trial of those, who are acted on by the divine spirit, as 1 John iv. 1. comp. Gal. ii. 6. 1 Cor. x. 15. xiv. 29; in 2 Tim. iii. 16, nothing is said farther, than that every book written under the influence of the divine spirit, is equally good for teaching and improving mankind; and in 2 Pet. i. 21, [a writing not universally admitted,] there is no mention of any book. So far Wegscheider, p. 150–152.

* I cannot refer to Henke's work; but the citation will be found at p. 37, of a pamphlet called, *Zeiche der Zeit*, published by an Hungarian catholic, called Hohenegger, and printed, I think, at Presburgh. I have already spoken of the poetic inspiration in the preceding note.

† See Wegscheider, §. 12. Döderlein *Instit. Theol.* I. p. 105. Bahrdt, pp. 42, and 44, Notes S et X. Eckerman's *Theol. Beiträge* II. Part I. II. Henke's *Lineam Inst. fidei Christianæ*, §. 14. Ammon, *Wissensch. Prakt. Theol.* p. 43. *Summa Theol. Christ.* §. 10, 11, 12. Tieftrunk *Censur des Protest. Lehrbeg.* I. 327.

themselves frequently in self contradictions,* for they could not deny that the Sacred Writers were so far under the protection and assistance of God, as to be saved from error, although they vehemently rejected all notions of supernatural agency. Yet if they were enabled to do what unassisted man with his utmost diligence and love of truth could not effect, to what purpose is it to contend that this assistance was mediate and not immediate? If they were not enabled to do more than other men, what assistance could they be said to derive from the Deity, in any proper sense of the word? However, as appeal had thus been made to the writers themselves, it was obviously necessary to consider the question of their credibility. And this was also necessary, because previously to these discussions, it had been deemed sufficient to show the external credibility of Scripture by historical proofs, and with respect to the internal part, to remove any difficulties and apparent contradictions. But in these enquiries the certainty of inspiration had been always taken for granted, and now that it was called in question it was deemed necessary to examine the credibility on other grounds. They who wished to impugn it, in general assumed the hypothesis of

* The error of the rationalizing divines in reasoning on this subject, appears to me to arise from their overlooking the distinction between *the means*, and *the end*. In speaking generally, of any work effected by God's providence, it is easy to see, that it is *in the means* alone, that we can distinguish between *mediate* and *immediate*. Thus the punishment of a guilty city might be effected, either by natural or supernatural means; as, for example, by fire from heaven; or by the hands of hostile nations, which might be excited to the work by Providence, acting, however, through common and natural means—but in the thing itself, in the destruction of buildings, and in the death of human beings, there is nothing of an extraordinary nature. In the case of inspiration, on the contrary, it is the *end* alone, about which we need dispute; for it is obviously out of the ordinary course of nature, that men should be saved from error and mistake—that of itself is sufficient to establish a supernatural agency—and if that be allowed, we need hardly dispute, whether the means used to effect

a deception* practised by the apostles from good motives, a pious fraud in short : they supposed that these founders of the Christian religion, in order to introduce a better and more wholesome moral system, and gain attention and weight for it among the people, allowed themselves to give many circumstances a different dress from their true one. Armed with this hypothesis, they could obviously reject every thing which they disliked in Scripture, without appearing openly to attack the character of the apostles—they could change the whole into a fable, of which every man might believe as much or as little as he pleased. If these writers really meant no more than their words convey, (for I seek not to penetrate into the dark recesses of their thoughts and intentions) it does little honour to their sense of morality to have continued the profession of a religion founded on deceit ; if they meant to get rid of it, their proceedings may do more credit to their understanding, for its rejection by every man who loved truth and honesty, was the necessary consequence of the admission of their hypothesis. It would be disgusting to go through all the strange fancies which were set afloat, and which tended only to set Scripture, on the same footing as an ingenious but improbable romance. They all proceeded

a purpose *allowed to be supernatural*, were themselves ordinary or extraordinary.

* I recommend the perusal of Tittman's 17th section, pp. 193, and following. Wegscheider, §. 26, et Hauff's Bemerkungen über die Lehrart Jesu, Offenb. 1793. Wegscheider in §. 44. not. B. rather defends Christ and his apostles from the charge of deception, by saying, that they only adopted a common notion of their age, in attributing any peculiar feelings or effects to God. The strongest work, I think, on the deception, is Bahrdt's 'Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston.' On all this part of the question, I imagine, that subsequent writers took much from Lessing's own works, see especially his Theologischer Nachlass. Berlin, 1784, and the Fragments which he published, and which some attribute to Reinmarus. I should recommend also Reinhard's Versuch über den Plan welchen der Stifter

from the determination that whatever was not intelligible,* was incredible; that only what was of familiar and easy explanation, deserves belief, and that all which was miraculous and mysterious in Scripture must be rejected, and they rested perpetually on notions and reasonings, which were in themselves miracles of incredibility. There were some indeed who appeared to avoid these extremes, and yet from the same dislike to all that was miraculous or mysterious, and with the same determination to consider the apostles as mere human historians, suggested the doubt whether such historians could be free from error; whether they had the *power*† of relating every thing as it really happened. Nothing can shew more clearly that the innovators, whatever were their professions, had in fact, no belief that Christianity in any way whatever came from God, than their arguments in this part of their career. If a religion is really sent into the world of God, and if they who are to teach it cannot be safe from error without assistance from God, the obvious inference is, that they would receive that necessary assistance. But these divines, while in words‡ they allowed at this time that the religion was

dei Chr. Religion zum besten der Menschheit entwarf. [4th ed. Wittenberg. 1791,] for an account and refutation of all this mischief. It is noticed in Ammon's *Vollständ. Lehrbuch der Christ. Relig. Moral.* [Götting. 1806,] §. 85. Döderlein, *Inst.* [Theol. Christ. p. 34,] defends the apostles, that is, he proves their *wish* to tell all as it really happened, from their excellent characters, &c.

* Eckermann's *Theolog. Beiträge*, vol. V. Part II. I would refer too for similar notions, to Wegscheider, §. 9, 10, 11, not. C. on §. 51.

† See Tittman, p. 205.

‡ This was merely allowed on the ground that whatever was right, comes from God. See Ammon's *Vollst. Lehrb. der Christlich-Relig. moral.* §. 88. His quotation at the end is from Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* I. 26. 'Philosophia, omnium artium mater, quid est aliud, nisi, ut Plato ait, donum, ut ego, inventum Deorum.' See Löffler, *Magazin, für Prediger.* vol. VII. Part I. p. 26. De Wette *Religion und Theol.* [2d ed. Berlin, 1821,] pp. 72, 93, 232, and Wegscheider, §. 11. and 12.

sent from God, while they allowed also that the first propagators of it, if mere unassisted men could not be safe from mistake or error, rejected this inference, and made another, namely, that as there was reason to suspect the writers of error, the only method of getting at truth, was to subject what they had written* to a critical examination, to separate the wheat in Scripture from the chaff, that is to

* Nulla alia ratio et via eas, [the positive doctrines,] examinandi datur, quam ut illarum placita cum iis quæ via naturali rectæ rationis de Deo ejusque voluntate ipsi innotuerint, diligenter componat, et ad hanc normam sine omni superstitione, examinet. Wegscheid. §. 11. p. 33. §. 19. and note, p. 66. and following. See Döderlein Diss. de usu et abusu rationis hum. in rebus Divinis. Hall. 1759. Wegscheider acts always on this principle, through his works. Thus, for example, when speaking of the future state, he says, that Christ speaks of it in two ways, 1. that the soul, immediately after death, will pass to another life; and 2. that there will be a resurrection of the body; and that it cannot be denied, that this last doctrine is to be found in Scripture, p. 560. Then he proceeds as usual to decide on the truth of these notions, according to the principles of reason, p. 571, accepts the first and *rejects the last*. In the same way, writers of his class examine every doctrine above reason—and every miracle. In §. 199. Wegscheider tells us, that the notion to be found in Scripture, of the Messiah's coming to judge the world, *must be false*; nay, that it opposes some of Christ's own declarations, which he quotes. It will be curious to mention these as a specimen of the vague and inapplicable passages, which these writers perpetually use to oppose the plainest and most positive declarations of Scripture. The first is John iii. 18 'He that believeth not, is condemned already.' The second, Luke, xvi. 22. where Lazarus is said on his death to have been carried into Abraham's bosom; and the third, John xviii. 36. where Christ says, that his kingdom is not of this world. From these passages, strange to say, Wegscheider concludes, that there can be no future judgment before Christ's throne; when St. Paul says, disertis verbis, [Romans xiv. 10.] 'We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ.' Had the orthodox party used the parable of Lazarus to prove any doctrine, they would have been overwhelmed with declamation against the absurdity of citing a parable so full of Jewish myths, in proof of any point of doctrine.

say, to separate those parts of Holy Writ which recommended themselves to reason from all the mysteries and miracles which surpassed it. And this has been the most enduring and acceptable method of attacking Christianity. But it will be asked if the consistent believer can object to this examination of Holy Writ, or can hope for its reception while he refuses the application of any reasonable test to it. Assuredly not! On the contrary, the believer challenges investigation to every part of the system, its history, its evidences, its doctrines—but then, he cannot be deemed unreasonable in requiring that at least it should not be treated worse than other writings, that such an examination should be fair, that there should not be a previous hypothesis which will influence it, that men should enquire what the writers did say, and not previously lay down what they *ought* to say, not establish partial criteria for judging what they have said, not assume what is in fact at the bottom of the dispute, and fix the limits of the credibility of Scripture by the comprehensibility of its assertions to human reason. I maintain that the Rationalizing divines have done this—that they have chosen to suppose a system which they think reasonable, which they think ought to be the Christian system, and that they resolved to make it so at any expense of Scripture. I have no hesitation in saying, that their whole system of historical interpretation is built on these notions, and loudly as its excellency is vaunted, I cannot but consider it most fallacious and dangerous. That a real and sound interpreter of God's word must add to a critical knowledge and complete familiarity with its language, the widest historical knowledge, the knowledge of the opinions, pursuits, and customs of the Jewish, and indeed of the Greek and Roman nations; that in examining the words and phrases of Scripture, the peculiar opinions and habits of thought existing at the time of the writer, and likely to influence his style, must be investigated, is most true; but this is not the pe-

cular merit of the Rationalists—this is the old and sound grammatical interpretation which was used by critics, far, very far, superior to any one of them, and long before the existence of their school, and which will be used by future critics when that school, its follies and its mischief, have passed away and are forgotten. What is peculiar to them, is this; that in interpreting the New Testament, their first business is always not to examine the words, but to investigate the disposition and character of the writer, and his knowledge of religion, the opinions of his age on that subject, and finally, the *nature* of what he delivers. From these, and *not* from the words, they seek the sense of Christ's and his followers, discourses; and they examine the words by these previous notions, and not by the grammatical method.* They seek for all which Christ said, in the notions held by the Jews in his time; and contend that those are the points first to be studied by an interpreter. They seek thence to explain the history, the dogmatical part of the New Testament, nay, those very discourses of Christ, in which he delivers points of faith and morals; and thus enquire not what the Founder of our religion and his disciples really thought or said, in each passage, in each sentence, regularly explained on acknowledged rules of interpretation, but what they might have said,

* The remarks of Ernesti, *Inst. Interp. N. T. I. 1. §. 18. and 21.* on this point are truly valuable. 'Omnino lubrica,' says he, 'et fallacissima, est ratio, sensum verborum e rebus colligendi, cum res potius e verbis eorumque sensu, legitima ratione indagato, cognosci debeant.' And again, 'Qui sensus igitur clare per grammaticas leges tribuendus est verbis, non debet rejici propter rationes a rebus ductas.' Against whomsoever these observations were first directed, they are peculiarly applicable to the party who profess most falsely to follow Ernesti. They do not indeed, make the Scripture of none effect, by mystical or allegorical interpretations; but their system is equally destructive. I recommend the Preface of the *Meletemata Sacra* of Dr. Tittman of Dresden, [not the author of the *Pragmatische Geschichte*,] to whom I am indebted for some very valuable observations.

and ought to have said, according to the opinions of the times, and their own knowledge of religion not what Christ really meant in such or such a discourse ; but how the Jews ought to have understood it ; not what the apostles wrote, but whether what they wrote is true ; that is, not whether it seemed true to them, but whether it is true, according to right reason ; not what they actually taught, but what they must have taught from the limits of their own mind, and the state of men and things in their days ; and lastly, what they would have taught in other times, and to other men. This is the Rationalist's style of interpreting Scripture ; a style which no commentator even on profane writers would ever dream of adopting. He would never maintain that a Greek or Roman philosopher could not hold, and could not inculcate any opinions but those of his age and country ; he would never pass from interpreting his author, to judging him : he would never, because he disliked a notion, or deemed it false, assert, that it could not exist in the words of his author ; nor would he assert, that another did exist there, because in his opinion a writer under similar circumstances, would have maintained it. This, I say, would not have been done by the commentator on a profane author, though this, and far more than this, has been done by this class of the German commentators on the sacred ones. The worst specimens of this style, are not, I believe, in common use among us ; but the student should remember, that there is something of this spirit even in Schleusner, a larger portion in Rosenmüller, and that Kuinoel at least perpetually details the wildest dreams of some of the wildest of this school. But let us enquire what were the fruits* of this system of inter-

* Let us hear some of them from Wegscheider, who, [p. 25.] after mentioning it as the only true method of interpretation, adds, ' If in pursuing it, we are unable to recognize an entire and absolute agreement among all the declarations of Scripture; nay, if we rather find different methods of teaching, *εὐρίπυρος παιδείας*, on certain dogmas:

pretation, and of the theory of accommodation which is so closely connected with it. It is hopeless amidst the chaos of writers, and chaos of contradictory theories, opinions and fancies, which they proposed to the entire confusion of

which the writers, not entirely consistent with themselves, proposed with the permission of God, in order to exercise the minds of their readers; some of them exhibiting notions and opinions, common to the age when Christianity was introduced,* and well adapted to it; others, a purer system of religion, fit for all men and all times; if we find besides, much which is difficult, and some things which Origin himself did not venture to call *untrue, absurd, and impossible*, we ought rather to seek and make use of the analogy and consent of those parts which, being perspicuous of themselves, are really of divine argument, i. e. as far as they agree with the true idea of the Deity, and of virtue planted in our minds by God, and confirmed by Christ and his apostles, and with the genius and disposition of an universal religion, or which being in some historical and symbolical manner adapted to the capacity of uncultivated minds, shadow out the ideas of true religion.' He goes on to say, that as the different sentiments in the Scripture have never been reconciled, we need not hesitate to separate them, and choose only the purer ones, and thus to form a system, which may be called *positive*, with as much justice as the old one, as far, that is to say, as its argument approved by its internal divine authority, that is, by the assent of sound reason, illustrated by the light of divine truth, is confirmed also by the undoubted decrees of Scripture, as if by an external divine authority. "Thus we consult both the educated class who accept truth for its own sake, and the uneducated who are effected only by it, when recommended by some external authority. It is to be regretted, that it cannot be settled, whether every thing attributed in the Gospels to Christ is rightly referred to him: for some things, which *openly contradict one another*, easily excite a suspicion that they do not proceed from the same author." The principal books on the historical method of interpretation, are Bretschneider's *Historisch-dogmatisch Auslegung des N. T.* Leips. 1806. Keil's *Lehrbuch der Hermeneutik des N. T.* Leips. 1810. and the same writer's *Vertheidigung d. Grammatist. Interp. d. Bücher d. N. T.* I need hardly say, that it is the *abuse* of this method to which I object, and to which I attribute the evils, in the interpretations of the Rationalizing party.

* Wegscheider's phrase is *pro Christiano*.

thought and reason, to do more than mark the *general* tendency of their sentiments. And I ought here distinctly to say, that the full extent* of many of the opinions I have

* I earnestly hope, that I have not misrepresented the opinions of the party,—but where men engage in so wide a subject as theology, and are bound by no common laws of thought, it would of course be vain to attempt giving more than a sketch of their tendencies. This remark is the more called for, because so many of them have themselves varied in, and even entirely renounced their former opinions. Thus, for example, I find from an article in the *Archives du Christianisme** vol. VII. No. 9, 10, 11. and 12, that Kaiser has in the Preface, p. 3. and 4, to his *Biblische Moral*, 1821. announced the entire change of his opinion on these subjects, and declared, that the word of God revealed in the Bible, is now his one and all, *eins und alles*. Ammon again has decidedly changed, as appears from several of his later works, and the author of this article says, that several of the Rationalists have done the same in their Lectures. Among these he names De Wette, once Professor at Berlin, and now at Bale. I never saw any writings more offensive, than the early ones of De Wette, and was not aware of the change. The writer refers to his *Christliche Sittenlehre*, [Berlin, 1812.] I. p. 143—201. [I. p. 107. his *Theodor*, [Berl. 1822.] which is the history of a sceptic restored to belief, according to this writer, that of Mr. De Wette himself, and his ‘*Vorlesungen über die Sittenlehre*,’ [Berlin 1823.] I. 18, 183, 260, 340, 355, 391, 392. II. 184, 251, 257, 267, 269,

* I should wish to know who is the author of this very able and excellent article, for a notice of which I am indebted to one of the company of Messrs. Treuttel and Würtz. The author takes almost entirely the same view which I have done of the Rationalizing school, and complains with great justice, that the old errors which they have revived, should be presented as really modern discoveries, the result of a deeper study of antiquity, of the progress of historical knowledge, aided by a sound psychology, and by a comparison of the different wants of man, at different epochs of his history. With equal justice, he represents the danger of all this to a student, who can hardly believe, that learned professors would venture to bring forward as the clear result of long discussion, mere conjectures more or less ingenious, fantastic combinations, and suppositions as fanciful as they are rash, or that *they would confidently quote works, which entirely overthrow all these theories by anticipation*. Un-suspicious of professorial quackery, the young divine will never dream of the ability or weight of the adversaries whom these writers *pass over in silence, or treat with contempt*; and will not imagine that a theory, which he is led to suppose all candid writers *adopt, is, if not already abandoned by all, at least rejected by a great number of theologians of the first merit*.

mentioned, or have still to mention, in the remainder of this Discourse, is not held by all the divines of whom I

272, 283, 310, 336—339. I have some difficulty in speaking of Schleiermacher, who is perhaps one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times, and who has immortalized himself by his translation of Plato. His great work, 'Der Christliche Glaube,' [Berl. 1822.] is so difficult of comprehension, that without devoting even a longer time to it than I have yet done, I am perhaps hardly justified in speaking of the author's opinions. There are, however, occasional expressions, which, I confess, cause very disagreeable feelings. His earlier work, 'Reden über die Religion,' appears to me to savour very strongly of Pantheism; and his friends in Germany are struck with surprise at his having published a third edition without alteration, immediately before his large work, which they consider as containing more orthodox opinions. Yet §. 19. of that larger work, and his commentary is most ambiguous, as the writer in the Archives remarks, and a critic in the Halle Literatur Zeitung for May 1823. No. 115—117, imputes Pantheism to him directly. Again, in vol. I. 101, and 104, he appears to me to adopt entirely the notion of the Rationalists, that it is impossible to show that all which is commonly called the immediate operation of God, is not, in fact, referable to the ordinary and general working of nature. It is, however, mere justice to indicate the passages, which lead to a different conclusion; and I cannot perhaps choose stronger ones than those adopted by the writer before referred to. See therefore, vol. I. p. 93—112. vol II. 167, 252—268, 287, and 288. One of the passages to which I alluded above, is as follows [p. 101.] 'Einzelne Thatsachen, leibliche oder geistige, hängen immer mit andern in Raum und zeit so zusammen, dass, man, nicmals nachweisen kann, dass sie nicht in ihrer einzelheit betrachtet, aus dem allgemeinen zusammenwirken entstanden wären.' Wegscheider [p. 61.] reproaches Schleiermacher for maintaining different opinions in different parts of his work. He quotes vol. I. p. 11. and §. 19. The writer in the Arch. du Christianisme speaks in very strong terms of the revulsion just experienced in Germany, and the discredit into which the Rationalists are beginning to fall; and he gives some very sensible cautions to those who oppose them, by entreating them to be moderate, and not disgust those, who might be inclined to join them, by insisting on the necessity of dwelling on a very limited number of points of doctrine. But again, there is another source of difficulty touched on by the same writer [p. 434.] The writers on the same side of the question took

speak. They are bound by no law but their own fancies ; some are more, and some less extravagant ; but I do them no injustice after this declaration in saying, that the general inclination and tendency of their opinions (more or less forcibly acted on) is this, that in the New Testament we shall find only the *opinions* of Christ and the apostles adapted to the age in which they lived, and not eternal*

different views of it. 'Some,' says the writer, 'who defended the supernatural origin of Christianity, though they did good for their cause by reducing Revelation to the simple authentic promulgation of truths accessible to human faculties, while others, who rejected all belief in an immediate intervention of the Deity in human affairs, deduced from their rational system, or violently incorporated in them, under different forms, those very mysterious doctrines, which the others sought to get rid of, as incompatible with sound reason, and as injurious to the credit of the Gospel. Frequently again, the exposition of dogmas placed out of the sphere of human intelligence, conducted the learned interpreters, who recognized the clear and incontestible declaration of them in Scripture, to entirely opposite conclusions. While some thought, that they perceived there the trace of the alterations introduced into primitive truth, by the first propagators of Christianity, through the introduction of their national prejudices and individual ideas into the pure and sublime religion of Jesus; others, regarding these mysteries as a necessary supplement to the light of reason abandoned to its own resources, saw in them the strongest proofs of the supernatural origin of the Gospel. Thus, there was the singular spectacle of persons using the same arguments to arrive at conclusions diametrically opposite; a spectacle well adapted to inspire a salutary distrust of reason, and a singular deference for doctrines, submitted perpetually to fresh verifications to the constant examination of men of the most different moral and intellectual culture, and to the trial of every degree of intelligence, doubt, strength, and weakness, which fall to the lot of humanity.'

* This is the very sum and substance of all the statements of the Rationalists. See Tittman's *Pragm. Geschicht.* p. 208. Behn über die Lehrart Jesu und Seiner Apostel. Leips. 1791. Staüdlin. *Dogmat. und Dogmengesch.* p. 146. Henke *Magaz.* V. 539. *N. Magaz.* II. 249. Bretschneider *Versuch einer Systemat. Entwicklung aller in der dogmat. vorkommenden Begriffes.* [2d ed.] p. 135. Some maintain, that the doctrines of the New Testament were not only

truths ; that Christ himself had neither the design nor power of teaching any system which was to endure ; that when he taught any enduring truth, as he occasionally did, it was without being aware of its nature ; that the apostles understood still less of real religion ; that the whole doctrine, both of Christ and his apostles, as it is directed to the Jews alone, so it was gathered in fact, from no other source than the Jewish philosophy ;* that Christ himself erred, and his apostles spread his errors, and that consequently no one of their doctrines is to be received on their authority ; but that without any regard to the authority of the books of Scripture, and their asserted divine origin, each doctrine is to be examined† according to the principles of right reason before it is allowed to be divine. This last was the point in which, from various indications in their writings, the innovators appear to me to have found most difficulty to satisfy themselves and answer their opponents. They allowed, you observe, that there were certain enduring truths in Christianity ; but the difficulty was to settle the exact limits of the theory of accommodation ; and to distinguish clearly between the temporary and the substantial. And this difficulty was increased, because they had not all of them entirely the same views as to the origin of Christianity, and intentions of its Founder. They who held the extreme of the opinions I have just been stating, of course reduced the substantial parts of Christianity to the mere truths of natural religion ;‡ and considered every thing be-

temporary, but local. See Wegscheider, p. 54. note 1. and Häfeli's *Nachgel. Schriften*, edited by Stolz. vol. II. p. 73.

* See Wegscheider, §. 20 and 120. Bertholdt's *Christologia Judæorum*, Præf. p. 15. Ammon. *Opusec.* p. 54. Bährdt. p. 47. not. [F.]

† See the note, p. 461.

‡ See the whole of Tittman's 18th section. Bährdt, p. 31. note. [G] says of the modern Theologians, 'Sunt qui omnes sectas pariter habcant, Christique doctrinam solas rationis veritates, complecti

side, every peculiar and distinguishing doctrine of Christianity, every thing relating to the divinity and person of the Saviour, with all the consequences to be derived from those doctrines, nay, even the supposition* of a divine authority, as mere accommodations to the prejudices and ignorance of the age. Until then, some more especial inquiry into the real nature of the system was made, it was obvious, that there could be no resolution of the question which had led to all these researches ; namely, the use of Scripture, as a source from which the knowledge of religion was to be drawn. For it must appear in two very different lights, if considered as the mere history of a temporary form, or as the source of a religion, a part of which at least, was to be accepted as revelation. The next business, therefore, was to make an accurate inquiry into the nature of Christianity, which was extended to revelation in general, and these philosophers began to examine and criticise the old notion of a revelation ; that is to say, information communicated by the immediate operation of God on the senses, and to doubt whether a revelation in that sense were possible, or rather, whether any possible

statuant. Henke in his 'Lineamenta Inst. fid. Christ.' before quoted, maintains, that all revealed religion will by degrees, pass over into Natural religion. See Tieftrunk.

* See Tittman's Prag. Gesch. p. 216, and the two works to which he refers, viz. 'Versuch über den ursprung der Erkenntniß der Wahrheit und der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1787.' and 'Ausführung des plans und des zwecks Jesu.' vol. II. p. 355. But there is another writer, who held this opinion even more strongly if possible. Schmid in a work called, 'Ueber den geist der Sittenlehre Jesu und Seiner Apostel. [Jena, 1790.]' expressly says, that the spirit of the morality of Christ is only the pure morality of reason ; that its only ground, is the principle of reason, and that Jesus had no other aim than to introduce a religion and morality of the heart and spirit, instead of the Jewish religion, and to erect a moral church ; that every thing else which he taught was not real, but merely as an outward form and clothing, and a means for the first introduction of his doctrine. This

evidence could prove it.* Of course, the farther that Christianity was driven back towards natural religion, the easier it became to lay aside all peculiar and positive notions of a revelation. For if Christianity contains only the truths which reason recognises, and all its positive doctrines are accommodations, there can be no necessity for the immediate interference of the Divinity, as the common sense of any man who knew the wants and requirements of his own age, would enable him to give the necessary and appropriate dress to the system. And in this view, the notion of such an intervention of God (a notion however possessed by every people on God's earth in some shape or other) was pronounced to be the mere childish fancy of a superstitious age, used by the apostles, because existing among the Jews, and by Jesus as the only means of introducing his doctrines. But the impossibility of a revelation was ground entirely untenable, even in the opinion of the most distinguished among infidel writers. Lord Bolingbroke it is, I believe, who expressly says that this extraordinary action of God on the human mind, is no more inconceivable than the ordinary action of mind on body, or body on mind. And no man, when the question is pushed home to him, can be absurd enough to deny, that if God can so communicate with man, he can also show to conviction that such a communication has been held. I merely mention the opinion for the sake of showing that the notions which even the unbeliever rejects, were inculcated by not merely the believers, but some of the teachers of religion in Germany. Afterwards however they seemed to content

is the account at least given of his work in Staüdlin's *Geschichte der Christl. Moral.* p. 739. Schmid's work I cannot procure.

* I must here refer again to Tittman's 18th. section generally. Bahrtdt [p. 16. note T.] says openly of his own party, the Rationalists, 'Dicunt, fieri quidem posse ut Deus veritates communicet, sed ex eo non sequi ut *immediate* id possit nam $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ immediati et supernaturalis nullam esse homini notionem, ergo, etiam certo dici non posse,

themselves with denying the necessity of a revelation. And they were here encouraged, with respect to the Christian revelation in particular, by an imaginary victory which they gained. The elder divines of their church, seeing

utrum fieri possit an non. Deinde mysteriorum revelationem ideo repugnantem putant, quia mysteria sunt meræ formulæ, quæ ut formulæ quidem [per sonos a Deo prolatos] sed non ut objecta cogitationum communicari possunt.' Again in the next note, he says, that divine wisdom could not use any means which have not sure and certain marks of distinction from fraudulent or fanatical opinions; but immediate revelations have not such distinctions; therefore no immediate revelation can come from God. See again, Reimarus 'Unmöglichkeit ein. offenbar. die alle Menschen—glauben können.' in Lessing's Beiträge aus der Wolfenb. Biblioth. Part IV. Henke's Lineamenta Inst. fid. Christ. [2d ed. 1795.] p. 37, and N. Mag. vol. I. Part III. Herder [vom Geiste des Christenthums, p. 311.] says, that all ages have revelations, and that the setting the truth in a clearer light, is a revelation. Daub again, [in his Theologumena, Heidelb. 1806. p. 327.] asserts the constant instruction of mankind from God. I have given these two quotations from Herder and Daub, from Wegscheider, for I cannot procure the works: but I confess I have some doubts whether they represent the opinions of these writers very fairly. See however, Löffler Magaz. für Prediger, vol. VII. Part I. and his Kleine Schriften, vol. II. p. 19. De Wette's Dogmatik der Evang. Luth. Kirche [2d ed. Berlin, 1821.] §. 24. The gist of many of the arguments of the party, is the impossibility of any *proof* of the revelation. No supernatural events (as the orthodox call them) can prove it according to these writers; because no events can be *proved* to be supernatural. This is asserted even by Schleiermacher in the extract given above. And Wegscheider says, that as the improved state of knowledge has explained many things from natural causes formerly supposed supernatural, the fair conclusion is, that all may finally be so explained. And he quotes a very strong declaration to the same purpose, from a writer from whom I should have expected better things, *Plank*, Ueber die Haltbarkeit des historischen beweises für d. Göttlichkeit des Christenthums [Götteng. 1821.] p. 7. See Ammon. Summ. Theol. p. 35, and 'Von dem Ursprunge und der beschaffenheit einer unmittelbar göttlich. Offenbarung.' 1797. Stäudlin's Dogmatik und Dogmen-geschichte, Part I. p. 131. Perhaps one of the most elaborate remarks on the subject, is that in Wegscheider, p. 39. note [B] on chap. i. §. 11. of the Prolegomena.

that it had pleased God to communicate to man a knowledge of his redemption, very impiously in fact, though not in intention, asserted that such a communication was *necessary** to man's salvation—as if the Saviour of the world could not have paid the price of man's sin, without informing man of his own happiness. When it was urged on them that there were in former ages, that there are still, and may be for many ages to come, men on whom the light of the Gospel has never shone, and that God, the holy and the just, will never condemn man for not knowing what it was physically impossible for him to know (an argument which does not in any degree apply to unbelief, where a knowledge of Christianity exists) instead of recognizing their error, they endeavoured to cover it by the doctrine of arbitrary decrees. They forgot that though indeed, as our article says, men cannot be saved by their own sect or profession, that though without the atonement of Christ no flesh could have been saved, yet Scripture never limits, as they would, the extent of that atonement, nor says to what ages, to how many, and in how many different ways the merits of that blessed sacrifice may be applied. Over these errors of some of the early divines it was easy to triumph, and thence to draw inferences as to revelations in general; it was easy to show that in this sense there was no necessity for revelation, or in other words, that God could save man without informing man that he was saved; but the argument was most dishonest, and was built entirely on the ambiguous use of the word *necessity*; for the

* See Bahrdt, p. 17. Tittman, p. 217. These citations are however, almost unnecessary. The opinion will be found in the works of all orthodox writers. On the other side, see Töllner Beweis, dass Gött. die Menschen durch Seine offenbarung in der Natur, zur Seligkeit führe, ch. i. p. 37. [1766.] and Eberhard's great work, the Neue Apologie des Sokrates. [3d ed. at Berlin in 2 vol. 1783.]—as to what is said afterwards on arbitrary decrees, see Ernesti Vindiciæ Arb. Divin.

German divines never touched the real question, never disproved the necessity of revelation in the proper sense of the word. They asserted indeed strongly with the infidel, but they never disproved, they never could disprove in the face of truth and reason, that unless God sends light to enlighten man, he has no natural power effectually to overcome the evil which reigns within him, or to escape from the gross and polluting darkness of ignorance, sensuality and sin ; and they never disproved that with the probability that God desires to correct and improve his creatures, and so to make them happy, there arises a corresponding necessity for a revelation from him. With the dishonesty of the infidel they borrow from Christianity, they assert that all they possess comes from the light of nature, and thence alone they deduce their inference that a revelation is not necessary. Some of them indeed assert that a revelation, so far from being necessary, would at best be only one of a chain of means used by providence at a particular time for the gradual education of mankind. Such a notion supposed many steps* at each of which Providence would supply the means necessary, for higher knowledge—the instruction communicated from one nation to others would be such a means ; it might therefore be called a revelation, and in future times, as necessity arose, there might arise more such revelations. Providence was so far concerned in the business, as through natural causes to bring about this communication of instruction, to provide, that is to say, by the mediate agency of the various relations of individuals and nations, that the truths of natural religion should be sent from those who had them, to those who had them not, but no farther than this—no immediate agency was supposed in any case of revelation, but

* The two principal works are Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, and Rosenmüller *Ueber die Stufenfolge der Göttlichen Offenbarungen*, 1789. See Tittman, p. 220.

was held to be neither conceivable nor credible. These notions of revelation in general, were applied of course to Christianity in particular, its origin and nature. The historical grounds for its divine origin being rejected as mere temporary delusion, some new proof of the divinity of the religion was to be found, or the point was to be given up. And it was given up when the truth and divinity of Christianity were considered as synonymous, and it was considered as a revelation only because all that is good and true comes from God.* It is this idle equivocation which enabled these writers to keep up appearances, and retain the terms and phrases used by Christian writers, while in fact many of them laid aside all that is peculiar to Christianity, and considered it only as natural religion; and as all that was left in it after their operations was still good and true, still held that it is so far divine. When it was urged on them, that, even if the Jews be said to have mistaken between natural and supernatural, Christ absolutely asserts the immediate divine origin of his doctrine, that the apostles positively distinguish between the truths of natural religion and revelation, and that the notion of an immediate agency is the very groundwork of the whole narrative of the origin and first history of Christianity and of its Founder, all this was answered by the never failing hypothesis of accommodation: when the prophecies of the Old Testament were cited, then appeal was made to the interpreters on the

* See Eckermann's *Theologische Beiträge*, vol. II. p. 2. Tittman, p. 225.

† Ammon. [*Summa Theol.* §. 13.] says, that leaving to philosophers to decide, whether the gift of prophecy be possible or not, it is quite clear, that Christ himself directly renounces the power [*Matt.* xxiv. 36. *Acts* i. 7.] and that therefore there are no prophecies of his in the New Testament,* that prophecies are recorded in the Bible, as ut-

* He seems in the note to except *Matt.* xii. 40. xvii. 22. xx. 19. *Luke* xiii. 30. But surely one is sufficient to overturn his argument.

new plan, who asserted constantly that there were no prophecies to be found, or (what perhaps was stranger still) that

tered by men of doubtful character,* as in Numb. xxii. 5. 1 Kings xxii. 22. 2 Chron. xviii. 13. that many are obscure, and never were fulfilled,† that others seem to have been made after the event,‡ that all are reckoned obscure and imperfect, by the apostles themselves. As these accusations apply, he says, to almost all the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, it must be confessed, that the argument from prophecies needs whatever excuse it can find, both in the delirium of the prophets who were transported out of their senses, [John xi. 31. 2. Pet. i. 21.] the double sense in which they are quoted in the New Testament. [Matt. ii. 23. Rom. x. 18.] and the remarkable variety of interpretation. Ammon and Wegscheider further say, that Jesus in Matt. xi. 11, Luke vii. 23, spoke in terms of contempt of the Hebrew prophets, which is quite untrue. Wegscheider adds, that prophecies would favour fatalism; that there are no prophecies properly so called, or sufficiently clear in either Testament; and that of Christ as to the destruction of Jerusalem is not announced with sufficient clearness; that Jesus followed the style of interpretation found in the Talmudic and Rabbinical writing, and transferred many things in the Old Testament, referring really to future changes in the state of the Jews, to himself, as they seemed to apply, and he might thus use their ideas of a Messiah, to further his own notions of founding the Messiah's spiritual kingdom. Eichhorn in his book, called *Die Hebräischen Propheten* [in 3 vols. 8vo Göttingen, 1816—1819.] has attempted to show, that the prophecies in the

* Wegscheider, (p. 178.) adds Num. xxii. 5. 1 Sam. xv. 32. Jonah i. 3. iv. 1. John xi. 51. The persons here mentioned, are reckoned unworthy of God's assistance, as if we were to judge what means God ought to pursue, or what agents it is proper for him to employ.

† Wegscheider refers to Isai. xxix. 34. lxiii. 55. Dan. ii. 7. Hos. ix. 3. xi. 5. Ezek. xl, and following. Luke i. 32, 33. Acts ii. 30. Matt. xxvi. 32. comp. Acts i. 4, and other places.

‡ Wegscheider repeats this charge very offensively, and cites Gen. xxv. 23. xxvii. 27. xxix. 39. xl. 49. Numb. xxiv. 17. Deut. xxxiii. He too (as indeed does also Ammon) says there are others altered from their real meaning, and explained differently, so as to apply to some event which took place, as Dan. ix. 34. Ps. xvi. comp. Acts ii. 29, Ps. xxii. 17. comp. John xix. 23. Isai. liii. Matt. xii. 40.

there was nothing in the Old Testament clear enough to

books of the old Testament, generally merely give a poetical dress to affairs carried on in the prophet's or the poet's lifetime. They who are curious to see more on this subject, may refer to Eckermann's *Theol. Beiträge*, vol. I. and II.* and to a paper by Zeigler in Henke's *Mag.* I. 1. and also to the same work, I. p. 561. to Gesenius *Commentar über den Jesaja I. 328.* to Ammon's *Bibl. Theol.* II. 1—240. to his *Ausführl. Unterr.* p. 140. to Scherer's *Ausf. Erklärung der Samml. Weissag. der N. T.* Leipsic. 1803. In speaking of Christ's prophecy of his own resurrection, Paulus devotes seven pages of his commentary to prove that Christ never meant any such prophecy. [vol. II. p. 564—571.] His first proof is that the apostles did not understand it so, as is clear from the women's seeking to embalm him, and the apostles themselves not believing the story of his resurrection at first. Then he argues (from *Matt. xxvi. 29.* *Mark xiv. 25.* *Luke xxii. 18.*) that Christ had no notion of returning *shortly*—and that he would not have thought it necessary to cheer his disciples as he did before his death, if he could have prophesied that in three days he should join them again. All the promises of meeting again with the apostles, Paulus refers merely to meeting in a future life. Wegscheider adds, that Christ, though he reproaches his disciples with their want of faith, does not allude to any distrust of a prophecy of his; and that the phrase *three days* is often used of what will soon happen, as in *Cic. Epist. ad Qu. frat. I. 4.* See also Paulus *Meletem. ad Hist. de Res. Mortuorum.* Jena, 1796. Herder's *Erlöser der Menschen* (Riga, 1794.) p. 76. Eichhorn's *Allgem. Biblioth.* vol. VII. Part VI. [1797] p. 1039. It is painful to find such passages as the following in the works of Schleiermacher, 'Es kann niemals befriedigend nachgewiesen werden, dass jene Propheten Christus, so wie er wirklich gewesen, und das Christenthum, so wie es sich wirklich entwickelt hat, vorhergesagt haben, und somit verschwindet in diesen

* Eckermann fairly says, that he cannot find a single prophecy in the Old Testament, which clearly refers to Christ; and that every one commonly referred to the Messiah is of doubtful interpretation! Döderlein *Instit. Theol. Christ.* II p. 231. tells us, that many recent Theologians have coincided, in this opinion, and he quotes Ammon's *Entwurf einer Christologie A. T.* (Erlangen, 1794.) Konynenburg's *Untersuch. über die Weissag.* 1795 Bauer's *Theologie des A. T.* [Leips. 1796] p. 366, and others. Add Bahrdt's *System. Theol. Luth.* p. 48. note G. Döderlein is himself inclined to reject a great many of the prophecies, but does not go these lengths. His whole section [§. 228. p. 215—228.] is worth reading.

argue from, without danger of arbitrary conclusions,* until the notion of an immediate agency was established on other grounds. They appear to me indeed to wish to imply with Hume, that no evidence could establish a prophecy. Some however adopted a different method, and went so far as to attack the whole body of the prophets as impostors in the most outrageous and revolting terms.† With respect to the

hinsicht der bestimmte Unterschied zwischen Weissagung und unbestimmter Ahnung. Bahrtdt (ubi supra) tells us, that the prophets were good and wise men, who opposed the superstitious notions of the ages in which they lived, and defended the doctrine of nature, afterwards renewed by Christ, against superstition. Bauer [in his ed. of Glass. Phil. Sacr. vol. II. §. 2. Part. I. §. 3 p. 259.] says, that all interpreters err by introducing Christian doctrines into the prophetic and poetical parts of the Old Testament, and afterwards [p. 401, sq. §. 95. and 96.] expressly states, that the prophets only were inspired according to the notion that all sudden movements of the mind come from God, and that the words attributed to him, are only to be reckoned as the thoughts arising spontaneously in the prophet's mind.

* Tittman says [p. 228.] Die exegeten sehienen, wenn sie auch nicht interesse dabey hatten, in den Weissagungen des A. T. keine Weissagungen zu finden, doch so viel nur erinnern zu müssen, dass man nicht ohne gefahr willkürlicher Schlüsse aus jenen Weissagungen eine folge ziehen könne, welche nur dann nöthigend seyn würde wenn man dabey eine unmittelbare göttliche einwirkung nothwendig annehmen müsste. So Bahrtdt Syst. Theol. Luth. Orth. p. 145. note [O] At omnem a Veteri Test. Christi et filii Dei mentionem alienam esse, ipsique per interpretationes arbitrarias modo illatam esse, viri hodie doctissimi eensent.¹

† There is a book by Seherer, already quoted, called Ausführliche Erklärungen der sammtliche Weissagungen, published at Leipsic in 1803. of which an account and high encomium is given in the Allgem. Teutsch. Bibl. vol. LXIX. p. 223. where this is asserted directly and in the strongest terms, and it is added, that faith in these deceivers is the cause of there being no real faith in the world. But there is a book called Moses and Jesus, by Buchholz, published at Berlin in 1803. in which Moses especially is abused, and accused first of deceit. and then of terrorism.

miracles,* when they were urged as proofs of immediate

* I adopt the 17th section of Ammon's *Summa Theol.* as the groundwork of what I have to say on this topic. 'There were afterwards theologians, who in opposition to this opinion, [that is, the importance of miracles as an argument] said, that God ruled the world, which he had made, by a true and very great miracle, with an unchangeable will, and that therefore on account of his very great wisdom* the irrevocable laws of nature could not change.' Ammon

* I must desire pardon if I translate inaccurately, but the fact is, that Ammon, Wegscheider, and some others of the same school, are so loose and careless in their Latin compositions, nay, frequently, so ungrammatical, that it is not always easy to do more than get at their general meaning. How ardently is it to be desired, that the character of divine and philologer was not so often separated as it is, in Germany, but that men would remember, that they who can best interpret other books, can best interpret Scripture also, that they would study Ernesti's works, and tread in his steps. I believe I am correct in saying, that Schliermacher is almost the only divine in Germany, who is likewise a great scholar. Paulus and the rest of the party are learned men, if learning consists in reading, and in the congestion of materials, but they are not scholars, nor critics, not able to apply what they have collected, nor to choose what ought to be collected. It is a proud boast of the English church, that a very large portion of the great scholars of England, have been divines, and that most of her great divines have been great scholars too. And to this circumstance must be imputed the *soundness* of interpretation for which English divinity is honourably remarkable. Need I cite the names of Pearson, and Stillingfleet, and Bentley, and Lowth, and Toup, in past times, or observe, that except Porson, every scholar of recent times, worthy of the name, was or is, in holy orders? Would to God there were more of them, and that some portion of that English energy and talents in other walks of life, which is now directed to what is tangible in every sense, to what holds out the hope of immediate reward, were again as in former days, devoted to studies and acquirements, which must indeed often be their own reward to the possessor, but which have formed the minds of some of the greatest ornaments and blessings to mankind. Would to God, the healthful and wholesome studies of classical literature were generally cultivated again in England, as they are in Germany—our universities indeed do all they can for this excellent purpose, and are daily holding out stronger excitements to this class of studies, but they are not backed by the voice of the country. Nay, the tone of things is entirely in opposition to them. To science alone, is the great mass of the nation devoted; as holding out the readiest means of increasing our riches, and luxuries, and conveniencies, and as offering the most certain rewards to its votaries. Whether it does more than this, whether, at least, when exclusively pursued, it has any tendency really to enlarge the mind, and to render it more capable of intellectual and moral truth, is a very different question. If Le Maistre's reproach against

here refers to his own *Theologische Abhandlungen*, Part II. p. 157. Göttingen, 1799. *Aufhellungen neuerer Göttesgelehr.* I. p. 540. Eckermann's *Handbuch*, 439. I would add Döderlein [*Iust. Theol. Christ.*] v. 9, 10. particularly p. 27. 'Then came the philosophers, who denied that a supernatural event could be known by any man, by experience, and plainly taught, that the eternal moral order of things could not be disturbed by such a notion, without superstition. Historical and critical writers. showed that there was not evidence for the greater part of miracles, and that facts contrary to nature were not mentioned in Scripture [Matt. xvi. 1.]' Here he refers to his own *Theolog. Bibl.* II. p. 342 (2d. ed.) 'Interpreters proved that faith was not nourished, but rather damped by miracles [Matt. xvi. 23. John vi. 2 30 xi. 46.] for the truth of the doctrine is superior to the authority of the miracle, and that is to be shown by internal arguments, and proved, before we can safely judge of the miracle. We therefore think, that the Biblical doctrine, as to miracles, viz. that they were events to excite wonder, is the right one, and look on them, after Christ. [John xiv. 11.] not as primary arguments, but subsidiary means of knowing the truth. For experience shows, that the faith of novices is easily built upon the miracles of Scripture, which bespeak a particular providence.' That our Saviour attributed little to the evidence of miracles is *attempted* to be shown by Nitzsch in a thesis. 'Quantum Christus tribuerit miraculis.' Wittenberg, 1726, by Eckerman *Theol. Beitr.* V. 2. and by Paulus in the *N. Theol. Journal*, IX 342. Wegscheider tells us (with many others whom I have quoted above on the words 'whether a revelation be possible,) that we have no means for knowing what are real miracles—that all barbarous people fill their history with prodigies [see Anton *Comparatio Librorum SS. Vct. Fæd. et Scrip. profan. Græc. Latinorumque eum in finem instituta, ut similitudo que inter utrosque deprehenditur, clarius apparent.* Gosl. 1816—21. Part IV. Kaiser *Bibl. Theol.* I. 189. Herder *Christl. Schrift.* II. 96. and especially Bauer's edition of *Glass. Philol. Sacr.* vol. II. Part II. p. 261.]—that in some cases the historians mix facts and reasonings (see Gurlit: *Oratio de usu librorum SS. ad humanitatem &c. excolendam.* Hamb. 1803. Krummacher *Ueber den Geist und die form der Evang. Geschichte.* Leips. 1805. p. 81. *Briefe über d. Rationalismus* p. 338, 343, 355.)—that they follow traditions [as for instance, those of the creation, the nativity of Christ, and some circumstances of his death]

England be true, that its legislature, and its brightest geniuses, have not an object or care beyond the temporal comfort of their countrymen, heavy indeed is their responsibility.

and relate mythi—or again, relate events not at all contrary to the common course of nature [Exod. xv. 25. See Michaelis Orient. Bibl. vol. V. p. 61. Exod. xiii. 21. comp. Curt. Ruf. V. 2. De Wette Kritik der Israel. Geschichte, I, 206. Exod. xvi. Judg. xv. 15. comp. Joseph. Ant. V. 10. Matt. ix. 18—26. Luke viii. 27—35. Mark viii. 22. John i. 50. ix. 6, 7. Briefe über den Rationalismus, p. 215.] Again the writers confess, that the truth of the doctrine does not depend on the miracle, [Deut. xvii. 1. Matt. xii. 27. Luke ix. 49. Gal. i. 8. et al.] but must be proved before we can judge of the miracle; and it is clear, that these wonders [as those of curing the sick] which even Jesus confesses could be worked by his countrymen [Luke xi. 19. John xiv. 12.] had no effect on the people, but rather increased their disbelief [Matt. xvi. 1. xxi. 23. et al.] from which even the apostles were not free; [Luke xxiv. 21;] and it cannot be thought they could produce any stronger effects in after ages, than on these spectators. Christ himself also entirely rejected all faith which depended on miracles (Matt. xii. 39. et al. . And such a belief is extremely unfavourable to virtue, and breaks the sanctity of the moral law [see Kant Religion innerhalb d. gränz. d. bl. Vernunft p. 116.] Hence, like Ammon, Wegscheider adopts what he calls the Biblical notion, and considers miracles as striking events to catch attention, which, as we cannot now doubt, however a barbarous age might, proceed from the established order of things. Their practical use was for the novices and the ignorant, to induce them to learn the truth, and they were not intended as arguments. Indeed, Schleiermacher himself [I. §. 20. p. 116.] on this last point seems to agree with Wegscheider. ‘Die wunder, im engern sinne d. h. Erscheinungen im Gebiet der Natur, welche aber nicht auf natürliche Weise sollen bewirkt werden seyn, können an und für sich gar keinen beweis liefern.’ So Bretschneider Handbuch der Dogmat. I. 87. See Herder Christl. Schrift. II. 259. Niemeyer Briefe an Christl. Religionslehrer I. 208. Greiling Das Leben Jesu von Nazareth. p. 157. De miraculis Enchiridion a Philosopho Theologis exhibitum. Zwickau, 1805. Ammon. Nov. Opusc. p. 173.

To show that the miracles can be explained as mere natural events, there is a book by Eck, called Versuch die Wundergeschichten des N. T. natürlich zu erklären [Berlin, 1795.] See also Paulus's IVth vol. and Bretschneider's Syst. Entwicklung der Dogmat. begriff. p. 246. Bauer's Hebr. Mythologie des A. und. N. Test. and Kaiser Bibl. Theol. I. 195.

I. G. Rosenmüller in his Beweis der Wahrheit der Christl. Religion, p. 35. says, that miracles have lost all their force as proofs; and Thies the translator of the New Testament says, that neither

agency, by some they were said to be that mythology*

the conversion of St. Paul, nor the ascension of Christ, will now make converts, for as the sphere of nature enlarges, miracles vanish. On the conversion of St. Paul, see Bretschneider Handbuch der Dogmat. I. 191. Wegscheider [p. 175.] says, that the story is so told, that we can make nothing of it; and that we must remember, that St. Paul was much inclined to visions and ecstasies. And as to the ascension of Christ, Wegscheider has written expressly to prove it a mythus, in the Allgem. Lit. Zeit. 1812. N. 53. See also Kaiser Bibl. Theol. I. p. 260. Wegscheider, [p. 365] says that *though Christ seemed to the standers-by to expire, yet, after a few hours, being given up to the sedulous care of his friends, he returned to life on the third day.* See De Wette Bibl. Dogmat. 253. One person called Brennecke, has written a book to show, that Christ lived twenty-seven years on earth after his ascension. This book, which went through two editions at Lunenburg in 1819, is mentioned both by Hohenegger and Wegscheider; but I have not seen it, and cannot imagine the line of argument pursued. Wegscheider says it is entirely exegetical but contemptible. A list of the writers against it is given in Bretschn. Handb. d. Dogmat. II. p. 212. and there is a treatise by Weber called, Gift und Gegengift [Hall. 1820.]

* A splendid specimen of what can be said on this point, may be found in a little book, called 'Vindiciæ Sacr. N. T. Scripturarum, oppugnatarum ab iis, quibus Myths et Prodigia offensionis sunt,' published at Helmstadt last year, avowedly by a Lutheran; and from internal evidence, by a minister of that persuasion [p. 15.] Its professed object is to vindicate Scripture from the suspicions of those who are offended at miracles; and the method pursued is the arguing, that every religion must have a mythology, and that the history of Christ and the miracles are the mythology by which the salutary moral truths of Christianity are recommended to those who would not have received them without this dress. The author begins with the usual positions, that we must judge of ancient writers according to the spirit of their age, as they must lend themselves to the barbarous notions of the times in which they lived; that every religion must have attractions, and that in Scripture, the strange things we find are put in for that purpose; that although we had better leave things as they are for the vulgar, who must have something external to rely on, yet divines should examine and find out the truth; that we see in every religion many myths, *of the generations, incarnations,*

which must attend every religion to gain the attention of the multitude ; by some, the common and well-known ar-

*and apparitions of the gods**—and that they who call Mahomet an impostor, and Zoroaster mad, who laugh at the story of Buddha's generation from a virgin, who conceived him by a rainbow, or at Mahomet's discourses with Gabriel, &c. should not be angry if people examine the stories of Enoch, Moses, Samson, &c. or put the greatest part of what is related of Jesus and the apostles into the class of fables ; that the real religion of Christ is rational ; but that when he found that men could not be driven from their vices otherwise, he began to assume a supernatural authority, and play the part of a prophet—and afterwards took up that of the Messiah. because some of his admirers thought he must be the person. In chap. xvii. he inquires whether these last doctrines are really true, and whether Jesus had persuaded himself that he was endowed with supernatural powers ; or only took up the character from prudential reasons ! Strange to tell (after what he had said before) he decides that it was most probable Jesus had deceived himself, and was really persuaded himself, that he did possess supernatural powers ; and that he was thus an enthusiast in the best sense. He then tells us [chap. xxvi.] that the Christians were obliged to elevate their founder's condition, by wonderful stories, and proceeds to examine them. The first mythus is that concerning John the Baptist, who, he tells us, certainly existed. But he disbelieves all that Luke tells us, that John was related to Christ, or of the same age. It is most likely, he says, that John was older, but that, 'as it was not known who were his rela-

* The history of the creation is a mythus, ; and very like the mythi of other ancient nations, says Wegscheider (p. 283.) but whether it is a philosophical or historical mythus, authors doubt. See Eichhorn *Urgeschichte*, [by Gabler] Nurnberg, 1799—1795. Bauer's *Theol. d. A. T.* p. 138. Pott. *Moses und David Keinen Geologen.* Berlin, 5709. De Wette *Kritik d. Israel. Geschichte* [1807. p. 27.] Gesenius in *Ersch et Gruber's Allgem. Encyklop.* Article Adam. I p. 558. The mode of creation, history of Paradise, and of God teaching Adam and Eve, are mythi ; and it is as absurd to inquire into the site of Paradise, as that of the garden of the Hesperides. See Wegsch. p. 292, and 294. On the improbability of mankind springing from one pair, see Ballenstedt's *Urwelt*, Part III. p. 41. Ammon's *Bibl. Theol.* I. p. 282. Meiners's *Untersuchungen uber die Verschiedenheit der Menschennaturen.* Tübingen, 1811. Appearances of angels are mythi. Eckermann *Comp. Theol. Christ.* 87. *Städlin Dogmat. und Dogmengesch.* p. 230. Ammon *Summ. Theol.* p. 138. See also Schleierm. *Christl. Glaub.* I. §. 54. The Fall, the Tree of Knowledge, the Serpent, &c. show a mythus, Wegsch. p. 350.

guments and ribaldry of the infidel were unsparingly used : by one or more, high in station in the church, some artifice

tions, or how old he was, but simply that there was such a person, there was an opportunity for this mythus ; and then he considers the different mythi of Christ's birth,* the advent of the magi, the baptism, temptation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ.† On the resurrection of Christ, the writer says, that though there are

* This is constantly referred to the fancies of a barbarous age and people, and many instances are given by those writers on the side of similar stories in other nations. The Egyptian notions of Apis—the Hindoo of Buddha—the incarnation of Vishnu. See Wegsch. p. 273. Schmidt. Bibliothek für Kritik und Exeg. d. N. T. vol. I Part I. and II. Henke's Mag. V. p. 146. N. Mag. III. 365. V. 91. Stäudlin Dogmatik und Dogmengesch. p. 295. Greilling, Das Leben Jesu. v. Nazareth, p. 24.

† It may be said, that I ought not to appeal to such an ignorant, vulgar, and rash writer, as the author of this tract ; but though he is more violent and more hardy than others, I can see no difference in the principles of many of the writers of this school and his. I would refer to Bauer's long dissertation on the mythi in the Old Testament, at the end of his and Dathe's edition of Glass's Philologia Sacra, a book in every one's hands, where he gets rid of all that is important in the Old Testament, either in history, or prophecy—to Wegscheider's 42d section, where every thing of a supernatural kind is put on one side, by the same means—to Gabler's edition of Eichhorn's Urgeschichte, [1791] II. p. 481.—to Meyer's Hermeneutica Sacra, Vel. Test. (Lubec. 1800) II. §. 215. and a variety of other works. But without appealing to general *declarations*, they who run through any of these works, Wegscheider's for example, will see that this is the *practical* principle on which all is explained, that the miraculous birth of Christ (p. 372.) is treated by these writers, as the fancy of a later age ; that the descent into hell (for which they refer to the spurious gospel of Nicodemus) is considered as a mythus, derived from the notion, that Christ is the Saviour of all, and therefore of the dead, [see De Wette's Bibl. Dogm. 258. Bertholdt. Christol. Jud. §. 34.] and so of every doctrine relating to Christ's person. See Wegscheider especially, pp. 387. 393. Perhaps I could hardly appeal to a stronger passage than one in Bertholdt's Kritisch. Journ. der neuest. Theol. Litt. vol. V. Part III. where the writer says, that Christian mythology must be explained from its analogy with all the politics and religions of antiquity ; that profane and sacred Mythology are as like each other, as two eggs ; [I ought to say, that my extract was made some time ago, and that I cannot now verify it, the phrase is so vulgar, and the assertion so indecent, that I hope I may have erred] ; that Christ must be put in the category of Hercules, the Dioscuri, Romulus and Alexander, and that we can thus get rid of many difficulties in the New Testament, and of whatever is *offensive* in the life of Jesus.

doubts and difficulties, and though the apostles constantly assert its truth, the probable story is, that the followers of Jesus enraged at his death, gave it out, that being taken from the power of the wicked he lived with God, and enjoyed the reward of his virtue—and they represented this life of their Master to themselves and others, in the most glowing colours, and so by degrees, said that he was still living, raised from the dead, and rewarded—that then all the facts were told and believed, and that it was not easy to contradict them, or examine their story (p. 127.) Now Paulus tells us fairly, in his commentary (III. p. 810.) that Christ did not really die, but suffered a fainting fit. It appears from Döderlein, (Inst. Theol. Christ. II. p. 277. §. 241.) who strongly defends the truth of the doctrine, that Bahrdt, (I suppose in his *Ausführung des plans und Zwecks Jesu*, a book I cannot procure,) supposes, that Christ really retreated after his supposed death, to some place, known only to his disciples. Semler (*Beantwortung d. fragmente eines ungenannten*, 2d ed. Hall. 1780.) in answer to Reimarus, who in *Lessing's Beiträge aus den Schätzen der Wolfenb. Bibl.*, in the fifth of the celebrated fragments, [*Wolfenb. 1777.*] had denied the truth of the resurrection, says, that it is a poetic mythus to be received in some moral or allegorical sense. See Eberhard's remarks on this, in his *Geist des Urchristenthums* III. [Halle, 1808.] p. 122. Kaiser [*Bibl. Theol. I. 253.*] has, according to Wegscheider, a different theory, that it is an historico-poetical mythus, made up 'e rebus in facto positis, quæ pro visionibus et revelationibus habitæ fuerunt.' I do not fully understand this expression, or at least, I do not see how it can apply to the resurrection. It is not easy to tell Wegscheider's own opinion. In p. 391. he seems to support the common sense of the question, that if the apostles had not seen Christ really restored from the dead, they would not have believed it as firmly as we see they did; but in p. 390. he tells us, that the whole hinge of the business turns on separating the facts, and the method in which the witnesses judged of those facts, and that if this be done, although the miraculous part of the history vanishes, Christ's return to life is not taken away. but when stripped of its mythic dress, still may be piously received as a signal proof that Providence protected Christianity. He then argues, that the truth of the religion does not depend on this fact; nay, that it cannot depend on any fact known only to a few people, and by them clothed with the appearance of a miracle, but on the agreement of its principles with right reason; and that moreover Christ himself afterwards did not build his doctrine on it. There is a passage in *Schröckh* which states all these proceedings so well, that I cannot but extract it. It is in vol. VIII. p. 630. 'Inspiration,' says he, 'was

and probably magnetism* has been even within the last ten years suggested; from the less daring, however, the answer was always either that it was impossible that there should have been a miracle under such circumstances. or that even allowing Christ to have had the power of working miracles, it was highly improbable that in the particular case alleged, he would have judged it right to exert it; and secondly, the words were examined, and by every possible distortion, they were forced into any meaning but their own. No language can describe the disgust with which page after page of the commentaries on Scripture, by this party, is turned over, and page after page supplies fresh instances of the defiance of every law, of thought, of sense, of language, and of truth. I dare not justify† my accusation by the adduction of instances, for the very detail of

given up—interpolations in Scripture were believed to exist. In the oldest, and partly in more recent history, instead of historical facts, these writers saw only allegories, myths, philosophical principles, and national history. Where appearances of God, and the angels, or their immediate agency are related, nothing was seen but Jewish images or dreams. Every thing miraculous was explained from natural causes, even the miracles of Jesus. Instead of prophecies fulfilled, all which established any connexion between the Old and New Testament, was said to be mere accommodation. The Old was degraded in comparison with the New, and all the doctrines of the New were not reckoned of equal value. The explanation of all biblical books was pursued on new principles. The Song of Solomon was not mystical. The Revelations contained no prophecy of the fortunes of the church.'

* This is the amiable fancy of Jacobi in his *Geschichte Jesu für denkende und Gemüthvolle Lesern*, published at Gotha in 1816; and of Richter in his *Christenthum und die ältesten Religion des Orients*. At least, Hohenegger gives extracts from their works to this effect; the works themselves I cannot procure.

† What could not be permitted in the pulpit, is necessary here. But I think that *much* cannot be required; and selection is not needed, for the same disgusting matter offers itself at every page. Paulus [Kommentar II. p. 658.] gives a dissertation on the miracle of the tribute money and the fish. 'What sort of a miracle is it,' says Paulus, 'which is commonly found here? I will not say a miracle of

their ludicrous absurdity would be a violation of the respect due to the place where I stand ; but I would refer to

about 16 or 20 groschen, [2s. 6d.] for the greatness of the value does not make the greatness of the miracle—But it may be observed [I.] That as [1] Jesus received in general support from many persons, [Judas kept the stock, John xii. 6.] in the same way as the Rabbis frequently lived from such donations ; as [2] so many pious women provided for the wants of Jesus ; as [3] finally the claim did not occur at any remote place, but at C apernaum, where Christ had friends, a miracle for about a dollar would certainly have been superfluous. But [II.] it would not only have been superfluous and paltry,—it would have taught this principle, that Peter, even when he could have remedied his necessities easily in other ways, might and ought to reckon on a miraculous interference of the Deity, a notion which would entirely contradict the fundamental principle of Jesus on the interference of the Deity. Matt. iv. 7. If then we cannot think of a miracle here without ascribing a very improper maxim to Jesus, the bare philological possibility of so translating the words as to bring in a miracle, cannot be deemed sufficient authority for the reception of a sense, through which the reproach of a maxim, theologically and morally improper, and reprobated by himself in other places, must fall on the character of Jesus. And much more must not such a translation be allowed, when it is not to be considered as the only possible one. We should never accept a miraculous sense, if it is only the *possible*, not the *necessary* one. A miraculous explanation of an effect [I will say its explanation in any other than a natural way] always presupposes a proof that an explanation, not miraculous, is entirely impossible' There is a great deal more of this, after which Paulus considers the narration, and shows that there is nothing of a miraculous appearance in it ; for that if there had been a miracle, 'the fiery Peter would not have been cold-blooded at such a miracle,' but would have expressed himself as in Luke v. 3. ; that in the whole aim and tone of the narration there is no appearance of any wondering ; that Christ only meant to give a moral lesson, viz. by that we are not, if we can avoid it, by trifling sacrifices, to give offence to our brethren ; that he probably reasoned thus with Peter ; 'Though there is no real occasion for us to pay the tribute, yet as we may be reckoned as enemies of the temple, and not attended to when we wish to teach what is good, why should not you who are a fisherman, [especially at a place where Peter had been engaged in a fishery for two years] and can easily do it, go and get enough to pay the demand? Go then

any of these commentators, to Hezel for example, or Augusti, or Eckermann, or as an extreme instance, to those of Paulus, a professor of theology, and in them I would

to the sea, cast your hook, and take up *πρῶτον ἰχθῦν*, the first and best fish. Peter was not to stay longer at his work this time than to gain the required money; *πρῶτος* often refers not to number but to time, [as in various passages alleged, *Æsch. Soc. III. 7. Odys. IV. 434.*] and *ἰχθῦν* may *undoubtedly* be taken as a collective. Peter must either have caught so many fish, as would be reckoned worth a stater at Capernaum, [so near to a sea rich in fish] or one so large and fine as would have been valued at that sum! As it was uncertain whether one or more would be necessary, the expression is indefinite, *τὸν ἀναβάσαντα πρῶτον ἰχθῦν*, but it would not be ambiguous to Peter, as the necessity and the event would give it a fixed meaning.—*ἀνοιξας τὸ στόμα.* ‘This opening of the mouth might have different objects, which must be fixed by the context. If the fisherman opens the mouth of a fish, caught with a hook, he does it first to release him from the hook, for if he hangs long, he is less saleable. He soon decays. The circumstantiality in the account is *picturesque.*—‘Take the hook out of his mouth!’ *εὐρήσεις. εὐρίσκειν* is used in Greek in a more extended sense than the German *finden*, [as in *Xen. Æc. XX. 26.* where it is ‘to get by selling.’ *Theoph. Char. XV. 1.*] When such a word is used of saleable articles, like fish, and in a connexion which requires the getting a piece of money, it is clear that getting by *sale* and not by finding is referred to.’ I have not patience to transcribe any more of this, nor the defence of this interpretation against objections. And this from a Professor of Theology! this from a work of which *Kuinöel* says in his Preface, ‘*multorum doctissimorum hominum puncta tulit!*’ and which he perpetually quotes and refers to! A work which is offered for sale with the highest recommendations of some English Journals—the *Critical Review* pronouncing it to be ‘the most important, comprehensively learned, and *critically discriminating* of all Paulus’s works; and the *Classical Journal* assuring us that it is ‘a work of the first order.’

Again in the same volume, p. 300. and following, we have an explanation of one of the miracles of the loaves and fishes, and we are told that there were always large caravans travelling near the time of the feasts, that they always carried plenty of meat and drink on beasts and in baskets, and that it is not according to Eastern hospitality [this is *historical* interpretation] to see your friends near you when you are eating without asking them to join you; that all which

desire no selection of any especial absurdity, but I would venture to say, that the explanation of the first miracle which shall occur will present an example of improbable

Jesus meant by saying they were without food, was that they had not had a *regular* meal, and that therefore he collected them, arranged them in parties, and set those who had food, the example of giving to those who had not any, by doing so himself with the small portion which he had. As long as eating was going on, Christ made the twelve go about with their baskets and give what they had to all who wished for it. The baskets were not entirely emptied, nor was any one left hungry, for if they had, they would have applied to the stock of the Apostles. Jesus, pleased to have done so much with so little, desired them to collect what there was in the different baskets into one.*

The passage [Matt. xiv. 23—36.] in which Jesus is said to have walked on the sea, is decided to be a mere philologic miracle, founded on a mistranslation of *ἐπι*. And it is asked for what reasonable end could Jesus walk himself on the sea, or enable Peter to do so? But Paulus explains the matter. The fact is, he says, that when Christ saw that the wind was against them, he did not wish to sustain the inconvenience of such a voyage, but walked along the shore, and resolved to pass them as the wind was against them. They coasted the shore from the state of the weather, and when they saw him walking on the land, they were frightened, and on their calling out, Christ desired Peter, who as a fisherman was a good swimmer, to swim to shore and ascertain that it was he; Peter ran round to the proper side of the ship and jumped into the sea. When he was frightened by the violence of the waves, Christ, who was standing on the shore, put out his hand and caught him. The boat put to land, and they both got in, &c. &c. There are eighteen pages of this and similar trash, and I see that Kuinæel devotes three or four to a detail of it, though I ought to observe that even he is against Paulus. It is necessary to observe that these writers who wish to make every thing easy and natural, are compelled to resort to the most unnatural and forced explanations, and the most improbable conjectures.† Why the Apostles should have been frightened at

* This is also Ammon's Interpretation. See his Proleg. to Ernesti's Instit. p. 16.

† For instance, in Matt. viii. 30. Some of them tell us, that the wind blew so loudly, that the apostles could not hear what Jesus said; but as the storm went down they concluded he had ordered a calm. In Matt. viii. 28. some say

reasoning, and false and misapplied philology, such as no church, no nation, no age can furnish, except the philoso-

seeing a man walking along the shore, why he should have run round to a different part of the ship. how it is shown that the boat put to shore to take them in, these are all things past by without notice. And besides this, the words περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα in Peter's case are translated 'to swim' without the slightest authority, the passage before that, is thus pointed, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆν θάλασσαν, περιπατοῦντα, ἐταράχθησαν, and translated 'they looked towards him across the sea, going along the sea shore,' [sahen ihn über das see hin, herumgehend am see] though, as Kuinöel observes, no Greek could possibly use ἰδεῖν τινα ἐπὶ τι in such a sense; and the words ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, are translated 'along, near,' I will not say against *all* authority, but in opposition to very far the greatest number of passages. This is enough of Paulus; I see by his note, that a person named Bolte, in his translation of St. Matthew, settles that Jesus swam as well as Peter; and I learn from Kuinöel that in Henke's Neues Mag. VI. Part I. p. 310. it is decided that he forded the shallows. Ammon in his Preface to Ernesti's Institutio, has given a dissertation on miracles, in general, and wipes them away by wholesale. In Matt. iii. 17. it was thunder. In Acts ix. 4. St. Paul was in a transport. In Matt. viii. 3. καθαρῖσαι is to *declare* one pure. In xiv. 23. he explains the passage first 'to walk on the shallows' and then 'to swim,' In John xix. 34. νόσσω is to strike. In Luke xxiv. 40. it is quite clear that the nails were *not* driven through the hands or feet. Some miracles arose from the fancy of the sick, as Luke viii. 40. Act. v. 18. xiii. 12. xvi. 8. xix. 12. Some arise from mistaken opinions or *embellishment on part of the Apostles*. The temptation of Christ is only an exaggerated account of various conflicts of opinions from which he suffered; there were no hot pools of Bethesda in the old Jerusalem; the history of the adulteress as it is in St. John, is contrary to the custom of the Jews; both these must therefore have been dressed up (though the last is certainly genuine) by the composer of this gospel. The story of Ananias and Sapphira was merely an ornamented account of the fact that Ananias died in a meeting of the Apostles, and his wife followed soon after. Let it be observed that the vain and rash man who, without doubt or hesita-

that the swineherds had come to warn Jesus against the dæmoniac, that in their absence, the swine drove each other into the sea, and that Jesus then persuaded the dæmoniac that the devils had gone into them.

phical school of divinity erected in the Protestant church of Germany in the eighteenth century. The extraordinary part of these discussions is, that those who held somewhat sounder opinions, instead of rejecting such a mass of absurdity at once, allowed themselves to be so far at least effected by the outcry of this many worded wisdom, as to retire from the ground of miracles as liable to doubts, and to take their stand on the excellence of Christianity itself. And here, although a few bolder and worse than the rest, pointed their attacks against the character and views of the Saviour,† it is only justice to say that this example was not followed, that on the contrary, many who maintained that Christianity was a mere temporary dispensation, that its end was past, and that it was time to return to natural religion, still did justice to the Founder of this temporary dispensation, and allowed that his end and object was the improvement and melioration of mankind, that his life and character were pure, and holy, and blameless. Here indeed truth was too mighty not to prevail; and though we cannot strictly say of our age, as it has been said of the first ages, that not one of the most violent opponents of Christianity disgraced himself by any imputation on the character of our Saviour, we may still say that such falsehood was by almost all quickly rejected and firmly withstood. A large portion of those moreover who considered Christianity merely as a temporary form, seemed to allow that its form and history might always remain as an useful vehicle to convey the great truths of natural religion to the multitude. Accordingly, during these discussions, we find that they employed themselves in investigating the particular doctrines of Christianity, and giving them if not what

* I refer principally to Lessing and Bahrdd.

tion, proposed this mass of folly and impiety, has had also the sincerity to *confess his shame for it*, and that by God's grace he is now a pious and humble Christian. (See Archives du Christ. for Nov. 1824 p. 493.)

they deemed their true form, a form more free from falsehood. But into this part of the subject we may fortunately be spared from entering. It will be sufficient to say, that they who wish to form a notion of the German method of explaining the doctrines of Scripture, as to the Saviour, the atonement, and all the consequent doctrines, need only turn to the page of Ecclesiastical history for a record of the various heresies of the early ages, and that they will also find a tolerable picture of them in the most extreme notions* of the most violent English Unitarians. These Unitarian opinions were indeed greedily received by those who perhaps did not like to go the full lengths which I have been detailing, and who flattered themselves that in this middle course they still paid due homage to the supremacy of reason, while they still retained somewhat of Christianity. It is curious to observe that the common principle of rejecting every thing above reason, has conducted the learning of the Germans, and the gross ignorance of the English schools to the same point of absurdity.

Before I conclude this sketch, I may mention, though it

* Wegscheider, p. 274. et seq. The Trinity, Incarnation and descent of the Spirit are positively denied, p. 277. and 370-2. Christ was a mere man. The doctrine was not made up or established (p. 275.) for nearly the three first ages, p. 351. The doctrine of the Fall, and of original sin is set aside entirely; one reason is given, which is curious. EXCEPT ST. PAUL, no sacred writer clearly makes mention of it. The references on this section are curious. Bauer's *Mythologie*, d A. u. N. T. p. 90. Hesiod's *Works and days*, v. 59. *Zendavesta* abridged in Kleuker, vol. II. p. 113. and Gesenius, *Art. Adam.* in the *Eneyklop* of Ernst and Gruber, I. p. 360. As to the notions of our redemption, God has always raised men up to repress vice and encourage virtue, as especially Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Zeno, Seneca, Marcus Antoninus, Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet, but among all, the greatest reverence is due to Jesus the Nazarene, &c. &c. pp. 356, 7, and note. In §. 123. p. 383. it is expressly acknowledged that in Scripture, literally understood, there are some grounds [semina] for the orthodox doctrine as to the union of two natures in Christ, yet that as such a doctrine is of no use to the at-

is almost superfluous, that the books of Scripture* have been treated with the most singular freedom by the German innovators. You are already aware how many theo-

tainments of virtue, but rather prejudicial, by diminishing the force of Christ's example; as it contradicts reason, and some other declarations of Scripture, it is better to adopt the other side of the question. P. 389, all the notions of Christ's glorification are either without ground or mythi. In §. 142, all notion of his atonement is renounced. It appears unnecessary to go through the whole of the doctrines usually taught by the orthodox churches, as it is obvious that after these principles, the whole exposition of doctrine is, and must be, Socinian at least.

* The following particulars of the parts of both Testaments, which have been attacked by the German divines, may be convenient though I fear it is defective. Many of them as Vater [Commentar. uber den Pentateuch 3 Parts, 1802—5. vol III. 391.], De Wette (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alt. Test. II. vol. Hall. 1806, 7. Einleitung in die Kanon. und Apokr. Bücher des A. Test. [Berl. 1822.] p 223. Gesenius, (Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift, p. 23, 31, and Commentat. de Pentateuch. Samarit. p. 6. Wegscheider, (Instit. Theol. Christ. p. 113.) and others accede to Aben Ezra's notion of the Pentateuch, not being the work of Moses. Wegscheider says that Eichhorn, Jahn and Rosenmüller, think that the greatest part was the work of Moses. He refers to the New edition of Rosenmüller, which I have not seen; but I would recommend the perusal of Rosenmüller's remarks on the subject in the older edition, to those who wish to form an idea of the *tranchant* method in which this class of German writers treat these questions. In about half a dozen pages, he disposes of the question by assertions and probabilities, in opposition to the undeviating testimony of ages and generations, and the opinion of all the elder divines, with the exception of Simon and Le Clerc, who himself retracted in the more matured exercise of his judgment. Any thing more nugatory than his reasonings, especially his adoption of Astruc's theory of a double document, I never read. See Bishop Blomfield's note, p. 122 of his Dissertation on the Traditional knowledge of a Redeemer, Camb. 1819. These writers do not agree to what age to refer the Pentateuch; some say to Ezra, others to a far earlier age. The notion as to Ezra's age, which Rosenmüller adopts on the ground of the exact *similarity* of the style to Ezra and Nehemiah, is positively rejected, and with contempt, by Döderlein, *on the ground of their difference.*

ries have been set afloat as to the origin of the gospels, and how gladly these theories were hailed as shaking their divinity and their authority. But this was little. While

(*Instit. Theol. Christ. I. p. 132, ch. iii. tom. II. §. 33.*) Döderlein, however, and others, who think it the work of Moses, allow only the Law to be divine. The rest they think made up of myths, family pedigrees, rhapsodies in memory of illustrious men and things, and note books, or memoirs of the religion of the founders of the nation. This they think clear from Numbers xxi. 26, 57, and the diversity of style, &c. See Döderlein *ubi supra*, p. 141. §. 39. and Bauer's edition of Glass's *Philologia Sacra*, tom. II. Sect. 2. p. 367. Generally, the authors of *all* the historical books and of Job, are unknown, (Wegscheider, p. 117.) and they were compiled from public monuments, and acts and memoirs, so that it would be absurd to speak of their being inspired. [Döderlein, p. 142. Bauer, p. 367.] The principal aim of their authors was to insist on the external observation of the Law, and to trace every misfortune to some neglect of it. [Bauer, p. 369.] 'That the historical credit of the books of Chronicles is very doubtful,' says Wegscheider [p. 119.] with great coolness, 'has been lately demonstrated by Gramberg [*Die Chronik nach ihrem Gesch. Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit geprüft.* Hall. 1823.] after De Wette; (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das A. T. I.*) they have been defended by Dahler (*De Libror. Paralip auctor, et fide Histor. Argent. 1819.*')

With regard to the prophecies, it will be seen from Rosenmüller's Proem to the third vol. of his commentary on Isaiah, that he considers that book as made up by one writer out of the minor works, of several, which is also the opinion of Eichhorn. See also Gesenius *Commentar. ueber d. Jesaia*, vol. I. Leips. 1821, and De Wette's *Einleitung*, p. 236. From Rosenmüller also, on ch. ix. of Zechariah, or Bertholdt's *Isagog. Histor. Crit. in Vet. Test. Part IV. p. 1707, No. I.* or De Wette *ubi supra*, p. 337, it appears that many maintain that all of that book after ch. viii. is not the work of Zechariah. Jonah, which Rosenmüller takes to be the mere repetition of the Mythos of Hercules swallowed by the sea monster, he says was not written by Jonah, but by some one who was contemporary with Jeremiah. See *Ros. Part VII. II. p. 359.* I see also by Wegscheider that the book of Daniel is not ascribed to that prophet. He refers to Bertholdt's *Daniel aus dem Hebr. aramaischen neu uebersetzt*, 2 Parts. Erlangen. 1806. The rest of the Prophecies are, I believe, allowed to be the work of those whose names they bear.

some have asserted that the Scriptures have been interpolated, the whole gospel of St. John has been entirely rejected by several of these writers, especially Bretschneider, as the work of a gentile Christian in the second century ;

But many after Eichhorn deny that the Prophet enjoyed any supernatural revelation, and say that they were very clever and experienced men, likely from their abilities to foresee future events, and from their purity of manners used as instruments of Providence to check a guilty age. See Döderlein. I. p. 146. Eichhorn *Einleitung in das A. T.* Part III. In mentioning Eichhorn, I must be allowed to make a few remarks on his Introduction to the Old Testament. It is a work written with the intention of applying the principles, by which Heyne and his school had explained the Greek mythology, sometimes openly and sometimes covertly, to every thing in Hebrew antiquity. It is justly observed (in the *Archives du Christ.* 7th year, No. IX. p. 396, note) that the art and the apparatus of learning used to bring down every thing to a lower level, hide the weak, base, and purely conjectural nature of the materials of the book. In Germany, Jahn, Meyer in his *Hermeneutica*. Kelle, many writers in the magazines of Flatt, Succskind and Bengel, and Gesenius, have attacked almost every one of his positions, and have shown how often he has been the dupe of his imagination, and how frequently he has avoided giving proofs of his opinions. It is singular that in his lectures [see the same work, p. 399.] he has himself confessed that the orthodox interpretations are in perfect conformity with the text.

As to the New Testament, it is not clear that the four Gospels were published quite in their present form, or immediately after the death of Christ. See Schmidt. *Histor. Krit. Einleit. ins. N. T.* (1804. p. 20.) Gieseler *Hist. Krit. Versuch ueb. d. Entstehung, &c. d. Schriftst. Evang.* Leips. 1818. Yet these writers kindly confess that by the use of a sound philological and philosophical criticism, a very trust-worthy history and doctrine of Christ and his Apostles *may* be got out of them (*cruī queat*). But there has been a cloud of pamphlets within a few years against and for the authenticity of St. John's Gospel; Ballenstedt (in a work at Goettingen, 1812, called *Philo und Johannes*), and afterwards Bretschneider [in another called *Probabilia de Evang. et Epistolarum Johannis Apost. indole et origine*, Leips. 1820.] have attacked it. See Paulus's *Heidelberger Jahrbuecher* for 1821. A friend of mine told me he had collected eleven pamphlets on the subject since Bretschneider's attack. Am-

and Eichhorn one of the most celebrated names in the school has pronounced the revelations to be a Drama describing the fall of Judaism and Paganism, while Semler condemned it entirely as the work of a fanatic.

It will perhaps have occurred to some persons in the course of this review of the naturalizing school of Divines in Germany, that such doctrines must have been entirely esoteric ; that they formed merely the subject of discussion among the teachers, but could never be brought forward in their public instructions. But however much one might be inclined to hope that men would at all events have allowed some years of private reflection to pass over their new system before they propounded it in public, that they would not have been wild and wicked enough to bring forward, crude, and undigested, such a direct subversion of every idea which had been held holy and sacred before, that assuredly was not the case. I speak not here of the published dissertations which might be said to be too abstruse for the public—I speak not again merely of the popular treatises, where these doctrines are propounded, though to them the appeal is just and fair—but I assert on the faith of public and recorded, as well as private testimonies, that these doctrines were publicly taught from the pulpit. Nay, I have not seen any contradiction to this from any of the party themselves, except as to the generality of the usage. They allow its frequency, though they attempt to show that the indifference to religion, which they all allow exists in the church, is not imputable to that cause.

mon's fancy is that the author and publisher of this gospel were two different persons, and that the publisher introduced several things into it. [Programma quo docetur Joannem. Evang. auctorem, ab editore hujus libri fuisse diversum. Erlangen, 1811.]

Schleiermacher has attacked the first Epistle to Timothy [ueber d. sogennanten ersten brief des Paulos an den Timoth. Berl. 1807.] Eichhorn has attacked both the first and second, as well as that to Titus, in his Introduction to the New Testament. vol. iii. p. 315.

But this is not all—They allow too, that this wretched mass of abomination was offered to the young in the shape of religious instruction. And the real fact is, that in the *Gymnasia*,* the public instructors detailed to the tender years of childhood all that they could comprehend of it, and the lesson was repeated by the pastor, when according to the custom of the Lutheran church, the young were sent to him previously to the holy rite of Confirmation, to receive from the minister of God's word those solemn lessons which were to prepare them for their first attendance at the Holy Communion of their Saviour's body and blood, and for the busy scenes of worldly temptation on which they were about to enter. The most moderate of all the printed instructions for Confirmation which I have happened to see inculcate pure Unitarianism.† But there are other books for the young, where the attacks on Christianity which I have been detailing to day, were too plainly stated to be misunderstood, and where a virulence truly infamous was shown in raking together all the most distorted views and false representations of the plans and purposes of our Lord and his apostles. And this was the food given to the young heart to feed on—to nourish it up to all the duties, all the aspirations, all the hopes, all the holiness of an immortal being.‡

* Here of course I must appeal only to private testimony, and it may be said that it can only be *partial*. Still I may be allowed to say, that I have heard from many most respectable Germans, that in the schools and gymnasia, which they attended, the miracles were treated with the most entire contempt by the teachers, and epitomes of Scripture on a philosophical plan were introduced.

† Leitfaden bei dem Religionsunterricht der Konfirmanden. Von C. Ch. G. Zerrenner, Prediger der Kirche zum Heil. Geist zu Magdeburg. Leips. 1808. [bei Barth.] The friend who happened to have this by him, told me that he had seen several which went the full lengths of the school, and even treated the resurrection as a fable.

‡ I will give one specimen of a work of this kind. It is from the third Part of an 'Universal History for the Young,' by Becker. I

There are still a few observations and statements, and a few I trust not unimportant inferences to be drawn from them, which I hope to present to you in my next Discourse. I shall conclude with a remark on the main point which

saw the second edition corrected---printed at Berlin in 1806. One of the symptoms of improvement of which I have heard with pleasure, is, that in a later edition of this book, the chapter on Christianity is omitted, and a new one inserted. 'Jesus,' he says, (p. 433, and following) 'probably got the first notion of his undertaking from being a friend of John, and going often to his father's, who was a priest; and from the Gospel it appears, that the sight of the feasts, and of the crowd of worshippers, had a great effect on him. It is doubtful, whether Jesus and John were sent into Egypt for their education, or were taught by the Essenes, and then sent into Palæstine as ambassadors of that sect, with secret support, and according to an arranged plan!' And this for the young! P. 455, and following. 'The indications of the Messiah in the Old Testament had produced great effect on Jesus and John, who were both *teetes exalters* [feuerkopfen], such as destiny raises for some great purpose, &c. We are in danger therefore of judging them unjustly, especially from the great mixture of high and low, clear and obscure in them.' Becker says, he will not undertake to fix Jesus's character, but will merely collect the fragments of it from his *wretched* biographers. The friends had great mutual esteem, but John saw in Jesus a higher spirit than his own. Both had the same hatred of the priests, their pride and hypocrisy---both thought the Mosaic Law no longer fit for the time, and that the notion of a national god* was the source of all the evil in Judæa. After long meditation, they decided that Jesus must be the Messiah; and John found *the part of a precursor* fixed for him. Christ, partly from his power of attraction, and partly from the hope of *future power*, made his disciples depend blindly on him. He could only undertake his great work of destroying the priests with great caution. The people were divided into sects, and his peculiarity, was his choice of the *lowest* people, and his withdrawing himself, that the priests might not nip his plan in the bud

* This is a favourite notion of many of these writers. Laiders (a professor at Goettingen) in the *Geschichte der vornehmsten Voelker der alten Welt*, published at Brunswick in 1800, says, that Jehova was only one of the many gods of Paganism; and Jenisch, a preacher at Berlin, in the *Universalischer uebersicht der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*, Berlin, 1801, says that Jehova was only a household god of Abraham. I ought to observe, that these two citations are from Hohenegger.

we have been considering to-day, the notion on which the whole of this system rests, namely, that all the positive and peculiar doctrines of Christianity are merely temporary in their nature and intention, mere accommodations and compliances with the feelings, hopes and notions of the people

As all the prophets had worked miracles, and many were expected from the Messiah; Jesus was obliged to undertake them, or to renounce his hopes. And, no doubt he did miracles, for the power of the mind on the body is such, that we need not doubt his curing the melancholy and nervous. As to the miraculous meals, raising the dead, curing the blind and deaf, *that must be attributed to the calculation of his historians*, and we need not hesitate in doing so, after observing *such tangible fabrications*, as in Matt. xiv. 23. [Christ's walking on the sea.] xxi. 19. [his blasting the fig-tree.] Luke viii. 32, and 46, (devils driven into the swine, and virtue going out of Jesus.) In the story of Lazarus, we cannot help suspecting *some secret concert*.

'He did however some uncontested miracles,' [what does Becker mean?] 'and there was in his manner that inexpressible something which makes great men irresistible. The mystic obscurity thrown over his future kingdom, the many parables he used, and his assured manner of speaking of future things, begat reverence.' The prudence of his judgment, &c. the strictness of his life, &c. command Becker's praise.

He could pursue only very slowly the destruction of old usages; first he allowed neglect of the Sabbath, &c. and at last made open war with the priests, 'on whom he lanced all the thunder of a Ciceronian eloquence!'

'John's death made him very timid; he got away into the desert, and ordered his followers not to call him Messiah in public. In his last journey to Jerusalem, the multitude protected him by day, and he got away at night. His answers made to several questions at this time [as John viii. 3] *are still admired!* He had always suspected Judas, and as he had a presentiment that he should come to a bad end, became very uneasy, and yet was able to exhort his disciples. He did not really die on the Cross. Whenever recognised by his disciples afterwards, he went away directly, and came unexpectedly, and for a short time; at last he disappeared quickly, and let himself be seen no more. This end, like that of Lycurgus, produced many followers. By degrees all the tales of the crucifixion were extended, and a christian Mythology erected!!'

to whom they were addressed. Now in itself, this notion of the appointment of institutions adapted to the nature and necessities of man, and their abrogation when they have fulfilled their destined purpose, is, I think, perfectly consistent with our poor notions of perfect wisdom. But the application of this supposition to Christianity in any part except its form is entirely groundless. That to the Jew, truth should be recommended in the *manner* which the Jew would most strongly feel, and that it was so in the gospels, cannot be denied, but that proves not that the truth itself is adapted to the Jew alone. It is only however by this confusion of the form with the contents of the system, a confusion I would fain hope not purposed, not unfairly used to cover an evil intention, that I can account for this favourite supposition of the Rationalizing divines. For in whatever way Christianity may be looked at, it sets forth its own claims plainly and irresistibly as a system of enduring truths. The dispensation which is to pass away supposes man in a low and degraded state, and seeks to influence him for a time, to lead him on to a higher moral state, and to fit him to answer a higher and nobler call. It will address itself to the temporal and the sensible, it will excite present hopes and fears, it will teach man to *live by sight* only. But is there any thing like this in Christianity? On the contrary it speaks only to the *spirit* of man; it points his hopes and fears to a state of things which is unseen, and the *great*, nay, the *only* principle by which it seeks to actuate him is the spiritual principle of faith. If such a dispensation be a temporary and transitory one, what shall be the nature of that dispensation which shall endure; to what principle in man higher than the spirit shall it address him; to what higher state of things than the house not made with hands shall it point his looks and his hopes? The natural and temporal which was first did pass away, but the spiritual which was afterward must abide for ever. So much for the principle on which Christianity rests its appeal to man. But in its doctrines them-

selves is there any thing of temporary or perishable? Let reason boast itself as it will, let its researches be as deep, and its objects as lofty as its warmest advocates can make them, Christianity will not yield to it here. If reason tells us that we are the subjects of an everlasting destiny, it is on that everlasting destiny that Christianity addresses us; if reason busies itself in searching into our future existence, it is on that existence that Christianity professes to inform us; if reason teaches man his weakness, and urges him to seek a remedy, that he may rise to a higher exaltation of wisdom and of virtue, the lesson is confirmed by Christianity, the remedy is offered, the exaltation is promised. If man is for ever in this world to continue the same, born with the same nature, tempted with the same passions, liable to fall through the same licentiousness of an obstinate will, the dispensation which offers an unfailing and unfading remedy, and an ever ready assistance, may be arraigned as false, but it cannot be laid aside as transitory. If while man is man, the fear of that unknown state to which he is hastening will always haunt the bed of death and the hour of dissolution, is that to be esteemed a passing doctrine which first promised man that the dust and the grave should not hold him? which pointed, and ever will point, to the first-fruits of the dead as an eternal and enduring ground of confidence in that promise? Last of all, but of all the greatest, as long as reason points out the purity and justice of God, and the voice of repentant sin mourns with unavailing bitterness its loss of hope, its separation from God, and its fear of his dreadful wrath—shall the dispensation which for ever blots out the curse, the guilt, the bitterness, and brings man back into the everlasting arms of mercy again—shall that be called a passing shadow, a system to be laid aside and forgotten? No! while man endures, so long shall endure too the word which binds together sin and its redeemer, the Saviour and the world he came to save. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but that word shall not pass away.

This article has occupied so much more room than was anticipated, that the remaining Discourse must be reserved for the next number.

HERDER'S DIALOGUES

ON

The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY JAMES MARSH,

PROFESSOR IN HAMPDEN SYDNEY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 345.]

HERDER'S
Introductory Dialogue

ON

THE SPIRIT OF HEBREW POETRY.

DIALOGUE II.

Dawn of the morning. It presents an image of the creation of the world. Earliest views of nature. First feeling and conception of the Great Spirit, as a powerful being. Whether this feeling was a slavish fear, or brutal stupidity. Probable origin of ideas of the terrible in the religions of antiquity. Example of clear notions of God, as a God of power, and also as supreme in wisdom. Of the Elohim. Probable origin of the idea of them. Whether it gave occasion to idolatry. Necessity and use of the idea of one God to the human understanding. Service of poetry in confirming and extending it. Simple means to this end, the parallelism of the heavens and the earth. What the poetry of the Orientals gained by connecting them and exhibiting their relations. Its mode of representing God at rest and in action. His word. Early notions of the angels. Images of God as the ever active Lord of Creation.

The first rays of dawn were not yet visible, when the two friends found themselves together at an appointed spot, a delightful eminence, that furnished a wide and

beautiful prospect. They saw before them all the objects of nature lying yet formless and undistinguished, for the night had wrapt them up in its veil of obscurity. But soon the night breeze sprang up, and the morning appeared in its loveliness. Its going forth was as if the Almighty had cast a reviving look upon the earth and renovated its existence ; while his glory accompanied it, and consecrated the heavens as his magnificent and peaceful temple. The higher it rose, the more elevated and serene appeared the golden firmament, that gradually purified itself from the subsiding waters, clouds and vapours, till it stood displayed, as an upper ocean, an expanse of sapphire interwoven with gold. In the same manner also the earth seemed to rise up before them. Its dark masses became distinguished, and at length it stood forth like a bride, adorned with herbage and flowers, and waiting for the blessing of Jehovah. The soul of man elevates and purifies itself like the morning sky ; it wakes and rouses itself from slumber, like the virgin earth ; but at no moment is the delightful view attended with such sacred awe, as at the first existence of light, the breaking forth of the dawn, when, as the Hebrews say, the hind of the morning is struggling with the shades of night, and, with its head and knees bended together, waits for the moment of release. It is, as it were, a birth of the day ; and every being shudders with a pleasing dread, as if conscious of the presence of Jehovah. The most ancient nations made a distinction between the light of the dawn, and that of the sun ; considering it an uncreated being, a brightness that gleamed from the throne of Jehovah, but was returned again, so soon as the sun awoke to shine upon the earth. It is the vicegerent of the Deity, behind which Jehovah himself is concealed.

EUTHYPHRON. Observe, my friend, the peculiarity and splendour of the view which at this moment opens before us. It was from this that knowledge first dawned upon the

human mind, and this perhaps was the cradle of the first poetry and religion of the earth.

ALCIPHON. You agree then with the author of "The earliest Monuments," but remember his views have been controverted.

E. So far as our purpose is concerned, nothing has been or can be objected to them, so long as the morning dawn remains what it is. Have we not at this moment beheld and admired all the changing scenes in this vast work of creation? From the dark moving pictures of night to the magnificent uprising of the sun, with whom all beings in air and water, in the ocean and upon the earth seem to awake into being, the whole has passed before us. Is it objected, that the moon and stars do not come forth simultaneously with the sun? Perhaps too you may add with equal force on the other hand, that all the phenomena of the morning belong to every day, while those of creation are to be divided into the labours of six. But why waste our time with such discussions? Not only the first brief history of the creation, but all the Hebrew songs in praise of it, nay the very names of those glorious phenomena, that we just now saw before and around us, were for the most part formed, as it were, in the immediate view of those very scenes; and it was this view that prompted the most ancient poetry of nature on the subject of the creation.

A. When, and by whom, was such poetry formed?

E. I know not, for my understanding cannot carry back its researches to the cradle of human improvement. It is sufficient, that the poetical roots of the language, the hymns, that celebrate the creation, and fortunately the first sketch of a picture, after or in conjunction with which both seemed to have been formed, are still extant. What if we, in our present interview, inquire into the earliest ideas, derived from the contemplation of nature, and from the connexion and progress of its changing and varied scenes, which are exhibited in this childlike and beautiful poetry

of nature? We can hardly spend our morning hours in a more suitable manner.

A. With all my heart; and I am convinced, that to the great being who pervades and surrounds us, nothing is more acceptable than the thankful offering of our inquiring thoughts. The morning of the day will remind us of the morning of intellectual illumination, and give to our souls the vigour of youth, and the freshness of the dawn. In general I have remarked, that the poetry of every people is characterized by the influence of the climate, in which it is formed. A depressing, cold, cloudy atmosphere, gives rise to images and feelings of the same character; where the sky is serene, open, and expanded, the soul also expands itself, and soars without restraint.

E. I could say much against such a theory, but let it pass. Those features of poetry, and those images, to which I wish now to direct your attention, are those which spring from the earliest and most childlike intuitions and feelings of the human mind, and are occasioned by the more obvious appearances and events of the external world. These are every where the same. In all climates, and under every sky, night is night, and morning is morning. The heavens and the earth are every where spread above and beneath us; and the spirit of God, which fills them, which gives to man his elevation, and, at the view of the glories around him, kindles up the native poetry of the heart and the understanding, extends to all its creative energies.

A. Begin, then, if you please, with the primitive notions of the human mind.

E. With what else could I begin, than with the name of Him, who in this ancient poetry animates and binds every thing together; whom it denominated the *strong* and the *mighty*; whose power was every where witnessed; whose unseen presence was felt with a shuddering of reverential fear; whom men honoured; whose name gave a sanction to the solemnities of an oath; whom they called by way of

eminence, the Great Spirit, and whom all the wild and untaught nations of the earth still seek after, and feel, and adore. Even among the most savage tribes, how elevated does poetry and sentiment become through the all-pervading feeling of this infinite, invisible spirit ! To them the remarkable phenomena, and the active powers of nature, appear as the index of his immediate presence and agency, and they fall down and worship him. Not from slavish fear and senseless stupidity, but with the lively feeling, that in these manifestations of his power, he is nearer to them, they offer up, in honor of the great spirit, their dearest possessions with childlike forms, and awe-struck adoration. This feeling pervades the history of all ancient people, their languages, their hymns, their names of God, and their religious rites, of which, from the ruins of the ancient world, a multitude of monuments and proofs will occur to your observation.

A. They do so, but the philosophers have explained this feeling of awe in a far different manner. Fear and ignorance, say they, have produced imaginary gods. Slavish terror and brutal stupidity have paid them homage, at first, as powerful but malignant beings, and then, as evil and invisible demons. In all languages religion employs terms of fear and dread, and in the Hebrew they adduce as proof a catalogue of the most ancient names of God.

E. The hypothesis, like most others that are brought forward, is not a new one, and I fear is as false as it is old, for nothing is more easily misinterpreted by frigid, and at the same time superficial thinkers, than unsophisticated human feeling. So far as I am acquainted with antiquity, I think I discover continually increasing evidence, that this feeling of reverential homage is, in its simple and primitive character, neither the servile homage of a slave, nor the stupidity of a brute. The circumstance, that all nations worship gods of some kind, distinguishes them from the brutes ; and almost universally the feeling has prevailed,

that our existence is a blessing, not a curse; that the Supreme Being is good, and that the service, which we ought to yield to him, must not be an offering of fear and terror, presented as to an evil demon.

A. But are you not acquainted with many observances that spring from terror, and have you never read the books of an author,* who derives all religions from the desolation of the world by the flood, and fearful forebodings of renewed destruction?

E. Do not disturb his ashes—He was a superintendent of bridges and dikes, and so must ex-officio believe in a Neptunian philosophy. His books are so bad, his learning so full of uncertainty, and his imagination so confused, that they altogether very much resemble the waters of the deluge. But we will go upon safe ground, and admit, that the religion of many ancient nations had indeed a mixture of terror; especially of nations who dwelt in inhospitable regions, among rocks and volcanoes, on the shores of a tempestuous sea, or in caves and mountain cliffs, or whose minds were impressed by some great devastation, or other terrible events. But these are plainly exceptions, for the whole earth is not a perpetual deluge, nor a burning Vesuvius. The religion of nations in milder regions we find mild, and even among those most impressed with ideas of the terrific, the existence of a powerful good spirit is never wholly given up, and still almost always predominates in its influence. Finally, all these appendages, the offspring of fear, superstition, and priestcraft, belong in fact to later times. The ideas of the most ancient religions, are grand and noble. The human race seems to have been originally furnished with a fine treasure of knowledge, unbiassed and uncorrupted; but their degeneracy, their wanderings and misfortunes, have alloyed it with baser metal. But let us leave this tumultuous crowd of nations; we are now to speak of one people, and of one language.

* Boulanger.

A. Of one, however, in which the most ancient names of God are indicative, not of benevolence and love, but of power and reverence.

E. True, these are the first impressions in relation to the incomprehensible Creator. Power, boundless power, is the attribute, that first fixes the attention of a feeble creature of the earth. He cannot but feel this, and his own comparative weakness, since his breath is in the hands of God, and his very existence but the effect of his will, his to us incomprehensible power. The ancient book of Job furnishes the clearest proof of this on every page.

Well do I know, that it is thus,
 For what is a man, against God?
 Even the wise, and the powerful,
 Who hath withstood him, and prospered?
 He removeth mountains in a moment,
 He overturneth them in his wrath.
 He shaketh the earth from its foundation,
 And its pillars tremble.
 He commandeth the sun, and it riseth not;
 He sealeth up the stars in their dwellings;
 He spreadeth out the heavens alone,
 And walketh upon the summit of the waves.
 He hath made Libra and the polar star,
 The seven stars and the chambers of the South.
 He doeth great things, that are unsearchable,
 And wonderful things, without number.
 Lo! he passeth by me, and I see him not;
 Before me, and I am not aware of it.
 He taketh away, and who shall restore?
 Who shall say, what doest thou?

JOB IX.

Do you not believe, that this lofty feeling is the feeling of nature? and that the more clearly and comprehensively a people beholds in every thing the power of God, the more stirring and forcible will be the expression of it? Even the wisdom of the God, whom they worship, by which he has formed not only the inanimate but the ani-

mate creation, is to them but a form of power, a vast ocean of intellectual energies, in whose depths they are lost. Do you not recollect an example of this in Hebrew poetry?

A. You allude to my favourite psalm; it shall now be also my morning prayer.

Jehovah, thou searchest and knowest me.
 Thou knowest when I sit down, and when I arise,
 Thou beholdest my thoughts from afar.
 Whether I am going, or lying down, thou seest me,
 And art acquainted with all my ways.
 Before a word is formed upon my tongue,
 Lo! O Lord, thou knowest it all.
 Thou hast shapen me in every part,
 And placed thy forming hand upon me.
 Such knowledge is too wonderful for me,
 It is high, I cannot attain to it.
 Whither shall I go from thy spirit?
 Whither shall I flee from thy presence?
 If I ascend into heaven, thou art there!
 If I make my bed in the abyss, thou art there!
 If I soar on the wings of the dawn,
 And dwell in the uttermost sea,
 Even there shall thy hand lead me,
 And thy right hand guide me.
 If I say, the darkness shall obscure me,
 The night shall be for day to me,
 Even the darkness shall not hide from thee.
 The night is clear to thee. as the day;
 Darkness and light are alike to thee.

For thou hast formed my inward parts,
 Thou didst environ me in my mother's womb.
 I will praise thee for the wonders of my form;
 All thy works are wonderful;
 My soul knoweth it well.
 My bones were not hid from thee,
 When I was shapen in secret,
 Curiously wrought in the depths of the earth.
 When yet unformed, thine eyes beheld me.
 And in thy book was I already described;
 The days of my life already numbered.

How weighty are thy thoughts to me, O God!
 How overwhelming the sum of them!
 Do I number them? they are more than the sand:
 I awake as from a dream, and am still with thee.

E. You have contended boldly with the expression of the original; but, to be frank, I confess the heartfelt simplicity of Luther, even when less minutely correct, seems to me more stirring to the feelings, perhaps because my ear was accustomed to it at an early period. Can you name to me such a hymn as this, full of the finest natural theology, from any other people equally ancient? Here are the purest conceptions of God, of his omniscience, and his foreknowledge, his intimate acquaintance with the human soul, his omnipresence, the efficacy of his purpose in our formation as in the creation and government of all things, and that too set forth with energy and fervour. Even the thoughts, of which many modern philosophers make so much, that God in his being has no analogy with any created object, that night and day are alike to him, are in many passages of Job, and the prophets; and even in the simple word *holy*, that is, wholly incomparable, so appropriately expressed, that I know no purer Deism than prevails in these songs of praise.

A. But recollect to what period these fine passages belong, and that in the most ancient hymns to the creation, the Elohim still prevail.

E. Without doubt Moses found the term in this ancient picture of the creation; for he, the great enemy of polytheism, and of all that might lead to it, would certainly not have introduced it.

A. Such is my belief, and he joined with it perhaps the word *created* in the singular to guard against the tendency to polytheism. But notwithstanding the primitive idea of Elohim remained still polytheistick. It was the Elohim, at whose wisdom the serpent taught the first man to aspire, and who probably in the opinion of Eve derived their wis-

dom from the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The East, as you well know, is peopled with invisible beings, and has especially one race of refined spirits, which subsist on the fragrant exhalations of trees, wage wars with the giant spirits of evil, and preside over plants, trees, flowers, mountains, even the elements, the stars, &c. Polytheism of this kind is suited to all uncultivated nations, and the rich imaginations of the Orientals could hardly remain free from it. To them every thing appeared instinct with life, and they peopled the universe with living beings. Such are the Elohim, the Adonim, and Schadim of the Hebrews, the Izeds of the Parsi, the Lahi of the Thibitians, (a name that seems to resemble Elohim,) the Demons of the Orphic hymns ; in a word, the most ancient spirits and gods of the uncivilized world.

E. Be it so if you please. Do you find any thing debasing in the idea, that a weak creature of the earth, like man, who looks with wonder upon the beauty of the world, and meets with no visible author of it ; who beholds every where power and wisdom, a self-regenerating and exhaustless creative energy, and becomes attached to particular objects of beauty, should assign to these objects each its own invisible creator, preserver, and restorer ? To the bodily eye the theatre of the world is destitute of causes, and yet intensely filled with effects. How natural then for one to imagine to himself distinct and appropriate creative agents, of which one formed this, another that fair work of creation, as a tree, a plant, or an animal, with perhaps a fond partiality for it, and a profound feeling of its wants, and the capacities of its nature for enjoyment. These creative beings maintained an affectionate sympathy with every part of the creatures of their power, and, according to the more common representation, transformed sometimes plants into their own form, and sometimes themselves to that of plants. The genius of each living product was believed to perish and revive along with it ; in

short, these Elohim were then perhaps the Genii of the creation, but probably connected in this more ancient faith with none of those fabulous tales, which the later mythology invented for them. As the angels properly so called, of whom we shall speak by and by, came into vogue, these Elohim and Genii fell into neglect; those stood around the throne of God, and were princes of heaven, these but the attendants and protectors of the lower orders of the creation, and so subaltern spirits. The later mythologies of the East have many fables respecting the relations and contests of these two orders of beings, telling us how the Genii secretly listened behind the curtain of the Great King in the councils of the angels, how they were watched, and punished, &c. If the origin of these representations of the Elohim was entirely as I have now described it, was it not innocent? or could you have any thing to object to it?

A. So far as feeling and poetry are concerned, nothing at all. To the imagination, indeed, it is even a benefit. It places man in a world full of animation, where every flower, every tree, every star rejoices with us, has its own spirit, and feels its own principle of life. What pleases and improves the imagination here, however, may not be so acceptable to the understanding.

E. Why not? Even in the most ancient times this idea had among these nations no connexion with polytheism. From one of the psalms of David we learn, that the Elohim were spirits but little superior to man in rank and excellence, while at the same time the doctrine of the unity of God the Creator, cannot be mistaken in the first picture of the creation. This one doctrine too, as it seems to me, has given an elevation and truth, a simplicity and wisdom to the poetry of these Orientals, which rendered its subsequent influence, as the guide of civilization, a blessing to the world. It is impossible to say what treasures of knowledge and morality were destined to accrue to our race from the idea of the unity of God. He turned away in

consequence from superstition, from idolatry, from the vices and abominations of divinely authorized disorder, and became accustomed to remark in every thing unity of purpose, and so by degrees wisdom, love, and benevolence in the laws of nature ; to find unity in multiplicity, order in disorder, and light in darkness. From the idea of one creator the world came to be considered as a united whole ; (*κοσμος* ;) the mind of man was directed to its combined glories, and learned wisdom, order and beauty. The contributions of philosophy and poetry to the same end have also produced the most beneficial effects, especially the poetry, of which we are treating. It was the most ancient obstacle to the progress of idolatry, of which we have any knowledge, and it poured the first bright beam of unity and order into the chaos of the creation. Can you tell by what means it has accomplished all this ?

A. What are they ?

E. A very simple matter, the parallelism of the heavens and the earth. The works of creation must in some way be separated and classed in order ; the more unstudied, the more obvious, clear, and comprehensive the division, the more likely to be perpetuated, and this has been so.

A. Where ?

E. In this whole body of poetry, which I might therefore almost denominate the poetry of heaven and earth. The earliest picture of the creation is arranged after this model, and the division of the so called six days' work has also a reference to it. When the heaven is lifted up, the earth is brought forth also and adorned ; when the air and the water are peopled, the earth also becomes inhabited. The same parallelism of the heavens and the earth pervades all the hymns of praise that are grounded on this picture of creation ; the psalms, where all the works of nature are invoked to praise their Creator ; the most solemn addresses of Moses and the prophets ; in short, it appears most extensively throughout the poetry and the language.

A. And yet the division seems to me to have no useful

relation between its parts. What is the earth in comparison with the heavens, or what relation have the heavens to the earth?

E. It is one of the very objects of this poetry to contrast the boundlessness of the heavens with the nothingness of the earth, their elevation with our abasement. For this end the radical forms of the language employ all their descriptive powers and bold imagery. Do you recollect no examples of it?

A. Examples in abundance.

Heaven is my throne,
The earth my footstool.

E. An image so grand that I might add to it,

My limit is infinity,

Or, with Job might ask,

Wilt thou find out the wisdom of Eloah?
Wilt thou fathom the perfection of Shaddai?
It is high as heaven, what wilt thou do?
Deeper than the abyss, what dost thou know?
Its measure is longer than the earth,
And broader than the sea.

Here you perceive the idea of the boundlessness of the material world. Of that which we call the universe, these ancient nations knew nothing. The name *world—Aeon—* in later times gave to them the idea of every thing despicable, worthless, and evanescent. The heavens grow old, and are changed like a garment, the earth is a theatre for phantoms, and senseless apparitions, and a burial place for the dead; but it is the God of the heavens and the earth, who was before the mountains, and remains eternal as the heavens. He it is, who created and renews them, before whom the heavens flee away and the earth is scattered and driven into immensity like the dust.

A. But what, I must still ask, has poetry gained by this parallelism, that has no correspondencies?

E. To me it seems to have gained much. By this it was led to compare the finite and the infinite, and to contrast immensity with nothingness. All that is fair, grand, and sublime, is, in the imagination of the Orientals, heavenly; the low, weak, and insignificant, is placed in the dust of the earth. All power descends from heaven: all that is beneath, by means of invisible but powerful ties, is ruled, guided, and disposed of from above. Above, the stars emit their everlasting radiance; there are expanded, the clear and cloudless heavens, and the sky lifts its azure arch in undisturbed serenity; beneath, all is mutable, earth-born dust, and corrupted. The more the human soul connected the two, and learned to contemplate them together, the more its views became enlarged, correct, and marked with wisdom. It learned to define, to measure, and to number the earthly by means of the heavenly. It reached a point above the world, from which to direct and govern the world itself. Do you not believe, that mere earthborn poetry, however refined, must be necessarily poor and grovelling? All elevating and sublime poetry is by an influence from above.

A. Yet, let me say, it is mother earth that gives to all forms their characteristick outline, and consequently their beauty.

E. For that reason too, the Orientals associate the heavens and the earth together. From the former their poetry gains sublimity, compass, clearness, and energy, just as our souls receive the impress of sublimity when we direct our eyes to heaven. The heavens are the efficient cause, the earth the instrument and theatre of its effects, only not the perpetual theatre. Even in the formation of man the heavens and the earth co-operate; from this he receives his body, from those his living spirit. As the atom on which we walk is encompassed by the heavens, so the

little sphere of our observation and knowledge floats in the immensity of the eternal, where all is glory, energy, and spotless perfection. To me that poetry seems great which holds us to the steadfast contemplation of what we are, and what we are not ; of the high, the low, the weak, and the powerful ; it would be false and delusive, should it give one part only of these opposite views, and mutilate, or withhold the other. All sublimity requires the boundless and immense, in short, the heavens ; as all beauty and truth requires definite limits, that is the earth.

A. You have very well defended your parallelism, and I am desirous to follow it for myself through the poetry of Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets, and know whether, as you say, so much that is great and beautiful is dependent on it, as to reward the frequent appeal,

Give ear, ye heavens, and I will speak,
And hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.

Show me now, however, in what manner the one God of heaven and earth is instrumental in poetry, also in associating and binding them together.

E. He connects them at some times in a state of rest, at others in action. At rest, when, as an eastern king, he sits enthroned in the heavens, and commands the creation of the world by a word. And here again the first and most sublime parallelism of the two became the model for the manner of representation in after times :—

God said, let light be,
And light was.

This sublime language of God becomes in various ways, in the poetry of the Hebrews, the form for the most concise and forcible images, in which the style always is,

He spake, and it was done,
He commanded, and it stood fast.

The more strange and obscure the object, which God commanded, and which obeyed his will, the more wonderful, and the greater the beauty which it confers :—

He said to the snow, be upon the earth,
To the rain also, and torrents were poured forth.

One of the psalms, that is generally indeed interpreted in a too spiritual sense, exhibits a similar picture :—

He sendeth forth his word upon the earth.
His word runneth swiftly.
He giveth snow, like wool,
He scattereth hoar frost, like ashes.
He casteth forth his ice like morsels,
Who can stand before his frost?
He sendeth his word again, they are melted.
His wind returns, the waters flow freely.

Here the word of God is personified, as a messenger, as it often is by the Hebrews.

A. In that they do wisely ; for if the command and the effect are always to be repeated, their sublime poetry must soon become monstrous, and tediously uniform.

E. It is not wanting in personifications, for indeed all its employment of angels is nothing more. The most ancient idea was not, that they stood as inactive beings, and sung around the throne of God, but rather, that all the objects of nature at his command became angels and living beings.

He maketh the winds, his messengers,
His ministers, the flaming fire.

The book of Job is full of these personifications. The stars especially afford us one of the earliest and finest conceptions of angels, as the messengers of God. Their sublimity and beauty, their untroubled radiance, and ceaseless motion excite at once the idea of sustained delight, and the

harmonious movements of musick, and the dance. At first they were the daughters of God, who encompassed his throne with joyful exultation ; soon they became his host of warriors, in splendid battle array ; and then they appear also in the form of his messengers and servants. In Job we shall see admirable examples of all this, and contrasted with them, his earthborn servants, sunk in comparative debasement. Thus the God of the Elohim, that is of the genii and the rulers of the lower creation, is still in a higher sense the king of angels, and of the host of heaven, Jehovah Sabaoth ; although this was indeed an idea of somewhat later times.

A. Why so ?

E. Because in earlier times God was not thought of, as an unconcerned and inactive king, enthroned apart in the heavens, but as a father and master of a family, whose busy agency was every where felt. As in the picture of the creation nothing was too small or insignificant to be beneath his creating power, so he daily creates and orders every thing anew. He daily stretches out the heavens, as when he first created them, and goes for this end on the billows of the ocean to the utmost bounds of the horizon, where he pitches his tent. Daily he calls forth the dawn, as he called it at first, divides out the rain, and opens the treasures of his household. He ties up the clouds, like leathern bags, traces out channels in heaven, and gives the lightnings his commands ; clothes the flowers and cherishes the plants, generates the dew, and provides for all beneath the sky. Job and the Psalms are full of images, in which, as the ever active father of his family, no work, and no creature is beneath his care. What heartfelt interest, what wakeful and ever increasing confidence in God this must give to Hebrew poetry, is better felt than described. But not the Hebrew poetry alone ; all the poetry of the Orientals is full of praises of the Divine Being, that would be surpassed with as much difficulty, as the childlike confi-

dence, in him and submission to his will, which form the groundwork of their religion.

A. Is theirs a good groundwork however? If God is thus concerned in the control of the smallest objects of nature, will not men become unconcerned and inactive? If the hosts of God are every where encamped to relieve our labours, of what use is human effort and skill?

E. Of this we shall have an opportunity to speak hereafter. At present the sun is in the heavens, and warns us, that our chosen hour is past. Go we then to our labours: the morning will return, when we meet again.

As an appendix to the German there is published here a hymn to the Deity from the Persian, to exemplify the remarks on the general character of this class of Oriental poetry. It is taken by Herder from an English work, "Specimens of the Institutes of Timour, by Hunter and White." As it is not very necessary to the general object of the work, I have not thought it worth the while to retranslate it.

DIALOGUE III.

Thoughts suggested by night and twilight. The state of unborn souls. Job's description of ancient night. Had the Orientals any idea of a chaos? Their notions of the most ancient condition of the earth. The Spirit upon the waters. Origin of the sensuous idea of Spirits. Voice of a nightly apparition in Job. First appearance of light. Its gladdening effect. Glowing pictures of it in the poetry of the Orientals. Personifications of light, and of the dawn. Poetical images of heaven, as an arch of waters, as a treasure house of all that is animating and refreshing; as a sapphire, and as the tent of the father of creation.

Poetical geogony of the Orientals. How far it corresponds to the natural history of our earth. Animation of plants. Its effect in giving a delicacy of spirit, and comprehensiveness of feeling to poetry. Why have the Hebrews no hymns to the sun and stars? Personifications. Beautiful and correct use of them in Hebrew poetry. Representation of the stars, as angels; as daughters of God, as an army, as a flock of sheep under the Supreme Shepherd. Particular passages respecting them. Of the lively sympathy of Oriental poetry with the brute creation. Of God as their universal parent. Why in this poetry brutes are sometimes put before man. Of men. David's hymn to the creation.

On the following day Alciphron did not fail to be punctual at the morning hour of poetry. We must not dwell to day, as we did yesterday, said Euthyphron, when they met together, on individual ideas, but I will direct you to a more general picture, and at the same time richer, than the tablet of Cebes. Is not one suggested to you by this fearful obscurity, in which all beings are at this moment involved, as if impatiently waiting for the light?

A. Do you mean the state of the dead among the Orientals?

E. That is not the topic, with which to begin our conversation. I was thinking indeed, of Sheol, but rather as the state of things yet unborn, which are waiting for the light, and hoping to find along with it unmingled joy. Recollect, for illustration, the night to which Job doomed in his imprecations the hour of his birth. There sleep unborn nights and days. God looks down from his elevation, and calls forth this or that as he pleases, and it comes forth with exultation to join the choir of its companions in the circular dance of the year.

Perish the day, in which I was born ;
 The night when they said, a son is brought forth.
 Let that day be darkness,
 Let not God inquire after it from above,
 And let no light shine upon it.

Let darkness and death shade seize it,
 The clouds ever rest upon it,
 The blackness of misfortune terrify it.

That night ! let darkness take it away,
 That it join not the days of the year,
 Nor come into the number of the months.

Let that night be set apart by itself ;
 Let no song of joy resound in it.
 May those curse it, who curse the day,
 Who can call up the monsters of the deep.

May the stars of its twilight be dark ;
 Let it wait for the light, and light come not ;
 Nor let it see the eyelids of the dawn,
 Because it shut not up my mother's womb,
 Nor hid evil from my eyes.

Where have you seen the ancient night to which this unhappy man consigned his birth-day, or the gloom of a starless, rayless, and horrible darkness, that waits in vain for the morning, more fearfully described ? No song of gladness cheers it, and its silence is interrupted only by the muttered spells of those, at whose enchantments the day goes not forth to interrupt them in their works of darkness. You know how Shakspeare describes a night like this.

A. He does not yield to the Orientals. But you said something of the state of unborn souls. The passage you have repeated seems to me to have no reference to such a state.

E. The realms that contain them, however, are silent and formless as the night. They are shaped in the deepest obscurity, in the centre of the earth, and there wait the light, as at this moment all creatures wait for it. The hour of their birth is struck—God calls them forth.

A. The representation is remarkably adapted to the senses.

E. Like all the poetical fictions of the Hebrews. They knew nothing for example of a chaos, in which before the formation of our world the atoms that compose it, were driven about, as chance directed ; a fiction, for which we are indebted to the Greeks. In their minds its place was supplied by a dark gloomy sea, upon which the wind of the Almighty was hovering with an agitating effect ; and the picture, as it appears to me, is so much the finer for being true. Such was in fact the first condition of our earth, as the structure of it shows, and so it must have stood for ages, until, by the wonders of creation, it became inhabitable. This picture has something in it natural and conceivable ; that formless chaos has neither.

A. The spirit, to which you allude, that brooded over the waste and fathomless abyss, is to me peculiarly striking, and never fails to inspire me with awe.

E. It was to the Orientals the first and most natural image of that which constitutes life, power, impulse in creation ; for the idea of a spirit seems originally to have been formed from the feeling of the wind, especially at night, and combined with power, and the sound of a voice.

A. You remind me of the appearance of an apparition in Job. There is form and yet no form ; a lisping breath, a murmuring like the voice of the wind, but with it also the power of the wind, the energy of spirit. It raises the hair on end, and rouses all the terrors of the soul. "It harrows up the soul with fear and wonder."

A word stole secretly to me,
 Its whispers caught my ear ;
 At the hour of night visions,
 When deep sleep falleth upon man,
 I was seized with fear and shuddering,
 And terrors shook my frame.
 A spirit was passing before me,
 All my hair stood on end.
 He stood still, but I saw not his form,
 A shadowy image was before my eyes ;

It was silently whispered to me,
How can man, &c.

E. There is as you say a form without form, silence, and yet a voice, and after all the powerful effect alone indicates the formless figure, and so it must be. The more closely defined its features, the feebler would their effect become. Form and definiteness are incompatible with our notions of spirit: it is the offspring of the wind, and must preserve the character of its origin. But look! yonder come the glories of the morning. Let us leave the visions of night to their repose, while we adore the Father of Light.

Jehovah, my God, thou art full of majesty,
Thou art clothed with dignity and glory.
He putteth on the light, as a garment,
He spreadeth out the heavens as a tent.

When the first morning beam shot forth, thou, the creator, didst declare the light to be good, and didst consecrate it to be an eternal emblem of thy presence, and of thy divine glory, of all delight and purity, of all wisdom, goodness, and blessedness. God dwells in light, and his countenance beams with paternal goodness, and paternal joy. He enlightens the hearts of all good men, and illuminates their path. In their original darkness he sent them the first ray of light, in the night of affliction and death he sends into their hearts a beam of unceasing joy and hope. As God, he displayed his glory in the creation of light, as the father of the universe in irradiating with its beams the souls of men, and leading us onward from this twilight of existence to brighter habitations. Is there any created existence, that would better deserve to be the garment of Jehovah, who, as to the essence of his nature, dwells in eternal obscurity? Light is his swiftest messenger, winged almost with the pinions of his omnipresence, and the emblem of Divine purposes and joys.

A. The poetry of the Hebrews has consequently fine imagery drawn from this source.

E. Perhaps no poetry in the world has drawn from it with more beautiful effect. The very name of light has in this language a lofty and noble sound, the emblem of all that is joyous and transporting. While it paints darkness in images of fear and horror, it places in animating contrast, the bright eye of day, the eyelids of the opening dawn. All the pictures of the dawn associate with it the idea of waiting, of expectation, of desire, and its appearance brings fruition. The morning star, which we see before us, is here a fair sun of the twilight; for like every thing else, light and darkness has each its palace, its peculiar and inaccessible dwelling. The dawn appears in Job as a hero, who scatters the bands of misdoers, deprives the robber of the covering of darkness that protects him, gives to all things their form, and stamps them, as it were, with a new impression of his seal. From the womb of the morning dawn, is born the dew, her numerous host of glittering children. See you not there the fair mother before you, in that beautiful blending of light and darkness? observe too, how the Eternal Father is gradually expanding and arching over us the tent of his azure heavens.

He sits above the circle of the earth,
 The inhabitants of the world are grasshoppers before him.
 He stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain,
 He spreadeth it out as a tent to dwell in.

But let us pass, if you please, to the mythology of the heavens themselves.

A. The Orientalists must have, I fear, great disputes to decide what Moses meant by his firmament between the waters and the waters. Whether it be a tent, an arched covering above, or a crystal firmament on which the waters rested, it seems difficult to determine.

E. No disputes are necessary, for the pictures are all common, and, rightly understood, are also suitable and dignified. The most ancient idea is certainly not of a firmament or foundation of glass, since glass was unknown till a late period. The most ancient mythology represents the heavens, as an arch of water, and even the throne of God as begirt with darkness in the midst of the waters. In the celebrated song of David even it is said,

He stretcheth out the heavens as a tent,
 He placeth amid the waters the arch of his dwelling.
 He maketh the clouds his chariots,
 He goeth forth on the wings of the wind.

Even at this late period we see nothing of the crystal firmament, but a tent, a sublime palace arched over with the waters of heaven. Such also is the tradition of the Arabians—God called forth the heavens from the waters, and formed them for a habitation. The beautiful correspondence with truth too, in these representations, considered as pictures of natural history, is matter of wonder.

A. I have always admired it, and also the descriptions of the clouds, of the lightning and the rain, as peculiarly beautiful. The drougthy Orientals, seem to look upon the heavens only as a store-house for their refreshment, a supply of the blessings, which their earth so often denied them.

E. And they have clothed this beautiful idea in a variety of imagery. At one time he binds up the waters in the clouds, as in leathern bags, and their airy tissue is not broken. In them is the water of life for man and beast. At another he drives them, filled with the stores of his bounty, hither and thither, to refresh the thirsty regions of the earth, and pours them out with a profusion, that overflows even the deserts, where no man dwells, nor blade of grass springs. He is often described, as going forth majestically in these waters, passing from land to

land, for its relief, and treading upon the swelling floods of heaven. There he has his treasures of waters, and traces furrows in heaven, and opens channels, by which to conduct them. Again he rends asunder his tent, and lets the rain descend, divides the heavens, or opens the windows of his royal palace, and deluges the earth with torrents. The last were probably conceptions of a late period, when God was represented as the king of heaven.

A. And was he not so represented at an early period?

E. Whether early or not, he was still earlier represented as the father of a family, who extended his paternal care to man and beast. Observe the numerous passages of this kind in the Psalms and prophets. What heartfelt prayer for rain and refreshing waters ascend to heaven! How do all eyes wait, and the parched tongue, now animated anew, abound in thanksgiving! The finest images of the bounty, the universal goodness, and providence of God are borrowed from the rain and the dew. So also the most earnest prayer and cordial longing after God, are represented under the image of burning and consuming thirst:

As the hart panteth for the fresh fountain,
So panteth my soul after thee.
My soul thirsteth for God,
For the living God.
When shall I come to him,
And behold his face?

Images of this kind give to poetry a community of feeling and sympathy between brute animals, men, plants, and all that has life; the Supreme and Eternal Father, is the father of all.

A. But how then were the heavens represented as solid?

E. It was on account of their sapphire appearance,

their glowing splendour, their unchangeableness, and their beauty. Perhaps the most ancient notion was, that this solid firmament was ice, from which the hail descended. The Arabs have pictures, according to which the lightnings are but sparks, that fly off from the sapphire firmament. Finally, when the heavens came to be represented as a temple and palace of God, this pure azure of the sky was the ground floor of his, and the covering of our habitation. To those who dwelt in tents, however, the idea of a heavenly tent seems to me to have been the greatest favourite. They represent God as daily spreading it out, and making it fast to the mountains, the pillars of heaven. It is to them, an emblem of security, of rest, and of the paternal intercourse and friendship, in which God lives with his creatures.

A. And how do they treat the earth ?

E. You will learn from their own words, if you go on with the psalm, in which David has given a picture of the creation.

A.

He hath established the earth upon its foundation,
 It shall not be moved for ever and ever.
 He hath covered it with floods, as with a robe,
 The waters stood above the mountains,
 At thy rebuke they fled,
 At the voice of thy thunders they hasted away.

Then rose up the mountains, the valleys sunk down,
 To the place which thou didst appoint for them.
 Thou settest boundaries to the floods,
 They shall not pass over and return
 To deluge the earth.

Thou sendest forth springs in the valleys,
 They run between the mountains,
 They give drink to the beasts of the field,
 The wild beasts quench their thirst.
 Above them dwell the fowls of heaven,
 They sing among the branches.

Thou waterest the hills from thy store-houses above.

From the fruit of thy works* thou satisfiest the earth,
 Makest grass to grow for cattle,
 And seed for the service of man,
 That he may bring forth bread from the earth,†
 And make his face to shine with plenty,
 Wine also that maketh glad the heart of man,
 And bread, that strengtheneth man's heart.

The trees of God are full of sap,
 The cedars of Lebanon, which he hath planted,
 Where the birds build their nests,
 And the fir trees the house of the heron.
 The mountains he made for the wild goats,
 The rocks as a refuge for the conies.

E. With what a joyful expression the poet surveys the earth! It is a green mountain of Jehovah, which he has raised up from the waters; an Elysian field, which he has established above the seas for the habitation of his living multitudes. The series of images, which the poet has made use of, contain exactly the natural history of the earth—At first the waters stand above the mountains, at the command of God they shrink beneath. Now the mountains rise up, the valleys sink, as the waters rush through and level them—Finally God sets bounds to the floods, and makes fast the earth—Then the fountains break forth in the valleys, the streams run between the mountains, where their beds are already hollowed out; to them the beasts resort, and above them the birds sing, for the banks of streams were first covered with trees. We shall find in

* With the fruit of thy works, i. e. with the blessings which thou createst. God is represented as the father of a family, always busy and providing for the earth.

† The production of bread from the earth is referred not to God, but to men. He has caused seed to grow for them, that they may sow it and procure themselves bread. I have transposed parts of the 14th and 15th verses, by which they acquire more symmetry, and even the words a better consonance and arrangement.

Job more sublime pictures of the formation of the earth, more true or beautiful are scarcely possible.

A. And in truth whatever is most consonant to nature is most perfect in beauty. What are all the mythologies to me, if they teach me nothing? What profit do I gain, for example, when the Northern Edda represents heaven, as the skull of a slaughtered giant, the earth as formed from his bones, and the rivers from his blood? Poetry, in order to affect the heart and the understanding, must combine beauty with truth, and animate both with sympathetic feeling.

E. The poetry of the orientals seems to me to combine all these. What sympathy for example does it exhibit with flowers, plants and herbs? As it ascribes to all in a certain degree the principles of life, and more than figuratively personifies them, so God is represented as their father, who bestows his blessings upon them, who nourishes them with rain, and serves them with the breath of spring. Their restoration and the renewal of their verdure was a beautiful emblem of the resurrection of the dead, as their preservation was a memorial of his universal providence. The loves of plants seem to have been early remarked, and the palm tree, the cedar, the vine and the olive have furnished beautiful and sublime images to the poetry of the Hebrews—But this, alas! is all, which they have furnished. Had we more of their pastoral fables like that of Jotham, or of the class to which the Song of Solomon belongs, what fine poetry and personifications should we find in them! Perhaps more beautiful and diversified, than the dialogue of our own poet between the rose and the zephyr, or those in the Persian between the rose and the nightingale, the wanderer and the turtle dove. As it is we must content ourselves with a single collection of such songs, but one that breathes throughout the fragrance of the rose, and brings back the musical notes of the turtle; I mean the songs of Solomon. But the sun, my friend, is rising high.

A. Be not in haste. Point me rather to some examples of fine personification and hymns addressed to the sun. The Hebrews I believe have none of these.

E. Hymns addressed to these, or to any other object of nature this poetry could not have. It would be idolatry, and you are aware how conscientiously this was avoided. Job says,

Had I looked at the sun, when it shone forth,
And the moon going abroad in its beauty,
So that my heart had burned in secret,
And I had kissed my hand for them,
This would have been an abomination,
For I should have denied the God of Heaven.

When this feeling was so sincere and earnest, no hymns to the hosts of heaven were possible. The Hebrew poetry guarded against this species of idolatry with the more extreme caution, because the Orientals in general were not so much attracted by any inferior idols, as by the king and queen of heaven, and to these their hearts were very greatly inclined. It became therefore a direct object of this poetry to represent the sun and moon as the servants of God, and to ascribe to him also all glory and truth, righteousness and beauty.

God said, Let there be two great lights in heaven
To rule over the seasons.
He placed them in the firmament
To have dominion over the seasons.

They are kings of the world, but only subordinate to God, his representatives, his creatures and messengers. In these characters alone the Hebrew poetry has employed them.

A. It has used them you mean but little?

E. Yes, much and appropriately too. The sun, moon, and stars also were animated. They had their dwelling places and tents in heaven, as they still have in the minds

of the Arabians and other nations. You know the beautiful passage, for which you may seek a parallel among the Greeks in vain.

For the sun he hath pitched a tent in the heavens,
 From which he goeth forth as a bridegroom
 Out of his chamber,
 And rejoiceth as a hero
 In the career of victory.
 He goeth forth from the end of heaven,
 And goeth onward to the end of it,
 And filleth the world with his beams.

The moon and stars also have their dwellings, in which when they are to be darkened, God seals them up, or in which they timidly shrink and hide themselves, when the glory of Jehovah appears. Thus in Habakkuk for example God comes forth in his war chariot to conquer and divide the land; the sun and moon come in astonishment to the doors of their tents; his lightnings are shot forth, his arrows fly around him, and they hide themselves in confusion before the presence of his greater glory.

The mountains saw thee and trembled,
 The waters passed away,
 The deep uttered its voice,
 And lifted up its hands on high.
 The sun and moon stood still in their tents;
 When they saw the brightness of thine arrows,
 The glittering splendour of thy lightnings,
 They hasted away.

A more sublime personification I consider hardly possible. All nature listens; its swiftest objects stand still, its brightest are obscured. In the same spirit the stars are made the martial host, the exulting children of God.—Whatever is pure, fair, and immortal, is compared with the stars, and the angels are often personified in them.

A. But for what purposes are these glittering hosts sent and employed?

E. Those for which God employs his servants. The sun, as even its name indicates, is a messenger, but never the original fountain of blessedness and beauty. Even the nourishment of plants is not ascribed to it, but to the Supreme Father, who refreshes and waters them with the air, the dew, and the rain : it only brings about the seasons—a king of the earth, but in subordination to the King of kings. The stars as his army go out and engage in battle. To them were ascribed the water-spouts and the overflowing of rivers ; and in the song of Deborah they are beautifully personified in this character. In their character of angelic messengers they are capable of failure. He discovers them out of the way, and does not trust them with confidence. He finds imperfection in their brilliancy, and the heavens are not pure in his sight. But finally, when the future days of his own peculiar reign shall arrive, then shall the sun shine with sevenfold brightness, and the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun. That poetry, which so profoundly comprehends the nature of things ; which binds all the objects of creation together in such admirable order, and, in a sublime choral song, which represents God as the great shepherd of heaven, who knows and calls for the stars by name as his sheep, and feeds them under a variety of images on the azure fields of the sky ; who girds Orion, and consoles the nightly wanderer for the loss of her children ; who binds together the seven stars in their sisterly union, and hides his secret treasures in the South ; such poetry is the daughter of heaven and earth. When we come to treat of the book of Job, what elevated views of the stars will it furnish us.

A. I anticipate it with delight, and am for ever reconciled to the most ancient poetry of the world. I have been particularly struck by its perfect sympathy with brutes, and the whole animate creation, and was delighted even in childhood to find, that it treated the brute animals (so called because they are dumb) as the brothers of man, who want-

ed nothing but the power of speech. The wild beasts it denominates living creatures, or the *living*, because the domestick animals are, in the comparison, as it were, still and dead. I was delighted, when I found the voice and language of brutes so forcibly expressed in the language; when the prophet coos with the crane and the turtle dove, and mourns with the ostrich in the wilderness. I rejoiced at finding the form of the stag, the lion, and the ox, sometimes their strength, stateliness, and velocity, at others, the acuteness of their senses, their habits of life, and their character described and painted in appropriate terms, and wished that in place of some of the sacred songs we had more of its fables, parables, riddles respecting the brute creation, in short more of the poetry of nature; for this seems to me to be among this people the most happy, and of the most perfect simplicity.

E. The name of God however must always belong to it, as a necessary accompaniment, for he is the parental head of this whole animate creation. He gives to every creature its food;—all eyes wait upon him, and he lights them up with joy. The young and hateful raven does not cry unheard, and the wild chamois goat experiences his paternal care, and is delivered in her time of need. He lives as it were with every animal in its peculiar sphere, feels its wants, and fulfils its wishes, because he has given to all their natures. To him nothing is wild, nothing dumb and despised. He soars with the lion after his prey, and looks down from his mountain eyry with the glance of the eagle. The wild ass lives upon his pastures, and the hawk flies by his wisdom. His too is the great deep, the realm of monsters. The hated crocodile is the object of his paternal love, and behemoth is the beginning of the ways of God, the most magnificent of his works on earth. In short this poetry is full of natural feeling, full of the universal providence and goodness of God in his wide empire. It was nourished in the bosom of nature, and cherished in the lap of our mother earth.

A. I now discover (what I have often wondered at with some perplexity) why it is, that in this poetry a preference is sometimes given to the brutes over men, and the ass of Balaam has more influence with the angel, than the prophet who rode her. In the book of Job God is represented as delighting in the horse, and the lion, as being proud of behemoth and leviathan, but is silent respecting man.

E. It does not however pass over man with neglect; he is the image of God, the masterpiece of his works, and one of the visible Elohim here upon the earth. But of this at another time. Finish now your song of praise, and I will close with one to correspond with it.

A.

He made the moon to divide the seasons,
The sun knoweth his going down.

Thou makest darkness, and it is night,
In which every beast of the forest creeps forth,
The young lions roar after their prey,
And seek their food from God.

The sun riseth, they hurry away,
And lay themselves down in their dens.
Then man goeth forth to his labour,
And to his work in the field until evening.

How manifold are thy works, O God,
In wisdom hast thou made them all;
The earth is full of thy treasures.

The sea too, so vast, so wide in extent,
There are swarms innumerable,
Living things small and great.
There go the ships,
There sports the leviathan,
Which thou hast made to play therein.

These all wait on thee,
To give them meat in its season,
Thou givest it them, they gather it,
Thou openest thine hand, they are satisfied with good.

Thou turnest away thy countenance,
They are filled with terror;
Thou takest away their breath,
They return back to their dust;

Thou sendest forth thy breath,
They are created anew,
And thou renewest the face of the earth.
The glory of Jehovah endureth for ever.
Jehovah rejoiceth in his works,
He looketh upon the earth, and it trembleth,
He toucheth the mountains, and they smoke.
I will sing to Jehovah as long as I live,
I will praise my God, while I have being.
My song of him shall be sweet,
I will be joyful in Jehovah.
Praise the Lord, O my soul,
Hallelujah.

E. I remain pledged for a corresponding specimen, but since you prefer hymns here is one entirely in the Oriental style. In my opinion there is indeed but one style in this class of poetry in all the living European languages, and that is the style of Job, the Prophets and the Psalms. Milton has especially interwoven it in the composition of his immortal poem. Thompson has trodden with feebler steps in the same path, and among us Kliest has very philosophically adorned it. For this style and this imagery we are indebted to the simplicity of the Hebrew poetry.*

* Reference is had in the last paragraph to Milton's Morning Hymn of Adam in the 5th Book of Paradise Lost, which it is not thought necessary to copy in this publication.

DIALOGUE IV.

Transition to the book of Job. Best method of reading it. Descriptions of God, as judge of the stars, the creation of the world, the stiller of the tempest. Style and character of Elihu in his descriptions. Examples of his style. Discourse of God out of the tempest. Elucidation of its sublime pictures of nature. Of the poetry of nature in general. Whether it be a lifeless species of poetry, and undeserving of the name. Object of the poetry of nature. First means of attaining it, personification, animation. Examples from Job. Whether the most ancient times have an advantage over us in this respect, and why. Second requisite for this class of poetry, that it be the interpreter of nature. Examples from Job. Influence of the poetry of nature on the feelings. Third requisite, that it have an object and purpose. Illustrations from Job. Appendix, examples of personification from Ossian.

WHEN Euthyphron enquired for his friend, he found him reading the book of Job.

ALCIPHON. You see how your scholar is employed, and it is hardly necessary to say, that I am reading this book with delight. I cannot yet indeed accustom myself to the long speeches, the tedious complaints and claims to innocency, and still less the vindications of Providence, which cannot themselves be vindicated. Of the guiding thread of the dialogue, I yet know nothing. But the descriptions of nature in it, the sublime and yet simple account of the attributes of God, and his government of the world, elevate the soul. If you are inclined to listen then, I will (as these people say)

open the treasures of my heart, and read a few passages to you. I leave it to you afterwards to set me in the right way in regard to the plan, the antiquity and author of the book.

EUTHYPHRON. It is a very proper course for you to begin in that way of selecting particular passages. To read the work continuously is for us perhaps too strong meat. We are accustomed to prefer brevity in the dialogue, and a more obvious sequence of ideas, than we find here. The Orientals in their social intercourse heard each other quietly through, and were even fond of prolonged discourses, especially in verse. They are pearls from the depths of the ocean loosely arranged, but precious: treasures of knowledge and wisdom in sayings of the olden time.

A. But of what time? One must be surprised to find here so much intelligence, and furnished so abundantly with unperturbed impressions and ideas of nature, and yet again there are other ideas so poor, so childlike.

E. Pass over, if you please, the considerations of time and authorship, and confine yourself to the work, as it is, in its poverty and its richness. Beyond all contradiction the book is from very ancient times, and I take it up whenever I venture to decypher its thoughts, with a species of reverence. My thoughts are carried to distant countries and remote ages, the ruins of the great revolutions that have taken place, as well in matters of taste, as in the governments of the world. I listen to a voice that comes to me from a distance, perhaps of three or four thousand years, and instead of sitting in judgment on the book, or bringing it to the test of my own times, I say to myself in the words of the book itself,

We are of yesterday, and know nothing,
 Our life on earth is but a shadow.
 The fathers, they shall teach and tell us,
 They give us the language of their hearts.

Proceed then with its beautiful descriptions of God and nature. My ear is open, and listens with attention to the ideas of the most ancient of the infant world.

A.

Power and its terrors are his,
 He is arbiter in the heights of heaven.
 Are not his hosts without number,
 And his light prevails over all?
 Shall man then be just before God?
 One born of woman be pure?
 Behold even the moon abides not with its tent,
 The stars are not pure in his eyes.
 And shall man, who is a worm, be pure?
 A child of earth, a worm!

E. A sublime representation of God, the supreme judge of heaven! the arbiter among the stars and angels. His glittering hosts are numberless, his splendour obscures them all; his light, his purity, the truth and justice of his judicial decree puts them to silence. The moon with its tent disappears, the stars are impure in his sight. Then from these bright eminences we glance at man, and ask,

Shall man, who is a worm, be pure?
 A child of earth, a worm!

A. Your explanation of the obscure words, "He maketh peace among his heights, over whom doth not his light arise? The moon pitcheth not her tent before him," please me much. I see the Eastern judge, who decides between angels and stars. How finely and poetically too is the darkened moon introduced. Its tent is gone from heaven, it has concealed itself from the presence of its judge.

E. Proceed to the remarks of Job; they are better still.

A.

Whom helpest thou? him who hath no strength?
 Whom dost thou vindicate? whose arm hath no power?
 To whom give counsel? one without wisdom?
 Truly much wisdom hast thou taught him!
 To whom dost thou give knowledge by words?
 And whose breath dost thou breathe?

E. To whom do you suppose this passage to relate?

A. It seems to me to refer to God. Job means to say, that God needs not to be vindicated by him, that his very breath is the breath of God, and that a helpless creature cannot become the defender of his Creator.

E. Proceed, I shall not again interrupt you.

A.

The shades are moved from beneath,
 The abyss, and those that dwell in it.
 The realms of darkness are naked before him,
 And uncreated night without a covering.
 Over the wasteful deep he spreadeth out the heavens,
 He hangeth up the earth upon nothing;
 He bindeth up the waters in his clouds,
 And the clouds are not rent under them.
 He closeth up his throne round about,
 He spreadeth the clouds around him.
 He appointeth a boundary for the waters,
 To where the light is ended in darkness.
 The pillars of heaven tremble,
 They are shaken at his reproof.
 By his power he scourgeth the sea,
 By his wisdom he bindeth its pride.
 By his breath he garnisheth the heavens,
 His hand seizeth the fleeing serpent.
 Lo these are a part of his ways,
 A whisper that we have heard of him;
 But the thunders of his power,
 Who can comprehend them?

E. A splendid passage, and, as you are turned poet, I will become your commentator. Job surpasses these op-

ponents in the excellence of his effusions, as much as he has the advantage of them in the result of their contest. He paints only a single representation of the power and majesty of God, but he draws his image from the deepest abyss, and carries his picture to the highest point of sublimity. The realms of nonexistence are spread before the Almighty, the boundless depths of vacancy stretch beneath him ; and as these were conceived, as we have before seen, under the form of a restless ocean, he represents this, the vast realm of ancient night and unborn ages, as appearing before the Almighty, unveiling its wild abyss, and the horrid commotion of its billows. The shades tremble, the shapeless forms of future being are moved with expectation, the abyss, which never before saw the light, is without a covering. Now begins the work of creation. He spreads out the heavens over this dark and boundless deep ; he establishes the earth and causes it to rest ; and as it were to be suspended over nothingness and vacancy. (For these realms of night and of the shades were supposed to be subterraneous.) Now he arranges the heavens in order, binds up the waters in clouds, and forms for himself the open expanse ; builds and adorns his throne in the midst of the waters ; encloses it around, and spreads the thick clouds as a carpet beneath it. Then he measures and designates the boundaries of the watery heaven to where the light and darkness mingle, that is, to the extremity of the horizon. Next his power is exhibited in the thunder, and still more to magnify the effect, in a storm at sea. The waves are represented as rebels, whom he drives before him, and can in a moment bind in chains. A single breath from him, and the sea is calm, the heavens clear ; his hand meets only with the flying serpent (either according to an image occurring in other passages—Ps. lxxiv. 13. Es. xxvii. 1—the monsters of the deep in the neighbouring seas, as the crocodile, or perhaps the flying and curling waves themselves, which his hand smooths and levels. Either way the pic-

ture closes with a stillness as sublime and beautiful, as the tumult, with which it commenced, was terrifick. And these, says Job, are but a single sound, a small part of his wonders.

The thunders of his power, who can comprehend them?

Every morning, as day breaks from the darkness of night, every storm, especially at sea, brings the magnificent picture before us. Have you any other passage?

A. Take, if you please, the laudatory hymn of the inspired Elihu, immediately preceding the final and magnificent response of the Divine Being.

E. Observe however by the way, that it stands there only as a foil to increase the effect of that response. Much as Elihu thinks, and finely as he speaks, he is still, as he himself says, but new and fermenting wine, that rends and escapes from the bottles. He has splendid images, but directs them to no end; and the finest of them are only amplifications of those, which Job and his friends had employed in a more concise form. Hence no answer is returned to him. He prepares the way for the entrance of the Divine Being, and proclaims it without himself being aware of it. In describing a rising tempest in all its phenomena he paints, without knowing it, the coming of the judge.

A. I had never remarked this prospective design in the progress of the picture.

E. It is however, as I think, the soul of the whole, without which, all that Elihu says, would be mere tautology. As the passage is too long to be taken entire, begin at the words "Lo! God is great."—I will occasionally alternate with you.

A.

Lo, God is mighty in his power,
Where is a teacher like him?
Who shall try his ways?
And who shall say thou hast erred?

Consider and praise his doings,
For all men celebrate them,
All men behold them,
Weak men see them from far.

Lo, God is great, and we know it not,
The number of his years is unsearchable.
He draweth up the drops of water,
Rains are exhaled upward in vapour ;
The clouds pour them down again,
They drop upon men abundantly.
And who comprehendeth the spreading of the cloud ?

[We are obliged to make a very abrupt conclusion in this article, as the manuscript has not reached us, in season, to enable us to print the remainder of the dialogue. It is hardly necessary to remark, that in many of the speculations of the *Author*, neither the translator nor editor have any faith, but as we believe they are not likely to produce any evil effect, we are disposed to publish the dialogues notwithstanding their presence.]

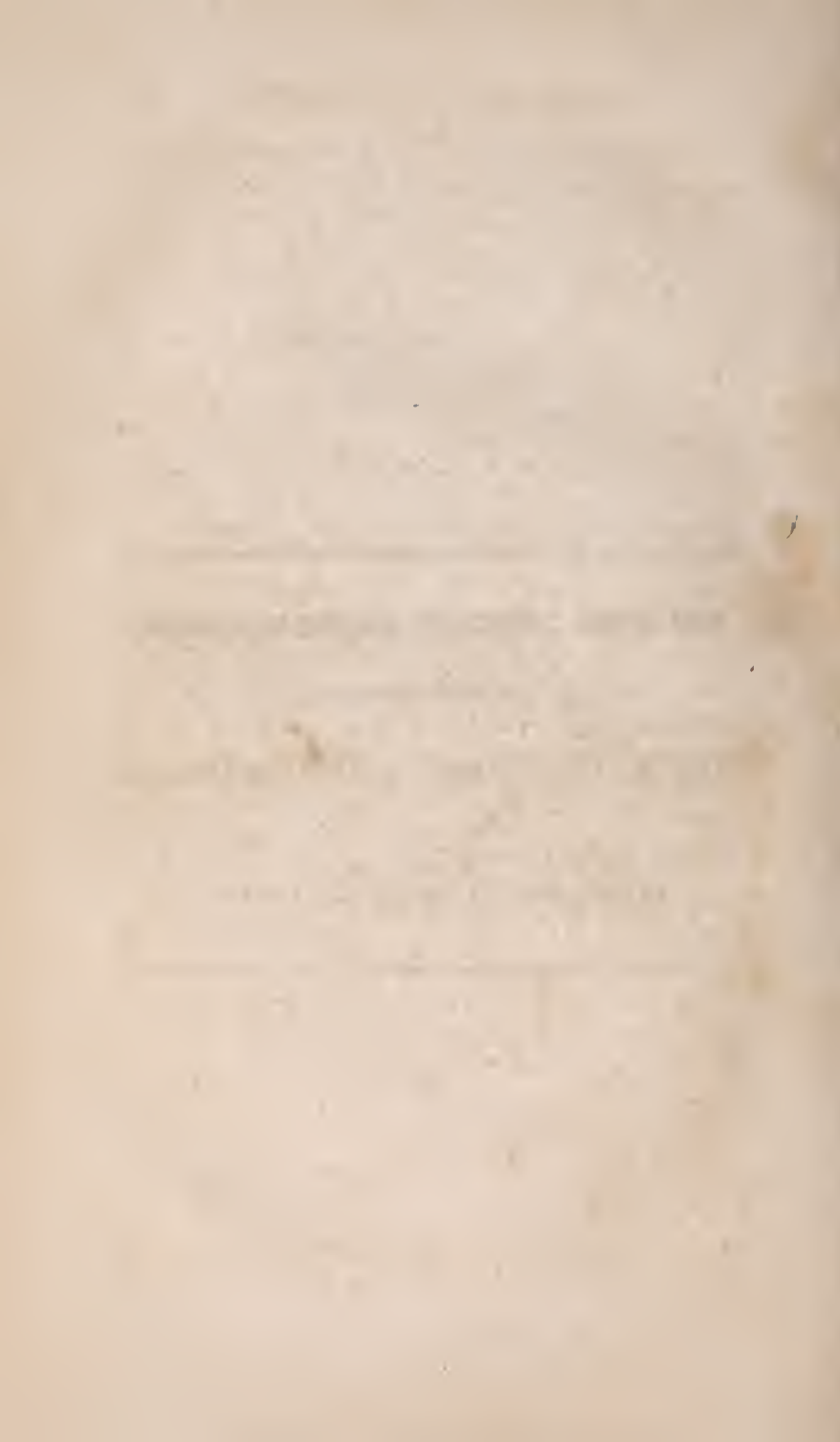


ON THE JEWISH PENTATEUCH,

AN EXTRACT FROM

Jahn's Einleitung ins Alte Testament.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR PATTON.



ON THE JEWISH PENTATEUCH,

&c.

§. III. *The whole aspect of the Pentateuch is that of a work of Moses.*

THE contents of the Pentateuch, which have been specified in the preceding section, its arrangement, execution, style and language, are such as to render it in the highest degree probable, to every unprejudiced inquirer, who directs his attention to the points of principal moment, and is not entangled with idle disquisitions about trifles, that the work is the production of such a man as Moses.

I. In the fifth book, a person addresses the people, who, by means of extraordinary deeds, had brought them out of Egypt; had united them, by means of miracles, into a church, and into a political community; had regulated them by means of laws; had conducted them, by journeyings for the space of forty years, as far as the Jordan; and had governed them by means of so many extraordinary acts of kindness and punishments. He addresses a people who had seen and experienced all this. He speaks with a tenderness and feeling, such as could be inspired only by the situation of a man who had done so much for the people; whose welfare, accordingly, even for the future, lay near his heart. In fine, he uniformly speaks in perfect congruity with the peculiar circumstances of Moses, and in exact accordance with the peculiar circumstances of the people; so that no suspicion can arise, of a later writer having thrown himself into this situation. On the contrary, it is altogether

er incredible that another could have written, without being betrayed by a single oversight, so entirely in the spirit of a wise lawgiver, and of a leader anxious for the welfare of his people.

The fifth book every where supposes the existence of the second, third, and fourth books, and makes frequent appeal to their contents ; it every where insists on the observance of the laws recorded in them ; and urges the events, therein described, upon the readers and hearers, as motives to obedience. The second, third, fourth, and fifth books, suppose the existence of the first, and allude frequently to its contents (of which circumstance we shall say more presently); so that all of them collectively must have proceeded from the same person who, in the fifth book, speaks so entirely in the spirit of Moses.

II. The selection and arrangement of the materials are uniformly such as a lawgiver, who records the history of his own legislation, would naturally adopt. We have, at the outset, a historical introduction, in which those events especially are particularized which prepare the way for the giving of the laws, and which bear a relation to their spirit. In the history of the legislation itself, such events alone are recorded as have a bearing upon the laws, and upon the obedience or refractoriness of the people; or furnish motives to the observance of the laws ; in regard to all other events, a profound silence is observed. The laws stand in the order in which they were from time to time delivered, and are interspersed with frequent narrations, with exhortations to obedience, and with promises and threatenings, as the lawgiver found it necessary. Many laws are, also, as the occasion required, frequently repeated; and some, as the case demanded, are subsequently, in some degree, altered and more accurately defined ; as, for example, the laws concerning usury, concerning the manumission of slaves in the seventh year, and concerning the punishment of kidnapping. If another had aimed to adopt this selection and ar-

rangement, it would have been necessary for him to penetrate into the very spirit of the laws; he would have omitted also many repetitions; he would have arranged the laws with more regard to the similarity of their contents, and he would not have interrupted their order by historical narrations.

III. The writer seems, throughout, to be a well-informed man, and must have enjoyed the advantage of a good education in a cultivated land, as was the case with Moses in Egypt at the court of Pharaoh. He every where discovers much valuable information, especially of geography, of natural history, of diseases, of ordinary encampments and marches, &c. With Egypt (where Moses resided until his fortieth year) he evinces a minute acquaintance. He alludes frequently to the laws of the Egyptians; at one time, imitating them, and at another, instituting laws in direct contrariety to those in Egypt, for the purpose of excluding the Egyptian superstitions. He is even aware (4 Mos' xiii. 22.) that Zoar or Tanis had been built seven years after Hebron. His style, too, is the best we have extant in the Hebrew language; just such as might be expected from a man who was educated at the Egyptian court.

IV. We find in the Pentateuch so much history, and, as far as we can judge from the information contained in other ancient writers, such perfectly correct history, that it is obvious the author must have lived in a period of very remote antiquity. The language, also, is a confirmation of this position, which surpasses in purity that of all the following books, and employs also some peculiar expressions, which, in the succeeding ages, were no longer in use, while, on the contrary, it is destitute of many expressions which, at a later period, were very current. Thus **הוא** and **נֶעַר** as feminines, are antiquated forms; which fact escaped the notice of the authors of the vowel-points, who pointed accordingly **הוא**, and **נֶעַר**. The prefix **נ**, on the other hand, which was common in the later Hebrew, occurs in the Pen-

tateuch but once (1 Mos. xlix. 10. שְׁלֵה), and that too in the mouth of Jacob; for in the words שְׂרֵי and בְּיָגָם (1 Mos. vi. 3) the שׁ is a radical letter; the former, according to the Arabic שְׂרֵי *to be above or highest*, is equivalent to עֲלִיּוֹן *the most high*, with which it is sometimes commutable; and the latter is to be pointed בְּיָגָם and (from שָׁגָה *to wander*) to be translated *in their wandering—because of their erring*. Examples of antiquated expressions are also, perhaps, כֹּתֵה for כְּסוּתֵה *a garment* (1 Mos. xlix. 11.); מְקוּהָ *a veil* (2 Mos. xxxiv. 33, 34, 35.); טוּהָ *to spin*, and מְטוּהָ *a thing spun* (2 Mos. xxxv. 25, 26.); חֲרָמֵשׁ *a sickle* (5 Mos. xvi. 9, 23, 26.); and שְׁגֵרָה *a first born* (2 Mos. xiii. 12. 5 Mos. vii. 13, xxviii. 4. 19, 51).

§. IV. *Mosès the author of the Pentateuch.*

That the man, who thus speaks and writes so entirely in the spirit and under the circumstances of the lawgiver, and so entirely in accordance with the circumstances of the people; whose selection and arrangement of the materials is precisely such as a historian, recording the history of his own legislation, would naturally adopt; who every where shows himself to be a philosopher so well furnished with accurate and various knowledge; and who, if we may judge from his knowledge of the remote ages of the world, and from his language, must have lived at a very remote period—that this man really is Moses, he himself informs us at the close of the work, according to the universal custom in the East, of the writer announcing himself as the author, for the first time, at the end of the book; for example, Jesus the son of Sirach, ch. l. 37. and Abdollatif at the end of his *Memorable things of Egypt*. Besides, Moses announces this in

a connexion of the discourse, where a foreign hand can hardly be supposed to have made such an interpolation, without betraying itself by the difference of language and style.

It is said, for example, (5 Mos. xxxi. 9—13.) “And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel” (the princes of the tribes, the heads of families, the scribes and the judges.) “And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release,” (sabbatical year) “in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose,” (where the tabernacle shall stand,) “thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates,” (cities,) “that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not known any thing, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.” And it is again said, (5 Mos. xxxi. 22.) “Moses, therefore, wrote this song (5 Mos. xxxii.) the same day, and taught it the children of Israel.” Finally. (5 Mos. xxxi. 24—26.) “And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee. For I know thy rebellion, and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day ye have been rebellious against the Lord; and how much more after my death?”

In this closing passage, in which he announces himself as the author, we find just the same style, the same language,

and the same confident, chiding, and somewhat harsh tone, reposing upon a good conscience, which we meet with in the rest of the work ; so that no suspicion can be entertained of an interpolation ; in which case Moses would certainly not have been named so directly, but, as in the appended portion, (5 Mos. xxxiii. 1.) with the honorable title of *the man of God*.

It is worthy of special observation, that in this passage, as elsewhere frequently in the Pentateuch, the written law is denoted by the expressions *הַתּוֹרָה* *the law* and *הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת* *this law*. The term *הַתּוֹרָה* *the law* (as is clear from these expressions being used synonymously, both which denote the written law,) is the appropriate name *nomen proprium* of the writings of Moses. It is to be understood, accordingly, not of unwritten laws, nor of the laws merely, although written, but of the whole contents of the books of Moses, including the historical notices. This is rendered still less doubtful by the fact that it is often expressly stated, that the law was written ; that Moses was commanded by God to write it ; and that, in obedience to this command, he actually recorded it ; and, indeed, not only laws, but also events, just in the same manner as he wrote the fifth book, in which so many historical events are recorded.

Thus (5 Mos. xvii. 18.) it is said of the king whom the Hebrews should one day appoint over themselves, ‘ And it shall be, when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites ; (כְּתַב לוֹ אֶת מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת עַל סֵפֶר מִלְּפָנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם) And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life ; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law, and these statutes, to do them.’ What effrontery in a modern writer to translate these words, ‘ ‘The King shall have the law rehearsed to him by the priests!’’

In the same manner, (5 Mos. xxviii. 58, 59.) mention is made of the book in which are written not laws merely but denunciations also. "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, that are written in this book, (the greater part of which is recorded in the second, third, and fourth books,) &c. Then the Lord will make," &c. And in vs. 61. also it is said, "Also every sickness and every plague which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee," &c. It is declared further (5 Mos. xxix. 20.) "And all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him," &c. and vs. 21. — "according to all the curses that are written in this book of the law." Again, (5 Mos. xxix. 27.) "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book." Now these curses, imprecations, or threats, are recorded not only in the fifth book, but also in 3 Mos. xxvi. and are symbolically contained in the oath of the covenant 2 Mos. xxiv.

Moses receives (2 Mos. xvii. 14.) a command from God to record *in the book* בְּסֵפֶר the affair with the Amalakites, and also the prediction that they should one day be destroyed on this account. Should any one prefer to read בְּסֵפֶר *in a book*, still thus much, at least, continues to be clear from the passage, that Moses, after the departure from Egypt, began to write a book, into which he introduced historical records also. According to 2 Mos. xxiv. 4., "Moses wrote all the words of the Lord;" and this writing is styled (2 Mos. xxiv. 7.) "the book of the covenant." Granting, now, that this contained merely from 2 Mos. xix. 1. to xxiv. 18., it proves nevertheless that Moses had begun and continued to write. At the renewing of the covenant after the offence of the golden calf, Moses again receives commandment (2 Mos. xxxiv. 27.) to write down the words of this covenant; and in the very next verse, we are told that while he was yet on Sinai he wrote the ten commandments upon the tables of stone. Finally, it is said, (4 Mos. xxxiii.

1, 2.) that Moses recorded all the encampments, from the time of their going forth out of Egypt.

From all these passages we see,

I. That Moses, immediately after the departure from Egypt, began to record, and afterwards continued to record, both laws and historical events, and, indeed, recorded them together in a book.

II. That he himself (5 Mos. xxxi. 11. 26.) styles this writing of his not only *the book of the law* סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה but, also, directly, *the law*; הַתּוֹרָה and that, consequently, these two expressions when the law generally is spoken of, are perfectly synonymous.

III. That he publicly delivered the book to the priests and the princes.

IV. That he commanded to preserve the same by the side of the ark of the covenant : and

V. To read it every seventh year in the presence of all the people.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to find on the face of the earth, another ancient book in which the author is so often announced ; the circumstances of whose publication secured to it so much notoriety ; whose author was so generally and certainly known ; and which has been, from the necessity of the case, handed down to posterity so easily, and with such unavoidable correctness. There is not an ancient book in the world, concerning which we know the place, (and that too a public and sacred place,) in which the original was preserved from the commencement ; which was read, also, publicly, every seven years, before the whole people. If therefore the testimony in support of the authenticity of any ancient book is adequate, the testimony of the ancient Hebrews in regard to the Pentateuch, is certainly much more so. They received it publicly from the hand of the author; they preserved in it the most holy place; all, without exception, from youth till old age, heard it read every seventh year ; which reading also was assuredly ne-

ver entirely omitted, and on this very account is never noticed in the smaller historical books, because it was a customary occurrence, and deserved no place in the history. A complaint, on the contrary, would have been heard, if it had been neglected ; not to mention that the well informed Hebrews had in their possession copies of the book, especially the priests, who, in all they had to do, were under the necessity of regulating their conduct by the same.

Add to this also, that the laws of the Hebrews, so far as they were observed (and they were always in part observed, even in idolatrous times ; they were, at least, never universally and utterly neglected), were always observed on this account alone, because they stood in the writings of Moses, through whom, God, the Creator of all things, the same who appointed the flood, who gave the promises to Abraham, and wrought the wonders by Moses, had ordered and prescribed them. This uniform observance of some laws at least, was, therefore, of itself, an abiding testimony that these writings were the work of Moses. This argument has not, hitherto, been sufficiently appreciated ; it is nevertheless of great weight, in establishing the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and merits a more minute explication. We shall accordingly show, that from the time of Moses downward,

I. The contents of the Pentateuch continued always to be generally known, and, indeed,

II. Under the name of *the law*,

III. Of *the law of the Lord*,

IV. Of *the law of Moses*,

V. Of *the book of the law of Moses*. Thus the constant testimony of the nation, in support of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, will be presented with all its weight.

§. V. *The contents of the Pentateuch were always known.*

The whole of the religious and political constitution of the Hebrews, under Joshua first, and thence through all the succeeding ages, presupposes the entire contents of the Pentateuch ; and would be, without the Pentateuch, an inexplicable phenomenon. The division into twelve tribes, with their appropriate names ; the conquest and occupation of the promised land ; the Levites and the priests, with their appropriate attire, and their privileges ; the high priest, with the Urim and Thummim, and with all his ornaments ; the tabernacle, (Jos xviii. 1. Judg. xxi. 19. 2 Sam. vii. 2. Ps. xxvii. 6. lxxviii. 60. 1 Kings i. 39. 1 Chron. ix. 20. 22. 24. xvii. 1.) and, at a subsequent period, the temple, with all its apparatus, and with every species of offering ; God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and, at the same time, King of the Hebrews ; the appearance of the prophets, together with their instructions ; the pollutions and the purifications, and the abstaining from certain kinds of food ; the various well defined festivals, all of which have reference to historical facts ; the observance of all those numerous ecclesiastical, civil, criminal, and police laws ; and the various vicissitudes themselves of the nation, as exhibited throughout the whole history—all presuppose the contents of the Pentateuch, announce a general and accurate acquaintance with the same, and would be inexplicable on the supposition that the contents of the Pentateuch were not universally known. The Hebrews themselves, especially the pious and intelligent Hebrews, of whom there certainly was, at every period, a considerable number, could not, without a knowledge of the Pentateuch, have explained to themselves their own conduct ; they would have lived and wandered continually involved in rid-

dles, and in more than Egyptian darkness. For example, they would have honored as the only God and as their King, a God unknown to other nations more cultivated and philosophical than themselves; they would have conceded to the priests of the same, and to the Levites, certain privileges; they would have paid the tithes, have brought their firstlings, and even have redeemed from them their first-born sons; have kept the passover, the pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles, and presented, with appropriate pomp, certain offerings at the tabernacle or in the temple, &c. without knowing *why* they did all this—without being able to render a single reason why they performed all this to this one God alone. Whoever can think this of a people amongst whom a book of Job, a song of Deborah, a fable of Jotham, so many beautiful psalms, the works of the prophets, and the proverbs of Solomon, made their appearance, can receive from us no better wish than that which Daniel Huetius, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, so often expresses in behalf of the adversaries, namely, *sanam mentem*. Inasmuch, however, as many adversaries are very positive, it is our design to establish, by particular examples, what we have just now asserted in general; only reminding our readers that the historical books, although not all contemporary with the narrated events, were nevertheless compiled, for the most part, verbally from ancient records; and consequently, supply satisfactorily the place of contemporary witnesses; and are so much the less obnoxious to suspicion, inasmuch as they are confirmed by contemporary writers, and by the psalmists, and by the prophets. Compare Part I. of this Introduction, § 15. p. 69—71.

The same God who (1 Mos. i.) created the heavens and the earth, by his word, by his almighty will; who gave to the earth its present form and its inhabitants; who subjected also every thing to man as his image, is recognized throughout the whole history, as the God of the Hebrews, who

was at every period revered by the pious, and frequently celebrated by the succeeding writers, as the Creator, in allusion to 1 Mos. i. with a transcript even of portions of the whole of that chapter of the Pentateuch, (Ps. viii. 2—9. xix. 2—7. xxiv. 1, 2. xxxiii. 5—9. lxxiv. 16, 17. xc. 2—4. civ. 2—22. cxv. 15, 16. cxxxv. 6. cxxxvi. 9. Prov. iii. 19. viii. 22—30. 1 Kings viii. 27. Is. xl. 21. 28. xlii. 5. xlv. 12. xlvi. 12. li. 13—16. Jer. xxvii. 5. xxxi. 35. xxxii. 17. Zach. xii. 1. Malach. ii. 10.). The celebration of the Sabbath, which was always, in some degree at least, observed, by the godly however, rigidly observed, was also a constant memorial of this doctrine (2 Mos. xx. 8—11. xxxi. 12—17.) and is, for us, a lasting testimony that the contents of the Pentateuch were universally known. This symbolical acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Creator through the observance of the Sabbath, is also in the sequel frequently mentioned, and the neglect of it always censured, (Ps. xcii. 1. 1 Chron. ix. 32. xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. ii. 4. xxxi. 3. xxxvi. 21. 2 Kings iv. 23. xi. 5, 7, 9, .xvi. 18. Hos. ii. 11. Amos viii. 5. Is. i. 13, 14. lvi. 2. 4. 7. lviii. 13. Jer. xvii. 21, 22. 24. 27. Lament. ii. 6. Ezek. xx. 12. 16. 20. 21. 24. xxii. 8. 26. xxiii. 35. xlv. 24. xlv. 17. xlvi. 12.) It is this same God who sends the flood upon the incorrigible race of man, and in Is. liv. 9. Ezek. xiv. 14. 18. 20. it is alluded to, in passing, as a thing known to all.

This almighty Creator and Governor of the universe is styled, throughout the whole history, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of Israel, and, with remarkable frequency, and sometimes also with peculiar emphasis, Jehovah, which term has a manifest allusion to the meaning of the word *Jehovah*, properly יהוה, *he will be the same that he was when he made the promises, he will fulfil the promises*, (2 Mos. iii. 14, 15. vi. 2—8.). Now all these appellations presuppose, as well known, the history of the patriarchs, and especially those divine promises which.

in these ancient records, stand out in relief above all the rest as the most remarkable transactions, which constitute also the soul of the succeeding history, and of the prophets. The multiplication of the people and the conducting them forth out of Egypt; the whole legislation, with all the promises and denunciations; the possession of the land of Canaan; the various vicissitudes, and all the hopes of the nation; all the prophecies, those especially which predict the spread of the knowledge of God amongst all nations;—in short, all their leadings and instructions, throughout all periods—are based upon those ancient promises, which, by means of those names of the Deity, (which were also in the mouth, of the people,) were kept continually in remembrance, and were constantly renewed by means of their gradual, partial, and progressive accomplishment, and by means of the more distinct development in the prophecies of the manner in which they were to be still further and more extensively accomplished. Many individual passages also of the lives of these original ancestors of the Hebrews, are expressly repeated in the succeeding books; or are glanced at merely, in passing; or are taken for granted at least, by a manifest allusion to them, as things well known, as Jos. xxiv. 3. Ps. cv. 6—24. Hos. xi. 8. xii. 3. 4. 12. Amos. i. 11. iv. 11. Is. i. 5. xiii. 19. li. 1—2. lxiii. 16. Zephan. ii. 9. Obad. 17. 19. Ezek. xvi. 46—49. 1 Kings xviii. 31. xix. 10. 14. 2 Kings xiii. 23. 1 Chron. xvi. 8—23. Malach. ii. 15. Compare also 1 Mos. xlix. 8, 10. with 1 Chron. xxviii. 4. Ps. lx. 7. cviii. 8. and Ezek. xxi. 26, 27.

This God and King of the Hebrews was, it is true, during many periods, neglected; other gods were worshipped; idols were erected; altars were raised; groves were planted; and, perhaps, even temples were built: but the idolatry prevalent in such times was, notwithstanding, never universal, not even in the kingdom of Israel under Ahab and Jezebel (1 Kings 19. 18.). It was merely the fact that other gods besides Jehovah were worshipped, and the tab-

ernacle or the temple not only remained standing, but was also visited on great festival occasions (1 Sam. 3. 9-11, 21. compare 1 Sam. vii. 2-4). But what tends to the main point is this, that the reformations which always followed upon such times of corruption, afford us evidence, that the contents of the Pentateuch were known. The peculiar relation itself in which God stood to the Hebrews, viz. as their King, upon which the whole system of legislation was founded, is presupposed in such reformations, and is also, perhaps, as elsewhere, frequently expressly mentioned (Judg. viii. 23. 1 Sam. viii. 7. 2 Sam. v. 5.). Compare my Archæol. Part II. Book I. § 22. page 112—§ 25. page 118 seq.—§ 27. page 125—126. § 31. page 37. seq. § 32. page 141. § 35. page 154—157. But we shall pass on to the individual instances where the contents of the Pentateuch are specially mentioned in the following books. I shall be pardoned however if I here treat the subject too much, perhaps, in detail: we shall soon see how important it is.

The call of Abraham, the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, the sending of Moses, the plagues sent upon Egypt, the passage through the Arabian gulf, the destruction of the Egyptian army in this arm of the sea, the conquest of Gilead and Bashan, and the history of Balaam, are, on the last day of their assembling, solemnly impressed by Joshua upon the minds of the princes, as eye-witnesses of all these transactions (Jos. xxiv. 2—10.). All these things are admitted by them (Jos. xxiv. 16—18.). All these events are also celebrated in song, with the particular mention too of the death of the first-born in Egypt, of the giving of the law on Sinai, and of the water which gushed from the rock, (Ps. lxvi. 5—6. lxxiv. 12—15. lxxvii. 12—21. lxxxii. 4—13. cxiv. 1—8. cxxxv. 8—10. cxxxvi. 10—20.). The whole history, from Abraham down to the irruption into Canaan, is presented, in an abridged form, in Ps. lxxviii. 1—55. cv. 1—45. cvi. 1—33. 1 Chron. xvi. 8—23. The plagues in Egypt are known even to the inhabitants of Jer-

icho (Jos. ii. 8.), to the Gibeonites (Jos. ix. 9—10.), and to the Philistines (1 Sam. vi. 6.). Mention is made also, individually, of the passage through the Arabian gulf (Hos. ix. 10. Is. li. 9—10.); of the march through Arabia Petræa (Amos v. 25. 26. Jer. ii. 2—7.); of the giving of the law upon Sinai (Ps. xxv. 9. l, 1—8. 16. lxxviii, 8—12. 17. lxxiv. 20. ciii. 10, 7. Hos. viii. 12. Jer. xi. 2—10. xxii. 9. xxxi, 32.); of the discoursing of God with Moses, out of the cloud (Judg. v. 4, 5. 1 Kings viii. 9. Ps. xcix. 6, 7. Compare Judg. ii, 10, 11.). Their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, occurs very frequently in the historical portions, in the Psalms, and in the Prophets, (Jos. v. 4, 5. Judg. ii. 1—3. xix. 30. 1 Sam. viii. 8. x. 17, 18. xii. 8. xv. 2. 2 Sam. vii. 5—7, 23, 24. 1 Kings viii. 16. 51. 53. 56. ix. 9. xii. 28. 2 Kings xvii. 7. 36. xxi. 15. 2 Chron. vi. 5. Ps. lxxx. 8—10. lxxxii. 4—13. cxxxv. 1—10. cxxxii. 11. Hos. xi. 1. xii. 9. xiii. 4. Amos ii. 10. iii. 1. ix. 7. Mich. vii. 15. Jer. ii. 6, 7. vii. 22—25. xxiii. 7. xxxii. 20—22.) The brazen serpent, which Moses had caused to be erected, was continually preserved, and, at many times, even received divine honors (2 Kings xviii. 4.). Jephtha, in a negotiation for peace, consequently on a diplomatic occasion (Judg. xi, 14—27.), appeals to the expedition and the conquests of the Hebrews, described in 4 Mos. 20—32. and thus takes it for granted, that they were well known to the Amorites also, with whom he was negotiating; or, at all events, intimates that he was able to substantiate them from ancient contemporary records. These very victories over Sihon and Og, beyond the Jordan, were, besides the passages already cited, in which the whole ancient history of the Hebrews is rehearsed, mentioned also elsewhere in sundry places. Thus, the history of Balaam is repeated (Jos. 13, 22. xxiv. 9.), with the additional circumstance, that Balaam fell in the slaughter which the Midianites suffered at the hand of the Israelites. The two tribes and the half tribe, which obtained from Moses the king-

dom of Sihon and of Og, on condition that they should assist the remaining tribes in the conquest of Canaan, are mentioned (Jos. i. 13. 15. iv. 12, 13. xii. 16. xiii. 8. 32. xviii. 7. xxii, 2—9. xxiv. 8—10.) as having done according to their promise to Moses, and as having been dismissed to their own places of residence beyond the Jordan. This portion of history is cited in other places also (Judg. xii. 6. xiii. 12, 13. 32. Ps. xxxvi. 10—20. cxxxv. 10—12). Besides this the descendants of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and guide of the Hebrews, dwelt as a lasting memorial amongst the Hebrews, and are mentioned in Judg. i. 16. iv. 10, 11. 17—22. 1Sam. xv. 6. Jer. xxxiv. 3—14.

Of the memorable *manna* (2 Mos. xvi. 15. 31. 33. 4 Mos. xi. 6—9. 5 Mos. 8. 16.), some of which was preserved in the Holy of Holies, it is expressly said (Jos. v. 12.) that it ceased when the Hebrews entered Canaan. Of this manna is also sung in Ps. lxxviii. 24. cv. 40.

Joshua writes the law on stones, sets it up on Ebal, erects an altar, brings offerings, and proclaims the blessings and the cursings, "*as Moses commanded*" (Jos. viii. 30—35. Compare 5 Mos. xxvii. 1—25).

Every thing in the book of Joshua, as well as in the book of Judges, is related with manifest allusion to the contents of the Pentateuch; and, indeed, frequently with this express declaration, "*as Moses commanded.*" Thus it is said, (Jos. xi. 23.) "*Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses.*" In Jos. xi. 12. 15. 20., "*he utterly destroyed them, as Moses and as the Lord had commanded.*" The Canaanites who remained (2 Mos. xxiii. 29—33.) "*were*" according to Judg. iii. 4. "*to prove Israel, to know whether they would hearken unto the commandments of the Lord, which he commanded their fathers, by the hand of Moses.*" They divide (Jos. xiv. 2—5.) the land, and the Levites (Jos. xxi. 3.) receive nothing but 48 cities; and on both occa-

sions, it is added, "*as Moses commanded.*" In Jos. xiv. 6—16. and Judg i. 20. vi. 8—13, Caleb asks and receives the city of Hebron with its suburbs, "*as Moses commanded,*" compare 1 Mos. xiii. 31. xiv. 6—9. 24 30. In the passage Jos xvii. 3, 4., the daughters of Zelophehad come forward and ask a portion of the land, "*as the Lord commanded Moses;*" and their request was complied with, "*according to the commandment of the Lord,*" compare 4 Mos. xxvii. 1—11. xxxvi. 1—12. The tabernacle, which Moses had erected, is (Jos. xviii. 1.) set up at Shiloh; the Israelites assemble at the same (Judg. xx 23—28.); Elkanah goes up thither, from time to time (1 Sam. i. 3—28.); and there were there a high priest and priests, who (1 Sam. ii. 12—17.) arrogate to themselves more than Moses had allowed; and (1 Sam. iv 18—22) the ark is brought thence, from the tabernacle erected by Moses, into the camp; is taken by the Philistines and sent back with extraordinary sin off rings (1 Sam. iv. 10. vi. 21.). It is brought by David (2 Sam. vi. 1—11.) into the house of Obededom, and then (2 Sam vi. 12—20.) to Zion, until it was, finally, under Solomon, deposited in the temple (1 Kings viii. 3—9. compare Ps. xcix. 1—6). The cities of refuge are appointed (Jos. xx. 1—9) "*as the Lord commanded Moses*" (4 Mos. xxxv. 9—54. 5 Mos. xix. 1—13.). The Urim and Thummim is found also in the vesture of the high priest (as it is described in 2 Mos. xxviii. 30. xxxix. 8—31.), down to the time of Solomon, who, as an arbitrary sovereign, would use it no longer (Jos. vii. 14. Judg. xx. 23. 27 28. 1 Sam. xiv. 36. 37. xxii. 19—23. xxiii. 2—4. 10—12. xxviii. 6.). We find in these times, vows, and especially also a vow of *Cherem* (excommunication) and of the Nazarites (Jos. vi. 17—19. vii. 1. 11—26. Judg. xi 30. 31. 34—40 xiii. 4. 5. 13. 14. xvi. 17. 1 Sam. i 21.); all in accordance with the ordinances of Moses.

In the psalms, in the proverbs of Solomon, and in the

prophets, the vows which are made by word of mouth, and which usually concern offerings, are frequently mentioned, entirely in accordance with the commandments which we find in Moses (Ps. xl. 14. xlvii. 13. lxxvi. 13--15. 17 vi. 6. 9. cxvi 14. 18. Is. xix. 21). As, however, in the Pentateuch, the offerings are always prescribed only as an attestation of homage towards their God and King, Jehovah, and distributed into many kinds, so we find them also alluded to in the course of the history. The different offerings are frequently mentioned (Ps. li. 18. Jer. vi. 20. 21. vii. 21. xvii. 26. xxxiii. 18). Offerings, without those good intentions, are rejected (Ps. l. 8--15. Prov. xv. 8. H. s. iv. 4--7. v. 1. Joel i. 8. 13. ii 1. 7. 14. Amos v. 21. viii 9. Is. i 10. 12. Mich. vi. 6. 7). For adultery, and for murder, there are no sacrifices at all (Ps. li. 18). From the King is required, not a great number of sacrifices, but obedience to the law (Ps. xl. 8. compare 5 Mos. xvii. 18--20). Joshua and David, both of them men of war, though, nevertheless, the horses taken from the enemy (Jos. xi. 6--9. 2 Sam. viii. 4. Ps. xx. 8), because it had been already (5 Mos. xvii. 16.) forbidden to the future kings, to keep a great multitude of horses. David devoted his treasures to the building of the temple, because (5 Mos. xvii. 17.) the future kings had been forbidden to multiply to themselves riches. In 1 Kings xi. 1--4., Solomon the king is censured for the great multitude of wives, which he had taken contrary to 5 Mos. xvii. 17., and it is added too that he took them out of those nations with whom intermarriages were forbidden (2 Mos. xxxiv. 15. 5 Mos. vii. 3. compare also Esr. ix. 2. x. 3. Neh. xiii. 23).

The obligation to raise up seed to a deceased brother (1 Mos. xxxvi. 8--12. 5 Mos. xxv. 5--9.), is adverted to in Ruth iv. 7--8. The law concerning forbidden marriages (5 Mos. xviii.), is recognised in Ezek. xxii. 8--11.; and the punishment of death, which was denounced against adultery, (1 Mos. xxxviii. 24. 3 Mos. xx. 10. 5 Mos. xxiii.

22), is recognised in Prov. vi. 26--32. The remission of this punishment could be announced, even to king David, for his comforting, only through a prophet (2 Sam. xiii 13) : and the prophets express, throughout, their disapprobation of a crime which, inasmuch as it was perpetrated in secret, or by the powerful, could not be punished. The writing of divorcement, and the prohibition from receiving again the divorced wife after she had been married to another (5 Mos. xxiv. 1--4), are alluded to in Is. i. 1. Jer. iii. 1. Intercourse with a menstrual woman, against which the punishment of death is denounced (3 Mos. xx. 15.), is also adverted to in Ezek. xviii. 6, 22. The laws concerning the honoring of parents and concerning the cursing of the same (2 Mos. xx. 12, xxi. 17. 3 Mos. xx. 9), are mentioned or taken for granted in Prov. xx. 20. xxiii 22.

The first tythes, from which the Levites and the priests received their support, must have been, the greater part at least, regularly paid at every period after the law of Moses ; the Levites, else, must have been exposed to starvation, or famine, or must have resorted to some other occupation ; which, however, we do not find to have been, at any period, universally the fact. With the second tythe, the expenses of offerings were always, on every great festival occasion, defrayed, and feasts celebrated. We find in Amos iv. 4, 5. mention made of the triennial settlement of the second tythe. See 5 Mos. iv. 32--29. xii. 4--19. xvi. 10. xxvi. 10. Compare 4 Mos. xviii. 22. xxviii. 40. xl. 2. 12. 3 Mos. xxvii. 30. 32. Compare 1 Chron. xxxi. 5. 6. 12. Malach. iii. 8--10. Neh. x. 38. 39. xii. 15. 44.

The festival days are frequently alluded to, See Jos. v. 10, 11. 1 Sam. xx. 7. 24 27. Hos. ix. 8. xii. 9. Amos v. 21. vi. 21. viii. 5. 10. Is. i. 13, 14. lvi. 2--4. lviii. 13. Jer. xvii. 21. 24. 27. Lament. ii. 1. Ezek. xxiii. 28. 2 Kings iv. 23. xxiii. 22. 24. 2 Chron. ii. 3. viii. 13. xxx. 1--18.

xxxv. 1—19. Ezr. iii. 4, 5. vi. 2. 10. 22. Neh. x. 15. 17. The pilgrimages also to Jerusalem are mentioned in Is. xxx. 29. A prophet alludes, in 1 Sam ii. 27—35., to the promise made to Phineas the son of Eleazar (4 Mos. xxv. 10—13.). The presenting of the firstlings is recommended as a duty in Prov. iii. 9.

The prohibition from lending to a Hebrew upon usury (5 Mos. xxiii. 19, 20. Compare 2 Mos. xxii. 22. 3 Mos. xxv. 36, 37), is recognized in Ps. xv. 5. Prov. xxv. 25. Ezek. xviii. 8—17. xxii. 2. Prov. xix. 17, 18. The cloak taken as a pledge is hinted at in Amos ii. 8. Ezek. xviii. 7. 16. as unlawful. Compare 2 Mos. xxii. 25. 5 Mos. xxiv. 13. The same is true also of the taking a satisfaction in lieu of a capital punishment (Amos v. ii. Compare 2 Mos. xxi. 12. 4 Mos. xxxv. 9—35. 5 Mos. xix. 5—13). David decides (2 Sam. xii. 6.), in accordance with 2 Mos. xxi. 37., upon a fourfold restoration of the stolen and already slaughtered lamb. Scales and weights are, according to Prov. xvi. 11., sacred to the Lord; and diverse weights and measures are, according to Prov. xx. 10. 23. an abomination to the Lord; compare 3 Mos. xix. 35—37. xxi. 9. 5 Mos. xxv. 12—16. Jeremiah ch. xxiv. 12—16. animadverts upon the neglect to manumit the Hebrew slaves after six years of service, and cites expressly the law (2 Mos. xxi. 2—6. 5 Mos. xv. 12—18). In ch. ii. v. 34. also, he recognises the law (2 Mos. xxii. 1—3.), that he who slays a thief breaking in by night, is not punishable. The eating of swine's flesh, of mice, and of other unclean and abominable food, is alluded to Is. lxx. 4, 5. lxxvi. 17. as unlawful, in the same manner as in 3 Mos. xi. 7, 8. xxix. 4.—44.

David alludes, in Ps. li. 9. to the prescribed ceremony of the purification of a leper who has been healed (3 Mos. xiv. 4—9.). Solomon invokes God, in the dedicatory prayer (1 Kings viii. 31—53.), to punish a false oath before the altar (2 Mos. xx. 7.): to hear the people when they

turn again to Him, after being smitten before the enemy ; or during a drought ; or in case of a failure of the produce of the fields, by blasting and mildew ; or in famine and pestilence : and to hear the strangers who should come into the temple :—all in accordance with 3 Mos. xxvi. 5 Mos. xxvii—xxx. where these very plagues are threatened ; and entirely in accordance with what is prescribed concerning the treatment of strangers (3 Mos. xix. 33, 34. xxii. 2. xxiii. 9. 4 Mos. xv. 14. 5 Mos. x. 18), to which, allusion is as frequently made, as to what is commanded in the Pentateuch, concerning the treatment of the poor, widows, and orphans. See Ps. x. 14. 18. lxxviii. 6. lxxxii. 3. lxxxiv. 6. xciv. 6. Prov. xxiii. 10. Is. i. 17. 23. x. 1. Hos. xiv. 4. Jer. v. 28. vii. 6. Ezek. xxii. 7. 29. Zach. vii. 10. Malach. iii. 5. and other passages.

In fine, throughout all the following books, allusion is constantly made to the contents of the Pentateuch, and every thing is judged of by this standard. The historical books bestow praise and censure, uniformly, with reference to the contents of the books of Moses, as a well known and unerring rule. The Psalms and the Proverbs breathe, throughout, the spirit of the books of Moses. The Prophets insist continually upon the observance of the contents of the Pentateuch ; they threaten the plagues, and promise the deliverance and prosperity, which are denounced or promised in the Pentateuch. We might say indeed, that all the succeeding books are commentaries upon the Pentateuch. With such a testimony, extending through all ages, it is certainly contrary to criticism, and contrary to sound reason, to entertain a doubt, whether the contents of the Pentateuch were known in ancient times, and whether the book was extant ; especially as we know also the means by which the knowledge of the same was constantly preserved.

§. VI. *The Pentateuch known by the name of THE LAW OF THE LORD.*

THE Pentateuch, inasmuch as the greater portion of it consists of instructions and laws, is frequently styled, by the author himself, as we have already seen, *the precept, the instruction, or the law* תְּוֹרָה (5 Mos. i. 5. xxxi. 9. 23.) and in the succeeding times also, its contents are often mentioned under this name (Zeph. iii. 4. Jer. ii. 8. xviii. 18. Lament. ii. 8. Ezek. vii. 26. Zach. vii. 12. 2 Chron. xv. 3. xxxv. 21. Esr. x. 3. and elsewhere). Inasmuch, however, as all the laws had been promulged under the divine authority, the contents of the Pentateuch are frequently alluded to under the name of *the law of the Lord* תְּוֹרַת יְהוָה, and we find, at every period, throughout the whole history, abundant evidence that this *law of the Lord* was universally known.

As in the Pentateuch itself, and especially in the fifth book, not the laws merely, but also the divine guidances and benefits, as they stand recorded in the five books, are inculcated upon the people, and urged upon their affections, with the repeated admonition, *to lay them much to heart, to impress them at every opportunity, upon the minds of the children, to meditate upon them continually, and to apply them to themselves* (5 Mos. vi. 1—25. xi. 16—20. xvii. 15—30.); so we find the same repeated (Jos. i. 7, 8. Ps. i. 1—6.), in accordance with this admonition, and introduced in all the succeeding books, in which there is a constant allusion to *the law of the Lord*. There occur, also, frequently, peculiar reflections upon these divine instructions (Ps. xix. 8—12. lxi. 5, 6. lxxiv. 12—15. lxxv. 5—8. lxxvii. 12—21. lxxviii. 1—55. lxxx. 4—13. cv. 1—45. cvi. 1—33. cxxxv. 8—10. cxxxvi. 10—20. 1 Chron.

xvi. 8—23. Compare 1 Chron. xxii. 11—13. 2 Kings xvii. 13. 15. 19. Prov. vi. 23. xxviii. 4. 7. 9. and especially Ps. cxix. in which *the law* and *the law of the Lord* occur, under various names, in every verse). Somewhat later, *the law of the Lord* is every where alluded to, (Hos. iv. 6. viii. 1. Amos ii. 4. Is. v. 24. vi. 23. viii. 21. xxx. 9. xlii. 24. li. 7. Jer. vi. 19. viii. 8. ix. 12. xvi. 11. xxvi. 4. xlv. 10. 12. Ezek. xxii. 26. 2 Kings x. 31. xvii. 13. 17. 34. 2 Chron. xii. 1. vi. 16. xii. 1. xix. 11. xxxi. 3, 4. Ezr. vii. 10. Neh. ix. 19. 24. 26. x. 29).

§. VII. *The Pentateuch known as THE LAW OF MOSES*—

As the contents of the Pentateuch were known, at every period, by the name of *the law of the Lord*, so were they also spoken of, throughout the whole history, under the name of *the law of Moses*; and these phrases frequently alternate as synonymous, or it is said expressly, *the law which the Lord gave by the hands of Moses*; which law, as we have shown in §. 4., was recorded in writing by Moses.

Thus, immediately after the death of Moses, it is promised (Jos. i. 3. 5), that God will deliver the land of Canaan to the Hebrews, *as he had said to Moses*; and that he would be with Joshua, *as he had been with Moses*; and both the one and the other promise occur throughout the Pentateuch. Joshua causes the law to be engraven on stones; sets up the same upon mount Ébal; brings offerings and proclaims a blessing and a curse, *as Moses had commanded* (Jos. viii. 30—35. 5 Mos. xxvii.). In the following passages Jos. iii. 7. iv. 14. viii. 35. x. 40. xi. 20. xii. 6. xiii. 8. 12. 24. 29. 32. xiv. 2. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. xvii. 4. xx. 2. xxi. 2. 8. xxii. 2. 4. 5. xxiv. 5. 6., Moses is uniformly mentioned as the one through whom the com-

mands or promises, which we find in the Pentateuch, were given.

In like manner we learn in Judg. iii. 4. 5., that the Canaanites that were left were to prove the Hebrews whether they would obey the commandment which the Lord had given to their fathers by the hand of Moses. In the reign of David, the priests carried (1 Chron. xv. 15.), as Moses commanded, according to the word of the Lord, the ark of God, upon their shoulders, with staves, out of the house of Aminadab up to the hill of Zion. It is said in 2 Kings xxi. 7, 8. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 8., that Jehovah had promised to preserve the temple, provided the Hebrews would observe to do every thing which God had commanded in *the law of Moses*. In the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxx. 16.), the priests perform their service according to *the law of Moses*. According to 2 Kings xviii. 12., Israel had transgressed the covenant, and all which *Moses had commanded*. In the same manner, the laws and the ordinances of Moses are spoken of, in many other passages, as may be seen in 2 Kings xxi. 8. 2 Chron. viii. 13. xxxiii. 8. Is. lxiii. 11—14. Jer. xv. 1. and elsewhere. There is, therefore, no doubt, that the Pentateuch was, at all times, known as *the law of Moses* also.

§. VIII. *The Pentateuch was known as THE BOOK OF MOSES.*

We find, also, throughout the whole succeeding history, constant and satisfactory evidence, that the contents of the Pentateuch, known by the name of *the law of the Lord*, of *the law of Moses*, of *the law which the Lord gave by the hand of Moses*, were recorded in writing, and that this writing was, in all ages, attributed to Moses as the author.

After the decease of Moses, Joshua is exhorted to do whatsoever Moses had commanded, and never to neglect the book of the law, but to read it day and night, and to study it in order to observe to do every thing which was recorded therein (Jos. i 7, 8.) Joshua his self, upon occasion of an assembly, admonishes Israel to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses; and reminds them, out of the same, not of some prominent laws merely, but of numerous events, threatenings, and promises also (Jos xxiii 3—16). Upon the last assembly, Joshua delivers (ch. xxiv.) a brief abstract of the Pentateuch, causes the covenant with God (1 Mos. xix—xxiv. 5 Mos. xxviii. 1—xxix. 9.), to be renewed, erects a memorial of this renewal of the covenant, and records (Jos. xxiv 26.) this solemn transaction in the book of the law of the Lord, which is here manifestly the same with the book of the law of Moses, spoken of in Jos. i. 7, 8. xxiii. 6. Granting that it is said (Jos. viii 34.), that Joshua read all the blessings and cursings, as it is written in the book of the law; still it is also said, in the same chapter (vs. 30. 32.), that Joshua built an altar upon mount Ebal, “as it is written in the book of *the law of Moses*,” and engraved upon stones the second law of Moses (מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, in all appearance, the fifth book, which Moses, without doubt, wrote for all the Israelites.)

David (Ps. xl. 8.) speaks of a volume of a book, in which, God does not require of the king to bring many offerings, but to do what is well-pleasing in the sight of God; and he protests, as he does very frequently in the 119th Psalm, that he kept in mind the law of God, and consequently he read it diligently, in exact accordance with what (5 Mos. xvii. 18—20.) was prescribed to the king. This same exhortation is given by David, shortly before his death, (1 Kings ii 3 1 Chron. xxii. 13.) to his son Solomon; namely, to observe the laws, commandments, ordinances, and instructions, as they are recorded in *the law of Moses*. Immediately after the removal of the ark of the

covenant (1 Chron. xvi. 40.), he gives command also to the priests, to present the morning and evening offerings in the high place at Gibeon, according to all that was written in *the law of Moses*. Jehoshaphat, about 64 years after the death of Solomon, directs (2 Chron. xvii. 9.) his princes, in company with priests and Levites, to travel through the land, having with them the book of the law of the Lord, for the purpose of instructing the people in its contents. This book of the law of the Lord, as in Jos. xxiv. 26., is none other than that which Moses wrote, as we find also Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiii. 18.), 98 years after the division of the kingdom, giving command, to offer the burnt-offerings, as it is written in *the law of Moses*. Amaziah, 155 years after the division, in obedience to that which is written in *the law of Moses*, did not slay the children of the murderers (2 Kings xiv. 16. 2 Chron. xxv. 4.). In the reign of Hezekiah, 253 years after the division, the written book of the laws of the Lord is mentioned (2 Kings xvii. 37.); and Hezekiah himself, 247 years after the division, furnishes the priests for the various offerings, as it is written in *the law of the Lord*; he celebrates the passover, according to *the law of Moses*, and accomplished happily every thing which he had undertaken for the service of the temple and for the law (2 Chron. xxx. 16. 18. xxxi. 3, 4. 21.). During the reign of Josiah, 351 years after the division, the book of the law was found (2 Kings xxii. 8. 11.) in the temple, which was just then undergoing repairs; and this *book of the law* is styled, in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 15., *the book of the law of the Lord by the hand of Moses* סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה. This king commended also to celebrate the passover, “according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses” and according to all that “is written in this book of the covenant,” and he caused to separate that which was to be offered to the Lord. “as it is written in the book of Moses.” and did many other things, “according to the law of the

Lord" (2 Chron. xxxv. 6. 12. 26. 2 Kings xxiii. 21.). He put away the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards and the idols, according to the words that are written in the book of Moses; and strove, in all that he undertook, to deserve the approbation and favor of God. "according to all the law of Moses," (2 Kings xxiii. 24, 25.).

Should it be objected, that we have here merely observations of the later writer who extracted from the ancient records, the objection would not only be incapable of being sustained but would make against the antecedent and sure mention which is made of *the book of the law of Moses*; and besides all this, such a suspicion can have no place in the case of the teachers, who, in the time of Jehoshaphat, carried *the book of the law* with them, and in the case of the recovery of a copy of *the book of the law* in the temple.

In the time of the exile, Daniel (ix. 11. 13.) makes mention of *the book of the law of Moses*; and after the exile, the written law of Moses is spoken of as generally known in Judea, before the arrival of Ezra (Ezra iii. 2.). Ezra himself is styled, in the royal instrument, a ready scribe in the law of Moses, (Ezra vii. 6. Compare also Neh. vii. 6. viii. 13. ix. 19. 24. 26. x. 30. 35. 37. xii. 44. xiii. 1. 3.).

As frequent mention is made of *the law of the Lord*, and of *the law of Moses*, in the historical books, in the Psalms, and in the prophets, which we have already in §. 6. and 7. shown to be the case; so it is also manifest, that not merely laws, handed down by word of mouth, are intended, but history, laws, threatenings, and promises, as they occur in the Pentateuch. This view of all these passages is rendered the more certain by the fact, that the greater portion of the contents is cited, in all the books, through all succeeding times, precisely as we yet read them in the Pentateuch. There is not, indeed, in the world, an ancient profane book, for whose genuineness we can show such a suc-

cession of witnesses, from the demise of the author, downward, through all the following ages; from which also so much has been cited and so frequently by other writers, in all ages; which circumstance establishes the conviction among posterity, that it is the very book which the ancients meant and read. To establish the genuineness of other books, we seldom possess more than some few proofs; and it is not very frequently the fact, that any thing of their contents occurs in other writers; but we regard such writings notwithstanding as genuine, and their contents as the very same with those which the ancients perused.

It is therefore an indication of partiality and prejudice, to refuse to recognise the Pentateuch as a work of Moses. Should it be supposed that all these witnesses drew from the closing passage alone (5 Mos xxxi. 9. 24), still they would suffice to prove, that this closing passage was read in that place, from the death of Moses, downward, through all ages: and this testimony of the author himself, receives thus still further confirmation. But it is not usual for us to make such an objection, in the case of a profane book, that the witness or witnesses might have drawn only from the address of the book, when no other substantial reasons exist for such an assertion; which reasons do not exist in the case of the Pentateuch, especially as it was read publicly every seventh year, and the original was preserved in the most holy place. Such a suspicion is also set aside, by the frequent mention which is made of Moses, and of the books of Moses, in all the succeeding books; while it is clear from these that this man, as author of these writings, was universally known, throughout all ages. Finally, such a suspicion cannot be reconciled with the declarations of the author of the records from which the book of Joshua is drawn; for Moses here, immediately after his death, at a time when it was, beyond doubt, universally known who had composed these writings, is repeatedly, and even in public transactions, styled the author, and that, too, in

passages in which the writer, who made our extract, could not have introduced such interpolations : as, for example, Jos. viii. 30—35. xxiii. 6. xxiv. 26.

The challenge of Voltaire (*Questions Sur l' Encyclopedie* §. 127.), to prove that a Moses has ever existed, which is still repeated, at the present day, in conversation, and which, by the assurance with which it is presented, perplexes also many theologians uninstructed in criticism, is nothing but a piece of specious wit : for, if facts of such notoriety are extant concerning a man, to which facts all the events of a whole nation, throughout every period of their existence, refer, and this man, from his decease, downward through all succeeding ages, is so often mentioned, and that, too, as the originator of those facts, and as the author of certain books ; then nothing can be more certain, according to all historical criticism, than that this man must have existed ; or else the existence of every person in history, even of those who died only 100 years since, must, with greater justice, be called in question ; because, neither so many nor such important facts are extant concerning them as concerning Moses. We are under no necessity of citing the profane writers, who mention Moses as a very ancient legislator and author ; because they, inasmuch as they are collectively at least 13 centuries later, can prove nothing more than that the Hebrews, in their time, placed Moses in that period of antiquity, and attributed to him these books. We shall cite them however, here by name, in order that nothing may be wanting. Ptolemacus, the Mendesian, refers Moses to the age of Inachus, 1970 before Christ ; Polemon, in Eusebius and in Syncellus, refers him to the age of Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, 1945 before Christ : Hecataeus, the Milesian, in the extracts from Diodorus Siculus, contained in Photius, to the age of Danaus, 1586 before Christ ; Porphyry, in Eusebius, (*Praep. Evan.* x. 9.), places him beyond Santhoniathon, and so do Berossus, Manetho, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Phi-

cholorus Hellenicus, Appollonius Molon, Castor of Rhodes, Cheromus, Justinus Trogus, Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Juvenal, and others. The learned Origen says (*Contra Celsum* iv. p. 167.) that Moses is referred by the Greeks generally to the age of Inachus; but by the Egyptians and Phoenicians, to a very remote age. See also *Du Pin, Diss. Prelim.* p. 64. *Not. E.*











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