History of the Christian Church Vol I Apostolic Christianity AD 1 - 100

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Title: History of the Christian Church, Volume I: Apostolic

Christianity. A.D. 1-100.

Creator(s): Schaff, Philip (1819-1893)

Print Basis: Revised edition

Rights: Public Domain

CCEL Subjects: All; History; Proofed;

LC Call no: BR145.S3 1882-1910

LC Subjects:

Christianity

History

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum.

Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME I

APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAINITY

a.d. 1-100.

--------

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

As I appear before the public with a new edition of my Church History,

I feel more than ever the difficulty and responsibility of a task which

is well worthy to occupy the whole time and strength of a long life,

and which carries in it its own rich reward. The true historian of

Christianity is yet to come. But short as I have fallen of my own

ideal, I have done my best, and shall rejoice if my efforts stimulate

others to better and more enduring work.

History should be written from the original sources of friend and foe,

in the spirit of truth and love, "sine ira et studio," "with malice

towards none, and charity for all," in clear, fresh, vigorous style,

under the guidance of the twin parables of the mustard seed and leaven,

as a book of life for instruction, correction, encouragement, as the

best exposition and vindication of Christianity. The great and good

Neander, "the father of Church History"--first an Israelite without

guile hoping for the Messiah, then a Platonist longing for the

realization of his ideal of righteousness, last a Christian in head and

heart--made such a history his life-work, but before reaching the

Reformation he was interrupted by sickness, and said to his faithful

sister: "Hannchen, I am weary; let us go home; good night!" And thus he

fell gently asleep, like a child, to awake in the land where all

problems of history are solved.

When, after a long interruption caused by a change of professional

duties and literary labors, I returned to the favorite studies of my

youth, I felt the necessity, before continuing the History to more

recent times, of subjecting the first volume to a thorough revision, in

order to bring it up to the present state of investigation. We live in

a restless and stirring age of discovery, criticism, and

reconstruction. During the thirty years which have elapsed since the

publication of my separate "History of the Apostolic Church," there has

been an incessant activity in this field, not only in Germany, the

great workshop of critical research, but in all other Protestant

countries. Almost every inch of ground has been disputed and defended

with a degree of learning, acumen, and skill such as were never spent

before on the solution of historical problems.

In this process of reconstruction the first volume has been more than

doubled in size and grown into two volumes. The first embraces

Apostolic, the second post-Apostolic or ante-Nicene Christianity. The

first volume is larger than my separate "History of the Apostolic

Church," but differs from it in that it is chiefly devoted to the

theology and literature, the other to the mission work and spiritual

life of that period. I have studiously avoided repetition and seldom

looked into the older book. On two points I have changed my

opinion--the second Roman captivity of Paul (which I am disposed to

admit in the interest of the Pastoral Epistles), and the date of the

Apocalypse (which I now assign, with the majority of modern critics, to

the year 68 or 69 instead of 95, as before). [2]

I express my deep obligation to my friend, Dr. Ezra Abbot, a scholar of

rare learning and microscopic accuracy, for his kind and valuable

assistance in reading the proof and suggesting improvements.

The second volume, likewise thoroughly revised and partly rewritten, is

in the hands of the printer; the third requires a few changes. Two new

volumes, one on the History of Mediaeval Christianity, and one on the

Reformation (to the Westphalian Treaty and the Westminster Assembly,

1648), are in an advanced stage of preparation.

May the work in this remodelled shape find as kind and indulgent

readers as when it first appeared. My highest ambition in this

sceptical age is to strengthen the immovable historical foundations of

Christianity and its victory over the world.

Philip Schaff

Union Theological Seminary, New York,

October, 1882

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[2] My "History of the Apostolic Church" (which bears a relation to my

"History of the Christian Church," similar to that which Neander's

"History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the

Apostles" bears to his "General History of the Christian Religion and

Church") appeared in German at Mercersburg, Pa., 1851, then in a

revised edition, Leipzig, 1854, in an English translation by the late

Dr. Yeomans, New York, 1853, at Edinburg, 1854 (in 2 vols.), and

several times since without change. Should there be a demand for a new

edition, I intend to make a number of improvements, which are ready in

manuscript, especially in the General Introduction, which covers 134

pages. The first volume of my Church History (from A. D. 1 to 311) was

first published in New York, 1858, (and in German at Leipzig, 1867);

but when I began the revision, I withdrew it from sale. The Apostolic

age there occupies only 140, the whole volume 535 pages.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

----------------------

Encouraged by the favorable reception of my "History of the Apostolic

Church," I now offer to the public a History of the Primitive Church

from the birth of Christ to the reign of Constantine, as an independent

and complete work in itself, and at the same time as the first volume

of a general history of Christianity, which I hope, with the help of

God, to bring down to the present age.

The church of the first three centuries, or the ante-Nicene age,

possesses a peculiar interest for Christians of all denominations, and

has often been separately treated, by Eusebius, Mosheim, Milman, Kaye,

Baur, Hagenbach, and other distinguished historians. It is the daughter

of Apostolic Christianity, which itself constitutes the first and by

far the most important chapter in its history, and the common mother of

Catholicism and Protestantism, though materially differing from both.

It presents a state of primitive simplicity and purity unsullied by

contact with the secular power, but with this also, the fundamental

forms of heresy and corruption, which reappear from time to time under

new names and aspects, but must serve, in the overruling providence of

God, to promote the cause of truth and righteousness. It is the heroic

age of the church, and unfolds before us the sublime spectacle of our

holy religion in intellectual and moral conflict with the combined

superstition, policy, and wisdom of ancient Judaism and Paganism; yet

growing in persecution, conquering in death, and amidst the severest

trials giving birth to principles and institutions which, in more

matured form, still control the greater part of Christendom.

Without the least disposition to detract from the merits of my numerous

predecessors, to several of whom I feel deeply indebted, I have reason

to hope that this new attempt at a historical reproduction of ancient

Christianity will meet a want in our theological literature and commend

itself, both by its spirit and method, and by presenting with the

author's own labors the results of the latest German and English

research, to the respectful attention of the American student. Having

no sectarian ends to serve, I have confined myself to the duty of a

witness--to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;

always remembering, however, that history has a soul as well as a body,

and that the ruling ideas and general principles must be represented no

less than the outward facts and dates. A church history without the

life of Christ glowing through its pages could give us at best only the

picture of a temple stately and imposing from without, but vacant and

dreary within, a mummy in praying posture perhaps and covered with

trophies, but withered and unclean: such a history is not worth the

trouble of writing or reading. Let the dead bury their dead; we prefer

to live among the living, and to record the immortal thoughts and deeds

of Christ in and through his people, rather than dwell upon the outer

hulls, the trifling accidents and temporary scaffolding of history, or

give too much prominence to Satan and his infernal tribe, whose works

Christ came to destroy.

The account of the apostolic period, which forms the divine-human basis

of the whole structure of history, or the ever-living fountain of the

unbroken stream of the church, is here necessarily short and not

intended to supersede my larger work, although it presents more than a

mere summary of it, and views the subject in part under new aspects.

For the history of the second period, which constitutes the body of

this volume, large use has been made of the new sources of information

recently brought to light, such as the Syriac and Armenian Ignatius,

and especially the Philosophoumena of Hippolytus. The bold and

searching criticism of modern German historians as applied to the

apostolic and post-apostolic literature, though often arbitrary and

untenable in its results, has nevertheless done good service by

removing old prejudices, placing many things in a new light, and

conducing to a comprehensive and organic view of the living process and

gradual growth of ancient Christianity in its distinctive character,

both in its unity with, and difference from, the preceding age of the

apostles and the succeeding systems of Catholicism and Protestantism.

And now I commit this work to the great Head of the church with the

prayer that, under his blessing, it may aid in promoting a correct

knowledge of his heavenly kingdom on earth, and in setting forth its

history as a book if life, a storehouse of wisdom and piety, and surest

test of his own promise to his people: "Lo, I am with you alway, even

unto the end of the world."

P. S.

Theological Seminary, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania,

November, 8, 1858

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

PREFACE TO THIRD REVISION

----------------------

The continued demand for my Church History lays upon me the grateful

duty of keeping it abreast of the times. I have, therefore, submitted

this and the other volumes (especially the second) to another revision

and brought the literature down to the latest date, as the reader will

see by glancing at pages 2, 35, 45, 51-53, 193, 411, 484, 569, 570,

etc. The changes have been effected by omissions and condensations,

without enlarging the size. The second volume is now passing through

the fifth edition, and the other volumes will follow rapidly.

This is my last revision. If any further improvements should be

necessary during my lifetime, I shall add them in a separate appendix.

I feel under great obligation to the reading public which enables me to

perfect my work. The interest in Church History is steadily increasing

in our theological schools and among the rising generation of scholars,

and promises good results for the advancement of our common

Christianity.

The Author

New York, January, 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CONTENTS

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

ADDENDA

(Fifth Edition.)

Since the third revision of this volume in 1889, the following works

deserving notice have appeared till September, 1893. (P. S.)

Page 2. After "Nirschl" add:

E. Bernheim Lehrbuch der historischen Methode. Mit Nachweis der

wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte.

Leipzig, 1889.

Edward Bratke: Wegweiser zur Quellen- und Literaturkunde der

Kirchengeschichte. Gotha, 1890 (282 pp.).

Page 35, line 9:

H. Brueck (Mainz, 5th ed., 1890).

Page 45:

Of the Church History of Kurtz (who died at Marburg, 1890), an 11th

revised edition appeared in 1891.

Wilhelm Moeller (d. at Kiel, 1891): Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.

Freiburg, 1891. 2 vols., down to the Reformation. Vol. III. to be added

by Kawerau. Vol. I. translated by Rutherford. London, 1892.

Karl Mueller (Professor in Breslau): Kirchengeschichte. Freiburg, 1892.

A second volume will complete the work. An excellent manual from the

school of Ritschl-Harnack.

Harnack's large Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte was completed in 1890 in

3 vols. Of his Grundriss, a 2d ed. appeared in 1893 (386 pp.);

translated by Edwin K. Mitchell, of Hartford, Conn.: Outlines of the

History of Dogma. New York, 1893.

Friedrich Loofs (Professor of Church History in Halle, of the

Ritschl-Harnack school): Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte.

Halle, 1889; 3d ed., 1893.

Page 51. After "Schaff "add:

5th revision, 1889-93, 7 vols. (including vol. v., which is in press).

Page 51. After "Fisher" add:

John Fletcher Hurst (Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church): Short

History of the Christian Church. New York, 1893.

Page 61. After "Kittel "add:

Franz Delitzsch (d. 1890): Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher

Folge. Leipzig, 1890. His last work. Translated by Sam. Ives Curtiss

(of Chicago), Edinb. and New York, 1892.

Page 97:

Samuel J. Andrews: Life of our Lord. "A new and wholly revised

edition." New York, 1891 (651 pp.). With maps and illustrations.

Maintains the quadripaschal theory. Modest, reverent, accurate, devoted

chiefly to the chronological and topographical relations.

Page 183 add:

On the Apocryphal Traditions of Christ, comp. throughout

Alfred Resch: Agrapha. Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente gesammelt

und untersucht. With an appendix of Harnack on the Gospel Fragment of

Tajjum. Leipzig, 1889 (520 pp.). By far the most complete and critical

work on the extra-canonical sayings of our Lord, of which he collects

and examines 63 (see p. 80), including many doubtful ones, e.g., the

much-discussed passage of the Didache (I. 6) on the sweating of aloes.

Page 247:

Abb� Constant Fouard: Saint Peter and the First Years of Christianity.

Translated from the second French edition with the author's sanction,

by George F. X. Griffith. With an Introduction by Cardinal Gibbons. New

York and London, 1892 (pp. xxvi, 422). The most learned work in favor

of the traditional Roman theory of a twenty-five years' pontificate of

Peter in Rome from 42 to 67.

The apocryphal literature of Peter has received an important addition

by the discovery of fragments of the Greek Gospel and Apocalypse of

Peter in a tomb at Akhmim in Egypt. See Harnack's ed. of the Greek text

with a German translation and commentary, Berlin, 1892 (revised, 1893);

Zahn's edition and discussion, Leipzig, 1893; and O. von Gebhardt's

facsimile ed., Leipzig, 1893; also the English translation by J. Rendel

Harris, London, 1893.

Page 284. Add to lit. on the life of Paul:

W. H. Ramsey (Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen): The

Church in the Roman Empire before a.d. 170. With Maps and

Illustrations. London and New York, 1893 (494 pp.). An important work,

for which the author received a gold medal from Pope Leo XIII. The

first part (pp. 3-168) treats of the missionary journeys of Paul in

Asia Minor, on the ground of careful topographical exploration and with

a full knowledge of Roman history at that time. He comes to the

conclusion that nearly all the books of the New Testament can no more

be forgeries of the second century than the works of Horace and Virgil

can be forgeries of the time of Nero. He assumes all "travel-document,"

which was written down under the immediate influence of Paul, and

underlies the account in The Acts of the Apostles (Acts. 13-21), which

he calls "an authority of the highest character for an historian of

Asia Minor" (p. 168). He affirms the genuineness of the Pastoral

Epistles, which suit the close of the Neronian period (246 sqq.), and

combats Holtzmann. He puts 2 Peter to the age of "The Shepherd of

Hermas" before 130 (p. 432). As to the First Epistle of Peter, he

assumes that it was written about 80, soon after Vespasian's resumption

of the Neronian policy (279 sqq.). If this date is correct, it would

follow either that Peter cannot have been the author, or that he must

have long outlived the Neronian persecution. The tradition that he died

a martyr in Rome is early and universal, but the exact date of his

death is uncertain.

Page 285 insert:

Of Weizsaecker's Das Apostolische Zeitalter, which is chiefly devoted

to Paul, a second edition has appeared in 1892, slightly revised and

provided with an alphabetical index (770 pp.). It is the best critical

history of the Apostolic age from the school of Dr. Baur, whom Dr.

Weizsaecker succeeded as professor of Church history in Tuebingen, but

gives no references to literature and other opinions.

Charles Carroll Everett: The Gospel of Paul. New York, 1893.

Page 360:

Rodolfo Lanciani: Pagan and Christian Rome. New York, 1893 (pp. x,

374). A very important work which shows from recent explorations that

Christianity entered more deeply into Roman Society in the first

century than is usually supposed.

Page 401 add:

Henry William Watkins: Modern Criticism in its relation to the Fourth

Gospel; being the Bampton Lectures for 1890. London, 1890. Only the

external evidence, but with a history of opinions since

Breitschneider's Probabilia.

Paton J. Gloag: Introduction to the Johannine Writings. London, 1891

(pp. 440). Discusses the critical questions connected with the Gospel,

the Epistles, and the Apocalypse of John from a liberal conservative

standpoint.

E. Schuerer: On the Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. In the

"Contemporary Review" for September, 1891.

Page 484:

E. Loening: Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums. Halle,

1889--CH. De Smedt: L'organisation des �glises chr�tiennes jusqu'au

milieu du 3e si�cle. 1889.

Page 569. Add to literature:

Gregory: Prolegomena to Tischendorf, Pt. II., 1890. (Pt. III. will

complete this work.)

Schaff: Companion to the Greek Testament, 4th ed. revised, 1892.

Salmon: Introduction to the New Testament, 5th ed., 1890.,

Holtzmann: Introduction to the New Testament, 3d ed., 1892.

F. Godet: Introduction au Nouveau Testament. Neuchatel, 1893. The first

volume contains the Introduction to the Pauline Epistles; the second

and third will contain the Introduction to the Gospels, the Catholic

Epp. and the Revelation. To be translated.

Page 576:

Robinson's Harmony, revised edition, by M B. Riddle (Professor in

Allegheny Theological Seminary), New York, 1885.

Page 724:

Friedrich Spitta: Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und ihr

historischer Wert. Halle, 1891 (pp. 380). It is briefly criticised by

Ramsey.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Literature

C. Sagittarius: Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam. Jen. 1694.

F. WALCH: Grunds�tze der zur K. Gesch. n�thigen Vorbereitungslehren u.

B�cherkenntnisse. 3d ed. Giessen, 1793.

Fl�gge: Einleitung in das Studium u. die Liter. der K. G. G�tt. 1801.

John G. Dowling: An Introduction to the Critical Study of

Ecclesiastical History, attempted in an account of the progress, and a

short notice of the sources of the history of the Church.London, 1838.

M�hler (R. C.): Einleitung in die K G. 1839 ("Verm. Schriften," ed.

D�llinger, II. 261 sqq.).

Kliefoth: Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte. Parchim & Ludwigslust,

1839.

Philip Schaff: What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of

Historical Development. Philad. 1846.

H B. Smith: Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History. Andover,

1851.

E. P. Humphrey: lnaugural Address, delivered at the Danville Theol.

Seminary. Cincinnati, 1854.

R. Turnbull: Christ in History; or, the Central Power among Men. Bost.

1854, 2d ed. 1860.

W. G. T. Shedd: Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Andover, Mass.,

1856.

R. D. Hitchcock: The True Idea and Uses of Church History. N. York,

1856.

C. Bunsen: Gott in der Geschichte oder der Fortschritt des Glaubens an

eine sittliche Weltordnung. Bd. I. Leipz. 1857. (Erstes Buch. Allg.

Einleit. p. 1-134.) Engl. Transl.: God in History. By S. Winkworth.

Lond. 1868. 3 vols.

A. P. Stanley: Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Eccles.

History Lond. 1857. (Also incorporated in his History of the Eastern

Church 1861.)

Goldwin Smith: Lectures on the Study of History, delivered in Oxford,

1859-'61. Oxf. and Lond. (republished in N. York) 1866.

J. Gust. Droysen: Grundriss der Historik. Leipz. 1868; new ed. 1882.

C. de Smedt (R. C.): Introductio generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam

critice tractandam. Gandavi (Ghent), 1876 (533 pp.).

E. A. Freeman: The Methods of Historical Study. Lond 1886.

O. Lorenz: Geschichtswissenschaft. Berlin, 1886.

Jos. Nirschl (R. C.): Prop�deutik der Kirchengeschichte. Mainz, 1888

(352 pp.).

On the philosophy of history in general, see the works of Herder (Ideen

zur Philosophie der Gesch. der Menschheit), Fred. Schlegel, Hegel

(1840, transl. by Sibree, 1870), Hermann (1870), Rocholl (1878), Flint

(The Philosophy of History in Europe. Edinb., 1874, etc.), Lotze

(Mikrokosmus, bk. viith; 4th ed. 1884; Eng. transl. by Elizabeth

Hamilton and E. E. C. Jones, 1885, 3d ed. 1888). A philosophy of church

history is a desideratum. Herder and Lotze come nearest to it

A fuller introduction, see in Schaff: History of the Apostolic Church;

with a General Introduction to Ch. H. (N. York, 1853), pp. 1-134.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 1. Nature of Church History.

History has two sides, a divine and a human. On the part of God, it is

his revelation in the order of time (as the creation is his revelation

in the order of space), and the successive unfolding of a plan of

infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy, looking to his glory and the

eternal happiness of mankind. On the part of man, history is the

biography of the human race, and the gradual development, both normal

and abnormal, of all its physical, intellectual, and moral forces to

the final consummation at the general judgment, with its eternal

rewards and punishments. The idea of universal history presupposes the

Christian idea of the unity of God, and the unity and common destiny of

men, and was unknown to ancient Greece and Rome. A view of history

which overlooks or undervalues the divine factor starts from deism and

consistently runs into atheism; while the opposite view, which

overlooks the free agency of man and his moral responsibility and

guilt, is essentially fatalistic and pantheistic.

From the human agency we may distinguish the Satanic, which enters as a

third power into the history of the race. In the temptation of Adam in

Paradise, the temptation of Christ in the wilderness, and at every

great epoch, Satan appears as the antagonist of God, endeavoring to

defeat the plan of redemption and the progress of Christ's kingdom, and

using weak and wicked men for his schemes, but is always defeated in

the end by the superior wisdom of God.

The central current and ultimate aim of universal history is the

Kingdom of God established by Jesus Christ. This is the grandest and

most comprehensive institution in the world, as vast as humanity and as

enduring as eternity. All other institutions are made subservient to

it, and in its interest the whole world is governed. It is no

after-thought of God, no subsequent emendation of the plan of creation,

but it is the eternal forethought, the controlling idea, the beginning,

the middle, and the end of all his ways and works. The first Adam is a

type of the second Adam; creation looks to redemption as the solution

of its problems. Secular history, far from controlling sacred history,

is controlled by it, must directly or indirectly subserve its ends, and

can only be fully understood in the central light of Christian truth

and the plan of salvation. The Father, who directs the history of the

world, "draws to the Son," who rules the history of the church, and the

Son leads back to the Father, that "God may be all in all." "All

things," says St. Paul, "were created through Christ and unto Christ:

and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together. And

He is the head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the

firstborn from the dead, that in all things He may have the

pre-eminence." Col. 1:16-18. "The Gospel," says John von M�ller,

summing up the final result of his lifelong studies in history, "is the

fulfilment of all hopes, the perfection of all philosophy, the

interpreter of all revolutions, the key of all seeming contradictions

of the physical and moral worlds; it is life--it is immortality."

The history of the church is the rise and progress of the kingdom of

heaven upon earth, for the glory of God and the salvation of the world.

It begins with the creation of Adam, and with that promise of the

serpent-bruiser, which relieved the loss of the paradise of innocence

by the hope of future redemption from the curse of sin. It comes down

through the preparatory revelations under the patriarchs, Moses, and

the prophets, to the immediate forerunner of the Saviour, who pointed

his followers to the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the

world. But this part of its course was only introduction. Its proper

starting-point is the incarnation of the Eternal Word, who dwelt among

us and revealed his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the

Father, full of grace and truth; and next to this, the miracle of the

first Pentecost, when the Church took her place as a Christian

institution, filled with the Spirit of the glorified Redeemer and

entrusted with the conversion of all nations. Jesus Christ, the God-Man

and Saviour of the world, is the author of the new creation, the soul

and the head of the church, which is his body and his bride. In his

person and work lies all the fulness of the Godhead and of renewed

humanity, the whole plan of redemption, and the key of all history from

the creation of man in the image of God to the resurrection of the body

unto everlasting life.

This is the objective conception of church history.

In the subjective sense of the word, considered as theological science

and art, church history is the faithful and life-like description of

the origin and progress of this heavenly kingdom. It aims to reproduce

in thought and to embody in language its outward and inward development

down to the present time. It is a continuous commentary on the Lord's

twin parables of the mustard-seed and of the leaven. It shows at once

how Christianity spreads over the world, and how it penetrates,

transforms, and sanctifies the individual and all the departments and

institutions of social life. It thus embraces not only the external

fortunes of Christendom, but more especially her inward experience, her

religious life, her mental and moral activity, her conflicts with the

ungodly world, her sorrows and sufferings, her joys and her triumphs

over sin and error. It records the deeds of those heroes of faith "who

subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the

mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the

sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned

to flight the armies of aliens."

From Jesus Christ, since his manifestation in the flesh, an unbroken

stream of divine light and life has been and is still flowing, and will

continue to flow, in ever-growing volume through the waste of our

fallen race; and all that is truly great and good and holy in the

annals of church history is due, ultimately, to the impulse of his

spirit. He is the fly-wheel in the world's progress. But he works upon

the world through sinful and fallible men, who, while as self-conscious

and free agents they are accountable for all their actions, must still,

willing or unwilling, serve the great purpose of God. As Christ, in the

days of his flesh, was bated, mocked, and crucified, his church

likewise is assailed and persecuted by the powers of darkness. The

history of Christianity includes therefore a history of Antichrist.

With an unending succession of works of saving power and manifestations

of divine truth and holiness, it uncovers also a fearful mass of

corruption and error. The church militant must, from its very nature,

be at perpetual warfare with the world, the flesh, and the devil, both

without and within. For as Judas sat among the apostles, so "the man of

sin" sits in the temple of God; and as even a Peter denied the Lord,

though he afterwards wept bitterly and regained his holy office, so do

many disciples in all ages deny him in word and in deed.

But on the other hand, church history shows that God is ever stronger

than Satan, and that his kingdom of light puts the kingdom of darkness

to shame. The Lion of the tribe of Judah has bruised the head of the

serpent. With the crucifixion of Christ his resurrection also is

repeated ever anew in the history of his church on earth; and there has

never yet been a day without a witness of his presence and power

ordering all things according to his holy will. For he has received all

power in heaven and in earth for the good of his people, and from his

heavenly throne he rules even his foes. The infallible word of promise,

confirmed by experience, assures us that all corruptions, heresies, and

schisms must, under the guidance of divine wisdom and love, subserve

the cause of truth, holiness, and peace; till, at the last judgment,

Christ shall make his enemies his footstool, and rule undisputed with

the sceptre of righteousness and peace, and his church shall realize

her idea and destiny as "the fullness of him that filleth all in all."

Then will history itself, in its present form, as a struggling and

changeful development, give place to perfection, and the stream of time

come to rest in the ocean of eternity, but this rest will be the

highest form of life and activity in God and for God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 2. Branches of Church History.

The kingdom of Christ, in its principle and aim, is as comprehensive as

humanity. It is truly catholic or universal, designed and adapted for

all nations and ages, for all the powers of the soul, and all classes

of society. It breathes into the mind, the heart, and the will a

higher, supernatural life, and consecrates the family, the state,

science, literature, art, and commerce to holy ends, till finally God

becomes all in all. Even the body, and the whole visible creation,

which groans for redemption from its bondage to vanity and for the

glorious liberty of the children of God, shall share in this universal

transformation; for we look for the resurrection of the body, and for

the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. But we must not identify

the kingdom of God with the visible church or churches, which are only

its temporary organs and agencies, more or less inadequate, while the

kingdom itself is more comprehensive, and will last for ever.

Accordingly, church history has various departments, corresponding to

the different branches of secular history and of natural life. The

principal divisions are:

I. The history of missions, or of the spread of Christianity among

unconverted nations, whether barbarous or civilized. This work must

continue, till "the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in," and

"Israel shall be saved." The law of the missionary progress is

expressed in the two parables of the grain of mustard-seed which grows

into a tree, and of the leaven which gradually pervades the whole lump.

The first parable illustrates the outward expansion, the second the

all-penetrating and transforming power of Christianity. It is difficult

to convert a nation; it is more difficult to train it to the high

standard of the gospel; it is most difficult to revive and reform a

dead or apostate church.

The foreign mission work has achieved three great conquests: first, the

conversion of the elect remnant of the Jews, and of civilized Greeks

and Romans, in the first three centuries; then the conversion of the

barbarians of Northern and Western Europe, in the middle ages; and

last, the combined efforts of various churches and societies for the

conversion of the savage races in America, Africa, and Australia, and

the semi-civilized nations of Eastern Asia, in our own time. The whole

non-Christian world is now open to missionary labor, except the

Mohammedan, which will likewise become accessible at no distant day.

The domestic or home mission work embraces the revival of Christian

life in corrupt or neglected portions of the church in old countries,

the supply of emigrants in new countries with the means of grace, and

the labors, among the semi-heathenism populations of large cities. Here

we may mention the planting of a purer Christianity among the petrified

sects in Bible Lands, the labors of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, and

the Inner mission of Germany, the American Home Missionary Societies

for the western states and territories, the City Mission Societies in

London, New York, and other fast-growing cities.

II. The history of Persecution by hostile powers; as by Judaism and

Heathenism in the first three centuries, and by Mohammedanism in the

middle age. This apparent repression of the church proves a purifying

process, brings out the moral heroism of martyrdom, and thus works in

the end for the spread and establishment of Christianity. "The blood of

martyrs is the seed of the church." [3] There are cases, however, where

systematic and persistent persecution has crushed out the church or

reduced it to a mere shadow, as in Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa,

under the despotism of the Moslems.

Persecution, like missions, is both foreign and domestic. Besides being

assailed from without by the followers of false religions, the church

suffers also from intestine wars and violence. Witness the religious

wars in France, Holland, and England, the Thirty Years' War in Germany,

all of which grew out of the Protestant Reformation and the Papal

Reaction; the crusade against the Albigenses and Waldenses, the horrors

of the Spanish Inquisition, the massacre of the Huguenots, the

dragonnades of Louis XIV., the crushing out of the Reformation in

Bohemia, Belgium, and Southern Europe; but also, on the Protestant

side, the persecution of Anabaptists, the burning of Servetus in Geneva

the penal laws of the reign of Elizabeth against Catholic and Puritan

Dissenters, the hanging of witches and Quakers in New England. More

Christian blood has been shed by Christians than by heathens and

Mohammedans.

The persecutions of Christians by Christians form the satanic chapters,

the fiendish midnight scenes, in the history of the church. But they

show also the gradual progress of the truly Christian spirit of

religious toleration and freedom. Persecution exhausted ends in

toleration, and toleration is a step to freedom. The blood of patriots

is the price of civil, the blood of martyrs the price of religious

liberty. The conquest is dear, the progress slow and often interrupted,

but steady and irresistible. The principle of intolerance is now almost

universally disowned in the Christian world, except by ultramontane

Romanism (which indirectly reasserts it in the Papal Syllabus of 1864);

but a ruling church, allied to the state, under the influence of

selfish human nature, and, relying on the arm of flesh rather than the

power of truth, is always tempted to impose or retain unjust

restrictions on dissenting sects, however innocent and useful they may

have proved to be.

In the United States all Christian denominations and sects are placed

on a basis of equality before the law, and alike protected by the

government in their property and right of public worship, yet

self-supporting and self-governing; and, in turn, they strengthen the

moral foundations of society by training loyal and virtuous citizens.

Freedom of religion must be recognized as one of the inalienable rights

of man, which lies in the sacred domain of conscience, beyond the

restraint and control of politics, and which the government is bound to

protect as much as any other fundamental right. Freedom is liable to

abuse, and abuse may be punished. But Christianity is itself the parent

of true freedom from the bondage of sin and error, and is the best

protector and regulator of freedom.

III. The history of Church Government and Discipline. The church is not

only an invisible communion of saints, but at the same time a visible

body, needing organs, laws, and forms, to regulate its activity. Into

this department of history fall the various forms of church polity: the

apostolic, the primitive episcopal, the patriarchal, the papal, the

consistorial, the presbyterial, the congregational, etc.; and the

history of the law and discipline of the church, and her relation to

the state, under all these forms.

IV. The history of Worship, or divine service, by which the church

celebrates, revives, and strengthens her fellowship with her divine

head. This falls into such subdivisions as the history of preaching, of

catechisms, of liturgy, of rites and ceremonies, and of religious art,

particularly sacred poetry and music.

The history of church government and the history of worship are often

put together under the title of Ecclesiastical Antiquities or

Archaeology, and commonly confined to the patristic age, whence most of

the, Catholic institutions and usages of the church date their origin.

But they may as well be extended to the formative period of

Protestantism.

V. The history of Christian Life, or practical morality and religion:

the exhibition of the distinguishing virtues and vices of different

ages, of the development of Christian philanthropy, the regeneration of

domestic life, the gradual abatement and abolition of slavery and other

social evils, the mitigation and diminution of the horrors of war, the

reform of civil law and of government, the spread of civil and

religious liberty, and the whole progress of civilization, under the

influence of Christianity.

VI. The history of Theology, or of Christian learning and literature.

Each branch of theology--exegetical, doctrinal, ethical, historical,

and practical--has a history of its own.

The history of doctrines or dogmas is here the most important, and is

therefore frequently treated by itself. Its object is to show how the

mind of the church has gradually apprehended and unfolded the divine

truths of revelation, how the teachings of scripture have been

formulated and shaped into dogmas, and grown into creeds and

confessions of faith, or systems of doctrine stamped with public

authority. This growth of the church in the knowledge of the infallible

word of God is a constant struggle against error, misbelief, and

unbelief; and the history of heresies is an essential part of the

history of doctrines.

Every important dogma now professed by the Christian church is the

result of a severe conflict with error. The doctrine of the holy

Trinity, for instance, was believed from the beginning, but it

required, in addition to the preparatory labors of the ante-Nicene age,

fifty years of controversy, in which the strongest intellects were

absorbed, until it was brought to the clear expression of the

Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Christological conflict was

equally long and intense, until it was brought to a settlement by the

council of Chalcedon. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was a

continual warfare with popery. The doctrinal symbols of the various

churches, from the Apostles' Creed down to the confessions of Dort and

Westminster, and more recent standards, embody the results of the

theological battles of the militant church.

The various departments of church history have not a merely external

and mechanical, but an organic relation to each other, and form one

living whole, and this relation the historian must show. Each period

also is entitled to a peculiar arrangement, according to its character.

The number, order, and extent of the different divisions must be

determined by their actual importance at a given time.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[3] A well-known saying of Tertullian, who lived in the midst of

persecution. A very different estimate of martyrdom is suggested by the

Arabic proverb "The ink of the scholar is more precious than the blood

of the martyr." The just estimate depends on the quality of the scholar

and the quality of the martyr, and the cause for which the one lives

and the other dies.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 3. Sources of Church History.

The sources of church history, the data on which we rely for our

knowledge, are partly divine, partly human. For the history of the

kingdom of God from the creation to the close of the apostolic age, we

have the inspired writings of the Old and New Testaments. But after the

death of the apostles we have only human authorities, which of course

cannot claim to be infallible. These human sources are partly written,

partly unwritten.

I. The written sources include:

(a) Official documents of ecclesiastical and civil authorities: acts of

councils and synods, confessions of faith, liturgies, church laws, and

the official letters of popes, patriarchs, bishops, and representative

bodies.

(b) Private writings of personal actors in the history: the works of

the church fathers, heretics, and heathen authors, for the first six

centuries; of the missionaries, scholastic and mystic divines, for the

middle age; and of the reformers and their opponents, for the sixteenth

century. These documents are the richest mines for the historian. They

give history in its birth and actual movement. But they must be

carefully sifted and weighed; especially the controversial writings,

where fact is generally more or less adulterated with party spirit,

heretical and orthodox.

(c) Accounts of chroniclers and historians, whether friends or enemies,

who were eye-witnesses of what they relate. The value of these depends,

of course, on the capacity and credibility of the authors, to be

determined by careful criticism. Subsequent historians can be counted

among the direct or immediate sources only so far as they have drawn

from reliable and contemporary documents, which have either been wholly

or partially lost, like many of Eusebius authorities for the period

before Constantine, or are inaccessible to historians generally, as are

the papal regesta and other documents of the Vatican library.

(d) Inscriptions, especially those on tombs and catacombs, revealing

the faith and hope of Christians in times of persecution. Among the

ruins of Egypt and Babylonia whole libraries have been disentombed and

deciphered, containing mythological and religious records, royal

proclamations, historical, astronomical, and poetical compositions,

revealing an extinct civilization and shedding light on some parts of

Old Testament history.

II. The Unwritten sources are far less numerous: church edifices, works

of sculpture and painting, and other monuments, religious customs and

ceremonies, very important for the history of worship and

ecclesiastical art, and significant of the spirit of their age. [4]

The works of art are symbolical embodiments of the various types of

Christianity. The plain symbols and crude sculptures of the catacombs

correspond to the period of persecution; the basilicas to the Nicene

age; the Byzantine churches to the genius of the Byzantine

state-churchism; the Gothic cathedrals to the Romano-Germanic

catholicism of the middle ages; the renaissance style to the revival of

letters.

To come down to more recent times, the spirit of Romanism can be best

appreciated amidst the dead and living monuments of Rome, Italy, and

Spain. Lutheranism must be studied in Wittenberg, Northern Germany, and

Scandinavia; Calvinism in Geneva, France, Holland, and Scotland;

Anglicanism at Oxford, Cambridge, and London; Presbyterianism in

Scotland and the United States; Congregationalism in England and New

England. For in the mother countries of these denominations we

generally find not only the largest printed and manuscript sources, but

also the architectural, sculptural, sepulchral, and other monumental

remains, the natural associations, oral traditions, and living

representatives of the past, who, however they may have departed from

the faith of their ancestors, still exhibit their national genius,

social condition, habits, and customs--often in a far more instructive

manner than ponderous printed volumes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[4] Comp. F. Piper: Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie. Goths,

1867

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 4. Periods of Church History.

The purely chronological or annalistic method, though pursued by the

learned Baronius and his continuators, is now generally abandoned. It

breaks the natural flow of events, separates things which belong

together, and degrades history to a mere chronicle.

The centurial plan, which prevailed from Flacius to Mosheim, is an

improvement. It allows a much better view of the progress and

connection of things. But it still imposes on the history a forced and

mechanical arrangement; for the salient points or epochs very seldom

coincide with the limits of our centuries. The rise of Constantine, for

example, together with the union of church and state, dates from the

year 311; that of the absolute papacy, in Hildebrand, from 1049; the

Reformation from 1517; the peace of Westphalia took place in 1648; the

landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England in 1620; the American

emancipation in 1776; the French revolution in 1789; the revival of

religious life in Germany began in 1817.

The true division must grow out of the actual course of the history

itself, and present the different phases of its development or stages

of its life. These we call periods or ages. The beginning of a new

period is called an epoch, or a stopping and starting point.

In regard to the number and length of periods there is, indeed, no

unanimity; the less, on account of the various denominational

differences establishing different points of view, especially since the

sixteenth century. The Reformation, for instance, has less importance

for the Roman church than for the Protestant, and almost none for the

Greek; and while the edict of Nantes forms a resting-place in the

history of French Protestantism, and the treaty of Westphalia in that

of German, neither of these events had as much to do with English

Protestantism as the accession of Elizabeth, the rise of Cromwell, the

restoration of the Stuarts, and the revolution of 1688.

But, in spite of all confusion and difficulty in regard to details, it

is generally agreed to divide the history of Christianity into three

principal parts--ancient, mediaeval, and modern; though there is not a

like agreement as to the dividing epochs, or points of departure and

points of termination.

I. The history of Ancient Christianity, from the birth of Christ to

Gregory the Great. a.d. 1-590.

This is the age of the Graeco-Latin church, or of the Christian

Fathers. Its field is the countries around the Mediterranean--Western

Asia, Northern Africa, and Southern Europe--just the theatre of the old

Roman empire and of classic heathendom. This age lays the foundation,

in doctrine, government, and worship, for all the subsequent history.

It is the common progenitor of all the various confessions.

The Life of Christ and the Apostolic Church are by far the most

important sections, and require separate treatment. They form the

divine-human groundwork of the church, and inspire, regulate, and

correct all subsequent periods.

Then, at the beginning of the fourth century, the accession of

Constantine, the first Christian emperor, marks a decisive turn;

Christianity rising from a persecuted sect to the prevailing religion

of the Graeco-Roman empire. In the history of doctrines, the first

oecumenical council of Nicaea, falling in the midst of Constantine's

reign, a.d. 325, has the prominence of an epoch.

Here, then, are three periods within the first or patristic era, which

we may severally designate as the period of the Apostles, the period of

the Martyrs, and the period of the Christian Emperors and Patriarchs.

II. Medieval Christianity, from Gregory I to the Reformation. a.d.

590-1517.

The middle age is variously reckoned--from Constantine, 306 or 311;

from the fall of the West Roman empire, 476; from Gregory the Great,

590; from Charlemagne, 800. But it is very generally regarded as

closing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and more precisely,

at the outbreak of the Reformation in 1517. Gregory the Great seems to

us to form the most proper ecclesiastical point of division. With him,

the author of the Anglo-Saxon mission, the last of the church fathers,

and the first of the proper popes, begins in earnest, and with decisive

success, the conversion of the barbarian tribes, and, at the same time,

the development of the absolute papacy, and the alienation of the

eastern and western churches.

This suggests the distinctive character of the middle age: the

transition of the church from Asia and Africa to Middle and Western

Europe, from the Graeco-Roman nationality to that of the Germanic,

Celtic, and Slavonic races, and from the culture of the ancient classic

world to the modern civilization. The great work of the church then was

the conversion and education of the heathen barbarians, who conquered

and demolished the Roman empire, indeed, but were themselves conquered

and transformed by its Christianity. This work was performed mainly by

the Latin church, under a firm hierarchical constitution, culminating

in the bishop of Rome. The Greek church though she made some conquests

among the Slavic tribes of Eastern Europe, particularly in the Russian

empire, since grown so important, was in turn sorely pressed and

reduced by Mohammedanism in Asia and Africa, the very seat of primitive

Christianity, and at last in Constantinople itself; and in doctrine,

worship, and organization, she stopped at the position of the

oecumenical councils and the patriarchal constitution of the fifth

century.

In the middle age the development of the hierarchy occupies the

foreground, so that it may be called the church of the Popes, as

distinct from the ancient church of the Fathers, and the modern church

of the Reformers.

In the growth and decay of the Roman hierarchy three popes stand out as

representatives of as many epochs: Gregory I., or the Great (590),

marks the rise of absolute papacy; Gregory VII., or Hildebrand (1049),

its summit; and Boniface VIII. (1294), its decline. We thus have again

three periods in mediaeval church history. We may briefly distinguish

them as the Missionary, the Papal, and the pre- or ante-Reformatory [5]

ages of Catholicism.

III. Modern Christianity, from the Reformation of the sixteenth century

to the present time. a.d. 1517-1880.

Modern history moves chiefly among the nations of Europe, and from the

seventeenth century finds a vast new theatre in North America. Western

Christendom now splits into two hostile parts--one remaining on the old

path, the other striking out a new one; while the eastern church

withdraws still further from the stage of history, and presents a scene

of almost undisturbed stagnation, except in modern Russia and Greece.

Modern church history is the age of Protestantism in conflict with

Romanism, of religious liberty and independence in conflict with the

principle of authority and tutelage, of individual and personal

Christianity against an objective and traditional church system.

Here again three different periods appear, which may be denoted briefly

by the terms, Reformation, Revolution, and Revival.

The sixteenth century, next to the apostolic age the most fruitful and

interesting period of church history, is the century of the evangelical

renovation of the Church, and the papal counter-reform. It is the

cradle of all Protestant denominations and sects, and of modern

Romanism.

The seventeenth century is the period of scholastic orthodoxy, polemic

confessionalism, and comparative stagnation. The reformatory motion

ceases on the continent, but goes on in the mighty Puritanic struggle

in England, and extends even into the primitive forests of the American

colonies. The seventeenth century is the most fruitful in the church

history of England, and gave rise to the various nonconformist or

dissenting denominations which were transplanted to North America, and

have out-grown some of the older historic churches. Then comes, in the

eighteenth century, the Pietistic and Methodistic revival of practical

religion in opposition to dead orthodoxy and stiff formalism. In the

Roman church Jesuitism prevails but opposed by the half-evangelical

Jansenism, and the quasiliberal Gallicanism.

In the second half of the eighteenth century begins the vast

overturning of traditional ideas and institutions, leading to

revolution in state, and infidelity in church, especially in Roman

Catholic France and Protestant Germany. Deism in England, atheism in

France, rationalism in Germany, represent the various degrees of the

great modern apostasy from the orthodox creeds.

The nineteenth century presents, in part, the further development of

these negative and destructive tendencies, but with it also the revival

of Christian faith and church life, and the beginnings of a new

creation by the everlasting gospel. The revival may be dated from the

third centenary of the Reformation, in 1817.

In the same period North America, English and Protestant in its

prevailing character, but presenting an asylum for all the nations,

churches, and sects of the old world, with a peaceful separation of the

temporal and the spiritual power, comes upon the stage like a young

giant full of vigor and promise.

Thus we have, in all, nine periods of church history, as follows:

First Period:

The Life of Christ, and the Apostolic church.

From the Incarnation to the death of St. John. a.d. 1-100.

Second Period:

Christianity under persecution in the Roman empire.

From the death of St. John to Constantine, the first Christian emperor.

a.d. 100-311.

Third Period:

Christianity in union with the Graeco-Roman empire, and amidst the

storms of the great migration of nations.

From Constantine the Great to Pope Gregory I. a.d. 311-590.

Fourth Period:

Christianity planted among the Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavonic nations.

From Gregory I. to Hildebrand, or Gregory VII. a.d. 590-1049.

Fifth Period:

The Church under the papal hierarchy, and the scholastic theology.

From Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. a.d. 1049-1294.

Sixth Period:

The decay of mediaeval Catholicism, and the preparatory movements for

the Reformation.

From Boniface VIII. to Luther. a.d. 1294-1517.

Seventh Period:

The evangelical Reformation, and the Roman Catholic Reaction.

From Luther to the Treaty of Westphalia. a.d. 1517-1648.

Eighth Period:

The age of polemic orthodoxy and exclusive confessionalism, with

reactionary and progressive movements.

From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution. a.d. 1648-1790.

Ninth Period:

The spread of infidelity, and the revival of Christianity in Europe and

America, with missionary efforts encircling the globe.

From the French Revolution to the present time. a.d. 1790-1880.

Christianity has thus passed through many stages of its earthly life,

and yet has hardly reached the period of full manhood in Christ Jesus.

During this long succession of centuries it has outlived the

destruction of Jerusalem, the dissolution of the Roman empire, fierce

persecutions from without, and heretical corruptions from within, the

barbarian invasion, the confusion of the dark ages, the papal tyranny,

the shock of infidelity, the ravages of revolution, the attacks of

enemies and the errors of friends, the rise and fall of proud kingdoms,

empires, and republics, philosophical systems, and social organizations

without number. And, behold, it still lives, and lives in greater

strength and wider extent than ever; controlling the progress of

civilization, and the destinies of the world; marching over the ruins

of human wisdom and folly, ever forward and onward; spreading silently

its heavenly blessings from generation to generation, and from country

to country, to the ends of the earth. It can never die; it will never

see the decrepitude of old age; but, like its divine founder, it will

live in the unfading freshness of self-renewing youth and the unbroken

vigor of manhood to the end of time, and will outlive time itself.

Single denominations and sects, human forms of doctrine, government,

and worship, after having served their purpose, may disappear and go

the way of all flesh; but the Church Universal of Christ, in her divine

life and substance, is too strong for the gates of hell. She will only

exchange her earthly garments for the festal dress of the Lamb's Bride,

and rise from the state of humiliation to the state of exaltation and

glory. Then at the coming of Christ she will reap the final harvest of

history, and as the church triumphant in heaven celebrate and enjoy the

eternal sabbath of holiness and peace. This will be the endless end of

history, as it was foreshadowed already at the beginning of its course

in the holy rest of God after the completion of his work of creation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[5] This new word is coined after the analogy of ante-Nicene, and in

imitation of the German vor-reformatorisch. It is the age of the

forerunners of the Reformation, or reformers before the Reformation, as

Ullmann calls such men as Wicklyffe, Huss, Savonarola, Wessel, etc. The

term presents only one view of the period from Boniface VIII. to

Luther. But this is the case with every other single term we may

choose.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 5. Uses of Church History.

Church history is the most extensive, and, including the sacred history

of the Old and New Testaments, the most important branch of theology.

It is the backbone of theology or which it rests, and the storehouse

from which it derives its supplies. It is the best commentary of

Christianity itself, under all its aspects and in all its bearings. The

fulness of the stream is the glory of the fountain from which it flows.

Church history has, in the first place, a general interest for every

cultivated mind, as showing the moral and religious development of our

race, and the gradual execution of the divine plan of redemption.

It has special value for the theologian and minister of the gospel, as

the key to the present condition of Christendom and the guide to

successful labor in her cause. The present is the fruit of the past,

and the germ of the future. No work can stand unless it grow out of the

real wants of the age and strike firm root in the soil of history. No

one who tramples on the rights of a past generation can claim the

regard of its posterity. Church history is no mere curiosity shop. Its

facts are not dry bones, but embody living realities, the general

principles and laws for our own guidance and action. Who studies church

history studies Christianity itself in all its phases, and human nature

under the influence of Christianity as it now is, and will be to the

end of time.

Finally, the history of the church has practical value for every

Christian, as a storehouse of warning and encouragement, of consolation

and counsel. It is the philosophy of facts, Christianity in living

examples. If history in general be, as Cicero describes it, "testis

temporum, lux veritatis, et magistra vitae," or, as Diodorus calls it,

"the handmaid of providence, the priestess of truth, and the mother of

wisdom," the history of the kingdom of heaven is all these in the

highest degree. Next to the holy scriptures, which are themselves a

history and depository of divine revelation, there is no stronger proof

of the continual presence of Christ with his people, no more thorough

vindication of Christianity, no richer source of spiritual wisdom and

experience, no deeper incentive to virtue and piety, than the history

of Christ's kingdom. Every age has a message from God to man, which it

is of the greatest importance for man to understand.

The Epistle to the Hebrews describes, in stirring eloquence, the cloud

of witnesses from the old dispensation for the encouragement of the

Christians. Why should not the greater cloud of apostles, evangelists,

martyrs, confessors, fathers, reformers, and saints of every age and

tongue, since the coming of Christ, be held up for the same purpose?

They were the heroes of Christian faith and love, the living epistles

of Christ, the salt of the earth, the benefactors and glory of our

race; and it is impossible rightly to study their thoughts and deeds,

their lives and deaths, without being elevated, edified, comforted, and

encouraged to follow their holy example, that we at last, by the grace

of God, be received into their fellowship, to spend with them a blessed

eternity in the praise and enjoyment of the same God and Saviour.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 6. Duty of the Historian.

The first duty of the historian, which comprehends all others, is

fidelity and justice. He must reproduce the history itself, making it

live again in his representation. His highest and only aim should be,

like a witness, to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the

truth, and, like a judge, to do full justice to every person and event

which comes under his review.

To be thus faithful and just he needs a threefold

qualification--scientific, artistic, and religious.

1. He must master the sources. For this purpose he must be acquainted

with such auxiliary sciences as ecclesiastical philology (especially

the Greek and Latin languages, in which most of the earliest documents

are written), secular history, geography, and chronology. Then, in

making use of the sources, he must thoroughly and impartially examine

their genuineness and integrity, and the credibility and capacity of

the witnesses. Thus only can he duly separate fact from fiction, truth

from error.

The number of sources for general history is so large and increasing so

rapidly, that it is, of course, impossible to read and digest them all

in a short lifetime. Every historian rests on the shoulders of his

predecessors. He must take some things on trust even after the most

conscientious search, and avail himself of the invaluable aid of

documentary collections and digests, ample indexes, and exhaustive

monographs, where he cannot examine all the primary sources in detail.

Only he should always carefully indicate his authorities and verify

facts, dates, and quotations. A want of accuracy is fatal to the

reputation of an historical work.

2. Then comes the composition. This is an art. It must not simply

recount events, but reproduce the development of the church in living

process. History is not a heap of skeletons, but an organism filled and

ruled by a reasonable soul.

One of the greatest difficulties here lies in arranging the material.

The best method is to combine judiciously the chronological and topical

principles of division; presenting at once the succession of events and

the several parallel (and, indeed, interwoven) departments of the

history in due proportion. Accordingly, we first divide the whole

history into periods, not arbitrary, but determined by the actual

course of events; and then we present each of these periods in as many

parallel sections or chapters as the material itself requires. As to

the number of the periods and chapters, and as to the arrangement of

the chapters, there are indeed conflicting opinions, and in the

application of our principle, as in our whole representation, we can

only make approaches to perfection. But the principle itself is,

nevertheless, the only true one.

The ancient classical historians, and most of the English and French,

generally present their subject in one homogeneous composition of

successive books or chapters, without rubrical division. This method

might seem to bring out better the living unity and variety of the

history at every point. Yet it really does not. Language, unlike the

pencil and the chisel, can exhibit only the succession in time, not the

local concomitance. And then this method, rigidly pursued, never gives

a complete view of any one subject, of doctrine, worship, or practical

life. It constantly mixes the various topics, breaking off from one to

bring up another, even by the most sudden transitions, till the

alternation is exhausted. The German method of periodical and rubrical

arrangement has great practical advantages for the student, in bringing

to view the order of subjects as well as the order of time. But it

should not be made a uniform and monotonous mechanism, as is done in

the Magdeburg Centuries and many subsequent works. For, while history

has its order, both of subject and of time, it is yet, like all life,

full of variety. The period of the Reformation requires a very

different arrangement from the middle age; and in modern history the

rubrical division must be combined with and made subject to a division

by confessions and countries, as the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed

churches in Germany, France, England, and America.

The historian should aim then to reproduce both the unity and the

variety of history, presenting the different topics in their separate

completeness, without overlooking their organic connection. The scheme

must not be arbitrarily made, and then pedantically applied, as a

Procrustean framework, to the history; but it must be deduced from the

history itself, and varied as the facts require.

Another difficulty even greater than the arrangement of the material

consists in the combination of brevity and fulness. A general church

history should give a complete view of the progress of Christ's kingdom

in all its departments. But the material is so vast and constantly

increasing, that the utmost condensation should be studied by a

judicious selection of the salient points, which really make up the

main body of history. There is no use in writing books unless they are

read. But who has time in this busy age to weary through the forty

folios of Baronius and his continuators, or the thirteen folios of

Flacius, or the forty-five octaves of Schroeckh? The student of

ecclesiastical history, it is true, wants not miniature pictures only

(as in Hase's admirable compend), but full-length portraits. Yet much

space may be gained by omitting the processes and unessential details,

which may be left to monographs and special treatises. Brevity is a

virtue in the historian, unless it makes him obscure and enigmatic. [6]

The historian, moreover, must make his work readable and interesting,

without violating truth. Some parts of history are dull and wearisome;

but, upon the whole, the truth of history is "stranger than fiction."

It is God's own epos. It needs no embellishment. It speaks for itself

if told with earnestness, vivacity, and freshness. Unfortunately,

church historians, with very few exceptions, are behind the great

secular historians in point of style, and represent the past as a dead

corpse rather than as a living and working power of abiding interest.

Hence church histories are so little read outside of professional

circles.

3. Both scientific research and artistic representation must be guided

by a sound moral and religious, that is, a truly Christian spirit. The

secular historian should be filled with universal human sympathy, the

church historian with universal Christian sympathy. The motto of the

former is: "Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto;" the motto of the

latter: "Christianus sum, nihil Christiani a me alienum puto."

The historian must first lay aside all prejudice and party zeal, and

proceed in the pure love of truth. Not that he must become a tabula

rasa. No man is able, or should attempt, to cast off the educational

influences which have made him what he is. But the historian of the

church of Christ must in every thing be as true as possible to the

objective fact, "sine ira et studio;" do justice to every person and

event; and stand in the centre of Christianity, whence he may see all

points in the circumference, all individual persons and events, all

confessions, denominations, and sects, in their true relations to each

other and to the glorious whole. The famous threefold test of catholic

truth--universality of time (semper), place (ubique), and number (ab

omnibus)--in its literal sense, is indeed untrue and inapplicable.

Nevertheless, there is a common Christianity in the Church, as well as

a common humanity in the world, which no Christian can disregard with

impunity. Christ is the divine harmony of all the discordant human

creeds and sects. It is the duty and the privilege of the historian to

trace the image of Christ in the various physiognomies of his

disciples, and to act as a mediator between the different sections of

his kingdom.

Then he must be in thorough sympathy with his subject, and

enthusiastically devoted thereto. As no one can interpret a poet

without poetic feeling and taste, or a philosopher without speculative

talent, so no one can rightly comprehend and exhibit the history of

Christianity without a Christian spirit. An unbeliever could produce

only a repulsive caricature, or at best a lifeless statue. The higher

the historian stands on Christian ground, the larger is his horizon,

and the more full and clear his view of single regions below, and of

their mutual bearings. Even error can be fairly seen only from the

position of truth. "Verum est index sui et falsi." Christianity is the

absolute truth, which, like the sun, both reveals itself and enlightens

all that is dark. Church history, like the Bible, is its own best

interpreter.

So far as the historian combines these three qualifications, he fulfils

his office. In this life we can, of course, only distantly approach

perfection in this or in any other branch of study. Absolute success

would require infallibility; and this is denied to mortal man. It is

the exclusive privilege of the Divine mind to see the end from the

beginning, and to view events from all sides and in all their bearings;

while the human mind can only take up things consecutively and view

them partially or in fragments.

The full solution of the mysteries of history is reserved for that

heavenly state, when we shall see no longer through a gloss darkly, but

face to face, and shall survey the developments of time from the

heights of eternity. What St. Augustine so aptly says of the mutual

relation of the Old and New Testament, "Novum Testamentum in Vetere

latet, Vetus in Novo patet," may be applied also to the relation of

this world and the world to come. The history of the church militant is

but a type and a prophecy of the triumphant kingdom of God in heaven--a

prophecy which will be perfectly understood only in the light of its

fulfilment.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[6] The German poet, Friedrich R�ckert, thus admirably enjoins the duty

of condensation: Wie die Welt l�uft immer weiter,

Wird stets die Geschicte breiter

Und uns wird je mehr je l�nger

N�thig ein Zusammendr�nger:

Nicht der aus dem Schutt der Zeiten

W�hle mehr Erb�rmlichkeiten,

Sondern der den Plunder sichte

Und zum Bau die Steine schichte

Nicht das Einzle unterdr�ckend

Noch damit willk�hlich schm�ckend,

Sondern in des Einzlen H�lle

Legend allgemeine F�lle;

Der gelesen Alles habe,

Und besitze Dichtergabe,

Klar zu schildern mir das Wesen,

Der ich nicht ein Wort gelesen.

Sagt mir nichts von Resultaten!

Denn die will ich selber ziehen.

Lasst Begebenheiten, Thaten,

Heiden, rasch vor�berziehen."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 7. Literature of Church History.

St�udlin: Geschichte u. Literatur der K. Geschichte. Hann. 1827.

J. G. Dowling: An Introduction to the Critical Study of Eccles.

History. London, 1838. Quoted p. 1. The work is chiefly an account of

the ecclesiastical historians. pp. 1-212.

F. C. Baur: Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung. T�b. 1852.

Philip Schaff: Introduction to History of the Apost. Church (N. York,

1853), pp. 51-134.

Engelhardt: Uebersicht der kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur vom Jahre

1825-1850. In Niedner's "Zeitschrift f�r historische Theologie," 1851.

G. Uhlhorn: Die kirchenhist. Arbeiten von 1851-1860. In Niedner's

"Zeitschrift f�r histor. Theologie," for 1866, Gotha, pp. 3-160. The

same: Die �ltere Kirchengesch. in ihren neueren Darstellungen. In

"Jahrb�cher f�r deutsche Theol." Vol. II. 648 sqq.

Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte" (begun in 1877 and

published in Gotha) contains bibliographical articles of Ad. Harnack,

M�ller, and others, on the latest literature.

Ch. K. Adams: A Manual of Historical Literature. N. York, 3d ed. 1888.

Like every other science and art, church historiography has a history

of development toward its true perfection. This history exhibits not

only a continual growth of material, but also a gradual, though

sometimes long interrupted, improvement of method, from the mere

collection of names and dates in a Christian chronicle, to critical

research and discrimination, pragmatic reference to causes and motives,

scientific command of material, philosophical generalization, and

artistic reproduction of the actual history itself. In this progress

also are marked the various confessional and denominational phases of

Christianity, giving different points of view, and consequently

different conceptions and representations of the several periods and

divisions of Christendom; so that the development of the Church itself

is mirrored in the development of church historiography.

We can here do no more than mention the leading works which mark the

successive epochs in the growth of our science.

I. The Apostolic Church.

The first works on church history are the canonical Gospels of Matthew,

Mark, Luke, and John, the inspired biographical memoirs of Jesus

Christ, who is the theanthropic head of the Church universal.

These are followed by Luke's Acts of the Apostles, which describes the

planting of Christianity among Jews and Gentiles from Jerusalem to

Rome, by the labors of the apostles, especially Peter and Paul.

II. The Greek Church historians.

The first post-apostolic works on church history, as indeed all

branches of theological literature, take their rise in the Greek

Church.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine, and contemporary with

Constantine the Great, composed a church history in ten books

(ejkklhsiastikh; iJstoriva, from the incarnation of the Logos to the

year 324), by which he has won the title of the Father of church

history, or the Christian Herodotus. Though by no means very critical

and discerning, and far inferior in literary talent and execution to

the works of the great classical historians, this ante-Nicene church

history is invaluable for its learning, moderation, and love of truth;

for its use of so since totally or partially lost; and for its

interesting position of personal observation between the last

persecutions of the church and her establishment in the Byzantine

empire.

Eusebius was followed in similar spirit and on the same plan by

Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret in the fifth century, and Theodorus

and Evagrius in the sixth, each taking up the thread of the narrative

where his predecessor had dropped it, and covering in part the same

ground, from Constantine the Great till toward the middle of the fifth

century. [7]

Of the later Greek historians, from the seventh century, to the

fifteenth, the "Scriptores Byzantini," as they are called, Nicephorus

Callisti (son of Callistus, about a.d. 1333) deserves special regard.

His Ecclesiastical History was written with the use of the large

library of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, and dedicated to

the emperor Andronicus Palaeologus (d. 1327). It extends in eighteen

books (each of which begins with a letter of his name) from the birth

of Christ to the death of Phocas, a.d. 610, and gives in the preface a

summary of five books more, which would have brought it down to 911. He

was an industrious and eloquent, but uncritical and superstitious

writer. [8]

III. Latin Church historians of the middle ages.

The Latin Church, before the Reformation, was, in church history, as in

all other theological studies, at first wholly dependent on the Greek,

and long content with mere translations and extracts from Eusebius and

his continuators.

The most popular of these was the Historia Tripartita, composed by

Cassiodorus, prime minister of Theodoric, and afterwards abbot of a

convent in Calabria (d. about a.d. 562). It is a compilation from the

histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, abridging and

harmonizing them, and supplied--together with the translation of

Eusebius by Rufinus--the West for several centuries with its knowledge

of the fortunes of the ancient church.

The middle age produced no general church history of consequence, but a

host of chronicles, and histories of particular nations, monastic

orders, eminent popes, bishops, missionaries, saints, etc. Though

rarely worth much as compositions, these are yet of great value as

material, after a careful sifting of truth from legendary fiction.

The principal mediaeval historians are Gregory of Tours (d. 595), who

wrote a church history of the Franks; the Venerable Bede, (d. 735), the

father of English church history; Paulus Diaconus (d. 799), the

historian of the Lombards; Adam of Bremen, the chief authority for

Scandinavian church history from a.d. 788-1072; Haimo (or Haymo, Aimo,

a monk of Fulda, afterwards bishop of Halberstadt, d. 853), who

described in ten books, mostly from Rufinus, the history of the first

four centuries (Hist oriae Sacrae Epitome); Anastasius (about 872), the

author in part of the Liber Pontificalis, i.e., biographies of the

Popes till Stephen VI. (who died 891); Bartholomaeus of Lucca. (about

1312), who composed a general church history from Christ to a.d. 1312;

St. Antoninus (Antonio Pierozzi), archbishop of Florence (d. 1459), the

author of the largest mediaeval work on secular and sacred history

(Summa Historialis), from the creation to a.d. 1457.

Historical criticism began with the revival of letters, and revealed

itself first in the doubts of Laurentius Valla (d. 1457) and Nicolaus

of Cusa (d. 1464) concerning the genuineness of the donation of

Constantine, the Isidorian Decretals, and other spurious documents,

which are now as universally rejected as they were once universally

accepted.

IV. Roman Catholic historians.

The Roman Catholic Church was roused by the shock of the Reformation,

in the sixteenth century, to great activity in this and other

departments of theology, and produced some works of immense learning

and antiquarian research, but generally characterized rather by zeal

for the papacy, and against Protestantism, than by the purely

historical spirit. Her best historians are either Italians, and

ultramontane in spirit, or Frenchmen, mostly on the side of the more

liberal but less consistent Gallicanism.

(a) Italians:

First stands the Cardinal Caesar Baronius (d. 1607), with his Annales

Ecclesiastici(Rom. 1588 sqq.), in 12 folio volumes, on which he spent

thirty years of unwearied study. They come down only to the year 1198,

but are continued by Raynaldi (to 1565), Laderchi (to 1571), and

Theiner (to 1584). [9]

This truly colossal and monumental work is even to this day an

invaluable storehouse of information from the Vatican library and other

archives, and will always be consulted by professional scholars. It is

written in dry, ever broken, unreadable style, and contains many

spurious documents. It stands wholly on the ground of absolute papacy,

and is designed as a positive refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries,

though it does not condescend directly to notice them. It gave immense

aid and comfort to the cause of Romanism, and was often epitomized and

popularized in several languages. But it was also severely criticized,

and in part refuted, not only by such Protestants as Casaubon,

Spanheim, and Samuel Basnage, but by Roman Catholic scholars also,

especially two French Franciscans, Antoine and Fran�ois Pagi, who

corrected the chronology.

Far less known and used than the Annals of Baronius is the Historia

Ecclesiasticaof Caspar Sacharelli, which comes down to a.d. 1185, and

was published in Rome, 1771-1796, in 25 quarto volumes.

Invaluable contributions to historical collections and special

researches have been made by other Italian scholars, as Muratori,

Zaccagni, Zaccaria, Mansi, Gallandi, Paolo Sarpi, Pallavicini (the last

two on the Council of Trent), the three Assemani, and Angelo Mai

(b) French Catholic historians.

Natalis (Noel) Alexander, Professor and Provincial of the Dominican

order (d. 1724), wrote his Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris et Nova

Testamentito the year 1600 (Paris, 1676, 2d ed. 1699 sqq. 8 vols. fol.)

in the spirit of Gallicanism, with great learning, but in dry

scholastic style. Innocent XI. put it in the Index (1684). This gave

rise to the corrected editions.

The abbot Claude Fleury (d. 1723), in his Histoire eccl�siastique(Par.

1691-1720, in 20 vols. quarto, down to a.d. 1414, continued by Claude

Fabre, a very decided Gallican, to a.d. 1595), furnished a much more

popular work, commended by mildness of spirit and fluency of style, and

as useful for edification as for instruction. It is a minute and, upon

the whole, accurate narrative of the course of events as they occurred,

but without system and philosophical generalization, and hence tedious

and wearisome. When Fleury was asked why he unnecessarily darkened his

pages with so many discreditable facts, he properly replied that the

survival and progress of Christianity, notwithstanding the vices and

crimes of its professors and preachers, was the best proof of its

divine origin. [10]

Jacques B�nigne Bossuet, the distinguished bishop of Meaux (d. 1704),

an advocate of Romanism on the one hand against Protestantism, but of

Gallicanism on the other against Ultramontanism, wrote with brilliant

eloquence, and in the spirit of the Catholic church, a universal

history, in bold outlines for popular effect. [11] This was continued

in the German language by the Protestant Cramer, with less elegance but

more thoroughness, and with special reference to the doctrine history

of the middle age.

Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont (d. 1698), a French nobleman and priest,

without office and devoted exclusively to study and prayer--a pupil and

friend of the Jansenists and in partial sympathy with

Gallicanism--composed a most learned and useful history of the first

six centuries (till 513), in a series of minute biographies, with great

skill and conscientiousness, almost entirely in the words of the

original authorities, from which he carefully distinguishes his own

additions. It is, as far as it goes, the most valuable church history

produced by Roman Catholic industry and learning. [12]

Contemporaneously with Tillemont, the Gallican, L. Ellies Dupin (d.

1719), furnished a biographical and bibliographical church history down

to the seventeenth century. [13] Remi Ceillier (d. 1761) followed with

a similar work, which has the advantage of greater completeness and

accuracy. [14] The French Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur,

in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, did immense service to

historical theology by the best critical editions of the fathers and

extensive archaeological works. We can only mention the names of

Mabillon, Massuet, Montfaucon, D'achery, Ruinart, Mart�ne, Durand.

Among the Jesuits, Sirmond and Petau occupy a prominent place.

The Abb� Rohrbacher. (Professor of Church History at Nancy, d. 1856)

wrote an extensive Universal History of the Church, including that of

the Old Testament, down to 1848. It is less liberal than the great

Gallican writers of the seventeenth century, but shows familiarity with

German literature. [15]

(c) German Catholic historians.

The pioneer of modern German Catholic historians of note is a poet and

an ex-Protestant, Count Leopold Von Stolberg (d. 1819). With the

enthusiasm of an honest, noble, and devout, but credulous convert, he

began, in 1806, a very full Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi, and

brought it down in 15 volumes to the year 430. It was continued by F.

Kerz (vols. 16-45, to a.d. 1192) and J. N. Brischar (vols. 45-53, to

a.d. 1245).

Theod. Katerkamp (d. at M�nster, 1834) wrote a church history, in the

same spirit and pleasing style, down to a.d. 1153. [16] It remained

unfinished, like the work of Locherer(d. 1837), which extends to 1073.

[17]

Bishop Hefele's History of the Councils(Conciliengeschichte, 1855-'86;

revised edition and continuation, 1873 sqq.) is a most valuable

contribution to the history of doctrine and discipline down to the

Council of Trent. [18]

The best compendious histories from the pens of German Romanists are

produced by Jos. Ign. Ritter, Professor in Bonn and afterward in

Breslau (d. 1857); [19] Joh. Adam M�hler, formerly Professor in

T�bingen, and then in Munich, the author of the famous Symbolik(d.

1838); [20] Joh. Alzog (d. 1878); [21] H. Br�ck (Mayence, 2d ed.,

1877); F. X. Kraus (Treves, 1873; 3d ed., 1882); Card.

Hergenr�ther(Freiburg, 3d ed., 1886, 3 vols.); F. X. Funk (T�bingen,

1886; 2d ed., 1890).

A. F. Gfr�rer (d. 1861) began his learned General Church History as a

Protestant, or rather as a Rationalist (1841-'46, 4 vols., till a.d.

1056), and continued it from Gregory VII. on as a Romanist (1859-'61).

Dr. John Joseph Ignatius D�llinger (Professor in Munich, born 1799),

the most learned historian of the Roman Church in the nineteenth

century, represents the opposite course from popery to anti-popery. He

began, but never finished, a Handbook of Christian Church

History(Landshut, 1833, 2 vols.) till a.d. 680, and a Manual of Church

History(1836, 2d ed., 1843, 2 vols.) to the fifteenth century, and in

part to 1517. [22] He wrote also learned works against the Reformation

(Die Reformation, 1846-'48, in 3 vols.), on Hippolytus and Callistus

(1853), on the preparation for Christianity (Heidenthum u Judenthum,

1857), Christianity and the Church in the time of its Founding (1860),

The Church and the Churches (1862), Papal Fables of the Middle Age

(1865), The Pope and the Council (under the assumed name of "Janus,"

1869), etc.

During the Vatican Council in 1870 D�llinger broke with Rome, became

the theological leader of the Old Catholic recession, and was

excommunicated by the Archbishop of Munich (his former pupil), April

17, 1871, as being guilty of "the crime of open and formal heresy." He

knows too much of church history to believe in the infallibility of the

pope. He solemnly declared (March 28, 1871) that "as a Christian, as a

theologian, as a historian, and as a citizen," he could not accept the

Vatican decrees, because they contradict the spirit of the gospel and

the genuine tradition of the church, and, if carried out, must involve

church and state, the clergy and the laity, in irreconcilable conflict.

[23]

V. The Protestant Church historians.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century is the mother church history

as a science and art in the proper sense of term. It seemed at first to

break off from the past and to depreciate church history, by going back

directly to the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, and

especially to look most unfavorably on the Catholic middle age, as a

progressive corruption of the apostolic doctrine and discipline. But,

on the other hand, it exalted primitive Christianity, and awakened a

new and enthusiastic interest in all the documents of the apostolic

church, with an energetic effort to reproduce its spirit and

institutions. It really repudiated only the later tradition in favor of

the older, taking its stand upon the primitive historical basis of

Christianity. Then again, in the course of controversy with Rome,

Protestantism found it desirable and necessary to wrest from its

opponent not only the scriptural argument, but also the historical, and

to turn it as far as possible to the side of the evangelical cause. For

the Protestants could never deny that the true Church of Christ is

built on a rock, and has the promise of indestructible permanence.

Finally, the Reformation, by, liberating the mind from the yoke of a

despotic ecclesiastical authority, gave an entirely new impulse,

directly or indirectly to free investigation in every department, and

produced that historical criticism which claims to clear fact from the

accretions of fiction, and to bring out the truth, the whole truth, and

nothing but the truth, of history. Of course this criticism may run to

the extreme of rationalism and scepticism, which oppose the authority

of the apostles and of Christ himself; as it actually did for a time,

especially in Germany. But the abuse of free investigation proves

nothing against the right use of it; and is to be regarded only as a

temporary aberration, from which all sound minds will return to a due

appreciation of history, as a truly rational unfolding of the plan of

redemption, and a standing witness for the all-ruling providence of

God, and the divine character of the Christian religion.

(a) German, Swiss, and Dutch historians.

Protestant church historiography has thus far flourished most on German

soil. A patient and painstaking industry and conscientious love of

truth and justice qualify German scholars for the mining operations of

research which bring forth the raw material for the manufacturer; while

French and English historians know best how to utilize and popularize

the material for the general reader.

The following are the principal works:

Matthias Flacius (d 1575), surnamed Illyricus, a zealous Lutheran, and

an unsparing enemy of Papists, Calvinists, and Melancthonians, heads

the list of Protestant historians with his great Eccelesiastica

Historia Novi Testamenti, commonly called Centuriae

Magdeburgenses(Basle, 1560-'74), covering thirteen centuries of the

Christian era in as many folio volumes. He began the work in Magdeburg,

in connection with ten other, scholars of like Spirit and zeal, and in

the face of innumerable difficulties, for the purpose of exposing the

corruptions and, errors of the papacy, and of proving the doctrines of

the Lutheran Reformation orthodox by the "witnesses of the truth" in

all ages. The tone is therefore controversial throughout, and quite as

partial as that of the Annals of Baronius on the papal side. The style

is tasteless and repulsive, but the amount of persevering labor, the

immense, though ill-digested and unwieldy mass of material, and the

boldness of the criticism, are imposing and astonishing. The

"Centuries" broke the path of free historical study, and are the first

general church history deserving of the name. They introduced also a

new method. They divide the material by centuries, and each century by

a uniform Procrustean scheme of not less than sixteen rubrics: "de loco

et propagatione ecclesiae; de persecutione et tranquillitate ecclesiae;

de doctrina; de haeresibus; de ceremoniis; de politia; de schismatibus;

de conciliis; de vitis episcoporum; de haereticis; de martyribus; de

miraculis et prodigiis; de rebus Judaicis; de aliis religionibus; de

mutationibus politicis." This plan destroys all symmetry, and occasions

wearisome diffuseness and repetition. Yet, in spite of its mechanical

uniformity and stiffness, it is more scientific than the annalistic or

chronicle method, and, with material improvements and considerable

curtailment of rubrics, it has been followed to this day.

The Swiss, J. H. Hottinger (d. 1667), in his Historia Ecclesiastica N.

Testamenti(Zurich, 1655-'67, 9 vols. fol.), furnished a Reformed

counterpart to the Magdeburg Centuries. It is less original and

vigorous, but more sober and moderate. It comes down to the sixteenth

century, to which alone five volumes are devoted.

From Fred. Spanheim of Holland (d. 1649) we have a Summa Historia

Ecclesiasticae (Lugd. Bat. 1689), coming down to the sixteenth century.

It is based on a thorough and critical knowledge of the sources, and

serves at the same time as a refutation of Baronius.

A new path was broken by Gottfried Arnold (d. 1714), in his, Impartial

History of the Church and Hereticsto a.d. 1688. [24] He is the

historian of the pietistic and mystic school. He made subjective piety

the test of the true faith, and the persecuted sects the main channel

of true Christianity; while the reigning church from Constantine down,

and indeed not the Catholic church only, but the orthodox Lutheran with

it, he represented as a progressive apostasy, a Babylon full of

corruption and abomination. In this way he boldly and effectually broke

down the walls of ecclesiastical exclusiveness and bigotry; but at the

same time, without intending or suspecting it, he opened the way to a

rationalistic and sceptical treatment of history. While, in his zeal

for impartiality and personal piety, he endeavored to do justice to all

possible heretics and sectaries, he did great injustice to the

supporters of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical order. Arnold was also the

first to use the German language instead of the Latin in learned

history; but his style is tasteless and insipid.

J. L. von Mosheim (Chancellor of the University at G�ttingen, d. 1755),

a moderate and impartial Lutheran, is the father of church

historiography as an art, unless we prefer to concede this merit to

Bossuet. In skilful construction, clear, though mechanical and

monotonous arrangement, critical sagacity, pragmatic combination,

freedom from passion, almost bordering on cool indifferentism, and in

easy elegance of Latin style, he surpasses all his predecessors. His

well-known Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae antiquae et

recentioris(Helmst�dt, 1755) follows the centurial plan of Flacius, but

in simpler form, and, as translated and supplemented by Maclaine, and

Murdock, is still used extensively as a text-book in England and

America. [25]

J. M. Schr�ckh (d. 1808), a pupil of Mosheim, but already touched with

the neological spirit which Semler (d. 1791) introduced into the

historical theology of Germany, wrote with unwearied industry the

largest Protestant church history after the Magdeburg Centuries. He

very properly forsook the centurial plan still followed by Mosheim, and

adopted the periodic. His Christian Church History comprises forty-five

volumes, and reaches to the end of the eighteenth century. It is

written in diffuse but clear and easy style, with reliable knowledge of

sources, and in a mild and candid spirit, and is still a rich

storehouse of historical matter. [26]

The very learned Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae V. et N.

Testamentiof the Dutch Reformed divine, H. Venema (d. 1787), contain

the history of the Jewish and Christian Church down to the end of the

sixteenth century (Lugd. Bat. 1777-'83, in seven parts).

H. P. C. Henke (d. 1809) is the leading representative of the

rationalistic church historiography, which ignores Christ in history.

In his spirited and able Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche,

continued by Vater (Braunschweig, 1788-1820, 9 vols.), the church

appears not as the temple of God on earth, but as a great infirmary and

bedlam.

August Neander. (Professor of Church History in Berlin, d. 1850), the

"father of modern church history," a child in spirit, a giant in

learning, and a saint in piety, led back the study of history from the

dry heath of rationalism to the fresh fountain of divine life in

Christ, and made it a grand source of edification as well as

instruction for readers of every creed. His General History of the

Christian Religion and Church begins after the apostolic age (which he

treated in a separate work), and comes down to the Council of Basle in

1430, the continuation being interrupted by his death. [27] It is

distinguished for thorough and conscientious use of the sources,

critical research, ingenious combination, tender love of truth and

justice, evangelical catholicity, hearty piety, and by masterly

analysis of the doctrinal systems and the subjective Christian life of

men of God in past ages. The edifying character is not introduced from

without, but naturally grows out of his conception of church history,

viewed as a continuous revelation of Christ's presence and power in

humanity, and as an illustration of the parable of the leaven which

gradually pervades and transforms the whole lump. The political and

artistic sections, and the outward machinery of history, were not

congenial to the humble, guileless simplicity of Neander. His style is

monotonous, involved, and diffuse, but unpretending, natural, and

warmed by a genial glow of sympathy and enthusiasm. It illustrates his

motto: Pectus est quod theologum facit.

Torrey's excellent translation (Rose translated only the first three

centuries), published in Boston, Edinburgh, and London, in multiplied

editions, has given Neander's immortal work even a much larger

circulation in England and America than it has in Germany itself.

Besides this general history, Neander's indefatigable industry produced

also special works on the Life of Christ (1837, 4th ed. 1845), the

Apostolic Age (1832, 4th ed. 1842, translated by J. E. Ryland,

Edinburgh, 1842, and again by E. G. Robinson, N. York, 1865), Memorials

of Christian Life (1823, 3d ed. 1845, 3 vols.), the Gnostic Heresies

(1818), and biographies of representative characters, as Julian the

Apostate (1812), St. Bernard (1813, 2d ed. 1848), St. Chrysostom (1822,

3d ed. 1848), and Tertullian (1825, 2d ed. 1849). His History a

Christian Doctrines was published after his death by Jacobi (1855), and

translated by J. E. Ryland (Lond., 1858). [28]

From J. C. L. Gieseler (Professor of Church History in G�ttingen, d.

1854), a profoundly learned, acute, calm, impartial, conscientious, but

cold and dry scholar, we have a Textbook of Church Historyfrom the

birth of Christ to 1854. [29] He takes Tillemont's method of giving the

history in the very words of the sources; only he does not form the

text from them, but throws them into notes. The chief excellence of

this invaluable and indispensable work is in its very carefully

selected and critically elucidated extracts from the original

authorities down to the year 1648 (as far as he edited the work

himself). The skeleton-like text presents, indeed, the leading facts

clearly and concisely, but does not reach the inward life and spiritual

marrow of the church of Christ. The theological views of Gieseler

hardly rise above the jejune rationalism of Wegscheider, to whom he

dedicated a portion of his history; and with all his attempt at

impartiality he cannot altogether conceal the negative effect of a

rationalistic conception of Christianity, which acts like a chill upon

the narrative of its history, and substitutes a skeleton of dry bones

for a living organism.

Neander and Gieseler matured their works in respectful and friendly

rivalry, during the same period of thirty years of slow, but solid and

steady growth. The former is perfectly subjective, and reproduces the

original sources in a continuous warm and sympathetic composition,

which reflects at the same time the author's own mind and heart; the

latter is purely objective, and speaks with the indifference of an

outside spectator, through the ipsissima verbaof the same sources,

arranged as notes, and strung together simply by a slender thread of

narrative. The one gives the history ready-made, and full of life and

instruction; the other furnishes the material and leaves the reader to

animate and improve it for himself. With the one, the text is

everything; with the other, the notes. But both admirably complete each

other, and exhibit together the ripest fruit of German scholarship in

general church history in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Ferdinand Christian Baur (Prof. of Church History in T�bingen, d. 1860)

must be named alongside with Neander and Gieseler in the front rank of

German church historians. He was equal to both in independent and

thorough scholarship, superior in constructive criticism and

philosophical generalization, but inferior in well-balanced judgment

and solid merit. He over-estimated theories and tendencies, and

undervalued persons and facts. He was an indefatigable investigator and

bold innovator. He completely revolutionized the history of apostolic

and post-apostolic Christianity, and resolved its rich spiritual life

of faith and love into a purely speculative process of conflicting

tendencies, which started from an antagonism of Petrinism and

Paulinism, and were ultimately reconciled in the compromise of ancient

Catholicism. He fully brought to light, by a keen critical analysis,

the profound intellectual fermentation of the primitive church, but

eliminated from it the supernatural and miraculous element; yet as an

honest and serious sceptic he had to confess at last a psychological

miracle in the conversion of St. Paul, and to bow before the greater

miracle of the resurrection of Christ, without which the former is an

inexplicable enigma. His critical researches and speculations gave a

powerful stimulus to a reconsideration and modification of the

traditional views on early Christianity.

We have from his fertile pen a general History of the Christian Church,

in five volumes (1853-1863), three of which were, published after his

death and lack the originality and careful finish of the first and

second, which cover the first six centuries;Lectures on Christian

Doctrine History (Dogmengeschichte), published by his son (1865-'67, in

3 volumes), and a briefLehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, edited by himself

(1847, 2d ed. 1858). Even more valuable are his monographs: on St.

Paul, for whom he had a profound veneration, although he recognized

only four of his Epistles as genuine (1845, 2d ed. by E. Zeller, 1867,

2 vols., translated into English, 1875); on Gnosticism, with which he

had a strong spiritual affinity (Die christliche Gnosis oder die

christliche Religionsphilosophie, 1835); the history of the Doctrine of

the Atonement (1838, 1 vol.), and of the Trinity and Incarnation

(1841-'43, in 3 vols.), and his masterly vindication of Protestantism

against M�hler's Symbolik (2d ed. 1836). [30]

Karl Rudolph Hagenbach (Professor of Church History at Basel, d. 1874)

wrote, in the mild and impartial spirit of Neander, with poetic taste

and good judgment, and in pleasing popular style, a general History of

the Christian Church in seven volumes (4th ed. 1868-'72), [31] and a

History of Christian Doctrines, in two volumes (1841, 4th ed. 1857).

[32]

Protestant Germany is richer than any other country in, manuals and

compends of church history for the use of students. We mention

Engelhardt (1834), Niedner (Geschichte der christl. Kirche, 1846, and

Lehrbuch, 1866), Hase (11th ed. 1886), Guericke (9th ed. 1866, 3

vols.), Lindner (1848-'54), Jacobi (1850, unfinished), Fricke (1850),

Kurtz (Lehrbuch, 10th ed. 1887, in 2 vols., the larger Handbuch,

unfinished), Hasse (edited by K�hler, 1864, in 3 small vols.), K�llner

(1864), Ebrard (1866) 2 vols.), Rothe (lectures edited by Weingarten,

1875, 2 vols.), Herzog (1876-'82, 3 vols.), H. Schmid (1881, 2 vols.).

Niedner's Lehrbuch (1866) stands first for independent and thorough

scholarship, but is heavy. Hase's Compend is unsurpassed for

condensation, wit, point, and artistic taste, as a miniature picture.

[33] Herzog's Abriss keeps the medium between voluminous fulness and

enigmatic brevity, and is written in a candid Christian spirit. Kurtz

is clear, concise, and evangelical. [34] A new manual was begun by

M�ller, 1889.

The best works on doctrine history (Dogmengeschichte) are by M�nscher,

Geiseler, Neander, Baur, Hagenbach, Thomasius, H. Schmid, Nitzsch, and

Harnack (1887).

It is impossible to do justice here to the immense service which

Protestant Germany has done to special departments of church history.

Most of the fathers, popes, schoolmen and reformers, and the principal

doctrines of Christianity have been made the subject of minute and

exhaustive historical treatment. We have already mentioned the

monographs of Neander and Baur, and fully equal to them are such

masterly and enduring works as Rothe's Beginnings of the Christian

Church, Ullmann's Reformers before the Reformation, Hasse's Anselm of

Canterbury, and Dorner's History of Christology.

(b) French works.

Dr. Etienne L. Chastel (Professor of Church History in the National

Church at Geneva, d. 1886) wrote a complete Histoire du

Christianisme(Paris, 1881-'85, 5 vols.).

Dr. Merle D'aubign� (Professor of Church History in the independent

Reformed Seminary at Geneva, d. 1872) reproduced in elegant and

eloquent French an extensive history both of the Lutheran and

Calvinistic Reformation, with an evangelical enthusiasm and a dramatic

vivacity which secured it an extraordinary circulation in England and

America (far greater, than on the Continent), and made it the most

popular work on that important period. Its value as a history is

somewhat diminished by polemical bias and the occasional want of

accuracy. Dr. Merle conceived the idea of the work during the

celebration of the third centenary of the German Reformation in 1817,

in the Wartburg at Eisenach, where Luther translated, the New Testament

and threw his inkstand at the devil. He labored on it till the year of

his death. [35]

Dr. Edmund De Pressens� (pastor of a free church in Paris, member of

the National Assembly, then senator of France), and able scholar, with

evangelical Protestant convictions similar to those of Dr. Merle, wrote

a Life of Christ against Renan, and a History of Ancient Christianity,

both of which are translated into English. [36]

Ernest Renan, the celebrated Orientalist and member of the French

Academy, prepared from the opposite standpoint of sceptical criticism,

and mixing history with romance, but in brilliant, and fascinating

style, the Life of Christ, and the history of the Beginnings of

Christianity to the middle of the second century. [37]

(c) English works.

English literature is rich in works on Christian antiquity, English

church history, and other special departments, but poor in general

histories of Christianity.

The first place among English historians, perhaps, is due to Edward

Gibbon (d. 1794). In his monumental History of the Decline and Fall of

the Roman Empire(finished after twenty years' labor, at Lausanne, June

27,1787), he notices throughout the chief events in ecclesiastical

history from the introduction of the Christian religion to the times of

the crusades and the capture of Constantinople (1453), with an accurate

knowledge of the chief sources and the consummate skill of a master in

the art of composition, with occasional admiration for heroic

characters like Athanasius and Chrysostom, but with a keener eye to the

failings of Christians and the imperfections of the visible church, and

unfortunately without sympathy and understanding of the spirit of

Christianity which runs like a golden thread even through the darkest

centuries. He conceived the idea of his magnificent work in papal Rome,

among the ruins of the Capitol, and in tracing the gradual decline and

fall of imperial Rome, which he calls "the greatest, perhaps, and most

awful scene in the history of mankind," he has involuntarily become a

witness to the gradual growth and triumph of the religion of the cross,

of which no historian of the future will ever record a history of

decline and fall, though some "lonely traveller from New Zealand,"

taking his stand on "a broken arch" of the bridge of St. Angelo, may

sketch the ruins of St. Peter's. [38]

Joseph Milner (Vicar of Hull, d. 1797) wrote a History of the Church of

Christfor popular edification, selecting those portions which best

suited his standard of evangelical orthodoxy and piety. "Nothing," he

says in the preface, "but what appears to me to belong to Christ's

kingdom shall be admitted; genuine piety is the only thing I intend to

celebrate. He may be called the English Arnold, less learned, but free

from polemics and far more readable and useful than the German pietist.

His work was corrected and continued by his brother,Isaac Milner (d.

1820), by Thomas Granthamand Dr. Stebbing. [39]

Dr. Waddington (Dean of Durham) prepared three volumes on the history

of the Church before the Reformation (1835) and three volumes on the

Continental Reformation (1841). Evangelical.

Canon James C. Robertson of Canterbury (Prof. of Church History in

King's College, d. 1882) brings his History of the Christian Churchfrom

the Apostolic Age down to the Reformation (a.d. 64-1517). The work was

first published in four octavo volumes (1854 sqq.) and then in eight

duodecimo volumes (Lond. 1874), and is the best, as it is the latest,

general church history written by an Episcopalian. It deserves praise

for its candor, moderation, and careful indication of authorities.

From Charles Hardwick (Archdeacon of Ely, d. 1859) we have a useful

manual of the Church History of the Middle Age (1853, 3d ed. by Prof.

W. Stubbs, 1872), and another on the Reformation (1856, 3d ed. by W.

Stubbs, London, 1873). His History of the Anglican Articles of Religion

(1859) is a valuable contribution to English church history.

Dr. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin, has published his Lectures on

Mediaeval Church History (Lond. 1877), delivered before the girls of

Queen's College, London. They are conceived in a spirit of devout

churchly piety and interspersed with judicious reflections.

Philip Smith's History of the Christian Church during the First Ten

Centuries (1879), and during the Middle Ages (1885), in 2 vols., is a

skilful and useful manual for students. [40]

The most popular and successful modern church historians in the English

or any other language are Dean Milman of St. Paul's, Dean Stanley of

Westminster Abbey, and Archdeacon Farrar of Westminster. They belong to

the broad church school of the Church of England, are familiar with

Continental learning, and adorn their chosen themes with all the charms

of elegant, eloquent, and picturesque diction. Henry Hart Milman (d.

1868) describes, with the stately march of Gibbon and as a counterpart

of his decline and fall of Paganism, the rise and progress of Ancient

and Latin Christianity, with special reference to its bearing on the

progress of civilization. [41] Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (d. 1881) unrolls

a picture gallery of great men and events in the Jewish theocracy, from

Abraham to the Christian era, and in the Greek church, from Constantine

the Great to Peter the Great. [42] Frederic W. Farrar (b. 1831)

illuminates with classical and rabbinical learning, and with exuberant

rhetoric the Life of Christ, and of the great Apostle of the Gentiles,

and the Early Days of Christianity. [43]

(d) American works.

American literature is still in its early youth, but rapidly growing in

every department of knowledge. Prescott, Washington Irving, Motley, and

Bancroft have cultivated interesting portions of the history of Spain,

Holland, and the United States, and have taken rank among the classical

historians in the English language.

In ecclesiastical history the Americans have naturally so far been

mostly in the attitude of learners and translators, but with every

prospect of becoming producers. They have, as already noticed,

furnished the best translations of Mosheim, Neander, and Gieseler.

Henry B. Smith (late Professor in the Union Theol. Seminary, New York,

d. 1877) has prepared the best Chronological Tables of Church History,

which present in parallel columns a synopsis of the external and

internal history of Christianity, including that of America, down to

1858, with lists of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops,

and Moderators of General Assemblies. [44]

W. G. T. Shedd (Professor in the same institution, b. 1820) wrote from

the standpoint of Calvinistic orthodoxy an eminently readable History

of Christian Doctrine (N. York, 1863, 2 vols.), in clear, fresh, and

vigorous English, dwelling chiefly on theology, anthropology, and

soteriology, and briefly touching on eschatology, but entirely omitting

the doctrine of the Church and the sacraments, with the connected

controversies.

Philip Schaff is the author of a special History of the Apostolic

Church, in English and German (N. York, 1853, etc., and Leipzig, 1854),

of a History of the Creeds of Christendom (N. York, 4th ed., 1884, 3

vols., with documents original and translated), and of a generalHistory

of the Christian Church (N. York and Edinb., 1859-'67, in 3 vols.; also

in German, Leipzig, 1867; rewritten and enlarged, N. Y. and Edinb.,

1882-'88; third revision, 1889, 5 vols.; to be continued).

George P. Fisher (Professor in New Haven, b. 1827) has written the best

manual in the English language: History of the Christian Church with

Maps. N. York, 1887. He has also published a History of the Reformation

(1873); Beginnings of Christianity (1877), andOutlines of Universal

History (1885),--all in a calm, amiable, and judicious spirit, and a

clear, chaste style.

Contributions to interesting chapters in the history of Protestantism

are numerous. Dr. E. H. Gillett (d. 1875) wrote a Monograph on John Hus

(N. York, 1864, 2 vols.), aHistory of the Presbyterian Church in the

United States of America (Philad. 1864, 2 vols.), and a History of

Natural Theology (God in Human Thought, N. York, 1874, 2 vols.); Dr.

Abel Stevens, a History of Methodism, viewed as the great religious

revival of the eighteenth century, down to the centenary celebration of

1839 (N. York, 1858-'61, 3 vols.), and a History of the Methodist

Episcopal Church in the United States (1864-'67, 4 vols.); Henry M.

Baird, a History of the Rise and Progress of the Huguenots in France

(N. York, 1879, 2 vols.), andThe Huguenots and Henry of Navarre (1886,

2 vols.).

The denominational and sectarian divisions of American Christianity

seem to be unfavorable to the study and cultivation of general church

history, which requires a large-hearted catholic spirit. But, on the

other hand, the social and national intermingling of ecclesiastical

organizations of every variety of doctrine and discipline, on a basis

of perfect freedom and equality before the law, widens the horizon, and

facilitates comparison and appreciation of variety in unity and unity

in variety; while the growth and prosperity of the churches on the

principle of self-support and self-government encourages a hopeful view

of the future. America falls heir to the whole wealth of European

Christianity and civilization, and is in a favorable position to review

and reproduce in due time the entire course of Christ's kingdom in the

old world with the faith and freedom of the new. [45]

(e) Finally, we must mention biblical and ecclesiastical Encyclopaedias

which contain a large number of valuable contributions to church

history from leading scholars of the age, viz.:

1. The Bible Dictionariesof Winer. (Leipzig, 1820, 3d ed. 1847, 2

vols.); Schenkel (Leipzig, 1869-'75, 5 vols.); Riehm Kitto (Edinb.,

1845, third revised ed. by W. L. Alexander, 1862-'65, 3 vols.); Wm.

Smith (London, 1860-'64, in 3 vols., American edition much enlarged and

improved by H. Hackett and E. Abbot, N. York, 1870, in 4 vols.); Ph.

Schaff (Philadelphia, 1880, with maps and illustrations; 4th ed.,

revised, 1887).

2. The Biblical and Historical Dictionariesof Herzog (Real-Encyklop�die

f�r Protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Gotha 1854 to 1868, in 22

vols., new ed. thoroughly revised by Herzog, Plitt and Hauck, Leipzig,

1877-'88, in 18 vols.), Schaff-Herzog (Religious Encyclopaedia, based

on Herzog but condensed, supplemented, and adapted to English and

American students, edited by Philip Schaff in connection with Samuel M.

Jackson and D. S. Schaff, N. York and Edinburgh, revised ed., 1887, in

3 vols., with a supplementary vol. on Living Divines and Christian

Workers, 1887); Wetzer and Welte (Roman Catholic Kirchenlexicon,

Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1847-l860, in 12 vols.; second ed. newly

elaborated by Cardinal Joseph Hergenr�ther and Dr. Franz Kaulen, 1880

sqq., promised in 10 vols.); Lichtenberger. (Encyclop�die des sciences

religieuses, Paris, 1877-'82, in 13 vols., with supplement); Mcclintock

and Strong (Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical

Literature, New York, 1867-'81, 10 vols. and two supplementary volumes,

1885 and 1887, largely illustrated). The Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th

ed., completed 1889 in 25 vols.) contains also many elaborate articles

on biblical and ecclesiastical topics.

3. For ancient church history down to the age of Charlemagne: Smith and

Cheetham, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (London and Boston, 1875,

2 vols.); Smith and Wace, Dictionary of Christian Biography,

Literature, Sects and Doctrines during the first eight centuries

(London and Boston, 1877-'87, 4 vols.). The articles in these two works

are written mostly by scholars of the Church of England, and are very

valuable for fulness and accuracy of information.

Note.--The study of church history is reviving in the Greek Church

where it began. Philaret Bapheidos has issued a compendious church

history under the title: Ekklesiastike istoria apo tou kuriou hemon

Iesou Christou mechri ton kath' hemas chronon hupo Philaretou

Bapseidou, archimandritou D. Ph. kai kathegetou tes Theologias en te en

Chalke Theologike Schole. Tomos protos. Archaia ekkles; historia. a.d.

1-700. En Konstantinopolei , 1884 (Lorentz & Keil, libraries de S. M.

I. le Sultan), 380 pp. The second vol. embraces the mediaeval church to

the fall of Constantinople, 1453, and has 459 pp. The work is dedicated

to Dr. Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, the discoverer

of the famous Jerusalem Codex. Nearly all the literature quoted is

German Protestant; no English, very few Latin, and still fewer Greek

works are mentioned. Another compend of Church History in Greek by

Diomedes Kyriakos appeared at Athens, 1881, in 2 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[7] 6 These Greek historians have been best edited by Henri de Valois

(Valesius), in Greek and Latin with notes, in 3 folios, Paris, 1659-73;

also Amsterd., 1695, and, with additional notes by W. Reading,

Cambridge, 1720. Eusebius has been often separately published in

several languages.

[8] Nikephorou Kallistou tou Xanthopoulou Ekklesiastikes his torias

Biblia ie. Edited by the Jesuit, Fronton le Duc (Fronto-Ducaeus), Par.

1630, 2 fol. This is the only Greek edition from the only extant MS.,

which belonged to the King of Hungary, then came into the possession of

the Turks, and last into the imperial library of Vienna. But a Latin

version by John Lang waspublished at Basle as early as 1561.

[9] We omit the inferior continuations of the Polish Dominican, Abr.

Bzovius, from 1198 to 1565, in 8 vols., and of Henr. Spond�, bishop of

Pamiers, from 1197 to 1647, 2 vols. The best of the older editions,

including the continuation of Raynaldi (but not of Laderchi) and the

learned criticisms of Pagi and his nephew, was arranged by Archbishop

Mansi, in 88 folios, Lucca, 1738-57. A hundred years later, a German

scholar in Rome, Augustin Theiner, prefect of the Vatican Archives,

resumed the continuation in 3 vols., embracing the pontificate of

Gregory XIII. (a.d. 1572-'84), Rome and Paris, 1856, 3 vols fol, and

hoped to bring the history down to the pontificate of Pius VII., a.d.

1800, in 12 folios; but he interrupted the continuation, and began, in

1864, a new edition of the whole work (including Raynaldi and

Laderchi), which is to be completed in 45 or 50 volumes, at Bar-le-Duc,

France. Theiner was first a liberal Catholic, then an Ultramontanist,

last an Old Catholic (in correspondence with D�llinger), excluded from

the Vatican (1870), but pardoned by the pope, and died suddenly, 1874.

His older brother, Johann Anton, became a Protestant.

[10] A portion of Fleury's History, from the second oecumenical Council

to the end of the fourth century (a.d. 381-400), was published in

English at Oxford, 1842, in three volumes, on the basis of Herbert's

translation (London, 1728), carefully revised by John H Newman, who was

at that time the theological leader of the Oxford Tractarian movement,

and subsequently (1879) became a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church.

[11] Discours sur l'histoire universelle depuis le commencement du

monde jusgu'� l'empire de Charlemagne. Paris, 1681, and other editions.

[12] M�moires pour servir � l'histoire eccl�siastique des six premiers

si�cles, justifi�s par les citations des auteurs originaux. Paris,

1693-1712, 16 vols. quarto. Reprinted at Venice, 1732 sqq. His Histoire

des empereurs, Paris, 1690-1738, in 6 vols., gives the secular history

down to emperor Anastasius.

[13] Under the title: Nouvelle Biblioth�que des auteurs eccl�sastiques,

contenant l'Histoire de leur vie, le catalogue, la critique et la

chronologie de leurs ouvrages. Paris and Amsterdam, 1693-1715, 19

vols.; 9th ed., Par., 1698 aqq., with the continuations of Goujet,

Petit-Didier, to the 18th cent., and the critique of R. Simon, 61 vols.

The work was condemned by Rome for its free criticism of the fathers.

[14] Histoire g�n�rale des auteurs sacr�s et eccl�saistiques. Paris,

1729-'63 in 23 vols. 4to. New ed. begun 1858.

[15] Histoire universelle de l'�glise catholique. Nancy and Paris,

1842-'49; 3d ed., 1856-'6l, in 29 vols. oct.; 4th ed. by Chantral, 1864

sqq. A German translation by H�lskamp, Rump and others appeared at

M�nster, 1860 sqq.

[16] M�nster, 1819-'34, 5 vols 8vo.

[17] Ravensburg, 1824 sqq., 9 vols

[18] The first two volumes of the first ed. were translated by W. R.

Clark and H. N. Oxenham, and published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh,

1871 and 1876.

[19] Handbuch der K G. Bonn, 3d ed., 1846; 6th ed., 1862, 2 vols.

[20] His Kirchengeschichte was published from his lectures by Pius

Boniface Gams. Regensburg, 1867-'68, in 3 vols. It is very unequal and

lacks the author's own finish. We have from M�hler also a monograph on

Athanius (1827), and a Patrologie (covering the first three centuries,

and published after his death, 1840).

[21] Handbuch der Universal-Kirchengeschichte. 9th ed., Mainz, 1872, 2

vols.; 10th ed., 1882. Alzog aims to be the Roman Catholic Hase as to

brevity and condensation. A French translation from the 5th ed. was

prepared by Goeschler and Audley, 1849 (4th ed. by Abb� Sabatier,

1874); an English translation by F. J. Pabisch and Thos. Byrne,

Cincinnati, O., 1874 sqq., in 3 vols. The Am. translators censure the

French translators for the liberties they have taken with Alzog, but

they have taken similar liberties, and, by sundry additions, made the

author more Romish than he was.

[22] English translation by Dr. Edw. Cox, Lond. 1840-'42, in 4 vols.

This combines D�llinger's Handbuch and Lehrbuch as far as they

supplement each other.

[23] See Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, Vol. I., 195 sq.; Von Schulte:

Der Altkatholicismus (Giessen, 1887), 109 sqq.

[24] UnpartheiischeKirchen- und Ketzerhistorie. Frankfurt, 1699 sqq. 4

vol. fol.

[25] Best edition: Institutes of Ecclesiastical History ancient and

modern, by John Lawrence von Mosheim. A new and literal translation

from the original Latin, with copious additional Notes, original and

selected. By James Murdock, D. D. 1832; 5th ed., New York. 1854, 3

vols. Murdock was Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Andover, Mass.

(d. 1856), and translated also M�nscher's Dogmengeschichte. Mosheim's

special history of the ante-Nicene period (1733) was translated from

the Latin by Vidal (1813), and Murdock (1851), new ed., N. York, 1853,

2 vols.

[26] Christliche Kirchengeschichte. Leipzig, 1768-1812, 45 vols. 8vo,

including 10 vols. of the History after the Reformation (the last two

by Tzschirner). Nobody ever read Schroeckh through (except the author

and the proof-reader), and the very name is rather abschreckend, but he

is as valuable for reference as Baronius, and far more impartial.

[27] Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche.

Hamburg, 1825-'52, 11 parts; 3d ed. 1856, in 4 large vols., with an

excellent introduction by Dr. Ullmann. The translation of Prof. Joseph

Torrey (of Burlington, Vt., d. 1867) was published in Boston in 5

vols., 12th ed., 1881, with a model Index of 239 pages.

[28] I have given a fuller account of the life and writings of Neander,

my beloved teacher, in my "Kirchenfreund" for 1851, pp. 20 sqq. and 283

sqq and in Aug. Neander, Erinnerungen, Gotha, 1886 (76 pp.). Comp. also

Harnack's oration at the centennial of Neander's birth, Berlin, Jan 17,

1889, and A. Wiegand, Aug. Neander, Erfurt, 1889.

[29] Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Bonn, 1824-'56 (4th ed. 1844

sqq.), in 5 volumes, the last two published from his lectures after his

death by Redepenning. Translated into English first by Cunningham, in

Philadelphia, 1840 then by Davidson and Hull, in England, and last and

best, on the basis of the former, by Henry B. Smith, New York

(Harpers), in 5 vols., 1857-1880. The fifth and last volume of this

edition was completed after Dr. Smith's death (1877) by Prof. Stearns

and Miss Mary A. Robinson, with an introductory notice by Philip

Schaff. Gieseler's Dogmengeschichte appeared separately in 1855.

[30] Comp. Landerer's Worte der Erinnerung an Dr. Baur, 1860, the

article: "Baur und die T�binger Schule," in Herzog and Plitt "Theol.

Encykl.," Vol. II., 163-184 (2d ed.), and R. W. Mackay: The T�bingen

School and its Antecedents. London, 1863. See also Zeller,

Vortr�ge(1865), pp. 267 sqq.

[31] Portions of Hagenbach's History have been translated, namely, the

History of the Church in the 18th and 19th Centuries by Dr. John P.

Hurst (President of Drew Theol. Seminary, Madison, N. J.), N. York,

1869, 2 vols., and the History of the Reformation by Miss Evelina Moore

(of Newark, N. J.), Edinburgh, 1879, 2 vols. A new ed. with literature

by Nippold, 1885 sqq.

[32] English translation by C. W. Buch, Edinburgh, 1846, revised from

the 4th ed., and enlarged from Neander, Gieseler, Baur, etc., by Henry

B. Smith, N. York, 1861, in 2 vols.; 6th Germ. ed. byK. Benrath, Leipz.

1888.

[33] In 1885 Hass began the publication of his Lectures on Ch. Hist., 3

vols.

[34] English translation from the 9th ed. by J. Macpherson, 1889, 3

vols.

[35] Histoire de la R�format du 16 si�cle Paris, 1835 sqq., 4th ed.

1861 sqq., 5 vols. Histoire de la R�formation en Europe au temps de

Calvin. Paris, 1863 sqq. German translation of both works, Stuttgart

(Steinkopf), 1861 and 1863 sqq. English translation repeatedly

published in England and the United States by the Amer. Tract Society

(with sundry changes), and by Carter & Brothers. The Carter ed. (N.

York, 1863-1879) is in 5 vols. for the Lutheran Reformation, and in 8

vols. for the Reformation in the time of Calvin. The last three vols.

of the second series were translated and published after the author's

death by W L. Cates. By a singular mistake Dr. Merle goes in England

and America by the name of D'Aubign�, which is merely an assumed

by-name from his Huguenot ancestors.

[36] J�sus Christ, son temps, sa vie, son oeuvre. Paris, 1866. Histoire

des trois premiers si�cles de l'�glise chr�tienne. Paris, 1858 sqq.

German translation by Fabarius (Leipzig, 1862-65), English translation

by Annie Harwood. Lond. and N. York, 1870 sqq., 4 vols. Superseded by a

revised ed. of the original, Paris, 1887 sqq.

[37] Vie de J�sus. Paris, 1863, and in many editions in different

languages. This book created even a greater sensation than the Leben

Jesu of Strauss, but is very superficial and turns the gospel history

into a novel with a self-contradictory and impossible hero. It forms

the first volume of his Histoire des origines du christianisme. The

other volumes are: 2. Les Ap�tres, Paris, 1866; 3. St. Paul, 1869; 4.

L'Antechrist, 1873; 5. La �vangiles et la, seconde g�n�ration des

chr�tiens, 1877; 6. L'�glise chr�tienne, 1879; Marc-Aur�le et la fin du

monde antique, 1882. The work of twenty years. Renan wrote, he says,

"without any other passion than a very keen curiosity."

[38] Cardinal Newman, shortly before his transition from Oxford

Tractarianism to Romanism (in his essay on Development of Christian

Doctrine, 1845), declared "the infidel Gibbon to be the chief, perhaps

the only English writer who has any claim to be considered an

ecclesiastical historian." This is certainly not true any longer. Dr.

McDonald, in an essay "Was Gibbon an infidel?" (in the "Bibliotheca

Sacra" for July, 1868, Andover, Ham.), tried to vindicate him against

the charge of infidelity. But Gibbon was undoubtedly a Deist and deeply

affected by the skepticism of Hume and Voltaire. While a student at

Oxford he was converted to Romanism by reading Bossuet's Variations of

Protestantism, and afterwards passed over to infidelity, with scarcely

a ray of hope of any immortality but that of fame, See his

Autobiography, Ch. VIII., and his letter to Lord Sheffield of April 27,

1793, where he says that his "only consolation" in view of death and

the trials of life was "the presence of a friend." Best ed. of Gibbon,

by W. Smith.

[39] London, 1794-1812; new ed. by Grantham, 1847, 4 vols., 1860, and

other ed. A German translation by Mortimer, Gnadau, 5 vols.

[40] Republished by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1885. The author has

transferred verbatim a large portion of his Manual from my church

history, but with proper acknowledgment. Another church history by a

writer nearer home has made even larger, but less honest use of my

book.

[41] The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the

Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. Lond. 1840, revised ed.,

Lond. and N. York (Middleton), 1866, 3 vols. More important is his

History of Latin Christianity to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. (a.d.

1455), Lond. and N. York, 1854 sqq, in 8 vols. Milman wrote also a

History of the Jews, 1829 (revised 1862, 3 vols.), and published an

edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall with useful annotations. A

complete edition of his historical works appeared, Lond. 1866-'67, in

15 vols. 8vo.

[42] Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church (delivered in

Oxford), Lond. and N. York, 1862. No complete history, but a series of

picturesque descriptions of the most interesting characters and scenes

in the Eastern church. Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church,

Lond. and N. York, l862-'76, in 3 vols. An independent and skilful

adaptation of the views and results of Ewald's Geschichte Israel's, to

which Stanley pays a fine tribute in the Prefaces to the first and

third vols. His Historical Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral (1855, 5th

ed. 1869), and of Westminster Abbey (1867, 4th ed. 1874), are important

for English church history. His Lectures on the History of the, Church

of Scotland (1872) have delighted the moderate and liberal, but

displeased the orthodox Presbyterians of the land of Knox and Walter

Scott.

[43] Farrar's Life of Christ appeared first in London, 1874, in 2

vols., and has up to 1879 gone through about thirty editions, including

the American reprints. His Life and 'Work of St. Paul, Lond. and N.

York, 1879, in 2 vols.; and The Early Days of Christianity, London and

New York, 1882, 2 vols.; and Lives of the Fathers, Lond. and N. Y.

1889, 2 vols.

[44] History of the Church of Christ in (16) Chronological Tables. N.

York (Charles Scribner), 1860. Weingarten's Zeittafeln zur

Kirchengeschichte, 3ded., 1888, are less complete, but more convenient

in size.

[45] Comp. the author's Christianity in the United States of America (a

report prepared for the seventh General Conference of the Evang.

Alliance, held at Basle, Sept., 1879), printed in the Proceedings of

that Conference, and his Church and State in the U. S., N. York, 1888.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

FIRST PERIOD

THE CHURCH UNDER THE APOSTLES

AND HEATHEN WORLD.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN,

a.d. 1-100

----------------------

CHAPTER I

PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH

AND HEATHEN WORLD.

Literature.

J. L. von Mosheim: Historical Commentaries on the State of Christianity

in the first three centuries. 1753. Transl. by Vidal and Murdock, vol.

i. chs. 1 and 2 (pp. 9-82, of the N. York ed. 1853).

Neander: Allg. Gesch. der christl. Religion und Kirche. Vol. 1st

(1842). Einleit. (p. 1-116).

J. P. Lange: Das Apost. Zeitalter. 1853, I. pp. 224-318.

Schaff: Hist. of the Apostolic Church. pp. 137-188 (New York ed.).

Lutterbeck (R. C.): Die N. Testamentlichen Lehrbegriffe, oder

Untersuchungen �ber das Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen des

Christenthums und die erste Gestaltung desselben. Mainz, 1852, 2 vols.

D�llinger (R. C.): Heidenthum und Judenthum. Vorhalle zur Geschichte

des Christenthums. Regensb. 1857. Engl. transl. by N. Darnell under the

title: The Gentile and the Jew in the courts of the Temple of Christ:

an Introduction to the History of Christianity. Lond. 1862, 2 vols.

Charles Hardwick (d. 1859): Christ and other Masters. London, 4th ed.

by Procter, 1875.

M. Schneckenburger (d. 1848): Vorlesungen �ber N. Testamentliche

Zeitgeschichte, aus dessen Nachlass herausgegeben von L�hlein, mit

Vorwort von Hundeshagen. Frankf. a M. 1862.

A. Hausrath: N. Testamentliche Zeitgeschichte. Heidelb. 1868 sqq., 2d

ed. 1873-'77, 4 vols. The first vol. appeared in a third ed. 1879. The

work includes the state of Judaism and heathenism in the time of

Christ, the apostolic and the post-apostolic age to Hadrian (a.d. 117).

English translation by Poynting and Guenzer, Lond. 1878 sqq.

E. Sch�rer: Lehrbuch der N. Testamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Leipz.

1874. Revised and enlarged under the title: Gesch. des j�d. Volkes im

Zeitalter Christi. 1886, 2 vols. Engl. translation, Edinb. and N. Y.

H. Schiller: Geschichte des r�mischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung

des Nero. Berlin, 1872.

L. Freidl�nder: Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit

von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine. Leipzig, 5th ed., revised,

1881, 3 vols. A standard work.

Geo. P. Fisher (of Yale College, New Haven): The Beginnings of

Christianity. N. York, 1877. Chs. II.-VII.

Gerhard Uhlhorn: The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. Transl.

by Egbert C. Smyth and C. T H. Ropes. N. York, 1879. Book I. chs. 1 and

2. The German original appeared in a 4th ed., 1884.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 8. Central Position of Christ in the History of the World.

To see clearly the relation of the Christian religion to the preceding

history of mankind, and to appreciate its vast influence upon all

future ages, we must first glance at the preparation which existed in

the political, moral, and religious condition of the world for the

advent of our Saviour.

As religion is the deepest and holiest concern of man, the entrance of

the Christian religion into history is the most momentous of all

events. It is the end of the old world and the beginning of the new. It

was a great idea of Dionysius "the Little" to date our era from the

birth of our Saviour. Jesus Christ, the God-Man, the prophet, priest,

and king of mankind, is, in fact, the centre and turning-point not only

of chronology, but of all history, and the key to all its mysteries.

Around him, as the sun of the moral universe, revolve at their several

distances, all nations and all important events, in the religious life

of the world; and all must, directly or indirectly, consciously or

unconsciously, contribute to glorify his name and advance his cause.

The history of mankind before his birth must be viewed as a preparation

for his coming, and the history after his birth as a gradual diffusion

of his spirit and progress of his kingdom. "All things were created by

him, and for him." He is "the desire of all nations." He appeared in

the "fulness of time," [46] when the process of preparation was

finished, and the world's need of redemption fully disclosed.

This preparation for Christianity began properly with the very creation

of man, who was made in the image of God, and destined for communion

with him through the eternal Son; and with the promise of salvation

which God gave to our first parents as a star of hope to guide them

through the darkness of sin and error. [47] Vague memories of a

primitive paradise and subsequent fall, and hopes of a future

redemption, survive even in the heathen religions.

With Abraham, about nineteen hundred years before Christ, the religious

development of humanity separates into the two independent, and, in

their compass, very unequal branches of Judaism and heathenism. These

meet and unite--at last in Christ as the common Saviour, the fulfiller

of the types and prophecies, desires and hopes of the ancient world;

while at the same time the ungodly elements of both league in deadly

hostility against him, and thus draw forth the full revelation of his

all--conquering power of truth and love.

As Christianity is the reconciliation and union of God and man in and

through Jesus Christ, the God-Man, it must have been preceded by a

twofold process of preparation, an approach of God to man, and an

approach of man to God. In Judaism the preparation is direct and

positive, proceeding from above downwards, and ending with the birth of

the Messiah. In heathenism it is indirect and mainly, though not

entirely, negative, proceeding from below upwards, and ending with a

helpless cry of mankind for redemption. There we have a special

revelation or self-communication of the only true God by word and deed,

ever growing clearer and plainer, till at last the divine Logos appears

in human nature, to raise it to communion with himself; here men,

guided indeed by the general providence of God, and lighted by the

glimmer of the Logos shining in the darkness, [48] yet unaided by

direct revelation, and left to "walk in their own ways," [49] "that

they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find

him." [50] In Judaism the true religion is prepared for man; in

heathenism man is prepared for the true religion. There the divine

substance is begotten; here the human forms are moulded to receive it.

The former is like the elder son in the parable, who abode in his

father's house; the latter like the prodigal, who squandered his

portion, yet at last shuddered before the gaping abyss of perdition,

and penitently returned to the bosom of his father's compassionate

love. [51] Heathenism is the starry night, full of darkness and fear,

but of mysterious presage also, and of anxious waiting for the light of

day; Judaism, the dawn, full of the fresh hope and promise of the

rising sun; both lose themselves in the sunlight of Christianity, and

attest its claim to be the only true and the perfect religion for

mankind.

The heathen preparation again was partly intellectual and literary,

partly political and social. The former is represented by the Greeks,

the latter by the Romans.

Jerusalem, the holy city, Athens, the city of culture, and Rome, the

city of power, may stand for the three factors in that preparatory

history which ended in the birth of Christianity.

This process of preparation for redemption in the history of the world,

the groping of heathenism after the "unknown God" [52] and inward

peace, and the legal struggle and comforting hope of Judaism, repeat

themselves in every individual believer; for man is made for Christ,

and "his heart is restless, till it rests in Christ." [53]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[46] Mark 1:15; Gal. 4:4

[47] Gen. 3:15

[48] John 1:5; Rom 1:19, 20; 2:14, 15.

[49] Acts 14:16.

[50] Acts 17:26, 27.

[51] Luke 15:11-32.

[52] Acts 17:23.

[53] St. Augustine, Conf. II . 1: "Fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est

cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 9. Judaism.

Literature.

I. Sources.

1. The Canonical Books of the O. and N. Testaments.

2. The Jewish Apocrypha. Best edition by Otto Frid. Fritzsche: Libri

Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece. Lips. 1871. German Commentary by

Fritzsche and Grimm, Leipz. 1851-'60 (in the "Exeget. Handbuch zum A.

T."); English Com. by Dr. E. C. Bissell, N. York, 1880 (vol. xxv. in

Schaff's ed. of Lange's Bible-Work).

3. Josephus (a Jewish scholar, priest, and historian, patronized by

Vespasian and Titus, b. a.d. 37, d. about 103): Antiquitates Judaicae

(Archaiologia Ioudaike), in 20 books, written first (but not preserved)

in Aramaic, and then reproduced in Greek, a.d. 94, beginning with the

creation and coming down to the outbreak of the rebellion against the

Romans, a.d. 66, important for the post-exilian period. Bellum Judaicum

(peri tou Ioudaikou polemou), in 7 books, written about 75, from his

own personal observation (as Jewish general in Galilee, then as Roman

captive, and Roman agent), and coming down to the destruction of

Jerusalem, a.d. 70. Contra. Apionem, a defence of the Jewish nation

against the calumnies of the grammarian Apion. His Vita or

Autobiography was written after a.d. 100.--Editions of Josephus by

Hudson, Oxon. 1720, 2 vols. fol.; Havercamp, Amst. 1726, 2 fol.;

Oberth�r, Lips. 1785, 3 vols.; Richter, Lips. 1827, 6 vols.; Dindorf,

Par. 1849, 2 vols.; Imm. Bekker, Lips. 1855, 6 vols. The editions of

Havercamp and Dindorf are the best. English translations by Whiston and

Traill, often edited, in London, New York, Philadelphia. German

translations by Hedio, Ott, Cotta, Demme.

4. Philo of Alexandria (d. after a.d. 40) represents the learned and

philosophical (Platonic) Judaism. Best ed. by Mangey, Lond. 1742, 2

fol., and Richter, Lips. 1828, 2 vols. English translation by C. D.

Yonge, London, 1854, 4 vols. (in Bohn's "Ecclesiastical Library").

5. The Talmud (tlmvd i.e. Doctrine) represents the traditional,

post-exilian, and anti-Christian Judaism. It consists of the Mishna

(vshnh ,, deuterosisRepetition of the Law), from the end of the second

century, and the Gemara (gmr' i.e. Perfect Doctrine, from gmr to bring

to an end). The latter exists in two forms, the Palestinian Gemara,

completed at Tiberias about a.d. 350, and the Babylonian Gemara of the

sixth century. Best eds. of the Talmud by Bomberg, Ven. 1520 sqq. 12

vols. fol., and Sittenfeld, Berlin, 1862-'68, 12 vols. fol. Latin

version of the Mishna by G. Surenhusius, Amst. 1698-1703, 6 vols. fol.;

German by J. J. Rabe, Onolzbach, 1760-'63.

6. Monumental Sources: of Egypt (see the works of Champollion, Young,

Rosellini, Wilkinson, Birch, Mariette, Lepsius, Bunsen, Ebers, Brugsch,

etc.); of Babylon and Assyria (see Botta, Layard, George Smith, Sayce,

Schrader, etc.).

7. Greek and Roman authors: Polybius (d. b.c. 125), Diodorus Siculus

(contemporary of Caesar), Strabo ((d. a.d. 24), Tacitus (d. about 117),

Suetonius(d. about 130), Justinus (d. after a.d. 160). Their accounts

are mostly incidental, and either simply derived from Josephus, or full

of error and prejudice, and hence of very little value.

II. Histories.

(a) By Christian authors.

Prideaux (Dean of Norwich, d. 1724): The Old and New Testament

Connected in the History of the Jews and neighboring nations, from the

declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ.

Lond. 1715; 11th ed. 1749, 4 vols. (and later eds.). The same in French

and German.

J. J. Hess (d. 1828): Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu.

Z�r. 1766 sqq., 12 vols.

Warburton (Bishop of Gloucester, d. 1779): The Divine Legation of Moses

demonstrated. 5th ed. Lond. 1766; 10th ed. by James Nichols, Lond.

1846, 3 vols. 8vo.

Milman (Dean of St. Paul's, d. 1868): History of the Jews. Lond. 1829,

3 vols.; revised ed. Lond. and N. York, 1865, 3 vols.

J. C. K. Hofmann (Prof. in Erlangen, d. 1878): Weissagung und

Erf�llung. N�rdl. 1841, 2 vols.

Archibald Alexander (d. at Princeton, 1851): A History of the

Israelitish Nation. Philadelphia, 1853. (Popular.)

H. Ewald (d. 1874): Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus. G�tt.

1843 sqq. 3d ed. 1864-'68, 7 vols. A work of rare genius and learning,

but full of bold conjectures. Engl. transl. by Russell Martineau and J.

E. Carpenter. Lond. 1871-'76, 5 vols. Comp. also Ewald's Prophets, and

Poetical Books of the O. T.

E. W. Hengstenberg (d. 1869): Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem

Alten Bunde. Berl. 1869-'71, 2 vols. (Posthumous publication.) English

transl., Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1871-272, 2 vols. (Name of the

translator not given.)

J. H. Kurtz: Geschichte des Alten Bundes. Berlin, 1848-'55, 2 vols.

(unfinished). Engl. transl. by Edersheim, Edinb. 1859, in 3 vols. The

same: Lehrbuch der heil. Geschichte. K�nigsb. 6th ed. 1853; also in

English, by C. F. Sch�ffer. Phil. 1855.

P. Cassel: Israel in der Weltgeschichte. Berlin, 1865 (32 pp.).

Joseph Langen (R. C.): Das Judenthum in Pal�stina zur Zeit Christi.

Freiburg i. B. 1866.

G. Weber and H. Holtzmann: Geschichte des Volkes Israel und der

Gr�ndung des Christenthums. Leipzig, 1867, 2 vols. (the first vol. by

Weber, the second by Holtzmann).

H. Holtzmann: Die Messiasidee zur Zeit Christi, in the "Jahrb�cher f�r

Deutsche Theologie," Gotha, 1867 (vol. xii. pp. 389-411).

F. Hitzig: Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung

Masada's im J. 72 nach Chr. Heidelb. 1869, 2 vols.

A. Kuenen (Prof. in Leyden): De godsdienst van Isra�l tot den ondergang

van den joodschen staat. Haarlem, 1870, 2 vols. Transl. into English.

The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State, by A. H. May.

Lond. (Williams & Norgate), 1874-'75, 3 vols. Represents the advanced

rationalism of Holland.

A. P. Stanley (Dean of Westminster): Lectures on the History of the

Jewish Church. Lond. and N. York, 1863-76, 3 vols. Based on Ewald.

W. Wellhausen: Geschichte Israels. Berlin, 1878, 3d ed. 1886. Transl.

by Black and Menzies: Prolegomena to the History of Israel. Edinb.

1885.

F. Sch�rer: Geschichte des j�d. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi. 1886 sq. 2

vols.

A. Edersheim: Prophecy and History in relation to the Messiah. Lond.

1885.

A. K�hler: Lehrbuch der bibl. Geschichte des A. T. Erlangen, 1875-'88.

C. A. Briggs: Messianic Prophecy. N. York and Edinb. 1886.

V. H. Stanton: The Jewish, and the Christian Messiah. Lond. 1886.

B. Stade: Gesch. des Volkes Israel. Berlin, 1888, 2 vols. Radical.

E. Renan: Hist. du peuple d'Israel. Paris, 1887 sqq., 3 vols. Engl.

translation, London, 1888 sqq. Radical.

B. Kittel: Gesch. der Hebr�er. Gotha, 1888 sqq. Moderate.

(b) By Jewish authors.

J. M. Jost: Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccab�er bis

auf unsere Tage. Leipz. 1820-'28, 9 vols. By the same: Geschichte des

Judenthums und seiner Secten. 1857-159, 3 vols.

Salvador: Histoire de la domination Romaine en Jud�e et de la ruine de

Jerusalem. Par. 1847, 2 vols.

Raphall: Post-biblical History of the Jews from the close of the 0. T.

about the year 420 till the destruction of the second Temple in the

year 70. Lond. 1856, 2 vols.

Abraham Geiger (a liberal Rabbi at Frankfort on the M.): Das Judenthum

und seine Geschichte. Breslau; 2d ed. 1865-'71, 3 vols. With an

appendix on Strauss and Renan. Comes down to the 16th century. English

transl. by Maurice Mayer. N. York, 1865.

L. Herzfeld: Geschichte des Volkes Jizrael. Nordhausen, 1847-'57, 3

vols. The same work, abridged in one vol. Leipz. 1870.

H. Gr�tz (Prof. in Breslau): Geschichte der Juden von den �ltesten

Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Leipz. 1854-'70, 11 vols. (to 1848).

"Salvation is of the Jews." [54] This wonderful people, whose fit

symbol is the burning bush, was chosen by sovereign grace to stand

amidst the surrounding idolatry as the bearer of the knowledge of the

only true God, his holy law, and cheering promise, and thus to become

the cradle of the Messiah. It arose with the calling of Abraham, and

the covenant of Jehovah with him in Canaan, the land of promise; grew

to a nation in Egypt, the land of bondage; was delivered and organized

into a theocratic state on the basis of the law of Sinai by Moses in

the wilderness; was led back into Palestine by Joshua; became, after

the Judges, a monarchy, reaching the height of its glory in David and

Solomon; split into two hostile kingdoms, and, in punishment for

internal discord and growing apostasy to idolatry, was carried captive

by heathen conquerors; was restored after seventy years' humiliation to

the land of its fathers, but fell again under the yoke of heathen foes;

yet in its deepest abasement fulfilled its highest mission by giving

birth to the Saviour of the world. "The history of the Hebrew people,"

says Ewald, "is, at the foundation, the history of the true religion

growing through all the stages of progress unto its consummation; the

religion which, on its narrow national territory, advances through all

struggles to the highest victory, and at length reveals itself in its

full glory and might, to the end that, spreading abroad by its own

irresistible energy, it may never vanish away, but may become the

eternal heritage and blessing of all nations. The whole ancient world

had for its object to seek the true religion; but this people alone

finds its being and honor on earth exclusively in the true religion,

and thus it enters upon the stage of history." [55]

Judaism, in sharp contrast with the idolatrous nations of antiquity,

was like an oasis in a desert, clearly defined and isolated; separated

and enclosed by a rigid moral and ceremonial law. The holy land itself,

though in the midst of the three Continents of the ancient world, and

surrounded by the great nations of ancient culture, was separated from

them by deserts south and east, by sea on the west, and by mountain on

the north; thus securing to the Mosaic religion freedom to unfold

itself and to fulfil its great work without disturbing influenced from

abroad. But Israel carried in its bosom from the first the large

promise, that in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be

blessed. Abraham, the father of the faithful, Moses, the lawgiver,

David, the heroic king and sacred psalmist, Isaiah, the evangelist

among the prophets, Elijah the Tishbite, who reappeared with Moses on

the Mount of Transfiguration to do homage to Jesus, and John the

Baptist, the impersonation of the whole Old Testament, are the most

conspicuous links in the golden chain of the ancient revelation.

The outward circumstances and the moral and religious condition of the

Jews at the birth of Christ would indeed seem at first and on the whole

to be in glaring contradiction with their divine destiny. But, in the

first place, their very degeneracy proved the need of divine help. In

the second place, the redemption through Christ appeared by contrast in

the greater glory, as a creative act of God. And finally, amidst the

mass of corruption, as a preventive of putrefaction, lived the

succession of the true children of Abraham, longing for the salvation

of Israel, and ready to embrace Jesus of Nazareth as the promised

Messiah and Saviour of the world.

Since the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, b.c. 63 (the year made

memorable by the consulship of Cicero. the conspiracy of Catiline, and

the birth of Caesar Augustus), the Jews had been subject to the heathen

Romans, who heartlessly governed them by the Idumean Herod and his

sons, and afterwards by procurators. Under this hated yoke their

Messianic hopes were powerfully raised, but carnally distorted. They

longed chiefly for a political deliverer, who should restore the

temporal dominion of David on a still more splendid scale; and they

were offended with the servant form of Jesus, and with his spiritual

kingdom. Their morals were outwardly far better than those of the

heathen; but under the garb of strict obedience to their law, they

concealed great corruption. They are pictured in the New Testament as a

stiff-necked, ungrateful, and impenitent race, the seed of the serpent,

a generation of vipers. Their own priest and historian, Josephus, who

generally endeavored to present his countrymen to the Greeks and Romans

in the most favorable light, describes them as at that time a debased

and wicked people, well deserving their fearful punishment in the

destruction of Jerusalem.

As to religion, the Jews, especially after the Babylonish captivity,

adhered most tenaciously to the letter of the law, and to their

traditions and ceremonies, but without knowing the spirit and power of

the Scriptures. They cherished a bigoted horror of the heathen, and

were therefore despised and hated by them as misanthropic, though by

their judgment, industry, and tact, they were able to gain wealth and

consideration in all the larger cities of the Roman empire.

After the time of the Maccabees (b.c. 150), they fell into three

mutually hostile sects or parties, which respectively represent the

three tendencies of formalism, skepticism, and mysticism; all

indicating the approaching dissolution of the old religion and the dawn

of the new. We may compare them to the three prevailing schools of

Greek philosophy--the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Platonic, and also

to the three sects of Mohammedanism--the Sunnis, who are

traditionalists, the Sheas, who adhere to the Koran, and the Sufis or

mystics, who seek true religion in "internal divine sensation."

1. The Pharisees, the "separate," [56] were, so to speak, the Jewish

Stoics. They represented the traditional orthodoxy and stiff formalism,

the legal self-righteousness and the fanatical bigotry of Judaism. They

had most influence with the people and the women, and controlled the

public worship. They confounded piety with theoretical orthodoxy. They

overloaded the holy Scriptures with the traditions of the elders so as

to make the Scriptures "of none effect." They analyzed the Mosaic law

to death, and substituted a labyrinth of casuistry for a living code.

"They laid heavy burdens and grievous to be borne on men's shoulders,"

and yet they themselves would "not move them with their fingers." In

the New Testament they bear particularly the reproach of hypocrisy;

with, of course, illustrious exceptions, like Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and

his disciple, Paul.

2. The less numerous Sadducees [57] were skeptical, rationalistic, and

worldly-minded, and held about the same position in Judaism as the

Epicureans and the followers of the New Academy in Greek and Roman

heathendom. They accepted the written Scriptures (especially the

Pentateuch), but rejected the oral traditions, denied the resurrection

of the body and the immortality of the soul, the existence of angels

and spirits, and the doctrine of an all-ruling providence. They

numbered their followers among the rich, and had for some time

possession of the office of the high-priest. Caiaphas belonged to their

party.

The difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees reappears among

modern Jews, who are divided into the orthodox and the liberal or

rationalistic parties.

3. The Essenes (whom we know only from Philo and Josephus) were not a

party, but a mystic and ascetic order or brotherhood, and lived mostly

in monkish seclusion in villages and in the desert Engedi on the Dead

Sea. [58] They numbered about 4,000 members. With an arbitrary,

allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, they combined some

foreign theosophic elements, which strongly resemble the tenets of the

new Pythagorean and Platonic schools, but were probably derived (like

the Gnostic and Manichaean theories) from eastern religions, especially

from Parsism. They practised communion of goods, wore white garments,

rejected animal food, bloody sacrifices, oaths, slavery, and (with few

exceptions) marriage, and lived in the utmost simplicity, hoping

thereby to attain a higher degree of holiness. They were the

forerunners of Christian monasticism.

The sect of the Essenes came seldom or never into contact with

Christianity under the Apostles, except in the shape of a heresy at

Colossae. But the Pharisees and Sadducees, particularly the former,

meet us everywhere in the Gospels as bitter enemies of Jesus, and

hostile as they are to each other, unite in condemning him to that

death of the cross, which ended in the glorious resurrection, and

became the foundation of spiritual life to believing Gentiles as well

as Jews.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[54] John 4:22. Comp. Luke 24:47; Rom. 9:4, 5.

[55] Geschichte du Volkes Israel, Vol. I. p. 9 (3d ed.).

[56] From shrp They were separated from ordinary persons and all

foreign and contaminating influences by the supposed correctness of

their creed and the superior holiness of their life. Ewald (IV. 482):

"Pharis�er bezeichnet Gesonderteoder Besondere, n�mlich Leute die vor

andern durch Fr�mmigkeit auszgezeichnet und gleichsam mehr oder

heiliger als andere sein wollen.

[57] So called either from their supposed founder, Zadoc (so Ewald, IV.

358), or from qydts, "just."

[58] The name is variously written (Essenoi, Essaioi, Ossaioi) and

derived from proper names, or from the Greek, or from the Hebrew and

Aramaic The most plausible derivations are from dysh, hosios, holy;

from 'yv', physician (comp. the corresponding term of Philo,

therapeutes, which, however, means worshipper, devotee); from 'yzch,

seer; from the rabbinical vzch, watchman, keeper (Ewald, formerly);

from chsh', to be silent (Jost, Lightfoot); from the Syriac chasi or

chasyo, pious, which is of the same root with the Hebrew chasid,

chasidim (De Sacy, Ewald, IV. 484, 3rd., and Hitzig). See Sch�rer, N.

T. Zeitgesch. pp. 599 sqq., and Lightfoot's instructive Excursus on the

Essenes and the Colossian heresy, in Com. on Coloss. (1875), pp. 73,

114-179. Lightfoot again refutes the exploded derivation of

Christianity from Essenic sources.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 10. The Law, and the Prophecy.

Degenerate and corrupt though the mass of Judaism was, yet the Old

Testament economy was the divine institution preparatory to the

Christian redemption, and as such received deepest reverence from

Christ and his apostles, while they sought by terrible rebuke to lead

its unworthy representatives to repentance. It therefore could not fail

of its saving effect on those hearts which yielded to its discipline,

and conscientiously searched the Scriptures of Moses and the prophets.

Law and prophecy are the two great elements of the Jewish religion, and

make it a direct divine introduction to Christianity, "the voice of him

that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make

straight in the desert a highway for our God."

1. The law of Moses was the clearest expression of the holy will of God

before the advent of Christ. The Decalogue is a marvel of ancient

legislation, and in its two tables enjoins the sum and substance of all

true piety and morality--supreme love to God, and love to our neighbor.

It set forth the ideal of righteousness, and was thus fitted most

effectually to awaken the sense of man's great departure from it, the

knowledge of sin and guilt. [59] 8 It acted as a schoolmaster to lead

men to Christ [60] that they might be justified by faith." [61]

The same sense of guilt and of the need of reconciliation was

constantly kept alive by daily sacrifices, at first in the tabernacle

and afterwards in the temple, and by the whole ceremonial law, which,

as a wonderful system of types and shadows, perpetually pointed to the

realities of the new covenant, especially to the one all-sufficient

atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

God in his justice requires absolute obedience and purity of heart

under promise of life and penalty of death. Yet he cannot cruelly sport

with man; he is the truthful faithful, and merciful God. In the moral

and ritual law, therefore, as in a shell, is hidden the sweet kernel of

a promise, that he will one day exhibit the ideal of righteousness in

living form, and give the penitent sinner pardon for all his

transgressions and the power to fulfil the law. Without such assurance

the law were bitter irony.

As regards the law, the Jewish economy was a religion of repentance.

2. But it was at the same time, as already, hinted, the vehicle of the

divine promise of redemption, and, as such, a religion of hope. While

the Greeks and Romans put their golden age in the past, the Jews looked

for theirs in the future. Their whole history, their religious,

political, and social institutions and customs pointed to the coming of

the Messiah, and the establishment of his kingdom on earth.

Prophecy, or the gospel under the covenant of the law, is really older

than the law, which was added afterwards and came in between the

promise and its fulfilment, between sin and redemption, between the

disease and the cure. [62] Prophecy begins in paradise with the promise

of the serpent-bruiser immediately after the fall. It predominates in

the patriarchal age, especially in the life of Abraham, whose piety has

the corresponding character of trust and faith; and Moses, the

lawgiver, was at the same time a prophet pointing the people to a

greater successor. [63] Without the comfort of the Messianic promise,

the law must have driven the earnest soul to despair. From the time of

Samuel, some eleven centuries before Christ, prophecy, hitherto

sporadic, took an organized form in a permanent prophetical office and

order. In this form it accompanied the Levitical priesthood and the

Davidic dynasty down to the Babylonish captivity, survived this

catastrophe, and directed the return of the people and the rebuilding

of the temple; interpreting and applying the law, reproving abuses in

church and state, predicting the terrible judgments and the redeeming

grace of God, warning and punishing, comforting and encouraging, with

an ever plainer reference to the coming Messiah, who should redeem

Israel and the world from sin and misery, and establish a kingdom of

peace and righteousness on earth.

The victorious reign of David and the peaceful reign of Solomon

furnish, for Isaiah and his successors, the historical and typical

ground for a prophetic picture of a far more glorious future, which,

unless thus attached to living memories and present circumstances,

could not have been understood. The subsequent catastrophe and the

sufferings of the captivity served to develop the idea of a Messiah

atoning for the sins of the people and entering through suffering into

glory.

The prophetic was an extraordinary office, serving partly to complete,

partly to correct the regular, hereditary priesthood, to prevent it

from stiffening into monotonous formality, and keep it in living flow.

The prophets were, so to speak, the Protestants of the ancient

covenant, the ministers of the spirit and of immediate communion with

God, in distinction from the ministers of the letter and of traditional

and ceremonial mediation.

The flourishing period of our canonical prophecy began with the eighth

century before Christ, some seven centuries after Moses, when Israel

was suffering under Assyrian oppression. In this period before the

captivity, Isaiah ("the salvation of God"), who appeared in the last

years of king Uzziah, about ten years before the founding of Rome, is

the leading figure; and around him Micah, Joel, and Obadiah in the

kingdom of Judah, and Hosea, Amos, and Jonah in the kingdom of Israel,

are grouped. Isaiah reached the highest elevation of prophecy, and

unfolds feature by feature a picture of the Messiah--springing from the

house of David, preaching the glad tidings to the poor, healing the

broken-hearted, opening the eyes to the blind, setting at liberty the

captives, offering himself as a lamb to the slaughter, bearing the sins

of the people, dying the just for the unjust, triumphing over death and

ruling as king of peace over all nations--a picture which came to its

complete fulfilment in one person, and one only, Jesus of Nazareth. He

makes the nearest approach to the cross, and his book is the Gospel of

the Old Testament. In the period of the Babylonian exile, Jeremiah

(i.e. "the Lord casts down") stands chief. He is the prophet of sorrow,

and yet of the new covenant of the Spirit. In his denunciations of

priests and false prophets, his lamentations over Jerusalem, his holy

grief, his bitter persecution he resembles the mission and life of

Christ. He remained in the land of his fathers, and sang his

lamentation on the ruins of Jerusalem; while Ezekiel warned the exiles

on the river Chebar against false prophets and carnal hopes, urged them

to repentance, and depicted the new Jerusalem and the revival of the

dry bones of the people by the breath of God; and Daniel at the court

of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon saw in the spirit the succession of the

four empires and the final triumph of the eternal kingdom of the Son of

Man. The prophets of the restoration are Haggai, Zechariah, and

Malachi. With Malachi who lived to the time of Nehemiah, the Old

Testament prophecy ceased, and Israel was left to himself four hundred

years, to digest during this period of expectation the rich substance

of that revelation, and to prepare the birth-place for the approaching

redemption.

3. Immediately before the advent of the Messiah the whole Old

Testament, the law and the prophets, Moses and Isaiah together,

reappeared for a short season embodied in John the Baptist, and then in

unrivalled humility disappeared as the red dawn in the splendor of the

rising sun of the new covenant. This remarkable man, earnestly

preaching repentance in the wilderness and laying the axe at the root

of the tree, and at the same time comforting with prophecy, and

pointing to the atoning Lamb of God, was indeed, as the immediate

forerunner of the New Testament economy, and the personal friend of the

heavenly Bridegroom, the greatest of them that were born of woman; yet

in his official character as the representative of the ancient

preparatory economy he stands lower than the least in that kingdom of

Christ, which is infinitely more glorious than all its types and

shadows in the past.

This is the Jewish religion, as it flowed from the fountain of divine

revelation and lived in the true Israel, the spiritual children of

Abraham, in John the Baptist, his parents and disciples, in the mother

of Jesus, her kindred and friends, in the venerable Simeon, and the

prophetess Anna, in Lazarus and his pious sisters, in the apostles and

the first disciples, who embraced Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfiller of

the law and the prophets, the Son of God and the Saviour of the world,

and who were the first fruits of the Christian Church.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[59] Rom. 3:20: Dia nomou epignosis hamartias.

[60] Paidagogos eis Christon

[61] Gal. 3:24

[62] Nomos parteiselthencame in besides, was added as an accessory

arrangement, Rom. 5:20; comp. prosetethe the law was " superadded"to

the promise given to Abraham, Gal 3:19.

[63] Deut. 18:15.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 11. Heathenism.

Literature.

I. Sources.

The works of the Greek and Roman Classics from Homer to Virgil and the

age of the Antonines.

The monuments of Antiquity.

The writings of the early Christian Apologists, especially Justin

Martyr: Apologia I. and II.; Tertullian: Apologeticus; Minucius Felix:

Octavius; Eusebius: Praeparatio Evangelica; and Augustine (d. 430): De

Civitate Dei (the first ten books).

II. Later Works.

Is. Vossius: De theologia gentili et physiolog. Christ. Frcf. 1675, 2

vols.

Creuzer (d. 1858): Symbolik und Mythologie der alien V�lker. Leipz. 3d

ed, 1837 sqq. 3 vols.

Tholuck (d. 1877): Das Wesen und der sittliche Einfluss des

Heidenthums, besonders unter den Griechen und R�mern, mit Hinsicht auf

das Christenthum. Berlin, 1823. In Neander's Denkw�rdigkeiten, vol. i.

of the 1st ed. Afterwards separately printed. English translation by

Emerson in, "Am. Bibl. Repository" for 1832.

Tzschirner (d. 1828): Der Fall des Heidenthums, ed. by Niedner. Leip,

1829, 1st vol.

O. M�ller (d. 1840): Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftl. Mythologie.

G�tt. 1825. Transl. into English by J. Leitch. Lond. 1844.

Hegel (d. 1831): Philosphie der Religion. Berl. 1837, 2 vols.

Stuhr: Allgem. Gesch. der Religionsformen der heidnischen V�lker. Berl.

1836, 1837, 2 vols. (vol. 2d on the Hellenic Religion).

Hartung: Die Religion der R�mer. Erl. 1836, 2 vols.

C. F. N�gelsbach: Homerische Theologie. N�rnb. 1840; 2d ed. 1861. The

same: Die nach-homerische Theologie des Griechischen Volksglaubens bis

auf Alexander. N�rnb. 1857 .

Sepp (R. C.): Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung f�r das Christenthum.

Regensb. 1853, 3 vols.

Wuttke: Geschichte des Heidenthums in Beziehung auf Religion, Wissen,

Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Staatsleben. Bresl. 1852 sqq. 2 vols.

Schelling (d. 1854): Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie.

Stuttg. 1856; and Philosophie der Mythologie . Stuttg. 1857.

Maurice (d. 1872): The Religions of the World in their Relations to

Christianity. Lond. 1854 (reprinted in Boston).

Trench: Hulsean Lectures for 1845-'46. No. 2: Christ the Desire of all

Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom (a commentary on

the star of the wise men, Matt. ii.). Cambr. 4th ed. 1854 (also 1850).

L. Preller: Griechische Mythologie. Berlin, 1854, 3d ed. 1875, 2 vols.

By the same; R�mische Mythologie. Berlin, 1858; 3d ed., by Jordan,

1881-83, 2 vols.

M. W. Heffter: Griech. und R�m. Mythologie. Leipzig, 1854.

D�llinger: Heidenthum und Judenthum, quoted in � 8.

C. Schmidt: Essai historique sur la societ� civil dans le monde romain

et sur sa transformation par le christianisme. Paris, 1853.

C. G. Seibert: Griechenthum und Christenthum, oder der Vorhof des

Sch�nen und das Heiligthum der Wahrheit. Barmen, 1857.

Fr. Fabri: Die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der

Heidenmission. Barmen, 1859.

W. E. Gladstone (the English statesman): Studies on Homer and Homeric

Age. Oxf. 1858, 3 vols. (vol. ii. Olympus; or the Religion of the

Homeric Age). The same: Juventus Mundi: the Gods and Men of the Heroic

Age. 2d ed. Lond. 1870. (Embodies the results of the larger work, with

several modifications in the ethnological and mythological portions.)

W. S. Tyler (Prof. in Amherst Coll., Mass.): The Theology of the Greek

Poets. Boston, 1867.

B. F. Cocker: Christianity and Greek Philosophy; or the Relation

between Reflective Thought in Greece and the Positive Teaching of

Christ and his Apostles. N. York, 1870.

Edm. Spiess: Logos spermatic�s. Parallelstellen zum N. Text. aus den

Schriften der alten Griechen. Ein Beitrag zur christl. Apologetik und

zur vergleichenden Religionsforschung. Leipz. 1871.

G. Boissier: La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins. Paris, 1884, 2

vols.

J Reville: La religion � Rome sous les S�v�res. Paris, 1886.

Comp. the histories of Greece by Thirlwall, Grote, and Curtius; the

histories of Rome by Gibbon, Niebuhr, Arnold, Merivale, Schwegler,

Ihne, Duruy (transl. from the French by W. J. Clarke), and Mommsen.

Ranke's Weltgeschichte. Th. iii. 1882. Schiller's Gesch. der r�mischen

Kaiserzeit. 1882.

Heathenism is religion in its wild growth on the soil of fallen human

nature, a darkening of the original consciousness of God, a deification

of the rational and irrational creature, and a corresponding corruption

of the moral sense, giving the sanction of religion to natural and

unnatural vices. [64]

Even the religion of Greece, which, as an artistic product of the

imagination, has been justly styled the religion of beauty, is deformed

by this moral distortion. It utterly lacks the true conception of sin

and consequently the true conception of holiness. It regards sin, not

as a perverseness of will and an offence against the gods, but as a

folly of the understanding and an offence against men, often even

proceeding from the gods themselves; for "Infatuation," or Moral

Blindness (Ate), is a "daughter of Jove," and a goddess, though cast

from Olympus, and the source of all mischief upon earth. Homer knows no

devil, but he put, a devilish element into his deities. The Greek gods,

and also the Roman gods, who were copied from the former, are mere men

and women, in whom Homer and the popular faith saw and worshipped the

weaknesses and vices of the Grecian character, as well as its virtues,

in magnified forms. The gods are born, but never die. They have bodies

and senses, like mortals, only in colossal proportions. They eat and

drink, though only nectar and ambrosia. They are awake and fall asleep.

They travel, but with the swiftness of thought. They mingle in battle.

They cohabit with human beings, producing heroes or demigods. They are

limited to time and space. Though sometimes honored with the attributes

of omnipotence and omniscience, and called holy and just, yet they are

subject to an iron fate (Moira), fall under delusion, and reproach each

other with folly and crime. Their heavenly happiness is disturbed by

all the troubles of earthly life. Even Zeus or Jupiter, the patriarch

of the Olympian family, is cheated by his sister and wife Hera (Juno),

with whom he had lived three hundred years in secret marriage before he

proclaimed her his consort and queen of the gods, and is kept in

ignorance of the events before Troy. He threatens his fellows with

blows and death, and makes Olympus tremble when he shakes his locks in

anger. The gentle Aphrodite or Venus bleeds from a spear-wound on her

finger. Mars is felled with a stone by Diomedes. Neptune and Apollo

have to serve for hire and are cheated. Hephaestus limps and provokes

an uproarious laughter. The gods are involved by their marriages in

perpetual jealousies and quarrels. They are full of envy and wrath,

hatred and lust prompt men to crime, and provoke each other to lying,

and cruelty, perjury and adultery. The Iliad and Odyssey, the most

popular poems of the Hellenic genius, are a chronique scandaleuse of

the gods. Hence Plato banished them from his ideal Republic. Pindar,

Aeschylus, and Sophocles also rose to loftier ideas of the gods and

breathed a purer moral atmosphere; but they represented the exceptional

creed of a few, while Homer expressed the popular belief. Truly we have

no cause to long with Schiller for the return of the "gods of Greece,"

but would rather join the poet in his joyful thanksgiving:

"Einen zu bereichern unter allen,

Musste diese G�tterwelt vergehen."

Notwithstanding this essential apostasy from truth and holiness,

heathenism was religion, a groping after "the unknown God." By its

superstition it betrayed the need of faith. Its polytheism rested on a

dim monotheistic background; it subjected all the gods to Jupiter, and

Jupiter himself to a mysterious fate. It had at bottom the feeling of

dependence on higher powers and reverence for divine things. It

preserved the memory of a golden age and of a fall. It had the voice of

conscience, and a sense, obscure though it was, of guilt. It felt the

need of reconciliation with deity, and sought that reconciliation by

prayer, penance, and sacrifice. Many of its religious traditions and

usages were faint echoes of the primal religion; and its mythological

dreams of the mingling of the gods with men, of demigods, of Prometheus

delivered by Hercules from his helpless sufferings, were unconscious

prophecies and fleshly anticipations of Christian truths.

This alone explains the great readiness with which heathens embraced

the gospel, to the shame of the Jews. [65]

There was a spiritual Israel scattered throughout the heathen world,

that never received the circumcision of the flesh, but the unseen

circumcision of the heart by the hand of that Spirit which bloweth

where it listeth, and is not bound to any human laws and to ordinary

means. The Old Testament furnishes several examples of true piety

outside of the visible communion with the Jewish church, in the persons

of Melchisedec, the friend of Abraham, the royal priest, the type of

Christ; Jethro, the priest of Midian; Rahab, the Canaanite woman and

hostess of Joshua and Caleb; Ruth, the Moabitess and ancestress of our

Saviour; King Hiram, the friend of David; the queen of Sheba, who came

to admire the wisdom of Solomon; Naaman the Syrian; and especially Job,

the sublime sufferer, who rejoiced in the hope of his Redeemer. [66]

The elements of truth, morality, and piety scattered throughout ancient

heathenism, may be ascribed to three sources. In the first place, man,

even in his fallen state, retains some traces of the divine image, a

knowledge of God, [67] however weak, a moral sense or conscience, [68]

and a longing for union with the Godhead, for truth and for

righteousness. [69] In this view we may, with Tertullian, call the

beautiful and true sentences of a Socrates, a Plato, an Aristotle, of

Pindar, Sophocles, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Plutarch, "the testimonies

of a soul constitutionally Christian," [70] of a nature predestined to

Christianity. Secondly, some account must be made of traditions and

recollections, however faint, coming down from the general primal

revelations to Adam and Noah. But the third and most important source

of the heathen anticipations of truth is the all-ruling providence of

God, who has never left himself without a witness. Particularly must we

consider, with the ancient Greek fathers, the influence of the divine

Logos before his incarnation, [71] who was the tutor of mankind, the

original light of reason, shining in the darkness and lighting every

man, the sower scattering in the soil of heathendom the seeds of truth,

beauty, and virtue. [72]

The flower of paganism, with which we are concerned here, appears in

the two great nations of classic antiquity, Greece and Rome. With the

language, morality, literature, and religion of these nations, the

apostles came directly into contact, and through the whole first age

the church moves on the basis of these nationalities. These, together

with the Jews, were the chosen nations of the ancient world, and shared

the earth among them. The Jews were chosen for things eternal, to keep

the sanctuary of the true religion. The Greeks prepared the elements of

natural culture, of science and art, for the use of the church. The

Romans developed the idea of law, and organized the civilized world in

a universal empire, ready to serve the spiritual universality of the

gospel. Both Greeks and Romans were unconscious servants of Jesus

Christ, "the unknown God."

These three nations, by nature at bitter enmity among themselves,

joined hands in the superscription on the cross, where the holy name

and the royal title of the Redeemer stood written, by the command of

the heathen Pilate, "in Hebrew and Greek and Latin." [73]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[64] Comp. Paul's picture of heathen immorality, Rom. 1:19-32

[65] Comp. Matt. 8:10; 15:28. Luke 7:9. Acts 10:35.

[66] Even Augustine, exclusive as he was, adduces the case of Job in

proof of the assertion that the kingdom of God under the Old

dispensation was not confined to the Jews, and then adds: "Divinitus

autem provisum fuisse non dubito, ut ex hoc uno sciremus, etiam per

alias gentes esse potuisse, qui secundum Deum vixerunt, eique

placuerunt, pertinentes ad spiritualem Hierusalem." De Civit. Dei,

xviii. 47.

[67] Rom. 1:19, to-i` -ignostontou theou. Comp, my annotations on Lange

in loc.

[68] Rom. 2:14, 15. Comp. Lange in loc.

[69] Comp. Acts 17:3, 27, 28, and my remarks on the altar to the theos

agnostos in the History of the Apost. Church. � 73, p. 269 sqq.

[70] Testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae.

[71] Logos asarkos , Logos spermatikos .

[72] Comp. John 1:4, 5, 9, 10.

[73] John 19:20.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 12. Grecian Literature, and the Roman Empire.

The literature of the ancient Greeks and the universal empire of the

Romans were, next to the Mosaic religion, the chief agents in preparing

the world for Christianity. They furnished the human forms, in which

the divine substance of the gospel, thoroughly prepared in the bosom of

the Jewish theocracy, was moulded. They laid the natural foundation for

the supernatural edifice of the kingdom of heaven. God endowed the

Greeks and Romans with the richest natural gifts, that they might reach

the highest civilization possible without the aid of Christianity, and

thus both provide the instruments of human science, art, and law for

the use of the church, and yet at the same time show the utter

impotence of these alone to bless and save the world.

The Greeks, few in number, like the Jews, but vastly more important in

history than the numberless hordes of the Asiatic empires, were called

to the noble task of bringing out, under a sunny sky and with a clear

mind, the idea of humanity in its natural vigor and beauty, but also in

its natural imperfection. They developed the principles of science and

art. They liberated the mind from the dark powers of nature and the

gloomy broodings of the eastern mysticism. They rose to the clear and

free consciousness of manhood, boldly investigated the laws of nature

and of spirit, and carried out the idea of beauty in all sorts of

artistic forms. In poetry, sculpture, architecture, painting,

philosophy, rhetoric, historiography, they left true masterpieces,

which are to this day admired and studied as models of form and taste.

All these works became truly valuable and useful only in the hands of

the Christian church, to which they ultimately fell. Greece gave the

apostles the most copious and beautiful language to express the divine

truth of the Gospel, and Providence had long before so ordered

political movements as to spread that language over the world and to

make it the organ of civilization and international intercourse, as the

Latin was in the middle ages, as the French was in the eighteenth

century and as the English is coming to be in the nineteenth. "Greek,"

says Cicero, "is read in almost all nations; Latin is confined by its

own narrow boundaries." Greek schoolmasters and artists followed the

conquering legions of Rome to Gaul and Spain. The youthful hero

Alexander the Great, a Macedonian indeed by birth, yet an enthusiastic

admirer of Homer, an emulator of Achilles, a disciple of the

philosophic world-conqueror, Aristotle, and thus the truest Greek of

his age, conceived the sublime thought of making Babylon the seat of a

Grecian empire of the world; and though his empire fell to pieces at

his untimely death, yet it had already carried Greek letters to the

borders of India, and made them a common possession of all civilized

nations. What Alexander had begun Julius Caesar completed. Under the

protection of the Roman law the apostles could travel everywhere and

make themselves understood through the Greek language in every city of

the Roman domain.

The Grecian philosophy, particularly the systems of Plato and

Aristotle, formed the natural basis for scientific theology; Grecian

eloquence, for sacred oratory; Grecian art, for that of the Christian

church. Indeed, not a few ideas and maxims of the classics tread on the

threshold of revelation and sound like prophecies of Christian truth;

especially the spiritual soarings of Plato, [74] the deep religious

reflections of Plutarch, [75] the sometimes almost Pauline moral

precepts of Seneca. [76] To many of the greatest church fathers, Justin

Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and in some measure even to

Augustine, Greek philosophy was a bridge to the Christian faith, a

scientific schoolmaster leading them to Christ. Nay, the whole ancient

Greek church rose on the foundation of the Greek language and

nationality, and is inexplicable without them.

Here lies the real reason why the classical literature is to this day

made the basis of liberal education throughout the Christian world.

Youth are introduced to the elementary forms of science and art, to

models of clear, tasteful style, and to self-made humanity at the

summit of intellectual and artistic culture, and thus they are at the

same time trained to the scientific apprehension of the Christian

religion, which appeared when the development of Greek and Roman

civilization had reached its culmination and began already to decay.

The Greek and Latin languages, as the Sanskrit and Hebrew, died in

their youth and were embalmed and preserved from decay in the immortal

works of the classics. They still furnish the best scientific terms for

every branch of learning and art and every new invention. The primitive

records of Christianity have been protected against the uncertainties

of interpretation incident upon the constant changes of a living

language.

But aside from the permanent value of the Grecian literature, the glory

of its native land had, at the birth of Christ, already irrecoverably

departed. Civil liberty and independence had been destroyed by internal

discord and corruption. Philosophy had run down into skepticism and

refined materialism. Art had been degraded to the service of levity and

sensuality. Infidelity or superstition had supplanted sound religious

sentiment. Dishonesty and licentiousness reigned among high and low.

This hopeless state of things could not but impress the more earnest

and noble souls with the emptiness of all science and art, and the

utter insufficiency of this natural culture to meet the deeper wants of

the heart. It must fill them with longings for a new religion.

The Romans were the practical and political nation of antiquity. Their

calling was to carry out the idea of the state and of civil law, and to

unite the nations of the world in a colossal empire, stretching from

the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the Libyan desert to the banks

of the Rhine. This empire embraced the most fertile and civilized

countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and about one hundred millions

of human beings, perhaps one-third of the whole race at the time of the

introduction of Christianity. [77] To this outward extent corresponds

its historical significance. The history of every ancient nation ends,

says Niebuhr, as the history of every modern nation begins, in that of

Rome. Its history has therefore a universal interest; it is a vast

storehouse of the legacies of antiquity. If the Greeks had, of all

nations, the deepest mind, and in literature even gave laws to their

conquerors, the Romans had the strongest character, and were born to

rule the world without. This difference of course reached even into the

moral and religious life of the two nations. Was the Greek, mythology

the work of artistic fantasy and a religion of poesy, so was the Roman

the work of calculation adapted to state purposes, political and

utilitarian, but at the same time solemn, earnest, and energetic. "The

Romans had no love of beauty, like the Greeks. They held no communion

with nature, like the Germans. Their one idea was Rome--not ancient,

fabulous, poetical Rome, but Rome warring and conquering; and orbis

terrarum domina. S. P. Q. R.is inscribed on almost every page of their

literature." [78]

The Romans from the first believed themselves called to govern the

world. They looked upon all foreigners--not as barbarians, like the

cultured Greeks, but--as enemies to be conquered and reduced to

servitude. War and triumph were their highest conception of human glory

and happiness. The "Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!"had

been their motto, in fact, long before Virgil thus gave it form. The

very name of the urbs aeterna, and the characteristic legend of its

founding, prophesied its future. In their greatest straits the Romans

never for a moment despaired of the commonwealth. With vast energy,

profound policy, unwavering consistency, and wolf-like rapacity, they

pursued their ambitious schemes, and became indeed the lords, but also,

as their greatest historian, Tacitus, says, the insatiable robbers of

the world. [79]

Having conquered the world by the sword, they organized it by law,

before whose majesty every people had to bow, and beautified it by the

arts of peace. Philosophy, eloquence, history, and poetry enjoyed a

golden age under the setting sun of the republic and the rising sun of

the empire, and extended their civilizing influence to the borders of

barbarianism. Although not creative in letters and fine arts, the Roman

authors were successful imitators of Greek philosophers, orators,

historians, and poets. Rome was converted by Augustus from a city of

brick huts into a city of marble palaces. [80] The finest paintings and

sculptures were imported from Greece, triumphal arches and columns were

erected on public places, and the treasures of all parts of the world

were made tributary to, the pride, beauty, and luxury of the capital.

The provinces caught the spirit of improvement, populous cities sprung

up, and the magnificent temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt by the

ambitious extravagance of Herod. The rights of persons and property

were well protected. The conquered nations, though often and justly

complaining of the rapacity of provincial governors, yet, on the whole,

enjoyed greater security against domestic feuds and foreign invasion, a

larger share of social comfort, and rose to a higher degree of secular

civilization. The ends of the empire were brought into military,

commercial, and literary communication by carefully constructed roads,

the traces of which still exist in Syria, on the Alps, on the banks of

the Rhine. The facilities and security of travel were greater in the

reign of the Caesars than in any subsequent period before the

nineteenth century. Five main lines went out from Rome to the

extremities of the empire, and were connected at seaports with maritime

routes. "We may travel," says a Roman writer, "at all hours, and sail

from east to west." Merchants brought diamonds from the East, ambers

from the shores of the Baltic, precious metals from Spain, wild animals

from Africa, works of art from Greece, and every article of luxury, to

the market on the banks of the Tiber, as they now do to the banks of

the Thames. The Apocalyptic seer, in his prophetic picture of the

downfall of the imperial mistress of the world, gives prominence to her

vast commerce: "And the merchants of the earth," he says, "weep and

mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:

merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stone, and pearls, and

fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet; and all thine wood, and

every vessel of ivory, and every vessel made of most precious wood, and

of brass, and iron, and marble; and cinnamon, and spice, and incense,

and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and

wheat, and cattle, and sheep; and merchandise of horses and chariots

and slaves; and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul desired are

departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and sumptuous are

perished from thee, and men shall find them no more at all." [81]

Heathen Rome lived a good while after this prediction, but, the causes

of decay were already at work in the first century. The immense

extension and outward prosperity brought with it a diminution of those

domestic and civil virtues which at first so highly distinguished the

Romans above the Greeks. The race of patriots and deliverers, who came

from their ploughs to the public service, and humbly returned again to

the plough or the kitchen, was extinct. Their worship of the gods,

which was the root of their virtue, had sunk to mere form, running

either into the most absurd superstitions, or giving place to unbelief,

till the very priests laughed each other in the face when they met in

the street. Not unfrequently we find unbelief and superstition united

in the same persons, according to the maxim that all extremes touch

each other. Man must believe something, and worship either God or the

devil. [82] Magicians and necromancers abounded, and were liberally

patronized. The ancient simplicity and contentment were exchanged for

boundless avarice and prodigality. Morality and chastity, so

beautifully symbolized in the household ministry of the virgin Vesta,

yielded to vice and debauchery. Amusement came to be sought in

barbarous fights of beasts and gladiators, which not rarely consumed

twenty thousand human lives in a single month. The lower classes had

lost all nobler feeling, cared for nothing but "panem et circenses,"

and made the proud imperial city on the Tiber a slave of slaves. The

huge empire of Tiberius and of Nero was but a giant body without a

soul, going, with steps slow but sure, to final dissolution. Some of

the emperors were fiendish tyrants and monsters of iniquity; and yet

they were enthroned among the gods by a vote of the Senate, and altars

and temples were erected for their worship. This characteristic custom

began with Caesar, who even during his lifetime was honored as "Divus

Julius" for his brilliant victories, although they cost more than a

million of lives slain and another million made captives and slaves.

[83] The dark picture which St. Paul, in addressing the Romans, draws

of the heathenism of his day, is fully sustained by Seneca, Tacitus,

Juvenal, Persius, and other heathen writers of that age, and shows the

absolute need of redemption. "The world," says Seneca, in a famous

passage, "is full of crimes and vices. More are committed than can be

cured by force. There is an immense struggle for iniquity. Crimes are

no longer bidden, but open before the eyes. Innocence is not only rare,

but nowhere." [84] Thus far the negative. On the other hand, the

universal empire of Rome was a positive groundwork for the universal

empire of the gospel. It served as a crucible, in which all

contradictory and irreconcilable peculiarities of the ancient nations

and religions were dissolved into the chaos of a new creation. The

Roman legions razed the partition-walls among the ancient nations,

brought the extremes of the civilized world together in free

intercourse, and united north and south and east and west in the bonds

of a common language and culture, of common laws and customs. Thus they

evidently, though unconsciously, opened the way for the rapid and

general spread of that religion which unites all nations in one family

of God by the spiritual bond of faith and love.

The idea of a common humanity, which underlies all the distinctions of

race, society and education, began to dawn in the heathen mind, and

found expression in the famous line of Terentius, which was received

with applause in the theatre:

"Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

This spirit of humanity breathes in Cicero and Virgil. Hence the

veneration paid to the poet of the Aeneid by the fathers and throughout

the middle ages. Augustine calls him the noblest of poets, and Dante,

"the glory and light of other poets," and "his master," who guided him

through the regions of hell and purgatory to the very gates of

Paradise. It was believed that in his fourth Eclogue he had prophesied

the advent of Christ. This interpretation is erroneous; but "there is

in Virgil," says an accomplished scholar, [85] "a vein of thought and

sentiment more devout, more humane, more akin to the Christian than is

to be found in any other ancient poet, whether Greek or Roman. He was a

spirit prepared and waiting, though he knew it not, for some better

thing to be revealed."

The civil laws and institutions, also, and the great administrative

wisdom of Rome did much for the outward organization of the Christian

church. As the Greek church rose on the basis of the Grecian

nationality, so the Latin church rose on that of ancient Rome, and

reproduced in higher forms both its virtues and its defects. Roman

Catholicism is pagan Rome baptized, a Christian reproduction of the

universal empire seated of old in the city of the seven hills.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[74] Compare C. Ackermann, The Christian Element in Plato and the

Platonic Philosophy, 1835, transl. from the German by S. R. Asbury,

with an introductory note by Dr. Shedd. Edinburgh, 1861.

[75] As in his excellent trestise: De sera numinis vindicta. It is

strange that this philosopher, whose moral sentiments come nearest to

Christianity, never alludes to it. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius do

mention it, but only once.

[76] On the relation of Paul and Seneca comp. an elaborate dissertation

of Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on the Philippians, pp. 268-331

(3d ed. 1873).

[77] Charles Marivale, in his History of the Romans under the Empire

(Lond. 1856), Vol. iv. p. 450 and 451, estimates the population of the

Roman empire in the age of Augustus at 85 millions, namely, 40 millions

for Europe, 28 millions for Asia, and 17 millions for Africa, but he

does not include Palestine. Greswell and others raise the estimate of

the whole population to 120 millions.

[78] Hare Guesses at Truth, p. 432 (Lond. ed. 1867).

[79] Raptores orbis, quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit."

[80] So the nephew of the modern Caesar transformed Parisinto a city of

straight and broad streets and magnificent palaces.

[81] Rev. 18:11-14.

[82] "Unbelief and superstition, different hues of the same historical

phenomenon, went in the Roman world of that day hand in hand, and there

was no lack of individuals who in themselves combined both-who denied

the gods with Epicurus, and yet prayed and sacrificed before every

shrine." Theod. Mommsen, History of Rome. transl. by Dickson, Lond.

1867, vol. iv. p. 560.

[83] "In the excess of their adoration, the Roman Senate desired even

to place his image in the Temple of Quirinus himself, with an

inscription to him as theos aniktos, the invincible God. Golden chairs,

gilt chariots, triumphal robes, were piled one upon another, with

laurelled fasces and laurelled wreaths. His birthday was made a

perpetual holiday, and the mouth Quinctilis was renamed, in honor of

him, July. A temple to Concord was to be erected in commemoration of

his clemency. His person was declared sacred and to injure him by word

or deed was to be counted sacrilege. The Fortune of Caesar was

introduced into the constitutional oath, and the Senate took a solemn

pledge to maintain his acts inviolate. Finally, they arrived at a

conclusion that he was not a man at all; no longer Caius Julius, but

Divus Julius, a God or the Son of God. A temple was to be built to

Caesar as another Quirinus, and Antony was to be his priest." J. A.

Froude, Caesar (1879), Ch. XXVI. p. 491. The insincerity of these

adulations shortly before the senatorial conspiracy makes them all the

worse. "One obsequious senator proposed that every woman in Rome should

be at the disposition of Caesar." Ibid., p 492.

[84] De Ira, II. 8.

[85] Principal Shairp, in an article on "Virgil as a Precursor of

Christianity," in the "Princeton Review" for Sept., 1879, pp. 403-420.

Comp. the learned essay of Professor Piper, in Berlin, on "Virgil als

Theologe und Prophet," in his "Evang. Kalender" for 1862.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 13. Judaism and Heathenism in Contact.

The Roman empire, though directly establishing no more than an outward

political union, still promoted indirectly a mutual intellectual and

moral approach of the hostile religious of the Jews and Gentiles, who

were to be reconciled in one divine brotherhood by the supernatural

power of the cross of Christ.

1. The Jews, since the Babylonish captivity, had been scattered over

all the world. They were as ubiquitous in the Roman empire in the first

century as they are now throughout, Christendom. According to Josephus

and Strabo, there was no country where they did not make up a part of

the population. [86] Among the witnesses of the miracle of Pentecost

were "Jews from every nation under heaven ... Parthians and Medes and

Elamites, and the dwellers of Mesopotamia, in Judaea and Cappadocia, in

Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of

Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes,

Cretans and Arabians." [87] In spite of the antipathy of the Gentiles,

they had, by talent and industry, risen to wealth, influence, and every

privilege, and had built their synagogues in all the commercial cities

of the Roman empire. Pompey brought a considerable number of Jewish

captives from Jerusalem to the capital (b.c. 63), and settled them on

the right bank of the Tiber (Trastevere). By establishing this

community he furnished, without knowing it, the chief material for the

Roman church. Julius Caesar was the great protector of the Jews; and

they showed their gratitude by collecting for many nights to lament his

death on the forum where his murdered body was burnt on a funeral pile.

[88] He granted them the liberty of public worship, and thus gave them

a legal status as a religious society. Augustus confirmed these

privileges. Under his reign they were numbered already by thousands in

the city. A reaction followed; Tiberius and Claudius expelled them from

Rome; but they soon returned, and succeeded in securing the free

exercise of their rites and customs. The frequent satirical allusions

to them prove their influence as well as the aversion and contempt in

which they were held by the Romans. Their petitions reached the ear of

Nero through his wife Poppaea, who seems to have inclined to their

faith; and Josephus, their most distinguished scholar, enjoyed the

favor of three emperors--Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. In the

language of Seneca (as quoted by Augustin) "the conquered Jews gave

laws to their Roman conquerors."

By this dispersion of the Jews the seeds of the knowledge of the true

God and the Messianic hope were sown in the field of the idolatrous

world. The Old Testament Scriptures were translated into Greek two

centuries before Christ, and were read and expounded in the public

worship of God, which was open to all. Every synagogue was a

mission-station of monotheism, and furnished the apostles an admirable

place and a natural introduction for their preaching of Jesus Christ as

the fulfiller of the law and the prophets.

Then, as the heathen religious had been hopelessly undermined by

skeptical philosophy and popular infidelity, many earnest Gentiles

especially multitudes of women, came over to Judaism either, wholly or

in part. The thorough converts, called "proselytes of righteousness,"

[89] were commonly still more bigoted and fanatical than the native

Jews. The half-converts, "proselytes of the gate" [90] or "fearers of

God," [91] who adopted only the monotheism, the principal moral laws,

and the Messianic hopes of the Jews, without being circumcised, appear

in the New Testament as the most susceptible hearers of the gospel, and

formed the nucleus of many of the first Christian churches. Of this

class were the centurion of Capernaum, Cornelius of Caesarea, Lydia of

Philippi, Timothy, and many other prominent disciples.

2. On the other hand, the Graeco-Roman heathenism, through its

language, philosophy, and literature, exerted no inconsiderable

influence to soften the fanatical bigotry of the higher and more

cultivated classes of the Jews. Generally the Jews of the dispersion,

who spoke the Greek language--the "Hellenists," as they were

called--were much more liberal than the proper "Hebrews," or

Palestinian Jews, who kept their mother tongue. This is evident in the

Gentile missionaries, Barnabas of Cyprus and Paul of Tarsus, and in the

whole church of Antioch, in contrast with that at Jerusalem. The

Hellenistic form of Christianity was the natural bridge to the Gentile.

The most remarkable example of a transitional, though very fantastic

and Gnostic-like combination of Jewish and heathen elements meets us in

the educated circles of the Egyptian metropolis, Alexandria, and in the

system of Philo, who was born about b.c. 20, and lived till after a.d.

40, though he never came in contact with Christ or the apostles. This

Jewish, divine sought to harmonize the religion of Moses with the

philosophy of Plato by the help of an ingenious but arbitrary

allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament; and from the books of

Proverbs and of Wisdom he deduced a doctrine of the Logos so strikingly

like that of John's Gospel, that many expositors think it necessary to

impute to the apostle an acquaintance with the writings, or at least

with the terminology of Philo. But Philo's speculation is to the

apostle's "Word made flesh" as a shadow to the body, or a dream to the

reality. He leaves no room for an incarnation, but the coincidence of

his speculation with the great fact is very remarkable. [92]

The Therapeutae or Worshippers, a mystic and ascetic sect in Egypt,

akin to the Essenes in Judaea, carried this Platonic Judaism into

practical life; but were, of course, equally unsuccessful in uniting

the two religions in a vital and permanent way. Such a union could only

be effected by a new religion revealed from heaven. [93]

Quite independent of the philosophical Judaism of Alexandria were the

Samaritans, a mixed race, which also combined, though in a different

way, the elements of Jewish and Gentile religion. [94] They date from

the period of the exile. They held to the Pentateuch, to circumcision,

and to carnal Messianic hopes; but they had a temple of their own on

Mount Gerizim, and mortally hated the proper Jews. Among these

Christianity, as would appear from the interview of Jesus with the

woman of Samaria, [95] and the preaching of Philip, [96] found ready

access, but, as among the Essenes and Therapeutae fell easily into a

heretical form. Simon Magus, for example, and some other Samaritan

arch-heretics, are represented by the early Christian writers as the

principal originators of Gnosticism.

3. Thus was the way for Christianity prepared on every side, positively

and negatively, directly and indirectly, in theory and in practice, by

truth and by error, by false belief and by unbelief--those hostile

brothers, which yet cannot live apart--by Jewish religion, by Grecian

culture, and by Roman conquest; by the vainly attempted amalgamation of

Jewish and heathen thought, by the exposed impotence of natural

civilization, philosophy, art, and political power, by the decay of the

old religions, by the universal distraction and hopeless misery of the

age, and by the yearnings of all earnest and noble souls for the

religion of salvation.

"In the fulness of the time," when the fairest flowers of science and

art had withered, and the world was on the verge of despair, the

Virgin's Son was born to heal the infirmities of mankind. Christ

entered a dying world as the author of a new and imperishable life.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[86] Jos., Bell. Jud., VII. c. 3, � 3: "As the Jewish nation is widely

dispersed over all the habitable earth," etc. Antiqu., XIV. 7, 2: "Let

no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all

the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worship God,

nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it."

Then, quoting from Strabo, he says: "These Jews are already gotten into

all cities, and it is hard to, find a place in the habitable earth that

has not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it; and it

has come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene and a great number of other

nations imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these

Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them,

and make use also of the same laws with that nation."

[87] Acts 2:5, 9-11.

[88] Sueton., Caes., c. 84.

[89] qrtsh yrg

[90] r?shh yrg Ex. 20:10; Deut. 5:14.

[91] hoi eusebeis oi phoboumenoi ton theon, Acts 10:2; 13:16, etc., and

Josephus.

[92] The system of Philo has been very thoroughly investigated, both

independently, and in connection with John's Logos-doctrine by

Grossmann (1829). Gfr�rer (1831), D�hne (1834), L�cke, Baur, Zeller,

Dorner, Ueberweg, Ewald, J. G. M�ller (Die Messian. Erwartungen des

Juden Philo, Basel, 1870), Keim, Lipsius, Hausrath, Sch�rer, etc. See

the literature in Sch�rer, N. T. Zeitgesch., p. 648.

[93] P. E. Lucius: Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte

der Askese. Strassburg, 1880.

[94] A remnant of the Samaritans (about 140 souls) still live in

Nablous, the ancient Shechem, occupy a special quarter, have a

synagogue of their own, with a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch, and

celebrate annually on the top of Mount Gerizim the Jewish Passover,

Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles. It is the only spot on earth where

the paschal sacrifice is perpetuated according to the Mosaic

prescription in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. See Schaff, Through

Bible Lands (N.York and Lond. 1878), pp. 314 sqq. and Hausrath, l.c. I.

17 sqq.

[95] John 4.

[96] Acts 8.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER II.

JESUS CHRIST.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 14. Sources and Literature.

A. Sources.

Christ himself wrote nothing, but furnished endless material for books

and songs of gratitude and praise. The living Church of the redeemed is

his book. He founded a religion of the living spirit, not of a written

code, like the Mosaic law. ( His letter to King Abgarus of Edessa, in

Euseb., Hist. Eccl., I. 13, is a worthless fabrication.) Yet his words

and deeds are recorded by as honest and reliable witnesses as ever put

pen to paper.

I. Authentic Christian Sources.

(1) The four Canonical Gospels. Whatever their origin and date, they

exhibit essentially the same divine-human life and character of Christ,

which stands out in sharp contrast with the fictitious Christ of the

Apocryphal Gospels, and cannot possibly have been invented, least of

all by illiterate Galileans. They would never have thought of writing

books without the inspiration of their Master.

(2) The Acts of Luke, the Apostolic Epistles, and the Apocalypse of

John. They presuppose, independently of the written Gospels, the main

facts of the gospel-history, especially the crucifixion and the

resurrection, and abound in allusions to these facts. Four of the

Pauline Epistles (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians) are admitted

as genuine by the most extreme of liberal critics (Baur and the

T�bingen School), and from them alone a great part of the life of

Christ might be reconstructed. (See the admissions of Keim, Gesch. Jesu

v. Naz., I. 35 sqq.)

II. Apocryphal Gospels:

The Apocryphal Gospels are very numerous (about 50), some of them only

known by name, others in fragments, and date from the second and later

centuries. They are partly heretical (Gnostic and Ebionite) perversions

or mutilations of the real history, partly innocent compositions of

fancy, or religious novels intended to link together the disconnected

periods of Christ's biography, to satisfy the curiosity concerning his

relations, his childhood, his last days, and to promote the

glorification of the Virgin Mary. They may be divided into four

classes: (1) Heretical Gospels (as the Evangelium Cerinthi, Ev.

Marcionis, Ev. Judae Ischariotae, Ev. secundum Hebraeos, etc.); (2)

Gospels of Joseph and Mary, and the birth of Christ (Protevangelium

Jacobi, Evang. Pseudo-Mathaei sive liber de Ortu Beatae Mariae et

Infantia Salvatoris, Evang. de Nativitate Mariae, Historia Josephi

Fabri lignarii, etc.); (3) Gospels of the childhood of Jesus from the

flight to Egypt till his eighth or twelfth year (Evang. Thomae, of

Gnostic origin, Evang. Infantiae Arabicum, etc.); (4) Gospels of the

passion and the mysterious triduum in Hades (Evang. Nicodemi, including

the Gesta or Acta Pilati and the Descensus ad Inferos, Epistola Pilati,

a report of Christ's passion to the emperor Tiberius, Paradosis Pilati,

Epistolae Herodis ad Pilatum and Pilati ad Herodem, Responsum Tiberii

ad Pilatum, Narratio Josephi Arimathiensis, etc.). It is quite probable

that Pilate sent an account of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus to

his master in Rome (as Justin Martyr and Tertullian confidentially

assert), but the various documents bearing his name are obviously

spurious, including the one recently published by Geo. Sluter (The Acta

Pilati, Shelbyville, Ind. 1879), who professes to give a translation

from the supposed authentic Latin copy in the Vatican Library.

These apocryphal productions have no historical, but considerable

apologetic value; for they furnish by their contrast with the genuine

Gospels a very strong negative testimony to the historical truthfulness

of the Evangelists, as a shadow presupposes the light, a counterfeit

the real coin, and a caricature the original picture. They have

contributed largely to mediaeval art (e.g., the ox and the ass in the

history of the nativity), and to the traditional Mariology and

Mariolatry of the Greek and Roman churches, and have supplied Mohammed

with his scanty knowledge of Jesus and Mary.

See the collections of the apocryphal Gospels by Fabricius (Codex

Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, Hamburg, 1703, 2d ed. 1719), Thilo (Cod.

Apocr. N. Ti., Lips. 1832), Tischendorf (Evangelia Apocrypha, Lips.

1853), W. Wright (Contributions to the Apocr. Lit. of the N. T. from

Syrian MSS. in the British Museum, Lond. 1865), B. Harris Cowper (The

Apocryphal Gospels, translated, London, 1867), and Alex. Walker (Engl.

transl. in Roberts & Donaldson's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. xvi.,

Edinb. 1870; vol. viii. of Am. ed., N. Y. 1886).

Comp. the dissertations of Tischendorf: De Evang. aproc. origine et usu

(Hagae, 1851), and Pilati circa Christum judicio quid lucis offeratur

ex Actis Pilati (Lips. 1855). Rud. Hofmann: Das Leben Jesu nach den

Apokryphen (Leipz. 1851), and his art., Apokryphen des N. T, in Herzog

& Plitt, "R. Encykl.," vol. i. (1877), p. 511. G. Brunet: Les �vangiles

apocryphes, Paris, 1863. Michel Nicolas: �tudes sur les �vangiles

apocryphes, Paris, 1866. Lipsius: Die Pilatus-Acten, Kiel, 1871; Die

edessenische Abgar-Sage, 1880; Gospels, Apocr., in Smith & Wace, I. 700

sqq.; Holtzmann Einl. in's N. T., pp. 534-'54.

III. Jewish Sources.

The O. Test. Scriptures are, in type and prophecy, a preparatory

history of Christ, and become fully intelligible only in him who came

"to fulfill the law and the prophets."

The Apocryphal and post-Christian Jewish writings give us a full view

of the outward framework of society and religion in which the life of

Christ moved, and in this way they illustrate and confirm the Gospel

accounts.

IV. The famous testimony of the Jewish historian Josephus (d. after

a.d. 103) deserves special consideration. In his Antiqu. Jud., 1.

xviii. cap. 3,� 3, he gives the following striking summary of the life

of Jesus:

"Now there rose about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to

call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works (paradoxon ergon

poietes), a teacher of such men as receive the truth with gladness. He

carried away with him many of the Jews and also many of the Greeks. He

was the Christ (ho Christos houtos en). And after Pilate, at the

suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the

cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them

alive again the third day (ephane gar autois triten echon hemeran palin

zon); the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other

wonderful things (alla muria thaumasia) concerning him. And the tribe

of those called Christians, after him, is not extinct to this day."

This testimony is first quoted by Eusebius, twice, without a misgiving

(Hist. Eccl., I. II; and Demonstr. Evang., III. 5), and was considered

genuine down to the 16th century, but has been disputed ever since. We

have added the most doubtful words in Greek.

The following are the arguments for the genuineness:

(1) The testimony is found in all the MSS. of Josephus.

But these MSS. were written by Christians, and we have none older than

from the 11th century.

(2) It agrees with the style of Josephus.

(3) It is extremely improbable that Josephus, in writing a history of

the Jews coming down to a.d. 66, should have ignored Jesus; all the

more since he makes favorable mention of John the Baptist (Antiqu.,

XVIII. 5, 2), and of the martyrdom of James "the Brother of Jesus

called the Christ" (Antiqu. XX 9, 1: ton adelphon Iesou tou legomenou

Christou, Iakabos onoma auto). Both passages are generally accepted as

genuine, unless the words tou legomenou Christoushould be an

interpolation.

Against this may be said that Josephus may have had prudential reasons

for ignoring Christianity altogether.

Arguments against the genuineness:

(1) The passage interrupts the connection.

But not necessarily. Josephus had just recorded a calamity which befell

the Jews under Pontius Pilate, in consequence of a sedition, and he may

have regarded the crucifixion of Jesus as an additional calamity. He

then goes on (� 4 and 5) to record another calamity, the expulsion of

the Jews from Rome under Tiberius.

(2) It betrays a Christian, and is utterly inconsistent with the known

profession of Josephus as a Jewish priest of the sect of the Pharisees.

We would rather expect him to have represented Jesus as an impostor, or

as an enthusiast.

But it may be urged, on the other hand, that Josephus, with all his

great literary merits, is also known as a vain and utterly unprincipled

man, as a renegade and sycophant who glorified and betrayed his nation,

who served as a Jewish general in the revolt against Rome, and then,

after having been taken prisoner, flattered the Roman conquerors, by

whom he was richly rewarded. History furnishes many examples of similar

inconsistencies. Remember Pontius Pilate who regarded Christ as

innocent, and yet condemned him to death, the striking testimonies of

Rousseau and Napoleon I. to the divinity of Christ, and also the

concessions of Renan, which contradict his position.

(3) It is strange that the testimony should not have been quoted by

such men as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, or any

other writer before Eusebius (d. 340), especially by Origen, who

expressly refers to the passages of Josephus on John the Baptist and

James (Contra Cels., I. 35, 47). Even Chrysostom (d. 407), who

repeatedly mentions Josephus, seems to have been ignorant of this

testimony.

In view of these conflicting reasons, there are different opinions:

(1) The passage is entirely genuine. This old view is defended by

Hauteville, Oberth�r, Bretschneider, B�hmert, Whiston, Schoedel (1840),

B�ttger (Das Zeugniss des Jos., Dresden, 1863).

(2) It is wholly interpolated by a Christian hand. Bekker (in his ed.

of Jos., 1855), Hase (1865 and 1876), Keim (1867), Sch�rer (1874).

(3) It is partly genuine, partly interpolated. Josephus probably wrote

Xristos outos elegeto(as in the passage on James), but not henand all

other Christian sentences were added by a transcriber before Eusebius,

for apologetic purposes. So Paulus, Heinichen, Gieseler (I. � 24, p.

81, 4th Germ. ed.), Weizs�cker, Renan, Farrar. In the introduction to

his Vie de J�sus (p. xii.), Renan says: "Je crois le passage sur J�sus

authentique. Il est parfaitement dans le go�t de Joseph, et si cet

historian a fait mention de J�sus, c'est bien comme cela qu'il a d� en

parler. On sent seulement qu'une main chr�tienne a retouch� le morceau,

y a ajout� quelques mots sans lesquels il e�t �t� presque

blasph�matoire, a peut-�tre retranch� ou modifi� quelques expressions "

(4) It is radically changed from a Jewish calumny into its present

Christian form. Josephus originally described Jesus as a

pseudo-Messiah, a magician, and seducer of the people, who was justly

crucified. So Paret and Ewald (Gesch. Christus', p. 183, 3d ed.).

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Josephus must have taken

some notice of the greatest event in Jewish history (as he certainly

did of John the Baptist and of James), but that his statement--whether

non-committal or hostile--was skillfully enlarged or altered by a

Christian hand, and thereby deprived of its historical value.

In other respects, the writings of Josephus contain, indirectly, much

valuable testimony, to the truth of the gospel history. His History of

the Jewish War is undesignedly a striking commentary on the predictions

of our Saviour concerning the destruction of the city and the temple of

Jerusalem; the great distress and affliction of the Jewish people at

that time; the famine, pestilence, and earthquake; the rise of false

prophets and impostors, and the flight of his disciples at the approach

of these calamities. All these coincidences have been traced out in

full by the learned Dr. Lardner, in his Collection of Ancient Jewish

and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion, first

published 1764-'67, also in vol. vi. of his Works, ed. by Kippis, Lond.

1838.

V. Heathen testimonies are few and meagre. This fact must be accounted

for by the mysterious origin, the short duration and the unworldly

character of the life and work of Christ, which was exclusively devoted

to the kingdom of heaven, and, was enacted in a retired country and

among a people despised by the proud Greeks and Romans.

The oldest heathen testimony is probably in the Syriac letter of Mara,

a philosopher, to his son Serapion, about a.d. 74, first published by

Cureton, in Spicilegium Syriacum, Lond. 1855, and translated by Pratten

in the "Ante-Nicene Library," Edinb. vol. xxiv. (1872), 104-114. Here

Christ is compared to Socrates and Pythagoras, and called "the wise

king of the Jews," who were justly punished for murdering him. Ewald

(l.c. p. 180) calls this testimony "very remarkable for its simplicity

and originality as well as its antiquity."

Roman authors of the 1st and 2d centuries make only brief and

incidental mention of Christ as the founder of the Christian religion,

and of his crucifixion under Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius.

Tacitus, Annales, I. xv. cap. 44, notices him in connection with his

account of the conflagration at Rome and the Neronian persecution, in

the words: "Auctor nominis ejus [Christiani] Christus Tiberio

imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat,"

and calls the Christian religion an exitiabilis superstitio.Comp. his

equally contemptuous misrepresentation of the Jews in Hist., v. c. 3-5.

Other notices are found in Suetonius: Vita Claudii, c. 25; Vita

Neronis, c. 16; Plinius, jun.: Epist., X. 97, 98; Lucian: De morte

Peregr., c. 11; Lampridius: Vita Alexandri Severi, c. 29, 43.

The heathen opponents of Christianity, Lucian, Celsus, Porphyry, Julian

the Apostate, etc., presuppose the principal facts of the

gospel-history, even the miracles of Jesus, but they mostly derive

them, like the Jewish adversaries, from evil spirits. Comp. my book on

the Person of Christ, Appendix, and Dr. Nath. Lardner's Credibility,

and Collection of Testimonies.

B. Biographical and Critical.

The numerous Harmonies of the Gospel began already a.d. 170, with

Tatian's to dia tessaron(on which Ephraem Syrus, in the fourth century,

wrote a commentary, published in Latin from an Armenian version in the

Armenian convent at Venice, 1876). The first biographies of Christ were

ascetic or poetic, and partly legendary. See Hase, Leben Jesu, � 17-19.

The critical period began with the infidel and infamous attacks of

Reimarus, Bahrdt, and Venturini, and the noble apologetic works of

Hess, Herder, and Reinhard. But a still greater activity was stimulated

by the Leben Jesu of Strauss, 1835 and again by Renan's Vie de J�sus,

1863.

J. J. Hess (Antistes at Z�rich, d. 1828): Lebensgeschichte Jesu.

Z�rich, 1774; 8th ed. 1823, 3 vols. Translated into Dutch and Danish.

He introduced the psychological and pragmatic treatment.

F. V. Rienhard (d. 1812): Versuch �ber den Plan Jesu. Wittenberg, 1781;

5th ed. by Heubner, 1830. English translation, N. York, 1831. Reinhard

proved the originality and superiority of the plan of Christ above all

the conceptions of previous sages and benefactors of the race.

J. G. Herder (d. 1803): Vom Erl�ser der Menschen nach unsern 3 ersten

Evang. Riga, 1796. The same: Von Gottes Sohn, der Welt Heiland, nach

Joh. Evang. Riga, 1797.

H. E. G. Paulus (Prof. in Heidelberg, d. 1851): Leben Jesu als

Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristenthums. Heidelb. 1828, 2

vols. Represents the "vulgar" rationalism superseded afterwards by the

speculative rationalism of Strauss.

C. Ullmann (d. 1865): Die S�ndlosigkeit Jesu. Hamb. 1828; 7th ed. 1864.

Eng. translation (of 7th ed.) by Sophia Taylor, Edinb. 1870. The best

work on the sinlessness of Jesus. Comp. also his essay (against

Strauss), Historisch oder Mythisch? Gotha, 1838.

Karl Hase:Das Leben Jesu. Leipz. 1829; 5th ed. 1865. The same:

Geschichte Jesu. Leipz. 1876.

Schleiermacher (d. 1834): Vorlesungen �ber das Leben Jesu, herausgeg.

von R�tenik. Berlin, 1864. The lectures were delivered 1832, and

published from imperfect manuscripts. "Eine Stimme aus vergangenen

Tagen." Comp. the critique of D. F. Strauss in Der Christus des

Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte. Berlin, 1865.

D. F. Strauss (d. 1874): Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet. T�bingen,

1835-'36; 4th ed. 1840, 2 vols. French transl. by Emile Littr�, Par.

1856 (2d ed.); Engl. transl. by Miss Marian Evans (better known under

the assumed name George Eliot),Lond. 1846, in 3 vols., republ. in N.

York, 1850. The same: Das Leben Jesu f�r das deutsche Volk bearbeitet.

Leipz. 1864; 3d ed. 1875. In both these famous works Strauss represents

the mythical theory. It has been popularized in the third volume of The

Bible for Learners by Oort and Hooykaas, Engl. transl., Boston ed.

1879.

A. Neander (d. 1850): Das Leben Jesu. Hamb. 1837; 5th ed. 1852. A

positive refutation of Strauss. The same in English by McClintock and

Blumenthal, N. York, 1848.

Joh. Nep. Sepp (R. C.): Das Leben Jesu Christi. Regensb. 1843 sqq. 2d

ed. 1865, 6 vols. Much legendary matter.

Jordan Bucher (R. C.):Das Leben Jesu Christi. Stuttgart, 1859.

A. Ebrard: Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte. Erl.

1842; 3d ed. 1868. Against Strauss, Bruno Bauer, etc. Condensed English

translation, Edinb. 1869.

J. P. Lange: Das Leben Jesu. Heidelb. 1844-'47, 3 parts in 5 vols.

Engl. transl. by Marcus Dods and others, in 6 vols., Edinb. 1864. Rich

and suggestive.

J. J. van Oosterzee: Leven van Jesus. First publ. in 1846-'51, 3 vols.

2d ed. 1863-'65. Comp. his Christologie, Rotterdam, 1855-'61, 3 vols.,

which describe the Son of God before his incarnation, the Son of God in

the flesh, and the Son of God in glory. The third part is translated

into German byF. Meyering: Das Bild Christi nach der Schrift, Hamburg,

1864.

Chr. Fr. Schmid: Biblische Theologie des N. Testaments. Ed. by

Weizs�cker. Stuttgart, 1853 (3d ed. 1854), 2 vols. The first volume

contains the life and doctrine of Christ. The English translation byG.

H. Venables (Edinb. 1870) is an abridgment.

H. Ewald: Geschichte Christus' und seiner Zeit. G�tt. 1854; 3d ed 1867

(vol. v. of his Hist. of Israel). Transl. into Engl. by O. Glover,

Cambridge, 1865.

J. Young: The Christ of History. Lond. and N. York, 1855. 5th ed.,

1868.

P. Lichtenstein: Lebensgeschichte Jesu in chronolog. Uebersicht.

Erlangen, 1856.

C. J. Riggenbach: Vorlesungen �ber das Leben Jesu Basel, 1858.

M. Baumgarten: Die Geschichte Jesu f�r das Verst�ndniss der Gegenwart.

Braunschweig, 1859.

W. F. Gess: Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den

Zeugnissen der Apostel. Basel, 1878, in several parts. (This supersedes

his first work on the same subject, publ. 1856.)

Horace Bushnell (d. 1878): The Character of Jesus: forbidding his

possible classification with men. N. York, 1861. (A reprint of the

tenth chapter of his work on, "Nature and the Supernatural," N. York,

1859.) It is the best and most useful product of his genius.

C. J. Elliott (Bishop): Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord

Jesus Christ, being the Hulsean Lect. for 1859. 5th ed. Lond. 1869;

republ. in Boston, 1862.

Samuel J. Andrews: The Life of our Lord upon the earth, considered in

its historical, chronological, and geographical relations. N. York,

1863; 4th ed. 1879

Ernest Renan: Vie de J�sus. Par. 1863, and often publ. since (13th ed.

1867) and in several translations. Strauss popularized and Frenchified.

The legendary theory. Eloquent, fascinating, superficial, and

contradictory.

Daniel Schenkel:Das Characterbild Jesu. Wiesbaden, 1864; 4th ed.

revised 1873. English transl. by W. H. Furness. Boston, 1867, 2 vols.

By the same:Das Christusbild der Apostel und der nachapostolischen

Zeit. Leipz. 1879. See also his art., Jesus Christus, in Schenkel's

"Bibel-Lexikon," III. 257 sqq. Semi-mythical theory. Comp. the sharp

critique of Strauss on the Characterbild: Die Halben und die Ganzen.

Berlin, 1865.

Philip Schaff: The Person of Christ: the Perfection of his Humanity

viewed as a Proof of his Divinity. With a Collection of Impartial

Testimonies. Boston and N. York, 1865; 12th ed., revised, New York,

1882. The same work in German, Gotha, 1865; revised ed., N. York (Am.

Tract Soc.), 1871; in Dutch by Cordes, with an introduction by J. J.

van Oosterzee. Groningen, 1866; in French by Prof. Sardinoux, Toulouse,

1866, and in other languages. By the same: Die Christusfrage. N. York

and Berlin, 1871.

Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ. [By Prof. J.

R. Seeley, of Cambridge.] Lond. 1864, and several editions and

translations. It gave rise also to works on Ecce Deus, Ecce Deus Homo,

and a number of reviews and essays (one by Gladstone).

Charles Hardwick (d. 1859): Christ and other Masters. Lond., 4th ed.,

1875. (An extension of the work of Reinhard; Christ compared with the

founders of the Eastern religions.)

E. H. Plumptre: Christ and Christendom. Boyle Lectures. Lond. 1866

E. de Pressens�: J�sus Christ, son temps, sa vie, son oeuvre. Paris,

1866. (Against Renan.) The same transl. into English by Annie Harwood

(Lond., 7th ed. 1879), and into German by Fabarius (Halle, 1866).

F. Delitzsch: Jesus und Hillel. Erlangen, 1867; 3rd ed. revised, 1879.

Theod. Keim (Prof. in Z�rich, and then in Giessen, d. 1879);Geschichte

Jesu von Nazara. Z�rich, 1867-'72, 3 vols. Also an abridgment in one

volume, 1873, 2d ed. 1875. (This 2d ed. has important additions,

particularly a critical Appendix.) The large work is translated into

English by Geldart and Ransom. Lond. (Williams & Norgate), 1873-82, 6

vols. By the same author: Der geschichtliche Christus. Z�rich, 3d ed.

1866. Keim attempts to reconstruct a historical Christ from the

Synoptical Gospels, especially Matthew, but without John.

Wm. HANNA: The Life of our Lord. Edinb. 1868-'69, 6 vols.

Bishop Dupanloup (R. C.): Histoire de noire Sauveur J�sus Christ.

Paris, 1870.

Fr. W. Farrar (Canon of Westminster): The Life of Christ. Lond. and N.

York, 1874, 2 vols. (in many editions, one with illustrations).

C. Geikie: The Life and Words of Christ. Lond. and N. York, 1878,�2

vols. (Illustrated. Several editions.)

Bernhard Weis (Prof. in Berlin): Das Leben Jesu. Berlin, 1882, 2 vols.,

3d ed. 1888. English transl. Edinb. 1885, 3 vols.

Alfred Edersheim: The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. London and

N. Y. 1884, 2 vols. Strictly orthodox. Valuable for rabbinical

illustrations.,

W. Beyschlag: Das Leben Jesu. Halle, 1885-'86, 2 vols.; 2d ed. 1888.

The works of Paulus, Strauss, and Renan (also Joseph Salvador, a

learned Jew in France, author of J�sus Christ et sa doctrine, Par.

1838) represent the various phases of rationalism and destructive

criticism, but have called forth also a copious and valuable apologetic

literature. See the bibliography in Hase's Leben Jesu, 5th ed. p. 44

sqq., and in his Geschichte Jesu, p. 124 sqq. Schleiermacher, Gfr�rer,

Weisse, Ewald, Schenkel, Hase, and Keim occupy, in various degrees and

with many differences, a middle position. The great Schleiermacher

almost perished in the sea of scepticism, but, like Peter, he caught

the saving arm of Jesus extended to him (Matt. 14:30, 31). Hase is very

valuable for the bibliography and suggestive sketches, Ewald and Keim

for independent research and careful use of Josephus and the

contemporary history. Keim rejects, Ewald accepts, the Gospel of John

as authentic; both admit the sinless perfection of Jesus, and Keim,

from his purely critical and synoptical standpoint, goes so far as to

say (vol. iii. 662) that Christ, in his gigantic elevation above his

own and succeeding ages, "makes the impression of mysterious

loneliness, superhuman miracle, divine creation (den Eindruck

geheimnissvoller Einsamkeit, �bermenschlichen Wunders, g�ttlicher

Sch�pfung)." Weiss and Beyschlag mark a still greater advance, and

triumphantly defend the genuineness of John's Gospel, but make

concessions to criticism in minor details.

C. Chronological.

Kepler: De Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri vero anno natalicio. Frankf.

1606. De vero anno quo aeternus Dei Filius humanam naturam in utero

benedicitae Virginis Mariae assumpsit. Frcf. 1614.

J. A. Bengel: Ordo Temporum. Stuttgart, 1741, and 1770.

Henr. Sanclemente: De Vulgaris Aerae Emendatione libri quatuor.

C. Ideler: Handbuch der Chronologie. Berlin, 1825-226, 2 vols. By the

same: Lehrbuch der Chronologie, 1831

Fr. M�nter: Der Stern der Weisen. Kopenhagen, 1827.

K. Wieseler: Chronolog. Synopse der vier Evangelien. Hamb. 1843. Eng.

trans. by Venables, 2d ed., 1877. Supplemented by his Beitr�ge zur

richtigen W�rdigung der Evangelien. Gotha, 1869.

Henry Browne: Ordo Saeclorum. London, 1844. Comp. his art. Chronology,

in the 3d ed. of Kitto's "Cycl. of Bib. Lit."

Sam. F. Jarvis (historiographer of the Prot. Episc. Ch. in the U. S.,

d. 1851): A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church. N.

York, 1845.

G. Seyffarth: Chronologia sacra, Untersuchungen �ber das Geburtsjahr

des Herrn. Leipzig, 1846.

Rud. Anger: Der Stern der Weisen und das Geburtsjahr Christi. Leipz.

1847. By the same. Zur Chronologie des Lehramtes Christi. Leipz. 1848.

Henry F. Clinton: Fasti Romani. Oxford, 1845-'50, 2 vols.

Thomas Lewin: Essay on the Chronology of the New Testament. Oxford,

1854. The same: Fasti Sacri (from b.c. 70 to a.d. 70). Lond. 1865.

F. Piper: Das Datum der Geburt Christi, in his "Evangel. Kalender" for

1856, pp. 41 sqq.

Henri Lutteroth: Le recensement de Quirinius en Jud�e. Paris, 1865 (134

pp.).

Gust. R�sch: Zum Geburtsjahr Jesu, in the "Jahrb�cher f�r Deutsche

Theol." Gotha, 1866, pp. 3-48.

Ch. Ed. Caspari: Chronologisch-Geographische Einleitung in das Leben J.

C. Hamb. 1869 (263 pp.). English translation by M. J. Evans. Edinburgh

(T. Clark), 1876.

Francis W. Upham: The Wise Men. N. York, 1869 (ch. viii. 145, on

Kepler's Discovery). Star of Our Lord, by the same author. N. Y., 1873.

A. W. Zumpt: Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Leipz. 1869 (306 pp.). He makes

much account of the double governorship of Quirinus, Luke 2:2. Comp.

Pres. Woolsey in Bibl. Sacra, April, 1870.

Herm. Sevin: Chronologie des Lebens Jesu. T�bingen, 2d. ed., 1874.

Florian Riess: (Jesuit): Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Freiburg i. Br. 1880.

Peter Schegg: (R. C.): Das Todesjahr des K�nigs Herodes und das

Todesjahr Jesu Christi. Against Riess. M�nchen, 1882.

Florian Riess: Nochmals das Geburtsjahr Jesu Christi. Reply to Schegg.

Freib. im Br. 1883.

Bernhard Matthias:Die r�mische Grundsteuer und das Vectigalrecht.

Erlangen, 1882.

H. Lecoultre: De censu Quiriniano et anno nativitatis Christi secundum

Lucam evangelistam Dissertatio. Laussanne, 1883.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 15. The Founder of Christianity.

When "the fulness of the time" was come, God sent forth his

only-begotten Son, "the Desire of all nations," to redeem the world

from the curse of sin, and to establish an everlasting kingdom of

truth, love, and peace for all who should believe on his name.

In Jesus Christ a preparatory history both divine and human comes to

its close. In him culminate all the previous revelations of God to Jews

and Gentiles; and in him are fulfilled the deepest desires and efforts

of both Gentiles and Jews for redemption. In his divine nature, as

Logos, he is, according to St. John, the eternal Son of the Father, and

the agent in the creation and preservation of the world, and in all

those preparatory manifestations of God, which were completed in the

incarnation. In his human nature, as Jesus of Nazareth, he is the ripe

fruit of the religions growth of humanity, with an earthly ancestry,

which St. Matthew (the evangelist of Israel) traces to Abraham, the

patriarch of the Jews, and St. Luke (the evangelist of the Gentiles),

to Adam, the father of all men. In him dwells all the fulness of the

Godhead bodily; and in him also is realized the ideal of human virtue

and piety. He is the eternal Truth, and the divine Life itself,

personally joined with our nature; he is our Lord and our God; yet at

the same time flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. In him is solved

the problem of religion, the reconciliation and fellowship of man with

God; and we must expect no clearer revelation of God, nor any higher

religious attainment of man, than is already guaranteed and actualized

in his person.

But as Jesus Christ thus closes all previous history, so, on the other

hand, he begins an endless future. He is the author of a new creation,

the second Adam, the father of regenerate humanity, the head of the

church, "which is his body, the fulness of him, that filleth all in

all." He is the pure fountain of that stream of light and life, which

has since flowed unbroken through nations and ages, and will continue

to flow, till the earth shall be full of his praise, and every tongue

shall confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. The

universal diffusion and absolute dominion of the spirit and life of

Christ will be also the completion of the human race, the end of

history, and the beginning of a glorious eternity.

It is the great and difficult task of the biographer of Jesus to show

how he, by external and internal development, under the conditions of a

particular people, age, and country, came to be in fact what he was in

idea and destination, and what he will continue to be for the faith of

Christendom, the God-Man and Saviour of the world. Being divine from

eternity, he could not become God; but as man he was subject to the

laws of human life and gradual growth. "He advanced in wisdom and

stature, and in favor with God and man." [97] Though he was the Son of

God, "yet he learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and

having been made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation

unto all them that obey him." [98] There is no conflict between the

historical Jesus of Nazareth and the ideal Christ of faith. The full

understanding of his truly human life, by its very perfection and

elevation above all other men before and after him, will necessarily

lead to an admission of his own testimony concerning his divinity.

"Deep strike thy roots, O heavenly Vine,

Within our earthly sod!

Most human and yet most divine,

The flower of man and God!"

Jesus Christ came into the world under Caesar Augustus, the first Roman

emperor, before the death of king Herod the Great, four years before

the traditional date of our Dionysian aera. He was born at Bethlehem of

Judaea, in the royal line of David, from Mary, "the wedded Maid and

Virgin Mother." The world was at peace, and the gates of Janus were

closed for only the second time in the history of Rome. There is a

poetic and moral fitness in this coincidence: it secured a hearing for

the gentle message of peace which might have been drowned in the

passions of war and the clamor of arms. Angels from heaven proclaimed

the good tidings of his birth with songs of praise; Jewish shepherds

from the neighboring fields, and heathen sages from the far east

greeted the newborn king and Saviour with the homage of believing

hearts. Heaven and earth gathered in joyful adoration around the

Christ-child, and the blessing of this event is renewed from year to

year among high and low, rich and poor, old and young, throughout the

civilized world.

The idea of a perfect childhood, sinless and holy, yet truly human and

natural, had never entered the mind of poet or historian before; and

when the legendary fancy of the Apocryphal Gospels attempted to fill

out the chaste silence of the Evangelists, it painted an unnatural

prodigy of a child to whom wild animals, trees, and dumb idols bowed,

and who changed balls of clay into flying birds for the amusement of

his playmates.

The youth of Jesus is veiled in mystery. We know only one, but a very

significant fact. When a boy of twelve years he astonished the doctors

in the temple by his questions and answers, without repelling them by

immodesty and premature wisdom, and filled his parents with reverence

and awe by his absorption in the things of his heavenly Father, and yet

was subject and obedient to them in all things. Here, too, there is a

clear line of distinction between the supernatural miracle of history

and the unnatural prodigy of apocryphal fiction, which represents Jesus

as returning most learned answers to perplexing questions of the

doctors about astronomy, medicine, physics, metaphysics, and

hyperphysics. [99]

The external condition and surroundings of his youth are in sharp

contrast with the amazing result of his public life. He grew up quietly

and unnoticed in a retired Galilean mountain village of proverbial

insignificance, and in a lowly carpenter-shop, far away from the city

of Jerusalem, from schools and libraries, with no means of instruction

save those which were open to the humblest Jew--the care of godly

parents, the beauties of nature, the services of the synagogue, the

secret communion of the soul with God, and the Scriptures of the Old

Testament, which recorded in type and prophecy his own character and

mission. All attempts to derive his doctrine from any of the existing

schools and sects have utterly failed. He never referred to the

traditions of the elders except to oppose them. From the Pharisees and

Sadducees he differed alike, and provoked their deadly hostility. With

the Essenes he never came in contact. He was independent of human

learning and literature, of schools and parties. He taught the world as

one who owed nothing to the world. He came down from heaven and spoke,

out of the fulness of his personal intercourse with the great Jehovah.

He was no scholar, no artist, no orator; yet was he wiser than all

sages, he spake as never man spake, and made an impression on his age

and all ages after him such as no man ever made or can make. Hence the

natural surprise of his countrymen as expressed in the question: "From

whence hath this men these things?" "How knoweth this man letters,

having never learned?" [100]

He began his public ministry in the thirtieth year of his age, after

the Messianic inauguration by the baptism of John, and after the

Messianic probation in the wilderness--the counterpart of the

temptation of the first Adam in Paradise. That ministry lasted only

three years--and yet in these three years is condensed the deepest

meaning of the history of religion. No great life ever passed so

swiftly, so quietly, so humbly, so far removed from the noise and

commotion of the world; and no great life after its close excited such

universal and lasting interest. He was aware of this contrast: he

predicted his deepest humiliation even to the death on the cross, and

the subsequent irresistible attraction of this cross, which may be

witnessed from day to day wherever his name is known. He who could say,

"If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto myself,"

[101] knew more of the course of history and of the human heart than

all the sages and legislators before and after him.

He chose twelve apostles for the Jews and seventy disciples for the

Gentiles, not from among the scholars and leaders, but from among the

illiterate fishermen of Galilee. He had no home, no earthly

possessions, no friends among the mighty and the rich. A few pious

women from time to time filled his purse; and this purse was in the

bands of a thief and a traitor. He associated with publicans and

sinners, to raise them up to a higher and nobler life, and began his

reformation among them lower classes, which were despised and neglected

by the proud: hierarchy of the day. He never courted the favor of the

great, but incurred their hatred and persecution. He never flattered,

the prejudices of the age, but rebuked sin and vice among the high and

the low, aiming his severest words at the blind leaders of the blind,

the self-righteous hypocrites who sat on Moses' seat. He never

encouraged the carnal Messianic hopes of the people, but withdrew when

they wished to make him a king, and declared before the representative

of the Roman empire that his kingdom was not of this world. He

announced to his disciples his own martyrdom, and promised to them in

this life only the same baptism of blood. He went about in Palestine,

often weary of travel, but never weary of his work of love, doing good

to the souls and bodies of men, speaking words of spirit and life, and

working miracles of power and mercy.

He taught the purest doctrine, as a direct revelation of his heavenly

Father, from his own intuition and experience, and with a power and

authority which commanded unconditional trust and obedience. He rose

above the prejudices of party and sect, above the superstitions of his

age and nation. He addressed the naked heart of man and touched the

quick of the conscience. He announced the founding of a spiritual

kingdom which should grow from the smallest seed to a mighty tree, and,

working like leaven from within, should gradually pervade all nations

and countries. This colossal idea, had never entered the imagination of

men, the like of which he held fast even in the darkest hour of

humiliation, before the tribunal of the Jewish high-priest and the

Roman governor, and when suspended as a malefactor on the cross; and

the truth of this idea is illustrated by every page of church history

and in every mission station on earth.

The miracles or signs which accompanied his teaching are supernatural,

but not unnatural, exhibitions of his power over man and nature; no

violations of law, but manifestations of a higher law, the superiority

of mind over matter, the superiority of spirit over mind, the

superiority of divine grace over human nature. They are all of the

highest moral and of a profoundly symbolical significance, prompted by

pure benevolence, and intended for the good of men; in striking

contrast with deceptive juggler works and the useless and absurd

miracles of apocryphal fiction. They were performed without any

ostentation, with such simplicity and ease as to be called simply his

"works." They were the practical proof of his doctrine and the natural

reflex of his wonderful person. The absence of wonderful works in such

a wonderful man would be the greatest wonder.

His doctrine and miracles were sealed by the purest and holiest life in

private and public. He could challenge his bitterest opponents with the

question: "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" well knowing that they

could not point to a single spot.

At last he completed his active obedience by the passive obedience of

suffering in cheerful resignation to the holy will of God. Hated and

persecuted by the Jewish hierarchy, betrayed into their hands by Judas,

accused by false witnesses, condemned by the Sanhedrin, rejected by the

people denied by Peter, but declared innocent by the representative of

the Roman law and justice, surrounded by his weeping mother and

faithful disciples, revealing in those dark hours by word and silence

the gentleness of a lamb and the dignity of a God, praying for his

murderers, dispensing to the penitent thief a place in paradise,

committing his soul to his heavenly Father he died, with the

exclamation: "It is finished!" He died before he had reached the prime

of manhood. The Saviour of the world a youth! He died the shameful

death of the cross the just for the unjust, the innocent for the

guilty, a free self, sacrifice of infinite love, to reconcile the world

unto God. He conquered sin and death on their own ground, and thus

redeemed and sanctified all who are willing to accept his benefits and

to follow his example. He instituted the Lord's Supper, to perpetuate

the memory of his death and the cleansing and atoning power of his

blood till the end of time.

The third day he rose from the grave, the conqueror of death and hell,

the prince of life and resurrection. He repeatedly appeared to his

disciples; he commissioned them to preach the gospel of the

resurrection to every creature; he took possession of his heavenly

throne, and by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit he established the

church, which he has ever since protected, nourished, and comforted,

and with which he has promised to abide, till he shall come again in

glory to judge the quick and the dead.

This is a meagre outline of the story which the evangelists tell us

with childlike simplicity, and yet with more general and lasting effect

than could be produced by the highest art of historical composition.

They modestly abstained from adding their own impressions to the record

of the words and acts of the Master whose "glory they beheld, the glory

as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth."

Who would not shrink from the attempt to describe the moral character

of Jesus, or, having attempted it, be not dissatisfied with the result?

Who can empty the ocean into a bucket? Who (we may ask with Lavater)

"can paint the glory of the rising sun with a charcoal?" No artist's

ideal comes up to the reality in this case, though his ideals may

surpass every other reality. The better and holier a man is, the more

he feels his need of pardon, and how far he falls short of his own

imperfect standard of excellence. But Jesus, with the same nature as

ours and tempted as we are, never yielded to temptation; never had

cause for regretting any thought, word, or action; he never needed

pardon, or conversion, or reform; he never fell out of harmony with his

heavenly Father. His whole life was one unbroken act of

self-consecration to the glory of God and the eternal welfare of his

fellow-men. A catalogue of virtues and graces, however complete, would

give us but a mechanical view. It is the spotless purity and

sinlessness of Jesus as acknowledged by friend and foe; it is the even

harmony and symmetry of all graces, of love to God and love to man, of

dignity and humility of strength and tenderness, of greatness and

simplicity, of self-control and submission, of active and passive

virtue; it is, in one word, the absolute perfection which raises his

character high above the reach of all other men and makes it an

exception to a universal rule, a moral miracle in history. It is idle

to institute comparisons with saints and sages, ancient or modern. Even

the infidel Rousseau was forced to exclaim: "If Socrates lived and died

like a sage, Jesus lived and died like a God." Here is more than the

starry heaven above us, and the moral law within us, which filled the

soul of Kant with ever-growing reverence and awe. Here is the holy of

holies of humanity, here is the very gate of heaven.

Going so far in admitting the human perfection of Christ--and how can

the historian do otherwise?--we are driven a step farther, to the

acknowledgment of his amazing claims, which must either be true, or

else destroy all foundation for admiration and reverence in which he is

universally held. It is impossible to construct a life of Christ

without admitting its supernatural and miraculous character.

The divinity of Christ, and his whole mission as Redeemer, is an

article of faith, and, as such, above logical or mathematical

demonstration. The incarnation or the union of the infinite divinity

and finite humanity in one person is indeed the mystery of mysteries.

"What can be more glorious than God? What more vile than flesh? What

more wonderful than God in the flesh?" [102] Yet aside from all

dogmatizing which lies outside of the province of the historian, the

divinity of Christ has a self-evidencing power which forces itself

irresistibly upon the reflecting mind and historical inquirer; while

the denial of it makes his person an inexplicable enigma.

It is inseparable from his own express testimony respecting himself, as

it appears in every Gospel, with but a slight difference of degree

between the Synoptists and St. John. Only ponder over it! He claims to

be the long-promised Messiah who fulfilled the law and the prophets,

the founder and lawgiver of a new and universal kingdom, the light of

the world, the teacher of all nations and ages, from whose authority

there is no appeal. He claims to have come into this world for the

purpose to save the world from sin--which no merely human being can

possibly do. He claims the power to forgive sins on earth; he

frequently exercised that power, and it was for the sins of mankind, as

he foretold, that he shed his own blood. He invites all men to follow

him, and promises peace and life eternal to every one that believes in

him. He claims pre-existence before Abraham and the world, divine

names, attributes, and worship. He disposes from the cross of places in

Paradise. In directing his disciples to baptize all nations, he

coordinates himself with the eternal Father and the Divine Spirit, and

promises to be with them to the consummation of the world and to come

again in glory as the Judge of all men. He, the humblest and meekest of

men, makes these astounding pretensions in the most easy and natural

way; he never falters, never apologizes, never explains; he proclaims

them as self-evident truths. We read them again and again, and never

feel any incongruity nor think of arrogance and presumption.

And yet this testimony, if not true, must be downright blasphemy or

madness. The former hypothesis cannot stand a moment before the moral

purity and dignity of Jesus, revealed in his every word and work, and

acknowledged by universal consent. Self-deception in a matter so

momentous, and with an intellect in all respects so clear and so sound,

is equally out of the question. How could He be an enthusiast or a

madman who never lost the even balance of his mind, who sailed serenely

over all the troubles and persecutions, as the sun above the clouds,

who always returned the wisest answer to tempting questions, who calmly

and deliberately predicted his death on the cross, his resurrection on

the third day, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the founding of his

Church, the destruction of Jerusalem--predictions which have been

literally fulfilled? A character so original, so complete, so uniformly

consistent, so perfect, so human and yet so high above all human

greatness, can be neither a fraud nor a fiction. The poet, as has been

well said, would in this case be greater than the hero. It would take

more than a Jesus to invent a Jesus.

We are shut up then to the recognition of the divinity of Christ; and

reason itself must bow in silent awe before the tremendous word: "I and

the Father are one!" and respond with skeptical Thomas: "My Lord and my

God!"

This conclusion is confirmed by the effects of the manifestation of

Jesus, which far transcend all merely human capacity and power. The

history of Christianity, with its countless fruits of a higher and

purer life of truth and love than was ever known before or is now known

outside of its influence, is a continuous commentary on the life of

Christ, and testifies on every page to the inspiration of his holy

example. His power is felt on every Lord's Day from ten thousand

pulpits, in the palaces of kings and the huts of beggars, in

universities and colleges, in every school where the sermon on the

Mount is read, in prisons, in almshouses, in orphan asylums, as well as

in happy homes, in learned works and simple tracts in endless

succession. If this history of ours has any value at all, it is a new

evidence that Christ is the light and life of a fallen world.

And there is no sign that his power is waning. His kingdom is more

widely spread than ever before, and has the fairest prospect of final

triumph in all the earth. Napoleon at St. Helena is reported to have

been struck with the reflection that millions are now ready to die for

the crucified Nazarene who founded a spiritual empire by love, while no

one would die for Alexander, or Caesar, or himself, who founded

temporal empires by force. He saw in this contrast a convincing

argument for the divinity of Christ, saying: "I know men, and I tell

you, Christ was not a man. Everything about Christ astonishes me. His

spirit overwhelms and confounds me. There is no comparison between him

and any other being. He stands single and alone. [103] And Goethe,

another commanding genius, of very different character, but equally

above suspicion of partiality for religion, looking in the last years

of his life over the vast field of history, was constrained to confess

that "if ever the Divine appeared on earth, it was in the Person of

Christ," and that "the human mind, no matter how far it may advance in

every other department, will never transcend the height and moral

culture of Christianity as it shines and glows in the Gospels."

The rationalistic, mythical, and legendary attempts to explain the life

of Christ on purely human and natural grounds, and to resolve the

miraculous elements either into common events, or into innocent

fictions, split on the rock of Christ's character and testimony. The

ablest of the infidel biographers of Jesus now profess the profoundest

regard for his character, and laud him as the greatest sage and saint

that ever appeared on earth. But, by rejecting his testimony concerning

his divine origin and mission, they turn him into a liar; and, by

rejecting the miracle of the resurrection, they make the great fact of

Christianity a stream without a source, a house without a foundation,

an effect without a cause. Denying the physical miracles, they expect

us to believe even greater psychological miracles; yea, they substitute

for the supernatural miracle of history an unnatural prodigy and

incredible absurdity of their imagination. They moreover refute and

supersede each other. The history of error in the nineteenth century is

a history of self-destruction. A hypothesis was scarcely matured before

another was invented and substituted, to meet the same fate in its

turn; while the old truth and faith of Christendom remains unshaken,

and marches on in its peaceful conquest against sin and error

Truly, Jesus Christ, the Christ of the Gospels, the Christ of history,

the crucified and risen Christ, the divine-human Christ, is the most

real, the most certain, the most blessed of all facts. And this fact is

an ever-present and growing power which pervades the church and

conquers the world, and is its own best evidence, as the sun shining in

the heavens. This fact is the only solution of the terrible mystery of

sin and death, the only inspiration to a holy life of love to God and

man, and only guide to happiness and peace. Systems of human wisdom

will come and go, kingdoms and empires will rise and fall, but for all

time to come Christ will remain "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[97] Luke 2:52.

[98] Hebr. 5:8, 9.

[99] See Cowper, l.c. pp. 212-214.

[100] Mark 6:2, 3; Matt. 13:54-56; John 7:15.

[101] John 12:32.

[102] Augustine: "Deus; quid gloriosus? Caro; quid vilius? Deus in

carne; quid mirabilius?"

[103] On the testimony of Napoleon to the divinity of Christ see the

letters of Bersier and Lutteroth appended to the twelfth ed. of my book

on the Person of Christ (1882), p. 284, and pp. 219 sqq. Napoleon is

reported to have asked the poet Wieland at a court-ball in Weimar,

during the Congress of Erfurt, whether he doubted that Jesus ever

lived; to which Wieland promptly and emphatically replied in the

negative, adding that with equal right a thousand years hence men might

deny the existence of Napoleon or the battle of Jena. The emperor

smiled and said, tr�s-bien! The question was designed not to express

doubt, but to test the poet's faith. So Dr. Hase reports from the mouth

of Chancellor M�ller, who heard the conversation. Geschichte Jesu, p.

9.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

�16. Chronology of the Life of Christ.

See the Lit. in �14, p. 98, especially Browne, Wieseler, Zumpt,

Andrews, and Keim

We briefly consider the chronological dates of the life of Christ.

I. The Year of the Nativity.--This must be ascertained by historical

and chronological research, since there is no certain and harmonious

tradition on the subject. Our Christians aera, which was introduced by

the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century, and came into

general use two centuries later, during the reign of Charlemagne, puts

the Nativity Dec. 25, 754 Anno Urbis, that is, after the founding of

the city of Rome. [104] Nearly all chronologers agree that this is

wrong by at least four years. Christ was born a.u. 750 (or b.c. 4), if

not earlier.

This is evident from the following chronological hints in the Gospels,

as compared with and confirmed by Josephus and contemporary writers,

and by astronomical calculations.

The Death of Herod.

(1) According to Matthew 2:1 (Comp. Luke 1:5, 26), Christ was born "in

the days of king Herod" I. or the Great, who died, according to

Josephus, at Jericho, a.u. 750, just before the Passover, being nearly

seventy years of age, after a reign of thirty-seven years [105] This

date has been verified by the astronomical calculation of the eclipse

of the moon, which took place March 13, a.u. 750, a few days before

Herod's death. [106] Allowing two months or more for the events between

the birth of Christ and the murder of the Innocents by Herod, the

Nativity must be put back at least to February or January, a.u. 750 (or

b.c. 4), if not earlier.

Some infer from the slaughter of the male children in Bethlehem, "from

two years old and under," [107] that Christ must have been born two

years before Herod's death; but he counted from the time when the star

was first seen by the Magi (Matt. 2:7), and wished to make sure of his

object. There is no good reason to doubt the fact itself, and the

flight of the holy family to Egypt, which is inseparably connected with

it. For, although the horrible deed is ignored by Josephus, it is in

keeping with the well-known cruelty of Herod, who from jealousy

murdered Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his favorite wife, Mariamne; then

Mariamne herself, to whom he was passionately attached; her two sons,

Alexander and Aristobulus, and, only five days before his death, his

oldest son, Antipater; and who ordered all the nobles assembled around

him in his last moments to be executed after his decease, so that at

least his death might be attended by universal mourning. For such a

monster the murder of one or two dozen infants in a little town [108]

was a very small matter, which might easily have been overlooked, or,

owing to its connection with the Messiah, purposely ignored by the

Jewish historian. But a confused remembrance of it is preserved in the

anecdote related by Macrobius (a Roman grammarian and probably a

heathen, about a.d. 410), that Augustus, on hearing of Herod's murder

of "boys under two years" and of his own son, remarked "that it was

better to be Herod's swine than his son." [109] The cruel persecution

of Herod and the flight into Egypt were a significant sign of the

experience of the early church, and a source of comfort in every period

of martyrdom.

The Star of the Magi.

(2) Another chronological hint of Matthew 2:1-4, 9, which has been

verified by astronomy, is the Star of the Wise Men, which appeared

before the death of Herod, and which would naturally attract the

attention of the astrological sages of the East, in connection with the

expectation of the advent of a great king among the Jews. Such a belief

naturally arose from Balaam's prophecy of "the star that was to rise

out of Jacob" (Num. 24:17), and from the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah

and Daniel, and widely prevailed in the East since the dispersion of

the Jews. [110]

The older interpretation of that star made it either a passing meteor,

or a strictly miraculous phenomenon, which lies beyond astronomical

calculation, and was perhaps visible to the Magi alone. But Providence

usually works through natural agencies, and that God did so in this

case is made at least very probable by a remarkable discovery in

astronomy. The great and devout Kepler observed in the years 1603 and

1604 a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which was made more rare and

luminous by the addition of Mars in the month of March, 1604. In the

autumn of the same year (Oct. 10) he observed near the planets Saturn,

Jupiter and Mars a new (fixed) star of uncommon brilliancy, which

appeared "in triumphal pomp, like, some all-powerful monarch on a visit

to the metropolis of his realm." It was blazing and glittering "like

the most beautiful and glorious torch ever seen when driven by a strong

wind," and seemed to him to be "an exceedingly wonderful work of God."

[111] His genius perceived that this phenomenon must lead to the

determination of the year of Christ's birth, and by careful calculation

he ascertained that a similar conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, with

the later addition of Mars, and probably some, extraordinary star, took

place repeatedly a.u. 747 and 748 in the sign of the Pisces.

It is worthy of note that Jewish astrologers ascribe a special

signification to the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in

the sign of the Pisces, and connect it with the advent of the Messiah.

[112]

The discovery of Kepler was almost forgotten till the nineteenth

century, when it was independently confirmed by several eminent

astronomers, Schubert of Petersburg, Ideler and Encke of Berlin, and

Pritchard of London. It is pronounced by Pritchard to be "as certain as

any celestial phenomenon of ancient date." It certainly makes the

pilgrimage of the Magi to Jerusalem and Bethlehem more intelligible.

"The star of astrology has thus become a torch of chronology" (as

Ideler says), and an argument for the truthfulness of the first Gospel.

[113]

It is objected that Matthew seems to mean a single star (aster, comp.

Matt. 2:9) rather than a combination of stars (astron). Hence Dr.

Wieseler supplements the calculation of Kepler and Ideler by calling to

aid a single comet which appeared from February to April, a.u. 750,

according to the Chinese astronomical tables, which Pingr� and Humboldt

acknowledge as historical. But this is rather far-fetched and hardly

necessary; for that extraordinary star described by Kepler, or Jupiter

at its most luminous appearance, as described by Pritchard, in that

memorable conjunction, would sufficiently answer the description of a

single star by Matthew, which must at all events not be pressed too

literally; for the language of Scripture on the heavenly bodies is not

scientific, but phenomenal and popular. God condescended to the

astrological faith of the Magi, and probably made also an internal

revelation to them before, as well as after the appearance of the star

(comp. 2:12).

If we accept the result of these calculations of astronomers we are

brought to within two years of the year of the Nativity, namely,

between a.u. 748 (Kepler) and 750 (Wieseler). The difference arises, of

course, from the uncertainty of the time of departure and the length of

the journey of the Magi.

As this astronomical argument is often very carelessly and erroneously

stated, and as the works of Kepler and Ideler are not easy of access,

at least in America (I found them in the Astor Library), I may be

permitted to state the case more at length. John Kepler wrote three

treatises on the year of Christ's birth, two in Latin (1606 and 1614),

one in German (1613), in which he discusses with remarkable learning

the various passages and facts bearing on that subject. They are

reprinted in Dr. Ch. Frisch's edition of his Opera Omnia (Frcf. et

Erlang. 1858-'70, 8 vols.), vol. IV. pp. 175 sqq.; 201 sqq.; 279 sqq.

His astronomical observations on the constellation which led him to

this investigation are fully described in his treatises De Stella Nova

in Pede Serpentarii (Opera, vol. II. 575 sqq.), and Phenomenon

singulare seu Mercurius in Sole (ibid. II. 801 sqq.). Prof. Ideler, who

was himself an astronomer and chronologist, in his Handbuch der

mathemat. und technischen Chronologie (Berlin, 1826, vol. III. 400

sqq.), gives the following clear summary of Kepler's and of his own

observations:

"It is usually supposed that the star of the Magi was, if not a fiction

of the imagination, some meteor which arose accidentally, or ad hoc. We

will belong neither to the unbelievers nor the hyper-believers (weder

zu den Ungl�ubigen noch zu den Uebergl�ubigen), and regard this starry

phenomenon with Kepler to be real and well ascertainable by

calculation, namely, as a conjunction of the Planets Jupiter and

Saturn. That Matthew speaks only of a star (aster), not a constellation

(astron), need not trouble us, for the two words are not unfrequently

confounded. The just named great astronomer, who was well acquainted

with the astrology of his and former times, and who used it

occasionally as a means for commending astronomy to the attention and

respect of the laity, first conceived this idea when he observed the

conjunction of the two planets mentioned at the close of the year 1603.

It took place Dec. 17. In the spring following Mars joined their

company, and in autumn 1604 still another star, one of those fixed

star-like bodies (einer jener fixstern-artigen K�rper) which grow to a

considerable degree of brightness, and then gradually disappear without

leaving a trace behind. This star stood near the two planets at the

eastern foot of Serpentarius (Schlangentr�ger), and appeared when last

seen as a star of the first magnitude with uncommon splendor. From

month to month it waned in brightness, and at the end of 1605 was

withdrawn from the eyes which at that time could not yet be aided by

good optical instruments. Kepler wrote a special work on this Stella

nova in pede Serpentarii (Prague, 1606), and there he first set forth

the view that the star of the Magi consisted in a conjunction of

Saturn, Jupiter and some other extraordinary star, the nature of which

he does not explain more fully." Ideler then goes on to report (p. 404)

that Kepler, with the imperfect tables at his disposal, discovered the

same conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn a.u. 747 in June, August and

December, in the sign of the Pisces; in the next year, February and

March, Mars was added, and probably another extraordinary star, which

must have excited the astrologers of Chaldaea to the highest degree.

They probably saw the new star first, and then the constellation.

Dr. M�nter, bishop of Seeland, in 1821 directed new attention to this

remarkable discovery, and also to the rabbinical commentary of

Abarbanel on Daniel, according to which the Jewish astrologers expected

a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the

Pisces before the advent of the Messiah, and asked the astronomers to

reinvestigate this point. Since then Schubert of Petersburg (1823),

Ideler and Encke of Berlin (1826 and 1830), and more recently Pritchard

of London, have verified Kepler's calculations.

Ideler describes the result of his calculation (vol. II. 405) thus: I

have made the calculation with every care .... The results are

sufficiently remarkable. Both planets [Jupiter and Saturn] came in

conjunction for the first time a.u. 747, May 20, in the 20th degree of

Pisces. They stood then on the heaven before sunrise and were only one

degree apart. Jupiter passed Saturn to the north. In the middle of

September both came in opposition to the sun at midnight in the south.

The difference in longitude was one degree and a half. Both were

retrograde and again approached each other. On the 27th of October a

second conjunction took place in the sixteenth degree of the Pisces,

and on the 12th of November, when Jupiter moved again eastward, a third

in the fifteenth degree of the same sign. In the last two

constellations also the difference in longitude was only about one

degree, so that to a weak eye both planets might appear as one star. If

the Jewish astrologers attached great expectations to conjunction of

the two upper planets in the sign of the Pisces, this one must above

all have appeared to them as most significant."

In his shorter Lehrbuch der Chronologie, which appeared Berlin 1831 in

one vol., pp. 424-431, Ideler gives substantially the same account

somewhat abridged, but with slight changes of the figures on the basis

of a new calculation with still better tables made by the celebrated

astronomer Encke, who puts the first conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn

a.u. 747, May 29th, the second Sept. 30th, the third Dec. 5th. See the

full table of Encke, p. 429.

We supplement this account by an extract from an article on the Star of

the Wise Men by the Rev. Charles Pritchard, M.A., Hon. Secretary of the

Royal Astronomical Society, who made a fresh calculation of the

constellation in a.u. 747, from May to December, and published the

results in Memoirs of Royal Ast. Society, vol. xxv., and in Smith's

"Bible Dictionary," p. 3108, Am. ed., where he says: "At that time [end

of Sept., b.c. 7] there can be no doubt Jupiter would present to

astronomers, especially in so clear an atmosphere, a magnificent

spectacle. It was then at its most brilliant apparition, for it was at

its nearest approach both to the sun and to the earth. Not far from it

would be seen its duller and much less conspicuous companion, Saturn.

This glorious spectacle continued almost unaltered for several days,

when the planets again slowly separated, then came to a halt, when, by

reassuming a direct motion, Jupiter again approached to a conjunction

for a third time with Saturn, just as the Magi may be supposed to have

entered the Holy City. And, to complete the fascination of the tale,

about an hour and a half after sunset, the two planets might be seen

from Jerusalem, hanging as it were in the meridian, and suspended over

Bethlehem in the distance. These celestial phenomena thus described

are, it will be seen, beyond the reach of question, and at the first

impression they assuredly appear to fulfil the conditions of the Star

of the Magi." If Pritchard, nevertheless, rejects the identity of the

constellation with the single star of Matthew, it is because of a too

literal understanding of Matthew's language, that the star proegen

autousand estathe epano, which would make it miraculous in either case.

The Fifteenth Year of Tiberius.

(3) Luke 3:1, 23, gives us an important and evidently careful

indication of the reigning powers at the time when John the Baptist and

Christ entered upon their public ministry, which, according to

Levitical custom, was at the age of thirty. [114] John the Baptist

began his ministry "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,"

[115] and Jesus, who was only about six months younger than John (comp.

Luke 1:5, 26), was baptized and began to teach when he was "about

thirty years of age." [116] Tiberius began to reign jointly with

Augustus, as "collega imperii," a.u. 764 (or, at all events, in the

beginning of 765), and independently, Aug. 19, a.u. 767 (a.d. 14);

consequently, the fifteenth year of his reign was either a.u. 779, if

we count from the joint reign (as Luke probably did, using the more

general term hegemoniarather than monarchiaor basileia [117] or 782, if

we reckon from the independent reign (as was the usual Roman method).

[118]

Now, if we reckon back thirty years from a.u. 779 or 782, we come to

a.u. 749 or 752 as the year of John's birth, which preceded that of

Christ about six months. The former date (749) is undoubtedly to be

preferred, and agrees with Luke's own statement that Christ was born

under Herod (Luke 1:5, 26). [119]

Dionysius probably (for we have no certainty on the subject) calculated

from the independent reign of Tiberius; but even that would not bring

us to 754, and would involve Luke in contradiction with Matthew and

with himself. [120]

The other dates in Luke 3:1 generally agree with this result, but are

less definite. Pontius Pilate was ten years governor of Judaea, from

a.d. 26 to 36. Herod Antipas was deposed by Caligula, a.d. 39. Philip,

his brother, died a.d. 34. Consequently, Christ must have died before

a.d. 34, at an age of thirty-three, if we allow three years for his

public ministry.

The Census of Quirinius.

(4) The Census of Quirinius Luke 2:2. [121] Luke gives us another

chronological date by the incidental remark that Christ was born about

the time of that census or enrolment, which was ordered by Caesar

Augustus, and which was "the first made when Quirinius (Cyrenius) was

governor [enrolment] of Syria." [122] He mentions this fact as the

reason for the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem. The journey of

Mary makes no difficulty, for (aside from the intrinsic propriety of

his company for protection) all women over twelve years of age (and

slaves also) were subject in the Roman empire to a head-tax, as well as

men over fourteen) till the age of sixty-five. [123] There is some

significance in the coincidence of the birth of the King of Israel with

the deepest humiliation of Israel. and its incorporation in the great

historical empire of Rome.

But the statement of Luke seems to be in direct conflict with the fact

that the governorship and census of Quirinius began a.d. 6, i.e., ten

years after the birth of Christ [124] Hence many artificial

interpretations. [125] But this difficulty is now, if not entirely

removed, at least greatly diminished by archaeological and philological

research independent of theology. It has been proved almost to a

demonstration by Bergmann, Mommsen, and especially by Zumpt, that

Quirinius was twice governor of Syria--first, a.u. 750 to 753, or b.c.

4 to 1 (when there happens to be a gap in our list of governors of

Syria), and again, a.u. 760-765 (a.d. 6-11). This double legation is

based upon a passage in Tacitus, [126] and confirmed by an old

monumental inscription discovered between the Villa Hadriani and the

Via Tiburtina. [127] Hence Luke might very properly call the census

about the time of Christ's birth "the first" (prote) under Quirinius,

to distinguish it from the second and better known, which he himself

mentions in his second treatise on the history of the origin of

Christianity (Acts 5:37). Perhaps the experience of Quirinius as the

superintendent of the first census was the reason why he was sent to

Syria a second time for the same purpose.

There still remain, however, three difficulties not easily solved: (a)

Quirinius cannot have been governor of Syria before autumn a.u. 750

(b.c. 4), several months after Herod's death (which occurred in March,

750), and consequently after Christ's birth; for we know from coins

that Quintilius Varus was governor from a.u. 748 to 750 (b.c. 6-4), and

left his post after the death of Herod. [128] (b) A census during the

first governorship of Quirinius is nowhere mentioned but in Luke. (c) A

Syrian governor could not well carry out a census in Judaea during the

lifetime of Herod, before it was made a Roman province (i.e., a.u.

759).

In reply to these objections we may say: (a) Luke did not intend to

give an exact, but only an approximate chronological statement, and may

have connected the census with the well-known name of Quirinius because

be completed it, although it was begun under a previous administration.

(b) Augustus ordered several census populi between a.u. 726 and 767,

partly for taxation, partly for military and statistical purposes;

[129] and, as a good statesman and financier, he himself prepared a

rationarium or breviarium totius imperii, that is, a list of all the

resources of the empire, which was read, after his death, in the

Senate. [130] (c) Herod was only a tributary king (rex sosius), who

could exercise no act of sovereignty without authority from the

emperor. Judaea was subject to taxation from the time of Pompey, and it

seems not to have ceased with the accession of Herod. Moreover, towards

the end of his life he lost the favor of Augustus, who wrote him in

anger that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he would now

use him as his subject." [131]

It cannot, indeed, be proven by direct testimony of Josephus or the

Roman historians, that Augustus issued a decree for a universal census,

embracing all the Provinces ("that all the world," i.e., the Roman

world, "should be taxed," Luke 2:1), but it is in itself by no means

improbable, and was necessary to enable him to prepare his breviarium

totius imperii. [132] In the nature of the case, it would take several

years to carry out such a decree, and its execution in the provinces

would be modified according to national customs. Zumpt assumes that

Sentius Saturninus, [133] who was sent as governor to Syria a.u. 746

(b.c. 9), and remained there till 749 (b.c. 6), began a census in

Judaea with a view to substitute a head tax in money for the former

customary tribute in produce; that his successor, Quintilius Varus

(b.c. 6-4), continued it, and that Quirinius (b.c. 4) completed the

census. This would explain the confident statement of Tertullian, which

he must have derived from some good source, that enrolments were held

under Augustus by Sentius Saturninus in Judaea. [134] Another, but less

probable view is that Quirinius was sent to the East as special

commissioner for the census during the administration of his

predecessor. In either case Luke might call the census "the first"

under Quirinius, considering that he finished the census for personal

taxation or registration according to the Jewish custom of family

registers, and that afterwards he alone executed the second census for

the taxation of property according to the Roman fashion.

The problem is not quite solved; but the establishment of the fact that

Quirinius was prominently connected with the Roman government in the

East about the time of the Nativity, is a considerable step towards the

solution, and encourages the hope of a still better solution in the

future. [135]

The Forty-Six Years of Building of Herod's Temple.

(5) St. John, 2:20, furnishes us a date in the remark of the Jews, in

the first year of Christ's ministry: "Forty and six years was this

temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?"

We learn from Josephus that Herod began the reconstruction of the

temple in Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of his reign, i.e., a.u.

732, if we reckon from his appointment by the Romans (714), or a.u.

735, if we reckon from the death of Antigonus and the conquest of

Jerusalem (717). [136] The latter is the correct view; otherwise

Josephus would contradict himself, since, in another passage, he dates

the building from the fifteenth year, of Herod's reign. [137] Adding

forty-six years to 735, we have the year a.u. 781 (a.d. 27) for the

first year of Christ's ministry; and deducting thirty and a half or

thirty-one years from 781, we come back to a.u. 750 (b.c. 4) as the

year of the Nativity.

The Time of the Crucifixion.

(6) Christ was crucified under the consulate of the two Gemini (i.e.,

C. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius Geminus), who were consuls a.u. 782

to 783 (a.d. 28 to 29). This statement is made by Tertullian, in

connection with an elaborate calculation of the time of Christ's birth

and passion from the seventy weeks of Daniel. [138] He may possibly

have derived it from some public record in Rome. He erred in

identifying the year of Christ's passion with the first year of his

ministry (the 15th year of Tiberius, Luke 3:1). Allowing, as we must,

two or three years for his public ministry, and thirty-three years for

his life, we reach the year 750 or 749 as the year of the Nativity.

Thus we arrive from these various incidental notices of three

Evangelists, and the statement of Tertullian essentially at the same

conclusion, which contributes its share towards establishing the

credibility of the gospel history against the mythical theory. Yet in

the absence of a precise date, and in view of uncertainties in

calculation, there is still room for difference of opinion between the

years a.u. 747 (b.c. 7), as the earliest, and a.u. 750 (b.c. 4), as the

latest, possible date for the year of Christ's birth. The French

Benedictines, Sanclemente, M�nter, Wurm, Ebrard, Jarvis, Alford, Jos.

A. Alexander, Zumpt, Keim, decide for a.u. 747; Kepler (reckoning from

the conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn and Mars in that year), Lardner,

Ideler, Ewald, for 748; Petavius, Ussher, Tillemont, Browne, Angus,

Robinson, Andrews, McClellan, for 749; Bengel, Wieseler, Lange,

Lichtenstein, Anger, Greswell, Ellicott, Plumptre, Merivale, for 750.

II. The Day of the Nativity.--The only indication of the season of our

Saviour's birth is the fact that the Shepherds were watching their

flocks in the field at that time, Luke 2:8. This fact points to any

other season rather than winter, and is therefore not favorable to the

traditional date, though not conclusive against it. The time of

pasturing in Palestine (which has but two seasons, the dry and the wet,

or summer and winter) begins, according to the Talmudists, in March,

and lasts till November, when the herds are brought in from the fields,

and kept under shelter till the close of February. But this refers

chiefly to pastures in the wilderness, far away from towns and

villages, [139] and admits of frequent exceptions in the close

neighborhood of towns, according to the character of the season. A

succession of bright days in December and January is of frequent

occurrence in the East, as in Western countries. Tobler, an experienced

traveller in the Holy Land, says that in Bethlehem the weather about

Christmas is favorable to the feeding of flocks and often most

beautiful. On the other hand strong and cold winds often prevail in

April, and. explain the fire mentioned John 18:18.

No certain conclusion can be drawn from the journey of Joseph and Mary

to Bethlehem, and to Egypt; nor from the journey of the Magi. As a rule

February, is the best time for travelling in Egypt, March the best in

the Sinaitic Peninsula, April and May, and next to it autumn, the best

in Palestine; but necessity knows no rule.

The ancient tradition is of no account here, as it varied down to the

fourth century. Clement of Alexandria relates that some regarded the

25th Pachon. (i.e. May 20), others the 24th or 25th Pharmuthi (April 19

or 20), as the day of Nativity.

(1) The traditional 25th of December is defended by Jerome, Chrysostom,

Baronius, Lamy, Ussher, Petavius, Bengel (Ideler), Seyffarth and

Jarvis. It has no historical authority beyond the fourth century, when

the Christmas festival was introduced first in Rome (before a.d. 360),

on the basis of several Roman festivals (the Saturnalia, Sigillaria,

Juvenalia, Brumalia, or Dies natalis Invicti Solis), which were held in

the latter part of December in commemoration of the golden age of

liberty and equality, and in honor of the sun, who in the winter

solstice is, as it were, born anew and begins his conquering march.

This phenomenon in nature was regarded as an appropriate symbol of the

appearance of the Sun of Righteousness dispelling the long night of sin

and error. For the same reason the summer solstice (June 24) was

afterwards selected for the festival of John the Baptist, as the

fittest reminder of his own humble self-estimate that he must decrease,

while Christ must increase (John 3:30). Accordingly the 25th of March

was chosen for the commemoration of the Annunciation of the Virgin

Mary, and the 24th of September for that of the conception of

Elizabeth. [140]

(2) The 6th of January has in its favor an older tradition (according

to Epiphanius and Cassianus), and is sustained by Eusebius. It was

celebrated in the East from the third century as the feast of the

Epiphany, in commemoration of the Nativity as well as of Christ's

baptism, and afterwards of his manifestation to the Gentiles

(represented by the Magi).

(3) Other writers have selected some day in February (Hug, Wieseler,

Ellicott), or March (Paulus, Winer), or April (Greswell), or August

(Lewin), or September (Lightfoot, who assumes, on chronological

grounds, that Christ was born on the feast of Tabernacles, as he died

on the Passover and sent the Spirit on Pentecost), or October

(Newcome). Lardner puts the birth between the middle of August and the

middle of November; Browne December 8; Lichtenstein in summer; Robinson

leaves it altogether uncertain.

III. The Duration of Christ's Life.--This is now generally confined to

thirty-two or three years. The difference of one or two years arises

from the different views on the length of his public ministry. Christ

died and rose again in the full vigor of early manhood and so continues

to live in the memory of the church. The decline and weakness of old

age is inconsistent with his position as the Renovator and Saviour of

mankind.

Irenaeus, otherwise (as a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of

St. John) the most trustworthy witness of apostolic traditions among

the fathers, held the untenable opinion that Christ attained to the

ripe age of forty or fifty years and taught over ten years (beginning

with the thirtieth), and that he thus passed through all the stages of

human life, to save and sanctify "old men" as well as "infants and

children and boys and youths." [141] He appeals for this view to

tradition dating from St. John [142] and supports it by an unwarranted

inference from the loose conjecture of the Jews when, surprised at the

claim of Jesus to have existed before Abraham was born, they asked him:

"Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" [143] A

similar inference from another passage, where the Jews speak of the

"forty-six years" since the temple of Herod began to be constructed,

while Christ spoke of the, temple his body (John 2:20), is of course

still less conclusive.

IV. Duration of Christ's Public Ministry.--It began with the baptism by

John and ended with the crucifixion. About the length of the

intervening time there are (besides the isolated and decidedly

erroneous view of Irenaeus) three theories, allowing respectively one,

two, or three years and a few months, and designated as the bipaschal,

tripaschal, and quadripaschal schemes, according to the number of

Passovers. The Synoptists mention only the last Passover during the

public ministry of our Lord, at which he was crucified, but they

intimate that he was in Judaea more than once. [144] John certainly

mentions three Passovers, two of which (the first and the last) Christ

did attend, [145] and perhaps a fourth, which he also attended. [146]

(1) The bipaschal scheme confines the public ministry to one year and a

few weeks or months. This was first held by the Gnostic sect of the

Valentinians (who connected it with their fancy about thirty aeons),

and by several fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian) and perhaps

by Origen and Augustine (who express themselves doubtfully). The chief

argument of the fathers and those harmonists who follow them, is

derived from the prophecy of "the acceptable year of the Lord," as

quoted by Christ, [147] and from the typical meaning of the paschal

lamb, which must be of "one year" and without blemish. [148] Far more

important is the argument drawn by some modern critics from the silence

of the synoptical Gospels concerning the other Passovers. [149] But

this silence is not in itself conclusive, and must yield to the

positive testimony of John, which cannot be conformed to the bipaschal

scheme. [150] Moreover, it is simply impossible to crowd the events of

Christ's life, the training of the Twelve, and the development of the

hostility of the Jews, into one short year.

(2) The choice therefore lies between the tripaschal and the

quadripaschal schemes. The decision depends chiefly on the

interpretation of the unnamed "feast of the Jews," John 5:1, whether it

was a Passover, or another feast; and this again depends much (though

not exclusively) on a difference of reading (the feast, or a feast).

[151] The parable of the barren fig-tree, which represents the Jewish

people, has been used as an argument in favor of a three years'

ministry: "Behold, these three year I come seeking fruit on this

fig-tree, and find none." [152] The three years are certainly

significant; but according to Jewish reckoning two and a half years

would be called three years. More remote is the reference to the

prophetic announcement of Daniel 9:27: "And he shall confirm the

covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall

cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." The tripaschal theory

is more easily reconciled with the synoptical Gospels, while the

quadripaschal theory leaves more room for arranging the discourses and

miracles of our Lord, and has been adopted by the majority of

harmonists. [153]

But even if we extend the public ministry to three years, it presents a

disproportion between duration and effect without a parallel in history

and inexplicable on purely natural grounds. In the language of an

impartial historian, "the simple record of three short years of active

life has done more to regenerate and soften mankind than all the

disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists.

This has indeed been the wellspring of whatever is best and purest in

the Christian life." [154]

V. The Date of the Lord's Death.--The day of the week on which Christ

suffered on the cross was a Friday, [155] during the week of the

Passover, in the month of Nisan, which was the first of the twelve

lunar months of the Jewish year, and included the vernal equinox. But

the question is whether this Friday was the 14th, or the 15th of Nisan,

that is, the day before the feast or the first day of the feast, which

lasted a week. The Synoptical Gospels clearly decide for the 15th, for

they all say (independently) that our Lord partook of the paschal

supper on the legal day, called the "first day of unleavened bread,"

[156] that is on the evening of the 14th, or rather at the beginning of

the 15th (the paschal lambs being slain "between the two evenings,"

i.e. before and after sunset, between 3 and 5 p.m. of the 14th). [157]

John, on the other hand, seems at first sight to point to the 14th, so

that the death of our Lord would very nearly have coincided with the

slaying of the paschal lamb. [158] But the three or four passages which

look in that direction can, and on closer examination, must be

harmonized with the Synoptical statement, which admits only of one

natural interpretation. [159] It seems strange, indeed, that, the

Jewish priests should have matured their bloody counsel in the solemn

night of the Passover, and urged a crucifixion on a great festival, but

it agrees, with the satanic wickedness of their crime. [160] Moreover

it is on the other hand equally difficult to explain that they,

together with the people, should have remained about the cross till

late in the afternoon of the fourteenth, when, according to the law,

they were to kill the paschal lamb and prepare for the feast; and that

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, with the pious women, should have

buried the body of Jesus and so incurred defilement at that solemn

hour.

The view here advocated is strengthened by astronomical calculation,

which shows that in a.d. 30 the probable year of the crucifixion, the

15th of Nisan actually fell on a Friday (April 7);and this was the case

only once more between the years a.d. 28 and 36, except perhaps also in

33. Consequently Christ must have been Crucified a.d. 30. [161]

To sum up the results, the following appear to us the most probable

dates in the earthly life of our Lord:

Birth a.u. 750 (Jan.?) or 749 (Dec.?) b.c. 4 or 5.

Baptism a.u. 780 (Jan.?) a.d. 27.

Length of Public Ministry

(three years and three or

four months) a.u. 780-783 a.d. 27-30.

Crucifixion a.u. 783 (15th of Nisan) a.d. 30 (April 7)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[104] The fathers distinguish between the Nativity (genesis, Matt.

1:18) and the Incarnation (sarkosis) and identify the Incarnation with

the Conception or Annunciation. Since the time of Charlemagne the two

terms seem to have been used synonymously. See Ideler, Chronol., ii.

383, and Gieseler, i. 70 (4th Germ. ed.).

[105] Jos., Antiqu., xvii. 8,1: "Herod died ... having reigned since he

had procured Antigonus to be slain [a.u. 717, or B.C. 37], thirty-four

years, but since he had been declared king by the Romans [a.u. 714, or

B.C. 40], thirty-seven." Comp. the same statement in Bell. Jud., i. 33,

8, and other passages.

[106] According to Josephus, Antiqu. xvii. 6, 4: "And that night there

was an eclipse of the moon." It is worthy of note that Josephus

mentions no other eclipse in any of his works.

[107] Matt. 2:16: pantas tous paidos ... apodietous kai katotero kata

ton` chronon hon ekribosen para ton magon.

[108] Tradition has here most absurdly swelled the number of Innocents

to 20,000, as indicated on the massive column, which marks the spot of

their supposed martyrdom in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. XX

M[artyres], i.e. martyrs, have become XX M[ilia], i.e. twenty

thousands.

[109] Macrob., Sat., ii 4: "Augustus, cum audisset, inter pueros, quos

in Syria Herodes, rex Judaeorum, intra bimatum [perhaps taken from

Matt. 2:16, Vulg.: a bimatu et infra]jussit interfici, filium quoque

eius occisum, ait: melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium." It is a

pun on the similar sounding Greek terms for sow and son (hus and

huios). Kepler already quoted thispassage in confirmation of Matthew.

[110] Tacitus (Hist., v. 13) and Suetonius (Vespas.,c. 4) speak of a

widespread expectation of that kind at the time of the Jewish war and

before (Suetonius calls it a vetus et constans opinio), but falsely

refer it to the Roman emperors Vespasianus and Titus. In this the

heathen historians followed Josephus, who well knew and believed the

Messianic hopes of his people (comp. Ant., iv. 6, 5; x. 10, 4; 11, 7),

and yet was not ashamed basely to betray and pervert them, saying

(Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 4): "What did the most to elevate the Jews in

undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in

their sacred writings, how 'about that time, one from their country

should become governor of the habitable earth.' The Jews took this

prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise

men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now, this oracle

certainly denoted the goverment of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor

in Judaea." Comp. Hausrath, N.T. Ztgesch., I. 173. The Messianic hopes

continued long after the destruction of Jerusalem. The false Messiah,

who led the rebellion under the reign of Hadrian (a.d. 135), called

himself Bar-Cochba, i.e. "Son of the Star," and issued coins with a

star, in allusion probably to Num. 24:17. When his real character was

revealed, his name was turned into Bar-Cosiba, "Son of Falsehood."

[111] In the beginning of his Bericht vom Geburtsjahr Christi (Opera,

IV. 204) he describes this new star in these words: "Einungew�hnlicher,

sehr heller und sch�ner Stern ... der wie die sch�nste, herrlichste

Fackel so jemahl mit Augen gesehen worden, wenn sie von einem starken

Wind getrieben wird, geflammet und gefunkelt, gerad neben den drey

h�chsten Planeten Saturno, Jove und Marte." He calls this phenomenon

"ein �beraus grosses Wunderwerk Gottes." A fuller description of the

whole phenomenon he gives in his work De Stella Nova (Opera, II. 575

sqq. and 801 sqq., ed. Frisch). Upham (The Wise Men, N. Y. 1869, p.

145) says: "Tycho de Brahe had observed a similar wonder in the

constellation Cassiopeia, on the night of the 11th of October, in the

year 1572. These were not luminous bodies within our atmosphere; were

not within, or near, the solar system; they were in the region of the

fixed stars. Each grew more and more brilliant, till it shone like a

planet. Then its lustre waned until it ceased to be visible,--the one

in March, 1574, the other in February, 1606. The light was white, then

yellow, then red, then dull, and so went out." On temporary stars, see

Herschel's Astronomy, Chap. XII.

[112] The learned Jewish Rabbi Abarbanel, in his Commentary on Daniel

(called Ma'jne hajeshuah, i.e."Wells of Salvation,"Isa. 12:3), which

was published 1547, more than fifty years before Kepler's calculation,

says that such a conjunction took place three years before the birth of

Moses (a.m. 2365), and would reappear before the birth of the Messiah,

a.m. 5224 (or a.d. 1463). Ideler and Wieseler conjecture that this

astrological belief existed among the Jews already at the time of

Christ.

[113] It has been so accepted by Dean Alford and others. See the note

in 6th ed. of his Com. on Matt. 2:2 (1868), with the corrections

furnished by Rev. C. Pritchard. McClellan (New Test., I, 402) assumes

that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn was premonitory and

coincided with the conception of the birth of John the Baptist, Oct.

748, and that Kepler's new star was Messiah's star appearing a year

later.

[114] Comp. Num. 4:3, 35, 39, 43, 47.

[115] In the new revision the passage, Luke 3:1, 2, is thus translated:

"Now in the fifteenth year of the reign (hegemonias) of Tiberius

Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor (hegemoneuontos) of Judaea, and

Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the

region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, in

the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came unto

John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness." The statement must have

been quite intelligible to the educated readers of that time.

[116] The different interpretations of autos hen archomenos hosei eton

triakonta do not alter the result much, but the hosei leaves a margin

for a few months more or less. Comp. McClellan, I. 404.

[117] He uses the same term of Pontius Pilate (hegemoneuontos). Zumpt,

l.c. p. 296, says: "Eigentlich verstanden, bezeichnet hegemonia die

W�rde des milit�rischen Befehlshabers und des Regenten �ber die

Provinzen. H�tte Lucas 'Augustus Kaiser' (autokrator) oder auch nur

'Herrscher' (archon) gesagt, so w�rde man an eine Z�hlung von Tiberius'

Provincialverwaltung weniger denken k�nnen .

[118] Different modes of counting were not unusual, regarding the early

Roman emperors, and Herod I. See above, p. 112, Zumpt, l. c. 282 sqq.,

and Andrews, p. 27. Suetonius (Tib., 33) and Tacitus (Annal., vi. 51)

say that Tiberius died in the 23d year of his reign, meaning his sole

reign; but there are indications also of the other counting, at least

in Egypt and the provinces, where the authority of Tiberius as the

active emperor was more felt than in Rome. There are coins from Antioch

in Syria of the date a.u. 765, with the head of Tiberius and the

inscription, Kaisar. Sebastos (Augustus). In favor of the computation

from the colleagueship are Ussher, Bengel, Lardner, Greswell, Andrews,

Zumpt, Wieseler, McClellan; in favor of the computation from the sole

reign are Lightfoot, Ewald. Browne. Wieseler formerly held that Luke

refers to the imprisonment, and not the beginning of the ministry, of

John, but he changed his view; see his art. in Herzog's " Encykl.,"xxi.

547.

[119] Andrews,l. c. p. 28, thus sums up his investigations upon this

point: "We find three solutions of the chronological difficulties which

the statements of Luke present: 1st. That the 15th year of Tiberius is

to be reckoned from the death ot Augustus, and extends from August,

781, to August, 782. In this year the Baptist, whose labors began some

time previous, was imprisoned; but the Lord's ministry began in 780,

before this imprisonment, and when he was about thirty years of age.

2d. That the 15th year is to be reckoned from the death of Augustus,

but that the statement, the Lord was about thirty years of age, is to

be taken in a large sense, and that he may have been of any age from

thirty to thirty-five when he began he labors. 3d. That the 15th year

is to be reckoned from the year when Tiberius was associated with

Augustus in the empire, and is therefore the year 779. In this case the

language, 'he was about thirty,' may be strictly taken, and the

statement, 'the word of God came unto John,' may be referred to the

beginning of his ministry."

[120] Hase (Gesch. Jesu, p. 209) strangely defends the Dionysian era,

but sacrifices the date of Matthew, together with the whole history of

the childhood of Jesus. Against the view of Keim see Sch�rer, p. 242.

[121] See the literature till 1874 in Sch�rer, p. 262, who devotes 24

pages to this subject. The most important writers on the census of

Quirinius are Huschke (a learned jurist, in 2 treatises, 1840 and

1847), Wieseler (1843 and 1869), and Zumpt (1854 and 1869). Comp, also

the article "Taxing," by Dr. Plumptre, supplemented by Dr. Woolsey, in

Smith's "Bible Dictionary" (Hackett and Abbot's ed.), IV. 3185, and J.

B. McClellan, New Test., I. 392.

[122] This is the proper meaning of the original (according to the last

text of Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, who with B D omit the article

he) aute apographe prote egeneto hegemoneuontos tes Surias

Kureniou-b.-b Vulg.:Haec descriptio prima facta est a praeside Syriae

Cyrino.The English version, " this taxing was first made when,"is

ungrammatical, and would require proton, or, prota instead of prote.

Luke either meant to say that there was no previous enrolment in Judea,

or, more probably had in his mind a second enrolment made under

Quirinius at his second governorship, which is noticed by him in Acts

5:37, and was well known to his readers. See below. Quirinius

(Kurenios) is the proper spelling (Strabo, Josephus, Tacitus, Justin

M)--not Quirinus, which was also a Roman name; hence the confusion.

(See Weiss, in the 6th ed. of Meyer on Luke, p. 286.) His full name was

Publius Sulpicius Quirinius (Tacitus, Annal., iii 48; Suetonius,

Tiber., 49). He was consul a.u. 742, at the head of an army in Africa,

747, and died in Rome, a.d. 21. Josephus speaks of him at the beginning

of the 18th book of his Archael. See, a full account of him in Zumpt,

pp. 43-71.

[123] Ulpian, quoted by Zumpt, Geburtsjahr Christi, p. 203 sq.

[124] Josephus, Antiqu., xvii. 13, 5; xviii. 1, 1. The census here

referred to is evidently the same which Luke means in Acts 5:37: "After

this man arose Judas the Galilaean in the days of the enrolment."

Josephus calls him "Judas, a Gaulanite," because he was of Gamala in

lower Gaulanitis; but in Ant., xx. 5, 2, and Bell. Jud., ii. 8, 1, he

calls him likewise a Galilaean. In this case, then, Luke is entirely

correct, and it is extremely improbable that a writer otherwise so well

informed as Luke should have confounded two enrolments which were ten

years apart.

[125] The usual solution of the difficulty is to give prote the sense

of protera before Quirinius was governor; as protos tinos is used

(though not in connection with a participle) in the sense of prior to,

John 1:15, 30; 15:18. So Ussher, Huschke, Tholuck, Wieseler, Caspari,

Ewald. But this would have been more naturally and clearly expressed by

prin or pro tou hegemeneuein (as in Luke 2:21; 12:15; Acts 23:15).

Paulus, Ebrard, Lange, Godet, and others accentuate aute (ipsa) and

explain: The decree of the census was issued at the time of Christ's

birth, but the so-called first census itself did not take place till

the governorship of Quirinius (ten years later). Impossible on account

of Lk 2:3, which reports the execution of the decree, Lk 2:1. Browne

(p. 46) and others understand hegemoneuein in a wider sense, so as to

include an extraordinary commission of Quirinius as legatus Caesaris.

[126] Annal., iii. 48, as interpreted by A. W. Zumpt in a Latin

dissertation: De Syria Romanorum provincia ab Caesare Augusto ad T.

Vespasianum, in Comment. Epigraph., Berol. 1854, vol. ii. 88-125, and

approved by Mommsen in Res gesstae divi Augusti, 121-124. Zumpt has

developed his views more fully in Das Geburtsjahr Christi, 1869, pp.

1-90. Ussher, Sanclemente, Ideler (II. 397), and Browne (p. 46) had

understood Tacitus in the same way.

[127] First published at Florence, 1765, then by Sanclemente (De vulg.

aerae Emendat. Rom. 1793), and more correctly by Bergmann and Mommsen:

De inscriptione Latina, ad P. Sulpicium Quirinium referenda, Berol.

1851. Mommsen discussed it again in an appendix to Res gestae Augusti,

Berol. 1865, pp. 111-126. The inscription is defective, and reads: "...

Pro. Consul. Asiam. Provinciam. Op[tinuit legatus]. Divi.

Augusti[i]terum i.e., again, a second time]. Syriam. Et. Ph[oenicem

administravit, or, obtinuit]. The name is obliterated. Zumpt refers it

to C. Sentius Saturninus (who preceded Quirinius, but is not known to

have been twice governor of Syria), Bergmann, Mommsen, and Merivale to

Quirinius (as was done by Sanclemente in 1793, and by Ideler, 1826).

Nevertheless Mommsen denies any favorable bearing of the discovery on

the solution of the difficulty in Luke, while Zumpt defends the

substantial accuracy of the evangelist.

[128] Josephus, Antiqu., xvii. 11, 1; Tacitus, Hist., v. 9: "post

mortem Herodis ... Simo quidam regium nomen invaserat; is a Quintilio

Vare obtinento Syriam punitus," etc.

[129] Three censuses, held a.u. 726, 748, and 767, are mentioned on the

monument of Ancyra; one in Italy, 757, by Dion Cassius; others in Gaul

are assigned to 727, 741, 767; Tertullian, who was a learned lawyer,

speaks of one in Judaea under Sentius Saturninus, a.u. 749; and this

would be the one which must be meant by Luke. See Gruter, Huschke,

Zumpt, Plumptre, l. c.

[130] Suetonius, Aug. 28, 101; Tacitus, Annal., i. 11; Dio Cassius,

lii. 30; Ivi. 33. The breviarium contained, according to Tacitus: "opes

publicae quantum civium sociorumque in armis [which would include

Herod], quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et

necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat

Augustus, addideratque consilium co�rcendi intra terminos imperii,

incertum metu anper invidiam"

[131] Joseph. Ant. xvi. 9, � 4. Comp. Marquardt, R�m. Staatsverwaltung,

I.249.

[132] Such a decree has been often inferred from the passages of

Suetonius and Tacitus just quoted. The silence of Josephus is not very

difficult to explain, for he does not profess to give a history of the

empire, is nearly silent on the period from a.u. 750-760, and is not as

impartial a historian as Luke, nor worthy of more credit. Cassiodorus

(Variarum, iii. 52) and Suidas (s. v., apographe) expressly assert the

fact of a general census, and add several particulars which are not

derived from Luke; e.g. Suidas says that Augustus elected twenty

commissioners of high character and sent them to all parts of the

empire to collect statistics of population as well as of property, and

to return a portion to the national treasury. Hence Huschke, Wieseler,

Zumpt, Plumptre, and McClellan accept their testimony as historically

correct (while Sch�rer derives it simply from Luke, without being able

to account for these particulars). Wieseler quotes also John Malala,

the historian of Antioch, as saying, probablyon earlier authorities,

that "Augustus, in the 39th year and 10th month of his reign [i.e. B.C.

5 or 6] issued a decree for a general registration throughout the

empire." Julius Caesar had begun a measurement of the whole empire, and

Augustus completed it.

[133] Not to be confounded with L. Volusius Saturninus, who is known,

from coins, to have been governor of Syria a.u. 758 (a.d. 4).

[134] Adv. Marc. iv. 19: "Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto tunc

in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere

potuissent."

[135] Zumpt, the classical scholar and archaeologist, concludes (p.

223) that there is nothing in Luke's account which does not receive,

from modern research,"full historical probability" ("volle historische

Wahrscheinlichkeit"); while Sch�rer, the theologian, still doubts

(Matt. 28:17). Dr. Woolsey (s. v."Cyrenius," in "Smith's Bible Dict.,"

Hackett and Abbot's ed., p. 526), decides that "something is gained."

In the art. "Taxing" he says that a registration of Judaea made under

the direction of the president of Syria by Jewish officers would not

greatly differ from a similar registration made by Herod, and need not

have alarmed the Jews if carefully managed.

[136] Antiqu. xv. 11, 1: "And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his

reign (oktokaidekaton tes Herodon basileias eniautou) ... undertook a

very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and to

raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most

glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to

perfection, and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting

memorial of him."

[137] Bell. Jud. I. 21, pentekaidekato etei tes basileias auton de ton

naos epeskeuase

[138] Adv. Jud. c. 8: "Huius [Tiberii] quinto decimo anno imperii

passus est Christus, annos habens quasi triginta, cum pateretur ....

Quae passio huius exterminii intra tempora LXX hebdomadarum perfecta

est sub Tiberio Caesare, Consulibus Rubellio Gemino Et Fufio Gemino,

mense Martio, temporibus paschae, die VIII Kalendarum Aprilium, die

prima azymorum, quo agnum occiderunt ad vesperam, sicuti a Moyse fuerat

praeceptum." Lactantius(De Mort. Persec. 2; De Vera Sap. 10) and

Augustine make the same statement (De Civit. Dei, I xviii. c. 54:

"Mortuus est Christus duobus Geminis Consulibus, octavo Kalendas

Aprilis "). Zumpt assigns much weight to this tradition, pp. 268 sqq.

[139] As in Switzerland the herds are driven to the mountain pastures

in May and brought home in August or September.

[140] The latest learned advocate of the traditional date is John Brown

McClellan, who tries to prove that Christ was born Dec. 25, a.u. 749

(B.C. 5). See his New Test., etc. vol. I. 390 sqq.

[141] Adv. Haer. II. c. 22, � 4-6.

[142] This shows conclusively how uncertain patristic traditions are as

to mere facts.

[143] John 8:57. Irenaeus reasons that the Jews made the nearest

approach to the real age, either from mere observation or from

knowledge of the public records, and thus concludes: "Christ did not

therefore preach only for one year, nor did he suffer in the twelfth

month of the year; for the period included between the thirtieth and

the fiftieth year can never be regarded as one year, unless indeed,

among their aeons [he speaks of the Gnostics] there be such long years

assigned to those who sit in their ranks with Bythos in thePleroma."

[144] Comp. Matt. 4:12; 23:37; Mark 1:14; Luke 4:14; 10:38; 13:34.

[145] John 2:13, 23; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1. The Passover mentioned 6:4

Christ did not attend, because the Jews sought to kill him (7:1; comp.

5:18).

[146] John 5:1 if we read the article e before heorte ton Ioudion. See

below.

[147] Isa. 61:2; comp. Luke 4:14.

[148] Exod. 12:5.

[149] Keim, I. 130.

[150] Henry Browne who, in his Ordo Saeclorum (pp.80 sqq.), likewise

defends the one year's ministry, in part by astronomical calculations,

is constrained to eliminate without any MSS. authority to `pascha from

John 6:4, and to make the heorte there mentioned to be the same as that

in 7:2, so that John would give the feasts of one year only, in regular

chronological order, namely, the Passover 2:13 in March, the Pentecost

5:1 in May, the Feast of Tabernacles 6:4; 7:2 in September, the Feast

of Dedication 10:22 in December, the Passover of the Crucifixion in

March.

[151] The definite article before "feast, (he heorte ) which is

supported by the Sinaitic MS. and adopted by Tischendorf (ed. viii.),

favors the view that the feast was the Passover,the great feast of the

Jews. The reading without the article, which has the weight of the more

critical Vatican Ms, and is preferred by Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott

and Hort, and by the Revision of the E. V., favors the view that it was

Pentecost, or Purim, or some other subordinate feast. (On the

grammatical question comp. Thayer's Winer, p. 125, and Moulton's Winer,

p. 155.) In all other passages John gives the name of the feast (to

pascha John 2:13; 6:4; 11:55; he skenopegia 7:2; ta enkainia 10:22). It

is objected that Jesus would not be likely to attend the patriotic and

secular feast of Purim, which was not a temple feast and required no

journey to Jerusalem, while he omitted the next Passover (John 6:4)

which was of divine appointment and much more solemn; but the objection

is not conclusive, since he attended other minor festivals (John 7:2;

10:22) merely for the purpose of doing good.

[152] Luke 13:6-9.Bengel, Hengstenberg, Wieseler, Weiz�cker, Alford

Wordsworth, Andrews, McClellan.

[153] By Eusebius (H. E., I. 10), Theodoret (in Dan. ix.), Robinson,

Andrew, , McClellan, Gardiner, and many others. On the other hand

Jerome, Wieseler, and Tischendorf hold the tripaschal theory. Jerome

says (on Isaiah 29, in Migne's ed. of the Opera, IV. 330): "Scriptum

est in Evangelio secundum Joannem, per tria Pascha Dominum venisse in

Jerusalem, quae duos annos efficiunt."

[154] W. E. H. Lecky: History of European Morals from Augustus to

Charlemagne (1869) vol. II. p. 9. He adds: "Amid all the sins and

failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that

have defaced the Church, it has preserved, in the character and example

of its Founder, an enduring principle of regeneration."

[155] Mark 15:42; Matt. 27:62; Luke 23:54; John 19:14. Friday is called

Preparation-day (paraskeue), because the meals for the Sabbath were

prepared on the sixth day, as no fires were allowed to be kindled on

the Sabbath (Ex. 16:5).

[156] Matt. 26:17, 20; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7, 15. Comp. John 18:9, 40.

[157] sybr?h vyb) could be taken to mean between the evening of the

14th and the evening of the 15th of Nisan, we should have twenty-four

hours for the slaying and eating of the paschal lambs, and the whole

difficulty between John and the Synoptists would disappear. We could

easier conceive also the enormous number of 270,000 lambs which,

according to the statement of Josephus, had to be sacrificed. But that

interpretation is excluded by the fact that the same expression is used

in the rules about the daily evening sacrifice (Ex. 29:39, 41; Num.

28:4).

[158] John 13:1; 13:29; 18:28 19:14.

[159] John 13:1 "before the feast of the Passover" does not mean a day

before (which would have been so expressed, comp, 12:1), but a short

time before, and refers to the commencement of the 15th of Nisan. The

passage, 13:29: "Buy what things we have need of for the feast," causes

no difficulty if we remember that Jesus sat down with his disciples

before the regular hour of the Passover (13:1), so that there was time

yet for the necessary purchases. The passage on the contrary affords a

strong argument against the supposition that the supper described by

John took place a full day before the Passover; for then there would

have been no need of such haste for purchases as the apostles

understood Christ to mean when he said to Judas."That thou doest, do

quickly" (13:27). In John 18:28 it is said that the Jews went not into

the Praetorium of the heathen Pilate "that they might not be defiled,

but might eat the Passover; " but this was said early in the morning,

at about 3 A. M., when the regular paschal meal was not yet finished in

the city; others take the word Passover "here in an unusual sense so as

to embrace the chagigah ( chgygh) or festive thank-offerings during the

Passover week, especially on the fifteenth day of Nisan (comp. 2 Chr.

30:22); at all events it cannot apply to the paschal supper on the

evening of the fifteenth of Nisan, for the defilement would have ceased

after sunset, and could therefore have been no bar to eating the

paschal supper (Lev. 15:1-18; 22:1-7). " The Preparation of the

Passover,"he paraskeue tou pascha, John 19:14, is not the day preceding

the Passover (Passover Eve), but, as clearly in 19:31 and 42, the

preparation day of the Passover week, i.e. the Paschal Friday;

paraskeue being the technical term for Friday as the preparation day

for the Sabbath, the fore-Sabbath, prosabbaton, Mark 15:42 (comp. the

German Sonnabend for Saturday, Sabbath-eve, etc.). For a fuller

examination of the respective passages, see my edition of Lange on

Matthew (pp. 454 sqq.), and on John (pp. 406, 415, 562, 569).

Lightfoot, Wieseler, Lichtenstein, Hengstenberg, Ebrard (in the third

ed. of his Kritik. 1868), Lange, Kirchner, Keil, Robinson, Andrews,

Milligan, Plumptre and McClellan take the same view; while L�cke,

Bleek, DeWette, Meyer, Ewald, Stier, Beyschlag, Greswell, Ellicott,

Farrar, Mansel and Westcott maintain that Christ was crucified on the

fourteenth of Nisan, and either assume a contradiction between John and

the Synoptists (which in this case seems quite impossible), or transfer

the paschal supper of Christ to the preceding day, contrary to law and

custom. John himself clearly points to the fifteenth of Nisan as the

day of the crucifixion, when he reports that the customary release of a

prisoner " at the Passover"(en to pascha) was granted by Pilate on the

day of crucifixion, John 18:39, 40. The critical and cautious Dr.

Robinson says (Harmony, p. 222): " After repeated and calm

consideration, there rests upon my own mind a clear conviction, that

there is nothing in the language of John, or in the attendant

circumstances, which upon fair interpretation requires or permits us to

believe, that the beloved disciple either intended to correct, or has

in fact corrected or contradicted, the explicit and unquestionable

testimony of Matthew, Mark and Luke."Comp. also among the more recent

discussions Mor. Kirchner: Die j�d. Passahfeier und Jesu letztes Mahl

(Gotha, 1870); McClellan: N. Test. (1875), I. 473 sqq., 482 sqq.; Keil:

Evang. des Matt. (Leipz. 1877), pp. 513 sqq.

[160] The answer to this objection is well presented by Dr. Robinson,

Harmony p. 222, and Keil, Evang. des Matt., pp. 522 sqq. The Mishna

prescribes that "on Sabbaths and festival days no trial or judgment may

be held;" but on the other hand it contains directions and regulations

for the meetings and actions of the Sanhedrin on the Sabbaths, and

executions of criminals were purposely reserved to great festivals for

the sake of stronger example. In our case, the Sanhedrin on the day

after the crucifixion, which was a Sabbath and "a great day," applied

to Pilate for a watch and caused the sepulchre to be sealed, Matt.

27:62 sq.

[161] See Wieseler, Chronol. Synopse, p. 446, and in Herzog, vol. XXI.

550; and especially the carefully prepared astronomical tables of new

and full moons by Prof. Adams, in McClellan, I. 493, who devoutly

exults in the result of the crucial test of astronomical calculation

which makes the very heavens, after the roll of centuries, bear witness

to the harmony of the Gospels.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 17. The Land and the People.

Literature.

I. The geographical and descriptive works on the Holy Land by Reland

(1714), Robinson (1838 and 1856), Ritter (1850-1855), Raumer (4th ed.

1860), Tobler (several monographs from 1849 to 1869), W. M. Thomson

(revised ed. 1880), Stanley (1853, 6th ed. 1866), Tristram (1864),

Schaff (1878; enlarged ed. 1889), Gu�rin (1869, 1875, 1880).

See Tobler's Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae (Leipz. 1867) and

the supplementary lists of more recent works by Ph. Wolff in the

"Jahrb�cher f�r deutsche Theologie, " 1868 and 1872, and by Socin in

the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins," 1878, p. 40, etc.

II. The "Histories of New Testament Times" (Neutestamentliche

Zeitgeschichte, a special department of historical theology recently

introduced), by Schneckburger (1862), Hausrath (1868 sqq.), and Sch�rer

(1874).

See Lit. in � 8, p. 56.

There is a wonderful harmony between the life of our Lord as described

by the Evangelists, and his geographical and historical environment as

known to us from contemporary writers, and illustrated and confirmed by

modern discovery and research. This harmony contributes not a little to

the credibility of the gospel history. The more we come to understand

the age and country in which Jesus lived, the more we feel, in reading

the Gospels, that we are treading on the solid ground of real history

illuminated by the highest revelation from heaven. The poetry of the

canonical Gospels, if we may so call their prose, which in spiritual

beauty excels all poetry, is not (like that of the Apocryphal Gospels)

the poetry of human fiction--"no fable old, no mythic lore, nor dream

of bards and seers;" it is the poetry of revealed truth, the poetry of

the sublimest facts the poetry of the infinite wisdom and love of God

which, ever before had entered the imagination of man, but which

assumed human flesh and blood in Jesus of Nazareth and solved through

his life and work the deepest problem of our existence.

The stationary character of Oriental countries and peoples enables us

to infer from their present aspect and condition what they were two

thousand years ago. And in this we are aided by the multiplying

discoveries which make even stones and mummies eloquent witnesses of

the past. Monumental evidence appeals to the senses and overrules the

critical conjectures and combinations of unbelieving skepticism,

however ingenious and acute they may be. Who will doubt the history of

the Pharaohs when it can be read in the pyramids and sphinxes, in the

ruins of temples and rock-tombs, in hieroglyphic inscriptions and

papyrus rolls which antedate the founding of Rome and the exodus of

Moses and the Israelites? Who will deny the biblical records of Babylon

and Nineveh after these cities have risen from the grave of centuries

to tell their own story through cuneiform inscriptions, eagle-winged

lions and human-headed bulls, ruins of temples and palaces disentombed

from beneath the earth? We might as well erase Palestine from the map

and remove it to fairy-land, as to blot out the Old and New Testament

from history and resolve them into airy myths and legends. [162]

The Land.

Jesus spent his life in Palestine. It is a country of about the size of

Maryland, smaller than Switzerland, and not half as large as Scotland,

[163] but favored with a healthy climate, beautiful scenery, and great

variety and fertility of soil, capable of producing fruits of all lands

from the snowy north to the tropical south; isolated from other

countries by desert, mountain and sea, yet lying in the centre of the

three continents of the eastern hemisphere and bordering on the

Mediterranean highway of the historic nations of antiquity, and

therefore providentially adapted to develop not only the particularism

of Judaism, but also the universalism of Christianity. From little

Phoenicia the world has derived the alphabet, from little Greece

philosophy and art, from little Palestine the best of all--the true

religion and the cosmopolitan Bible. Jesus could not have been born at

any other time than in the reign of Caesar Augustus, after the Jewish

religion, the Greek civilization, and the Roman government had reached

their maturity; nor in any other land than Palestine, the classical

soil of revelation, nor among any other people than the Jews, who were

predestinated and educated for centuries to prepare the way for the

coming of the Messiah and the fulfilment of the law and the prophets.

In his infancy, a fugitive from the wrath of Herod, He passed through

the Desert (probably by the short route along the Mediterranean coast)

to Egypt and back again; and often may his mother have spoken to him of

their brief sojourn in "the land of bondage," out of which Jehovah had

led his people, by the mighty arm of Moses, across the Red Sea and

through "the great and terrible wilderness" into the land of promise.

During his forty days of fasting "in the wilderness" he was, perhaps,

on Mount Sinai communing with the spirits of Moses and Elijah, and

preparing himself in the awfully eloquent silence of that region for

the personal conflict with the Tempter of the human race, and for the

new legislation of liberty from the Mount of Beatitudes. [164] Thus the

three lands of the Bible, Egypt, the cradle of Israel, the Desert, its

school and playground, and Canaan, its final home, were touched and

consecrated by "those blessed feet which, eighteen centuries ago, were

nailed for our advantage on the bitter cross."

He travelled on his mission of love through Judaea, Samaria, Galilee,

and Peraea; he came as far north as mount Hermon, and once he crossed

beyond the land of Israel to the Phoenician border and healed the

demonized daughter of that heathen mother to whom he said, "O woman,

great is thy faith: be it done unto thee even as thou wilt."

We can easily follow him from place to place, on foot or on horseback,

twenty or thirty miles a day, over green fields and barren rocks over

hill and dale among flowers and thistles, under olive and fig-trees,

pitching our tent for the night's rest, ignoring the comforts of modern

civilization, but delighting in the unfading beauties of God's nature,

reminded at every step of his wonderful dealings with his people, and

singing the psalms of his servants of old.

We may kneel at his manger in Bethlehem, the town of Judaea where Jacob

buried his beloved Rachel, and a pillar, now a white mosque, marks her

grave; where Ruth was rewarded for her filial devotion, and children

may still be seen gleaning after the reapers in the grainfields, as she

did in the field of Boaz; where his ancestor, the poet-king, was born

and called from his father's flocks to the throne of Israel; where

shepherds are still watching the sheep as in that solemn night when the

angelic host thrilled their hearts with the heavenly anthem of glory to

God, and peace on earth to men of his good pleasure; where the sages

from the far East offered their sacrifices in the name of future

generations of heathen converts; where Christian gratitude has erected

the oldest church in Christendom, the "Church of the Nativity," and

inscribed on the solid rock in the "Holy Crypt," in letters of silver,

the simple but pregnant inscription: "Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus

Christus natus est." When all the surroundings correspond with the

Scripture narrative, it is of small account whether the traditional

grotto of the Nativity is the identical spot--though pointed out as

such it would seem already in the middle of the second century. [165]

We accompany him in a three days' journey from Bethlehem to Nazareth,

his proper home, where he spent thirty silent years of his life in

quiet preparation for his public work, unknown in his divine character

to his neighbors and even the members of his own household (John 7:5),

except his saintly parents. Nazareth is still there, a secluded, but

charmingly located mountain village, with narrow, crooked and dirty

streets, with primitive stone houses where men, donkeys and camels are

huddled together, surrounded by cactus hedges and fruitful gardens of

vines, olive, fig, and pomegranates, and favorably distinguished from

the wretched villages of modern Palestine by comparative industry,

thrift, and female beauty; the never failing "Virgin's Fountain,"

whither Jesus must often have accompanied his mother for the daily

supply of water, is still there near the Greek Church of the

Annunciation, and is the evening rendezvous of the women and maidens,

with their water-jars gracefully poised on the head or shoulder, and a

row of silver coins adorning their forehead; and behind the village

still rises the hill, fragrant with heather and thyme, from which he

may often have cast his eye eastward to Gilboa, where Jonathan fell,

and to the graceful, cone-like Tabor--the Righi of Palestine--northward

to the lofty Mount Hermon--the Mont Blanc of Palestine--southward to

the fertile plain of Esdra�lon--the classic battle-ground of

Israel--and westward to the ridge of Carmel, the coast of Tyre and

Sidon and the blue waters of the Mediterranean sea--the future highway

of his gospel of peace to mankind. There he could feast upon the rich

memories of David and Jonathan, Elijah and Elisha, and gather images of

beauty for his lessons of wisdom. We can afford to smile at the silly

superstition which points out the kitchen of the Virgin Mary beneath

the Latin Church of the Annunciation, the suspended column where she

received the angel's message, the carpenter shop of Joseph and Jesus,

the synagogue in which he preached on the acceptable year of the Lord,

the stone table at which he ate with his disciples, the Mount of

Precipitation two miles off, and the stupendous monstrosity of the

removal of the dwelling-house of Mary by angels in the air across the

sea to Loretto in Italy! These are childish fables, in striking

contrast with the modest silence of the Gospels, and neutralized by the

rival traditions of Greek and Latin monks; but nature in its beauty is

still the same as Jesus saw and interpreted it in his incomparable

parables, which point from nature to nature's God and from visible

symbols to eternal truths. [166]

Jesus was inaugurated into his public ministry by his baptism in the

fast-flowing river Jordan, which connects the Old and New Covenant. The

traditional spot, a few miles from Jericho, is still visited by

thousands of Christian pilgrims from all parts of the world at the

Easter season, who repeat the spectacle of the multitudinous baptisms

of John, when the people came "from Jerusalem and all Judaea and all

the region round about the Jordan" to confess their sins and to receive

his water-baptism of repentance.

The ruins of Jacob's well still mark the spot where Jesus sat down

weary of travel, but not of his work of mercy and opened to the poor

woman of Samaria the well of the water of life and instructed her in

the true spiritual worship of God; and the surrounding landscape, Mount

Gerizim, and Mount Ebal, the town of Shechem, the grain-fields

whitening to the harvest, all illustrate and confirm the narrative in

the fourth chapter of John; while the fossil remnant of the Samaritans

at Nablous (the modern Shechem) still perpetuates the memory of the

paschal sacrifice according to the Mosaic prescription, and their

traditional hatred of the Jews.

We proceed northward to Galilee where Jesus spent the most popular part

of his public ministry and spoke so many of his undying words of wisdom

and love to the astonished multitudes. That province was once thickly

covered with forests, cultivated fields, plants and trees of different

climes, prosperous villages and an industrious population. [167] The

rejection of the Messiah and the Moslem invasion have long since turned

that paradise of nature into a desolate wilderness, yet could not

efface the holy memories and the illustrations of the gospel history.

There is the lake with its clear blue waters, once whitened with ships

sailing from shore to shore, and the scene of a naval battle between

the Romans and the Jews, now utterly forsaken, but still abounding in

fish, and subject to sudden violent storms, such as the one which Jesus

commanded to cease; there are the hills from which he proclaimed the

Sermon on the Mount, the Magna Charta of his kingdom, and to which he

often retired for prayer; there on the western shore is the plain of

Gennesaret, which still exhibits its natural fertility by the luxuriant

growth of briers and thistles and the bright red magnolias overtopping

them; there is the dirty city of Tiberias, built by Herod Antipas,

where Jewish rabbis still scrupulously search the letter of the

Scriptures without finding Christ in them; a few wretched Moslem huts

called Mejdel still indicate the birth-place of Mary Magdalene, whose

penitential tears and resurrection joys are a precious legacy of

Christendom. And although the cities of Capernaum, Bethsaida and

Chorazim, "where most of his mighty works were done" have utterly

disappeared from the face of the earth, and their very sites are

disputed among scholars, thus verifying to the letter the fearful

prophecy of the Son of Man, [168] yet the ruins of Tell Hum and Kerazeh

bear their eloquent testimony to the judgment of God for neglected

privileges, and the broken columns and friezes with a pot of manna at

Tell Hum are probably the remains of the very synagogue which the good

Roman centurion built for the people of Capernaum, and in which Christ

delivered his wonderful discourse on the bread of life from heaven.

[169]

Caesarea Philippi, formerly and now called Banias (or Paneas, Paneion,

from the heathen sanctuary of Pan), at the foot of Hermon, marks the

northern termination of the Holy Land and of the travels of the Lord,

and the boundary-line between the Jews and the Gentiles; and that

Swiss-like, picturesque landscape, the most beautiful in Palestine, in

full view of the fresh, gushing source of the Jordan, and at the foot

of the snow-crowned monarch of Syrian mountains seated on a throne of

rock, seems to give additional force to Peter's fundamental confession

and Christ's prophecy of his Church universal built upon the immovable

rock of his eternal divinity.

The closing scenes of the earthly life of our Lord and the beginning of

his heavenly life took place in Jerusalem and the immediate

neighborhood, where every spot calls to mind the most important events

that ever occurred or can occur in this world. Jerusalem, often

besieged and destroyed, and as often rebuilt "on her own heap," is

indeed no more the Jerusalem of Herod, which lies buried many feet

beneath the rubbish and filth of centuries; even the site of Calvary is

disputed, and superstition has sadly disfigured and obscured the

historic associations. [170] "Christ is not there, He is risen." [171]

There is no more melancholy sight in the world than the present

Jerusalem as contrasted with its former glory, and with the teeming

life of Western cities; and yet so many are the sacred memories

clustering around it and perfuming the very air, that even Rome must

yield the palm of interest to the city which witnessed the crucifixion

and the resurrection. The Herodian temple on Mount Moriah, once the

gathering place of pious Jews from all the earth, and enriched with

treasures of gold and silver which excited the avarice of the

conquerors, has wholly disappeared, and "not one stone is left upon

another," in literal fulfilment of Christ's prophecy; [172] but the

massive foundations of Solomon's structure around the temple area still

bear the marks of the Phoenician workmen; the "wall of wailing" is

moistened with the tears of the Jews who assemble there every Friday to

mourn over the sins and misfortunes of their forefathers; and if we

look down from Mount Olivet upon Mount Moriah and the Moslem Dome of

the Rock, the city even now presents one of the most imposing, as well

as most profoundly affecting sights on earth. The brook Kedron, which

Jesus crossed in that solemn night after the last Passover, and

Gethsemane with its venerable olive-trees and reminiscences of the

agony, and Mount Olivet from which he rose to heaven, are still there,

and behind it the remnant of Bethany, that home of peace and holy

friendship which sheltered him the last nights before the crucifixion.

Standing on that mountain with its magnificent view, or at the turning

point of the road from Jericho and Bethany, and looking over Mount

Moriah and the holy city, we fully understand why the Saviour wept and

exclaimed, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and

stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered

thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her

wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate!

Thus the Land and the Book illustrate and confirm each other. The Book

is still full of life and omnipresent in the civilized world; the Land

is groaning under the irreformable despotism of the "unspeakable" Turk,

which acts like a blast of the Sirocco from the desert. Palestine lies

under the curse of God. It is at best a venerable ruin "in all the

imploring beauty of decay," yet not without hope of some future

resurrection in God's own good time. But in its very desolation it

furnishes evidence for the truth of the Bible. It is "a fifth Gospel,"

engraven upon rocks. [173]

The People.

Is there a better argument for Christianity than the Jews? Is there a

more patent and a more stubborn fact in history than that intense and

unchangeable Semitic nationality with its equally intense religiosity?

Is it not truly symbolized by the bush in the desert ever burning and

never consumed? Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, Titus, Hadrian

exerted their despotic power for the extermination of the Jews;

Hadrian's edict forbade circumcision and all the rites of their

religion; the intolerance of Christian rulers treated them for ages

with a sort of revengeful cruelty, as if every Jew were personally

responsible for the crime of the crucifixion. And, behold, the race

still lives as tenaciously as ever, unchanged and unchangeable in its

national traits, an omnipresent power in Christendom. It still

produces, in its old age, remarkable men of commanding influence for

good or evil in the commercial, political, and literary world; we need

only recall such names as Spinoza, Rothschild, Disraeli, Mendelssohn,

Heine, Neander. If we read the accounts of the historians and satirists

of imperial Rome about the Jews in their filthy quarter across the

Tiber, we are struck by the identity of that people with their

descendants in the ghettos of modern Rome, Frankfurt, and New York.

Then they excited as much as they do now the mingled contempt and

wonder of the world; they were as remarkable then for contrasts of

intellectual beauty and striking ugliness, wretched poverty and

princely wealth; they liked onions and garlic, and dealt in old

clothes, broken glass, and sulphur matches, but knew how to push

themselves from poverty and filth into wealth and influence; they were

rigid monotheists and scrupulous legalists who would strain out a gnat

and swallow a camel; then as now they were temperate, sober,

industrious, well regulated and affectionate in their domestic

relations and careful for the religious education of their children.

The majority were then, as they are now, carnal descendants of Jacob,

the Supplanter, a small minority spiritual children of Abraham, the

friend of God and father of the faithful. Out of this gifted race have

come, at the time of Jesus and often since, the bitterest foes and the

warmest friends of Christianity.

Among that peculiar people Jesus spent his earthly life, a Jew of the

Jews, yet in the highest sense the Son of Man, the second Adam, the

representative Head and Regenerator of the whole race. For thirty years

of reserve and preparation he hid his divine glory and restrained his

own desire to do good, quietly waiting till the voice of prophecy after

centuries of silence announced, in the wilderness of Judaea and on the

banks of the Jordan, the coming of the kingdom of God, and startled the

conscience of the people with the call to repent. Then for three years

he mingled freely with his countrymen. Occasionally he met and healed

Gentiles also, who were numerous in Galilee; he praised their faith the

like of which he had not found in Israel, and prophesied that many

shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham,

Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the children of the

kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness. [174] He conversed with

a woman of Samaria, to the surprise of his disciples, on the sublimest

theme, and rebuked the national prejudice of the Jews by holding up a

good Samaritan as a model for imitation. [175] It was on the occasion

of a visit from some "Greeks," shortly before the crucifixion, that he

uttered the remarkable prophecy of the universal attraction of his

cross. [176] But these were exceptions. His mission, before the

resurrection, was to the lost sheep of Israel. [177]

He associated with all ranks of Jewish society, attracting the good and

repelling the bad, rebuking vice and relieving misery, but most of his

time he spent among the middle classes who constituted the bone and

sinew of the nation, the farmers and workingmen of Galilee, who are

described to us as an industrious, brave and courageous race, taking

the lead in seditious political movements, and holding out to the last

moment in the defence of Jerusalem. [178] At the same time they were

looked upon by the stricter Jews of Judaea as semi-heathens and

semi-barbarians; hence the question, "Can any good come out of

Nazareth, and "Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." [179] He selected

his apostles from plain, honest, unsophisticated fishermen who became

fishers of men and teachers of future ages. In Judaea he came in

contact with the religious leaders, and it was proper that he should

close his ministry and establish his church in the capital of the

nation.

He moved among the people as a Rabbi (my Lord) or a Teacher, and under

this name he is usually addressed. [180] The Rabbis were the

intellectual and moral leaders of the nation, theologians, lawyers, and

preachers, the expounders of the law, the keepers of the conscience,

the regulators of the daily life and conduct; they were classed with

Moses and the prophets, and claimed equal reverence. They stood higher

than the priests who owed their position to the accident of birth, and

not to personal merit. They coveted the chief seats in the synagogues

and at feasts; they loved to be greeted in the markets and to be called

of men, "Rabbi, Rabbi." Hence our Lord's warning: "Be not ye called

'Rabbi:' for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."

[181] They taught in the temple, in the synagogue, and in the

schoolhouse (Bethhamidrash), and introduced their pupils, sitting on

the floor at their feet, by asking, and answering questions, into the

intricacies of Jewish casuistry. They accumulated those oral traditions

which were afterwards embodied in the Talmud, that huge repository of

Jewish wisdom and folly. They performed official acts gratuitously.

[182] They derived their support from an honorable trade or free gifts

of their pupils, or they married into rich families. Rabbi Hillel

warned against making gain of the crown (of the law), but also against

excess of labor, saying, "Who is too much given to trade, will not

become wise." In the book of Jesus Son of Sirach (which was written

about 200 b.c.) a trade is represented as incompatible with the

vocation of a student and teacher, [183] but the prevailing sentiment

at the time of Christ favored a combination of intellectual and

physical labor as beneficial to health and character. One-third of the

day should be given to study one-third to prayer, one third to work.

"Love manual labor," was the motto of Shemaja, a teacher of Hillel. "He

who does not teach his son a trade," said Rabbi Jehuda, "is much the

same as if he taught him to be a robber." "There is no trade," says the

Talmud, "which can be dispensed with; but happy is he who has in his

parents the example of a trade of the more excellent sort." [184]

Jesus himself was not only the son of a carpenter, but during his youth

he worked at that trade himself. [185] When he entered upon his public

ministry the zeal for God's house claimed all his time and strength,

and his modest wants were more than supplied by a few grateful

disciples from Galilee, so that something was left for the benefit of

the poor. [186] St. Paul learned the trade of tentmaking, which was

congenial to his native Cilicia, and derived from it his support even

as an apostle, that he might relieve his congregations and maintain a

noble independence. [187]

Jesus availed himself of the usual places of public instruction in the

synagogue and the temple, but preached also out of doors, on the

mountain, at the, sea-side, and wherever the people assembled to hear

him. "I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues

and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in secret

spake I nothing. [188] Paul likewise taught in the synagogue wherever

he had an opportunity on his missionary journeys. [189] The familiar

mode of teaching was by disputation, by asking and answering questions

on knotty points, of the law, by parables and sententious sayings,

which easily lodged in the memory; the Rabbi sat on a chair, the pupils

stood or sat on the floor at his feet. [190] Knowledge of the Law of

God was general among the Jews and considered the most important

possession. They remembered the commandments better than their own

name. [191] Instruction began in early childhood in the family and was

carried on in the school and the synagogue. Timothy learned the sacred

Scriptures on the knees of his mother and grandmother. [192] Josephus

boasts, at the expense of his superiors, that when only fourteen years

of age he had such an exact knowledge of the law that he was consulted

by the high priest and the first men of Jerusalem. [193] Schoolmasters

were appointed in every town, and children were taught to read in their

sixth or seventh year, but writing was probably a rare accomplishment.

[194]

The synagogue was the local, the temple the national centre of

religious and social life; the former on the weekly Sabbath (and also

on Monday and Thursday), the latter on the Passover and the other

annual festivals. Every town had a synagogue, large cities had many,

especially Alexandria and Jerusalem. [195] The worship was very simple:

it consisted of prayers, singing, the reading of sections from the Law

and the Prophets in Hebrew, followed by a commentary and homily in the

vernacular Aramaic. There was a certain democratic liberty of

prophesying, especially outside of Jerusalem. Any Jew of age could read

the Scripture lessons and make comments on invitation of the ruler of

the synagogue. This custom suggested to Jesus the most natural way of

opening his public ministry. When he returned from his baptism to

Nazareth, "he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the

Sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the

roll of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the roll and found the place

where it was written (61:1, 2) 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,

because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; he hath sent

me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the

blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the

acceptable year of the Lord.' And he closed the book, and gave it back

to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue

were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, 'To-day hath this

scripture been fulfilled in your ears.' And all bare witness unto him,

and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of his mouth:

and they said, Is not this Joseph's son?" [196]

On the great festivals he visited from his twelfth year the capital of

the nation where the Jewish religion unfolded all its splendor and

attraction. Large caravans with trains of camels and asses loaded with

provisions and rich offerings to the temple, were set in motion from

the North and the South, the East and the West for the holy city, "the

joy of the whole earth;" and these yearly pilgrimages, singing the

beautiful Pilgrim Psalms (Ps, 120 to 134), contributed immensely to the

preservation and promotion of the common faith, as the Moslem

pilgrimages to Mecca keep up the life of Islam. We may greatly reduce

the enormous figures of Josephus, who on one single Passover reckoned

the number of strangers and residents in Jerusalem at 2,700,000 and the

number of slaughtered lambs at 256,500, but there still remains the

fact of the vast extent and solemnity of the occasion. Even now in her

decay, Jerusalem (like other Oriental cities) presents a striking

picturesque appearance at Easter, when Christian pilgrims from the far

West mingle with the many-colored Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Latins, Spanish

and Polish Jews, and crowd to suffocation the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre. How much more grand and dazzling must this cosmopolitan

spectacle have been when the priests (whose number Josephus estimates

at 20,000) with the broidered tunic, the fine linen girdle, the showy

turban, the high priests with the ephod of blue and purple and scarlet,

the breastplate and the mitre, the Levites with their pointed caps, the

Pharisees with their broad phylacteries and fringes, the Essenes in

white dresses and with prophetic mien, Roman soldiers with proud

bearing, Herodian courtiers in oriental pomposity, contrasted with

beggars and cripples in rags, when pilgrims innumerable, Jews and

proselytes from all parts of the empire, "Parthians and Medes and

Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judaea and Cappadocia, in

Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and parts of Libya

about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes,

Cretans, and Arabians," [197] all wearing their national costume and

speaking a Babel of tongues, surged through the streets, and pressed up

to Mount Moriah where "the glorious temple rear'd her pile, far off

appearing like a mount of alabaster, topp'd with golden spires" and

where on the fourteenth day of the first month columns of sacrificial

smoke arose from tens of thousands of paschal lambs, in historical

commemoration of the great deliverance from the land of bondage, and in

typical prefiguration of the still greater redemption from the slavery

of sin and death. [198]

To the outside observer the Jews at that time were the most religious

people on earth, and in some sense this is true. Never was a nation so

ruled by the written law of God; never did a nation so carefully and

scrupulously study its sacred books, and pay greater reverence to its

priests and teachers. The leaders of the nation looked with horror and

contempt upon the unclean, uncircumcised Gentiles, and confirmed the

people in their spiritual pride and conceit. No wonder that the Romans

charged the Jews with the odium generis humani.

Yet, after all, this intense religiosity was but a shadow of true

religion. It was a praying corpse rather than a living body. Alas! the

Christian Church in some ages and sections presents a similar sad

spectacle of the deceptive form of godliness without its power. The

rabbinical learning and piety bore the same relation to the living

oracles of God as sophistic scholasticism to Scriptural theology, and

Jesuitical casuistry to Christian ethics. The Rabbis spent all their

energies in "fencing" the law so as to make it inaccessible. They

analyzed it to death. They surrounded it with so many hair-splitting

distinctions and refinements that the people could not see the forest

for the trees or the roof for the tiles, and mistook the shell for the

kernel. [199] Thus they made void the Word of God by the traditions of

men. [200] A slavish formalism and mechanical ritualism was substituted

for spiritual piety, an ostentatious sanctimoniousness for holiness of

character, scrupulous casuistry for genuine morality, the killing

letter for the life-giving spirit, and the temple of God was turned

into a house of merchandise.

The profanation and perversion of the spiritual into the carnal, and of

the inward into the outward, invaded even the holy of holies of the

religion of Israel, the Messianic promises and hopes which run like a

golden thread from the protevangelium in paradise lost to the voice of

John the Baptist pointing to the Lamb of God. The idea of a spiritual

Messiah who should crush the serpent's head and redeem Israel from the

bondage of sin, was changed into the conception of a political

deliverer who should re-establish the throne of David in Jerusalem, and

from that centre rule over the Gentiles to the ends of the earth. The

Jews of that time could not separate David's Son, as they called the

Messiah, from David's sword, sceptre and crown. Even the apostles were

affected by this false notion, and hoped to secure the chief places of

honor in that great revolution; hence they could not understand the

Master when he spoke to them of his, approaching passion and death.

[201]

The state of public opinion concerning the Messianic expectations as

set forth in the Gospels is fully confirmed by the preceding and

contemporary Jewish literature, as the Sibylline Books (about b.c.

140), the remarkable Book of Enoch (of uncertain date, probably from

b.c. 130-30), the Psalter of Solomon (b.c. 63-48), the Assumption of

Moses, Philo and Josephus, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Fourth

Book of Esdras. [202] In all of them the Messianic kingdom, or the

kingdom of God, is represented as an earthly paradise of the Jews, as a

kingdom of this world, with Jerusalem for its capital. It was this

popular idol of a pseudo-Messiah with which Satan tempted Jesus in the

wilderness, when he showed him all the kingdoms of the world; well

knowing that if he could convert him to this carnal creed, and induce

him to abuse his miraculous power for selfish gratification, vain

ostentation, and secular ambition, he would most effectually defeat the

scheme of redemption. The same political aspiration was a powerful

lever of the rebellion against the Roman yoke which terminated in the

destruction of Jerusalem, and it revived again in the rebellion of

Bar-Cocheba only to end in a similar disaster.

Such was the Jewish religion at the time of Christ. He was the only

teacher in Israel who saw through the hypocritical mask to the rotten

heart. None of the great Rabbis, no Hillel, no Shammai, no Gamaliel

attempted or even conceived of a reformation; on the contrary, they

heaped tradition upon tradition and accumulated the talmudic rubbish of

twelve large folios and 2947 leaves, which represents the

anti-Christian petrifaction of Judaism; while the four Gospels have

regenerated humanity and are the life and the light of the civilized

world to this day.

Jesus, while moving within the outward forms of the Jewish religion of

his age, was far above it and revealed a new world of ideas. He, too,

honored the law of God, but by unfolding its deepest spiritual meaning

and fulfilling it in precept and example. Himself a Rabbi, he taught as

one having direct authority from God, and not as the scribes. How he

arraigned those hypocrites seated on Moses' seat, those blind leaders

of the blind, who lay heavy burdens on men's shoulders without touching

them with their finger; who shut the kingdom of heaven against men, and

will not enter themselves; who tithe the mint and the anise and the

cumin, and leave undone the weightier matters of the law, justice and

mercy and faith; who strain out the gnat and swallow the camel; who are

like unto whited sepulchres which outwardly appear beautiful indeed,

but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. But

while he thus stung the pride of the leaders, he cheered and elevated

the humble and lowly. He blessed little children, he encouraged the

poor, he invited the weary, he fed the hungry he healed the sick, he

converted publicans and sinners, and laid the foundation strong and

deep, in God's eternal love, for a new society and a new humanity. It

was one of the sublimest as well as loveliest moments in the life of

Jesus when the disciples asked him, Who is the greatest in the kingdom

of heaven? and when he called a little child, set him in the midst of

them and said, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted and

become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom

of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little

child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall

receive one such little child in my name receiveth me." [203] And that

other moment when he thanked his heavenly Father for revealing unto

babes the things of the kingdom which were hid from the wise, and

invited all that labor and are heavy laden to come to him for rest.

[204]

He knew from the beginning that he was the Messiah of God and the King

of Israel. This consciousness reached its maturity at his baptism when

he received the Holy Spirit without measure. [205] To this conviction

he clung unwaveringly, even in those dark hours of the apparent failure

of his cause, after Judas had betrayed him, after Peter, the confessor

and rock-apostle, had denied him, and everybody had forsaken him. He

solemnly affirmed his Messiahship before the tribunal of the Jewish

highpriest; he assured the heathen representative of the Roman empire

that he was a king, though not of this world, and when hanging on the

cross he assigned to the dying robber a place in his kingdom. [206] But

before that time and in the days of his greatest popularity he

carefully avoided every publication and demonstration which might have

encouraged the prevailing idea of a political Messiah and an uprising

of the people. He chose for himself the humblest of the Messianic

titles which represents his condescension to our common lot, while at

the same time it implies his unique position as the representative head

of the human family, as the ideal, the perfect, the universal, the

archetypal Man. He calls himself habitually "the Son of Man" who "hath

not where to lay his head," who "came not to be ministered unto but to

minister and to give his life a ransom for many," who "hath power to

forgive sins," who "came to seek and to save that which was lost."

[207] When Peter made the great confession at Caesarea Philippi, Christ

accepted it, but immediately warned him of his approaching passion and

death, from which the disciple shrunk in dismay. [208] And with the

certain expectation of his crucifixion, but also of his triumphant

resurrection on the third day, he entered in calm and sublime fortitude

on his last journey to Jerusalem which "killeth the prophets," and

nailed him to the cross as a false Messiah and blasphemer. But in the

infinite wisdom and mercy of God the greatest crime in history was

turned into the greatest blessing to mankind.

We must conclude then that the life and work of Christ, while admirably

adapted to the condition and wants of his age and people, and receiving

illustration and confirmation from his environment, cannot be explained

from any contemporary or preceding intellectual or moral resources. He

learned nothing from human teachers. His wisdom was not of this world.

He needed no visions and revelations like the prophets and apostles. He

came directly from his great Father in heaven, and when he spoke of

heaven he spoke of his familiar home. He spoke from the fullness of God

dwelling in him. And his words were verified by deeds. Example is

stronger than precept. The wisest sayings remain powerless until they

are incarnate in a living person. It is the life which is the light of

men. In purity of doctrine and holiness of character combined in

perfect harmony, Jesus stands alone, unapproached and unapproachable.

He breathed a fresh life from heaven into his and all subsequent ages.

He is the author of a new moral creation.

Jesus and Hillel.--The infinite elevation of Christ above the men of

his time and nation, and his deadly conflict with the Pharisees and

scribes are so evident that it seems preposterous and absurd to draw a

parallel between him and Hillel or any other Rabbi. And yet this has

been done by some modern Jewish Rabbis, as Geiger, Gr�tz, Friedlander,

who boldly affirm, without a shadow of historical proof, that Jesus was

a Pharisee, a pupil of Hillel, and indebted to him for his highest

moral principles. By this left-handed compliment they mean to

depreciate his originality. Abraham Geiger (d. 1874) says, in his Das

Judenthum und seine Geschichte (Breslau, 2d ed. 1865, vol. I. p. 117):

"Jesus war ein Jude, ein pharis�ischer Jude mit galil�ischer F�rbung,

ein Mann der die Hofnungen der Zeit theilte und diese Hoffnungen in

sich erf�llt glaubte. Einen neuen Gedanken sprach er keineswegs aus

[!], auch brach er nicht etwa die Schranken der Nationalit�t .... Er

hob nicht im Entferntesten etwas vom Judenthum auf; er war ein

Pharis�er, der auch in den Wegen Hillels ging." This view is repeated

by Rabbi Dr. M. H. Friedlander, in his Geschichtsbilder aus der Zeit

der Tanaite n und Amor�er. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Talmuds

(Br�nn, 1879, p. 32): "Jesus, oder Jeschu, war der Sohn eines

Zimmermeisters, Namens Josef, aus Nazareth. Seine Mutter hiess Mirjam

oder Maria. Selbst der als conservativer Katholik [sic!] wie als

bedeutender Gelehrter bekannte Ewald nennt ihn 'Jesus den Sohn

Josef',.... Wenn auch Jesus' Gelehrsamkeit nicht riesig war, da die

Galil�er auf keiner hohen Stufe der Cultur standen, so zeichnete er

sich doch durch Seelenadel, Gem�thlichkeit und Herzensg� te

vortheilhaft aus. Hillel I. scheint sein Vorbild und Musterbild gewesen

zu sein; denn der hillelianische Grundsatz: 'Was dir nicht recht ist,

f�ge, deinen Nebenmenschen nicht zu,' war das Grundprincip seiner

Lehren."Renan makes a similar assertion in his Vie de J�sus (Chap. III.

p. 35), but with considerable qualifications: "Par sa pauvret�

humblement support�e, par la douceur de son caract�re, par l'opposition

qu'il faisait aux hypocrites et aux pr�tres, Hillel fut le vrai ma�tre

de J�sus, s'il est permis de parler de ma�tre, quand il s'agit d'une si

haute originalit�." This comparison has been effectually disposed of by

such able scholars as Dr. Delitzsch, in his valuable pamphlet Jesus und

Hillel (Erlangen, 3d revised ed. 1879, 40 pp.); Ewald, V. 12-48 (Die

Schule Hillel's und deren Geqner); Keim I. 268-272; Sch�rer, p. 456;

and Farrar, Life of Christ, II. 453-460. All these writers come to the

same conclusion of the perfect independence and originality of Jesus.

Nevertheless it is interesting to examine the facts in the case.

Hillel and Shammai are the most distinguished among the Jewish Rabbis.

They were contemporary founders of two rival schools of rabbinical

theology (as Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus of two schools of

scholastic theology). It is strange that Josephus does not mention

them, unless he refers to them under the Hellenized names of Sameas and

Pollion; but these names agree better with Shemaja and Abtalion, two

celebrated Pharisees and teachers of Hillel and Shammai; moreover he

designates Sameas as a disciple of Pollion. (See Ewald, v. 22-26;

Sch�rer, p. 455). The Talmudic tradition has obscured their history and

embellished it with many fables.

Hillel I. or the Great was a descendant of the royal family of David,

and born at Babylon. He removed to Jerusalem in great poverty, and died

about a.d. 10. He is said to have lived 120 years, like Moses, 40 years

without learning, 40 years as a student, 40 years as a teacher. He was

the grandfather of the wise Gamaliel in whose family the presidency of

the Sanhedrin was hereditary for several generations. By his burning

zeal for knowledge, and his pure, gentle and amiable character, he

attained the highest renown. He is said to have understood all

languages, even the unknown tongues of mountains, hills, valleys,

trees, wild and tame beasts, and demons. He was called "the gentle, the

holy, the scholar of Ezra." There was a proverb: "Man should be always

as meek as Hillel, and not quick-tempered as Shammai." He differed from

Rabbi Shammai by a milder interpretation of the law, but on some

points, as the mighty question whether it was right or wrong to eat an

egg laid on a Sabbath day, he took the more rigid view. A talmudic

tract is called Beza, The Egg, after this famous dispute. What a

distance from him who said: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man

for the Sabbath: so then the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath."

Many wise sayings, though partly obscure and of doubtful

interpretation, are attributed to Hillel in the tract Pirke Aboth

(which is embodied in the Mishna and enumerates, in ch. 1, the pillars

of the legal traditions from Moses down to the destruction of

Jerusalem). The following are the best:

"Be a disciple of Aaron, peace-loving and peace-making; love men, and

draw them to the law."

"Whoever abuses a good name (or, is ambitious of aggrandizing his name)

destroys it."

"Whoever does not increase his knowledge diminishes it."

"Separate not thyself from the congregation, and have no confidence in

thyself till the day of thy death."

"If I do not care for my soul, who will do it for me? If I care only

for my own soul, what am I? If not now, when then?"

"Judge not thy neighbor till thou art in his situation."

"Say not, I will repent when I have leisure, lest that leisure should

never be thine."

"The passionate man will never be a teacher."

"In the place where there is not a man, be thou a man."

Yet his haughty Pharisaism is clearly seen in this utterance: "No

uneducated man easily avoids sin; no common person is pious." The

enemies of Christ in the Sanhedrin said the same (John 7:49): "This

multitude that knoweth not the law are accursed." Some of his teachings

are of doubtful morality, e.g. his decision that, in view of a vague

expression in Deut. 24:1, a man might put away his wife "even if she

cooked his dinner badly." This is, however, softened down by modern

Rabbis so as to mean: "if she brings discredit on his home."

Once a heathen came to Rabbi Shammai and promised to become a proselyte

if he could teach him the whole law while he stood on one leg. Shammai

got angry and drove him away with a stick. The heathen went with the

same request to Rabbi Hillel, who never lost his temper, received him

courteously and gave him, while standing on one leg, the following

effective answer:

Do not to thy neighbor what is disagreeable to thee. This is the whole

Law; all the rest is commentary: go and do that." (See Delitzsch, p.

17; Ewald, V. 31, Comp. IV. 270).

This is the wisest word of Hillel and the chief ground of a comparison

with Jesus. But

1. It is only the negative expression of the positive precept of the

gospel, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the golden

rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even

so do ye also to them"(Matt. 7:12; Luke 6:31). There is a great

difference between not doing any harm, and doing good. The former is

consistent with selfishness and every sin which does not injure our

neighbor. The Saviour, by presenting God's benevolence (Matt. 7:11) as

the guide of duty, directs us to do to our neighbor all the good we

can, and he himself set the highest example of self-denying love by

sacrificing his life for sinners.

2. It is disconnected from the greater law of supreme love to God,

without which true love to our neighbor is impossible. "On these two

commandments," combined and inseparable, hang all the law and the

prophets" (Matt. 22:37-40).

3. Similar sayings are found long before Hillel, not only in the

Pentateuch and the Book of Tobith 4:15: (ho miseis medeni poieses, "Do

that to no man which thou hatest"), but substantially even among the

heathen (Confucius, Buddha, Herodotus, Isocrates, Seneca, Quintilian),

but always either in the negative form, or with reference to a

particular case or class; e.g. Isocrates, Ad Demonic. c. 4: "Be such

towards your parents as thou shalt pray thy children shall be towards

thyself;" and the same In Aeginet. c. 23: "That you would be such

judges to me as you would desire to obtain for yourselves." See

Wetstein on Matt. 7:12 (Nov. Test. I. 341 sq.). Parallels to this and

other biblical maxims have been gathered in considerable number from

the Talmud and the classics by Lightfoot, Grotius, Wetstein, Deutsch,

Spiess, Ramage; but what are they all compared with the Sermon on the

Mount? Moreover, si duo idem dicunt, non est idem. As to the rabbinical

parallels, we must remember that they were not committed to writing

before the second century, and that, Delitzsch says (Ein Tag in

Capernaum, p. 137), "not a few sayings of Christ, circulated by Jewish

Christians, reappeared anonymously or under false names in the Talmuds

and Midrashim."

4. No amount of detached words of wisdom constitute an organic system

of ethics any, more than a heap of marble blocks constitute a palace or

temple; and the best system of ethics is unable to produce a holy life,

and is worthless without it.

We may admit without hesitation that Hillel was "the greatest and best

of all Pharisees" (Ewald), but he was far inferior to John the Baptist;

and to compare him with Christ is sheer blindness or folly. Ewald calls

such comparison "utterly perverse" (grundverkehrt, v. 48). Farrar

remarks that the distance between Hillel and Jesus is "a distance

absolutely immeasurable, and the resemblance of his teaching to that of

Jesus is the resemblance of a glow-worm to the sun" (II. 455). "The

fundamental tendencies of both," says Delitzsch (p. 23), "are as widely

apart as he and earth. That of Hillel is legalistic, casuistic, and

nationally contracted; that of Jesus is universally religious, moral

and human. Hillel lives and moves in the externals, Jesus in the spirit

of the law." He was not even a reformer, as Geiger and Friedlander

would make him, for what they adduce as proofs are mere trifles of

interpretation, and involve no new principle or idea.

Viewed as a mere human teacher, the absolute originality of Jesus

consists in this, "that his words have touched the hearts of all men in

all ages, and have regenerated the moral life of the world" (Farrar,

II. 454). But Jesus is far more than a Rabbi, more than a sage and

saint more than a reformer, more than a benefactor; he is the author of

the true religion, the prophet, priest and king, the renovator, the

Saviour of men, the founder of a spiritual kingdom as vast as the race

and as long as eternity.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[162] Well says Hausrath (Preface to 2nd ed. of vol. I. p. ix) against

the mythical theory: "F�r die po�tische Welt der religi�sen Sage ist

innerhalb einer rein historischen Darstellung kein Raum; ihre Gebilde

verbleichen vor einem geschichtlich hellen Hintergrund .... Wenn wir

die heilige Geschichte als Bruchst�ck einer allgemeinen Geschichte

nachweisen und zeigen k�nnen, wie die R�nder passen, wenn wir die

abgerissenen F�den, die sie mit der profanen Welt verbanden, wieder

aufzufinden verm�gen, dann ist die Meinung ausgeschlossen, diese

Geschichte sei der sch�ne Traum eines sp�teren Geschlechtes gewesen."

[163] The average length of Palestine is 150 miles, the average breadth

east and west of the Jordan to the Mediterranean, from 80 to 90 miles,

the number of square miles from 12,000 to 13,000. The State of Maryland

has 11,124, Switzerland 15,992, Scotland 30,695 English square miles.

[164] The tradition, which locates the Temptation on the barren and

dreary mount Quarantania, a few miles northwest of Jericho, is of late

date. Paul also probably went, after his conversion, as far as Mount

Sinai during the three years of repose and preparation "in Arabia,"Gal.

1:17, comp. 4:24.

[165] W. Hepworth Dixon (The Holy Land, ch. 14) ingeniously pleads for

the traditional cave, and the identity of the inn of the Nativity with

the patrimony of Boaz and the home of David.

[166] We add the vivid description of Renan (Vie de J�sus, Ch. II. p.

25) from personal observation: "Nazareth was a small town, situated in

a fold of land broadly open at the summit of the group of mountains

which closes on the north the plain of Esdra�lon. The population is now

from three to four [probably five to six] thousand, and it cannot have

changed very much. It is quite cold in winter and the climate is very

healthy. The town, like all the Jewish villages of the time, was a mass

of dwellings built without style, and must have presented the same poor

and uninteresting appearance as the villages in Semitic countries. The

houses, from all that appears, did not differ much from those cubes of

stone, without interior or exterior elegance, which now cover the

richest portion of the Lebanon, and which, in the midst of vines and

fig-trees, are nevertheless very pleasant. The environs, moreover, are

charming, and no place in the world was so well adapted to dreams of

absolute happiness (nul endroit du monde ne fut si bien fait pour les

r�ves de l'absolu bonheur). Even in our days, Nazareth is a delightful

sojourn, the only place perhaps in Palestine where the soul feels a

little relieved of the burden which weighs upon it in the midst of this

unequalled desolation. The people are friendly and good-natured; the

gardens are fresh and green. Antonius Martyr, at the end of the sixth

century, draws an enchanting picture of the fertility of the environs,

which he compares to paradise. Some valleys on the western side fully

justify his description. The fountain about which the life and gayety

of the little town formerly centered, has been destroyed; its broken

channels now give but a turbid water. But the beauty of the women who

gathered there at night, this beauty which was already remarked in the

sixth century, and in which was seen the gift of the Virgin Mary, has

been surprisingly well preserved. It is the Syrian type in all its

languishing grace. There is no doubt that Mary was there nearly every

day and took her place, with her urn upon her shoulder, in the same

line with her unremembered countrywomen. Antonius Martyr remarks that

the Jewish women, elsewhere disdainful to Christians, are here full of

affability. Even at this day religious animosities are less intense at

Nazareth than elsewhere." Comp. also the more elaborate description in

Keim, I. 318 sqq., and Tobler's monograph on Nazareth, Berlin, 1868.

[167] Josephus no doubt greatly exaggerates when he states that there

were no less than two hundred and four towns and villages in Galilee

(Vita, c. 45, diakosiai kai tessares kata ten Galilaian eisi poleis kai

komai), and that the smallest of those villages contained above fifteen

thousand inhabitants (Bell. Jud. III. 3, 2). This would give us a

population of over three millions for that province alone, while the

present population of all Palestine and Syria scarcely amounts to two

millions, or forty persons to the square mile (according to B�deker,

Pal. and Syria, 1876, p. 86).

[168] Matt. 11:20-24; Luke 10:13-15.

[169] Comp. Fr. Delitzsch: Ein Tag in Capernaum, 2d ed. 1873; Furrer:

Die Ortschaften am See Genezareth, in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen

Palaestina-Vereins," 1879, pp. 52 sqq.: my article on Capernaum, ibid.

1878, pp. 216 sqq. and in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine

Exploration Fund" for July, 1879, pp. 131 sqq., with the observations

thereon by Lieut. Kitchener, who agrees with Dr. Robinson in locating

Capernaum Khan Minyeh, although there are no ruins there at all to be

compared with those of Tell Hum.

[170] The present mongrel population of Jerusalem--Moslems, Jews, and

Christians of all denominations, though mostly Greek--scarcely exceeds

30,000, while at the time of Christ it must have exceeded 100,000, even

if we make a large deduction from the figures of Josephus, who states

that on a Passover under the governorship of Cestius Gallus 256,500

paschal lambs were slain, and that at the destruction of the City, a.d.

70, 1,100,000 Jews perished and 97,000 were sold into slavery

(including 600,000 strangers who had crowded into the doomed city).

Bell. Jud. vi. 9, 3.

[171] Matt. 28:6.

[172] Matt. 24:2; Mark 13:2; Luke 19:44.

[173] Renan sums up the results of his personal observations as

director of the scientific commission for the exploration of ancient

Phoenicia in 1860 and 1861, in the following memorable confession (Vie

de J�sus, Introd. p. liii.)."J'ai travers� dans tous les sens la

province �vangelique; j'ai visit� J�rusalem, H�bron et la

Samarie;presque aucune localit� importante de l'histoire de J�sus ne

m'a �chapp�. Toute cette histoire qui, � distance, semble flotter dans

les nuages d'un monde sans r�alit�, prit ainsi un corps, une solidit�

qui m'�tonn�rent. L'accord frappant des textes et des lieux, la

merveilleuse harmonie de l'id�al �vang�lique avec le paysage qui lui

servit de cadre furent pour moi comme une r�v�lation. J'eus devant les

yeux un cinqui�me �vangile, lac�r�, mais lisible encore, et d�sormais,

� travers les r�cits de Matthieu et de Marc, au lieu d'un �tre

abstrait, qu'on dirait n'avoir jamais exist�, je vis une admirable

figure humaine vivre, se mouvoir." His familiarity with the Orient

accounts for the fact that this brilliant writer leaves much more

historical foundation for the gospel history than his

predecessorStrauss, who never saw Palestine.

[174] Matt. 8:5-13; 15:21-28; Luke 7:1-9.

[175] John 4:5-42; Luke 10:30-37.

[176] John 12:20-32

[177] Matt. 10:5, 6; 15:14.

[178] Josephus, Bell. Jud. III. c. 3, � 2: "These two Galilees, of so

great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners,

have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of

war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have

been always very numerous; nor hath the country ever been destitute of

men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them: for their soil is

universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of

all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in

its cultivation by its fruitfulness: accordingly it is all cultivated

by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities

lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are so full of

people, by richness of their soil, that the very least of them

contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants (?)."

[179] John 1:46;.7:52; Matt. 4:16. The Sanhedrists forgot in their

blind passion that Jonah was from Galilee. After the fall of Jerusalem

Tiberias became the headquarters of Hebrew learning and the birthplace

of the Talmud.

[180] rhabbi from vr or with the suff ybr My prince, lord, kurios)

sixteen times in the N. T.,. rhabboni orrhabbouni twice; didaskalos

(variously rendered in the E. V. teacher, doctor, and mostly master)

about forty times; epistates(rendered master) six times, kathegetes

(rendered master) once in Matt. 23:10 (the text rec. also 10:8, where

didaskalos is the correct reading). Other designations of these

teachers in the N. T. are grammateis , nomikoi, nomodidaskaloi.

Josephus calls them sophistai, hierogrammateis, patrion exegetai

nomon-i, -ithe Mishna symkch and syrphvs scholars. See Sch�rer, p. 441.

[181] Matt. 23:8; comp. Mark 12:38, 39; Luke 11:43; 20:46.

[182] The same, however, was the case with Greek and Roman teachers

before Vespasian, who was the first to introduce a regular salary. I

was told in Cairo that the professors of the great Mohammedan

University likewise teach gratuitously.

[183] Ecclesiasticus 38:24-34: "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by

opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become

wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough," etc.

[184] See FR. Delitzsch: J�disches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu.

Erlangen, third ed. revised, 1879. He states (p. 77) that more than one

hundred Rabbis who figure in the Talmud carried on a trade and were

known by it, as R. Oshaja the shoemaker, R. Abba the tailor, R. Juda

the baker, R. Abba Josef the architect, R. Chana the banker, R. Abba

Shaul the grave-digger, R. Abba Oshaja the fuller, R. Abin the

carpenter, etc. He remarks (p. 23): "The Jews have always been an

industrious people and behind no other in impulse, ability and

inventiveness for restless activity; agriculture and trade were their

chief occupations before the dissolution of their political

independence; only in consequence of their dispersion and the

contraction of their energies have they become a people of sharpers and

peddlers and taken the place of the old Phoenicians." But the talent

and disposition for sharp bargains was inherited from their father

Jacob, and turned the temple of God into "a house of merchandise."

Christ charges the Pharisees with avarice which led them to "devour

widows' houses." Comp. Matt. 23:14; Mark 12:40; Luke 16:14; 20:47.

[185] Mark 6:3 Jesus is called, by his neighbors, "the carpenter"ho

tekton), Matt. 13:55 "the carpenter's son."

[186] Luke 8:3 Matt. 27:55; Mark 15:41; John 13:29. Among the pious

women who ministered to Jesus was also Joanna, the wife of Chuzas, King

Herod's steward. To her may be traced the vivid circumstantial

description of the dancing scene at Herod's feast and the execution of

John the Baptist, Mark 6:14-29.

[187] Acts 18:3; 20:33-35; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8; 2 Cor. 11:7-9.

[188] John 18:20. Comp. Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 21:23; 26:55; Mark 1:21, 39;

14:49; Luke 2:46; 4:14-16, 31, 44; 13:10; 21:37.

[189] Acts 13:14-16; 16:13; 17:2, 3.

[190] Luke 2:46; 5:17; Matt. 5:1; 26:55; John 8:2; Acts 22:3 ("at the

feet of Gamaliel").

[191] Josephus often speaks of this. C. Ap. I. 12: "More than all we

are concerned for the education of our youth (paidotrophia), and we

consider the keeping of the laws (to phulattein tous nomous) and the

corresponding piety (ten kata toutous paradedomenen eusebeian) to be

the most necessary work of life."Comp. II. 18; Ant. IV. 8, 12. To the

same effect is the testimony of Philo, Legat. ad Cajum. � 16. 31,

quoted by Sch�rer, p. 467.

[192] 2 Tim, 1:5; 3:15; comp. Eph. 6:4.

[193] Vita, � 2.

[194] Sch�rer, p. 468; and Ginsburg, art. Education, in Kitto's "Cyc.

of Bibl. Liter.," 3d ed.

[195] Acts 6:9 for the freedmen and the Hellenists and proselytes from

different countries. Rabbinical writers estimate the number of

synagogues in Jerusalem as high as 480 (i.e. 4 x 10 x 12), which seems

incredible.

[196] Luke 4:16-22.

[197] Acts 2:8-12.

[198] Comp. the description of King Josiah's Passover, 2 Chr. 35:1-19.

[199] The Rabbinical scholasticism reminds one of the admirable

description of logic in Goethe's Faust: "Wer will was Lebendig's

erkennen und beschreiben, Sucht erst den Geist hinauszutreiben; Dann

hat er die Theile in seiner Hand, Fehlt leider! nur das geistige Band."

[200] Matt. 15:2, 3, 6; Mark 7:3, 5, 8, 9, 13. It is significant that

Christ uses the word paradosisalways in a bad sense of such human

doctrines and usages as obscure and virtually set aside the sacred

Scriptures. Precisely the same charge was applied by the Reformers to

the doctrines of the monks and schoolmen of their day.

[201] Matt. 16:21-23; Mark 8:31-33; Luke 9:22, 44, 45; 18:34; 24:21

John 12:34.

[202] See, of older works, Sch�ttgen, Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae

tom. II. (De Messia), of modern works, Sch�rer, l.c. pp. 563-599, with

the literature there quoted; also James Drummond, The Jewish

Messiah,Lond. 1877.

[203] Matt. 18:1-6; comp. Mark 10:13-16; Luke 18:15-17.

[204] Matt. 11:25-30. This passage, which is found only in Matthew and

(in part) in Luke 10:21, 22, is equal to any passage in John. It is a

genuine echo of this word when Schiller sings: "Was kein Verstand der

Verst�ndigen sieht, Das �bet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gem�th."

[205] John 1:32-34; comp. 3:34.

[206] Matt. 26:64; John l8:37; Luke23:43.

[207] Luke 9:58; 19:10; Matt. 18:11; 20:17, 28; Mark 2:10, 28; John

1:51; 6:53, and many other passages. The term ho huios tou anthropou

occurs about 80 times in the Gospels. On its meaning comp. my book on

the Person of Christ, pp. 83 sqq. (ed. of 1880).

[208] Matt 16:20-23; Mark 8:30-33; Luke 9:21-27.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 18. Apocryphal Traditions.

We add some notes of minor interest connected with the history of

Christ outside of the only authentic record in the Gospel.

I. The Apocryphal Sayings of our Lord.--The canonical Gospels contain

all that is necessary for us to know about the words and deeds of our

Lord, although many more might have been recorded (John 20:30; 21:25).

Their early composition and reception in the church precluded the

possibility of a successful rivalry of oral tradition. The

extra-biblical sayings of our Lord are mere fragments, few in number,

and with one exception rather unimportant, or simply variations of

genuine words.

They have been collected by Fabricius, in Codex Apocr. N. T., I pp.

321-335; Grabe: Spicilegium SS. Patrum, ed. alt. I. 12 sqq., 326 sq.;

Koerner: De sermonibus Christi agraphois (Lips. 1776); Routh, in Reliq.

Sacrae, vol. I. 9-12, etc.; Rud. Hofmann, in Das Leben Jesu nach den

Apokryphen (Leipz. 1851, � 75, pp. 317-334); Bunsen, in Anal. ante-Nic.

I. 29 sqq.; Anger, in Synops. Evang. (1852); Westcott: Introd. to the

Study of the Gospels, Append. C. (pp. 446 sqq. of the Boston ed. by

Hackett); Plumptre, in Ellicott's Com. for English Readers, I. p.

xxxiii.; J. T. Dodd: Sayings ascribed to our Lord by the Fathers

(1874); E. B. Nicholson:The Gospel according to the Hebrews (Lond.

1879, pp. 143-162). Comp. an essay of Ewald in his "Jahrb�cher der

Bibl. Wissenschaft," VI. 40 and 54 sqq., and Geschichte Christus', p.

288. We avail ourselves chiefly of the collections of Hofmann,

Westcott, Plumptre, and Nicholson.

(1) "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Quoted by Paul, Acts

20:35. Comp. Luke 6:30, 31; also Clement of Rome, Ad Cor. c. 2, edion

didontes e lambanontes, "more gladly giving than receiving." This is

unquestionably authentic, pregnant with rich meaning, and shining out

like a lone star all the more brilliantly. It is true in the highest

sense of the love of God and Christ. The somewhat similar sentences of

Aristotle, Seneca, and Epicurus, as quoted by Plutarch (see the

passages in Wetstein on Acts 20:35), savor of aristocratic pride, and

are neutralized by the opposite heathen maxim of mean selfishness:

"Foolish is the giver, happy the receiver." Shakespeare may have had

the sentence in his mind when he put into the mouth of Portia the

golden words:

"The quality of mercy is not strained,

It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven

Upon the place beneath: it is twice blessed;

It blesseth him that gives and him that takes;

'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes

The throned monarch better than his crown."

(2) "And on the same day Jesus saw a man working at his craft on the

Sabbath-day, and He said unto him, 'O man, if thou knowest what thou

doest, then art thou blessed; but if thou knowest not, then art thou

accursed, and art a transgressor of the Law.' " An addition to Luke

6:4, in Codex D. or Bezae (in the University library at Cambridge),

which contains several remarkable additions. See Tischendorf's

apparatus in ed. VIII. Luc. 6:4, and Scrivener, lntrod. to Criticism of

the N. T. p. 8. epikataratosis used John 7:49 (text. rec.) by the

Pharisees of the people who know not the law (also Gal. 3:10, 13 in

quotations from the O. T.); parabates tou nomouby Paul (Rom. 2:25, 27;

Gal. 2:18) and James (2:9, 11). Plumptre regards the narrative as

authentic, and remarks that "it brings out with a marvellous force the

distinction between the conscious transgression of a law recognized as

still binding, and the assertion of a higher law as superseding the

lower. Comp. also the remarks of Hofmann, l.c. p. 318.

(3) "But ye seek (or, in the imperative, seek ye, zeteite) to increase

from little, and (not) from greater to be less." An addition in Codex

D. to Matt 20:28. See Tischendorf. Comp. Luke 14:11; John 5:44.

Westcott regards this as a genuine fragment. Nicholson inserts "not,"

with the Curetonian Syriac, D; all other authorities omit it. Juvencus

has incorporated the passage in his poetic Hist. Evang. III. 613 sqq.,

quoted by Hofmann, p. 319.

(4) "Be ye trustworthy money-changers, or, proved bankers (trapezitai

dokimoi); i.e. expert in distinguishing the genuine coin from the

counterfeit. Quoted by Clement of Alexandria (several times), Origen

(in Joann, xix.), Eusebius, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, and many

others. Comp. 1 Thess. 5:21: "Prove all things, hold fast the good,"

and the parable of the talents, Matt. 25:27. Delitzsch, who with many

others regards this maxim as genuine, gives it the meaning: Exchange

the less valuable for the more valuable, esteem sacred coin higher than

common coin, and highest of all the one precious pearl of the

gospel.(Ein Tag in Capernaum, p. 136.) Renan likewise adopts it as

historical, but explains it in an Ebionite and monastic sense as an

advice of voluntary poverty. "Be ye good bankers (soyez de bons

banquiers), that is to say: Make good investments for the kingdom of

God, by giving your goods to the poor, according to the ancient proverb

(Prov. 19:17): 'He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth to the Lord' "

(Vie de J�sus, ch. XI. p. 180, 5th Par. ed.).

[(5) "The Son of God says,(?) 'Let us resist all iniquity, and hold it

in abhorrence.' " From the Epistle of Barnabas, c. 4. This Epistle,

though incorporated in the Codex Sinaiticus, is probably not a work of

the apostolic Barnabas. Westcott and Plumptre quote the passage from

the Latin version, which introduces the sentence with the words: sicut

dicit Filius Dei. But this seems to be a mistake for sicut decet filios

Dei, "as becometh the sons of God." This is evident from the Greek

original (brought to light by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus),

which reads, hos prepei huiois theou and connects the words with the

preceding sentence. See the edition of Barnabae Epistula by Gebhardt

and Harnack in Patr. Apost. Op. I. 14. For the sense comp. 2 Tim. 2:19:

apostato apo adikiasJames 4:7: anistete to diabolo, Ps. 119:163:

adikian emisesa.]

(6) "They who wish to see me, and to lay hold on my kingdom, must

receive me with affliction and suffering." From the Epistle of

Barnabas, c. 7, where the words are introduced by "Thus he [Jesus]

saith," phesin But it is doubtful whether they are meant as a quotation

or rather as a conclusion of the former remarks and a general

reminiscence of several passages. Comp. Matt. 16:24; 20:3; Acts 14:22:

"We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God."

(7) "He that wonders [ho thaumasaswith the wonder of reverential faith]

shall reign, and he that reigns shall be made to rest." From the

"Gospel of the Hebrews," quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. II. 9,

� 45). The Alexandrian divine quotes this and the following sentence to

show, as Plumptre finely says, "that in the teaching of Christ, as in

that of Plato, wonder is at once the beginning and the end of

knowledge."

(8) "Look with wonder at the things that are before thee (thaumason ta

paronta)." From Clement of Alexandria (Strom. II. 9, � 45.).

(9) "I came to abolish sacrifices, and unless ye cease from

sacrificing, the wrath [of God] will not cease from you." From the

Gospel of the Ebionites (or rather Essaean Judaizers), quoted by

Epiphanius (Haer. xxx. 16). Comp. Matt. 9:13, "I will have mercy and

not sacrifice."

(10) "Ask great things, and the small shall be added to you: ask

heavenly and there shall be added unto you earthly things." Quoted by

Clement of Alexandria (Strom. I. 24, � 154; comp. IV. 6, � 34) and

Origen (de Oratione, c. 2), with slight differences. Comp. Matt. 6:33,

of which it is probably a free quotation from memory. Ambrose also

quotes the sentence (Ep. xxxvi. 3): "Denique scriptum est: 'Petite

magna, et parva adjicientur vobis. Petite coelestia, et terrena

adjicientur.'"

(11) "In the things wherein I find you, in them will I judge you."

Quoted by Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryph. c. 47), and Clement of

Alexandria (Quis dives, � 40). Somewhat different Nilus: "Such as I

find thee, I will judge thee, saith the Lord." The parallel passages in

Ezekiel 7:3, 8; 18:30; 24:14; 33:20 are not sufficient to account for

this sentence. It is probably taken from an apocryphal Gospel. See

Hofmann, p. 323.

(12) "He who is nigh unto me is nigh unto the fire: he who is far from

me is far from the kingdom. From Origen (Comm. in Jer. III. p. 778),

and Didymus of Alexandria (in Ps. 88:8). Comp, Luke 12:49. Ignatius (Ad

Smyrn. c. 4) has a similar saying, but not as a quotation, "To be near

the sword is to be near God" (engus machairas engus theou).

(13) "If ye kept not that which is little, who will give you that which

is great? For I say unto you, he that is faithful in the least is

faithful also in much." From the homily of Pseudo-Clement of Rome (ch.

8). Comp. Luke 16:10-12 and Matt. 25:21, 23. Irenaeus (II. 34, 3)

quotes similarly, probably from memory: "Si in modico fideles non

fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit nobis?"

(14) "Keep the flesh pure, and the seal [probably baptism] without

stain that we (ye) may receive eternal life." From Pseudo-Clement, ch.

8. But as this is connected with the former sentence by ara oun touto

legei, it seems to be only an explanation ("he means this") not a

separate quotation. See Lightfoot, St. Clement of Rome, pp. 200 and

201, and his Appendix containing the newly recovered Portions, p. 384:.

On the sense comp. 2 Tim. 2:19; Rom. 4:11; Eph. 1:13; 4:30.

(15) Our Lord, being asked by Salome when His kingdom should come, and

the things which he had spoken be accomplished, answered, "When the two

shall be one, and the outward as the inward, and the male with the

female, neither male nor female." From Clement of Alexandria, as a

quotation from "the Gospel according to the Egyptians" (Strom.III. 13,

� 92), and the homily of Pseudo-Clement of Rome (ch. 12). Comp. Matt.

22:30; Gal. 3:28; 1 Cor. 7:29. The sentence has a mystical coloring

which is alien to the genuine Gospels, but suited the Gnostic taste.

(16) "For those that are infirm was I infirm, and for those that hunger

did I hunger, and for those that thirst did I thirst." From Origen (in

Matt. xiii. 2). Comp. Matt. 25:35, 36; 1 Cor. 9:20-22.

(17) "Never be ye joyful, except when ye have seen your brother

[dwelling] in love." Quoted from the Hebrew Gospel by Jerome (in Eph.

v. 3).

(18) "Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon

[i.e. spirit]." From Ignatius (Ad Symrn. c. 3), and Jerome, who quotes

it from the Nazarene Gospel (De Viris illustr. 16). Words said to have

been spoken to Peter and the apostles after the resurrection. Comp.

Luke 24:39; John 20:27.

(19) "Good must needs come, but blessed is he through whom it cometh;

in like manner evil must needs come, but woe to him through whom it

cometh." From the "Clementine Homilies," xii. 29. For the second clause

comp. Matt. 18:7; Luke 17:1.

(20) "My mystery is for me, and for the sons of my house." From Clement

of Alexandria (Strom. V. 10, � 64), the Clementine Homilies (xix. 20),

and Alexander of Alexandria (Ep. ad Alex. c. 5, where the words are

ascribed to the Father). Comp. Isa. 24:16 (Sept.); Matt. 13:11; Mark

4:11.

(21) "If you do not make your low things high and your crooked things

straight ye shall not enter into my kingdom." From the Acta Philippi in

Tischendorf's Acta Apost. Apocr. p. 90, quoted by Ewald, Gesch.

Christus, p. 288, who calls these words a weak echo of more excellent

sayings.

(22) "I will choose these things to myself. Very excellent are those

whom my Father that is in heaven hath given to me." From the Hebrew

Gospel, quoted by Eusebius (Theophan. iv. 13).

(23) "The Lord said, speaking of His kingdom, 'The days will come in

which vines will spring up, each having ten thousand stocks, and on

each stock ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand

shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand bunches, and on each bunch ten

thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall give five-and-twenty

measures of wine. And when any saint shall have laid hold on one bunch,

another shall cry, I am a better bunch, take me; through me bless the

Lord.' Likewise also [he said], 'that a grain of wheat shall produce

ten thousand ears of corn, and each grain ten pounds of fine pure

flour; and so all other fruits and seeds and each herb according to its

proper nature. And that all animals, using for food what is received

from the earth, shall live in peace and concord with one another,

subject to men with all subjection.' " To this description Papias adds:

"These things are credible to those who believe. And when Judas the

traitor believed not and asked, 'How shall such products come from the

Lord?' the Lord said, 'They shall see who come to me in these times.' "

From the "weak-minded" Papias (quoted by Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. V. 33,

3). Comp. Isa. 11:6-9.

This is a strongly figurative description of the millennium. Westcott

thinks it is based on a real discourse, but to me it sounds fabulous,

and borrowed from the Apocalypse of Baruch which has a similar passage

(cap. 29, first published in Monumenta Sacra et Profana opera collegii

Doctorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, Tom. I. Fasc. II. Mediol. 1866, p.

80, and then in Fritzsche's ed. of Libri Apocryphi Veteris Test. Lips.

1871, p. 666): "Etiam terra dabit fructus suos unum in decem millia, et

in vite una erunt Mille palmites, et unus palmes faciet mille botros,

et botrus unus faciet mille acinos, et unus acinus faciet corum vini.

Et qui esurierunt jucundabuntur, iterum autem videbunt prodigia

quotidie .... Et erit in illo tempore, descendet iterum desuper

thesaurus manna, et comedent ex eo in istis annis."

Westcott quotes eleven other apocryphal sayings which are only loose

quotations or perversions of genuine words of Christ, and may therefore

be omitted. Nicholson has gathered the probable or possible fragments

of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which correspond more or less

to passages in the canonical Gospels.

Mohammedan tradition has preserved in the Koran and in other writings

several striking words of Christ, which Hofmann, l.c. pp. 327-329, has

collected. The following is the best:

"Jesus, the Son of Mary, said, 'He who longs to be rich is like a man

who drinks sea-water; the more he drinks the more thirsty he becomes,

and never leaves off drinking till he perishes."

II. Personal Appearance of Jesus. None of the Evangelists, not even the

beloved disciple and bosom-friend of Jesus, gives us the least hint of

his countenance and stature, or of his voice, his manner, his food, his

dress, his mode of daily life. In this respect our instincts of natural

affection have been wisely overruled. He who is the Saviour of all and

the perfect exemplar for all should not be identified with the

particular lineaments of one race or nationality or type of beauty. We

should cling to the Christ in spirit and in glory rather than to the

Christ in the flesh So St. Paul thought (2 Cor. 5:16; Comp. 1 Pet.

1:8). Though unseen, he is loved beyond all human beings.

I see Thee not, I hear Thee not,

Yet art Thou oft with me;

And earth hath ne'er so dear a spot,

As when I meet with Thee."

Jesus no doubt accommodated himself in dress and general appearance to

the customs of his age and people, and avoided all ostentation. He

probably passed unnoticed through busy crowds. But to the closer

observer he must have revealed a spiritual beauty and an overawing

majesty in his countenance and personal bearing. This helps to explain

the readiness with which the disciples, forsaking all things, followed

him in boundless reverence and devotion. He had not the physiognomy of

a sinner. He had more than the physiognomy of a saint. He reflected

from his eyes and countenance the serene peace and celestial purity of

a sinless soul in blessed harmony with God. His presence commanded

reverence, confidence and affection.

In the absence of authentic representation, Christian art in its

irrepressible desire to exhibit in visible form the fairest among the

children of men, was left to its own imperfect conception of ideal

beauty. The church under persecution in the first three centuries, was

averse to pictorial representations of Christ, and associated with him

in his state of humiliation (but not in his state of exaltation) the

idea of uncomeliness, taking too literally the prophetic description of

the suffering Messiah in the twenty-second Psalm and the fifty-third

chapter of Isaiah. The victorious church after Constantine, starting

from the Messianic picture in the forty-fifth Psalm and the Song of

Solomon, saw the same Lord in heavenly glory, "fairer than the children

of men" and "altogether lovely." Yet the difference was not so great as

it is sometimes represented. For even the ante-Nicene fathers

(especially Clement of Alexandria), besides expressly distinguishing

between the first appearance of Christ in lowliness and humility, and

his second appearance in glory and, majesty, did not mean to deny to

the Saviour even in the days of his flesh a higher order of spiritual

beauty, "the glory of the only-begotten of the Father full of grace and

truth," which shone through the veil of his humanity, and which at

times, as on the mount of transfiguration, anticipated his future

glory. "Certainly," says Jerome, "a flame of fire and starry brightness

flashed from his eye, and the majesty of the God head shone in his

face."

The earliest pictures of Christ, in the Catacombs, are purely symbolic,

and represent him under the figures of the Lamb, the good Shepherd, the

Fish. The last has reference to the Greek word Ichthys, which contains

the initials of the words Iesous Christos Theou Huios Soter. "Jesus

Christ, Son of God, Saviour." Real pictures of Christ in the early

church would have been an offence to the Jewish, and a temptation and

snare to the heathen converts.

The first formal description of the personal appearance of Christ,

which, though not authentic and certainly not older than the fourth

century, exerted great influence on the pictorial representations, is

ascribed to the heathen Publius Lentulus, a supposed contemporary of

Pilate and "President of the people of Jerusalem" (there was no such

office), in an apocryphal Latin letter to the Roman Senate, which was

first discovered in a MS. copy of the writings of Anselm of Canterbury

in the twelfth century, and published with slight variations by,

Fabricius, Carpzov, Gabler, etc. It is as follows:

"In this time appeared a man, who lives till now, a man endowed with

great powers. Men call him a great prophet; his own disciples term Him

the Son of God. His name is Jesus Christ. He restores the dead to life,

and cures the sick of all manner of diseases. This man is of noble and

well-proportioned stature, with a face full of kindness and yet

firmness, so that the beholders both love Him and fear Him. His hair is

of the color of wine, and golden at the root; straight, and without

lustre, but from the level of the ears curling and glossy, and divided

down the centre after the fashion of the Nazarenes [Nazarites?]. His

forehead is even and smooth, his face without wrinkle or blemish, and

glowing with delicate bloom. His countenance is frank and kind. Nose

and mouth are in no way faulty. His beard is full, of the same hazel

color as his hair, not long, but forked. His eyes are blue, and

extremely brilliant. In reproof and rebuke he is formidable; in

exhortation and teaching, gentle and amiable. He has never been seen to

laugh, but oftentimes to weep, (numquam visus est ridere, flere autem

saepe). His person is tall and erect; his hands and limbs beautiful and

straight. In speaking he is deliberate and grave, and little given to

loquacity. In beauty he surpasses the children of men."

Another description is found in the works of the Greek theologian, John

of Damascus, of the 8th century (Epist. ad Theoph. Imp. de venerandis

Imag., spurious), and a similar one in the Church History of Nicephorus

(I. 40), of the 14th century. They represent Christ as resembling his

mother, and ascribe to him a stately person though slightly stooping,

beautiful eyes, blond, long, and curly hair, pale, olive complexion,

long fingers, and a look expressive of nobility, wisdom, and patience.

On the ground of these descriptions, and of the Abgar and the Veronica

legends, arose a vast number of pictures of Christ, which are divided

into two classes: the Salvator pictures, with the expression of calm

serenity and dignity, without the faintest mark of grief, and the Ecce

Homo pictures of the suffering Saviour with the crown of thorns. The

greatest painters and sculptors have exhausted the resources of their

genius in representations of Christ; but neither color nor chisel nor

pen can do more than produce a feeble reflection of the beauty and

glory of Him who is the Son of God and the Son of Man.

Among modern biographers of Christ, Dr. Sepp (Rom. Cath., Das Leben

Jesu Christi, 1865, vol. VI. 312 sqq.) defends the legend of St.

Veronica of the Herodian family, and the genuineness of the picture, of

the suffering Saviour with the crown of thorns which he impressed on

her silken veil. He rejects the philological explanation of the legend

from "the true image" (vera eikon= Veronica), and derives the name from

pherenike (Berenice), the Victorious. But Bishop Hefele (Art.

Christusbilder, in the Cath. Kirchen-Lexikon of Wetzer and Welte, II.

519-524) is inclined, with Grimm, to identify Veronica with the

Berenice who is said to have erected a statue to Christ at Caesarea

Philippi (Euseb. VII. 18), and to see in the Veronica legend only the

Latin version of the Abgar legend of the Greek Church. Dr. Hase (Leben

Jesu, p. 79) ascribes to Christ manly beauty, firm health, and

delicate, yet not very characteristic features. He quotes John 20:14

and Luke 24:16, where it is said that his friends did not recognize

him, but these passages refer only to the mysterious appearances of the

risen Lord. Renan (Vie de J�sus, ch. X-XIV. p. 403) describes him in

the frivolous style of a novelist, as a doux Galil�en, of calm and

dignified attitude, as a beau jeune hommewho made a deep impression

upon women, especially Mary of Magdala; even a proud Roman lady, the

wife of Pontius Pilate, when she caught a glimpse of him from the

window (?), was enchanted, dreamed of him in the night and was

frightened at the prospect of his death. Dr. Keim (I. 463) infers from

his character, as described in the Synoptical Gospels, that he was

perhaps not strikingly handsome, yet certainly noble, lovely, manly,

healthy and vigorous, looking like a prophet, commanding reverence,

making men, women, children, sick and poor people feel happy in his

presence. Canon Farrar (I. 150) adopts the view of Jerome and

Augustine, and speaks of Christ as "full of mingled majesty and

tenderness in--

'That face

How beautiful, if sorrow had not made

Sorrow more beautiful than beauty's self.' "

On artistic representations of Christ see J. B. Carpzov: De oris et

corpor is J. Christi forma Pseudo-Lentuli, J. Damasceni et Nicephori

proso - pographiae. Helmst. 1777. P. E. Jablonski: De origine imaginum

Christi Domini. Lugd. Batav. 1804. W. Grimm: Die Sage vom Ursprung der

Christusbilder. Berlin, 1843. Dr. Legis Gl�ckselig:

Christus-Arch�ologie; Das Buch von Jesus Christus und seinem wahren

Ebenbilde. Prag, 1863 4to. Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake: The History

of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art (with illustrations). Lond.,

2d ed. 1865 2 vols. Cowper: Apocr. Gospels. Lond. 1867, pp. 217-226.

Hase: Leben Jesu, pp. 76-80 (5th ed.), Keim: Gesch. Jesu von Naz. I.

459-464. Farrar: Life of Christ. Lond. 1874, I. 148-150, 312-313; II.

464.

III. The Testimony of Josephus on John the Baptist. Antiq. Jud. xviii.

c. 5, � 2. Whatever may be thought of the more famous passage of Christ

which we have discussed in � 14 (p. 92), the passage on John is

undoubtedly genuine and so accepted by most scholars. It fully and

independently confirms the account of the Gospels on John's work and

martyrdom, and furnishes, indirectly, an argument in favor of the

historical character of their account of Christ, for whom he merely

prepared the way. We give it in Whiston's translation: "Now some of the

Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and

that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, who was

called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man (agathon

andra), and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to

righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to

come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable

to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or

the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the

body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand

by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for

they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who

feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it

into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed

ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best, by putting him

to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself

into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it

when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of

Herod's suspicious temper, to Machaerus, the castle I before mentioned,

and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the

destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a

mark of God's displeasure to him."

IV. The Testimony of Mara to Christ, a.d. 74. This extra-biblical

notice of Christ, made known first in 1865, and referred to above � 14

p. 94) reads as follows (as translated from the Syriac by Cureton and

Pratten):

"What are we to say, when the wise are dragged by force by hands of

tyrants, and their wisdom is deprived of its freedom by slander, and

they are plundered for their [superior] intelligence, without [the

opportunity of making] a defence? [They are not wholly to be pitied.]

For what benefit did the Athenians obtain by putting Socrates to death,

seeing that they received as retribution for it famine and pestilence?

Or the people of Samos by the burning of Pythagoras, seeing that in one

hour the whole of their country was covered with sand? Or The Jews [by

the murder] of their Wise King, seeing that from that very time their

kingdom was driven away [from them]? For with justice did God grant a

recompense to the wisdom of [all] three of them. For the Athenians died

by famine; and the people of Samos were covered by the sea without

remedy; and the Jews, brought to destruction and expelled from their

kingdom, are driven away into every land. [Nay], Socrates did not die,

because of Plato; nor yet Pythagoras, because of the statue of Hera;

nor yet The Wise King, because of the new laws he enacted.

The nationality and position of Mara are unknown. Dr. Payne Smith

supposes him to have been a Persian. He wrote from prison and wished to

die, "by what kind of death concerns me not." In the beginning of his

letter Mara says: "On this account, lo, I have written for thee this

record, [touching] that which I have by careful observation discovered

in the world. For the kind of life men lead has been carefully observed

by me. I tread the path of learning, and from the study of Greek

philosophy have I found out all these things, although they suffered

shipwreck when the birth of life took place." The birth of life may

refer to the appearance of Christianity in the world, or to Mara's own

conversion. But there is no other indication that he was a Christian.

The advice he gives to his son is simply to "devote himself to wisdom,

the fount of all things good, the treasure that fails not."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 19. The Resurrection of Christ.

The resurrection of Christ from the dead is reported by the four

Gospels, taught in the Epistles, believed throughout Christendom, and

celebrated on every "Lord's Day," as an historical fact, as the

crowning miracle and divine seal of his whole work, as the foundation

of the hopes of believers, as the pledge of their own future

resurrection. It is represented in the New Testament both as an act of

the Almighty Father who raised his Son from the dead, [209] and as an

act of Christ himself, who had the power to lay down his life and to

take it again. [210] The ascension was the proper conclusion of the

resurrection: the risen life of our Lord, who is "the Resurrection and

the Life," could not end in another death on earth, but must continue

in eternal glory in heaven. Hence St. Paul says, "Christ being raised

from the dead dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him. For

the death that he died he died unto sin once: but the life that he

liveth, he liveth unto God." [211]

The Christian church rests on the resurrection of its Founder. Without

this fact the church could never have been born, or if born, it would

soon have died a natural death. The miracle of the resurrection and the

existence of Christianity are so closely connected that they must stand

or fall together. If Christ was raised from the dead, then all his

other miracles are sure, and our faith is impregnable; if he was not

raised, he died in vain and our faith is vain. It was only his

resurrection that made his death available for our atonement,

justification and salvation; without the resurrection, his death would

be the grave of our hopes; we should be still unredeemed and under the

power of our sins. A gospel of a dead Saviour would be a contradiction

and wretched delusion. This is the reasoning of St. Paul, and its force

is irresistible. [212]

The resurrection of Christ is therefore emphatically a test question

upon which depends the truth or falsehood of the Christian religion. It

is either the greatest miracle or the greatest delusion which history

records. [213]

Christ had predicted both his crucifixion and his resurrection, but the

former was a stumbling-block to the disciples, the latter a mystery

which they could not understand till after the event. [214] They no

doubt expected that he would soon establish his Messianic kingdom on

earth. Hence their utter disappointment and downheartedness after the

crucifixion. The treason of one of their own number, the triumph of the

hierarchy, the fickleness of the people, the death and burial of the

beloved Master, had in a few hours rudely blasted their Messianic hopes

and exposed them to the contempt and ridicule of their enemies. For two

days they were trembling on the brink of despair. But on the third day,

behold, the same disciples underwent a complete revolution from

despondency to hope, from timidity to courage, from doubt to faith, and

began to proclaim the gospel of the resurrection in the face of an

unbelieving world and at the peril of their lives. This revolution was

not isolated, but general among them; it was not the result of an easy

credulity, but brought about in spite of doubt and hesitation; [215] it

was not superficial and momentary, but radical and lasting; it

affected, not only the apostles, but the whole history of the world. It

reached even the leader of the persecution, Saul of Tarsus one of the

clearest and strongest intellects, and converted him into the most

devoted and faithful champion of this very gospel to the hour of his

martyrdom.

This is a fact patent to every reader of the closing chapters of the

Gospels, and is freely admitted even by the most advanced skeptics.

[216]

The question now rises whether this inner revolution in the, life of

the disciples, with its incalculable effects upon the fortunes of

mankind, can be rationally explained without a corresponding outward

revolution in the history of Christ; in other words, whether the

professed faith of the disciples in the risen Christ was true and real,

or a hypocritical lie, or an honest self-delusion.

There are four possible theories which have been tried again and again,

and defended with as much learning and ingenuity as can be summoned to

their aid. Historical questions are not like mathematical problems. No

argument in favor of the resurrection will avail with those critics who

start with the philosophical assumption that miracles are impossible,

and still less with those who deny not only the resurrection of the

body, but even the immortality of the soul. But facts are stubborn, and

if a critical hypothesis can be proven to be psychologically and

historically impossible and unreasonable, the result is fatal to the

philosophy which underlies the critical hypothesis. It is not the

business of the historian to construct a history from preconceived

notions and to adjust it to his own liking, but to reproduce it from

the best evidence and to let it speak for itself.

1. The Historical view, presented by the Gospels and believed in the

Christian church of every denomination and sect. The resurrection of

Christ was an actual though miraculous event, in harmony with his

previous history and character, and in fulfilment of his own

prediction. It was a re-animation of the dead body of Jesus by a return

of his soul from the spirit-world, and a rising of body and soul from

the grave to a new life, which after repeated manifestations to

believers during a short period of forty days entered into glory by the

ascension to heaven. The object of the manifestations was not only to

convince the apostles personally of the resurrection, but to make them

witnesses of the resurrection and heralds of salvation to all the

world. [217]

Truth compels us to admit that there are serious difficulties in

harmonizing the accounts of the evangelists, and in forming a

consistent conception of the nature of Christ's, resurrection-body,

hovering as it were between heaven and earth, and oscillating for forty

days between a natural and a supernatural state of the body clothed

with flesh and blood and bearing the wound-prints, and yet so spiritual

as to appear and disappear through closed doors and to ascend visibly

to heaven. But these difficulties are not so great as those which are

created by a denial of the fact itself. The former can be measurably

solved, the latter cannot. We, do not know all the details and

circumstances which might enable us to clearly trace the order of

events. But among all the variations the great central fact of the

resurrection itself and its principal features "stand out all the more

sure." [218] The period of the forty days is in the nature of the case

the most mysterious in the life of Christ, and transcends all ordinary

Christian experience. The Christophanies resemble in some respect, the

theophanies of the Old Testament, which were granted only to few

believers, yet for the general benefit. At all events the fact of the

resurrection furnishes the only key for the solution of the

psychological problem of the sudden, radical, and permanent change in

the mind and conduct of the disciples; it is the necessary link in the

chain which connects their history before and after that event. Their

faith in the resurrection was too clear, too strong, too steady, too

effective to be explained in any other way. They showed the strength

and boldness of their conviction by soon returning to Jerusalem, the

post of danger, and founding there, in the very face of the hostile

Sanhedrin, the mother-church of Christendom.

2. The Theory of Fraud. The apostles stole and hid the body of Jesus,

and deceived the world. [219]

This infamous lie carries its refutation on its face: for if the Roman

soldiers who watched the grave at the express request of the priests

and Pharisees, were asleep, they could not see the thieves, nor would

they have proclaimed their military crime; if they, or only some of

them, were awake, they would have prevented the theft. As to the,

disciples, they were too timid and desponding at the time to venture on

such a daring act, and too honest to cheat the world. And finally a

self-invented falsehood could not give them the courage and constancy

of faith for the proclamation of the resurrection at the peril of their

lives. The whole theory is a wicked absurdity, an insult to the common

sense and honor of mankind.

3. The Swoon-Theory. The physical life of Jesus was not extinct, but

only exhausted, and was restored by the tender care of his friends and

disciples, or (as some absurdly add) by his own medical skill; and

after a brief period he quietly died a natural death. [220]

Josephus, Valerius Maximus, psychological and medical authorities have

been searched and appealed to for examples of such apparent

resurrections from a trance or asphyxy, especially on the third day,

which is supposed to be a critical turning-point for life or

putrefaction.

But besides insuperable physical difficulties--as the wounds and loss

of blood from the very heart pierced by the spear of the Roman

soldier--this theory utterly fails to account for the moral effect. A

brief sickly existence of Jesus in need of medical care, and

terminating in his natural death and final burial, without even the

glory of martyrdom which attended the crucifixion, far from restoring

the faith of the apostles, would have only in the end deepened their

gloom and driven them to utter despair. [221]

4. The Vision-Theory. Christ rose merely in the imagination of his

friends, who mistook a subjective vision or dream for actual reality,

and were thereby encouraged to proclaim their faith in the resurrection

at the risk of death. Their wish was father to the belief, their belief

was father to the fact, and the belief, once started, spread with the

power of a religious epidemic from person to person and from place to

place. The Christian society wrought the miracle by its intense love

for Christ. Accordingly the resurrection does not belong to the history

of Christ at all, but to the inner life of his disciples. It is merely

the embodiment of their reviving faith.

This hypothesis was invented by a heathen adversary in the second

century and soon buried out of sight, but rose to new life in the

nineteenth, and spread with epidemical rapidity among skeptical critics

in Germany, France, Holland and England. [222]

The advocates of this hypothesis appeal first and chiefly to the vision

of St. Paul on the way to Damascus, which occurred several years later,

and is nevertheless put on a level with the former appearances to the

older apostles (1 Cor. 15:8); next to supposed analogies in the history

of religious enthusiasm and mysticism, such as the individual visions

of St. Francis of Assisi, the Maid of Orleans, St. Theresa (who

believed that she had seen Jesus in person with the eyes of the soul

more distinctly than she could have seen him with the eyes of the

body), Swedenborg, even Mohammed, and the collective visions of the

Montanists in Asia Minor, the Camisards in France, the spectral

resurrections of the martyred Thomas � Becket of Canterbury and

Savonarola of Florence in the excited imagination of their admirers,

and the apparitions of the Immaculate Virgin at Lourdes. [223]

Nobody will deny that subjective fancies and impressions are often

mistaken for objective realities. But, with the exception of the case

of St. Paul--which we shall consider in its proper place, and which

turns out to be, even according to the admission of the leaders of

skeptical criticism, a powerful argument against the mythical or

visionary theory--these supposed analogies are entirely irrelevant;

for, not to speak of other differences, they were isolated and passing

phenomena which left no mark on history; while the faith in the

resurrection of Christ has revolutionized the whole world. It must

therefore be treated on its own merits as an altogether unique case.

(a) The first insuperable argument against the visionary nature, and in

favor of the objective reality, of the resurrection is the empty tomb

of Christ. If he did not rise, his body must either have been removed,

or remained in the tomb. If removed by the disciples, they were guilty

of a deliberate falsehood in preaching the resurrection, and then the

vision-hypothesis gives way to the exploded theory of fraud. If removed

by the enemies, then these enemies had the best evidence against the

resurrection, and would not have failed to produce it and thus to

expose the baselessness of the vision. The same is true, of course, if

the body had remained in the tomb. The murderers of Christ would

certainly not have missed such an opportunity to destroy the very

foundation of the hated sect.

To escape this difficulty, Strauss removes the origin of the illusion

away off to Galilee, whether the disciples fled; but this does not help

the matter, for they returned in a few weeks to Jerusalem, where we

find them all assembled on the day of Pentecost.

This argument is fatal even to the highest form of the vision

hypothesis, which admits a spiritual manifestation of Christ from

heaven, but denies the resurrection of his body.

(b) If Christ did not really rise, then the words which he spoke to

Mary Magdalene, to the disciples of Emmaus, to doubting Thomas, to

Peter on the lake of Tiberias, to all the disciples on Mount Olivet,

were likewise pious fictions. But who can believe that words of such

dignity and majesty, so befitting the solemn moment of the departure to

the throne of glory, as the commandment to preach the gospel to every

creature, to baptize the nations in the name of the Father, the Son,

and the Holy Spirit, and the promise to be with his disciples alway to

the end of the world--a promise abundantly verified in the daily

experience of the church--could proceed from dreamy and self-deluded

enthusiasts or crazy fanatics any more than the Sermon on the Mount or

the Sacerdotal Prayer! And who, with any spark of historical sense, can

suppose that Jesus never instituted baptism, which has been performed

in his name ever since the day of Pentecost, and which, like the

celebration of the Lord's Supper, bears testimony to him every day as

the sunlight does to the sun!

(c) If the visions of the resurrection were the product of an excited

imagination, it is unaccountable that they should suddenly have ceased

on the fortieth day (Acts 1:15), and not have occurred to any of the

disciples afterwards, with the single exception of Paul, who expressly

represents his vision of Christ as "the last." Even on the day of

Pentecost Christ did not appear to them, but, according to his promise,

"the other Paraclete" descended upon them; and Stephen saw Christ in

heaven, not on earth. [224]

(d) The chief objection to the vision-hypothesis is its intrinsic

impossibility. It makes the most exorbitant claim upon our credulity.

It requires us to believe that many persons, singly and collectively,

at different times, and in different places, from Jerusalem to

Damascus, had the same vision and dreamed the same dream; that the

women at the open sepulchre early in the morning, Peter and John soon

afterwards, the two disciples journeying to Emmaus on the afternoon of

the resurrection day, the assembled apostles on the evening in the

absence of Thomas, and again on the next Lord's Day in the presence of

the skeptical Thomas, seven apostles at the lake of Tiberias, on one

occasion five hundred brethren at once most of whom were still alive

when Paul reported the fact, then James, the brother of the Lord, who

formerly did not believe in him, again all the apostles on Mount Olivet

at the ascension, and at last the clearheaded, strong-minded persecutor

on the way to Damascus--that all these men and women on these different

occasions vainly imagined they saw and heard the self-same Jesus in

bodily shape and form; and that they were by this baseless vision

raised all at once from the deepest gloom in which the crucifixion of

their Lord had left them, to the boldest faith and strongest hope which

impelled them to proclaim the gospel of the resurrection from Jerusalem

to Rome to the end of their lives! And this illusion of the early

disciples created the greatest revolution not only in their own views

and conduct, but among Jews and Gentiles and in the subsequent history

of mankind! This illusion, we are expected to believe by these

unbelievers, gave birth to the most real and most mighty of all facts,

the Christian Church which has lasted these eighteen hundred years and

is now spread all over the civilized world, embracing more members than

ever and exercising more moral power than all the kingdoms and all

other religions combined!

The vision-hypothesis, instead of getting rid of the miracle, only

shifts it from fact to fiction; it makes an empty delusion more

powerful than the truth, or turns all history itself at last into a

delusion. Before we can reason the resurrection of Christ out of

history we must reason the apostles and Christianity itself out of

existence. We must either admit the miracle, or frankly confess that we

stand here before an inexplicable mystery.

Remarkable Concessions.--The ablest advocates of the vision-theory are

driven against their wish and will to admit some unexplained objective

reality in the visions of the risen or ascended Christ.

Dr. Baur, of T�bingen (d. 1860), the master-critic among sceptical

church historians, and the corypheus of the T�bingen school, came at

last to the conclusion (as stated in the revised edition of his Church

History of the First Three Centuries, published shortly before his

death, 1860) that "nothing but the miracle of the resurrection could

disperse the doubts which threatened to drive faith itself into the

eternal night of death (Nur das Wunder der Auferstehung konnte die

Zweifel zerstreuen, welche den Glauben selbst in die ewige Nacht des

Todes verstossen zu m�ssen schienen)."Geschichte der christlichen

Kirche, I.39. It is true he adds that the nature of the resurrection

itself lies outside of historical investigation ("Was die Auferstehung

an sich ist, liegt ausserhalb des Kreises der geschichtlichen

Untersuchung"), but also, that "for the faith of the disciples the

resurrection of Jesus became the most solid and most irrefutable

certainty. In this faith only Christianity gained a firm foothold of

its historical development. (In diesem Glauben hat erst das

Christenthum den festen Grund seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung

gewonnen.) What history requires as the necessary prerequisite of all

that follows is not so much the fact of the resurrection itself [?] as

the faith in that fact. In whatever light we may consider the

resurrection of Jesus, whether as an actual objective miracle or as a

subjective psychological one (als ein objectiv geschehenes Wunder, oder

als ein subjectiv psychologisches), even granting the possibility of

such a miracle, no psychological analysis can penetrate the inner

spiritual process by which in the consciousness of the disciples their

unbelief at the death of Jesus was transformed into a belief of his

resurrection .... We must rest satisfied with this, that for them the

resurrection of Christ was a fact of their consciousness, and had for

them all the reality of an historical event." (Ibid., pp. 39, 40.)

Baur's remarkable conclusion concerning the conversion of St. Paul

(ibid., pp. 44, 45) we shall consider in its proper place.

Dr. Ewald, of G�ttingen (d. 1874), the great orientalist and historian

of Israel, antagonistic to Baur, his equal in profound scholarship and

bold, independent, often arbitrary criticism, but superior in religious

sympathy with the genius of the Bible, discusses the resurrection of

Christ in his History of the Apostolic Age (Gesch. des Volkes Israel,

vol. VI. 52 sqq.), instead of his Life of Christ, and resolves it into

a purely spiritual, though long continued manifestation from heaven.

Nevertheless he makes the strong statement (p. 69) that "nothing is

historically more certain than that Christ rose from the dead and

appeared to his own, and that this their vision was the beginning of

their new higher faith and of an their Christian labors." "Nichts steht

geschichtlich fester," he says, "als dass Christus aus den Todten

auferstanden den Seinigen wiederschien und dass dieses ihr wiedersehen

der anfang ihres neuen h�hern glaubens und alles ihres Christlichen

wirkens selbst war. Es ist aber ebenso gewiss dass sie ihn nicht wie

einen gew�hnlichen menschen oder wie einen aus dem grabe aufsteigenden

schatten oder gespenst wie die sage von solchen meldet, sondern wie den

einzigen Sohn Gottes, wie ein durchaus schon �berm�chtiges und

�bermenschliches wesen wiedersahen und sich bei sp�teren

zur�ckerinnerungen nichts anderes denken konnten als dass jeder welcher

ihn wiederzusehen gew�rdigt sei auch sogleich unmittelbar seine einzige

g�ttliche w�rde erkannt und seitdem felsenfest daran geglaubt habe. Als

den �chten K�nig und Sohn Gottes hatten ihn aber die Zw�lfe und andre

schon im leben zu erkennen gelernt: der unterschied ist nur der dass

sie ihn jetzt auch nach seiner rein g�ttlichen seite und damit auch als

den �ber den tod siegreichen erkannt zu haben sich erinnerten. Zwischen

jenem gemeinen schauen des irdischen Christus wie er ihnen sowohl

bekannt war und diesem h�hern tieferregten entz�ckten schauen des

himmlischen ist also dock ein innerer zusammenhang, so dass sie ihn

auch jetzt in diesen ersten tagen und wochen nach seinem tode nie als

den himmlischen Messias geschauet h�tten wenn sie ihn nicht schon

vorher als den irdischen so wohl gekannt h�tten."

Dr. Keim, of Z�rich (d. at Giessen, 1879), an independent pupil of

Baur, and author of the most elaborate and valuable Life of Christ

which the liberal critical school has produced, after giving every

possible advantage to the mythical view of the resurrection, confesses

that it is, after all, a mere hypothesis and fails to explain the main

point. He says (Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, III. 600): "Nach allen

diesen Ueberlegungen wird man zugestehen m�ssen, dass auch die

neuerdings beliebt gewordene Theorie nur eine Hypothese ist, welche

Einiges erkl�rt, die Hauptsache nicht erkl�rt, ja im Ganzen und Grossen

das geschichtlich Bezeugte schiefen und hinf�lligen Gesichtspunkten

unterstellt. Misslingt aber gleichm�ssig der Versuch, die �berlieferte

Aufs Auferstehungsgeschichte festzuhalten, wie das Unternehmen, mit

Hilfe der paulinischen Visionen eine nat�rliche Erkl�rung des

Geschehenen aufzubauen, so bleibt f�r die Geschichte zun�chst kein Weg

�brig als der des Eingest�ndnisses, dass die Sagenhaftigkeit der

redseligen Geschichte und die dunkle K�rze der glaubw�rdigen Geschichte

es nicht gestattet, �ber die r�thselhaften Ausgange des Lebens Jesu, so

wichtig sie an und f�r sich und in der Einwirkung auf die

Weltgeschichte gewesen sind, ein sicheres unumst�ssliches Resultat zu

geben. F�r die Geschichte, sofern sie nur mit benannten evidenten

Zahlen und mit Reihen greifbarer anerkannter Ursachen und Wirkungen

rechnet, existirt als das Thats�chliche und Zweifellose lediglich der

feste Glaube der Apostel, dass Jesus auferstanden, und die ungeheure

Wirkung dieses Glaubens, die Christianisirung der Menschheit. On p. 601

he expresses the conviction that "it was the crucified and living

Christ who, not as the risen one, but rather as the divinely glorified

one (als der wenn nicht Auferstandene, so doch vielmehr himmlisch

Verherrlichte), gave visions to his disciples and revealed himself to

his society." In his last word on the great problem, Keim, in view of

the exhaustion and failure of the natural explanations, comes to the

conclusion, that we must either, with Dr. Baur, humbly confess our

ignorance, or return to the faith of the apostles who "have seen the

Lord" (John 20:25). See the third and last edition of his abridged

Geschichte Jesu, Z�rich, 1875, p. 362.

Dr. Schenkel, of Heidelberg, who in his Charakterbild Jesu (third ed.

1864, pp. 231 sqq.) had adopted the vision-theory in its higher form as

a purely spiritual, though real manifestation from heaven, confesses in

his latest work, Das Christusbild der Apostel (1879, p. 18), his

inability to solve the problem of the resurrection of Christ, and says:

"Niemals wird es der Forschung gelingen, das R�thsel des

Auferstehungsglaubens zu ergr�nden. Nichts aber steht fester in der

Geschichte als die Thatsache dieses Glaubens; auf ihm beruht die

Stiftung der christlichen Gemeinschaft ... Der Visionshypothese, welche

die Christuserscheinungen der J�nger aus Sinnest�uschungen erkl�ren

will, die in einer Steigerung des 'Gem�ths und Nervenlebens' ihre

physische und darum auch psychische Ursache hatten,... steht vor allem

die Grundfarbe der Stimmung in den J�ngern, namentlich in Petrus, im

Wege: die tiefe Trauer, das gesunkene Selbstvertrauen, die nagende

Gewissenspein, der verlorne Lebensmuth. Wie soll aus einer solchen

Stimmung das verkl�rte Bild des Auferstandenen hervorgehen, mit dieser

unverw�stlichen Sicherheit und unzerst�rbaren Freudigkeit, durch welche

der Auferstehungsglaube die Christengemeinde in allen St�rmen und

Verfolgungen aufrecht zu erhalten vermochte?"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[209] Acts 2:24, 32; Rom. 6:4; l0:9; 1 Cor. 15:15; Eph. 1:20; 1 Pet.

1:21.

[210] John 2:19; 10:17, 18. In like manner the first advent of the Lord

is represented as his own voluntary act and as a mission from the

Father, John 8:42: ego' ek teou exelthen Kai-i' heko oude-i' ga'r ap

emautou elelutha, all ekeino's me apesteilen.)

[211] Rom. 6:9, 10. Neander (Leben Jesu, pp. 596 and 597 of the 6th

Germ. ed.) makes some excellent remarks on this inseparable connection

between the resurrection and the ascension, and says that the asc

ension would stand fast as a supernatural fact even if Luke had not

said a word about it. A temporary resurrection followed by another

death could never have become the foundation of a church.

[212] 1 Cor. 15:13-19; comp. Rom. 4:25, where Paul represents Christ's

death and resurrection in inseparable connection, as the sum and

substance of the whole gospel.

[213] Ewald makes the striking remark (VI. 90) that the resurrection is

"the culmination of all the miraculous events which are conceivable

from the beginning of history to its close."

[214] Matt. 16:21-23; 17:9, 22, 23; 20:17-20; Mark 8:31; 9:9, 10, 31,

32 ("they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask him");

Luke 9:22, 44, 45; 18:31-34; 24:6-8; John 2:21, 22; 3:14; 8:28; 10:17,

18; 12:32.

[215] The devoted women went to the sepulchre on the first Christian

Sabbath, not to see it empty but to embalm the body with spices for its

long rest, Mark 16:1; Luke 23:56; and when they told the eleven what

they saw, their words seemed to them "as idle talk," and "they

disbelieved them," Luke 24:11. Comp. Matt. 28:17 ("some doubted"); Mark

16: 8 ("they were afraid"); John 20:25.

[216] Dr. Baur states the contrast tersely thus: "Zwischen dem Tod

[Jesu]und seiner Auferstehung liegt ein so tiefes undurchdringliches

Dunkel, dass man nach so gewaltsam zerrissenem und so wundervoll

wiederhergestelltem Zusammenhange sich gleichsam auf einem neuen

Schauplatz der Geschichte sieht."Compare his remarks at the close of

this section. Dr. Ewald describes the depression and sudden exaltation

of the disciples more fully with his usual force (vol. vi. 54 sqq.). I

will quote also the description of Renan, at the beginning of the first

chapter of his work, Les Ap�tres: "J�sus, quoique parlant sans cesse de

r�surrection, de nouvelle vie, n'avait jamais dit bien clairement qu'il

ressusciterait en sa chair. Les disciples, (dans les premi�res heures

qui suivirent sa mort, n'avaient � cet �gard aucune esp�rance arr�t�e.

Les sentimentsdont ils nous font la naive confidence supposent m�me

qu'ils croyaient tout fini. Ils pleurent et enterrent leur ami, sinon

comme un mort vulgaire, du moins comme une personne dont la perte est

irr�parable (Marc 16:10; Luc 24:17, 21) ils sont tristes et abattus;

l'espoir qu'ils avaient eu de le voir realiser le salut d'Isra�l est

convaincu de vanit�; on dirait des hommes qui ont perdu une grande et

ch�re illusion. Mais l' enthousiasme et l'amour ne connaissent par les

situations sans issue. Ils se jouentde l'impossible, et plutot que

d'abdiquer l'esp�rance, ils font violence � toute r�alit�," etc.

[217] Matt. 28:18-20; Mark 16:15, 16; Luke 24;46-48; John 20:21-23;

Acts 1:8.

[218] So Meyer says, who is one of the fairest as well as most careful

exegetes (Com. on John, 5th Germ. ed., p. 643). I will add the

observations of Canon Farrar (Life of Christ, vol. II 432): "The

lacunae, the compressions, the variations, the actual differences, the

subjectivity of the narrators as affected by spiritual revelations,

render all harmonies at the best uncertain. Our belief in the

resurrection, as an historic fact, as absolutely well attested to us by

subsequent and contemporary circumstances as any other event in

history, rests on grounds far deeper, wider, more spiritual, more

eternal, than can be shaken by divergences of which we can only say

that they are not necessarily contradictions, but of which the true

solution is no longer attainable. Hence the 'ten discrepancies' which

have been dwelt on since the days of Celsus, have never for one hour

shaken the faith of Christendom. The phenomena presented by the

narratives are exactly such as we should expect, derived as they are

from different witnesses, preserved at first in oral tradition only,

and written 1,800 years ago at a period when minute circumstantial

accuracy, distinguished from perfect truthfulness, was little regarded.

St. Paul, surely no imbecile or credulous enthusiast, vouches, both for

the reality of the appearances, and also for the fact that the vision

by which he was himself converted came, at a long interval after the

rest, to him as to the 'abortive-born' of the apostolic family (1 Cor.

15:4-8). If the narratives of Christ's appearance to his disciples were

inventions, how came they to possess the severe and simple character

which shows no tinge of religious excitement? If those appearances were

purely subjective, how can we account for their sudden, rapid, and

total cessation ? As Lange finely says, the great fugue of the first

Easter tidings has not come to us as a 'monotonous chorale,' and mere

boyish verbal criticism cannot understand the common feeling and

harmony which inspire the individual vibrations of those enthusiastic

and multitudinous voices (vol. V. 61). Professor Westcott, with his

usual profundity, and insight, points out the differences of purpose in

the narrative of the four Evangelists. St. Matthew dwells chiefly on

the majesty and glory of the Resurrection; St. Mark, both in the

original part and in the addition (Mark 16:9-20), insists upon it as a

fact; St. Luke, as a spiritual necessity; St. John, as a touchstone of

character (Introd. 310-315).

[219] This theory was invented by the Jewish priests who crucified the

Lord, and knew it to be false, Matt. 27:62-66; 28:12-15. The lie was

repeated and believed, like many other lies, by credulous infidels,

first by malignant Jews at the time of Justin Martyr, then by Celsus,

who learned it from them, but wavered between it and the vision-theory,

and was renewed in the eighteenth century by Reimarus in the

Wolfenb�ttel Fragments. Salvador, a French Jew, has again revived and

modified it by assuming (according to Hase, Geschichte Jesu, p. 132)

that Jesus was justly crucified, and was saved by the wife of Pilate

through Joseph of Arimathaea or some Galilean women; that he retired

among the Essenes and appeared secretly to a few of his disciples. (See

his J�sus Christ et sa doctrine, Par. 1838.) Strauss formerly defended

the vision-hypothesis (see below), but at the close of his life, when

he exchanged his idealism and pantheism for materialism and atheism, he

seems to have relapsed into this disgraceful theory of fraud; for in

his Old and New Faith (1873) he was not ashamed to call the

resurrection of Christ "a world-historical humbug." Truth or falsehood:

there is no middle ground.

[220] The Scheintod-Hypothese (as the Germans call it) was ably

advocated by Paulus of Heidelberg (1800), and modified by Gfr�rer

(1838), who afterwards became a Roman Catholic. We are pained to add

Dr. Hase (Gesch. Jesu, 1876, p. 601), who finds it necessary, however,

to call to aid a "special providence," to maintain some sort of

consistency with his former advocacy of the miracle of the

resurrection, when he truly said (Leben Jesu, p. 269, 5th ed. 1865):

"Sonach ruht die Wahrheit der Auferstehung unersch�tterlich auf dem

Zeugnisse, ja auf dem Dasein der apostolischen Kirche."

[221] Dr. Strauss (in his second Leben Jesu, 1864, p. 298) thus

strikingly and conclusively refutes the swoon-theory: "Ein halbtodt aus

dem Grabe Hervorgekrochener, siech Umherschleichender, der �rztlichen

Pflege, des Verbandes, der St�rkung und Schonung Bed�rftiger, und am

Ende doch dem Leiden Erliegender konnte auf die J�nger unm�glich den

Eindruck des Sieqers �ber Tod und Grab, des Lebensf�rsten machen, der

ihrem sp�tern Auftreten zu Grunde lag. Ein solches Wiederaufleben h�tte

den Eindruck, den er im Leben und Tode auf sie gemacht hatte, nur

schw�chen, denselben h�chstens elegisch ausklingen lassen, unm�glich

aber ihre Trauer in Beigeisterung verwandeln, ihre Verehrung zur

Anbetung steigern k�nnen." Dr. Hase (p. 603) unjustly calls this

exposure of the absurdity of his own view, "Straussische

Tendenzmalerei."Even more effective is the refutation of the

swoon-theory by Dr. Keim (Leben Jesu v. Naz. III. 576): "Und dann das

Unm�glichste: der arme, schwache, kranke, m�hsam auf den F�ssen

erhaltene, versteckte, verkleidete, schliesslich hinsterbende Jesus ein

Gegenstand des Glaubens, des Hochgef�hles, des Triumphes seiner

Anh�nger, ein auferstandener Sieger und Gottessohn! In der That hier

beginnt die Theorie armselig, abgeschmackt, ja verwerflich zu werden,

indem sie die Apostel als arme Betrogene, oder gar mit Jesus selber als

Betr�ger zeigt. Denn vom Scheintod hatte man auch damals einen Begriff,

und die Lage Jesu musste zeigen, dass hier von Auferstehung nicht die

Rede war; hielt man ihn doch f�r auferstanden, gab er sich selbst als

auferstanden, so. fehlte das n�chterne Denken, und h�tete er sich gar,

seinen Zustand zu verrathen, so fehlte am Ende auch die Ehrlichkeit.

Aus allen diesen Gr�nden ist der Scheintod von der Neuzeit fast

ausnahmslos verworfen worden."

[222] The vision-hypothesis (Visions-Hypothese)was first suggested by

the heathen Celsus (see Keim, III. 577), and in a more respectful form

by the Jewish philosopher Spinoza, and elaborately carried out by

Strauss and Renan, with the characteristic difference, however, that

Strauss traces the resurrection dream to the apostles in Galilee, Renan

(after Celsus) to Mary Magdalene in Jerusalem, saying, in his Life of

Jesus (almost blasphemously), that "the passion of a hallucinated woman

gave to the world a risen God!" In his work on the Apostles, Renan

enters more fully into the question and again emphasizes, in the

genuine style of a French novelist, the part of the Magdalene."La

gloire de la r�surrection (he says, p. 13) appartient � Marie de,

Magdala. Apres J�sus, c'est Marie qui a le plus fait pour la fondation

du christianisme. L'ombre cr��e par les sens d�licats de Madeleine

plane encore sur le monde .... Sa grande affirmation de femme: 'Il est

resuscit�!' a �t� la base de la foi de l'humanit�."The vision-theory

has also been adopted and defended by Zeller, Holsten (in an able

treatise on the Gospel of Paul and Peter, 1868), Lang, Volkmar,

R�ville, Scholten, Meijboom, Kuenen, Hooykaas. Comp. Keim, III. 579

sqq. Among English writers the anonymous author of Supernatural

Religion is its chief champion, and states it in these words (vol. III.

526, Lond. ed. of 1879): "The explanation which we offer, and which has

long been adopted in various forms by able critics" [among whom, in a

foot-note, he falsely quotes Ewald] "is, that doubtless Jesus was seen

Gr. (wjvfqh), but the vision was not real and objective, but illusory

and subjective; that is to say, Jesus was not himself seen, but only a

representation of Jesus within the minds of the beholders." On the

other hand Ewald, Schenkel, Alex. Schweizer, and Keim have essentially

modified the theory by giving the resurrection-visions an objective

character and representing them as real though purely spiritual

manifestations of the exalted Christ from heaven. Hase calls this view

happily a Verhimmelung der Visionshypothese (Gesch. Jesu, p. 597). It

is certainly a great improvement and a more than half-way approach to

the truth, but it breaks on the rock of the empty sepulchre. It does

not and cannot tell us what became of the body of Christ.

[223] The author of Supernatural Religion (III. 530), calls to aid even

Luther's vision of the devil on the Wartburg, and especially the

apparition of Lord Byron after his death to Sir Walter Scott in clear

moonshine; and he fancies that in the first century it would have been

mistaken for reality.

[224] It is utterly baseless when Ewald and Renan extend these visions

of Christ for months and years."Ces grands r�ves m�lancoliques," says

Renan (Les Ap�tres, 34, 36), "ces entretiens sans cesse interrompus et

recommec�s avec le mort ch�ri remplissaient les jours et les mois ....

Pr�s d'un an s'�coula dans cette vie suspendue entre le ciel et la

terre. Le charme, loin de d�cro�tre, augmentait," etc. Even Keim, III

598, protests against this view.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 20. Sources and Literature of the Apostolic Age.

I. Sources.

1. The Canonical Books of the New Testament.--The twenty-seven books of

the New Testament are better supported than any ancient classic, both

by a chain of external testimonies which reaches up almost to the close

of the apostolic age, and by the internal evidence of a spiritual depth

and unction which raises them far above the best productions of the

second century. The church has undoubtedly been guided by the Holy

Spirit in the selection and final determination of the Christian canon.

But this does, of course, not supersede the necessity of criticism, nor

is the evidence equally strong in the case of the seven Eusebian

Antilegomena. The T�bingen and Leyden schools recognized at first only

five books of the New Testament as authentic, namely, four Epistles of

Paul-Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians--and the

Revelation of John. But the progress of research leads more and more to

positive results, and nearly all the Epistles of Paul now find

advocates among liberal critics. (Hilgenfeld and Lipsius admit seven,

adding First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon; Renan concedes

also Second Thessalonians, and Colossians to be Pauline, thus swelling

the number of genuine Epistles to nine.) The chief facts and doctrines

of apostolic Christianity are sufficiently guaranteed even by those

five documents, which are admitted by the extreme left of modern

criticism.

The Acts of the Apostles give us the external, the Epistles the

internal history of primitive Christianity. They are independent

contemporaneous compositions and never refer to each other; probably

Luke never read the Epistles of Paul, and Paul never read the Acts of

Luke, although he no doubt supplied much valuable information to Luke.

But indirectly they illustrate and confirm each other by a number of

coincidences which have great evidential value, all the more as these

coincidences are undesigned and incidental. Had they been composed by

post-apostolic writers, the agreement would have been more complete,

minor disagreements would have been avoided, and the lacunae in the

Acts supplied, especially in regard to the closing labors and death of

Peter and Paul.

The Acts bear on the face all the marks of an original, fresh, and

trustworthy narrative of contemporaneous events derived from the best

sources of information, and in great part from personal observation and

experience. The authorship of Luke, the companion of Paul, is conceded

by a majority of the best modern scholars, even by Ewald. And this fact

alone establishes the credibility. Renan (in his St. Paul, ch. 1)

admirably calls the Acts "a book of joy, of serene ardor. Since the

Homeric poems no book has been seen full of such fresh sensations. A

breeze of morning, an odor of the sea, if I dare express it so,

inspiring something joyful and strong, penetrates the whole book, and

makes it an excellent compagnon de voyage, the exquisite breviary for

him who is searching for ancient remains on the seas of the south. This

is the second idyl of Christianity. The Lake of Tiberias and its

fishing barks had furnished the first. Now, a more powerful breeze,

aspirations toward more distant lands, draw us out into the open sea."

2. The Post-Apostolic and Patristic writings are full of reminiscences

of, and references to, the apostolic books, and as dependent on them as

the river is upon its fountain.

3. The Apocryphal and Heretical literature. The numerous Apocryphal

Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses were prompted by the same motives of

curiosity and dogmatic interest as the Apocryphal Gospels, and have a

similar apologetic, though very little historical, value. The heretical

character is, however, more strongly marked. They have not yet been

sufficiently investigated. Lipsius (in Smith and Wace's, "Dict. of

Christ. Biog." vol. I. p. 27) divides the Apocryphal Acts into four

classes: (1) Ebionitic; (2) Gnostic; (3) originally Catholic; (4)

Catholic adaptations or recensions of heretical documents. The last

class is the most numerous, rarely older than the fifth century, but

mostly resting on documents from the second and third centuries.

(a) Apocryphal Acts: Acta Petri et Pauli (of Ebionite origin, but

recast), Acta Pauli et Theclae (mentioned by Tertullian at the end of

the second century, of Gnostic origin), Acta Thomae (Gnostic), Acta

Matthaei, Acta Thaddei, Martyrium Bartholomaei, Acta Barnabae, Acta

Andreae, Acta Andreae et Mathiae, Acta Philippi, Acta Johannis, Acta

Simonis et Judae, Acta Thaddaei, The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle

(ed. in Syriac and English by Dr. G. Phillips, London, 1876).

(b) Apocryphal Epistles: the correspondence between Paul and Seneca

(six by Paul and eight by Seneca, mentioned by Jerome and Augustine),

the third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, Epistolae Mariae,

Epistolae Petri ad Jacobum.

(c) Apocryphal Apocalypses: Apocalypsis Johannis, Apocalypsis Petri,

Apocalypsis Pauli (or anabatikon Paulou, based on the report of his

rapture into Paradise, 2 Cor. 12:2-4), Apocalypsis Thomae, Apoc.

Stephani, Apoc. Mariae, Apoc. Mosis, Apoc. Esdrae.

Editions and Collections:

Fabricius: Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti. Hamburg, 1703, 2d ed.

1719, 1743, 3 parts in 2 vols. (vol. II.)

Grabe: Spicilegium Patrum et Haereticorum. Oxford, 1698, ed. II. 1714.

Birch: Auctarium Cod. Apoc. N. Ti Fabrician. Copenh. 1804 (Fasc. I.).

Contains the pseudo-Apocalypse of John.

Thilo: Acta Apost. Petri et Pauli. Halis, 1838. Acta Thomae. Lips.

1823.

Tischendorf: Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha. Lips. 1851.

Tischendorf: Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Joannis, item

Mariae Dormitio. Lips. 1866.

R. A. Lipsius: Die apokryph Apostel geschichten und Apostel legenden.

Leipz. 1883 sq. 2 vols.

4. Jewish sources: Philo and Josephus, see � 14, p. 92. Josephus is

all-important for the history of the Jewish war and the destruction of

Jerusalem, a.d. 70, which marks the complete rapture of the Christian

Church with the Jewish synagogue and temple. The apocryphal Jewish, and

the Talmudic literature supplies information and illustrations of the

training of the Apostles and the form of their teaching and the

discipline and worship of the primitive church. Lightfoot, Sch�ttgen,

Castelli, Delitzsch, W�nsche, Siegfried, Sch�rer, and a few others have

made those sources available for the exegete and historian. Comp. here

also the Jewish works of Jost, Graetz, and Geiger, mentioned � 9, p.

61, and Hamburger's Real-Ecyclop�die des Judenthums (f�r Bibel und

Talmud), in course of publication.

5. Heathen writers: Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, Lucian, Celsus,

Porphyry, Julian. They furnish only fragmentary, mostly incidental,

distorted and hostile information, but of considerable apologetic

value.

Comp. Nath. Lardner (d. 1768): Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen

Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion. Originally

published in 4 vols. Lond. 1764-'67, and then in the several editions

of his Works (vol. VI. 365-649, ed. Kippis).

II. Histories of the Apostolic Age.

William Cave (Anglican, d. 1713): Lives of the Apostles, and the two

Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke. Lond. 1675, new ed. revised by H.

Cary, Oxford, 1840 (reprinted in New York, 1857). Comp. also Cave's

Primitive Christianity, 4th ed. Lond. 1862.

Joh. Fr. Buddeus (Luth., d. at Jena, 1729): Ecclesia Apostolica. Jen.

1729.

George Benson (d. 1763): History of the First Planting of the Christian

Religion. Lond. 1756, 3 vols. 4to (in German by Bamberger, Halle,

1768).

J. J. Hess (d. at Zurich, 1828): Geschichte der Apostel Jesu. Z�r.

1788; 4th ed. 1820.

Gottl. Jac. Planck (d. in G�ttingen, 1833): Geschichte des

Christenthums in der Periode seiner Einf�hrung in die Welt durch Jesum

und die Apostel. G�ttingen, 1818, 2 vols.

\*Aug. Neander (d. in Berlin, 1850): Geschichte der Pflanzung und

Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel. Hamb. 1832. 2 vols.;

4th ed. revised 1847. The same in English (History of the Planting and

Training of the Christ. Church), by J. E. Ryland, Edinb. 1842, and in

Bohn's Standard Library, Lond. 1851; reprinted in Philad. 1844; revised

by E. G. Robinson, N. York, 1865. This book marks an epoch and is still

valuable.

F. C. Albert Schwegler (d. at T�bingen, 1857): Das nachapostolische

Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung. T�bingen, 1845,

1846, 2 vols. An ultra-critical attempt to transpose the apostolic

literature (with the exception of five books) into the post-apostolic

age.

\*Ferd. Christ. Baur (d. 1860): Das Christenthum und die christliche

Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. T�bingen, 1853, 2d revised ed.

1860 (536 pp.). The third edition is a mere reprint or title edition of

the second and forms the first volume of his General Church History,

edited by his son, in 5 vols. 1863. It is the last and ablest

exposition of the T�bingen reconstruction of the apostolic history from

the pen of the master of that school. See vol. I. pp. 1-174. English

translation by Allen Menzies, in 2 vols. Lond. 1878 and 1879. Comp.

also Baur's Paul, second ed. by Ed. Zeller, 1866 and 1867, and

translated by A. Menzies, 2 vols. 1873, 1875. Baur's critical

researches have compelled a thorough revision of the traditional views

on the apostolic age, and have so far been very useful, notwithstanding

their fundamental errors.

A. P. Stanley (Dean of Westminster): Sermons and Essays on the

Apostolic Age. Oxford, 1847. 3d ed. 1874.

\*Heinrich W. J. Thiersch (Irvingite, died 1885 in Basle): Die Kirche im

apostolischen Zeitalter. Francf. a. M. 1852; 3d ed. Augsburg, 1879,

"improved," but very slightly. (The same in English from the first ed.

by Th. Carlyle. Lond. 1852.)

\*J. P. Lange (d. 1884):Das apostolische Zeitalter. Braunschw. 1854. 2

vols.

Philip Schaff: History of the Apostolic Church, first in German,

Mercersburg, Penns. 1851; 2d ed. enlarged, Leipzig, 1854; English

translation by Dr. E. D. Yeomans, N. York, 1853, in 1 vol.; Edinb.

1854, in 2 vols.; several editions without change. (Dutch translation

from the second Germ. ed. by T. W. Th. Lublink Weddik, Tiel, 1857.)

\*G. V. Lechler (Prof. in Leipzig): Das apostolische und das

nachapostolische Zeitalter. 2d ed. 1857; 3d ed. thoroughly revised,

Leipzig, 1885. Engl. trsl. by Miss Davidson, Edinb. 1887. Conservative.

\*Albrecht Ritschl (d. in G�ttingen, 1889): Die Entstehung der

altkatholischen Kirche. 2d ed. Bonn, 1857. The first edition was in

harmony with the T�bingen School; but the second is materially

improved, and laid the foundation for the Ritschl School.

\*Heinrich Ewald (d. at G�ttingen, 1874): Geschichte des Volkes Israel,

vols. VI. and VII. 2d ed. G�ttingen, 1858 and 1859. Vol. VI. of this

great work contains the History of the Apostolic Age to the destruction

of Jerusalem; vol. VII. the History of the post-Apostolic Age to the

reign of Hadrian. English translation of the History of Israel by R.

Martineau and J. E. Carpenter. Lond. 1869 sqq. A trans. of vols. VI.

and VII. is not intended. Ewald (the "Urvogel von G�ttingen") pursued

an independent path in opposition both to the traditional orthodoxy and

to the T�bingen school, which he denounced as worse than heathenish.

See Preface to vol. VII.

\*E. de Pressens�: Histoire des trois premiers si�cles de l'�glise

chr�tienne. Par. 1858 sqq. 4 vols. German translation by E. Fabarius

(Leipz. 1862-'65); English translation by Annie Harwood-Holmden (Lond.

and N. York, 1870, new ed. Lond. 1879). The first volume contains the

first century under the title Le si�cle apostolique; rev. ed. 1887.

\*Joh. Jos. Ign. von D�llinger (Rom. Cath., since 1870 Old Cath.):

Christenthum und Kirche in der Zeit der Gr�ndung. Regensburg, 1860. 2d

ed. 1868. The same translated into English by H. N. Oxenham. London,

1867.

C. S. Vaughan: The Church of the First Days. Lond. 1864-'65. 3 vols.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.

N. Sepp (Rom. Cath.): Geschichte der Apostel Jesu his zur Zerst�rung

Jerusalems. Schaffhausen, 1866.

C. Holsten: Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus. Rostock, 1868

(447 pp.).

Paul Wilh. Schmidt und Franz v. Holtzendorf: Protestanten-Bibel Neuen

Testaments. Zweite, revid. Auflage. Leipzig, 1874. A popular exegetical

summary of the T�bingen views with contributions from Bruch,

Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Lipsius, Pfleiderer and others.

A. B. Bruce (Professor in Glasgow): The Training of the Twelve.

Edinburgh, 1871, second ed. 1877.

\*Ernest Renan (de l'Acad�mie Francaise): Histoire des origines du

Christianisme. Paris, 1863 sqq. The first volume is Vie de J�sus, 1863,

noticed in � 14 (pp. 97 and 98); then followed II. Les Ap�tres, 1866;

III. St. Paul, 1869; IV. L'Antechrist, 1873; V. Les �vangiles, 1877;

VI. L'�glise Chr�tienne, 1879; VII. and last volume, Marc-Aur�le, 1882.

The II., III., IV., and V. volumes belong to the Apostolic age; the

last two to the next. The work of a sceptical outsider, of brilliant

genius, eloquence, and secular learning. It increases in value as it

advances. The Life of Jesus is the most interesting and popular, but

also by far the most objectionable volume, because it deals almost

profanely with the most sacred theme.

Emil Ferri�re: Les Ap�tres. Paris, 1875.

Supernatural Religion. An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine

Revelation. Lond. 1873, (seventh), "complete ed., carefully revised,"

1879, 3 vols. This anonymous work is an English reproduction and

repository of the critical speculations of the T�bingen School of Baur,

Strauss, Zeller, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, etc. It may be called

an enlargement of Schwegler's Nachapostolisches Zeitalter. The first

volume is mostly taken up with a philosophical discussion of the

question of miracles; the remainder of vol. I. (pp. 212-485) and vol.

II. contain an historical inquiry into the apostolic origin of the

canonical Gospels, with a negative result. The third volume discusses

the Acts, the Epistles and the Apocalypse, and the evidence for the

Resurrection and Ascension, which are resolved into hallucinations or

myths. Starting with the affirmation of the antecedent incredibility of

miracles, the author arrives at the conclusion of their impossibility;

and this philosophical conclusion determines the historical

investigation throughout. Dr. Sch�rer, in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung"

for 1879, No. 26 (p. 622), denies to this work scientific value for

Germany, but gives it credit for extraordinary familiarity with recent

German literature and great industry in collecting historical details.

Drs. Lightfoot, Sanday, Ezra Abbot, and others have exposed the defects

of its scholarship, and the false premises from which the writer

reasons. The rapid sale of the work indicates the extensive spread of

skepticism and the necessity of fighting over again, on Anglo-American

ground, the theological battles of Germany and Holland; it is to be

hoped with more triumphant success.

\*J. B. Lightfoot (Bishop of Durham since 1879): A series of elaborate

articles against "Supernatural Religion," in the "Contemporary Review"

for 1875 to 1877. They should be republished in book form. Comp. also

the reply of the anonymous author in the lengthy preface to the sixth

edition. Lightfoot's Commentaries on Pauline Epistles contain valuable

Excursuses on several historical questions of the apostolic age,

especially St. Paul and the Three, in the Com. on the Galatians, pp.

283-355.

W. Sanday: The Gospels in the Second Century. London, 1876. This is

directed against the critical part of "Supernatural Religion." The

eighth chapter on Marcion's Gnostic mutilation and reconstruction of

St. Luke's Gospel (pp. 204 sqq.) had previously appeared in the

"Fortnightly Review" for June, 1875, and finishes on English soil, a

controversy which had previously been fought out on German soil, in the

circle of the T�bingen School. The preposterous hypothesis of the

priority of Marcion's Gospel was advocated by Ritschl, Baur and

Schwegler, but refuted by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, of the same school;

whereupon Baur and Ritschl honorably abandoned their error. The

anonymous author of "Supernatural Religion," in his seventh edition,

has followed their example. The Germans conducted the controversy

chiefly under its historic and dogmatic aspects; Sanday has added the

philological and textual argument with the aid of Holtzmann's analysis

of the style and vocabulary of Luke.

A. Hausrath (Prof. in Heidelberg): Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.

Heidelberg, 1873 sqq. Parts II. and III. (second ed. 1875) embrace the

apostolic times, Part IV. (1877) the post-apostolic times. English

translation by Poynting and Quenzer. Lond. 1878 sqq. H. belongs to the

School of T�bingen.

Dan. Schenkel (Prof. in Heidelberg): Das Christusbild der Apostel und

der nachapostolischen Zeit. Leipz. 1879. Comp. the review by H.

Holtzmann in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol." 1879, p.

392.

H. Oort and I. Hooykaas: The Bible for Learners, translated from the

Dutch by Philip H. Wicksteed, vol. III. (the New Test., by Hooykaas),

Book III. pp. 463-693 of the Boston ed. 1879. (In the Engl. ed. it is

vol. VI.) This is a popular digest of the rationalistic T�bingen and

Leyden criticism under the inspiration of Dr. A. Kuenen, Professor of

Theology at Leyden. It agrees substantially with the Protestanten-Bibel

noticed above.

\*George P. Fisher (Prof. in Yale College, New Haven): The Beginnings of

Christianity. N. York, 1877. Comp. also the author's former work:

Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity, with special

reference to the Theories of Renan, Strauss, and the T�bingen School.

New York, 1865. New ed. enlarged, 1877.

\*C. Weizs�cker (successor of Baur in T�bingen): Das Apostolische

Zeitalter. Freiburg, 1886. Critical and very able.

\*O. Pfleiderer (Prof. in Berlin): Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften

und Lehren. Berlin, 1887. (T�bingen School.)

III. The Chronology of the Apostolic Age.

Rudolph Anger: De temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione. Lips. 1833

(208 pp.).

Henry Browne: Ordo Saeculorum. A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy

Scriptures. Lond. 1844. Pp. 95-163.

Karl Wieseler: Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters. G�ttingen,

1848 (606 pp.).

The older and special works are noticed in Wieseler, pp. 6-9. See also

the elaborate Synopsis of the dates of the Apostolic Age in Sch�ffer's

translation of Lechler on Acts (in the Am. ed. of Lange's Commentary);

Henry B. Smith's Chronological Tables of Church History (1860); and

Weingarten: Zeittafeln zur K-Gesch. 3d ed. 1888.

�21. General Character of the Apostolic Age.

"Der Schlachtruf, der St. Pauli Brust entsprungen,

Rief nicht sein Echo auf zu tausend Streiten?

Und welch' ein Friedensecho hat geklungen

Durch tausend Herzen von Johannis Saiten!

Wie viele rasche Feuer sind entglommen

Als Wiederschein von Petri Funkenspr�hen!

Und sieht man Andre still mit Opfern kommen,

Ist's, weil sie in Jakobi Schul'gediehen:--

Ein Satz ist's, der in Variationen

Vom ersten Anfang fortt�nt durch Aeonen."

(Tholuck.)

Extent and Environment of the Apostolic Age.

The apostolic period extends from the Day of Pentecost to the death of

St. John, and covers about seventy years, from a.d. 30 to 100. The

field of action is Palestine, and gradually extends over Syria, Asia

Minor, Greece, and Italy. The most prominent centres are Jerusalem,

Antioch, and Rome, which represent respectively the mother churches of

Jewish, Gentile, and United Catholic Christianity. Next to them are

Ephesus and Corinth. Ephesus acquired a special importance by the

residence and labors of John, which made themselves felt during the

second century through Polycarp and Irenaeus. Samaria, Damascus, Joppa,

Caesarea, Tyre, Cyprus, the provinces of Asia Minor, Troas, Philippi,

Thessalonica, Beraea, Athens, Crete, Patmos, Malta, Puteoli, come also

into view as points where the Christian faith was planted. Through the

eunuch converted by Philip, it reached Candace, the queen of the

Ethiopians. [225] As early as a.d. 58 Paul could say: "From Jerusalem

and round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel

of Christ." [226] He afterwards carried it to Rome, where it had

already been known before, and possibly as far as Spain, the western

boundary of the empire. [227]

The nationalities reached by the gospel in the first century were the

Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, and the languages used were the

Hebrew or Aramaic, and especially the Greek, which was at that time the

organ of civilization and of international intercourse within the Roman

empire.

The contemporary secular history includes the reigns of the Roman

Emperors from Tiberius to Nero and Domitian, who either ignored or

persecuted Christianity. We are brought directly into contact with King

Herod Agrippa I. (grandson of Herod the Great), the murderer of the

apostle, James the Elder; with his son King Agrippa II. (the last of

the Herodian house), who with his sister Bernice (a most corrupt woman)

listened to Paul's defense; with two Roman governors, Felix and Festus;

with Pharisees and Sadducees; with Stoics and Epicureans; with the

temple and theatre at Ephesus, with the court of the Areopagus at

Athens, and with Caesar's palace in Rome.

Sources of Information.

The author of Acts records the heroic march of Christianity from the

capital of Judaism to the capital of heathenism with the same artless

simplicity and serene faith as the Evangelists tell the story of Jesus;

well knowing that it needs no embellishment, no apology, no subjective

reflections, and that it will surely triumph by its inherent spiritual

power.

The Acts and the Pauline Epistles accompany us with reliable

information down to the year 63. Peter and Paul are lost out of sight

in the lurid fires of the Neronian persecution which seemed to consume

Christianity itself. We know nothing certain of that satanic spectacle

from authentic sources beyond the information of heathen historians.

[228] A few years afterwards followed the destruction of Jerusalem,

which must have made an overpowering impression and broken the last

ties which bound Jewish Christianity to the old theocracy. The event is

indeed brought before us in the prophecy of Christ as recorded in the

Gospels, but for the terrible fulfilment we are dependent on the

account of an unbelieving Jew, which, as the testimony of an enemy, is

all the more impressive.

The remaining thirty years of the first century are involved in

mysterious darkness, illuminated only by the writings of John. This is

a period of church history about which we know least and would like to

know most. This period is the favorite field for ecclesiastical fables

and critical conjectures. How thankfully would the historian hail the

discovery of any new authentic documents between the martyrdom of Peter

and Paul and the death of John, and again between the death of John and

the age of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus.

Causes of Success.

As to the numerical strength of Christianity at the close of the first

century, we have no information whatever. Statistical reports were

unknown in those days. The estimate of half a million among the one

hundred millions or more inhabitants of the Roman empire is probably

exaggerated. The pentecostal conversion of three thousand in one day at

Jerusalem, [229] and the "immense multitude" of martyrs under Nero,

[230] favor a high estimate. The churches in Antioch also, Ephesus, and

Corinth were strong enough to bear the strain of controversy and

division into parties. [231] But the majority of congregations were no

doubt small, often a mere handful of poor people. In the country

districts paganism (as the name indicates) lingered longest, even

beyond the age of Constantine. The Christian converts belonged mostly

to the middle and lower classes of society, such as fishermen,

peasants, mechanics, traders, freedmen, slaves. St. Paul says: "Not

many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were called,

but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to

shame them that are wise; and God chose the weak things of the world

that he might put to shame the things that are strong; and the base

things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose,

yea, and the things that are not, that he might bring to naught the

things that are: that no flesh should glory before God." [232] And yet

these poor, illiterate churches were the recipients of the noblest

gifts, and alive to the deepest problems and highest thoughts which can

challenge the attention of an immortal mind. Christianity built from

the foundation upward. From the lower ranks come the rising men of the

future, who constantly reinforce the higher ranks and prevent their

decay.

At the time of the conversion of Constantine, in the beginning of the

fourth century, the number of Christians may have reached ten or twelve

millions, that is about one-tenth of the total population of the Roman

empire. Some estimate it higher.

The rapid success of Christianity under the most unfavorable

circumstances is surprising and its own best vindication. It was

achieved in the face of an indifferent or hostile world, and by purely

spiritual and moral means, without shedding a drop of blood except that

of its own innocent martyrs. Gibbon, in the famous fifteenth chapter of

his "History," attributes the rapid spread to five causes, namely: (1)

the intolerant but enlarged religious zeal of the Christians inherited

from the Jews; (2) the doctrine of the immortality of the soul,

concerning which the ancient philosophers had but vague and dreamy

ideas; (3) the miraculous powers attributed to the primitive church;

(4) the purer but austere morality of the first Christians; (5) the

unity and discipline of the church, which gradually formed a growing

commonwealth in the heart of the empire. But every one of these causes,

properly understood, points to the superior excellency and to the

divine origin of the Christian religion, and this is the chief cause,

which the Deistic historian omits.

Significance of the Apostolic Age.

The life of Christ is the divine-human fountainhead of the Christian

religion; the apostolic age is the fountainhead of the Christian

church, as an organized society separate and distinct from the Jewish

synagogue. It is the age of the Holy Spirit, the age of inspiration and

legislation for all subsequent ages.

Here springs, in its original freshness and purity, the living water of

the new creation. Christianity comes down front heaven as a

supernatural fact, yet long predicted and prepared for, and adapted to

the deepest wants of human nature. Signs and wonders and extraordinary

demonstrations of the Spirit, for the conversion of unbelieving Jews

and heathens, attend its entrance into the world of sin. It takes up

its permanent abode with our fallen race, to transform it gradually,

without war or bloodshed, by a quiet, leaven-like process, into a

kingdom of truth and righteousness. Modest and humble, lowly and

unseemly in outward appearance, but steadily conscious of its divine

origin and its eternal destiny; without silver or gold, but rich in

supernatural gifts and powers, strong in faith, fervent in love, and

joyful in hope; bearing in earthen vessels the imperishable treasures

of heaven, it presents itself upon the stage of history as the only

true, the perfect religion, for all the nations of the earth. At first

an insignificant and even contemptible sect in the eyes of the carnal

mind, hated and persecuted by Jews and heathens, it confounds the

wisdom of Greece and the power of Rome, soon plants the standard of the

cross in the great cities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and proves

itself the hope of the world.

In virtue of this original purity, vigor, and beauty, and the permanent

success of primitive Christianity, the canonical authority of the

single but inexhaustible volume of its literature, and the character of

the apostles, those inspired organs of the Holy Spirit, those untaught

teachers of mankind, the apostolic age has an incomparable interest and

importance in the history of the church. It is the immovable groundwork

of the whole. It has the same regulative force for all the subsequent

developments of the church as the inspired writings of the apostles

have for the works of all later Christian authors.

Furthermore, the apostolic Christianity is preformative, and contains

the living germs of all the following periods, personages, and

tendencies. It holds up the highest standard of doctrine and

discipline; it is the inspiring genius of all true progress; it

suggests to every age its peculiar problem with the power to solve it.

Christianity can never outgrow Christ, but it grows in Christ; theology

cannot go beyond the word of God, but it must ever progress in the

understanding and application of the word of God. The three leading

apostles represent not only the three stages of the apostolic church,

but also as many ages and types of Christianity, and yet they are all

present in every age and every type. [233]

The Representative Apostles.

Peter, Paul, and John stand out most prominently as the chosen Three

who accomplished the great work of the apostolic age, and exerted, by

their writings and example, a controlling influence on all subsequent

ages. To them correspond three centres of influence, Jerusalem,

Antioch, and Rome.

Our Lord himself had chosen Three out of the Twelve for his most

intimate companions, who alone witnessed the Transfiguration and the

agony in Gethsemane. They fulfilled all the expectations, Peter and

John by their long and successful labors, James the Elder by drinking

early the bitter cup of his Master, as the proto-martyr of the Twelve.

[234] Since his death, a.d. 44, James, "the brother of the Lord" seems

to have succeeded him, as one of the three "pillars" of the church of

the circumcision, although he did not belong to the apostles in the

strict sense of the term, and his influence, as the head of the church

at Jerusalem, was more local than oecumenical. [235]

Paul was called last and out of the regular order, by the personal

appearance of the exalted Lord from heaven, and in authority and

importance he was equal to any of the three pillars, but filled a place

of his own, as the independent apostle of the Gentiles. He had around

him a small band of co-laborers and pupils, such as Barnabas, Silas,

Titus, Timothy, Luke.

Nine of the original Twelve, including Matthias, who was chosen in the

place of Judas, labored no doubt faithfully and effectively, in

preaching the gospel throughout the Roman empire and to the borders of

the barbarians, but in subordinate positions, and their labors are

known to us only from vague and uncertain traditions. [236]

The labors of James and Peter we can follow in the Acts to the Council

of Jerusalem, a.d. 50, and a little beyond; those of Paul to his first

imprisonment in Rome, a.d. 61-63; John lived to the close of the first

century. As to their last labors we have no authentic information in

the New Testament, but the unanimous testimony of antiquity that Peter

and Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome during or after the Neronian

persecution, and that John died a natural death at Ephesus. The Acts

breaks off abruptly with Paul still living and working, a prisoner in

Rome, "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning

the Lord Jesus Christ, with all boldness, none forbidding him." A

significant conclusion.

It would be difficult to find three men equally great and good, equally

endowed with genius sanctified by grace, bound together by deep and

strong love to the common Master, and laboring for the same cause, yet

so different in temper and constitution, as Peter, Paul, and John.

Peter stands out in history as the main pillar of the primitive church,

as the Rock-apostle, as the chief of the twelve foundation-stones of

the new Jerusalem; John as the bosom-friend of the Saviour, as the son

of thunder, as the soaring eagle, as the apostle of love; Paul as the

champion of Christian freedom and progress, as the greatest missionary,

with "the care of all the churches" upon his heart, as the expounder of

the Christian system of doctrine, as the father of Christian theology.

Peter was a man of action, always in haste and ready to take the lead;

the first to confess Christ, and the first to preach Christ on the day

of Pentecost; Paul a man equally potent in word and deed; John a man of

mystic contemplation. Peter was unlearned and altogether practical;

Paul a scholar and thinker as well as a worker; John a theosophist and

seer. Peter was sanguine, ardent, impulsive, hopeful, kind-hearted,

given to sudden changes, "consistently inconsistent" (to use an

Aristotelian phrase); Paul was choleric, energetic, bold, noble,

independent, uncompromising; John some what melancholic, introverted,

reserved, burning within of love to Christ and hatred of Antichrist.

Peter's Epistles are full of sweet grace and comfort, the result of

deep humiliation and rich experience; those of Paul abound in severe

thought and logical argument, but rising at times to the heights of

celestial eloquence, as in the seraphic description of love and the

triumphant paean of the eighth chapter of the Romans; John's writings

are simple, serene, profound, intuitive, sublime, inexhaustible.

We would like to know more about the personal relations of these

pillar-apostles, but must be satisfied with a few hints. They labored

in different fields and seldom met face to face in their busy life.

Time was too precious, their work too serious, for sentimental

enjoyments of friendship. Paul went to Jerusalem a.d. 40, three years

after his conversion, for the express purpose of making the personal

acquaintance of Peter, and spent two weeks with him; he saw none of the

other apostles, but only James, the Lord's brother. [237] He met the

pillar-apostles at the Conference in Jerusalem, a.d. 50, and concluded

with them the peaceful concordat concerning the division of labor, and

the question of circumcision; the older apostles gave him and Barnabas

"the right hands of fellowship" in token of brotherhood and fidelity.

[238] Not long afterwards Paul met Peter a third time, at Antioch, but

came into open collision with him on the great question of Christian

freedom and the union of Jewish and Gentile converts. [239] The

collision was merely temporary, but significantly reveals the profound

commotion and fermentation of the apostolic age, and foreshadowed

future antagonisms and reconciliations in the church. Several years

later (a.d. 57) Paul refers the last time to Cephas, and the brethren

of the Lord, for the right to marry and to take a wife with him on his

missionary journeys. [240] Peter, in his first Epistle to Pauline

churches, confirms them in their Pauline faith, and in his second

Epistle, his last will and testament, he affectionately commends the

letters of his "beloved brother Paul," adding, however, the

characteristic remark, which all commentators must admit to be true,

that (even beside the account of the scene in Antioch) there are in

them "some things hard to be understood." [241] According to tradition

(which varies considerably as to details), the great leaders of Jewish

and Gentile Christianity met at Rome, were tried and condemned

together, Paul, the Roman citizen, to the death by the sword on the

Ostian road at Tre Fontane; Peter, the Galilean apostle, to the more

degrading death of the cross on the hill of Janiculum. John mentions

Peter frequently in his Gospel, especially in the appendix, [242] but

never names Paul; he met him, as it seems, only once, at Jerusalem,

gave him the right hand of fellowship, became his successor in the

fruitful field of Asia Minor, and built on his foundation.

Peter was the chief actor in the first stage of apostolic Christianity

and fulfilled the prophecy of his name in laying the foundation of the

church among the Jews and the Gentiles. In the second stage he is

overshadowed by the mighty labors of Paul; but after the apostolic age

he stands out again most prominent in the memory of the church. He is

chosen by the Roman communion as its special patron saint and as the

first pope. He is always named before Paul. To him most of the churches

are dedicated. In the name of this poor fisherman of Galilee, who had

neither gold nor silver, and was crucified like a malefactor and a

slave, the triple-crowned popes deposed kings, shook empires, dispensed

blessings and curses on earth and in purgatory, and even now claim the

power to settle infallibly all questions of Christian doctrine and

discipline for the Catholic world.

Paul was the chief actor in the second stage of the apostolic church,

the apostle of the Gentiles, the founder of Christianity in Asia Minor

and Greece, the emancipator of the new religion from the yoke of

Judaism, the herald of evangelical freedom, the standard-bearer of

reform and progress. His controlling influence was felt also in Rome,

and is clearly seen in the genuine Epistle of Clement, who makes more

account of him than of Peter. But soon afterwards he is almost

forgotten, except by name. He is indeed associated with Peter as the

founder of the church of Rome, but in a secondary line; his Epistle to

the Romans is little read and understood by the Romans even to this

day; his church lies outside of the walls of the eternal city, while

St. Peter's is its chief ornament and glory. In Africa alone he was

appreciated, first by the rugged and racy Tertullian, more fully by the

profound Augustine, who passed through similar contrasts in his

religious experience; but Augustine's Pauline doctrines of sin and

grace had no effect whatever on the Eastern church, and were

practically overpowered in the Western church by Pelagian tendencies.

For a long time Paul's name was used and abused outside of the ruling

orthodoxy and hierarchy by anti-catholic heretics and sectaries in

their protest against the new yoke of traditionalism and ceremonialism.

But in the sixteenth century he celebrated a real resurrection and

inspired the evangelical reformation. Then his Epistles to the

Galatians and Romans were republished, explained, and applied with

trumpet tongues by Luther and Calvin. Then his protest against

Judaizing bigotry and legal bondage was renewed, and the rights of

Christian liberty asserted on the largest scale. Of all men in church

history, St. Augustine not excepted, Martin Luther, once a contracted

monk, then a prophet of freedom, has most affinity in word and work

with the apostle of the Gentiles, and ever since Paul's genius has

ruled the theology and religion of Protestantism. As the gospel of

Christ was cast out from Jerusalem to bless the Gentiles, so Paul's

Epistle to the Romans was expelled from Rome to enlighten and to

emancipate Protestant nations in the distant North and far West.

St. John, the most intimate companion of Jesus, the apostle of love,

the seer who looked back to the ante-mundane beginning and forward to

the post-mundane end of all things, and who is to tarry till the coming

of the Lord, kept aloof from active part in the controversies between

Jewish and Gentile Christianity. He appears prominent in the Acts and

the Epistle to the Galatians, as one of the pillar-apostles, but not a

word of his is reported. He was waiting in mysterious silence, with a

reserved force, for his proper time, which did not come till Peter and

Paul had finished their mission. Then, after their departure, he

revealed the hidden depths of his genius in his marvellous writings,

which represent the last and crowning work of the apostolic church.

John has never been fully fathomed, but it has been felt throughout all

the periods of church history that he has best understood and portrayed

the Master, and may yet speak the last word in the conflict of ages and

usher in an era of harmony and peace. Paul is the heroic captain of the

church militant, John the mystic prophet of the church triumphant.

Far above them all, throughout the apostolic age and all subsequent

ages, stands the one great Master from whom Peter, Paul, and John drew

their inspiration, to whom they bowed in holy adoration, whom alone

they served and glorified in life and in death, and to whom they still

point in their writings as the perfect image of God, as the Saviour

from sin and death, as the Giver of eternal life, as the divine harmony

of conflicting creeds and schools, as the Alpha and Omega of the

Christian faith.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[225] Acts 8:27.

[226] Rom. 15:19.

[227] Rom. 15:24. Comp. Clement of Rome, Ad Cor. c.5, epi' to' terma

tes` duseos elthon. This passage, however, does not necessarily mean

Spain, and Paul's journey to Spain stands or falls with the hypothesis

of his second Roman captivity.

[228] Unless we find allusions to it in the Revelation of John, 6:9-11;

17:6; 18:24, comp. 18:20 ("ye holy apostles and prophets"). See Bleek,

Vorlesungen �ber die Apokalypse,Berlin, 1862, p. 120.

[229] Acts 2:41.

[230] Tacitus, Anal. XV. 44, speaks of a "multitudo ingens"who were

convicted of the "odium generis humani," i.e. of Christianity (regarded

as a Jewish sect), and cruelly executed under Nero in 64.

[231] Gal. 2:1 sqq.; 1 Cor. 3:3 sqq.

[232] 1Cor. 1:26-29.

[233] On the typical import of apostolic Christianity compare the

concluding section of my History of the Apostolic Church, pp. 674 sqq.

[234] Matt. 22:23; Acts 12:2.

[235] Gal. 2:9. James is even named before Cephas and John, and

throughout the Acts from the Council of Jerusalem, at which he

presided, he appears as the most prominent man in the churches of

Palestine. In the Ebionite tradition he figures as the first universal

bishop or pope.

[236] The apocryphal tradition of the second and later centuries

assigns to Peter, Andrew, Matthew, and Bartholomew, as their field of

missionary labor, the regions north and northwest of Palestine (Syria,

Galatia, Pontus, Scythia, and the coasts of the Black Sea); to

Thaddaeus, Thomas, and Simon Cananites the eastern countries

(Mesopotamia, Parthia, especially Edessa and Babylon, and even as far

as India); to John and Philip Asia Minor (Ephesus and Hierapolis).

Comp. the Acta Sanctorum; Tischendorf's Acta Apostolorum Apocrylpha

(1851); and for a brief summary my History of the Apost. Church, � 97,

pp. 385 sqq.

[237] Gal. 1:18, 19. The eime in this connection rather excludes James

from the number of the Twelve, but implies that he was an apostle in a

wider sense, and a leader of apostolic dignity and authority. Comp. the

eime (sed tantum) Luke 4:26, 27; Rom. 14:14; Gal. 2:16.

[238] Acts 15; Gal 2:1-10.

[239] Gal. 2:11-21.

[240] 1 Cor. 9:5; Comp. Matt. 8:14.

[241] 2 Pet. 3:15, 16, dusnoa tina. This passage, and the equally

significant remark of Peter (2 Pet.1:20) that "no prophecy of Scripture

is of private interpretation," or solution, have often been abused by

the popes as a pretext for withholding the Scriptures from the people

and insisting on the necessity of an authoritative interpretation. The

passage refers to the prophecies of the Old Testament, which are not

the productions of the human mind, but inspired by the Holy Ghost

(1:21), and cannot be properly understood except as divinely inspired.

[242] John 21:15-23. The last word of the Lord about Peter and John is

very mysterious.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

�22. The Critical Reconstruction of the History of the Apostolic Age.

"Die Botschaft h�r' ich wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glaube."

(Goethe.)

Never before in the history of the church has the origin of

Christianity, with its original documents, been so thoroughly examined

from standpoints entirely opposite as in the present generation. It has

engaged the time and energy of many of the ablest scholars and critics.

Such is the importance and the power of that little book which

"contains the wisdom of the whole world," that it demands ever new

investigation and sets serious minds of all shades of belief and

unbelief in motion, as if their very life depended upon its acceptance

or rejection. There is not a fact or doctrine which has not been

thoroughly searched. The whole life of Christ, and the labors and

writings of the apostles with their tendencies, antagonisms, and

reconciliations are theoretically reproduced among scholars and

reviewed under all possible aspects. The post-apostolic age has by

necessary connection been drawn into the process of investigation and

placed in a new light.

The great biblical scholars among the Fathers were chiefly concerned in

drawing from the sacred records the catholic doctrines of salvation,

and the precepts for a holy life; the Reformers and older Protestant

divines studied them afresh with special zeal for the evangelical

tenets which separated them from the Roman church; but all stood on the

common ground of a reverential belief in the divine inspiration and

authority of the Scriptures. The present age is pre�minently historical

and critical. The Scriptures are subjected to the same process of

investigation and analysis as any other literary production of

antiquity, with no other purpose than to ascertain the real facts in

the case. We want to know the precise origin, gradual growth, and final

completion of Christianity as an historical phenomenon in organic

connection with contemporary events and currents of thought. The whole

process through which it passed from the manger in Bethlehem to the

cross of Calvary, and from the upper room in Jerusalem to the throne of

the Caesars is to be reproduced, explained and understood according to

the laws of regular historical development. And in this critical

process the very foundations of the Christian faith have been assailed

and undermined, so that the question now is, "to be or not to be." The

remark of Goethe is as profound as it is true: "The conflict of faith

and unbelief remains the proper, the only, the deepest theme of the

history of the world and mankind, to which all others are

subordinated."

The modern critical movement began, we may say, about 1830, is still in

full progress, and is likely to continue to the end of the nineteenth

century, as the apostolic church itself extended over a period of

seventy years before it had developed its resources. It was at first

confined to Germany (Strauss, Baur, and the T�bingen School), then

spread to France (Renan) and Holland (Scholten, Kuenen), and last to

England ("Supernatural Religion") and America, so that the battle now

extends along the whole line of Protestantism.

There are two kinds of biblical criticism, verbal and historical.

Textual Criticism.

The verbal or textual criticism has for its object to restore as far as

possible the original text of the Greek Testament from the oldest and

most trustworthy sources, namely, the uncial manuscripts (especially,

the Vatican and Sinaitic), the ante-Nicene versions, and the patristic

quotations. In this respect our age has been very successful, with the

aid of most important discoveries of ancient manuscripts. By the

invaluable labors of Lachmann, who broke the path for the correct

theory (Novum Testament. Gr., 1831, large Graeco-Latin edition,

1842-50, 2 vols.), Tischendorf (8th critical ed., 1869-72, 2 vols.),

Tregelles (1857, completed 1879), Westcott and Hort (1881, 2 vols.), we

have now in the place of the comparatively late and corrupt textus

receptus of Erasmus and his followers (Stephens, Beza, and the

Elzevirs), which is the basis of au Protestant versions in common use,

a much older and purer text, which must henceforth be made the basis of

all revised translations. After a severe struggle between the

traditional and the progressive schools there is now in this basal

department of biblical learning a remarkable degree of harmony among

critics. The new text is in fact the older text, and the reformers are

in this case the restorers. Far from unsettling the faith in the New

Testament, the results have established the substantial integrity of

the text, notwithstanding the one hundred and fifty thousand readings

which have been gradually gathered from all sources. It is a noteworthy

fact that the greatest textual critics of the nineteenth century are

believers, not indeed in a mechanical or magical inspiration, which is

untenable and not worth defending, but in the divine origin and

authority of the canonical writings, which rest on fax stronger grounds

than any particular human theory of inspiration.

Historical Criticism.

The historical or inner criticism (which the Germans call the "higher

criticism," h�here Kritik) deals with the origin, spirit, and aim of

the New Testament writings, their historical environments, and organic

place in the great intellectual and religious process which resulted in

the triumphant establishment of the catholic church of the second

century. It assumed two very distinct shapes under the lead of Dr.

Neander in Berlin (d. 1850), and Dr. Baur in T�bingen (d. 1860), who

labored in the mines of church history at a respectful distance from

each other and never came into personal contact. Neander and Baur were

giants, equal in genius and learning, honesty and earnestness, but

widely different in spirit. They gave a mighty impulse to historical

study and left a long line of pupils and independent followers who

carry on the historico-critical reconstruction of primitive

Christianity. Their influence is felt in France, Holland and England.

Neander published the first edition of his Apostolic Age in 1832, his

Life of Jesus (against Strauss) in 1837 (the first volume of his

General Church History had appeared already in 1825, revised ed. 1842);

Baur wrote his essay on the Corinthian Parties in 1831, his critical

investigations on the canonical Gospels in 1844 and 1847, his "Paul" in

1845 (second ed. by Zeller, 1867), and his "Church History of the First

Three Centuries" in 1853 (revised 1860). His pupil Strauss had preceded

him with his first Leben Jesu (1835), which created a greater sensation

than any of the works mentioned, surpassed only by that of Renan's Vie

de J�sus, nearly thirty years later (1863). Renan reproduces and

popularizes Strauss and Baur for the French public with independent

learning and brilliant genius, and the author of "Supernatural

Religion" re�choes the T�bingen and Leyden speculations in England. On

the other hand Bishop Lightfoot, the leader of conservative criticism;

declares that he has learnt more from the German Neander than from any

recent theologian ("Contemp. Review" for 1875, p. 866. Matthew Arnold

says (Literature and Dogma, Preface, p. xix.): "To get the facts, the

data, in all matters of science, but notably in theology and Biblical

learning, one goes to Germany. Germany, and it is her high honor, has

searched out the facts and exhibited them. And without knowledge of the

facts, no clearness or fairness of mind can in any study do anything;

this cannot be laid down too rigidly." But he denies to the Germans

"quickness and delicacy of perception." Something more is necessary

than learning and perception to draw the right conclusions from the

facts: sound common sense and well-balanced judgment. And when we deal

with sacred and supernatural facts, we need first and last a

reverential spirit and that faith which is the organ of the

supernatural. It is here where the two schools depart, without

difference of nationality; for faith is not a national but an

individual gift.

The Two Antagonistic Schools.

The two theories of the apostolic history, introduced by Neander and

Baur, are antagonistic in principle and aim, and united only by the

moral bond of an honest search for truth. The one is conservative and

reconstructive, the other radical and destructive. The former accepts

the canonical Gospels and Acts as honest, truthful, and credible

memoirs of the life of Christ and the labors of the apostles; the

latter rejects a great part of their contents as unhistorical myths or

legends of the post-apostolic age, and on the other hand gives undue

credit to wild heretical romances of the second century. The one draws

an essential line of distinction between truth as maintained by the

orthodox church, and error as held by heretical parties; the other

obliterates the lines and puts the heresy into the inner camp of the

apostolic church itself. The one proceeds on the basis of faith in God

and Christ, which implies faith in the supernatural and miraculous

wherever it is well attested; the other proceeds from disbelief in the

supernatural and miraculous as a philosophical impossibility, and tries

to explain the gospel history and the apostolic history from purely

natural causes like every other history. The one has a moral and

spiritual as well is intellectual interest in the New Testament, the

other a purely intellectual and critical interest. The one approaches

the historical investigation with the subjective experience of the

divine truth in the heart and conscience, and knows and feels

Christianity to be a power of salvation from sin and error; the other

views it simply as the best among the many religions which are destined

to give way at last to the sovereignty of reason and philosophy. The

controversy turns on the question whether there is a God in History or

not; as the contemporaneous struggle in natural science turns on the

question whether there is a God in nature or not. Belief in a personal

God almighty and omnipresent in history and in nature, implies the

possibility of supernatural and miraculous revelation. Absolute freedom

from prepossession (Voraussetzungslosigkeit such as Strauss demanded)

is absolutely impossible, "ex nihilo nihil fit." There is prepossession

on either side of the controversy, the one positive, the other

negative, and history itself must decide between them. The facts must

rule philosophy, not philosophy the facts. If it can be made out that

the life of Christ and the apostolic church can be psychologically and

historically explained only by the admission of the supernatural

element which they claim, while every other explanation only increases

the difficulty, of the problem and substitutes an unnatural miracle for

a supernatural one, the historian has gained the case, and it is for

the philosopher to adjust his theory to history. The duty of the

historian is not to make the facts, but to discover them, and then to

construct his theory wide enough to give them all comfortable room.

The Alleged Antagonism in the Apostolic Church.

The theory of the T�bingen school starts from the assumption of a

fundamental antagonism between Jewish or primitive Christianity

represented by Peter, and Gentile or progressive Christianity

represented by Paul, and resolves all the writings of the New Testament

into tendency writings (Tendenzschriften), which give us not history

pure and simple, but adjust it to a doctrinal and practical aim in the

interest of one or the other party, or of a compromise between the two.

[243] The Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Romans, First and Second

Corinthians--which are admitted to be genuine beyond any doubt, exhibit

the anti-Jewish and universal Christianity, of which Paul himself must

be regarded as the chief founder. The Apocalypse, which was composed by

the apostle John in 69, exhibits the original Jewish and contracted

Christianity, in accordance with his position as one of the

"pillar"-apostles of the circumcision (Gal. 2:9), and it is the only

authentic document of the older apostles.

Baur (Gesch. der christl. Kirche, I., 80 sqq.) and Renan (St. Paul, ch.

X.) go so far as to assert that this genuine John excludes Paul from

the list of the apostles (Apoc. 21:14, which leaves no room for more

than twelve), and indirectly attacks him as a "false Jew" (Apoc. 2:9;

3:9), a "false apostle" (2:2), a "false prophet" (2:20), as "Balaam"

(2:2, 6, 14, 15; comp. Jude 11; 2 Pet. 2:15); just as the Clementine

Homilies assail him under the name of Simon the Magician and

arch-heretic. Renan interprets also the whole Epistle of Jude, a

brother of James, as an attack upon Paul, issued from Jerusalem in

connection with the Jewish counter-mission organized by James, which

nearly ruined the work of Paul.

The other writings of the New Testament are post-apostolic productions

and exhibit the various phases of a unionistic movement, which resulted

in the formation of the orthodox church of the second and third

centuries. The Acts of the Apostles is a Catholic Irenicon which

harmonizes Jewish and Gentile Christianity by liberalizing Peter and

contracting or Judaizing Paul, and concealing the difference between

them; and though probably based on an earlier narrative of Luke, it was

not put into its present shape before the close of the first century.

The canonical Gospels, whatever may have been the earlier records on

which they are based, are likewise post-apostolic, and hence

untrustworthy as historical narratives. The Gospel of John is a purely

ideal composition of some unknown Gnostic or mystic of profound

religious genius, who dealt with the historic Jesus as freely as Plato

in his Dialogues dealt with Socrates, and who completed with consummate

literary skill this unifying process in the age of Hadrian, certainly

not before the third decade of the second century. Baur brought it down

as late as 170; Hilgenfeld put it further back to 140, Keim to 130,

Renan to the age of Hadrian.

Thus the whole literature of the New Testament is represented as the

living growth of a century, as a collection of polemical and irenical

tracts of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. Instead of

contemporaneous, reliable history we have a series of intellectual

movements and literary fictions. Divine revelation gives way to

subjective visions and delusions, inspiration is replaced by

development, truth by a mixture of truth and error. The apostolic

literature is put on a par with the controversial literature of the

Nicene age, which resulted in the Nicene orthodoxy, or with the

literature of the Reformation period, which led to the formation of the

Protestant system of doctrine.

History never repeats itself, yet the same laws and tendencies reappear

in ever-changing forms. This modern criticism is a remarkable renewal

of the views held by heretical schools in the second century. The

Ebionite author of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and the Gnostic

Marcion likewise assumed an irreconcilable antagonism between Jewish

and Gentile Christianity, with this difference, that the former opposed

Paul as the arch-heretic and defamer of Peter, while Marcion (about

140) regarded Paul as the only true apostle, and the older apostles as

Jewish perverters of Christianity; consequently he rejected the whole

Old Testament and such books of the New Testament as he considered

Judaizing, retaining in his canon only a mutilated Gospel of Luke and

ton of the Pauline Epistles (excluding the Pastoral Epistles and the

Epistle to the Hebrews). In the eyes of modern criticism these wild

heretics are better historians of the apostolic age than the author of

the Acts of the Apostles.

The Gnostic heresy, with all its destructive tendency, had an important

mission as a propelling force in the ancient church and left its

effects upon patristic theology. So also this modern gnosticism must be

allowed to have done great service to biblical and historical learning

by removing old prejudices, opening new avenues of thought, bringing to

light the immense fermentation of the first century, stimulating

research, and compelling an entire scientific reconstruction of the

history of the origin of Christianity and the church. The result will

be a deeper and fuller knowledge, not to the weakening but to the

strengthening of our faith.

Reaction.

There is considerable difference among the scholars of this higher

criticism, and while some pupils of Baur (e.g. Strauss, Volkmar) have

gone even beyond his positions, others make concessions to the

traditional views. A most important change took place in Baur's own

mind as regards the conversion of Paul, which he confessed at last,

shortly before his death (1860), to be to him an insolvable

psychological problem amounting to a miracle. Ritschl, Holtzmann,

Lipsius, Pfleiderer, and especially Reuss, Weizs�cker, and Keim (who

are as free from orthodox prejudices as the most advanced critics) have

modified and corrected many of the extreme views of the T�bingen

school. Even Hilgenfeld, with all his zeal for the

"Fortschrittstheologie" and against the "R�ckschrittstheologie," admits

seven instead of four Pauline Epistles as genuine, assigns an earlier

date to the Synoptical Gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews (which he

supposes to have been written by Apollos before 70), and says: "It

cannot be denied that Baur's criticism went beyond the bounds of

moderation and inflicted too deep wounds on the faith of the church"

(Hist. Krit. Einleitung in das N. T. 1875, p. 197). Renan admits nine

Pauline Epistles, the essential genuineness of the Acts, and even the,

narrative portions of John, while he rejects the discourses as

pretentious, inflated, metaphysical, obscure, and tiresome! (See his

last discussion of the subject in L'�glise chr�tienne, ch. I-V. pp. 45

sqq.) Matthew Arnold and other critics reverse the proposition and

accept the discourses as the sublimest of all human compositions, full

of "heavenly glories" (himmlische Herrlichkeiten, to use an expression

of Keim, who, however, rejects the fourth Gospel altogether). Schenkel

(in his Christusbild der Apostel, 1879) considerably moderates the

antagonism between Petrinism and Paulinism, and confesses (Preface, p.

xi.) that in the progress of his investigations he has been "forced to

the conviction that the Acts of the Apostles is a more trustworthy

source of information than is commonly allowed on the part of the

modern criticism; that older documents worthy of credit, besides the

well known We-source (Wirquelle) are contained in it; and that the

Paulinist who composed it has not intentionally distorted the facts,

but only placed them in the light in which they appeared to him and

must have appeared to him from the time and circumstances under which

he wrote. He has not, in my opinion, artificially brought upon the

stage either a Paulinized Peter, or a Petrinized Paul, in order to

mislead his readers, but has portrayed the two apostles just as he

actually conceived of them on the basis of his incomplete information."

Keim, in his last work (Aus dem Urchristenthum, 1878, a year before his

death), has come to a similar conclusion, and proves (in a critical

essay on the Apostelkonvent, pp. 64-89) in opposition to Baur,

Schwegler, and Zeller, yet from the same standpoint of liberal

criticism, and allowing later additions, the substantial harmony

between the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians as regards the

apostolic conference and concordat of Jerusalem. Ewald always pursued

his own way and equalled Baur in bold and arbitrary criticism, but

violently opposed him and defended the Acts and the Gospel of John.

To these German voices we may add the testimony of Matthew Arnold, one

of the boldest and broadest of the broad-school divines and critics,

who with all his admiration for Baur represents him as an "unsafe

guide," and protests against his assumption of a bitter hatred of Paul

and the pillar-apostles as entirely inconsistent with the conceded

religious greatness of Paul and with the nearness of the

pillar-apostles to Jesus (God and the Bible, 1875, Preface, vii-xii).

As to the fourth Gospel, which is now the most burning spot of this

burning controversy, the same author, after viewing it from without and

from within, comes to the conclusion that it is, "no fancy-piece, but a

serious and invaluable document, full of incidents given by tradition

and genuine 'sayings of the Lord' "(p. 370), and that "after the most

free criticism has been fairly and strictly applied,... there is yet

left an authentic residue comprising all the profoundest, most

important, and most beautiful things in the fourth Gospel" (p. 372

sq.).

The Positive School.

While there are signs of disintegration in the ranks of destructive

criticism, the historic truth and genuineness of the New Testament

writings have found learned and able defenders from different

standpoints, such as Neander, Ullmann, C. F. Schmid (the colleague of

Baur in T�bingen), Rothe, Dorner, Ebrard, Lechler, Lange, Thiersch,

Wieseler, Hofmann (of Erlangen), Luthardt, Christlieb, Beyschlag,

Uhlhorn, Weiss, Godet, Edm. de Pressens�.

The English and American mind also has fairly begun to grapple manfully

and successfully, with these questions in such scholars as Lightfoot,

Plumptre, Westcott, Sanday, Farrar, G. P. Fisher, Ezra Abbot (on the

Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, 1880). English and American theology

is not likely to be extensively demoralized by these hypercritical

speculations of the Continent. It has a firmer foothold in an active

church life and the convictions and affections of the people. The

German and French mind, like the Athenian, is always bent upon telling

and hearing something new, while the Anglo-American mind cares more for

what is true, whether it be old or new. And the truth must ultimately

prevail.

St. Paul's Testimony to Historical Christianity.

Fortunately even the most exacting school of modern criticism leaves us

a fixed fulcrum from which we can argue the truth of Christianity,

namely, the four Pauline Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and

Corinthians, which are pronounced to be unquestionably genuine and made

the Archimedean point of assault upon the other parts of the New

Testament. We propose to confine ourselves to them. They are of the

utmost historical as well as doctrinal importance; they represent the

first Christian generation, and were written between 54 and 58, that is

within a quarter of the century after the crucifixion, when the older

apostles and most of the principal eye-witnesses of the life of Christ

were still alive. The writer himself was a contemporary of Christ; he

lived in Jerusalem at the time of the great events on which

Christianity rests; he was intimate with the Sanhedrin and the

murderers of Christ; he was not blinded by favorable prejudice, but was

a violent persecutor, who had every motive to justify his hostility;

and after his radical conversion (a.d. 37) he associated with the

original disciples and could learn their personal experience from their

own lips (Gal. 1:18; 2:1-11).

Now in these admitted documents of the best educated of the apostles we

have the clearest evidence of all the great events and truths of

primitive Christianity, and a satisfactory answer to the chief

objections and difficulties of modern skepticism. [244]

They prove

1. The leading facts in the life of Christ, his divine mission, his

birth from a woman, of the royal house of David, his holy life and

example, his betrayal, passion, and death for the sins of the world,

his resurrection on the third day, his repeated manifestations to the

disciples, his ascension and exaltation to the right hand of God,

whence he will return to judge mankind, the adoration of Christ as the

Messiah, the Lord and Saviour from sin, the eternal Son of God; also

the election of the Twelve, the institution of baptism and the Lord's

Supper, the mission of the Holy Spirit, the founding of the church.

Paul frequently alludes to these facts, especially the crucifixion and

resurrection, not in the way of a detailed narrative, but incidentally

and in connection with doctrinal expositions arid exhortations as

addressed to men already familiar with them from oral preaching and

instruction. Comp. Gal 3:13; 4:4-6; 6:14; Rom. 1:3; 4:24, 25; 5:8-21;

6:3-10; 8:3-11, 26, 39; 9:5; 10:6, 7; 14:5; 15:3 1 Cor. 1:23; 2:2, 12;

5:7; 6:14; 10:16; 11:23-26; 15:3-8, 45-49; 2 Cor. 5:21.

2. Paul's own conversion and call to the apostleship by the personal

appearance to him of the exalted Redeemer from heaven. Gal. 1:1, 15,

16; 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8.

3. The origin and rapid progress of the Christian church in all parts

of the Roman empire, from Jerusalem to Antioch and Rome, in Judaea, in

Syria, in Asia Minor, in Macedonia and Achaia. The faith of the Roman

church, he says, was known "throughout the world," and "in every place

"there were worshippers of Jesus as their Lord. And these little

churches maintained a lively and active intercourse with each other,

and though founded by different teachers and distracted by differences

of opinion and practice, they worshipped the same divine Lord, and

formed one brotherhood of believers. Gal. 1:2, 22; 2:1, 11; Rom. 1:8;

10:18; 16:26; 1 Cor. 1:12; 8:1; 16:19, etc.

4. The presence of miraculous powers in the church at that time. Paul

himself wrought the signs and mighty deeds of an apostle. Rom. 15:18,

19; 1 Cor. 2:4; 9:2; 2 Cor. 12:12. He lays, however, no great stress on

the outer sensible miracles, and makes more account of the inner moral

miracles and the constant manifestations of the power of the Holy

Spirit in regenerating and sanctifying sinful men in an utterly corrupt

state of society. 1 Cor. 12 to 14; 6:9-11; Gal. 5:16-26; Rom. 6 and 8.

5. The existence of much earnest controversy in these young churches,

not indeed about the great facts on which their faith was based, and

which were fully admitted on both sides, but about doctrinal and ritual

inferences from these facts, especially the question of the continued

obligation of circumcision and the Mosaic law, and the personal

question of the apostolic authority of Paul. The Judaizers maintained

the superior claims of the older apostles and charged him with a

radical departure from the venerable religion of their fathers; while

Paul used against them the argument that the expiatory death of Christ

and his resurrection were needless and useless if justification came

from the law. Gal. 2:21; 5:2-4.

6. The essential doctrinal and spiritual harmony of Paul with the elder

apostles, notwithstanding their differences of standpoint and field of

labor. Here the testimony of the Epistle to the Galatians 2:1-10, which

is the very bulwark of the skeptical school, bears strongly against it.

For Paul expressly states that the, "pillar"-apostles of the

circumcision, James, Peter, and John, at the conference in Jerusalem

a.d. 50, approved the gospel he had been preaching during the preceding

fourteen years; that they "imparted nothing" to him, gave him no new

instruction, imposed on him no now terms, nor burden of any kind, but

that, on the contrary, they recognized the grace of God in him and his

special mission to the Gentiles, and gave him and Barnabas "the right

hands of fellowship" in token of their brotherhood and fidelity. He

makes a clear and sharp distinction between the apostles and "the false

brethren privily brought in, who came to spy out our liberty which we

have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage," and to

whom he would not yield, "no, not for an hour." The hardest words he

has for the Jewish apostles are epithets of honor; he calls them, the

pillars of the church, "the men in high repute" (hoi stuloi, hoi

dokountes, Gal. 2:6, 9); while he considered himself in sincere

humility "the least of the apostles," because he persecuted the church

of God (1 Cor. 15:9).

This statement of Paul makes it simply impossible and absurd to suppose

(with Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, and Renan) that John should have so

contradicted and stultified himself as to attack, in the Apocalypse,

the same Paul whom he had recognized as a brother during his life, as a

false apostle and chief of the synagogue of Satan after his death. Such

a reckless and monstrous assertion turns either Paul or John into a

liar. The antinomian and antichristian heretics of the Apocalypse who

plunged into all sorts of moral and ceremonial pollutions (Apoc. 2:14,

15) would have been condemned by Paul as much as by John; yea, he

himself, in his parting address to the Ephesian elders, had

prophetically foreannounced and described such teachers as "grievous

wolves" that would after his departure enter in among them or rise from

the midst of them, not sparing the flock (Acts 20:29, 30). On the

question of fornication he was in entire harmony with the teaching of

the Apocalypse (1 Cor. 3:15, 16; 6:15-20); and as to the question of

eating meat offered in sacrifice to idols Gr215(rA fi8coX6zvra), though

he regarded it as a thing indifferent in itself, considering the vanity

of idols, yet he condemned it whenever it gave offence to the weak

consciences of the more scrupulous Jewish converts (1 Cor. 8:7-13;

10:23-33; Rom. 14:2, 21); and this was in accord with the decree of the

Apostolic Council (Acts 15:29).

7. Paul's collision with Peter at Antioch, Gal. 2:11-14. which is made

the very bulwark of the T�bingen theory, proves the very reverse. For

it was not a difference in principle and doctrine; on the contrary,

Paul expressly asserts that Peter at first freely and habitually (mark

the imperfect sunesthien, Gal. 2:12) associated with the Gentile

converts as brethren in Christ, but was intimidated by emissaries from

the bigoted Jewish converts in Jerusalem and acted against his better

conviction which he had entertained ever since the vision at Joppa

(Acts 10:10-16), and which he had so boldly confessed at the Council in

Jerusalem (Acts 15:7-11) and carried out in Antioch. We have here the

same impulsive, impressible, changeable disciple, the first to confess

and the first to deny his Master, yet quickly returning to him in

bitter repentance and sincere humility. It is for this inconsistency of

conduct, which Paul called by the strong term of dissimulation or

hypocrisy, that he, in his uncompromising zeal for the great principle

of Christian liberty, reproved him publicly before the church. A public

wrong had to be publicly rectified. According to the T�bingen

hypothesis the hypocrisy would have been in the very opposite conduct

of Peter. The silent submission of Peter on the occasion proves his

regard for his younger colleague, and speaks as much to his praise as

his weakness to his blame. That the alienation was only temporary and

did not break up their fraternal relation is apparent from the

respectful though frank manner in which, several years after the

occurrence, they allude to each other as fellow apostles, Comp. Gal.

1:18, 19; 2:8, 9; 1 Cor. 9:5; 2 Pet. 3:15, 16, and from the fact that

Mark and Silas were connecting links between them and alternately

served them both. [245]

The Epistle to the Galatians then furnishes the proper solution of the

difficulty, and essentially confirms the account of the Acts. It proves

the harmony as well as the difference between Paul and the older

apostles. It explodes the hypothesis that they stood related to each

other like the Marcionites and Ebionites in the second century. These

were the descendants of the heretics of the apostolic age, of the

"false brethren insidiously brought in" (Pseudadelphoi pareisaktoi,

Gal. 2:4); while the true apostles recognized and continued to

recognize the same grace of God which wrought effectually through Peter

for the conversion of the Jews, and through Paul for the conversion of

the Gentiles. That the Judaizers should have appealed to the Jewish

apostles, and the antinomian Gnostics to Paul, as their authority, is

not more surprising than the appeal of the modern rationalists to

Luther and the Reformation.

We have thus discussed at the outset, and at some length, the

fundamental difference of the two standpoints from which the history of

the apostolic church is now viewed, and have vindicated our own general

position in this controversy.

It is not to be supposed that all the obscure points have already been

satisfactorily cleared up, or ever will be solved beyond the

possibility of dispute. There must be some room left for faith in that

God who has revealed himself clearly enough in nature and in history to

strengthen our faith, and who is concealed enough to try our faith.

Certain interstellar spaces will always be vacant in the firmament of

the apostolic age that men may gaze all the more intensely at the

bright stars, before which the post-apostolic books disappear like

torches. A careful study of the ecclesiastical writers of the second

and third centuries, and especially of the numerous Apocryphal Acts,

Epistles, and Apocalypses, leaves on the mind a strong impression of

the immeasurable superiority of the New Testament in purity and

truthfulness, simplicity and majesty; and this superiority points to a

special agency of the Spirit of God, without which that book of books

is an inexplicable mystery.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[243] In this respect Baur differs from the standpoint of Strauss, who

in his first Leben Jesu(1835) bad represented the gospel history as an

innocent and unconscious myth or poem of the religious imagination of

the second generation of Christians; but in his second Leben Jesu(1864)

he somewhat modified his view, and at last (1873) he gave up the whole

problem as a bad job. A tendency writing implies more or less conscious

fiction and falsification of history. The T�bingen critics, however,

try to relieve this fictitious literature of the odious feature by

referring us to the Jewish and Christian apocryphal literature which

was passed off under honored names without giving any special offence

on that score.

[244] Comp. here a valuable article of J. Oswald Dykes, in the "Brit.

and For. Evang. Review," Lond. 1880, pp. 51 sqq.

[245] It is amusing to read Renan's account of this dispute (St. Paul,

ch. x.). He sympathizes rather with Peter, whom he calls a "man

profoundly kind and upright and desiring peace above all things,"

though he admits him to have been amiably weak and inconsistent on that

as on other occasions; while he charges Paul with stubbornness and

rudeness; but what is the most important point, he denies the T�bingen

exegesis when he says: "Modern critics who infer from certain passages

of the Epistle to the Galatians that the rupture between Peter and Paul

was absolute, put themselves in contradiction not only to the Acts, but

to other passages of the Epistle to the Galatians (1:18; 2:2). Fervent

men pass their lives disputing together without ever falling out. We

must not judge these characters after the manner of things which take

place in our day between people well-bred and susceptible in a point of

honor. This last word especially never had much significance with the

Jews!"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 23. Chronology of the Apostolic Age.

See the works quoted in � 20 p. 193, 194, especially Wieseler. Comp.

also, Hackett on Acts, pp. 22 to 30 (third ed.).

The chronology of the apostolic age is partly certain, at least within

a few years, partly conjectural: certain as to the principal events

from a.d. 30 to 70, conjectural as to intervening points and the last

thirty years of the first century. The sources are the New Testament

(especially the Acts and the Pauline Epistles), Josephus, and the Roman

historians. Josephus ( b. 37, d. 103) is especially valuable here, as

he wrote the Jewish history down to the destruction of Jerusalem.

The following dates are more or less certain and accepted by most

historians:

1. The founding of the Christian Church on the feast of Pentecost in

May a.d. 30. This is on the assumption that Christ was born b.c. 4 or

5, and was crucified in April a.d. 30, at an age of thirty-three.

2. The death of King Herod Agrippa I. a.d. 44 (according to Josephus).

This settles the date of the preceding martyrdom of James the elder,

Peter's imprisonment and release Acts 12:2, 23).

3. The Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, a.d. 50 (Acts 15:1 sqq.; Gal.

2:1-10). This date is ascertained by reckoning backwards to Paul's

conversion, and forward to the Caesarean captivity. Paul was probably

converted in 37, and "fourteen years" elapsed from that event to the

Council. But chronologists differ on the year of Paul's conversion,

between 31 and 40. [246]

4. The dates of the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans,

between 56 and 58. The date of the Epistle to the Romans can be fixed

almost to the month from its own indications combined with the

statements of the Acts. It was written before the apostle had been in

Rome, but when he was on the point of departure for Jerusalem and Rome

on the way to Spain, [247] after having finished his collections in

Macedonia and Achaia for the poor brethren in Judaea; [248] and he sent

the epistle through Phebe, a deaconess of the congregation in the

eastern port of Corinth, where he was at that time. [249] These

indications point clearly to the spring of the year 58, for in that

year he was taken prisoner in Jerusalem and carried to Caesarea.

5. Paul's captivity in Caesarea, a.d. 58 to 60, during the

procuratorship of Felix and Festus, who changed places in 60 or 61,

probably in 60. This important date we can ascertain by combination

from several passages in Josephus, and Tacitus. [250] It enables us at

the same time, by reckoning backward, to fix some preceding events in

the life of the apostle.

6. Paul's first captivity in Rome, a.d. 61 to 63. This follows from the

former date in connection with the statement in Acts 28:30.

7. The Epistles of the Roman captivity, Philippians, Ephesians,

Colossians, and Philemon, a.d. 61-63.

8. The Neronian persecution, a.d. 64 (the tenth year of Nero, according

to Tacitus). The martyrdom of Paul and Peter occurred either then, or

(according to tradition) a few years later. The question depends on the

second Roman captivity of Paul.

9. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, a.d. 70 (according to

Josephus and Tacitus).

10. The death of John after the accession of Trajan, a.d. 98 (according

to general ecclesiastical tradition).

The dates of the Synoptical Gospels, the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles,

the Hebrews, and the Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude cannot be

accurately ascertained except that they were composed before the

destruction of Jerusalem, mostly between 60 and 70. The writings of

John were written after that date and towards the close of the first

century, except the Apocalypse, which some of the best scholars, from

internal indications assign to the year 68 or 69, between the death of

Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem.

The details are given in the following table:

Chronological Table of the Apostolic Age.

a.d.

Scripture History

Events In Palestine

Events In The Roman Empire

a.d.

b.c. 5 or 4

Birth of Christ

Death of Herod I. or the Great (a.u. 750, or b.c. 4).

Augustus Emperor of Rome, B. C. 27-a.d. 14.

a.d. 8

His visit to the Temple at twelve years of age

Cyrenius (Quirinius), Governor of Syria (for the second time). The

registration, or "taxing." Acts 5:37. Revolt of "Judas of Galilee."

Coponius Procurator of Judaea. Marcus Ambivius Procurator.

Tiberius colleague of Augustus

12

Annius Rufus Procurator (about)

13

Valerius Gratus Procurator

Augustus dies. Tiberius sole emperor (14-37)

14

Pontius Pilate Procurator from a.d. 26

26

27

Christ's Baptism.

Caiaphas high priest from a.d. 26

27-30

His three years' ministry.

30

His Crucifixion, Resurrection (April), and Ascension (May).

Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. Birthday of the Church (May).

Acts, ch. 2.

Marcellus Procurator. Pilate sent to Rome by the Prefect of Syria.

36

37

Martyrdom of Stephen. Acts, ch 7. Peter and John in Samaria. Acts, ch.

8. Conversion of Saul. Acts, ch. 9, comp. 22 and 26, and Gal. 1:16; 1

Cor. 15:8.

Maryllus appointed Hipparch.

Herod Agrippa I King of Judea and Samaria

Caligula Emperor (37-41)

37

40

Saul's escape from Damascus, and first visit to Jerusalem (after his

conversion). Gal. 1:18. Admission of Cornelius into the Church. Acts,

chs. 10 and 11.

Philo at Rome

40

Claudius Emperor (41-54).

41

44

Persecution of the Church in Jerusalem. James the Elder, the son of

Zebedee, beheaded. Peter imprisoned and delivered. He leaves Palestine.

Acts 12:2-23. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, with alms from the

church at Antioch. Acts 11:30.

Herod Agrippa I dies at Caesarea

Conquest of Britain, 43-51.

44

45

Paul is set apart as an apostle. Acts 13:2.

Cuspius Fadus Procurator of Judea. Tiberius Alexander Procurator

46

Ventidius Cumanus Procurator

47

50

Paul's first missionary journey with Barnabas and Mark, Cyprus,

Pisidia, Lystra, Derbe. Return to Antioch. Acts chs. 13 and 14. The

Epistle of James (variously dated from 44 to 62). The apostolic council

of Jerusalem. Conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. Paul's

third visit to Jerusalem with Barnabas and Titus. Peaceful adjustment

of the quesiton of circumcision. Acts, ch. 15 and Gal. 2:1-10.

Temporary collision with Peter and Barnabas at Antioch. Gal. 2:11-14.

51

Paul sets out on his second missionary journey from Antioch to Asia

Minor (Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Troas) and Greece (Philippi,

Thessalonica, Beraea, Athens, Corinth). The Christianization of Europe.

Acts, 15:36 to 18:22.

Antonius Felix Procurator

51

52-53

Paul at Corinth a year and a half. Writes First and Second Epistles to

the Thessalonians from Corinth.

The Tetrarchy of Trachonitis given to Herod Agrippa II (the last of the

Herodian family).

Decree of Claudius banishing Jews from Rome.

52

54

Paul's, fourth visit to Jerusalem (spring). Short stay at Antioch.

Enters (autumn, 54) on his third missionary journey, occupying about

four years. Paul at Ephesus, 54 to 57. Acts, ch. 19.

Nero Emperor (54-68).

54

Revolt of the Sicarii, headed by an Egyptian (Acts, 21:38).

55

56

Paul writes to the Galatians (?) from Ephesus, or from some part of

Greece on his journey to Corinth (57). Acts, ch. 20.

57

Paul writes First Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus; starts for

Macedonia and writes Second Epistle to the Corinthians from Macedonia.

58

Epistle to the Romans from Corinth, where he spent three months. He

visits (the fifth time) Jerusalem; is apprehended, brought before

Felix, and imprisoned at Caesarea for two years. Acts, 21:37 to 26:31.

60

Paul appears before Festus, appeals to Caesar, is sent to Italy (in

autumn). Shipwreck at Malta. Acts, chs. 27 and 28.

Porcius Festus Procurator

60

61

Arrives a prisoner at Rome (in spring).

Embassy from Jerusalem to Rome respecting the wall.

War with Boadicea in Britian

61

61-63

Paul writes to the Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, from

his prison in Rome.

Apollonius of Tyana at the Olympic games

61

62

Martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother, at Jerusalem (according to

Josephus, or 69 according to Hegesippus).

Josephus at Rome

62

63

Paul is supposed to have been released. Acts, 28:30

Albinus Procurator

63

64

Epistle to the Hebrews, written from Italy after the release of Timothy

(ch. 13:23).

Gessius Florus Procurator

Great fire at Rome (in July); first imperial persecution of the

Christians (martyrdom of Peter and Paul)

64

64-67

First Epistle of Peter. Epistle of Jude (?). Second Epistle of Peter.

60-70

The Synoptical Gospels and Acts.

Seneca and Lucan put to death by Nero

65

Beginning of the great war between the Romans and the Jews

66

64-67

Paul visits Crete and Macedonia, and writes First Epistle to Timothy,

and Epistle to Titus (?). [251] Paul writes Second Epistle to Timothy

(?).

Vespasian General in Palestine

67

65-67

Paul's and Peter's martyrdom in Rome (?).

68-69

The Revelation of John (?).

Galba Emperor

68

Otho and Vitellius Emperors

69

Vespasian Emperor

69

Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus

70

(Josephus released.)

Coliseum begun

76

Destruction of Pompeii and Heraculaneum

79

Titus Emperor

79

80-90

John writes his Gospel and Epistles (?).

Domitian Emperor

91

95

John writes the Revelation (?).

Persecution of Christians

95

Nerva Emperor

96

Death of Apollonius

97

98-100

Death of John.

Trajan Emperor

98

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[246] See Hist. Apost. Ch. � 63, p. 235, and � 67, p. 265. The allusion

to the governorship of Aretas in Damascus, 2 Cor. 11:32, 33, furnishes

no certain date, owing to the defects of our knowledge of that period;

but other indications combined lead to the year 37. Wieseler puts

Paul's conversion in the year 40, but this follows from his erroneous

view of the journey mentioned in Gal. 2:1, which he identifies with

Paul's fourth journey to Jerusalem in 54, instead of his third journey

to the Council four years earlier.

[247] Rom. 1:13, 15, 22; 15:23-28; comp. Acts 19:21; 20:16; 23:11; 1

Cor. 16:3.

[248] Rom. 15:25-27; 1 Cor. 16:1, 2; 2 Cor. 8 and 9; Acts 24:17.

[249] Rom. 16:1, 23; comp. Acts 19:22; 2 Tim. 4:20; 1 Cor. 1:14.

[250] See Wieseler, l. c., pp. 67 sqq.

[251] Those who deny a second imprisonment of Paul assign these

Epistles to the period of Paul's residence in Ephesus, A.D. 54-57, and

2 Timothy to A.D. 63 or 64.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IV.

ST. PETER AND THE CONVERSION OF THE JEWS

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 24. The Miracle of Pentecost and the Birthday of the Christian

Church. a.d. 30.

Kai eplesthesan pantes pneumatos hagiou, kai erxanto lalein heterais

glossais, Kathos to pneuma edidou apophthengesthai autois --Acts 2:4

"The first Pentecost which the disciples celebrated after the ascension

of our Saviour, is, next to the appearance of the Son of God on earth,

the most significant event. It is the starting-point of the apostolic

church and of that new spiritual life in humanity which proceeded from

Him, and which since has been spreading and working, and will continue

to work until the whole humanity is transformed into the image of

Christ."--Neander (Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der

christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel., I. 3, 4).

Literature.

I. Sources: Acts 2:1-47. Comp. 1 Cor. 12 and 14. See Commentaries on

the Acts by Olshausen, De Wette, Meyer, Lechler, Hackett, Alexander,

Gloag, Alford, Wordsworth, Plumptre Jacobson, Howson and Spence, etc.,

and on the Corinthians by Billroth, Kling, Stanley, Heinrici, Edwards,

Godet, Ellicott.

II. Special treatises o the Pentecostal Miracle and the Gift of Tongues

(glossolalia) by Herder (Die Gabe der Sprachen, Riga, 1794) Hase (in

Winer's "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theol." 1827), Bleek in

"Studien und Kritiken" for 1829 and 1830), Baur in the "T�binger

Zeitschrift f�r Theol." for 1830 and 1831, and in the "Studien und

Krit." 1838), Schneckenburger (in his Beitr�ge zur Einleitung in das N.

T. 1832), B�umlein (1834), Dav. Schulz (1836), Zinsler (1847), Zeller

(Acts of the Apostles, I. 171, of the E. translation by J. Dare), B�hm

(Irvingite,Reden mit Zungen und Weissagen, Berlin, 1848), Rossteuscher

(Irvingite, Gabe der Sprachen im apost. Zeitalter, Marburg, 1855), Ad.

Hilgenfeld (Glossolalie, Leipz. 1850), Maier (Glossolalie des apost.

Zeitalters, 1855), Wieseler (in "Stud. u. Krit." 1838 and 1860),

Schenkel (art. Zungenreden in his "Bibel-Lex." V. 732), Van Hengel (De

gave der talen, Leiden, 1864), Plumptre (art. Gift of Tongues in

Smith's, "B. D." IV. 3305, Am. ed.), Delitzsch (art. Pfingsten in

Riehm's "H. B. A." 1880, p. 1184); K. Schmidt (in Herzog, 2d ed.,

xvii., 570 sqq.).

Comp. also Neander (I. 1), Lange (II. 13), Ewald (VI. 106), Thiersch

(p. 65, 3d ed.), Schaff (191 and 469), Farrar (St. Paul, ch. V. vol. I.

83).

The ascension of Christ to heaven was followed ten days afterwards by

the descent of the Holy Spirit upon earth and the birth of the

Christian Church. The Pentecostal event was the necessary result of the

Passover event. It could never have taken place without the preceding

resurrection and ascension. It was the first act of the mediatorial

reign of the exalted Redeemer in heaven, and the beginning of an

unbroken series of manifestations in fulfilment of his promise to be

with his people "alway, even unto the end of the world." For his

ascension was only a withdrawal of his visible local presence, and the

beginning of his spiritual omnipresence in the church which is "his

body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." The Easter miracle

and the Pentecostal miracle are continued and verified by the daily

moral miracles of regeneration and sanctification throughout

Christendom.

We have but one authentic account of that epoch-making event, in the

second chapter of Acts, but in the parting addresses of our Lord to his

disciples the promise of the Paraclete who should lead them into the

whole truth is very prominent, [252] and the entire history of the

apostolic church is illuminated and heated by the Pentecostal fire.

[253]

Pentecost, i.e. the fiftieth day after the Passover-Sabbath, [254] was

a feast of joy and gladness, in the loveliest season of the year, and

attracted a very large number of visitors to Jerusalem from foreign

lands. [255] It was one of the three great annual festivals of the Jews

in which all the males were required to appear before the Lord.

Passover was the first, and the feast of Tabernacles the third.

Pentecost lasted one day, but the foreign Jews, after the period of the

captivity, prolonged it to two days. It was the "feast of harvest," or

"of the first fruits," and also (according to rabbinical tradition) the

anniversary celebration of the Sinaitic legislation, which is supposed

to have taken place on the fiftieth day after the Exodus from the land

of bondage. [256]

This festival was admirably adapted for the opening event in the

history of the apostolic church. It pointed typically to the first

Christian harvest, and the establishment of the new theocracy in

Christ; as the sacrifice of the paschal lamb and the exodus from Egypt

foreshadowed the redemption of the world by the crucifixion of the Lamb

of God. On no other day could the effusion of the Spirit of the exalted

Redeemer produce such rich results and become at once so widely known.

We may trace to this day not only the origin of the mother church at

Jerusalem, but also the conversion of visitors from other cities, as

Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, who on their return would

carry the glad tidings to their distant homes. For the strangers

enumerated by Luke as witnesses of the great event, represented nearly

all the countries in which Christianity was planted by the labors of

the apostles. [257]

The Pentecost in the year of the Resurrection was the last Jewish (i.e.

typical) and the first Christian Pentecost. It became the spiritual

harvest feast of redemption from sin, and the birthday of the visible

kingdom of Christ on earth. It marks the beginning of the dispensation

of the Spirit, the third era in the history of the revelation of the

triune God. On this day the Holy Spirit, who had hitherto wrought only

sporadically and transiently, took up his permanent abode in mankind as

the Spirit of truth and holiness, with the fulness of saving grace, to

apply that grace thenceforth to believers, and to reveal and glorify

Christ in their hearts, as Christ had revealed and glorified the

Father.

While the apostles and disciples, about one hundred and twenty (ten

times twelve) in number, no doubt mostly Galilaeans, [258] were

assembled before the morning devotions of the festal day, and were

waiting in prayer for the fulfilment of the promise, the exalted

Saviour sent from his heavenly throne the Holy Spirit upon them, and

founded his church upon earth. The Sinaitic legislation was accompanied

by "thunder and lightning, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the

voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and all the people that was in the

camp trembled." [259] The church of the new covenant war, ushered into

existence with startling signs which filled the spectators with wonder

and fear. It is quite natural, as Neander remarks, that "the greatest

miracle in the inner life of mankind should have been accompanied by

extraordinary outward phenomena as sensible indications of its

presence." A supernatural sound resembling that of a rushing mighty

wind, [260] came down from heaven and filled the whole house in which

they were assembled; and tongues like flames of fire, distributed

themselves among them, alighting for a while on each head. [261] It is

not said that these phenomena were really wind and fire, they are only

compared to these elements, [262] as the form which the Holy Spirit

assumed at the baptism of Christ is compared to a dove. [263] The

tongues of flame were gleaming, but neither burning nor consuming; they

appeared and disappeared like electric sparks or meteoric flashes. But

these audible and visible signs were appropriate symbols of the

purifying, enlightening, and quickening power of the Divine Spirit, and

announced a new spiritual creation. The form of tongues referred to the

glossolalia, and the apostolic eloquence as a gift of inspiration.

"And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." This is the real

inward miracle, the main fact, the central idea of the Pentecostal

narrative. To the apostles it was their baptism, confirmation, and

ordination, all in one, for they received no other. [264] To them it

was the great inspiration which enabled them hereafter to be

authoritative teachers of the gospel by tongue and pen. Not that it

superseded subsequent growth in knowledge, or special revelations on

particular points (as Peter receive at Joppa, and Paul on several

occasions); but they were endowed with such an understanding of

Christ's words and plan of salvation as they never had before. What was

dark and mysterious became now clear and full of meaning to them. The

Spirit revealed to them the person and work of the Redeemer in the

light of his resurrection and exaltation, and took full possession of

their mind and heart. They were raised, as it were, to the mount of

transfiguration, and saw Moses and Elijah and Jesus above them, face to

face, swimming in heavenly light. They had now but one desire to

gratify, but one object to live for, namely, to be witnesses of Christ

and instruments of the salvation of their fellow-men, that they too

might become partakers of their "inheritance incorruptible, and

undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven." [265]

But the communication of the Holy Spirit was not confined to the

Twelve. It extended to the brethren of the Lord, the mother of Jesus,

the pious women who had attended his ministry, and the whole

brotherhood of a hundred and twenty souls who were assembled in that

chamber. [266] They were "all" filled with the Spirit, and all spoke

with tongues; [267] and Peter saw in the event the promised outpouring

of the Spirit upon "all flesh," sons and daughters, young men and old

men, servants and handmaidens. [268] It is characteristic that in this

spring season of the church the women were sitting with the men, not in

a separate court as in the temple, nor divided by a partition as in the

synagogue and the decayed churches of the East to this day, but in the

same room as equal sharers in the spiritual blessings. The beginning

was a prophetic anticipation of the end, and a manifestation of the

universal priesthood and brotherhood of believers in Christ, in whom

all are one, whether Jew or Greek, bond or free, male or female. [269]

This new spiritual life, illuminated, controlled, and directed by the

Holy Spirit, manifested itself first in the speaking with tongues

towards God, and then in the prophetic testimony towards the people.

The former consisted of rapturous prayers and anthems of praise, the

latter of sober teaching and exhortation. From the Mount of

Transfiguration the disciples, like their Master, descended to the

valley below to heal the sick and to call sinners to repentance.

The mysterious gift of tongues, or glossolalia, appears here for the

first time, but became, with other extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, a

frequent phenomenon in the apostolic churches, especially at Corinth,

and is fully described by Paul. The distribution of the flaming tongues

to each of the disciples caused the speaking with tongues. A new

experience expresses itself always in appropriate language. The

supernatural experience of the disciples broke through the confines of

ordinary speech and burst out in ecstatic language of praise and

thanksgiving to God for the great works he did among them. [270] It was

the Spirit himself who gave them utterance and played on their tongues,

as on new tuned harps, unearthly melodies of praise. The glossolalia

was here, as in all cases where it is mentioned, an act of worship and

adoration, not an act of teaching and instruction, which followed

afterwards in the sermon of Peter. It was the first Te Deum of the

new-born church. It expressed itself in unusual, poetic, dithyrambic

style and with a peculiar musical intonation. It was intelligible only

to those who were in sympathy with the speaker; while unbelievers

scoffingly ascribed it to madness or excess of wine. Nevertheless it

served as a significant sign to all and arrested their attention to the

presence of a supernatural power. [271]

So far we may say that the Pentecostal glossolalia was the same as that

in the household of Cornelius in Caesarea after his conversion, which

may be called a Gentile Pentecost, [272] as that of the twelve

disciples of John the Baptist at Ephesus, where it appears in

connection with prophesying, [273] and as that in the Christian

congregation at Corinth. [274]

But at its first appearance the speaking with tongues differed in its

effect upon the hearers by coming home to them at once in their own

mother-tongues; while in Corinth it required an interpretation to be

understood. The foreign spectators, at least a number of them, believed

that the unlettered Galilaeans spoke intelligibly in the different

dialects represented on the occasion. [275] We must therefore suppose

either that the speakers themselves, were endowed, at least

temporarily, and for the particular purpose of proving their divine

mission, with the gift of foreign languages not learned by them before,

or that the Holy Spirit who distributed the tongues acted also as

interpreter of the tongues, and applied the utterances of the speakers

to the susceptible among the hearers.

The former is the most natural interpretation of Luke's language.

Nevertheless I suggest the other alternative as preferable, for the

following reasons: 1. The temporary endowment with a supernatural

knowledge of foreign languages involves nearly all the difficulties of

a permanent endowment, which is now generally abandoned, as going far

beyond the data of the New Testament and known facts of the early

spread of the gospel. 2. The speaking with tongues began before the

spectators arrived, that is before there was any motive for the

employment of foreign languages. [276] 3. The intervening agency of the

Spirit harmonizes the three accounts of Luke, and Luke and Paul, or the

Pentecostal and the Corinthian glossolalia; the only difference

remaining is that in Corinth the interpretation of tongues was made by

men in audible speech, [277] in Jerusalem by the Holy Spirit in inward

illumination and application. 4. The Holy Spirit was certainly at work

among the hearers as well as the speakers, and brought about the

conversion of three thousand on that memorable day. If he applied and

made effective the sermon of Peter, why not also the preceding

doxologies and benedictions? 5. Peter makes no allusion to foreign

languages, nor does the prophecy of Joel which he quotes. 6. This view

best explains the opposite effect upon the spectators. They did by no

means all understand the miracle, but the mockers, like those at

Corinth, [278] thought the disciples were out of their right mind and

talked not intelligible words in their native dialects, but

unintelligible nonsense. The speaking in a foreign language could not

have been a proof of drunkenness. It may be objected to this view that

it implies a mistake on the part of the hearers who traced the use of

their mother-tongues directly to the speakers; but the mistake referred

not to the fact itself, but only to the mode. It was the same Spirit

who inspired the tongues of the speakers and the hearts of the

susceptible hearers, and raised both above the ordinary level of

consciousness.

Whichever view we take of this peculiar feature of the Pentecostal

glossolalia, in this diversified application to the cosmopolitan

multitude of spectators, it was a symbolical anticipation and prophetic

announcement of the universalness of the Christian religion, which was

to be proclaimed in all the languages of the earth and to unite all

nations in one kingdom of Christ. The humility and love of the church

united what the pride and hatred of Babel had scattered. In this sense

we may say that the Pentecostal harmony of tongues was the counterpart

of the BabyIonian confusion of tongues.. [279]

The speaking with tongues was followed by the sermon of Peter; the act

of devotion, by an act of teaching; the rapturous language of the soul

in converse with God, by the sober words of ordinary self-possession

for the benefit of the people.

While the assembled multitude wondered at this miracle with widely

various emotions, St. Peter, the Rock-man, appeared in the name of all

the disciples, and addressed them with remarkable clearness and force,

probably in his own vernacular Aramaic, which would be most familiar to

the inhabitants of Jerusalem, possibly in Greek, which would be better

understood by the foreign visitors. [280] He humbly condescended to

refute the charge of intoxication by reminding them of the early hour

of the day, when even drunkards are sober, and explained from the

prophecies of Joel and the sixteenth Psalm of David the meaning of the

supernatural phenomenon, as the work of that Jesus of Nazareth, whom

the Jews had crucified, but who was by word and deed, by his

resurrection from the dead, his exaltation to the right hand of God,

and the effusion of the Holy Ghost, accredited as the promised Messiah,

according to the express prediction of the Scripture. Then he called

upon his hearers to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus, as the

founder and head of the heavenly kingdom, that even they, though they

had crucified him, the Lord and the Messiah, might receive the

forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost, whose wonderful

workings they saw and heard in the disciples.

This was the first independent testimony of the apostles, the first

Christian sermon: simple, unadorned, but full of Scripture truth,

natural, suitable, pointed, and more effective than any other sermon

has been since, though fraught with learning and burning with

eloquence. It resulted in the conversion and baptism of three thousand

persons, gathered as first-fruits into the garners of the church.

In these first-fruits of the glorified Redeemer, and in this founding

of the new economy of Spirit and gospel, instead of the old theocracy

of letter and law, the typical meaning of the Jewish Pentecost was

gloriously fulfilled. But this birth-day of the Christian church is in

its turn only the beginning, the type and pledge, of a still greater

spiritual harvest and a universal feast of thanksgiving, when, in the

full sense of the prophecy of Joel, the Holy Spirit shall be poured out

on all flesh, when all the sons and daughters of men shall walk in his

light, and God shall be praised with new tongues of fire for the

completion of his wonderful work of redeeming love.

Notes.

I. Glossolalia.--The Gift of Tongues is the most difficult feature of

the Pentecostal miracle. Our only direct source of information is in

Acts 2, but the gift itself is mentioned in two other passages, 10:46

and 19:6, in the concluding section of Mark 16 (of disputed

genuineness), and fully described by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14.

There can be no doubt as to the existence of that gift in the apostolic

age, and if we had only either the account of Pentecost, or only the

account of Paul, we would not hesitate to decide as to its nature, but

the difficulty is in harmonizing the two.

(1) The terms employed for the strange tongues are "new tongues"

(kainai glossai, Mark 16:17, where Christ promises the gift), "other

tongues," differing from ordinary tongues (heterai gl. Acts 2:4, but

nowhere else), "kinds" or "diversities of tongues" (gene glosson, 1

Cor. 12:28), or simply, "tongues" (glossai,1 Cor. 14:22), and in the

singular, "tongue" (glossa, 14:2, 13, 19, 27, in which passages the E.

V. inserts the interpolation "unknown tongue"). To speak in tongues is

called glossaisorglosse lalein(Acts 2:4; 10:46; 19:6; 1 Cor. 14:2, 4,

13, 14, 19, 27). Paul uses also the phrase to "pray with the tongue"

(proseuchesthai glosse), as equivalent to "praying and singing with the

spirit" (Proseuchesthai andpsallein to pneumati, and as distinct from

proseuchesthaiand psallein to noi, 1 Cor. 14:14, 15). The plural and

the term "diversities" of tongues, as well as the distinction between

tongues of "angels" and tongues of "men" (1 Cor. 13:1) point to

different manifestations (speaking, praying, singing), according to the

individuality, education, and mood of the speaker, but not to various

foreign languages, which are excluded by Paul's description.

The term tongue has been differently explained.

(a) Wieseler (and Van Hengel): the organ of speech, used as a passive

instrument; speaking with the tongue alone, inarticulately, and in a

low whisper. But this does not explain the plural, nor the terms "new"

and "other" tongues; the organ of speech remaining the same.

(b) Bleek: rare, provincial, archaic, poetic words, or glosses (whence

our "glossary"). But this technical meaning of glossaioccurs only in

classical writers (as Aristotle, Plutarch, etc.) and among grammarians,

not in Hellenistic Greek, and the interpretation does not suit the

singular glossaand glosse lalein, as glossacould only mean a single

gloss.

(c) Most commentators: language or dialect (dialektos, comp. Acts 1:19;

2:6, 8; 21:40; 26:14). This is the correct view. "Tongue" is an

abridgment for "new tongue" (which was the original term, Mark 16:17).

It does not necessarily mean one of the known languages of the earth,

but may mean a peculiar handling of the vernacular dialect of the

speaker, or a new spiritual language never known before, a language of

immediate inspiration in a state of ecstasy. The "tongues" were

individual varieties of this language of inspiration.

(2) The glossolalia in the Corinthian church, with which that at

Caesarea in Acts 10:46, and that at Ephesus, 19:6, are evidently

identical, we know very well from the description of Paul. It occurred

in the first glow of enthusiasm after conversion and continued for some

time. It was not a speaking in foreign languages, which would have been

entirely useless in a devotional meeting of converts, but a speaking in

a language differing from all known languages, and required an

interpreter to be intelligible to foreigners. It had nothing to do with

the spread of the gospel, although it may, like other devotional acts,

have become a means of conversion to susceptible unbelievers if such

were present. It was an act of self-devotion, an act of thanksgiving,

praying, and singing, within the Christian congregation, by individuals

who were wholly absorbed in communion with God, and gave utterance to

their rapturous feelings in broken, abrupt, rhapsodic, unintelligible

words. It was emotional rather than intellectual, the language of the

excited imagination, not of cool reflection. It was the language of the

spirit (pneuma) or of ecstasy, as distinct from the language of the

understanding (nous). We might almost illustrate the difference by a

comparison of the style of the Apocalypse which was conceiveden

pneumati(Apoc. 1:10) with that of the Gospel of John, which was written

en noi. The speaker in tongues was in a state of spiritual

intoxication, if we may use this term, analogous to the poetic "frenzy"

described by Shakespeare and Goethe. His tongue was a lyre on which the

divine Spirit played celestial tunes. He was unconscious or only half

conscious, and scarcely knew whether he was, "in the body or out of the

body." No one could understand this unpremeditated religious rhapsody

unless he was in a similar trance. To an unbelieving outsider it

sounded like a barbarous tongue, like the uncertain sound of a trumpet,

like the raving of a maniac (1 Cor. 14:23), or the incoherent talk of a

drunken man (Acts 2:13, 15). "He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not

to men, but to God; for no one understandeth; and in the spirit he

speaketh mysteries; but he that prophesieth speaketh unto men

edification, and encouragement, and comfort. He that speaketh in a

tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church"

(1 Cor. 14:2-4; comp. 26-33).

The Corinthians evidently overrated the glossolalia, as a showy display

of divine power; but it was more ornamental than useful, and vanished

away with the bridal season of the church. It is a mark of the great

wisdom of Paul who was himself a master in the glossolalia (1 Cor.

14:18), that he assigned to it a subordinate and transient position,

restrained its exercise, demanded an interpretation of it, and gave the

preference to the gifts of permanent usefulness in which God displays

his goodness and love for the general benefit. Speaking with tongues is

good, but prophesying and teaching in intelligible speech for the

edification of the congregation is better, and love to God and men in

active exercise is best of all (1 Cor. 13).

We do not know how long the glossolalia, as thus described by Paul,

continued. It passed away gradually with the other extraordinary or

strictly supernatural gifts of the apostolic age. It is not mentioned

in the Pastoral, nor in the Catholic Epistles. We have but a few

allusions to it at the close of the second century. Irenaeus (Adv.

Haer. 1. v. c. 6, � 1) speaks of "many brethren" whom he heard in the

church having the gift of prophecy and of speaking in "diverse tongues"

(Pantodapais glossais), bringing the hidden things of men (Ta kpuphia

ton anthpopon) to light and expounding the mysteries of God (ta

musteria tou theou). It is not clear whether by the term "diverse,"

which does not elsewhere occur, he means a speaking in foreign

languages, or in diversities of tongues altogether peculiar, like those

meant by Paul. The latter is more probable. Irenaeus himself had to

learn the language of Gaul. Tertullian (Adv. Marc. V. 8; comp. De

Anima, c. 9) obscurely speaks of the spiritual gifts, including the

gift of tongues, as being still manifest among the Montanists to whom

he belonged. At the time of Chrysostom it had entirely disappeared; at

least he accounts for the obscurity of the gift from our ignorance of

the fact. From that time on the glossolalia was usually misunderstood

as a miraculous and permanent gift of foreign languages for missionary

purposes. But the whole history of missions furnishes no clear example

of such a gift for such a purpose.

Analogous phenomena, of an inferior kind, and not miraculous, yet

serving as illustrations, either by approximation or as counterfeits,

reappeared from time to time in seasons of special religious

excitement, as among the Camisards and the prophets of the Cevennes in

France, among the early Quakers and Methodists, the Mormons, the

Readers ("L�sare") in Sweden in 1841 to 1843, in the Irish revivals of

1859, and especially in the "Catholic Apostolic Church," commonly

called Irvingites, from 1831 to 1833, and even to this day. See Ed.

Irving's articles on Gifts of the Holy Ghost called Supernatural, in

his "Works," vol. V., p. 509, etc.; Mrs. Oliphant's Life of Irving,

vol. II.; the descriptions quoted in my Hist. Ap. Ch. � 55, p. 198; and

from friend and foe in Stanley's Com. on Corinth., p. 252, 4th ed.;

also Plumptre in Smith's, "Bible Dict.," IV. 3311, Am. ed. The

Irvingites who have written on the subject (Thiersch, B�hm, and

Rossteuscher) make a marked distinction between the Pentecostal

glossolalia in foreign languages and the Corinthian glossolalia in

devotional meetings; and it is the latter only which they compare to

their own experience. Several years ago I witnessed this phenomenon in

an Irvingite congregation in New York; the words were broken,

ejaculatory and unintelligible, but uttered in abnormal, startling,

impressive sounds, in a state of apparent unconsciousness and rapture,

and without any control over the tongue, which was seized as it were by

a foreign power. A friend and colleague (Dr. Briggs), who witnessed it

in 1879 in the principal Irvingite church at London, received the same

impression.

(3) The Pentecostal glossolalia cannot have been essentially different

from the Corinthian: it was likewise an ecstatic act of worship, of

thanksgiving and praise for the great deeds of God in Christ, a

dialogue of the soul with God. It was the purest and the highest

utterance of the jubilant enthusiasm of the new-born church of Christ

in the possession of the Holy Spirit. It began before the spectators

arrived (comp. Acts 2:4 and 6), and was followed by a missionary

discourse of Peter in plain, ordinary language. Luke mentions the same

gift twice again (Luke 10 and 19) evidently as an act of devotion, and

not of teaching.

Nevertheless, according to the evident meaning of Luke's narrative, the

Pentecostal glossolalia differed from the Corinthian not only by its

intensity, but also by coming home to the hearers then present in their

own vernacular dialects, without the medium of a human interpreter.

Hence the term "different" tongues, which Paul does not use, nor Luke

in any other passage; hence the astonishment of the foreigners at

hearing each his own peculiar idiom from the lips of those unlettered

Galileans. It is this heteroglossolalia, as I may term it, which causes

the chief difficulty. I will give the various views which either deny,

or shift, or intensify, or try to explain this foreign element.

(a) The rationalistic interpretation cuts the Gordian knot by denying

the miracle, as a mistake of the narrator or of the early Christian

tradition. Even Meyer surrenders the heteroglossolalia, as far as it

differs from the Corinthian glossolalia, as an unhistorical tradition

which originated in a mistake, because he considers the sudden

communication of the facility of speaking foreign languages as

"logically impossible, and psychologically and morally inconceivable"

(Com. on Acts 2:4, 4th ed.). But Luke, the companion of Paul, must have

been familiar with the glossolalia in the apostolic churches, and in

the two other passages where he mentions it he evidently means the same

phenomenon as that described by Paul.

(b) The heteroglossolalia was a mistake of the hearers (a H�rwunder),

who in the state of extraordinary excitement and profound sympathy

imagined that they heard their own language from the disciples; while

Luke simply narrates their impression without correcting it. This view

was mentioned (though not adopted) by Gregory of Nyssa, and held by

Pseudo-Cyprian, the venerable Bede, Erasmus, Schneckenburger and

others. If the pentecostal language was the Hellenistic dialect, it

could, with its composite character, its Hebraisms and Latinisms, the

more easily produce such an effect when spoken by persons stirred in

the inmost depth of their hearts and lifted out of themselves. St.

Xavier is said to have made himself understood by the Hindoos without

knowing their language, and St. Bernard, St. Anthony of Padua, St.

Vincent Ferrer were able, by the spiritual power of their eloquence, to

kindle the enthusiasm and sway the passions of multitudes who were

ignorant of their language. Olshausen and B�umlein call to aid the

phenomena of magnetism and somnambulism, by which people are brought

into mysterious rapport.

(c) The glossolalia was speaking in archaic, poetic glosses, with an

admixture of foreign words. This view, learnedly defended by Bleek

(1829), and adopted with modifications by Baur (1838), has already been

mentioned above (p. 233), as inconsistent with Hellenistic usage, and

the natural meaning of Luke.

(d) The mystical explanation regards the Pentecostal Gift of Tongues in

some way as a counterpart of the Confusion of Tongues, either as a

temporary restoration of the original language of Paradise, or as a

prophetic anticipation of the language of heaven in which all languages

are united. This theory, which is more deep than clear, turns the

heteroglossolalia into a homoglossolalia, and puts the miracle into the

language itself and its temporary restoration or anticipation.

Schelling calls the Pentecostal miracle "Babel reversed" (das

umgekehrte Babel), and says: "Dem Ereigniss der Sprachenverwirrung

l�sst sich in der ganzen Folge der religi�sen Geschichte nur Eines an

die Seite stellen, die momentan wiederhergestellte Spracheinheit

(homoglossia) am Pfingstfeste, mit dem das Christenthum, bestimmt das

ganze Menschengeschlecht durch die Erkenntniss des Einen wahren Gottes

wieder zur Einheit zu verkn�pfen, seinen grossen Weg beginnt " (Einl.

in d. Philos. der Mythologie, p. 109). A similar view was defended by

Billroth (in his Com. on 1 Cor. 14, p. 177), who suggests that the

primitive language combined elements of the different derived

languages, so that each listener heard fragments of his own. Lange (II.

38) sees here the normal language of the inner spiritual life which

unites the redeemed, and which runs through all ages of the church as

the leaven of languages, regenerating, transforming, and consecrating

them to sacred uses, but he assumes also, like Olshausen, a sympathetic

rapport between speakers and hearers. Delitzsch (l.c. p. 1186) says:

"Die apostolische Verk�ndigung erging damals in einer Sprache des

Geistes, welche das Gegenbild der in Babel zerschellten

EinenMenschheitssprache war und von allen ohne Unterschied der Sprachen

gleichm�ssig verstanden wurde. Wie das weisse Licht alle Farben aus

sich erschliesst, so fiel die geistgewirkte Apostelsprache wie in

prismatischer Brechung verst�ndlich in aller Ohren und ergreifend in

aller Herzen. Es war ein Vorspiel der Einigung, in welcher die von

Babel datirende Veruneinigung sich aufheben wird. Dem Sivan-Tag des

steinernen Buchstabens trat ein Sivan-Tag des lebendigmachenden Geistes

entgegen. Es war der Geburtstag der Kirche, der Geistesgemeinde im

Unterschiede von der altestamentlichen Volksgemeinde; darum nennt

Chrysostomus in einer Pfingsthomilie die Pentekoste die Metropole der

Feste " Ewald's view (VI. 116 sqq.) is likewise mystical, but original

and expressed with his usual confidence. He calls the glossolalia an

"Auflallen und Aufjauchzen der Christlichen Begeisterung, ein

st�rmisches Hervorbrechen aller der verborgenen Gef�hle und Gedanken in

ihrer vollsten Unmittelbarkeit und Gewalt " He says that on the day of

Pentecost the most unusual expressions and synonyms of different

languages (as abba ho pater, Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15, and maran atha1 Cor.

16:22), with reminiscences of words of Christ as resounding from

heaven, commingled in the vortex of a new language of the Spirit, and

gave utterance to the exuberant joy of the young Christianity in

stammering hymns of praise never heard before or since except in the

weaker manifestations of the same gift in the Corinthian and other

apostolic churches.

(e) The Pentecostal glossolalia was a permanent endowment of the

apostles with a miraculous knowledge of all those foreign languages in

which they were to preach the gospel. As they were sent to preach to

all nations, they were gifted with the tongues of all nations. This

theory was first clearly brought out by the fathers in the fourth and

fifth centuries, long after the gift of tongues had disappeared, and

was held by most of the older divines, though with different

modifications, but is now abandoned by nearly all Protestant

commentators except Bishop Wordsworth, who defends it with patristic

quotations. Chrysostom supposed that each disciple was assigned the

particular language which he needed for his evangelistic work (Hom. on

Acts 2). Augustine went much further, saying (De Civ. Dei, XVIII. c.

49): "Every one of them spoke in the tongues of all nations; thus

signifying that the unity of the catholic church would embrace all

nations, and would in like manner speak in all tongues." Some confined

the number of languages to the number of foreign nations and countries

mentioned by Luke (Chrysostom), others extended it to 70 or 72

(Augustine and Epiphanius), or 75, after the number of the sons of Noah

(Gen. 10), or even to 120 (Pacianus), after the number of the disciples

present. Baronius mentions these opinions in Annal. ad Ann. 34, vol. I.

197. The feast of languages in the Roman Propaganda perpetuates this

theory, but turns the moral miracle of spiritual enthusiasm into a

mechanical miracle of acquired learning in unknown tongues. Were all

the speakers to speak at once, as on the day of Pentecost, it would be

a more than Babylonian confusion of tongues.

Such a stupendous miracle as is here supposed might be justified by the

far-reaching importance of that creative epoch, but it is without a

parallel and surrounded by insuperable difficulties. The theory ignores

the fact that the glossolalia began before the spectators arrived, that

is, before there was any necessity of using foreign languages. It

isolates the Pentecostal glossolalia and brings Luke into conflict with

Paul and with himself; for in all other cases the gift of tongues

appears, as already remarked, not as a missionary agency, but as an

exercise of devotion. It implies that all the one hundred disciples

present, including the women--for a tongue as of fire "sat upon each of

them"--were called to be traveling evangelists. A miracle of that kind

was superfluous (a Luxuswunder); for since the conquest of Alexander

the Great the Greek language was so generally understood throughout the

Roman empire that the apostles scarcely needed any other--unless it was

Latin and their native Aramaean--for evangelistic purposes; and the

Greek was used in fact by all the writers of the New Testament, even by

James of Jerusalem, and in a way which shows that they had learnt it

like other people, by early training and practice. Moreover there is no

trace of such a miraculous knowledge, nor any such use of it after

Pentecost. [281] On the contrary, we must infer that Paul did not

understand the Lycaonian dialect (Acts 14:11-14), and we learn from

early ecclesiastical tradition that Peter used Mark as an interpreter

(hermeneus orhermeneutes, interpres, according to Papias, Irenaeus, and

Tertullian). God does not supersede by miracle the learning of foreign

languages and other kinds of knowledge which can be attained by the

ordinary use of our mental faculties and opportunities.

(f) It was a temporary speaking in foreign languages confined to the

day of Pentecost and passing away with the flame-like tongues. The

exception was justified by the object, namely, to attest the divine

mission of the apostles and to foreshadow the universalness of the

gospel. This view is taken by most modern commentators who accept the

account of Luke, as Olshausen (who combines with it the theory b),

Baumgarten, Thiersch, Rossteuscher, Lechler, Hackett, Gloag, Plumptre

(in his Com. on Acts), and myself (in H. Ap. Ch.), and accords best

with the plain sense of the narrative. But it likewise makes an

essential distinction between the Pentecostal and the Corinthian

glossolalia, which is extremely improbable. A temporary endowment with

the knowledge of foreign languages unknown before is as great if not a

greater miracle than a permanent endowment, and was just as superfluous

at that time in Jerusalem as afterwards at Corinth; for the missionary

sermon of Peter, which was in one language only, was intelligible to

all.

(g) The Pentecostal glossolalia was essentially the same as the

Corinthian glossolalia, namely, an act of worship, and not of teaching;

with only a slight difference in the medium of interpretation: it was

at once internally interpreted and applied by the Holy Spirit himself

to those hearers who believed and were converted, to each in his own

vernacular dialect; while in Corinth the interpretation was made either

by the speaker in tongues, or by one endowed with the gift of

interpretation.

I can find no authority for this theory, and therefore suggest it with

modesty, but it seems to me to avoid most of the difficulties of the

other theories, and it brings Luke into harmony with himself and with

Paul. It is certain that the Holy Spirit moved the hearts of the

hearers as well as the tongues of the speakers on that first day of the

new creation in Christ. In a natural form the Pentecostal

heteroglossolalia is continued in the preaching of the gospel in all

tongues, and in more than three hundred translations of the Bible.

II. False interpretations of the Pentecostal miracle.

(1) The older rationalistic interpretation resolves the wind into a

thunderstorm or a hurricane surcharged with electricity, the tongues of

fire into flashes of lightning falling into the assembly, or electric

sparks from a sultry atmosphere, and the glossolalia into a praying of

each in his own vernacular, instead of the sacred old Hebrew, or

assumes that some of the disciples knew several foreign dialects before

and used them on the occasion. So Paulus, Thiess, Schulthess, Kuin�l,

Schrader, Fritzsche, substantially also Renan, who dwells on the

violence of Oriental thunderstorms, but explains the glossolalia

differently according to analogous phenomena of later times. This view

makes the wonder of the spectators and hearers at such an ordinary

occurrence a miracle. It robs them of common sense, or charges

dishonesty on the narrator. It is entirely inapplicable to the

glossolalia in Corinth, which must certainly be admitted as an

historical phenomenon of frequent occurrence in the apostolic church.

It is contradicted by the comparative hosper andhoseiof the narrative,

which distinguishes the sound from ordinary wind and the tongues of

flame from ordinary fire; just as the words, "like a dove," to which

all the Gospels compare the appearance of the Holy Spirit at Christ's

baptism, indicate that no real dove is intended.

(2) The modern rationalistic or mythical theory resolves the miracle

into a subjective vision which was mistaken by the early Christians for

an objective external fact. The glossolalia of Pentecost (not that in

Corinth, which is acknowledged as historical) symbolizes the true idea

of the universalness of the gospel and the Messianic unification of

languages and nationalities (eis laos Kuriou kai glossa mia as the

Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs expresses it). It is an imitation of

the rabbinical fiction (found already in Philo) that the Sinaitic

legislation was proclaimed through the bath-kol, the echo of the voice

of God, to all nations in the seventy languages of the world. So Zeller

(Contents and Origin of the Acts, I. 203-205), who thinks that the

whole pentecostal fact, if it occurred at all. "must have been

distorted beyond recognition in our record." But his chief argument is:

"the impossibility and incredibility of miracles," which he declares

(p. 175, note) to be "an axiom" of the historian; thus acknowledging

the negative presupposition or philosophical prejudice which underlies

his historical criticism. We hold, on the contrary, that the historian

must accept the facts as he finds them, and if he cannot explain them

satisfactorily from natural causes or subjective illusions, he must

trace them to supernatural forces. Now the Christian church, which is

certainly a most palpable and undeniable fact, must have originated in

a certain place, at a certain time, and in a certain manner, and we can

imagine no more appropriate and satisfactory account of its origin than

that given by Luke. Baur and Zeller think it impossible that three

thousand persons should have been converted in one day and in one

place. They forget that the majority of the hearers were no skeptics,

but believers in a supernatural revelation, and needed only to be

convinced that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. Ewald says

against Zeller, without naming him (VI. 119) "Nothing can be more

perverse than to deny the historical truth of the event related in Acts

2." We hold with Rothe (Vorlesungen �ber Kirchengeschichte I. 33) that

the Pentecostal event was a real miracle ("ein eigentliches Wunder"),

which the Holy Spirit wrought on the disciples and which endowed them

with the power to perform miracles (according to the promise, Mark

16:17, 18). Without these miraculous powers Christianity could not have

taken hold on the world as it then stood. The Christian church itself,

with its daily experiences of regeneration and conversion at home and

in heathen lands, is the best living and omnipresent proof of its

supernatural origin.

III. Time and Place, of Pentecost. Did it occur on a Lord's Day (the

eighth after Easter), or on a Jewish Sabbath? In a private house, or in

the temple ? We decide for the Lord's Day, and for a private house. But

opinions are much divided, and the arguments almost equally balanced.

(1) The choice of the day in the week depends partly on the

interpretation of "the morrow after the (Passover) Sabbath" from which

the fiftieth day was to be counted, according to the legislative

prescription in Lev. 23:11, 15, 16--namely, whether it was the morrow

following the first day of the Passover, i.e. the 16th of Nisan, or the

day after the regular Sabbath in the Passover week; partly on the date

of Christ's crucifixion, which took place on a Friday, namely, whether

this was the 14th or 15th of Nisan. If we assume that the Friday of

Christ's death was the 14th of Nisan, then the 15th was a Sabbath, and

Pentecost in that year fall on a Sunday; but if the Friday of the

crucifixion was the 15th of Nisan (as I hold myself, see � 16, p. 133),

then Pentecost fell on a Jewish Sabbath (so Wieseler, who fixes it on

Saturday, May 27, a.d. 30), unless we count from the end of the 16th of

Nisan (as Wordsworth and Plumptre do, who put Pentecost on a Sunday).

But if we take the "Sabbath" in Lev. 23 in the usual sense of the

weekly Sabbath (as the Sadducees and Karaites did), then the Jewish

Pentecost fell always on a Sunday. At all events the Christian church

has uniformly observed Whit-Sunday on the eighth Lord's Day after

Easter, adhering in this case, as well as in the festivals of the

resurrection (Sunday) and of the ascension (Thursday), to the old

tradition as to the day of the week when the event occurred. This view

would furnish an additional reason for the substitution of Sunday, as

the day of the Lord's resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit,

for the Jewish Sabbath. Wordsworth: "Thus the first day of the week has

been consecrated to all the three Persons of the ever-blessed and

undivided Trinity; and the blessings of Creation, Redemption, and

Sanctification are commemorated on the Christian Sunday." Wieseler

assumes, without good reason, that the ancient church deliberately

changed the day from opposition to the Jewish Sabbath; but the

celebration of Pentecost together with that of the Resurrection seems

to be as old as the Christian church and has its precedent in the

example of Paul, Acts 18:21; 20:16.--Lightfoot (Horae Hebr. in Acta Ap.

2:1; Opera II. 692) counts Pentecost from the 16th of Nisan, but

nevertheless puts the first Christian Pentecost on a Sunday by an

unusual and questionable interpretation of Acts 2:1 en to

sunplerousthai ten hemeran tes Pentekostes, which he makes to mean

"when the day of Pentecost was fully gone," instead of "was fully

come." But whether Pentecost fell on a Jewish Sabbath or on a Lord's

Day, the coincidence in either case was significant.

(2) As to the place, Luke calls it simply a "house" (oikos,Acts 2:2),

which can hardly mean the temple (not mentioned till 2:46). It was

probably the same "upper room" or chamber which he had mentioned in the

preceding chapter, as the well known usual meeting place of the,

disciples after the ascension, to huperoon...hou esan katamenontes,

1:13). So Neander, Meyer, Ewald, Wordsworth, Plumptre, Farrar, and

others. Perhaps it was the same chamber in which our Lord partook of

the Paschal Supper with them (Mark 14:14, 15; Matt. 26:28). Tradition

locates both events in the "Coenaculum," a room in an irregular

building called "David's Tomb," which lies outside of Zion Gate some

distance from Mt. Moriah. (See William M. Thomson, The Land and the

Book, new ed. 1880, vol. I. p. 535 sq.). But Cyril of Jerusalem

(Catech. XVI. 4) states that the apartment where the Holy Spirit

descended was afterwards converted into a church. The uppermost room

under the flat roof of Oriental houses. (huperoon, ?lyh) as often used

as a place of devotion (comp. Acts 20:8). But as a private house could

not possibly hold so great a multitude, we must suppose that Peter

addressed the people in the street from the roof or from the outer

staircase.

Many of the older divines, as also Olshausen, Baumgarten, Wieseler,

Lange, Thiersch (and myself in first ed. of Ap. Ch., p. 194), locate

the Pentecostal scene in the temple, or rather in one of the thirty

side buildings around it, which Josephus calls "houses" (oikous) in his

description of Solomon's temple (Ant. VIII. 3, 2), or in Solomon's

porch, which remained from the first temple, and where the disciples

assembled afterwards (Acts 5:12, comp. 3:11). In favor of this view may

be said, that it better agrees with the custom of the apostles (Luke

24:53; Acts 2:46; 5:12, 42), with the time of the miracle (the morning

hour of prayer), and with the assembling of a large multitude of at

least three thousand hearers, and also that it seems to give additional

solemnity to the event when it took place in the symbolical and typical

sanctuary of the old dispensation. But it is difficult to conceive that

the hostile Jews should have allowed the poor disciples to occupy one

of those temple buildings and not interfered with the scene. In the

dispensation of the Spirit which now began, the meanest dwelling, and

the body of the humblest Christian becomes a temple of God. Comp. John

4:24.

IV. Effects of the Day of Pentecost. From Farrar's Life and Work of St.

Paul (I. 93): "That this first Pentecost marked an eternal moment in

the destiny of mankind, no reader of history will surely deny.

Undoubtedly in every age since then the sons of God have, to an extent

unknown before, been taught by the Spirit of God. Undoubtedly since

then, to an extent unrealized before, we may know that the Spirit of

Christ dwelleth in us. Undoubtedly we may enjoy a nearer sense of union

with God in Christ than was accorded to the saints of the Old

Dispensation, and a thankful certainty that we see the days which kings

and prophets desired to see and did not see them, and hear the truths

which they desired to hear and did not hear them. And this New

Dispensation began henceforth in all its fulness. It was no exclusive

consecration to a separated priesthood, no isolated endowment of a

narrow apostolate. It was the consecration of a whole church--its men,

its women, its children--to be all of them 'a chosen generation, a

royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people;' it was an

endowment, of which the full free offer was meant ultimately to be

extended to all mankind. Each one of that hundred and twenty was not

the exceptional recipient of a blessing and witness of a revelation,

but the forerunner and representative of myriads more. And this miracle

was not merely transient, but is continuously renewed. It is not a

rushing sound and gleaming light, seen perhaps for a moment, but it is

a living energy and an unceasing inspiration. It is not a visible

symbol to a gathered handful of human souls in the upper room of a

Jewish house, but a vivifying wind which shall henceforth breathe in

all ages of the world's history; a tide of light which is rolling, and

shall roll, from shore to shore until the earth is fall of the

knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[252] John 14:6, 26; 15:26; 16:7. The preparatory communication of the

Spirit is related in John 20:22.

[253] Comp. especially the classical chapters on the gifts of the

Spirit, 1 Cor. 12, 13, and 14, and Rom. 12.

[254] The Greek name he pentekoste (hemera) is used (like

quinquagesima) as a substantive, Tob. 2:1; 2 Macc. 12:32; Acts 2:1;

20:16; 1 Cor. 16:3, and by Josephus, Ant. III. 10, 6, etc. It survives

not only in all the Romanic languages, but also in the German

Pfingsten. The English Whit-Sunday is usually derived from the white

garments of the candidates for baptism worn on that day (hence Dominica

alba); others connect it with wit, the gift of wisdom from above. The

Hebrew names of the festival are ry?qh gch, heorte therismou, the feast

of harvest (Ex. 23:16), vyrvbkh vvy and hemera ton neon, day of the

first fruits (Num. 28:26), tv?vsh gch, heorte hebdomadon, hagia hepta

hebdomadon, festival of (seven) weeks, as the harvest continued for

seven weeks (Deut. 16:9, 10; Lev. 23:15; Tob. 2:1). It began directly

after the Passover with the offering of the first sheaf of the

barley-harvest, and ended at Pentecost with the offering of the first

two loaves from the wheat-harvest.

[255] Josephus speaks of "many tens of thousands being gathered

together about the temple" on Pentecost, Ant. xiv. 13, 4; comp. xvii.

10, 2; Bell Jud. II. 3, 1. The Passover, of course, was more numerously

attended by Jews from Palestine; but distant foreigners were often

prevented by the dangers of travel in the early spring. Paul twice went

to Jerusalem on Pentecost, Acts 18:21; 20:16. Many Passover pilgrims

would naturally remain till the second festival.

[256] Hence called the feast of the joy of the Law (hrvth tchmsh). The

date of Sinaitic legislation is based on a comparison of Ex. 12:2 with

19:1 (comp. my Hist. of the Ap. Ch., p. 192, note 5). The legislation

on Pentecost, Deut. 16:9-12, represents it as a feast of rejoicing, and

concludes with a reference to the bondage in Egypt and the commandments

of Jehovah. Otherwise there is no allusion in the Bible, nor in Philo

nor Josephus, to the historical significance of Pentecost. But there

was a Jewish custom which Sch�ttgen (Hor. Heb. in Acts 2:1) traces to

apostolic times, of spending the night before Pentecost in thanksgiving

to God for the gift of the law. In the present Jewish observance the

commemoration of the Sinaitic legislation is made prominent. Some Jews

"adorn their houses with flowers and wear wreaths on their heads, with

the declared purpose of testifying their joy in the possession of the

Law."

[257] The list of nations, Acts 2:8-11, gives a bird's eye view of the

Roman empire from the East and North southward and westward as far as

Rome, and then again eastward to Arabia. Cyprus and Greece are omitted.

There were Christians in Damascus before the conversion of Paul (9:2),

and a large congregation at Rome long before he wrote his Epistle (Rom.

1:8).

[258] Acts 1:15; 2:7. Ten times the number of tribes of Israel. These

were, however, not all the disciples; Paul mentions five hundred

brethren to whom the risen Lord appeared at once, 1 Cor. 15:6.

[259] Exod. 19:16; comp. Hebr. 12:18, 19.

[260] hechos hosper pheromenes pnoes biaias, ein Get�se wie von einem

dahinfahrenden heftigen Wehen (Meyer). The term pheromene, borne on, is

the same which Peter uses of the inspiration of the prophets, 2 Pet.

1:21.

[261] diamerizomenai glossai hosei puros, Acts2:3, are not parted or "

cloven"tongues (E. V.)--resembling the fork-like shape of the episcopal

mitre--but distributed tongues, spreading from one to another. This is

the meaning of diamerizein, in ver. 45; Luke 22:17; 23:34; John 19:24;

Matt. 27:35. The distributive idea explains the change of number in

ver.3, glossai--ekathisen, i.e., one tongue sat on each disciple.

[262] Hence hosper and hosei. John Lightfoot: "Sonus ventus vehementis,

sed absque vento; sic etiam linguae igneae, sed absque igne."

[263] Luke 3:22 (hos peristeran); Matt. 3:10 (hosei); Mark 1:10; John

1:32. The Rabbinical comment on Gen. 1:2 makes the same comparison,

that " the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters like a dove,"

and Milton sings (Parad, Lost, i. 20): " With mighty wings outspread

Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss."

[264] They were baptized with water by John; but Christian baptism was

first administered by them on the day of Pentecost. Christ himself did

not baptize, John 4:2.

[265] 1 Pet. 1:3, 4.

[266] Comp. Acts 1:13, 14.

[267] Acts 2:3: "it (a tongue of fire) sat upon each of them."

[268] Acts 2:3, 4, 17, 18.

[269] Gal. 3:28.

[270] ta megaleia tou Theou, Acts 2: 11; comp. the same term Luke 1:69,

and the megalunein ton theon, Acts 10:46.

[271] Comp. 1 Cor. 14:22.

[272] Acts 10:46.

[273] Acts 19:6.

[274] 1 Cor. 12 and 14.

[275] Acts 2:8:hekastos te idia dialekto hemon en he egennethemen.

Comp. 2:11:akouomen lalounton auton tais hemeterais glossais ta

megaleia tou theou..

[276] Comp. Acts 2:4, and 6.

[277] 1 Cor. 14:5, 13, 27, 28; comp. 1 Cor. 12:10, 30.

[278] Comp. 1 Cor. 14:23.

[279] Grotius (in loc.): "Paena linguarum dispersit homines, donum

linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit." See note on Glossolalia

(p.17).

[280] The former is the usual view, the latter is maintained by

Stanley, Plumptre, and Farrar. Paul addressed the excited multitude in

Jerusalem in the Hebrew tongue, which commanded greater silence, Acts

22:2. This implies that they would not have understood him in Greek as

well, or listened as attentively.

[281] What may be claimed for St. Bernard, St. Vincent Ferrer, and St.

Francis Xavier is not a miraculous heteroglossolalia, but an eloquence

so ardent, earnest, and intense, that the rude nations which they

addressed in Latin or Spanish imagined they heard them in their mother

tongue. St. Bernard (d. 1153) fired the Germans in Latin to the second

crusade, and made a greater impression on them by his very appearance

than the translation of the same speech by his interpreter. See

Neander, Der heil. Bernhard, p. 338 (2d ed.). Alban Butler (Lives of

the Saints, sub April 5) reports of St. Vincent Ferrer (died 1419)

"Spondanus and many others say, the saint was honored with the gift of

tongues, and that, preaching in his own, he was understood by men of

different languages; which is also affirmed by Lanzano, who says, that

Greeks, Germans, Sardes, Hungarians, and people of other nations,

declared they understood every word he spoke, though he preached in

Latin, or in his mother-tongue, as spoken at Valentia." This account

clearly implies that Ferrer did not understand Greek, German, and

Hungarian. As to Francis Xavier (d. 1552), Alban Butler says (sub Dec.

3) that the gift of tongues was "a transient favor," and that he

learned the Malabar tongue and the Japanese "by unwearied application;"

from which we may infer that his impression upon the heathen was

independent of the language, Not one of these saints claimed the gift

of tongues or other miraculous powers, but only their disciples or

later writers.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 25. The Church of Jerusalem and the Labors of Peter.

Su hei Petros, kai epi taute petra oikodomeso mou ten ekklesian, kai

pulai hadou ou katischusousin autes.--Matt. 16:18.

Literature.

I. Genuine sources: Acts 2 to 12; Gal. 2; and two Epistles of Peter.

Comp. the Commentaries on Acts, and the Petrine Epistles.

Among the commentators of Peter's Epp. I mention Archbishop Leighton

(in many editions, not critical, but devout and spiritual), Steiger

(1832, translated by Fairbairn, 1836), John Brown (1849, 2 vols.),

Wiesinger (1856 and 1862, in Olshausen's Com.), Schott (1861 and 1863),

De Wette (3d ed. by Br�ckner, 1865), Huther (in Meyer's Com., 4th ed.

1877), Fronm�ller (in Lange's Bibelwerk, transl. by Mombert, 1867),

Alford (3d ed. 1864), John Lillie (ed. by Schaff, 1869), Demarest

(Cath. Epp 1879), Mason and Plumptre (in Ellicott's Com., 1879),

Plumptre (in the "Cambridge Bible," 1879, with a very full

introduction, pp. 1-83), Salmond (in Schaff's Pop. Com. 1883). Comp.

also the corresponding sections in the works on the Apostolic Age

mentioned in �20, and my H. Ap. Ch. pp. 348-377.

II. Apocryphal sources: Euangelion kata Petron oph Ebionite origin,

Kerugma Petrou , Praxeis Petrou, Apokalupsis Petrou, Periodoi

Petrou(Itinerarium Petri), Praxeis ton hagion apostolon Petrou kai

Paulou(Acta Petri et Pauli). See Tischendorf's Acta Apost. Apocr 1-39,

and Hilgenfeld's Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum (1866), IV.

52 sqq. The Pseudo-Clementine "Homilies" are a glorification of Peter

at the expense of Paul; the, "Recognitions" are a Catholic recension

and modification of the "Homilies." The pseudo-Clementine literature

will be noticed in the second Period.

III. Special works on Peter:

E. Th. Mayerhoff: Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die Petrinischen

Schriften. Hamb. 1835.

Windischmann (R. C.): Vindiciae Petrinae. Ratisb. 1836.

Stenglein (R. C.): Ueber den 25 jahrigen Aufenthalt des heil. Petrus in

Rom. In the "T�binger Theol. Quartalschrift," 1840.

J. Ellendorf: 1st Petrus in Rom und Bishof der r�mischen Gemeinde

gewesen? Darmstadt, 1841. Transl. in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover,

1858, No. 3. The author, a liberal R. Cath., comes to the conclusion

that Peter's presence in Rome can never be proven.

Carlo Passaglia (Jesuit): De Praerogativis Beati Petri, Apostolorum

Principis. Ratisbon, 1850.

Thomas W. Allies (R. C.): St. Peter, his Name and his Office as set

forth in Holy Scripture. London, 1852. Based upon the preceding work of

Father Passaglia.

Bernh. Weiss: Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff. Berlin, 1855. Comp. his

Bibl. Theol. des N. T, 3d ed. 1880, and his essay, Die petrinische

Frage in "Studien und Kritiken," 1865, pp. 619-657, 1866, pp. 255-308,

and 1873, pp. 539-546.

Thos. Greenwood: Cathedra Petri. Lond., vol. I. 1859, chs. I and II.

pp. 1-50.

Perrone (R. C.):S. Pietro in Roma. Rome, 1864.

C. Holsten (of the T�bingen School): Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des

Petrus. Rostock, 1868.

R. A. Lipsius: Die Quellen der r�m. Petrussage. Kiel, 1872. By the

same: Chronologie der r�m Bisch�fe. Kiel, 1869. Lipsius examines

carefully the heretical sources of the Roman Peter-legend, and regards

it as a fiction from beginning to end. A summary of his view is given

by

Samuel M. Jackson: Lipsius on the Roman Peter-Legend. In the

"Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review" (N. York) for 1876, pp.

265 sqq.

G. Volkmar: Die r�mische Papstmythe. Z�rich, 1873.

A. Hilgenfeld: Petrus in Rom und Johannes in Kleinasien. In his

"Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftliche Theol." for 1872. Also his

Einleitung in das N. T., 1875, pp. 618 sqq.

W. Krafft: Petrus in Rom. Bonn, 1877. In the "Theol. Arbeiten des

rhein. wissenschaftl. Predigervereins, " III. 185-193.

Joh. Friedrich (Old Cath.): Zur �ltesten Gesch. des Primates in der

Kirche. Bonn, 1879.

William M. Taylor: Peter the Apostle. N. York, 1879.

The congregation of Jerusalem became the mother church of Jewish

Christianity, and thus of all Christendom. It grew both inwardly and

outwardly under the personal direction of the apostles, chiefly of

Peter, to whom the Lord had early assigned a peculiar prominence in the

work of building his visible church on earth. The apostles were

assisted by a number of presbyters, and seven deacons or persons

appointed to care for the poor and the sick. But the Spirit moved in

the whole congregation, bound to no particular office. The preaching of

the gospel, the working of miracles in the name of Jesus, and the

attractive power of a holy walk in faith and love, were the instruments

of progress. The number of the Christians, or, as they at first called

themselves, disciples, believers, brethren, saints, soon rose to five

thousand. They continued steadfastly under the instruction and in the

fellowship of the apostles, in the daily worship of God and celebration

of the holy Supper with their agapae or love-feasts. They felt

themselves to be one family of God, members of one body under one head,

Jesus Christ; and this fraternal unity expressed itself even in a

voluntary community of goods--an anticipation, as it were, of an ideal

state at the end of history, but without binding force upon any other

congregation. They adhered as closely to the temple worship and the

Jewish observances as the new life admitted and as long as there was

any hope of the conversion of Israel as a nation. They went daily to

the temple to teach, as their Master had done, but held their

devotional meetings in private houses. [282]

The addresses of Peter to the people and the Sanhedrin [283] are

remarkable for their natural simplicity and adaptation. They are full

of fire and vigor, yet full of wisdom and persuasion, and always to the

point. More practical and effective sermons were never preached. They

are testimonies of an eye-witness so timid a few weeks before, and now

so bold and ready at any moment to suffer and die for the cause. They

are an expansion of his confession that Jesus is the Christ the Son of

the living God, the Saviour. He preached no subtle theological

doctrines, but a few great facts and truths: the crucifixion and

resurrection of Jesus the Messiah, already known to his hearers for his

mighty signs and wonders, his exaltation to the right hand of Almighty

God, the descent and power of the Holy Spirit, the fulfilment of

prophecy, the approaching judgment and glorious restitution of all

things, the paramount importance of conversion and faith in Jesus as

the only name whereby we can be saved. There breathes in them an air of

serene joy and certain triumph.

We can form no clear conception of this bridal season of the Christian

church when no dust of earth soiled her shining garments, when she was

wholly absorbed in the contemplation and love of her divine Lord, when

he smiled down upon her from his throne in heaven, and added daily to

the number of the saved. It was a continued Pentecost, it was paradise

restored. "They did take their food with gladness and singleness of

heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people." [284]

Yet even in this primitive apostolic community inward corruption early

appeared, and with it also the severity of discipline and

self-purification, in the terrible sentence of Peter on the

hypocritical Ananias and Sapphira.

At first Christianity found favor with the people. Soon, however, it

had to encounter the same persecution as its divine founder had

undergone, but only, as before, to transform it into a blessing and a

means of growth.

The persecution was begun by the skeptical sect of the Sadducees, who

took offence at the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, the centre

of all the apostolic preaching.

When Stephen, one of the seven deacons of the church at Jerusalem, a

man full of faith and zeal, the forerunner of the apostle Paul, boldly

assailed the perverse and obstinate spirit of Judaism, and declared the

approaching downfall of the Mosaic economy, the Pharisees made common

cause with the Sadducees against the gospel. Thus began the

emancipation of Christianity from the temple-worship of Judaism, with

which it had till then remained at least outwardly connected. Stephen

himself was falsely accused of blaspheming Moses, and after a

remarkable address in his own defence, he was stoned by a mob (a.d.

37), and thus became the worthy leader of the sacred host of martyrs,

whose blood was thenceforth to fertilize the soil of the church. From

the blood of his martyrdom soon sprang the great apostle of the

Gentiles, now his bitterest persecutor, and an eye-witness of his

heroism and of the glory of Christ in his dying face. [285]

The stoning of Stephen was the signal for a general persecution, and

thus at the same time for the spread of Christianity over all Palestine

and the region around. And it was soon followed by the conversion of

Cornelius of Caesarea, which opened the door for the mission to the

Gentiles. In this important event Peter likewise was the prominent

actor.

After some seven years of repose the church at Jerusalem suffered a new

persecution under king Herod Agrippa (a.d. 44). James the elder, the

brother of John, was beheaded. Peter was imprisoned and condemned to

the same fate; but he was miraculously liberated, and then forsook

Jerusalem, leaving the church to the care of James the "brother of the

Lord." Eusebius, Jerome, and the Roman Catholic historians assume that

he went at that early period to Rome, at least on a temporary visit, if

not for permanent residence. But the book of Acts (12:17) says only:

"He departed, and went into another place." The indefiniteness of this

expression, in connection with a remark of Paul. 1 Cor. 9:5, is best

explained on the supposition that he had hereafter no settled home, but

led the life of a travelling missionary like most of the apostles.

The Later Labors of Peter.

Afterwards we find Peter again in Jerusalem at the apostolic council

(a.d. 50); [286] then at Antioch (51); where he came into temporary

collision with Paul; [287] then upon missionary tours, accompanied by

his wife (57); [288] perhaps among the dispersed Jews in Babylon or in

Asia Minor, to whom he addressed his epistles. [289] Of a residence of

Peter in Rome the New Testament contains no trace, unless, as the

church fathers and many modern expositors think, Rome is intended by

the mystic "Babylon" mentioned in 1 Pet. 5:13 (as in the Apocalypse),

but others think of Babylon on the Euphrates, and still others of

Babylon on the Nile (near the present Cairo, according to the Coptic

tradition). The entire silence of the Acts of the Apostles 28,

respecting Peter, as well as the silence of Paul in his epistle to the

Romans, and the epistles written from Rome during his imprisonment

there, in which Peter is not once named in the salutations, is decisive

proof that he was absent from that city during most of the time between

the years 58 and 63. A casual visit before 58 is possible, but

extremely doubtful, in view of the fact that Paul labored independently

and never built on the foundation of others; [290] hence he would

probably not have written his epistle to the Romans at all, certainly

not without some allusion to Peter if he had been in any proper sense

the founder of the church of Rome. After the year 63 we have no data

from the New Testament, as the Acts close with that year, and the

interpretation of "Babylon" at the end of the first Epistle of Peter is

doubtful, though probably meant for Rome. The martyrdom of Peter by

crucifixion was predicted by our Lord, John 21:18, 19, but no place is

mentioned.

We conclude then that Peter's presence in Rome before 63 is made

extremely doubtful, if not impossible, by the silence of Luke and Paul,

when speaking of Rome and writing from Rome, and that His presence

after 63 can neither be proved nor disproved from the New Testament,

and must be decided by post-biblical testimonies.

It is the uniform tradition of the eastern and western churches that

Peter preached the gospel in Rome, and suffered martyrdom there in the

Neronian persecution. So say more or less clearly, yet not without

admixture of error, Clement of Rome (who mentions the martyrdom, but

not the place), at the close of the first century; Ignatius of Antioch

(indistinctly), Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus of Lyons, Caius of Rome,

in the second century; Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus,

Tertullian, in the third; Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome, and others, in

the fourth. To these patristic testimonies may be added the apocryphal

testimonies of the pseudo-Petrine and pseudo-Clementine fictions, which

somehow connect Peter's name with the founding of the churches of

Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, and Rome. However these testimonies from

various men and countries may differ in particular circumstances, they

can only be accounted for on the supposition of some fact at the

bottom; for they were previous to any use or abuse of this, tradition

for heretical or for orthodox and hierarchical purposes. The chief

error of the witnesses from Dionysius and Irenaeus onward is that Peter

is associated with Paul as "founder" of the church of Rome; but this

may be explained from the very probable fact that some of the

"strangers from Rome" who witnessed the Pentecostal miracle and heard

the sermon of Peter, as also some disciples who were scattered abroad

by the persecution after the martyrdom of Stephen, carried the seed of

the gospel to Rome, and that these converts of Peter became the real

founders of the Jewish-Christian congregation in the metropolis. Thus

the indirect agency of Peter was naturally changed into a direct agency

by tradition which forgot the names of the pupils in the glorification

of the teacher.

The time of Peter's arrival in Rome, and the length of his residence

there, cannot possibly be ascertained. The above mentioned silence of

the Acts and of Paul's Epistles allows him only a short period of labor

there, after 63. The Roman tradition of a twenty or twenty-five years'

episcopate of Peter in Rome is unquestionably a colossal chronological

mistake. [291] Nor can we fix the year of his martyrdom, except that it

must have taken place after July, 64, when the Neronian persecution

broke out (according to Tacitus). It is variously assigned to every

year between 64 and 69. We shall return to it again below, and in

connection with the martyrdom of Paul, with which it is associated in

tradition. [292]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[282] Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:42.

[283] Acts 2:14 sqq.; 3:12 sqq.; 5:29 sqq.; 10:34 sqq.; 11:5 sqq.; 15:7

sqq.

[284] Acts 2: 46, 47. Renan says, with reference to this period (Les

apotres, ch. v.), that in no literary work does the word "joy" so often

occur as in the New Testament, and quotes 1 Thess 1:6; 5:16; Rom.

14:17; 15:13; Gal. 5:22; Phil. 1:25; 3:1; 4:4; 1 John 1:4. Many other

passages might be added.

[285] On Stephen comp. Thiersch: De Stephani protomartyris oratione

commentatio exegetica, Marb. 1849; Baur: Paul, ch. II.; my Hist. of the

Apost. Church, pp. 211 sqq.; and the commentaries of Mover, Lechler,

Hackett, Wordsworth, Plumptre, Howson and Spence, on Acts, chs. 6 and

7.

[286] a.d. 50: Acts 15.

[287] Gal. 2:11 sqq.

[288] 1 Cor. 9:5.

[289] 1 Pet. 1:1.

[290] Rom. 15:20; 2 Cor. 10:16.

[291] Alzog (� 48), and other modern Roman church historians try to

reconcile the tradition with the silence of the Scripture by assuming

two visits of Peter to Rome with a great interval.

[292] For particulars see my H. Ap. Ch. pp. 362-372. The presence of

Peter in Rome was the universal belief of Christendom till the

Reformation, and is so still in the Roman Catholic communion. It was

denied first in the interest of orthodox Protestantism against Romanism

by U. Velenus (1520), M. Flacius (1554), Blondel (1641), Salmasius

(1645), and especially by Fr. Spanheim (Da ficta Profectione Petri in

urbem Romam, Lugd. B. 1679); more recently in the interest of

historical criticism by Baur (in special essays, 1831 and 1836, and in

his work on Paul, ch. IX.), K. Hase (1862, doubtful in the 10th ed. of

his Kirchengesch. 1877, p. 34), Mayerhoff, De Wette, Greenwood (1856),

Lipsius (1869), Volkmar (1873), Zeller (1876). Volkmar denies even the

martyrdom of Paul, and fancies that he died quietly in a villa near

Rome. Zeller (in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift," for 1876, p. 46 sq.) was

disposed to substitute "James" for the defective name "Peter" in the

testimony of Clemens Rom., Ad Cor. c. 5, but this is now set aside by

the edition of Bryennios from a more complete manuscript, which clearly

reads Petros hos in full. On the other hand the presence and martyrdom

of Peter in Rome is affirmed not only by all the Roman Catholic, but

also by many eminent Protestant historians and critics, as Bleek,

Credner, Olshausen, Gieseler, Neander, Niedner, Rothe, Thiersch,

Krafft, Ewald, Plumptre, and even by Hilgenfeld, who justly remarks

(Einleitung in das N. T. 1875 p. 624): "Man kann ein guter Protestant

sein, wenn man den M�rtyrertod des Petrus in Rom festh�lt." Renan (in

an appendix to his L'Antechrist, 551 sqq.) likewise asserts that Peter

came to Rome, though not before 63, and was among the victims of the

Neronian persecution in 64, whom Tacitus describes as crucibus affixi.

He understands "Babylon,"1 Pet. 5:13, of Rome, according to the secret

style of the Christians of those days. In February, 1872, after the

downfall of the temporal power of the papacy, a disputation was held in

Rome between Protestant ministers (Gavazzi, Sciarelli, and Ribetto) and

Roman divines (Guidi, and Canon Fabiani) on Peter's presence in that

city; the former denying, the latter affirming it. The disputation was

published in several languages, and although destitute of critical

value, it derives a sort of historical significance from the place

where it was held, within a short distance from the residence of Pius

IX., the first infallible pope. See Racconto autentico della disputa,

etc., Roma, 1872; Authentic report of the Discussion held in Rome,

February 9 and 10, 1872, between Catholic Priests and Evangelical

Ministers, concerning the Coming of St. Peter to Rome. Translated by

William Arthur, London, 1872; and R�mische Disputation zwischen

Katholiken und Protestanten �ber die These: War Petrus in Rom? Nach den

stenographischen Berichten. Deutsche Ausg. M�nster, 1872. Comp. the

review of Lipsius in the "Jahrb�cher f�r Protest. Theologie," 1876,

Heft 4.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 26. The Peter of History and the Peter of Fiction.

No character in the New Testament is brought before us in such

life-like colors, with all his virtues and faults, as that of Peter. He

was frank and transparent, and always gave himself as he was, without

any reserve.

We may distinguish three stages in his development. In the Gospels, the

human nature of Simon appears most prominent the Acts unfold the divine

mission of Peter in the founding of the church, with a temporary

relapse at Antioch (recorded by Paul); in his Epistles we see the

complete triumph of divine grace. He was the strongest and the weakest

of the Twelve. He had all the excellences and all the defects of a

sanguine temperament. He was kind-hearted, quick, ardent, hopeful,

impulsive, changeable, and apt to run from one extreme to another. He

received from Christ the highest praise and the severest censure. He

was the first to confess him as the Messiah of God, for which he

received his new name of Peter, in prophetic anticipation of his

commanding position in church history; but he was also the first to

dissuade him from entering the path of the cross to the crown, for

which he brought upon himself the rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

The rock of the church had become a rock of offence and a

stumbling-block. He protested, in presumptive modesty, when Christ

would wash his feet; and then, suddenly changing his mind, he wished

not his feet only, but his hands and head to be washed. He cut off the

ear of Malchus in carnal zeal for his Master; and in a few minutes

afterwards he forsook him and fled. He solemnly promised to be faithful

to Christ, though all should forsake him; and yet in the same night he

betrayed him thrice. He was the first to cast off the Jewish prejudices

against the unclean heathen and to fraternize with the Gentile converts

at Caesarea and at Antioch; and he was the first to withdraw from them

in cowardly fear of the narrow-minded Judaizers from Jerusalem, for

which inconsistency he had to submit to a humiliating rebuke of Paul.

[293]

But Peter was as quick in returning to his right position as in turning

away from it. He most sincerely loved the Lord from the start and had

no rest nor peace till he found forgiveness. With all his weakness he

was a noble, generous soul, and of the greatest service in the church.

God overruled his very sins and inconsistencies for his humiliation and

spiritual progress. And in his Epistles we find the mature result of

the work of purification, a spirit most humble, meek, gentle, tender,

loving, and lovely. Almost every word and incident in the gospel

history connected with Peter left its impress upon his Epistles in the

way of humble or thankful reminiscence and allusion. His new name,

"Rock," appears simply as a "stone" among other living stones in the

temple of God, built upon Christ, "the chief corner-stone." [294] His

charge to his fellow-presbyters is the same which Christ gave to him

after the resurrection, that they should be faithful "shepherds of the

flock" under Christ, the chief "shepherd and bishop of their souls."

[295] The record of his denial of Christ is as prominent in all the

four Gospels, as Paul's persecution of the church is in the Acts, and

it is most prominent--as it would seem under his own direction--in the

Gospel of his pupil and "interpreter" Mark, which alone mentions the

two cock-crows, thus doubling the guilt of the denial, [296] and which

records Christ's words of censure ("Satan"), but omits Christ's praise

("Rock"). [297] Peter made as little effort to conceal his great sin,

as Paul. It served as a thorn in his flesh, and the remembrance kept

him near the cross; while his recovery from the fall was a standing

proof of the power and mercy of Christ and a perpetual call to

gratitude. To the Christian Church the double story of Peter's denial

and recovery has been ever since an unfailing source of warning and

comfort. Having turned again to his Lord, who prayed for him that his

personal faith fail not, he is still strengthening the brethren. [298]

As to his official position in the church, Peter stood from the

beginning at the head of the Jewish apostles, not in a partisan sense,

but in a large-hearted spirit of moderation and comprehension. He never

was a narrow, contracted, exclusive sectarian. After the vision at

Joppa and the conversion of Cornelius he promptly changed his inherited

view of the necessity of circumcision, and openly professed the change

at Jerusalem, proclaiming the broad principle "that God is no respecter

of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh

righteousness is acceptable to him;" and "that Jews and Gentiles alike

are saved only through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ." [299] He

continued to be the head of the Jewish Christian church at large, and

Paul himself represents him as the first among the three

"pillar"-apostles of the circumcision [300] But he stood mediating

between James, who represented the right wing of conservatism, and

Paul, who commanded the left wing of the apostolic army. And this is

precisely the position which Peter occupies in his Epistles, which

reproduce to a great extent the teaching of both Paul and James, and

have therefore the character of a doctrinal Irenicum; as the Acts are a

historical Irenicum, without violation of truth or fact.

The Peter of Fiction.

No character of the Bible, we may say, no personage in all history, has

been so much magnified, misrepresented and misused for doctrinal and

hierarchical ends as the plain fisherman of Galilee who stands at the

head of the apostolic college. Among the women of the Bible the Virgin

Mary has undergone a similar transformation for purposes of devotion,

and raised to the dignity of the queen of heaven. Peter as the Vicar of

Christ, and Mary as the mother of Christ, have in this idealized shape

become and are still the ruling powers in the polity and worship of the

largest branch of Christendom.

In both cases the work of fiction began among the Judaizing heretical

sects of the second and third centuries, but was modified and carried

forward by the Catholic, especially the Roman church, in the third and

fourth centuries.

1. The Peter of the Ebionite fiction. The historical basis is Peter's

encounter with Simon Magus in Samaria, [301] Paul's rebuke of Peter at

Antioch, [302] and the intense distrust and dislike of the Judaizing

party to Paul. [303] These three undoubted facts, together with a

singular confusion of Simon Magus with an old Sabine deity, Semo

Sancus, in Rome, [304] furnished the material and prompted the motive

to religious tendency--novels written about and after the middle of the

second century by ingenious semi-Gnostic Ebionites, either anonymously

or under the fictitious name of Clement of Rome, the reputed successor

of Peter. [305] In these productions Simon Peter appears as the great

apostle of truth in conflict with Simon Magus, the pseudo-apostle of

falsehood, the father of all heresies, the Samaritan possessed by a

demon; and Peter follows him step by step from Caesarea Stratonis to

Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Antioch, and Rome, and before the tribunal of

Nero, disputing with him, and refuting his errors, until at last the

impostor, in the daring act of mocking Christ's ascension to heaven,

meets a miserable end.

In the pseudo-Clementine Homilies the name of Simon represents among

other heresies also the free gospel of Paul, who is assailed as a false

apostle and hated rebel against the authority of the Mosaic law. The

same charges which the Judaizers brought against Paul, are here brought

by Peter against Simon Magus, especially the assertion that one may be

saved by grace alone. His boasted vision of Christ by which he

professed to have been converted, is traced to a deceptive vision of

the devil. The very words of Paul against Peter at Antioch, that he was

"self-condemned" (Gal. 2:11), are quoted as an accusation against God.

In one word, Simon Magus is, in part at least, a malignant Judaizing

caricature of the apostle of the Gentiles.

2. The Peter of the Papacy. The orthodox version of the Peter-legend,

as we find it partly in patristic notices of Irenaeus, Origen,

Tertullian, and Eusebius, partly in apocryphal productions, [306]

retains the general story of a conflict of Peter with Simon Magus in

Antioch and Rome, but extracts from it its anti-Pauline poison,

associates Paul at the end of his life with Peter as the joint, though

secondary, founder of the Roman church, and honors both with the

martyr's crown in the Neronian persecution on the same day (the 29th of

June), and in the same year or a year apart, but in different

localities and in a different manner. [307] Peter was crucified like

his Master (though head-downwards [308] ), either on the hill of

Janiculum (where the church S. Pietro in Montorio stands), or more

probably on the Vatican hill (the scene of the Neronian circus and

persecution); [309] Paul, being a Roman citizen, was beheaded on the

Ostian way at the Three Fountains (Tre Fontane), outside of the city.

They even walked together a part of the Appian way to the place of

execution. Caius (or Gaius), a Roman presbyter at the close of the

second century, pointed to their monuments or trophies [310] on the

Vatican, and in the via Ostia. The solemn burial of the remains of

Peter in the catacombs of San Sebastiano, and of Paul on the Via Ostia,

took place June 29, 258, according to the Kalendarium of the Roman

church from the time of Liberius. A hundred years later the remains of

Peter were permanently transferred to the Basilica of St. Peter on the

Vatican, those of St. Paul to the Basilica of St. Paul (San Paolo fuori

le mura) outside of the Porta Ostiensis (now Porta San Paolo). [311]

The tradition of a twenty-five years' episcopate in Rome (preceded by a

seven years' episcopate in Antioch) cannot be traced beyond the fourth

century (Jerome), and arose, as already remarked, from chronological

miscalculations in connection with the questionable statement of Justin

Martyr concerning the arrival of Simon Magus in Rome under the reign of

Claudius (41-54). The "Catalogus Liberianus," the oldest list of popes

(supposed to have been written before 366), extends the pontificate of

Peter to 25 years, 1 month, 9 days, and puts his death on June 29, 65

(during the consulate of Nerva and Vestinus), which would date his

arrival in Rome back to a.d. 40. Eusebius, in his Greek Chronicle as

far as it is preserved, does not fix the number of years, but says, in

his Church History, that Peter came to Rome in the reign of Claudius to

preach against the pestilential errors of Simon Magus. [312] The

Armenian translation of his Chronicle mentions "twenty" years; [313]

Jerome, in his translation or paraphrase rather, "twenty-five" years,

assuming, without warrant, that Peter left Jerusalem for Antioch and

Rome in the second year of Claudius (42; but Acts 12:17 would rather

point to the year 44), and died in the fourteenth or last year of Nero

(68). [314] Among modern Roman Catholic historians there is no

agreement as to the year of Peter's martyrdom: Baronius puts it in 69;

[315] Pagi and Alban Butler in 65; M�hler, Gams, and Alzog indefinitely

between 66 and 68. In all these cases it must be assumed that the

Neronian persecution was continued or renewed after 64, of which we

have no historical evidence. It must also be assumed that Peter was

conspicuously absent from his flock during most of the time, to

superintend the churches in Asia Minor and in Syria, to preside at the

Council of Jerusalem, to meet with Paul in Antioch, to travel about

with his wife, and that he made very little impression there till 58,

and even till 63, when Paul, writing to and from Rome, still entirely

ignores him. Thus a chronological error is made to overrule stubborn

facts. The famous saying that "no pope shall see the (twenty-five)

years of Peter," which had hitherto almost the force of law, has been

falsified by the thirty-two years' reign of the first infallible pope)

Pius IX., who ruled from 1846 to 1878.

Note. -- On the Claims of the Papacy.

On this tradition and on the indisputable pre�minence of Peter in the

Gospels and the Acts, especially the words of Christ to him after the

great confession (Matt. 16:18), is built the colossal fabric of the

papacy with all its amazing pretensions to be the legitimate succession

of a permanent primacy of honor and supremacy of jurisdiction in the

church of Christ, and--since 1870--with the additional claim of papal

infallibility in all official utterances, doctrinal or moral. The

validity of this claim requires three premises:

1. The presence of Peter in Rome. This may be admitted as an historical

fact, and I for my part cannot believe it possible that such a

rock-firm and world-wide structure as the papacy could rest on the sand

of mere fraud and error. It is the underlying fact which gives to

fiction its vitality, and error is dangerous in proportion to the

amount of truth which it embodies. But the fact of Peter's presence in

Rome, whether of one year or twenty-five, cannot be of such fundamental

importance as the papacy assumes it to be: otherwise we would certainly

have some allusion to it in the New Testament. Moreover, if Peter was

in Rome, so was Paul, and shared with him on equal terms the apostolic

supervision of the Roman congregation, as is very evident from his

Epistle to the Romans.

2. The transferability of Peter's pre�minence on a successor. This is

derived by inference from the words of Christ: "Thou art Rock, and on

this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not

prevail against it." [316] This passage, recorded only by Matthew, is

the exegetical rock of Romanism, and more frequently quoted by popes

and papists than any other passage of the Scriptures. But admitting the

obvious reference of petra to Peter, the significance of this prophetic

name evidently refers to the peculiar mission of Peter in laying the

foundation of the church once and for all time to come. He fulfilled it

on the day of Pentecost and in the conversion of Cornelius; and in this

pioneer work Peter can have no successor any more than St. Paul in the

conversion of the Gentiles, and John in the consolidation of the two

branches of the apostolic church.

3. The actual transfer of this prerogative of Peter--not upon the

bishops of Jerusalem, or Antioch, where he undoubtedly resided--but

upon the bishop of Rome, where he cannot be proven to have been from

the New Testament. Of such a transfer history knows absolutely nothing.

Clement, bishop of Rome, who first, about a.d. 95, makes mention of

Peter's martyrdom, and Ignatius of Antioch, who a few years later

alludes to Peter and Paul as exhorting the Romans, have not a word to

say about the transfer. The very chronology and succession of the first

popes is uncertain.

If the claims of the papacy cannot be proven from what we know of the

historical Peter, there are, on the other hand, several undoubted facts

in the real history of Peter which bear heavily upon those claims,

namely:

1. That Peter was married, Matt. 8:14, took his wife with him on his

missionary tours, 1 Cor. 9:5, and, according to a possible

interpretation of the "co�lect" (sister), mentions her in 1 Pet. 5:13.

Patristic tradition ascribes to him children, or at least a daughter

(Petronilla). His wife is said to have suffered martyrdom in Rome

before him. What right have the popes, in view of this example, to

forbid clerical marriage? We pass by the equally striking contrast

between the poverty of Peter, who had no silver nor gold (Acts 3:6) and

the gorgeous display of the triple-crowned papacy in the middle ages

and down to the recent collapse of the temporal power.

2. That in the Council at Jerusalem (Acts 15:1-11), Peter appears

simply as the first speaker and debater, not as president and judge

(James presided), and assumes no special prerogative, least of all an

infallibility of judgment. According to the Vatican theory the whole

question of circumcision ought to have been submitted to Peter rather

than to a Council, and the decision ought to have gone out from him

rather than from "the apostles and elders, brethren" (or "the elder

brethren," 15:23).

3. That Peter was openly rebuked for inconsistency by a younger apostle

at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14). Peter's conduct on that occasion is

irreconcilable with his infallibility as to discipline; Paul's conduct

is irreconcilable with Peter's alleged supremacy; and the whole scene,

though perfectly plain, is so inconvenient to Roman and Romanizing

views, that it has been variously distorted by patristic and Jesuit

commentators, even into a theatrical farce gotten up by the apostles

for the more effectual refutation of the Judaizers!

4. That, while the greatest of popes, from Leo I. down to Leo XIII.

never cease to speak of their authority over all the bishops and all

the churches, Peter, in his speeches in the Acts, never does so. And

his Epistles, far from assuming any superiority over his

"fellow-elders" and over "the clergy" (by which he means the Christian

people), breathe the spirit of the sincerest humility and contain a

prophetic warning against the besetting sins of the papacy, filthy

avarice and lordly ambition (1 Pet. 5:1-3). Love of money and love of

power are twin-sisters, and either of them is "a root of all evil."

It is certainly very significant that the weaknesses even more than the

virtues of the natural Peter--his boldness and presumption, his dread

of the cross, his love for secular glory, his carnal zeal, his use of

the sword, his sleepiness in Gethsemane--are faithfully reproduced in

the history of the papacy; while the addresses and epistles of the

converted and inspired Peter contain the most emphatic protest against

the hierarchical pretensions and worldly vices of the papacy, and

enjoin truly evangelical principles--the general priesthood and royalty

of believers, apostolic poverty before the rich temple, obedience to

God rather than man, yet with proper regard for the civil authorities,

honorable marriage, condemnation of mental reservation in Ananias and

Sapphira, and of simony in Simon Magus, liberal appreciation of heathen

piety in Cornelius, opposition to the yoke of legal bondage, salvation

in no other name but that of Jesus Christ.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[293] The old legend of Peter's flight from the Mamertine prison in

Rome, which seems to antedate the hierarchical glorification of Peter,

would prove that his "consistent inconsistency" overtook him once more

at the close of his life. A few days before his execution, it is said,

he bribed the jailor and escaped from prison, but when he reached a

spot outside the Porta San Sebastiano, now marked by a chapel, the Lord

appeared to him with a cross, and Peter asked in surprise: "Lord,

whither goest thou (Domine quo vadis)?"Jesus replied: "I go to Rome to

be crucified again (venio Romam iterum crucifigi)." The disciple

returned deeply humbled, and delivered himself to the jailor to be

crucified head-downwards. The footprint of the Lord is still shown (or

was shown in 1841, when I saw it) in the little chapel called "Domine

quo vadis," and a rude fresco on the wall represents the encounter. The

legend is first alluded to by Origen (quoting from the Praxeis Paulou

orPetrou, the words of the Saviour: Anothen mello staurothenai, see

Opera IV. 332, and Hilgenfeld, l.c. IV. 72), then fully told in the

apocryphal Acts of Peter and Paul, c. 82 (Tischendorf, l.c. p. 36,

where Peter asks, Kurie, pou poreue; and the Lord answers: en Rome

aperchomai staurothenai), and by Ambrose in Sermo de basilicis non

tradendis haereticis contra Auxentium (quoted by Lipsius, Petrus-Sage,

p. 134 sq.).

[294] 1 Pet. 2:4-8. A striking instance of the impression of Christ's

word without a trace of boastfulness and assumption of authority.

[295] 1 Pet. 5:2; 2:25; comp. John 21:15-17.

[296] Mark 14:72. "And straightway the second time the cock crew. And

Peter called to mind the word how that Jesus said unto him, Before the

cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice (comp.14:30); and when he

thought thereon he wept."

[297] Comp. Mark 8:27-33 with Matt. 16:13-23. The omission of the

famous passage, "Thou art Rock," etc., can only be satisfactorily

explained from the humility of Peter. An enemy or rival might have

omitted them, but Mark was his faithful pupil, and would have mentioned

them had he followed his own impulse, or had he been a papist.

[298] Luke 22:31, 32, spoken in view of the approaching denial. This is

the proper meaning of the passage which has been distorted by the

Vatican Council into an argument for papal infallibility. Such

application would logically imply also that every pope must deny

Christ, and be converted in order to strengthen the brethren.

[299] Acts 10:34, 35; 15:11.

[300] Gal. 2:8, 9; comp. 1:18; 1 Cor. 15:5.

[301] Acts 8:9-24. It is quite probable that in the description of the

heretics in his second Epistle, Peter had in mind Simon Magus. Plumptre

(l.c. p. 44) sees in the "great swelling words of vanity,"2 Pet. 2:18,

an allusion to Simon's boast that he was "the Great Power of God" (Acts

8:9, 10), and in the words "having eyes full of an adulteress,"etc. 2

Pet. 2:12-14, an allusion to Helena, the mistress of Simon, who is said

to have accompanied him.

[302] Gal. 2:11-14.

[303] This is clear from the Epistles of Paul, especially the Galatians

and Corinthians, and from Acts 21.

[304] Justin Martyr (Apol. l.c. 26 and 56) reports that Simon Magus

went to Rome under Claudius and received divine honors there, as was

shown by a statue erected to him on an island in the Tiber. Such a

statue was actually discovered in 1574, but with the inscription Semoni

Sanco Deo Fidio sacrum, [not Simoni Deo sancto]. With reference to this

supposed worship, Simon boasts in the pseudo-Clementine Recogn. II. 9:

"Adorabor ut deus, publicis divins donabor honoribus, ita ut simulacrum

mihi statuentes tanquam deum colant et adarent."

[305] The chief of these productions are the twenty Greek

pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which are based upon the older Kerugma

Petrou and other Jewish-Christian documents. See the ed. of Dressel:

Clementis Romani quae feruntur Homilae viginti nunc prinum integrae,

G�tt. 1853 (429 pages), and of De Lagarde, Clementina, 1865. The

Clementine literature has been thoroughly investigated by Baur,

Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, Schliemann, Uhlhorn, Volkmar, and Lipsius. See a

brief r�sum� in Baur's Kirchengesch. vol. I. 85-94. Baur first tried to

prove the identity of Simon Magus with Paul, in his essay on the

Christuspartei in der Korinthischen Gemeinde, T�bingen, 1831. But Simon

is a more comprehensive representative of all anti-Jewish and Gnostic

heresies, especially that of Marcion. If he were meant to represent

Paul alone, the author would not have retained the historic features

from Acts 8, which are entirely irreconcilable with Paul's well known

history.

[306] Such as the lost Kerugma Petrou en Rhome, and the Praedicatio

Pauli (probably one book), used by Clement of Alexandria; the Syriac

Sermon of Peter in Rome (in Curston's "Ancient Syriac Doc.," Lond.

1864); the Acta Pauli, used by Origen and Eusebius; the Acts of Peter

and Paul, of a later date, published by Thilo and Tischendorf. The last

book has a conciliatory tendency, like the canonical Acts. Comp.

Lipsius, l.c. pp. 47 sqq., and the fragments collected by Hilgenfeld,

l.c. IV. 52 sqq.

[307] The month is given in the Acta Petri et Pauli at the close:

Eteleiothesan hoi hagioi endoxoi apostoloi Petros kai Paulos meni

Iounio. kth. But different MSS. give July second or eighth. See

Tischendorf, l. c. p. 39. According to Prudentius (Hymn. 12) the two

apostles suffered on the same day, but a year apart: "Unus utrumque

dies, pleno tamen innovatus anno, Vidit superba morte laureatum."

[308] A bishop of the Vatican Council used this as an argument for

papal absolutism and infallibility, inasmuch as Peter's head supported

his body, and not the body the head!

[309] Baronius, Ad Ann. 69 (in Theiner's ed. vol. I. 594 sq.)

reconciles this difference by making the Janiculum and the Vatican one

hill extending to the Milvian bridge.

[310] tropaia, Euseb. H. E. II. 25.

[311] See Lipsius, l.c. pp. 96 sqq., and his Chronologie der r�m.

P�pste, pp. 49 sqq.

[312] Hist. Eccl. II. 14. His statement is merely an inference from

Justin Martyrs story about Simon Magus, which he quotes in ch. 13. But

Justin M. says nothing about Simon Peter in that connection.

[313] "Petrus apostolus, cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset,

Romanorum urbem proficiscitur, ibique evangelium praedicat, et

commoratur illic antistes ecclesiae annis viginti."

[314] Chr., ad ann. 44: "Petrus ... cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam

fundasset, Romam proficiscitur, ubi evangelium praedicans 25 annis

ejusdem urbis episcopus perseverat."InDe viris illustr. cap. I, Jerome

omits Antioch and says: "Simon Petrus ... secundo Claudii imperatoris

anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romam pergit, ibique, viginti

quinque annis Cathedram Sacerdotatem tenuit, usque ad ultimum annum

Neronis, id est, decimum quartum. A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio

coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis:

asserens se indignum qui sic crucifigeretur ut Dominus suus.

[315] Annal. ad ann. 69. Tom. I. 590, comp. I. 272, ed. Theiner.

[316] Some Protestant writers press, in Matt. 16:18, the distinction

between Petros;, stone, and petra, rock, which disappears in the

translations, but this does not apply to the Aramaic Cepha, which was

used by Christ, Comp. John 1:42; Gal. 2:9; 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5

(and which, by the way, has analogies not only in Semitic but also in

Aryan languages, as the Sanskrit kap-ala, the Greek keph-ale, the Latin

cap-ut, the German Kopf and Gipfel). On the interpretation of the

famous passage in Matthew, see my annotations to Lange on Matthew, pp.

293 sqq., and my H. Ap. Ch., pp. 351 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 27. James the Brother of the Lord.

He pistis choris ergon nekra estin.--James 2:26

Sources.

I. Genuine sources: Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18; 1 Cor. 15:7; Gal. 1:19;

2:9, 12. Comp. James "the brother of the Lord," Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3;

Gal. 1:19.

The Epistle of James.

II. Post-apostolic: Josephus: Ant. XX. 9, 1.--Hegesippus in Euseb.

Hist. Ecc. II. ch. 23.--Jerome: Catal. vir. ill. c. 2, under "Jacobus."

Epiphanius, Haer. XXIX. 4; XXX. 16; LXXVIII. 13 sq.

III. Apocryphal: Protevangelium Jacobi, ed. in Greek by Tischendorf, in

"Evangelia Apocrypha," pp. 1-49, comp. the Prolegg. pp. xii-xxv. James

is honorably mentioned in several other apocryphal

Gospels.--Epiphanius, Haer. XXX. 16, alludes to an Ebionite and

strongly anti-Pauline book, the Ascents of James (Anabathmoi Iakobou),

descriptions of his ascension to heaven, which are lost.--The Liturgy

of James, ed. by W. Trollope, Edinb. 1848. Composed in the third

century, after the Council of Nicaea (as it contains the terms

homoousios and theotokos), but resting on some older traditions. It was

intended for the church of Jerusalem, which is styled "the mother of

all churches." It is still used once a year on the festival of St.

James, Oct. 23, in the Greek Church at Jerusalem. (See vol. II. 527

sqq.)

Exegetical and Doctrinal.

Commentaries on the Epistle of James by Herder (1775), Storr (1784),

Gebser (1828), Schneckenburger (1832), Theile (1833), Kern (1838), De

Wette (1849, 3d ed. by Br�ckner, 1865), Cellerier (1850), Wiesinger (in

Olshausen's Com., 1854), Stier (1845), Huther and Beyschlag (in Meyer's

Com., 1858, 4th ed. 1882), Lange and Van Oosterzee (in Lange's

Bibelwerk, 1862, Engl. transl. enlarged by Mombert, 1867), Alford,

Wordsworth, Bassett (1876, ascribes the Ep. to James of Zebedee),

Plumptre (in the Cambridge series, 1878), Punchard (in Ellicott's Com.

1878), Erdmann (1882), GLOAG (1883).

Woldemar G. Schmidt: Der Lehrgehalt des Jakobusbriefes. Leipzig, 1869.

W. Beyschlag: Der Jacobusbrief als urchristliches Geschichtsdenkmal. In

the "Stud. u. Kritiken," 1874, No. 1, pp. 105-166. See his Com.

Comp. also the expositions of the doctrinal type of James in Neander,

Schmid, Schaff, Weiss (pp. 176-194, third ed.).

Historical and Critical.

Blom: De tois adelthois et tais adelphais Kuriou. Leyden, 1839. (I have

not seen this tract, which advocates the brother-theory. Lightfoot says

of it: "Blom gives the most satisfactory statement of the patristic

authorities, and Schaff discusses the scriptural arguments most

carefully.")

Schaff: Jakobus Alph�i, und Jakobus der Bruder des Herrn. Berlin, 1842

(101 pages).

Mill: The Accounts of our Lord's Brethren in the New Test. vindicated.

Cambridge, 1843. (Advocates the cousin-theory of the Latin church.)

Lightfoot: The Brethren of the Lord. Excursus in his Com. on Galatians.

Lond. 2d ed. 1866, pp. 247-282. (The ablest defence of the

step-brother-theory of the Greek Church.)

H. Holtzmann: Jakobus der Gerechte und seine Namensbr�der, in

Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theol." Leipz. 1880, No.

2.

Next to Peter, who was the oecumenical leader of Jewish Christianity,

stands James, the brother, of the Lord (also called by post-apostolic

writers "James the Just," and "Bishop of Jerusalem"), as the local head

of the oldest church and the leader of the most conservative portion of

Jewish Christianity. He seems to have taken the place of James the son

of Zebedee, after his martyrdom, a.d. 44. He became, with Peter and

John, one of the three "pillars" of the church of the circumcision. And

after the departure of Peter from Jerusalem James presided over the

mother church of Christendom until his death. Though not one of the

Twelve, he enjoyed, owing to his relationship to our Lord and his

commanding piety, almost apostolic authority, especially in Judaea and

among the Jewish converts. [317] On one occasion even Peter yielded to

his influence or that of his representatives, and was misled into his

uncharitable conduct towards the Gentile brethren. [318]

James was not a believer before the resurrection of our Lord. He was

the oldest of the four "brethren" (James, Joseph, Judas, Simon), of

whom John reports with touching sadness: "Even his brethren did not

believe in him." [319] It was one of the early and constant trials of

our Lord in the days of his nomination that he was without honor among

his fellow-townsmen, yea, "among his own kin, and in his own house."

[320] James was no doubt imbued with the temporal and carnal Messianic

misconceptions of the Jews, and impatient at the delay and

unworldliness of his divine brother. Hence the taunting and almost

disrespectful language: "Depart hence and go into Judaea .... If thou

doest these things, manifest thyself to the world." The crucifixion

could only deepen his doubt and sadness.

But a special personal appearance of the risen Lord brought about his

conversion, as also that of his brothers, who after the resurrection

appear in the company of the apostles. [321] This turning-point in his

life is briefly but significantly alluded to by Paul, who himself was

converted by a personal appearance of Christ. [322] It is more fully

reported in an interesting fragment of the, "Gospel according to the

Hebrews" (one of the oldest and least fabulous of the apocryphal

Gospels), which shows the sincerity and earnestness of James even

before his conversion. [323] He had sworn, we are here told, "that he

would not eat bread from that hour wherein the Lord had drunk the cup

[of his passion] [324] until he should see him rising from the dead."

The Lord appeared to him and communed with him, giving bread to James

the Just and saying: "My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man is

risen from them that sleep."

In the Acts and in the Epistle to the Galatians, James appears as the

most conservative of the Jewish converts, at the head of the extreme

right wing; yet recognizing Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles, giving

him the right hand of fellowship, as Paul himself reports, and

unwilling to impose upon the Gentile Christians the yoke of

circumcision. He must therefore not be identified with the heretical

Judaizers (the forerunners of the Ebionites), who hated and opposed

Paul, and made circumcision a condition of justification and church

membership. He presided at the Council of Jerusalem and proposed the

compromise which saved a split in the church. He probably prepared the

synodical letter which agrees with his style and has the same greeting

formula peculiar to him. [325]

He was an honest, conscientious, eminently practical, conciliatory

Jewish Christian saint, the right man in the right place and at the

right time, although contracted in his mental vision as in his local

sphere of labor.

From an incidental remark of Paul we may infer that James, like Peter

and the other brothers of the Lord, was married. [326]

The mission of James was evidently to stand in the breach between the

synagogue and the church, and to lead the disciples of Moses gently to

Christ. He was the only man that could do it in that critical time of

the approaching judgment of the holy city. As long as there was any

hope of a conversion of the Jews as a nation, he prayed for it and made

the transition as easy as possible. When that hope vanished his mission

was fulfilled.

According to Josephus he was, at the instigation of the younger Ananus,

the high priest, of the sect of the Sadducees, whom he calls "the most

unmerciful of all the Jews in the execution of judgment," stoned to

death with some others, as "breakers of the law," i.e. Christians, in

the interval between the procuratorship of Festus and that of Albinus,

that is, in the year 63. The Jewish historian adds that this act of

injustice created great indignation among those most devoted to the law

(the Pharisees), and that they induced Albinus and King Agrippa to

depose Ananus (a son of the Annas mentioned in Luke 3:2; John 18:13).

He thus furnishes an impartial testimony to the high standing of James

even among the Jews. [327]

Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian historian about a.d. 170, puts the

martyrdom a few years later, shortly before the destruction of

Jerusalem (69). [328] He relates that James was first thrown down from

the pinnacle of the temple by the Jews and then stoned to death. His

last prayer was an echo of that of his brother and Lord on the cross:

"God, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

The dramatic account of James by Hegesippus [329] is an overdrawn

picture from the middle of the second century, colored by Judaizing

traits which may have been derived from the "Ascents of James" and

other apocryphal sources. He turns James into a Jewish priest and

Nazirite saint (comp. his advice to Paul, Acts 21:23, 24), who drank no

wine, ate no flesh, never shaved, nor took a bath, and wore only linen.

But the biblical James is Pharisaic and legalistic rather than Essenic

and ascetic. In the pseudo-Clementine writings, he is raised even above

Peter as the head of the holy church of the Hebrews, as "the lord and

bishop of bishops," as "the prince of priests." According to tradition,

mentioned by Epiphanius. James, like St. John at Ephesus, wore the

high-priestly petalon, or golden plate on the forehead, with the

inscription: "Holiness to the Lord" (Ex. 28:36). And in the Liturgy of

St. James, the brother of Jesus is raised to the dignity of "the

brother of the very God" (adelphotheos). Legends gather around the

memory of great men, and reveal the deep impression they made upon

their friends and followers. The character which shines through these

James-legends is that of a loyal, zealous, devout, consistent Hebrew

Christian, who by his personal purity and holiness secured the

reverence and affection of all around him.

But we must carefully distinguish between the Jewish-Christian, yet

orthodox, overestimate of James in the Eastern church, as we find it in

the fragments of Hegesippus and in the Liturgy of St. James, and the

heretical perversion of James into an enemy of Paul and the gospel of

freedom, as he appears in apocryphal fictions. We have here the same

phenomenon as in the case of Peter and Paul. Every leading apostle has

his apocryphal shadow and caricature both in the primitive church and

in the modern critical reconstruction of its history. The name and

authority of James was abused by the Judaizing party in undermining the

work of Paul, notwithstanding the fraternal agreement of the two at

Jerusalem. [330] The Ebionites in the second century continued this

malignant assault upon the memory of Paul under cover of the honored

names of James and Peter; while a certain class of modern critics

(though usually from the opposite ultra- or pseudo-Pauline point of

view) endeavor to prove the same antagonism from the Epistle of James

(as far as they admit it to be genuine at all). [331]

The Epistle in our canon, which purports to be written by "James, a

bond-servant of God and of Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes of the

dispersion," though not generally acknowledged at the time of Eusebius

and Jerome, has strong internal evidence of genuineness. It precisely

suits the character and position of the historical James as we know him

from Paul and the Acts, and differs widely from the apocryphal James of

the Ebionite fictions. [332] It hails undoubtedly from Jerusalem, the

theocratic metropolis, amid the scenery of Palestine. The Christian

communities appear not as churches, but as synagogues, consisting

mostly of poor people, oppressed and persecuted by the rich and

powerful Jews. There is no trace of Gentile Christians or of any

controversy between them and the Jewish Christians. The Epistle was

perhaps a companion to the original Gospel of Matthew for the Hebrews,

as the first Epistle of John was such a companion to his Gospel. It is

probably the oldest of the epistles of the New Testament. [333] It

represents, at all events, the earliest and meagerest, yet an eminently

practical and necessary type of Christianity, with prophetic

earnestness, proverbial sententiousness, great freshness, and in fine

Greek. It is not dogmatic but ethical. It has a strong resemblance to

the addresses of John the Baptist and the Lord's Sermon on the Mount,

and also to the book of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. [334]

It never attacks the Jews directly, but still less St. Paul, at least

not his genuine doctrine. It characteristically calls the gospel the

"perfect law of liberty," [335] thus connecting it very closely with

the Mosaic dispensation, yet raising it by implication far above the

imperfect law of bondage. The author has very little to say about

Christ and the deeper mysteries of redemption, but evidently

presupposes a knowledge of the gospel history, and reverently calls

Christ "the Lord of glory," and himself humbly his "bond-servant."

[336] He represents religion throughout in its practical aspect as an

exhibition of faith by good works. He undoubtedly differs widely from

Paul, yet does not contradict, but supplements him, and fills an

important place in the Christian system of truth which comprehends all

types of genuine piety. There are multitudes of sincere, earnest, and

faithful Christian workers who never rise above the level of James to

the sublime heights of Paul or John. The Christian church would never

have given to the Epistle of James a place in the canon if she had felt

that it was irreconcilable with the doctrine of Paul. Even the Lutheran

church did not follow her great leader in his unfavorable judgment, but

still retains James among the canonical books.

After the martyrdom of James he was succeeded by Symeon, a son of

Clopas and a cousin of Jesus (and of James). He continued to guide the

church at Jerusalem till the reign of Trajan, when he died a martyr at

the great age of a hundred and twenty years. [337] The next thirteen

bishops of Jerusalem, who came, however, in rapid succession, were

likewise of Jewish descent.

Throughout this period the church of Jerusalem preserved its strongly

Israelitish type, but joined with it "the genuine knowledge of Christ,"

and stood in communion with the Catholic church, from which the

Ebionites, as heretical Jewish Christians, were excluded. After the

line of the fifteen circumcised bishops had run out, and Jerusalem was

a second time laid waste under Hadrian, the mass of the Jewish

Christians gradually merged in the orthodox Greek Church.

Notes

I. James and the Brothers of the Lord. - There are three, perhaps four,

eminent persons in the New Testament bearing the name of James

(abridged from Jacob, which from patriarchal memories was a more common

name among the Jews than any other except Symeon or Simon, and Joseph

or Joses):

1. James (the son) of Zebedee, the brother of John and one of the three

favorite apostles, the proto-martyr among the Twelve (beheaded a.d. 44,

see Acts 12:2), as his brother John was the survivor of all the

apostles. They were called the "sons of thunder."

2. James (the son) of Alphaeus, who was likewise one of the Twelve, and

is mentioned in the four apostle-catalogues, Matt. 10:3; Mark 3:10;

Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13.

3. James the Little, Mark 15:40 (ho mikros, not, "the Less," as in the

E. V.), probably so called from his small stature (as Zacchaeus, Luke

19:3), the son of a certain Mary and brother of Joseph, Matt. 27:56

(Maria he tou Iakobou kai Ioseph meter ); Mark 15:40, 47; 16:1; Luke

24:10. He is usually identified with James the son of Alphaeus, on the

assumption that his mother Mary was the wife of Clopas, mentioned John

19:25, and that Clopas was the same person as Alphaeus. But this

identification is at least very problematical.

4. James, simply so called, as the most distinguished after the early

death of James the Elder, or with the honorable epithet Brother of the

Lord (ho adelphos tou Kuriou), and among post-apostolic writers, the

Just, also Bishop of Jerusalem. The title connects him at once with the

four brothers and the unnamed sisters of our Lord, who are repeatedly

mentioned in the Gospels, and he as the first among them. Hence the

complicated question of the nature of this relationship. Although I

have fully discussed this intricate subject nearly forty years ago

(1842) in the German essay above mentioned, and then again in my

annotations to Lange on Matthew (Am. ed. 1864, pp. 256-260), I will

briefly sum up once more the chief points with reference to the most

recent discussions (of Lightfoot and Renan).

There are three theories on James and the brothers of Jesus. I would

call them the brother-theory, the half-brother-theory, and the

cousin-theory. Bishop Lightfoot (and Canon Farrar) calls them after

their chief advocates, the Helvidian (an invidious designation), the

Epiphanian, and the Hieronymian theories. The first is now confined to

Protestants, the second is the Greek, the third the Roman view.

(1) The brother-theory takes the term adelphoithe usual sense, and

regards the brothers as younger children of Joseph and Mary,

consequently as full brothers of Jesus in the eyes of the law and the

opinion of the people, though really only half-brothers, in view of his

supernatural conception. This is exegetically the most natural view and

favored by the meaning of adelphos(especially when used as a standing

designation), the constant companionship of these brethren with Mary

(John 2:12; Matt. 12:46; 13:55), and by the obvious meaning of Matt.

1:25 (ouk eginosken auten heos ohu,comp. 1:18 prin e sunelthein autous)

and Luke 2:7 (prototokos), as explained from the standpoint of the

evangelists, who used these terms in full view of the subsequent

history of Mary and Jesus. The only serious objection to it is of a

doctrinal and ethical nature, viz., the assumed perpetual virginity of

the mother of our Lord and Saviour, and the committal of her at the

cross to John rather than her own sons and daughters (John 19:25). If

it were not for these two obstacles the brother-theory would probably

be adopted by every fair and honest exegete. The first of these

objections dates from the post-apostolic ascetic overestimate of

virginity, and cannot have been felt by Matthew and Luke, else they

would have avoided those ambiguous terms just noticed. The second

difficulty presses also on the other two theories, only in a less

degree. It must therefore be solved on other grounds, namely, the

profound spiritual sympathy and congeniality of John with Jesus and

Mary, which rose above carnal relationships, the probable cousinship of

John (based upon the proper interpretation of the same passage, John

19:25), and the unbelief of the real brethren at the time of the

committal.

This theory was held by Tertullian (whom Jerome summarily disposes of

as not being a, "homo ecclesiae," i.e. a schismatic), defended by

Helvidius at Rome about 380 (violently attacked as a heretic by

Jerome), and by several individuals and sects opposed to the incipient

worship of the Virgin Mary; and recently by the majority of German

Protestant exegetes since Herder, such as Stier, De Wette, Meyer,

Weiss, Ewald, Wieseler, Keim, also by Dean Alford, and Canon Farrar

(Life of Christ, I. 97 sq.). I advocated the same theory in my German

tract, but admitted afterwards in my Hist. of Ap. Ch., p. 378, that I

did not give sufficient weight to the second theory.

(2) The half-brother-theory regards the brethren and sisters of Jesus

as children of Joseph by a former wife, consequently as no

blood-relations at all, but so designated simply as Joseph was called

the father of Jesus, by an exceptional use of the term adapted to the

exceptional fact of the miraculous incarnation. This has the dogmatic

advantage of saving the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord

and Saviour; it lessens the moral difficulty implied in John 19:25; and

it has a strong traditional support in the apocryphal Gospels and in

the Eastern church. It also would seem to explain more easily the

patronizing tone in which the brethren speak to our Lord in John 7:3,

4. But it does not so naturally account for the constant companionship

of these brethren with Mary; it assumes a former marriage of Joseph

nowhere alluded to in the Gospels, and makes Joseph an old man and

protector rather than husband of Mary; and finally it is not free from

suspicion of an ascetic bias, as being the first step towards the dogma

of the perpetual virginity. To these objections may be added, with

Farrar, that if the brethren had been elder sons of Joseph, Jesus would

not have been regarded as legal heir of the throne of David (Matt.

1:16; Luke 1:27; Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8; Rev. 22:16).

This theory is found first in the apocryphal writings of James (the

Protevangelium Jacobi, the Ascents of James, etc.), and then among the

leading Greek fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Gregory

of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria); it is embodied in the

Greek, Syrian, and Coptic services, which assign different dates to the

commemoration of James the son of Alphaeus (Oct. 9), and of James the

Lord's brother (Oct. 23). It may therefore be called the theory of the

Eastern church. It was also held by some Latin fathers before Jerome

(Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose), and has recently been ably advocated

by Bishop Lightfoot (l.c.), followed by Dr. Plumptre (in the

introduction to his Com. on the Ep. of James).

(3) The cousin-theory regards the brethren as more distant relatives,

namely, as children of Mary, the wife of Alphaeus and sister of the

Virgin Mary, and identifies James, the brother of the Lord, with James

the son of Alphaeus and James the Little, thus making him (as well as

also Simon and Jude) an apostle. The exceptive ei me, Gal. 1:19 (but I

saw only James), does not prove this, but rather excludes James from

the apostles proper (comp. ei mein Gal. 2:16; Luke 4:26, 27).

This theory was first advanced by Jerome in 383, in a youthful polemic

tract against Helvidius, without any traditional support, [338] but

with the professed dogmatic and ascetic aim to save the virginity of

both Mary and Joseph, and to reduce their marriage relation to a merely

nominal and barren connection. In his later writings, however, after

his residence in Palestine, he treats the question with less confidence

(see Lightfoot, p. 253). By his authority and the still greater weight

of St. Augustin, who at first (394) wavered between the second and

third theories, but afterwards adopted that of Jerome, it became the

established theory of the Latin church and was embodied in the Western

services, which acknowledge only two saints by the name of James. But

it is the least tenable of all and must be abandoned, chiefly for the

following reasons:

(a) It contradicts the natural meaning of the word "brother," when the

New Testament has the proper term for cousin Col. 4:10, comp. also

sungenesLuke 2:44; 21:16; Mark 6:4, etc.), and the obvious sense of the

passages where the brothers and sisters of Jesus appear as members of

the holy family.

(b) It assumes that two sisters had the same name, Mary, which is

extremely improbable.

(c) It assumes the identity of Clopas and Alphaeus, which is equally

doubtful; for Alphaiosis a Hebrew name (chlphy), while Klopas, like

Kleopas, Luke 24:18, is an abbreviation of the Greek Kleopatros, as

Antipas is contracted from Antipatros.(d) It is absolutely

irreconcilable with the fact that the brethren of Jesus, James among

them, were before the resurrection unbelievers, John 7:5, and

consequently none of them could have been an apostle, as this theory

assumes of two or three.

Renan's theory.--I notice, in conclusion, an original combination of

the second and third theories by Renan, who discusses the question of

the brothers and cousins of Jesus in an appendix to his Les �vangiles,

537-540. He assumes four Jameses, and distinguishes the son of Alphaeus

from the son of Clopas. He holds that Joseph was twice married, and

that Jesus had several older brothers and cousins as follows:

1. Children of Joseph from the first marriage, and older brothers of

Jesus:

a. James, the brother of the Lord, or Just, or Obliam. his is the one

mentioned Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; Gal. 1:19; 2:9, 12; 1 Cor. 15:7; Acts

12:17, etc.; James 1:1 Jude 1:1, and in Josephus and Hegesippus.

b. Jude, mentioned Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; Jude 1:1; Hegesippus in

Eusebius' Hist. Eccl. III. 19, 20, 32. From him were descended those

two grandsons, bishops of different churches, who were presented to the

emperor Domitian as descendants of David and relations of Jesus.

Hegesippus in Euseb. III. 19, 20, 32

c. Other sons and daughters unknown. Matt. 13:56; Mark 6:3; 1 Cor. 9:5.

2. Children of Joseph (?) from the marriage with Mary:

Jesus.

3. Children of Clopas, and cousins of Jesus, probably from the father's

side, since Clopas, according to Hegesippus, was a brother of Joseph,

and may have married also a woman by the name of Mary (John 19:25).

a. James the Little (ho mikros), so called to distinguish him from his

older cousin of that name. Mentioned Matt. 27:56; Mark 15:40; 16:1;

Luke 24:10; otherwise unknown.

b. Joses, Matt. 27:56; Mark 15:40, 47, but erroneously (?) numbered

among the brothers of Jesus: Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; otherwise unknown.

c. Symeon, the second bishop of Jerusalem (Hegesippus in Eus. III. 11,

22, 32; IV. 5, 22), also erroneously (?) put among the brothers of

Jesus by Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3.

d. Perhaps other sons and daughters unknown.

II. The description of James by Hegesippus (from Eusebius, H. E. II.

23)." Hegesippus also, who flourished nearest the days of the apostles,

gives (in the fifth book of his Memorials) this most accurate account

of him:

" 'Now James, the brother of the Lord, who (as there are many of this

name) was surnamed the Just by all (ho adelphos tou Kuriou Iakobos ho

onomastheis hupo panton dikaios), from the Lord's time even to our own,

received the government of the church with (or from) the apostles

[meta, in conjunction with, or according to another reading, para ton

apostolon, which would more clearly distinguish him from the apostles].

This man [houtosnot this apostle] was consecrated from his mother's

womb. He drank neither wine nor strong drink, and abstained from animal

food. No razor came upon his head, he never anointed himself with oil,

and never used a bath [probably the luxury of the Roman bath, with its

sudatorium, frigidarium, etc., but not excluding the usual ablutions

practised by all devout Jews]. He alone was allowed to enter the

sanctuary [not the holy of holies, but the court of priests]. He wore

no woolen, but linen garments only. He was in the habit of entering the

temple alone, and was often found upon his bended knees, and

interceding for the forgiveness of the people; so that his knees became

as hard as a camel's, on account of his constant supplication and

kneeling before God. And indeed, on account of his exceeding great

piety, he was called the Just [Zaddik] and Oblias [dikaios kai oblias,

probably a corruption of the Hebrew Ophel am, Tower of the People],

which signifies justice and the bulwark of the people (perioche tou

laou); as the prophets declare concerning him. Some of the seven sects

of the people, mentioned by me above in my Memoirs, used to ask him

what was the door, [probably the estimate or doctrine] of Jesus? and he

answered that he was the Saviour. And of these some believed that Jesus

is the Christ. But the aforesaid sects did not believe either a

resurrection, or that he was coming to give to every one according to

his works; as many, however, as did believe, did so on account of

James. And when many of the rulers also believed, there arose a tumult

among the Jews, Scribes, and Pharisees, saying that the whole people

were in danger of looking for Jesus as the Messiah. They came therefore

together, and said to James: We entreat thee, restrain the people, who

are led astray after Jesus, as though he were the Christ. We entreat

thee to persuade all that are coming to the feast of the Passover

rightly concerning Jesus; for we all have confidence in thee. For we

and all the people bear thee testimony that thou art just, and art no

respecter of persons. Persuade therefore the people not to be led

astray by Jesus, for we and all the people have great confidence in

thee. Stand therefore upon the pinnacle of the temple, that thou mayest

be conspicuous on high, and thy words may be easily heard by all the

people; for all the tribes have come together on account of the

Passover, with some of the Gentiles also. The aforesaid Scribes and

Pharisees, therefore, placed James upon the pinnacle of the temple, and

cried out to him: "O thou just man, whom we ought all to believe, since

the people are led astray after Jesus that was crucified, declare to us

what is the door of Jesus that was crucified." And he answered with a

loud voice: "Why do ye ask me respecting Jesus the Son of Man? He is

now sitting in the heavens, on the right hand of the great Power, and

is about to come on the clouds of heaven." And as many were confirmed,

and gloried in this testimony of James, and said:, "Hosanna to the Son

of David," these same priests and Pharisees said to one another: "We

have done badly in affording such testimony to Jesus, but let us go up

and cast him down, that they may dread to believe in him." And they

cried out: "Ho, ho, the Just himself is deceived." And they fulfilled

that which is written in Isaiah, "Let us take away the Just, because he

is offensive to us; wherefore they shall eat the fruit of their

doings." [Comp. Is. 3:10.]

And going up, they cast down the just man, saying to one another: "Let

us stone James the Just." And they began to stone him, as he did not

die immediately when cast down; but turning round, he knelt down,

saying:, I entreat thee, O Lord God and Father, forgive them, for they

know not what they do." Thus they were stoning him, when one of the

priests of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites, spoken of by

Jeremiah the prophet (Jer. 35:2), cried out, saying: "Cease, what are

you doing? The Just is praying for you." And one of them, a fuller,

beat out the brains of the Just with the club that he used to beat out

clothes. Thus he suffered martyrdom, and they buried him on the spot

where his tombstone is still remaining, by the temple. He became a

faithful witness, both to the Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the

Christ. Immediately after this, Vespasian invaded and took Judaea.' "

"Such," adds Eusebius, "is the more ample testimony of Hegesippus, in

which he fully coincides with Clement. So admirable a man indeed was

James, and so celebrated among all for his justice, that even the wiser

part of the Jews were of opinion that this was the cause of the

immediate siege of Jerusalem, which happened to them for no other

reason than the crime against him. Josephus also has not hesitated to

superadd this testimony in his works: 'These things,' says he,

'happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was the brother of

him that is called Christ and whom the Jews had slain, notwithstanding

his preeminent justice.' The same writer also relates his death, in the

twentieth book of his Antiquities, in the following words,' " etc.

Then Eusebius gives the account of Josephus.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[317] On his relation to the Twelve and to Jesus, see the first note at

the end of this section.

[318] Gal. 2:12.

[319] Mark 6:3; Matt. 13:55; John 7:5.

[320] Mark 6:4; Matt. 13:57; Luke 4:24; John 4:44.

[321] Acts 1:13; comp. 1 Cor. 9:5.

[322] 1 Cor. 15:7: epeita ophthe Iakobo.

[323] The fragment is preserved by Jerome, De vir. ill. cap. 2. Comp.

Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. extra can. rec. IV. 17 and 29; and Nicholson,

The Gospel according to the Hebrews (1879), pp. 63 sqq.

[324] I follow here with Credner and Lightfoot the reading Dominus

forDomini, corresponding to the Greek translation, which reads ho

kurios,and with the context, which points to the Lord's death rather

than the Lord's Supper as the starting-point of the vow. See Lightfoot,

Ep. to the Gal., p. 266. If we read "hora qu biberat calicem

Domini,"the author of the Gospel of the Hebrews must have assumed

either that James was one with James of Alphaeus, or that the Lord's

Supper was not confined to the twelve apostles. Neither of these is

probable. James is immediately afterwards called " the Just."Gregory of

Tours (Histor. Francorum, I. 21), relating this story, adds, in

accordance with the Greek tradition: "Hic est Jacobus Justus, quem

fratrem Domini nuncupant, pro eo quod Josephi fuerit filius ex alia

uxore progenitus."See Nicholson, p.

[325] "Greeting,"chairein, Acts 15:23, and James 1:1, instead of the

specific Christian charis kai eirene.

[326] 1 Cor. 9:5.

[327] Josephus calls James "the brother of Jesus the so-called

Christ"(ton adelphon Iesou tou legomenou Christou, Iakobos onoma auto

), but these words an regarded by some critics (Lardner, Credner, and

others) as a Christian interpolation.

[328] Neander, Ewald, and Renan give the preference to the date of

Josephus. But according to the pseudo-Clementine literature James

survived Peter.

[329] See below, Note II.

[330] Gal. 2:12. How far the unnamed messengers of James from

Jerusalem, who intimidated Peter and Barnabas at Antioch, acted under

authority from James, does not appear; but it is certain from 2:9, as

well as from the Acts, that James recognized the peculiar divine grace

and success of Paul and Barnabas in the conversion of the Gentiles; he

could therefore not without gross inconsistency make common cause with

his adversaries.

[331] Even Luther, in an unguarded moment (1524), called the epistle of

James an "epistle of straw," because he could not harmonize it with

Paul's doctrine of justification by faith.

[332] Ewald (vi. 608) remarks that it is just such a letter as we may

expect from the centre of Christianity in that period, when most

Christians were poor and oppressed by rich Jews.

[333] The date of composition is as yet an unsolved problem, and

critics vary between a.d. 45 and 62. Schneckenburger, Neander,

Thiersch, Huther, Hofmann, Weiss, and Beyschlag, and among English

divines, Alford, Bassett (who, however, wrongly vindicates the Epistle

to James the son of Zebedee), and Plumptre assign it a very early date

before the Council of Jerusalem (50) and the circumcision controversy,

to which there is no allusion. On the other hand Lardner, De Wette,

Wiesinger, Lange, Ewald, and also those commentators who see in the

Epistle a polemical reference to Paul and his teaching, bring it down

to 62. At all events, it was written before the destruction of

Jerusalem, which would have been noticed by a later writer. The

T�bingen school (Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld) deny its genuineness and

assign it to a.d. 80 or 90. Renan admits the genuineness of the

Epistles of James and Jude, as counter-manifestoes of Jewish

Christianity against Paulinism, and accounts for the good Greek style

by the aid of a Greek secretary.

[334] See the lists of parallel passages in Plumptre, pp. 7-9 and 33.

[335] James 1:25. ho parakupsas eis nomon teleion ton tes eleutherias.

[336] James 2:1 echete ten pistin tou kupiou hemon Hiesou Christou tes

doxes inscription, 1:1, the Lord Jesus Christ is associated with God.

[337] Hegesippus apud Euseb. H. E. III., 11, 22, 32; IV., 5, 22. Const.

Apost. VII. 46. Hegesippus assumes that Clopas, the father of Symeon,

was, I brother of Joseph and an uncle of Jesus. He never calls Symeon

"brother of the Lord," but only James and Jude (II. 23; III. 20).

[338] The passage quoted from Papias Maria Cleophae sive Alphaei uxor,

quae fuit mater Jacobi episcopi et apostoli,"is taken from Jerome and

belongs not to the sub-apostolic Papias of Hierapolis (as has been

supposed even by Mill and Wordsworth), but to a mediaeval Papias, the

writer of an Elementarium or Dictionary in the 11th century. See

Lightfoot, p. 265 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 28. Preparation for the Mission to the Gentiles.

The planting of the church among the Gentiles is mainly the work of

Paul; but Providence prepared the way for it by several steps, before

this apostle entered upon his sublime mission.

1. By the conversion of those half-Gentiles and bitter enemies of the

Jews, the Samaritans, under the preaching and baptism of Philip the

evangelist, one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem, and under the

confirming instruction of the apostles Peter and John. The gospel found

ready entrance into Samaria, as had been prophetically hinted by the

Lord in the conversation at Jacob's well. [339] But there we meet also

the first heretical perversion of Christianity by Simon Magus, whose

hypocrisy and attempt to degrade the gift of the Holy Spirit received

from Peter a terrible rebuke. (Hence the term simony, for sordid

traffic in church offices and dignities.) This encounter of the prince

of the apostles with the arch-heretic was regarded in the ancient

church, and fancifully represented, as typifying the relation of

ecclesiastical orthodoxy to deceptive heresy.

2. Somewhat later (between 37 and 40) occurred the conversion of the

noble centurion, Cornelius of Caesarea, a pious proselyte of the gate,

whom Peter, in consequence of a special revelation, received into the

communion of the Christian church directly by baptism, without

circumcision. This bold step the apostle had to vindicate to the strict

Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, who thought circumcision a condition of

salvation, and Judaism the only way to Christianity. Thus Peter laid

the foundation also of the Gentile-Christian church. The event marked a

revolution in Peter's mind, and his emancipation from the narrow

prejudices of Judaism. [340]

3. Still more important was the rise, at about the same time, of the

church at Antioch the capital of Syria. This congregation formed under

the influence of the Hellenist Barnabas of Cyprus and Paul of Tarsus,

seems to have consisted from the first of converted heathens and Jews.

It thus became the mother of Gentile Christendom, as Jerusalem was the

mother and centre of Jewish. In Antioch, too, the name "Christian"

first appeared, which was soon everywhere adopted, as well denoting the

nature and mission as the followers of Christ, the divine-human

prophet, priest, and king. [341]

The other and older designations were disciples (of Christ the only

Master), believers (in Christ as their Saviour), brethren (as members

of the same family of the redeemed, bound together by a love which

springs not from earth and will never cease), and saints (as those who

are purified and consecrated to the service of God and called to

perfect holiness).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[339] Acts 8; comp. John 4.

[340] Acts 10 and 11. The account which Peter gave to the brethren at

Jerusalem was not a mere repetition of the facts related in Acts 10,

but an apologetic adaptation to the peculiar wants of the audience.

This has been well shown by Dean Howson in his Commentary on those two

chapters (in Schaff's Internat. Com. vol. II.). Comp. my Hist. of Ap.

Ch. 217 sqq.

[341] Acts, 11:26 comp. 26:28, and 1 Pet. 4:16

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER V.

ST. PAUL AND THE CONVERSION OF THE GENTILES.

chariti theou eimi ho eimi, kai he charis autou he eis eme ou kene

egenethe, alla perissoteron auton panton ekopiasa, ouk ego de, alla he

charis tou theou sun emoi.--1 Cor. 15:10.

Christos Iesous elthen eis ton kosmon hamartolous sosai, hon protos

eimi ego.--1 Tim. 1:15.

"Paul's mind was naturally and perfectly adapted to take up into itself

and to develop the free, universal, and absolute principle of

Christianity."--Dr. Baur (Paul, II. 281, English translation).

"Did St. Paul's life end with his own life? May we not rather believe

that in a sense higher than Chrysostom ever dreamt of [when he gave him

the glorious name of 'the Heart of the world'], the pulses of that

mighty heart are still the pulses of the world's life, still beat in

these later ages with even greater force than ever?"--Dean Stanley

(Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age. p. 166).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 29. Sources and Literature on St. Paul and his Work.

I. Sources.

1. The authentic sources:

The Epistles of Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles 9:1-30 and 13 to 28.

Of the Epistles of Paul the four most important Galatians, Romans, two

Corinthians--are universally acknowledged as genuine even by the most

exacting critics; the Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians

are admitted by nearly all critics; the Pastoral Epistles, especially

First Timothy, and Titus, are more or less disputed, but even they bear

the stamp of Paul's genius.

On the coincidences between the Acts and the Epistles see the section

on the Acts. Comp. also � 22, pp. 213 sqq.

2. The legendary and apocryphal sources:

Acta Pauli et Theclae, edition in Greek by E. Grabe (from a Bodleian

MS. in Spicileg. SS. PP., Oxon. 1698, tom. I. pp. 95-128; republished

by Jones, 1726), and by Tischendorf (from three Paris MSS, in Acta

Apost. Apocrypha, Lips. 1851); in Syriac, with an English version by W.

Wright (in Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, Lond. 1871); Engl. transl.

by Alex. Walker (in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," vol. XVI.

279 sqq.). Comp. C. Schlau: Die Acten des Paulus und der Thecla und die

�ltere Thecla-Legende, Leipz. 1877.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla strongly advocate celibacy. They are

probably of Gnostic origin and based on some local tradition. They were

originally written, according to Tertullian (De Bapt. cap. 17, comp.

Jerome, Catal. cap. 7), by a presbyter in Asia "out of love to Paul,"

and in support of the heretical opinion that women have the right to

preach and to baptize after the example of Thecla; hence the author was

deposed. The book was afterwards purged of its most obnoxious features

and extensively used in the Catholic church. (See the patristic

quotations in Tischendorf's Prolegomena, p. xxiv.) Thecla is

represented as a noble virgin of Iconium, in Lycaonia, who was

betrothed to Thamyris, converted by Paul in her seventeenth year,

consecrated herself to perpetual virginity, was persecuted, carried to

the stake, and thrown before wild beasts, but miraculously delivered,

and died 90 years old at Seleucia. In the Greek church she is

celebrated as the first female martyr. Paul is described at the

beginning of this book (Tischend. p. 41) as "little in stature,

bald-headed, bow-legged, well-built (or vigorous), with knitted

eye-brows, rather long-nosed, full of grace, appearing now as a man,

and now having the face of an angel." From this description Renan has

borrowed in part his fancy-sketch of Paul's personal appearance.

Acta Pauli (Praxeis Paulou], used by Origen and ranked by Eusebiu" with

the Antilegomena �or notharather). They are, like the Acta Petri

(Praxeis, orPeriodoi Petrou), a Gnostic reconstruction of the canonical

Acts and ascribed to the authorship of St. Linus. Preserved only in

fragments.

Acta Petri et Pauli. A Catholic adaptation of an Ebionite work. The

Greek and Latin text was published first in a complete form by Thilo,

Halle, 1837-'38, the Greek by Tischendorf (who collated six MSS.) in

his Acta Apost. Apoc. 1851, 1-39; English transl. byWalker in

"Ante-Nicene Libr., " XVI. 256 sqq. This book records the arrival of

Paul in Rome, his meeting with Peter and Simon Magus, their trial

before the tribunal of Nero, and the martyrdom of Peter by crucifixion,

and of Paul by decapitation. The legend of Domine quo vadis is here

recorded of Peter, and the story of Perpetua is interwoven with the

martyrdom of Paul.

The pseudo-Clementine Homilies, of the middle of the second century or

later, give a malignant Judaizing caricature of Paul under the disguise

of Simon Magus (in part at least), and misrepresent him as an

antinomian arch-heretic; while Peter, the proper hero of this romance,

is glorified as the apostle of pure, primitive Christianity.

The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca, mentioned by Jerome (De vir.

ill. c. 12) and Augustin (Ep. ad Maced. 153, al. 54), and often copied,

though with many variations, edited by Fabricius, Cod. Apocr. N. T.,

and in several editions of Seneca. It consists of eight letters of

Seneca and six of Paul. They are very poor in thought and style, full

of errors of chronology and history, and undoubtedly a forgery. They

arose from the correspondence of the moral maxims of Seneca with those

of Paul, which is more apparent than real, and from the desire to

recommend the Stoic philosopher to the esteem of the Christians, or to

recommend Christianity to the students of Seneca and the Stoic

philosophy. Paul was protected at Corinth by Seneca's brother, Gallio

(Acts 18:12-16), and might have become acquainted with the philosopher

who committed suicide at Rome in 65, but there is no trace of such

acquaintance. Comp. Am�d�e Fleury: Saint-Paul et S�n�que (Paris, 1853,

2 vols.); C. Aubertin: �tude critique sur les rapports suppos� entre

S�n�que et Saint-Paul (Par. 1887); F. C. Baur: Seneca und Paulus, 1858

and 1876; Reuss: art. Seneca in Herzog, vol. XIV. 273 sqq.; Lightfoot:

Excursus in Com. on Philippians, pp 268-331; art. Paul and Seneca, in

"Westminster Review," Lond. 1880, pp. 309 sqq.

II. Biographical and Critical.

Bishop Pearson (d. 1686): Annales Paulini. Lond. 1688. In the various

editions of his works, and also separately: Annals of St. Paul, transl.

with geographical and critical notes. Cambridge, 1825.

Lord Lyttleton (d. 1773): The Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul.

3d ed. Lond. 1747. Apologetic as an argument for the truth of

Christianity from the personal experience of the author.

Archdeacon William Paley (d. 1805): Horae Paulinae: or The Truth of the

Scripture History of Paul evinced by a comparison of the Epistles which

bear his name, with the Acts of the Apostles and with one another.

Lond. 1790 (and subsequent editions). Still valuable for apologetic

purposes.

J. Hemsen: Der Apostel Paulus. G�tt. 1830.

Carl Schrader: Der Apostel Paulus. Leipz. 1830-'36. 5 Parts.

Rationalistic.

F. Chr. Baur (d. 1860): Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi. T�b. 1845,

second ed. by E. Zeller, Leipzig, 1866-'67, in 2 vols. Transl. into

English by Allan Menzies. Lond. (Williams & Norgate) 1873 and '75, 2

vols. This work of the great leader of the philosophico-critical

reconstruction of the Apostolic Age (we may call him the modern

Marcion) was preceded by several special treatises on the Christ-Party

in Corinth (1831), on the Pastoral Epistles (1835), on the Epistle to

the Romans (1836), and a Latin programme on Stephen's address before

the Sanhedrin (1829). It marks an epoch in the literature on Paul and

opened new avenues of research. It is the standard work of the T�bingen

school of critics.

Conybeare and Howson: The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Lond. 1853, 2

vols., and N. York, 1854; 2d ed. Lond. 1856, and later editions; also

an abridgment in one vol. A very useful and popular work, especially on

the geography of Paul's travels. Comp. also Dean Howson: Character of

St. Paul (Lond. 1862; 2d ed. 1864); Scenes from the Life of St. Paul

(1867); Metaphors of St. Paul (1868); The Companions of St. Paul

(1871). Most of these books were republished in America.

Ad. Monod (d. 1856): Saint Paul. Six sermons. See hisSermons, Paris,

1860, vol. II. 121-296. The same in German and English.

W. F. Besser: Paulus. Leipz. 1861. English transl. by F. Bultmann, with

Introduction by J. S. Howson. Lond. and N. York, 1864.

F. Bungener: St. Paul, sa vie, son oeuvre et ses �pitres. Paris, 1865.

A. Hausrath: Der Apostel Paulus. Heidelb. 1865; 2d ed. 1872. Comp. also

his N. T. liche Zeitgeschichte, Part III.

M. Krenkel: Paulus, der Apostel der Heiden. Leipz. 1869.

Ernest Renan: Saint Paul. Paris, 1869. Transl. from the French by J.

Lockwood, N.York, 1869. Very fresh and entertaining, but full ,of

fancies and errors.

Thomas Lewin (author of "Fasti Sacri") The Life and Epistles of St.

Paul, new ed. Lond. and N. York, 1875, 2 vols. A magnificent work of

many years' labor, with 370 illustrations.

Canon F. W. Farrar: The Life and Work of St. Paul. Lond. and N. York,

1879, 2 vols. Learned and eloquent.

W. M. Taylor: Paul as a Missionary. N. York, 1881.

As biographies, the works of Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and Farrar

are the most complete and instructive.

Also the respective sections in the Histories of the Ap. Age by

Neander, Lechler, Thiersch, Lange, Schaff (226-347 and 634-640),

Pressens�.

III. Chronological.

Thomas Lewin: Fasti Sacri, a Key to the Chronology of the New

Testament. London, 1865. Chronological Tables from b.c. 70 to a.d. 70.

Wieseler: Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters. G�ttingen, 1848.

IV. Doctrinal and Exegetical.

L. Usteri: Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs. Z�rich, 1824, 6th

ed. 1851.

A. P. D�hne: Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs. Halle, 1835.

Baur: Paulus. See above.

R. A. Lipsius: Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre. Leipz. 1853.

C. Holsten: Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus. Rostock, 1868.

This book, contains: 1. An essay on the Christusvision des Paulus und

die Genesis des paulinischen Evangeliums, which had previously appeared

in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift," 1861, but is here enlarged by a reply to

Beyschlag; 2. Die Messiasvision des Petrus (new); 3. An analysis of the

Epistle to the Galatians (1859); 4. A discussion of the meaning of

sarxin Paul's system (1855). By the same: Das Evangelium des Paulus.

Part I. Berlin, 1880.

TH. Simar (R. C.): Die Theologie des heil. Paulus. Freiberg, 1864.

Ernesti: Die Ethik des Ap. Paulus. Braunschweig, 1868; 3d ed. 1880.

R. Schmidt: Die Christologie des Ap. Paulus. G�tt., 1870.

Matthew Arnold: St. Paul and Protestantism. Lond. 1870; 3d ed. 1875.

William I. Irons (Episcop.): Christianity as taught by St. Paul. Eight

Bampton Lectures for 1870. Oxf. and Lond. 1871; 2d ed. 1876.

A. Sabatier: L'ap�tre Paul. Esquisse d'une histoire de sa pens�e.

Strasb. and Paris, 1870.

Otto Pfleiderer (Prof. in Berlin): Der Paulinismus. Leipzig, 1873.

Follows Baur and Holsten in developing the doctrinal system of Paul

from his conversion. English translation by E. Peters. Lond. 1877, 2

vols. Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development

of Christianity (The Hibbert Lectures). Trsl. by J. Fr. Smith. Lond.

and N. Y. 1885. Also his Urchristenthum, 1887.

C. Weizs�cker: D. Apost. Zeitalter (1886), pp. 68-355.

Fr. Bethge: Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgesch. G�ttingen, 1887.

V. Commentaries.

The Commentators on Paul's Epistles (in whole or in part) are so

numerous that we can only mention some of the most important:

1. On all the Pauline Epp.: Calvin, Beza, Estius (b.c.), Corn. A Lapide

(R. C.), Grotius, Wetstein, Bengel, Olshausen, De Wette, Meyer, Lange

(Am. ed. enlarged), Ewald, Von Hofmann, Reuss (French), Alford,

Wordsworth, Speaker's Com., Ellicott (Pop. Com.), Schaff (Pop. Com.,

vol. III. 1882). Compare also P. J. Gloag: Introduction to the Pauline

Epistles. Edinburgh, 1874.

2. On single Epp.: Romans by Tholuck (5th ed. 1856), Fritzsche (3 vols.

in Latin), Reiche, R�ckert, Philippi (3d ed. 1866, English transl. by

Banks, 1878-'79, 2 vols.), Mos. Stuart, Turner, Hodge, Forbes, Jowett,

Shedd (1879), Godet (L'�pitre aux Romains, 1879 and 1880, 2

vols).--Corinthians by Neander, Osiander, Hodge, Stanley, Heinrici,

Edwards, Godet, Ellicott.--Galatians by Luther, Winer, Wieseler,

Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Jowett, Eadie, Ellicott, Lightfoot.--Ephesians by

Harless, Matthies, Stier, Hodge, Eadie, Ellicott, J. L. Davies.--Other

minor Epp. explained by Bleek (Col., Philemon, and Eph.), Koch

(Thess.), van Hengel (Phil.), Eadie (Col.), Ellicott (Phil., Col.,

Thess., Philem.), Lightfoot (Phil, Col., Philemon).--Pastoral Epp. by

Matthies, Mack (R. C.), Beck (ed. Lindenmeyer, 1879), Holtzmann (1880),

Fairbairn, Ellicott, Weiss (1886), Knoke (1887), K�lling (1887).

3. The Commentaries on the second part of Acts by De Wette, Meyer,

Baumgarten, Alexander, Hackett, Lechler, Gloag, Plumptre, Jacobson,

Lumby, Howson and Spence.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 30. Paul before his Conversion.

His Natural Outfit.

We now approach the apostle of the Gentiles who decided the victory of

Christianity as a universal religion, who labored more, both in word

and deed, than all his colleagues, and who stands out, in lonely

grandeur, the most remarkable and influential character in history. His

youth as well as his closing years are involved in obscurity, save that

he began a persecutor and ended a martyr, but the midday of his life is

better known than that of any other apostle, and is replete with

burning thoughts and noble deeds that can never die, and gather

strength with the progress of the gospel from age to age and country to

country.

Saul or Paul [342] was of strictly Jewish parentage, but was born, a

few years after Christ, [343] in the renowned Grecian commercial and

literary city of Tarsus, in the province of Cilicia, and inherited the

rights of a Roman citizen. He received a learned Jewish education at

Jerusalem in the school of the Pharisean Rabbi, Gamaliel, a grandson of

Hillel, not remaining an entire stranger to Greek literature, as his

style, his dialectic method, his allusions to heathen religion and

philosophy, and his occasional quotations from heathen poets show.

Thus, a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," [344] yet at the same time a native

Hellenist, and a Roman citizen, be combined in himself, so to speak,

the three great nationalities of the ancient world, and was endowed

with all the natural qualifications for a universal apostleship. He

could argue with the Pharisees as a son of Abraham, of the tribe of

Benjamin, and as a disciple of the renowned Gamaliel, surnamed "the

Glory of the Law." He could address the Greeks in their own beautiful

tongue and with the convincing force of their logic. Clothed with the

dignity and majesty of the Roman people, he could travel safely over

the whole empire with the proud watchword: Civis Romanus sum.

This providential outfit for his future work made him for a while the

most dangerous enemy of Christianity, but after his conversion its most

useful promoter. The weapons of destruction were turned into weapons of

construction. The engine was reversed, and the direction changed; but

it remained the same engine, and its power was increased under the new

inspiration.

The intellectual and moral endowment of Saul was of the highest order.

The sharpest thinking was blended with the tenderest feeling, the

deepest mind with the strongest will. He had Semitic fervor, Greek

versatility, and Roman energy. Whatever he was, he was with his whole

soul. He was totus in illis, a man of one idea and of one purpose,

first as a Jew, then as a Christian. His nature was martial and heroic.

Fear was unknown to him--except the fear of God, which made him

fearless of man. When yet a youth, he had risen to high eminence; and

had he remained a Jew, he might have become a greater Rabbi than even

Hillel or Gamaliel, as he surpassed them both in original genius and

fertility of thought.

Paul was the only scholar among the apostles. He never displays his

learning, considering it of no account as compared with the excellency

of the knowledge of Christ, for whom he suffered the loss of all

things, [345] but he could not conceal it, and turned it to the best

use after his conversion. Peter and John had natural genius, but no

scholastic education; Paul had both, and thus became the founder of

Christian theology and philosophy.

His Education.

His training was thoroughly Jewish, rooted and grounded in the

Scriptures of the Old Covenant, and those traditions of the elders

which culminated in the Talmud. [346] He knew the Hebrew and Greek

Bible almost by heart. In his argumentative epistles, when addressing

Jewish converts, he quotes from the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the

Psalms, now literally, now freely, sometimes ingeniously combining

several passages or verbal reminiscences, or reading between the lines

in a manner which betrays the profound student and master of the hidden

depths of the word of God, and throws a flood of light on obscure

passages. [347] He was quite familiar with the typical and allegorical

methods of interpretation; and he occasionally and incidentally uses

Scriptural arguments, or illustrations rather, which strike a sober

scholar as far-fetched and fanciful, though they were quite conclusive

to a Jewish reader. [348] But he never bases a truth on such an

illustration without an independent argument; he never indulges in the

exegetical impositions and frivolities of those "letter-worshipping

Rabbis who prided themselves on suspending dogmatic mountains by

textual hairs." Through the revelation of Christ, the Old Testament,

instead of losing itself in the desert of the Talmud or the labyrinth

of the Kabbala, became to him a book of life, full of types and

promises of the great facts and truths of the gospel salvation. In

Abraham he saw the father of the faithful, in Habakkuk a preacher of

justification by faith, in the paschal lamb a type of Christ slain for

the sins of the world, in the passage of Israel through the Red Sea a

prefigurement of Christian baptism, and in the manna of the wilderness

a type of the bread of life in the Lord's Supper.

The Hellenic culture of Paul is a matter of dispute, denied by some,

unduly exalted by others. He no doubt acquired in the home of his

boyhood and early manhood [349] a knowledge of the Greek language, for

Tarsus was at that time the seat of one of the three universities of

the Roman empire, surpassing in some respects even Athens and

Alexandria, and furnished tutors to the imperial family. His teacher,

Gamaliel, was comparatively free from the rabbinical abhorrence and

contempt of heathen literature. After his conversion he devoted his

life to the salvation of the heathen, and lived for years at Tarsus,

Ephesus, Corinth, and other cities of Greece, and became a Greek to the

Greeks in order to save them. It is scarcely conceivable that a man of

universal human sympathies, and so wide awake to the deepest problems

of thought, as he, should have under such circumstances taken no notice

of the vast treasures of Greek philosophy, poetry, and history. He

would certainly do what we expect every missionary to China or India to

do from love to the race which he is to benefit, and from a desire to

extend his usefulness. Paul very aptly, though only incidentally,

quotes three times from Greek poets, not only a proverbial maxim from

Menander, [350] and a hexameter from Epimenides, [351] which may have

passed into common use, but also a half-hexameter with a connecting

particle, which he must have read in the tedious astronomical poem of

his countryman, Aratus (about b.c. 270), or in the sublime hymn of

Cleanthes to Jupiter, in both of which the passage occurs. [352] He

borrows some of his favorite metaphors from the Grecian games; he

disputed with Greek philosophers of different schools and addressed

them from the Areopagus with consummate wisdom and adaptation to the

situation; some suppose that he alludes even to the terminology of the

Stoic philosophy when he speaks of the "rudiments" or "elements of the

world." [353] He handles the Greek language, not indeed with classical

purity and elegance, yet with an almost creative vigor, transforming it

into an obedient organ of new ideas, and pressing into his service the

oxymoron, the paronomasia, the litotes, and other rhetorical figures.

[354] Yet all this does by no means prove a regular study or extensive

knowledge of Greek literature, but is due in part to native genius. His

more than Attic urbanity and gentlemanly refinement which breathe in

his Epistles to Philemon and the Philippians, must be traced to the

influence of Christianity rather than his intercourse with accomplished

Greeks. His Hellenic learning seems to have been only casual,

incidental, and altogether subordinate to his great aim. In this

respect he differed widely from the learned Josephus, who affected

Attic purity of style, and from Philo, who allowed the revealed truth

of the Mosaic religion to be controlled, obscured, and perverted by

Hellenic philosophy. Philo idealized and explained away the Old

Testament by allegorical impositions which he substituted for

grammatical expositions; Paul spiritualized the Old Testament and drew

out its deepest meaning. Philo's Judaism evaporated in speculative

abstractions, Paul's Judaism was elevated and transformed into

Christian realities.

His Zeal for Judaism.

Saul was a Pharisee of the strictest sect, not indeed of the

hypocritical type, so witheringly rebuked by our Saviour, but of the

honest, truth-loving and truth-seeking sort, like that of Nicodemus and

Gamaliel. His very fanaticism in persecution arose from the intensity

of his conviction and his zeal for the religion of his fathers. He

persecuted in ignorance, and that diminished, though it did not

abolish, his guilt. He probably never saw or heard Jesus until he

appeared to him at Damascus. He may have been at Tarsus at the time of

the crucifixion and resurrection. [355] But with his Pharisaic

education he regarded Jesus of Nazareth, like his teachers, as a false

Messiah, a rebel, a blasphemer, who was justly condemned to death. And

he acted according to his conviction. He took the most prominent part

in the persecution of Stephen and delighted in his death. Not satisfied

with this, he procured from the Sanhedrin, which had the oversight of

all the synagogues and disciplinary punishments for offences against

the law, full power to persecute and arrest the scattered disciples.

Thus armed, he set out for Damascus, the capital of Syria, which

numbered many synagogues. He was determined to exterminate the

dangerous sect from the face of the earth, for the glory of God. But

the height of his opposition was the beginning of his devotion to

Christianity.

His External Relations and Personal Appearance.

On the subordinate questions of Paul's external condition and relations

we have no certain information. Being a Roman citizen, he belonged to

the respectable class of society, but must have been poor; for he

depended for support on a trade which he learned in accordance with

rabbinical custom; it was the trade of tent-making, very common in

Cilicia, and not profitable except in large cities. [356]

He had a sister living at Jerusalem whose son was instrumental in

saving his life. [357]

He was probably never married. Some suppose that he was a widower.

Jewish and rabbinical custom, the completeness of his moral character,

his ideal conception of marriage as reflecting the mystical union of

Christ with his church, his exhortations to conjugal, parental, and

filial duties, seem to point to experimental knowledge of domestic

life. But as a Christian missionary moving from place to place, and

exposed to all sorts of hardship and persecution, he felt it his duty

to abide alone. [358] He sacrificed the blessings of home and family to

the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. [359]

His "bodily presence was weak, and his speech contemptible" (of no

value), in the superficial judgment of the Corinthians, who missed the

rhetorical ornaments, yet could not help admitting that his "letters

were weighty and strong." [360] Some of the greatest men have been

small in size, and some of the purest souls forbidding in body.

Socrates was the homeliest, and yet the wisest of Greeks. Neander, a

converted Jew, like Paul, was short, feeble, and strikingly odd in his

whole appearance, but a rare humility, benignity, and heavenly

aspiration beamed from his face beneath his dark and bushy eyebrows. So

we may well imagine that the expression of Paul's countenance was

highly intellectual and spiritual, and that he looked "sometimes like a

man and sometimes like an angel." [361]

He was afflicted with a mysterious, painful, recurrent, and repulsive

physical infirmity, which he calls a "thorn in the flesh, " and which

acted as a check upon spiritual pride and self-exultation over his

abundance of revelations. [362] He bore the heavenly treasure in an

earthly vessel and his strength was made perfect in weakness. [363] But

all the more must we admire the moral heroism which turned weakness

itself into an element of strength, and despite pain and trouble and

persecution carried the gospel salvation triumphantly from Damascus to

Rome.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[342] "Paul" (Little) is merely the Hellenized or Latinized form for

his Hebrew name "Saul" (Desired), and has nothing whatever to do either

with his own conversion, or with the conversion of Sergius Paulus of

Cyprus. There are many similar instances of double names among the Jews

of that time, as Hillel and Pollio, Cephas and Peter, John and Mark,

Barsabbas and Justus, Simeon and Niger, Silas and Silvanus. Paul may

have received his Latin name in early youth in Tarsus, as a Roman

citizen; Paulus being the cognomen of several distinguished Roman

families, as the gens AEmilia, Fabia, Julia, Sergia. He used it in his

intercourse with the Gentiles and in all his Epistles. See Hist. Apost.

Ch., p. 226, and my annotations to Lange on Romans 1:1, pp. 57 and 58.

[343] When Paul wrote to Philemon, a.d. 63, he was an aged man

(presbutes, Phil. 9), that is, about or above sixty. According to

Hippocrates a man was called presbutes from forty-nine to fifty-six,

and after that geron, senes. In a friendly letter to a younger friend

and pupil the expression must not be pressed. Walter Scott speaks of

himself as "an old grey man" at fifty-five. Paul was still a "youth"

(neanias, Acts 7:58) at the stoning of Stephen, which probably took

place in 37; and although this term is likewise vaguely used, yet as he

was then already clothed with a most important mission by the

Sanhedrin, he must have been about or over thirty years of age. Philo

extends the limits of neanias from twenty-one to twenty-eight, Xenophon

to forty. Comp. Lightfoot on Philemon, v. 9 (p. 405), and Farrar, I.,

13, 14.

[344] Phil. 3:5. A Hebrew by descent and education, though a Hellenist

or Jew of the dispersion by birth, Acts 22:3. Probably his parents were

Palestinians. This would explain the erroneous tradition preserved by

Jerome (De vir. ill. c. 5), that Paul was born at Giscala in Galilee

(now El-Jish), and after the capture of the place by the Romans

emigrated with his parents to Tarsus. But the capture did not take

place till a.d. 67.

[345] Comp. the sublime passage, Phil. 3:8-10, and 1 Cor. 2:1, 2.

[346] Gal. 4:14: "I made progress in Judaism beyond many of mine own

age in my nation, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of

my fathers."

[347] Scripture references and allusions abound in the Galatians,

Romans, and Corinthians, but are wanting in the Thessalonians,

Colossians, and Philemon, and in his address to the heathen hearers at

Athens, whom he referred to their own poets rather than to Moses and

the prophets.

[348] As the reasoning from the singular or rather collective

sperma(zera)in Gal. 3:16, the allegorical interpretation of Hagar and

Sarah, 4:22 sqq., and the rock in the wilderness, 1 Cor. 10:1-4. See

the commentaries.

[349] Comp. Gal. 1:21; Acts 9:30; 11:25.

[350] 1 Cor. 15:33. phtheirousin ethe chresta homiliai kakai. "Evil

associations corrupt good manners."

[351] Tit. 1:12. Kretes aei pseustai, kaka theria, gasteres argai.

"Cretans are liars alway, bad beasts, and indolent gluttons." As

Epimenides was himself a Cretan, this contemptuous depreciation of his

countrymen gave rise to the syllogistic puzzle: "Epimenides calls the

Cretans liars; Epimenides was a Cretan: therefore Epimenides was a

liar: therefore the Cretans were not liars: therefore Epimenides was

not a liar," etc.

[352] Acts 17:28. Tou [poetic for toutou] gar kai genos esmen. "For we

are also His (God's) offspring." The passage occurs literally in the

Phoenomena of Aratus, v. 5, in the following connection: ...." We all

greatly need Zeus, For we are his offspring; full of grace, he grants

men Tokens of favor .... The Stoic poet, Cleanthes (Hymn. in Jovem, 5)

uses the same expression in an address to Jupiter: Ek sou gar genos

esmen, and in the Golden Poem, theion gar genos esti brotoisin. We may

also quote a parallel passage of Pindar, Nem. VI., which has been

overlooked by commentators: Hen andron, hen theon genos, ek mias de

pneomen matros amphoteroi. " One race of men and gods, from one mother

breathe we all." It is evident, however, that all these passages were

understood by their heathen authors in a materialistic and pantheistic

sense, which would make nature or the earth the mother of gods and men.

Paul in his masterly address to the Athenians, without endorsing the

error, recognizes the element of truth in pantheism, viz., the divine

origin of man and the immanence of God in the world and in humanity.

[353] ta stoicheia tou kosmou, Gal. 4:3, 9. So Hilgenfeld, Einleitung,

p. 223. Thiersch assumes (p. 112) that Paul was familiar with the

Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, and that his dialectics is classical

rather than rabbinical; but this is scarcely correct. In Romans 5:16,

18, he uses the word dikaioma in the Aristotelian sense of legal

adjustment (Rechtsausgleichung). See Eth. Nicom. v. 10, and Rothe's

monograph on Rom. 5:12-21. Baur compares Paul's style with that of

Thucydides.

[354] Farrar, I. 629 sq., counts "upwards of fifty specimens of thirty

Greek rhetorical figures in St. Paul," which certainly disprove the

assertion of Renan that Paul could never have received even elementary

lessons in grammar and rhetoric at Tarsus.

[355] Cor. 9:1 refers to the vision of Christ at Damascus. In 2 Cor.

5:16: though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth

know we him no more," he particles ei kai (quamquam, even though, wenn

auch) seem to chronicle a fact, as distinct from kai ei (etiam si, even

if, selbst wenn), which puts an hypothesis; but the stress lies on the

difference between an external, carnal knowledge of Christ in his

humility and earthly relations or a superficial acquaintance from

hearsay, and a spiritual, experimental knowledge of Christ in his

glory. Farrar (I. 73 sqq.), reasons that if Paul had really known and

heard Jesus, he would have been converted at once.

[356] He is called a tent-maker, skenopoios, Acts 18:3. Tents were

mostly made of the coarse hair of the Cilician goat (Kilikios tragos,

which also denotes a coarse man), and needed by shepherds, travellers,

sailors, and soldiers. The same material was also used for mantelets,

shoes, and beds. The Cilician origin of this article is perpetuated in

the Latin cilicium and the French cilice, which means hair-cloth.

Gamaliel is the author of the maxim that " learning of any kind

unaccompanied by a trade ends in nothing and leads to sin."

[357] Acts 23:16.

[358] In 1 Cor. 9:5 (written in 57) he claims the right to lead a

married life, like Peter and the other apostles, and the brethren of

the Lord; but in 1 Cor. 7:7, 8 he gives for himself in his peculiar

position the preference to single life. Clement of Alexandria, Erasmus,

and others supposed that he was married, and understood Syzyge, in

Phil. 4:3, to be his wife. Ewald regards him as a widower who lost his

wife before his conversion (VI. 341). So also Farrar (I. 80) who infers

from 1 Cor. 7:8 that Paul classed himself with widowers: "I say,

therefore, to the unmarried [to widowers, for whom there is no special

Greek word] and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I."

He lays stress on the fact that the Jews in all ages attached great

importance to marriage as a moral duty (Gen. 1:28), and preferred early

marriage; he also maintains (I. 169) that Paul, being a member of the

Sanhedrin (as he gave his vote for the condemnation of the Christiana,

Acts26:10), must have had, according to the Gemara, a family of his

own. Renan fancies (ch. VI.) that Paul contracted a more than spiritual

union with sister Lydia at Philippi, and addressed her in Phil. 4:3 as

his suzuge gnesie, that is, as his true co-worker or partner (conjux),

since it is not likely that he would have omitted her when he

mentioned, in the preceding verse, two deaconesses otherwise unknown,

Euodia and Syntyche. The word suzugos,as a noun, may be either

masculine or feminine, and may either mean generally an associate, a

co-worker ("yoke -fellow" in the E. V.), or be a proper name. Several

persons have been suggested, Epaphroditus, Timothy, Silas, Luke. But

Paul probably means a man, named Suzugosand plays upon the word:

"Yokefellow by name and yoke-fellow in deed." Comp. a similar

paronomasia in Philem. 10, 11Onesimon, i.e., Helpful,-achreston,

euchreston , unprofitable, profitable). See the notes of Meyer and

Lange (Braune and Hackett) on these passages.

[359] This sublime loneliness of Paul is well expressed in a poem,

Saint Paul, by Frederic W. H. Myers (1868), from which we may be

permitted to quote a few lines: "Christ! I am Christ's! and let the

name suffice you;

Aye, for me, too, He greatly hath sufficed; Lo, with no winning words I

would entice you;

Paul has no honor and no friend but Christ.

" Yes, without cheer of sister or of daughter--

Yes, w ithout stay of father or of son, Lone on the land, and homeless

on the water,

Pass I in patience till the work be done.

"Yet not in solitude, if Christ anear me

Waketh Him workers for the great employ; Oh, not in solitude, if souls

that hear me

Catch from my joyance the surprise of joy.

Hearts I have won of sister or of brother,

Quick on the earth or hidden in the sod Lo, every heart awaiteth me,

another

Friend in the blameless family of God."

[360] 2 Cor. 10:10 he parousia tou somatos asthenes , kai ho logos

exouthenemenos, or, as Cod. B. reads, exoudenemenos, which has the same

meaning. Comp. 10:1, where he speaks of his " lowly" personal

appearance among the Corinthians (kataprosopon tapeinos). He was

little, compared with Barnabas (Acts 14:12).

[361] This is from the tradition preserved in the apocryphal Acts of

Thecla. See the description quoted above, p. 282. Other ancient

descriptions of Paul in the Philopatris of pseudo-Lucian (of the

second, but more probably of the fourth century), Malala of Antioch

(sixth century), and Nicephorus (fifteenth century), represent Paul as

little in stature, bald, with a prominent aquiline nose, gray hair and

thick beard, bright grayish eyes, somewhat bent and stooping, yet

pleasant and graceful. See these descriptions in Lewin's St. Paul, II.

412. The oldest extant portraiture of Paul, probably from the close of

the first or beginning of the second century, was found on a large

bronze medallion in the cemetery of Domitilla (one of the Flavian

family), and is preserved in the Vatican library. It presents Paul on

the left and Peter on the right. Both are far from handsome, but full

of character; Paul is the homelier of the two, with apparently diseased

eyes, open mouth, bald head and short thick beard, but thoughtful,

solemn, and dignified. See a cut in Lewin, II. 211. Chrysostom calls

Paul the three-cubit man (ho tripechus anthropos, Serm. in Pet. et

Paul.). Luther imagined: "St. Paulus war ein armes, d�rres M�nnlein,

wie Magister Philippus "(Melanchthon). A poetic description by J. H.

Newman see in Farrar I. 220, and in Plumptre on Acts, Appendix, with

another (of his own). Renan (Les Ap�tres, pp. 169 sqq.) gives, partly

from Paul's Epistles, partly from apocryphal sources, the following

striking picture of the apostle: His behavior was winning, his manners

excellent, his letters reveal a man of genius and lofty aspirations,

though the style is incorrect. Never did a correspondence display rarer

courtesies, tenderer shades, more amiable modesty and reserve. Once or

twice we are wounded by his sarcasm (Gal. 5: 12; Phil. 3:2). But what

rapture! What fulness of charming words! What originality! His exterior

did not correspond to the greatness of his soul. He was ugly, short,

stout, plump, of small head, bald, pale, his face covered with a thick

beard, an eagle nose, piercing eyes, dark eyebrows. His speech,

embarrassed, faulty, gave a poor idea of his eloquence. With rare tact

he turned his external defects to advantage. The Jewish race produces

types of the highest beauty and of the most complete homeliness (des

types de la plus grande beaut� et de la plus compl�te laideur); but the

Jewish homeliness is quite unique. The strange faces which provoke

laughter at first sight, assume when intellectually enlivened, a

peculiar expression of intense brilliancy and majesty (une sorte

d'�clat profond et de majest�).

[362] 2 Cor. 12:7-9; Gal. 4:13-15. Comp. also 1 Thess. 2:18; 1 Cor.

2:3; 2 Cor. 1:8, 9; 4:10. Of the many conjectures only three: sick

headache, acute ophthalmia, epilepsy, seem to answer the allusions of

Paul which are dark to us at such a distance of time, while they were

clear to his personal friends. Tertullian and Jerome, according to an

ancient tradition, favor headache; Lewin, Farrar, and many others, sore

eyes, dating the inflammation from the dazzling light which shone

around him at Damascus (Acts 9:3, 17, 18; Comp. 22:13; 23:3, 5; Gal.

4:15); Ewald and Lightfoot, epilepsy, with illustration from the life

of King Alfred (Mohammed would be even more to the point). Other

conjectures of external, or spiritual trials (persecution, carnal

temptations, bad temper, doubt, despondency, blasphemous suggestions of

the devil, etc.) are ruled out by a strict exegesis of the two chief

passages in 2 Cor. 12 and Gal. 4, which point to a physical malady. See

an Excursus on Paul's thorn in the flesh in my Commentary on Gal.

4:13-15 (Pop. Com. vol. III.).

[363] 2 Cor. 4:7; 12:9, 10.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 31. The Conversion of Paul.

Eudokesen ho theos ... apokalupsai ton huion autou en emoi, hina

euangelizomai auton en tois ethnesin Gal. 1:15, 16.

The conversion of Paul marks not only a turning-point in his personal

history, but also an important epoch in the history of the apostolic

church, and consequently in the history of mankind. It was the most

fruitful event since the miracle of Pentecost, and secured the

universal victory of Christianity.

The transformation of the most dangerous persecutor into the most

successful promoter of Christianity is nothing less than a miracle of

divine grace. It rests on the greater miracle of the resurrection of

Christ. Both are inseparably connected; without the resurrection the

conversion would have been impossible, and on the other hand the

conversion of such a man and with such results is one of the strongest

proofs of the resurrection.

The bold attack of Stephen--the forerunner of Paul--upon the hard,

stiff-necked Judaism which had crucified the Messiah, provoked a

determined and systematic attempt on the part of the Sanhedrin to

crucify Jesus again by destroying his church. In this struggle for life

and death Saul the Pharisee, the bravest and strongest of the rising

rabbis, was the willing and accepted leader.

After the martyrdom of Stephen and the dispersion of the congregation

of Jerusalem, he proceeded to Damascus in suit of the fugitive

disciples of Jesus, as a commissioner of the Sanhedrin, a sort of

inquisitor-general, with full authority and determination to stamp out

the Christian rebellion, and to bring all the apostates he could find,

whether they were men or women, in chains to the holy city to be

condemned by the chief priests.

Damascus is one of the oldest cities in the world, known in the days of

Abraham, and bursts upon the traveller like a vision of paradise amidst

a burning and barren wilderness of sand; it is watered by the

never-failing rivers Abana and Pharpar (which Naaman of old preferred

to all the waters of Israel), and embosomed in luxuriant gardens of

flowers and groves of tropical fruit trees; hence glorified by Eastern

poets as "the Eye of the Desert."

But a far higher vision than this earthly paradise was in store for

Saul as he approached the city. A supernatural light from heaven,

brighter than the Syrian sun, suddenly flashed around him at midday,

and Jesus of Nazareth, whom he persecuted in his humble disciples,

appeared to him in his glory as the exalted Messiah, asking him in the

Hebrew tongue: "Sha�l, Sha�l, why persecutest thou Me? [364] It was a

question both of rebuke and of love, and it melted his heart. He fell

prostrate to the ground. He saw and heard, he trembled and obeyed, he

believed and rejoiced. As he rose from the earth he saw no man. Like a

helpless child, blinded by the dazzling light, he was led to Damascus,

and after three days of blindness and fasting he was cured and

baptized--not by Peter or James or John, but--by one of the humble

disciples whom he had come to destroy. The haughty, self-righteous,

intolerant, raging Pharisee was changed into an humble, penitent,

grateful, loving servant of Jesus. He threw away self-righteousness,

learning, influence, power, prospects, and cast in his lot with a

small, despised sect at the risk of his life. If there ever was an

honest, unselfish, radical, and effective change of conviction and

conduct, it was that of Saul of Tarsus. He became, by a creative act of

the Holy Spirit, a "new creature in Christ Jesus." [365]

We have three full accounts of this event in the Acts, one from Luke,

two from Paul himself, with slight variations in detail, which only

confirm the essential harmony. [366] Paul also alludes to it five or

six times in his Epistles. [367] In all these passages he represents

the change as an act brought about by a direct intervention of Jesus,

who revealed himself in his glory from heaven, and struck conviction

into his mind like lightning at midnight. He compares it to the

creative act of God when He commanded the light to shine out of

darkness. [368] He lays great stress on the fact that he was converted

and called to the apostolate directly by Christ, without any human

agency; that he learned his gospel of free and universal grace by

revelation, and not from the older apostles, whom he did not even see

till three years after his call. [369]

The conversion, indeed, was not a moral compulsion, but included the

responsibility of assent or dissent. God converts nobody by force or by

magic. He made man free, and acts upon him as a moral being. Paul might

have "disobeyed the heavenly vision." [370] He might have "kicked

against the goads," though it was "hard" (not impossible) to do so.

[371] These words imply some psychological preparation, some doubt and

misgiving as to his course, some moral conflict between the flesh and

the spirit, which he himself described twenty years afterwards from

personal experience, and which issues in the cry of despair: "O

wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this

death?" [372] On his journey from Jerusalem to Damascus, which takes a

full week on foot or horseback--the distance being about 140 miles--as

he was passing, in the solitude of his own thoughts, through Samaria,

Galilee, and across Mount Hermon, he had ample time for reflection, and

we may well imagine how the shining face of the martyr Stephen, as he

stood like a holy angel before the Sanhedrin, and as in the last moment

he prayed for his murderers, was haunting him like a ghost and warning

him to stop his mad career.

Yet we must not overrate this preparation or anticipate his riper

experience in the three days that intervened between his conversion and

his baptism, and during the three years of quiet meditation in Arabia.

He was no doubt longing for truth and for righteousness, but there was

a thick veil over his mental eye which could only be taken away by a

hand from without; access to his heart was barred by an iron door of

prejudice which had to be broken in by Jesus himself. On his way to

Damascus he was "yet breathing threatening and slaughter against the

disciples of the Lord," and thinking he was doing "God service;" he

was, to use his own language, "beyond measure" persecuting the church

of God and endeavoring to destroy it, "being more exceedingly zealous

for the traditions of his fathers" than many of his age, when "it

pleased God to reveal his Son in him." Moreover it is only in the light

of faith that we see the midnight darkness of our sin, and it is only

beneath the cross of Christ that we feel the whole crushing weight of

guilt and the unfathomable depth of God's redeeming love. No amount of

subjective thought and reflection could have brought about that radical

change in so short a time. It was the objective appearance of Jesus

that effected it.

This appearance implied the resurrection and the ascension, and this

was the irresistible evidence of His Messiahship, God's own seal of

approval upon the work of Jesus. And the resurrection again shed a new

light upon His death on the cross, disclosing it as an atoning

sacrifice for the sins of the world, as the means of procuring pardon

and peace consistent with the claims of divine justice. What a

revelation! That same Jesus of Nazareth whom he hated and persecuted as

a false prophet justly crucified between two robbers, stood before Saul

as the risen, ascended, and glorified Messiah! And instead of crushing

the persecutor as he deserved, He pardoned him and called him to be His

witness before Jews and Gentiles! This revelation was enough for an

orthodox Jew waiting for the hope of Israel to make him a Christian,

and enough for a Jew of such force of character to make him an earnest

and determined Christian. The logic of his intellect and the energy of

his will required that he should love and promote the new faith with

the same enthusiasm with which he had hated and persecuted it; for

hatred is but inverted love, and the intensity of love and hatred

depends on the strength of affection and the ardor of temper.

With all the suddenness and radicalness of the transformation there is

nevertheless a bond of unity between Saul the Pharisee and Paul the

Christian. It was the same person with the same end in view, but in

opposite directions. We must remember that he was not a worldly,

indifferent, cold-blooded man, but an intensely religious man. While

persecuting the church, he was "blameless" as touching the

righteousness of the law. [373] He resembled the rich youth who had

observed the commandments, yet lacked the one things needful, and of

whom Mark says that Jesus "loved him." [374] He was not converted from

infidelity to faith, but from a lower faith to a purer faith, from the

religion of Moses to the religion of Christ, from the theology of the

law to the theology of the gospel. How shall a sinner be justified

before the tribunal of a holy God? That was with him the question of

questions before as well as after his conversion; not a scholastic

question merely, but even far more a moral and religious question. For

righteousness, to the Hebrew mind, is conformity to the will of God as

expressed in his revealed law, and implies life eternal as its reward.

The honest and earnest pursuit of righteousness is the connecting link

between the two periods of Paul's life. First he labored to secure it

by works of the law, then obedience of faith. What he had sought in

vain by his fanatical zeal for the traditions of Judaism, he found

gratuitously and at once by trust in the cross of Christ: pardon and

peace with God. By the discipline of the Mosaic law as a tutor he was

led beyond its restraints and prepared for manhood and freedom. Through

the law he died to the law that he might live unto God. His old self,

with its lusts, was crucified with Christ, so that henceforth he lived

no longer himself, but Christ lived in him. [375] He was mystically

identified with his Saviour and had no separate existence from him. The

whole of Christianity, the whole of life, was summed up to him in the

one word: Christ. He determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and

Him crucified for our sins, and risen again for our justification.

[376]

His experience of justification by faith, his free pardon and

acceptance by Christ were to him the strongest stimulus to gratitude

and consecration. His great sin of persecution, like Peter's denial,

was overruled for his own good: the remembrance of it kept him humble,

guarded him against temptation, and intensified his zeal and devotion.

"I am the least of the apostles," he said in unfeigned humility that am

not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of

God. But by the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was

bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than

they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me." [377]

This confession contains, in epitome, the whole meaning of his life and

work.

The idea of justification by the free grace of God in Christ through a

living faith which makes Christ and his merits our own and leads to

consecration and holiness, is the central idea of Paul's Epistles. His

whole theology, doctrinal, ethical, and practical, lies, like a germ,

in his conversion; but it was actually developed by a sharp conflict

with Judaizing teachers who continued to trust in the law for

righteousness and salvation, and thus virtually frustrated the grace of

God and made Christ's death unnecessary and fruitless.

Although Paul broke radically with Judaism and opposed the Pharisaical

notion of legal righteousness at every step and with all his might, he

was far from opposing the Old Testament or the Jewish people. Herein he

shows his great wisdom and moderation, and his infinite superiority

over Marcion and other ultra- and pseudo-Pauline reformers. He now

expounded the Scriptures as a direct preparation for the gospel, the

law as a schoolmaster leading to Christ, Abraham as the father of the

faithful. And as to his countrymen after the flesh, he loved them more

than ever before. Filled with the amazing love of Christ who had

pardoned him, "the chief of sinners," he was ready for the greatest

possible sacrifice if thereby he might save them. His startling

language in the ninth chapter of the Romans is not rhetorical

exaggeration, but the genuine expression of that heroic self-denial and

devotion which animated Moses, and which culminated in the sacrifice of

the eternal Son of God on the cross of Calvary. [378]

Paul's conversion was at the same time his call to the apostleship, not

indeed to a place among the Twelve (for the vacancy of Judas was

filled), but to the independent apostleship of the Gentiles. [379] Then

followed an uninterrupted activity of more than a quarter of a century,

which for interest and for permanent and ever-growing usefulness has no

parallel in the annals of history, and affords an unanswerable proof of

the sincerity of his conversion and the truth of Christianity. [380]

Analogous Conversions.

God deals with men according to their peculiar character and condition.

As in Elijah's vision on Mount Horeb, God appears now in the mighty

rushing wind that uproots the trees, now in the earthquake that rends

the rocks, now in the consuming fire, now in the still small voice.

Some are suddenly converted, and can remember the place and hour;

others are gradually and imperceptibly changed in spirit and conduct;

still others grow up unconsciously in the Christian faith from the

mother's knee and the baptismal font. The stronger the will the more

force it requires to overcome the resistance, and the more thorough and

lasting is the change. Of all sudden and radical conversions that of

Saul was the most sudden and the most radical. In several respects it

stands quite alone, as the man himself and his work. Yet there are

faint analogies in history. The divines who most sympathized with his

spirit and system of doctrine, passed through a similar experience, and

were much aided by his example and writings. Among these Augustin,

Calvin, and Luther are the most conspicuous.

St. Augustin, the son of a pious mother and a heathen father, was led

astray into error and vice and wandered for years through the labyrinth

of heresy and scepticism, but his heart was restless and homesick after

God. At last, when he attained to the thirty-third year of his life

(Sept., 386), the fermentation of his soul culminated in a garden near

Milan, far away from his African home, when the Spirit of God, through

the combined agencies of the unceasing prayers of Monica, the sermons

of Ambrose, the example of St. Anthony, the study of Cicero and Plato,

of Isaiah and Paul, brought about a change not indeed as wonderful--for

no visible appearance of Christ was vouchsafed to him--but as sincere

and lasting as that of the apostle. As he was lying in the dust of

repentance and wrestling with God in prayer for deliverance, be

suddenly heard a sweet voice as from heaven, calling out again and

again: 'Take and read, take and read!" He opened the holy book and read

the exhortation of Paul: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not

provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." It was a voice

of God; he obeyed it, he completely changed his course of life, and

became the greatest and most useful teacher of his age.

Of Calvin's conversion we know very little, but he himself

characterizes it as a sudden change (subita conversio) from papal

superstition to the evangelical faith. In this respect it resembles

that of Paul rather than Augustin. He was no sceptic, no heretic, no

immoral man, but as far as we know, a pious Romanist until the brighter

life of the Reformation burst on his mind from the Holy Scriptures and

showed him a more excellent way. "Only one haven of salvation is left

for our souls," he says, "and that is the mercy of God in Christ. We

are saved by grace--not by our merits, not by our works." He consulted

not with flesh and blood, and burned the bridge after him. He renounced

all prospects of a brilliant career, and exposed himself to the danger

of persecution and death. He exhorted and strengthened the timid

Protestants of France, usually closing with the words of Paul If God be

for us, who can be against us?" He prepared in Paris a flaming address

on reform, which was ordered to be burned; he escaped from persecution

in a basket from a window, like Paul at Damascus, and wandered for two

years as a fugitive evangelist from place to place until he found his

sphere of labor in Geneva. With his conversion was born his Pauline

theology, which sprang from his brain like Minerva from the head of

Jupiter. Paul never had a more logical and theological commentator than

John Calvin. [381]

But the most Paul-like man in history is the leader of the German

Reformation, who combined in almost equal proportion depth of mind,

strength of will, tenderness of heart, and a fiery vehemence of temper,

and was the most powerful herald of evangelical freedom; though

inferior to Augustin and Calvin (not to say Paul) in self-discipline,

consistency, and symmetry of character. [382] Luther's commentary on

the Epistle to the Galatians, though not a grammatical or logical

exposition, is a fresh reproduction and republication of the Epistle

against the self-righteousness, and bondage of the papacy. Luther's

first conversion took place in his twenty-first year (1505), when, as a

student of law at Erfurt, on his return from a visit to his parents, he

was so frightened by a fearful thunder-storm and flashes of lightning

that he exclaimed: "Help, dear St. Anna, I will become a monk!" But

that conversion, although it has often been compared with that of the

apostle, had nothing to do with his Paulinism and Protestantism; it

made him a pious Catholic, it induced him to flee from the world to the

retreat of a convent for the salvation of his soul. And he became one

of the most humble, obedient, and self-denying of monks, as Paul was

one of the most earnest and zealous of Pharisees. "If ever a monk got

to heaven by monkery," says Luther, "I ought to have gotten there." But

the more he sought righteousness and peace by ascetic self denial and

penal exercises, the more painfully he felt the weight of sin and the

wrath of God, although unable to mention to his confessor any

particular transgression. The discipline of the law drove him to the

brink of despair, when by the kind interposition of Staupitz he was

directed away from himself to the cross of Christ, as the only source

of pardon and peace, and found, by implicit faith in His all-sufficient

merits, that righteousness which he had vainly sought in his own

strength. [383] This, his second conversion, as we may call it, which

occurred several years later (1508), and gradually rather than

suddenly, made him an evangelical freeman in Christ and prepared him

for the great conflict with Romanism, which began in earnest with the

nailing of the ninety-nine theses against the traffic in indulgences

(1517). The intervening years may be compared to Paul's sojourn in

Arabia and the subordinate labors preceding his first great missionary

tour.

False Explanations.

Various attempts have been made by ancient heretics and modern

rationalists to explain Paul's conversion in a purely natural way, but

they have utterly failed, and by their failure they indirectly confirm

the true view as given by the apostle himself and as held in all ages

by the Christian church. [384]

1. The Theory of Fraud.--The heretical and malignant faction of the

Judaizers was disposed to attribute Paul's conversion to selfish

motives, or to the influence of evil spirits.

The Ebionites spread the lie that Paul was of heathen parents, fell in

love with the daughter of the high priest in Jerusalem, became a

proselyte and submitted to circumcision in order to secure her, but

failing in his purpose, he took revenge and attacked the circumcision,

the sabbath, and the whole Mosaic law. [385]

In the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which represent a speculative form

of the Judaizing heresy, Paul is assailed under the disguise of Simon

Magus, the arch-heretic, who struggled antinomian heathenism into the

church. The manifestation of Christ was either a manifestation of his

wrath, or a deliberate lie. [386]

2. The Rationalistic Theory of Thunder and Lightning.--It attributes

the conversion to physical causes, namely, a violent storm and the

delirium of a burning Syrian fever, in which Paul superstitiously

mistook the thunder for the voice of God and the lightning for a

heavenly vision. [387] But the record says nothing about thunderstorm

and fever, and both combined could not produce such an effect upon any

sensible man, much less upon the history of the world. Who ever heard

the thunder speak in Hebrew or in any other articulate language? And

had not Paul and Luke eyes and ears and common sense, as well as we, to

distinguish an ordinary phenomenon of nature from a supernatural

vision?

3. The Vision-Hypothesis resolves the conversion into a natural

psychological process and into an honest self-delusion. It is the

favorite theory of modern rationalists, who scorn all other

explanations, and profess the highest respect for the intellectual and

moral purity and greatness of Paul. [388] It is certainly more rational

and creditable than the second hypothesis, because it ascribes the

mighty change not to outward and accidental phenomena which pass away,

but to internal causes. It assumes that an intellectual and moral

fermentation was going on for some time in the mind of Paul, and

resulted at last, by logical necessity, in an entire change of

conviction and conduct, without any supernatural influence, the very

possibility of which is denied as being inconsistent with the

continuity of natural development. The miracle in this case was simply

the mythical and symbolical reflection of the commanding presence of

Jesus in the thoughts of the apostle.

That Paul saw a vision, he says himself, but he meant, of course, a

real, objective, personal appearance of Christ from heaven, which was

visible to his eyes and audible to his ears, and at the same time a

revelation to his mind through the medium of the senses. [389] The

inner spiritual manifestation [390] was more important than the

external, but both combined produced conviction. The vision-theory

turns the appearance of Christ into a purely subjective imagination,

which the apostle mistook for an objective fact. [391]

It is incredible that a man of sound, clear, and keen mind as that of

Paul undoubtedly was, should have made such a radical and far reaching

blunder as to confound subjective reflections with an objective

appearance of Jesus whom he persecuted, and to ascribe solely to an act

of divine mercy what he must have known to be the result of his own

thoughts, if he thought at all.

The advocates of this theory throw the appearances of the risen Lord to

the older disciples, the later visions of Peter, Philip, and John in

the Apocalypse, into the same category of subjective illusions in the

high tide of nervous excitement and religious enthusiasm. It is

plausibly maintained that Paul was an enthusiast, fond of visions and

revelations, [392] and that he justifies a doubt concerning the

realness of the resurrection itself by putting all the appearances of

the risen Christ on the same level with his own, although several years

elapsed between those of Jerusalem and Galilee, and that on the way to

Damascus.

But this, the only possible argument for the vision-hypothesis, is

entirely untenable. When Paul says: "Last of all, as unto an untimely

offspring, Christ appeared to me also," he draws a clear line of

distinction between the personal appearances of Christ and his own

later visions, and closes the former with the one vouchsafed to him at

his conversion. [393] Once, and once only, he claims to have seen the

Lord in visible form and to have heard his voice; last, indeed, and out

of due time, yet as truly and really as the older apostles. The only

difference is that they saw the risen Saviour still abiding on earth,

while he saw the ascended Saviour coming down from heaven, as we may

expect him to appear to all men on the last day. It is the greatness of

that vision which leads him to dwell on his personal unworthiness as

"the least of the apostles and not worthy to be called an apostle,

because he persecuted the church of God." He uses the realness of

Christ's resurrection as the basis for his wonderful discussion of the

future resurrection of believers, which would lose all its force if

Christ had not actually been raised from the dead. [394]

Moreover his conversion coincided with his call to the apostleship. If

the former was a delusion, the latter must also have been a delusion.

He emphasizes his direct call to the apostleship of the Gentiles by the

personal appearance of Christ without any human intervention, in

opposition to his Judaizing adversaries who tried to undermine his

authority. [395]

The whole assumption of a long and deep inward preparation, both

intellectual and moral, for a change, is without any evidence, and

cannot set aside the fact that Paul was, according to his repeated

confession, at that time violently persecuting Christianity in its

followers. His conversion can be far less explained from antecedent

causes, surrounding circumstances, and personal motives than that of

any other disciple. While the older apostles were devoted friends of

Jesus, Paul was his enemy, bent at the very time of the great change on

an errand of cruel persecution, and therefore in a state of mind most

unlikely to give birth to a vision so fatal to his present object and

his future career. How could a fanatical persecutor of Christianity,

"breathing threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the

Lord," stultify and contradict himself by an imaginative conceit which

tended to the building up of that very religion which he was laboring

to destroy! [396]

But supposing (with Renan) that his mind was temporarily upset in the

delirium of feverish excitement, he certainly soon recovered health and

reason, and had every opportunity to correct his error; he was intimate

with the murderers of Jesus, who could have produced tangible evidence

against the resurrection if it had never occurred; and after a long

pause of quiet reflection he went to Jerusalem, spent a fortnight with

Peter, and could learn from him and from James, the brother of Christ,

their experience, and compare it with his own. Everything in this case

is against the mythical and legendary theory which requires a change of

environment and the lapse of years for the formation of poetic fancies

and fictions.

Finally, the whole life-work of Paul, from his conversion at Damascus

to his martyrdom in Rome, is the best possible argument against this

hypothesis and for the realness of his conversion, as an act of divine

grace. "By their fruits ye shall know them." How could such an

effective change proceed from an empty dream? Can an illusion change

the current of history? By joining the Christian sect Paul sacrificed

everything, at last life itself, to the service of Christ. He never

wavered in his conviction of the truth as revealed to him, and by his

faith in this revelation he has become a benediction to all ages.

The vision-hypothesis denies objective miracles, but ascribes miracles

to subjective imaginations, and makes a he more effect ive and

beneficial than the truth.

All rationalistic and natural interpretations of the conversion of Paul

turn out to be irrational and unnatural; the supernatural

interpretation of Paul himself, after all, is the most rational and

natural.

Remarkable Concessions.

Dr. Baur, the master-spirit of skeptical criticism and the founder of

the "T�bingen School," felt constrained, shortly before his death

(1860), to abandon the vision-hypothesis and to admit that "no

psychological or dialectical analysis can explore the inner mystery of

the act in which God revealed his Son in Paul (keine, weder

psychologische noch dialektische Analyse kann das innere Geheimniss des

Actes erforschen, in welchem Gott seinen Sohn in ihm enth�lte). In the

same connection he says that in, "the sudden transformation of Paul

from the most violent adversary of Christianity into its most

determined herald" he could see "nothing short of a miracle (Wunder);"

and adds that "this miracle appears all the greater when we remember

that in this revulsion of his consciousness he broke through the

barriers of Judaism and rose out of its particularism into the

universalism of Christianity." [397] This frank confession is

creditable to the head and heart of the late T�bingen critic, but is

fatal to his whole anti-supernaturalistic theory of history. Si falsus

in uno, falsus in omnibus. If we admit the miracle in one case, the

door is opened for all other miracles which rest on equally strong

evidence.

The late Dr. Keim, an independent pupil of Baur, admits at least

spiritual manifestations of the ascended Christ from heaven, and urges

in favor of the objective reality of the Christophanies as reported by

Paul, 1 Cor. 15:3 sqq., "the whole character of Paul, his sharp

understanding which was not weakened by his enthusiasm, the careful,

cautious, measured, simple form of his statement, above all the

favorable total impression of his narrative and the mighty echo of it

in the unanimous, uncontradicted faith of primitive Christendom." [398]

Dr. Schenkel, of Heidelberg, in his latest stage of development, says

that Paul, with full justice, put his Christophany on a par with the

Christophanies of the older apostles; that all these Christophanies are

not simply the result of psychological processes, but "remain in many

respects psychologically inconceivable," and point back to the historic

background of the person of Jesus; that Paul was not an ordinary

visionary, but carefully distinguished the Christophany at Damascus

from his later visions; that he retained the full possession of his

rational mind even in the moments of the highest exaltation; that his

conversion was not the sudden effect of nervous excitement, but brought

about by the influence of the divine Providence which quietly prepared

his soul for the reception of Christ; and that the appearance of Christ

vouchsafed to him was "no dream, but reality." [399]

Professor Reuss, of Strasburg, likewise an independent critic of the

liberal school, comes to the same conclusion as Baur, that the

conversion of Paul, if not an absolute miracle, is at least an unsolved

psychological problem. He says: "La conversion de Paul, apr�s tout ce

qui en a �t� dit de notre temps, reste toujours, si ce n'est un miracle

absolu, dans le sens traditionnel de ce mot (c'est-�-dire un �v�nement

qui arr�te ou change violemment le cours naturel des choses, un effet

sans autre cause que l'intervention arbitraire et imm�diate de Dieu),

du moins un probl�me psychologique aujourd'hui insoluble. L'explication

dite naturelle, qu'elle fasse intervenir un orage on qu'elle se

retranche dans le domaine des hallucinations ... ne nous donne pas la

clef de cette crise elle-m�me, qui a d�cid� la m�tamorphose du

pharisien en chr�tien " [400]

Canon Farrar says (I. 195): "One fact remains upon any hypothesis and

that is, that the conversion of St. Paul was in the highest sense of

the word a miracle, and one of which the spiritual consequences have

affected every subsequent age of the history of mankind."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[364] Acts 9:4, the Hebrew form Saoul, Saoul, is used instead of the

usual GreekSaulos, 9:8, 11, 22, 24, etc.

[365] 2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15.

[366] Acts 9, 22, 26. These accounts are by no means mere repetitions,

but modifications and adaptations of the same story to the audience

under apologetic conditions, and bring out each some interesting

feature called forth by the occasion. This has been well shown by Dean

Howson in Excursus C on Acts 26, in his and Canon Spence's Commentary

on Acts. The discrepancies of the accounts are easily reconciled. They

refer chiefly to the effect upon the companions of Paul who saw the

light, but not the person of Christ, and heard a voice, but could not

understand the words. The vision was not for them any more than the

appearance of the risen Lord was for the soldiers who watched the

grave. They were probably members of the Levitical temple guard, who

were to bind and drag the Christian prisoners to Jerusalem.

[367] Gal. 1:15, 16; 1 Cor. 15:8, 9; 9:1; 2 Cor. 4:6; Phil. 3:6; 1 Tim

1:12-14.

[368] 2 Cor. 4:6.

[369] Gal. 1:1, 11, 12, 15-18.

[370] This is implied in his words to King Agrippa, Acts 26:19.

[371] Acts 26:14. Christ said to him: skleron soi pros kentra

laktizein. This is a proverbial expression used by Greek writers of

refractory oxen in the plough when urged by a sharp-pointed instrument

of the driver. The ox may and often does resist, but by doing so he

only increases his pain. Resistance is possible, but worse than

useless.

[372] Rom. 7:7-25. This remarkable section describes the psychological

progress of the human heart to Christ from the heathen state of carnal

security, when sin is dead because unknown, through the Jewish state of

legal conflict, when sin, roused by the stimulus of the divine command,

springs into life, and the higher and nobler nature of man strives in

vain to overcome this fearful monster, until at last the free grace of

God in Christ gains the victory. Some of the profoundest

divines-Augustin, Luther, Calvin-transfer this conflict into the

regenerate state; but this is described in the eighth chapter which

ends in an exulting song of triumph.

[373] Phil 3:6, kata dikaisune ten en nomo genomenos amemptos.

[374] Mark 10:21.

[375] In his address to Peter at Antioch, Gal. 2:11-21, he gives an

account of his experience and his gospel, as contrasted with the gospel

of the Judaizers. Comp. Gal. 3:24; 5:24; 6:14; Rom. 7:6-13; Col. 2:20

[376] 1 Cor. 2:2; Gal. 6:14; Rom. 4:24, 25.

[377] 1 Cor. 15:9, 10; comp. Eph. 3:8: "Unto me who am less than the

least of all saints, was this grace given;"1 Tim. 1:15, 16: "to save

sinners of whom I am chief," etc.

[378] Rom. 9:2, 3; comp. Ex. 32:31, 32.

[379] Paul never numbers himself with the Twelve. He distinguishes

himself from the apostles of the circumcision, as the apostle of the

uncircumcision, but of equal authority with them. Gal. 2:7-9. We have

no intimation that the election of Matthias (Acts 1:26) was a mistake

of the hasty Peter; it was ratified by the outpouring of the Holy

Spirit immediately following.

[380] On the testimony of Paul to Christianity see above � 22. I will

add some good remarks of Farrar, I. 202: "It is impossible," he says,

"to exaggerate the importance of St. Paul's conversion as one of the

evidences of Christianity .... To what does he testify respecting

Jesus? To almost every single primary important fact respecting his

incarnation, life, sufferings, betrayal, last supper, trial,

crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and heavenly exaltation .... The

events on which the apostle relied in proof of Christ's divinity, had

taken place in the full blaze of contemporary knowledge. He had not to

deal with uncertainties of criticism or assaults on authenticity. He

could question, not ancient documents, but living men; he could

analyze, not fragmentary records, but existing evidence. He had

thousands of means close at hand whereby to test the reality or

unreality of the Resurrection in which, up to this time, he had so

passionately and contemptuously disbelieved. In accepting this

half-crushed and wholly execrated faith he had everything in the world

to lose-he had nothing conceivable to gain; and yet, in spite of

all-overwhelmed by a conviction he felt to be irresistible--Saul, the

Pharisee, became a witness of the resurrection, a preacher of the

cross."

[381] See my History of the Creeds of Christendom, I. 426 sqq.

[382] This is fully recognized by Renan, who, however, has little

sympathy either with the apostle or the reformer, and fancies that the

theology of both is antiquated. "That historical character," he says,

"which upon the whole bears most analogy to St. Paul, is Luther. In

both there is the same violence in language, the same passion, the same

energy, the same noble independence, the same frantic attachment to a

thesis embraced as the absolute truth." St. Paul, ch. XXII. at the

close. And his last note in this book is this: "The work which

resembles most in spirit the Epistle to the Galatians is Luther's De

Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae."

[383] For particulars of his inner conflicts during his Erfurt period,

see K�stlin's Martin Luther (1875), I. 40 sqq. and 61 sqq.

[384] Comp. the section on the Resurrection of Christ, pp. 172 sqq.

[385] Reported by Epiphanius, Haer XXX. 16 (ed. Oehler, tom. I. 268

sq.).

[386] In the Clem. Hom., XVII., ch. 19 (p. 351, ed. Dressel), Simon

Peter says to Simon Magus: "If, then, our Jesus appeared to you in a

vision (di horamatos hophtheis made himself known to you, and conversed

with you, it is as one who is enraged with an adversary (hos

antikeimeno orgizomenos). And this is the reason why it was through

visions and dreams (di horamaton kai enupnion), or through revelations

that, were from without (e kai di apokalupseon ezothen ouson) that He

spoke to you. But can any one be rendered fit for instruction through

apparitions? (di otasian) .... And how are we to believe your word,

when you tell us that He appeared to you? And how did He appear to you,

when you entertain opinions contrary to His teaching? But if you have

seen and were taught by Him, and became His apostle for a single hour,

proclaim His utterances, interpret His sayings, love His apostles,

contend not with me who companied with Him. For you stand now in direct

opposition to me, who am a firm rock, the foundation of the church

(sterean petran, themelion ekklesias, comp. Matt. 16:18). If you were

not opposed to me, you would not accuse me, and revile the truth

proclaimed by me, in order that I may not be believed when I state what

I myself have heard with my own ears from the Lord, as if I were

evidently a person that was condemned and had not stood the test

[according to the true reading restored by Lagarde, adokimou ontos

instead of eudokimountos,'in good repute']. But if you say that I am

'condemned' (ei kategnosmenon me legeis, comp. Gal. 2:11), you bring an

accusation against God, who revealed the Christ to me, and you inveigh

against Him who pronounced me blessed on account of the revelation

(Matt. 16:17). But if you really wish to be a co-worker, in the cause

of truth, learn first of all from us what we have learned from Him,

and, becoming a disciple of the truth, become a fellow-worker with me."

The allusions to Paul's Christ-vision and his collision with Peter at

Antioch are unmistakable, and form the chief argument for Baur's

identification of Simon Magus with Paul. But it is perhaps only an

incidental sneer. Simon represents all anti-Jewish heresies, as Peter

represents all truths.

[387] This theory was proposed by the so-called "vulgar" or deistic

rationalists (as distinct from the more recent speculative or

pantheistic rationalists), and has been revived and rhetorically

embellished by Renan in Les Ap�tres (ch. X., pp. 175 sqq.). "Every step

to Damascus," says the distinguished French Academicien, "excited in

Paul bitter repentance; the shameful task of the hangman was

intolerable to him; he felt as if he was kicking against the goads; the

fatigue of travel added to his depression; a malignant fever suddenly

seized him; the blood rushed to the head; the mind was filled with a

picture of midnight darkness broken by lightning flashes; it is

probable that one of those sudden storms of Mount Hermon broke out

which are unequalled for vehemence, and to the Jew the thunder was the

voice of God, the lightning the fire of God. Certain it is that by a

fearful stroke the persecutor was thrown on the ground and deprived of

his senses; in his feverish delirium he mistook the lightning for a

heavenly vision, the voice of thunder for a voice from heaven; inflamed

eyes, the beginning of ophthalmia, aided the delusion. Vehement natures

suddenly pass from one extreme to another; moments decide for the whole

life; dogmatism is the only thing which remains. So Paul changed the

object of his fanaticism; by his boldness, his energy, his

determination he saved Christianity, which otherwise would have died

like Essenism, without leaving a trace of its memory. He is the founder

of independent Protestantism. He represents le christianisme conqu�rant

et voyageur. Jesus never dreamed of such disciples; yet it is they who

will keep his work alive and secure it eternity." In this work, and

more fully in his St. Paul, Renan gives a picture of the great apostle

which is as strange a mixture of truth and error, and nearly as

incoherent and fanciful, as his romance of Jesus in the Vie de J�sus.

[388] So Strauss (Leben Jesu, � 138, in connection with the

resurrection of Christ), Baur (with much more seriousness and force, in

his Paul, P. I., ch. 3) and the whole T�bingen School, Holsten,

Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, Hausrath, and the author of

Supernatural Religion (III. 498 sqq.). Baur at last gave up the theory

as a failure (1860, see below). But Holsten revived and defended it

very elaborately and ingeniously in his essay on the Christusvision des

Paulus, in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift" for 1861. W. Beyschlag (of Halle)

very ably refuted it in an article: Die Bekehrung des Paulus mit

besonderer R�cksicht auf die Erkl�rungsversuche von Baur und Holsten,

in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1864, pp. 197-264. Then Holsten came

out with an enlarged edition of his essay in book form, Zum Evang. des

Paulus und des Petrus, 1868, with a long reply to Beyschlag. Pfleiderer

repeated the vision-theory in his Hibbert Lectures (1885). Some English

writers have also written on Paul's conversion in opposition to this

modern vision-theory, namely, R. Macpherson: The Ressurection of Jesus

Christ (against Strauss), Edinb., 1867, Lect. XIII., pp. 316-360; Geo.

P. Fisher: Supernatural Origin of Christianity, N. York, new ed. 1877,

pp. 459-470, comp. his essay on "St. Paul" in Discussions in History

and Theology, N.Y. 1880, pp. 487-511; A. B. Bruce (of Glasgow): Paul's

Conversion and the Pauline Gospel, in the "Presbyt Review" for Oct.

1880 (against Pfleiderer, whose work on Paulinism Bruce calls "an

exegetical justification and a philosophical dissipation of the

Reformed interpretation of the Pauline system of doctrine").

[389] He describes it as an ouranios optasia Acts 26:19, and says that

he saw Christ, that Christ was seen by him, 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8. So the

vision of the women at the tomb of the risen Lord is called an optasia

ton angelon, Luke 24:23. But even Peter, who was less critical than

Paul, well knew how to distinguish between an actual occurrence (an

alethos genomenon) and a merely subjective vision (a horama) Acts 12:9.

Objective visions are divine revelations through the senses; subjective

visions are hallucinations and deceptions.

[390] Gal. 1:16, apokalupsai ton huion autou en emoi, within me, in my

inmost soul and consciousness.

[391] Baur was disposed to charge this confusion upon the author of the

Acts and to claim for Paul a more correct conception of the

Christophany, as being a purely inner event or "a spiritual

manifestation of Christ to his deeper self-consciousness" (Gal. 1:16,

en emoi); but this is inconsistent with Paul's own language in 1 Cor.

9:1; 15:8. Holsten admits that, without a full conviction of the

objective, reality of the Christophany, Paul could never have come to

the conclusion that the crucified was raised to new life by the

almighty power of God. He states the case from his standpoint clearly

in these words (p. 65): "Der glaube des Paulus an Jesus als den

Christus war folge dessen, dass auch ihm Christus erschienen war, (1

Cor. 15:8).Diese vision war f�r das bewusstsein des Paulus das schauen

einer objectiv-wirklichen, himmlischen gestalt, die aus ihrer

transcendenten unsichtbarkeit sich ihm zur erscheinung gebracht habe.

Aus der wirklichkeit dieser gesehauten gestalt, in welcher er den

gekreuzigtenJesus erkannte, folgerte auch er, dass der kreuzestote zu

neuem leben von der allmacht Gottes auferweckt worden, aus der

gewissheit der auferweckung aber, dass dieser von den toten auferweckte

der sohn Gottes und der Messias sei. Wie also an der wirklichkeit der

auferweckung dem Paulus die ganze wahrheit seines evangelium h�ngt

(vgl. 1 Cor. 15, 12 f.), so ist es die, vision des auferweckten, mit

welcher ihm die wahrheit des messias-glaubens aufging, und der

umschwung seines bewusstseins sich vollendete. "Diese vision war f�r

Paulus der eingriff einer fremden transcendenten macht in sein

geistesleben. Die historische kritik aber unter der herrschaft des

gesetzes der immanenten entwicklung des menschlichen geistes aus

innerweltlichen causalit�ten muss die vision als einen immanenten,

psychogischen akt seines eigenen geistes zu begreifen suchen. Ihr liegt

damit eine ihrer schwiezigsten aufgaben vor, eine so schwierige, dass

ein meister der historischen kritik, der zugleich so tief in das wesen

des paulinischen geistes eingedrungen ist, als Baur, noch eben erkl�rt

hat, dass 'keine, weder psychologische, noch dialektische analyse das

innere geheimnis des aktes erforschen k�nne, in welchem Gott seinen

sohn dem Paulus enth�llte.'Und doch darf sich die kritik von dem

versuch, dies geheimnis zu erforschen, nicht abschrecken, lassen. Denn

diese vision ist einer der entscheidendsten punkte f�r ein

geschichtliches begreifen des urchristentums. In ihrer genesis ist der

keim des paulinischen evangelium gegeben. So lange der schein nicht

aufgehoben ist, dass die empf�ngnis dieses keims als die wirkung einer

transcendenten kraft erfolgt sei, besteht �ber dem empfangenen fort und

fort der schein des transcendenten. Und die kritik am wenigsten darf

sich damit beruhigen, dass eine transcendenz, eine objectivit�t, wie

sie von ihren gegnern f�r diese vision gefordert wird, von der

selbstgewissheit des modernen geistes verworfen sei. Denn diese

selbstgewissheit kann ihre wahrheit nur behaupten, solange und soweit

ihre kategorieen als das gesetz der wirklichkeit nachgewiesen sind."Dr.

Pfleiderer moves in the same line with Holsten, and eliminates the

supernatural, but it is due to him to say that he admits the purely

hypothetical character of this speculative theory, and lays great

stress on the moral as well as the logical and dialectical process in

Paul's mind, "Darum war,"he says (Paulinismus, p. 16)."der Prozess der

Bekehrung nichts weniger, als eine kalte Denkoperation; es war vielmehr

der tiefsittliche Gehorsamsakt eines zarten Gewissens gegen die sich

unwiderstehlich aufdr�ngende h�here Wahrheit (daher ihm auch der Glaube

eine hupakoeist), ein Akt grossartiger Selbstverleugnung, der Hingabe

des alten Menschen und seiner ganzen religi�sen Welt in den Tod, um

fortan keinen Ruhm, ja kein Leben mehr zu haben, als in Christo, dem

Gekreuzigten. Das ist ja der Grundton, den wir aus allen Briefen des

Apostels heraust�nen h�ren, wo immer er sein pers�nliches Verh�ltniss

zum Kreuz Christi schildert; es ist nie bloss ein Verh�ltniss

objectiver Theorie, sondern immer zugleich und wesentlich das der

subjectiven Verbundenheit des innersten Gem�ths mit dem Gekreuzigten,

eine mystische Gemeinschaft mit dem Kreuzestod und mit dem

Auferstehungsleben Christi."

[392] Comp. 2 Cor. 12:2; Acts 18:9; 22:17. Some of these modern critics

suppose that he was epileptic, like Mohammed and Swedenborg, and

therefore all the more open to imaginary visions.

[393] 1 Cor. 15:8: eschaton de panton, hosperei to ektromati, ophthe

kamoi. Meyer justly remarks in loc.: eschatonschliesst die Reihe

leibhaftiger Erscheinungen ab, und scheidet damit diese von sp�teren

vision�ren oder sonst apokalyptischen."Similarly Godet (Com. sur

l'�pitre aux Romains, 1879, I. 17) "Paul cl�t l'�numeration des

apparitions de J�sus ressuscit� aux ap�tres par celle qui lui a �t�

accord�e � lui-m�me; il lui attribue donc la m�me r�alit� qu'�

celles-l�, et il la distingue ainsi d'une mani�re tranch�e de toutes

les visions dont il fut plus tard honor� et que mentionnent le livre

des Actes, et les �pitres."

[394] 1 Cor 15:12 sqq. Dean Stanley compares this discussion to the

Phaedo of Plato and the Tusculan Disputations of Cicero, but it is far

more profound and assuring. Heathen philosophy can at best prove only

the possibility and probability, but not the certainty, of a future

life. Moreover the idea of immortality has no comfort, but terror

rather, except for those who believe in Christ, who is "the

Resurrection and the Life."

[395] Gal. 1:16; 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8; Acts 22:10, 14.

[396] Acts 9:2; comp. Gal. 1:13; 1 Cor. 15:9; Phil. 3:6; 1 Tim. 1:13

[397] See Baur's Church History of the First Three Centuries, T�bingen,

2d ed. p. 45; English translation by Allan Menzies, London, 1878, vol.

I. 47.

[398] Geschichte Jesu von Nazara. Z�rich, 1872, vol. III. 532.

[399] Das Christusbild der Apostel. Leipzig, 1879, pp. 57 sq.

[400] Les �pitres pauliniennes. Paris, 1878, vol. I. p. 11.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 32. The Work of Paul.

"He who can part from country and from kin,

And scorn delights, and tread the thorny way,

A heavenly crown, through toil and pain, to win--

He who reviled can tender love repay,

And buffeted, for bitter foes can pray--

He who, upspringing at his Captain's call,

Fights the good fight, and when at last the day

Of fiery trial comes, can nobly fall--

Such were a saint--or more--and such the holy Paul!"

--Anon.

The conversion of Paul was a great intellectual and moral revolution,

yet without destroying his identity. His noble gifts and attainments

remained, but were purged of Selfish motives, inspired by a new

principle, and consecrated to a divine end. The love of Christ who

saved him, was now his all-absorbing passion, and no sacrifice was too

great to manifest his gratitude to Him. The architect of ruin became an

architect of the temple of God. The same vigor, depth and acuteness of

mind, but illuminated by the Holy Spirit; the same strong temper and

burning zeal, but cleansed, subdued and controlled by wisdom and

moderation; the same energy and boldness, but coupled with gentleness

and meekness; and, added to all this, as crowning gifts of grace, a

love and humility, a tenderness and delicacy of feeling such as are

rarely, if ever, found in a character so proud, manly and heroic. The

little Epistle to Philemon reveals a perfect Christian gentleman, a

nobleman of nature, doubly ennobled by grace. The thirteenth chapter of

the first Epistle to the Corinthians could only be conceived by a mind

that had ascended on the mystic ladder of faith to the throbbing heart

of the God of love; yet without inspiration even Paul could not have

penned that seraphic description of the virtue which beareth all

things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things,

which never faileth, but will last for ever the greatest in the triad

of celestial graces: faith, hope, love.

Saul converted became at once Paul the missionary. Being saved himself,

he made it his life-work to save others. "Straight way" he proclaimed

Christ in the synagogues, and confounded the Jews of Damascus, proving

that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God. [401] But this

was only a preparatory testimony in the fervor of the first love. The

appearance of Christ, and the travails of his soul during the three

days and nights of prayer and fasting, when he experienced nothing less

than a spiritual death and a spiritual resurrection, had so shaken his

physical and mental frame that he felt the need of protracted repose

away from the noise and turmoil of the world. Besides there must have

been great danger threatening his life as soon as the astounding news

of his conversion became known at Jerusalem. He therefore went to the

desert of Arabia and spent there three years, [402] not in missionary

labor (as Chrysostom thought), but chiefly in prayer, meditation and

the study of the Hebrew Scriptures in the light of their fulfilment

through the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth. This retreat took the

place of the three years' preparation of the Twelve in the school of

Christ. Possibly he may have gone as far as Mount Sinai, among the wild

children of Hagar and Ishmael. [403] On that pulpit of the great

lawgiver of Israel, and in view of the surrounding panorama of death

and desolation which reflects the terrible majesty of Jehovah, as no

other spot on earth, he could listen with Elijah to the thunder and

earthquake, and the still small voice, and could study the contrast

between the killing letter and the life-giving spirit, between the

ministration of death and the ministration of righteousness. [404] The

desert, like the ocean, has its grandeur and sublimity, and leaves the

meditating mind alone with God and eternity.

"Paul was a unique man for a unique task." [405] His task was twofold:

practical and theoretical. He preached the gospel of free and universal

grace from Damascus to Rome, and secured its triumph in the Roman

empire, which means the civilized world of that age. At the same time

he built up the church from within by the exposition and defence of the

gospel in his Epistles. He descended to the humblest details of

ecclesiastical administration and discipline, and mounted to the

sublimest heights of theological speculation. Here we have only to do

with his missionary activity; leaving his theoretical work to be

considered in another chapter.

Let us first glance at his missionary spirit and policy.

His inspiring motive was love to Christ and to his fellow-men. "The

love of Christ," he says, "constraineth us; because we thus judge, that

one died for all, therefore all died: and He died for all that they who

live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their

sakes died and rose again." He regarded himself as a bondman and

ambassador of Christ, entreating men to be reconciled to God. Animated

by this spirit, he became "as a Jew to the Jews, as a Gentile to the

Gentiles, all things to all men that by all means he might save some."

He made Antioch, the capital of Syria and the mother church of Gentile

Christendom, his point of departure for, and return from, his

missionary journeys, and at the same time he kept up his connection

with Jerusalem, the mother church of Jewish Christendom. Although an

independent apostle of Christ, he accepted a solemn commission from

Antioch for his first great missionary tour. He followed the current of

history, commerce, and civilization, from East to West, from Asia to

Europe, from Syria to Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and perhaps as far as

Spain. [406] In the larger and more influential cities, Antioch,

Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, he resided a considerable time. From these

salient points he sent the gospel by his pupils and fellow-laborers

into the surrounding towns and villages. But he always avoided

collision with other apostles, and sought new fields of labor where

Christ was not known before, that he might not build on any other man's

foundation. This is true independence and missionary courtesy, which is

so often, alas! violated by missionary societies inspired by sectarian

rather than Christian zeal.

His chief mission was to the Gentiles, without excluding the Jews,

according to the message of Christ delivered through Ananias: "Thou

shalt bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of

Israel." Considering that the Jews had a prior claim in time to the

gospel, [407] and that the synagogues in heathen cities were pioneer

stations for Christian missions, he very naturally addressed himself

first to the Jews and proselytes, taking up the regular lessons of the

Old Testament Scriptures, and demonstrating their fulfilment in Jesus

of Nazareth. But almost uniformly he found the half-Jews, or

"proselytes of the gate," more open to the gospel than his own

brethren; they were honest and earnest seekers of the true religion,

and formed the natural bridge to the pure heathen, and the nucleus of

his congregations, which were generally composed of converts from both

religions.

In noble self-denial he earned his subsistence with his own hands, as a

tent-maker, that he might not be burthensome to his congregations

(mostly belonging to the lower classes), that he might preserve his

independence, stop the mouths of his enemies, and testify his gratitude

to the infinite mercy of the Lord, who had called him from his

headlong, fanatical career of persecution to the office of an apostle

of free grace. He never collected money for himself, but for the poor

Jewish Christians in Palestine. Only as an exception did he receive

gifts from his converts at Philippi, who were peculiarly dear to him.

Yet he repeatedly enjoins upon the churches to care for the liberal

temporal support of their teachers who break to them the bread of

eternal life. The Saviour of the world a carpenter! the greatest

preacher of the gospel a tent-maker!

Of the innumerable difficulties, dangers, and sufferings which he

encountered with Jews, heathens, and false brethren, we can hardly form

an adequate idea; for the book of Acts is only a summary record. He

supplements it incidentally. "Of the Jews five times received I forty

stripes save one. Three times was I beaten with rods, once was I

stoned, three times I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been

in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of

robbers, in perils from my countrymen, in perils from the heathen, in

perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea,

in perils among false brethren: in labor and toil, in watchings often,

in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides

those things that are without, there is that which presseth upon me

daily, the anxious care for all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not

weak? Who is offended, and I burn not?" [408] Thus he wrote reluctantly

to the Corinthians, in self-vindication against his calumniators, in

the year 57, before his longest and hardest trial in the prisons of

Caesarea and Rome, and at least seven years before his martyrdom. He

was "pressed on every side, yet not straitened; perplexed, yet not in

despair; pursued, yet not forsaken; smitten down, yet not destroyed."

[409] His whole public career was a continuous warfare. He represents

the church militant, or "marching and conquering Christianity." He was

"unus versus mundum," in a far higher sense than this has been said of

Athanasius the Great when confronted with the Arian heresy and the

imperial heathenism of Julian the Apostate.

Yet he was never unhappy, but full of joy and peace. He exhorted the

Philippians from his prison in Rome: "Rejoice in the Lord alway; again

I will say, Rejoice." In all his conflicts with foes from without and

foes from within Paul was "more than conqueror" through the grace of

God which was sufficient for him. "For I am persuaded," he writes to

the Romans in the strain of a sublime ode of triumph, "that neither

death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present,

nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other

creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in

Christ Jesus our Lord." [410] And his dying word is an assurance of

victory: "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I

have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of

righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at

that day: and not only to me, but also to all them that have loved his

appearing." [411]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[401] The eutheosof Acts 9:20 compels us to put this short testimony

during the few days (hemeras tinas) which he spent with the disciples

at Damascus, before his departure to Arabia. About three years

afterwards (or after "many days,"hemerai hikanai, were fulfilled, Acts

9:23), he returned to Damascus to renew his testimony (Gal. 1:17).

[402] Gal. 1:17, 18. In the Acts (9:23) this journey is ignored because

it belonged not to the public, but private and inner life of Paul.

[403] Comp. Gal. 4:25, where "Arabia" means the Sinaitic Peninsula.

[404] 2 Cor. 3:6-9.

[405] Thus Godet sums up his life (Romans, Introd. I. 59). He thinks

that Paul was neither the substitute of Judas, nor of James the son of

Zebedee, but a substitute for a converted Israel, the man who had,

single-handed, to execute the task which properly fell to his whole

nation; and hence the hour of his call was precisely that when the

blood of the two martyrs, Stephen and James, sealed the hardening of

Israel and decided its rejection.

[406] "Westward the course of empire takes its way." This famous line

of Bishop Berkeley, the philosopher, express a general law of history

both civil and religious. Clement of Rome says that Paul came on his

missionary tour "to the extreme west" (epi to terma tes duseos), which

means either Rome or Spain, whither the apostle intended to go (Rom.

15:24, 28). Some English historians (Ussher, Stillingfleet, etc.) would

extend Paul's travels to Gaul and Britain, but of this there is no

trace either in the New Test., or in the early tradition. See below.

[407] Rom. 1:16, "to the Jews first," not on the ground of a superior

merit (the Jews, as a people, were most unworthy and ungrateful), but

on the ground of God's promise and the historical order (Rom. 15:8).

[408] 2 Cor. 11:24-29.

[409] 2 Cor. 4:8, 9.

[410] Rom. 8:31-39.

[411] 2 Tim. 4:6-8. We may add here the somewhat panegyric passage of

Clement of Rome, who apparently exalts Paul above Peter, Ep. ad

Corinth. c. 5: "Let as set before our eyes the good Apostles. Peter,

who on account of unrighteous jealousy endured not one or two, but many

toils, and thus having borne his testimony (marturesas, or, suffered

martyrdom), went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy

and strife Paul by his example pointed out the price of patient

endurance. After having been seven times in bonds, driven into exile,

stoned, and after having preached in the East and in the West, he won

the noble reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the

whole world and having reached the boundary of the West; and when he

had borne his testimony before the magistrates, he departed from the

world and went unto the holy place, having become the greatest example

of patient endurance."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 33. Paul's Missionary Labors.

The public life of Paul, from the third year after his conversion to

his martyrdom, a.d. 40-64, embraces a quarter of a century, three great

missionary campaigns with minor expeditions, five visits to Jerusalem,

and at least four years of captivity in Caesarea and Rome. Some extend

it to a.d. 67 or 68. It may be divided into five or six periods, as

follows:

1. a.d. 40-44. The period of preparatory labors in Syria and his native

Cilicia, partly alone, partly in connection with Barnabas, his senior

fellow-apostle among the Gentiles.

On his return from the Arabian retreat Paul began his public ministry

in earnest at Damascus, preaching Christ on the very spot where he had

been converted and called. His testimony enraged the Jews, who stirred

up the deputy of the king of Arabia against him, but he was saved for

future usefulness and let down by the brethren in a basket through a

window in the wall of the city. [412] Three years after his conversion

he went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter and spent a

fortnight with him. Besides him he saw James the brother of the Lord.

Barnabas introduced him to the disciples, who at first were afraid of

him, but when they heard of his marvellous conversion they "glorified

God" that their persecutor was now preaching the faith he had once been

laboring to destroy. [413] He did not come to learn the gospel, having

received it already by revelation, nor to be confirmed or ordained,

having been called "not from men, or through man, but through Jesus

Christ." Yet his interview with Peter and James, though barely

mentioned, must have been fraught with the deepest interest. Peter,

kind-hearted and generous as he was, would naturally receive him with

joy and thanksgiving. He had himself once denied the Lord--not

malignantly but from weakness--as Paul had persecuted the

disciples--ignorantly in unbelief. Both had been mercifully pardoned,

both had seen the Lord, both were called to the highest dignity, both

could say from the bottom of the heart: "Lord thou knowest all things;

thou knowest that I love thee." No doubt they would exchange their

experiences and confirm each other in their common faith.

It was probably on this visit that Paul received in a vision in the

temple the express command of the Lord to go quickly unto the Gentiles.

[414] Had he stayed longer at the seat of the Sanhedrin, he would

undoubtedly have met the fate of the martyr Stephen.

He visited Jerusalem a second time during the famine under Claudius, in

the year 44, accompanied by Barnabas, on a benevolent mission, bearing

a collection of the Christians at Antioch for the relief of the

brethren in Judaea. [415] On that occasion he probably saw none of the

apostles on account of the persecution in which James was beheaded, and

Peter imprisoned.

The greater part of these four years was spent in missionary work at

Tarsus and Antioch.

2. a.d. 45-50. First missionary journey. In the year 45 Paul entered

upon the first great missionary journey, in company with Barnabas and

Mark, by the direction of the Holy Spirit through the prophets of the

congregation at Antioch. He traversed the island of Cyprus and several

provinces of Asia Minor. The conversion of the Roman proconsul, Sergius

Paulus, at Paphos; the rebuke and punishment of the Jewish sorcerer,

Elymas; the marked success of the gospel in Pisidia, and the bitter

opposition of the unbelieving Jews; the miraculous healing of a cripple

at Lystra; the idolatrous worship there offered to Paul and Barnabas by

the superstitious heathen, and its sudden change into hatred against

them as enemies of the gods; the stoning of the missionaries, their

escape from death, and their successful return to Antioch, are the

leading incidents of this tour, which is fully described in Acts 13 and

14.

This period closes with the important apostolic conference at

Jerusalem, a.d. 50, which will require separate consideration in the

next section.

3. From a.d. 51-54. Second missionary journey. After the council at

Jerusalem and the temporary adjustment of the difference between the

Jewish and Gentile branches of the church, Paul undertook, in the year

51, a second great journey, which decided the Christianization of

Greece. He took Silas for his companion. Having first visited his old

churches, he proceeded, with the help of Silas and the young convert,

Timothy, to establish new ones through the provinces of Phrygia and

Galatia, where, notwithstanding his bodily infirmity, he was received

with open arms like an angel of God.

From Troas, a few miles south of the Homeric Troy and the entrance to

the Hellespont, he crossed over to Greece in answer to the Macedonian

cry: "Come over and help us!" He preached the gospel with great

success, first in Philippi, where he converted the purple dealer,

Lydia, and the jailor, and was imprisoned with Silas, but miraculously

delivered and honorably released; then in Thessalonica, where he was

persecuted by the Jews, but left a flourishing church; in Beraea, where

the converts showed exemplary zeal in searching the Scriptures. In

Athens, the metropolis of classical literature, he reasoned with Stoic

and Epicurean philosophers, and unveiled to them on Mars' Hill

(Areopagus), with consummate tact and wisdom, though without much

immediate success, the "unknown God," to whom the Athenians, in their

superstitious anxiety to do justice to all possible divinities, had

unconsciously erected an altar, and Jesus Christ, through whom God will

judge the world in righteousness. [416] In Corinth, the commercial

bridge between the East and the West, a flourishing centre of wealth

and culture, but also a sink of vice and corruption, the apostle spent

eighteen months, and under almost insurmountable difficulties he built

up a church, which exhibited all the virtues and all the faults of the

Grecian character under the influence of the gospel, and which he

honored with two of his most important Epistles. [417]

In the spring of 54 he returned by way of Ephesus, Caesarea, and

Jerusalem to Antioch.

During this period he composed the two Epistles to the Thessalonians,

which are the earliest of his literary remains excepting his missionary

addresses preserved in the Acts.

4. a.d. 54-58. Third missionary tour. Towards the close of the year 54

Paul went to Ephesus, and in this renowned capital of proconsular Asia

and of the worship of Diana, he fixed for three years the centre of his

missionary work. He then revisited his churches in Macedonia and

Achaia, and remained three months more in Corinth and the vicinity.

During this period he wrote the great doctrinal Epistles to the

Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, which mark the height of his

activity and usefulness.

5. a.d. 58-63. The period of his two imprisonments, with the

intervening winter voyage from Caesarea to Rome. In the spring of 58 he

journeyed, for the fifth and last time, to Jerusalem, by way of

Philippi, Troas, Miletus (where he delivered his affecting valedictory

to the Ephesian presbyter-bishops), Tyre, and Caesarea, to carry again

to the poor brethren in Judaea a contribution from the Christians of

Greece, and by this token of gratitude and love to cement the two

branches of the apostolic church more firmly together.

But some fanatical Jews, who bitterly bated him as an apostate and a

seducer of the people, raised an uproar against him at Pentecost;

charged him with profaning the temple, because he had taken into it an

uncircumcised Greek, Trophimus; dragged him out of the sanctuary, lest

they should defile it with blood, and would undoubtedly have killed him

had not Claudius Lysias, the Roman tribune, who lived near by, come

promptly with his soldiers to the spot. This officer rescued Paul, out

of respect for his Roman citizenship, from the fury of the mob, set him

the next day before the Sanhedrin, and after a tumultuous and fruitless

session of the council, and the discovery of a plot against his life,

sent him, with a strong military guard and a certificate of innocence,

to the procurator Felix in Caesarea.

Here the apostle was confined two whole years (58-60), awaiting his

trial before the Sanhedrin, uncondemned, occasionally speaking before

Felix, apparently treated with comparative mildness, visited by the

Christians, and in some way not known to us promoting the kingdom of

God. [418]

After the accession of the new and better procurator, Festus, who is

known to have succeeded Felix in the year 60, Paul, as a Roman citizen,

appealed to the tribunal of Caesar and thus opened the way to the

fulfilment of his long-cherished desire to preach the Saviour of the

world in the metropolis of the world. Having once more testified his

innocence, and spoken for Christ in a masterly defence before Festus,

King Herod Agrippa II. (the last of the Herods), his sister Bernice,

and the most distinguished men of Caesarea, he was sent in the autumn

of the year 60 to the emperor. He had a stormy voyage and suffered

shipwreck, which detained him over winter at Malta. The voyage is

described with singular minuteness and nautical accuracy by Luke as an

eye-witness. In the month of March of the year 61, the apostle, with a

few faithful companions, reached Rome, a prisoner of Christ, and yet

freer and mightier than the emperor on the throne. It was the seventh

year of Nero's reign, when he had already shown his infamous character

by the murder of Agrippina, his mother, in the previous year, and other

acts of cruelty.

In Rome Paul spent at least two years till the spring of 63, in easy

confinement, awaiting the decision of his case, and surrounded by

friends and fellow-laborers "in his own hired dwelling." He preached

the gospel to the soldiers of the imperial body-guard, who attended

him; sent letters and messages to his distant churches in Asia Minor

and Greece; watched over all their spiritual affairs, and completed in

bonds his apostolic fidelity to the Lord and his church. [419]

In the Roman prison he wrote the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians,

Philippians, and Philemon.

6. a.d. 63 and 64. With the second year of Paul's imprisonment in Rome

the account of Luke breaks off, rather abruptly, yet appropriately and

grandly. Paul's arrival in Rome secured the triumph of Christianity. In

this sense it was true, "Roma locuta est, causa finita est." And he who

spoke at Rome is not dead; he is still "preaching (everywhere) the

kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus

Christ, with all boldness, none forbidding him." [420]

But what became of him after the termination of those two years in the

spring of 63? What was the result of the trial so long delayed? Was he

condemned to death? or was he released by Nero's tribunal, and thus

permitted to labor for another season? This question is still unsettled

among scholars. A vague tradition says that Paul was acquitted of the

charge of the Sanhedrin, and after travelling again in the East,

perhaps also into Spain, was a second time imprisoned in Rome and

condemned to death. The assumption of a second Roman captivity relieves

certain difficulties in the Pastoral Epistles; for they seem to require

a short period of freedom between the first and a second Roman

captivity, and a visit to the East, [421] which is not recorded in the

Acts, but which the apostle contemplated in case of his release. [422]

A visit to Spain, which he intended, is possible, though less probable.

[423] If he was set at liberty, it must have been before the terrible

persecution in July, 64, which would not have spared the great leader

of the Christian sect. It is a remarkable coincidence that just about

the close of the second year of Paul's confinement, the celebrated

Jewish historian, Josephus, then in his 27th year, came to Rome (after

a tempestuous voyage and shipwreck), and effected through the influence

of Poppaea (the wife of Nero and a half proselyte of Judaism) the

release of certain Jewish priests who had been sent to Rome by Felix as

prisoners. [424] It is not impossible that Paul may have reaped the

benefit of a general release of Jewish prisoners.

The martyrdom of Paul under Nero is established by the unanimous

testimony of antiquity. As a Roman citizen, he was not crucified, like

Peter, but put to death by the sword. [425] The scene of his martyrdom

is laid by tradition about three miles from Rome, near the Ostian way,

on a green spot, formerly called Aquae Salviae, afterwards Tre Fontane,

from the three fountains which are said to have miraculously gushed

forth from the blood of the apostolic martyr. His relics were

ultimately removed to the basilica of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, built by

Theodosius and Valentinian in 388, and recently reconstructed. He lies

outside of Rome, Peter inside. His memory is celebrated, together with

that of Peter, on the 29th and 30th of June. [426] As to the year of

his death, the views vary from a.d. 64 to 69. The difference of the

place and manner of his martyrdom suggests that he was condemned by a

regular judicial trial, either shortly before, or more probably a year

or two after the horrible wholesale massacre of Christians on the

Vatican hill, in which his Roman citizenship would not have been

regarded. If he was released in the spring of 63, he had a year and a

half for another visit to the East and to Spain before the outbreak of

the Neronian persecution (after July, 64); but tradition favors a later

date. Prudentius separates the martyrdom of Peter from that of Paul by

one year. After that persecution the Christians were everywhere exposed

to danger. [427]

Assuming the release of Paul and another visit to the East, we must

locate the First Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus between

the first and second Roman captivity, and the Second Epistle to Timothy

in the second captivity. The last was evidently written in the certain

view of approaching martyrdom; it is the affectionate farewell of the

aged apostle to his beloved Timothy, and his last will and testament to

the militant church below in the bright prospect of the unfading crown

in the church triumphant above. [428]

Thus ended the earthly course of this great teacher of nations, this

apostle of victorious faith, of evangelical freedom, of Christian

progress. It was the heroic career of a spiritual conqueror of immortal

souls for Christ, converting them from the service of sin and Satan to

the service of the living God, from the bondage of the law to the

freedom of the gospel, and leading them to the fountain of life

eternal. He labored more abundantly than all the other apostles; and

yet, in sincere humility, he considered himself "the least of the

apostles," and "not meet to be called an apostle," because he

persecuted the church of God; a few years later he confessed: "I am

less than the least of all saints," and shortly before his death: "I am

the chief of sinners." [429] His humility grew as he experienced God's

mercy and ripened for heaven. Paul passed a stranger and pilgrim

through this world, hardly observed by the mighty and the wise of his

age. And yet how infinitely more noble, beneficial, and enduring was

his life and work than the dazzling march of military conquerors, who,

prompted by ambitions absorbed millions of treasure and myriads of

lives, only to die at last in a drunken fit at Babylon, or of a broken

heart on the rocks of St. Helena! Their empires have long since

crumbled into dust, but St. Paul still remains one of the foremost

benefactors of the human race, and the pulses of his mighty heart are

beating with stronger force than ever throughout the Christian world.

Note on the Second Roman Captivity of Paul.

The question of a second Roman captivity of Paul is a purely historical

and critical problem, and has no doctrinal or ethical bearing, except

that it facilitates the defence of the genuineness of the Pastoral

Epistles. The best scholars are still divided on the subject. Neander,

Gieseler, Bleek, Ewald, Lange, Sabatier, Godet, also Renan (Saint Paul,

p. 560, and L'Antechrist, p. 106), and nearly all English biographers

and commentators, as Alford, Wordsworth, Howson, Lewin, Farrar,

Plumptre, Ellicott, Lightfoot, defend the second captivity, and thus

prolong the labors of Paul for a few years. On the other hand not only

radical and skeptical critics, as Baur, Zeller, Schenkel, Reuss,

Holtzmann, and all who reject the Pastoral Epistles (except Renan), but

also conservative exegetes and historians, as Niedner, Thiersch, Meyer,

Wieseler, Ebrard, Otto, Beck, Pressens�, deny the second captivity. I

have discussed the problem at length in my Hist. of the Apost. Church,

� 87, pp. 328-347, and spin in my annotations to Lange on Romans, pp.

10-12. I will restate the chief arguments in favor of a second

captivity, partly in rectification of my former opinion.

1. The main argument are the Pastoral Epistles, if genuine, as I hold

them to be, notwithstanding all the objections of the opponents from De

Wette (1826) and Baur (1835) to Renan (1873) and Holtzmann (1880). It

is, indeed, not impossible to assign them to any known period in Paul's

life before his captivity, as during his three years' sojourn in

Ephesus (54-57), or his eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth (52-53),

but it is very difficult to do so. The Epistles presuppose journeys of

the apostle not mentioned in Acts, and belong apparently to an advanced

period in his life, as well as in the history of truth and error in the

apostolic church.

2. The release of Timothy from a captivity in Italy, probably in Rome,

to which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews 13:23 alludes, may

have some connection with the release of Paul, who had probably a share

in the inspiration, if not in the composition, of that remarkable

production.

3. The oldest post-apostolic witness is Clement of Rome, who wrote

about 95:, Paul ... having come to the limit of the West (epi to terma

tes duseos elthon) and borne witness before the magistrates (marturesas

epi ton hegoumenon, which others translate, "having suffered martyrdom

under the rulers"), departed from the world and went to the holy place,

having furnished the sublimest model of endurance" (Ad Corinth. c. 5).

Considering that Clement wrote in Rome, the most natural interpretation

of terma tes duseos, "the extreme west," is Spain or Britain; and as

Paul intended to carry the gospel to Spain, one would first think of

that country, which was in constant commercial intercourse with Rome,

and had produced distinguished statesmen and writers like Seneca and

Lucan. Strabo (II. 1) calls the pillars of Hercules perata tes

oikoumenes; and Velleius Paterc. calls Spain "extremus nostri orbis

terminus." See Lightfoot, St. Clement, p. 50. But the inference is

weakened by the absence of any trace or tradition of Paul's visit to

Spain. [430] Still less can he have suffered martyrdom there, as the

logical order of the words would imply. And as Clement wrote to the

Corinthians, he may, from their geographical standpoint, have called

the Roman capital the end of the West. At all events the passage is

rhetorical (it speaks of seven imprisonments, heptakis desma phoresas),

and proves nothing for further labors in the East. [431]

4. An incomplete passage in the fragmentary Muratorian canon (about

a.d. 170): "Sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis

..." seems to imply a journey of Paul to Spain, which Luke has omitted;

but this is merely a conjecture, as the verb has to be supplied. Comp.,

however, Westcott, The Canon of the N. Test., p. 189, and Append. C.,

p. 467, and Renan, L'Antechrist, p. 106 sq.

5. Eusebius (d. 310) first clearly asserts that "there is a tradition

(logos echei) that the apostle, after his defence, again set forth to

the ministry of his preaching and having entered a second time the same

city [Rome], was perfected by his martyrdom before him [Nero]." Hist.

Eccl. II. 22 (comp. ch. 25). But the force of this testimony is

weakened first by its late date; secondly, by the vague expression

logos echei, "it is said," and the absence of any reference to older

authorities (usually quoted by Eusebius); thirdly, by his

misunderstanding of 2 Tim. 4:16, 17, which he explains in the same

connection of a deliverance from the first imprisonment (as if

apologiawere identical with aichmalosia); and lastly by his

chronological mistake as to the time of the first imprisonment which,

in his "Chronicle," he misdates a.d. 58, that is, three years before

the actual arrival of Paul in Rome. On the other hand he puts the

conflagration of Rome two years too late, a.d. 66, instead of 64, and

the Neronian persecution, and the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, in the

year 70.

6. Jerome (d. 419): "Paul was dismissed by Nero that he might preach

Christ's gospel also in the regions of the West (in Occidentis quoque

partibus). De Vir. ill. sub Paulus. This echoes the terma tes duseosof

Clement. Chrysostom (d. 407), Theodoret, and other fathers assert that

Paul went to Spain (Rom. 15:28), but without adducing any proof.

These post-apostolic testimonies, taken together, make it very

probable, but not historically certain, that Paul was released after

the spring of 63, and enjoyed an Indian summer of missionary work

before his Martyrdom. The only remaining monuments, as well as the best

proof, of this concluding work are the Pastoral Epistles, if we admit

them to be genuine. To my mind the historical difficulties of the

Pastoral Epistles are an argument for rather than against their Pauline

origin. For why should a forger invent difficulties when he might so

easily have fitted his fictions in the frame of the situation known

from the Acts and the other Pauline Epistles? The linguistic and other

objections are by no means insurmountable, and are overborne by the

evidence of the Pauline spirit which animates these last productions of

his pen.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[412] Acts 9:23-25; comp. 2 Cor. 11:32, 33. The window of escape is

still shown in Damascus, as is also the street called Straight, the

house of Judas, and the house of Ananias. But these local traditions

are uncertain.

[413] Gal. 1:18-24; Comp. Acts 9:26, 27.

[414] Acts 22:17-21. It is remarkable that in his prayer he confessed

his sin against "Stephen the martyr;" thus making public reparation for

a public sin in the city where it was committed.

[415] Acts 11:28-30; 12:25.

[416] "Paul left Athens," says Farrar (I. 550 sq.), "a despised and

lonely man. And yet his visit was not in vain .... He founded no church

at Athens, but there-it may be under the fostering charge of the

converted Areopagite-a church grew up. In the next century it furnished

to the cause of Christianity its martyr bishops and its eloquent

apologists (Publius, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras). In the third

century it flourished in peace and purity. In the fourth century it was

represented at Nicaea, and the noble rhetoric of the two great

Christian friends, St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus, was trained

in its Christian schools. Nor were many centuries to elapse ere, unable

to confront the pierced hands which held a wooden cross, its myriads of

deities had fled into the dimness of outworn creeds, and its tutelary

goddess, in spite of the flashing eyes which Homer had commemorated,

and the mighty spear which had been moulded out of the trophies of

Marathon, resigned her maiden chamber to the honour of that meek

Galilaean maiden who had lived under the roof of the carpenter at

Nazareth-the virgin mother of the Lord." Yet Athens was one of the last

cities in the Roman empire which abandoned idolatry, and it never took

a prominent position in church history. Its religion was the worship of

ancient Greek genius rather than that of Christ. "Il est been moins

disciple de J�sus et de saint Paul que de Plutarque et de Julien," says

Renan, St. Paul, p. 208. His chapter on Paul in Athens is very

interesting.

[417] In Corinth Paul wrote that fearful, yet truthful description of

pagan depravity in Rom. 1:18 sqq. The city was proverbially corrupt, so

that korinthiazomai means to practise whoredom, and korinthiastes, a

whoremonger. The great temple of Venus on the acropolis had more than a

thousand courtezans devoted to the service of lust. With good reason

Bengel calls a church of God in Corinth a "laetum et ingens paradoxon

(in 1 Cor. 1:2). See the lively description of Renan, St. Paul, ch.

VIII. pp. 211 sqq

[418] Weiss (Bibl. Theol. des N. T., 3d ed. p. 202) is inclined to

assign the composition of the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians

to the period of the imprisonment at Caesarea. So also Thiersch, Reuss,

Schenkel, Meyer, Z�ckler, Hausrath. See Meyer Com. on Eph. (5th ed. by

Woldemar Schmidt, 1878, p. 18), and on the other side, Neander,

Wieseler, and Lightfoot (Philippians, 3d ed. 1873, p. 29), who date all

the Epistles of the captivity from Rome.

[419] Acts 28:30, 31. Comp. the Epistles of the captivity.

[420] Bengel remarks on Acts 28:31 "Paulus Romae, apex evangelii,

Actorum finis: quae Lucas alioqui (2 Tim. 4:11)facile potuisset ad

exitum Pauli perducere. Hierosolymis coepit: Romae desinit." The

abruptness of the close seems not to be accidental, for, as Lightfoot

remarks (Com. on Philippians, p. 3, note), there is a striking

parallelism between the Acts and the Gospel of Luke in their beginning

and ending, and there could be no fitter termination of the narrative,

since it is the realization of that promise of the universal spread of

the gospel which is the starting-point of the Acts.

[421] Namely, to Ephesus 1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Tim. 4:13, 20; to Crete, Tit.

1:5 and to Nicopolis, Tit. 3:12.

[422] Phil. 1:25; 2:24; Philem. 22. These passages, however, are not

conclusive, for the Apostle claims no infallibility in personal matters

and plans; he was wavering between the expectation and desire of speedy

martyrdom and further labors for the brethren, Phil. 1:20-23; 2:17. He

may have been foiled in his contemplated visit to Philippi and Colosse.

[423] Rom. 15:24, 28. Renan denies a visit to the Orient, but thinks

that the last labors of Paul were spent in Spain or Gaul, and that he

died in Rome by the sword, a.d. 64 or later (L'Antechrist, 106, 190).

Dr. Plumptre (in the Introduction to his Com. on Luke, and in an

Appendix to his Com. on Acts) ingeniously conjectures some connection

between Luke, Paul's companion, and the famous poet, M. Annaeus Lucanus

(the author of the Pharsalia, and a nephew of Seneca), who was a native

of Corduba (Cordova) in Spain, and on this basis he accounts for the

favorable conduct of J. Annaeus Gallic (Seneca's brother) toward Paul

at Corinth, the early tradition of a friendship between Paul and

Seneca, and Paul's journey to Spain. Rather fanciful.

[424] Jos. Vita, c. 3. Comp. Plumptre, l.c.

[425] Tertullian (De praescr. haeret. c. 36): "Romae Petrus passioni

Dominica adaequatur, Paulus Joannis [Baptistae]exitu coronatur."

[426] Comp. � 26, pp. 250, 257-259.

[427] Ewald (VI. 631) conjectures that Paul, on hearing of the Neronian

persecution, hastened back to Rome of his own accord, to bear testimony

to Christ, and being seized there, was again brought to trial and

condemned to death, a.d. 65. Ewald assumes an intervening visit to

Spain, but not to the East.

[428] 2 Tim. 4:6-8. Bengel calls this Epistle testamentum Pauli et

cycnes cantio.

[429] 1 Cor. 15:9 (a.d. 57); Eph. 3:8 (a.d. 62); 1 Tim. 3:15 (a.d. 63

or 64?)

[430] A Latin inscription in Spain, which records the success of Nero

in extirpating the new superstition, Gruter, Inscript., p. 238, is now

commonly abandoned as spurious.

[431] I must here correct an error into which I have fallen with Dr.

Wieseler, in my Hist. of the Ap. Ch., p. 342, by reading hupo to terma

and interpreting it "before the highest tribunal of the West."epi is

the reading of the Cod. Alex. (though defectively written), as I have

convinced myself by an inspection of the Codex in the British Museum in

1869, in the presence of Mr. Holmes and the late Dr. Tregelles. The

preposition stands at the end of line 17, fol. 159b, second col., in

the IVth vol. of the Codex, and is written in smaller letters from want

of space, but by the original hand. The same reading is confirmed by

the newly discovered MS. of Bryennios.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 34. The Synod of Jerusalem, and the Compromise between Jewish and

Gentile Christianity.

Literature.

I. Acts 15, and Gal. 2, and the Commentaries thereon.

II. Besides the general literature already noticed (in �� 20 and 29),

compare the following special discussions on the Conference of the

Apostles, which tend to rectify the extreme view of Baur (Paulus, ch.

V.) and Overbeck (in the fourth edition of De Wette's Com. on Acts) on

the conflict between Acts 15 and Gal. 2, or between Petrinism and

Paulinism, and to establish the true historic view of their essential

unity in diversity.

Bishop Lightfoot: St. Paul and the Three, in Com. on Galat., London,

1866 (second ed.), pp. 283-355. The ablest critical discussion of the

problem in the English language.

R. A. Lipsius: Apostelconvent, in Schenkel's Bibel-Lexikon, I. (1869),

pp. 194-207. A clear and sharp statement of eight apparent

contradictions between Acts 15 and Gal. 2. He admits, however, some

elements of truth in the account of Acts, which he uses to supplement

the account of Paul. Schenkel, in his Christusbild der Apostel, 1879,

p. 38, goes further, and says, in opposition to Overbeck, who regards

the account of Acts as a Tendenz- Roman, or partisan fiction: "The

narrative of Paul is certainly trustworthy, but one-sided, which was

unavoidable, considering his personal apologetic aim, and passes by in

silence what is foreign to that aim. The narrative of Acts follows oral

and written traditions which were already influenced by later views and

prejudices, and it is for this reason unreliable in part, yet by no

means a conscious fiction."

Otto Pfleiderer: Der Paulinismus. Leipzig, 1873, pp. 278 sqq. and 500

sqq. He tones down the differences to innocent inaccuracies of the

Acts, and rejects the idea of "intentional invention."

C. Weizs�cker (successor of Dr. Baur in T�bingen, but partly dissenting

from him): Das Apostelconcil in the "Jahrb�cher f�r deutsche Theologie"

for 1873, pp. 191-246. And his essay on Paulus und die Gemeinde in

Korinth, ibid., 1876, pp. 603-653. In the last article he concludes (p.

652) that the real opponents of Paul, in Corinth as well as in Galatia,

were not the primitive apostles (as asserted by Baur, Schwegler, etc.),

but a set of fanatics who abused the authority of Peter and the name of

Christ, and imitated the agitation of Jewish proselytizers, as

described by Roman writers.

K. Schmidt: Der Apostel-Konvent, in Herzog and Plitt, R. E. I. (1877),

575-584. Conservative.

Theod. Keim: Aus dem Urchristenthum. Z�rich, 1879, Der Apostelkonvent,

pp. 64-89. (Comp. Hilgenfeld's review in the "Zeitschrift f�r

wissenschaftl. Theologie," 1879, pp. 100f sqq.) One of the last efforts

of the author of the Leben Jesu von Nazara. Keim goes a step further

than Weizs�cker, strongly maintains the public as well as the private

character of the apostolic agreement, and admits the circumcision of

Timothy as a fact. He also entirely rejects the view of Baur,

Weizs�cker, and Overbeck that the author of Acts derived his

information from the Ep. to the Galatians, and perverted it for his

irenic purpose.

F. W. Farrar: The Life and Work of Paul (Lond., 1879), chs.

XXII.-XXIII. (I. 398-454).

Wilibald Grimm: Der Apostelconvent, in the "Theol. Studien und

Kritiken" (Gotha), for 1880, pp. 405-432. A critical discussion in the

right direction. The exegetical essay of Wetzel on Gal. 2:14, 21, in

the same periodical, pp. 433 sqq., bears in part on the same subject.

F. Godet: Com. on the Ep. to the Romans, vol. I. (1879), pp. 3742,

English translation. Able and sound.

Karl Wieseler: Zur Gesch. der N. T.lichen Schrift und des

Urchristenthums. Leipzig, 1880, pp. 1-53, on the Corinthian parties and

their relation to the errorists in the Galatians and the Nicolaitans in

the Apocalypse. Learned, acute, and conservative.

Comp. above � 22, pp. 213 sqq.; my Hist. of the Apost. Church, ��

67-70, pp. 245-260; and Excursus on the Controversy between Peter and

Paul, in my Com. on the Galat. 2:11-14.

The question of circumcision, or of the terms of admission of the

Gentiles to the Christian church, was a burning question of the

apostolic age. It involved the wider question of the binding authority

of the Mosaic law, yea, the whole relation of Christianity to Judaism.

For circumcision was in the synagogue what baptism is in the church, a

divinely appointed sign and seal of the covenant of man with God, with

all its privileges and responsibilities, and bound the circumcised

person to obey the whole law on pain of forfeiting the blessing

promised. Upon the decision of this question depended the peace of the

church within, and the success of the gospel without. With

circumcision, as a necessary condition of church membership,

Christianity would forever have been confined to the Jewish race with a

small minority of proselytes of the gate, or half-Christians while the

abrogation of circumcision and the declaration of the supremacy and

sufficiency of faith in Christ ensured the conversion of the heathen

and the catholicity of Christianity. The progress of Paul's mission

among the Gentiles forced the question to a solution and resulted in a

grand act of emancipation, yet not without great struggle and temporary

reactions.

All the Christians of the first generation were converts from Judaism

or heathenism. It could not be expected that they should suddenly lose

the influence of opposite kinds of religious training and blend at once

in unity. Hence the difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity

throughout the apostolic age, more or less visible in all departments

of ecclesiastical life, in missions, doctrine, worship, and government.

At the head of the one division stood Peter, the apostle of the

circumcision; at the head of the other, Paul, to whom was intrusted the

apostleship of the uncircumcision. In another form the same difference

even yet appears between the different branches of Christendom. The

Catholic church is Jewish-Christian or Petrine in its character; the

Evangelical church is Gentile or Pauline. And the individual members of

these bodies lean to one or the other of these leading types.

Where-ever there is life and motion in a denomination or sect, there

will be at least two tendencies of thought and action--whether they be

called old and new school, or high church and low church, or by any

other party name. In like manner there is no free government without

parties. It is only stagnant waters that never run and overflow, and

corpses that never move.

The relation between these two fundamental forms of apostolic

Christianity is in general that of authority and freedom, law and

gospel, the conservative and the progressive, the objective and the

subjective. These antithetic elements are not of necessity mutually

exclusive. They are mutually complemental, and for perfect life they

must co-exist and co-operate. But in reality they often run to

extremes, and then of course fall into irreconcilable contradiction.

Exclusive Jewish Christianity sinks into Ebionism; exclusive Gentile

Christianity into Gnosticism. And these heresies were by no means

confined to the apostolic and post-apostolic ages; pseudo-Petrine and

pseudo-Pauline errors, in ever-varying phases, run more or less

throughout the whole history of the church.

The Jewish converts at first very naturally adhered as closely as

possible to the sacred traditions of their fathers. They could not

believe that the religion of the Old Testament, revealed by God

himself, should pass away. They indeed regarded Jesus as the Saviour of

Gentiles as well as Jews; but they thought Judaism the necessary

introduction to Christianity, circumcision and the observance of the

whole Mosaic law the sole condition of an interest in the Messianic

salvation. And, offensive as Judaism was, rather than attractive, to

the heathen, this principle would have utterly precluded the conversion

of the mass of the Gentile world. [432] The apostles themselves were at

first trammelled by this Judaistic prejudice, till taught better by the

special revelation to Peter before the conversion of Cornelius. [433]

But even after the baptism of the uncircumcised centurion, and Peter's

defence of it before the church of Jerusalem, the old leaven still

wrought in some Jewish Christians who had formerly belonged to the

rigid and exclusive sect of the Pharisees. [434] They came from Judaea

to Antioch, and taught the converts of Paul and Barnabas: "Except ye be

circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved." They no

doubt appealed to the Pentateuch, the universal Jewish tradition, the

circumcision of Christ, and the practice of the Jewish apostles, and

created a serious disturbance. These ex-Pharisees were the same whom

Paul, in the heat of controversy, more severely calls "false brethren

insidiously or stealthily foisted in," who intruded themselves into the

Christian brotherhood as spies and enemies of Christian liberty. [435]

He clearly distinguishes them not only from the apostles, but also from

the great majority of the brethren in Judaea who sincerely rejoiced in

his conversion and glorified God for it. [436] They were a small, but

very active and zealous minority, and full of intrigue. They compassed

sea and land to make one proselyte. They were baptized with water, but

not with the Holy Spirit. They were Christians in name, but

narrow-minded and narrow-hearted Jews in fact. They were scrupulous,

pedantic, slavish formalists, ritualists, and traditionalists of the

malignant type. Circumcision of the flesh was to them of more

importance than circumcision of the heart, or at all events an

indispensable condition of salvation. [437] Such men could, of course,

not understand and appreciate Paul, but hated and feared him as a

dangerous radical and rebel. Envy and jealousy mixed with their

religious prejudice. They got alarmed at the rapid progress of the

gospel among the unclean Gentiles who threatened to soil the purity of

the church. They could not close their eyes to the fact that the power

was fast passing from Jerusalem to Antioch, and from the Jews to the

Gentiles, but instead of yielding to the course of Providence, they

determined to resist it in the name of order and orthodoxy, and to keep

the regulation of missionary operations and the settlement of the terms

of church membership in their own hands at Jerusalem, the holy centre

of Christendom and the expected residence of the Messiah on his return.

Whoever has studied the twenty-third chapter of Matthew and the pages

of church history, and knows human nature, will understand perfectly

this class of extra-pious and extra-orthodox fanatics, whose race is

not dead yet and not likely to die out. They serve, however, the good

purpose of involuntarily promoting the cause of evangelical liberty.

The agitation of these Judaizing partisans and zealots brought the

Christian church, twenty years after its founding, to the brink of a

split which would have seriously impeded its progress and endangered

its final success.

The Conferences in Jerusalem.

To avert this calamity and to settle this irrepressible conflict, the

churches of Jerusalem and Antioch resolved to hold a private and a

public conference at Jerusalem. Antioch sent Paul and Barnabas as

commissioners to represent the Gentile converts. Paul, fully aware of

the gravity of the crisis, obeyed at the same time an inner and higher

impulse. [438] He also took with him Titus, a native Greek, as a living

specimen of what the Spirit of God could accomplish without

circumcision. The conference was held a.d. 50 or 51 (fourteen years

after Paul's conversion). It was the first and in some respects the

most important council or synod held in the history of Christendom,

though differing widely from the councils of later times. It is placed

in the middle of the book of Acts as the connecting link between the

two sections of the apostolic church and the two epochs of its

missionary history.

The object of the Jerusalem consultation was twofold: first, to settle

the personal relation between the Jewish and Gentile apostles, and to

divide their field of labor; secondly, to decide the question of

circumcision, and to define the relation between the Jewish and Gentile

Christians. On the first point (as we learn from Paul) it effected a

complete and final, on the second point (as we learn from Luke) a

partial and temporary settlement. In the nature of the case the public

conference in which the whole church took part, was preceded and

accompanied by private consultations of the apostles. [439]

1. Apostolic Recognition. The pillars of the Jewish Church, James,

Peter, and John [440] --whatever their views may have been before--were

fully convinced by the logic of events in which they recognized the

hand of Providence that Paul as well as Barnabas by the extraordinary

success of his labors had proven himself to be divinely called to the

apostolate of the Gentiles. They took no exception and made no addition

to his gospel. On the contrary, when they saw that God who gave grace

and strength to Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision, gave

grace and strength to Paul also for the conversion of the

uncircumcision, they extended to him and to Barnabas the right hand of

fellowship, with the understanding that they would divide as far as

practicable the large field of labor, and that Paul should manifest his

brotherly love and cement the union by aiding in the support of the

poor, often persecuted and famine-stricken brethren of Judaea. This

service of charity he had cheerfully done before, and as cheerfully and

faithfully did afterward by raising collections among his Greek

congregations and carrying the money in person to Jerusalem. [441] Such

is the unequivocal testimony of the fraternal understanding among the

apostles from the mouth of Paul himself. And the letter of the council

officially recognizes this by mentioning "beloved" Barnabas [442] and

Paul, as "men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord

Jesus Christ." This double testimony of the unity of the apostolic

church is quite conclusive against the modern invention of an

irreconcilable antagonism between Paul and Peter. [443]

2. As regards the question of circumcision and the status of the

Gentile Christians, there was a sharp conflict of opinions in open

debate, under the very shadow of the inspired apostles. [444] There was

strong conviction and feeling on both sides, plausible arguments were

urged, charges and countercharges made, invidious inferences drawn,

fatal consequences threatened. But the Holy Spirit was also present, as

he is with every meeting of disciples who come together in the name of

Christ, and overruled the infirmities of human nature which will crop

out in every ecclesiastical assembly.

The circumcision of Titus, as a test case, was of course strongly

demanded by the Pharisaical legalists, but as strongly resisted by

Paul, and not enforced. [445] To yield here even for a moment would

have been fatal to the cause of Christian liberty, and would have

implied a wholesale circumcision of the Gentile converts, which was

impossible.

But how could Paul consistently afterwards circumcise Timothy? [446]

The answer is that he circumcised Timothy as a Jew, not as a Gentile,

and that he did it as a voluntary act of expediency, for the purpose of

making Timothy more useful among the Jews, who had a claim on him as

the son of a Jewish mother, and would not have allowed him to teach in

a synagogue without this token of membership; while in the case of

Titus, a pure Greek, circumcision was demanded as a principle and as a

condition of justification and salvation. Paul was inflexible in

resisting the demands of false brethren, but always willing to

accommodate himself to weak brethren, and to become as a Jew to the

Jews and as a Gentile to the Gentiles in order to save them both. [447]

In genuine Christian freedom he cared nothing for circumcision or

uncircumcision as a mere rite or external condition, and as compared

with the keeping of the commandments of God and the new creature in

Christ. [448]

In the debate Peter, of course, as the oecumenical chief of the Jewish

apostles, although at that time no more a resident of Jerusalem, took a

leading part, and made a noble speech which accords entirely with his

previous experience and practice in the house of Cornelius, and with

his subsequent endorsement of Paul's doctrine. [449] He was no

logician, no rabbinical scholar, but he had admirable good sense and

practical tact, and quickly perceived the true line of progress and

duty. He spoke in a tone of personal and moral authority, but not of

official primacy. [450] He protested against imposing upon the neck of

the Gentile disciples the unbearable yoke of the ceremonial law, and

laid down, as clearly as Paul, the fundamental principle that "Jews as

well as Gentiles are saved only by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ."

[451]

After this bold speech, which created a profound silence in the

assembly, Barnabas and Paul reported, as the best practical argument,

the signal miracles which God had wrought among the Gentiles through

their instrumentality.

The last and weightiest speaker was James, the brother of the Lord, the

local head of the Jewish Christian church and bishop of Jerusalem, who

as such seems to have presided over the council. He represented as it

were the extreme right wing of the Jewish church bordering close on the

Judaizing faction. It was through his influence chiefly no doubt that

the Pharisees were converted who created this disturbance. In a very

characteristic speech he endorsed the sentiments of Symeon--he

preferred to call Peter by his Jewish name--concerning the conversion

of the Gentiles as being in accordance with ancient prophecy and divine

fore-ordination; but he proposed a compromise to the effect that while

the Gentile disciples should not be troubled with circumcision, they

should yet be exhorted to abstain from certain practices which were

particularly offensive to pious Jews, namely, from eating meat offered

to idols, from tasting blood, or food of strangled animals, and from

every form of carnal uncleanness. As to the Jewish Christians, they

knew their duty from the law, and would be expected to continue in

their time-honored habits.

The address of James differs considerably from that of Peter, and meant

restriction as well as freedom, but after all it conceded the main

point at issue--salvation without circumcision. The address entirely

accords in spirit and language with his own epistle, which represents

the gospel as law, though "the perfect law of freedom," with his later

conduct toward Paul in advising him to assume the vow of the Nazarites

and thus to contradict the prejudices of the myriads of converted Jews,

and with the Jewish Christian tradition which represents him as the

model of an ascetic saint equally revered by devout Jews and

Christians, as the "Rampart of the People" (Obliam), and the

intercessor of Israel who prayed in the temple without ceasing for its

conversion and for the aversion of the impending doom. [452] He had

more the spirit of an ancient prophet or of John the Baptist than the

spirit of Jesus (in whom he did not believe till after the

resurrection), but for this very reason he had most authority over the

Jewish Christians, and could reconcile the majority of them to the

progressive spirit of Paul.

The compromise of James was adopted and embodied in the following brief

and fraternal pastoral letter to the Gentile churches. It is the oldest

literary document of the apostolic age and bears the marks of the style

of James: [453]

"The apostles and the elder brethren [454] unto the brethren who are of

the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, greeting: Forasmuch as we

have heard, that some who went out from us have troubled you with

words, subverting your souls, to whom we gave no commandment, it seemed

good unto us, having come to be of one accord, to choose out men and

send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have

hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have

sent therefore Judas and Silas, who themselves also shall tell you the

same things by word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit,

and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary

things: that ye abstain from meats sacrificed to idols, and from blood,

and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep

yourselves, it shall be well with you. Farewell." [455]

The decree was delivered by four special messengers, two representing

the church at Antioch, Barnabas and Paul, and two from Jerusalem, Judas

Barsabbas and Silas (or Silvanus), and read to the Syrian and Cilician

churches which were agitated by the controversy. [456] The restrictions

remained in full force at least eight years, since James reminded Paul

of them on his last visit to Jerusalem in 58. [457] The Jewish

Christians observed them no doubt with few exceptions till the downfall

of idolatry, [458] and the Oriental church even to this day abstains

from blood and things strangled; but the Western church never held

itself bound to this part of the decree, or soon abandoned some of its

restrictions.

Thus by moderation and mutual concession in the spirit of peace and

brotherly love a burning controversy was settled, and a split happily

avoided.

Analysis of the Decree.

The decree of the council was a compromise and had two aspects: it was

emancipatory, and restrictive.

(1.) It was a decree of emancipation of the Gentile disciples from

circumcision and the bondage of the ceremonial law. This was the chief

point in dispute, and so far the decree was liberal and progressive. It

settled the question of principle once and forever. Paul had triumphed.

Hereafter the Judaizing doctrine of the necessity of circumcision for

salvation was a heresy, a false gospel, or a perversion of the true

gospel, and is denounced as such by Paul in the Galatians.

(2.) The decree was restrictive and conservative on questions of

expediency and comparative indifference to the Gentile Christians.

Under this aspect it was a wise and necessary measure for the apostolic

age, especially in the East, where the Jewish element prevailed, but

not intended for universal and permanent use. In Western churches, as

already remarked, it was gradually abandoned, as we learn from

Augustine. It imposed upon the Gentile Christians abstinence from meat

offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled (as fowls and

other animals caught in snares). The last two points amounted to the

same thing. These three restrictions had a good foundation in the

Jewish abhorrence of idolatry, and every thing connected with it, and

in the Levitical prohibition. [459] Without them the churches in Judaea

would not have agreed to the compact. But it was almost impossible to

carry them out in mixed or in purely Gentile congregations; for it

would have compelled the Gentile Christians to give up social

intercourse with their unconverted kindred and friends, and to keep

separate slaughter-houses, like the Jews, who from fear of

contamination with idolatrous associations never bought meat at the

public markets. Paul takes a more liberal view of this matter--herein

no doubt dissenting somewhat from James--namely, that the eating of

meat sacrificed to idols was in itself indifferent, in view of the

vanity of idols; nevertheless he likewise commands the Corinthians to

abstain from such meat out of regard for tender and weak consciences,

and lays down the golden rule: "All things are lawful, but all things

are not expedient; all things are lawful, but all things edify not. Let

no man seek his own, but his neighbor's good." [460]

It seems strange to a modern reader that with these ceremonial

prohibitions should be connected the strictly moral prohibition of

fornication. [461] But it must be remembered that the heathen

conscience as to sexual intercourse was exceedingly lax, and looked

upon it as a matter of indifference, like eating and drinking, and as

sinful only in case of adultery where the rights of a husband are

invaded. No heathen moralist, not even Socrates, or Plato, or Cicero,

condemned fornication absolutely. It was sanctioned by the worship of

Aphrodite at Corinth and Paphos, and practised to her honor by a host

of harlot-priestesses! Idolatry or spiritual whoredom is almost

inseparable from bodily pollution. In the case of Solomon polytheism

and polygamy went hand in hand. Hence the author of the Apocalypse also

closely connects the eating of meat offered to idols with fornication,

and denounces them together. [462] Paul had to struggle against this

laxity in the Corinthian congregation, and condemns all carnal

uncleanness as a violation and profanation of the temple of God. [463]

In this absolute prohibition of sexual impurity we have a striking

evidence of the regenerating and sanctifying influence of Christianity.

Even the ascetic excesses of the post-apostolic writers who denounced

the second marriage as "decent adultery" (euprepes moicheia), and

glorified celibacy as a higher and better state than honorable wedlock,

command our respect, as a wholesome and necessary reaction against the

opposite excesses of heathen licentiousness.

So far then as the Gentile Christians were concerned the question was

settled.

The status of the Jewish Christians was no subject of controversy, and

hence the decree is silent about them. They were expected to continue

in their ancestral traditions and customs as far as they were at all

consistent with loyalty to Christ. They needed no instruction as to

their duty, "for," said James, in his address to the Council, "Moses

from generations of old has in every city those who preach him, being

read in the synagogues every Sabbath." [464] And eight years afterwards

he and his elders intimated to Paul that even he, as a Jew, was

expected to observe the ceremonial law, and that the exemption was only

meant for the Gentiles. [465]

But just here was a point where the decree was deficient. It went far

enough for the temporary emergency, and as far as the Jewish church was

willing to go, but not far enough for the cause of Christian union and

Christian liberty in its legitimate development.

Notes

1. The Apostolic Conference at Jerusalem.--This has been one of the

chief battle-fields of modern historical criticism. The controversy of

circumcision has been fought over again in German, French, Dutch, and

English books and essays, and the result is a clearer insight both into

the difference and into the harmony of the apostolic church.

We have two accounts of the Conference, one from Paul in the second

chapter of the Galatians, and one from his faithful companion, Luke, in

Acts 15. For it is now almost universally admitted that they refer to

the same event. They must be combined to make up a full history. The

Epistle to the Galatians is the true key to the position, the

Archimedian pou sto.

The accounts agree as to the contending parties--Jerusalem and

Antioch--the leaders on both sides, the topic of controversy, the sharp

conflict, and the peaceful result.

But in other respects they differ considerably and supplement each

other. Paul, in a polemic vindication of his independent apostolic

authority against his Judaizing antagonists in Galatia, a few years

after the Council (about 56), dwells chiefly on his personal

understanding with the other apostles and their recognition of his

authority, but he expressly hints also at public conferences, which

could not be avoided; for it was a controversy between the churches,

and an agreement concluded by the leading apostles on both sides was of

general authority, even if it was disregarded by a heretical party.

Luke, on the other hand, writing after the lapse of at least thirteen

years (about 63) a calm and objective history of the primitive church,

gives (probably from Jerusalem and Antioch documents, but certainly not

from Paul's Epistles) the official action of the public assembly, with

an abridgment of the preceding debates, without excluding private

conferences; on the contrary he rather includes them; for he reports in

Acts 15:5, that Paul and Barnabas "were received by the church and the

apostles and elders and declared all things that God had done with

them," before he gives an account of the public consultation, ver. 6.

In all assemblies, ecclesiastical and political, the more important

business is prepared and matured by Committees in private conference

for public discussion and action; and there is no reason why the

council in Jerusalem should have made an exception. The difference of

aim then explains, in part at least, the omissions and minor variations

of the two accounts, which we have endeavored to adjust in this

section.

The ultra- and pseudo-Pauline hypercriticism of the T�bingen school in

several discussions (by Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar,

Holsten, Overbeck, Lipsius, Hausrath, and Wittichen) has greatly

exaggerated these differences, and used Paul's terse polemic allusions

as a lever for the overthrow of the credibility of the Acts. But a more

conservative critical reaction has recently taken place, partly in the

same school (as indicated in the literature above), which tends to

harmonize the two accounts and to vindicate the essential consensus of

Petrinism and Paulinism.

2. The Circumcision of Titus.--We hold with most commentators that

Titus was not circumcised. This is the natural sense of the difficult

and much disputed passage, Gal. 2:3-5, no matter whether we take dein

2:4 in the explanatory sense (nempe, and that), or in the usual

adversative sense (autem, sed, but). In the former case the sentence is

regular, in the latter it is broken, or designedly incomplete, and

implies perhaps a slight censure of the other apostles, who may have

first recommended the circumcision of Titus as a measure of prudence

and conciliation out of regard to conservative scruples, but desisted

from it on the strong remonstrance of Paul. If we press the

enankasthecompelled, in 2:3, such an inference might easily be drawn,

but there was in Paul's mind a conflict between the duty of frankness

and the duty of courtesy to his older colleagues. So Dr. Lightfoot

accounts for the broken grammar of the sentence, "which was wrecked on

the hidden rock of the counsels of the apostles of the circumcision."

Quite another view was taken by Tertullian (Adv. Marc., V. 3), and

recently by Renan (ch. III. p. 89) and Farrar (I. 415), namely, that

Titus voluntarily submitted to circumcision for the sake of peace,

either in spite of the remonstrance of Paul, or rather with his

reluctant consent. Paul seems to say that Titus was not circumcised,

but implies that he was. This view is based on the omission of ois

oudein 2:5. The passage then would have to be supplemented in this way:

"But not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised, but [he submitted

to circumcision voluntarily] on account of the stealthily introduced

false brethren, to whom we yielded by way of submission for an hour

[i.e., temporarily]." Renan thus explains the meaning: "If Titus was

circumcised, it is not because he was forced, but on account of the

false brethren, to whom we might yield for a moment without submitting

ourselves in principle." He thinks that pros horanis opposed to the

following diameine.In other words, Paul stooped to conquer. He yielded

for a moment by a stretch of charity or a stroke of policy, in order to

save Titus from violence, or to bring his case properly before the

Council and to achieve a permanent victory of principle. But this view

is entirely inconsistent not only with the frankness and firmness of

Paul on a question of principle, with the gravity of the crisis, with

the uncompromising tone of the Epistle to the Galatians, but also with

the addresses of Peter and James, and with the decree of the council.

If Titus was really circumcised, Paul would have said so, and explained

his relation to the fact. Moreover, the testimony of Irenaeus and

Tertullian against hois oudemust give way to the authority of the best

uncials ('B A C, etc) and versions in favor of these words. The

omission can be better explained from carelessness or dogmatic

prejudice rather than the insertion.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[432] "Circumcision," says Renan (St. Paul, ch. III. p. 67)."was, for

adults, a painful ceremony, one not without danger, and disagreeable to

the last degree. It was one of the reasons which prevented the Jews

from moving freely about among other people, and set them apart as a

caste by themselves. At the baths and gymnasiums, those important parts

of the ancient cities, circumcision exposed the Jew to all sorts of

affronts. Every time that the attention of the Greeks and Romans was

directed to this subject, outbursts of jestings followed. The Jews were

very sensitive in this regard, and avenged themselves by cruel

reprisals. Several of them, in order to escape the ridicule, and

washing to pass themselves off for Greeks, strove to efface the

original mark by a surgical operation of which Celsus has preserved us

the details. As to the converts who accepted this initiation ceremony,

they had only one course to pursue, and that was to hide themselves in

order to escape sarcastic taunts. Never did a man of the world place

himself in such a position; and this is doubtless the reason why

conversions to Judaism were much more numerous among women than among

men, the former not being put, at the very outset, to a test, in every

respect repulsive and shocking. We have many examples of Jewesses

married to heathens, but not a single one of a Jew married to a heathen

woman."

[433] Acts 10 and 11.

[434] Acts 15:1, 5:tines ton apo tes haireseos ton Pharisaion

pepisteukotes .

[435] Gal. 2:4: pareisaktoi (comp. pareisaxousin in 2 Pet. 2:1)

pseudadelphoi hoitines pareiselthon(who came in sideways, or crept in,

sneaked in; comp. Jude 4, pareisedusan) kataskopesai ten eleutherian

hemon hen echomen en Christo Iesou, hina hemas katadoulosousin . The

emissaries of these Pharisaical Judaizers are ironically called

"super-extra-apostles,"huperlian apostoloi, 2 Cor. 11:5; 12:11. For

these are not the real apostles (as Baur and his followers maintained

in flat contradiction to the connection of 2 Cor. 10 to 12), but

identical with the "false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming

themselves into apostles of Christ,"2 Cor. 11:13. Baur's monstrous

misinterpretation has been completely refuted by Weizs�cker (on Paul

and the Congregation of Corinth, l.c. p. 640), Keim, Kl�pper, Wieseler,

and Grimm (l.c. 432). Comp. also Godet, l.c. pp. 49 sq.

[436] Gal. 1:22-24.

[437] To what ridiculous extent some Jewish rabbis of the rigid school

of Shammai carried the overestimate of circumcision, may be seen from

the following deliverances quoted by Farrar (I. 401): "So great is

circumcision that but for it the Holy One, blessed be He, would not

have created the world; for it is said (Jer. 33:25), 'But for my

covenant [circumcision] I would not have made day and night, and the

ordinance of heaven and earth.'"" Abraham was not called 'perfect' till

he was circumcised."

[438] Paul mentions the subjective motive, Luke the objective call.

Both usually unite in important trusts. But Baur and Lipsius make this

one of the irreconcilable contradictions!

[439] Luke reports the former and hints at the latter (comp. Acts 5 and

6) Paul reports the private understanding and hints at the public

conference, saying (Gal. 2:2): "I laid (anethemen) before them [the

brethren of Jerusalem] the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles,

but privately before them who were of repute (or, before those in

authority),"i.e., the pillar-apostles of the circumcision, James,

Cephas, and John, comp. Acts 2:9. Dr. Baur who denies the public

conference, mistranslates kat idian de tois dokousin und zwar wandte

ich mich speciell (specially) an die vorzugsweise Geltenden,"so that

tois dokousin would be the same as the preceding autois (Paul, ch. V.

p. 117, in the English translation, I. 122). But this would have been

more naturally expressed by tois dokousin en autois and kat idian, as

Grimm, the lexicographer of the N. T., remarks against Baur (l.c., p.

412), does not mean "specially" at all, but privatim, seorsum, "apart,"

"in private," as in Mark 4:34, and kat idian eipein, Diod. I. 21.

[440] The order in which they are named by Paul is significant: James

first, as the bishop of Jerusalem and the most conservative, John last,

as the most liberal of the Jewish apostles. There is no irony in the

term oi dokontes and oi stuloi, certainly not at the expense of the

apostles who were pillars in fact as well as in name and repute. If

there is any irony in Gal 2:6, hopoioi pote esan, ouden moi diapherei,

it is directed against the Judaizers who overestimated the Jewish

apostles to the disparagement of Paul. Even Keim (l.c., p. 74) takes

this view: "Endlich mag man aufh�ren, von ironischer Bitterkeit des

Paulus gegen�ber den Geltenden zu reden: denn wer gleich nachher den

Bundesschluss mit den 'S�ulen'feierlich und befriedigt registrirt, der

hat seine Abweisung der menschlichen Autorit�ten in v. 6nicht dem

Andenken der Apostel gewidmet, sondern dem notorischen Uebermuth der

judenchristlichen Parteig�nger in Galatien."

[441] Gal. 2:7-10; comp. Acts 11:30; 24:17; 1 Cor. 16:1-3; 2 Cor. 8 and

9; Rom. 15:25-27.

[442] Barnabas, as the older disciple, still retained precedence in the

Jewish church, and hence is named first. A later forger would have

reversed the order.

[443] Dr. Plumptre remarks against the T�bingen critics (on Acts 15:7):

"Of all doctrines as to the development of the Christian church, that

which sees in Peter, James, and John the leaders of a Judaizing

anti-Pauline party is, perhaps, the most baseless and fantastic. The

fact that their names were unscrupulously used by that party, both in

their lifetime and, as the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions

show, after their death, cannot outweigh their own deliberate words and

acts."

[444] This is very evident from the indignant tone of Paul against the

Judaizers, and from the remark in Acts 15:6: polles suzeteseos

genomenes, comp. Acts 15:2: genomenes staseos(factious party spirit,

insurrection, Luke 23:19; Mark 15:7) kai zeteseos ouk oliges. Such

strong terms show that Luke by no means casts the veil of charity over

the differences in the apostolic church.

[445] Gal. 2:3-5. See the note below.

[446] Acts 16:3. The silence of Luke concerning the non-circumcision of

Titus has been distorted by the T�bingen critics into a wilful

suppression of fact, and the mention of the circumcision of Timothy

into a fiction to subserve the catholic unification of Petrinism and

Paulinism. What a designing and calculating man this anonymous author

of the Acts must have been, and yet not shrewd enough to conceal his

literary fraud or to make it more plausible by adapting it to the

account in the Galatians, and by mentioning the full understanding

between the apostles themselves! The book of Acts is no more a full

history of the church or of the apostles than the Gospels are full

biographies of Christ.

[447] Comp. Rom. 14 and 15; 1 Cor. 9:19-23; Acts 21:23-26.

[448] Gal. 5:6; 6:15; 1 Cor. 7:19. Dr. Plumptre's remarks on the last

passage are to the point: "Often those who regard some ceremony as

unimportant magnify the very disregard of it into a necessary virtue.

The apostle carefully guards against that by expressing the nothingness

of both circumcision and uncircumcision (Rom. 2:25; Gal. 5:6; 6:15).

The circumicision of Timothy, and the refusal to circumcise Titus by

St. Paul himself, are illustrations at once of the application of the

truth here enforced, and of the apostle's scrupulous adherence to the

principles of his own teaching. To have refused to circumcise Timothy

would have attached some value to noncircumcision. To have circumcised

Titus would have attached some value to circumcision."

[449] Acts 15:7-11; comp. Acts 10: 28 sqq.; 1 Pet. 1:12; 5:12; 2 Pet.

3:15, 16. The style of Peter is distinctly recognizable, as in the

epithet of God, ho kardiognoste, Acts 15:8, comp. Acts 1:24. Such

minute coincidences go to strengthen the documentary trustworthiness of

the Acts.

[450] Like the Popes, who do not attend synods at Jerusalem or

elsewhere and make speeches, but expect all doctrinal controversies to

be referred to them for their final and infallible decision.

[451] Acts15:11: tes charitos tou kuriou Iesou pisteuomen sothen'ai,

kath' hon tropon kakeinoi (the heathen). Comp. Rom. 10:12, 13.

[452] Comp. Acts15:13-21; 21:18-25; James 1:25; 2:12; and the account

of Hegesippus quoted in � 27, p. 274.

[453] The Gentile form of greeting, chairein, Acts 15:23, occurs again

in James 1:1, but nowhere else in the New Testament, except in the

letter of the heathen, Claudius Lysias (Acts 23:26); the usual form

being charis kai eirene. This is likewise one of those incidental

coincidences and verifications which are beyond the ken of a forger.

[454] According to the oldest reading, hoi apostoloi kai hoi

presbuteroi adelphoi, which may also be rendered: "the apostles, and

the presbyters, brethren;" comp. Acts 15:22. The omission of adelphoi

in some MSS. may be due to the later practice, which excluded the laity

from synodical deliberations.

[455] Acts 15:23-29.

[456] Acts 16:4

[457] Acts 21:15. Comp. also Rev. 2:14, 20. But why does Paul never

refer to this synodical decree? Because he could take a knowledge of it

for granted, or more probably because he did not like altogether its

restrictions, which were used by the illiberal constructionists against

him and against Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:12). Weizs�cker and Grimm

(l.c., p. 423) admit the historic character of some such compromise,

but transfer it to a later period (Acts 21:25), as a proposition made

by James of a modus vivendi with Gentile converts, and arbitrarily

charge the Acts with an anachronism. But the consultation must have

come to a result, the result embodied in a formal action, and the

action communicated to the disturbed churches.

[458] Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, considered

the eating of eidolothuta as bad as idolatry. Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. 35

[459] Ex. 34:,15; Lev. 17:7 sqq.; Deut. 12:23 sqq. The reason assigned

for the prohibition of the taste of blood is that "the life of the

flesh is in the blood," and the pouring out of blood is the means of

"the atonement for the soul" (Lev. 17:11). The prohibition of blood as

food was traced back to the time of Noah, Gen. 9:4, and seems to have

been included in the seven "Noachian commandments" so-called, which

were imposed upon the proselytes of the gate, although the Talmud

nowhere specifies them very clearly. The Moslems likewise abhor the

tasting of blood. But the Greeks and Romans regarded it as a delicacy.

It was a stretch of liberality on the part of the Jews that pork was

not included among the forbidden articles of food. Bentley proposed to

read in Acts 15:20 porkeia (fromporkos, porcus) for porneia, but

without a shadow of evidence.

[460] 1 Cor. 8:7-13; 10:23-33; Rom. 14:2, 21; 1 Tim. 4:4.

[461] The word por'neia, without addition, must be taken in its usual

sense, and cannot mean illegitimate marriages alone, which were

forbidden to the Jews, Ex. 34; Lev. 18, although it may include them

[462] Apoc. 2:14, 20.

[463] 1 Cor. 6:13-20; comp. 1 Cor. 5:9; 1 Thess. 4:4, 5; Eph. 5:3, 5;

Col. 3:5. What a contrast between these passages and the sentence of

Micio in Terence. "Non es flagitium, mihi crede, adulescentulum

Scortari, neque potare."--Adelph. i. 2. 21, 22. (Ed. Fleckeisen p.

290.) To which, however, Demea (his more virtuous married brother)

replies: "Pro Juppiter, tu homo adigis me ad insaniam. Non est

flagitium facere haec adulescentulum?"--Adelph. i. 2. 31, 32

[464] Acts 15:21; comp. Acts 13:15; 2 Cor. 3:14, 15.

[465] Acts 21:20-25. Irenaeus understood the decree in this sense (Adv.

Haer III. 12, 15: "Hi qui circa Jacobum apostoli gentibus quidem libere

agere permittebant; ipsi vero ... perseverabant in pristinis

observationibus ... religiose agebant circadispositionem legis quae est

secundum Mosem."Pfleiderer (l.c. 284) takes a similar view on this

point, which is often overlooked, and yet most important for the proper

understanding of the subsequent reaction. He says: "Die Judenchristen

betreffend, wurde dabei stillschweigend als selbstverst�ndliche

Voraussetzung angenommen, dass bei diesen Alles beim Alten bleibe, dass

also aus der Gesetzesfreiheit der Heidenchristen keierlei Consequenzen

f�r die Abrogation des Gesetzes unter den Judenchristen zu ziehen

seien; auf dieser Voraussetzung beruhte die Beschr�nkung der �lteren

Apostel auf die Wirksamkeit bei den Juden (da eine Ueberschreitung

dieser Schranke ohne Verletzung des Gesetzes nicht m�glich war); auf

dieser Voraussetzung beruhte die Sendung der Leute von Jakobus aus

Jerusalem nach Antiochia und beruhte der Einfluss derselben auf Petrus,

dessen vorhergegangenes freieres Verhalten dadurch als eine Ausnahme

von der Regel gekennzeichnet wird."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 35. The Conservative Reaction, and the Liberal Victory--

Peter and Paul at Antioch.

The Jerusalem compromise, like every other compromise, was liable to a

double construction, and had in it the seed of future troubles. It was

an armistice rather than a final settlement. Principles must and will

work themselves out, and the one or the other must triumph.

A liberal construction of the spirit of the decree seemed to demand

full communion of the Jewish Christians with their uncircumcised

Gentile brethren, even at the Lord's table, in the weekly or daily

agapae, on the basis of the common saving faith in Christ, their common

Lord and Saviour. But a strict construction of the letter stopped with

the recognition of the general Christian character of the Gentile

converts, and guarded against ecclesiastical amalgamation on the ground

of the continued obligation of the Jewish converts to obey the

ceremonial law, including the observance of circumcision, of the

Sabbath and new moons, and the various regulations about clean and

unclean meats, which virtually forbid social intercourse with unclean

Gentiles. [466]

The conservative view was orthodox, and must not be confounded with the

Judaizing heresy which demanded circumcision from the Gentiles as well

as the Jews, and made it a term of church membership and a condition of

salvation. This doctrine had been condemned once for all by the

Jerusalem agreement, and was held hereafter only by the malignant

pharisaical faction of the Judaizers.

The church of Jerusalem, being composed entirely of Jewish converts,

would naturally take the conservative view; while the church of

Antioch, where the Gentile element prevailed, would as naturally prefer

the liberal interpretation, which had the certain prospect of ultimate

success. James, who perhaps never went outside of Palestine, far from

denying the Christian character of the Gentile converts, would yet keep

them at a respectful distance; while Peter, with his impulsive,

generous nature, and in keeping with his more general vocation, carried

out in practice the conviction he had so boldly professed in Jerusalem,

and on a visit to Antioch, shortly after the Jerusalem Council (a.d.

51), openly and habitually communed at table with the Gentile brethren.

[467] He had already once before eaten in the house of the

uncircumcised Cornelius at Caesarea, seeing that "God is no respecter

of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh

righteousness is acceptable to him." [468]

But when some delegates of James [469] arrived from Jerusalem and

remonstrated with him for his conduct, he timidly withdrew from

fellowship with the uncircumcised followers of Christ, and thus

virtually disowned them. He unwittingly again denied his Lord from the

fear of man, but this time in the persons of his Gentile disciples. The

inconsistency is characteristic of his impulsive temper, which made him

timid or bold according to the nature of the momentary impression. It

is not stated whether these delegates simply carried out the

instructions of James or went beyond them. The former is more probable

from what we know of him, and explains more easily the conduct of

Peter, who would scarcely have been influenced by casual and unofficial

visitors. They were perhaps officers in the congregation of Jerusalem;

at all events men of weight, not Pharisees exactly, yet extremely

conservative and cautious, and afraid of miscellaneous company, which

might endanger the purity and orthodoxy of the venerable mother church

of Christendom. They did, of course, not demand the circumcision of the

Gentile Christians, for this would have been in direct opposition to

the synodical decree, but they no doubt reminded Peter of the

understanding of the Jerusalem compact concerning the duty of Jewish

Christians, which he above all others should scrupulously keep. They

represented to him that his conduct was at least very hasty and

premature, and calculated to hinder the conversion of the Jewish

nation, which was still the object of their dearest hopes and most

fervent prayers. The pressure must have been very strong, for even

Barnabas, who had stood side by side with Paul at Jerusalem in the

defence of the rights of the Gentile Christians, was intimidated and

carried away by the example of the chief of the apostles.

The subsequent separation of Paul from Barnabas and Mark, which the

author of Acts frankly relates, was no doubt partly connected with this

manifestation of human weakness. [470]

The sin of Peter roused the fiery temper of Paul, and called upon him a

sharper rebuke than he had received from his Master. A mere look of

pity from Jesus was enough to call forth bitter tears of repentance.

Paul was not Jesus. He may have been too severe in the manner of his

remonstrance, but he knew Peter better than we, and was right in the

matter of dispute, and after all more moderate than some of the

greatest and best men have been in personal controversy. Forsaken by

the prince of the apostles and by his own faithful ally in the Gentile

mission, he felt that nothing but unflinching courage could save the

sinking ship of freedom. A vital principle was at stake, and the

Christian standing of the Gentile converts must be maintained at all

hazards, now or never, if the world was to be saved and Christianity

was not to shrink into a narrow corner as a Jewish sect. Whatever might

do in Jerusalem, where there was scarcely a heathen convert, this open

affront to brethren in Christ could not be tolerated for a moment at

Antioch in the church which was of his own planting and full of

Hellenists and Gentiles. A public scandal must be publicly corrected.

And so Paul confronted Peter and charged him with downright hypocrisy

in the face of the whole congregation. He exposed his misconduct by his

terse reasoning, to which Peter could make no reply. [471] "If thou,"

he said to him in substance, "who art a Jew by nationality and

training, art eating with the Gentiles in disregard of the ceremonial

prohibition, why art thou now, by the moral force of thy example as the

chief of the Twelve, constraining the Gentile converts to Judaize or to

conform to the ceremonial restraints of the elementary religion? We who

are Jews by birth and not gross sinners like the heathen, know that

justification comes not from works of the law, but from faith in

Christ. It may be objected that by seeking gratuitous justification

instead of legal justification, we make Christ a promoter of sin. [472]

Away with this monstrous and blasphemous conclusion! On the contrary,

there is sin in returning to the law for justification after we have

abandoned it for faith in Christ. I myself stand convicted of

transgression if I build up again (as thou doest now) the very law

which I pulled down (as thou didst before), and thus condemn my former

conduct. For the law itself taught me to exchange it for Christ, to

whom it points as its end. Through the Mosaic law as a tutor leading me

beyond itself to freedom in Christ, I died to the Mosaic law in order

that I might live a new life of obedience and gratitude to God. I have

been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer my old self that lives,

but it is Christ that lives in me; and the new life of Christ which I

now live in this body after my conversion, I live in the faith of the

Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me. I do not frustrate the

grace of God; for if the observance of the law of Moses or any other

human work could justify and save, there was no good cause of Christ's

death his atoning sacrifice on the cross was needless and fruitless."

From such a conclusion Peter's soul shrank back in horror. He never

dreamed of denying the necessity and efficacy of the death of Christ

for the remission of sins. He and Barnabas stood between two fires on

that trying occasion. As Jews they seemed to be bound by the

restrictions of the Jerusalem compromise on which the messengers of

James insisted; but by trying to please the Jews they offended the

Gentiles, and by going back to Jewish exclusiveness they did violence

to their better convictions, and felt condemned by their own

conscience. [473] They no doubt returned to their more liberal

practice.

The alienation of the apostles was merely temporary. They were too

noble and too holy to entertain resentment. Paul makes honorable

mention afterwards of Peter and Barnabas, and also of Mark, who was a

connecting link between the three. [474] Peter in his Epistles endorses

the teaching of the "beloved brother Paul," and commends the wisdom of

his Epistles, in one of which his own conduct is so severely rebuked,

but significantly adds that there are some "things in them hard to be

understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they do also

the other Scriptures, to their own destruction." [475]

The scene of Antioch belongs to these things which have been often

misunderstood and perverted by prejudice and ignorance in the interest

both of heresy and orthodoxy. The memory of it was perpetuated by the

tradition which divided the church at Antioch into two parishes with

two bishops, Evodius and Ignatius, the one instituted by Peter, the

other by Paul. Celsus, Porphyry, and modern enemies of Christianity

have used it as an argument against the moral character and inspiration

of the apostles. The conduct of Paul left a feeling of intense

bitterness and resentment in the Jewish party which manifested itself

even a hundred years later in a violent attack of the pseudo-Clementine

Homilies and Recognitions upon Paul, under the disguise of Simon Magus.

The conduct of both apostles was so unaccountable to Catholic taste

that some of the fathers substituted an unknown Cephas for Peter; [476]

while others resolved the scene into a hypocritical farce gotten up by

the apostles themselves for dramatic effect upon the ignorant

congregation. [477]

The truth of history requires us to sacrifice the orthodox fiction of

moral perfection in the apostolic church. But we gain more than we

lose. The apostles themselves never claimed, but expressly disowned

such perfection. [478] They carried the heavenly treasure in earthen

vessels, and thus brought it nearer to us. The infirmities of holy men

are frankly revealed in the Bible for our encouragement as well as for

our humiliation. The bold attack of Paul teaches the right and duty of

protest even against the highest ecclesiastical authority, when

Christian truth and principle are endangered; the quiet submission of

Peter commends him to our esteem for his humility and meekness in

proportion to his high standing as the chief among the pillar-apostles;

the conduct of both explodes the Romish fiction of papal supremacy and

infallibility; and the whole scene typically foreshadows the grand

historical conflict between Petrine Catholicism and Pauline

Protestantism, which, we trust, will end at last in a grand Johannean

reconciliation.

Peter and Paul, as far as we know, never met afterwards till they both

shed their blood for the testimony of Jesus in the capital of the

world.

The fearless remonstrance of Paul had probably a moderating effect upon

James and his elders, but did not alter their practice in Jerusalem.

[479] Still less did it silence the extreme Judaizing faction; on the

contrary, it enraged them. They were defeated, but not convinced, and

fought again with greater bitterness than ever. They organized a

countermission, and followed Paul into almost every field of his labor,

especially to Corinth and Galatia. They were a thorn, if not the thorn,

in his flesh. He has them in view in all his Epistles except those to

the Thessalonians and to Philemon. We cannot understand his Epistles in

their proper historical sense without this fact. The false apostles

were perhaps those very Pharisees who caused the original trouble, at

all events men of like spirit. They boasted of their personal

acquaintance with the Lord in the days of his flesh, and with the

primitive apostles; hence Paul calls these "false apostles"

sarcastically "super-eminent" or "over-extra-apostles." [480] They

attacked his apostolate as irregular and spurious, and his gospel as

radical and revolutionary. They boldly told his Gentile converts that

the, must submit to circumcision and keep the ceremonial law; in other

words, that they must be Jews as well as Christians in order to insure

salvation, or at all events to occupy a position of pre-eminence over

and above mere proselytes of the gate in the outer court. They

appealed, without foundation, to James and Peter and to Christ himself,

and abused their name and authority for their narrow sectarian

purposes, just as the Bible itself is made responsible for all sorts of

heresies and vagaries. They seduced many of the impulsive and

changeable Galatians, who had all the characteristics of the Keltic

race. They split the congregation in Corinth into several parties and

caused the apostle the deepest anxiety. In Colossae, and the churches

of Phrygia and Asia, legalism assumed the milder form of Essenic

mysticism and asceticism. In the Roman church the legalists were weak

brethren rather than false brethren, and no personal enemies of Paul,

who treats them much more mildly than the Galatian errorists.

This bigoted and most persistent Judaizing reaction was overruled for

good. It drew out from the master mind of Paul the most complete and

most profound vindication and exposition of the doctrines of sin and

grace. Without the intrigues and machinations of these legalists and

ritualists we should not have the invaluable Epistles to the Galatians,

Corinthians, and Romans. Where error abounded, truth has still more

abounded.

At last the victory was won. The terrible persecution under Nero, and

the still more terrible destruction of Jerusalem, buried the

circumcision controversy in the Christian church. The ceremonial law,

which before Christ was "alive but not life-giving," and which from

Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem was "dying but not deadly,"

became after that destruction "dead and deadly." [481] The Judaizing

heresy was indeed continued outside of the Catholic church by the sect

of the Ebionites during the second century; and in the church itself

the spirit of formalism and bigotry assumed new shapes by substituting

Christian rites and ceremonies for the typical shadows of the Mosaic

dispensation. But whenever and wherever this tendency manifests itself

we have the best antidote in the Epistles of Paul.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[466] Without intending any censure, we may illustrate the position of

the strict constructionists of the school of St. James by similar

examples of conscientious and scrupulous exclusiveness. Roman Catholics

know no church but their own, and refuse all religious fellowship with

non Catholics; yet many of them will admit the action of divine grace

and the possibility of salvation outside of the limits of the papacy.

Some Lutherans maintain the principle: "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran

ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." Luther

himself refused at Marburg the hand of fellowship to Zwingli, who was

certainly a Christian, and agreed with him in fourteen out of fifteen

articles of doctrine. High church Anglicans recognize no valid ministry

without episcopal ordination; close communion Baptists admit no valid

baptism but by immersion; and yet the Episcopalians do not deny the

Christian character of non-Episcopalians, nor the Baptists the

Christian character of Pedo-Baptists, while they would refuse to sit

with them at the Lord's table. There are psalm-singing Presbyterians

who would not even worship, and much less commune, with other

Presbyterians who sing what they call "uninspired" hymns. In all these

cases, whether consistently or not, a distinction is made between

Christian fellowship and church fellowship. With reference to all these

and other forms of exclusiveness we would say in the spirit of Paul:

"In Christ Jesus neither circumcision" (viewed as a mere sign)

"availeth anything, nor uncircumcision," neither Catholicism nor

Protestantism, neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism, neither Calvinism nor

Arminianism, neither episcopacy nor presbytery, neither immersion nor

pouring nor sprinkling, nor any other accidental distinction of birth

and outward condition, but "a new creature, faith working through love,

and the keeping of the commandments of God."Gal. 5:6; 6:15; 1 Cor.

7:19.

[467] The imperfect sunesthien meta ton ethnon, Gal. 2:12, indicates

habit he used to eat with the uncircumcised Christians. This is the

best proof from the pen of Paul himself that Peter agreed with him in

principle and even in his usual practice. The eating refers, in all

probability, not only to common meals, but also to the primitive

love-feasts (agapae) and the holy communion, where brotherly

recognition and fellowship is consummated and scaled.

[468] Acts 10:27-29, 34, 35; 11:3: "thou wentest in to men

uncircumcised and didst eat with them."

[469] tines apo Iakobou, Gal, 2:12, seems to imply that they were sent

by James (comp. Matt. 26:47; Mark 5:25; John 3:2), and not simply

disciples of James or members of his congregation, which would be

expressed by tines ton apo Iakobou. See Grimm, l.c., p. 427.

[470] There are not a few examples of successful intimidations of

strong and bold men. Luther was so frightened at the prospect of a

split of the holy Catholic church, in an interview with the papal

legate, Carl von Miltitz, at Altenburg in January, 1519, that he

promised to write and did write a most humiliating letter of submission

to the Pope, and a warning to the German people against secession. But

the irrepressible conflict soon broke out again at the Leipzig

disputation in June, 1519.

[471] Gal 2:14-21. We take this section to be a brief outline of Paul's

address to Peter; but the historical narrative imperceptibly passes

into doctrinal reflections suggested by the occasion and adapted to the

case of the Galatians. In the third chapter it naturally expands into a

direct attack on the Galatians.

[472] Paul draws, in the form of a question, a false conclusion of the

Judaizing opponents from correct premises of his own, and rejects the

conclusion with his usual formula of abhorrence, me genoito, as in Rom.

6:2.

[473] Gal. 2:11, Peter stood self-condemned and condemned by the

Gentiles, kategnosmenos en, not " blameworthy," or " was to be

blamed"(E. V.).

[474] Comp. 1 Cor. 9:5, 6; 15:5; Col. 4:10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. 4:11.

[475] 1 Pet. 5:12; 2 Pet. 3:15, 16.

[476] So Clement of Alexandria, and other fathers, also the Jesuit

Harduin.

[477] This monstrous perversion of Scripture was advocated even by such

fathers as Origen, Jerome, and Chrysostom. It gave rise to a

controversy between Jerome and Augustin, who from a superior moral

sense protested against it, and prevailed.

[478] Comp. 2 Cor, 4:7; Phil. 3:12; James 3:2; 1 John 1:8; 2:2.

[479] Comp. Acts 21:17-20.

[480] The E. V. translates huperlian apostoloi, 2 Cor. 11:5, "the very

chiefest apostles," Plumptre better, "those apostles-extraordinary."

They are identical with the pseudapostoloi, 11:13, and not with the

pillar-apostles of the circumcision, Gal. 2:9; see above, p. 334, note

1.

[481] Augustin thus distinguishes three periods in the Mosaic law: 1,

lex viva, sed non vivifica; 2, l. moribunda, sed non mortifera; 3, l.

mortua et mortifera.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 36. Christianity in Rome.

I. On the general, social, and moral condition of Rome under the

Emperors:

Ludwig Friedl�nder: Sittengeschichte Roms. Leipzig, 1862, 5th ed.

revised and enlarged, 1881, 3 vols.

Rod. Lanciani: Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries. Boston,

1889 (with 100 illustrations).

II. On the Jews in Rome and the allusions of Roman Writers to Them:

Renan: Les Ap�tres, 287-293; Merivale:History of the Romans, VI., 203

sqq.; Friedl�nder: l.c. III., 505 sqq.; Hausrath: Neutestamentliche

Zeitgeschichte, III., 383-392 (2d ed.); Sch�rer: Lehrbuch der

Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte, pp. 624 sq., and Die

Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit, Leipz., 1879;

Huidekoper: Judaism at Rome, 1876. Also John Gill: Notices of the Jews

and their Country by the Classic Writers of Antiquity. 2d ed. London,

1872. On Jewish Roman inscriptions see Garrucci (several articles in

Italian since 1862), von Engestr�m (in a Swedish work, Upsala, 1876),

and Sch�rer (1879).

III. On the Christian Congregation in Rome:

The Histories of the Apostolic Age (see pp. 189 sqq.); the

Introductions to the Commentaries on Romans (mentioned p. 281), and a

number of critical essays on the origin and composition of the Church

of Rome and the aim of the Epistle to the Romans, by Baur (Ueber Zweck

und Veranlassung des R�merbriefs, 1836; reproduced in his Paul, I., 346

sqq., Engl. transl.), Beyschlag (Das geschichtliche Problem des

R�merbriefs in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1867), Hilgenfeld

(Einleitung in das N. T., 1875, pp. 302 sqq.), C. Weizs�cker (Ueber die

�lteste r�mische Christengemeinde, 1876, and his Apost. Zeitalter,

1886, pp. 415-467).

W. Mangold: Der R�merbrief und seine gesch. Voraussetzungen, Marburg,

1884. Defends the Jewish origin and character of the Roman church

(against Weizs�cker).

Rud. Seyerlen: Entstehung und erste Schicksale der Christengemeinde in

Rom. T�bingen, 1874.

Adolf Harnack: Christianity and Christians at the Court of the Roman

Emperors before the Time of Constantine. In the "Princeton Review," N.

York, 1878, pp. 239-280.

J. Spencer Northcote and W. R. Brownlow (R. C.): Roma Sotterranea, new

ed., London, 1879, vol. I., pp. 78-91. Based upon Caval. de Rossi's

large Italian work under the same title (Roma, 1864-1877, in three

vols. fol.). Both important for the remains of early Roman Christianity

in the Catacombs.

Formby: Ancient Rome and its Connect. with the Chr. Rel. Lond., 1880.

Keim: Rom. u. das Christenthum. Berlin, 1881.

[MAP INSET] From "Roma Sotteranea," by Northcote and Brownlow.

The City of Rome.

The city of Rome was to the Roman empire what Paris is to France, what

London to Great Britain: the ruling head and the beating heart. It had

even a more cosmopolitan character than these modern cities. It was the

world in miniature, "orbis in urbe." Rome had conquered nearly all the

nationalities of the then civilized world, and drew its population from

the East and from the West, from the North and from the South. All

languages, religious, and customs of the conquered provinces found a

home there. Half the inhabitants spoke Greek, and the natives

complained of the preponderance of this foreign tongue, which, since

Alexander's conquest, had become the language of the Orient and of the

civilized world. [482] The palace of the emperor was the chief centre

of Oriental and Greek life. Large numbers of the foreigners were

freedmen, who generally took the family name of their masters. Many of

them became very wealthy, even millionnaires. The rich freedman was in

that age the type of the vulgar, impudent, bragging upstart. According

to Tacitus, "all things vile and shameful" were sure to flow from all

quarters of the empire into Rome as a common sewer. But the same is

true of the best elements: the richest products of nature, the rarest

treasures of art, were collected there; the enterprising and ambitious

youths, the men of genius, learning, and every useful craft found in

Rome the widest field and the richest reward for their talents.

With Augustus began the period of expensive building. In his long reign

ofpeace and prosperity he changed the city of bricks into a city of

marble. It extended in narrow and irregular streets on both banks of

the Tiber, covered the now desolate and feverish Campagna to the base

of the Albanian hills, and stretched its arms by land and by sea to the

ends of the earth. It was then (as in its ruins it is even now) the

most instructive and interesting city in the world. Poets, orators, and

historians were lavish in the praises of the urbs aeterna,

"qua nihil posis visere majus." [483]

The estimates of the population of imperial Rome are guesswork, and

vary from one to four millions. But in all probability it amounted

under Augustus to more than a million, and increased rapidly under the

following emperors till it received a check by the fearful epidemic of

79, which for many days demanded ten thousand victims a day. [484]

Afterwards the city grew again and reached the height of its splendor

under Hadrian and the Antonines. [485]

The Jews in Rome.

The number of Jews in Rome during the apostolic age is estimated at

twenty or thirty thousand souls. [486] They all spoke Hellenistic Greek

with a strong Hebrew accent. They had, as far as we know, seven

synagogues and three cemeteries, with Greek and a few Latin

inscriptions, sometimes with Greek words in Latin letters, or Latin

words with Greek letters. [487] They inhabited the fourteenth region,

beyond the Tiber (Trastevere), at the base of the Janiculum, probably

also the island of the Tiber, and part of the left bank towards the

Circus Maximus and the Palatine hill, in the neighborhood of the

present Ghetto or Jewry. They were mostly descendants of slaves and

captives of Pompey, Cassius, and Antony. They dealt then, as now, in

old clothing and broken ware, or rose from poverty to wealth and

prominence as bankers, physicians, astrologers, and fortunetellers. Not

a few found their way to the court. Alityrus, a Jewish actor, enjoyed

the highest favor of Nero. Thallus, a Samaritan and freedman of

Tiberius, was able to lend a million denarii to the Jewish king, Herod

Agrippa. [488] The relations between the Herods and the Julian and

Claudian emperors were very intimate.

The strange manners and institutions of the Jews, as circumcision,

Sabbath observance, abstinence from pork and meat sacrificed to the

gods whom they abhorred as evil spirits, excited the mingled amazement,

contempt, and ridicule of the Roman historians and satirists. Whatever

was sacred to the heathen was profane to the Jews. [489] They were

regarded as enemies of the human race. But this, after all, was a

superficial judgment. The Jews had also their friends. Their

indomitable industry and persistency, their sobriety, earnestness,

fidelity and benevolence, their strict obedience to law, their

disregard of death in war, their unshaken trust in God, their hope of a

glorious future of humanity, the simplicity and purity of their

worship, the sublimity and majesty of the idea of one omnipotent, holy,

and merciful God, made a deep impression upon thoughtful and serious

persons, and especially upon females (who escaped the odium of

circumcision). Hence the large number of proselytes in Rome and

elsewhere. Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, as well as Josephus, testify

that many Romans abstained from all business on the Sabbath, fasted and

prayed, burned lamps, studied the Mosaic law, and sent tribute to the

temple of Jerusalem. Even the Empress Poppaea was inclined to Judaism

after her own fashion, and showed great favor to Josephus, who calls

her "devout" or "God-fearing" (though she was a cruel and shameless

woman). [490] Seneca, who detested the Jews (calling them

sceleratissima gens), was constrained to say that this conquered race

gave laws to their conquerors. [491]

The Jews were twice expelled from Rome under Tiberius and Claudius, but

soon returned to their transtiberine quarter, and continued to enjoy

the privileges of a religio licita, which were granted to them by

heathen emperors, but were afterwards denied them by Christian popes.

[492]

When Paul arrived in Rome he invited the rulers of the synagogues to a

conference, that he might show them his good will and give them the

first offer of the gospel, but they replied to his explanations with

shrewd reservation, and affected to know nothing of Christianity,

except that it was a sect everywhere spoken against. Their best policy

was evidently to ignore it as much as possible. Yet a large number came

to hear the apostle on an appointed day, and some believed, while the

majority, as usual, rejected his testimony. [493]

Christianity in Rome.

From this peculiar people came the first converts to a religion which

proved more than a match for the power of Rome. The Jews were only an

army of defense, the Christians an army of conquest, though under the

despised banner of the cross.

The precise origin of the church of Rome is involved in impenetrable

mystery. We are informed of the beginnings of the church of Jerusalem

and most of the churches of Paul, but we do not know who first preached

the gospel at Rome. Christianity with its missionary enthusiasm for the

conversion of the world must have found a home in the capital of the

world at a very early day, before the apostles left Palestine. The

congregation at Antioch grew up from emigrant and fugitive disciples of

Jerusalem before it was consolidated and fully organized by Barnabas

and Paul.

It is not impossible, though by no means demonstrable, that the first

tidings of the gospel were brought to Rome soon after the birthday of

the church by witnesses of the pentecostal miracle in Jerusalem, among

whom were "sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes." [494] In

this case Peter, the preacher of the pentecostal sermon, may be said to

have had an indirect agency in the founding of the church of Rome,

which claims him as the rock on which it is built, although the

tradition of his early visit (42) and twenty or twenty-five years'

residence there is a long exploded fable. [495] Paul greets among the

brethren in Rome some kinsmen who had been converted before him, i.e.,

before 37. [496] Several names in the list of Roman brethren to whom he

sends greetings are found in the Jewish cemetery on the Appian Way

among the freedmen of the Empress Livia. Christians from Palestine,

Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece must have come to the capital for various

reasons, either as visitors or settlers.

The Edict of Claudius.

The first historic trace of Christianity in Rome we have in a notice of

the heathen historian Suetonius, confirmed by Luke, that Claudius,

about a.d. 52, banished the Jews from Rome because of their

insurrectionary disposition and commotion under the instigation of

"Chrestus" (misspelt for "Christus"). [497]

This commotion in all probability refers to Messianic controversies

between Jews and Christians who were not yet clearly distinguished at

that time. The preaching, of Christ, the true King of Israel, would

naturally produce a great commotion among the Jews, as it did at

Antioch, in Pisidia, in Lystra, Thessalonica, and Beraea; and the

ignorant heathen magistrates would as naturally infer that Christ was a

political pretender and aspirant to an earthly throne. The Jews who

rejected the true Messiah looked all the more eagerly for an imaginary

Messiah that would break the yoke of Rome and restore the theocracy of

David in Jerusalem. Their carnal millennarianism affected even some

Christians, and Paul found it necessary to warn them against rebellion

and revolution. Among those expelled by the edict of Claudius were

Aquila and Priscilla, the hospitable friends of Paul, who were probably

converted before they met him in Corinth. [498]

The Jews, however, soon returned, and the Jewish Christians also, but

both under a cloud of suspicion. To this fact Tacitus may refer when he

says that the Christian superstition which had been suppressed for a

time (by the edict of Claudius) broke out again (under Nero, who

ascended the throne in 54).

Paul's Epistle.

In the early part of Nero's reign (54-68) the Roman congregation was

already well known throughout Christendom, had several meeting places

and a considerable number of teachers. [499] It was in view of this

fact, and in prophetic anticipation of its future importance, that Paul

addressed to it from Corinth his most important doctrinal Epistle (a.d.

58), which was to prepare the way for his long desired personal visit.

On his journey to Rome three years later he found Christians at Puteoli

(the modern Puzzuolo at the bay of Naples), who desired him to tarry

with them seven days. [500] Some thirty or forty miles from the city,

at Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae (The Three Taverns), he was met by

Roman brethren anxious to see the writer of that marvellous letter, and

derived much comfort from this token of affectionate regard. [501]

Paul in Rome.

His arrival in Rome, early in the year 61, which two years later was

probably followed by that of Peter, naturally gave a great impulse to

the growth of the congregation. He brought with him, as he had

promised, "the fulness of the blessing of Christ." His very bonds were

overruled for the progress of the gospel, which he was left free to

preach under military guard in his own dwelling. [502] He had with him

during the whole or a part of the first Roman captivity his faithful

pupils and companions: Luke, "the beloved physician" and historian;

Timothy, the dearest of his spiritual sons; John Mark, who had deserted

him on his first missionary tour, but joined him at Rome and mediated

between him and Peter; one Jesus, who is called Justus, a Jewish

Christian, who remained faithful to him; Aristarchus, his

fellow-prisoner from Thessalonica; Tychicus from Ephesus; Epaphras and

Onesimus from Colossae; Epaphroditus from Philippi; Demas, Pudens,

Linus, Eubulus, and others who are honorably mentioned in the Epistles

of the captivity. [503] They formed a noble band of evangelists and

aided the aged apostle in his labors at Rome and abroad. On the other

hand his enemies of the Judaizing party were stimulated to

counter-activity, and preached Christ from envy and jealousy; but in

noble self-denial Paul rose above petty sectarianism, and sincerely

rejoiced from his lofty standpoint if only Christ was proclaimed and

his kingdom promoted. While he fearlessly vindicated Christian freedom

against Christian legalism in the Epistle to the Galatians, he

preferred even a poor contracted Christianity to the heathenism which

abounded in Rome. [504]

The number which were converted through these various agencies, though

disappearing in the heathen masses of the metropolis, and no doubt much

smaller than the twenty thousand Jews, must have been considerable, for

Tacitus speaks of a "vast multitude" of Christians that perished in the

Neronian persecution in 64; and Clement, referring to the same

persecution, likewise mentions a "vast multitude of the elect," who

were contemporary with Paul and Peter, and who, "through many

indignities and tortures, became a most noble example among ourselves"

(that is, the Roman Christians). [505]

Composition and Consolidation of the Roman Church.

The composition of the church of Rome has been a matter of much learned

controversy and speculation. It no doubt was, like most congregations

outside of Palestine, of a mixed character, with a preponderance of the

Gentile over the Jewish element, but it is impossible to estimate the

numerical strength and the precise relation which the two elements

sustained to each other. [506]

We have no reason to suppose that it was at once fully organized and

consolidated into one community. The Christians were scattered all over

the immense city, and held their devotional meetings in different

localities. The Jewish and the Gentile converts may have formed

distinct communities, or rather two sections of one Christian

community.

Paul and Peter, if they met together in Rome (after 63), would

naturally, in accordance with the Jerusalem compact, divide the field

of supervision between them as far as practicable, and at the same time

promote union and harmony. This may be the truth which underlies the

early and general tradition that they were the joint founders of the

Roman church. No doubt their presence and martyrdom cemented the Jewish

and Gentile sections. But the final consolidation into one organic

corporation was probably not effected till after the destruction of

Jerusalem.

This consolidation was chiefly the work of Clement, who appears as the

first presiding presbyter of the one Roman church. He was admirably

qualified to act as mediator between the disciples of Peter and Paul,

being himself influenced by both, though more by Paul. His Epistle to

the Corinthians combines the distinctive features of the Epistles of

Paul, Peter, and James, and has been called "a typical document,

reflecting the comprehensive principles and large sympathies which had

been impressed upon the united church of Rome." [507]

In the second century we see no more traces of a twofold community. But

outside of the orthodox church, the heretical schools, both Jewish and

Gentile, found likewise au early home in this rendezvous of the world.

The fable of Simon Magus in Rome reflects this fact. Valentinus,

Marcion, Praxeas, Theodotus, Sabellius, and other arch-heretics taught

there. In heathen Rome, Christian heresies and sects enjoyed a

toleration which was afterwards denied them by Christian Rome, until,

in 1870, it became the capital of united Italy, against the protest of

the pope.

Language.

The language of the Roman church at that time was the Greek, and

continued to be down to the third century. In that language Paul wrote

to Rome and from Rome; the names of the converts mentioned in the

sixteenth chapter of the Romans, and of the early bishops, are mostly

Greek; all the early literature of the Roman church was Greek; even the

so-called Apostles' Creed, in the form held by the church of Rome, was

originally Greek. The first Latin version of the Bible was not made for

Rome, but for the provinces, especially for North Africa. The Greeks

and Greek speaking Orientals were at that time the most intelligent,

enterprising, and energetic people among the middle classes in Rome.

"The successful tradesmen, the skilled artisans, the confidential

servants and retainers of noble houses--almost all the activity and

enterprise of the common people, whether for good or for evil, were

Greek." [508]

Social Condition.

The great majority of the Christians in Rome, even down to the close of

the second century, belonged to the lower ranks of society. They were

artisans, freedmen, slaves. The proud Roman aristocracy of wealth,

power, and knowledge despised the gospel as a vulgar superstition. The

contemporary writers ignored it, or mentioned it only incidentally and

with evident contempt. The Christian spirit and the old Roman spirit

were sharply and irreconcilably antagonistic, and sooner or later had

to meet in deadly conflict.

But, as in Athens and Corinth, so there were in Rome also a few

honorable exceptions.

Paul mentions his success in the praetorian guard and in the imperial

household. [509]

It is possible, though not probable, that Paul became passingly

acquainted with the Stoic philosopher, Annaeus Seneca, the teacher of

Nero and friend of Burrus; for he certainly knew his brother, Annaeus

Gallio, proconsul at Corinth, then at Rome, and had probably official

relations with Burrus, as prefect of the praetorian guard, to which he

was committed as prisoner; but the story of the conversion of Seneca,

as well as his correspondence with Paul, are no doubt pious fictions,

and, if true, would be no credit to Christianity, since Seneca, like

Lord Bacon, denied his high moral principles by his avarice and

meanness. [510]

Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of

Britain, who was arraigned for "foreign superstition" about the year 57

or 58 (though pronounced innocent by her husband), and led a life of

continual sorrow till her death in 83, was probably the first Christian

lady of the Roman nobility, the predecessor of the ascetic Paula and

Eustochium, the companions of Jerome. [511] Claudia and Pudens, from

whom Paul sends greetings (2 Tim. 4:21), have, by an ingenious

conjecture, been identified with the couple of that name, who are

respectfully mentioned by Martial in his epigrams; but this is

doubtful. [512] A generation later two cousins of the Emperor Domitian

(81-96), T. Flavius Clemens, consul (in 95), and his wife, Flavia

Domitilla, were accused of "atheism, " that is, of Christianity, and

condemned, the husband to death, the wife to exile (a.d. 96). [513]

Recent excavations in the catacomb of Domitilla, near that of

Callistus, establish the fact that an entire branch of the Flavian

family had embraced the Christian faith. Such a change was wrought

within fifty or sixty years after Christianity had entered Rome. [514]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[482] Friedl�nder, I. 372 sqq.

[483] See some of these eulogistic descriptions in Friedl�nder, I. 9,

who says that the elements which produced this overwhelming impression

were "the enormous, ever changing turmoil of a population from all

lands, the confusing and intoxicating commotion of a truly cosmopolitan

intercourse, the number and magnificence of public parks and buildings,

and the immeasurable extent of the city." Of the Campagna he says, p.

10: "Wo sich jetzt eine ruinenerf�llte Ein�de gegen das

Albanesergebirge hinerstreckt, �ber der Fieberluft br�tet, war damals

eine durchaus gesunde, �berall angebaute, von Leben wimmelden Strassen

durchschnittene Ebene."See Strabo, v. 3, 12

[484] Friedl�nder, I. 54 sqq., by a combination of certain data, comes

to the conclusion that Rome numbered under Augustus (A. U. 749) 668,600

people, exclusive of slaves, and 70 or 80 years later from one and a

half to two millions.

[485] Friedl�nder, I. 11: "In dem halben Jahrhundert von Vespasian bis

Hadrian erreichte Rom seinen h�chsten Glanz, wenn auch unter den

Antoninen und sp�ter noch vieles zu seiner Versch�nerimg geschehen

ist."

[486] By Renan, L'Antechrist, p. 7; Friedl�nder, I. 310, 372; and

Harnack, l.c., p. 253. But Hausrath, l.c., III. 384, assumes 40,000

Jews in Rome under Augustus, 60,000 under Tiberius. We know from

Josephus that 8,000 Roman Jews accompanied a deputation of King Herod

to Augustus (Ant. XVII. 11, 1), and that 4,000 Jews were banished by

Tiberius to the mines of Sardinia (XVIII. 3, 5; comp. Tacitus, Ann. II.

85). But these data do not justify a very definite calculation.

[487] Friedl�nder, III. 510: "Die Inschrift sind �berwiegend

griechisch, allerdings zum Theil bis zur Unverst�ndlichkeit

jargonartig; daneben finden sich lateinische, aber keine

hebr�ischen."See also Garrucci, Cimiterio in vigna Rondanini, and the

inscriptions (mostly Greek, some Latin) copied and published by

Sch�rer, Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden, etc., pp. 33 sqq.

[488] Josephus, Ant. XVIII. 6,4. Comp. Harnack, l.c., p. 254.

[489] Tacitus, Hist. V. 4: "Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra;

rursum concessa apud illos quae nobis incesta."Comp. his whole

description of the Jews, which is a strange compound of truth and

falsehood.

[490] "Poppaea Sabina, the wife of Otho, was the fairest woman of her

time, and with the charms of beauty she combined the address of an

accomplished intriguer. Among the dissolute women of imperial Rome she

stands pre�minent. Originally united to Rufius Crispinus, she allowed

herself to be seduced by Otho, and obtained a divorce in order to marry

him. Introduced by this new connection to the intimacy of Nero, she

soon aimed at a higher elevation. But her husband was jealous and

vigilant, and she herself knew how to allure the young emperor by

alternate advances and retreats, till, in the violence of his passion,

he put his friend out of the way by dismissing him to the government of

Lusitania. Poppaea suffered Otho to depart without a sigh. She profited

by his absence to make herself more than ever indispensable to her

paramour, and aimed, with little disguise, at releasing herself from

her union and supplanting Octavia, by divorce or even death." Merivale,

Hist. of the Romans, VI. 97. Nero accidentally kicked Poppaea to death

when in a state of pregnancy (65), and pronounced her eulogy from the

rostrum. The senate decreed divine honors to her. Comp. Tac. Ann. XIII.

45, 46; XVI. 6; Suet., Nero, 35.

[491] "Victi victoribus leges dederunt."Quoted by Augustin (De Civit.

Dei, VI. 11) from a lost work, De Superstitionibus. This word received

a singular illustration a few years after Seneca's death, when

Berenice, the daughter of King Agrippa, who had heard the story of

Paul's conversion at Caesarea (Acts 25:13, 23), became the acknowledged

mistress first of Vespasianus and then of his son Titus, and presided

in the palace of the Caesars. Titus promised to marry her, but was

obliged, by the pressure of public opinion, to dismiss the incestuous

adulteress. "Dimisit invitus invitam." Sueton. Tit., c. 7; Tacit.

Hist., II. 81.

[492] The history of the Roman Ghetto (the word is derived from ?dg,

caedo, to cut down, comp. Isa. 10:33; 14:12; 15:2; Jer. 48:25, 27,

etc., presents a curious and sad chapter in the annals of the papacy.

The fanatical Pope Paul IV. (1555-'59) caused it to be walled in and

shut out from all intercourse with the Christian world, declaring in

the bull Cum nimis: "It is most absurd and unsuitable that the Jews,

whose own crime has plunged them into everlasting slavery, under the

plea that Christian magnanimity allows them, should presume to dwell

and mix with Christians, not bearing any mark of distinction, and

should have Christian servants, yea even buy houses." Sixtus V. treated

the Jews kindly on the plea that they were "the family from which

Christ came;" but his successors, Clement VIII., Clement XI., and

Innocent XIII., forbade them all trade except that in old clothes,

rags, and iron. Gregory XIII. (1572-'85), who rejoiced over the

massacre of St. Bartholomew, forced the Jews to hear a sermon every

week, and on every Sabbath police agents were sent to the Ghetto to

drive men, women, and children into the church with scourges, and to

lash them if they paid no attention! This custom was only abolished by

Pius IX., who revoked all the oppressive laws against the Jews. For

this and other interesting information about the Ghetto see Augustus J.

C. Hare, Walks in Rome, 1873, 165 sqq., and a pamphlet of Dr. Philip, a

Protestant missionary among the Jews in Rome, On the Ghetto, Rome,

1874.

[493] Acts 28:17-29.

[494] Acts 2:10:hoi epidemountes Rhomaioi, Ioudaioi te kai proselutoi .

Sojourners are strangers (comp. 17:21, hoi epidemountes zenoi), as

distinct from inhabitants (katoikountes, 7:48; 9:22; Luke 13:4). Among

the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem who disputed with Stephen were

Libertini, i.e., emancipated Roman Jews, descendants of those whom

Pompey had carried captive to Rome, Acts 6:9.

[495] Given up even by Roman Catholic historians in Germany, but still

confidently reasserted by Drs. Northcote and Brownlow, l.c. I.,p. 79,

who naively state that Peter went to Rome with Cornelius and the

Italian band in 42. Comp. on this subject �26, pp. 254 sqq.

[496] Rom. 16:7, "Salute Andronicus and Junias (or Junia), my kinsmen,

and my fellow-prisoners who ... have been in Christ before me." If

Junias is masculine, it must be a contraction from Junianus, as Lucas

from Lucanus. But Chrysostom, Grotius, Reiche, and others take it as a

female, either the wife or sister of Andronicus.

[497] Sueton., Claud., c. 25: "Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue

tumultuantes Roma expulit." The Romans often confounded Christus (the

Anointed) andChrestus (from chrestos, useful, good), and called the

Christians chrestianoi, Chrestiani. Compare the French form chr�tien.

Justin Martyr uses this etymological error as an argument against the

persecution of the Christians for the sake of their name. Apol. I.,c. 4

(I. p. 10, ed. Otto): Christianoi einai kategoroumetha, to de chreston

miseisthai ou dikaion. He knew, however, the true origin of the name of

Christ, I.c. 12: Iesous Christos, aph' ou kai to Christianoi

eponomazesthai eschekamen . Tertullian says that the name Christus was

almost invariably mispronounced Chrestus bythe heathen. Apol., c. 3; Ad

Nat., I.3. This mistake continued to be made down to the fourth

century, Lactantius, Instit. Div., IV. 7, and is found also in Latin

inscriptions. Renan derives the name Christianus from the Latin (like

Herodian, Matt. 22:16, Pompejani, Caesareani), as the derivation from

the Greek would require Christeios (Les �potres, p. 234). Lightfoot

denies this, and refers to Sardianos, Trallianos(Philippians, p.16,

note 1); but Renan would regard these nouns as Latinisms like Asianos

(Acts 20:4, Strabo, etc.). Antioch, where the name originated (Acts

11:26), had long before been Romanized and was famous for its love of

nicknames. Renan thinks that the term originated with the Roman

authority as an appellation de police. The other two passages of the

N.T. in which it occurs, Acts 26:28; 1 Pet. 4:16, seem to imply

contempt and dislike, and so it is used by Tacitus and Suetonius. But

what was originally meant by the heathen to be a name of derision has

become the name of the highest honor. For what can be nobler and better

than to be a true Christian, that is, a follower of Christ. It is a

remarkable fact that the name " Jesuit,"which was not in use till the

sixteenth century, has become, by the misconduct of the order which

claimed it, a term of reproach even in Roman Catholic countries; while

the term " Christian"embraces proverbially all that is noble, and good,

and Christ-like.

[498] Acts 18:2; Rom. 16:3. An unconverted Jew would not have taken the

apostle under his roof and into partnership. The appellation .Ioudaios

often signifies merely the nationality (comp. Gal. 2:13-15). The name

Aquila, i.e., Eagle, Adler, is still common among Jews, like other high

sounding animal names (Leo, Leopardus, L�we, L�wenherz, L�wenstein,

etc.). The Greek Akulas was a transliteration of the Latin, and is

probably slightly altered in Onkelos, the traditional author of one of

the Targums, whom the learned Emmanuel Deutsch identifies with Aquila

(Akulas, slyq? in the Talmud), the Greek translator of the Old

Testament, a convert to Judaism in the reign of Hadrian, and supposed

nephew of the emperor. Liter. Remains (N. York, 1874), pp. 337-340. The

name of his wife, Priscilla (the diminutive form of Prisca), " probably

indicates a connection with the gens of the Prisci, who appear in the

earliest stages of Roman history, and supplied a long series of

praetors and consuls." Plumptre on Acts, 18:2.

[499] Rom. 1:8; 16:5, 14, 15, 19.

[500] Acts 28:13. Puteoli was, next after Ostia, the chief harbor of

Western Italy and the customary port for the Alexandrian grain ships;

hence the residence of a large number of Jewish and other Oriental

merchants and sailors. The whole population turned out when the grain

fleet from Alexandria arrived. Sixteen pillars still remain of the mole

on which St. Paul landed. See Friedl�nder, II. 129 sq.; III. 511, and

Howson and Spence on Acts 28:13.

[501] Acts 28:15. The Forum of Appius (the probable builder of the

famous road called after him) is denounced by Horace as a wretched town

"filled with sailors and scoundrel tavern-keepers." Tres Tabernae was a

town of more importance, mentioned in Cicero's letters, and probably

located on the junction of the road from Antium with the Via Appia,

near the modern Cisterna. The distances from Rome southward are given

in the Antonine Itinerary as follows: "to Aricia, 16 miles; to Tres

Tabernae, 17 miles; to Appii Forum, 10 miles."

[502] Phil. 1:12-15; Acts 28:30.

[503] Col. 4:7-14; Eph. 6:21; Philem. 24; Phil. 2:25-30; 4:18; comp.

also 2 Tim. 4:10-12.

[504] Phil. 1:15-18. Comp. Lightfoot in loc.

[505] Ad Cor., ch. 6. The polu plethos eklekton corresponds precisely

to the "ingens multitudo"of Tacitus, Ann. XV. 44.

[506] Comp. my Hist. Ap. Ch., p. 296 sqq. Dr. Baur attempted to

revolutionize the traditional opinion of the preponderance of the

Gentile element, and to prove that the Roman church consisted almost

exclusively of Jewish converts, and that the Epistle to the Romans is a

defense of Pauline universalism against Petrine particularism. He was

followed by Schwegler, Reuss, Mangold, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Holsten,

Holtzmann., and also to some extent by Thiersch and Sabatier. But he

was opposed by Olshausen, Tholuck, Philippi, De Wette, Meyer, Schott,

Hofmann, in favor of the other view. Beyschlag proposed a compromise to

the effect that the majority, in conformity with Paul's express

statements, were Gentile Christians, but mostly ex-proselytes, and

hence shared Judaizing convictions. This view has been approved by

Sch�rer and Schultz. Among the latest and ablest discussions are those

of Weizs�cker and Godet, who oppose the views both of Baur and

Beyschlag. The original nucleus was no doubt Jewish, but the Gentile

element soon outgrew it, as is evident from the Epistle itself, from

the last chapter of Acts, from the Neronian persecution, and other

facts. Paul had a right to regard the Roman congregation as belonging

to his own field of labor. The Judaizing tendency was not wanting, as

we see from the 14th and 15th chapters, and from allusions in the

Philippians and Second Timothy, but it had not the character of a

bitter personal antagonism to Paul, as in Galatia, although in the

second century we find also a malignant type of Ebionism in Rome, where

all heretics congregated.

[507] Lightfoot, Galat., p. 323.

[508] Lightfoot, l.c., p. 20. See especially the investigations of

Caspari, in his Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols, vol. III.

(1875), 267-466. According to Friedl�nder, I. 142, 481, Greek was the

favorite language at the imperial court, and among lovers.

[509] Phil. 1:13; 4: 22. The praitorion embraces the officers as well

as the soldiers of the imperial regiments; hoi ek tes kaisaros oikias

may include high functionaries and courtiers as well as slaves and

freedmen, but the latter is more probable. The twenty names of the

earlier converts mentioned in Rom. 16 coincide largely with those in

the Columbaria of the imperial household on the Appian way. Comp.

Lightfoot, Philipp., p. 169 sqq., Plumptre, Excursus to his Com. on

Acts, and Harnack, l.c., pp. 258 sq. Harnack makes it appear that the

two trusty servants of the Roman church, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius

Bito, mentioned in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, c. 63,

belonged to the household of the emperor Claudius.

[510] See above, � 29, p. 279, especially the essay of Lightfoot quoted

there. Harnack (l.c., p. 260) and Friedl�nder regard the acquaintance

of Paul with Seneca as very improbable, Plumptre as probable. An

epitaph from the third century was found in Ostia which reads: D M. M.

Anneo. Paulo. Petro. M. Anneus. Paulus. Filio. Carissimo. See De Rossi

in the Bullet. di archeol. christ., 1867, pp. 6 sq., and Renan,

L'Antechrist, p. 12. Seneca belonged to the gens Annaea. But all that

the inscription can be made to prove is that a Christian member of the

gens Annaea in the third century bore the name of "Paul," and called

his son "Paulus Petrus," a combination familiar to Christiana, but

unknown to the heathen. Comp, Friedl�nder, III. 535.

[511] Here Christianity has been inferred from the vague description of

Tacitus, Ann. XIII. 32. See Friedl�nder III. 534; Lightfoot, p. 21;

Northcote and Brownlow, I. 82 sq. Harnack, p. 263. The inference is

confirmed by the discovery of the gravestone of a Pomponius Graecinus

and other members of the same family, in the very ancient crypt of

Lucina, near the catacomb of St. Callistus. De Rossi conjectures that

Lucina was the Christian name of Pomponia Graecina. But Renan doubts

this, L'Antech., p. 4, note 2.

[512] Plumptre, l.c. Martial, a Spaniard by birth, came to Rome a.d.

66.

[513] Sueton., Domit. 15; Dion Cass., 67, 14; Euseb., H. E. III. 18.

[514] De Rossi, Bullett. for 1865, 1874 and 1875; Lightfoot, St.

Clement of Rome, Append., 257 sq., Harnack, 266-269.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT TRIBULATION. (MATT. 24:21.)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 37. The Roman Conflagration and the Neronian Persecution.

"And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the

blood of the martyrs of Jesus. And when I saw her, I wondered with a

great wonder."--Apoc. 17:6.

Literature.

I. Tacitus: Annales, 1. XV., c. 38-44.

Suetonius: Nero, chs. 16 and 38 (very brief).

Sulpicius Severus: Hist. Sacra, 1. II., c. 41. He gives to the Neronian

persecution a more general character.

II. Ernest Renan: L'Antechrist. Paris, deuxi�me ed., 1873. Chs. VI.

VIII, pp. 123 sqq. Also his Hibbert Lectures, delivered in London,

1880, on Rome and Christianity.

L. Friedl�nder:Sittengeschichte Roms, I. 6, 27; III. 529.

Hermann Schiller:Geschichte der r�m. Kaiserzeit unter der Regierung des

Nero. Berlin, 1872 (173-179; 424 sqq.; 583 sqq.).

Hausrath: N. T.liche Zeitgeschichte, III. 392 sqq. (2d ed., 1875).

Theod. Keim: Aus dem Urchristenthum. Z�rich, 1878, pp. 171-181. Rom u.

das Christenthum, 1881, pp. 132 sqq.

Karl Wieseler: Die Christenverfolgungen der C�saren. 1878.

G. Uhlhorn: The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. Engl. transl.

by Smyth and Ropes, N. Y. 1879, pp. 241-250.

C. F. Arnold: Die Neron. Christenverfolgung. Leipz. 1888.

The preaching of Paul and Peter in Rome was an epoch in the history of

the church. It gave an impulse to the growth of Christianity. Their

martyrdom was even more effective in the end: it cemented the bond of

union between the Jewish and Gentile converts, and consecrated the soil

of the heathen metropolis. Jerusalem crucified the Lord, Rome beheaded

and crucified his chief apostles and plunged the whole Roman church

into a baptism of blood. Rome became, for good and for evil, the

Jerusalem of Christendom, and the Vatican hill the Golgotha of the

West. Peter and Paul, like a new Romulus and Remus, laid the foundation

of a spiritual empire vaster and more enduring than that of the

Caesars. The cross was substituted for the sword as the symbol of

conquest and power. [515]

But the change was effected at the sacrifice of precious blood. The

Roman empire was at first, by its laws of justice, the protector of

Christianity, without knowing its true character, and came to the

rescue of Paul on several critical occasions, as in Corinth through the

Proconsul Annaeus Gallio, in Jerusalem through the Captain Lysias, and

in Caesarea through the Procurator Festus. But now it rushed into

deadly conflict with the new religion, and opened, in the name of

idolatry and patriotism, a series of intermittent persecutions, which

ended at last in the triumph of the banner of the cross at the Milvian

bridge. Formerly a restraining power that kept back for a while the

outbreak of Antichrist, [516] it now openly assumed the character of

Antichrist with fire and sword. [517]

Nero.

The first of these imperial persecutions with which the Martyrdom of

Peter and Paul is connected by ecclesiastical tradition, took place in

the tenth year of Nero's reign, a.d. 64, and by the instigation of that

very emperor to whom Paul, as a Roman citizen, had appealed from the

Jewish tribunal. It was, however, not a strictly religious persecution,

like those under the later emperors; it originated in a public calamity

which was wantonly charged upon the innocent Christians.

A greater contrast can hardly be imagined than that between Paul, one

of the purest and noblest of men, and Nero, one of the basest and

vilest of tyrants. The glorious first five years of Nero's reign

(54-59) under the wise guidance of Seneca and Burrhus, make the other

nine (59-68) only more hideous by contrast. We read his life with

mingled feelings of contempt for his folly, and horror of his

wickedness. The world was to him a comedy and a tragedy, in which he

was to be the chief actor. He had an insane passion for popular

applause; he played on the lyre; he sung his odes at supper; he drove

his chariots in the circus; he appeared as a mimic on the stage, and

compelled men of the highest rank to represent in dramas or in tableaux

the obscenest of the Greek myths. But the comedian was surpassed by the

tragedian. He heaped crime upon crime until he became a proverbial

monster of iniquity. The murder of his brother (Britannicus), his

mother (Agrippina), his wives (Octavia and Poppaea), his teacher

(Seneca), and many eminent Romans, was fitly followed by his suicide in

the thirty-second year of his age. With him the family of Julius Caesar

ignominiously perished, and the empire became the prize of successful

soldiers and adventurers. [518]

The Conflagration in Rome.

For such a demon in human shape, the murder of a crowd of innocent

Christians was pleasant sport. The occasion of the hellish spectacle

was a fearful conflagration of Rome, the most destructive and

disastrous that ever occurred in history. It broke out in the night

between the 18th and 19th of July, [519] among the wooden shops in the

south-eastern end of the Great Circus, near the Palatine hill. [520]

Lashed by the wind, it defied all exertions of the firemen and

soldiers, and raged with unabated fury for seven nights and six days.

[521] Then it burst out again in another part, near the field of Mars,

and in three days more laid waste two other districts of the city.

[522]

The calamity was incalculable. Only four of the fourteen regions into

which the city was divided, remained uninjured; three, including the

whole interior city from the Circus to the Esquiline hill, were a

shapeless mass of ruins; the remaining seven were more or less

destroyed; venerable temples, monumental buildings of the royal,

republican, and imperial times, the richest creations of Greek art

which had been collected for centuries, were turned into dust and

ashes; men and beasts perished in the flames, and the metropolis of the

world assumed the aspect of a graveyard with a million of mourners over

the loss of irreparable treasures.

This fearful catastrophe must have been before the mind of St. John in

the Apocalypse when he wrote his funeral dirge of the downfall of

imperial Rome (Apoc. 18).

The cause of the conflagration is involved in mystery. Public rumor

traced it to Nero, who wished to enjoy the lurid spectacle of burning

Troy, and to gratify his ambition to rebuild Rome on a more magnificent

scale, and to call it Neropolis. [523] When the fire broke out he was

on the seashore at Antium, his birthplace; he returned when the

devouring element reached his own palace, and made extraordinary

efforts to stay and then to repair the disaster by a reconstruction

which continued till after his death, not forgetting to replace his

partially destroyed temporary residence (domus transitoria) by "the

golden house" (domus aurea), as a standing wonder of architectural

magnificence and extravagance.

The Persecution of the Christians.

To divert from himself the general suspicion of incendiarism, and at

the same time to furnish new entertainment for his diabolical cruelty,

Nero wickedly cast the blame upon the hated Christians, who, meanwhile,

especially since the public trial of Paul and his successful labors in

Rome, had come to be distinguished from the Jews as a genus tertium, or

as the most dangerous offshoot from that race. They were certainly

despisers of the Roman gods and loyal subjects of a higher king than

Caesar, and they were falsely suspected of secret crimes. The police

and people, under the influence of the panic created by the awful

calamity, were ready to believe the worst slanders, and demanded

victims. What could be expected of the ignorant multitude, when even

such cultivated Romans as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, stigmatized

Christianity as a vulgar and pestiferous superstition. It appeared to

them even worse than Judaism, which was at least an ancient national

religion, while Christianity was novel, detached from any particular

nationality, and aiming at universal dominion. Some Christians were

arrested, confessed their faith, and were "convicted not so much," says

Tacitus, "of the crime of incendiarism as of hating the human race."

Their Jewish origin, their indifference to politics and public affairs,

their abhorrence of heathen customs, were construed into an "odium

generis humani," and this made an attempt on their part to destroy the

city sufficiently plausible to justify a verdict of guilty. An

infuriated mob does not stop to reason, and is as apt to run mad as an

individual.

Under this wanton charge of incendiarism, backed by the equally

groundless charge of misanthropy and unnatural vice, there began a

carnival of blood such as even heathen Rome never saw before or since.

[524] It was the answer of the powers of hell to the mighty preaching

of the two chief apostles, which had shaken heathenism to its centre. A

"vast multitude" of Christians was put to death in the most shocking

manner. Some were crucified, probably in mockery of the punishment of

Christ, [525] some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to

the voracity of mad dogs in the arena. The satanic tragedy reached its

climax at night in the imperial gardens on the slope of the Vatican

(which embraced, it is supposed, the present site of the place and

church of St. Peter): Christian men and women, covered with pitch or

oil or resin, and nailed to posts of pine, were lighted and burned as

torches for the amusement of the mob; while Nero, in fantastical dress,

figured in a horse race, and displayed his art as charioteer. Burning

alive was the ordinary punishment of incendiaries; but only the cruel

ingenuity of this imperial monster, under the inspiration of the devil,

could invent such a horrible system of illumination.

This is the account of the greatest heathen historian, the fullest we

have--as the best description of the destruction of Jerusalem is from

the pen of the learned Jewish historian. Thus enemies bear witness to

the truth of Christianity. Tacitus incidentally mentions in this

connection the crucifixion of Christ under Pontius Pilate, in the reign

of Tiberius. With all his haughty Roman contempt for the Christians

whom he knew only from rumor and reading, he was convinced of their

innocence of incendiarism, and notwithstanding his cold stoicism, he

could not suppress a feeling of pity for them because they were

sacrificed not to the public good, but to the ferocity of a wicked

tyrant.

Some historians have doubted, not indeed the truth of this terrible

persecution, but that the Christians, rather than the Jews, or the

Christians alone, were the sufferers. It seems difficult to understand

that the harmless and peaceful Christians, whom the contemporary

writers, Seneca, Pliny, Lucan, Persius, ignore, while they notice the

Jews, should so soon have become the subjects of popular indignation.

It is supposed that Tacitus and Suetonius, writing some fifty years

after the event, confounded the Christians with the Jews, who were

generally obnoxious to the Romans, and justified the suspicion of

incendiarism by the escape of their transtiberine quarter from the

injury of the fire. [526]

But the atrocious act was too public to leave room for such a mistake.

Both Tacitus and Suetonius distinguish the two sects, although they

knew very little of either; and the former expressly derives the name

Christians from Christ, as the founder of the new religion. Moreover

Nero, as previously remarked, was not averse to the Jews, and his

second wife, Poppaea Sabina, a year before the conflagration, had shown

special favor to Josephus, and loaded him with presents. Josephus

speaks of the crimes of Nero, but says not a word of any persecution of

his fellow-religionists. [527] This alone seems to be conclusive. It is

not unlikely that in this (as in all previous persecutions, and often

afterwards) the fanatical Jews, enraged by the rapid progress of

Christianity, and anxious to avert suspicion from themselves, stirred

up the people against the hated Galilaeans, and that the heathen Romans

fell with double fury on these supposed half Jews, disowned by their

own strange brethren. [528]

The Probable Extent of the Persecution.

The heathen historians, if we are to judge from their silence, seem to

confine the persecution to the city of Rome, but later Christian

writers extend it to the provinces. [529] The example set by the

emperor in the capital could hardly be without influence in the

provinces, and would justify the outbreak of popular hatred. If the

Apocalypse was written under Nero, or shortly after his death, John's

exile to Patmos must be connected with this persecution. It mentions

imprisonments in Smyrna, the martyrdom of Antipas in Pergamus, and

speaks of the murder of prophets and saints and all that have been

slain on the earth. [530] The Epistle to the Hebrews 10:32-34, which

was written in Italy, probably in the year 64, likewise alludes to

bloody persecutions, and to the release of Timothy from prison, 13:23.

And Peter, in his first Epistle, which may be assigned to the same

year, immediately after the outbreak of the persecution, and shortly

before his death, warns the Christians in Asia Minor of a fiery trial

which is to try them, and of sufferings already endured or to be

endured, not for any crime, but for the name of "Christians." [531] The

name "Babylon" [532] for Rome is most easily explained by the time and

circumstances of composition.

Christianity, which had just reached the age of its founder, seemed

annihilated in Rome. With Peter and Paul the first generation of

Christians was buried. Darkness must have overshadowed the trembling

disciples, and a despondency seized them almost as deep as on the

evening of the crucifixion, thirty-four years before. But the morning

of the resurrection was not far distant, and the very spot of the

martyrdom of St. Peter was to become the site of the greatest church in

Christendom and the palatial residence of his reputed successors. [533]

The Apocalypse on the Neronian Persecution.

None of the leading apostles remained to record the horrible massacre,

except John. He may have heard of it in Ephesus, or he may have

accompanied Peter to Rome and escaped a fearful death in the Neronian

gardens, if we are to credit the ancient tradition of his miraculous

preservation from being burnt alive with his fellow-Christians in that

hellish illumination on the Vatican hill. [534] At all events he was

himself a victim of persecution for the name of Jesus, and depicted its

horrors, as an exile on the lonely island of Patmos in the vision of

the Apocalypse.

This mysterious book--whether written between 68 and 69, or under

Domitian in 95--was undoubtedly intended for the church of that age as

well as for future ages, and must have been sufficiently adapted to the

actual condition and surroundings of its first readers to give them

substantial aid and comfort in their fiery trials. Owing to the

nearness of events alluded to, they must have understood it even

better, for practical purposes, than readers of later generations. John

looks, indeed, forward to the final consummation, but he sees the end

in the beginning. He takes his standpoint on the historic foundation of

the old Roman empire in which he lived, as the visions of the prophets

of Israel took their departure from the kingdom of David or the age of

the Babylonian captivity. He describes the heathen Rome of his day as

"the beast that ascended out of the abyss," as "a beast coming out of

the sea, having ten horns and seven heads" (or kings, emperors), as

"the great harlot that sitteth among many waters," as a "woman sitting

upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven

heads and ten horns," as "Babylon the great, the mother of the harlots

and of the abominations of the earth." [535] The seer must have in view

the Neronian persecution, the most cruel that ever occurred, when he

calls the woman seated on seven hills, "drunken with the blood of the

saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," [536] and

prophesied her downfall as a matter of rejoicing for the "saints and

apostles and prophets." [537]

Recent commentators discover even a direct allusion to Nero, as

expressing in Hebrew letters (Neron Kesar) the mysterious number 666,

and as being the fifth of the seven heads of the beast which was

slaughtered, but would return again from the abyss as Antichrist. But

this interpretation is uncertain, and in no case can we attribute to

John the belief that Nero would literally rise from the dead as

Antichrist. He meant only that Nero, the persecutor of the Christian

church, was (like Antiochus Epiphanes) the forerunner of Antichrist,

who would be inspired by the same bloody spirit from the infernal

world. In a similar sense Rome was a second Babylon, and John the

Baptist another Elijah.

Notes.

I. The Accounts of the Neronian Persecution.

1. From heathen historians.

We have chiefly two accounts of the first imperial persecution, from

Tacitus, who was born about eight years before the event, and probably

survived Trajan (d. 117), and from Suetonius, who wrote his XII.

Caesares a little later, about a.d. 120. Dion Cassius (born circa a.d.

155), in his History of Rome (Rhomaike Istoria, preserved in fragments,

and in the abridgment of the monk Xiphilinus), from the arrival of

Aeneas to a.d. 229, mentions the conflagration of Rome, but ignores the

persecutions of the Christians.

The description of Tacitus is in his terse, pregnant, and graphic

style, and beyond suspicion of interpolation, but has some obscurities.

We give it in full, from Annal., XV. 44

"But not all the relief of men, nor the bounties of the emperor, nor

the propitiation of the gods, could relieve him [Nero] from the infamy

of being believed to have ordered the conflagration. Therefore, in

order to suppress the rumor, Nero falsely charged with the guilt, and

punished with the most exquisite tortures, those persons who, hated for

their crimes, were commonly called Christians (subdidit reos, et

quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus

'Christianos' appellabat). The founder of that name, Christus, had been

put to death (supplicio affectus erat) by the procurator of Judaea,

Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius; but the pernicious

superstition (exitiabilis superstitio), repressed for a time, [538]

broke out again, not only through Judaea, the source of this evil, but

also through the city [of Rome], whither all things vile and shameful

flow from all quarters, and are encouraged (quo cuncta undique atrocia

aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque). Accordingly, first, those only

were arrested who confessed. [539] Next, on their information, a vast

multitude (multitudo ingens), were convicted, not so much of the crime

of incendiarism as of hatred of the human race (odio humani generis).

[540] And in their deaths they were made the subjects of sport; for

they were wrapped in the hides of wild beasts and torn to pieces by

dogs, or nailed to crosses, or set on fire, and when day declined, were

burned to serve for nocturnal lights (in usum nocturni luminis

urerentur). Nero had offered his own gardens [on the Vatican] for this

spectacle, and also exhibited a chariot race on the occasion, now

mingling in the crowd in the dress of a charioteer, now actually

holding the reins. Whence a feeling of compassion arose towards the

sufferers, though justly held to be odious, because they seemed not to

be cut off for the public good, but as victims to the ferocity of one

man."

The account of Suetonius, Nero, c. 16, is very short and

unsatisfactory: "Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum

superstitionis novae ac maleficaea." He does not connect the

persecution with the conflagration, but with police regulations.

Juvenal, the satirical poet, alludes, probably as an eye-witness, to

the persecution, like Tacitus, with mingled feelings of contempt and

pity for the Christian sufferers (Sat. I. 155):

"Dar'st thou speak of Tigellinus' guilt?

Thou too shalt shine like those we saw

Stand at the stake with throat transfixed

Smoking and burning."

2. From Christians.

Clement of Rome, near the close of the first century, must refer to the

Neronian persecution when he writes of the "vast multitude of the elect

"who suffered, many indignities and tortures, being the victims of

jealousy; "and of Christian women who were made to personate "Danaides"

and "Dirces," Ad Corinth., c. 6. I have made no use of this passage in

the text. Renan amplifies and weaves it into his graphic description of

the persecution (L'Antechrist, pp. 163 sqq., almost literally repeated

in his Hibbert Lectures). According to the legend, Dirce was bound to a

raging bull and dragged to death. The scene is represented in the

famous marble group in the museum at Naples. But the Danaides can

furnish no suitable parallel to Christian martyrs, unless, as Renan

suggests, Nero had the sufferings of the Tartarus represented.

Lightfoot, following the bold emendation of Wordsworth (on Theocritus,

XXVI. 1), rejects the reading Danaides kai Dirkai(which is retained in

all editions, including that of Gebhardt and Harnack), and substitutes

for it neanides, paidiskai, so that Clement would say:, Matrons

(gunaikes) maidens, slave-girls, being persecuted, after suffering

cruel and unholy insults, safely reached the goal in the race of faith,

and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body."

Tertullian (d. about 220) thus alludes to the Neronian persecution, Ad

Nationes, I. ch. 7: "This name of ours took its rise in the reign of

Augustus; under Tiberius it was taught with all clearness and

publicity; under Nero it was ruthlessly condemned (sub Nerone damnatio

invaluit), and you may weigh its worth and character even from the

person of its persecutor. If that prince was a pious man, then the

Christians are impious; if he was just, if he was pure, then the

Christians are unjust and impure; if he was not a public enemy, we are

enemies of our country: what sort of men we are, our persecutor himself

shows, since he of course punished what produced hostility to himself.

Now, although every other institution which existed under Nero has been

destroyed, yet this of ours has firmly remained--righteous, it would

seem, as being unlike the author [of its persecution]."

Sulpicius Severus, Chron. II. 28, 29, gives a pretty full account, but

mostly from Tacitus. He and Orosius (Hist. VII. 7) first clearly assert

that Nero extended the persecution to the provinces.

II. Nero's Return as Antichrist.

Nero, owing to his youth, beauty, dash, and prodigality, and the

startling novelty of his wickedness (Tacitus calls him "incredibilium

cupitor," Ann. XV. 42), enjoyed a certain popularity with the vulgar

democracy of Rome. Hence, after his suicide, a rumor spread among the

heathen that he was not actually dead, but had fled to the Parthians,

and would return to Rome with an army and destroy the city. Three

impostors under his name used this belief and found support during the

reigns of Otho, Titus, and Domitian. Even thirty years later Domitian

trembled at the name of Nero. Tacit., Hist. I. 2; II. 8, 9; Sueton.,

Ner. 57; Dio Cassius, LXIV. 9; Schiller, l.c., p. 288.

Among the Christians the rumor assumed a form hostile to Nero.

Lactantius (De Mort. Persecut., c. 2) mentions the Sibylline saying

that, as Nero was the first persecutor, he would also be the last, and

precede the advent of Antichrist. Augustin (De Civil. Dei, XX. 19)

mentions that at his time two opinions were still current in the church

about Nero: some supposed that he would rise from the dead as

Antichrist, others that he was not dead, but concealed, and would live

until he should be revealed and restored to his kingdom. The former is

the Christian, the latter the heathen belief. Augustin rejects both.

Sulpicius Severus (Chron., II. 29) also mentions the belief (unde

creditur) that Nero, whose deadly wound was healed, would return at the

end of the world to work out "the mystery of lawlessness" predicted by

Paul (2 Thess. 2:7).

Some commentators make the Apocalypse responsible for this absurd rumor

and false belief, while others hold that the writer shared it with his

heathen contemporaries. The passages adduced are Apoc. 17:8: "The beast

was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and to go

into perdition" ... "the beast was, and is not, and shall be present"

(kai parestai, notkaiper estin, "and yet is," as the E. V. reads with

the text. ec.); 17:11: "And the beast that was, and is not, is himself

also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into perdition;" and

13:3: "And I saw one of his heads as though it had been smitten unto

death; and his death-stroke was healed: and the whole world wondered

after the beast."

But this is said of the beast, i.e., the Roman empire, which is

throughout clearly distinguished from the seven heads, i.e., the

emperors. In Daniel, too, the beast is collective. Moreover, a

distinction must be made between the death of one ruler (Nero) and the

deadly wound which thereby was inflicted on the beast or the empire,

but from which it recovered (under Vespasian).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[515] Lange on Romans, p. 29 (Am. ed.): "As the light and darkness of

Judaism was centralized in Jerusalem, the theocratic city of God (the

holy city, the murderer of the prophets), so was heathen Rome, the

humanitarian metropolis of the world, the centre of all the elements of

light and darkness prevalent in the heathen world; and so did Christian

Rome become the centre of all the elements of vital light, and of all

the antichristian darkness in the Christian church. Hence Rome, like

Jerusalem, not only possesses a unique historical significance, but is

a universal picture operative through all ages. Christian Rome,

especially, stands forth as a shining light of the nations, which is

turned into an idol of magical strength to those who are subject to its

rule."

[516] In 2 Thess. 2:6, 7, to katechon is the Roman empire, ho katechon

the emperor as its representative. This is the patristic interpretation

to which some of the beat modern commentators have returned. Mediaeval

sects and many Protestant writers found the great apostacy in the

Papacy and the restraining power in the German empire; while papal

commentators took revenge by fastening the charge of apostacy on the

Reformation which was restrained by the Papacy. I believe in a repeated

and growing fulfilment of this and other prophecies on the historic

basis of the apostolic age and the old Roman empire.

[517] It is so represented in the Apocalypse 13 -18 after the Neronian

persecution.

[518] Comp. Renan's portraiture of Nero, l.c. ch. I. He thinks that

there is no parallel to this monster, and calls him un esprit

prodigieusement d�clamatoire, une mauvaise nature, hypocrite, l�g�re,

vaniteuse; un compos� incroyable d'intelligence fausse, de m�chancet�

profonde, d'�go�sme atroce et sournois, avee des raffinements inou�s de

subtilit�."See also the description of Merivale, ch. LV. (vol. VI. 245

sqq.).

[519] Tacitus (Ann. XV. 41) gives the date quarto decimo [ante]

Kalendas Sextiles ... quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant.

Friedl�nder, I. 6, wrongly makes it the 17th July. The coincidence with

the day when the Gauls had set fire to Rome (July 19, A. U. 364, or 453

years before), was considered a bad omen. It was in the tenth year of

Nero's reign, ie., a.d. 64. See Clinton, Fasti Romani, I. Oxon. 1845,

pp. 45, 46; Friedl�nder, l.c. I. 6; Schiller, l.c. pp. 173 sq.;

Merivale, VI. 131, note. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, erroneously puts

the fire in the year 66.

[520] For a description of the Circus Maximus see Friedl�nder, III. 293

sqq. The amphitheatrical rows of seats were eight stadia long, with

accommodation for 150,000 persons. After Nero's reconstruction the

seats amounted to 250,000 under Vespasianum, and subsequent additions

raised the number, in the fourth century to 385,000. It was surrounded

by wooden buildings for shopkeepers (among whom were many Jews),

astrologers, caterers, prostitutes, and all sorts of amusements. Nero

was most extravagant in his expenditure for the circus and the theatre

to gratify the people's passion for Panem et Circenses, to use

Juvenal's words.

[521] "Per sex dies septemque noctes," Sueton. Nero, 38 sex

dies,"Tacit. Ann. XV. 4

[522] The nine days' duration is proved by an inscription (Gruter, 61.

3). The great fire in London in 1666 lasted only four days and swept an

area of 436 acres. Comp. Lambert's Hist. of London,II. 91, quoted by

Merivale. The fire in Chicago lasted only thirty-six hours, October 8

and 9, 1871, but swept over nearly three and one-third square miles

(2,114 square acres), and destroyed 17,450 buildings, the homes of

98,500 people.

[523] Tacitus XV. 39: "Pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis

inisse eum domesticam scenam et cecinisse Troianum excedium." Sueton.

c. 38: "Quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum et angustiis

flexurisque vicorum [Nero]incendit Urbem ... Hoc incendium e turre

Maecenatiana prospectans, laetusque 'flammae,'ut ajebat,

'pulchritudine,'halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu

decantavit."Robbers and ruffians were seen to thrust blazing brands

into the buildings, and, when seized, they affirmed that they acted

under higher orders. The elder Pliny, Xiphilinus, and the author of the

tragedy, Octavia, likewise charge Nero with incendiarism. But Schiller,

l.c. 425 sqq., labors to relieve him of it.

[524] We do not know the precise date of the massacre. Mosheim fixes it

on November, Renan on August, a.d. 64. Several weeks or months at all

events must have passed after the fire. If the traditional date of

Peter's crucifixion be correct there would be an interval of nearly a

year between the conflagration, July 19, 64, and his martyrdom, June

29th.

[525] "Crucibus affixi," says Tacitus. This would well apply to Peter,

to whom our Lord had prophesied such a death, John 21:18, 19.

Tertullian says:"Romae Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur"(De

Praescript. Haeret., c. 36; comp. Adv. Marc., IV. 5; Scorpiace, 15).

According to a later tradition he was, at his own request, crucified

with his head downwards, deeming himself unworthy to be crucified as

was his Lord. This is first mentioned in the Acta Pauli, c. 81, by

Origen (in Euseb. H. E., III. 1) and more clearly by Jerome (Catal. 1);

but is doubtful, although such cruelties were occasionally practised

(see Josephus, Bell. Jud., V. 11, 1). Tradition mentions also the

martyrdom of Peter's wife, who was cheered by the apostle on her way to

the place of execution and exhorted to remember the Lord on the cross

(memneso tou Kuriou). Clement of Alexandria, Strom. VII. 11, quoted by

Eusebius, H. E., III. 30. The orderly execution of Paul by the sword

indicates a regular legal process before, or more probably at least a

year after, the Neronian persecution in which his Roman citizenship

would scarcely have been respected. See p. 326.

[526] So Gibbon (ch. XVI.), more recently Merivale, l.c. ch. 54 (vol.

VI. 220, 4th ed.), and Schiller, l.c., pp. 434, 585, followed by

Hausrath and Stahr. Merivale and Schiller assume that the persecution

was aimed at the Jews and Christians indiscriminately. Guizot, Milman,

Neander, Gieseler, Renan, Lightfoot, Wieseler, and Keim defend or

assume the accuracy of Tacitus and Suetonius.

[527] Ant. XX. 8, 2, 3.

[528] So Ewald. VI. 627, and Renan, L'Antechist, pp. 159 sqq. Renan

ingeniously conjectures that the "jealousy" to which Clement of Rome

(Ad Cor. 6) traces the persecution, refers to the divisions among the

Jews about the Christian religion.

[529] Orosius (about 400), Hist., VII. 7: "Primus Romae Christianos

suppliciis et mortibus adferit [Nero],ac per omnes provincias pari

persecutione excruciari imperavit."So also Sulpicius Severus, Chron.

II. 29. Dodwell (Dissert. Cypr. XI., De Paucitate martyrum, Gibbon,

Milman, Merivale, and Schiller (p. 438) deny, but Ewald (VI. 627, and

in his Com. on the Apoc.)and Renan (p. 183) very decidedly affirm the

extension of the persecution beyond Rome. "L'atrocit� command�e par

N�ron,"says Renan, "dut avor des contre-coups dans les provinces et y

exciter une recrudescence de pers�cution." C. L. Roth (Werke des

Tacitus, VI. 117) and Wieseler (Christenverfolgungen der C�saren, p.

11) assume that Nero condemned and prohibited Christianity as dangerous

to the state. Kiessling and De Rossi have found in an inscription at

Pompeii traces of a bloody persecution; but the reading is dispated,

see Schiller, p. 438, Friedl�nder III. 529, and Renan, p. 184.

[530] Apoc. 2:9, 10, 13; 16:6; 17:6; 18:24.

[531] 1 Pet. 2:12, 19, 20; 3:14-18; 4:12-19.

[532] At the close, 1 Pet. 5:13. not on page 384

[533] "Those who survey," says Gibbon (ch. XVI.)."with a curious eye

the revolutions of mankind, may observe that the gardens and circus of

Nero on the Vatican, which were polluted with the blood of the first

Christians, have been rendered still more famous by the triumph and by

the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot, a temple, which

far surpasses the ancient glories of the capital, has been since

erected by the Christian pontiffs, who, deriving their claim of

universal dominion from a humble fisherman of Galilee, have succeeded

to the throne of the Caesars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of

Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the

Baltic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean." Comp. Renan, L'Antechr. p.

177: "L'orgie de N�ron fut le grand bapt�me de sanq qui d�siqna Rome,

comme la ville des martyrs, pour jouer un r�le � part dans l'histoire

du christianisme, et en �tre la seconde ville sainte. Ce fut la prise

de possession de la colline Vatcane par ces triomphateurs d'un genre

inconnu jusque-l� ... Rome, rendue responsable de tout le sang vers�,

devint comme Babylone une sorte de ville sacramentelle et symbolique."

[534] Tertullian mentions it in connection with the crucifixion of

Peter and the decapitation of Paul as apparently occurring at the same

time; De Praescript. Haer., c.36: "Ista quam felix ecclesia (the church

of Rome) cui totam doctrinam apostoli sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi

Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Joannis exitu

coronatur, ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus

nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur." Comp. Jerome, Adv. Jovin., 1,

26, and in Matt. 22: 23; and Euseb., H. E., VI. 5. Renan (p. 196)

conjectures that John was destined to shine in the illumination of the

Neronian gardens, and was actually steeped in oil for the purpose, but

saved by an accident or caprice. Thiersch (Die Kirche im Apost.

Zeitalter, p. 227, third edition, 1879) likewise accepts the tradition

of Tertullian, but assumes a miraculous deliverance.

[535] Rev. 11:7; 13:1; 17:1, 3, 5. Comp. Daniel's description of the

fourth (Roman) beast, "dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly,"

with "ten horns,"Dan. 7:7 sqq.

[536] Rev. 17:6.

[537] Rev. 18:2. Comp. also Rev. 6:9-11.

[538] This refers either to the crucifixion, or more probably to the

edict of Claudius, who banished the Jews and Jewish Christians from

Rome. See above, p. 363.

[539] Confessed what? Probably the Christian religion, which was

already regarded as a sort of crime. If they confessed to be guilty of

incendiarism, they must have been either weak neophytes who could not

stand the pain of the torture, or hired scoundrels.

[540] This is to be understood in the active sense of the reputed

enmity to mankind, with which Tacitus charges the Jews also in almost

the same terms ("Adversus omnes alios hostile odium," Hist. V. 5). But

Thiersch and others explain it of the hatred of mankind towards the

Christians (comp. Matt. 10:22, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my

name's sake").

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 38. The Jewish War and the Destruction of Jerusalem. a.d. 70.

"And as He went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith

unto Him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of

buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings?

There shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be

thrown down."--Mark 13:1,2.

Sources.

Josephus: Bell. Jud., in 7 books; and Vita, c. 4-74. The history of the

Jewish war was written by him as eye-witness about a.d. 75. English

translations by W. Whiston, in Works of Jos., and by Rob. Traill, ed.

by Isaac Taylor, new ed., Lond., 1862. German translations by Gfrs�rer

and W. Hoffmann, Stuttgart, 1836; and Paret, Stuttg., 1855; French

translations by Arnauld d'andilly, 1667, Joachim Gillet, 1756, and Abb�

Glaire, 1846.

Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg: Histoire de la Palestine depuis

Cyrus jusqu'� Adrien. Paris, 1867 (first part of his L'Histoire et la

g�ographie de la Palestine d'apr�s les Thalmuds et les autres sources

rabbiniques), pp. 255-295.

Tacitus: Hist., II. 4; V. 1-13. A mere fragment, full of errors and

insults towards the vanquished Jews. The fifth book, except this

fragment, is lost. While Josephus, the Jew, is filled with admiration

for the power and greatness of Rome, Tacitus, the heathen, treats Jews

and Christians with scorn and contempt, and prefers to derive his

information from hostile Egyptians and popular prejudice rather than

from the Scriptures, and Philo, and Josephus.

Sulpicius Severus: Chronicon, II. 30 (p. 84, ed. Halm). Short.

Literature.

Milman: The History of the Jews, Books XIV.-XVII. (New York ed., vol.

II., 219 sqq.).

Ewald: Geschichte des Folkes Israel, VI. 705-753 (second ed.).

Gr�tz:Geschichte der Juden, III. 336-414.

Hitzig: Geschichte des Volkes Israel, II. 594-629.

Lewin: The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus. With the Journal of a recent

Visit in the Holy City, and a general Sketch of the Topography of

Jerusalem from the Earliest Times down to the Siege. London, 1863.

Count de Champagny: Rome et la Judie au temps de la chute de N�ron (ans

66-72 apr�s J�sus-Christ), 2. �d., Paris, 1865. T. I., pp. 195-254; T.

II., pp. 55-200.

Charles Merivale: History of the Romans under the Empire, ch. LIX.

(vol. VI., 415 sqq., 4th ed., New York, 1866).

De Saulcy: Les derniers jours de J�rusalem. Paris, 1866.

E. Renan: L'Antechrist (ch. X.-XX., pp. 226-551). Paris, second ed.,

1873.

Emil Sch�rer: Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte (Leipzig,

1874), pp. 323-350. He also gives the literature.

A. Hausrath: Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, Part III., second ed.,

Heidelberg, 1875, pp. 424 487.

Alfred J. Church: The Story of the Last Days of Jerusalem, from

Josephus. With illustrations. London, 1880.

There is scarcely another period in history so full of vice,

corruption, and disaster as the six years between the Neronian

persecution and the destruction of Jerusalem. The prophetic description

of the last days by our Lord began to be fulfilled before the

generation to which he spoke had passed away, and the day of judgment

seemed to be close at hand. So the Christians believed and had good

reason to believe. Even to earnest heathen minds that period looked as

dark as midnight. We have elsewhere quoted Seneca's picture of the

frightful moral depravity and decay under the reign of Nero, his pupil

and murderer. Tacitus begins his history of Rome after the death of

Nero with these words: "I proceed to a work rich in disasters, full of

atrocious battles, of discord and rebellion, yea, horrible even in

peace. Four princes [Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian] killed by the

sword; three civil wars, several foreign wars; and mostly raging at the

same time. Favorable events in the East [the subjugation of the Jews],

unfortunate ones in the West. Illyria disturbed, Gaul uneasy; Britain

conquered and soon relinquished; the nations of Sarmatia and Suevia

rising against us; the Parthians excited by the deception of a

pseudo-Nero. Italy also weighed down by Dew or oft-repeated calamities;

cities swallowed up or buried in ruins; Rome laid waste by

conflagrations, the old temples burned up, even the capitol set on fire

by citizens; sanctuaries desecrated; adultery rampant in high places.

The sea filled with exiles; the rocky islands contaminated with murder.

Still more horrible the fury in the city. Nobility, riches, places of

honor, whether declined or occupied, counted as crimes, and virtue sure

of destruction. [541]

The Approaching Doom.

The most unfortunate country in that period was Palestine, where an

ancient and venerable nation brought upon itself unspeakable suffering

and destruction. The tragedy of Jerusalem prefigures in miniature the

final judgment, and in this light it is represented in the

eschatological discourses of Christ, who foresaw the end from the

beginning.

The forbearance of God with his covenant people, who had crucified

their own Saviour, reached at last its limit. As many as could be saved

in the usual way, were rescued. The mass of the people had obstinately

set themselves against all improvement. James the Just, the man who was

fitted, if any could be, to reconcile the Jews to the Christian

religion, had been stoned by his hardened brethren, for whom he daily

interceded in the temple; and with him the Christian community in

Jerusalem had lost its importance for that city. The hour of the "great

tribulation" and fearful judgment drew near. The prophecy of the Lord

approached its literal fulfilment: Jerusalem was razed to the ground,

the temple burned, and not one stone was left upon another. [542]

Not long before the outbreak of the Jewish war, seven years before the

siege of Jerusalem (a.d. 63), a peasant by the name of Joshua, or

Jesus, appeared in the city at the Feast of Tabernacles, and in a tone

of prophetic ecstasy cried day and night on the street among the

people:, A voice from the morning, a voice from the evening! A voice

from the four winds! A voice of rain against Jerusalem and the Temple!

A voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! A voice against the

whole people! Woe, woe to Jerusalem! "The magistrates, terrified by

this woe, had the prophet of evil taken up and scourged. He offered no

resistance, and continued to cry his "Woe." Being brought before the

procurator, Albinus, he was scourged till his bones could be seen, but

interposed not a word for himself; uttered no curse on his enemies;

simply exclaimed at every blow in a mournful tone: "Woe, woe to

Jerusalem!" To the governor's question, who and whence he was, He

answered nothing. Finally they let him go, as a madman. But he

continued for seven years and five months, till the outbreak of the

war, especially at the three great feasts, to proclaim the approaching

fall of Jerusalem. During the siege he was singing his dirge, for the

last time, from the wall. Suddenly he added: "Woe, woe also to

me!"--and a stone of the Romans hurled at his head put an end to his

prophetic lamentation. [543]

The Jewish Rebellion.

Under the last governors, Felix, Festus, Albinus, and Florus, moral

corruption and the dissolution of all social ties, but at the same time

the oppressiveness of the Roman yoke, increased every year. After the

accession of Felix, assassins, called "Sicarians" (from sica, a

dagger), armed with daggers and purchasable for any crime, endangering

safety in city and country, roamed over Palestine. Besides this, the

party spirit among the Jews themselves, and their hatred of their

heathen oppressors, rose to the most insolent political and religious

fanaticism, and was continually inflamed by false prophets and

Messiahs, one of whom, for example, according to Josephus, drew after

him thirty thousand men. Thus came to pass what our Lord had predicted:

"There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall lead

many astray."

At last, in the month of May, a.d. 66, under the last procurator,

Gessius Florus (from 65 onward), a wicked and cruel tyrant who, as

Josephus says, was placed as a hangman over evil-doers, an organized

rebellion broke out against the Romans, but it the same time a terrible

civil war also between different parties of the revolters themselves,

especially between the Zealots, and the Moderates, or the Radicals and

Conservatives. The ferocious party of the Zealots had all the fire and

energy which religious and patriotic fanaticism could inspire; they

have been justly compared with the Montagnards of the French

Revolution. They gained the ascendancy in the progress of the war, took

forcible possession of the city and the temple and introduced a reign

of terror. They kept up the Messianic expectations of the people and

hailed every step towards destruction as a step towards deliverance.

Reports of comets, meteors, and all sorts of fearful omens and

prodigies were interpreted as signs of the common of the Messiah and

his reign over the heathen. The Romans recognized the Messiah in

Vespasian and Titus.

To defy Rome in that age, without a single ally, was to defy the world

in arms; but religious fanaticism, inspired by the recollection of the

heroic achievements of the Maccabees, blinded the Jews against the

inevitable failure of this mad and desperate revolt.

The Roman Invasion.

The emperor Nero, informed of the rebellion, sent his most famous

general, Vespasian, with a large force to Palestine Vespasian opened

the campaign in the year 67 from the Syrian port-town, Ptolemais

(Acco), and against a stout resistance overran Galilee with an army of

sixty thousand men. But events in Rome hindered him from completing the

victory, and required him to return thither. Nero had killed himself.

The emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius followed one another in rapid

succession. The latter was taken out of a dog's kennel in Rome while

drunk, dragged through the streets, and shamefully put to death.

Vespasian, in the year 69, was universally proclaimed emperor, and

restored order and prosperity.

His son, Titus, who himself ten years after became emperor, and highly

distinguished himself by his mildness and philanthropy, [544] then

undertook the prosecution of the Jewish war, and became the instrument

in the hand of God of destroying the holy city and the temple. He had

an army of not less than eighty thousand trained soldiers, and planted

his camp on Mount Scopus and the adjoining Mount Olivet, in full view

of the city and the temple, which from this height show to the best

advantage. The valley of the Kedron divided the besiegers from the

besieged.

In April, a.d. 70, immediately after the Passover, when Jerusalem was

filled with strangers, the siege began. The zealots rejected, with

sneering defiance, the repeated proposals of Titus and the prayers of

Josephus, who accompanied him as interpreter and mediator; and they

struck down every one who spoke of surrender. They made sorties down

the valley of the Kedron and tip the mountain, and inflicted great loss

oil the Romans. As the difficulties multiplied their courage increased.

The crucifixion of hundreds of prisoners (as many as five hundred a

day) only enraged them the more. Even the famine which began to rage

and sweep away thousands daily, and forced a woman to roast her own

child, [545] the cries of mothers and babes, the most pitiable scenes

of misery around them, could not move the crazy fanatics. History

records no other instance of such obstinate resistance, such desperate

bravery and contempt of death. The Jews fought, not only for civil

liberty, life, and their native land, but for that which constituted

their national pride and glory, and gave their whole history its

significance--for their religion, which, even in this state of horrible

degeneracy, infused into them an almost superhuman power of endurance.

The Destruction of the City and the Temple.

At last, in July, the castle of Antonia was surprised and taken by

night. This prepared the way for the destruction of the Temple in which

the tragedy culminated. The daily sacrifices ceased July 17th, because

the hands were all needed for defence. The last and the bloodiest

sacrifice at the altar of burnt offerings was the slaughter of

thousands of Jews who had crowded around it.

Titus (according to Josephus) intended at first to save that

magnificent work of architecture, as a trophy of victory, and perhaps

from some superstitious fear; and when the flames threatened to reach

the Holy of Holies he forced his way through flame and smoke, over the

dead and dying, to arrest the fire. [546] But the destruction was

determined by a higher decree. His own soldiers, roused to madness by

the stubborn resistance, and greedy of the golden treasures, could not

be restrained from the work of destruction. At first the halls around

the temple were set on fire. Then a firebrand was hurled through the

golden gate. When the flames arose the Jews raised a hideous yell and

tried to put out the fire; while others, clinging with a last

convulsive grasp to their Messianic hopes, rested in the declaration of

a false prophet, that God in the midst of the conflagration of the

Temple would give a signal for the deliverance of his people. The

legions vied with each other in feeding the flames, and made the

unhappy people feel the full force of their unchained rage. Soon the

whole prodigious structure was in a blaze and illuminated the skies. It

was burned on the tenth of August, a.d. 70, the same day of the year on

which, according to tradition, the first temple was destroyed by

Nebuchadnezzar. "No one," says Josephus, "can conceive a louder, more

terrible shriek than arose from all sides during the burning of the

temple. The shout of victory and the jubilee of the legions sounded

through the wailings of the people, now surrounded with fire and sword,

upon the mountain, and throughout the city. The echo from all the

mountains around, even to Peraea (?), increased the deafening roar. Yet

the misery itself was more terrible than this disorder. The hill on

which the temple stood was seething hot, and seemed enveloped to its

base in one sheet of flame. The blood was larger in quantity than the

fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew

them. The ground was nowhere visible. All was covered with corpses;

over these heaps the soldiers pursued the fugitives." [547]

The Romans planted their eagles on the shapeless ruins, over against

the eastern gate, offered their sacrifices to them, and proclaimed

Titus Imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy. Thus was

fulfilled the prophecy concerning the abomination of desolation

standing in the holy place." [548]

Jerusalem was razed to the ground; only three towers of the palace of

Herod--Hippicus (still standing), Phasael, and Mariamne--together with

a portion of the western wall, were left as monuments of the strength

of the conquered city, once the centre of the Jewish theocracy and the

cradle of the Christian Church.

Even the heathen Titus is reported to have publicly declared that God,

by a special providence, aided the Romans and drove the Jews from their

impregnable strongholds. [549] Josephus, who went through the war

himself from beginning to end, at first as governor of Galilee and

general of the Jewish army, then as a prisoner of Vespasian, finally as

a companion of Titus and mediator between the Romans and Jews,

recognized in this tragical event a divine judgment and admitted of his

degenerate countrymen, to whom he was otherwise sincerely attached: "I

will not hesitate to say what gives me pain: I believe that, had the

Romans delayed their punishment of these villains, the city would have

been swallowed up by the earth, or overwhelmed with a flood, or, like

Sodom, consumed with fire from heaven. For the generation which was in

it was far more ungodly than the men on whom these punishments had in

former times fallen. By their madness the whole nation came to be

ruined." [550]

Thus, therefore, must one of the best Roman emperors execute the long

threatened judgment of God, and the most learned Jew of his time

describe it, and thereby, without willing or knowing it, bear testimony

to the truth of the prophecy and the divinity of the mission of Jesus

Christ, the rejection of whom brought all this and the subsequent

misfortune upon the apostate race.

The destruction of Jerusalem would be a worthy theme for the genius of

a Christian Homer. It has been called "the most soul-stirring struggle

of all ancient history." [551] But there was no Jeremiah to sing the

funeral dirge of the city of David and Solomon. The Apocalypse was

already written, and had predicted that the heathen "shall tread the

holy city under foot forty and two months." [552] One of the master

artists of modern times, Kaulbach, has made it the subject of one of

his greatest paintings in the museum at Berlin. It represents the

burning temple: in the foreground, the high-priest burying his sword in

his breast; around him, the scenes of heart-rending suffering; above,

the ancient prophets beholding the fulfilment of their oracles; beneath

them, Titus with the Roman army as the unconscious executor of the

Divine wrath; below, to the left, Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew of the

mediaeval legend, driven by furies into the undying future; and to the

right the group of Christians departing in peace from the scene of

destruction, and Jewish children imploring their protection.

The Fate of the Survivors, and the Triumph in Rome.

After a siege of five months the entire city was in the hands of the

victors. The number of the Jews slain during the siege, including all

those who had crowded into the city from the country, is stated by

Josephus at the enormous and probably exaggerated figure of one million

and one hundred thousand. Eleven thousand perished from starvation

shortly after the close of the siege. Ninety-seven thousand were

carried captive and sold into slavery, or sent to the mines, or

sacrificed in the gladiatorial shows at Caesarea, Berytus, Antioch, and

other cities. The strongest and handsomest men were selected for the

triumphal procession in Rome, among them the chief defenders and

leaders of the revolt, Simon Bar-Giora and John of Gischala. [553]

Vespasian and Titus celebrated the dearly bought victory together (71).

No expense was spared for the pageant. Crowned with laurel, and clothed

in purple garments, the two conquerors rode slowly in separate

chariots, Domitian on a splendid charger, to the temple of Jupiter

Capitolinus, amid the shouts of the people and the aristocracy. They

were preceded by the soldiers in festive attire and seven hundred

Jewish captives. The images of the gods, and the sacred furniture of

the temple--the table of show-bread, the seven-armed candlestick, the

trumpets which announced the year of jubilee, the vessel of incense,

and the rolls of the Law--were borne along in the procession and

deposited in the newly built Temple of Peace, [554] except the Law and

the purple veils of the holy place, which Vespasian reserved for his

palace. Simon Bar-Giora was thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock; John of

Gischala doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Coins were cast with the

legend Judaea capta, Judaea devicta. But neither Vespasian nor Titus

assumed the victorious epithet Judaeus; they despised a people which

had lost its fatherland.

Josephus saw the pompous spectacle of the humiliation and wholesale

crucifixion of his nation, and described it without a tear. [555] The

thoughtful Christian, looking at the representation of the temple

furniture borne by captive Jews on the triumphal arch of Titus, still

standing between the Colosseum and the Forum, is filled with awe at the

fulfilment of divine prophecy.

The conquest of Palestine involved the destruction of the Jewish

commonwealth. Vespasian retained the land as his private property or

distributed it among his veterans. The people were by the five years'

war reduced to extreme poverty, and left without a magistrate (in the

Jewish sense), without a temple, without a country. The renewal of the

revolt under the false Messiah, Bar-Cocheba, led only to a still more

complete destruction of Jerusalem and devastation of Palestine by the

army of Hadrian (132-135). But the Jews still had the law and the

prophets and the sacred traditions, to which they cling to this day

with indestructible tenacity and with the hope of a great future.

Scattered over the earth, at home everywhere and nowhere; refusing to

mingle their blood with any other race, dwelling in distinct

communities, marked as a peculiar people in every feature of the

countenance, in every rite of religion; patient, sober, and

industrious; successful in every enterprise, prosperous in spite of

oppression, ridiculed yet feared, robbed yet wealthy, massacred yet

springing up again, they have outlived the persecution of centuries and

are likely to continue to live to the end of time: the object of the

mingled contempt, admiration, and wonder of the world.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[541] Hist. I. c. 2.

[542] Matt. 24:1,2; Mark 13:1; Luke 19:43, 44; 21:6.

[543] Jos, B. Jud., VI. 5, 3 sqq

[544] The people called him Amor et Deliciae generis humani. He was

born December 30, a.d. 40, and died September 13, 81. He ascended the

throne 79, in the year when the towns of Herculaneum, Stabiae, and

Pompeii were destroyed. His reign was marked by a series of terrible

calamities, among which was a conflagration in Rome which lasted three

days, and. a plague which destroyed thousands of victims daily. He made

earnest efforts to repair the injuries, and used to say, when a day

passed without an act of philanthropy, "Amici, diem perdidi." See

Suetonius, Titus.

[545] Josephus, VI. 3, 4, gives a full account of this horrible and

most unnatural incident.

[546] Josephus is, however, not quite consistent; he says first that

Titus, perceiving that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned

to the damage of his soldiers, commanded the gates to be set on fire

(VI. 4, 1); and then, that on the next day he gave orders to extinguish

it (� 3, 6, and 37). Sulpicius Severus (II. 30) makes Titus responsible

for the destruction, who thought that it would make an end both to the

Jewish and the Christian religion. This is defended by Stange, De Titi

imperatoris vita, P. I., 1870, pp. 39-43, but doubted by Sch�rer, l.c.

p. 346. Renan (511 sqq.), following Bernays, Ueber die Chronik des

Sulpicius Sev., 1861, p. 48, believes that Sulpicius drew his account

from the lost portion of the Histories of Tacitus, and that Titus

neither ordered nor forbade the burning of the Temple, but left it to

its fate, with a prudent reservation of his motives. So also Thiersch,

p. 224.

[547] B. J., VI. 5, 1.

[548] Daniel, 9:27; Matt. 24:15; comp. Luke 21:20; Josephus, B. Jud.,

VI.

[549] B. Jud., VI. 9, 1. Titus is said to have approved such passages

(Jos. Vita, 65).

[550] B. Jud., V. 13, 6.

[551] Merivale, l.c., p. 445.

[552] Apoc. 11:2; comp. Luke, 21:24. In Dan. 7:25; 9:27; 12:7, the

duration of the oppression of the Jewish people is given as seven

half-years (= 42 months).

[553] B Jud. VI. 9, 2-4. Milman (II. 388) sums up the scattered

statements of Josephus, and makes out the total number of killed, from

the beginning to the close of the war, to be 1,356,460, and the total

number of prisoners 101,700.

[554] The Temple of Peace was afterwards burned under Commodus, and it

is not known what became of the sacred furniture.

[555] B. Jud., VII. 5, 5-7. Josephus was richly rewarded for his

treachery. Vespasian gave him a house in Rome, an annual pension, the

Roman citizenship, and large possessions in Judaea. Titus and Domitian

continued the favors. But his countrymen embittered his life and cursed

his memory. Jost and other Jewish historians speak of him with great

contempt. King Agrippa, the last of the Idumaean sovereigns, lived and

died an humble and contented vassal of Rome, in the third year of

Trajan, a.d. 100. His licentious sister, Berenice, narrowly escaped the

fate of a second Cleopatra. The conquering Titus was conquered by her

sensual charms, and desired to raise her to the imperial throne, but

the public dissatisfaction forced him to dismiss her, "invitus

invitam." Suet., Tit. 7. Comp. Sch�rer, l .c. 321, 322.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 39. Effects of the Destruction of Jerusalem on the Christian Church.

The Christians of Jerusalem, remembering the Lord's admonition, forsook

the doomed city in good time and fled to the town of Pella in the

Decapolis, beyond the Jordan, in the north of Peraea, where king Herod

Agrippa II., before whom Paul once stood, opened to them a safe asylum.

An old tradition says that a divine voice or angel revealed to their

leaders the duty of flight. [556] There, in the midst of a population

chiefly Gentile, the church of the circumcision was reconstructed.

Unfortunately, its history is hidden from us. But it never recovered

its former importance. When Jerusalem was rebuilt as a Christian city,

its bishop was raised to the dignity of one of the four patriarchs of

the East, but it was a patriarchate of honor, not of power, and sank to

a mere shadow after the Mohammedan invasion.

The awful catastrophe of the destruction of the Jewish theocracy must

have produced the profoundest sensation among the Christians, of which

we now, in the absence of all particular information respecting it, can

hardly form a true conception. [557] It was the greatest calamity of

Judaism and a great benefit to Christianity; a refutation of the one, a

vindication and emancipation of the other. It not only gave a mighty

impulse to faith, but at the same time formed a proper epoch in the

history of the relation between the two religious bodies. It separated

them forever. It is true the apostle Paul had before now inwardly

completed this separation by the Christian universality of his whole

system of doctrine; but outwardly he had in various ways accommodated

himself to Judaism, and had more than once religiously visited tile

temple. He wished not to appear as a revolutionist, nor to anticipate

the natural course of history, tile ways of Providence. [558] But now

the rupture was also outwardly consummated by the thunderbolt of divine

omnipotence. God himself destroyed the house, in which he had thus far

dwelt, in which Jesus had taught, in which the apostles had prayed; he

rejected his peculiar people for their obstinate rejection of the

Messiah; he demolished the whole fabric of the Mosaic theocracy, whose

system of worship was, in its very nature, associated exclusively with

the tabernacle at first and afterwards with the temple; but in so doing

he cut the cords which had hitherto bound, and according to the law of

organic development necessarily bound the infant church to the outward

economy of the old covenant, and to Jerusalem as its centre. Henceforth

the heathen could no longer look upon Christianity as a mere sect of

Judaism, but must regard and treat it as a new, peculiar religion. The

destruction of Jerusalem, therefore, marks that momentous crisis at

which the Christian church as a whole burst forth forever from the

chrysalis of Judaism, awoke to a sense of its maturity, and in

government and worship at once took its independent stand before the

world. [559]

This breaking away from hardened Judaism and its religious forms,

however, involved no departure from the spirit of the Old Testament

revelation. The church, on the contrary, entered into the inheritance

of Israel. The Christians appeared as genuine Jews, as spiritual

children of Abraham, who, following the inward current of the Mosaic

religion, had found Him, who was the fulfilment of the law and the

prophets; the perfect fruit of the old covenant and the living germ of

the new; the beginning and the principle of a new moral creation.

It now only remained to complete the consolidation of the church in

this altered state of things; to combine the premises in their results;

to take up the conservative tendency of Peter and the progressive

tendency of Paul, as embodied respectively in the Jewish-Christian and

the Gentile-Christian churches, and to fuse them into a third and

higher tendency in a permanent organism; to set forth alike the unity

of the two Testaments in diversity, and their diversity in unity; and

in this way to wind up the history of the apostolic church.

This was the work of John, the apostle of completion.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[556] In Eusebius, H. E., III. 5: kata tina chresmon tois autothi

dokimois di apokalupseos ekdothenta. Comp. Epiphanius, De pond. et

meis. c. 15, and the warring of Christ, Matt. 24:15 sq. Eusebius puts

the, flight to Pella before the war (pro tou polemou), four years

before the destruction of Jerusalem.

[557] It is alluded to in the Ep. of Barnabas, cap. 16.

[558] Comp. 1 Cor. 7:18 sqq.; Acts 21:26 sqq.

[559] Dr. Richard Rothe (Die Anf�nge der Christl. Kirche, p. 341 sqq.).

Thiersch (p. 225), Ewald (VII. 26), Renan (L'Antechr., p. 545), and

Lightfoot (Gal., p. 301) ascribe the same significance to the

destruction of Jerusalem. Ewald says: "As by one great irrevocable

stroke the Christian congregation was separated from the Jewish, to

which it had heretofore clung as a new, vigorous offshoot to the root

of the old tree and as the daughter to the mother." He also quotes the

newly discovered letter of Serapion, written about 75, as showing the

effect which the destruction of Jerusalem exerted on thoughtful minds.

See above, p. 171.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VII.

ST. JOHN, AND THE LAST STADIUM OF THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

Kai ho logos sarx egeneto kai eskenosen en emin, kai etheasametha ten

doxan autou.--John 1:14.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 40. The Johannean Literature.

I. Sources.

1. The Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation of John. The notices of John in

the Synoptical Gospels, in the Acts, and in Gal. 2:9. (See the passages

in Young's Analytical Concordance.)

2. Patristic traditions. Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. II. 22, 5 (John lived to

the age of Trajan); III. 1, 1 (John at Ephesus); III. 3, 4 (John and

Cerinthus); V. 30, 3 (John and the Apocalypse). Clemens Alex.: Quis

dives salvus, c. 42 (John and the young robber). Polycrates of Ephesus

in Eus. Hist. Eccl., III. 31; V. 24 (John, one of the megala stoicheia,

and a hiereus to petalon pephorekos). Tertullian: De praescr. haer., c.

36 (the legend of John's martyrdom in Rome by being steeped in oil, and

his miraculous preservation). Eusebius: Hist. Eccl, III. chs. 18, 23,

31; IV. 14; V. 24 (the paschal controversy). Jerome: Ad Gal. 6:10 (the

last words of John); De vir. ill., c. 9. Augustin: Tract. 124 in Evang.

Joann. (Opera III. 1970, ed. Migne). Nicephorus Cal.: Hist. Eccl., II.

42.

II. Apocryphal Traditions.

Acta Johannis, ed. Const. Tischendorf, in his Acta Apost. Apocr.,

Lips., 1851, pp. 266-276. Comp. Prolegg. LXXIII. sqq., where the

patristic testimonies on the apocryphal Acts of John are collected.

Acta Joannis, unter Benutzung von C. v. Tischendorf's Nachlass

bearbeitet von Theod. Zahn. Erlangen, 1880 (264 pages and clxxii. pages

of Introd.).

The "Acta "contain the praxeis tou ... Ioannou tou theologou Prochorus,

who professes to be one of the Seventy Disciples, one of the Seven

Deacons of Jerusalem (Acts 6:5), and a pupil of St. John; and fragments

of the periodoi Ioannou, "the Wanderings of John," by Leucius Charinus,

a friend and pupil of John. The former work is a religious romance,

written about 400 years after the death of John; the latter is assigned

by Zahn to an author in Asia Minor before 160, and probably before 140;

it uses the fourth as well as the Synoptical Gospels, and so far has

some apologetic value. See p. cxlviii.

Max Bonnet, the French philologist, promises a new critical edition of

the Acts of John. See E. Leroux's "Revue critique," 1880, p. 449.

Apocalypsis Johannis, in Tischindorf's Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis,

Esdrae, Pauli, Johannis, item Mariae Dormitio. Lips., 1866, pp. 70-94.

This pseudo-Johannean Apocalypse purports to have been written shortly

after the ascension of Christ, by St. John, on Mount Tabor. It exists

in MS. from the ninth century, and was first edited by A. Birch, 1804.

On the legends of St. John comp. Mrs. Jameson: Sacred and Legendary

Art, I. 157-172, fifth edition.

III. Biographical and Critical.

Francis Trench: Life and Character of St. John the Evangelist. London,

1850.

Dean Stanley (d. 1881): Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age. Oxford

and London, 1847, third ed., 1874, pp. 234-281.

Max Krenkel: Der Apostel Johannes. Leipzig, 1871.

James M. Macdonald: The Life and Writings of St. John. With

Introduction by Dean Howson. New York, 1877 (new ed. 1880).

Weizs�cker: Das Apost. Zeitalter. 1886, pp. 493-559.

Comp. the biographical sketches in the works on the Apostolic Church,

mentioned � 20 (p. 189); and the Introductions to the Commentaries of

L�cke, Meyer, Lange, Luthardt, Godet, Westcott, Plummer.

IV. Doctrinal.

The Johannean type of doctrine is expounded by Neander (in his work on

the Apost. Age, 4th ed., 1847; E. transl. by Robinson, N. York, 1865,

pp. 508-531); Frommann (Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff, Leipz., 1839); C.

Reinh. K�stlin (Der Lehrbegriff des Ev. und der Briefe Johannis,

Berlin, 1843); Reuss (Die Johann. Theologie, in the Strasburg "Beitr�ge

zu den Theol. Wissenschaften," 1847, in La Th�ologie johannique, Paris,

1879, and in his Theology of the Apost. Age, 2d ed. 1860, translated

from the third French ed. by Annie Harwood, Lond. 1872-74, 2 vols.);

Schmid (in his Bibl. Theol. des N. T, Stuttg. 1853); Baur (in

Vorlesungen �ber N. T. Theol, Leipz. 1864); Hilgenfeld (1849 and 1863);

B. Weiss (Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff, Berlin, 1862, and in his Bibl.

Theol. des N. T., 4th ed. 1884). There are also special treatises on

John's Logos-doctrine and Christology by Weizs�cker (1862), Beyerschlag

(1866), and others.

V. Commentaries on the Gospel of John.

The Literature on the Gospel of John and its genuineness, from 1792 to

1875 (from Evanson to Luthardt), is given with unusual fulness and

accuracy by Dr. Caspar Ren� Gregory (an American scholar), in an

appendix to his translation of Luthardt's St. John, the Author of the

Fourth Gospel. Edinb. 1875, pp. 283-360. Comp. also the very careful

lists of Dr. Ezra Abbot (down to 1869) in the article John, Gospel of,

in the Am. ed. of Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," I. 1437-1439.

Origen (d. 254) Chrysostom (407); Augustin (430); Cyril of Alexandria

(444) Calvin (1564); Lampe (1724, 3 vols.); Bengel (Gnomen, 1752);

L�cke (1820, 3d ed. 1843); Olshausen (1832, 4th ed. by Ebrard, 1861)

Tholuck (1827, 7th ed. 1857); Hengstesnberg (1863, 2d, I. 1867 Eng.

transl. 1865); Luthardt (1852, 2d ed. entirely rewritten 1875; Eng.

transl. by Gregory, in 2 vols., and a special volume on the Authorship

of the Fourth Gospel, 1875) De Wette-Br�ckner (5th ed. 1863); Meyer

(5th and last ed. of Meyer, 1869; 6th ed. by Weiss, 1880); Ewald

(1861); Alford (6th ed. 1868; Wordsworth (5th ed. 1866), Godet (1865, 2

vols., 2d ed. 1877, Eng. transl. in 3 vols.; 3d edition, Paris, 1881,

trsl. by T. Dwight, 1886); Lange (as translated and enlarged by Schaff,

N. Y. and Edinb. 1871); Watkins (in Ellicott's "N.T. Com. for English

Readers," 1878); Westcott (in "Speaker's Commentary," 1879, and

separately); Milligan and Moulton (in "Schaff's Popul. Com.," 1880);

Keil (1881); Plummer (1881); Thoma (Die Genesis des Joh. Evangeliums,

1882); Paul Schanz (T�bingen, 1885).

VI. Special Treatises on the Genuineness and Credibility of the

Fourth Gospel.

We have no room to give all the titles of books, or the pages in the

introductions to Commentaries, and refer to the lists of Abbot and

Gregory.

a. Writers against the Genuineness:

E. Evanson (The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists,

Gloucester, 1792). K. G. Bretschneider (Probabilia de Ev. et Ep. Joh.

Ap. Indole et Origine, Leips. 1820, refuted by Schott, Eichhorn, L�cke,

and others; retracted by the author himself in 1828). D. F. Strauss (in

his Leben Jesu, 1835; withdrawn in the 3d ed. 1838, but renewed in the

4th, 1840 in his Leben Jesu f�r das deutsche Volk, 1864); L�tzelberger

(1840); Bruno Baum (1840).--F. Chr. BAUR (first in a very acute and

ingenious analysis of the Gospel, in the "Theol. Jahrb�cher," of

T�bingen, 1844, and again in 1847, 1848, 1853, 1855, 1859). He

represents the fourth Gospel as the ripe result of a literary

development, or evolution, which proceeded, according to the Hegelian

method, from thesis to antithesis and synthesis, or from Judaizing

Petrinism to anti-Jewish Paulinism and (pseudo-) Johannean

reconciliation. He was followed by the whole T�bingen School; Zeller

(1845, 1847, 1853); Schwegler (1846); Hilgenfeld (1849, 1854, 1855,

1875); Volkmar (1870, 1876); Schenkel (1864 and 1873); Holtzmann (in

Schenkel's "Bibellexikon." 1871, and Einleitung, 1886). Keim (Gesch.

Jesu v. Nazara, since 1867, vol. I., 146 sqq.; 167 sqq., and in the 3d

ed. of his abridgement, 1875, p. 40); Hausrath (1874); Mangold (in the

4th ed. of Bleek's Introd., 1886); Thoma (1882). In Holland, Scholten

(Leyden, 1865, and again 1871). In England, J. J. Tayler (London,

1867); Samuel Davidson (in the new ed. of his Introduction to the N.

T., 1868, II. 323 sqq. and 357 sqq.); the anonymous author of

Supernatural Religion (vol. II. 251 sqq., of the 6th ed., London,

1875); and E. A. A. (Edwin A. Abbott, D. D., of London, in art.

Gospels, "Encycl. Brit.," vol. X., 1879, pp. 818-843).

The dates assigned to the composition of the Fourth Gospel by these

opponents vary from 110 to 170, but the best scholars among them are

more and more forced to retreat from 170 (Baur's date) to 130 (Keim),

or to the very beginning of the second century (110). This is fatal to

their theory; for at that time many of the personal friends and pupils

of John must have been still living to prevent a literary fiction from

being generally accepted in the church as a genuine work of the

apostle.

Reuss (in his Th�ologie johannique, 1879, in the sixth part of his

great work, "La Bible" and in the Sixth edition of hisGeschichte der

heil. Schriften N. T., 1887, pp. 249 sqq.) leaves the question

undecided, though inclining against the Johannean authorship. Sabatier,

who had formerly defended the authenticity (in his Essai sur les

sources de la vie de J�sus, 1866), follows the steps of Reuss, and

comes to a negative conclusion (in his art. Jean in Lichtenberger's

"Encycl. des Sciences Relig.," Tom. VII., Paris, 1880, pp. 173 sqq.).

Weisse (1836), Schweizer (1841), Weizs�cker (1857, 1859, 1862, 1886),

Hase (in his Geschichte Jesu, 1875, while in his earlier writings he

had defended the genuineness), and Renan (1863, 1867, and 1879) admit

genuine portions in the Fourth Gospel, but differ among themselves as

to the extent. Some defend the genuineness of the discourses, but

reject the miracles. Renan, on the contrary, favors the historical

portions, but rejects the discourses of Christ, in a special discussion

in the 13th ed. of his Vie de J�sus, pp. 477 sqq. He changed his view

again in his L'�glise chr�tienne, 1879, pp. 47 sqq. "Ce qui para�t le

plus probable," he says, "c'est qu'un disciple de l'ap�tre, d�positaire

de plusieurs de ses souvenirs, se crut autoris� � parler en son nom et

� �crire, vingt-cinq ou trente ans apr�s sa mort, ce que l'on

regrettait qu'il n'e�t pas lui-m�me fix� de son vivant." He is disposed

to ascribe the composition to the "Presbyter John" (whose very

existence is doubtful) and to Aristion, two Ephesian disciples of John

the Apostle. In characterizing the discourses in the Gospel of John he

shows his utter incapacity of appreciating its spirit. Matthew Arnold

(God and the Bible, p. 248) conjectures that the Ephesian presbyters

composed the Gospel with the aid of materials furnished by John.

It should be remarked that Baur and his followers, and Renan, while

they reject the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, strongly defend the

Johannean origin of the Apocalypse, as one of the certain documents of

the apostolic age. But Keim, by denying the whole tradition of John's

sojourn at Ephesus, destroys the foundation of Baur's theory.

b. The genuineness has been defended by the following writers:

Jos. Priestley (Unitarian, against Evanson, 1793). Schleiermacher and

his school, especially L�cke (1820 and 1840), Bleek (1846 and 1862),

and De Wette (after some hesitation, 1837, 5th ed., by Br�ckner, 1863).

Credner (1836); Neander (Leben Jesu, 1837) Tholuck (in Glaubw�rdigkeit

der evang. Geschichte, against Strauss, 1837); Andrews Norton

(Unitarian, in Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, 1837-1844,

3 vols., 2d ed. 1846, abridged ed., Boston, 1875); Ebrard (1845,

against Baur; again 1861, 1868, and 1880, in Herzog's "Encykl."

Thiersch (1845, against Baur); Schneider (1854); Hengstenberg (1863);

Asti�, (1863); Hofstede de Groot (Basilides, 1863; Germ. transl. 1868);

Van Oosterzee (against Scholten, Germ. ed. 1867; Engl. transl. by

Hurst); Tischendorf (Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst? 1865, 4th

ed. 1866; also translated into English, but very poorly); Riggenbach

(1866, against Volkmar). Meyer (Com., 5th ed. 1869); Weiss (6th ed. of

Meyer, 1880); Lange (in his Leben Jesu, and in his Com., 3d ed. 1868,

translated and enlarged by Schaff, 1871); Sanday (Authorship and

Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel, London, 1872); Beyschlag (in

the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1874 and 1875); Luthardt (2d ed. 1875);

Lightfoot (in the Contemporary Review, " 1875-1877, against

Supernatural Religion); Geo. P. Fisher (Beginnings of Christianity,

1877, ch. X., and art. The Fourth Gospel, in "The Princeton Review" for

July, 1881, pp. 51-84); Godet (Commentaire sur l'�vangile de Saint

Jean, 2d ed. 1878; 3d ed."compl�tement revue," vol. I., Introduction

historique et critique, Paris, 1881, 376 pages); Westcott (Introd. to

the Gospels, 1862, 1875, and Com. 1879); McClellan (The Four Gospels,

1875); Milligan (in several articles in the "Contemp. Review" for 1867,

1868, 1871, and in his and Moulton's Com., 1880); Ezra Abbot (The

Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, Boston, 1880; republished in

hisCritical Essays, Boston, 1888; conclusive on the external evidences,

especially the important testimony of Justin Martyr); George Salmon

(Historical Introd. to the N. T., London, 1886; third ed. 1888, pp. 210

sqq.). See also A. H. Francke: Das Alte Test. bei Johannes, G�ttingen,

1885.

VIII. Commentaries on the Epistles of John.

Oecumenius (1000); Theophylact (1071); Luther; Calvin; Bullinger; L�cke

(3d ed. 1856); De Wette (1837, 5th ed. by Br�ckner, 1863); Neander

(1851, Engl. transl. by Mrs. Conant, 1852); D�sterdieck 1852-1856, 2

vols.); Huther (in Meyer's Com., 1855, 4th ed. 1880); F. D. Maurice,

(1857); Ebrard (in Olshausen's Com., 1859, transl. by W. B. Pope,

Edinb. 1860); Ewald (1861); Braune (in Lange's Com., 1865, Engl. ed. by

Mombert, 1867); Candlish (1866); Erich Haupt (1869, Engl. transl. by W.

B. Pope, Edinb., 1879); R. Rothe (posthumous ed. by K. M�hlh�user,

1879); W. B. Pope (in Schaff's Pop. Com., 1883); Westcott (1883).

IX. Commentaries on the Apocalypse of John.

Bullinger (1535, 6th ed. 1604); Grotius (1644); Jos. Mede (Clavis

Apocalyptica, 1682); Bossuet (R. C., 1689); Vitringa (1719); Bengel

(1740, 1746, and new ed. 1834); Herder (1779); Eichhorn (1791); E. P.

Elliott (Horae Apocalypticae, or, a Com. on the Apoc., 5th ed., Lond.,

1862, 4 vols.) L�cke (1852); Ewald (1828 and 1862); Z�llig (1834 and

1840) Moses Stuart (1845, 2 vols.); De Wette (1848, 3d ed. 1862);

Alford (3d ed. 1866); Hengstenberg (1849 and 1861); Ebrard (1853);

Auberlen (Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis, 1854; Engl.

transl. by Ad. Saphir, 1856, 2d Germ. ed. 1857); D�sterdieck (1859, 3d

ed. 1877); Bleek (1820 and 1862); Luthardt (1861); Volkmar (1862);

Kienlen (1870); Lange (1871, Am. ed., with large additions by Craven,

1874); Cowles (1871); Gebhardt (Der Lehrbegriff der Apocalypse, 1873;

Engl. transl., The Doctrine of the Apocalypse, by J. Jefferson, 1878);

Kliefoth (1874); Lee (1882); Milligan (in Schaff's Internat. Com.,

1883, and in Lectures on the Revel., 1886); Spitta (1889). V�lter

(1882) and Vischer (1886) deny the unity of the book. Vischer makes it

a Jewish Apocalypse worked over by a Christian, in spite of the

warning, Apoc. 22:18, 19, which refutes this hypothesis.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 41. Life and Character of John

"Volat avis sine meta,

Quo nec votes nec propheta

Evolavit altius:

Tam implenda quam impleta,

Numquam vidit tot secreta

Purus homo purius.

(Adam of St. Victor.)

The Mission of John.

Peter, the Jewish apostle of authority, and Paul, the Gentile apostle

of freedom, had done their work on earth before the destruction of

Jerusalem--had done it for their age and for all ages to come; had done

it, and by the influence of their writings are doing it still, in a

manner that can never be superseded. Both were master-builders, the one

in laying the foundation, the other in rearing the superstructure, of

the church of Christ, against which the gates of Hades can never

prevail.

But there remained a most important additional work to be done, a work

of union and consolidation. This was reserved for the apostle of love,

the bosom-friend of Jesus, who had become his most perfect reflection

so far as any human being can reflect the ideal of divine-human purity

and holiness. John was not a missionary or a man of action, like Peter

and Paul. He did little, so far as we know, for the outward spread of

Christianity, but all the more for the inner life and growth of

Christianity where it was already established. He has nothing to say

about the government, the forms, and rites of the visible church (even

the name does not occur in his Gospel and first Epistle), but all the

more about the spiritual substance of the church--the vital union of

believers with Christ and the brotherly communion of believers among

themselves. He is at once the apostle, the evangelist, and the seer, of

the new covenant. He lived to the close of the first century, that he

might erect on the foundation and superstructure of the apostolic age

the majestic dome gilded by the light of the new heaven.

He had to wait in silent meditation till the church was ripe for his

sublime teaching. This is intimated by the mysterious word of our Lord

to Peter with reference to John: "If I will that he tarry till I come,

what is that to thee?" [560] No doubt the Lord did come in the terrible

judgment of Jerusalem. John outlived it personally, and his type of

doctrine and character will outlive the earlier stages of church

history (anticipated and typified by Peter and Paul) till the final

coming of the Lord. In that wider sense he tarries even till now, and

his writings, with their unexplored depths and heights still wait for

the proper interpreter. The best comes last. In the vision of Elijah on

Mount Horeb, the strong wind that rent the mountains and brake in

pieces the rocks, and the earthquake, and the fire preceded the still

small voice of Jehovah. [561] The owl of Minerva, the goddess of

wisdom, begins its flight at twilight. The storm of battle prepares the

way for the feast of peace. The great warrior of the apostolic age

already sounded the keynote of love which was to harmonize the two

sections of Christendom; and John only responded to Paul when he

revealed the inmost heart of the supreme being by the profoundest of

all definitions: "God is love." [562]

John in the Gospels.

John was a son (probably the younger son) of Zebedee and Salome, and a

brother of the elder James, who became the protomartyr of the apostles.

[563] He may have been about ten years younger than Jesus, and as,

according to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, he lived till the

reign of Trajan, i.e., till after 98, he must have attained an age of

over ninety years. He was a fisherman by trade, probably of Bethsaida

in Galilee (like Peter, Andrew, and Philip). His parents seem to have

been in comfortable circumstances. His father kept hired servants; his

mother belonged to the noble band of women who followed Jesus and

supported him with their means, who purchased spices to embalm him, who

were the last at the cross and the first at the open tomb. John himself

was acquainted with the high priest, and owned a house in Jerusalem or

Galilee, into which he received the mother of our Lord. [564]

He was a cousin of Jesus, according to the flesh, from his mother, a

sister of Mary. [565] This relationship, together with the enthusiasm

of youth and the fervor of his emotional nature, formed the basis of

his intimacy with the Lord.

He had no rabbinical training, like Paul, and in the eyes of the Jewish

scholars he was, like Peter and the other Galilaean disciples, an

"unlearned and ignorant man." [566] But he passed through the

preparatory school of John the Baptist who summed up his prophetic

mission in the testimony to Jesus as the "Lamb of God that taketh away

the sin of the world," a testimony which he afterwards expanded in his

own writings. It was this testimony which led him to Jesus on the banks

of the Jordan in that memorable interview of which, half a century

afterwards, he remembered the very hour. [567] He was not only one of

the Twelve, but the chosen of the chosen Three. Peter stood out more

prominently before the public as the friend of the Messiah; John was

known in the private circle as the friend of Jesus. [568] Peter always

looked at the official character of Christ, and asked what he and the

other apostles should do; John gazed steadily at the person of Jesus,

and was intent to learn what the Master said. They differed as the busy

Martha, anxious to serve, and the pensive Mary, contented to learn.

John alone, with Peter and his brother James, witnessed the scene of

the transfiguration and of Gethsemane--the highest exaltation and the

deepest humiliation in the earthly life of our Lord. He leaned on his

breast at the last Supper and treasured those wonderful farewell

discourses in his heart for future use. He followed him to the court of

Caiaphas. He alone of all the disciples was present at the crucifixion,

and was intrusted by the departing Saviour with the care of his mother.

This was a scene of unique delicacy and tenderness: the Mater dolorosa

and the beloved disciple gazing at the cross, the dying Son and Lord

uniting them in maternal and filial love. It furnishes the type of

those heaven-born spiritual relationships, which are deeper and

stronger than those of blood and interest. As John was the last at the

cross, so he was also, next to Mary Magdalene, the first of the

disciples who, outrunning even Peter, looked into the open tomb on the

resurrection morning; and he first recognized the risen Lord when he

appeared to the disciples on the shore of the lake of Galilee. [569]

He seems to have been the youngest of the apostles, as he long outlived

them all; he certainly was the most gifted and the most favored. He had

a religious genius of the highest order--not indeed for planting, but

for watering; not for outward action and aggressive work, but for

inward contemplation and insight into the mystery of Christ's person

and of eternal life in him. Purity and simplicity of character, depth

and ardor of affection, and a rare faculty of spiritual perception and

intuition, were his leading traits, which became ennobled and

consecrated by divine grace.

There are no violent changes reported in John's history; he grew

silently and imperceptibly into the communion of his Lord and

conformity to his example; he was in this respect the antipode of Paul.

He heard more and saw more, but spoke less, than the other disciples.

He absorbed his deepest sayings, which escaped the attention of others;

and although he himself did not understand them at first, he pondered

them in his heart till the Holy Spirit illuminated them. His intimacy

with Mary must also have aided him in gaining an interior view of the

mind and heart of his Lord. He appears throughout as the beloved

disciple, in closest intimacy and in fullest sympathy with the Lord.

[570]

The Son of Thunder and the Beloved Disciple.

There is an apparent contradiction between the Synoptic and the

Johannean picture of John, as there is between the Apocalypse and the

fourth Gospel; but on closer inspection it is only the twofold aspect

of one and the same character. We have a parallel in the Peter of the

Gospels and the Peter of his Epistles: the first youthful, impulsive,

hasty, changeable, the other matured, subdued, mellowed, refined by

divine grace.

In the Gospel of Mark, John appears as a Son of Thunder (Boanerges).

[571] This surname, given to him and to his elder brother by our

Saviour, was undoubtedly an epithet of honor and foreshadowed his

future mission, like the name Peter given to Simon. Thunder to the

Hebrews was the voice of God. [572] It conveys the idea of ardent

temper, great strength and vehemence of character whether for good or

for evil, according to the motive and aim. The same thunder which

terrifies does also purify the air and fructify the earth with its

accompanying showers of rain. Fiery temper under the control of reason

and in the service of truth is as great a power of construction as the

same temper, uncontrolled and misdirected, is a power of destruction.

John's burning zeal and devotion needed only discipline and discretion

to become a benediction and inspiration to the church in all ages.

In their early history the sons of Zebedee misunderstood the difference

between the law and the gospel, when, in an outburst of holy

indignation against a Samaritan village which refused to receive Jesus,

they were ready, like Elijah of old, to call consuming fire from

heaven. [573] But when, some years afterwards, John went to Samaria to

confirm the new converts, he called down upon them the fire of divine

life and light, the gift of the Holy Spirit. [574] The same mistaken

zeal for his Master was at the bottom of his intolerance towards those

who performed a good work in the name of Christ, but outside of the

apostolic circle. [575] The desire of the two brothers, in which their

mother shared, for the highest positions in the Messianic kingdom,

likewise reveals both their strength and their weakness, a noble

ambition to be near Christ, though it be near the fire and the sword,

yet an ambition that was not free from selfishness and pride, which

deserved the rebuke of our Lord, who held up before them the prospect

of the baptism of blood. [576]

All this is quite consistent with the writings of John. He appears

there by no means as a soft and sentimental, but as a positive and

decided character. He had no doubt a sweet and lovely disposition, but

at the same time a delicate sensibility, ardent feelings, and strong

convictions. These traits are by no means incompatible. He knew no

compromise, no division of loyalty. A holy fire burned within him,

though he was moved in the deep rather than on the surface. In the

Apocalypse, the thunder rolls loud and mighty against the enemies of

Christ and his kingdom, while on the other hand there are in the same

book episodes of rest and anthems, of peace and joy, and a description

of the heavenly Jerusalem, which could have proceeded only from the

beloved disciple. In the Gospel and the Epistles of John, we feel the

same power, only subdued and restrained. He reports the severest as

well as the sweetest discourses of the Saviour, according as he speaks

to the enemies of the truth, or in the circle of the disciples. No

other evangelist gives us such a profound inside-view of the antagonism

between Christ and the Jewish hierarchy, and of the growing intensity

of that hatred which culminated in the bloody counsel; no apostle draws

a sharper line of demarcation between light and darkness, truth and

falsehood, Christ and Antichrist, than John. His Gospel and Epistles

move in these irreconcilable antagonisms. He knows no compromise

between God and Baal. With what holy horror does he speak of the

traitor, and the rising rage of the Pharisees against their Messiah!

How severely does he, in the words of the Lord, attack the unbelieving

Jews with their murderous designs, as children of the devil! And, in

his Epistles, he terms every one who dishonors his Christian profession

a liar; every one who hates his brother a murderer; every one who

wilfully sins a child of the devil; and he earnestly warns against

teachers who deny the mystery of the incarnation, as Antichrists, and

he forbids even to salute them. [577] The measure of his love of Christ

was the measure of his hatred of antichrist. For hatred is inverted

love. Love and hatred are one and the same passion, only revealed in

opposite directions. The same sun gives light and heat to the living,

and hastens the decay of the dead.

Christian art has so far well understood the double aspect of John by

representing him with a face of womanly purity and tenderness, but not

weakness, and giving him for his symbol a bold eagle soaring with

outspread wings above the clouds. [578]

The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel.

A proper appreciation of John's character as thus set forth removes the

chief difficulty of ascribing the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel to

one and the same writer. [579] The temper is the same in both: a noble,

enthusiastic nature, capable of intense emotions of love and hatred,

but with the difference between vigorous manhood and ripe old age,

between the roar of battle and the repose of peace. The theology is the

same, including the most characteristic features of Christology and

soteriology. [580] By no other apostle is Christ called the Logos. The

Gospel is, "the Apocalypse spiritualized," or idealized. Even the

difference of style, which is startling at first sight, disappears on

closer inspection. The Greek of the Apocalypse is the most Hebraizing

of all the books of the New Testament, as may be expected from its

close affinity with Hebrew prophecy to which the classical Greek

furnished no parallel, while the Greek of the fourth Gospel is pure,

and free from irregularities; yet after all John the Evangelist also

shows the greatest familiarity with, and the deepest insight into, the

Hebrew religion, and preserves its purest and noblest elements; and his

style has all the childlike simplicity and sententious brevity of the

Old Testament; it is only a Greek body inspired by a Hebrew soul. [581]

In accounting for the difference between the Apocalypse and the other

writings of John, we must also take into consideration the necessary

difference between prophetic composition under direct inspiration, and

historical and didactic composition, and the intervening time of about

twenty years; the Apocalypse being written before the destruction of

Jerusalem, the fourth Gospel towards the close of the first century, in

extreme old age, when his youth was renewed like the eagle's, as in the

case of some of the greatest poets, Homer, Sophocles, Milton, and

Goethe.

Notes.

I. The Son of Thunder and the Apostle of Love.

I quote some excellent remarks on the character of John from my friend,

Dr. Godet (Com. I. 35, English translation by Crombie and Cusin):

"How are we to explain two features of character apparently so

opposite? There exist profound receptive natures which are accustomed

to shut up their impressions within themselves, and this all the more

that these impressions are keen and thrilling. But if it happens that

these persons once cease to be masters of themselves, their

long-restrained emotions then burst forth in sudden explosions, which

fill the persons around them with amazement. Does not the character of

John belong to this order? And when Jesus gave to him and his brother

the surname of Boanerges, sons of thunder (Mark 3:17), could he have

described them better? I cannot think that, by that surname, Jesus

intended, as all the old writers have believed, to signalize the

eloquence which distinguished them. Neither can I allow that he desired

by that surname to perpetuate the recollection of their anger in one of

the cases indicated. We are led by what precedes to a more natural

explanation, and one more worthy of Jesus himself. As electricity is

stored up by degrees in the cloud until it bursts forth suddenly in the

lightning and thunderbolt, so in those two loving and passionate

natures impressions silently accumulated till the moment when the heart

overflowed, and they took an unexpected and violent flight. We love to

represent St. John to ourselves as of a gentle rather than of an

energetic nature, tender even to weakness. Do not his writings insist

before and above all else upon love? Were not the last sermons of the

old man 'Love one another?' That is true; but we forget other features

of a different kind, during the first and last periods of his life,

which reveal something decisive, sharp, absolute, even violent in his

disposition. If we take all the facts stated into consideration, we

shall recognize in him one of those sensitive, ardent souls,

worshippers of an ideal, who attach themselves at first sight, and

without reservation, to that being who seems to them to realize that of

which they have dreamt, and whose devotion easily becomes exclusive and

intolerant. They feel themselves repelled by everything which is not in

sympathy with their enthusiasm. They no longer understand a division of

heart which they themselves know not how to practice. All for all! such

is their motto. Where that all is not, there is in their eyes nothing.

Such affections do not subsist without including an alloy of impure

egoism. A divine work is needed, in order that the true devotion, which

constitutes the basis of such, may shine forth at the last in all its

sublimity. Such was, if we are not deceived, the inmost history of

John." Comp. the third French ed. of Godet's Com., I. p. 50.

Dr. Westcott (in his Com., p. xxxiii.): "John knew that to be with

Christ was life, to reject Christ was death; and he did not shrink from

expressing the thought in the spirit of the old dispensation. He

learned from the Lord, as time went on, a more faithful patience, but

he did not unlearn the burning devotion which consumed him. To the

last, words of awful warning, like the thunderings about the throne,

reveal the presence of that secret fire. Every page of the Apocalypse

is inspired with the cry of the souls beneath the altar, 'How long'

(Rev. 6:10); and nowhere is error as to the person of Christ denounced

more sternly than in his Epistles (2 John 10; 1 John 4:1ff.)." Similar

passages in Stanley.

II. The Mission of John.

Dean Stanley (Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age, p. 249 sq., 3d

ed.): "Above all John spoke of the union of the soul with God, but it

was by no mere process of oriental contemplation, or mystic absorption;

it was by that word which now for the first time took its proper place

in the order of the world--by Love. It has been reserved for St. Paul

to proclaim that the deepest principle in the heart of man was Faith;

it was reserved for St. John to proclaim that the essential attribute

of God is Love. It had been taught by the Old Testament that 'the

beginning of wisdom was the fear of God;' it remained to be taught by

the last apostle of the New Testament that 'the end of wisdom was the

love of God.' It had been taught of old time by Jew and by heathen, by

Greek philosophy and Eastern religion, that the Divinity was well

pleased with the sacrifices, the speculations, the tortures of man; it

was to St. John that it was left to teach in all its fulness that the

one sign of God's children is 'the love of the brethren.' And as it is

Love that pervades our whole conception of his teaching, so also it

pervades our whole conception of his character. We see him--it surely

is no unwarranted fancy--we see him declining with the declining

century; every sense and faculty waxing feebler, but that one divinest

faculty of all burning more and more brightly; we see it breathing

through every look and gesture; the one animating principle of the

atmosphere in which he lives and moves; earth and heaven, the past, the

present, and the future alike echoing to him that dying strain of his

latest words, 'We love Him because He loved us.' And when at last he

disappears from our view in the last pages of the sacred volume,

ecclesiastical tradition still lingers in the close: and in that

touching story, not the less impressive because so familiar to us, we

see the aged apostle borne in the arms of his disciples into the

Ephesian assembly, and there repeating over and over again the same

saying, 'Little children, love one another;' till, when asked why he

said this and nothing else, he replied in those well known words, fit

indeed to be the farewell speech of the Beloved Disciple, 'Because this

is our Lord's command and if you fulfil this, nothing else is needed.'

"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[560] John 21:22, 23. Milligan and Moulton in loc. The point of

contrast between the words spoken respectively to Peter and John, is

not that between a violent death by martyrdom and a peaceful departure;

but that between impetuous and struggling apostleship, ending in a

violent death, and quiet, thoughtful, meditative waiting for the Second

Coming of Jesus, ending in a peaceful transition to the heavenly

repose. Neither Peter nor himself is to the Evangelist a mere

individual. Each is a type of one aspect of apostolic working--of

Christian witnessing for Jesus to the very end of time."

[561] 1 Kings 19:11, 12.

[562] 1 Cor., ch. 13; 1 John 4:8, 16.

[563] The name John, from the Hebrew nnchvhy or nnhvy, i.e., Jehovah is

gracious (comp. the German Gotthold), implied to his mind a prophecy of

his relation to Jesus, the incarnate Jehovah (comp. John 12:41 with

Isa. 6:1), and is equivalent to "the disciple whom Jesus loved," John

13:23; 19:26; 20:2; 21:7, 20. The Greek fathers call John ho

epistethios, the leaner on the bosom, or, as we would say, the

bosom-friend (of Jesus).

[564] Mark 1:20; 15: 40 sq.; Luke 8:3; John 19:27. Godet (I. 37) thinks

that his home was on the lake of Gennesareth, and accounts thus for his

absence in Jerusalem at Paul's first visit (Gal. 1:18, 19).

[565] According to the correct interpretation of John 19:25, that four

woman (not three) are meant there, as Wieseler, Ewald, Meyer., Lange,

and other commentators now hold. The writer of the Fourth Gospel, from

peculiar delicacy, never mentions his own name, nor the name of his

mother, nor the name of the mother of our Lord; yet his mother was

certainly at the cross, according to the Synoptists, and he would not

omit her.

[566] Acts 4:13, anthropoi agrammatoi kai idiotai.

[567] John 1:35-40. The commentators are agreed that the unnamed of the

two disciples is John. See my notes in Lange on the passage.

[568] The well-known distinction made by Grotius between philochristos

and philiesous.

[569] John 20:4; 21:7.

[570] For an ingenious comparison between John and Salome, John and

James, John and Andrew, John and Peter, John and Paul, see Lange's Com

on John, pp. 4-10 (Am. ed.).

[571] Mark 3:17. Boanerges (as Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles

read, in. of Gr. Boanerges), ie.,huioi brontes. The word is usually

derived from shgr ynb (as pronounced in the broad Galilean dialect).

shgr means a noisy crowd of men, but may have had the significance of

thunder in Syriac. Robinson derives it from zgr which means tumult,

alarm, and is used of the roaring noise of thunder, Job 37:2. The usual

Hebrew word for thunder is r?m(Ps. 77:19; 81:8; Job 26:14). This name

completely dispels the popular notion of John. "Nichts,"says Hilgenfeld

(Einleit., p. 393), "stimmt zu den synoptischen Evangelien weniger als

jenes m�dchenhafte Johannesbild, welches unter uns gangbar geworden

ist."Comp. Godet's remarks at the close of this section.

[572] "The Lord thundered with a great thunder;" "The Lord shall send

thunder and rain." See Ex. 9:23; 1 Sam. 7:10; 12:17, 18; Job 26:14; Ps.

77:18; 81:7; 104:7; Isa. 29:6, etc.

[573] Luke 9:4-56. Some commentators think that this incident suggested

the giving of the name Boanerges; but that would make it an epithet of

censure, which the Lord would certainly not fasten upon his beloved

disciple.

[574] Acts 8:14-17.

[575] Mark 9: 38-40; comp. Luke 9:49, 50.

[576] Matt. 20:20-24; comp. Mark 10:35-41.

[577] John 8:44; 1 John 1:6, 8, 10; 2:18 sqq.; 3:8, 15; 4:1 sqq.; 2

John 10 and 11.

[578] Jerome (Com. ad Matth., Proaem., Opera, ed. Migne, Tom. vii. 19):

Quarta [facies]Joannem evangelistam [significat],qui assumptis pennis

aquilae, et ad altiora festinans, de Verbo Dei disputat. An old epigram

says of John: "More volans aquila, verbo petit astra Joannes."

[579] The author of Supernat. Relig., II.400, says: "Instead of the

fierce and intolerant spirit of the Son of Thunder, we find [in the

Fourth Gospel] a spirit breathing forth nothing but gentleness and

love." How superficial this judgment is appears from our text.

[580] This is well shown in Gebhardt's Doctrine of the Apocalypse, and

is substantially even acknowledged by those who deny the Johannean

origin of either the Apocalypse (the Schleiermacher School), or of the

Gospel (the T�bingen School)."Es ist nicht blos," says Baur (in his

Church History, vol. I. p. 147), "eine �ussere Anlehnnung an einen

vielgefeierten Namen, es fehlt auch nicht an innern Ber�hrungspunkten

zwischen dem Evangelium und der Apokalypse, und man kann nur die tiefe

Genialit�t und feine Kunst bewundern, mit welcher der Evangelist die

Elemente, welche vom Standpunkt der Apokalypse auf den freiern und

h�hern des Evangeliums hin�berleiteten, in sich aufgenommen hat, um die

Apokalypse zum Evangelium zu vergeistigen. Nur vom Standpunkt dei

Evangeliums aus l�sst sich das Verh�ltniss, in das sich der Verfasser

desselben zu der Apokalypse setzte, richtig begreifen."Schwegler and

K�stlin make similar concessions. See my Hist. of the Apost. Ch., p.

425.

[581] In this way the opposite views of two eminent Hebrew scholars and

judges of style may be reconciled. While Renan, looking at the surface,

says of the fourth Gospel: "John's style has nothing Hebrew, nothing

Jewish, nothing Talmudic," Ewald, on the contrary, penetrating to the

core, remarks: "In its true spirit and afflatus, no language can be

more genuinely Hebrew than that of John." Godet agrees with Ewald when

he says: "The dress only is Greek, the body is Hebrew."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 42. Apostolic Labors of John.

John in the Acts.

In the first stadium of Apostolic Christianity John figures as one of

the three pillars of the church of the circumcision, together with

Peter and James the brother of the Lord; while Paul and Barnabas

represented the Gentile church. [582] This seems to imply that at that

time he had not yet risen to the full apprehension of the universalism

and freedom of the gospel. But he was the most liberal of the three,

standing between James and Peter on the one hand, and Paul on the

other, and looking already towards a reconciliation of Jewish and

Gentile Christianity. The Judaizers never appealed to him as they did

to James, or to Peter. [583] There is no trace of a Johannean party, as

there is of a Cephas party and a party of James. He stood above strife

and division.

In the earlier chapters of the Acts he appears, next to Peter, as the

chief apostle of the new religion; he heals with him the cripple at the

gate of the temple; he was brought with him before the Sanhedrin to

bear witness to Christ; he is sent with him by the apostles from

Jerusalem to Samaria to confirm the Christian converts by imparting to

them the Holy Spirit; he returned with him to Jerusalem. [584] But

Peter is always named first and takes the lead in word and act; John

follows in mysterious silence and makes the impression of a reserved

force which will manifest itself at some future time. He must have been

present at the conference of the apostles in Jerusalem, a.d. 50, but he

made no speech and took no active part in the great discussion about

circumcision and the terms of church membership. [585] All this is in

entire keeping with the character of modest and silent prominence given

to him in the Gospels.

After the year 50 he seems to have left Jerusalem. The Acts no more

mention him nor Peter. When Paul made his fifth and last visit to the

holy City (a.d. 58) he met James, but none of the apostles. [586]

John at Ephesus.

The later and most important labors of John are contained in his

writings, which we shall fully consider in another chapter. They

exhibit to us a history that is almost exclusively inward and

spiritual, but of immeasurable reach and import. They make no allusion

to the time and place of residence and composition. But the Apocalypse

implies that he stood at the head of the churches of Asia Minor. [587]

This is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of antiquity which is

above all reasonable doubt, and assigns Ephesus to him as the residence

of his latter years. [588] He died there in extreme old age during the

reign of Trajan, which began in 98. His grave also was shown there in

the second century.

We do not know when he removed to Asia Minor, but he cannot have done

so before the year 63. For in his valedictory address to the Ephesian

elders, and in his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians and the

second to Timothy, Paul makes no allusion to John, and speaks with the

authority of a superintendent of the churches of Asia Minor. It was

probably the martyrdom of Peter and Paul that induced John to take

charge of the orphan churches, exposed to serious dangers and trials.

[589]

Ephesus, the capital of proconsular Asia, was a centre of Grecian

culture, commerce, and religion; famous of old for the songs of Homer,

Anacreon, and Mimnermus, the philosophy of Thales, Anaximenes, and

Anaximander, the worship and wonderful temple of Diana. There Paul had

labored three years (54-57) and established an influential church, a

beacon-light in the surrounding darkness of heathenism. From there he

could best commune with the numerous churches he had planted in the

provinces. There he experienced peculiar joys and trials, and foresaw

great dangers of heresies that should spring up from within. [590] All

the forces of orthodox and heretical Christianity were collected there.

Jerusalem was approaching its downfall; Rome was not yet a second

Jerusalem. Ephesus, by the labors of Paul and of John, became the chief

theatre of church history in the second half of the first and during

the greater part of the second century. Polycarp, the patriarchal

martyr, and Irenaeus, the leading theologian in the conflict with

Gnosticism, best represent the spirit of John and bear testimony to his

influence. He alone could complete the work of Paul and Peter, and give

the church that compact unity which she needed for her

self-preservation against persecution from without and heresy and

corruption from within.

If it were not for the writings of John the last thirty years of the

first century would be almost an entire blank. They resemble that

mysterious period of forty days between the resurrection and the

ascension, when the Lord hovered, as it were, between heaven and earth,

barely touching the earth beneath, and appearing to the disciples like

a spirit from the other world. But the theology of the second and third

centuries evidently presupposes the writings of John, and starts from

his Christology rather than from Paul's anthropology and soteriology,

which were almost buried out of sight until Augustin, in Africa,

revived them.

John at Patmos.

John was banished to the solitary, rocky, and barren island of Patmos

(now Patmo or Palmosa), in the Aegean sea, southwest of Ephesus. This

rests on the testimony of the Apocalypse, 1:9, as usually understood:

"I, John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and

kingdom and patience in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos,

for (on account of) the word of God and the testimony of Jesus." [591]

There he received, while "in the spirit, on the Lord's day," those

wonderful revelations concerning the struggles and victories of

Christianity.

The fact of his banishment to Patmos is confirmed by the unanimous

testimony of antiquity. [592] It is perpetuated in the traditions of

the island, which has no other significance. "John--that is the thought

of Patmos; the island belongs to him; it is his sanctuary. Its stones

preach of him, and in every heart, he lives." [593]

The time of the exile is uncertain, and depends upon the disputed

question of the date of the Apocalypse. External evidence points to the

reign of Domitian, a.d. 95; internal evidence to the reign of Nero, or

soon after his death, a.d. 68.

The prevailing--we may say the only distinct tradition, beginning with

so respectable a witness as Irenaeus about 170, assigns the exile to

the end of the reign of Domitian, who ruled from 81 to 96. [594] He was

the second Roman emperor who persecuted Christianity, and banishment

was one of his favorite modes of punishment. [595] Both facts give

support to this tradition. After a promising beginning he became as

cruel and bloodthirsty as Nero, and surpassed him in hypocrisy and

blasphemous self-deification. He began his letters: "Our Lord and God

commands," and required his subjects to address him so. [596] He

ordered gold and silver statues of himself to be placed in the holiest

place of the temples. When he seemed most friendly, he was most

dangerous. He spared neither senators nor consuls when they fell under

his dark suspicion, or stood in the way of his ambition. He searched

for the descendants of David and the kinsmen of Jesus, fearing their

aspirations, but found that they were poor and innocent persons. [597]

Many Christians suffered martyrdom under his reign, on the charge of

atheism--among them his own cousin, Flavius Clemens, of consular

dignity, who was put to death, and his wife Domitilla, who was banished

to the island of Pandateria, near Naples. [598] In favor of the

traditional date may also be urged an intrinsic propriety that the book

which closes the canon, and treats of the last things till the final

consummation, should have been written last.

Nevertheless, the internal evidence of the Apocalypse itself, and a

comparison with the fourth Gospel, favor an earlier date, before the

destruction of Jerusalem, and during the interregnum which followed the

death of Nero (68), when the beast, that is the Roman empire, was

wounded, but was soon to be revived (by the accession of Vespasian). If

there is some foundation for the early tradition of the intended

oil-martyrdom of John at Rome, or at Ephesus, it would naturally point

to the Neronian persecution, in which Christians were covered with

inflammable material and burned as torches. The unmistakable allusions

to imperial persecutions apply much better to Nero than to Domitian.

The difference between the Hebrew coloring and fiery vigor of the

Apocalypse and the pure Greek and calm repose of the fourth Gospel, to

which we have already alluded, are more easily explained if the former

was written some twenty years earlier. This view has some slight

support in ancient tradition, [599] and has been adopted by the

majority of modern critical historians and commentators. [600]

We hold, then, as the most probable view, that John was exiled to

Patmos under Nero, wrote the Apocalypse soon after Nero's death, a.d.

68 or 69, returned to Ephesus, completed his Gospel and Epistles

several (perhaps twenty) years later, and fell asleep in peace during

the year of Trajan, after a.d. 98.

The faithful record of the historical Christ in the whole fulness of

his divine-human person, as the embodiment and source of life eternal

to all believers, with the accompanying epistle of practical

application, was the last message of the Beloved Disciple at the

threshold of the second century, at the golden sunset of the apostolic

age. The recollections of his youth, ripened by long experience,

transfigured by the Holy Spirit, and radiant with heavenly light of

truth and holiness, are the most precious legacy of the last of the

apostles to all future generations of the church.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[582] Gal. 2:9, Iakobos, kai Kephas kai Ioannes, oi dokountes stuloi

heinai ... autoi eis ten peritomen. They are named in the order of

their conservatism.

[583] Gal. 2:12, tines apo Iakobou. 1 Cor. 1:12, ego eimi Kepha.

[584] Acts 3:1 sqq.; 4:1, 13, 19, 20; 5:19, 20, 41, 42; 8:14-17, 25.

[585] He is included among the "apostles," assembled in Jerusalem on

that occasion, Acts 15:6, 22, 23, and is expressly mentioned as one of

the three pillar-apostles by Paul in the second chapter of the

Galatians, which refers to the same conference.

[586] Acts 21:18. John may have been, however, still in Palestine,

perhaps in Galilee, among the scenes of his youth. According to

tradition he remained in Jerusalem till the death of the Holy Virgin,

about a.d. 48.

[587] Rev. 1:4, 9, 11, 20; 2 and 3. It is very evident that only an

apostle could occupy such a position, and not an obscure presbyter of

that name, whose very existence is doubtful.

[588] Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp (a personal pupil of John),

Adv. Haer. III. 1, 1; 3, 4; II. 22, 5, etc., and in his letter to

Florinus (in Eusebius, H. E. V. 20); Clemens Alex., Quis dives

salvetur, c.42; Apollonius and Polycrates, at the close of the second

century, in Euseb. H. E. III. 31; V. 18, 24; Origen, Tertullian,

Eusebius, Jerome, etc. Leucius, also, the reputed author of the Acts of

John about 130, in the fragments recently published by Zahn, bears

witness to the residence of John in Ephesus and Patmos, and transfers

his martyrdom from Rome to Ephesus. L�tzelberger, Keim (Leben Jesu v.

Nazara, I. 161 sq.), Holtzmann, Scholten, the author of Supernatural

Religion, (II. 410), and other opponents of the Gospel of John, have

dared to remove him out of Asia Minor with negative arguments from the

silence of the Acts, the Ephesians, Colossians, Papias, Ignatius, and

Polycarp, arguments which either prove nothing at all, or only that

John was not in Ephesus before 63. But the old tradition has been

conclusively defended not only by Ewald, Grimm, Steitz, Riggenbach,

Luthardt, Godet, Weiss, but even by Krenkel, Hilgenfeld (Einleitung,

pp. 395 sqq.), and Weizs�cker (498 sqq.), of the T�bingen school.

[589] "The maintenance of evangelical truth," says Godet (I. 42),

"demanded at that moment powerful aid. It is not surprising then that

John, one of the last survivors amongst the apostles, should feel

himself called upon to supply in those countries the place of the

apostle of the Gentiles, and to water, as Apollos had formerly done in

Greece, that which Paul had planted." Pressens� (Apost. Era, p. 424):

"No city could have been better chosen as a centre from which to watch

over the churches, and follow closely the progress of heresy. At

Ephesus John was in the centre of Paul's mission field, and not far

from Greece."

[590] See his farewell address at Miletus, Acts 20:29, 30, and the

Epistles to Timothy.

[591] Bleek understands dia of the object: John was carried (in a

vision) to Patmos for the purpose of receiving there the revelation of

Christ He derives the whole tradition of John's banishment to Patmos

from a misunderstanding of this passage. So also L�cke, De Wette,

Reuss, and D�sterdieck. But the traditional exegesis is confirmed by

the mention of the thlipsis, basileia and hupomone in the same verse,

by the natural meaning of marturia, and by the parallel passages Rev.

6:9 and 20:4, where dia likewise indicates the occasion or reason of

suffering.

[592] Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius,

Jerome, etc.

[593] Tischendorf, Reise in's Morgenland, II.257 sq. A grotto on a hill

in the southern part of the island is still pointed out as the place of

the apocalyptic vision, and on the summit of the mountain is the

monastery of St. John, with a library of about 250 manuscripts.

[594] Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., V. 30, says that the Apocalypse was seen

pros to telei tes Dometianou arches. So also Eusebius, H. E. III. 18,

20, 33; Chron. ad ann. 14 Domitiani; and Jerome, De vir. illustr., c.

9. This view has prevailed among commentators and historians till quite

recently, and is advocated by Hengstenberg, Lange, Ebrard (and by

myself in the Hist. of the Ap. Ch., � 101, pp. 400 sqq.). It is indeed

difficult to set aside the clear testimony of Irenaeus, who, through

Polycarp, was connected with the very age of John. But we must remember

that he was mistaken even on more important points of history, as the

age of Jesus, which he asserts, with an appeal to tradition, to have

been above fifty years.

[595] Tacitus congratulates Agricola (Vita Agr., c. 44) that he did not

live to see under this emperor "tot consularium caedes, tot

nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas." Agricola, whose daughter

Tacitus married, died in 93, two years before Domitian.

[596] Suetonius, Domit., c. 13: "Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri

jubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone

cujusquam appellaretur aliter."

[597] Hegesippus in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., III., 19, 20. Hegesippus,

however, is silent about the banishment of John, and this silence has

been used by Bleek as an argument against the fact.

[598] Dion Cassius in the abridgment of Xiphilinus, 67, 14.

[599] So the title of the Syriac translation of the Apocalypse (which,

however, is of much later date than the Peshitto, which omits the

Apocalypse): "Revelatio quam Deus Joanni Evangelistae in Patmo insula

dedit, in quam a Nerone Caesare relegatus fuerat."Clement of Alexandria

(Quis dives salv., c. 42, and quoted by Eusebius, III., 23) says

indefinitely that John returned from Patmos to Ephesus after the death

of "the tyrant" (tou turannou teleutesantos), which may apply to Nero

as well as to Domitian. Origen mentions simply a Roman basileus.

Tertullian's legend of the Roman oil-martyrdom of John seems to point

to Nero rather than to any other emperor, and was so understood by

Jerome (Adv. Jovin. I. 26), although Tertullian does not say so, and

Jerome himself assigns the exile and the composition of the Apocalypse

to the reign of Domitian (De vir. ill., c. 9). Epiphanius (Haer. LI.

33) puts the banishment back to the reign of Claudius (a.d. 41-53),

which is evidently much too early.

[600] Neander, Gieseler, Baur, Ewald, L�cke, Bleek, De Wette, Reuss,

D�sterdieck, Weiss, Renan, Stanley, Lightfoot, Westcott.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 43. Traditions Respecting John. [601]

The memory of John sank deep into the heart of the church, and not a

few incidents more or less characteristic and probable have been

preserved by the early fathers.

Clement of Alexandria, towards the close of the second century,

represents John as a faithful and devoted pastor when, in his old age,

on a tour of visitation, he lovingly pursued one of his former converts

who had become a robber, and reclaimed him to the church.

Irenaeus bears testimony to his character as "the Son of Thunder" when

he relates, as from the lips of Polycarp, that, on meeting in a public

bath at Ephesus the Gnostic heretic Cerinthus, [602] who denied the

incarnation of our Lord, John refused to remain under the same roof,

lest it might fall down. This reminds one of the incident recorded in

Luke 9:49, and the apostle's severe warning in 2 John 10 and 11. The

story exemplifies the possibility of uniting the deepest love of truth

with the sternest denunciation of error and moral evil. [603]

Jerome pictures him as the disciple of love, who in his extreme old age

was carried to the meeting-place on the arms of his disciples, and

repeated again and again the exhortation, "Little children, love one

another," adding: "This is the Lord's command, and if this alone be

done, it is enough." This, of all the traditions of John, is the most

credible and the most useful.

In the Greek church John bears the epithet "the theologian (theologos),

for teaching most clearly the divinity of Christ (ten theoteta tou

logou). He is also called "the virgin" (parthenos), [604] for his

chastity and supposed celibacy. Augustin says that the singular

chastity of John from his early youth was supposed by some to be the

ground of his intimacy with Jesus. [605]

The story of John and the huntsman, related by Cassian, a monk of the

fifth century, represents him as gently playing with a partridge in his

hand, and saying to a huntsman, who was surprised at it: "Let not this

brief and slight relaxation of my mind offend thee, without which the

spirit would flag from over-exertion and not be able to respond to the

call of duty when need required." Childlike simplicity and playfulness

are often combined with true greatness of mind.

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, at the close of the second century,

relates (according to Eusebius) that John introduced in Asia Minor the

Jewish practice of observing Easter on the 14th of Nisan, irrespective

of Sunday. This fact entered largely into the paschal controversies of

the second century, and into the modern controversy about the

genuineness of the Gospel of John.

The same Polycrates of Ephesus describes John as wearing the plate, or

diadem of the Jewish high-priest (Ex. 28:36, 37; 39:30, 31). It is

probably a figurative expression of priestly holiness which John

attaches to all true believers (Comp. Rev. 2:17), but in which he

excelled as the patriarch. [606]

From a misunderstanding of the enigmatical word of Jesus, John 21:22,

arose the legend that John was only asleep in his grave, gently moving

the mound as he breathed, and awaiting the final advent of the Lord.

According to another form of the legend he died, but was immediately

raised and translated to heaven, like Elijah, to return with him as the

herald of the second advent of Christ. [607]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[601] These traditions are reproduced in a pleasing manner by Dean

Stanley, in his Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age, pp. 266-281 (3d

ed.). Comp. my Hist. of the Ap. Ch, pp. 404 sqq.

[602] Or Ebion, according to Epiphanius, Haer., xxx. 25.

[603] Stanley mentions, as an illustration of the magnifying influence

of fancy, that Jeremy Taylor, in relating this story, adds that

"immediately upon the retreat of the apostle the bath fell down and

crushed Cerinthus in the ruins" (Life of Christ, Sect. xii. 2).

[604] parthenos usually means a virgin (Matt. 1:23; Luke 1:27; Acts

21:9; 1 Cor. 7:25; 28, 34), but is applied also to men who never

touched women, Apoc. 14:4, and in patristic writers.

[605] Augustin, Tract. 124 in Joh. Evang. (Opera III. 1976, ed. Migne)

"Sunt qui senserint ... a Christo Joannem apostolum propterea plus

amatum quod neque uxorem duxerit, et ab ineunte pueritui castissimus

vixerit."He quotes Jerome, Contr. Jovin. l.c., but adds: "Hoc quidem in

Scriptuis non evidenter apparet."According to Ambrosiaster, Ad 2 Cor.

11:2, all the apostles were married except John and Paul. Tertullian

calls John Christi spado.

[606] In Euseb. H. E. III. 31, 3; V. 24, 3: Ioannes ...hos egennethe

hiereus to petalon pephorekos -ikai-imartus kai-i` -ididaskalos houtos

en Epheso, kekoimetai. Epiphanius reports (no doubt from Hegesippus)

the same, with some ascetic features, of James the brother of the Lord.

See Stanley's remarks, pp. 276-278, and Lightfoot on Galat., p. 345

note, and Philipp. p. 252. "As a figurative expression," says

Lightfoot, "or as a literal fact, the notice points to St. John as the

veteran teacher, the chief representative, of a pontifical race. On the

other hand, it is possible that this was not the sense which Polycrates

himself attached to the figure or the fact; and if so, we have here

perhaps the earliest passage in any extant Christian writing where the

sacerdotal view of the ministry is distinctly put forward." But in the

Didache (ch. 13) the Christian prophets are called "high priests."

[607] Augustin mentions the legend, but contradicts it, Trad. 224 in

Ev. Joann.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

Sources.

The teaching and example of Christ as exhibited in the Gospels, and of

the apostles in the Acts and Epistles; compared and contrasted with the

rabbinical ethics and the state of Jewish society, and with the Greek

systems of philosophy and the moral condition of the Roman empire, as

described in the writings of Seneca, Tacitus, the Roman satirists, etc.

Literature.

I. The respective sections in the Histories of the Apost. Church by

Neander: I. 229-283 (Germ. ed.); Schaff: �� 109-123 (pp. 433-492);

Lange: II. 495-534; Weizs�cker: 647-698.

II The works on the Theology of the Apostolic Age, by Schmid, Reuss,

Baur, Weiss, etc.

III. The Systems of Christian Ethics by Schleiermacher, Rothe, Neander,

Schmid, Wuttke, Harless, Martensen, Luthardt, and Lecky's History of

European Morals (1869), vol I. 357 sqq.

IV. A. Thoma (pastor in Mannheim): Geschichte der christlichen

Sittenlehre in der Zeit des Neuen Testamentes, Haarlem, 1879 (380 pp.).

A crowned prize-essay of the Teyler Theol. Society. The first attempt

of a separate critical history of N. T. ethics, but written from the

negative standpoint of the T�bingen school, and hence very

unsatisfactory. It is divided in three parts: I. The Ethics of Jesus;

II. The Ethics of Paul; III. The Ethics of the Congregation.

V. Works which treat of Christian life in the post-apostolic age (Cave,

Arnold, Schmidt, Chastel, Pressens�, etc.) will be noticed in the

second period.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 44. The Power of Christianity.

Practical Christianity is the manifestation of a new life; a spiritual

(as distinct from intellectual and moral) life; a supernatural (as

distinct from natural) life; it is a life of holiness and peace; a life

of union and communion with God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; it

is eternal life, beginning with regeneration and culminating in the

resurrection. It lays hold of the inmost centre of man's personality,

emancipates him from the dominion of sin, and brings him into vital

union with God in Christ; from this centre it acts as a purifying,

ennobling, and regulating force upon all the faculties of man--the

emotions, the will, and the intellect--and transforms even the body

into a temple of the Holy Spirit.

Christianity rises far above all other religions in the theory and

practice of virtue and piety. It sets forth the highest standard of

love to God and to man; and this not merely as an abstract doctrine, or

an object of effort and hope, but as a living fact in the person of

Jesus Christ, whose life and example have more power and influence than

all the maxims and precepts of sages and legislators. Deeds speak

louder than words. Praecepta docent, exempla trahunt. The finest

systems of moral philosophy have not been able to regenerate and

conquer the world. The gospel of Christ has done it and is doing it

constantly. The wisest men of Greece and Rome sanctioned slavery,

polygamy, concubinage, oppression, revenge, infanticide; or they belied

their purer maxims by their conduct. The ethical standard of the Jews

was much higher; yet none of their patriarchs, kings, or prophets

claimed perfection, and the Bible honestly reports the infirmities and

sins, as well as the virtues, of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, and

Solomon.

But the character of Christ from the manger to the cross is without

spot or blemish; he is above reproach or suspicion, and acknowledged by

friend and foe to be the purest as well as the wisest being that ever

appeared on earth. He is the nearest approach which God can make to

man, and which man can make to God; he represents the fullest

imaginable and attain able harmony of the ideal and real, of the divine

and human. The Christian church may degenerate in the hands of sinful

men, but the doctrine and life of her founder are a never-failing

fountain of purification.

The perfect life of harmony with God and devotion to the welfare of the

human race, is to pass from Christ to his followers. Christian life is

an imitation of the life of Christ. From his word and spirit, living

and ruling in the church, an unbroken stream of redeeming, sanctifying,

and glorifying power has been flowing forth upon individuals, families,

and nations for these eighteen centuries, and will continue to flow

till the world is transformed into the kingdom of heaven, and God

becomes all in all.

One of the strongest proofs of the supernatural origin of Christianity,

is its elevation above the natural culture and moral standard of its

first professors. The most perfect doctrine and life described by

unschooled fishermen of Galilee, who never before had been outside of

Palestine, and were scarcely able to read and to write! And the

profoundest mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the incarnation,

redemption, regeneration, resurrection, taught by the apostles to

congregations of poor and illiterate peasants, slaves and freedmen! For

"not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" were

called, "but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might

put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the weak things of the

world, that he might put to shame the things that are strong; and the

base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God

choose, yea, and the things that are not, that he might bring to naught

the things that are: that no flesh should glory before God. But of him

are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and

righteousness and sanctification and redemption: that, according as it

is written, he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." [608]

If we compare the moral atmosphere of the apostolic churches with the

actual condition of surrounding Judaism and heathenism, the contrast is

as startling as that between a green oasis with living fountains and

lofty palm trees, and a barren desert of sand and stone. Judaism in its

highest judicatory committed the crime of crimes, the crucifixion of

the Saviour of the world, and hastened to its doom. Heathenism was

fitly represented by such imperial monsters as Tiberius, Caligula,

Nero, and Domitian, and exhibited a picture of hopeless corruption and

decay, as described in the darkest colors not only by St. Paul, but by

his heathen contemporary, the wisest Stoic moralist, the teacher and

victim of Nero. [609]

Notes.

The rationalistic author of Supernatural Religion (vol. II. 487) makes

the following remarkable concession: "The teaching of Jesus carried

morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by

humanity. The influence of his spiritual religion has been rendered

doubly great by the unparalleled purity and elevation of his character.

Surpassing in his sublime simplicity and earnestness the moral grandeur

of S�kya Muni, and putting to the blush the sometimes sullied, though

generally admirable, teaching of Socrates and Plato, and the whole

round of Greek philosophers, he presented the rare spectacle of a life,

so far as we can estimate it, uniformly noble and consistent with his

own lofty principles, so that the 'imitation of Christ' has become

almost the final word in the preaching of his religion, and must

continue to be one of the most powerful elements of its permanence."

Lecky, likewise a rationalistic writer and historian of great ability

and fairness, makes this weighty remark in his History of European

Morals (vol. II. 9):, "It was reserved for Christianity to present to

the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen

centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has

shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and

conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the

strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an

influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three

short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften

mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the

exhortations of moralists. This has, indeed, been the wellspring of

whatever is best and purest in Christian life. Amid all the sins and

failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that

have defaced the Church, it has preserved, in the character and example

of its Founder, an enduring principle of regeneration."

To this we may add the testimony of the atheistic philosopher, John

Stuart Mill from his essay on Theism, written shortly before his death

(1873), and published, 1874, in Three Essays on Religion. (Am. ed., p.

253): "Above all, the most valuable part of the effect on the character

which Christianity has produced, by holding up in a divine person a

standard of excellence and a model for imitation, is available even to

the absolute unbeliever, and can never more be lost to humanity. For it

is Christ rather than God whom Christianity has held up to believers as

the pattern of perfection for humanity. It is the God incarnate more

than the God of the Jews, or of nature, who, being idealized, has taken

so great and salutary a hold on the modem mind. And whatever else may

be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left; a

unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his

followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal

teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ, as exhibited in the

Gospels, is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is

admirable has been super-added by the tradition of his followers. The

tradition of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and

may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought.

But who among his disciples, or among their proselytes, was capable of

inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and

character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of

Galilee; as certainly not St. Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasies

were of a totally different sort; still less the early Christian

writers, in whom nothing is more evident than that the good which was

in them was all derived, as they always professed that it was derived,

from the higher source."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[608] 1 Cor. 2:26-31.

[609] Comp. the well known passage of Seneca, De Ira, II. 8: Omnia

sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt; plus committitur, quam quod possit

co�rcitione sanari. Certatur ingenti quodam nequitim certamine: maior

quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundia est. Expulso melioris

aequorisque respectu, quocunque visum est, libido se impingit; nec

furtiva jam scelera sunt, praeter oculos eunt. Adeoque in publicum

missa nequitia est, et in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non

rara, sed nulla sit. Numquid enim singuli aut pauci rupere legem;

undique, velut signo dato, ad fas nefasque miscendum co�rti sunt."

Similar passages might be gathered from Thucydides, Aristophanes,

Sallust, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Tacitus, Suetonius. It is true that

almost every heathen vice still exists in Christian countries, but they

exist in spite of the Christian religion, while the heathen immorality

was the legitimate result of idolatry, and was sanctioned by the

example of the heathen gods, and the apotheosis of the worst Roman

emperors.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 45. The Spiritual Gifts.

Comp. the Commentaries on Rom. 12:3-9, and 1 Cor. 12-14.

The apostolic church was endowed from the day of Pentecost with all the

needful spiritual gifts for the moral regeneration of the world. They

formed, as it were, her bridal garment and her panoply against Jewish

and Gentile opposition. They are called charisms [610] or gifts of

grace, as distinguished from, though not opposed to, natural

endowments. They are certain special energies and manifestations of the

Holy Spirit in believers for the common good. [611] They are

supernatural, therefore, in their origin; but they correspond to

natural virtues, and in operation they follow all the mental and moral

faculties of Dian, raising them to higher activity, and consecrating

them to the service of Christ. They all rest on faith, that "gift of

gifts."

The spiritual gifts may be divided into three classes: first,

intellectual gifts of knowledge, mainly theoretical in their character,

and concerned primarily with doctrine and theology; secondly, emotional

gifts of feeling, appearing chiefly in divine worship and for immediate

edification; and thirdly, practical gifts of will, devoted to the

organization, government, and discipline of the church. They are not,

however, abstractly separate, but work together harmoniously for the

common purpose of edifying the body of Christ. In the New Testament ten

charisms are specially mentioned; the first four have to do chiefly,

though not exclusively, with doctrine, the next two with worship, and

the remaining four with government and practical affairs.

1. The gift of Wisdom and Knowledge, [612] or of deep insight into the

nature and system of the divine word and the doctrines of the Christian

salvation.

2. The gift of Teaching. [613] or of practically applying the gift of

knowledge; the power of clearly expounding the Scriptures for the

instruction and edification of the people.

3. The gift of Prophecy, [614] akin to the two preceding, but addressed

rather to pious feeling than to speculative reflection, and employing

commonly the language of higher inspiration, rather than that of

logical exposition and demonstration. It is by no means confined to the

prediction of future events, but consists in disclosing the hidden

counsel of God, the deeper sense of the Scriptures, the secret state of

the heart, the abyss of sin, and the glory of redeeming grace. It

appears particularly in creative periods, times of mighty revival;

while the gift of reaching suits better a quiet state of natural growth

in the church. Both act not only in the sphere of doctrine and

theology, but also in worship, and might in this view be reckoned also

among the gifts of feeling.

4. The gift of Discerning Spirits, [615] serves mainly as a guide to

the third gift, by discriminating between true prophets and false,

between divine inspiration and a merely human or satanic enthusiasm. In

a wider sense it is a deep discernment in separating truth and error,

and in judging of moral and religious character; a holy criticism still

ever necessary to the purity of Christian doctrine and the

administration of the discipline of the church.

5. The gift of Tongues, [616] or of an utterance proceeding from a

state of unconscious ecstasy in the speaker, and unintelligible to the

hearer unless interpreted--thus differing from prophecy, which requires

a self-conscious though highly elevated state of feeling, serves

directly to profit the congregation, and is therefore preferred by

Paul. [617] The speaking with tongues is an involuntary psalm-like

prayer or song, uttered from a spiritual trance, and in a peculiar

language inspired by the Holy Spirit. The soul is almost entirely

passive, an instrument on which the Spirit plays his heavenly melodies.

This gift has, therefore, properly, nothing to do with the spread of

the church among foreign peoples and in foreign languages, but is

purely an act of worship, for the edification primarily of the speaker

himself, and indirectly, through interpretation, for the hearers. It

appeared, first, indeed, on the day of Pentecost, but before Peter's

address to the people, which was the proper mission-sermon; and we meet

with it afterwards in the house of Cornelius and in the Corinthian

congregation, as a means of edification for believers, and not, at

least not directly, for unbelieving hearers, although it served to them

as a significant sign, [618] arresting their attention to the

supernatural power in the church.

6. The gift of Interpretation [619] is the supplement of the

glossolalia, and makes that gift profitable to the congregation by

translating the prayers and songs from the language of the spirit and

of ecstasy [620] into that of the understanding and of sober

self-consciousness. [621] The preponderance of reflection here puts

this gift as properly in the first class as in the second.

7. The gift of Ministry and Help, [622] that is, of special

qualification primarily for the office of deacon and deaconess, or for

the regular ecclesiastical care of the poor and the sick, and, in the

wide sense, for all labors of Christian charity and philanthropy.

8. The gift of church Government and the Care of souls, [623]

indispensable to all pastors and rulers of the church, above all to the

apostles and apostolic men, in proportion to the extent of their

respective fields of labor. Peter warns his co-presbyters against the

temptation to hierarchical arrogance and tyranny over conscience, of

which so many priests, bishops, patriarchs, and popes have since been

guilty; and points them to the sublime example of the great Shepherd

and Archbishop, who, in infinite love, laid down his life for the

sheep. [624]

9. The gift of Miracles [625] is the power possessed by the apostles

and apostolic men, like Stephen, to heal all sorts of physical

maladies, to cast out demons, to raise the dead, and perform other

similar works, in virtue of an extraordinary energy or faith, by word,

prayer, and the laying on of hands in the name of Jesus, and for his

glory. These miracles were outward credentials and seals of the divine

mission of the apostles in a time and among a people which required

such sensible helps to faith. But as Christianity became established in

the world, it could point to its continued moral effects as the best

evidence of its truth, and the necessity for outward physical miracles

ceased.

10. Finally, the gift of Love, the greatest, most precious, most

useful, most needful, and most enduring of all, described and extolled

by St. Paul in the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians with the pen of

an angel in the vision and enjoyment of the God of infinite love

himself. [626] Love is natural kindness and affection sanctified and

raised to the spiritual sphere, or rather a new heavenly affection

created in the soul by the experience of the saving love of God in

Christ. As faith lies at the bottom of all charisms, so love is not

properly a separate gift, but the soul of all the gifts, guarding them

from abuse for selfish and ambitious purposes, making them available

for the common good, ruling, uniting, and completing them. It alone

gives them their true value, and without love even the speaking with

tongues of angels, and a faith which removes mountains, are nothing

before God. It holds heaven and earth in its embrace. It "believeth all

things," and when faith fails, it "hopeth all things," and when hope

fails, it "endureth all things," but it "never fails." As love is the

most needful of all the gifts on earth, so it will also outlast all the

others and be the ornament and joy of the saints in heaven. For love is

the inmost essence, the heart, as it were, of God, the ground of all

his attributes, and the motive of all his works. It is the beginning

and the end of creation, redemption, and sanctification--the link which

unites us with the triune God, the cardinal virtue of Christianity, the

fulfilling of the law, the bond of perfectness, and the fountain of

bliss.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[610] charismata.

[611] Comp. 1 Cor. 12:7; 14:12.

[612] sophia andgnosis.

[613] didaskalia.

[614] propheteia.

[615] diakriseis pneumaton.

[616] kainais or heterais glossais laleis, or simply, glossais,

sometimes glosse lalein See � 24, p. 234.

[617] 1 Cor. 14:1-5.

[618] semeion. 1 Cor. 14:22.

[619] hermeneia glosson.

[620] Of the pneuma.

[621] Of the nous.

[622] diakonia, antilepseis.

[623] kuberneseis, gubernationes.

[624] 1 Pet. 5:1-4.

[625] charisma iamaton, dunamis semeion kai teraton.

[626] The Revision of 1881 has substituted, in 1 Cor. 13, "love" (with

Tyndale, Cranmer, and Geneva Vers.) for "charity" (which came into

James's Version from the Vulgate through the Rheims Vera.). This change

has given great offence among conservative people. It may indeed

involve a loss of rhythm in that wonderful chapter, but it was

necessitated by the restricted meaning which charity has assumed in

modem usage, being identical with practical benevolence, so that Paul

might seem to contradict himself in 13:3 and 8. The Saxon word love is

just as strong, as musical, and as sacred as the Latin charity, and its

meaning is far more comprehensive and enduring, embracing both God's

love to man and man'slove to God, and to his neighbor, both here and

hereafter.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 46. Christianity in Individuals.

The transforming spiritual power of Christianity appears first in the

lives of individuals. The apostles and primitive Christians rose to a

morality and piety far above that of the heroes of heathen virtue and

even that of the Jewish saints. Their daily walk was a living union

with Christ, ever seeking the glory of God and the salvation of men.

Many of the cardinal virtues, humility, for example, and love for

enemies, were unknown before the Christian day.

Peter, Paul, and John represent the various leading forms or types of

Christian piety, as well as of theology. They were not without defect,

indeed they themselves acknowledged only one sinless being, their Lord

and Master, and they confessed their own shortcomings; [627] yet they

were as nearly perfect as it is possible to be in a sinful world; and

the moral influence of their lives and writings on all generations of

the church is absolutely immeasurable. Each exhibits the spirit and

life of Christ in a peculiar way. For the gospel does not destroy, but

redeems and sanctifies the natural talents and tempers of men. It

consecrates the fire of a Peter, the energy of a Paul, and the

pensiveness of a John to the same service of God. It most strikingly

displays its new creating power in the sudden conversion of the apostle

of the Gentiles from a most dangerous foe to a most efficient friend of

the church. Upon Paul the Spirit of God came as an overwhelming storm;

upon John, as a gentle, refreshing breeze. But in all dwelt the same

new, supernatural, divine principle of life. All are living apologies

for Christianity, whose force no truth-loving heart can resist.

Notice, too, the moral effects of the gospel in the female characters

of the New Testament. Christianity raises woman from the slavish

position which she held both in Judaism and in heathendom, to her true

moral dignity and importance; makes her an heir of the same salvation

with man, [628] and opens to her a field for the noblest and loveliest

virtues, without thrusting her, after the manner of modern

pseudo-philanthropic schemes of emancipation, out of her appropriate

sphere of private, domestic life, and thus stripping her of her fairest

ornament and peculiar charm.

The Virgin Mary marks the turning point in the history of the female

sex. As the mother of Christ, the second Adam, she corresponds to Eve,

and is, in a spiritual sense, the mother of all living. [629] In her,

the "blessed among women," the whole sex wass blessed, and the curse

removed which had hung over the era of the fall. She was not, indeed,

free from actual and native sin, as is now, taught, without the

slightest ground in Scripture, by the Roman church since the 8th of

December, 1854. On the contrary, as a daughter of Adam, she needed,

like all men, redemption and sanctification through Christ, the sole

author of sinless holiness, and she herself expressly calls God her

Saviour. [630] But in the mother and educator of the Saviour of the

world we no doubt may and should revere, though not worship, the model

of female Christian virtue, of purity, tenderness, simplicity,

humility, perfect obedience to God, and unreserved surrender to Christ.

Next to her we have a lovely group of female disciples and friends

around the Lord: Mary, the wife of Clopas; Salome, the mother of James

and John; Mary of Bethany, who sat at Jesus' feet; her busy and

hospitable sister, Martha; Mary of Magdala, whom the Lord healed of a

demoniacal possession; the sinner, who washed his feet with her tears

of penitence and wiped them with her hair; and all the noble women, who

ministered to the Son of man in his earthly poverty with the gifts of

their love, [631] lingered last around his cross, [632] and were the

first at his open sepulchre on the, morning of the resurrection. [633]

Henceforth we find woman no longer a slave of man and tool of lust, but

the pride and joy of her husband, the fond mother training her children

to virtue and godliness, the ornament and treasure of the family, the

faithful sister, the zealous servant of the congregation in every work

of Christian charity, the sister of mercy, the martyr with superhuman

courage, the guardian angel of peace, the example of purity, humility,

gentleness, patience, love, and fidelity unto death. Such women were

unknown before. The heathen Libanius, the enthusiastic eulogist of old

Grecian culture, pronounced an involuntary eulogy on Christianity when

he exclaimed, as he looked at the mother of Chrysostom: "What women the

Christians have!"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[627] Comp. Phil. 3:12-14; 2 Cor. 4:7 sqq.; 12:7; 1 Cor. 9:27; Jas.

3:9; 1 John 1:8, 9; Gal. 2:11; Acts 15:36-39; 23:3 sqq.

[628] 1 Pet. 3:7; Gal 3:28.

[629] Gen. 3:20. This parallel was first drawn by Irenaeus, but

overdrawn and abused by later fathers in the service of Mariolatry.

[630] Luke 1:47 epi to theo to soteri mou.

[631] Luke 8:3; Matt. 27:55; Mark 15:41.

[632] John 19:15.

[633] . Matt. 28:1; John 20:1.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 47. Christianity and the Family.

H. Gregoire: De l'influence du christianisme sur la condition des

femmes. Paris, 1821.

F. M�nter: Die Christin im heidnischen Hause vor den Zeiten

Constantin's des Grossen. Kopenhagen, 1828.

Julia Kavanagh: Women of Christianity, Exemplary for Acts of Piety and

Charity. Lond., 1851; N. York, 1866.

Thus raising the female sex to its true freedom and dignity,

Christianity transforms and sanctifies the entire family life. It

abolishes polygamy, and makes monogamy the proper form of marriage; it

condemns concubinage with all forms of unchastity and impurity. It

presents the mutual duties of husband and wife, and of parents and

children, in their true light, and exhibits marriage as a copy of the

mystical union of Christ with his bride, the church; thus imparting to

it a holy character and a heavenly end. [634]

Henceforth the family, though still rooted, as before, in the soil of

nature, in the mystery of sexual love, is spiritualized and becomes a

nursery of the purest and noblest virtues, a miniature church, where

the father, as shepherd, daily leads his household into the pastures of

the divine word, and, as priest, offers to the Lord the sacrifice of

their common petition, intercession, thanksgiving, and praise.

With the married state, the single also, as an exception to the rule,

is consecrated by the gospel to the service of the kingdom of God; as

we see in a Paul, a Barnabas, and a John, [635] and in the history of

missions and of ascetic piety. The enthusiasm for celibacy, which

spread so soon throughout the ancient church, must be regarded as a

one-sided, though natural and, upon the whole, beneficial reaction

against the rotten condition and misery of family life among the

heathen.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[634] Comp. Eph. 5:22-23; 6:1-9; Col. 8:18-25.

[635] Comp. Matt. 19:10-12; 1 Cor. 7:7 sqq.; Rev. 14:4.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 48. Christianity and Slavery.

Literature.

H. Wallon (Prof. of Modern History in Paris): Histoire de l'esclavage

dans l'antiquit�, Par. 1879, 3 vols., treats very thoroughly of Slavery

in the Orient, among the Greeks and the Romans, with an Introduction on

modern negro slavery in the Colonies.

Augustin Cochin (ancien maire et conseiller municipal de la Ville de

Paris): L'abolition de l'esclavage, Paris, 1862, 2 vols. This work

treats not only of the modern abolition of slavery, but includes in

vol. II., p. 348-470, an able discussion of the relation of

Christianity and slavery.

M�hler (R. C., d. 1848):Bruchst�cke aus der Geschichte der Aufhebung

der Sklaverei, 1834. ("Vermischte Schriften," vol. II., p. 54.)

H. Wiskemann: Die Sklaverei. Leiden, 1866. A crowned prize-essay.

P. Allard: Les esclaves chr�tiens depuis les premiers temps de l'�glise

jusqu' � la fin de la domination romaine en Occident Paris, 1876 (480

pp.).

G. V. Lechler: Sklaverei und Christenthum. Leipz. 1877-78.

Ph. Schaff: Slavery and the Bible, in his "Christ and Christianity," N.

York and London, 1885, pp. 184-212.

Compare the Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, especially

Braune, and Lightfoot (in Colossians and Philemon, 1875).

The numerous American works on slavery by Channing, Parker, Hodge,

Barnes, Wilson, Cheever, Bledsoe, and others, relate to the question of

negro slavery, now providentially abolished by the civil war of

1861-65.

To Christianity we owe the gradual extinction of slavery.

This evil has rested as a curse on all nations, and at the time of

Christ the greater part of the existing race was bound in beastly

degradation--even in civilized Greece and Rome the slaves being more

numerous than the free-born and the freedmen. The greatest philosophers

of antiquity vindicated slavery as a natural and necessary institution;

and Aristotle declared all barbarians to be slaves by birth, fit for

nothing but obedience. According to the Roman law, "slaves had no head

in the State, no name, no title, no register;" they had no rights of

matrimony, and no protection against adultery; they could be bought and

sold, or given away, as personal property; they might be tortured for

evidence, or even put to death, at the discretion of their master. In

the language of a distinguished writer on civil law, the slaves in the

Roman empire "were in a much worse state than any cattle whatsoever."

Cato the elder expelled his old and sick slaves out of house and home.

Hadrian, one of the most humane of the emperors, wilfully destroyed the

eye of one of his slaves with a pencil. Roman ladies punished their

maids with sharp iron instruments for the most trifling offences, while

attending half-naked, on their toilet. Such legal degradation and cruel

treatment had the worst effect upon the character of the slaves. They

are described by the ancient writers as mean, cowardly, abject, false,

voracious, intemperate, voluptuous, also as hard and cruel when placed

over others. A proverb prevailed in the Roman empire: "As many slaves,

so many enemies." Hence the constant danger of servile insurrections,

which more than once brought the republic to the brink of ruin, and

seemed to justify the severest measures in self-defence.

Judaism, indeed, stood on higher ground than this; yet it tolerated

slavery, though with wise precautions against maltreatment, and with

the significant ordinance, that in the year of jubilee, which

prefigured the renovation of the theocracy, all Hebrew slaves should go

free. [636]

This system of permanent oppression and moral degradation the gospel

opposes rather by its whole spirit than by any special law. It nowhere

recommends outward violence and revolutionary measures, which in those

times would have been worse than useless, but provides an internal

radical cure, which first mitigates the evil, takes away its sting, and

effects at last its entire abolition. Christianity aims, first of all,

to redeem man, without regard to rank or condition, from that worst

bondage, the curse of sin, and to give him true spiritual freedom; it

confirms the original unity of all men in the image of God, and teaches

the common redemption and spiritual equality of all before God in

Christ; [637] it insists on love as the highest duty and virtue, which

itself inwardly levels social distinctions; and it addresses the

comfort and consolation of the gospel particularly to all the poor, the

persecuted, and the oppressed. Paul sent back to his earthly master the

fugitive slave, Onesimus, whom he had converted to Christ and to his

duty, that he might restore his character where he had lost it; but he

expressly charged Philemon to receive and treat the bondman hereafter

as a beloved brother in Christ, yea, as the apostle's own heart. It is

impossible to conceive of a more radical cure of the evil in those

times and within the limits of established laws and customs. And it is

impossible to find in ancient literature a parallel to the little

Epistle to Philemon for gentlemanly courtesy and delicacy, as well as

for tender sympathy with a poor slave.

This Christian spirit of love, humanity, justice, and freedom, as it

pervades the whole New Testament, has also, in fact, gradually

abolished the institution of slavery in almost all civilized nations,

and will not rest till all the chains of sin and misery are broken,

till the personal and eternal dignity of man redeemed by Christ is

universally acknowledged, and the evangelical freedom and brotherhood

of men are perfectly attained.

Note on the Number and Condition of Slaves in Greece and Rome.

Attica numbered, according to Ctesicles, under the governorship of

Demetrius the Phalerian (309 b.c.), 400,000 slaves, 10,000 foreigners,

and only 21,000 free citizens. In Sparta the disproportion was still

greater.

As to the Roman empire, Gibbon estimates the number of slaves under the

reign of Claudius at no less than one half of the entire population,

i.e., about sixty millions (I. 52, ed. Milman, N. Y., 1850). According

to Robertson there were twice as many slaves as free citizens, and

Blair (in his work on Roman slavery, Edinb. 1833, p. 15) estimates over

three slaves to one freeman between the conquest of Greece (146 b.c.)

and the reign of Alexander Severna (a.d. 222-235). The proportion was

of course very different in the cities and in the rural districts. The

majority of the plebs urbana were poor and unable to keep slaves; and

the support of slaves in the city was much more expensive than in the

country. Marquardt assumes the proportion of slaves to freemen in Rome

to have been three to two. Friedl�nder (Sittengeschichte Roms. l. 55,

fourth ed.) thinks it impossible to make a correct general estimate, as

we do not know the number of wealthy families. But we know that Rome

a.d. 24 was thrown into consternation by the fear of a slave

insurrection (Tacit. Ann. IV. 27). Athenaeus, as quoted by Gibbon (I.

51) boldly asserts that he knew very many (pampolloi) Romans who

possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand

slaves. In a single palace at Rome, that of Pedanius Secundus, then

prefect of the city, four hundred slaves were maintained, and were all

executed for not preventing their master's murder (Tacit. Ann. XIV. 42,

43).

The legal condition of the slaves is thus described by Taylor on Civil

Law, as quoted in Cooper's Justinian, p. 411: "Slaves were held pro

nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus; nay, were in a much worse state

than any cattle whatsoever. They had no head in the state, no name, no

title, or register; they were not capable of being injured; nor could

they take by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and therefore

could make no will; they were not entitled to the rights and

considerations of matrimony, and therefore had no relief in case of

adultery; nor were they proper objects of cognation or affinity, but of

quasi-cognation only; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned, as

goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and as such they were

esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at the

discretion of their lord, and even put to death by his authority;

together with many other civil incapacities which I have no room to

enumerate." Gibbon (I. 48) thinks that "against such internal enemies,

whose desperate insurrections had more then once reduced the republic

to the brink of destruction, the most severe regulations and the most

cruel treatment seemed almost justifiable by the great law of

self-preservation."

The individual treatment of slaves depended on the character of the

master. As a rule it was harsh and cruel. The bloody spectacles of the

amphitheatre stupefied the finer sensibilities even in women. Juvenal

describes a Roman mistress who ordered her female slaves to be

unmercifully lashed in her presence till the whippers were worn out;

Ovid warns the ladies not to scratch the face or stick needles into the

naked arms of the servants who adorned them; and before Hadrian a

mistress could condemn a slave to the death of crucifixion without

assigning a reason. See the references in Friedl�nder, I. 466. It is

but just to remark that the philosophers of the first and second

century, Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch, entertained much milder views on

this subject than the older writers, and commend a humane treatment of

the slaves; also that the Antonines improved their condition to some

extent, and took the oft abused jurisdiction of life and death over the

slaves out of private hands and vested it in the magistrates. But at

that time Christian principles and sentiments already freely circulated

throughout the empire, and exerted a silent influence even over the

educated heathen. This unconscious atmospheric influence, so to speak,

is continually exerted by Christianity over the surrounding world,

which without this would be far worse than it actually is.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[636] Lev. 25:10: "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim

liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Comp.

Isa. 41: 1; Luke 4:19.

[637] Gal. 8:28; Col. 3:11.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 49. Christianity and Society.

Christianity enters with its leaven-like virtue the whole civil and

social life of a people, and leads it on the path of progress in all

genuine civilization. It nowhere prescribes, indeed, a particular form

of government, and carefully abstains from all improper interference

with political and secular affairs. It accommodates itself to

monarchical and republican institutions, and can flourish even under

oppression and persecution from the State, as the history of the first

three centuries sufficiently shows. But it teaches the true nature and

aim of all government, and the duties of rulers and subjects; it

promotes the abolition of bad laws and institutions, and the

establishment of good; it is in principle opposed alike to despotism

and anarchy; it tends, under every form of government, towards order,

propriety, justice, humanity, and peace; it fills the ruler with a

sense of responsibility to the supreme king and judge, and the ruled

with the spirit of loyalty, virtue, and piety.

Finally, the Gospel reforms the international relations by breaking

down the partition walls of prejudice and hatred among the different

nations and races. It unites in brotherly fellowship and harmony around

the same communion table even the Jews and the Gentiles, once so

bitterly separate and hostile. The spirit of Christianity, truly

catholic or universal, rises above all national distinctions. Like the

congregation at Jerusalem, the whole apostolic church was of "one heart

and of one soul." [638] It had its occasional troubles, indeed,

temporary collisions between a Peter and a Paul, between Jewish and

Gentile Christians; but instead of wondering at these, we must admire

the constant victory of the spirit of harmony and love over the

remaining forces of the old nature and of a former state of things. The

poor Gentile Christians of Paul's churches in Greece sent their

charities to the poor Jewish Christians in Palestine, and thus proved

their gratitude for the gospel and its fellowship, which they had

received from that mother church. [639] The Christians all felt

themselves to be "brethren," were constantly impressed with their

common origin and their common destiny, and considered it their sacred

duty to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." [640]

While the Jews, in their spiritual pride and "odium generis humani"

abhorred all Gentiles; while the Greeks despised all barbarians as only

half men; and while the Romans, with all their might and policy, could

bring their conquered nations only into a mechanical conglomeration, a

giant body without a soul; Christianity, by purely moral means) founded

a universal spiritual empire and a communion of saints, which stands

unshaken to this day, and will spread till it embraces all the nations

of the earth as its living members, and reconciles all to God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[638] Acts 4:32.

[639] Gal. 2:10; 2 Cor. 9:12-15; Rom. 15:25-27.

[640] Gal. 8:28; Eph. 4:3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 50. Spiritual Condition of the Congregations.--The Seven Churches in

Asia.

We must not suppose that the high standard of holiness set up in

doctrine and example by the evangelists and apostles was fully realized

in their congregations. The dream of the spotless purity and perfection

of the apostolic church finds no support in the apostolic writings,

except as an ideal which is constantly held up before our vision to

stimulate our energies. If the inspired apostles themselves disclaimed

perfection, much less can we expect it from their converts, who had

just come from the errors and corruptions of Jewish and heathen

society, and could not be transformed at once without a miracle in

violation of the ordinary laws of moral growth.

We find, in fact, that every Epistle meets some particular difficulty

and danger. No letter of Paul can be understood without the admission

of the actual imperfection of his congregations. He found it necessary

to warn them even against the vulgar sins of the flesh as well as

against the refined sins of the spirit. He cheerfully and thankfully

commended their virtues, and as frankly and fearlessly condemned their

errors and vices.

The same is true of the churches addressed in the Catholic Epistles,

and in the Revelation of John. [641]

The seven Epistles in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse

give us a glimpse of the church in its light and shade in the last

stage of the apostolic age--primarily in Asia Minor, but through it

also in other lands. These letters are all very much alike in their

plan, and present a beautiful order, which has been well pointed out by

Bengel. They contain (1) a command of Christ to write to the "angel" of

the congregation. (2) A designation of Jesus by some imposing title,

which generally refers to his majestic appearance (Rev. 1:13 sqq.), and

serves as the basis and warrant of the subsequent promises and

threatenings. (3) The address to the angel, or the responsible head of

the congregation, be it a single bishop or the college of pastors and

teachers. The angels are, at all events, the representatives of the

people committed to their charge, and what was said to them applies at

the same time to the churches. This address, or the epistle proper,

consists always of (a) a short sketch of the present moral condition of

the congregation--both its virtues and defects--with commendation or

censure as the case may be; (b) an exhortation either to repentance or

to faithfulness and patience, according to the prevailing character of

the church addressed; (c) a promise to him who overcomes, together with

the admonition: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit

saith unto the churches," or the same in the reverse order, as in the

first three epistles. This latter variation divides the seven churches

into two groups, one comprising the first three, the other the

remaining four, just as the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the

seven vials are divided. The ever-recurring admonition: "He that hath

an ear," etc., consists of ten words. This is no unmeaning play, but an

application of the Old Testament system of symbolical numbers, in which

three was the symbol of the Godhead; four of the world or humanity; the

indivisible number seven, the sum of three and four (as also twelve,

their product), the symbol of the indissoluble covenant between God and

man; and ten (seven and three), the round number, the symbol of fulness

and completion.

As to their moral and religious condition, the churches and the

representatives fall, according to the Epistles, into three classes:

1. Those which were predominantly good and pure, viz., those of Smyrna

and Philadelphia. Hence, in the messages to these two churches we find

no exhortation to repentance in the strict sense of the word, but only

an encouragement to be steadfast, patient, and joyful under suffering.

The church of Smyrna (a very ancient, still flourishing commercial city

in Ionia, beautifully located on the bay of Smyrna) was externally poor

and persecuted, and had still greater tribulation in view, but is

cheered with the prospect of the crown of life. It was in the second

century ruled by Polycarp, a pupil of John, and a faithful martyr.

Philadelphia (a city built by king Attalus Philadelphus, and named

after him, now Ala-Sch�r), in the province of Lydia, a rich wine

region, but subject to earthquakes, was the seat of a church likewise

poor and small outwardly, but very faithful and spiritually

flourishing--a church which was to have all the tribulations and

hostility it met with on earth abundantly rewarded in heaven.

2. Churches which were in a predominantly evil and critical condition,

viz., those of Sardis and Laodicea. Here accordingly we find severe

censure and earnest exhortation to repentance.

The church at Sardis (till the time of Croesus the flourishing capital

of the Lydian empire, but now a miserable hamlet of shepherds) had

indeed the name and outward form of Christianity, but not its inward

power of faith and life. Hence it was on the brink of spiritual death.

Yet Rev. 3:4 sq., distinguishes from the corrupt mass a few souls which

had kept their walk undefiled, without, however, breaking away from the

congregation as separatists, and setting up an opposition sect for

themselves.

The church of Laodicea (a wealthy commercial city of Phrygia, not far

from Colosse and Hierapolis, where now stands only a desolate village

by the name of Eski-Hissar) proudly fancied itself spiritually rich and

faultless, but was in truth poor and blind and naked, and in that most

dangerous state of indifference and lukewarmness from which it is more

difficult to return to the former decision and ardor, than it was to

pass at first from the natural coldness to faith. Hence the fearful

threatening: "I will spew thee out of my mouth." (Lukewarm water

produces vomiting.) Yet even the Laodiceans are not driven to despair.

The Lord, in love, knocks at their door and promises them, on condition

of thorough repentance, a part in the marriage-supper of the lamb

(3:20).

3. Churches of amixed character, viz., those of Ephesus, Pergamum, and

Thyatira. In these cases commendation and censure, promise and

threatening are united.

Ephesus, then the metropolis of the Asian church, had withstood,

indeed, the Gnostic errorists predicted by Paul, and faithfully

maintained the purity of the doctrine delivered to it; but it had lost

the ardor of its first love, and it is, therefore, earnestly exhorted

to repent. It thus represents to us that state of dead, petrified

orthodoxy, into which various churches oftentimes fall. Zeal for pure

doctrine is, indeed, of the highest importance, but worthless without

living piety and active love. The Epistle to the angel of the church of

Ephesus is peculiarly applicable to the later Greek church as a whole.

Pergamum in Mysia (the northernmost of these seven cities, formerly the

residence of the kings of Asia of the Attalian dynasty, and renowned

for its large library of 200,000 volumes and the manufacture of

parchment; hence the name charta Pergamena;--now Bergamo, a village

inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and Armenians) was the seat of a church,

which under trying circumstances had shown great fidelity, but

tolerated in her bosom those who held dangerous Gnostic errors. For

this want of rigid discipline she also is called on to repent.

The church of Thyatira (a flourishing manufacturing and commercial city

in Lydia, on the site of which now stands a considerable Turkish town

called Ak-Hissar, or "the White Castle," with nine mosques and one

Greek church) was very favorably distinguished for self-denying, active

love and patience, but was likewise too indulgent towards errors which

corrupted Christianity with heathen principles and practices.

The last two churches, especially that of Thyatira, form thus the exact

counterpart to that of Ephesus, and are the representatives of a

zealous practical piety in union with theoretical latitudinarianism. As

doctrine always has more or less influence on practice, this also is a

dangerous state. That church alone is truly sound and flourishing in

which purity of doctrine and purity of life, theoretical orthodoxy and

practical piety are harmoniously united and promote one another.

With good reason have theologians in all ages regarded these, seven

churches of Asia Minor as a miniature of the whole Christian church.

"There is no condition, good, bad, or mixed, of which these epistles do

not present a sample, and for which they do not give suitable and

wholesome direction." Here, as everywhere, the word of God and the

history of the apostolic church evince their applicability to all times

and circumstances, and their inexhaustible fulness of instruction,

warning, and encouragement for all states and stages of religious life.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[641] The remainder of this paragraph is taken in part from my Hist. of

the Apost. Church (�108, pp. 427 sqq.), where it is connected with the

life and labors of St. John. Comp. also the monographs of Trench and

Plumptre on the Seven Churches, and Lange's Com. on Rev. 2 and 3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IX.

WORSHIP IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

Literature.

Th Harnack: Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im Apost. und

altkathol. Zeitalter. Erlangen, 1854. The same: Prakt. Theol., I. 1877.

P. Probst (R. C.): Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. T�b., 1870.

W. L. Volz: Anf�nge des christl. Gottesdienstes, in "Stud. und Krit."

1872.

H. Jacoby: Die constitutiven Factoren des Apost. Gottesdienstes, in

"Jahrb. f�r deutsche Theol." for 1873.

C. Weizs�cker: Die Versammlungen der �ltesten Christengemeinden, 1876;

and Das Apost. Zeitalter, 1886, pp. 566 sqq.

Th Zahn: Gesch. des Sonntags in der alten Kirche. Hann., 1878.

Schaff: Hist. of the Apost. Ch., pp. 545-586.

Comp. the Lit. on Ch. X., and on the Didache, vol. II. 184.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 51. The Synagogue.

Campeg. Vitringa (d. at Franeker, 1722): De Synagoga Vetere libri tres.

Franeker, 1696. 2 vols. (also Weissenfels, 1726). A standard work, full

of biblical and rabbinical learning. A condensed translation by J. L.

Bernard: The Synagogue and the Church. London, 1842.

C. Bornitius: De Synagogis veterum Hebraeorum. Vitemb., 1650. And in

Ugolinus: Thesaurus Antiquitatum sacrarum (Venet., 1744-69), vol. XXI.

495-539.

Ant. Th. Hartmann: Die enge Verbindung des A. Testamenes mit dem Neuen.

Hamburg, 1831 (pp. 225-376).

Zunz (a Jewish Rabbi): Die gottesdienstlichen Vortr�ge der Juden.

Berlin, 1832

The Histories of the Jews, by Jost, Herzfeld, and Milman.

The Histories of N. T. Times, by Hausrath (I. 73 sqq. 2d ed.) and

Sch�rer (463-475, and the literature there given).

Art. "Synag.," by Ginsburg in "Kitto"; Plumptre: in "Smith" (with

additions by Hackett, IV. 3133, Am. ed.); Leyrer in "Herzog" (XV. 299,

first ed.); Kneuker in "Schenkel" (V. 443).

As the Christian Church rests historically on the Jewish Church, so

Christian worship and the congregational organization rest on that of

the synagogue, and cannot be well understood without it.

The synagogue was and is still an institution of immense conservative

power. It was the local centre of the religious and social life of the

Jews, as the temple of Jerusalem was the centre of their national life.

It was a school as well as a church, and the nursery and guardian of

all that is peculiar in this peculiar people. It dates probably from

the age of the captivity and of Ezra. [642] It was fully organized at

the time of Christ and the apostles, and used by them as a basis of

their public instruction. [643] It survived the temple, and continues

to this day unaltered in its essential features, the chief nursery and

protection of the Jewish nationality and religion. [644]

The term "synagogue" (like our word church) signifies first the

congregation, then also the building where the congregation meet for

public worship. [645] Every town, however small, had a synagogue, or at

least a place of prayer in a private house or in the open air (usually

near a river or the sea-shore, on account of the ceremonial washings).

Ten men were sufficient to constitute a religious assembly. "Moses from

generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read

in the synagogues every Sabbath." [646] To erect a synagogue was

considered a work of piety and public usefulness. [647] In large

cities, as Alexandria and Rome, there were many; in Jerusalem, about

four hundred for the various sects and the Hellenists from different

countries. [648]

1. The building was a plain, rectangular ball of no peculiar style of

architecture, and in its inner arrangement somewhat resembling the

Tabernacle and the Temple. It had benches, the higher ones ("the

uppermost seats") for the elders and richer members, [649] a

reading-desk or pulpit, and a wooden ark or closet for the sacred rolls

(called "Copheret" or Mercy Seat, also "Aaron"). The last corresponded

to the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle and the Temple. A sacred light

was kept burning as a symbol of the divine law, in imitation of the

light in the Temple, but there is no mention made of it in the Talmud.

Other lamps were brought in by devout worshippers at the beginning of

the Sabbath (Friday evening). Alms-boxes were provided near the door,

as in the Temple, one for the poor in Jerusalem, another for local

charities. Paul imitated the example by collecting alms for the poor

Christians in Jerusalem.

There was no artistic (except vegetable) ornamentation; for the second

commandment strictly forbids all images of the Deity as idolatrous. In

this, as in many other respects, the Mohammedan mosque, with its severe

iconoclastic simplicity, is a second edition of the synagogue. The

building was erected on the most elevated spot of the neighborhood, and

no house was allowed to overtop it. In the absence of a commanding

site, a tall pole from the roof rendered it conspicuous. [650]

2. Organization.--Every synagogue had a president, [651] a number of

elders (Zekenim) equal in rank, [652] a reader and interpreter, [653]

one or more envoys or clerks, called "messengers" (Sheliach), [654] and

a sexton or beadle (Chazzan) for the humbler mechanical services. [655]

There were also deacons (Gabae zedaka) for the collection of alms in

money and produce. Ten or more wealthy men at leisure, called Batlanim,

represented the congregation at every service. Each synagogue formed an

independent republic, but kept up a regular correspondence with other

synagogues. It was also a civil and religious court, and had power to

excommunicate and to scourge offenders. [656]

3. Worship.--It was simple, but rather long, and embraced three

elements, devotional, didactic, and ritualistic. It included prayer,

song, reading, and exposition of the Scripture, the rite of

circumcision, and ceremonial washings. The bloody sacrifices were

confined to the temple and ceased with its destruction; they were

fulfilled in the eternal sacrifice on the cross. The prayers and songs

were chiefly taken from the Psalter, which may be called the first

liturgy and hymn book.

The opening prayer was called the Shema or Keriath Shema, and consisted

of two introductory benedictions, the reading of the Ten Commandments

(afterward abandoned) and several sections of the Pentateuch, namely,

Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41. Then followed the eighteen

prayers and benedictions (Berachoth). This is one of them: "Bestow

peace, happiness, blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion upon us and

upon the whole of Israel, thy people. Our Father, bless us all unitedly

with the light of thy countenance, for in the light of thy countenance

didst thou give to us, O Lord our God, the law of life, lovingkindness,

justice, blessing, compassion, life, and peace. May it please thee to

bless thy people lsrael at all times, and in every moment, with peace.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace."

These benedictions are traced in the Mishna to the one hundred and

twenty elders of the Great Synagogue. They were no doubt of gradual

growth, some dating from the Maccabean struggles, some from the Roman

ascendancy. The prayers were offered by a reader, and the congregation

responded "Amen." This custom passed into the Christian church. [657]

The didactic and homiletical part of worship was based on the Hebrew

Scriptures. A lesson from the Law (called parasha), [658] and one from

the Prophets (haphthara) were read in the original, [659] and followed

by a paraphrase or commentary and homily (midrash) in the vernacular

Aramaic or Greek. A benediction and the "Amen" of the people closed the

service.

As there was no proper priesthood outside of Jerusalem, any Jew of age

might get up to read the lessons, offer prayer, and address the

congregation. Jesus and the apostles availed themselves of this

democratic privilege to preach the gospel, as the fulfilment of the law

and the prophets. [660] The strong didactic element which distinguished

this service from all heathen forms of worship, had the effect of

familiarizing the Jews of all grades, even down to the servant-girls,

with their religion, and raising them far above the heathen. At the

same time it attracted proselytes who longed for a purer and more

spiritual worship.

The days of public service were the Sabbath, Monday, and Thursday; the

hours of prayer the third (9 a.m.), the sixth (noon), and the ninth (3

p.m.). [661]

The sexes were divided by a low wall or screen, the men on the one

side, the women on the other, as they are still in the East (and in

some parts of Europe). The people stood during prayer with their faces

turned to Jerusalem.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[642] The Jewish tradition traces it back to the schools of the

prophets, and even to patriarchal times, by far-fetched interpretations

of Gen. 25:27 Judg. 5:9; Isa. 1:13, etc.

[643] Comp. � 17, p. 152.

[644] "Bei dem Untergang aller Institutionen,"says Dr. Zunz (l.c. p.

1), " blieb die Synagoge als einziger Tr�ger ihrer Nationalit�t;

dorthin floh ihr Glauben und von dorther empfingen sie Belehrug f�r

ihren irdischen Wandel, Kraft zur Ausdauer in unerh�rten Leiden und

Hoffnung auf eine k�nftige Morgenr�the der Freiheit. Der �ffentliche

Gottesdienst der Synagoge ward das Panier j�discher Nationalit�t, die

Aegide des j�dischen Glaubens."

[645] sunagoge, often in the Septuagint (130 times as translation of

hd? , 25 times for lhq); in the Greek Test. (Matt. 4:23; Mark 1:21;

Luke 4:15; 12:11; Acts 9:2; 13:43, etc.; of a Christian congregation,

James 2:2); also in Philo and Josephus; sometimes sunagogion (Philo),

sabbateion (Josephus), proseukterion (Philo), proseuche house of

prayer, oratory (Acts 16:13 and Josephus); also ekklesia . Hebrew

designations: hd?' lhq' rvbts' rvch' dlv tyb' tlpht tb ' tsnkh tyb

[646] Acts 15:21.

[647] Luke 7:5.

[648] Acts 6:9. The number of synagogues in Jerusalem is variously

stated from 394 to 480.

[649] Matt. 23:6; comp. James 2:2, 3. In the synagogue of Alexandria

there were seventy-one golden chairs, according to the number of

members of the Sanhedrin. The protokathedriai were near the ark, the

place of honor.

[650] Ruins of eleven or more ancient synagogues still exist in

Palestine (all in Galilee) at Tell-Hum (Capernaum), Kerazeh (Chorazin),

Meiron, Irbid (Arbela), Kasyun, Umm el-'Amud, Nebratein, two at

Kefr-Birim, two at el-Jish (Giscala). See Palest. Explor. Quart.

Statement for July, 1878.

[651] The archisunagogos(tsnkh sh'l), Luke 8:49; 13:14; Mark 5:36, 33;

Acts 18:8, 17; or archon tes sunagoges,Luke 8:41; or archon, Matt.

9:18. He was simply primus inter pares; hence, several archisunagogoi

appear in one and the same synagogue, Luke 13:14; Mark 5:22; Acts

13:15; 18:17. In smaller towns there was but one.

[652] presbuteroi (vynqz).

[653] After the Babylonian captivity an interpreter (Methurgeman) was

usually employed to translate the Hebrew lesson into the Chaldee or

Greek, or other vernacular languages.

[654] apostoloi, angeloi (rvbts hylsh ). Not to be confounded with the

angels in the Apocalypse.

[655] huperetes (vzch), Luke 4:20

[656] Matt. 10:17; 23:34; Luke 12:11; 21:12; John 9:34; 16:2; Acts

22:19; 26:11. The Chazzan had to administer the corporal punishment.

[657] 1 Cor. 14:16. The responsive element is the popular feature in a

liturgy, and has been wisely preserved in the Anglican Church.

[658] The Thorah was divided into 154 sections, and read through in

three years, afterwards in 54 sections for one year.

[659] The anagnosis tou nomou kai ton propheton, Acts 13:15.

[660] Luke 4:17-20; 13:54; John 18:20; Acts 13:5, 15, 44; 14:1; 17:2-4,

10, 17; 18:4, 26; 19:8. Paul and Barnabas were requested by the rulers

of the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia to speak after the reading of

the law and the prophets (Acts 13:15).

[661] Comp. Ps. 55:18; Dan. 7:11; Acts 2:15; 3:1; 10:30. These hours of

devotion are respectively called Shacharith, Minchah, and'Arabith.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 52. Christian Worship.

Christian worship, or cultus, is the public adoration of God in the

name of Christ; the celebration of the communion of believers as a

congregation with their heavenly Head, for the glory of the Lord, and

for the promotion and enjoyment of spiritual life. While it aims

primarily at the devotion and edification of the church itself, it has

at the same time a missionary character, and attracts the outside

world. This was the case on the Day of Pentecost when Christian worship

in its distinctive character first appeared.

As our Lord himself in his youth and manhood worshipped in the

synagogue and the temple, so did his early disciples as long as they

were tolerated. Even Paul preached Christ in the synagogues of

Damascus, Cyprus, Antioch in Pisidia, Amphipolis, Beraeea, Athens,

Corinth, Ephesus. He "reasoned with the Jews every sabbath in the

synagogues" which furnished him a pulpit and an audience.

The Jewish Christians, at least in Palestine, conformed as closely as

possible to the venerable forms of the cultus of their fathers, which

in truth were divinely ordained, and were an expressive type of the

Christian worship. So far as we know, they scrupulously observed the

Sabbath, the annual Jewish feasts, the hours of daily prayer, and the

whole Mosaic ritual, and celebrated, in addition to these, the

Christian Sunday, the death and the resurrection of the Lord, and the

holy Supper. But this union was gradually weakened by the stubborn

opposition of the Jews, and was at last entirely broken by the

destruction of the temple, except among the Ebionites and Nazarenes.

In the Gentile-Christian congregations founded by Paul, the worship

took from the beginning a more independent form. The essential elements

of the Old Testament service were transferred, indeed, but divested of

their national legal character, and transformed by the spirit of the

gospel. Thus the Jewish Sabbath passed into the Christian Sunday; the

typical Passover and Pentecost became feasts of the death and

resurrection of Christ, and of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; the

bloody sacrifices gave place to the thankful remembrance and

appropriation of the one, all-sufficient, and eternal sacrifice of

Christ on the cross, and to the personal offering of prayer,

intercession, and entire self-consecration to the service of the

Redeemer; on the ruins of the temple made without hands arose the never

ceasing worship of the omnipresent God in spirit and in truth. [662] So

early as the close of the apostolic period this more free and spiritual

cultus of Christianity had no doubt become well nigh universal; yet

many Jewish elements, especially in the Eastern church, remain to this

day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[662] Comp. John 2:19; 4:23, 24.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 53. The Several Parts of Worship.

The several parts of public worship in the time of the apostles were as

follows:

1. The Preaching of the gospel. This appears in the first period mostly

in the form of a missionary address to the unconverted; that is, a

simple, living presentation of the main facts of the life of Jesus,

with practical exhortation to repentance and conversion. Christ

crucified and risen was the luminous centre, whence a sanctifying light

was shed on all the relations of life. Gushing forth from a full heart,

this preaching went to the heart; and springing from an inward life, it

kindled life--a new, divine life--in the susceptible hearers. It was

revival preaching in the purest sense. Of this primitive Christian

testimony several examples from Peter and Paul are preserved in the

Acts of the Apostles.

The Epistles also may be regarded in the wider sense as sermons,

addressed, however, to believers, and designed to nourish the Christian

life already planted.

2. The Reading of portions of the Old Testament, [663] with practical

exposition and application; transferred from the Jewish synagogue into

the Christian church. [664] To these were added in due time lessons

from the New Testament; that is, from the canonical Gospels and the

apostolic Epistles, most of which were addressed to whole congregations

and originally intended for public use. [665] After the death of the

apostles their writings became doubly important to the church, as a

substitute for their oral instruction and exhortation, and were much

more used in worship than the Old Testament.

3. Prayer, in its various forms of petition, intercession, and

thanksgiving. This descended likewise from Judaism, and in fact belongs

essentially even to all heathen religions; but now it began to be

offered in childlike confidence to a reconciled Father in the name of

Jesus, and for all classes and conditions, even for enemies and

persecutors. The first Christians accompanied every important act of

their public and private life with this holy rite, and Paul exhorts his

readers to "pray without ceasing." On solemn occasions they joined

fasting with prayer, as a help to devotion, though it is nowhere

directly enjoined in the New Testament. [666] They prayed freely from

the heart, as they were moved by the Spirit, according to special needs

and circumstances. We have an example in the fourth chapter of Acts.

There is no trace of a uniform and exclusive liturgy; it would be

inconsistent with the vitality and liberty of the apostolic churches.

At the same time the frequent use of psalms and short forms of

devotion, as the Lord's Prayer, may be inferred with certainty from the

Jewish custom, from the Lord's direction respecting his model prayer,

[667] from the strong sense of fellowship among the first Christians,

and finally from the liturgical spirit of the ancient church, which

could not have so generally prevailed both in the East and the West

without some apostolic and post-apostolic precedent. The oldest forms

are the eucharistic prayers of the Didache, and the petition for rulers

in the first Epistle of Clement, which contrasts most beautifully with

the cruel hostility of Nero and Domitian. [668]

4. The Song, a form of prayer, in the festive dress of poetry and the

elevated language of inspiration, raising the congregation to the

highest pitch of devotion, and giving it a part in the heavenly

harmonies of the saints. This passed immediately, with the psalms of

the Old Testament, those inexhaustible treasures of spiritual

experience, edification, and comfort, from the temple and the synagogue

into the Christian church. The Lord himself inaugurated psalmody into

the new covenant at the institution of the holy Supper, [669] and Paul

expressly enjoined the singing of "psalms and hymns and spiritual

songs," as a means of social edification. [670] But to this precious

inheritance from the past, whose full value was now for the first time

understood in the light of the New Testament revelation, the church, in

the enthusiasm of her first love, added original, specifically

Christian psalms, hymns, doxologies, and benedictions, which afforded

the richest material for Sacred poetry and music in succeeding

centuries; the song of the heavenly hosts, for example, at the birth of

the Saviour; [671] the "Nunc dimittis" of Simeon; [672] the

"Magnificat" of the Virgin Mary; [673] the "Benedictus" of Zacharias;

[674] the thanksgiving of Peter after his miraculous deliverance; [675]

the speaking with tongues in the apostolic churches, which, whether

song or prayer, was always in the elevated language of enthusiasm; the

fragments of hymns scattered through the Epistles; [676] and the

lyrical and liturgical passages, the doxologies and antiphonies of the

Apocalypse. [677]

5. Confession Of Faith. All the above-mentioned acts of worship are

also acts of faith. The first express confession of faith is the

testimony of Peter, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living

God. The next is the trinitarian baptismal formula. Out of this

gradually grew the so-called Apostles' Creed, which is also trinitarian

in structure, but gives the confession of Christ the central and

largest place. Though not traceable in its present shape above the

fourth century, and found in the second and third in different longer

or shorter forms, it is in substance altogether apostolic, and exhibits

an incomparable summary of the leading facts in the revelation of the

triune God from the creation of the world to the resurrection of the

body; and that in a form intelligible to all, and admirably suited for

public worship and catechetical use. We shall return to it more fully

in the second period.

6. Finally, the administration of the Sacraments, or sacred rites

instituted by Christ, by which, under appropriate symbols and visible

signs, spiritual gifts and invisible grace are represented, sealed, and

applied to the worthy participators.

The two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the antitypes of

circumcision and the passover under the Old Testament, were instituted

by Christ as efficacious signs, pledges, and means of the grace of the

new covenant. They are related to each other as regeneration and

sanctification, or as the beginning and the growth of the Christian

life. The other religious rites mentioned in the New Testament, as

confirmation and ordination, cannot be ranked in dignity with the

sacraments, as they are not commanded by Christ.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[663] The Parashioth and Haphtaroth, as they were called.

[664] Comp. Acts 13:15; 15:21.

[665] 1 Thess. 5:27; Col. 4:16.

[666] Comp. Matt. 9:15; Acts 13:3; 14:23; 1 Cor. 7:5.

[667] Matt. 6:9;Luke 11:1, 2. The Didache, ch. 8, gives the Lord's

Prayer from Matthew, with a brief doxology (comp. 1 Cor. 29:11), and

the direction to pray it three times a day. See Schaff on the Did., p.

188 sq.

[668] Didache chs. 8 -10; Clement, Ad Cor., chs. 59 -61. See vol. II.

226.

[669] Comp. Matt. 26:30; Mark 14: 26.

[670] Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16.

[671] The "Gloria,"Luke 2:14.

[672] Luke 2:29.

[673] Luke 1:46 sqq.

[674] Luke 1:68 sqq.

[675] Acts 4:24-30. Comp. Ps. 2.

[676] Eph. 5:14; 1 Tim. 3:16; 2 Tim. 2:11-13; 1 Pet. 3:10-12. The

quotation is introduced by dio legei and pistos ho logos . The

rhythmical arrangement and adjustment in these passages, especially the

first two, is obvious, and Westcott and Hort have marked it in their

Greek Testament as follows: Egeire, ho katheudon, kai anasta ek ton

nekron, kai epiphausei soi ho christos --Eph. 5:14 Hos ephanerothe en

sarki, edikaiothe en pneumati, ophthe angelois, ekeruchthe en

hethnesin, episteuthe en kosmo, anelemphthe en doxe. --1 Tim. 3:16. The

last passage is undoubtedly a quotation. The received reading, Gr.464

qeov" , is justly rejected by critical editors and exchanged for hos,

which refers to God or Christ. Some manuscripts read the neuter ho

which would refer to musterion 1 Pet. 3:10-12, which reads like a

psalm, is likewise metrically arranged by Westcott and Hort. James

1:17, though probably not a quotation, is a complete hexameter: pasa

dosis agathe kai pan dorema teleion. Liddon (Lectures on the Divinity

of Christ, p. 328) adds to the hymnological fragments the passage Tit.

3:4-7, as "a hymn on the way of salvation," and several other passages

which seem to me doubtful.

[677] Apoc. 1:5-8; 3:7, 14; 5:9, 12, 13; 11:15, 17, 19; 15:4; 19:6-8,

and other passages. They lack the Hebrew parallelism, but are

nevertheless poetical, and are printed in uncial type by Westcott and

Hort.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 54. Baptism.

Literature.

The commentaries on Matt. 28:19; Mark 16:16; John 3:5; Acts 2:38; 8:13,

16, 18, 37; Rom. 6:4; Gal. 3:27; Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet 3:21.

G. J. Vossius: De Baptismo Disputationes XX. Amsterdam, 1648.

W. Wall (Episcopalian): The History of Infant Baptism (a very learned

work), first published in London, 1705, 2 vols., best edition by H.

Cotton, Oxford, 1836, 4 vols., and 1862, 2 vols., together with Gale's

(Baptist)Reflections and Wall's Defense. A Latin translation by

Schlosser appeared, vol. I., at Bremen, 1743, and vol. II at Hamburg,

1753.

F. Brenner (R. Cath.): Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der

Taufe von Christus his auf unsere Zeiten. Bamberg, 1818.

Moses Stuart (Congregat.): Mode of Christian Baptism Prescribed in the

New Testament. Andover, 1833 (reprinted 1876).

H�fling (Lutheran): Das Sacrament der Taufe. Erlangen, 1846 and 1848, 2

vols.

Samuel Miller (Presbyterian): Infant Baptism Scriptural and Reasonable;

And Baptism By Sprinkling Or Affusion, The Most Suitable and Edifying

Mode. Philadelphia, 1840.

Alex. Carson (Baptist): Baptism in its Mode and Subjects. London, 1844;

5th Amer. ed., Philadelphia, 1850.

Alex. Campbell (founder of the Church of the Disciples, who teach that

baptism by immersion is regeneration): Christian Baptism, with its

Antecedents and Consequents. Bethany, 1848, and Cincinnati, 1876.

T. J. Conant (Baptist): The Meaning and Use of Baptism Philologically

and Historically Investigated for the American (Baptist)Bible Union.

New York, 1861.

James W. Dale (Presbyterian, d. 1881): Classic Baptism. An inquiry into

the meaning of the word baptizo. Philadelphia, 1867. Judaic Baptism,

1871. Johannic Baptism, 1872. Christic and Patristic Baptism, 1874. In

all, 4 vols. Against the immersion theory.

R. Ingham (Baptist): A Handbook on Christian Baptism, in 2 parts.

London, 1868.

D. B. Ford (Baptist): Studies on Baptism. New York, 1879. (Against

Dale.)

G. D. Armstrong (Presbyterian minister at Norfolk, Va.): The Sacraments

of the New Testament, as Instituted by Christ. New York, 1880.

(Popular.)

Dean Stanley: Christian Institutions. London and Now York, 1881. Chap.

I.

On the (post-apostolic) archaeology of baptism see the archaeological

works of Martene (De Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus), Goar (Euchologion

Graecorum), Bingham, Augusti, Binterim, Siegel, Martigny, and Smith and

Cheetham (Dict. of Christ. Ant., I., 155 sqq.).

On the baptismal pictures in the catacombs see the works of De Rossi,

Garrucci, and Schaff on the Didache, pp. 36 sqq.

1. The Idea of Baptism. It was solemnly instituted by Christ, shortly

before his ascension, to be performed in the name of the Father, the

Son, and the Holy Spirit. It took the place of circumcision as a sign

and seal of church membership. It is the outward mark of Christian

discipleship, the rite of initiation into the covenant of grace. It is

the sacrament of repentance (conversion), of remission of sins, and of

regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit. [678] In the nature of

the case it is to be received but once. It incorporates the penitent

sinner in the visible church, and entitles him to all the privileges,

and binds him to all the duties of this communion. Where the condition

of repentance and faith is wanting, the blessing (as in the case of the

holy Supper, and the preaching of the Word) is turned into a curse, and

what God designs as a savor of life unto life becomes, by the

unfaithfulness of man, a savor of death unto death.

The necessity of baptism for salvation has been inferred from John 3:5

and Mark 16:16; but while we are bound to God's ordinances, God himself

is free and can save whomsoever and by whatsoever means he pleases. The

church has always held the principle that the mere want of the

sacrament does not condemn, but only the contempt. Otherwise all

unbaptized infants that die in infancy would be lost. This horrible

doctrine was indeed inferred by St. Augustin and the Roman church, from

the supposed absolute necessity of baptism, but is in direct conflict

with the spirit of the gospel and Christ's treatment of children, to

whom belongs the kingdom of heaven.

The first administration of this sacrament in its full Christian sense

took place on the birthday of the church, after the first independent

preaching of the apostles. The baptism of John was more of a negative

sort, and only preparatory to the baptism with the Holy Spirit. In

theory Christian baptism is preceded by conversion, that is the human

act of turning from sin to God in repentance and faith, and followed by

regeneration, that is the divine act of forgiveness of sin and inward

cleansing and renewal. Yet in practice the outward sign and inward

state and effect do not always coincide; in Simon Magus we have an

example of the baptism of water without that of the Spirit, and in

Cornelius an example of the communication of the Spirit before the

application of the water. In the case of infants, conversion, as a

conscious act of the will, is impossible and unnecessary. In adults the

solemn ordinance was preceded by the preaching of the gospel, or a

brief instruction in its main facts, and then followed by more thorough

inculcation of the apostolic doctrine. Later, when great caution became

necessary in receiving proselytes, the period of catechetical

instruction and probation was considerably lengthened.

2. The usual Form of baptism was immersion. This is inferred from the

original meaning of the Greek baptizein and baptismos; [679] from the

analogy of John's baptism in the Jordan; from the apostles' comparison

of the sacred rite with the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, with the

escape of the ark from the flood, with a cleansing and refreshing bath,

and with burial and resurrection; finally, from the general custom of

the ancient church which prevails in the East to this day. [680] But

sprinkling, also, or copious pouring rather, was practised at an early

day with sick and dying persons, and in all such cases where total or

partial immersion was impracticable. Some writers suppose that this was

the case even in the first baptism of the three thousand on the day of

Pentecost; for Jerusalem was poorly supplied with water and private

baths; the Kedron is a small creek and dry in summer; but there are a

number of pools and cisterns there. Hellenistic usage allows to the

relevant expressions sometimes the wider sense of washing, bathing,

sprinkling, and ceremonial cleansing. [681] Unquestionably, immersion

expresses the idea of baptism, as a purification and renovation of the

whole man, more completely than pouring or sprinkling; but it is not in

keeping with the genius of the gospel to limit the operation of the

Holy Spirit by the quantity or the quality of the water or the mode of

its application. Water is absolutely necessary to baptism, as an

appropriate symbol of the purifying and regenerating energy of the Holy

Spirit; but whether the water be in large quantity or small, cold or

warm, fresh or salt, from river, cistern, or spring, is relatively

immaterial, and cannot affect the validity of the ordinance.

3. As to the Subjects of baptism: the apostolic origin of infant

baptism is denied not only by the Baptists, but also by many

paedobaptist divines. The Baptists assert that infant baptism is

contrary to the idea of the sacrament itself, and accordingly, an

unscriptural corruption. For baptism, say they, necessarily presupposes

the preaching of the gospel on the part of the church, and repentance

and faith on the part of the candidate for the ordinance; and as

infants can neither understand preaching, nor repent and believe, they

are not proper subjects for baptism, which is intended only for adult

converts. It is true, the apostolic church was a missionary church, and

had first to establish a mother community, in the bosom of which alone

the grace of baptism can be improved by a Christian education. So even

under the old covenant circumcision was first performed on the adult

Abraham; and so all Christian missionaries in heathen lands now begin

with preaching, and baptizing adults. True, the New Testament contains

no express command to baptize infants; such a command would not agree

with the free spirit of the gospel. Nor was there any compulsory or

general infant baptism before the union of church and state;

Constantine, the first Christian emperor, delayed his baptism till his

deathbed (as many now delay their repentance); and even after

Constantine there were examples of eminent teachers, as Gregory

Nazianzen, Augustin, Chrysostom, who were not baptized before their

conversion in early manhood, although they had Christian mothers.

But still less does the New Testament forbid infant baptism; as it

might be expected to do in view of the universal custom of the Jews, to

admit their children by circumcision on the eighth day after birth into

the fellowship of the old covenant.

On the contrary, we have presumptive and positive arguments for the

apostolic origin and character of infant baptism, first, in the fact

that circumcision as truly prefigured baptism, as the passover the holy

Supper; then in the organic relation between Christian parents and

children; in the nature of the new covenant, which is even more

comprehensive than the old; in the universal virtue of Christ, as the

Redeemer of all sexes, classes, and ages, and especially in the import

of his own infancy, which has redeemed and sanctified the infantile

age; in his express invitation to children, whom he assures of a title

to the kingdom of heaven, and whom, therefore, he certainly would not

leave without the sign and seal of such membership; in the words, of

institution, which plainly look to the Christianizing, not merely of

individuals, but of whole nations, including, of course, the children;

in the express declaration of Peter at the first administration of the

ordinance, that this promise of forgiveness of sins and of the Holy

Spirit was to the Jews "and to their children;" in the five instances

in the New Testament of the baptism of whole families, where the

presence of children in most of the cases is far more probable than the

absence of children in all; and finally, in the universal practice of

the early church, against which the isolated protest of Tertullian

proves no more, than his other eccentricities and Montanistic

peculiarities; on the contrary, his violent protest implies the

prevailing practice of infant baptism. He advised delay of baptism as a

measure of prudence, lest the baptized by sinning again might forever

forfeit the benefit of this ordinance; but he nowhere denies the

apostolic origin or right of early baptism.

We must add, however, that infant baptism is unmeaning, and its

practice a profanation, except on the condition of Christian parentage

or guardianship, and under the guarantee of a Christian education. And

it needs to be completed by an act of personal consecration, in which

the child, after due instruction in the gospel, intelligently and

freely confesses Christ, devotes himself to his service, and is

thereupon solemnly admitted to the full communion of the church and to

the sacrament of the holy Supper. The earliest traces of confirmation

are supposed to be found in the apostolic practice of laying on hands,

or symbolically imparting the Holy Spirit. after baptism. [682]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[678] Mark 1:4 (baptisma metanoias eis aphesin hamartion, said of

John's baptism), 1:8, where John distinguishes his baptism, as a

baptism by water (udati), from the baptism of Christ, as a baptism by

the Holy Spirit (pneumati hagio); Matt. 3:1; Luke 3:16; John 1:33 (ho

baptizon en pneumati hagio-i-i); Acts 2:38 (the first instance of

Christian baptism, when Peter called on his hearers: Metanoesate, kai

baptistheto ekastos humon en to onomati Iesou Chr. eis aphesin ton

hamartion humon, kai lempsesthe ten dorean tous hagiou pneumatos);

8:13; 11:16; 18:8 (episteuon kai ebaptizonto); Rom. 6:4 (baptisma eis

t`on thanaton); Gal. 3:27 (eis Christon ebaptisthete). The metanoia was

the connecting link between the baptism of John and that of Christ. The

English rendering, "repentance" (retained in the Revision of 1881), is

inaccurate (after the Latin paenitentia). The Greek means a change of

mind, nous (a transmentation, as Coleridge proposed to call it), i.e.,

an entire reformation and transformation of the inner life of man, with

a corresponding outward change. It was the burden of the preaching of

John the Baptist, and Christ himself, who began with the enlarged

exhortation: Metanoeite kai pisteuete en to euangelio, Mark 1:15.

[679] Comp. the German taufen, the English dip. Grimm defines baptizo

(the frequentative of bapto): 'immergo, submergo;'Liddell and Scott:

'to dip in or under the water.'But in the Sept. and the New Test. it

has also a wider meaning. Hence Robinson defines it: 'to wash, to lave,

to cleanse by washing.'See below.

[680] The Oriental and the orthodox Russian churches require even a

threefold immersion, in the name of the Trinity, and deny the validity

of any other. They look down upon the Pope of Rome as an unbaptized

heretic, and would not recognize the single immersion of the Baptists.

The Longer Russian Catechism thus defines baptism: "A sacrament in

which a man who believes, having his body thrice plunged in water in

the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, dies to the

carnal life of sin, and is born again of the Holy Ghost to a life

spiritual and holy." Marriott (in Smith and Cheetham, I., 161) says:

"Triple immersion, that is thrice dipping the head while standing in

the water, was the all but universal rule of the church in early time,"

and quotes in proof Tertullian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Jerome,

Leo I., etc. But he admits, on page 168 sq., that affusion and

aspersion were exceptionally also used, especially in clinical baptism,

the validity of which Cyprian defended (Ep. 76 or 69 ad Magnum). This

mode is already mentioned in the Didache (ch. 7) as valid; see my book

on the Did., third ed., 1889, pp. 29 sqq.

[681] 2 Kings 5:14 (Sept.); Luke 11:38; Mark 7:4 (baptismous poterion,

etc.); Heb. 6:2 (baptismon didache); 9:10 (diaphorois baptismois).

Observe also the remarkable variation of reading in Matt. 7:4: ean me

baptisontai (except they bathe themselves), and rhantisontai (sprinkle

themselves). Westcott and Hort adopt the latter in the text, the former

in the margin. The Revision of 1881 reverses the order. The 'divers

baptisms' in Heb. 9:10 (in the Revision " washings") probably include

all the ceremonial purifications of the Jews, whether by bathing (Lev.

11:25; 14:9; Num. 19:7), or washing (Num. 19:7; Mark 7: 8), or

sprinkling (Lev. 14:7; Num. 19:19). In the figurative phrase baptizein

en pneumati hagio, to overwhelm, plentifully to endow with the Holy

Spirit (Matt. 3:11; Luke 3:16; Mark 1:8; John 1: 3; Acts 1:5; 11:16),

the idea of immersion is scarcely admissible since the Holy Spirit is

poured out. See my Hist. of the Apost. Ch., p. 569.

[682] Acts 8:15; 19:6; Heb. 6:2.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 55. The Lord's Supper.

The commentaries on Matt. 26:26 sqq., and the parallel passages in Mark

and Luke; 1 Cor. 10:16, 17; 11:23 sqq.; John 6:47-58, 63.

D. Waterland (Episcopal., d. 1740): A Review of the Doctrine of the

Eucharist, a new edition, 1868 (Works, vols. IV. and V.).

J. D�llinger: Die Lehre von der Eucharistie in den drei ersten

Jahrhunderten. Mainz, 1826. (Rom. Cath.)

Ebrard: Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl u. seine Geschichte. Frankf. a.

M., 1845, 2 vols., vol. I., pp. 1-231. (Reformed.)

J. W. Nevin: The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or

Calvinistic soctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Philadelphia, 1846, pp.

199-256. (Reformed.)

Kahnis: Die Lehre vom heil. Abendmahl. Leipz., 1851. (Lutheran.)

Robert Wilberforce: The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. London, 1853.

(Anglican, or rather Tractarian or Romanizing.)

L. Imm. Ruckert: Das Abendmahl. Sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der

alten Kirche. Leipz., 1856. (Rationalistic.)

E. B. Pusey: The Doctrine of the Real Presence, as contained in the

Fathers, from St. John to the Fourth General Council. Oxford, 1855.

(Anglo-Catholic.)

Philip Freeman: The Principles of Divine Service. London, 1855-1862, in

two parts. (Anglican, contains much historical investigation on the

subject of eucharistic worship in the ancient Catholic church.)

Thos. S. L. Vogan: The True Doctrine of the Eucharist. London, 1871.

John Harrison: An Answer to Dr. Pusey's Challenge respecting the

Doctrine of the Real Presence. London, 1871, 2 vols. (Anglican, Low

Church. Includes the doctrine of the Scripture and the first eight

centuries.)

Dean Stanley: Christian Institutions, London and New York, 1881, chs.

IV., V., and VI. (He adopts the Zwinglian view, and says of the Marburg

Conference of 1529: "Everything which could be said on behalf of the

dogmatic, coarse, literal interpretation of the institution was urged

with the utmost vigor of word and gesture by the stubborn Saxon.

Everything which could be said on behalf of the rational, refined,

spiritual construction was urged with a union of the utmost acuteness

and gentleness by the sober-minded Swiss.")

L. Gude (Danish Lutheran): Den hellige Nadvere. Copenhagen, 1887, 2

vols. Exegetical and historical. Reviewed in Luthardt's "Theol.

Literaturblatt.," 1889, Nos. 14 sqq.

The sacrament of the holy Supper was instituted by Christ under the

most solemn circumstances, when he was about to offer himself a

sacrifice for the salvation of the world. It is the feast of the

thankful remembrance and appropriation of his atoning death, and of the

living union of believers with him, and their communion among

themselves. As the Passover kept in lively remembrance the miraculous

deliverance from the land of bondage, and at the same time pointed

forward to the Lamb of God; so the eucharist represents, seals, and

applies the now accomplished redemption from sin and death until the

end of time. Here the deepest mystery of Christianity is embodied ever

anew, and the story of the cross reproduced before us. Here the

miraculous feeding of the five thousand is spiritually perpetuated.

Here Christ, who sits at the right hand of God, and is yet truly

present in his church to the end of the world, gives his own body and

blood, sacrificed for us, that is, his very self, his life and the

virtue of his atoning death, as spiritual food, as the true bread from

heaven, to all who, with due self-examination, come hungering and

thirsting to the heavenly feast. The communion has therefore been

always regarded as the inmost sanctuary of Christian worship.

In the apostolic period the eucharist was celebrated daily in

connection with a simple meal of brotherly love (agape), in which the

Christians, in communion with their common Redeemer, forgot all

distinctions of rank, wealth, and culture, and felt themselves to be

members of one family of God. But this childlike exhibition of

brotherly unity became more and more difficult as the church increased,

and led to all sorts of abuses, such as we find rebuked in the

Corinthians by Paul. The lovefeasts, therefore, which indeed were no

more enjoined by law than the community of goods at Jerusalem, were

gradually severed from the eucharist, and in the course of the second

and third centuries gradually disappeared.

The apostle requires the Christians [683] to prepare themselves for the

Lord's Supper by self-examination, or earnest inquiry whether they have

repentance and faith, without which they cannot receive the blessing

from the sacrament, but rather provoke judgment from God. This caution

gave rise to the appropriate custom of holding special preparatory

exercises for the holy communion.

In the course of time this holy feast of love has become the subject of

bitter controversy, like the sacrament of baptism and even the Person

of Christ himself. Three conflicting theories--transubstantiation,

consubstantiation, and spiritual presence of Christ-have been deduced

from as many interpretations of the simple words of institution ("This

is my body," etc.), which could hardly have been misunderstood by the

apostles in the personal presence of their Lord, and in remembrance of

his warning against carnal misconception of his discourse on the eating

of his flesh. [684] The eucharistic controversies in the middle ages

and during the sixteenth century are among the most unedifying and

barren in the history of Christianity. And yet they cannot have been in

vain. The different theories represent elements of truth which have

become obscured or perverted by scholastic subtleties, but may be

purified and combined. The Lord's Supper is: (1) a commemorative

ordinance, a memorial of Christ's atoning sacrifice on the cross; (2) a

feast of living union of believers with the Saviour, whereby they

truly, that is spiritually and by faith, receive Christ, with all his

benefits, and are nourished with his life unto life eternal; (3) a

communion of believers with one another as members of the same mystical

body of Christ; (4) a eucharist or thankoffering of our persons and

services to Christ, who died for us that we might live for him.

Fortunately, the blessing of the holy communion does not depend upon

the scholastic interpretation and understanding of the words of

institution, but upon the promise of the Lord and upon childlike faith

in him. And therefore, even now, Christians of different denominations

and holding different opinions can unite around the table of their

common Lord and Saviour, and feel one with him and in him.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[683] 1 Cor. 11:28.

[684] John 6:63: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth

nothing, the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are

life." This passage furnishes the key for the understanding of the

previous discourse, whether it refers to the Lord's Supper, directly or

indirectly, or not at all. That the esti in the words of institution

may indicate a figurative or symbolical (as well as a real) relation,

is now admitted by all critical exegetes; that it must be so understood

in that connection is admitted by those who are not under the control

of a doctrinal bias. See my annotations to Lange's Com. on Matthew,

26:26, pp. 470 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 56. Sacred Places.

Although, as the omnipresent Spirit, God may be worshipped in all

places of the universe, which is his temple, [685] yet our finite,

sensuous nature, and the need of united devotion, require special

localities or sanctuaries consecrated to his worship. The first

Christians, after the example of the Lord, frequented the temple at

Jerusalem and the synagogues, so long as their relation to the Mosaic

economy allowed. But besides this, they assembled also from the first

in private houses, especially for the communion and the love feast. The

church itself was founded, on the day of Pentecost, in the upper room

of an humble dwelling.

The prominent members and first converts, as Mary, the mother of John

Mark in Jerusalem, Cornelius in Caesarea, Lydia in Philippi, Jason in

Thessalonica, Justus in Corinth, Priscilla in Ephesus, Philemon in

Colosse, gladly opened their houses for social worship. In larger

cities, as in Rome, the Christian community divided itself into several

such assemblies at private houses, [686] which, however, are always

addressed in the epistles as a unit.

That the Christians in the apostolic age erected special houses of

worship is out of the question, even on account of their persecution by

Jews and Gentiles, to say nothing of their general poverty; and the

transition of a whole synagogue to the new faith was no doubt very

rare. As the Saviour of the world was born in a stable, and ascended to

heaven from a mountain, so his apostles and their successors down to

the third century, preached in the streets, the markets, on mountains,

in ships, sepulchres, eaves, and deserts, and in the homes of their

converts. But how many thousands of costly churches and chapels have

since been built and are constantly being built in all parts of the

world to the honor of the crucified Redeemer, who in the days of his

humiliation had no place of his own to rest his head! [687]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[685] Comp. John 4:24.

[686] ekklesiai kat hoikon, Rom. 16:5; 1 Cor. 16:19.

[687] Luke 9:58.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 57. Sacred Times--The Lord's Day.

Literature.

George Holden: The Christian Sabbath. London, 1825. (See ch. V.)

W. Henstenberg: The Lord's Day. Transl. from the German by James

Martin, London, 1853. (Purely exegetical; defends the continental view,

but advocates a better practical observance.)

John T. Baylee: History of the Sabbath. London, 1857. (See chs. X.

XIII.)

James Aug. Hessey: Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation.

Bampton Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford, London,

1860. (Defends the Dominican and moderate Anglican, as distinct both

from the Continental latitudinarian, and from the Puritanic

Sabbatarian, view of Sunday, with proofs from the church fathers.)

James Gilfillan: The Sabbath viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation,

and History, with Sketches of its Literature. Edinb. 1861, republished

and widely circulated by the Am. Tract Society and the "New York

Sabbath Committee," New York, 1862. (The fullest and ablest defence of

the Puritan and Scotch Presbyterian theory of the Christian Sabbath,

especially in its practical aspects.)

Robert Cox (F.S.A.): Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties. Edinb. 1853. By

the same: The Literature of the Sabbath Question. Edinb. 1865, 2 vols.

(Historical, literary, and liberal.)

Th. Zahn: Geschichte des Sonntags in der alten Kirche. Hannover, 1878.

There is a very large Sabbath literature in the English language, of a

popular and practical character. For the Anglo-American theory and

history of the Christian Sabbath, compare the author's essay, The

Anglo-American Sabbath, New York, 1863 (in English and German), the

publications of the New York Sabbath Committee from 1857-1886, the

Sabbath Essays, ed. by Will. C. Wood, Boston (Congreg. Publ. Soc.),

1879; and A. E. Waffle: The Lord's Day, Philad. 1886.

As every place, so is every day and hour alike sacred to God, who fills

all space and all time, and can be worshipped everywhere and always.

But, from the necessary limitations of our earthly life, as well as

from the nature of social and public worship, springs the use of sacred

seasons. The apostolic church followed in general the Jewish usage, but

purged it from superstition and filled it with the spirit of faith and

freedom.

1. Accordingly, the Jewish Hours of daily prayer, particularly in the

morning and evening, were observed as a matter of habit, besides the

strictly private devotions which are bound to no time.

2. The Lord's Day took the place of the Jewish Sabbath as the weekly

day of public worship. The substance remained, the form was changed.

The institution of a periodical weekly day of rest for the body and the

soul is rooted in our physical and moral nature, and is as old as man,

dating, like marriage, from paradise. [688] This is implied in the

profound saying of our Lord: "The Sabbath is made for man."

It is incorporated in the Decalogue, the moral law, which Christ did

not come to destroy, but to fulfil, and which cannot be robbed of one

commandment without injury to all the rest.

At the same time the Jewish Sabbath was hedged around by many national

and ceremonial restrictions, which were not intended to be permanent,

but were gradually made so prominent as to overshadow its great moral

aim, and to make man subservient to the sabbath instead of the sabbath

to man. After the exile and in the hands of the Pharisees it became a

legal bondage rather than a privilege and benediction. Christ as the

Lord of the Sabbath opposed this mechanical ceremonialism and restored

the true spirit and benevolent aim of the institution. [689] When the

slavish, superstitious, and self-righteous sabbatarianism of the

Pharisees crept into the Galatian churches and was made a condition of

justification, Paul rebuked it as a relapse into Judaism. [690]

The day was transferred from the seventh to the first day of the week,

not on the ground of a particular command, but by the free spirit of

the gospel and by the power of certain great facts which he at the

foundation of the Christian church. It was on that day that Christ rose

from the dead; that he appeared to Mary, the disciples of Emmaus, and

the assembled apostles; that he poured out his Spirit and founded the

church; [691] and that he revealed to his beloved disciple the

mysteries of the future. Hence, the first day was already in the

apostolic age honorably designated as "the Lord's Day." On that day

Paul met with the disciples at Troas and preached till midnight. On

that day he ordered the Galatian and Corinthian Christians to make, no

doubt in connection with divine service, their weekly contributions to

charitable objects according to their ability. It appears, therefore,

from the New Testament itself, that Sunday was observed as a day of

worship, and in special commemoration of the Resurrection, whereby the

work of redemption was finished. [692]

The universal and uncontradicted Sunday observance in the second

century can only be explained by the fact that it had its roots in

apostolic practice. Such observance is the more to be appreciated as it

had no support in civil legislation before the age of Constantine, and

must have been connected with many inconveniences, considering the

lowly social condition of the majority of Christians and their

dependence upon their heathen masters and employers. Sunday thus

became, by an easy and natural transformation, the Christian Sabbath or

weekly day of rest, at once answering the typical import of the Jewish

Sabbath, and itself forming in turn a type of the eternal rest of the

people of God in the heavenly Canaan. [693] In the gospel dispensation

the Sabbath is not a degradation, but an elevation, of the week days to

a higher plane, looking to the consecration of all time and all work.

It is not a legal ceremonial bondage, but rather a precious gift of

grace, a privilege, a holy rest in God in the midst of the unrest of

the world, a day of spiritual refreshing in communion with God and in

the fellowship of the saints, a foretaste and pledge of the

never-ending Sabbath in heaven.

The due observance of it, in which the churches of England, Scotland,

and America, to their incalculable advantage, excel the churches of the

European continent, is a wholesome school of discipline, a means of

grace for the people, a safeguard of public morality and religion, a

bulwark against infidelity, and a source of immeasurable blessing to

the church, the state, and the family. Next to the Church and the

Bible, the Lord's Day is the chief pillar of Christian society.

Besides the Christian Sunday, the Jewish Christians observed their

ancient Sabbath also, till Jerusalem was destroyed. After that event,

the Jewish habit continued only among the Ebionites and Nazarenes.

As Sunday was devoted to the commemoration of the Saviour's

resurrection, and observed as a day of thanksgiving and joy, so, at

least as early as the second century, if not sooner, Friday came to be

observed as a day of repentance, with prayer and fasting, in

commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ.

3. Annual festivals. There is no injunction for their observance,

direct or indirect, in the apostolic writings, as there is no basis for

them in the Decalogue. But Christ observed them, and two of the

festivals, the Passover and Pentecost, admitted of an easy

transformation similar to that of the Jewish into the Christian

Sabbath. From some hints in the Epistles, [694] viewed in the light of

the universal and uncontradicted practice of the church in the second

century it may be inferred that the annual celebration of the death and

the resurrection of Christ, and of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit,

originated in the apostolic age. In truth, Christ crucified, risen, and

living in the church, was the one absorbing thought of the early

Christians; and as this thought expressed itself in the weekly

observance of Sunday, so it would also very naturally transform the two

great typical feasts of the Old Testament into the Christian Easter and

Whit-Sunday. The Paschal controversies of the second century related

not to the fact, but to the time of the Easter festival, and Polycarp

of Smyrna and Anicet of Rome traced their customs to an unimportant

difference in the practice of the apostles themselves.

Of other annual festivals, the New Testament contains not the faintest

trace. Christmas came in during the fourth century by a natural

development of the idea of a church year, as a sort of chronological

creed of the people. The festivals of Mary, the Apostles, Saints, and

Martyrs, followed gradually, as the worship of saints spread in the

Nicene and post-Nicene age, until almost every day was turned first

into a holy day and then into a holiday. As the saints overshadowed the

Lord, the saints' days overshadowed the Lord's Day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[688] Gen. 2:3. This passage is sometimes explained in a proleptic

sense; but religious rest-days, dies feriati, are found among most

ancient nations, and recent Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries confirm

the pre-Mosaic origin of the weekly Sabbath. See Sayce's revision of

George Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis, Lond. and N. York, 1881, p.

89: "If references to the Fall are few and obscure, there can be no

doubt that the Sabbath was an Accadian [primitive Chaldaean]

institution, intimately connected with the worship of the seven

planets. The astronomical tablets have shown that the seven-day week

was of Accadian origin, each day of it being dedicated to the sun,

moon, and five planets, and the word Sabbath itself, under the form of

Sabattu, was known to the Assyrians, and explained by them as 'a day of

rest for the heart.'A calendar of Saints' days for the month of the

intercalary Elul makes the 7th, 14th, 19th, 2lst, and 28th days of the

lunar months, Sabbaths on which no work was allowed to be done. The

Accadian words by which the idea of Sabbath is denoted, literally mean:

'a day on which work is unlawful,'and are interpreted in the bilingual

tablets as signifying 'a day of peace or completion of labors.'" Smith

then gives the rigid injunctions which the calendar lays down to the

king for each of these sabbaths. Comp. also Transactions of Soc. for

Bibl. Archaeol., vol. V., 427.

[689] Matt. 12:1 sqq., 10 sqq., and the parallel passages in Mark and

Luke; also John 5:8 sqq.; 6:23; 9:14, 16.

[690] Gal. 4:10; Comp. Rom. 14:5; Col. 2:16. The spirit of the

pharisaical sabbatarianism with which Christ and St, Paul had to deal

may be inferred from the fact that even Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, and

one of the wisest and most liberal Rabbis, let his ass die on the

Sabbath because he thought it a sin to unload him; and this was praised

as an act of piety. Other Rabbis prohibited the saving of an ass from a

ditch on the Sabbath, but allowed a plank to be laid so as to give the

beast a chance to save himself. One great controversy between the

schools of Shammai and Hillel turned around the mighty question whether

it was lawful to eat an egg which was laid on the Sabbath day, and the

wise Hillel denied it! Then it would be still more sinful to eat a

chicken that had the misfortune to be born, or to be killed, on a

Sabbath.

[691] The day of Pentecost (whether Saturday or Sunday) is disputed,

but the church always celebrated it on a Sunday. See � 24, p. 241.

[692] John 20:19, 26; Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10.

[693] Comp. Heb. 4:1-11; Rev. 4:18.

[694] 1 Cor. 5:7, 8; 16:8; Acts 18:21; 20:6, 16.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER X.

ORGANIZATION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 58. Literature.

I. Sources.

The Acts represent the first, the Pastoral Epistles the second stage of

the apostolic church polity. Baur (Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des

Ap. Paulus, 1835), Holtzmann (Die Pastoralbriefe, 1880, pp. 190 sqq.),

and others, who deny the Pauline authorship of the Epistles to Timothy

and Titus, date the organization laid down there from the

post-apostolic age, but it belongs to the period from a.d. 60-70. The

Epistles to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 12:28) and to the Ephesians (4:11),

and the Apocalyptic Epistles (Rev. 2 and 3) contain important hints on

the church offices.

Comp. the Didache, and the Epp. of Clement and Ignatius.

II. General Works.

Comp. in part the works quoted in ch. IX. (especially Vitringa), and

the respective sections in the "Histories of the Apostolic Age" by

Neander Thiersch (pp. 73, 150, 281), Lechler, Lange, and Schaff, (Amer.

ed, pp. 495-545).

III. Separate Works.

Episcopal and Presbyterian writers during the seventeenth century, and

more recently, have paid most attention to this chapter, generally with

a view of defending their theory of church polity.

Richard Hooker (called "the Judicious," moderate Anglican, d. 1600):

Ecclesiastical Polity, 1594, and often since, best edition by Keble,

1836, in 4 vols. A standard work for Episcopal churchmen,

Jos. Bingham (Anglican, d. 1668): Origines Ecclesiasticae; or, The

Antiquities of the Christian Church, first published 1710-22, in 10

vols. 8vo, and often since, Books; II.-IV. Still an important work.

Thomas Cartwright (the father of English Presbyterianism, d. 1603).

Directory o f Church Government anciently contended for, written in

1583, published by authority of the Long Parliament in 1644.

In the controversy during the Long Parliament and the Westminster

Assembly, Bishop Hall and Archbishop Ussher were the most learned

champions of episcopacy; while the five Smectymnians (so called from

their famous tract Smectymnuus, 1641, in reply to Hall), i.e.,

StephenMarshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and

William Spurstow,were the most prominent Presbyterians trying to

"demonstrate the parity of bishops and presbyters in Scripture, and the

antiquity of ruling elders." See alsoA Vindication of the Presbyterian

Government and Ministry, London, 1650, and Jus Divinum Ministerii

Evangelici, or the Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry, London, 1654,

both published by the Provincial Assembly of London. These books have

only historical interest.

Samuel Miller (Presbyterian d. 1850): Letters concerning the

Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry, 2d ed., Philadelphia,

1830.

James P. Wilson (Presbyterian): The Primitive Government of Christian

Churches. Philadelphia, 1833 (a learned and able work).

Joh. Adam M�hler (Rom. Cath., d. 1848): Die Einheit der Kirche, oder

das Princip des Katholicismus, dargestellt im Geiste der Kirchenvater

der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. T�bingen, 1825 (new ed. 1844). More

important for the post-apostolic age.

Rich. Rothe (d. 1866): Die Anf�nge der christlichen Kirche u. ihrer

Verfassung, vol. I. Wittenb., 1837, pp. 141 sqq. A Protestant

counterpart of M�hler's treatise, exceedingly able, learned, and acute,

but wrong on the question of church and state, and partly also on the

origin of the episcopate, which he traces back to the apostolic age.

F. Chr. Baur: Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopates in der christl.

Kirche. T�bingen, 1838. Against Rothe.

William Palmer (Anglo-Catholic): A Treatise on the Church of Christ.

London, 1838, 2 vols., 3d ed., 1841. Amer. ed., with notes, by Bishop

Whittingham, New York, 1841.

W. L�he (Luth.): Die N. T. lichen Aemter u. ihr Verh�ltniss zur

Gemeinde. N�rnb. 1848. Also: Drei B�cher von der Kirche, 1845.

Fr. Delitzsch (Luth.): Vier B�cher von der Kirche. Leipz., 1847.

J. K�stlin (Luth.): Das Wesen der Kirche nach Lehre und Geschiche des

N. T., Gotha, 1854; 2d ed. 1872.

Samuel Davidson (Independent): The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New

Testament. London, 1848; 2d ed. 1854.

Ralph Wardlaw (Independent): Congregational Independency, in

contradistinction to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, the Church Polity

of the New Testament. London, 1848.

Albert Barnes (Presbyterian, d. 1870): Organization and Government of

the Apostolic Church. Philadelphia, 1855.

Charles Hodge (Presbyterian, d. 1878) and others: Essays on the

Primitive Church Offices, reprinted from the "Princeton Review," N.

York, 1858. Also Ch. Hodge: Discussions in Church Polity. Selected from

the "Princeton Review," and arranged by W. Durant. New York, 1878.

Bishop Kaye (Episc.): Account of the External Discipline and Government

of the Church of Christ in the First Three Centuries. London, 1855.

K. Lechler (Luth.): Die N. Testamentliche Lehre vom heil. Amte.

Stuttgart, 1857.

Albrecht Ritschl: Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 2d ed.,

thoroughly revised, Bonn, 1857 (605 pp.). Purely historical and

critical.

James Bannerman (Presbyterian): The Church of Christ. A Treatise on the

Nature, Powers, Ordinances, Discipline, and Government of the Christian

Church. Edinburgh, 1868, 2 vols.

John J. McElhinney (Episc.): The Doctrine of the Church. A Historical

Monograph. Philadelphia, 1871. It begins after the apostolic age, but

has a useful list of works on the doctrine of the Church from a.d. 100

to 1870.

G. A. Jacob (Low Church Episc.):Ecclesiastical Polity of the New

Testament: Study for the Present Crisis in the Church of England.

London, 1871; 5th Amer. ed., New York (Whittaker), 1879.

J. B. Lightfoot (Evangelical Broad Church Episcop., Bishop of Durham,

very learned, able, and fair): The Christian Ministry. Excuraus to his

Commentary on Philippians. London, 1868, 3d ed. London, 1873, pp.

179-267; also separately printed in New York (without notes), 1879.

Charles Wordsworth (High Church Episcop., Bishop of St. Andrews) The

Outlines of the Christian Ministry. London, 1872.

Henry Cotherill (Bishop of Edinburgh): The Genesis of the Church.

Edinburgh and London, 1872.

W. Beyschlag: Die christliche Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des N.

Testaments (Crowned prize essay). Harlem, 1876.

C. Weizs�cker: Die Versammlungen der �ltesten Christengemeinden. In the

"Jahrb�cher f�r Deutsche Theologie," Gotha, 1876, pp. 474-530.

HisApost. Zeitalter (1886), pp. 606-645.

Henry M. Dexter (Congregationalist): Congregationalism. 4th ed. Boston,

1876.

E. Mellor: Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament. Lond., 1876.

J. B. Paton: The Origin of the Priesthood in the Christian Church.

London, 1877.

H. Weingarten: Die Umwandlung der urspranglichen christl.

Gemeindeorganisation zur katholischen Kirche, in Sybel's "Histor.

Zeitschrift" for 1881, pp. 441-467.

Edwin Hatch (Broad Church Episcop.): The Organization of the Early

Christian Churches. Bampton Lectures for 1880. Oxford and Cambridge,

1881. Discusses the post-apostolic organization (Bishops, Deacons,

Presbyters, Clergy and Laity, Councils, etc.). A learned and

independent work, which endeavors to show that the development of the

organization of the church was gradual; that the elements of which it

was composed were already existing in human society; that the form was

originally a democracy and became by circumstances a monarchy; and that

the Christian church has shown its vitality and its divinity by

readjusting its form in successive ages. German translation by Ad.

Harnack, Giessen, 1883.

P. Stanley (Broad Church Episc., d. 1881): Christian Institutions,

London and New York, 1881. Ch. X. on the Clergy.

Ch. Gore: The Ministry of the Church, London, 1889 (Anglo-Catholic).

Articles on theChristian Ministry by Sanday, Harnack, Milligan, Gore,

Simcox, Salmon, and others, in "The Expositor," London, 1887 and 1888.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 59. The Christian Ministry, and its Relation to the Christian

Community.

Christianity exists not merely as a power or principle in this world,

but also in an institutional and organized form which is intended to

preserve and protect (not to obstruct) it. Christ established a visible

church with apostles, as authorized teachers and rulers, and with two

sacred rites, baptism and the holy communion, to be observed to the end

of the world. [695]

At the same time he laid down no minute arrangements, but only the

simple and necessary elements of an organization, wisely leaving the

details to be shaped by the growing and changing wants of the church in

different ages and countries. In this respect Christianity, as a

dispensation of the Spirit, differs widely from the Mosaic theocracy,

as a dispensation of the letter.

The ministerial office was instituted by the Lord before his ascension,

and solemnly inaugurated on the first Christian Pentecost by the

outpouring of the Holy Ghost, to be the regular organ of the kingly

power of Christ on earth in founding, maintaining, and extending the

church. It appears in the New Testament under different names,

descriptive of its various functions:--the "ministry of the word," "of

the Spirit," "of righteousness," "of reconciliation." It includes the

preaching of the gospel, the administration of the sacraments, and

church discipline or the power of the keys, the power to open and shut

the gates of the kingdom of heaven, in other words, to declare to the

penitent the forgiveness of sins, and to the unworthy excommunication

in the name and by the authority of Christ. The ministers of the gospel

are, in an eminent sense, servants of God, and, as such, servants of

the churches in the noble spirit of self-denying love according to the

example of Christ, for the eternal salvation of the souls intrusted to

their charge. They are called--not exclusively, but emphatically--the

light of the world, the salt of the earth, fellow-workers with God,

stewards of the mysteries of God, ambassadors for Christ. And this

unspeakable dignity brings with it corresponding responsibility. Even a

Paul, contemplating the glory of an office, which is a savor of life

unto life to believers and of death unto death to the impenitent,

exclaims: "Who is sufficient for these things?" [696] and ascribes all

his sufficiency and success to the unmerited grace of God.

The internal call to the sacred office and the moral qualification for

it must come from the Holy Spirit, [697] and be recognized and ratified

by the church through her proper organs. The apostles were called,

indeed, immediately by Christ to the work of founding the church; but

so soon as a community of believers arose, the congregation took an

active part also in all religious affairs. The persons thus inwardly

and outwardly designated by the voice of Christ and his church, were

solemnly set apart and inducted into their ministerial functions by the

symbolical act of ordination; that is, by prayer and the laying on of

the hands of the apostles or their representatives, conferring or

authoritatively confirming and sealing the appropriate spiritual gifts.

[698]

Yet, high as the sacred office is in its divine origin and import, it

was separated by no impassable chasm from the body of believers. The

Jewish and later Catholic antithesis of clergy and laity has no place

in the apostolic age. The ministers, on the one part, are as sinful and

as dependent on redeeming grace as the members of the congregation; and

those members, on the other, share equally with the ministers in the

blessings of the gospel, enjoy equal freedom of access to the throne of

grace, and are called to the same direct communion with Christ, the

head of the whole body. The very mission of the church is, to reconcile

all men with God, and make them true followers of Christ. And though

this glorious end can be attained only through a long process of

history, yet regeneration itself contains the germ and the pledge of

the final perfection. The New Testament, looking at the principle of

the now life and the high calling of the Christian, styles all

believers "brethren," "saints," a "spiritual temple," a "peculiar

people," a "holy and royal priesthood." It is remarkable, that Peter in

particular should present the idea of the priesthood as the destiny of

all, and apply the term clerus not to the ministerial order as distinct

from the laity, but to the community; thus regarding every Christian

congregation as a spiritual tribe of Levi, a peculiar people, holy to

the Lord. [699]

The temporal organization of the empirical church is to be a means (and

not a hindrance, as it often is) for the actualization of the ideal

republic of God when all Christians shall be prophets, priests, and

kings, and fill all time and all space with his praise.

Notes.

1. Bishop Lightfoot begins his valuable discussion on the Christian

ministry (p. 179) with this broad and liberal statement: "The kingdom

of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the

restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It

is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. It displays

this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek

admission, irrespective of race or caste or sex, but also in the

instruction and treatment of those who are already its members. It has

no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time

and every place alike are holy. Above all it has no sacerdotal system.

It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by

whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each

individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him

immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon

and draws strength."

But he immediately proceeds to qualify this statement, and says that

this is simply the ideal view--"a holy season extending the whole year

round, a temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world, a

priesthood co-extensive with the race"--and that the Church of Christ

can no more hold together without officers, rules, and institutions

than any other society of men. "As appointed days and set places are

indispensable to her efficiency, so also the Church could not fulfil

the purposes for which she exists without rulers and teachers, without

a ministry of reconciliation, in short, without an order of men who may

in some sense be designated a priesthood. In this respect the ethics of

Christianity present an analogy to the politics. Here also the ideal

conception and the actual realization are incommensurate and in a

manner contradictory."

2. Nearly all denominations appeal for their church polity to the New

Testament, with about equal right and equal wrong: the Romanists to the

primacy of Peter; the Irvingites to the apostles and prophets and

evangelists, and the miraculous gifts; the Episcopalians to the

bishops, the angels, and James of Jerusalem; the Presbyterians to the

presbyters and their identity with the bishops; the Congregationalists

to the independence of the local congregations and the absence of

centralization. The most that can be said is, that the apostolic age

contains fruitful germs for various ecclesiastical organizations

subsequently developed, but none of them can claim divine authority

except for the gospel ministry, which is common to all. Dean Stanley

asserts that no existing church can find any pattern or platform of its

government in the first century, and thus strongly contrasts the

apostolic and post-apostolic organizations (l.c.): "It is certain that

the officers of the apostolical or of any subsequent church, were not

part of the original institution of the Founder of our religion; that

of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon; of Metropolitan, Patriarch, and Pope,

there is not the shadow of a trace in the four Gospels. It is certain

that they arose gradually out of the preexisting institutions either of

the Jewish synagogue, or of the Roman empire, or of the Greek

municipalities, or under the pressure of local emergencies. It is

certain that throughout the first century, and for the first years of

the second, that is, through the later chapters of the Acts, the

Apostolical Epistles, and the writings of Clement and Hermas. Bishop

and Presbyter were convertible terms, and that the body of men

so-called were the rulers--so far as any permanent rulers existed--of

the early church. It is certain that, as the necessities of the time

demanded, first at Jerusalem, then in Asia Minor, the elevation of one

Presbyter above the rest by the almost universal law, which even in

republics engenders a monarchial element, the word 'Bishop' gradually

changed its meaning, and by the middle of the second century became

restricted to the chief Presbyter of the locality. It is certain that

in no instance were the apostles called 'Bishops' in any other sense

than they were equally called 'Presbyters' and 'Deacons.' It is certain

that in no instance before the beginning of the third century the title

or function of the Pagan or Jewish priesthood is applied to the

Christian pastors .... It is as sure that nothing like modern

Episcopacy existed before the close of the first century as it is that

nothing like modern Presbyterianism existed after the beginning of the

second. That which was once the Gordian knot of theologians has at

least in this instance been untied, not by the sword of persecution,

but by the patient unravelment of scholarships."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[695] Comp. Matt. 16:18; 18:18; 28:18-20; Mark 16:15; Luke 22:19; John

20:21-23; Eph. 2:20 ff.; 4:11 ff.

[696] 2 Cor. 2:16.

[697] Acts 20:28.

[698] Acts 6:6; 1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22; 2 Tim. 1:6.

[699] Pet. 2:5, 9; 5:3; comp. Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6. The English

"priest" (the German Priester) is etymologically a harmless contraction

of "presbyter" (i.e., elder), but has become a synonyms for the Latin

sacerdos(hiereus, vchk ),meaning an offerer of sacrifices and a

mediator between God and the people. Milton said rather sarcastically,

"presbyter is priest writ large."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 60. Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists.

The ministry originally coincided with the apostolate; as the church

was at first identical with the congregation of Jerusalem. No other

officers are mentioned in the Gospels and the first five chapters of

the Acts. But when the believers began to number thousands, the

apostles could not possibly perform all the functions of teaching,

conducting worship, and administering discipline; they were obliged to

create new offices for the ordinary wants of the congregations, while

they devoted themselves to the general supervision and the further

extension of the gospel. Thus arose gradually, out of the needs of the

Christian church, though partly at the suggestion of the existing

organization of the Jewish synagogue, the various general and

congregational offices in the church. As these all have their common

root in the apostolate, so they partake also, in different degrees, of

its divine origin, authority, privileges, and responsibilities.

We notice first, those offices which were not limited to any one

congregation, but extended over the whole church, or at least over a

great part of it. These are apostles, prophets, and evangelists. Paul

mentions them together in this order. [700] But the prophecy was a gift

and function rather than an office, and the evangelists were temporary

officers charged with a particular mission under the direction of the

apostles. All three are usually regarded as extraordinary officers and

confined to the apostolic age; but from time to time God raises

extraordinary missionaries (as Patrick, Columba, Boniface, Ansgar),

divines (as Augustin, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Melancthon,

Calvin), and revival preachers (as Bernard, Knox, Baxter, Wesley,

Whitefield), who may well be called apostles, prophets, and evangelists

of their age and nation. [701]

1. Apostles. These were originally twelve in number, answering to the

twelve tribes of Israel. In place of the traitor, Judas, Matthias was

chosen by lot, between the ascension and Pentecost. [702] After the

outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Paul was added as the thirteenth by the

direct call of the exalted Saviour. He was the independent apostle of

the Gentiles, and afterward gathered several subordinate helpers around

him. Besides these there were apostolic men, like Barnabas, and James

the brother of the Lord, whose standing and influence were almost equal

to that of the proper apostles. The Twelve (excepting Matthias, who,

however, was an eye-witness of the resurrection) and Paul were called

directly by Christ, without human intervention, to be his

representatives on earth, the inspired organs of the Holy Spirit, the

founders and pillars of the whole church. Their office was universal,

and their writings are to this day the unerring rule of faith and

practice for all Christendom. But they never exercised their divine

authority in arbitrary and despotic style. They always paid tender

regard to the rights, freedom, and dignity of the immortal souls under

their care. In every believer, even in a poor slave like Onesimus, they

recognized a member of the same body with themselves, a partaker of

their redemption, a beloved brother in Christ. Their government of the

church was a labor of meekness and love, of self-denial and unreserved

devotion to the eternal welfare of the people. Peter, the prince of the

apostles, humbly calls himself a "fellow-presbyter," and raises his

prophetic warning against the hierarchical spirit which so easily takes

hold of church dignitaries and alienates them from the people.

2. Prophets. These were inspired and inspiring teachers and preachers

of the mysteries of God. They appear to have had special influence on

the choice of officers, designating the persons who were pointed out to

them by the Spirit of God in their prayer and fasting, as peculiarly

fitted for missionary labor or any other service in the church. Of the

prophets the book of Acts names Agabus, Barnabas, Symeon, Lucius,

Manaen, and Saul of Tarsus, Judas and Silas. [703] The gift of prophecy

in the wider sense dwelt in all the apostles, pre-eminently in John,

the seer of the new covenant and author of the Revelation. It was a

function rather than an office.

3. Evangelists, itinerant preachers, delegates, and fellow-laborers of

the apostles--such men as Mark, Luke, Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphras,

Trophimus, and Apollos. [704] They may be compared to modern

missionaries. They were apostolic commissioners for a special work. "It

is the conception of a later age which represents Timothy as bishop of

Ephesus, and Titus as bishop of Crete. St. Paul's own language implies

that the position which they held was temporary. In both cases their

term of office is drawing to a close when the apostle writes." [705]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[700] In Eph. 4:11, he adds "pastors and teachers." In 1 Cor. 12:28 he

enumerates first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; then

powers, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.

Neither list is intended to be strictly methodical and exhaustive.

[701] So Calvin, Inst. IV. ch. 3, � 4: "Secundum hanc interpretationem

(qua mihi et verbis et sententiae Pauli consentanea videtur) tres iliae

functiones [Apostoli, Prophetae, Evangelisttae]non ideo intitutae in

ecclesia fuerunt, ut perpetuae forent, sed ad id modo tempus quo

erigendae erant ecclesiae, ubi nullae ante fuerant, vel certe a Mose ad

Christum traducendae. Quanquam non nego quin Apostolos postea quoque,

vel saltem eorum loco Evangelistas interdum excitarit Deus, ut nostro

tempore factum est."Most Protestant historians hold substantially the

same view. The followers of the "Catholic Apostolic Church," usually

called "Irvingites," claim to have apostles, prophets, evangelists

raised up by the Lord himself in these last days preparatory to his

Advent; but these "apostles" died one by one, and their places remain

vacant. See my Hist. of the Ap. Church, pp. 516 sqq., and Creeds of

Christendom, I. 905 sqq. In a very substantial sense the original

apostles survive in their teaching, and need and can have no successors

or substitutes.

[702] Some commentators wrongly hold that the election of Matthias,

made before the Pentecostal illumination, was a hasty and invalid act

of Peter, and that Christ alone could fill the vacancy by a direct

call, which was intended for Paul. But Paul never represents himself as

belonging to the Twelve and distinguishes himself from them as their

equal. See Gal., 1 and 2.

[703] Acts 11:28; 21:19; 13:1; 15:32

[704] 1 Tim. 1:3; 3:14; 2 Tim. 4:9, 21; Tit. 1:5; 3:2; 1 Pet. 5:12.

Calvin takes the same view of the Evangelists, Inst. IV., ch. 3, � 4:

"Per Evangelistas eos intelligo, qui quum dignitate essent Apostolis

minores, officio tamen proximi erant, adeoque vices eorum gerebant.

Quales fuerunt, Lucas, Timotheus, Titus, et reliqui similes: ac

fortassis etiam septuaginta quos secundo ab Apostolis loco Christus

designavit (Luc. 10. 1)."

[705] Lightfoot, p. 197. Other Episcopal writers, accepting the later

tradition (Euseb., H. E. III. 4; Const. Apost. VII. 46), regard Timothy

and Titus as apostolic types of diocesan bishops. So Bishop Chr.

Wordsworth: A Church History to the Council of Nicaea (1880, p. 42),

and the writer of the article "Bishop," in Smith and Cheetham (I. 211).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 61. Presbyters or Bishops. The Angels of the Seven Churches. James of

Jerusalem.

We proceed to the officers of local congregations who were charged with

carrying forward in particular places the work begun by the apostles

and their delegates. These were of two kinds, Presbyters or Bishops,

and Deacons or Helpers. They multiplied in proportion as Christianity

extended, while the number of the apostles diminished by death, and

could, in the nature of the case, not be filled up by witnesses of the

life and resurrection of Christ. The extraordinary officers were

necessary for the founding and being of the church, the ordinary

officers for its preservation and well-being.

The terms Presbyter (or Elder) [706] and Bishop (or Overseer,

Superintendent) [707] denote in the New Testament one and the same

office, with this difference only, that the first is borrowed from the

Synagogue, the second from the Greek communities; and that the one

signifies the dignity, the other the duty. [708]

1. The identity of these officers is very evident from the following

facts:

a. They appear always as a plurality or as a college in one and the

same congregation, even in smaller cities) as Philippi. [709]

b. The same officers of the church of Ephesus are alternately called

presbyters [710] and bishops.

c. Paul sends greetings to the "bishops" and "deacons" of Philippi, but

omits the presbyters because they were included in the first term; as

also the plural indicates. [711]

d. In the Pastoral Epistles, where Paul intends to give the

qualifications for all church officers, he again mentions only two,

bishops and deacons, but uses the term presbyter afterwards for bishop.

[712]

Peter urges the "presbyters" to "tend the flock of God," and to "fulfil

the office of bishops" with disinterested devotion and without "lording

it over the charge allotted to them." [713]

e. The interchange of terms continued in use to the close of the first

century, as is evident from the Epistle of Clement of Rome (about 95),

and the Didache, and still lingered towards the close of the second.

[714]

With the beginning of the second century, from Ignatius onward, the two

terms are distinguished and designate two offices; the bishop being

regarded first as the head of a congregation surrounded by a council of

presbyters, and afterwards as the head of a diocese and successor of

the apostles. The episcopate grew out of the presidency of the

presbytery, or, as Bishop Lightfoot well expresses it: "The episcopate

was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of

the presbyteral by elevation; and the title, which originally was

common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among

them." [715] Nevertheless, a recollection of the original identity was

preserved by the best biblical scholars among the fathers, such as

Jerome (who taught that the episcopate rose from the presbyterate as a

safeguard against schism), Chrysostom, and Theodoret. [716]

The reason why the title bishop (and not presbyter) was given

afterwards to the superior officer, may be explained from the fact that

it signified, according to monumental inscriptions recently discovered,

financial officers of the temples, and that the bishops had the charge

of all the funds of the churches, which were largely charitable

institutions for the support of widows and orphans, strangers and

travellers, aged and infirm people in an age of extreme riches and

extreme poverty. [717]

2. The origin of the presbytero-episcopal office is not recorded in the

New Testament, but when it is first mentioned in the congregation at

Jerusalem, a.d. 44, it appears already as a settled institution. [718]

As every Jewish synagogue was ruled by elders, it was very natural that

every Jewish Christian congregation should at once adopt this form of

government; this may be the reason why the writer of the Acts finds it

unnecessary to give an account of the origin; while he reports the

origin of the deaconate which arose from a special emergency and had no

precise analogy in the organization of the synagogue. The Gentile

churches followed the example, choosing the already familiar term

bishop. The first thing which Paul and Barnabas did after preaching the

gospel in Asia Minor was to organize churches by the appointment of

elders. [719]

3. The office of the presbyter-bishops was to teach and to rule the

particular congregation committed to their charge. They were the

regular "pastors and teachers." [720] To them belonged the direction of

public worship, the administration of discipline, the care of souls,

and the management of church property. They were usually chosen from

the first converts, and appointed by the apostles or their delegates,

with the approval of the congregation, or by the congregation itself,

which supported them by voluntary contributions. They were solemnly

introduced into their office by the apostles or by their fellow

presbyters through prayers and the laying on of hands. [721]

The presbyters always formed a college or corporation, a presbytery; as

at Jerusalem, at Ephesus, at Philippi, and at the ordination of

Timothy. [722] They no doubt maintained a relation of fraternal

equality. The New Testament gives us no information about the division

of labor among them, or the nature and term of a presidency. It is

quite probable that the members of the presbyteral college distributed

the various duties of their office among themselves according to their

respective talents, tastes, experience, and convenience. Possibly, too,

the president, whether temporary or permanent, was styled distinctively

the bishop; and from this the subsequent separation of the episcopate

from the presbyterate may easily have arisen. But so long as the

general government of the church was in the hands of the apostles and

their delegates, the bishops were limited in their jurisdiction either

to one congregation or to a small circle of congregations.

The distinction of "teaching presbyters" or ministers proper, and

"ruling presbyters" or lay-elders, is a convenient arrangement of

Reformed churches, but can hardly claim apostolic sanction, since the

one passage on which it rests only speaks of two functions in the same

office. [723] Whatever may have been the distribution and rotation of

duties, Paul expressly mentions ability to teach among the regular

requisites for the episcopal or presbyteral office. [724]

4. The Angels of the Seven Churches in Asia Minor must be regarded as

identical with the presbyter-bishops or local pastors. They represent

the presiding presbyters, or the corps of regular officers, as the

responsible messengers of God to the congregation. [725] At the death

of Paul and Peter, under Nero, the congregations were ruled by a

college of elders, and if the Apocalypse, as the majority of critical

commentators now hold, was written before the year 70, there was too

little time for a radical change of the organization from a republican

to a monarchical form. Even if we regard the "angels" as single

persons, they were evidently confined to a single church, and subject

to St. John; hence, not successors of the apostles, as the latter

diocesan bishops claim to be. The most that can be said is that the

angels were congregational, as distinct from diocesan bishops, and mark

one step from the primitive presbyters to the Ignatian bishops, who

were likewise congregational officers, but in a monarchical sense as

the heads of the presbytery, bearing a patriarchal relation to the

congregation and being eminently responsible for its spiritual

condition. [726]

5. The nearest approach to the idea of the ancient catholic episcopate

may be found in the unique position of James, the Brother of the Lord.

Unlike the apostles, he confined his labors to the mother church of

Jerusalem. In the Jewish Christian traditions of the second century he

appears both as bishop and pope of the church universal. [727] But in

fact he was only primus inter pares. In his last visit to Jerusalem,

Paul was received by the body of the presbyters, and to them he gave an

account of his missionary labors. [728] Moreover, this authority of

James, who was not an apostle, was exceptional and due chiefly to his

close relationship with the Lord, and his personal sanctity, which won

the respect even of the unconverted Jews.

The institution of episcopacy proper cannot be traced to the apostolic

age, so far as documentary evidence goes, but is very apparent and

well-nigh universal about the middle of the second century. Its origin

and growth will claim our attention in the next period.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[706] The presbuteroi correspond to the Jewish zekenim; see above, �

51. It was originally a term of age, and then of dignity, like

Senators, Sennatus, gerousia (comp. our " Senate," "Alderman"), for the

members of the governing body of a municipality or state. Aged and

experienced men were generally chosen for office, but not without

exceptions. Timothy was comparatively young when he was ordained (1

Tim. 4:12). The Roman Senate consisted originally of venerable men, but

after the time of Augustus the aetas senatoria was reduced to

twenty-five. The use of presbyter in the sense ofsacerdos, hiereus,

priest, dates from the time of Cyprian, and became common from the

fifth century onward to the Reformation. In the New Test. there is no

trace of any special sacerdotal office or caste.

[707] The term episkoposoccurs about a dozen times in the Septuagint

for various Hebrew words meaning " inspector," "taskmaster," "captain,"

"president" (see Trommius, Concord. Gr. 492 LXX. Interpr. sub verbo,

and also sub episkope and episkopeo). It was used in Egypt of the

officers of a temple, in Greece of overseers or guardians in general,

or of municipal and financial officers. In Athens the commissioners to

regulate colonies and subject states were called episkopoi. The

Spartans sent epimeletai in the same capacity. The term was not only

applied to permanent officers, but also to the governing body, or a

committee of the governing body. The feminine episkope is not

classical, but passed from the Sept. into the Greek Test. (Acts 1:20; 1

Tim. 3:1) and patristic usage with the meaning: the work or office of a

bishop (inspectio, visitatio). See Lightfoot, Philippians, 93 sqq.,

Gebhardt and Harnack, Patr. Apost. Op. p. 5; Hatch, l.c., 37 sqq., and

Hatch, art. "Priest" in Smith and Cheetham, II. 1698 sqq.

[708] The distinction between them, as two separate orders of

ministers, dates from the second century, and is made a dogma in the

Greek and Roman churches. The Council of Trent (Sess. XXIII., cap. 4,

and can. vii. de sacramento ordinis) declares bishops to be successor

of the apostles, and pronounces the anathema on those who affirm "that

bishops are not superior to priests (presbyters)." Yet there are Roman

Catholic historians who are learned and candid enough to admit the

original identity. So Probst, Sacramente, p. 215; D�llinger (before his

secession), First Age of the Church, Engl. transl. II. 111; and Kraus,

Real-Encykl. der christl. Alterth�mer (1880), I. 62. Kraus says:

"Anfangs werden beide Termini [episkopos and presbuteros] vielfach mit

demselben Werthe angewendet (Act 20:17, 28; Tit. 1:5; Clem. ad Cor. I.

42, 44, 47). Noch im zweiten Jahrh. findet man die Bisch�fe auch Gr.

presbuteroi genannt, nicht aber umgekeht. Sofort fixirt sich dann der

Sprachgebrauch: der B. ist der Vorsteher der paroikia, dioikesis ,als

Nachfolger der Apostel; ihm unterstehen Volk und Geistlichkeit; ihm

wohnt die F�lle der priesterlichen Gewalt inne."The sacerdotal idea,

however, does not synchronize with the elevation of the episcopate, but

came in a little later.

[709] The only apparent exceptions are 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:7, but there

the definite article before episkoposis generic.

[710] Acts 20:17 (presbyters), 28 (bishops). In the English version the

argument of the identity is obscured by the exceptional translation

"overseers," instead of the usual "bishops." The Revised Version of

1881 has mended this defect by adopting "elders" and "bishops" in the

text, and "presbyters" and "overseers" in the margin. The perversion of

the passage, under the unconscious influence of a later distinction,

began with Irenaeus, who says (Adv. Haer. III. 14, 2): "The bishops and

presbyters were called together (convocatis episcopis et presbyter) at

Miletus from Ephesus, and the other neighboring cities (et a reliquis

proximis civitatibus)."The last addition was necessary to justify the

plurality of bishops as distinct from presbyters. The latter alone are

mentioned, Acts 20:17.

[711] Phil. 1:1: pasin tois hagiois ... sun episkopois kai diakonois

[712] 1 Tim. 3:1-13; 5:17-19; Tit. 1:5-7.

[713] 1 Pet. 5:1, 2: presbuterous ... parakalo ho sunpresbuteros?

poimanate to en humin poimnion tou theou, episkopountes ... The last

word is omitted by ' and B. Tischendorf (8th ed.), Westcott and Hort,

but poimanate implies the episcopal function, the oversight of the

flock.

[714] Clem., Ad Cor. c. 42 ("bishops and deacons "), c. 44 ("bishopric

... the presbyters"). The Didache (ch. 15) knows only bishops and

deacons, as local officers, the former being identical with presbyters.

Irenaeus still occasionally calls the bishops "presbyters," and uses

sussiones episcoporum and successiones presbyterorum synonymously, but

he evidently recognized the episcopal constitution. The higher office

includes the lower, but not conversely.

[715] L. c., p. 194. He illustrates this usage by a parallel instance

from the Athenian institutions. Neander has the same view of the origin

of the episcopate. It dates, in fact, from Jerome.

[716] See the patristic quotations in my Hist. of the Ap. Ch. pp. 524

sq. Even Pope Urban II. (a.d. 1091) says that the primitive church knew

only two orders, the deaconate and the presbyterate. The original

identity of presbyter and bishop is not only insisted on by

Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Congregationalists, but freely conceded

also by Episcopal commentators, as Whitby, Bloomfield, Conybeare and

Howson, Alford, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Stanley, and others. It is also

conceded by purely critical historians, as Rothe, Ritschl, Baur (K

Gesch I. 270), and Renan (Les Evangiles, p. 332). Renan calls the

history of the ecclesiastical hierarchy the history of a triple

abdication: first the community of believers committed their power to

the presbyters, then the corps of presbyters abdicated to the bishop,

and, last, the bishops to the pope (in the Vatican council). "La

cr�ation de l'�piscopat est l'aeuvre du IIe si�cle. L'absorption de

l'Eglise par les 'presbyteri'est un fait accompli avant la fin du

premier. Dans l'�p�tre de Cl�ment Romain, etc., ce n'est pas encore

l'�piscopat, c'est le presbyt�rat qui est en cause. On n'y trouve pas

trace d'un 'presbyteros''sup�rieur aux autres et devant d�tr�ner les

autres. Mais l'auteur proclame hautement que le presbyt�rat, to clerg�,

est ant�rieur au peuple." Comp. also Renan's Saint Paul, 238 sq., and

L'Eglise Chr�tienne, ch. VI. p. 85 sqq. This subject then may be

regarded as finally settled among scholars. At the same time it should

in all fairness be admitted that the tendency toward an episcopal

concentration of presbyteral power may be traced to the close of the

apostolic age.

[717] See Hatch, Organiz. Lect. II. and IV., and his art. "Priest" in

Smith and Cheetham, II. 1700. Hatch makes large use of the inscriptions

found at Salkhad, in the Haur�n, at Thera, and elsewhere. He advances

the new theory that the bishops were originally a higher order of

deacons and supreme almoners of the sovereign congregation, while the

presbyters had charge of the discipline. He admits that bishops and

presbyters were equals in rank, and their names interchangeable, but

that their relations differed in different churches during the first

two centuries, and that the chief function of the bishop originally was

the care and disposition of the charitable funds. Hence the stress laid

by Paul on the necessity of a bishop being aphilarguros and philozenos

. In the long series of ecclesiastical canons and imperial edicts, the

bishops are represented especially in the light of trustees of church

property.

[718] Acts 11:30, at the time of the famine when the church of Antioch

sent a collection to the elders for their brethren in Judaea.

[719] Acts 14:23; comp. Tit. 1:5.

[720] poimenes kai didaskaloi, Eph. 4:11.

[721] Acts 14:23; Tit. 1:5; 1 Tim. 5:22; 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6. On the

election, ordination and support of ministers, see my Hist. Ap. Ch. pp.

500-506.

[722] Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 23; 16:4; 20:17, 28; 21:18; Phil.

1:1; 1 Tim 4:14; James 5: 14; 1 Pet. 5: 1.

[723] 1 Tim. 5:17: "Let the elders that rule well (hoi kalos proestotes

presbuteroi) be counted of double honor ( diples times), especially

those who labor in the word and in teaching (en logo kai didaskalia)."

Some commentators emphasize kalos, some refer the " double honor" to

higher rank and position, others to better remuneration, still others

to both.

[724] 1 Tim. 3:2: "The bishop must be ... apt to teach (didaktikon)."

The same is implied in Tit. 1:9; Act 20:28; and Heb. 13:17. Lightfoot

takes the right view (p. 192): "Though government was probably the

first conception of the office, yet the work of teaching must have

fallen to the presbyters from the very first and have assumed greater

prominence as time went on." On the question of teaching and ruling

elders, compare, besides other treatises, Peter Colin Campbell: The

Theory of Ruling Eldership (Edinb. and London, 1866), and two able

articles by Dr. R. D. Hitchcock and Dr. E. F. Hatfield (both

Presbyterians) in the "American Presbyterian Review" for April and

October, 1868. All these writers dissent from Calvin's interpretation

of 1 Tim. 5:17, as teaching two kinds of presbyters: (1) those who both

taught and ruled, and (2) those who ruled only; but Campbell pleads

from 1 Cor. 12:28; Rom. 12:8; and Acts 15:22, 25 for what he calls "Lay

Assessors." Dr. Hitchcock holds that the primitive presbyters were

empowered and expected both to teach and to rule. Dr. Hatfield tries to

prove that the Christian presbyters, like the Jewish elders, were only

to rule; the office of teaching having been committed to the apostles,

evangelists, and other missionaries. The last was also the view of Dr.

Thornwell, of South Carolina (on Ruling Elders), and is advocated in a

modified form by an Oxford scholar of great ability, Vice-Principal

Hatch (l.c. Lecture III. pp. 35 sqq., and art ."Priest" in Smith and

Cheetham, II. 1700). He holds that the Christian presbyters, like the

Jewish, were at first chiefly officers of discipline, not of worship,

and that the fitness for teaching and soundness in the faith were

altogether subordinate to the moral qualities which are necessary to a

governor. He also remarks (p. 1707) that neither Clement nor Ignatius

makes any mention of presbyters in connection with teaching, and that

teaching was a delegated function committed to the wiser presbyters.

[725] Other interpretations of the apocalyptic angels: 1. Heavenly

messengers, guardian angels of the several churches. Origen. Jerome, De

Wette, Alford, Bishop Lightfoot. 2. Deputies or clerks of the churches,

corresponding to the shelichai of the synagogues. Vitringa, John

Lightfoot, Bengel, Winer. 3. Figurative personifications of the

churches. Arethas, Salmasius. 4. Bishops proper. See my Hist. of the Ap

Ch. pp. 537 sqq.

[726] Rothe, Bunsen, Thiersch, and Bishop Lightfoot trace the

institution of episcopacy to the Gentile churches in Asia Minor, and

claim for it some sanction of the surviving apostle John during the

mysterious period between a.d. 70 and 100. Neander, Baur, and Ritschl

opposed Rothe's theory (which created considerable sensation in learned

circles at the time). Rothe was not an Episcopalian, but regarded

episcopacy as a temporary historical necessity in the ancient church.

[727] See �27, pp. 264 sqq.

[728] Acts 21:18 comp, 11:30; 12:17; and Acts 15

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 62. Deacons and Deaconesses.

Deacons, [729] or helpers, appear first in the church of Jerusalem,

seven in number. The author of the Acts 6 gives us an account of the

origin of this office, which is mentioned before that of the

presbyters. It had a precedent in the officers of the synagogue who had

charge of the collection and distribution of alms. [730] It was the

first relief of the heavy burden that rested on the shoulders of the

apostles, who wished to devote themselves exclusively to prayer and the

ministry of the word. It was occasioned by a complaint of the

Hellenistic Christians against the Hebrew or Palestinian brethren, that

their widows were neglected in the daily distribution of food (and

perhaps money). In the exercise of a truly fraternal spirit the

congregation elected seven Hellenists instead of Hebrews, if we are to

judge from their Greek names, although they were not uncommon among the

Jews in that age. After the popular election they were ordained by the

apostles.

The example of the mother church was followed in all other

congregations, though without particular regard to the number. The

church of Rome, however, perpetuated even the number seven for several

generations. [731] In Philippi the deacons took their rank after the

presbyters, and are addressed with them in Paul's Epistle.

The office of there deacons, according to the narrative in Acts, was to

minister at the table in the daily love-feasts, and to attend to the

wants of the poor and the sick. The primitive churches were charitable

societies, taking care of the widows and orphans, dispensing

hospitality to strangers, and relieving the needs of the poor. The

presbyters were the custodians, the deacons the collectors and

distributors, of the charitable funds. To this work a kind of pastoral

care of souls very naturally attached itself, since poverty and

sickness afford the best occasions and the most urgent demand for

edifying instruction and consolation. Hence, living faith and exemplary

conduct were necessary qualifications for the office of deacon. [732]

Two of the Jerusalem deacons, Stephen and Philip, labored also as

preachers and evangelists, but in the exercise of a personal gift

rather than of official duty.

In post-apostolic times, when the bishop was raised above the presbyter

and the presbyter became priest, the deacon was regarded as Levite, and

his primary function of care of the poor was lost in the function of

assisting the priest in the subordinate parts of public worship and the

administration of the sacraments. The diaconate became the first of the

three orders of the ministry and a stepping-stone to the priesthood. At

the same time the deacon, by his intimacy with the bishop as his agent

and messenger, acquired an advantage over the priest.

Deaconesses, [733] or female helpers, had a similar charge of the poor

and sick in the female portion of the church. This office was the more

needful on account of the rigid separation of the sexes at that day,

especially among the Greeks and Orientals. It opened to pious women and

virgins, and chiefly to widows, a most suitable field for the regular

official exercise of their peculiar gifts of self-denying charity and

devotion to the welfare of the church. Through it they could carry the

light and comfort of the gospel into the most private and delicate

relations of domestic life, without at all overstepping their natural

sphere. Paul mentions Phoebe as a deaconess of the church of Cenchreae,

the port of Corinth, and it is more than probable that Prisca

(Priscilla), Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis, whom he commends

for their labor in the Lord, served in the same capacity at Rome. [734]

The deaconesses were usually chosen from elderly widows. In the Eastern

churches the office continued to the end of the twelfth century. [735]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[729] diakonos, diaconus, in later usage also diakon, diacones (in

Cyprian's works and in synodical decrees).

[730] Lightfoot (Hor. Hebr. in Act. 6:3) says: "Tralatum erat officium

Diaconatus ... in Ecclesiam Evangelicam ex Judaica. Erant enim in

unaquaque Synagoga vysnrph g , tres Diaconi quibus incubuit ista cura

(pauperum)."

[731] According to a letter of Cornelius, the Roman Church in 251 had

forty-six presbyters, but only seven deacons, Euseb., H. E., VI. 43.

The places were filled by sub-deacons. In Constantinople, Justinian

authorized the appointment of a hundred deacons.

[732] Acts 6:3; 1 Tim. 8:8 sqq.

[733] he diakonos, afterwards also diakonissa, diaconissa, diacona.

[734] Rom. 16:1, where Phoebe is called (he) diakonos tes en

Kenchreais. Comp. 16:3, 6, 12. On the question whether the widows

mentioned 1 Tim. 3:11; 5:9-15, were deaconesses, see my Hist. of the

Ap. Ch., p. 536.

[735] In the Roman Church, sisterhoods for charitable work have

supplanted congregational deaconesses; and similar institutions

(without the vow of celibacy) were established among the Moravians, in

the Lutheran, Episcopal, and other churches. The Roman Catholic Sisters

of Charity, and the Evangelical Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth are worthy

of special honor. See art. Deacon, Deaconess, and Deaconesses in

Schaff's Rel. Cyclop., vol. I. (1882), pp. 613 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 63. Church Discipline.

Holiness, like unity and catholicity or universality, is an essential

mark of the Church of Christ, who is himself the one, holy Saviour of

all men; but it has never yet been perfectly actualized in her

membership on earth, and is subject to gradual growth with many

obstructions and lapses. The church militant, as a body, like every

individual Christian, has to pass through a long process of

sanctification, which cannot be complete till the second coining of the

Lord.

Even the apostles, far as they tower above ordinary Christians, and

infallible as they are in giving all the instruction necessary to

salvation, never during their earthly life claimed sinless perfection

of character, but felt themselves oppressed with manifold infirmities,

and in constant need of forgiveness and purification.

Still less can we expect perfect moral purity in their churches. In

fact, all the Epistles of the New Testament contain exhortations to

progress in virtue and piety, warnings against unfaithfulness and

apostasy, and reproofs respecting corrupt practices among the

believers. The old leaven of Judaism and heathenism could not be purged

away at once, and to many of the blackest sins the converts were for

the first time fully exposed after their regeneration by water and the

Spirit. In the churches of Galatia many fell back from grace and from

the freedom of the gospel to the legal bondage of Judaism and the

"rudiments of the world." In the church of Corinth, Paul had to rebuke

the carnal spirit of sect, the morbid desire for wisdom, participation

in the idolatrous feasts of the heathen, the tendency to uncleanness,

and a scandalous profanation of the holy Supper or the love-feasts

connected with it. Most of the churches of Asia Minor, according to the

Epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse, were so infected with theoretical

errors or practical abuses, as to call for the earnest warnings and

reproofs of the Holy Spirit through the apostles. [736]

These facts show how needful discipline is, both for the church herself

and for the offenders. For the church it is a process of

self-purification, and the assertion of the holiness and moral dignity

which essentially belong to her. To the offender it is at once a

merited punishment and a means of repentance and reform. For the

ultimate end of the agency of Christ and his church is the salvation of

souls; and Paul styles the severest form of church discipline the

delivering of the backslider "to Satan for the destruction of the

flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

[737]

The means of discipline are of various degrees of severity; first,

private admonition, then public correction, and, finally, when these

prove fruitless, excommunication, or temporary exclusion from all the

means of grace and from Christian intercourse. [738] Upon sincere

repentance, the fallen one is restored to the communion of the church.

The act of discipline is that of the whole congregation in the name of

Christ; and Paul himself, though personally absent, excommunicated the

fornicator at Corinth with the concurrence of the congregation, and as

being, in spirit united with it. In one of the only two passages where

our Lord uses the term ecclesia, he speaks of it as a court which, like

the Jewish synagogue, has authority to decide disputes and to exercise

discipline. [739] In the synagogue, the college of presbyters formed

the local court for judicial as well as administrative purposes, but

acted in the name of the whole congregation.

The two severest cases of discipline in the apostolic church were the

fearful punishment of Ananias and Sapphira by Peter for falsehood and

hypocrisy in the church of Jerusalem in the days of her first love,

[740] and the excommunication of a member of the Corinthian

congregation by Paul for adultery and incest. [741] The latter case

affords also an instance of restoration. [742]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[736] Comp. � 50, p. 450.

[737] 1 Cor. 5:5.

[738] Comp. Matt. 18:15-18; Tit. 3:10; 1 Cor. 5:5.

[739] Matt. 18:17. The words: "Tell it to the church," cannot apply to

the church universal, as ekklesia does in Matt. 16:18.

[740] Acts 5:1-10.

[741] 1 Cor. 5:1 sqq.

[742] 2 Cor. 2:5-10.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 64. The Council at Jerusalem.

(Comp. � 34, pp. 835 sqq. and 346 sq.)

The most complete outward representation of the apostolic church as a

teaching and legislative body was the council convened at Jerusalem in

the year 50, to decide as to the authority of the law of Moses, and

adjust the difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. [743]

We notice it here simply in its connection with the organization of the

church.

It consisted not of the apostles alone, but of apostles, elders, and

brethren. We know that Peter, Paul, John, Barnabas, and Titus were

present, perhaps all the other apostles. James--not one of the

Twelve--presided as the local bishop, and proposed the compromise which

was adopted. The transactions were public, before the congregation; the

brethren took part in the deliberations; there was a sharp discussion,

but the spirit of love prevailed over the pride of opinion; the

apostles passed and framed the decree not without, but with the elders

and with the whole church and sent the circular letter not in their own

name only, but also in the name of "the brother elders" or "elder

brethren" to "the brethren" of the congregations disturbed by the

question of circumcision. [744]

All of which plainly proves the right of Christian people to take part

in some way in the government of the church, as they do in the acts of

worship. The spirit and practice of the apostles favored a certain kind

of popular self-government, and the harmonious, fraternal co-operation

of the different elements of the church. It countenanced no abstract

distinction of clergy and laity. All believers are called to the

prophetic, priestly, and kingly offices in Christ. The bearers of

authority and discipline should therefore never forget that their great

work is to train the governed to freedom and independence, and by the

various spiritual offices to build them up unto the unity of faith and

knowledge, and to the perfect manhood of Christ.

The Greek and Roman churches gradually departed from the apostolic

polity and excluded not only the laity, but also the lower clergy from

all participation in the legislative councils.

The conference of Jerusalem, though not a binding precedent, is a

significant example, giving the apostolic sanction to the synodical

form of government, in which all classes of the Christian community are

represented in the management of public affairs and in settling

controversies respecting faith and discipline. The decree which it

passed and the pastoral letter which it sent, are the first in the long

line of decrees and canons and encyclicals which issued from

ecclesiastical authorities. But it is significant that this first

decree, though adopted undoubtedly under the guidance of the Holy

Spirit, and wisely adapted to the times and circumstances of the mixed

churches of Jewish and Gentile converts, was after all merely "a

temporary expedient for a temporary emergency," and cannot be quoted as

a precedent for infallible decrees of permanent force. The spirit of

fraternal concession and harmony which dictated the Jerusalem

compromise, is more important than the letter of the decree itself. The

kingdom of Christ is not a dispensation of law, but of spirit and of

life.

Notes.

I. There is an interesting difference of reading in Acts 15:23 (see the

critical editions), but it does not affect the composition of the

conference, at least as far as the elders are concerned. The textus

receptus reads: hoi apostoloi, kai oi-i -ipresbuteroi, kai hoi

adelphoi('', H, L, P, Syr., etc.), "The apostles, and the elders, and

the brethren send greeting unto the brethren," etc. So the E. V.,

except that it omits the article twice. The Revised V., following the

better attested reading: hoi apostoloi, kai oi presbuteroi adelphoi,

renders in the text: "The apostles, and the elders, brethren," and in

the margin: "The apostles and the elder brethren" (omitting the comma).

But it may also be translated: "The apostles, and brother-elders,"

considering that Peter addresses the elders as sumpresbuteros,or

"fellow-elder" (1 Pet. 5:1). The textus rec. agrees better with Acts

15:22, and the omission of kai hoimay possibly have arisen from a

desire to conform the text to the later practice which excluded the

laity from synods, but it is strongly supported by 'Bellarmin and other

Roman Catholic and certain Episcopal divines get over the fact of the

participation of the elders and brethren in a legislative council by

allowing the elders and brethren simply a silent consent. So Becker (as

quoted by Bishop Jacobson, in Speaker's Commentary on Acts 15:22):,

"The apostles join the elders and brethren with themselves ... not to

allow them equal authority, but merely to express their concurrence."

Very different is the view of Dr. Plumptre on Acts 15:22: "The latter

words ['with the whole church'] are important as showing the position

occupied by the laity. If they concurred in the latter, it must have

been submitted to their approval, and the right to approve involves the

power to reject and probably to modify." Bishop Cotterill (Genesis of

the Church, p. 379) expresses the same view. "It was manifestly," he

says, "a free council, and not a mere private meeting of some

office-bearers. It was in fact much what the Agora was in archaic

times, as described in Homer: in which the council of the nobles

governed the decisions, but the people were present and freely

expressed their opinion. And it must be remembered that the power of

free speech in the councils of the church is the true test of the

character of these assemblies. Free discussion, and arbitrary

government, either by one person or by a privileged class, have been

found, in all ages and under all polities, to be incompatible with each

other. Again, not only were the multitude present, but we are expressly

told that the whole church concurred in the decision and in the action

taken upon it."

II. The authority of the Jerusalem conference as a precedent for

regular legislative councils and synods has been often overrated. On

the other hand, Canon Farrar (Life and Work of St. Paul, I. 431)

greatly underrates it when he says: "It is only by an unwarrantable

extension of terms that the meeting of the church of Jerusalem can be

called a 'council,' and the word connotes a totally different order of

conceptions to those that were prevalent at that early time. The

so-called Council of Jerusalem in no way resembled the General Councils

of the Church, either in its history, its constitution, or its object.

It was not a convention of ordained delegates, but a meeting of the

entire church of Jerusalem to receive a deputation from the church of

Antioch. Even Paul and Barnabas seem to have had no vote in the

decision, though the votes of a promiscuous body could certainly not be

more enlightened than theirs, nor was their allegiance due in any way

to James. The church of Jerusalem might out of respect be consulted,

but it had no claim to superiority, no abstract prerogative to bind its

decisions on the free church of God. The 'decree' of the 'council' was

little more than the wise recommendation of a single synod, addressed

to a particular district, and possessing only a temporary validity. It

was, in fact, a local concordat. Little or no attention has been paid

by the universal church to two of its restrictions; a third, not many

years after, was twice discussed and settled by Paul, on the same

general principles, but with a by no means identical conclusion. The

concession which it made to the Gentiles, in not insisting on the

necessity of circumcision, was equally treated as a dead letter by the

Judaizing party, and cost Paul the severest battle of his lifetime to

maintain. If this circular letter is to be regarded as a binding and

final decree, and if the meeting of a single church, not by delegates,

but in the person of all its members, is to be regarded as a council,

never was the decision of a council less appealed to, and never was a

decree regarded as so entire inoperative alike by those who repudiated

the validity of its concessions, and by those who discussed, as though

they were still an open question, no less than three of its four

restrictions."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[743] Acts 15, and Galatians 2.

[744] Acts 15:6, 12, 22, 23. See Notes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 65. The Church and the Kingdom of Christ.

Thus the apostolic church appears as a free, independent, and complete

organism, a system of supernatural, divine life in a human body. It

contains in itself all the offices and energies required for its

purposes. It produces the supply of its outward wants from its own free

spirit. It is a self-supporting and self-governing institution, within

the state, but not of the state. Of a union with the state, either in

the way of hierarchical supremacy or of Erastian subordination, the

first three centuries afford no trace. The apostles honor the civil

authority as a divine institution for the protection of life and

property, for the reward of the good and the punishment of the

evil-doer; and they enjoin, even under the reign of a Claudius and a

Nero, strict obedience to it in all civil concerns; as, indeed, their

heavenly Master himself submitted in temporal matters to Herod and to

Pilate, and rendered unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's. But in

their spiritual calling they allowed nothing to be prescribed or

forbidden to them by the authorities of the state. Their principle was,

to "obey God rather than men." For this principle, for their allegiance

to the King of kings, they were always ready to suffer imprisonment,

insult, persecution, and death, but never to resort to carnal weapons,

or stir up rebellion and revolution. "The weapons of our warfare," says

Paul, "are not carnal, but mighty through God." Martyrdom is a far

nobler heroism than resistance with fire and sword, and leads with

greater certainty at last to a thorough and permanent victory.

The apostolic church, as to its membership, was not free from

impurities, the after-workings of Judaism and heathenism and the

natural man. But in virtue of an inherent authority it exercised rigid

discipline, and thus steadily asserted its dignity and holiness. It was

not perfect; but it earnestly strove after the perfection of manhood in

Christ, and longed and hoped for the reappearance of the Lord in glory,

to the exaltation of his people. It was as yet not actually universal,

but a little flock compared with the hostile hosts of the heathen and

Jewish world; yet it carried in itself the principle of true

catholicity, the power and pledge of its victory over all other

religions, and its final prevalence among all nations of the earth and

in all classes of society.

Paul defines the church as the body of Jesus Christ. [745] He thus

represents it as an organic living system of various members, powers,

and functions, and at the same time as the abode of Christ and the

organ of his redeeming and sanctifying influence upon the world. Christ

is, in one view, the ruling head, in another the all-pervading soul, of

this body. Christ without the church were a head without a body, a

fountain without a stream, a king without subjects, a captain without

soldiers, a bridegroom without a bride. The church without Christ were

a body without soul or spirit--a lifeless corpse. The church lives only

as Christ lives and moves and works in her. At every moment of her

existence she is dependent on him, as the body on the soul, or the

branches on the vine. But on his part he perpetually bestows upon her

his heavenly gifts and supernatural powers, continually reveals himself

in her, and uses her as his organ for the spread of his kingdom and the

christianizing of the world, till all principalities and powers shall

yield free obedience to him, and adore him as the eternal Prophet,

Priest, and King of the regenerate race. This work must be a gradual

process of history. The idea of a body, and of all organic life,

includes that of development, of expansion and consolidation. And hence

the same Paul speaks also of the growth and edification of the body of

Christ, "till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the

knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of

the stature of the fulness of Christ." [746]

This sublime idea of the church, as developed in the First Epistle to

the Corinthians, and especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians, when

Paul was a prisoner chained to a heathen soldier, soars high above the

actual condition of the little flocks of peasants, freedmen, slaves,

and lowly, uncultured people that composed the apostolic congregations.

It has no parallel in the social ideals of ancient philosophers and

statesmen. It can only be traced to divine inspiration.

We must not confound this lofty conception of the church as the body of

Christ with any particular ecclesiastical organization, which at best

is only a part of the whole, and an imperfect approach to the ideal.

Nor must we identify it with the still higher idea of the kingdom of

God or the kingdom of heaven. A vast amount of presumption, bigotry,

and intolerance has grown out of such confusion. It is remarkable that

Christ speaks only once of the church in the organic or universal

sense. [747] But be very often speaks of the kingdom, and nearly all

his parables illustrate this grand idea. The two conceptions are

closely related, yet distinct. In many passages we could not possibly

substitute the one for the other without manifest impropriety. [748]

The church is external, visible, manifold, temporal; the kingdom of

heaven is internal, spiritual, one, and everlasting. The kingdom is

older and more comprehensive; it embraces all the true children of God

on earth and in heaven, before Christ and after Christ, inside and

outside of the churches and sects. The historical church with its

various ramifications is a paedagogic institution or training-school

for the kingdom of heaven, and will pass away as to its outward form

when its mission is fulfilled. The kingdom has come in Christ, is

continually coming, and will finally come in its full grown strength

and beauty when the King will visibly appear in his glory.

The coming of this kingdom in and through the visible churches, with

varying conflicts and victories, is the proper object of church

history. It is a slow, but sure and steady progress, with many

obstructions, delays, circuitous turns and windings, but constant

manifestations of the presence of him who sits at the helm of the ship

and directs it through rain, storm, and sunshine to the harbor of the

other and better world.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[745] Rom. 12:5; 1 Cor. 6:15; 10:17; 12:27; Eph. 1:23; 4:12; 5:23, 30;

Col. 1:18, 24; 2:17.

[746] Eph. 4:13.

[747] Matt. 16:18. In the other passage where he speaks of the

ekklesia, Matt. 18:17, it denotes a local congregation (a synagogue),

as in very many passages of the Acts and Epistles. We use the word

church in two additional senses in which it never occurs in the New

Test., because the thing did not exist then, namely, of church

buildings and of denominations (as the Roman Church, Anglican Church,

Lutheran Church).

[748] We could not say "Thy church come " (Matt. 6:9); "to such

(children) belongeth the church" (Mark 10:14); "the church cometh not

with observation" (Luke 17:21); "neither fornicators, etc ... shall

inherit the church " (1 Cor. 6:10); "the church is not eating and

drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom.

15:17). On the other hand, it would be improper to call the kingdom of

God "the body of Christ " or "the bride of the Lamb."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XI.

THEOLOGY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 66. Literature.

I. Works on the Theology of the whole New Testament.

August Neander (d. 1850): Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der

christl. Kirche durch die Apostel. Hamburg, 1832; 4th ed., 1847, 2

vols. (in the second vol.); Engl. transl. by J. A. Ryland, Edinb.,

1842; revised and corrected by E. G. Robinson, New York, 1865. Neander

and Schmid take the lead in a historical analysis of the different

types of Apostolic doctrine (James, Peter, Paul, John).

Sam. Lutz: Biblische Dogmatik, herausgeg. von R. R�etschi. Pforzheim,

1847.

Christ. Friedr. Schmidt (an independent co-laborer of Neander, d.

1852): Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Ed. by Weizs�cker.

Stuttg., 1853, 2d ed. 1859. 2 vols. (The Engl. translation by G. H.

Venables, Edinb., 1870, is merely an abridgment.)

Edward Reuss (Prof. in Strassburg): Histoire de la th�ologie ch�tienne

au si�cle apostolique. Strassb., 1852. 3d ed., Paris, 1864. 2 vols.

English translation from the third French ed. by Annie Harwood. London,

1872. 2 vols.

Lutterbeck (a liberal Rom. Cath.): Die N. T. lichen Lehrbegriffe, oder

Untersuchungen �ber das Zeitalter der Religionswende. Mainz, 1852. 2

vols.

G. L. Hahn: Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Bd.I. Leipzig, 1854.

H. Messner: Die Lehre der Apostel. Leipz., 1856. Follows in the path of

Neander.

P. Chr. Baur (d. 1860): Vorlesungen �ber neutestamentliche Theologie.

Leipz., 1864. Published after his death, by his son. Sums up the bold

critical speculations of the founder of the T�bingen School. The most

important part is the section on the system of Paul.

W. Beyschlag: Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments. Berlin, 1866 (260

pages).

Thomas Dehaney Bernsard: Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament.

Lectures on the Bampton Foundation. London and Boston, 1867.

H. Ewald: Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder die Theologie des alten und

neuen Bundes. Leipzig, 1871-76. 4 vols. (More important for the Old

Test. than for the New.)

A. Immer:Theologie des neuen Testaments. Bern, 1877.

J. J. van Oosterzee: Biblische Theol. des N. T. (translated from the

Dutch). Elberf., 1868. Engl. transl. by Prof. G. E. Day. New Haven,

1870. Another English translation by Maurice J. Evans: The Theology of

the New Test., etc. London, 1870.

Bernh. Weiss: Bibl. Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Berlin, 1868; 4th

ed., 1884. Engl. translation, Edinb., 1883, 2 vols.

II. Separate works on the doctrinal types of the several apostles, by

W. G. Schmidt, and Beyerschlag, on James; by Mayerhoff, Weiss, and

Morich, on Peter; by Usteri, Pfleiderer, Holsten, Leathes, Irons, on

Paul; by Reihm, on Hebrews; by Frommann, K�stlin, Weiss, Leathes, on

John--quoted in previous sections.

III. The doctrinal sections in the Histories of the Apostolic Church by

Lange, Lechler, Thiersch, Stanley, and Schaff (pp. 614-679), besides

Neander already mentioned. Comp. also Charles A. Briggs: The idea,

history and importance of Biblical Theology, in the "Presbyterian

Review," New York, July, 1882.

IV. For the contrast between the apostolic and the rabbinical theology,

see Ferd. Weber (a missionary among the Jews, d. 1879): System der

altsynagogalen palt�stinsichen Theologie, aus Targum, Midrasch, und

Talmud dargestellt. Nach des Verf. Tode herausgeg. von Frz. Delitzsch

und G. Schnedermann. Leipz., 1880.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 67. Unity of Apostolic Teaching.

Christianity is primarily not merely doctrine, but life, a new moral

creation, a saving fact, first personally embodied in Jesus Christ, the

incarnate Word, the God-man, to spread from him and embrace gradually

the whole body of the race, and bring it into saving fellowship with

God. The same is true of Christianity as it exists subjectively in

single individuals. It begins not with religious views and notions

simply; though it includes these, at least in germ. It comes as a new

life; as regeneration, conversion, and sanctification; as a creative

fact in experience, taking up the whole man with all his faculties and

capacities, releasing him from the guilt and the power of sin, and

reconciling him with God, restoring harmony and peace to the soul, and

at last glorifying the body itself. Thus, the life of Christ is

mirrored in his people, rising gradually, through the use of the means

of grace and the continued exercise of faith and love to its maturity

in the resurrection.

But the new life necessarily contains the element of doctrine, or

knowledge of the truth. Christ calls himself "the way, the truth, and

the life." He is himself the personal revelation of saving truth, and

of the normal relation of man to God. Yet this element of doctrine

itself appears in the New Testament, not in the form of an abstract

theory, the product of speculation, a scientific system of ideas

subject to logical and mathematical demonstration; but as the fresh,

immediate utterance of the supernatural, divine life, a life-giving

power, equally practical and theoretical, coming with divine authority

to the heart, the will, and the conscience, as well as to the mind, and

irresistibly drawing them to itself. The knowledge of God in Christ, as

it meets us here, is at the same time eternal life. [749] We must not

confound truth with dogma. Truth is the divine substance, doctrine or

dogma is the human apprehension and statement of it; truth is a living

and life-giving power, dogma a logical formula; truth is infinite,

unchanging, and eternal; dogma is finite, changeable, and perfectible.

The Bible, therefore, is not only, nor principally, a book for the

learned, but a book of life for every one, an epistle written by the

Holy Spirit to mankind. In the words of Christ and his apostles there

breathes the highest and holiest spiritual power, the vivifying breath

of God, piercing bone and marrow, thrilling through the heart and

conscience, and quickening the dead. The life, the eternal life, which

was from the beginning with the Father, and is manifested to us, there

comes upon us, as it were, sensibly, now as the mighty tornado, now as

the gentle zephyr; now overwhelming and casting us down in the dust of

humility and penitence, now reviving and raising us to the joy of faith

and peace; but always bringing forth a new creature, like the word of

power, which said at the first creation. "Let there be light!" Here

verily is holy ground. Here is the door of eternity, the true ladder to

heaven, on which the angels of God are ascending and descending in

unbroken line. No number of systems of Christian faith and morals,

therefore, indispensable as they are to the scientific purposes of the

church and of theology, can ever fill the place of the Bible, whose

words are spirit and life.

When we say the New Testament is no logically arranged system of

doctrines and precepts, we are far from meaning that it has no internal

order and consistency. On the contrary, it exhibits the most beautiful

harmony, like the external creation, and like a true work of art. It is

the very task of the historian, and especially of the theologian, to

bring this hidden living order to view, and present it in logical and

scientific forms. For this work Paul, the only one of the apostles who

received a learned education, himself furnishes the first fruitful

suggestions, especially in his epistle to the Romans. This epistle

follows a logical arrangement even in form, and approaches as nearly to

a scientific treatise as it could consistently with the fervent,

direct, practical, popular spirit and style essential to the Holy

Scriptures and inseparable from their great mission for all

Christendom.

The substance of all the apostolic teaching is the witness of Christ,

the gospel, and the free message of that divine love and salvation,

which appeared in the person of Christ, was secured to mankind by his

work, is gradually realized in the kingdom of God on earth, and will be

completed with the second coming of Christ in glory. This salvation

also comes in close connection with Judaism, as the fulfilment of the

law and the prophets, the substance of all the Old Testament types and

shadows. The several doctrines entering essentially into this apostolic

preaching are most beautifully and simply arranged and presented in

what is called the Apostles' Creed, which, though not in its precise

form, yet, as regards its matter, certainly dates from the primitive

age of Christianity. On all the leading points, the person of Jesus as

the promised Messiah, his holy life, his atoning death, his triumphant

resurrection and exaltation at the right hand of God, and his second

coming to judge the world, the establishment of the church as a divine

institution, the communion of believers, the word of God, and the

sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the work of the Holy

Spirit, the necessity of repentance and conversion, of regeneration and

sanctification, the final completion of salvation in the day of Jesus

Christ, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting--on all

these points the apostles are perfectly unanimous, so far as their

writings have come down to us.

The apostles all drew their doctrine in common from personal contact

with the divine-human history of the crucified and risen Saviour, and

from the inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, revealing the person

and the work of Christ in them, and opening to them the understanding

of his words and acts. This divine enlightenment is inspiration,

governing not only the composition of the sacred writings, but also the

oral instructions of their authors; not merely an act, but a permanent

state. The apostles lived and moved continually in the element of

truth. They spoke, wrote, and acted from the spirit of truth; and this,

not as passive instruments, but as conscious and free organs. For the

Holy Spirit does not supersede the gifts and peculiarities of nature,

which are ordained by God; it sanctifies them to the service of his

kingdom. Inspiration, however, is concerned only with moral and

religious truths, and the communication of what is necessary to

salvation. Incidental matters of geography, history, archeology, and of

mere personal interest, can be regarded as directed by inspiration only

so far as they really affect religious truth.

The revelation of the body of Christian truth essential to salvation

coincides in extent with the received canon of the New Testament. There

is indeed constant growth and development in the Christian church,

which progresses outwardly and inwardly in proportion to the degree of

its vitality and zeal, but it is a progress of apprehension and

appropriation by man, not of communication or revelation by God. We may

speak of a secondary inspiration of extraordinary men whom God raises

from time to time, but their writings must be measured by the only

infallible standard, the teaching of Christ and his apostles. Every

true advance in Christian knowledge and life is conditioned by a deeper

descent into the mind and spirit of Christ, who declared the whole

counsel of God and the way of salvation, first in person, and then

through his apostles.

The New Testament is thus but one book, the teaching of one mind, the

mind of Christ. He gave to his disciples the words of life which the

Father gave him, and inspired them with the spirit of truth to reveal

his glory to them. Herein consists the unity and harmony of the

twenty-seven writings which constitute the New Testament, for all

emergencies and for perpetual use, until the written and printed word

shall be superseded by the reappearance of the personal Word, and the

beatific vision of saints in light.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[749] John 17:3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 68. Different Types of Apostolic Teaching.

With all this harmony, the Christian doctrine appears in the New

Testament in different forms according to the peculiar character,

education, and sphere of the several sacred writers. The truth of the

gospel, in itself infinite, can adapt itself to every class, to every

temperament, every order of talent, and every habit of thought. Like

the light of the sun, it breaks into various colors according to the

nature of the bodies on which it falls; like the jewel, it emits a new

radiance at every turn.

Irenaeus speaks of a fourfold "Gospel." [750] In like manner we may

distinguish a fourfold "Apostle," [751] or four corresponding types of

apostolic doctrine. [752] The Epistle of James corresponds to the

Gospel of Matthew; the Epistles of Peter and his addresses in the Acts

to that of Mark; the Epistles of Paul to the Gospel of Luke and his

Acts; and the Epistles of John to the Gospel of the same apostle.

This division, however, both as regards the Gospels and the Epistles,

is subordinate to a broader difference between Jewish and Gentile

Christianity, which runs through the entire history of the apostolic

period and affects even the doctrine, the polity, the worship, and the

practical life of the church. The difference rests on the great

religious division of the world, before and at the time of Christ, and

continued until a native Christian race took the place of the first

generation of converts. The Jews naturally took the Christian faith

into intimate association with the divinely revealed religion of the

old covenant, and adhered as far as possible to their sacred

institutions and rites; while the heathen converts, not having known

the law of Moses, passed at once from the state of nature to the state

of grace. The former represented the historical, traditional,

conservative principle; the latter, the principle of freedom,

independence, and progress.

Accordingly we have two classes of teachers: apostles of the Jews or of

the circumcision, and apostles of the Gentiles or of the

uncircumcision. That this distinction extends farther than the mere

missionary field, and enters into all the doctrinal views and practical

life of the parties, we see from the accounts of the apostolic council

which was held for the express purpose of adjusting the difference

respecting the authority of the Mosaic law.

But the opposition was only relative, though it caused collisions at

times, and even temporary alienation, as between Paul and Peter at

Antioch. [753] As the two forms of Christianity had a common root in

the full life of Christ, the Saviour of both Gentiles and Jews, so they

gradually grew together into the unity of the catholic church. And as

Peter represents the Jewish church, and Paul the Gentile, so John, at

the close of the apostolic age, embodies the higher union of the two.

With this difference of standpoint are connected subordinate

differences, as of temperament, style, method. James has been

distinguished as the apostle of the law or of works; Peter, as the

apostle of hope; Paul, as the apostle of faith; and John, as the

apostle of love. To the first has been assigned the phlegmatic (?)

temperament, in its sanctified Christian state, to the second the

sanguine, to the third the choleric, and to the fourth the melancholic;

a distribution, however, only admissible in a very limited sense. The

four gospels also present similar differences; the first having close

affinity to the position of James, the second to that of Peter, the

third to that of Paul, and the fourth representing in its doctrinal

element the spirit of John.

If we make the difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity the

basis of classification, we may reduce the books of the New Testament

to three types of doctrine: the Jewish Christian, the Gentile

Christian, and the ideal or unionistic Christian. The first is chiefly

represented by Peter, the second by Paul, the third by John. As to

James, he must be ranked under the first type as the local head of the

Jerusalem wing of the conservative school, while Peter war, the

oecumenical head of the whole church of the circumcision. [754]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[750] euangelion tetramorphon.

[751] apostolos.

[752] Comp. tuposdidaches, Rom. 6:17, and the remarks of Weiss in loc.

(6th ed. of Meyer's Com., 1881), who takes the word in specific

application to the Pauline doctrine of Christianity; while others refer

it to the Christian system in general. Similar terms in Plato, tupoi

paideias, tupos tes didaskalias, etc.

[753] Gal. 2:11 sqq. See � 85, pp. 352 sqq.

[754] Schelling's great idea of the three ages in the history of

Christianity, the Petrine (catholic), the Pauline (Protestant), and the

Johannean (future), is well known. I saw the aged philosopher shortly

before his death, in a hotel at Ragatz, Switzerland (August, l854), and

found him lying on his bed, as pale as a corpse, but with clear mind

and brilliant eyes. When I asked him whether he still held to that

construction of church history, be emphatically replied in the

affirmative, but added that he had, on further reflection, made room

for James as the representative of the Greek church, in distinction

from the Roman or Petrine church. I mention this as an interesting

modification of his theory, not made known before, and as containing a

grain of truth.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 69. The Jewish Christian Theology--I. James and the Gospel of Law.

(Comp. � 27, and the Lit. given there.)

The Jewish Christian type embraces the Epistles of James, Peter, and

Jude, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and to some extent the

Revelation of John; for John is placed by Paul among the "pillars" of

the church of the circumcision, though in his later writings he took an

independent position above the distinction of Jew and Gentile. In these

books, originally designed mainly, though not exclusively, for Jewish

Christian readers, Christianity is exhibited in its unity with the Old

Testament, as the fulfilment of the same. They unfold the fundamental

idea of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:17), that Christ did not come

to destroy the law or the prophets, but to "fulfil." The Gospels,

especially that of Matthew, show historically that Jesus is the

Messiah, the lawgiver, the prophet, priest, and king of Israel.

On this historical basis James and Peter build their practical

exhortations, with this difference, that the former shows chiefly the

agreement of the gospel with the law, the latter with the prophets.

James, the brother of the Lord, in keeping with his life-long labors in

Jerusalem, his speech at the Council, and the letter of the

Council--which he probably wrote himself--holds most closely to the

Mosaic religion, and represents the gospel itself as law, yet as the

"perfect law of liberty." [755] Herein lies the difference as well as

the unity of the two dispensations. The "law" points to the harmony,

the qualifying "perfect" and "liberty" to the superiority of

Christianity, and intimates that Judaism was imperfect and a law of

bondage, from which Christ has set us free. Paul, on the contrary,

distinguishes the gospel as freedom from the law, as a system of

slavery; [756] but he re-establishes the law on the basis of freedom,

and sums up the whole Christian life in the fulfilment of the law of

love to God and to our neighbor; therein meeting James from the

opposite starting-point. [757]

James, the Christian legalist, lays great stress on good works which

the law requires, but he demands works which are the fruit of faith in

Him, whom he, as his servant, reverently calls "the Lord of glory," and

whose words as reported by Matthew are the basis of his exhortations.

[758] Such faith, moreover, is the result of it new birth, which he

traces to "the will of God" through the agency of "the word of truth,"

that is, the gospel. [759] As to the relation between faith and works

and their connection with justification at the tribunal of God, he

seems to teach the doctrine of justification by faith and works; while

Paul teaches the doctrine of justification by faith alone, to be

followed by good works, as the necessary evidence of faith. The two

views as thus stated are embodied in the Roman Catholic and the

evangelical Protestant confessions, and form one of the chief topics of

controversy. But the contradiction between James and Paul is verbal

rather than logical and doctrinal, and admits of a reconciliation which

lies in the inseparable connection of a living faith and good works, or

of justification and sanctification, so that they supplement and

confirm each other, the one laying the true foundation in character,

the other insisting on the practical manifestation. James wrote

probably long before he had seen any of Paul's Epistles, certainly with

no view to refute his doctrine or even to guard it against antinomian

abuse; for this was quite unnecessary, as Paul did it clearly enough

himself, and it would have been quite useless for Jewish Christian

readers who were exposed to the danger of a barren legalism, but not of

a pseudo-Pauline liberalism and antinomianism. They cannot, indeed, be

made to say precisely the same thing, only using one or more of the

three terms, "to justify," "faith," "works" in different senses; but

they wrote from different standpoints and opposed different errors, and

thus presented two distinct aspects of the same truth. James says:

Faith is dead without works. Paul says: Works are dead without faith.

The one insists on a working faith, the other on faithful works. Both

are right: James in opposition to the dead Jewish orthodoxy, Paul in

opposition to self-righteous legalism. James does not demand works

without faith, but works prompted by faith; [760] While Paul, on the

other hand, likewise declares a faith worthless which is without love,

though it remove mountains, [761] and would never have attributed a

justifying power to the mere belief in the existence of God, which

James calls the trembling faith of demons. [762] But James mainly looks

at the fruit, Paul at the root; the one is concerned for the evidence,

the other for the principle; the one takes the practical and

experimental view, and reasons from the effect to the cause, the other

goes deeper to the inmost springs of action, but comes to the same

result: a holy life of love and obedience as the necessary evidence of

true faith. And this, after all, is the ultimate standard of judgment

according to Paul as well as James. [763] Paul puts the solution of the

difficulty in one sentence: "faith working through love." This is the

Irenicon of contending apostles and contending churches. [764]

The Epistle of James stands at the head of the Catholic Epistles, so

called, and represents the first and lowest stage of Christian

knowledge. It is doctrinally very meagre, but eminently practical and

popular. It enjoins a simple, earnest, and devout style of piety that

visits the orphans and widows, and keeps itself unspotted from the

world. [765]

The close connection between the Epistle of James and the Gospel of

Matthew arises naturally from their common Jewish Christian and

Palestinian origin.

Notes

I. James and Paul.. The apparent contradiction in the doctrine of

justification appears in James 2:14-26, as compared with Rom. 3:20

sqq.; 4:1 sqq.; Gal. 2:16 sqq. Paul says (Rom. 3:28): "Man is justified

by faith apart from works of law" (pistei choris ergon nomou), comp.

Gal. 2:16 (ou dikaioutai anthropos ez ergon nomou ean me dia pisteos

Christou Iesou), and appeals to the example of Abraham, who was

justified by faith before he was circumcised (Gen. 17:10). James 2:24

says: "By works a man is justified, and not only by faith" (ex ergon

dikaioutai, anthropos kai ouk ek pisteos monon), and appeals to the

example of the same Abraham who showed his true faith in God by

offering up his son Isaac upon the altar (Gen. 22:9, 12). Luther makes

the contradiction worse by unnecessarily inserting the word allein(sola

fide) in Rom. 3:28, though not without precedent (see my note on the

passage in the Am. ed. of Lange on Romans, p. 136). The great Reformer

could not reconcile the two apostles, and rashly called the Epistle of

James an "epistle of straw" (eine recht str�herne Epistel, Pref. to the

New Test., 1524).

Baur, from a purely critical point of view, comes to the same

conclusion; he regards the Epistle of James as a direct attack upon the

very heart of the doctrine of Paul, and treats all attempts at

reconciliation as vain. (Vorles. �ber neutestam. Theol., p. 277). So

also Renan and Weiffenbach. Renan (St. Paul, ch. 10) asserts without

proof that James organized a Jewish counter-mission to undermine Paul.

But in this case, James, as a sensible and practical man, ought to have

written to Gentile Christians, not to "the twelve tribes," who needed

no warning against Paul and his doctrine. His Epistle represents simply

an earlier and lower form of Christianity ignorant of the higher, yet

preparatory to it, as the preaching of John the Baptist prepared the

way for that of Christ. It was written without any reference to Paul,

probably before the Council of Jerusalem and before the circumcision

controversy, in the earliest stage of the apostolic church as it is

described in the first chapters of the Acts, when the Christians were

not yet clearly distinguished and finally separated from the Jews. This

view of the early origin of the Epistle is maintained by some of the

ablest historians and commentators, as Neander, Schneckenburger,

Theile, Thiersch, Beyschlag, Alford, Basset, Plumptre, Stanley. Weiss

also says very confidently (Bibl. Theol. 3d ed., p. 120): "Der Brief

geh�rt der vorpaulinischen Zeit an und steht jedenfalls zeitlich wie

inhaltlich dem ersten Brief Petri am n�chsten." He therefore treats

both James and Peter on their own merits, without regard to Paul's

teaching. Comp. his Einleitung in d. N. T. (1886), p. 400.

II. James and Matthew. The correspondence has often been fully pointed

out by Theile and other commentators. James contains more reminiscences

of the words of Christ than any other Epistle, especially from the

Sermon on the Mount. Comp. James 1:2 with Matt. 5:10-12; James 1:4 with

Matt. 5:48; James 1:17 with Matt. 7:11; James 1:20 with Matt. 5:22;

James 1:22 sqq. with Matt. 7:21 sq.; James 1:23 with Matt. 7:26; James

2:13 with Matt. 6:14 sq.; James 2:14 with Matt. 7:21-23; James 3:2 with

Matt. 12:36, 37; James 3:17, 18 with Matt. 5:9; James 4:3 with Matt.

7:7; James 4:4 with Matt. 6:24; James 5:12 with Matt. 5:34. According

to a notice in the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis, James "the Bishop of

Jerusalem" translated the Gospel of Matthew from the Aramaic into the

Greek. But there are also parallelisms between James and the first

Epistle of Peter, and even between James and the apocryphal books of

Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. See Plumptre, Com. on James,

pp. 32 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[755] James 1:25: eis nomon teleion ton tes eleutherias.

[756] Gal. 5:1; 2 Cor. 3:6.

[757] Comp. Gal. 6:2 (the law of Christ); Rom. 13:8 sqq.; 3:22; 8:2.

[758] James 1:1; 2:1; ten pistin tou Kuriou hemon Iesou Christou tes

dozes.

[759] James 1:18: bouletheis apekuesen hemas logo aletheias.

[760] James 2: 22 he pistis sunergei tois ergois autou kai ek ton ergon

he pistis eteleiothe.

[761] 1 Cor. 13:2.

[762] James 2:19.

[763] See Rom. 2:6 (hos apodosei hekasto kata ta erga autou); 2 Cor.

5:10; Gal. 6:7; comp. Matt. 12:37; 25:35 sqq. The solution of the

apparent contradiction between the doctrines of justification by faith

and judgment by works lies in the character of the works as being the

evidence of faith.

[764] Gal. 5:6: pistis di agapes energoumene, is operative (in the

middle sense, as always in the New Test.). "These words," says Bishop

Lightfoot (in loc.),"bridge the gulf which seems to separate the

language of St. Paul and St. James. Both assert a principle of

practical energy, as opposed to a barren in active theory." To quote

from my own commentary on the passage (1882): "The sentence 'faith

working through love' reconciles the doctrine of Paul with that of

James; comp. 6:15; 1 Thess. 1:3; 1 Cor. 13; 1 Tim. 1:5; James 2:22.

Here is the basis for a final settlement of the controversy on the

doctrine of justification. Romanism (following exclusively the language

of James) teaches justification by faith and works; Protestantism (on

the authority of Paul), justification by faith alone; Paul and James

combined: justification and salvation by faith working through love.

Man is justified by faith alone, but faith remains not alone: it is the

fruitful mother of good works, which are summed up in love to God and

love to men. Faith and love are as inseparable as light and heat in the

sun. Christ's merits are the objective and meritorious ground of

justification; faith (as the organ of appropriation) is the subjective

condition; love or good works are the necessary evidence; without love

faith is dead, according to James, or no faith at all, according to

Paul. A great deal of misunderstanding in this and other theological

controversies has arisen from the different use of terms."

[765] James 1:27; comp. 5:13sqq., and the concluding verse.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 70. II. Peter and the Gospel of Hope.

(Comp. the Lit. in �� 25 and 26.)

Peter stands between James and Paul, and forms the transition from the

extreme conservatism of the one to the progressive liberalism of the

other. The germ of his doctrinal system is contained in his great

confession that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of the living God. [766]

A short creed indeed, with only one article, but a fundamental and

all-comprehensive article, the corner-stone of the Christian church.

His system, therefore, is Christological, and supplements the

anthropological type of James. His addresses in the Acts and his

Epistles are full of the fresh impressions which the personal

intercourse with Christ made upon his noble, enthusiastic, and

impulsive nature. Christianity is the fulfilment of all the Messianic

prophecies; but it is at the same time itself a prophecy of the

glorious return of the Lord. This future glorious manifestation is so

certain that it is already anticipated here in blessed joy by a lively

hope which stimulates to a holy life of preparation for the end. Hence,

Peter eminently deserves to be called "the Apostle of hope." [767]

I. Peter began his testimony with the announcement of the historical

facts of the resurrection of Jesus and the outpouring of the Holy

Spirit, and represents these facts as the divine seal of his

Messiahship, according to the prophets of old, who bear witness to him

that through his name every one that believes shall receive remission

of sins. The same Jesus whom God raised from the dead and exalted to

his right hand as Lord and Saviour, will come again to judge his people

and to bring in seasons of refreshing from his presence and the

apokatastasis or restitution of all things to their normal and perfect

state, thus completely fulfilling the Messianic prophecies. There is no

salvation out of the Lord Jesus Christ. The condition of this salvation

is the acknowledgment of his Messiahship and the change of mind and

conduct from the service of sin to holiness. [768]

These views are so simple, primitive, and appropriate that we cannot

conceive how Peter could have preached differently and more effectively

in that early stage of Christianity. We need not wonder at the

conversion of three thousand souls in consequence of his, pentecostal

sermon. His knowledge gradually widened and deepened with the expansion

of Christianity and the conversion of Cornelius. A special revelation

enlightened him on the question of circumcision and brought him to the

conviction that "in every nation he that fears God and works

righteousness, is acceptable to him," and that Jews and Gentiles are

saved alike by the grace of Christ through faith, without the

unbearable yoke of the ceremonial law. [769]

II. The Epistles of Peter represent this riper stage of knowledge. They

agree substantially with the teaching of Paul. The leading idea is the

same as that presented in his addresses in the Acts: Christ the

fulfiller of the Messianic prophecies, and the hope of the Christian.

Peter's christology is free of all speculative elements, and simply

derived from the impression of the historical and risen Jesus. He

emphasizes in the first Epistle, as in his earlier addresses, the

resurrection whereby God "begat us again unto a lively hope, unto an

inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away,

reserved in heaven," when "the chief shepherd shall be manifested," and

we "shall receive the crown of glory." And in the second Epistle he

points forward to "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth

righteousness." [770] He thus connects the resurrection of Christ with

the final consummation of which it is the sure pledge. But, besides the

resurrection, he brings out also the atoning efficacy of the death of

Christ almost as strongly and clearly as Paul. Christ "suffered for

sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to

God;" he himself "bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we,

having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness;" he redeemed us

"with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot."

[771] Christ is to him the only Saviour, the Lord, the Prince of life,

the Judge of the world. He assigns him a majestic position far above

all other men, and brings him into the closest contact with the eternal

Jehovah, though in subordination to him. The doctrine of the

pre-existence seems to be intimated and implied, if not expressly

stated, when Christ is spoken of as being "foreknown before the

foundation of the world" and "manifested at the end of the time," and

his Spirit as dwelling in the prophets of old and pointing them to his

future sufferings and glory. [772]

III. Peter extends the preaching, judging, and saving activity of

Christ to the realm of the departed spirits in Hades during the

mysterious triduum between the crucifixion and the resurrection. [773]

The descent into Hades is also taught by Paul (Eph. 4:9, 10).

IV. With this theory correspond the practical exhortations. Subjective

Christianity is represented as faith in the historical Christ and as a

lively hope in his, glorious reappearance, which should make the

Christians rejoice even amidst trials and persecution, after the

example of their Lord and Saviour.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[766] Matt. 16:16; comp. John 6:68, 69.

[767] Weiss (p. 172): "Die Hoffnung bildet in der Anschauung des Petrus

den eigentlichen Mittelpunkt des Christenlebens. Sie erscheint bei ihm

in der h�chsten Energie, wonach die gehoffte Vollendung bereits

unmittelbar nahe ger�ckterscheint."

[768] See his Pentecostal sermon, Acts 2:14 sqq.; his addresses to the

people, 3:12 sqq.; before the Sanhedrin, 4:8 sqq.; 5:29 sqq.; to

Cornelius, 10:34 sqq.

[769] Acts 10:35; 15:7-11.

[770] 1 Pet. 1:3-5; 5:4; 2 Pet. 3:13.

[771] 1 Pet. 1:18 sqq.; 2:4; 3:18 sqq.

[772] 1 Pet. 1:20: Christou proegnosmenou men pro kataboles kosmou,

phanerothentos de, k. t. l.; 1:11: to en autois(tois prophetais)pneuma

Christou promarturomenon, k. t. l. Schmid, Lechler, Gess, and others

understand these passages as teaching a real pre-existence; Beyschlag

(l.c., p. 121) finds in them only an ideal pre-existence in the

foreknowledge of God, and emphasizes the epoiesen in Acts 2:36. He

refers the p'euma Christouto the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards

given in full measure to Christ at his baptism. So also Weiss (p. 161).

But in this case Peter would have said to peuma hagion, as he did 1

Pet. 1:12; 2 Pet. 1:21; Acts 2:33, 38.

[773] 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6; comp. Acts 2:27. The reference of the first

passage to a preaching of Christ through Noah at the time of the flood

is artificial, breaks the historic connection (apethanen ...

thamatotheis ... zoopoietheis pneumati ... ekeruxen -i... -iporeutheis

eis ouranon ) and is set aside by 1 Pet. 4:6, which explains and

generalizes the statement of the former passage. Baur (p. 291)

understands the pneumata en phulake to be the fallen angels (comp. 2

Pet. 2:4; Gen. 6:1), and the preaching of Christ an announcement of the

judgment. But in this case we should have to distinguish between the

ekeruxen, 1 Pet. 3:9, and the euengelisthe in 4:6. The latter always

means preaching the gospel, which is a savor of life unto life to

believers, and a savor of death unto death to unbelievers.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 71. The Gentile Christian Theology. Paul and the Gospel of Faith.

(See the Lit. in � 29, pp. 280 sqq.)

The Gentile Christian type of the gospel is embodied in the writings of

Paul and Luke, and in the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews.

The sources of Paul's theology are his discourses in the Acts

(especially the speech on the Areopagus) and his thirteen Epistles,

namely, the Epistles to the Thessalonians--the earliest, but chiefly

practical; the four great Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and

Romans, which are the mature result of his conflict with the Judaizing

tendency; the four Epistles of the captivity; and the Pastoral

Epistles. These groups present as many phases of development of his

system and discuss different questions with appropriate variations of

style, but they are animated by the same spirit, and bear the marks of

the same profound and comprehensive genius.

Paul is the pioneer of Christian theology. He alone among the apostles

had received a learned rabbinical education and was skilled in logical

and dialectical argument. But his logic is vitalized and set on fire.

His theology springs from his heart as well as from his brain; it is

the result of his conversion, and all aglow with the love of Christ;

his scholasticism is warmed and deepened by mysticism, and his

mysticism is regulated and sobered by scholasticism; the religious and

moral elements, dogmatics, and ethics, are blended into a harmonious

whole. Out of the depths of his personal experience, and in conflict

with the Judaizing contraction and the Gnostic evaporation of the

gospel be elaborated the fullest scheme of Christian doctrine which we

possess from apostolic pens. It is essentially soteriological, or a

system of the way of salvation. It goes far beyond the teaching of

James and Peter, and yet is only a consistent development of the

teaching of Jesus in the Gospels. [774]

The Central Idea.

Paul's personal experience embraced intense fanaticism for Judaism, and

a more intense enthusiasm for Christianity. It was first an unavailing

struggle of legalism towards human righteousness by works of the law,

and then the apprehension of divine righteousness by faith in Christ.

This dualism is reflected in his theology. The idea of righteousness or

conformity to God's holy will is the connecting link between the Jewish

Saul and the Christian Paul. Law and works, was the motto of the

self-righteous pupil of Moses; gospel and faith, the motto of the

humble disciple of Jesus. He is the emancipator of the Christian

consciousness from the oppressive bondage of legalism and bigotry, and

the champion of freedom and catholicity. Paul's gospel is emphatically

the gospel of saving faith, the gospel of evangelical freedom, the

gospel of universalism, centring in the person and work of Christ and

conditioned by union with Christ. He determined to know nothing but

Christ and him crucified; but this included all--it is the soul of his

theology. The Christ who died is the Christ who was raised again and

ever lives as Lord and Saviour, and was made unto us wisdom from God,

and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. [775] A dead

Christ would be the grave of all our hopes, and the gospel of a dead

Saviour a wretched delusion. "If Christ has not been raised then is our

preaching vain, your faith also is vain." [776] His death becomes

available only through his resurrection. Paul puts the two facts

together in the comprehensive statement: "Christ delivered up for our

trespasses, and raised for our justification." [777] He is a

conditional universalist; he teaches the universal need of salvation,

and the divine intention and provision for a universal salvation, but

the actual salvation of each man depends upon his faith or personal

acceptance and appropriation of Christ. His doctrinal system, then,

turns on the great antithesis of sin and grace. Before Christ and out

of Christ is the reign of sin and death; after Christ and in Christ is

the reign of righteousness and life.

We now proceed to an outline of the leading features of his theology as

set forth in the order of the Epistle to the Romans, the most

methodical and complete of his writings. Its central thought is: The

Gospel of Christ, a power of God for the salvation of all men, Jew and

Gentile. [778]

1. The Universal Need of Salvation.--It arises from the fall of Adam

and the whole human race, which was included in him as the tree is

included in the seed, so that his one act of disobedience brought sin

and death upon the whole posterity. Paul proves the depravity of

Gentiles and Jews without exception to the extent that they are

absolutely unable to attain to righteousness and to save themselves.

"There is none righteous, no, not one." They are all under the dominion

of sin and under the sentence of condemnation. [779] He recognizes

indeed, even among the heathen, the remaining good elements of reason

and conscience, [780] which are the connecting links for the

regenerating work of divine grace; but for this very reason they are

inexcusable, as they sin against better knowledge. There is a conflict

between the higher and the lower nature in man (the nous, which tends

to God who gave it, and the sarx, which tends to sin), and this

conflict is stimulated and brought to a crisis by the law of God; but

this conflict, owing to the weakness of our carnal, fallen, depraved

nature, ends in defeat and despair till the renewing grace of Christ

emancipates us from the curse and bondage of sin and gives us liberty

and victory. In the seventh chapter of the Romans, Paul gives from his

personal experience a most remarkable and truthful description of the

religious history of man from the natural or heathen state of carnal

security (without the law, Rom. 7:7-9) to the Jewish state under the

law which calls out sin from its hidden recess, reveals its true

character, and awakens the sense of the wretchedness of slavery under

sin (7:10-25), but in this very way prepares the way for the Christian

state of freedom (7:24 and Rom. 8). [781]

II. The Divine Intention and Provision of Universal Salvation.--God

sincerely wills (thelei) that all men, even the greatest of sinners,

should be saved, and come to the knowledge of truth through Christ, who

gave himself a ransom for all. [782] The extent of Christ's

righteousness and life is as universal as the extent of Adam's sin and

death, and its intensive power is even greater. The first and the

second Adam are perfectly parallel by contrast in their representative

character, but Christ is much stronger and remains victor of the field,

having slain sin and death, and living for ever as the prince of life.

Where sin abounds there grace super-abounds. As through the first Adam

sin (as a pervading force) entered into the world, and death through

sin, and thus death passed unto all men, inasmuch as they all sinned

(in Adam generically and potentially, and by actual transgression

individually); so much more through Christ, the second Adam,

righteousness entered into the world and life through righteousness,

and thus righteousness passed unto all men on condition of faith by

which we partake of his righteousness. [783] God shut up all men in

disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all that believe. [784]

(1.) The Preparation for this salvation was the promise and the law of

the Old dispensation. The promise given to Abraham and the patriarchs

is prior to the law, and not set aside by the law; it contained the

germ and the pledge of salvation, and Abraham stands out as the father

of the faithful, who was justified by faith even before he received

circumcision as a sign and seal. The law came in besides, or between

the promise and the gospel in order to develop the disease of sin, to

reveal its true character as a transgression of the divine will, and

thus to excite the sense of the need of salvation. The law is in itself

holy and good, but cannot give life; it commands and threatens, but

gives no power to fulfil; it cannot renew the flesh, that is, the

depraved, sinful nature of man; it can neither justify nor sanctify,

but it brings the knowledge of sin, and by its discipline it prepares

men for the freedom of Christ, as a schoolmaster prepares children for

independent manhood. [785]

(2.) The Salvation itself is comprehended in the person and work of

Christ. It was accomplished in the fulness of the time by the sinless

life, the atoning death, and the glorious resurrection and exaltation

of Christ, the eternal Son of God, who appeared in the likeness of the

flesh of sin and as an offering for sin, and thus procured for us

pardon, peace, and reconciliation. "God spared not his own Son, but

delivered him up for us all." This is the greatest gift of the eternal

love of the Father for his creatures. The Son of God, prompted by the

same infinite love, laid aside his divine glory and mode of existence,

emptied himself exchanged the form of God for the form of a servant,

humbled himself and became obedient, even unto the death of the cross.

Though he was rich, being equal with God, yet for our sakes he became

poor, that we through his poverty might become rich. In reward for his

active and passive obedience God exalted him and gave him a name above

every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every

tongue confess that he is Lord. [786]

Formerly the cross of Christ had been to the carnal Messianic

expectations and self-righteousness of Paul, as well as of other Jews,

the greatest stumbling-block, as it was the height of folly to the

worldly wisdom of the heathen mind. [787] But the heavenly vision of

the glory of Jesus at Damascus unlocked the key for the understanding

of this mystery, and it was confirmed by the primitive apostolic

tradition, [788] and by his personal experience of the failure of the

law and the power of the gospel to give peace to his troubled

conscience. The death of Christ appeared to him now as the divinely

appointed means for procuring righteousness. It is the device of

infinite wisdom and love to reconcile the conflicting claims of justice

and mercy whereby God could justify the sinner and yet remain just

himself. [789] Christ, who knew no sin, became sin for us that we might

become righteousness of God in him. He died in the place and for the

benefit (huper, peri) of sinners and enemies, so that his death has a

universal significance. If one died for all, they all died. [790] He

offered his spotless and holy life as a ransom (lutron) or price (time)

for our sins, and thus effected our redemption (apolutrosis), as

prisoners of war are redeemed by the payment of an equivalent. His

death, therefore, is a vicarious sacrifice, an atonement, an expiation

or propitiation hilasmos, hilasterion, sacrificium expiatorium) for the

sins of the whole world, and secured full and final remission (aphesis)

and reconciliation between God and man (katallage). This the Mosaic law

and sacrifices could not accomplish. They could only keep alive and

deepen the sense of the necessity of an atonement. If righteousness

came by the law, Christ's death would be needless and fruitless. His

death removes not only the guilt of sin, but it destroyed also its

power and dominion. Hence the great stress Paul laid on the preaching

of the cross (ho logos tou staurou) in which alone he would glory.

[791]

This rich doctrine of the atonement which pervades the Pauline Epistles

is only a legitimate expansion of the word of Christ that he would give

his life as a ransom for sinners and shed his blood for the remission

of sins.

(3.) While Christ accomplished the salvation, the Holy Spirit

appropriates it to the believer. The Spirit is the religious and moral

principle of the new life. Emanating from God, he dwells in the

Christian as a renewing, sanctifying, comforting energy, as the higher

conscience, as a divine guide and monitor. He mediates between Christ

and the church as Christ mediates between God and the world; be is the

divine revealer of Christ to the individual consciousness and the

source of all graces (charismata) through which the new life manifests

itself. "Christ in us" is equivalent to having the "Spirit of Christ."

It is only by the inward revelation of the Spirit that we can call

Christ our Lord and Saviour, and God our Father; by the Spirit the love

of God is shed abroad in our hearts; the Spirit works in us faith and

all virtues; it is the Spirit who transforms even the body of the

believer into a holy temple; those who are led by the Spirit are the

sons of God and heirs of salvation; it is by the law of the Spirit of

life in Christ Jesus that we are made free from the law of sin and

death and are able to walk in newness of life. Where the Spirit of God

is there is true liberty. [792]

(4.) There is, then, a threefold cause of our salvation: the Father who

sends his Son, the Son who procures salvation, and the Holy Spirit who

applies it to the believer. This threefold agency is set forth in the

benediction, which comprehends all divine blessings: "the grace

(charis) of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the (agape) of God, and the

communion (koinonia) of the Holy Spirit." [793] This is Paul's

practical view of the Holy Trinity as revealed in the gospel. The grace

of Christ is mentioned first because in it is exhibited to us the love

of the Father in its highest aspect as a saving power; to the Holy

Spirit is ascribed the communion because he is the bond of union

between the Father and the Son, between Christ and the believer, and

between the believers as members of one brotherhood of the redeemed.

To this divine trinity corresponds, we may say, the human trinity of

Christian graces: faith, hope, love. [794]

III. The Order of Salvation.--(1.) Salvation has its roots in the

eternal counsel of God, his Foreknowledge (prognosis), and his

Foreordination (proorismos, prothesis); the former an act of his

omniscient intellect, the latter of his omnipotent will. Logically,

foreknowledge precedes foreordination, but in reality both coincide and

are simultaneous in the divine mind, in which there is no before nor

after. [795]

Paul undoubtedly teaches an eternal election by the sovereign grace of

God, that is an unconditioned and unchangeable predestination of his

children to holiness and salvation in and through his Son Jesus Christ.

[796] He thus cuts off all human merit, and plants the salvation upon

an immovable rock. But he does not thereby exclude human freedom and

responsibility; on the contrary, he includes them as elements in the

divine plan, and boldly puts them together. [797] Hence he exhorts and

warns men as if salvation might be gained or lost by their effort.

Those who are lost, are lost by their own unbelief. Perdition is the

righteous judgment for sin unrepented of and persisted in. It is a

strange misunderstanding to make Paul either a fatalist or a

particularist; he is the strongest opponent of blind necessity and of

Jewish particularism, even in the ninth chapter of Romans. But he aims

at no philosophical solution of a problem which the finite

understanding of man cannot settle; he contents himself with asserting

its divine and human aspects, the religious and ethical view, the

absolute sovereignty of God and the relative freedom of man, the free

gift of salvation and the just punishment for neglecting it. Christian

experience includes both truths, and we find no contradiction in

praying as if all depended on God, and in working as if all depended on

man. This is Pauline theology and practice.

Foreknowledge and foreordination are the eternal background of

salvation: call, justification, sanctification, and glorification mark

the progressive steps in the time of execution, and of the personal

application of salvation. [798]

(2.) The Call (klesis) proceeds from God the Father through the

preaching of the gospel salvation which is sincerely offered to all.

Faith comes from preaching, preaching from preachers, and the preachers

from God who sends them. [799]

The human act which corresponds to the divine call is the conversion

(metanoia) of the sinner; and this includes repentance or turning away

from sin, and faith or turning to Christ, under the influence of the

Holy Spirit who acts through the word. [800] The Holy Spirit is the

objective principle of the new life of the Christian. Faith is the free

gift of God, and at the same time the highest act of man. It is

unbounded trust in Christ, and the organ by which we apprehend him, his

very life and benefits, and become as it were identified with him, or

mystically incorporated with him. [801]

(3.) Justification (dikaiosis) is the next step. This is a vital

doctrine in Paul's system and forms the connecting link as well as the

division line between the Jewish and the Christian period of his life.

It was with him always a burning life-question. As a Jew he sought

righteousness by works of the law, honestly and earnestly, but in vain;

as a Christian he found it, as a free gift of grace, by faith in

Christ. Righteousness (dikaiosune), as applied to man, is the normal

relation of man to the holy, will of God as expressed in his revealed

law, which requires supreme love to God and love to our neighbor; it is

the moral and religious ideal, and carries in itself the divine favor

and the highest happiness. It is the very end for which man was made;

he is to be conformed to God who is absolutely holy and righteous. To

be god-like is the highest conception of human perfection and bliss.

But there are two kinds of righteousness, or rather two ways of seeking

it: one of the law, and sought by works of the law; but this is

imaginary, at best very defective, and cannot stand before God; and the

righteousness of Christ, or the righteousness of faith, which is freely

communicated to the believer and accepted by God. Justification is the

act of God by which he puts the repenting sinner in possession of the

righteousness of Christ. It is the reverse of condemnation; it implies

the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness. It

is based upon the atoning sacrifice of Christ and conditioned by faith,

as the subjective organ of apprehending and appropriating Christ with

all his benefits. We are therefore justified by grace alone through

faith alone; yet faith remains not alone, but is ever fruitful of good

works.

The result of justification is peace (eirene) with God, and the state

of adoption (huiothesia) and this implies also the heirship

(kleronomia) of eternal life. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with

our spirit that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs;

heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with

him, that we may be also glorified with him." [802] The root of Paul's

theory of justification is found in the teaching of Christ: he requires

from his disciples a far better righteousness than the legal

righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, as a condition of entering

the kingdom of heaven, namely, the righteousness of God; he holds up

this righteousness of God as the first object to be sought; and teaches

that it can only be obtained by faith, which he everywhere presents as

the one and only condition of salvation on the part of man. [803]

(4.) Sanctification (hagiasmos). [804] The divine act of justification

is inseparable from the conversion and renewal of the sinner. It

affects the will and conduct as well as the feeling. Although

gratuitous, it is not unconditional. It is of necessity the beginning

of sanctification, the birth into a new life which is to grow unto full

manhood. We are not justified outside of Christ, but only in Christ by

a living faith, which unites us with him in his death unto sin and

resurrection unto holiness. Faith is operative in love and must produce

good works as the inevitable proof of its existence. Without love, the

greatest of Christian graces, even the strongest faith would be but

"sounding brass or clanging cymbal." [805]

Sanctification is not a single act, like justification, but a process.

It is a continuous growth of the whole inner man in holiness from the

moment of conversion and justification to the reappearance of Jesus

Christ in glory. [806] On the part of God it is insured, for he is

faithful and will perfect the good work which he began; on the part of

man it involves constant watchfulness, lest he stumble and fall. In one

view it depends all on the grace of God, in another view it depends all

on the exertion of man. There is a mysterious co-operation between the

two agencies, which is expressed in the profound paradox: "Work out

your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh

in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure." [807] The

believer is mystically identified with Christ from the moment of his

conversion (sealed by baptism). He died with Christ unto sin so as to

sin no more; and he rose with him to a new life unto God so as to live

for God; he is crucified to the world and the world to him; he is a new

creature in Christ; the old man of sin is dead and buried, the new man

lives in holiness and righteousness. "It is no longer I (my own sinful

self) that lives, but it is Christ that lives in me: and that life

which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith in the Son of God, who

loved me and gave himself up for me." [808] Here is the whole doctrine

of Christian life: it is Christ in us, and we in Christ. It consists in

a vital union with Christ, the crucified and risen Redeemer, who is the

indwelling, all-pervading, and controlling life of the believer; but

the union is no pantheistic confusion or absorption; the believer

continues to live as a self-conscious and distinct personality. For the

believer "to live is Christ, and to die is gain." "Whether we live, we

live unto the Lord; whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we

live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." [809]

In Romans 12, Paul sums up his ethics in the idea of gratitude which

manifests itself in a cheerful sacrifice of our persons and services to

the God of our salvation. [810]

(5.) Glorification (doxazein). This is the final completion of the work

of grace in the believer and will appear at the parousia of our Lord.

It cannot be hindered by any power present or future, visible or

invisible, for God and Christ are stronger than all our enemies and

will enable us to come out more than conquerors from the conflict of

faith.

This lofty conviction of final victory finds most eloquent expression

in the triumphal ode which closes the eighth chapter of Romans. [811]

IV. The Historical Progress of the gospel of salvation from Jews to

Gentiles and back again to the Jews. [812] Salvation was first intended

for and offered to the Jews, who were for centuries prepared for it by

the law and the promise, and among whom the Saviour was born, lived,

died, and rose again. But the Jews as a nation rejected Christ and his

apostles, and hardened their hearts in unbelief. This fact filled the

apostle with unutterable sadness, and made him willing to sacrifice

even his own salvation (if it were possible) for the salvation of his

kinsmen.

But he sees light in this dark mystery. First of all, God has a

sovereign right over all his creatures and manifests both his mercy and

his righteousness in the successive stages of the historical execution

of his wise designs. His promise has not failed, for it was not given

to all the carnal descendants of Abraham and Isaac, but only to the

spiritual descendants, the true Israelites who have the faith of

Abraham, and they have been saved, as individual Jews are saved to this

day. And even in his relation to the vessels of wrath who by unbelief

and ingratitude have fitted themselves for destruction, he shows his

long-suffering.

In the next place, the real cause of the rejection of the body of the

Jews is their own rejection of Christ. They sought their own

righteousness by works of the law instead of accepting the

righteousness of God by faith.

Finally, the rejection of the Jews is only temporary and incidental in

the great drama of history. It is overruled for the speedier conversion

of the Gentiles, and the conversion of the full number or the organic

totality of the Gentiles (not all individual Gentiles) will lead

ultimately to the conversion of Israel. "A hardening in part has

befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so

all Israel shall be saved."

With this hopeful prophecy, which seems yet far off, but which is

steadily approaching fulfilment, and will be realized in God's own time

and way, the apostle closes the doctrinal part of the Epistle to the

Romans. "God has shut up all men (tous pantas) unto disobedience that

he might have mercy upon all men. O the depth of the riches both of the

wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments,

and his ways past tracing out! ... For of Him (ex autou) and through

Him (di autou), and unto Him (eis auton') are all things. To Him be the

glory forever. Amen." [813]

Before this glorious consummation, however, there will be a terrible

conflict with Antichrist or "the man of sin," and the full revelation

of the mystery of lawlessness now held in check. Then the Lord will

appear as the conqueror in the field, raise the dead, judge the world,

destroy the last enemy, and restore the kingdom to the Father that God

may be all in all (ta panta en pasin). [814]

Notes.

I. The Pauline System of Doctrine has been more frequently explained

than any other.

Among the earlier writers Neander, Usteri, and Schmid take the lead,

and are still valuable. Neander and Schmid are in full sympathy with

the spirit and views of Paul. Usteri adapted them somewhat to

Schleiermacher's system, to which he adhered.

Next to them the T�bingen school, first the master, Baur (twice, in his

Paul, and in his New Test. Theology), and then his pupils, Pfleiderer

and Holsten, have done most for a critical reproduction. They rise far

above the older rationalism in an earnest and intelligent appreciation

of the sublime theology of Paul, and leave the impression that he was a

most profound, bold, acute, and consistent thinker on the highest

themes. But they ignore the supernatural element of inspiration, they

lack spiritual sympathy with the faith of the apostle, overstrain his

antagonism to Judaism (as did Marcion of old), and confine the

authentic sources to the four anti-Judaic Epistles to the Galatians,

Romans, and Corinthians, although recognizing in the minor Epistles the

"paulinische Grundlage." The more moderate followers of Baur, however,

now admit the genuineness of from seven to ten Pauline Epistles,

leaving only the three Pastoral Epistles and Ephesians in serious

doubt.

The Paulinismus of Weiss (in the third ed. of his Bibl. Theol., 1881,

pp. 194-472) is based upon a very careful philological exegesis in

detail, and is in this respect the most valuable of all attempts to

reproduce Paul's theology. He divides it into three sections: 1st, the

system of the four great doctrinal and polemical Epistles; 2d, the

further development of Paulinism in the Epistles of the captivity; 3d,

the doctrine of the Pastoral Epistles. He doubts only the genuineness

of the last group, but admits a progress from the first to the second.

Of French writers, Reuss, Pressens�, and Sabatier give the best

expositions of the Pauline system, more or less in imitation of German

labors. Reuss, of Strasburg, who writes in German as well, is the most

independent and learned; Pressens� is more in sympathy with Paul's

belief, but gives only a meagre summary; Sabatier leans to the T�bingen

school. Reuss discusses Paul's system (in vol. III., 17-220) very fully

under these heads: righteousness; sin; the law; the gospel; God; the

person of Christ; the work of Christ; typical relation of the old and

new covenant; faith; election; calling and the Holy Spirit;

regeneration; redemption; justification and reconciliation; church;

hope and trial; last times; kingdom of God. Sabatier (L'ap�tre Paul,

pp. 249-318, second ed., 1881) more briefly but clearly develops the

Pauline theology from the Christological point of view (la personne de

Christ Principe g�n�rateur de la conscience chr�tienne) under three

heads: lot, the Christian principle in the psychological sphere

(anthropology); 2d, in the social and historical sphere (religious

philosophy of history); 3d, in the metaphysical sphere (theology),

which culminates in the theos ta panta en pasin"Ainsi na�t et grandit

cet arbre magnifique de la pens�e de Paul, dont les racines plongent

dans le sol de la conscience chr�tienne et dont la cime est dans les

cieux."

Renan, who professes so much sentimental admiration for the poetry and

wisdom of Jesus, "the charming Galilaean peasant," has no organ for the

theology of Paul any more than Voltaire had for the poetry of

Shakespeare. He regards him as a bold and vigorous, but uncouth and

semi-barbarous genius, full of rabbinical subtleties, useless

speculations, and polemical intolerance even against good old Peter at

Antioch.

Several doctrines of Paul have been specially discussed by German

scholars, as Tischendorf: Doctrina Pauli apostoli de Vi Mortis Christi

Satisfactoria (Leipz., 1837); R�biger: De Christologia Paulina

(Breslau, 1852); Lipsius: Die paulinische Rechtfertigunglehre (Leipz.,

1853); Ernesti: Vom Ursprung der S�nde nach paulinischem Lehrgehalt

(Wolfenb�ttel, 1855); Die Ethik des Paulus (Braunschweig, 1868; 3d ed.,

1881); W. Beyschlag Die paulinische Theodicee (Berlin, 1868); R.

Schmidt: Die Christologie des Ap. Paulus (G�tt., 1870); A. Delitzsch:

Adam und Christus (Bonn, 1871); H. L�demann: Die Anthropologie des Ap.

Paulus (Kiel, 1872); R. St�helin: Zur paulinischen Eschatologie (1874);

A. Schumann:Der weltgeschichtl. Entwickelungsprocess nach dem

Lehrsystem des Ap. Paulus (Crefeld, 1875); Fr. K�stlin: Die Lehre des

Paulus von der Auferstehung (1877); H. H. Wendt: Die Begriffe Fleisch

und Geist in biblischen Sprachgebrauch (Gotha, 1878).

II. The Christology of Paul is closely interwoven with his soteriology.

In Romans and Galatians the soteriological aspect prevails, in

Philippians and Colossians the christological. His christology is very

rich, and with that of the Epistle to the Hebrews prepares the way for

the christology of John. It is even more fully developed than John's,

only less prominent in the system.

The chief passages on the person of Christ are: Rom. 1:3, 4 (ek

spermatos Daueid kata sarka ... huios theou kata pneuma hagiosunes);

8:3 (ho theos ton eautou huion pempsas en homoiomati sarkos hamartias)

8:32 (hos tou idiou huiou ouk epheisato) 9:5 (ex hon ho Christos to

kata sarka, ho on epi panton, theos eulogetos eis tous aionas--but the

punctuation and consequently the application of the doxology--whether

to God or to Christ--are disputed); 1 Cor. 1:19 (ho kurios hemon, a

very frequent designation); 2 Cor. 5:21 (ton me gnonta hamartian); 8:9

(eptocheusen plousios on, hina humeis te ekeinou ptocheia ploutesete);

Phil. 2:5-11 (the famous passage about thekenosis); Col. 1:15-18 (hos

estin eikon tou theou tou aoratou prototokos pases kriseos, hoti en

auto ekristhe ta pan'ta ... ta panta di autou kaii eis auton

ektistai...); 2:9 (en auto katoikei pan to pleroma tes theotetos

somatikos); 1 Tim. 3:16 (hos ephanerothe en sarki...); Tit.2:13 (tou

megalou theou kai soteros hemon Christou Iesou, where, however,

commentators differ in the construction, as in Rom. 9:5).

From these and other passages the following doctrinal points may be

inferred:

1.The eternal pre-existence of Christ as to his divine nature. The

pre-existence generally is implied in Rom. 8:3, 32; 2 Cor. 5:21; Phil.

2:5; the pre-existence before the creation is expressly asserted, Col.

1:15; the eternity of this pre-existence is a metaphysical inference

from the nature of the case, since an existence before all creation

must be an uncreated, therefore a divine or eternal existence which has

no beginning as well as no end. (John carefully distinguishes between

the eternal enof the pre-existent Logos, and the temporal egenetoof the

incarnate Logos, John 1:1, 14; comp. 8:58.) This is not inconsistent

with the designation of Christ as "the first-born of all creation,"

Col. 1:15; for prototokosis different from protoktistos(first-created),

as the Nicene fathers already remarked, in opposition to Arius, who

inferred from the passage that Christ was the first creature of God and

the creator of all other creatures. The word first-born corresponds to

the Johannean monogenes,only-begotten. "Both express," as Lightfoot

says (Com. on Col.) "the same eternal fact; but while monogenesstates

it in itself, prototokosplaces it in relation to the universe." We may

also compare the protogonos,first-begotten, which Philo applies to the

Logos, as including the original archetypal idea of the created world.

"The first-born," used absolutely (prototokosbkrr Ps. 89:28), became a

recognized title of the Messiah. Moreover, the genitive pases ktiseosis

not the partitive, but the comparative genitive: the first-born as

compared with, that is, before, every creature. So Justin Martyr (pro

panton ton ktismaton), Meyer, and Bp. Lightfoot, in loc.; also Weiss,

Bibl. Theol. d. N. T., p. 431 (who refutes the opposite view of Usteri,

Reuss, and Baur, and says: "Da pases kriseosjede einzelne Creatur

bezeichnet, so kann der Genii. nur comparativ genommen werden, und nur

besagen, dass er im Vergleich mit jeden Creatur der Erstgeborne war").

The words immediately following, John 1:16, 17, exclude the possibility

of regarding Christ himself as a creature. Lightfoot, in his masterly

Comm. (p. 212 sq.), very fully explains the term as teaching the

absolute pre-existence of the Son, his priority to and sovereignty over

all creation.

The recent attempt of Dr. Beyschlag (Christologie des N. T., pp. 149

sqq., 242 sqq.) to resolve the pre-existent Christ of Paul and John

into an ideal principle, instead of a real personality, is an

exegetical failure, like the similar attempts of the Socinians, and is

as far from the mark as the interpretation of some of the Nicene

fathers (e.g., Marcellus) who, in order to escape the Arian argument,

understood prototokos of the incarnate Logos as the head of the new

spiritual creation.

2. Christ is the mediator and the end of creation. "All things were

created in him, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and

things invisible ...; all things have been created through him (di

autouand unto him (eis auton); and he is before all things, and in him

all things consist," Col. 1:15-18. The same doctrine is taught in 1

Cor. 8:6 ("Jesus Christ, through whom are all things"); 10;9; 15:47; as

well as in the Ep. to the Hebrews 1:2: ("through whom he also made the

worlds" or "ages"), and in John 1:3.

3. The divinity of Christ is clearly implied in the constant

co-ordination of Christ with the Father as the author of "grace and

peace," in the salutations of the Epistles, and in such expressions as,

"the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:15); "in him dwells the

fulness of the Godhead bodily" (2:9): "existing in the form of God,"

and "being on an equality with God" (Phil. 2:6). In two passages he is,

according to the usual interpretation, even called "God" (theos), but,

as already remarked, the exegetes are still divided on the reference of

theosin Rom. 9:5 and Tit. 2:13. Meyer admits that Paul, according to

his christology, could call Christ "God" (as predicate, without the

article, theosnot ho theos); and Weiss, in the 6th edition of Meyer on

Romans (1881), adopts the prevailing orthodox punctuation and

interpretation in Rom. 9:5 as the most natural, on purely exegetical

grounds (the necessity of a supplement to kata sarka, and the position

of eulogetosafter theos): "Christ as concerning the flesh, who [at the

same time according to his higher nature] is over all, even God blessed

for ever." Westcott and Hort are not quite agreed on the punctuation.

See their note in Greek Test., Introd. and Appendix, p. 109.

4. The incarnation. This is designated by the terms "God sent his own

Son (Rom. 8:3, comp. 8:32); Christ "emptied himself, taking the form of

a servant, being made in the likeness of men" (Phil. 2:7). Without

entering here into the Kenosis controversy (the older one between

Giessen and T�bingen, 1620-1630, and the recent one which began with

Thomasius, 1845), it is enough to say that the Kenosis, or

self-exinanition, refers not to the incarnate, but to the pre-existent

Son of God, and implies a certain kind of self-limitation or temporary

surrender of the divine mode of existence during the state of

humiliation. This humiliation was followed by exaltation as a reward

for his obedience unto death (Phil 2:9-11); hence he is now "the Lord

of glory" (1 Cor. 2:8). To define the limits of the Kenosis, and to

adjust it to the immutability of the Godhead and the intertrinitarian

process, lies beyond the sphere of exegesis and belongs to speculative

dogmatics.

5. The true, but sinless humanity of Christ. He appeared "in the

likeness of the flesh of sin" (Rom. 8:3); he is a son of David

"according to the flesh" (1:3), which includes the whole human nature,

body, soul, and spirit (as in John 1:14); he is called a man

(anthropos) in the full sense of the term (1 Cor. 15:21; Rom. 5:15;

Acts 17:31). He was "born of a woman, born under the law"(Gal. 4:4); he

was "found in fashion as a man" and became "obedient even unto death"

(Phil. 2:8), and he truly suffered and died, like other men. But he

"knew no sin" (2 Cor. 5:21). He could, of course, not be the Saviour of

sinners if he himself were a sinner and in need of salvation.

Of the events of Christ's life, Paul mentions especially and frequently

his death and resurrection, on which our salvation depends. He also

reports the institution of the Lord's Supper, which perpetuates the

memory and the blessing of the atoning sacrifice on the cross (1 Cor.

11:23-30). He presupposes, of course, a general knowledge of the

historical Christ, as his Epistles are all addressed to believing

converts; but he incidentally preserves a gem of Christ's sayings not

reported by the Evangelists, which shines like a lone star on the

firmament of uncertain traditions:, "It is more blessed to give than to

receive" (Acts 20:35).

III. Paul's Doctrine of Predestination.--Eternal foreknowledge of all

persons and things is necessarily included in God's omniscience, and is

uniformly taught in the Bible; eternal foreordination or predestination

is included in his almighty power and sovereignty, but must be so

conceived as to leave room for free agency and responsibility, and to

exclude God from the authorship of sin. Self-limitation is a part of

freedom even in man, and may be exercised by the sovereign God for holy

purposes and from love to his creatures; in fact it is necessary, if

salvation is to be a moral process, and not a physical or mechanical

necessity. Religion is worth nothing except as the expression of free

conviction and voluntary devotion. Paul represents sometimes the divine

sovereignty, sometimes the human responsibility, sometimes, as in Phil.

2:12, 13, he combines both sides, without an attempt to solve the

insolvable problem which really lies beyond the present capacity of the

human mind. "He does not deal with speculative extremes; and in

whatever way the question be speculatively adjusted, absolute

dependence and moral self-determination are both involved in the

immediate Christian self-consciousness," Baur, Paul, II. 249.

"Practical teaching," says Reuss (II. 532) to the same effect, "will

always be constrained to insist upon the fact that man's salvation is a

free gift of God, and that his condemnation is only the just punishment

of sin." Comp. also Farrar, St. Paul, II. 243, 590; Weiss, p. 356 sqq.;

Beyschlag, Die paulinische Theodicee (Berlin, 1868). Weiss thus sums up

Paul's doctrine of predestination: "An sich hat Gott das absolute

Becht, die Menschen von vornherein zum Heil oder zum Verderben zu

erschaffen und durch freie Machtwirkung diesem Ziele zuzuf�hren; aber

er hat sich in Betreff des christlichen Heils dieses Rechtes nur

insofern bedient, als er unabh�ngig von allem menschlichen Thun und

Verdienen nach seinem unbeschr�nkten Willen bestimmt, an welche

Bedingung er seine Gnade kn�pfen will. Die Bedingung, an welche er

seine Erw�hlung gebunden hat, ist nun nichts anders als die Liebe zu

ihm, welche er an den empf�nglichen Seelen vorhererkennt. Die Erw�hlten

aber werden berufen, indem Gott durch das Evangelium in ihnen den

Glauben wirkt."

There can be no doubt that Paul teaches an eternal election to eternal

salvation by free grace, an election which is to be actualized by faith

in Christ and a holy life of obedience. But he does not teach a decree

of reprobation or a predestination to sin and perdition (which would

indeed be a "decretum horribile," if verum). This is a logical

invention of supralapsarian theologians who deem it to be the necessary

counterpart of the decree of election. But man's logic is not God's

logic. A decree of reprobation is nowhere mentioned. The term

adokimos,disapproved, worthless, reprobate, is used five times only as

a description of character (twice of things). Romans 9 is the Gibraltar

of supralapsarianism, but it must be explained in connection with Rom.

10-11, which present the other aspects. The strongest passage is Rom.

9:22, where Paul speaks of skeue orges katertismena eis apoleian. But

he significantly uses here the passive: "fitted unto destruction," or

rather (as many of the best commentators from Chrysostom to Weiss take

it) the middle: "who fitted themselves for destruction," and so

deserved it; while of the vessels of mercy he says that God "before

prepared" them unto glory (skeue eleous ha proetoimasen, 9:23). He

studiously avoids to say of the vessels of wrath: ha katertisen, which

would have corresponded to ha proetoimasen, and thus he exempts God

from a direct and efficient agency in sin and destruction. When in

9:17, he says of Pharaoh, that God raised him up for the very purpose

(eis auto touto exegeira se) that he might show in him His power, he

does not mean that God created him or called him into existence (which

would require a different verb), but, according to the Hebrew (Ex.

9:16, the hiphil of ?md), that "he caused him to stand forth" as actor

in the scene; and when he says with reference to the same history that

God "hardens whom he will" (Rom. 9:18. hon de thelei sklerunei), it

must be remembered that Pharaoh had already repeatedly hardened his own

heart (Ex. 8:15, 32; 9:34, 35), so that God punished him for his sin

and abandoned him to its consequences. God does not cause evil, but he

bends, guides, and overrules it and often punishes sin with sin. "Das

ist der Fluch der b�sen That, dass sie, fortzeugend, immer B�ses muss

geb�ren." (Schiller.)

In this mysterious problem of predestination Paul likewise faithfully

carries out the teaching of his Master. For in the sublime description

of the final judgment, Christ says to the "blessed of my Father:"

"Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"

(Matt. 25:34), but to those on the left hand he says, "Depart from me,

ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and

his angels" (25:41). The omission of the words "of my Father," after

"ye cursed," and of the words, for you, "and, from the foundation of

the world," is very significant, and implies that while the inheritance

of the kingdom is traced to the eternal favor of God, the damnation is

due to the guilt of man.

IV. The doctrine of Justification. This occupies a prominent space in

Paul's system, though by no means to the disparagement of his doctrine

of sanctification, which is treated with the same fulness even in

Romans (comp. Rom. 6-8 and 12-15). Luther, in conflict with Judaizing

Rome, overstated the importance of justification by faith when he

called it the articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae. This can only

be said of Christ (comp. Matt. 16:16; 1 Cor. 3:11; 1 John 4:2, 3). It

is not even the theme of the Epistle to the Romans, as often stated

(e.g., by Farrar, St. Paul, II. 181); for it is there subordinated by

garto the broader idea of salvation (soteria), which is the theme (Rom

1:16, 17). Justification by faith is the way by which salvation can be

obtained.

The doctrine of justification may be thus illustrated:

Dikaiosune

( qdts ,hqdts)

Dikaiosune tou nomou Dikaiosune tou theou

ex ergon ek theou

idia. te s pisteos

ek te s pisteos

dia pisteos Christou.

The cognate words are dikaiosis, dikaioma, dikaios, dikaioo. The

Pauline idea of righteousness is derived from the Old Testament, and is

inseparable from the conception of the holy will of God and his

revealed law. But the classical usage is quite consistent with it, and

illustrates the biblical usage from a lower plane. The Greek words are

derived from jus, right, and further back from. dicha, or div",

two-fold, in two parts (according to Aristotle, Eth. Nic., v. 2); hence

they indicate a well-proportioned relation between parts or persons

where each has his due. It may then apply to the relation between God

and man, or to the relation between man and man, or to both at once. To

the Greeks a righteous man was one who fulfils his obligations to God

and man. It was a Greek proverb: "In righteousness all virtue is

contained."

Dikaiosune(qdts hqdts) is an attribute of God, and a corresponding

moral condition of man, i.e., man's conformity to the will of God as

expressed in his holy law. It is therefore identical with true

religion, with piety and virtue, as required by God, and insures his

favor and blessing. The word occurs (according to Bruder's Concord.)

sixty times in all the Pauline Epistles, namely: thirty-six times in

Romans, four times in Galatians, seven times in 2 Corinthians, once in

1 Corinthians, four times in Philippians, three times in Ephesians,

three times in 2 Timothy, once in 1 Timothy, and once in Titus.

Dikaios(qydts) righteous (rechtbeschaffen), is one who fulfils his

duties to God and men, and is therefore well pleasing to God. It is

used seventeen times by Paul (seven times in Romans), and often

elsewhere in the New Testament.

Dikaiosisoccurs only twice in the New Test. (Rom. 4:25; 5:18). It

signifies justification, or the act of God by which he puts the sinner

into the possession of righteousness.

Dikaioma, which is found Rom. 1:32; 2:26; 5:16, 18; 8:4 means a

righteous decree, or judgment. Aristotle (Eth. Nicom., v. 10) defines

it as to epanorthoma tou adikematos,the amendment of an evil deed, or a

legal adjustment; and this would suit the passage in Rom. 5:16, 18.

The verb dikaioo(qdts , qydtsh)occurs twenty-seven times in Paul,

mostly in Romans, several times in the Synoptical Gospels, once in

Acts, and three times in James 2:21, 24, 25. It may mean,

etymologically, to make just, justificare (for the verbs in oo, derived

from adjectives of the second declension, indicate the making of what

the adjective denotes, e.g., deloo, to make clear, phaneroo, to

reveal,tuphloo, to blind); but in the Septuagint and the Greek

Testament it hardly, ever has this meaning ("haec significatio," says

Grimm, "admodum rara, nisi prorsus dubia est"), and is used in a

forensic or judicial sense: to declare one righteous (aliquem justum

declarare, judicare). This justification of the sinner is, of course,

not a legal fiction, but perfectly true, for it is based on the real

righteousness of Christ which the sinner makes his own by faith, and

must prove his own by a life of holy obedience, or good works. For

further expositions see my annotations to Lange on Romans, pp. 74, 130,

136, 138; and my Com on Gal. 2:16, 17. On the imputation controversies

see my essay in Lange on Romans 5:12, pp. 190-195. On the relation of

Paul's doctrine of justification to that of James, see � 69 of this

vol.

V. Paul's doctrine of the Church has been stated in � 65 of this vol.

But it requires more than one book to do anything like justice to the

wonderful theology of this wonderful

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[774] Dr. Baur, who was formerly disposed to make Paul the founder of

Christian universalism, admits in his last elaboration of the Pauline

system (N. T. liche Theol., p. 128), that "Paul only expressed to the

consciousness what in itself, in principle and actually, or by

implication, was contained already in the doctrine of Jesus (was an

sich principiell und thats�chlich, oder implicite schon in der Lehre

Jesu enthalten war)."Pressens� misstates here Baur's position, but

himself correctly calls Paul's doctrine "as a whole and in all its

parts, the logical deduction and development of the teaching of the

Master" (Apost. Era, p. 255).

[775] 1 Cor. 1:30; 2:2.

[776] 1 Cor. 15:13.

[777] Rom. 4: 23. The first dia is retrospective, the second

prospective: for the destruction of sin and for the procurement of

righteousness.

[778] Rom. 1:17: dunamis theou eis soterian panti to pisteuonti ,

Ioudaio te [proton]kai Helleni. Other pregnant passages in which Paul

summarizes his dogmatics and ethics, are Rom. 1:16, 17:3: 21-26; 4:25;

11:32; 1 Cor. 15:22; Gal. 3:22; Tit. 3:3-7.

[779] Rom. 1:18; 3:20. First the depravity of the heathen, then that of

the Jews (2:1, comp. 2:17).

[780] Rom. 1:18-21; 2:14-16; comp. Acts 17:28.

[781] The Augustinian application of this conflict to the regenerate

state, involves Rom. 7 in contradiction with Rom. 6 and 8, and

obliterates the distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate

state. Augustine understood that chapter better in his earlier years,

before the Pelagian controversy drove him to such an extreme view of

total depravity as destroys all freedom and responsibility. We see here

the difference between an inspired apostle and an enlightened

theologian. The chief object of Rom. 7 is to show that the law cannot

sanctify any more than it can justify (Rom. 3), and that the legal

conflict with the sinful flesh ends in total failure. Paul always uses

here nous for the higher principle in man (including reason and

conscience); while in Rom. 8, where he speaks of the regenerate man, he

uses pneuma, which is the nous sanctified and enlightened by the Holy

Spirit. In 8:25 he indeed alludes to the regenerate state by way of

anticipation and as an immediate answer to the preceding cry for

redemption; but from this expression of thanks he once more points back

with ara oun to the previous state of bondage before he enters more

fully with ara nun into the state of freedom.

[782] 1 Tim. 1:15; 2:4, 6; Tit. 2:11. Particularistic restrictions of

"all" in these passages are arbitrary. The same doctrine is taught 2

Pet. 3:9, and John 3:16; 1 John 2:2. The last passage is as clear as

the sun: "Christ is the propitiation (hilasmos) for our sins; and not

for ours only, but also for the whole world"(ou monon ... alla kai peri

holou tou kosmou ).

[783] Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:1, 22. The pantes and the hoi polloi

(which is equivalent to pantes and opposed, not to a few, but to the

one) in the second clause referring to the second Adam, is as

comprehensive and unlimited as in the first clause. The English Version

weakens the force of hoi polloi, and limits the number by omitting the

article. The pollo mallon (Rom. 5:15, 17) predicated of Christ's saving

grace, is not a numerical, nor a logical, but a dynamic plus,

indicating a higher degree of efficacy, insomuch as Christ brought far

greater blessings than we lost in Adam.

[784] Rom. 11:32; Gal. 8:22. These contain the briefest statement of

the sad mystery of the fall cleared up by the blessed mystery of

redemption. In the first passage the masculine is used (tous pantas),

in the second the neuter (ta panta), and the application is confined to

believers (tois pisteuousin).

[785] Rom. 3 -7; Gal. 2 -4; especially Rom. 3:20; 5:20; Gal. 3:24

[786] Rom. 8:3, 32; Phil. 2:6-11; 2 Cor. 8:9. On the Christology of

Paul, see the Notes at the end of this section.

[787] Gal. 5:11; 6:12. 1 Cor. 1:23.

[788] 1 Cor. 15:3: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also

received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures."

[789] Rom. 3:26: eis to einai auton dikaion kai dikaiounta ton ek

Christou. Bengel calls this "summum paradoxon evangelicum."

[790] 2 Cor. 5:15: hoti eis uper panton apethanen, ara hoi pantes

apethanon. Mark the aorist. The prepositions huper (used of persons)

and peri (of things, but also of persons) express the idea of benefit,

but often in close connection with the idea of vicariousness (anti).

Comp. Gal. 1:4; 3:13; Rom. 4:25; 5:6, etc

[791] Rom. 3:21-26; 5:6-10; 8:32; 1 Cor. 1:17, 18; 2:2; 6:20; 7:23;

11:24; 15:3; 2 Cor. 5:15, 18, 19, 21; Gal. 1:4; 2:11 sqq.; 3:13; 6:14,

etc. Comp. Weiss, p. 302; Pfleiderer, p. 7; Baur (N. T. Theol., p.

156). Holsten and Pfleiderer (in his able introduction) regard the

atoning death of Christ as the kernel of Paul's theology, and Holsten

promises to develop the whole system from thus idea in his new work,

Das Evangelium des Paulus, of which the first part appeared in 1880.

But they deny the objective character of the revelation at Damascus,

and resolve it into a subjective moral struggle and a dialectical

process of reflection and reasoning. Luther passed through a similar

moral conflict and reached the same conclusion, but on the basis of the

Scriptures and with the aid of the divine Spirit.

[792] The passages in which the Holy Spirit is mentioned are very

numerous, especially in the Thessalonians, Romans, Corinthians,

Galatians, and Ephesians. Comp. Rom. 5:5; 7:6; 8:2, 5, 9, 11, 14, 15,

16, 26; 1 Cor. 2: 4 sqq.; 3:16; 6:11, 17, 19; 12:3-16; 2 Cor. 1:12;

2:7; Gal. 4:6; 5:16, 22, 25; Eph. 1:17; 2:2; 4:23, 30; 5:18; 1 Thess.

1:5, 6; 4:8; 5:19, 23; 2 Thess. 2:2, 8, 13; 2 Tim. 1:7, 14; Tit. 3: 5.

[793] The concluding verse in the second Epistle to the Corinthians;

comp. Eph. 2:18, 22; 4:4-6, where God the Father, the Lord Jesus

Christ, and the Holy Spirit are mentioned as distinct personalities, if

we may use this unsatisfactory yet indispensable term.

[794] 1 Cor. 13:13.

[795] Rom. 8:29: "Whom he foreknew (ohus proegno), he also foreordained

(proorisen), to be conformed to the image of his Son. "The verb

proginosko occurs in the New Test. five times (Rom. 8:29; 11:1, 2; Acts

26:5; 1 Pet. 1:20), the noun prognosis twice (Acts 2:23; 1 Pet. 1:2),

always, as in classical Greek, in the sense of previous knowledge (not

election). The verb proorizooccurs six times, and means always to

foreordain, to determine before. The words eklego and eklegomai,

ekloge, eklektos occur much more frequently, mostly with reference to

eternal choice or election. See note below.

[796] Eph. 1:4: "Even as he chose us in Christ (exelexato hemas en

auto) before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and

without blemish before him in love: having foreordained us unto

adoption as sons (proorisas hemas eis huiothesian )through Jesus Christ

unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will."

[797] Phil. 2:12, 13. Comp. Romans 9 with 10.

[798] Rom. 8:30: "Whom he foreordained them he also called (ekalesen):

and whom he called them he also justified (edikaiosen), which is also

the beginning of sanctification), and whom he justified, them he also

glorified (edoxasen)."The proleptic aorist is used for the future to

indicate the absolute certainty that God will carry out his gracious

design to the glorious consummation.

[799] Rom. 10:14, 15. A chain of abridged syllogisms (sorites) by which

Paul reasons back from effect to cause till he reaches the first link

in the chain. On the klesis(vocatio) see Rom. 11:29; 1 Cor. 1:26; 7:20;

Gal. 1:6; Eph. 1:18; 4:14; Phil. 3:14, etc. The verb kaleo is of very

frequent occurrence in the Gospels and Epistles.

[800] Rom. 2:4; 2 Cor 7:9, 10; 2 Tim. 2:25.

[801] Baur (p. 154) distinguished five conceptions of pistis (from

peithein): 1st, conviction in general, a theoretical belief or assent.

In this sense it does not occur in Paul, but in James 1:17. 2d,

conviction of the invisible and supernatural; 2 Cor. 5:7, pistis as

distinct from heidos. 3d, religious conviction, 1 Cor. 2:5; 2 Cor.

1:24, etc. 4th, trust in God, Rom. 4:17-21. 5th, trust in Christ, or

the specific Christian faith, Rom. 3:22; 1 Cor. 15:14; Gal, 1:23, and

always where justifying faith is meant. Weiss (p. 316) defines the

Pauline idea of justifying faith as " the very opposite of all the

works required by the law; it is no human performance, but, on the

contrary, an abandonment of all work of our own, an unconditional

reliance on God who justifies, or on Christ as the Mediator of

salvation. "But this is only the receptive side of faith, it has an

active side as well, pistis is energoumene di agapes. See below.

[802] Rom. 5:1; 8:15-17; Gal. 4:5-7. If we read in Rom. 5:1 (with the

oldest authorities) the hortative subjunctive echomen "let us have"

(instead of the indicative echomen "we have "), peace is represented as

a blessing which we should grasp and fully enjoy--an exhortation well

suited for Judaizing and gloomy Christians who groan under legal

bondage. On justification see the notes below.

[803] Matt. 5:20; 6:33; 9:22, 29; 17:20; Mark 11:22; 16:16; Luke 5:50;

18:10-14; John 3:16, 17; 6:47, etc.

[804] Comp. Rom. 6:19, 22; 1 Cor. 1:30; 1 Thess. 4:3, 4, 7; 2 Thess.

2:13.

[805] 1 Cor. 18:1, 2. Luther's famous description of faith (in his

Preface to Romans), as "a lively, busy, mighty thing that waits not for

work, but is ever working, and is as inseparable from love as light is

from heat," is in the very spirit of Paul, and a sufficient reply to

the slander brought against the doctrine of justification by faith as

being antinomian in its tendency.

[806] 1 Thess. 5:23: "The God of peace sanctify you wholly; and may

your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the

coming (parousia)of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth

you, who will also do it." Comp. Romans 6 -8, which treat most fully of

sanctification, also Rom. 12 -15, and all the ethical or hortatory

portions of his other epistles.

[807] Phil. 2:12, 13. The apostle emphatically uses the same verb,

energon and enerphein, while the E. V., with its usual love for

variation, renders "worketh" and "to do." Augustin (De dono persev.

33): "Nos ergo volumus, sed Deus in nobis operatur et velle nos ergo

operamur, sed Deus in nobis operatur at operari." Phil. 2:13 "supplies

at once the stimulus to, and the corrective of the precept in the

preceding verse: 'Work, for God works with you;'and 'The good is not

yours but God's.'" Lightfoot, in loc. Comp. also Calvin, Alford, and

Braune, in loc.

[808] Gal. 2:20. This passage is obscured in the E V. by the omission

of ouketi, "no longer," and the insertion of "nevertheless."

[809] Gal. 3:27; Eph. 5:30; 1 Cor. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:3, 5; 5:17; 13:4; Col.

3:4; Phil. 1:21; Rom. 6:4-8; 14:8; 1 Thess. 5:10. Comp. those numerous

passages where Paul uses the significant phrase en Christo, living and

moving and acting in Him, as the element of our spiritual existence.

[810] Hence the Heidelberg Catechism, following the order of the Ep. to

the Romans, represents Christian life, in the third and last part,

under the head: "Thankfulness."

[811] Erasmus justly regarded the conclusion of Rom. 8:31-39 as

unsurpassed for genuine eloquence: "Quid unquam Cicero dixit

grandiloquentius It is only equalled by the ode on love in 1".

[812] This is the subject of Rom. 9-11. These three chapters contain a

theodicy and an outline of the philosophy of church history. They are

neither the chief part of Romans (Baur), nor a mere episode or appendix

(De Wette), but an essential part of the Epistle in exposition of the

concluding clause of the theme, Rom. 1:17 ... "to the Jew first, and

also to the Greek" (or Gentile). Romans 9 treats of divine sovereignty;

Rom. 10 (which should begin at Rom. 9:30) treats of human

responsibility; Rom. 11 of the future solution of this great problem.

They must be taken together as a unit. Romans 9 alone may be and has

been made to prove Calvinism and even extreme supralapsarianism; Rom.

10 Arminianism; and Rom. 11 Universalism. But Paul is neither a

Calvinist nor an Arminian nor a Universalist in the dogmatic sense. See

the doctrinal expositions in Lange on Romans, much enlarged in the

translation, pp. 327-334.

[813] Rom. 11:32, 33, 86.

[814] 2 Thess. 2:3-12; 1 Cor. 15:28.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

�72. John and the Gospel of Love.

(See the Lit. in � 40 p. 405.)

General Character.

The unity of Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian theology meets us

in the writings of John, who, in the closing decades of the first

century, summed up the final results of the preceding struggles of the

apostolic age and transmitted them to posterity. Paul had fought out

the great conflict with Judaism and secured the recognition of the

freedom and universality of the gospel for all time to come. John

disposes of this question with one sentence: "The law was given through

Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ." [815] His theology

marks the culminating height of divine knowledge in the apostolic age.

It is impossible to soar higher than the eagle, which is his proper

symbol. [816] His views are so much identified with the words of his

Lord, to whom he stood more closely related than any other disciple,

that it is difficult to separate them; but the prologue to his Gospel

contains his leading ideas, and his first Epistle the practical

application. The theology of the Apocalypse is also essentially the

same, and this goes far to confirm the identity of authorship. [817]

John was not a logician, but a seer; not a reasoner, but a mystic; he

does not argue, but assert; he arrives at conclusions with one bound,

as by direct intuition. He speaks from personal experience and

testifies of that which his eyes have seen and his ears heard and his

hands have handled, of the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father

full of grace and truth. [818]

John's theology is marked by artless simplicity and spiritual depth.

The highest art conceals art. As in poetry, so in religion, the most

natural is the most perfect. He moves in a small circle of ideas as

compared with Paul, but these ideas are fundamental and

all-comprehensive. He goes back to first principles and sees the strong

point without looking sideways or taking note of exceptions. Christ and

Antichrist, believers and unbelievers, children of God and children of

the devil, truth and falsehood, light and darkness, love and hatred,

life and death: these are the great contrasts under which he views the

religious world. These he sets forth again and again with majestic

simplicity.

John and Paul.

John's type of doctrine is less developed and fortified than Paul's,

but more ideal. His mind was neither so rich nor so strong, but it

soared higher and anticipated the beatific vision. Although Paul was

far superior to him as a scholar (and practical worker), yet the

ancient Greek church saw in John the ideal theologian. [819] John's

spirit and style may be compared to a calm, clear mountain-lake which

reflects the image of the sun) moon, and stars, while Paul resembles

the mountain-torrent that rushes over precipices and carries everything

before it; yet there are trumpets of war in John, and anthems of peace

in Paul. The one begins from the summit, with God and the Logos, the

other from the depths of man's sin and misery; but both meet in the

God-man who brings God down to man and lifts man up to God. John is

contemplative and serene, Paul is aggressive and polemical; but both

unite in the victory of faith and the never-ending dominion of love.

John's theology is Christological, Paul's soteriological; John starts

from the person of Christ, Paul from his work; but their christology

and soteriology are essentially agreed. John's ideal is life eternal,

Paul's ideal is righteousness; but both derive it from the same source,

the union with Christ, and find in this the highest happiness of man.

John represents the church triumphant, Paul the church militant of his

day and of our day, but with the full assurance of final victory even

over the last enemy.

The Central Idea.

John's Christianity centres in the idea of love and life, which in

their last root are identical. His dogmatics are summed up in the word:

God first loved us; his ethics in the exhortation: Therefore let us

love Him and the brethren. He is justly called the apostle of love.

Only we must not understand this word in a sentimental, but in the

highest and purest moral sense. God's love is his self-communication to

man; man's love is a holy self-consecration to God. We may

recognize--in rising stages of transformation--the same fiery spirit in

the Son of Thunder who called vengeance from heaven; in the Apocalyptic

seer who poured out the vials of wrath against the enemies of Christ;

and in the beloved disciple who knew no middle ground, but demanded

undivided loyalty and whole-souled devotion to his Master. In him the

highest knowledge and the highest love coincide: knowledge is the eye

of love, love the heart of knowledge; both constitute eternal life, and

eternal life is the fulness of happiness. [820]

The central truth of John and the central fact in Christianity itself

is the incarnation of the eternal Logos as the highest manifestation of

God's love to the world. The denial of this truth is the criterion of

Antichrist. [821]

The Principal Doctrines.

I. The doctrine of God. He is spirit (pneuma), he is light (phos) he is

love (agape). [822] These are the briefest and yet the profoundest

definitions which can be given of the infinite Being of all beings. The

first is put into the mouth of Christ, the second and third are from

the pen of John. The first sets forth God's metaphysical, the second

his intellectual, the third his moral perfection; but they are blended

in one.

God is spirit, all spirit, absolute spirit (in opposition to every

materialistic conception and limitation); hence omnipresent,

all-pervading, and should be worshipped, whether in Jerusalem or

Gerizim or anywhere else, in spirit and in truth.

God is light, all light without a spot of darkness, and the fountain of

all light, that is of truth, purity, and holiness.

God is love; this John repeats twice, looking upon love as the inmost

moral essence of God, which animates, directs, and holds together all

other attributes; it is the motive power of his revelations or

self-communications, the beginning and the end of his ways and works,

the core of his manifestation in Christ.

II. The doctrine of Christ's Person. He is the eternal and the

incarnate Logos or Revealer of God. No man has ever yet seen God

(theon, without the article, God's nature, or God as God); the

only-begotten Son (or God only-begotten), [823] who is in the bosom

[824] of the Father, he and he alone (ekeinos) declared him and brought

to light, once and forever, the hidden mystery of his being. [825]

This perfect knowledge of the Father, Christ claims himself in that

remarkable passage in Matthew 11:27, which strikingly confirms the

essential harmony of the Johannean and Synoptical representations of

Christ.

John (and he alone) calls Christ the "Logos" of God, i.e., the

embodiment of God and the organ of all his revelations. [826] As the

human reason or thought is expressed in word, and as the word is the

medium of making our thoughts known to others, so God is known to

himself and to the world in and through Christ as the personal Word.

While "Logos" designates the metaphysical and intellectual relation,

the term "Son" designates the moral relation of Christ to God, as a

relation of love, and the epithet "only-begotten" or "only-born"

(monogenes) raises his sonship as entirely unique above every other

sonship, which is only a reflection of it. It is a blessed relation of

infinite knowledge and infinite love. The Logos is eternal, he is

personal, he is divine. [827] He was in the beginning before creation

or from eternity. He is, on the one hand, distinct from God and in the

closest communion with him (pros ton theon); on the other hand he is

himself essentially divine, and therefore called "God" (theos, but not

ho theos). [828]

This pre-existent Logos is the agent of the creation of all things

visible and invisible. [829] He is the fulness and fountain of life (he

zoe, the true, immortal life, as distinct from bios, the natural,

mortal life), and light (to phos,which includes intellectual and moral

truth, reason and conscience) to all men. Whatever elements of truth,

goodness, and beauty may be found shining like stars and meteors in the

darkness of heathendom, must be traced to the Logos, the universal

Life-giver and Illuminator.

Here Paul and John meet again; both teach the agency of Christ in the

creation, but John more clearly connects him with all the preparatory

revelations before the incarnation. This extension of the Logos

revelation explains the high estimate which some of the Greek fathers,

(Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen) put upon the Hellenic,

especially the Platonic philosophy, as a training-school of the heathen

mind for Christ.

The Logos revealed himself to every man, but in a special manner to his

own chosen people; and this revelation culminated in John the Baptist,

who summed up in himself the meaning of the law and the prophets, and

pointed to Jesus of Nazareth as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the

sin of the world."

At last the Logos became flesh. [830] He completed his revelation by

uniting himself with man once and forever in all things, except sin.

[831] The Hebraizing term "flesh" best expresses his condescension to

our fallen condition and the complete reality of his humanity as an

object of sense, visible and tangible, in strong contrast with his

immaterial divinity. It includes not only the body (soma), but also a

human soul (psuche) and a rational spirit (nous, pneuma); for John

ascribes them all to Christ. To use a later terminology, the

incarnation (ensarkosis,incarnatio) is only a stronger term for the

assumption of humanity (enanthropesis,Menschwerdung). The Logos became

man--not partially but totally, not apparently but really, not

transiently but permanently, not by ceasing to be divine, nor by being

changed into a man, but by an abiding, personal union with man. He is

henceforth the Godman. He tabernacled on earth as the true Shekinah,

and manifested to his disciples the glory of the only begotten which

shone from the veil of his humanity. [832] This is the divine-human

glory in the state of humiliation as distinct from the divine glory in

his preexistent state, and from the final and perfect manifestation of

his glory in the state of exaltation in which his disciples shall

share. [833]

The fourth Gospel is a commentary on the ideas of the Prologue. It was

written for the purpose that the readers may believe "that Jesus is the

Christ (the promised Messiah), the Son of God (in the sense of the only

begotten and eternal Son), and that believing they may have life in his

name." [834]

III. The Work of Christ (Soteriology). This implies the conquest over

sin and Satan, and the procurement of eternal life. Christ appeared

without sin, to the end that he might destroy the works of the devil,

who was a liar and murderer from the beginning of history, who first

fell away from the truth and then brought sin and death into mankind.

[835] Christ laid down his life and shed his blood for his sheep. By

this self-consecration in death he became the propitiation (hilasmos)

for the sins of believers and for the sins of the whole world. [836]

His blood cleanses from all the guilt and contamination of sin. He is

(in the language of the Baptist) the Lamb of God that bears and takes

away the sin of the world; and (in the unconscious prophecy of

Caiaphas) he died for the people. [837] He was priest and sacrifice in

one person. And he continues his priestly functions, being our Advocate

in Heaven and ready to forgive us when we sin and come to him in true

repentance. [838]

This is the negative part of Christ's work, the removal of the

obstruction which separated us from God. The positive part consists in

the revelation of the Father, and in the communication of eternal life,

which includes eternal happiness. He is himself the Life and the Light

of the world. [839] He calls himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

In him the true, the eternal life, which was from the beginning with

the Father, appeared personally in human form. He came to communicate

it to men. He is the bread of life from heaven, and feeds the believers

everywhere spiritually without diminishing, as He fed the five thousand

physically with five loaves. That miracle is continued in the mystical

self-communication of Christ to his people. Whosoever believes in him

has eternal life, which begins here in the new birth and will be

completed in the resurrection of the body. [840]

Herein also the Apocalypse well agrees with the Gospel and Epistles of

John. Christ is represented as the victor of the devil. [841] He is the

conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah, but also the suffering Lamb

slain for us. The figure of the lamb, whether it be referred to the

paschal lamb, or to the lamb in the Messianic passage of Isaiah 53:7,

expresses the idea of atoning sacrifice which is fully realized in the

death of Christ. He "washed" (or, according to another reading, he

"loosed") "us from our sins by his blood;" he redeemed men "of every

tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and made them to be unto our

God a kingdom and priests." The countless multitude of the redeemed

"washed their robes and made them white (bright and shining) in the

blood of the Lamb." This implies both purification and sanctification;

white garments being the symbols of holiness. [842] Love was the motive

which prompted him to give his life for his people. [843] Great stress

is laid on the resurrection, as in the Gospel, where he is called the

Resurrection and the Life. The exalted Logos-Messiah has the keys of

death and Hades. [844] He is a sharer in the universal government of

God; he is the mediatorial ruler of the world, "the Prince of the kings

of the earth" "King of kings and Lord of lords." [845] The apocalyptic

seer likewise brings in the idea of life in its highest sense as a

reward of faith in Christ to those who overcome and are faithful unto

death, Christ will give "a crown of life," and a seat on his throne. He

"shall guide them unto fountains of waters of life; and God shall wipe

away every tear from their eyes." [846]

IV. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit (Pneumatology). This is most fully

set forth in the farewell discourser, of our Lord, which are reported

by John exclusively. The Spirit whom Christ promised to send after his

return to the Father, is called the Paraclete, i.e., the Advocate or

Counsellor, Helper, who pleads the cause of the believers, directs,

supports, and comforts them. [847] He is "another Advocate" (allos

parakletos), Christ himself being the first Advocate who intercedes for

believers at the throne of the Father, as their eternal High priest.

The Spirit proceeds (eternally) from the Father, and was sent by the

Father and the Son on the day of Pentecost. [848] He reveals Christ to

the heart and glorifies him (eme doxasei); he bears witness to him

(marturesei peri emou); he calls to remembrance and explains his

teaching (humas didaxei panta kai hupomnesei humas panta ha heipon

humin ego); he leads the disciples into the whole truth (hodegesei

humas eis ten aletheian pasan); he takes out of the fulness of Christ

and shows it to them (ek tou emou lambanei kai anangelei humin). The

Holy Spirit is the Mediator and Intercessor between Christ and the

believer, as Christ is the Mediator between God and the world. He is

the Spirit of truth and of holiness. He convicts (elenchei) the world,

that is all men who come under his influnce, in respect of sin (peri

hamartias), of righteousness, (dikaiosunes), and of judgment (kriseos);

and this conviction will result either in the conversion, or in the

impenitence of the sinner. The operation of the Spirit accompanies the

preaching of the word, and always internal in the sphere of the heart

and conscience. He is one of the three witnesses and gives efficacy to

the other two witnesses of Christ on earth, the baptism (to hudor), and

the atoning death (to haima) of Christ. [849]

V. Christian Life. It begins with a new birth from above or from the

Holy Spirit. Believers are children of God who are "born, not of blood,

nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

[850] It is a "new" birth compared with the old, a birth "from God," as

compared with that from man, a birth from the Holy "Spirit," in

distinction from carnal birth, a birth "from heaven," as opposed to

earthly birth. The life of the believer does not descend through the

channels of fallen nature, but requires a creative act of the Holy

Spirit through the preaching of the gospel. The life of the regenerate

is free from the principle and power of sin. "Whosoever is begotten of

God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him; and he cannot sin

because he is begotten of God." [851] Over him the devil has no power.

[852]

The new life is the life of Christ in the soul. It is eternal

intrinsically and as to duration. Eternal life in man consists in the

knowledge of the only true God and of Jesus Christ--a knowledge which

implies full sympathy and communion of love. [853] It begins here in

faith; hence the oft-repeated declaration that he who believes in

Christ has (echei) eternal life. [854] But it will not appear in its

full development till the time of his glorious manifestation, when we

shall be like him and see him even as he is. [855] Faith is the medium

of communication, the bond of union with Christ. Faith is the victory

over the world, already here in principle. [856]

John's idea of life eternal takes the place of Paul's idea of

righteousness, but both agree in the high conception of faith as the

one indispensable condition of securing it by uniting us to Christ, who

is both righteousness and life eternal. [857]

The life of the Christian, moreover, is a communion with Christ and

with the Father in the Holy Spirit. Our Lord prayed before his passion

that the believers of that and all future ages might be one with him,

even as he is one with the Father, and that they may enjoy his glory.

John writes his first Epistle for the purpose that his readers may have

"fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, and that

thus their joy may be made full." [858] This fellowship is only another

word for love, and love to God is inseparable from love to the

brethren. "If God so loved us, we also ought to love one another." "God

is love; and he that abideth in love abideth in God and God abideth in

him." Love to the brethren is the true test of practical Christianity.

[859] This brotherly fellowship is the true essence of the Church,

which is nowhere even mentioned in John's Gospel and First Epistle.

[860]

Love to God and to the brethren is no mere sentiment, but an active

power, and manifests itself in the keeping of God's commandments. [861]

Here again John and Paul meet in the idea of love, as the highest of

the Christian graces which abides forever when faith shall have passed

into sight, and hope into fruition. [862]

Notes.

The incarnation is expressed by John briefly and tersely in the phrase

"The Word became flesh" (John 1:14).

I. The meaning of sarx. Apollinaris confined "flesh" to the body,

including the animal soul, and taught that the Logos occupied the place

of the rational soul or spirit (nous, pneuma) in Christ; that

consequently he was not a full man, but a sort of middle being between

God and man, half divine and haIf human, not wholly divine and wholly

human. This view was condemned as heretical by the Nicene church, but

renewed substantially by the T�bingen school, as being the doctrine of

John. According to Baur (l.c., p. 363) sarx egenetois not equivalent to

(anthropos egeneto, but means that the Logos assumed a human body and

continued otherwise the same. The incarnation was only an incidental

phenomenon in the unchanging personality of the Logos. Moreover the

flesh of Christ was not like that of other men, but almost immaterial,

so at; to be able to walk on the lake (John 6:16; Comp. 7:10, 15; 8:59

10:39). To this exegesis we object:

1. John expressly ascribes to Christ a soul, John 10:11, 15, 17; 12:27

(he psuche mou tetaraktai), and a spirit, 11:33 (enebrimesato to

pneumati); 13:21 (etarachthe to pneumati); 19:30 (paredoken to pneuma).

It may be said that pneu'ma is here nothing more than the animal soul,

because the same affection is attributed to both, and because it was

surrendered in death. But Christ calls himself in John frequently "the

Son of man" 1:51, etc.), and once "a man" (anthropos,8:40), which

certainly must include the more important intellectual and spiritual

part as well as the body.

2. "Flesh" is often used in the Old and New Testament for the whole

man, as in the phrase "all flesh" (pasa sarx, every mortal man), or mia

sar'x(John 17:2; Rom. 3:20; 1 Cor. 1:29; Gal. 2:16). In this passage it

suited John's idea better than anthropos,because it more strongly

expresses the condescension of the Logos to the human nature in its

present condition, with its weakness, trials, temptations, and

sufferings. He completely identified himself with our earthly lot, and

became homogeneous with us, even to the likeness, though not the

essence, of sin (Rom. 8:3; comp. Heb. 2:14; 5:8, 9). "Flesh" then, when

ascribed to Christ, has the same comprehensive meaning in John as it

has in Paul (comp. also 1 Tim. 3:16). It is animated flesh, and the

soul of that flesh contains the spiritual as well as the physical life.

II. Another difficulty is presented by the verb egeneto. The champions

of the modern Kenosis theory (Thomasius, Gess, Ebrard, Godet, etc.),

while differing from the Apollinarian substitution of the Logos for a

rational human soul in Christ, assert that the Logos himself because a

human soul by voluntary transformation; and so they explain ejgevneto

and the famous Pauline phrase heauton ekenosen, morphen doulou

labon(Phil. 2:7). As the water was changed into wine at Cana (John 2:9:

To hudor hoinon gegenemenon), so the Logos in infinite self-denial

changed his divine being into a human being during the state of his

humiliation, and thus led a single life, not a double life (as the

Chalcedonian theory of two complete natures simultaneously coexisting

in the same person from the manger to the cross seems to imply). But

1. The verb egenetomust be understood in agreement with the parallel

passages:, "he came in the flesh," 1 John 4:2 (en sarki eleluthota); 2

John 7 (erchomenon en sarki), with this difference, that "became"

indicates the realness of Christ's manhood, "came" the continuance of

his godhood. Compare also Paul's expression, ephanerothe en sarki, 1

Tim. 3:16.

2. Whatever may be the objections to the Chalcedonian dyophysitism,

they cannot be removed by running the Kenosis to the extent of a

self-suspension of the Logos or an actual surrender of his essential

attributes; for this is a metaphysical impossibility, and inconsistent

with the unchangeableness of God and the intertrinitarian process. The

Logos did not cease to be God when he entered into the human state of

existence, nor did he cease to be man when he returned to the state of

divine glory which he had with the Father before the foundation of the

world.

III. Beyschlag (Die Christologie des N. T, p. 168) denies the identity

of the Logos with Christ, and resolves the Logos into a divine

principle, instead of a person. "Der Logos ist nicht die Person Christi

... sondern er ist das gottheitliche Princip dieser menschlichen

Pers�nlichkeit." He assumes a gradual unfolding of the Logos principle

in the human person of Christ. But the personality of the Logos is

taught in John 1:1-3, and egenetodenotes a completed act. We must

remember, however, that personality in the trinity and personality of

the Logos are different from personality of man. Human speech is

inadequate to express the distinction.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[815] John 1:17.

[816] Herein Baur agrees with Neander and Schmid. He says of the

Johannean type (l.c., p. 351): In ihm erreicht die neuteitamentliche

Theologie ihre h�chste Stufe und ihre vollendetste Form." This

admission makes it all the more impossible to attribute the fourth

Gospel to a literary forger of the second century. See also some

excellent remarks of Weiss, pp. 605 sqq., and the concluding chapter of

Reuss on Paul and John.

[817] For the theology of the Apocalypse as compared with that of the

Gospel and Epistles of John, see especially Gebhardt, The Doctrine of

the Apoc., transl. by Jefferson, Edinb., 1878.

[818] John 1:14 (etheasametha ten doxan autou); 1 John 1:1-3.

[819] In the strictest sense of theologos as the chief champion of the

eternal deity of the Logos: John 1:1:theos hen ho logos.So in the

superscription of the Apocalypse in several cursive MSS.

[820] John 17 3; 15:11; 16:24; 1 John 1:4.

[821] Comp. John 1:14; 3:16; 1 John 4:1-3.

[822] John 4:24; 1 John 1:5; 4:8, 16. The first definition or oracle is

from Christ's dialogue with the woman of Samaria, who could, of course,

not grasp the full meaning, but understood sufficiently its immediate

practical application to the question of dispute between the Samaritans

and the Jews concerning the worship on Gerizim or Jerusalem.

[823] There is a remarkable variation of reading in John 1:18 between

monogenes theos ,one who is God only-begotten, andho monogenes huios

,the only-begotten Son. (A third reading: ho monogenes theos ,"the

only-begotten God," found in '' and 33, arose simply from a combination

of the two readings, the article being improperly transferred from the

second to the first.) The two readings are of equal antiquity; theos is

supported by the oldest Greek MSS., nearly all Alexandrian or Egyptian

('\* BC\*L, also the Peshitto Syr.);huios by the oldest versions (Itala

Vulg., Curet. Syr., also by the secondary uncials and all known

cursives except 33). The usual abbreviations in the uncial MS., Tho-for

theos and UO for huios ,may easily be confounded. The connection of

monogenes withtheosis less natural than with huios although John

undoubtedly could call the Son theos (not ho theos), and did so in 1:1.

Monogenes theossimply combines the two attributes of the Logos, theos

1:1, and monogenes, 1:14. For a learned and ingenious defence of theos

see Hort's Dissertations (Cambridge, 1877), Westcott on St. John (p.

71), and Westcott and Hort's Gr. Test. Introd. and Append., p. 74.

Tischendorf and nearly all the German commentators (except Weiss) adopt

huios, and Dr. Abbot, of Cambridge, Mass., has written two very able

papers in favor of this reading, one in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1861,

pp. 840-872, and another in the " Unitarian Review" for June, 1875. The

Westminster Revision first adopted " God" in the text, but afterwards

put it on the margin. Both readings are intrinsically unobjectionable,

and the sense is essentially the same. Monogenes does not necessarily

convey the Nicene idea of eternal generation, but simply the unique

character and superiority of the eternal and uncreated sonship of

Christ over the sonship of believers which is a gift of grace. It shows

his intimate relation to the Father, as the Pauline prototokos his

sovereign relation to the world.

[824] Lit."towards the bosom" (eis ton kolpon), i.e., leaning on, and

moving to the bosom. It expresses the union of motion and rest and the

closest and tenderest intimacy, as between mother and child, like the

German term Schoosskind, bosom-child. Comp. pros ton theon John 1:1 and

Prov. 8:30, where Wisdom (the Logos) says: "I was near Him as one

brought up with Him, and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always

before him."

[825] With this sentence the Prologue returns to the beginning and

suggests the best reason why Christ is called Logos. He is the Exegete,

the Expounder, the Interpreter of the hidden being, of God. "The word

exegesato used by classical writers of the interpretation of divine

mysteries. The absence of the object in the original is remarkable.

Thus the literal rendering is simply, he made declaration (Vulg. ipse

enarravit). Comp. Acts 15: 4. Westcott, in loc. See the classical

parallels in Wetstein.

[826] John 1:1, 14:1 John 1:1; Rev. 19:13. The Logos theory of John is

the fruitful germ of the speculations of the Greek church on the

mysteries of the incarnation and the trinity. See my ed. of Lange's

Com. on John, pp. 51 and 55 sqq., where also the literature is given.

On the latest discussions see Weiss in the sixth ed. of Meyer's Com. on

John (1880), pp. 49 sqq. Logos means both ratio andoratio reason and

speech, which are inseparably connected. " Logos," being masculine in

Greek, is better fitted as a designation of Christ than our neuter "

Word." Hence Ewald, in defiance of German grammar, renders it "der

Wort."On the apocalyptic designation ho logos tou thuou and on the

christology of the Apocalypse, see Gebhardt, l.c., 94 and 333 sqq. On

Philo's idea of the Logos I refer to Sch�rer, Neutestam.

Zeitgeschichte, pp. 648 sqq., and the works of Gfr�rer, Zeller,

Frankel, etc., there quoted.

[827] These three ideas are contained in the first verse of the Gospel,

which has stimulated and puzzled the profoundest minds from Origen and

Augustin to Schelling and Goethe. Mark the unique union of transparent

simplicity and inexhaustible depth, and the symmetry of the three

clauses. The subject (logos) and the verb (hen) are three times

repeated. " The three clauses contain all that it is possible for man

to realize as to the essential nature of the Word in relation to time

and mode of being and character: He was (1) in the beginning: He was

(2) with God: He was (3) God. At the same time these three clauses

answer to the three great moments of the Incarnation of the Word

declared in John 1:14. He who 'was God,' became flesh: He who 'was with

God,' tabernacled among us (comp. 1 John 1:2): He who 'was in the

beginning,' became (in time)." Westcott (in Speaker's Com.). A similar

interpretation is given by Lange. The personality of the Logos is

denied by Beyschlag. See Notes (in text at end of � 72).

[828] Here we have the germ (but the germ only) of the orthodox

distinction between unity of essence and trinity of persons or

hypostases; also of the distinction between an immanent, eternal

trinity, and an economical trinity, which is revealed in time (in the

works of creation, redemption, and sanctification). A Hebrew monotheist

could not conceive of an eternal and independent being of a different

essence (heteroousis) existing besides the one God. This would be

dualism.

[829] John 1:3, with a probable allusion to Gen. 1:3, "God said," as en

arche refers to bereshith, Gen. 1:1. The negative repetition oude en,

prorsus nihil, not even one thing (stronger than ouden nihil), excludes

every form of dualism (against the Gnostics), and makes the panta

absolutely unlimited. The Socinian interpretation, which confines it to

the moral creation, is grammatically impossible.

[830] John 1:14: ho logos sarx egeneto a sentence of immeasurable

import, the leading idea not only of the Prologue, but of the Christian

religion and of the history of mankind. It marks the close of the

preparation for Christianity and the beginning of its introduction into

the human race. Bengel calls attention to the threefold antithetic

correspondence between 1:1 and 1:14: The Logos was (hen) in the

beginning became (egeneto)

God, flesh,

with God. and dwelt among us.

[831] Paul expresses the same idea: God sent his Son "in the likeness

of the flesh of sin," Rom. 8:3; comp. Heb. 2:17; 4:15. See the note at

the close of the section.

[832] John 1:14: eskenosen en hemin, in allusion to the indwelling of

Jehovah in the holy of holies of the tabernacle (skene) and the temple.

The humanity of Christ is now the tabernacle of God, and the believers

are the spectators of that glory. Comp. Rev. 7:15; 21:3

[833] John 17:5, 24; 1 John 3:2.

[834] John 20:31.

[835] 1 John 3:5, 8; comp. the words of Christ, John 8:44.

[836] John 6:52-58; 10:11, 15; 1 John 2:2: autos hilasmos estin peri

ton hamartion hemon, ou peri ton hemeteron de monon, alla kai peri olou

tou kosmou.. The universality of the atonement could not be more

clearly expressed; but there is a difference between universal

sufficiency and universal efficiency.

[837] 1 John 1:10; John 1:29; 11:50; comp. 18:14.

[838] 1 John 2:1: ean tis hamarte, parakleton echomen pros ton patera

Iesoun Christon dikaion.

[839] 1 John 1:2: he zoe ephanerothe, kai heorakamen kai marturoumen

kai apangellomen huminten zoen ten aionion hetis hen pros ton patera

kai ephanerothe hemin. Comp. John 1:4; 5; 26; 14:6. The passage 1 John

5:20: houtos estin ho alithinos theos kai zoe aionios , is of doubtful

application. The natural connection of houtoswith the immediately

preceding Iesou Christo, and the parallel passages where Christ is

called " life," favor the reference to Christ; while the words ho

alethinos theos suit better for the Father. See Braune, Huther, Ebrard,

Haupt, Rothe, in loc.

[840] John 6:47; and the whole mysterious discourse which explains the

spiritual meaning of the preceding miracle.

[841] Apoc. 12:1-12; 20:2. Comp. with 1 John 3:8; John 8:44; 12:31,

13:2, 27; 14 30; 16:11.

[842] Apoc. 1:6; 5:6, 9, 12, 13;7: 14, etc. Comp. John 1:29; 17:19;

19:36; 1 John 1:7; 2:2; 5:6. The apocalyptic diminutive

arnion(agnellus, lambkin, pet-lamb) for amnos is used to sharpen the

contrast with the Lion. Paul Gerhardt has reproduced it in his

beautiful passion hymn: "Ein L�mmlein geht und tr�gt die Schuld."

[843] Apoc. 1:5: "Unto him that loveth us," etc.; comp. John 15:13; 1

John 3:16.

[844] Apoc. 1:5, 17, 18 2:8; comp. John 5:21, 25; 6:39, 40 -11:25.

[845] Apoc. 1:5; 3:21; 17:14; 19:16.

[846] Apoc. 2:10; 3:21; 7:17; 14:1-5; 21:6, 7; 22:1-5. Comp. Gebhardt,

l.c., 106-128, 343-353.

[847] John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7. Comp. also 1 John 2:1, where Christ

is likewise called parakletos. He is our Advocate objectively at the

throne of the Father, the Holy Spirit is our Advocate subjectively in

our spiritual experience. The E. V. renders the word in all these

passages, except the last, by " Comforter" (Consolator), which rests on

a confusion of the passive parakletos with the active parakletor. See

my notes in Lange's Com. on John, pp. 440 sqq., 468 sqq.

[848] There is a distinction between the eternal procession

(ekporeusis)of the Spirit from the Father (para tou Patros ekporeuetai,

procedit, John 15:26), and the temporal mission (pempsis) of the Spirit

from the Father and the Son (15:26, where Christ says of the Spirit:

hon ego pempso, to, and 14:26, where he says: ho pempsei ho pater en to

onomati mou). The Greek church to this day strongly insists on this

distinction, and teaches an eternal procession of the Spirit from the

Father alone, and a temporal mission of the Spirit by the Father and

the Son. The difference between the present ekporeuetai and the future

pempso seems to favor such a distinction, but the exclusive alone

(monon) in regard to the procession is an addition of the Greek church

as much as the Filioque is an addition of the Latin church to the

original Nicene Creed. It is doubtful whether John meant to make a

metaphysical distinction between procession and mission. But the

distinction between the eternal trinity of the divine being and the

temporal trinity of the divine revelation has an exegetical basis in

the pre-existence of the Logos and the Spirit. The trinitarian

revelation reflects the trinitarian essence; in other words, God

reveals himself as he is, as Father, Son, and Spirit. We have a right

to reason from the revelation of God to his nature, but with proper

reverence and modesty; for who can exhaust the ocean of the Deity!

[849] 1 John 5:8. There are different interpretations of water and

blood: 1st, reference to the miraculous flow of blood and water from

the wounded side of Christ, John 19:34; 2d, Christ's baptism, and

Christ's atoning death; 3d, the two sacraments which he instituted as

perpetual memorials. I would adopt the last view, if it were not for to

aima, which nowhere designates the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and

more naturally refers to the blood of Christ shed for the remission of

sins. The passage on the three heavenly witnesses in 5:7, formerly

quoted as a proof text for the doctrine of the trinity, is now

generally given up as a mediaeval interpolation, and must be rejected

on internal as well as external grounds; for John would never have

written: "the Father, the Word, and the Spirit," but either "the

Father, the Son, and the Spirit," or God, the Word (Logos), and the

Spirit."

[850] 2 John 1:13: tekna theou ... ek theou egennethesan. The classical

section on the new birth is Christ's discourse with Nicodemus, 3:1-15.

The terms gennethenai anothen, to be born anew, afresh, or from above,

i. e., from heaven, Comp. 3:31; 19:11 (the reference is not to a

repetition, again, a second time, palin, deuteron, but to an analogous

process); 3: 6, 7; genethenai ex udatos -ikai-ipneumatos of water

(baptism) and spirit, 3:5;ek theou, of God, ek tou ouranoufrom heaven,

are equivalent. John himself most frequently uses ek theou, 1:13; 1

John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18. He does not use anagennaomai , to be

begotten or born again (but it occurs in Justin Martyr's quotation,

Apol. I. 61; also in 1 Pet. 1:23, aagennemenoi ... dia logou zontos

theou, and 1 Pet. 1:3, anagennesas hemas eis elpida), and the noun

anagennesis, regeneration, is not found at all in the Greek Test.

(though often in the Greek fathers); but the analogous palingenesia

occurs once in connection with baptism, Tit. 3:5 (esosen hemas dai

loutrou palingenesias kai anakainoseos pneumatos hagiou), and once in a

more comprehensive sense of the final restitution and consummation of

all things, Matt. 19:18. Paul speaks of the new creature in Christ

(kaine ktisis , 2 Cor. 5:17) and of the new (kainos anthropos ,Eph.

4:24). In the Rabbinical theology regeneration meant simply the change

of the external status of a proselyte to Judaism.

[851] 1 John 3:9; comp. 5:18. But 5:16 implies that a "brother" may

sin, though not "unto death," and 1:10 also excludes the idea of

absolute freedom from sin in the present state.

[852] 1 John 5:18: ho poneros ouch haptetai autou.

[853] John 17:3, words of our Lord in the sacerdotal prayer.

[854] 1 John 5:12, 13: ho echon ton huion echei ten zoen ... zoen

echete aionion. Comp. the words of Christ, John 3:36; 5:24; 6:47, 54;

and of the Evangelist, 20:31.

[855] 1 John 3:2: hoidamen hoti ean phanerothe (he, or it), homoioi

auto esometha, hoti opsometha auton kathos estin.

[856] 1 John 5:4: haute estin he nikesasa ton kosmon, he pistis hemon.

[857] John uses the term dikaiosune, but never dikaiosis ordikaioo. A

striking example of religious agreement and theological difference.

[858] John 17:22-24; 1 John 1:3, 4.

[859] 1 John 3:11, 23; 4:7, 11; comp. John 13:34, 35; 15:12, 17.

[860] The word ekklesia occurs in the third Epistle, but in the sense

of a local congregation. Of the external organization of the church

John is silent; he does not even report the institution of the

sacraments, though he speaks of the spiritual meaning of baptism (John

3:5), and indirectly of the spiritual meaning of the Lord's Supper

(6:53-56).

[861] 1 John 2:3, 4; 3:22, 24; 4:7, 11; 5:2, 3; 2 John 6; comp. the

Gospel, John 14:15, 21: "If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments,"

etc.

[862] Rom. 13:7-10; 1 Cor. 13:1-13.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 73. Heretical Perversions of the Apostolic Teaching.

(Comp. my Hist. of the Ap. Ch., pp. 649-674.)

The three types of doctrine which we have briefly unfolded, exhibit

Christianity in the whole fulness of its life; and they form the theme

for the variations of the succeeding ages of the church. Christ is the

key-note, harmonizing all the discords and resolving all the mysteries

of the history of his kingdom.

But this heavenly body of apostolic truth is confronted with the ghost

of heresy; as were the divine miracles of Moses with the satanic

juggleries of the Egyptians, and as Christ was with demoniacal

possessions. The more mightily the spirit of truth rises, the more

active becomes the spirit of falsehood. "Where God builds a church the

devil builds, a chapel close by." But in the hands of Providence all

errors must redound to the unfolding and the final victory of the

truth. They stimulate inquiry and compel defence. Satan himself is that

"power which constantly wills the bad, and works the good." Heresies in

a disordered world are relatively necessary and negatively justifiable;

though the teachers of them are, of course, not the less guilty. "It

must needs be, that scandals come; but woe to that man by whom the

scandal cometh." [863]

The heresies of the apostolic age are, respectively, the caricatures of

the several types of the true doctrine. Accordingly we distinguish

three fundamental forms of heresy, which reappear, with various

modifications, in almost every subsequent period. In this respect, as

in others, the apostolic period stands as the type of the whole future;

and the exhortations and warnings of the New Testament against false

doctrine have force for every age.

1. The Judaizing tendency is the heretical counterpart of Jewish

Christianity. It so insists on the unity of Christianity with Judaism,

as to sink the former to the level of the latter, and to make the

gospel no more than an improvement or a perfected law. It regards

Christ as a mere prophet, a second Moses; and denies, or at least

wholly overlooks, his divine nature and his priestly and kingly

offices. The Judaizers were Jews in fact, and Christians only in

appearance and in name. They held circumcision and the whole moral and

ceremonial law of Moses to be still binding, and the observance of them

necessary to salvation. Of Christianity as a new, free, and universal

religion, they had no conception. Hence they hated Paul, the liberal

apostle of the Gentiles, as a dangerous apostate and revolutionist,

impugned his motives, and everywhere, especially in Galatia and

Corinth, labored to undermine his authority in the churches. The

epistles of Paul, especially that to the Galatians, can never be

properly understood, unless their opposition to this false Judaizing

Christianity be continually kept in view.

The same heresy, more fully developed, appears in the second century

under the name of Ebionism.

2. The opposite extreme is a false Gentile Christianity, which may be

called the Paganizing or Gnostic heresy. It is as radical and

revolutionary as the other is contracted and reactionary. It violently

breaks away from the past, while the Judaizing heresies tenaciously and

stubbornly cling to it as permanently binding. It exaggerates the

Pauline view of the distinction of Christianity from Judaism, sunders

Christianity from its historical basis, resolves the real humanity of

the Saviour into a Doketistic illusion, and perverts the freedom of the

gospel into antinomian licentiousness. The author, or first

representative of this baptized heathenism, according to the uniform

testimony of Christian antiquity, is Simon Magus, who unquestionably

adulterated Christianity with pagan ideas and practices, and gave

himself out, in pantheistic style, for an emanation of God. [864] Plain

traces of this error appear in the later epistles of Paul (to the

Colossians, to Timothy, and to Titus), the second epistle of Peter, the

first two epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, and the messages of

the Apocalypse to the seven churches.

This heresy, in the second century, spread over the whole church, east

and west, in the various schools of Gnosticism.

3. As attempts had already been made, before Christ, by Philo, by the

Therapeutae and the Essenes, etc., to blend the Jewish religion with

heathen philosophy, especially that of Pythagoras and Plato, so now,

under the Christian name, there appeared confused combinations of these

opposite systems, forming either a Paganizing Judaism, i.e., Gnostic

Ebionism, or a Judaizing Paganism i.e., Ebionistic Gnosticism,

according as the Jewish or the heathen element prevailed. This

Syncretistic heresy was the caricature of John's theology, which truly

reconciled Jewish and Gentile Christianity in the highest conception of

the person and work of Christ. The errors combated in the later books

of the New Testament are almost all more or less of this mixed sort,

and it is often doubtful whether they come from Judaism or from

heathenism. They were usually shrouded in a shadowy mysticism and

surrounded by the halo of a self-made ascetic holiness, but sometimes

degenerated into the opposite extreme of antinomian licentiousness.

Whatever their differences, however, all these three fundamental

heresies amount at last to a more or less distinct denial of the

central truth of the gospel--the incarnation of the Son of God for the

salvation of the world. They make Christ either a mere man, or a mere

superhuman phantom; they allow, at all events, no real and abiding

union of the divine and human in the person of the Redeemer. This is

just what John gives as the mark of antichrist, which existed even in

his day in various forms. [865] It plainly undermines the foundation of

the church. For if Christ be not God-man, neither is he mediator

between God and men; Christianity sinks back into heathenism or

Judaism. All turns at last on the answer to that fundamental question:

"What think ye of Christ?" The true solution of this question is the

radical refutation of every error.

Notes.

"It has often been remarked that truths and error keep pace with each

other. Error is the shadow cast by truth, truth the bright side brought

out by error. Such is the relation between the heresies and the

apostolical teaching of the first century. The Gospels indeed, as in

other respects, so in this, rise almost entirely above the

circumstances of the time, but the Epistles are, humanly speaking, the

result of the very conflict between the good and the evil elements

which existed together in the bosom of the early Christian society. As

they exhibit the principles afterward to be unfolded into all truth and

goodness, so the heresies which they attack exhibit the principles

which were afterward to grow up into all the various forms of error,

falsehood and wickedness. The energy, the freshness, nay, even the

preternatural power which belonged to the one belonged also to the

other. Neither the truths in the writings of the Apostles, nor the

errors in the opinions of their opponents, can be said to exhibit the

dogmatical form of any subsequent age. It is a higher and more

universal good which is aimed at in the former; it is a deeper and more

universal principle of evil which is attacked in the latter. Christ

Himself, and no subordinate truths or speculations concerning Him, is

reflected in the one; Antichrist, and not any of the particular outward

manifestations of error which have since appeared, was justly regarded

by the Apostles as foreshadowed in the other." -- Dean Stanley

(Apostolic Age, p. 182).

Literature.--The heresies of the Apostolic Age have been thoroughly

investigated by Neander and Baur in connection with the history of

Ebionism and Gnosticism (see next vol.), and separately in the

introductions to critical commentaries on the Colossians and Pastoral

Epistles; also by Thiersch, Lipsius, Hilgenfeld. Among English writers

we mention Burton: Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, in

eight Sermons (Bampton Lectures). Oxford, 1829. Dean Stanley: Sermons

and Essays on the Apostolic Age, pp. 182-233, 3d ed. Oxford, 1874.

Bishop Lightfoot: Com. on St. Paul's Ep. to the Colossians and to

Philemon, pp. 73-113 (on the Colossian heresy and its connection with

Essenism). London, 1875. Comp. also Hilgenfeld: Die Ketzergeschichte

des Urchristenthums. Leipzig, 1884 (642 pages).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[863] Matt. 18:7; 1 Cor. 11:19: "There must be also heresies (factions)

among you, that they who are approved may be made manifest among you."

Comp. Acts 20:30; 1 Tim. 4:1; 2 Pet. 2:1-3.

[864] Acts 8:10: he Dunamis tou theou he kaloumene Megale.

[865] 1 John 2:23; 4:1-3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 74. Literature.

Comp. the Lit. on the Life of Christ, � 14, and on the Apostolic Age, �

20.

I. The Critical Editions of the Greek Testament by Lachmann (1842-50, 2

vols.); Tischendorf (ed. octava critics major, 1869-72, 2 vols., with

Prolegomena by C. R. Gregory, Part I., Leipz., 1884); Tregelles

(1857-79); Westcott and Hort (1881, with a vol. of Introd. and

Appendix. Cambridge and New York, revised ed. 1888).

Lachmann laid the foundation; Tischendorf and Tregelles greatly

enlarged and carefully sifted the critical apparatus; Westcott and Hort

restored the cleanest text from the oldest attainable sources; all

substantially agree in principle and result, and give us the ancient

uncial instead of the mediaeval cursive text.

Two bilingual editions also deserve special mention in connection with

the recent revision of Luther's and King James's versions. Oskar von

Gebhardt, Novum Testamentum Graece et Germanice, Lips., 1881, gives the

last text of Tischendorf (with the readings of Tregelles, and Westcott

and Hort below) and the revised translation of Luther. His Greek text

is also separately issued with an "Adnotatio critica," not contained in

the diglott edition. The Greek-English New Testament, containing

Westcott and Hort's Greek Text and the Revised English Version on

opposite pages, with introduction by Schaff. New York (Harper &

Brothers), 1882, revised ed. 1888.

II. The historico-critical Introductions, or literary Histories of the

New Testament by Hug, De Wette, Credner, Guericke, Horne, Davidson,

Tregelles, Grau, Hilgenfeld, Aberle, (R. Cath.), Bleek (4th ed. by

Mangold, 1886), Reuss (6th ed. 1887), Holtzmann (2d ed. 1886), Weiss

(1886), Salmon (3d ed. 1888).

III. Thiersch: Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes f�r die Kritik

der neutestamentl. Schriften. Erlangen, 1845. (Against Baur and the

T�bingen School.)--Edward C. Mitchell: Critical Handbook to the New

Test. (on Authenticity, Canon, etc.). Lond. and Andover, 1880; French

translation, Paris, 1882.--J. P. Lange:Grundriss der Bibelkunde.

Heidelberg, 1881.--Philip Schaff: Companion to the Greek Testament and

the English Version. N. Y. and Lond., 1883, 3d ed. revised 1888.--G. D.

Ladd: The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, N.York, 1883, 2 vols. The same,

abridged, 1888.

IV. The works quoted below on the Gospels and Epistles.

V. On the Canon of the New Test., the works of Kirchhofer

(Quellensammlung, etc. Z�rich, 1844, Engl. transl. enlarged by

Charteris: Canonicity, etc. Edinb., 1881); Credner (Zur Gesch. des

Kanon. Halle, 1847; Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon, herausg. von

Volkmar. Berlin, 1860); Gaussen (Engl. transl., London, 1862; abridged

transl. by Kirk, Boston, 1862); Tregelles (Canon Muratorianus. Oxford,

1867); Sam. Davidson (Lond., 1878, 3d ed., 1880); Westcott (Cambridge

and London, 1855; 6th ed., 1889); Reuss (Histoire du canon des S.

�critures. Strasb., 2d ed., 1864); Ad. Harnack (Das muratorische

Fragment und die Entstehung einer Sammlung Apost.-katholischer

Schriften, in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte," 1879, III.,

358 sqq.; comp. 595 sqq.); F. Overbeck (Zur Geschichte des Kanons.

Chemnitz, 1880); R�ville (French, 1881); Theod. Zahn (Forschungen zur

Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons, Part I-III., 1881-84; and

Geschichte des Kanons d. N. T., Leipz., 1888 sqq., 3 vols). Comp.

Harnack: Das N. T. um das Jahr. 200, Freiburg, 1889 (against Zahn), and

Zahn's reply, Leipz., 1889.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 75. Rise of the Apostolic Literature.

Christ is the book of life to be read by all. His religion is not an

outward letter of command, like the law of Moses, but free, quickening

spirit; not a literary production, but a moral creation; not a new

system of theology or philosophy for the learned, but a communication

of the divine life for the redemption of the whole world. Christ is the

personal Word of God, the eternal Logos, who became flesh and dwelt

upon earth as the true Shekinah, in the veiled glory of the only

begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth. He spoke; and all

the words of his mouth were, and still are, spirit and life. The human

heart craves not a learned, letter-writing, literary Christ, but a

wonder-working, cross-bearing, atoning Redeemer, risen, enthroned in

heaven, and ruling the world; furnishing, at the same time, to men and

angels an unending theme for meditation, discourse, and praise.

So, too, the Lord chose none of his apostles, with the single exception

of Paul, from the ranks of the learned; he did not train them to

literary authorship, nor give them, throughout his earthly life, a

single express command to labor in that way. Plain fishermen of

Galilee, unskilled in the wisdom of this world, but filled with the

Holy Spirit of truth and the powers of the world to come, were

commissioned to preach the glad tidings of salvation to all nations in

the strength and in the name of their glorified Master, who sits on the

right hand of God the Father Almighty, and has promised to be with them

to the end of time.

The gospel, accordingly, was first propagated and the church founded by

the personal oral teaching and exhortation, the "preaching,"

"testimony," "word," "tradition," of the apostles and their disciples;

as, in fact, to this day the living word is the indispensable or, at

least, the principal means of promoting the Christian religion. Nearly

all the books of the New Testament were written between the years 50

and 70, at least twenty years after the resurrection of Christ, and the

founding of the church; and the Gospel and Epistles of John still

later.

As the apostles' field of labor expanded, it became too large for their

personal attention, and required epistolary correspondence. The vital

interests of Christianity and the wants of coming generations demanded

a faithful record of the life and teaching of Christ by perfectly

reliable witnesses. For oral tradition, among fallible men, is liable

to so many accidental changes, that it loses in certainty and

credibility as its distance from the fountain-head increases, till at

last it can no longer be clearly distinguished from the additions and

corruptions collected upon it. There was great danger, too, of a wilful

distortion of the history and doctrine of Christianity by Judaizing and

paganizing errorists, who had already raised their heads during the

lifetime of the apostles. An authentic written record of the words and

acts of Jesus and his disciples was therefore absolutely indispensable,

not indeed to originate the church, but to keep it from corruption and

to furnish it with a pure standard of faith and discipline.

Hence seven and twenty books by apostles and apostolic men, written

under the special influence and direction of the Holy Spirit. These

afford us a truthful picture of the history, the faiths, and the

practice of primitive Christianity, "for teaching, for reproof, for

correction, for instruction in righteousness." [866]

The collection of these writings into a canon, in distinction both from

apocryphal or pseudo-apostolic works, and from orthodox yet merely

human productions, was the work of the early church; and in performing

it she was likewise guided by the Spirit of God and by a sound sense of

truth. It was not finished to the satisfaction of all till the end of

the fourth century, down to which time seven New Testament books (the

"Antilegomena" of Eusebius), the second Epistle of Peter, the second

and third Epistles of John, the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, the

Epistles of James and Jude, and in a certain sense also the Apocalypse

of John, were by some considered of doubtful authorship or value. But

the collection was no doubt begun, on the model of the Old Testament

canon, in the first century; [867] and the principal books, the

Gospels, the Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the first Epistle of

Peter, and the first of John, in a body, were in general use after the

middle of the second century, and were read, either entire or by

sections, in public worship, after the manner of the Jewish synagogue,

for the edification of the people.

The external testimony of tradition alone cannot (for the Protestant

Christian) decide the apostolic origin and canonical character of a

book; it must be confirmed by the internal testimony of the book

itself. But this is not wanting, and the general voice of Christendom

for these eighteen hundred years has recognized in the little volume,

which we call the New Testament, a book altogether unique in spiritual

power and influence over the mind and heart of man, and of more

interest and value than all the ancient and modern classics combined.

If ever God spoke and still speaks to man, it is in this book.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[866] 2 Tim. 3:16. It applies to "every Scripture inspired of God,"

more immediately to the Old Test., but a fortiori still more to the

New.

[867] Comp. 2 Pet. 3:16, where a collection of Paul's Epistles is

implied.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 76. Character of the New Testament.

In these inspired writings we have, not indeed an equivalent, but a

reliable substitute for the personal presence and the oral instruction

of Christ and his apostles. The written word differs from the spoken

only in form; the substance is the same, and has therefore the same

authority and quickening power for us as it had for those who heard it

first. Although these books were called forth apparently by special and

accidental occasions, and were primarily addressed to particular

circles of readers and adapted to peculiar circumstances, yet, as they

present the eternal and unchangeable truth in living forms, they suit

all circumstances and conditions. Tracts for the times, they are tracts

for all times; intended for Jews and Greeks of the first century, they

have the same interest for Englishmen and Americans of the nineteenth

century. They are to this day not only the sole reliable and pure

fountain of primitive Christianity, but also the infallible rule of

Christian faith and practice. From this fountain the church has drunk

the water of life for more than fifty generations, and will drink it

till the end of time. In this rule she has a perpetual corrective for

an her faults, and a protective against all error. Theological systems

come and go, and draw from that treasury their larger or smaller

additions to the stock of our knowledge of the truth; but they can

never equal that infallible word of God, which abideth forever.

"Our little systems have their day,

They have their day and cease to be:

They are but broken lights of Thee,

And Thou, O God, art more than they."

The New Testament evinces its universal design in its very, style,

which alone distinguishes it from all the literary productions of

earlier and later times. It has a Greek body, a Hebrew soul, and a

Christian spirit which rules both. The language is the Hellenistic

idiom; that is, the Macedonian Greek as spoken by the Jews of the

dispersion in the time of Christ; uniting, in a regenerated Christian

form, the two great antagonistic nationalities and religions of the

ancient world. The most beautiful language of heathendom and the

venerable language of the Hebrews are here combined, and baptized with

the spirit of Christianity, and made the picture of silver for the

golden apple of the eternal truth of the gospel. The style of the Bible

in general is singularly adapted to men of every class and grade of

culture, affording the child the simple nourishment for its religious

wants, and the profoundest thinker inexhaustible matter of study. The

Bible is not simply a popular book, but a book of all nations, and for

all societies, classes, and conditions of men. It is more than a book,

it is an institution which rules the Christian world.

The New Testament presents, in its way, the same union of the divine

and human as the person of Christ. In this sense also "the word became

flesh, and dwells among us." As Christ was like us in body, soul, and

spirit, sin only excepted, so the Scriptures, which "bear witness of

him," are thoroughly human (though without doctrinal and ethical error)

in contents and form, in the mode of their rise, their compilation,

their preservation, and transmission; yet at the same time they are

thoroughly divine both in thoughts and words, in origin, vitality,

energy, and effect, and beneath the human servant-form of the letter,

the eye of faith discerns the glory of "the only begotten from the

Father, full of grace and truth."

The apostolic writings are of three kinds: historical, didactic, and

prophetic. To the first class belong the Gospels and Acts; to the

second, the Epistles; to the third, the Revelation. They are related to

each other as regeneration, sanctification, and glorification; as

foundation, house, and dome. Jesus Christ is the beginning, the middle,

and the end of all. In the Gospels he walks in human form upon the

earth, and accomplishes the work of redemption. In the Acts and

Epistles he founds the church, and fills and guides it by his Spirit.

And at last, in the visions of the Apocalypse, he comes again in glory,

and with his bride, the church of the saints, reigns forever upon the

new earth in the city of God.

This order corresponds with the natural progress of the Christian

revelation and was universally adopted by the church, with the

exception of a difference in the arrangement of the Epistles. The New

Testament was not given in the form of a finished volume, but the

several books grew together by recognition and use according to the law

of internal fitness. Most of the ancient Manuscripts, Versions, and

Catalogues arrange the books in the following order: Gospels, Acts,

Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Apocalypse. [868] Some put the

Pauline Epistles before the Catholic Epistles. [869] Our English Bible

follows the order of the Latin Vulgate. [870]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[868] This order is restored in the critical editions of Lachmann,

Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort.

[869] The Codex Sinaiticus puts the Pauline Epistles before the Acts,

and the Hebrews between 2 Thessalonians and 1 Timothy.

[870] This order agrees with the Muratorian Fragment, the catalogue of

Eusebius (H. E., III. 25), that of the Synod of Carthage (a.d. 897),

and the Codex Basiliensis. Luther took the liberty of disconnecting the

Hebrews (which he ascribed to Apollos) from the Pauline Epistles, and

putting it and the Epistle of James (which be disliked) at the end of

the Catholic Epistles (except Jude)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 77. Literature on the Gospels.

I. Harmonies of the Gospels.

They begin with Tatian's Diatessaron, a.d. 170. See lists of older

works in Fabricius, Bibl. Gr., III. 212; Hase, Leben Jesu, pp. 22-31

(fifth ed.); Robinson, Harmony, pp. v. and vi.; Darling, Cyclopaedia

Bibliog. (I. Subjects, cols. 761-767); and McClintock and Strong

(Cyclop., IV. 81). We give the chief works from Griesbach to

Rushbrooke.

Griesbach (Synopsis, Halle, 1774, etc., 1822); Newcome (Dublin, 1778

and often; also Andover, 1834); Jos. Priestley (in Greek, London, 1778;

in English, 1780); Jos. White (Diatessaron, Oxford, 1799, 1803); De

Wette and L�cke (1818, 1842); R�diger (1829, 1839); Greswell (Harmonia

Evangelica, 1830, 5th ed. Oxford, 1856; Dissertations upon an Harmony,

etc., 2d ed., Oxford, 1837, 4 vols.); Macbride (Diatessaron, Oxford,

1837); Wieseler (Chronolog. Synopse, Hamb., 1843); Krafft (d. 1845;

Chronologie u. Harmonie der 4 Evang. Erlangen, 1848; edit. by Burger);

Tischendorf (Synopsis Evang. Lips., 1851, 1854; 4th ed., 1878); Rud.

Anger (Lips., 1852); Stroud (comprising a Synopsis and a Diatessaron,

London, 1853) E. Robinson (A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek,

according to the text of Hahn, Boston, 1845, 1851; revised ed., 1862;

in English, 1846); James Strong (in English, New York, 1852; in Greek,

1854); R. Mimpriss (London, 1855); Douglas (1859); Sevin (Wiesbaden,

1866); Fr. Gardiner (A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek, according

to the text of Tischendorf, with a Collation of the Textus Receptus,

etc. Andover, 1876; also his Diatessaron, The Life of our Lord in the

Words of the Gospels, Andover, 1871); J. R. Gilmore and Lyman Abbott

(The Gospel History: being a Complete Chronological Narrative of the

Life of our Lord, New York, 1881); W. G. Rushbrooke (Synopticon: an

Exposition of the Common Matter in the Synoptic Gospels, Cambridge,

1880-81, 2 parts; the Greek text of Tischendorf, corrected from

Westcott and Hort). The last work is unique and superbly printed. It

marks the differences of the narratives by different types and color,

namely, the matter common to all Evangelists in red type, the matter

common to each pair in black spaced type or capitals, the matter

peculiar to each in ordinary black type. It furnishes the best basis

for a detailed comparison and critical analysis.

II. Critical Discussions.

Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768, a dissenting minister of great learning):

The Credibility of the Gospel History. First published in 17 vols. 8vo,

London, 1727-1757, and in his collected Works, ed. by A. Kippis,

London, 1788 (in 11 vols.), vols. I.-V. Unsurpassed for honest and

solid learning, and still valuable.

J. G. Eichhorn (d. 1827): Allgem. Bibliothek der Bibl. Liter., vol. V.

(1794), pp. 759 sqq. Einleitung in das N. Testament., 1804, vol. I., 2d

ed., 1820. Here he brought out his new idea of an Urevangelium.

Herbert Marsh (Bishop of Peterborough, d. 1839): An Illustration of the

Hypothesis proposed in the Dissertation on the Origin and Composition

of our Three First Canonical Gospels. Cambridge, 1803. Also his

translation of J. D. Michaelis: Introduction to the New Test., with a

Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the Three First Gospels.

London, 1802. A modification of Eichhorn's hypothesis.

Fr. Schleiermacher:Kritischer Versuch �ber die Schriften des Lucas.

Berlin, 1817 (Werke I. 2, pp. 1-220); trans. by Thirlwall, Lond., 1825.

Comp. his Einleitung in das N. Testament. (posthumous).

J. C. L. Gieseler: Historisch-kritischer Versuch �ber die Entstehung

und die fr�hesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien. Leipz.,

1818.

Andrews Norton (a conservative Unitarian, died at Cambridge, 1853): The

Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. Boston, 1837; 2d ed.,

Cambridge, Mass., 1846-1848, 3 vols. Abridged ed. in 1 vol., Boston

(Am. Unitar. Assoc.), 1867 and 1875. By the same: Internal Evidences of

the Genuineness of the Gospels (posthumous). Boston. 1855. With special

reference to Strauss.

Fr. Bleek (d. 1859):Beitr�ge zur Evangelien-Kritik. Berlin, 1846.

F. Chr. Baur (d. 1860):Kritische Untersuchungen �ber die kanonischen

Evangelien. 1847. Comp. the first volume of his Church History (Germ.

ed., pp. 22 sqq., 148 sqq.).

Isaac Da Costa: The Four Witnesses: being a Harmony of the Gospels on a

New Principle. Transl. (from the Dutch) by David Scott, 1851; New York

ed., 1855. Against Strauss.

Ad. Hilgenfeld (T�bingen School): Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung

und geschichtl. Bedeutung. Leipz., 1854. His Einleitung, 1875.

Canon Westcott: Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. London and

Boston, 1860; 7th ed., London, 1888. Very useful.

Const. Tischendorf (d. 1874): Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?

Leipz., 4th ed., 1866 (Engl. transl. by W. L. Gage, Boston, 1868).

H. Jul. Holtzmann: Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und

geschichtl. Charakter. Leipz., 1863. See also his art. Evangelien in

Schenkel's "Bibel-Lex.," II. 207, and two articles on the Synoptic

Question in the "Jahrb�cher f�r Protest. Theol.," 1878, pp. 145 sqq.

and 533 sqq.; but especially his Einleitung in das N. T., 2d ed., 1886.

C. Weizs�cker (successor of Dr. Baur, but less radical): Untersuchungen

�ber die evang. Gesch., ihre Quellen, etc. Gotha, 1864.

Gustave d'Eichthal: Les �vangiles. Paris, 1863. 2 vols.

L. A. Sabatier: Essai sur les sources de la vie de J�sus. Paris, 1866.

Andrew Jukes: The Characteristic Differences of the Four Gospels.

London, 1867.

Edward A. Thomson: The Four Evangelists; with the Distinctive

Characteristics of their Gospels. Edinburgh, 1868.

C. A. Row: The Historical Character of the Gospels Tested by an

Examination of their Contents. 1865-67. The Jesus of the Evangelists.

London, 1868.

Karl Wieseler: Beitr�ge zur richtigen W�rdigung der Evangelien und der

evangel. Geschichte. Gotha, 1869.

Supernatural Religion (anonymous). London, 1873, 7th ed., 1879, vol.

I., Part II., pp. 212 sqq., and vol. III. Comp. the careful review and

refutation of this work by Bishop Lightfoot in a series of articles in

the "Contemporary Review," 1875, sqq.

P. Godet: The Origin o f the Four Gospels. In his "Studies on the New

Test.," 1873. Engl. transl. by W. H. Lyttelton. London, 1876. See also

his Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke, Introd. and Appendix, Eng.

trans. from 2d French ed. Edinb., 1875.

W. Sanday: The Gospels in the Second Century. London, 1876.

Bernhard Weiss (Professor in Berlin): Das Marcusevangelium und seine

synoptischen Parallelen. Berlin, 1872. Das Matth�usevangelium und seine

Lucas-Parallelen erkl�rt. Halle, 1876. Two very thorough critical

works. Comp. also his reply to Holtzmann in the "Jahrb�cher for

Protest. Theologie," 1878; and his Einleitung in's N. T., 1886.

D. S. Gregory: Why Four Gospels? or, the Gospels for all the World. New

York, 1877.

E. Renan: Les �vangiles et la seconde g�n�ration Chr�tienne. Paris,

1877.

Geo. P. Fisher (Professor in New Haven): The Beginnings of

Christianity. New York, 1877. Chs. VIII.-XII. Also several articles on

the Gospels in the "Princeton Review" for 1881.

Wm. Thomson (Archbishop of York): The Gospels. General Introduction to

Speaker's "Com. on the New Test.," vol. I., pp. xiii.-lxxv. London and

New York, 1878.

Edwin A. Abbott (Head Master, City of London School): Gospels, in the

ninth edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannia," vol. X., pp. 789-843.

Edinburgh and New York, 1879.

Fred. Huidekoper (Unitar. Theol. Seminary, Meadville, Pa.): Indirect

Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels. New York, 2d

ed., 1879.

John Kennedy (D. D.): The Four Gospels: their Age and Authorship.

Traced from the Fourth Century into the First. London; Am. ed., with an

introduction by Edwin W. Rice. Philadelphia, 1880 (Am. Sunday School

Union).

J. H. Scholten:Das Paulinische Evangelium. Transl. from the Dutch by E.

B. Redepenning. Elberfeld, 1881.

C. Holsten:Die drei urspr�nglichen, noch ungeschriebenen Evangelien.

Leipzig, 1883 (79 pages). A modification of Baur's tendency-hypothesis.

Holsten assumes three forms of the original oral Gospel--the Pauline,

the Petrine, and the Judaistic.

Norton, Tischendorf, Wieseler, Ebrard, Da Costa, Westcott, Lightfoot,

Sanday, Kennedy, Thomson, Godet, Ezra Abbot, and Fisher are

conservative and constructive, yet critical; Baur, Hilgenfeld,

Holtzmann, Keim, Renan, Scholten, Davidson, and the author of

"Supernatural Religion" are radical but stimulating and negatively

helpful especially Baur, Reim, and Renan. Bleek, Ewald, Reuss, Meyer,

and Weiss occupy independent middle ground, but all defend the

genuineness of John except Reuss, who hesitates.

III. Commentaries.

1. Ancient Works: Origen (in Math., Luc., etc., fragmentary);

Chrysostom (Hom. in Matth., ed. Fr. Field, 1839); Jerome (in Matth.; in

Luc.); Augustine (Quaestionum Evangeliorum libri II.); Theophylact

(Comment, in 4 Evang., Gr. et Lat.); Euthymius Zigabenus (Com. in 4

Evang., Gr. et Lat.); Thomas Aquinas (Catena aurea in Evan .; English

edition by Pusey, Keble, and Newman. Oxford, 1841-45, 4 vols.).

2. Since the Reformation: Calvin (Harmonia, and Ev. Joa., 1553; Engl.

ed., Edinb., 1846, 3 vols.); Maldonatus (R. Cath., Com. in quatuor

Evang., 1615); Pasquier Quesnel (Jansenist; The Four Gospels, French

and English, several editions); John Lightfoot (Horae Hebraicae et

Talmudicae in quatuor Evangelistas, and Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum

tum inter se, tum cum Veteri Testamento, in his Opera. London, 1684;

also Leipz., 1675; Rotterdam, 1686; London, 1825); J. Macknight (Harm.

of the Four Gospels, with Paraphrase and Notes. London, 1756; 5th ed.,

1819, 2 vols.); George Campbell (d. 1796; The Four Gospels, with

Dissertations and Notes. Aberdeen, 1814, 4 vols.; Andover, 1837, 2

vols.).

3. In the nineteenth century: Olshausen (d. 1839; 3d ed., 1837 sqq.

revised and completed by Ebrard and others; Engl. transl., Edinb. and

Now York); De Wette (d. 1849; Exeget. Handbuch zum N. T., 1837; 5th ed.

by Br�ckner and others, 1863 sqq.); Bleek (d. 1859; Synopt. Erkl�rung

der 3 ersten Evang., 1862, 2 vols.); Meyer (d. 1874; 6th ed., 1876-80,

Matthew by Meyer Mark, Luke and John revised by Weiss); Lange (Am. ed.

enlarged, New York and Edinb., 1864 sqq., 3 vols.); Alford (d. 1871;

6th ed., 1868; new ed., 1877); Wordsworth (5th ed., 1866); Jos. A.

Alexander (d. 1859; Mark and Matthew, the latter unfinished); McClellan

(The Four Gospels, with the Chronological and Analytical Harmony.

London, 1875); Keil (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, 1877-1881); Morison

(Matthew and Mark, the latter in a third ed., 1882); Godet (Luke and

John, French and English), Strack and Z�ckler (1888). For English

readers: Speaker's Com., Ellicott's Com., Schaff's Revision Com., 1882,

etc.

Comp. a list of Com. on the Gospels in the English transl. of Meyer on

Matthew (Edinb., 1877, pp. xxiv.-xliii).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 78. The Four Gospels.

General Character and Aim of the Gospels.

Christianity is a cheerful religion and brings joy and peace from

heaven to earth. The New Testament opens with the gospel, that is with

the authentic record of the history of all histories, the glad tidings

of salvation through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

[871] The four canonical Gospels are only variations of the same theme,

a fourfold representation of one and the same gospel, animated by the

same spirit. [872] They are not full biographies, [873] but only

memoirs or a selection of characteristic features of Christ's life and

work as they struck each Evangelist and best suited his purpose and his

class of readers. [874] They are not photographs which give only the

momentary image in a single attitude, but living pictures from repeated

sittings, and reproduce the varied expressions and aspects of Christ's

person.

The style is natural, unadorned, straightforward, and objective. Their

artless and na�ve simplicity resembles the earliest historic records in

the Old Testament, and has its peculiar and abiding charm for all

classes of people and all degrees of culture. The authors, in noble

modesty and self-forgetfulness, suppress their personal views and

feelings, retire in worshipful silence before their great subject, and

strive to set it forth in all its own unaided power.

The first and fourth Gospels were composed by apostles and

eye-witnesses, Matthew and John; the second and third, under the

influence of Peter and Paul, and by their disciples Mark and Luke, so

as to be indirectly likewise of apostolic origin and canonical

authority. Hence Mark is often called the Gospel of Peter, and Luke the

Gospel of Paul.

The common practical aim of the Evangelists is to lead the reader to a

saving faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah and Redeemer

of the world. [875]

Common Origin.

The Gospels have their common source in the personal intercourse of two

of the writers with Christ, and in the oral tradition of the apostles

and other eye-witnesses. Plain fishermen of Galilee could not have

drawn such a portrait of Jesus if he had not sat for it. It would take

more than a Jesus to invent a Jesus. They did not create the divine

original, but they faithfully preserved and reproduced it.

The gospel story, being constantly repeated in public preaching and in

private circles, assumed a fixed, stereotyped form; the more readily,

on account of the reverence of the first disciples for every word of

their divine Master. Hence the striking agreement of the first three,

or synoptical Gospels, which, in matter and form, are only variations

of the same theme. Luke used, according to his own statement, besides

the oral tradition, written documents on certain parts of the life of

Jesus, which doubtless appeared early among the first disciples. The

Gospel of Mark, the confidant of Peter, is a faithful copy of the

gospel preached and otherwise communicated by this apostle; with the

use, perhaps, of Hebrew records which Peter may have made from time to

time under the fresh impression of the events themselves.

Individual Characteristics.

But with all their similarity in matter and style, each of the Gospels,

above all the fourth, has its peculiarities, answering to the personal

character of its author, his special design, and the circumstances of

his readers. The several evangelists present the infinite fulness of

the life and person of Jesus in different aspects and different

relations to mankind; and they complete one another. The symbolical

poesy of the church compares them with the four rivers of Paradise, and

with the four cherubic representatives of the creation, assigning the

man to Matthew, the lion to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to

John.

The apparent contradictions of these narratives, when closely examined,

sufficiently solve themselves, in all essential points, and serve only

to attest the honesty, impartiality, and credibility of the authors. At

the same time the striking combination of resemblances and differences

stimulates close observation and minute comparison, and thus impresses

the events of the life of Christ more vividly and deeply upon the mind

and heart of the reader than a single narrative could do. The immense

labor of late years in bringing out the comparative characteristics of

the Gospels and in harmonizing their discrepancies has not been in

vain, and has left a stronger conviction of their independent worth and

mutual completeness.

Matthew wrote for Jews, Mark for Romans, Luke for Greeks, John for

advanced Christians; but all are suited for Christians in every age and

nation. [876] The first Gospel exhibits Jesus of Nazareth as the

Messiah and Lawgiver of the kingdom of heaven who challenges our

obedience; the second Gospel as the mighty conqueror and worker of

miracles who excites our astonishment; the third Gospel as the

sympathizing Friend and Saviour of men who commands our confidence; the

fourth Gospel as the eternal Son of God who became flesh for our

salvation and claims our adoration and worship, that by believing in

him we may have eternal life. The presiding mind which planned this

fourfold gospel and employed the agents without a formal agreement and

in conformity to their talents, tastes, and spheres of usefulness, is

the Spirit of that Lord who is both the Son of Man and the Son of God,

the Saviour of us all.

Time Of Composition.

As to the time of composition, external testimony and internal evidence

which modern critical speculations have not been able to invalidate,

point to the seventh decade of the first century for the Synoptic

Gospels, and to the ninth decade for the Gospel of John.

The Synoptic Gospels were certainly written before a.d. 70; for they

describe the destruction of Jerusalem as an event still future, though

nigh at hand, and connect it immediately with the glorious appearing of

our Lord, which it was thought might take place within the generation

then living, although no precise date is fixed anywhere, the Lord

himself declaring it to be unknown even to him. Had the Evangelists

written after that terrible catastrophe, they would naturally have made

some allusion to it, or so arranged the eschatological discourses of

our Lord (Matt. 24; Mark 13; Luke 21) as to enable the reader clearly

to discriminate between the judgment of Jerusalem and the final

judgment of the world, as typically foreshadowed by the former. [877]

On the other hand, a considerable number of years must have elapsed

after the resurrection. This is indicated by the fact that several

imperfect attempts at a gospel history had previously been made (Luke

1:1), and by such a phrase as: "until this day" (Matt. 27:8; 28:15).

But it is quite impossible to fix the precise year of composition. The

silence of the Epistles is no conclusive argument that the Synoptists

wrote after the death of James, Peter, and Paul; for there is the same

silence in the Acts concerning the Epistles of Paul, and in the

Epistles concerning the Acts. The apostles did not quote each other's

writings. the only exception is the reference of Peter to the Epistles

of Paul. In the multiplicity of their labors the Evangelists may have

been engaged for several years in preparing their works until they

assumed their present shape. The composition of a life of Christ now

may well employ many years of the profoundest study.

The Hebrew Matthew was probably composed first; then Mark; the Greek

Matthew and Luke cannot be far apart. If the Acts, which suddenly break

off with Paul's imprisonment in Rome (61-63), were written before the

death of the apostle, the third Gospel, which is referred to as "the

first treatise" (Acts 1:1), must have been composed before a.d. 65 or

64, perhaps, in Caesarea, where Luke had the best opportunity to gather

his material during Paul's imprisonment between 58 and 60; but it was

probably not published till a few years afterwards. Whether the later

Synoptists knew and used the earlier will be discussed in the next

section.

John, according to the universal testimony of antiquity, which is

confirmed by internal evidence, wrote his Gospel last, after the fall

of Jerusalem and after the final separation of the Christians from the

Jews. He evidently presupposes the Synoptic Gospels (although he never

refers to them), and omits the eschatological and many other discourses

and miracles, even the institution of the sacraments, because they were

already sufficiently known throughout the church. But in this case too

it is impossible to fix the year of composition. John carried his

Gospel in his heart and memory for many years and gradually reduced it

to writing in his old age, between a.d. 80 and 100; for he lived to the

close of the first century and, perhaps, saw the dawn of the second.

Credibility.

The Gospels make upon every unsophisticated reader the impression of

absolute honesty. They tell the story without rhetorical embellishment,

without any exclamation of surprise or admiration, without note and

comment. They frankly record the weaknesses and failings of the

disciples, including themselves, the rebukes which their Master

administered to them for their carnal misunderstandings and want of

faith, their cowardice and desertion in the most trying hour, their

utter despondency after the crucifixion, the ambitious request of John

and James, the denial of Peter, the treason of Judas. They dwell even

with circumstantial minuteness upon the great sin of the leader of the

Twelve, especially the Gospel of Mark, who derived his details no doubt

from Peter's own lips. They conceal nothing, they apologize for

nothing, they exaggerate nothing. Their authors are utterly unconcerned

about their own fame, and withhold their own name; their sole object is

to tell the story of Jesus, which carries its own irresistible force

and charm to the heart of every truth-loving reader. The very

discrepancies in minor details increase confidence and exclude the

suspicion of collusion; for it is a generally acknowledged principle in

legal evidence that circumstantial variation in the testimony of

witnesses confirms their substantial agreement. There is no historical

work of ancient times which carries on its very face such a seal of

truthfulness as these Gospels.

The credibility of the canonical Gospels receives also negative

confirmation from the numerous apocryphal Gospels which by their

immeasurable inferiority and childishness prove the utter inability of

the human imagination, whether orthodox or heterodox, to produce such a

character as the historical Jesus of Nazareth.

No post-apostolic writers could have composed the canonical Gospels,

and the apostles themselves could not have composed them without the

inspiration of the spirit of Christ.

Notes.

1. The Symbolism of the Gospels. This belongs to the history of

Christian poetry and art, but also to the history of exegesis, and may

be briefly mentioned here. It presents the limited recognition of the

individuality of the Gospels among the fathers and throughout the

middle ages.

The symbolic attributes of the Evangelists were suggested by Ezekiel's

vision of the four cherubim which represent the creation and carry the

throne of God (Ez. 1:15 sqq.; 10:1 sqq.; 11:22), and by the four

"living creatures" (zoa, nottheria, "beasts," with which the E. V.

confounds them) in the Apocalypse (Rev. 4:6-9; 5:6, 8, 11, 14; 6:1, 3,

5, 6, 7; 7:11; 14:3; 15:7; 19:4).

(1.) The theological use. The cherubic figures which the prophet saw in

his exile on the banks of the Chebar, symbolize the divine attributes

of majesty and strength reflected in the animal creation; and the

winged bulls and lions and the eagle-beaded men of Assyrian monuments

have a similar significance. But the cherubim were interpreted as

prophetic types of the four Gospels as early as the second century,

with some difference in the application.

Irenaeus (about 170) regards the faces of the cherubim (man, lion, ox,

eagle) as "images of the life and work of the Son of God," and assigns

the man to Matthew, and the ox to Luke, but the eagle to Mark and the

lion to John (Adv. Haer., III. 11, 8, ed. Stieren I. 469 sq.).

Afterwards the signs of Mark and John were properly exchanged. So by

Jerome (d. 419) in his Com. on Ezekiel and other passages. I quote from

the Prologus to his Comment. in Ev. Matthaei (Opera, vol. VII., p. 19,

ed. Migne): "Haec igitur quatuor Evangelia multo ante praedicta,

Ezechielis quoque volumen probat, in quo prima visio ita contexitur:

'Et in medio sicut similitudo quatuor animalium: et vultus eorum facies

hominis, et facies leonis, et facies vituli, et facies aquilae' (Ezech.

1:5 et 10). Prima hominis facies Matthaeum significat, qui quasi de

homine exorsus est scribere: 'Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii

David, filii Abraham' (Matth. 1). Secunda, Marcum, in quo [al. qua] vox

leonis in eremo rugientis auditur: 'Vox clamantis in deserto [al.

eremo], Parate viam Domini, rectas facile semitas ejus' (Marc. 1:3).

Tertia, vituli, quae evangelistam Lucam a Zacharia sacerdote sumpsisse

initium praefigurat. Quarta, Joannem evangelistam, qui assumptis pennis

aquilae, et ad altiora festinans, de Verbo Dei disputat.

Augustin (De Consens. Evang., Lib. I., c. 6, in Migne's ed. of the

Opera, tom. III., 1046) assigns the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark

(whom he wrongly regarded as an abbreviator of Matthew), the ox to

Luke, and the eagle to John, because "he soars as an eagle above the

clouds of human infirmity, and gazes on the light of immutable truth

with most keen and steady eyes of the heart." In another place (Tract.

XXXVI. in Joh. Ev., c. 8, � 1) Augustin says: "The other three

Evangelists walked as it were on earth with our Lord as man (tamquam

cum homine Domino in terra ambulabant) and said but little of his

divinity. But John, as if he found it oppressive to walk on earth,

opened his treatise, so to speak, with a peal of thunder .... To the

sublimity of this beginning all the rest corresponds, and he speaks of

our Lord's divinity as no other." He calls the evangelic quaternion

"the fourfold car of the Lord, upon which he rides throughout the world

and subdues the nations to his easy yoke." Pseudo-Athanasius (Synopsis

Script.) assigns the man to Matthew, the ox to Mark, the lion to Luke.

These variations in the application of the emblems reveal the defects

of the analogy. The man might as well (with Lange) be assigned to

Luke's Gospel of humanity as the sacrificial ox. But Jerome's

distribution of the symbols prevailed and was represented in poetry by

Sedulius in the fifth century.

Among recent divines, Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, who is in full

sympathy with the fathers and all their pious exegetical fancies, has

thus eloquently reproduced the cherubic symbolism (in his Com. on The

New Test., vol. I., p. xli): "The Christian church, looking at the

origin of the Four Gospels, and the attributes which God has in rich

measure been pleased to bestow upon them by his Holy Spirit, found a

prophetic picture of them in the four living cherubim, named from

heavenly knowledge, seen by the prophet Ezekiel at the river of Chebar.

Like them the Gospels are four in number; like them they are the

chariot of God, who sitteth between the cherubim; like them they bear

him on a winged throne into all lands; like them they move wherever the

Spirit guides them; like them they are marvellously joined together,

intertwined with coincidences and differences: wing interwoven with

wing, and wheel interwoven with wheel; like them they are full of eyes,

and sparkle with heavenly light; like them they sweep from heaven to

earth, and from earth to heaven, and fly with lightning's speed and

with the noise of many waters. Their sound is gone out into all lands,

and the words to the end of the world." Among German divines, Dr. Lange

is the most ingenious expounder of this symbolism, but he exchanges the

symbols of Matthew and Luke. See his Leben Jesu, I., 156 sqq., and his

Bibelkunde (1881), p. 176.

(2.) The pictorial representations of the four Evangelists, from the

rude beginnings in the catacombs and the mosaics of the basilicas at

Rome and Ravenna to modern times, have been well described by Mrs.

Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art, vol. I, 132-175 (Boston ed., 1865).

She distinguishes seven steps in the progress of Christian art: 1st,

the mere fact, the four scrolls, or books of the Evangelists; 2d, the

idea, the four rivers of salvation flowing from on high to fertilize

the whole earth; 3d, the prophetic symbol, the winged cherub of

fourfold aspect; 4th, the Christian symbol, the four "beasts" (better,

"living creatures") in the Apocalypse, with or without the angel-wings;

5th, the combination of the emblematical animal with the human form;

6th, the human personages, each of venerable or inspired aspect, as

becomes the teacher and witness, and each attended by the scriptural

emblem--no longer an emblem, but an attribute--marking his individual

vocation and character; 7th, the human being only, holding his Gospel,

i.e., his version of the teaching and example of Christ.

(3.) Religious poetry gives expression to the same idea. We find it in

Juvencus and Sedulius, and in its perfection in Adam of St. Victor, the

greatest Latin poet of the middle ages (about 1172). He made the

Evangelists the subject of two musical poems: "Plausu chorus

laetabundo," and "Jocundare plebs fidelis." Both are found in Gautier's

edition (1858), and with a good English translation by Digby S.

Wrangham in The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor, London, 1881,

vol, II., pp. 156-169. The first has been well reproduced in English by

Dr. Plumptre (in his Com. on the Synoptists, in Ellicott's series, but

with the omission of the first three stanzas). I will quote the third

stanza of the first (with Wrangham's version):

"

Circa thema generale,

Habet quisque speciale

Styli privilegium:

Quod praesignat in propheta

Forma pictus sub discreta

Vultus animalium."

"Though one set of facts is statted,

They by each one are related

In a manner all his own:

This the prophet by four creatures,

Each of different form and features,

Pictures for us, one by one."

In the second poem the following stanzas are the best:

Formam viri dant Matthaeo,

Quia scripsit sic de Deo,

Sicut descendit ab eo,

Quem plasmavit, homine.

Lucas bos est in figura

Ut praemonstrat in Scriptura,

Hostiarum tangens jura

Legis sub velamine.

Matthew as the man is treated,

Since 'tis he, who hath related,

How from man, by God created,

God did, as a man, descend.

Luke the ox's semmblance weareth,

Since his Gospel first declareth,

As he thence the Law's veil teareth,

Sacrifice' aim and end.

Marcus, lleo per desertum

Clamans, rugit in apertum:

Iter fiat Deo certum,

Mundum cor a crimine.

Sed Johannes, ala bina

Charitatis, aquilina

Forma, fetur in divinaa

Puriori lumine.

Mark, the lion, his voice upraises,

Crying out in desert places:

"Cleanse your hearts from all sin's traces,

For our God a way prepare!"

John, the eagle's feature having,

Earth on love's twain pinions leaving,

Soars aloft, God's truth perceiving

In light's purer atmosphere.

Ecce forma bestialis

Quam Scriptura prophetalis

Notat, sed materialis

Haec est impositio.

Currunt rotis, volant alis;

Inest sensus spiuritalis;

Rota gressus est aequalis,

Ala contemplatio.

Thus the Thus the forms of brute creation

Prophets in their revelation

Use; but in their application

All their sacred lessons bring.

Mystic meaning underlieth

Wheels that run, or wing that flieth

One consent the first implieth,

Contemplation means the wing.

Quatuor decribunt isti

Quadriformes actus Christi:

Et figurant, ut audisti,

Quisque sua formula.

Natus homo declaratur

Vitulus sacrificatur,

Leo mortem depraedatur,

Et ascendit aquila.

These four writers, in portraying

Christ, his fourfold acts displaying.

Show him - thou hast heard the saying -

Each of them distinctively;

Man - of woman generated;

Ox - in offering dedicated;

Lion - having death defeated;

Eagle - mounting to the sky.

Paradisus lis regature,

Viret, floret, foecundatur,

His abundat, his laetatur

Quatuor fluminibus:

Fons est Christus, hi aunt rivi,

Fons est altus, hi proclivi,

Ut saporem fontis vivi

Ministrent fidelibus.

These four streams, through Eden flowing,

Moisture, verdure, still bestowing,

Make the flowers and fruit there growing

In rich plenty kaugh and sing

Christ the cource, these streams forth sending;

High the source, these downward trending;

That they thus a taste transcending

Of life's fount to saints may bring.

Horum rivo debriatis

Sitis crescat caritatis,

Ut de fonte pietatis

Satiemur plenius.

Horum trabat nos doctrina

Vitiorum de sentin�,

Sicque ducat ad divina

Ab imo superius.

At their stream inebriated,

Be our love's thirst aggravated,

More completely to be sated

At a holier love's full fount!

May the doctrine they provide us

Draw us from sin's slough beside us,

An to things divine thus guide us,

As from earth we upward mount!

II. The Credibility of the Gospels would never have been denied if it

were not for the philosophical and dogmatic skepticism which desires to

get rid of the supernatural and miraculous at any price. It impresses

itself upon men of the highest culture as well as upon the unlearned

reader. The striking testimony of Rousseau is well known and need not

be repeated. I will quote only from two great writers who were by no

means biased in favor of orthodoxy. Dr. W. E. Channing, the

distinguished leader of American Unitarianism, says (with reference to

the Strauss and Parker skepticism): "I know no histories to be compared

with the Gospels in marks of truth, in pregnancy of meaning, in

quickening power." ... "As to his [Christ's] biographers, they speak

for themselves. Never were more simple and honest ones. They show us

that none in connection with Christ would give any aid to his

conception, for they do not receive it .... The Gospels are to me their

own evidence. They are the simple records of a being who could not have

been invented, and the miraculous and more common parts of his life so

hang together, are so permeated by the same spirit, are so plainly

outgoings of one and the same man, that I see not how we can admit one

without the other." See Channing's Memoir by his nephew, tenth ed.,

Boston, 1874 Vol. II., pp. 431, 434, 436. The testimony of Goethe will

have with many still greater weight. He recognized in the Gospels the

highest manifestation of the Divine which ever appeared in this world,

and the summit of moral culture beyond which the human mind can never

rise, however much it may progress in any other direction. "Ich halte

die Evangelien," he says, "f�r durchaus �cht; denn es ist in ihnen der

Abglanz einer Hoheit wirksam, die von der Person Christi ausging: die

ist q�ttlicher Art, wie nur je auf Erden das G�ttliche erschienen ist."

(Gespr�che mit Eckermann, III., 371.) Shortly before his death he said

to the same friend: "Wir wissen gar nicht, was wir Luther'n und der

Reformation zu danken haben. Mag die geistige Cultur immer

Fortschreiten, m�gen die Naturwissenschaften in immer breiterer

Ausdehnung und Tiefe wachsen und der menschliche Geist sick erweitern

wie er will: �ber die Hoheit und sittliche Cultur des Christenthums,

wie es in den Evangelien leuchtet, wird er nicht hinauskommen." And

such Gospels Strauss and Renan would fain make us believe to be poetic

fictions of illiterate Galilaeans! This would be the most incredible

miracle of all.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[871] The Greek word euangelion which passed into the Latin evangelium,

and through this into modern languages (French, German, Italian, etc.),

means 1st, reward for good news to the messenger (in Homer); 2d, good

news, glad tidings; 3d, glad tidings of Christ and his salvation (so in

the New Test.); 4th, the record of these glad tidings (so in the

headings of the Gospels and in ecclesiastical usage). The Saxon

"gospel," i.e., God's spell or good spell (from spellian, to tell), is

the nearest idiomatic equivalent for euangelion.

[872] Irenaeus very properly calls them tetramorphon to euangelion,

heni pneumati sunechomenon, quadriforme evangelium quod uno spiritu

continetur. Adv. Haer. III. 11, � 8.

[873] This is expressly disclaimed in John 20:30; comp. 21:25

[874] Hence Justin Martyr, in his two "Apologies" (written about 146),

calls the Gospels "Memoirs" or "Memorabilia" (Apomnemoneumata) of

Christ or of the Apostles, in imitation no doubt of the Memorabilia of

Socrates by Xenophon. That Justin means no other books but our

canonical Gospels by theme "Memoirs," which he says were read in public

worship on Sunday, there can be no reasonable doubt. See especially Dr.

Abbot's Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, 1880.

[875] John 20:30, 31:tauta de gegraptai hina pisteuete oti Iesous estin

Christos , ho huios tou theou, kai hina pisteuontes zeen echete en to

onomati autou.

[876] This characterization is very old, and goes back to Gregory

Nazianzen, Carmen 33, where he enumerates the books of the New Test.,

and says; Mattheios men egrapsen Hebraiois thaumata Christou, Markos d

Italie, Loukas Achaiidi Pasi d' Ioannes kerux megas , ouranophoites.

[877] See on this subject Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity, ch. XI.:

"Water marks of Age in the New Test, Histories," pp. 363 sqq.,

especially p. 371.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 79. The Synoptists.

(See the Lit. in � 78.)

The Synoptic Problem.

The fourth Gospel stands by itself and differs widely from the others

in contents and style, as well as in distance of time of composition.

There can be no doubt that the author, writing towards the close of the

first century, must have known the three older ones.

But the first three Gospels present the unique phenomenon of a most

striking agreement and an equally striking disagreement both in matter

and style, such as is not found among any three writers on the same

subject. Hence they are called the Synoptic or Synoptical Gospels, and

the three Evangelists, Synoptists. [878] This fact makes a harmony of

the Gospels possible in all essentials, and yet impossible in many

minor details. The agreement is often literal, and the disagreement

often borders on contradiction, but without invalidating the essential

harmony.

The interrelationship between Matthew, Mark, and Luke is, perhaps, the

most complicated and perplexing critical problem in the history of

literature. The problem derives great importance from its close

connection with the life of Christ, and has therefore tried to the

utmost the learning, acumen, and ingenuity of modern scholars for

nearly a century. The range of hypotheses has been almost exhausted,

and yet no harmonious conclusion reached.

The Relationship.

The general agreement of the Synoptists consists:

1. In the harmonious delineation of the character of Christ. The

physiognomy is the same, only under three somewhat different aspects.

All represent him as the Son of man and as the Son of God, as the

promised Messiah and Saviour, teaching the purest doctrine, living a

spotless life, performing mighty miracles, suffering and dying for the

sins of the world, and rising in triumph to establish his kingdom of

truth and righteousness. Such unity in the unique character of the hero

of the three narratives has no parallel in secular or sacred histories

or biographies, and is the best guarantee of the truthfulness of the

picture.

2. In the plan and arrangement of the evangelical history, yet with

striking peculiarities.

(a.) Matthew 1-2, and Luke 1-2, and 3:23-38, begin with the genealogy

and infancy of Christ, but with different facts drawn from different

sources. Mark opens at once with the preaching of the Baptist; while

the fourth Evangelist goes back to the eternal pre-existence of the

Logos. About the thirty years of Christ's private life and his quiet

training for the great work they are all silent, with the exception of

Luke, who gives us a glimpse of his early youth in the temple

(Luke2:42-52).

(b.) The preaching and baptism of John which prepared the way for the

public ministry of Christ, is related by all the Synoptists in parallel

sections: Matt. 3:1-12; Mark 1:1-8; Luke 3:1-18.

(c.) Christ's baptism and temptation, the Messianic inauguration and

Messianic trial: Matt. 3:13-17; 4:1-11; Mark 1:9-11, 12, 13 (very

brief); Luke 3:21-23; 4:1-13. The variations here between Matthew and

Luke are very slight, as in the order of the second and third

temptation. John gives the testimony of the Baptist to Christ, and

alludes to his baptism (John 1:32-34), but differs from the Synoptists.

(d.) The public ministry of Christ in Galilee: Matt. 4:12-18:35; Mark

1:14-9:50; Luke 4:14-9:50. But Matthew 14:22-16:12, and Mark 6:45-8:26,

narrate a series of events connected with the Galilaean ministry, which

are wanting in Luke; while Luke 9:51-18:14, has another series of

events and parables connected with the last journey to Jerusalem which

are peculiar to him.

(e.) The journey to Jerusalem: Matt. 19:1-20:31; Mark 10:1-52; Luke

18:15-19:28.

(f.) The entry into Jerusalem and activity there during the week before

the last passover: Matt. 21-25; Mark 11-13; Luke 19:29-21:38.

(g.) The passion, crucifixion, and resurrection in parallel sections,

but with considerable minor divergences, especially in the denial of

Peter and the history of the resurrection: Matt. 26-28; Mark 14-16;

Luke 22-24.

The events of the last week, from the entry to the resurrection (from

Palm Sunday to Easter), occupy in all the largest space, about

one-fourth of the whole narrative.

3. In the selection of the same material and in verbal coincidences, as

in the eschatological discourses of Christ, with an almost equal number

of little differences. Thus the three accounts of the hearing of the

paralytic (Matt. 9:1-8, and parallel passages), the feeding of the five

thousand, the transfiguration, almost verbally agree. Occasionally the

Synoptists concur in rare and difficult words and forms in the same

connection, as epiousios [in tee Lords Prapser], tee diminutie otion,

little ear (of Malchus, Matt. 26:51, and parallel passages),

duskolos,hard (for a rich man to enter into the kingdom, Matt. 19:23,

etc.). These coincidences are the more striking since our Lord spoke

usually in Aramaic; but those words may have been Palestinian

provincialisms. [879]

The largest portion of verbal agreement, to the extent of about

seven-eighths, is found in the words of others, especially of Christ;

and the largest portion of disagreement in the narratives of the

writers. [880] This fact bears against the theory of interdependence,

and proves, on the one hand, the reverent loyalty of all the Synoptists

to the teaching of the great Master, but also, on the other hand, their

freedom and independence of observation and judgment in the narration

of facts. Words can be accurately reported only in one form, as they

were spoken; while events may be correctly narrated in different words.

Numerical Estimates Of The Harmony And Variation.

The extent of the coincidences, and divergences admits of an

approximate calculation by sections, verses, and words. In every case

the difference of size must be kept in mind: Luke is the largest, with

72 pages (in Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament); Matthew comes next,

with 68 pages; Mark last, with 42 pages. (John has 55 pages.)

1. Estimate by Sections.

Matthew has in all 78, Mark, 67, Luke, 93 sections.

Dividing the Synoptic text into 124 sections, with Dr. Reuss, [881]

All Evangelists have in common 47 sections.

Matthew and Mark alone have 12 "

Matthew and Luke " " 2 "

Mark and Luke " " 6 "

Sections peculiar to Matthew 17

" " " Mark 2

" " " Luke 38

Another arrangement by sections has been made by Norton, Stroud, and

Westcott. [882] If the total contents of the Gospels be represented by

100, the following result is obtained:

Mark has 7 peculiarities and 93 coincidences.

Matthew has 42 " " 58 "

Luke has 59 " " 41 "

[John has 92 " " 8 " ]

If the extent of all the coincidences be represented by 100, their

proportion is:

Matthew, Mark, and Luke have 53 coincidences.

Matthew and Luke have 21 "

Matthew and Mark have 20 "

Mark and Luke have 6 "

"In St. Mark," says Westcott, "there are not more than twenty-four

verses to which no parallel exists in St. Matthew and St. Luke, though

St. Mark exhibits everywhere traits of vivid detail which are peculiar

to his narrative."

2. Estimate by Verses.

According to the calculation of Reuss, [883]

Matthew contains 330 verses peculiar to him.

Mark contains 68 " " "

Luke contains 541 " " "

Matthew and Mark have from 170 to 180 verses in common, but not found

in Luke.

Matthew and Luke have from 230 to 240 verses in common, but not found

in Mark.

Mark and Luke have about 50 verses in common, but not found in Matthew.

The total number of verses common to all three Synoptists is only from

330 to 370. But, as the verses in the second Gospel are generally

shorter, it is impossible to make an exact mathematical calculation by

verses.

3. Estimate by Words.

A still more accurate test can be furnished by the number of words.

This has not yet been made as far as I know, but a basis of calculation

is furnished by Rushbrooke in his admirably printed Synopticon (1880),

where the words common to the three Synoptists, the words common to

each pair, and the words peculiar to each, are distinguished by

different type and color. [884] The words found in all constitute the

"triple tradition," and the nearest approximation to the common Greek

source from which all have directly or indirectly drawn. On the basis

of this Synopticon the following calculations have been made:

A. -- Number of words in

Words common to all

Per cent of words in common.

Matthew 18, 222

2,651, or

.14 1/2

Mark 11, 158

2,651, or

.23 3/4

Luke 19, 209

2,651, or

.13 3/4

Total 48,589

7,953, or

.16 1/3

B. -- Additional words in common. Whole per cent in common

Matthew 2, 793 (or in all 5,444) with Mark 29+

Mark 2, 793 (or in all 5,444) with Matthew 48+

Matthew 2, 415 (or in all 5,066) with Luke 27+

Luke 2, 415 (or in all 5,066) with Matthew 26+

Mark 1, 174 (or in all 3,825) with Luke 34+

Luke 1, 174 (or in all 3,825) with Mark 20-

C. -- Words peculiar to Matthew 10, 363, or 56+ percent.

Words peculiar to Mark 4,540, or 40+ percent

Words peculiar to Luke 12,969, or 67+ percent

Total 27,872

D. -- These figures give the following results:

(a.) The proportion of words peculiar to the Synoptic Gospels is 28,000

out of 48,000, more than one half.

In Matthew 56 words out of every 100 are peculiar.

In Mark 40 words out of every 100 are peculiar.

In Luke 67 words out of every 100 are peculiar.

(b.) The number of coincidences common to all three is less than the

number of the divergences.

Matthew agrees with the other two Gospels in 1 word out of 7.

Mark agrees with the other two Gospels in 1 word out of 4�.

Luke agrees with the other two Gospels in 1 word out of 8.

(c.) But, comparing the Gospels two by two, it is evident that Matthew

and Mark have most in common, and Matthew and Luke are most divergent.

One-half of Mark is found in Matthew.

One fourth of Luke is found in Matthew.

One-third of Mark is found in Luke. [885]

(d.) The general conclusion from these figures is that all three

Gospels widely diverge from the common matter, or triple tradition,

Mark the least so and Luke the most (almost twice as much as Mark). On

the other hand, both Matthew and Luke are nearer Mark than Luke and

Matthew are to each other.

The Solution of the Problem.

Three ways open themselves for a solution of the Synoptic problem:

either the Synoptists depend on one another; or they all depend on

older sources; or the dependence is of both kinds. Each of these

hypotheses admits again of several modifications. [886]

A satisfactory solution of the problem must account for the differences

as well as for the coincidences. If this test be applied, the first and

the third hypotheses with their various modifications must be ruled out

as unsatisfactory, and we are shut up to the second as at least the

most probable.

The Canonical Gospels Independent of One Another.

There is no direct evidence that any of the three Synoptists saw and

used the work of the others; nor is the agreement of such a character

that it may not be as easily and better explained from antecedent

sources. The advocates of the theory of interdependency, or the

"borrowing" hypothesis, [887] differ widely among themselves: some make

Matthew, others. Mark, others Luke, the source of the other two or at

least of one of them; while still others go back from the Synoptists in

their present form to a proto-Mark (Urmarkus), or proto-Matthew

(Urmatthaeus), proto-Luke (Urlukas), or other fictitious antecanonical

documents; thereby confessing the insufficiency of the borrowing

hypothesis pure and simple.

There is no allusion in any of the Synoptists to the others; and yet

Luke expressly refers to many earlier attempts to write the gospel

history. Papias, Irenaeus, and other ancient writers assume that they

wrote independently. [888] The first who made Mark a copyist of Matthew

is Augustin, and his view has been completely reversed by modern

research. The whole theory degrades one or two Synoptists to the

position of slavish and yet arbitrary compilers, not to say

plagiarists; it assumes a strange mixture of dependence and affected

originality; it weakens the independent value of their history; and it

does not account for the omissions of most important matter, and for

many differences in common matter. For the Synoptists often differ just

where we should most expect them to agree. Why should Mark be silent

about the history of the infancy, the whole sermon on the Mount (the

Magna Charta of Christ's kingdom), the Lord's Prayer, and important

parables, if he had Matthew 1-2, 5-7, 13, before him? Why should he, a

pupil of Peter, record the Lord's severe rebuke to Peter (Mark

8:27-33), but fail to mention from Matthew 16:16-23 the preceding

remarkable laudation: "Thou art Rock, and upon this rock I will build

my church?" Why should Luke omit the greater part of the sermon on the

Mount, and all the appearances of the risen Lord in Galilee? Why should

he ignore the touching anointing scene in Bethany, and thus neglect to

aid in fulfilling the Lord's prediction that this act of devotion

should be spoken of as a memorial of Mary "wheresoever this gospel

shall be preached in the whole world (Matt. 26:13; Mark 14:9)? Why

should he, the pupil and companion of Paul, fail to record the

adoration of the Magi, the story of the woman of Canaan, and the

command to evangelize the Gentiles, so clearly related by Matthew, the

Evangelist of the Jews (Matt. 2:1-12; 15:21-28; 24:14; 28:19)? Why

should Luke and Matthew give different genealogies of Christ, and even

different reports of the model prayer of our Lord, Luke omitting

(beside the doxology, which is also wanting in the best MSS. of

Matthew) the petition, "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,"

and the concluding petition, "but deliver us from evil" (or "the evil

one"), and substituting "sins" for "debts," and "Father" for "Our

Father who art in heaven"? Why should all three Synoptists differ even

in the brief and official title on the Cross, and in the words of

institution of the Lord's Supper, where Paul, writing in 57, agrees

with Luke, referring to a revelation from the Lord (1 Cor. 11:23)? Had

the Synoptists seen the work of the others, they could easily have

harmonized these discrepancies and avoided the appearance of

contradiction. To suppose that they purposely varied to conceal

plagiarism is a moral impossibility. We can conceive no reasonable

motive of adding a third Gospel to two already known to the writer,

except on the ground of serious defects, which do not exist (certainly

not in Matthew and Luke as compared with Mark), or on the ground of a

presumption which is inconsistent with the modest tone and the omission

of the very name of the writers.

These difficulties are felt by the ablest advocates of the borrowing

hypothesis, and hence they call to aid one or several pre-canonical

Gospels which are to account for the startling discrepancies and signs

of independence, whether in omissions or additions or arrangement. But

these pre-canonical Gospels, with the exception of the lost Hebrew

Matthew, are as fictitious as the Syro-Chaldaic Urevangelium of

Eichhorn, and have been compared to the epicycles of the old

astronomers, which were invented to sustain the tottering hypothesis of

cycles.

As to Luke, we have shown that he departs most from the triple

tradition, although he is supposed to have written last, and it is now

almost universally agreed that he did not use the canonical Matthew.

[889] Whether he used the Hebrew Matthew and the Greek Mark or a lost

proto-Mark, is disputed, and at least very doubtful. [890] He follows a

plan of his own; he ignores a whole cycle of events in Mark 6:45-8:26;

he omits in the common sections the graphic touches of Mark, for which

he has others equally graphic; and with a far better knowledge of Greek

he has yet more Hebraisms than Mark, because he drew largely on Hebrew

sources. As to Matthew, he makes the impression of primitive antiquity,

and his originality and completeness have found able advocates from

Augustin down to Griesbach and Keim. And as to Mark, his apparent

abridgments, far from being the work of a copyist, are simply rapid

statements of an original writer, with many fresh and lively details

which abundantly prove his independence. On the other hand, in several

narratives he is more full and minute than either Matthew or Luke.

[891] His independence has been successfully proven by the most

laborious and minute investigations and comparisons. [892] Hence many

regard him as the primitive Evangelist made use of by both Matthew and

Luke, but disagree among themselves as to whether it was the canonical

Mark or a proto-Mark. [893] In either case Matthew and Luke would be

guilty of plagiarism. What should we think of an historian of our day

who would plunder another historian of one-third or one-half of the

contents of his book without a word of acknowledgment direct or

indirect? Let us give the Evangelists at least the credit of common

honesty, which is the basis of all morality.

Apostolic Teaching the Primary Source of All the Synoptists.

The only certain basis for the solution of the problem is given to us

in the preface of Luke. He mentions two sources of his own Gospel--but

not necessarily of the two other Synoptic Gospels--namely, the oral

tradition or deliverance of original "eyewitnesses and ministers of the

word" (apostles, evangelists, and other primitive disciples), and a

number of written "narratives," drawn up by "many," but evidently

incomplete and fragmentary, so as to induce him to prepare, after

accurate investigation, a regular history of "those matters which have

been fulfilled among us." Besides this important hint, we may be aided

by the well-known statements of Papias about the Hebrew Gospel of

Matthew and the Greek Mark, whom he represents as the interpret

The chief and common source from which the Synoptists derived their

Gospels was undoubtedly the living apostolic tradition or teaching

which is mentioned by Luke in the first order. This teaching was

nothing more or less than a faithful report of the words and deeds of

Christ himself by honest and intelligent eye-witnesses. [894] He told

his disciples to preach, not to write, the gospel, although the writing

was, of course, not forbidden, but became necessary for the

preservation of the gospel in its purity. They had at first only

"hearers;" while the law and the prophets had readers. [895]

Among the Jews and Arabs the memory was specially trained in the

accurate repetition and perpetuation of sacred words and facts. [896]

The Mishna was not reduced to writing for two or three hundred years.

In the East everything is more settled and stationary than in the West,

and the traveller feels himself as by magic transferred back to manners

and habits as well as the surroundings of apostolic and patriarchal

times. The memory is strongest where it depends most on itself and

least upon books. [897]

The apostolic tradition or preaching was chiefly historical, a recital

of the wonderful public life of Jesus of Nazareth, and centred in the

crowning facts of the crucifixion and resurrection. This is evident

from the specimens of sermons in the Acts. The story was repeated in

public and in private from day to day and sabbath to sabbath. The

apostles and primitive evangelists adhered closely and reverently to

what they saw and heard from their divine Master, and their disciples

faithfully reproduced their testimony. "They continued steadfastly in

the apostles' teaching" (Acts 2:42). Reverence would forbid them to

vary from it; and yet no single individual, not even Peter or John,

could take in the whole fulness of Christ. One recollected this,

another another part of the gospel story; one had a better memory for

words, another for facts. These differences, according to varying

capacities and recollection, would naturally appear, and the common

tradition adapted itself, without any essential alteration, to

particular classes of hearers who were first Hebrews in Palestine, then

Greek Jews, proselytes, and Gentiles.

The Gospels are nothing more than comprehensive summaries of this

apostolic preaching and teaching. Mark represents it in its simplest

and briefest form, and agrees nearest with the preaching of Peter as

far as we know it from the Acts; it is the oldest in essence, though

not necessarily in composition. Matthew and Luke contain the same

tradition in its expanded and more matured form, the one the Hebrew or

Jewish Christian, the other the Hellenistic and Pauline type, with a

corresponding selection of details. Mark gives a graphic account of the

main facts of the public life of Christ "beginning from the baptism of

John unto the day that he was received up," as they would naturally be

first presented to an audience (Acts 1:22). Matthew and Luke add the

history of the infancy and many discourses, facts, and details which

would usually be presented in a fuller course of instruction.

Written Documents.

It is very natural that parts of the tradition were reduced to writing

during the thirty years which intervened between the events and the

composition of the canonical Gospels. One evangelist would record for

his own use a sketch of the chief events, another the sermon on the

Mount, another the parables, another the history of the crucifixion and

resurrection, still another would gather from the lips of Mary the

history of the infancy and the genealogies. Possibly some of the first

hearers noted down certain words and events under the fresh impressions

of the moment. The apostles were indeed unlearned, but not illiterate

men, they could read and write and had sufficient rudimentary education

for ordinary composition. These early memoranda were numerous, but have

all disappeared, they were not intended for publication, or if

published they were superseded by the canonical Gospels. Hence there is

room here for much speculation and conjectural criticism. [898] "Many,"

says Luke, "have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those

matters which have been fulfilled among us." [899] He cannot mean the

apocryphal Gospels which were not yet written, nor the canonical

Gospels of Matthew and Mark which would have spared him much trouble

and which he would not have dared to supersede by an improved work of

his own without a word of acknowledgment, but pre-canonical records,

now lost, which emanated from "eye-witnesses and ministers of the

word," yet were so fragmentary and incomplete as to justify his own

attempt to furnish a more satisfactory and connected history. He had

the best opportunity to gather such documents in Palestine, Antioch,

Greece, and Rome. Matthew, being himself an eyewitness, and Mark, being

the companion of Peter, had less need of previous documents, and could

rely chiefly, oil their own memory and the living tradition in its

primitive freshness. They may have written sketches or memoranda for

their own use long before they completed their Gospels; for such

important works cannot be prepared without long continued labor and

care. The best books grow gradually and silently like trees.

Conclusion.

We conclude, then, that the Synoptists prepared their Gospels

independently, during the same period (say between a.d. 60 and 69), in

different places, chiefly from the living teaching of Christ and the

first disciples, and partly from earlier fragmentary documents. They

bear independent testimony to the truth of the gospel. Their agreement

and disagreement are not the result of design, but of the unity,

richness, and variety of the original story as received, understood,

digested, and applied by different minds to different conditions and

classes of hearers and readers. [900]

The Traditional Order.

There is no good reason to doubt that the canonical arrangement which

is supported by the prevailing oldest tradition, correctly represents

the order of composition. [901] Matthew, the apostle, wrote first in

Aramaic and in Palestine, from his personal observation and experience

with the aid of tradition; Mark next, in Rome, faithfully reproducing

Peter's preaching; Luke last, from tradition and sundry reliable but

fragmentary documents. But all wrote under a higher inspiration, and

are equally honest and equally trustworthy; all wrote within the

lifetime of many of the primitive witnesses, before the first

generation of Christians had passed away, and before there was any

chance for mythical and legendary accretions. They wrote not too late

to insure faithfulness, nor too early to prevent corruption. They

represent not the turbid stream of apocryphal afterthoughts and

fictions, but the pure fountain of historic truth.

The gospel story, being once fixed in this completed shape, remained

unchanged for all time to come. Nothing was lost, nothing added. The

earlier sketches or pre-canonical gospel fragments disappeared, and the

four canonical records of the one gospel, no more nor less, sufficient

for all purposes, monopolized the field from which neither apocryphal

caricatures nor sceptical speculations have been able to drive them.

Exoteric and Esoteric Tradition.

Besides the common Galilaean tradition for the people at large which is

embodied in the Synoptic Gospels, there was an esoteric tradition of

Christ's ministry in Judaea and his private relation to the select

circle of the apostles and his mysterious relation to the Father. The

bearer of this tradition was the beloved disciple who leaned on the

beating heart of his Master and absorbed his deepest words. He

treasured them up in his memory, and at last when the church was ripe

for this higher revelation he embodied it in the fourth Gospel.

Notes.

The problem of the Relationship of the Synoptists was first seriously

discussed by Augustin (d. 430), in his three books De Consensu

Evangelistarum (Opera, Tom. III., 1041-1230, ed. Migne). He defends the

order in our canon, first Matthew, last John, and the two apostolic

disciples in the middle (in loco medio constituti tamquam filii

amplectendi, I., 2), but wrongly makes Mark dependent on Matthew (see

below, sub. I. 1). His view prevailed during the middle ages and down

to the close of the eighteenth century. The verbal inspiration theory

checked critical investigation.

The problem was resumed with Protestant freedom by Storr (1786), more

elaborately by Eichhorn (1794), and Marsh (1803), and again by Hug (a

liberal Roman Catholic scholar, 1808), Schleiermacher (1817), Gieseler

(1818), De Wette (1826), Credner (1836), and others. It received a new

impulse and importance by the Leben Jesu of Strauss (1836), and the

T�bingen school, and has been carried forward by Baur (1847),

Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Reuss, Holtzmann, Ewald, Meyer, Keim, Weiss, and

others mentioned in the Literature (p. 577). Starting in Germany, the

investigation was prosecuted also in France, Holland, England, and the

United States.

It is not easy to find a way through the labyrinth of the Synoptic

question, with all its by-ways and cross-ways, turns and windings,

which at first make the impression:

"Mir wird von alle dem so dumm,

Als ging mir ein M�hlrad im Kopf herum."

Holtzmann gives a brief history of opinions (in his able work, Die

Synopt. Evang.) down to 1863, and Hilgenfeld (Hist. Krit. Einl. in das

N. T, pp. 173-210) down to 1874. Comp. also Reuss (Gesch. der heil.

Schr. N. T., I., �� 165-198, 6th ed., 1887), Holtzmann, Einleitung, 351

sqq., and Weiss, Einl., 473 sqq. The following classification of

theories is tolerably complete, but several overlap each other, or are

combined.

I. The Inspiration hypothesis cuts the gordian knot by tracing the

agreement of the Synoptists directly and solely to the Holy Spirit. But

this explains nothing, and makes God responsible for all the

discrepancies and possible inaccuracies of the Evangelists. No

inspiration theory can stand for a moment which does not leave room for

the personal agency and individual peculiarities of the sacred authors

and the exercise of their natural faculties in writing. Luke expressly

states in the preface his own agency in composing his Gospel and the

use he made of his means of information.

II. The Interdependency hypothesis, or Borrowing hypothesis

(Ben�tzungshypothese) holds that one or two Evangelists borrowed from

the other. This admits of as many modifications as the order in which

they may be placed.

1. Matthew, Mark, Luke. This is the traditional order defended by

Augustin, who called Mark, rather disrespectfully, a "footman and

abbreviator of Matthew" (tamquam pedissequus et breviator Matth�i, II.,

3), Grotius, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Hug (1808), Hilgenfeld,

Klostermann, Keil. Among English writers Townson and Greswell.

Many scholars besides those just mentioned hold to this order without

admitting an interdependence, and this I think is the correct view, in

connection with the tradition hypothesis. See below, sub V. and the

text.

2. Matthew, Luke, Mark. So first Clement of Alexandria (Eus., H. E.,

VI. 14), but, without intimating a dependence of Mark except on Peter.

Griesbach (in two Programs, 1789) renewed this order and made Mark an

extract from both Matthew and Luke. So Theile (1825), Fritzsche (1830),

Sieffert (1832), De Wette, Bleek, Anger, Strauss, Baur, Keim. The

T�bingen school utilized this order for the tendency theory (see

below). Keim puts Matthew a.d. 66, Luke, 90, Mark, 100.

Bleek is the most considerate advocate of this order (Einleitung in das

N. T., 2d ed., 1866, 91 sqq., 245 sqq.), but Mangold changed it (in the

third ed. of Bleek, 1875, pp. 388 sqq.) in favor of the priority of a

proto-Mark.

3. Mark, Matthew, Luke. The originality and priority of Mark was first

suggested by Koppe (1782) and Storr (1786 and 1794). The same view was

renewed by Lachmann (1835), elaborately carried out by Weisse (1838,

1856; Hilgenfeld calls him the "Urheber der conservativen

Markushypothese "), and still more minutely in all details by Wilke

(Der Urevangelist, 1838; but he assumes numerous interpolations in the

present Mark and goes back to a proto-Mark), and by B. Weiss (Das

Marcusevangelium, 1872). It is maintained in various ways by Hitzig

(Johannes Markus, 1843), Ewald (1850, but with various prior sources),

Ritschl (1851), Reuss, Thiersch, Tobler, R�ville (1862), Eichthal

(1863), Schenkel, Wittichen, Holtzmann (1863), Weizs�cker (1864),

Scholten (1869), Meyer (Com. on Matt., 6th ed., 1876, p. 35), Renan

(Les �vangiles, 1877, pp. 113, but the Greek Mark was preceded by the

lost Hebrew Matthew, p. 93 sqq.). Among English writers, James Smith,

of Jordan Hill (Dissertat. on the Origin of the Gospels, etc., Edinb.,

1853), G. P. Fisher (Beginnings of Christianity, New York, 1877, p.

275), and E. A. Abbott (in "Encyclop. Brit.," vol. X., 1879, art.

"Gospels") adopt the same view.

The priority of Mark is now the prevailing theory among German critics,

notwithstanding the protest of Baur and Keim, who had almost a personal

animosity against the second Evangelist. One of the last utterances of

Keim was a passionate protest against the Pr�konisation des Markus (Aus

dem Urchristenthum, 1878, pp. 28-45). But the advocates of this theory

are divided on the question whether the canonical Mark or a lost

proto-Mark was the primitive evangelist. The one is called the

Markushypothese, the other the Urmarkushypothese. We admit the

originality of Mark, but this does not necessarily imply priority of

composition. Matthew and Luke have too much original matter to be

dependent on Mark, and are far more valuable, as a whole, though Mark

is indispensable for particulars.

4. Mark, Luke, Matthew. Herder (1796), Volkmar (1866 and 1870).

5. Luke, Matthew, Mark. B�sching (1776), Evanson (1792).

6. Luke, Mark, Matthew. Vogel (1804), Schneckenburger (1882).

The conflicting variety of these modifications shakes the whole

borrowing theory. It makes the omissions of most important sections, as

Matt. 12-17; 14:22 - 16:12; and Luke 10-18:14, and the discrepancies in

the common sections entirely inexplicable. See text.

III. The hypothesis of a Primitive Gospel (Urevangelium) written before

those of the Synoptists and used by them as their common source, but

now lost.

1. A lost Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic Gospel of official character, written

very early, about 35, in Palestine by the apostles as a manual for the

travelling preachers. This is the famous Urevangeliumshypothese of the

learned Professor Eichhorn (1794, 1804, 1820), adopted and modified by

Bishop Herbert Marsh (1803), Gratz (1809), and Bertholdt (who, as Baur

says, was devoted to it with "carnal self-security").

But there is no trace of such an important Gospel, either Hebrew or

Greek. Luke knows nothing about it, although he speaks of several

attempts to write portions of the history. To carry out his hypothesis,

Eichhorn was forced to assume four altered copies or recensions of the

original document, and afterwards he added also Greek recensions.

Marsh, outgermanizing the German critic, increased the number of

recensions to eight, including a Greek translation of the Hebrew

original. Thus a new recension might be invented for every new set of

facts ad infinitum. If the original Gospel was an apostolic

composition, it needed no alterations and would have been preserved; or

if it was so defective, it was of small account and unfit to be used as

a basis of the canonical Gospels. Eichhorn's hypothesis is now

generally abandoned, but in modified shape it has been renewed by Ewald

and others. See below.

2. The Gospel "according to the Hebrews," of which some fragments still

remain. Lessing (1784, in a book published three years after his

death), Semler (who, however, changed his view repeatedly), Weber

(1791), Paulus (1799). But this was a heretical or Ebionitic corruption

of Matthew, and the remaining fragments differ widely from the

canonical Gospels.

3. The Hebrew Matthew (Urmatth�us). It is supposed in this case that

the famous Logia, which Matthew is reported by Papias to have written

in Hebrew, consisted not only of a collection of discourses of our Lord

(as Schleiermacher, Ewald, Reuss, I., 183, explained the term), but

also of his deeds: "things said and done." But in any case the Hebrew

Matthew is lost and cannot form a safe basis for conclusions. Hug and

Roberts deny that it ever existed. See next section.

4. The canonical Mark.

5. A pre-canonical proto-Mark (Urmarkus). The last two hypotheses have

already been mentioned under the second general head (II. 3).

IV. The theory of a number of fragmentary documents (the

Diegesentheorie), or different recensions. It is based on the remark of

Luke that "many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative

(diegesinconcerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us"

(Luke 1:1). Schleiermacher (1817) assumed a large number of such

written documents, or detached narratives, and dealt very freely with

the Synoptists, resting his faith chiefly on John.

Ewald (1850) independently carried out a similar view in fierce

opposition to the "beastly wildness" of the T�bingen school. He informs

us with his usual oracular self-assurance that Philip, the evangelist

(Acts 8), first wrote a historical sketch in Hebrew, and then Matthew a

collection of discourses (the logiaof Papias), also in Hebrew, of which

several Greek translations were made; that Mark was the third, Matthew

the fifth, and Luke the ninth in this series of Gospels, representing

the "H�hebilder, die himmlische Fortbewegung der Geschichte," which at

last assumed their most perfect shape in John.

K�stlin, Wittichen, and Scholten likewise assume a number of

precanonical Gospels which exist only in their critical fancy.

Renan (Les Evang., Introd., p. vi.) distinguishes three sets of

Gospels: (1) original Gospels of the first hand, taken from the oral

tradition without a previous written text: the Hebrew Matthew and the

Greek proto-Mark; (2) Gospels partly original and partly second-handed:

our canonical Gospels falsely attributed to Matthew, Mark, and Luke;

(3) Gospels of the second and third hand: Marcion's and the Apocryphal

Gospels.

V. The theory of a common Oral Tradition (Traditionshypothese). Herder

(1796), Gieseler (who first fully developed it, 1818), Schulz (1829),

Credner, Lange, Ebrard (1868), Thiersch (1845, 1852), Norton, Alford,

Westcott (1860, 6th ed., 1881), Godet (1873), Keil (1877), and others.

The Gospel story by constant repetition assumed or rather had from the

beginning a uniform shape, even in minute particulars, especially in

the words of Christ. True, as far as it goes, but must be supplemented,

at least in the case of Luke, by pre-canonical, fragmentary documents

or memoranda (diegeseis). See the text.

VI. The Tendency hypothesis (Tendenzhypothese), or the theory of

Doctrinal Adaptation. Baur (1847) and the T�bingen school (Schwegler,

Ritschl, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, K�stlin), followed in England by Samuel

Davidson (in his Introd. to the New Test., 1868, revised ed., 1882).

Each Evangelist modified the Gospel history in the interest of the

religious school or party to which he belonged. Matthew represents the

Jewish Christian, Luke the Pauline or Gentile Christian tendency, Mark

obliterates the difference, or prepares the way from the first to the

second. Every individual trait or characteristic feature of a Gospel is

connected with the dogmatic antithesis between Petrinism and Paulinism.

Baur regarded Matthew as relatively the most primitive and credible

Gospel, but it is itself a free reproduction of a still older Aramaic

Gospel "according to the Hebrews." He was followed by an Urlukas, a

purely Pauline tendency Gospel. Mark is compiled from our Matthew and

the Urlukas in the interest of neutrality. Then followed the present

Luke with an irenical Catholic tendency. Baur overstrained the

difference between Petrinism and Paulinism far beyond the limits of

historic truth, transformed the sacred writers into a set of partisans

and fighting theologians after modem fashion, set aside the fourth

Gospel as a purely ideal fiction, and put all the Gospels about seventy

years too far down (130-170), when they were already generally used in

the Christian church--according to the concurrent testimonies of Justin

Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. Volkmar went even beyond Baur

in reckless radicalism, although he qualified it in other respects, as

regards the priority of Mark, the originality of Luke (as compared with

Marcion), and the date of Matthew which he put back to about 110. See a

summary of his views in Hilgenfeld's Einleitung, pp. 199-202. But

Ritschl and Hilgenfeld have considerably moderated the T�bingen

extravagancies. Ritschl puts Mark first, and herein Volkmar agrees.

Hilgenfeld assigns the composition of Matthew to the sixth decade of

the first century (though he thinks it was somewhat changed soon after

the destruction of Jerusalem), then followed Mark and paved the way

from Petrinism to Paulinism, and Luke wrote last before the close of

the first century. He ably maintained his theory in a five years'

conflict with the T�bingen master (1850-1855) and reasserts it in his

Einleitung (1875). So he brings us back to the traditional order. As to

the time of composition, the internal evidence strongly supports the

historical tradition that the Synoptists wrote before the destruction

of Jerusalem.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[878] Synopsis (conspectus), from sun, together, and opsis-i,-i view,

is applied since Griesbach (though used before him) to a parallel

arrangement of the Gospels so as to exhibit a general view of the whole

and to facilitate a comparison. In some sections the fourth Gospel

furnishes parallels, especially in the history of the passion and

resurrection. The first three Evangelists should not be called

Synoptics (as is done by the author of Supernatural Religion, vol. I.,

213, and Dr. Davidson), but Synoptists. The former is a Germanism

(Synoptiker.)

[879] Holtzmann (p. 12) and others include also among the verbal

coincidences the irregular apheontai (the Doric form of pass. perf., 3

pers., plur.), Matt. 9:2, 5; Mark 2:5, 9; Luke 5:20, 23, and the double

augment in apekatestathe, Matt. 12:13; Mark 3:5; Luke 6:10. But the

former is ruled out by the better reading aphientai, which is adopted

by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort, in Matt.

9:2, 5, and in Mark 2:5. Moreover, the Doric form is not confined to

the New Test., but somewhat widely diffused; see Moulton's Winer, p.

97, note. And as to the double augment, it occurs also in the Sept.

(see Trommius' Concord., I., 163, sub apokathistemi); comp. also

apekateste in Mark 8:25. Ebrard (Wiss. Krit., p. 1054) quotes a passage

from Pseudo-Lucian (Philiopatr., c. 27) where apekatestese occurs

[880] Mr. Norton brings out this fact very fully in his Evidences of

the Genuineness of the Gospels (Boston, ed. of 1875, p. 464 sq.). I

give his results: "In Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally

coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less

than a sixth part of its contents; and of this about seven-eighths

occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one eighth

in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the

evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice

of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to

the whole contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not

one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of

expression with the other evangelists. The passages in which it is

found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an

inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative, in which there

are few instances of its existence for more than half a dozen words

together. In the narrative, it may be computed as less than a twentieth

part. These definite proportions are important, as showing distinctly

in how small a part of each Gospel there is any verbal coincidence with

either of the other two; and to how great a degree such coincidence is

confined to passages in which the evangelists professedly give the

words of others, particularly of Jesus.-The proportions should,

however, be further compared with those which the narrative part of

each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly

repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one-fourth of his Gospel,

Mark's about one-half, and Luke's about one-third. It may easily be

computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in

the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the

other part, is about in the following ratios: in Matthew as one to

somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to

ten .... We cannot explain this phenomenon by the supposition that the

Gospels were transcribed either one from another, or all from common

documents; for, if such transcription had been the cause, it would not

have produced results so unequal in the different portions into which

the Gospels naturally divide themselves."

[881] Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. Test., I., p. 175 (5th ed.,

1874). See also his Histoire Evangelique, Paris, 1876 (Nouveau

Testament, I. partie).

[882] See Westcott, Introd. to the Gospels, p. 191, fifth ed.

[883] Gesch., etc., I., p. 175, followed by Archbishop Thomson in

Speaker's Com. New Test., vol. I., p. viii.

[884] See the Literature above. Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, of London,

suggested the work, and quotes a specimen (though all in black type) in

his art. "Gospels" in the "Encycl. Brit." He draws from it a conclusion

favorable to the priority of Mark, from whom, he thinks, Matthew and

Luke have borrowed. The specimen is the parable of the wicked

husbandmen, Matt. 21:33-44; Luke 20:9-18; Mark 12:1-11.

[885] The following lines, representing the relative lengths of the

three Gospels, show the extent of their verbal coincidence and

divergence. The dots divide the lines in half, and the marks into

thirds: Luke, -------- ---------------------- Mark, ------|--\*--|------

Matthew, ----------\*------------

[886] German scholars have convenient terms for these various

hypotheses, as Ben�tzungshypothese ("borrowing" hypothesis),

Urevangeliumshypothese, Traditionshypothese, Tendenzhypothese,

Combinationshypothese, Diegesentheorie, Markushypothese,

Urmarkushypothese, etc. See the Notes (II)at the end of this section.

[887] Used by recent English writers as a rendering for

Ben�tzungshypothese.

[888] Clement of Alexandria makes no exception, for be merely states

(in Euseb. H. E., VI. 14) that those Gospels which contain the

genealogies (Matthew and Luke) were written first, Mark next, and John

last.

[889] So Weisse, Ewald, Reuss, Ritschl, Thiersch, Plitt, Meyer,

Holtzmann, Weizs�cker, Mangold, Godet, Weis. See Meyer on Matthew, p.

34 (6th ed.), and on Luke, p. 238 (6th ed. by Weiss, 1878). Only the

T�bingen "tendency critics" maintain the contrary, and this is almost

necessary in order to maintain the late date which they assign to Luke.

Had he written in the second or even at the end of the first century,

he could not possibly have been ignorant of Matthew. But him very

independence proves his early date.

[890] For the use of Mark by Luke are Reuss, Weiss, and most of the

advocates of the Urmarkushypothese. Against such use are Weizs�cker,

Godet, and all those who (with Griesbach) make Mark an epitomizer of

Matthew and Luke. Farrar also, in his Com. on Luke, p. 9, very

decidedly maintains the independence of Luke both on Matthew and Mark:

"It may be regarded as certain," he says, "that among these 'attempts'

Luke did not class the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The

inference that he was either unaware of the existence of those Gospels,

or made no direct use of them, suggests itself with the utmost force

when we place side by side any of the events which they narrate in

common, and mark the minute and inexplicable differences which

incessantly occur even amid general similarity."

[891] Compare the healing of the paralytic, Mark 2:3-12, with Matt.

9:2-8 the murder of John the Baptist, Mark 6:14-29, with Matt. 14:1-13;

Luke 9:7-9; the healing of the demoniac boy, Mark 9:14-29, with Matt.

17:14-21 and Luke 9:37-43; also the accounts of Peter's denial.

[892] I mean especially the works of Wilke (Der Urevangelist, 1838),

Holtzmann (Die Synopt. Evang., 1863), and Weiss (Das Marcusevangelium

und seine synoptischen Parallelen, 1872; comp. his Matth�usevangelium,

etc., 1876). Weiss deserves all the more a hearing as he strenuously

advocates the genuineness of John. See notes at the end of this

section. Dr. Fisher thinks that "the independence of Mark as related to

the other Gospels is one of the most assured and most valuable results

of recent criticism." The Beginnings of Christianity, p. 275. Dr.

Davidson in the "revised and improved edition" of his Introduction,

Vol. I., 551-563, still adheres to the old T�bingen position of the

dependence of Mark upon both Matthew and Luke, and ignores the works of

Wilke, Holtzmann, Weiss, Renan, and the article of his own countryman,

Abbott, in the "Encycl. Brit."

[893] Holtzmann, Mangold, E. A. Abbott, and others go back to a

fictitious Urmarkus; while Ewald, Meyer, and Weiss make our canonical

Mark the basis of Matthew and Luke, yet with the important addition

that Mark himself used, besides the oral tradition of Peter, the lost

Hebrew Matthew, or rather a Greek translation of it, which was more

than a mere collection of discourses (suntaxis ton logion) and embraced

also brief narratives. But if Mark had the rich collection of our

Lord's discourses before him, his meagreness in that department is all

the more difficult to account for.

[894] Luke 1:2: kathos paredosan (handed down by the living word) hemin

hoi ap arches (i.e., from the beginning of the public ministry of

Christ; comp. Acts 1:21 sq.; John 15:27) autoptai kai huperetai

genomenoi tou logou (the same persons).

[895] Hearers and hearing of the gospel are spoken of in many passages,

as Matt. 13:14; Luke 7:1; John 12:38; Acts 17:20; Rom. 2:13; 1 Thess.

2:13; James 1:22, 23, 25. The reading (anaginoskein) is mostly used of

the Old Testament: Matt. 12:3, 5; 21:16, 42; 24:15; Mark 25; 12:10, 26;

13:14; Luke 4:16; 6: 3; 10:26; Acts 8:28, 30, 32; 13:27; 15:21, etc.;

of the Epistles of Paul: Eph. 3:4; Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 6:27; of the

book of Revelation: Rev. 1:3; 5:4.

[896] The rabbinical rule (in Shabb. f. 15, 1) was: "Verba praeceptoris

sine ulla immutatione, ut prolata ab illo fuerunt. erant recitanda, ne

diversa illi affingeretur sententia."

[897] Renan, Les Evangiles, p. 96: "La tradition vivante (zosa phone

kai menousa, Papias) �tait le grand r�servoir o� tous puisaient .... Le

m�me ph�nom�ne se retrouve, du reste, dans presque toutes les

litt�ratures sacr�es. Les V�das ont travers� des si�cles sans �tre

�erits; un homme qui se respectait devait les savoir par coeur. Celui

qui avait besoin d'un manuscrit pour r�citer ces hymnes antiques

faisait un aveu d'ignorance; aussi les copies n'en ont-elles jamais �t�

estim�es. Citer de m�moire la Bible, le Coran, est encore de nos jours

un point d'honneur pour les 0rientaux." Renan thinks that most of the

Old Testament quotations in the New Test. are from memory. My own

observations, and those of friends residing in the East, confirm the

uniformity of oral tradition and the remarkable strength of memory

among the Arabs.

[898] In such conjectures Eichhorn, Marsh, Schleiermacher, Ewald,

Volkmar, Wittichen, and Renan have shown great ingenuity, and

accumulated a vast amount of docta ignorantia.

[899] Luke 1:1: polloi epecheiresan (indicating the difficulty of the

undertaking and probably also the insufficiency of the execution)

anataxasthai diegesin peri ton peplerophoremenon en hemin pragmaton.

[900] In this conclusion (which I stated thirty years ago in the first

edition of myHist. of the Ap. Ch.)some of the ablest investigators of

the Synoptic problem independently agree, as Lange, Ebrard

(Wissenschaftliche Kritik der ev. Gesch., third ed., pp. 1044 sqq.),

Norton, Alford, Godet, Westcott, Farrar. "The Synoptic Gospels," says

Alford (in his Proleg. to vol. I., p. 11, 6th ed.), contain the

substance of the Apostles' testimony, collected principally from their

oral teaching current in the church, partly also from written documents

embodying portions of that teaching: there is, however, no reason, from

their internal structure, to believe, but every reason to disbelieve

that any one of the three evangelists had access to either of the other

two gospels in its present form." Godet concludes his discussion (Com.

on Luke, 2d ed., p. 556, Am. ed.) with these words: " It is impossible

to conceive anything more capricious and less reverential than the part

which we make the author of any one whatever of our Synoptic Gospels

play with the history and sayings of Jesus, supposing that he had

before him the other two, or one of them. Such an explanation will only

be allowable when we are brought absolutely to despair of finding any

other. And even then it were better still to say, Non liquet. For this

explanation involves a moral contradiction. Most of our present critics

are so well aware of this that they have recourse to middle terms."

[901] Irenaeus, III. 1, 1; Origen in Euseb., H. E., VI. 25; Tertullian,

and others. Irenaeus gives this order with the approximate data:

"Matthew issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own

dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and laying the

foundations of the church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple

and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had

been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a

book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards, John, the disciple of the

Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel

during his residence at Ephesus in Asia." Clement of Alexandria differs

by putting Mark after Matthew and Luke, and yet before the death of

Peter; for he says (in Eus., H. E., VI. 14), that when Peter proclaimed

the gospel at Rome, Mark was requested by the hearers to reduce it to

writing, which he did, Peter neither hindering nor encouraging it.

According to this view all the Synoptists would have written before 64.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 80. Matthew.

Critical.

Bernh. Weiss: Das Matth�usevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen

erkl�rt. Halle, 1876. Exceedingly elaborate.

Edw. Byron Nicholson: The Gospel according to the Hebrews. Its

Fragments translated and annotated. Lond., 1879.

Exegetical

Commentaries on Matthew by Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Melanchthon

(1523), Fritzsche, De Wette, Alford, Wordsworth, Schegg (R. Cath.,

1856-58, 3 vols.), J. A. Alexander, Lange (trsl. and enlarged by

Schaff, N. Y., 1864, etc.), James Morison (of Glasgow, Lond., 1870),

Meyer, (6th ed., 1876), Wichelhaus (Halle, 1876), Keil (Leipz., 1877),

Plumptre (Lond., 1878), Carr (Cambr., 1879), Nicholson (Lond., 1881),

Schaff (N. Y., 1882).

Life of Matthew.

Matthew, [902] formerly called Levi, one of the twelve apostles, was

originally a publican or taxgatherer [903] at Capernaum, and hence well

acquainted with Greek and Hebrew in bilingual Galilee, and accustomed

to keep accounts. This occupation prepared him for writing a Gospel in

topical order in both languages. In the three Synoptic lists of the

apostles he is associated with Thomas, and forms with him the fourth

pair; in Mark and Luke he precedes Thomas, in his own Gospel he is

placed after him (perhaps from modesty). [904] Hence the conjecture

that he was a twin brother of Thomas (Didymus, i.e., Twin), or

associated with him in work. Thomas was an honest and earnest doubter,

of a melancholy disposition, yet fully convinced at last when he saw

the risen Lord; Matthew was a strong and resolute believer.

Of his apostolic labors we have no certain information. Palestine,

Ethiopia, Macedonia, the country of the Euphrates, Persia, and Media

are variously assigned to him as missionary fields. He died a natural

death according to the oldest tradition, while later accounts make him

a martyr. [905]

The first Gospel is his imperishable work, well worthy a long life, yea

many lives. Matthew the publican occupies as to time the first place in

the order of the Evangelists, as Mary Magdalene, from whom Christ

expelled many demons, first proclaimed the glad tidings of the

resurrection. Not that it is on that account the best or most

important--the best comes last,--but it naturally precedes the other,

as the basis precedes the superstructure. [906]

In his written Gospel he still fulfils the great commission to bring

all nations to the school of Christ (Matt. 28:19).

The scanty information of the person and life of Matthew in connection

with his Gospel suggests the following probable inferences:

1. Matthew was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet comparatively liberal,

being a publican who came in frequent contact with merchants from

Damascus. This occupation was indeed disreputable in the eyes of the

Jews, and scarcely consistent with the national Messianic aspirations;

but Capernaum belonged to the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, and the

Herodian family, which, with all its subserviency to heathen Rome, was

yet to a certain extent identified with the Jewish nation.

2. He was a man of some means and good social position. His office was

lucrative, he owned a house, and gave a farewell banquet to "a great

multitude" of his old associates, at which Jesus presided. [907] It was

at the same time his farewell to the world, its wealth, its pleasures

and honors. "We may conceive what a joyous banquet that was for

Matthew, when he marked the words and acts of Jesus, and stored within

his memory the scene and the conversation which he was inspired to

write according to his clerkly ability for the instruction of the

church in all after ages." [908] It was on that occasion that Jesus

spoke that word which was especially applicable to Matthew and

especially offensive to the Pharisees present: "I came not to call the

righteous, but sinners." It is remarkable that the first post-apostolic

quotation from the Gospel of Matthew is this very passage, and one

similar to it (see below).

3. He was a man of decision of character and capable of great sacrifice

to his conviction. When called, while sitting in Oriental fashion at

his tollbooth, to follow Jesus, he "forsook all, rose up, and followed

Him," whom he at once recognized and trusted as the true king of

Israel. [909] No one can do more than leave his "all," no matter how

much or how little this may be; and no one can do better than to

"follow Christ."

Character and Aim of the Gospel.

The first Gospel makes the impression of primitive antiquity. The city

of Jerusalem, the temple, the priesthood and sacrifices, the entire

religious and political fabric of Judaism are supposed to be still

standing, but with an intimation of their speedy downfall. [910] It

alone reports the words of Christ that he came not to destroy but to

fulfil the law and the prophets, and that he was only sent to the lost

sheep of the house of Israel. [911] Hence the best critics put the

composition several years before the destruction of Jerusalem. [912]

Matthew's Gospel was evidently written for Hebrews, and Hebrew

Christians with the aim to prove that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised

Messiah, the last and greatest prophet, priest, and king of Israel. It

presupposes a knowledge of Jewish customs and Palestinian localities

(which are explained in other Gospels). [913] It is the connecting link

between the Old and the New Covenant. It is, as has been well said,

[914] "the ultimatum of Jehovah to his ancient people: Believe, or

prepare to perish! Recognize Jesus as the Messiah, or await Him as your

Judge!" Hence he so often points out the fulfilment of Messianic

prophecy in the evangelical history with his peculiar formula: "that it

might be fulfilled," or "then was fulfilled." [915]

In accordance with this plan, Matthew begins with the genealogy of

Jesus, showing him to be the son and heir of David the king, and of

Abraham the father, of the Jewish race, to whom the promises were

given. The wise men of the East come from a distance to adore the

new-born king of the Jews. The dark suspicion and jealousy of Herod is

roused, and foreshadows the future persecution of the Messiah. The

flight to Egypt and the return from that land both of refuge and

bondage are a fulfilment of the typical history of Israel. John the

Baptist completes the mission of prophecy in preparing the way for

Christ. After the Messianic inauguration and trial Jesus opens his

public ministry with the Sermon on the Mount, which is the counterpart

of the Sinaitic legislation, and contains the fundamental law of his

kingdom. The key-note of this sermon and of the whole Gospel is that

Christ came to fulfil the law and the prophets, which implies both the

harmony of the two religions and the transcendent superiority of

Christianity. His mission assumes an organized institutional form in

the kingdom of heaven which he came to establish in the world. Matthew

uses this term (he basileia ton ouranon) no less than thirty-two times,

while the other Evangelists and Paul speak of the "kingdom of God" (he

basileia tou theou). No other Evangelist has so fully developed the

idea that Christ and his kingdom are the fulfilment of all the hopes

and aspirations of Israel, and so vividly set forth the awful solemnity

of the crisis at this turning point in its history.

But while Matthew wrote from the Jewish Christian point of view, he is

far from being Judaizing or contracted. He takes the widest range of

prophecy. He is the most national and yet the most universal, the most

retrospective and yet the most prospective, of Evangelists. At the very

cradle of the infant Jesus he introduces the adoring Magi from the far

East, as the forerunners of a multitude of believing Gentiles who

"shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven;" while "the sons

of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness." The

heathen centurion, and the heathen woman of Canaan exhibit a faith the

like of which Jesus did not find in Israel. The Messiah is rejected and

persecuted by his own people in Galilee and Judaea. He upbraids

Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, wherein his mighty works were done,

because they repented not; He sheds tears over Jerusalem because she

would not come to Him; He pronounces his woe over the Jewish hierarchy,

and utters the fearful prophecies of the destruction of the theocracy.

All this is most fully recorded by Matthew, and he most appropriately

and sublimely concludes with the command of the universal

evangelization of all nations, and the promise of the unbroken presence

of Christ with his people to the end of the world. [916]

Topical Arrangement.

The mode of arrangement is clear and orderly. It is topical rather than

chronological. It far surpasses Mark and Luke in the fulness of the

discourses of Christ, while it has to be supplemented from them in

regard to the succession of events. Matthew groups together the kindred

words and works with special reference to Christ's teaching; hence it

was properly called by Papias a collection of the Oracles of the Lord.

It is emphatically the didactic Gospel.

The first didactic group is the Sermon on the Mount of Beatitudes,

which contains the legislation of the kingdom of Christ and an

invitation to the whole people to enter, holding out the richest

promises to the poor in spirit and the pure in heart (Matt. 5-7. The

second group is the instruction to the disciples in their missionary

work (Matt. 10). The third is the collection of the parables on the

kingdom of God, illustrating its growth, conflict, value, and

consummation (Matt. 13). The fourth, the denunciation of the Pharisees

(Matt. 23), and the fifth, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem

and the end of the world (Matt. 24 and 25).

Between these chief groups are inserted smaller discourses of Christ,

on his relation to John the Baptist (11:1-19); the woe on the

unrepenting cities of Galilee (11:20-24); the thanksgiving for the

revelation to those of a childlike spirit (11:25-27); the invitation to

the weary and heavy laden (11:28-30); on the observance of the Sabbath

and warning to the Pharisees who were on the way to commit the

unpardonable sin by tracing his miracles to Satanic powers (Matt. 12);

the attack on the traditions of the elders and the hypocrisy of the

Pharisees (Matt. 15 and 16); the prophecy of the founding of the church

after the great confession of Peter, with the prediction of his passion

as the way to victory (Matt. 16); the discourse on the little children

with their lesson of simplicity and humility against the temptations of

hierarchial pride; the duty of forgiveness in the kingdom and the

parable of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18); the discourse about

divorce, against the Pharisees; the blessing of little children; the

warning against the danger of riches; the parable of the Laborers in

the Vineyard and the nature of the future rewards (Matt. 19 and 20);

the victorious replies of the Lord to the tempting questions of the

Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt. 22).

These discourses are connected with narratives of the great miracles of

Christ and the events in his life. The miracles are likewise grouped

together (as in Matt. 8-9), or briefly summed up (as in 4:23-25). The

transfiguration (Matt. 17) forms the turning-point between the active

and the passive life; it was a manifestation of heaven on earth, an

anticipation of Christ's future glory, a pledge of the resurrection,

and it fortified Jesus and his three chosen disciples for the coming

crisis, which culminated in the crucifixion and ended in the

resurrection. [917]

Peculiar Sections.

Matthew has a number of original sections:

1. Ten Discourses of our Lord, namely, the greater part of the Sermon

on the Mount (Matt. 5-7); the thanksgiving for the revelation to babes

(11:25-27); the touching invitation to the heavy laden (11:28-30),

which is equal to anything in John; the warning against idle words

(12:36, 37); the blessing pronounced upon Peter and the prophecy of

founding the church (16:17-19); the greater part of the discourse on

humility and forgiveness (Matt. 18); the rejection of the Jews (21:43);

the denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. 23); the

description of the final judgment (25:31-46); the great commission and

the promise of Christ's presence to the end of time (28:18-20).

2. Ten Parables: the tares; the hidden treasure; the pearl of great

price; the draw-net (13:24-50); the unmerciful servant (18:23-35); the

laborers in the vineyard (20:1-16); the two sons (21:28-32); the

marriage of the king's son (22: 1-14); the ten virgins (25:1-13); the

talents (25:14-30).

3. Two Miracles: the cure of two blind men (9:27-31); the stater in the

fish's mouth (17:24-27).

4. Facts and Incidents: the adoration of the Magi; the massacre of the

innocents; the flight into Egypt; the return from Egypt to Nazareth

(all in Matt. 2); the coming of the Pharisees and Sadducees to John's

baptism (3:7); Peter's attempt to walk on the sea (14:28-31); the

payment of the temple tax (17:24-27); the bargain of Judas, his

remorse, and suicide (26:14-16; 27:3-10); the dream of Pilate's wife

(27:19); the appearance of departed saints in Jerusalem (27:52); the

watch at the sepulchre (27:62-66); the lie of the Sanhedrin and the

bribing of the soldiers (28:11-15); the earthquake on the resurrection

morning (28:2, a repetition of the shock described in 27:51, and

connected with the rolling away of the stone from the sepulchre).

The Style.

The Style of Matthew is simple, unadorned, calm, dignified, even

majestic; less vivid and picturesque than that of Mark; more even and

uniform than Luke's, because not dependent on written sources. He is

Hebraizing, but less so than Mark, and not so much as Luke 1-2. He

omits some minor details which escaped his observation, but which Mark

heard from Peter, and which Luke learned from eye-witnesses or found in

his fragmentary documents. Among his peculiar expressions, besides the

constant use of "kingdom of heaven," is the designation of God as "our

heavenly Father," and of Jerusalem as "the holy city" and "the city of

the Great King." In the fulness of the teaching of Christ he surpasses

all except John. Nothing can be more solemn and impressive than his

reports of those words of life and power, which will outlast heaven and

earth (24:34). Sentence follows sentence with overwhelming force, like

a succession of lightning flashes from the upper world. [918]

Patristic Notices of Matthew.

The first Gospel was well known to the author of the "Didache of the

Apostles," who wrote between 80 and 100, and made large use of it,

especially the Sermon on the Mount. [919]

The next clear allusion to this Gospel is made in the Epistle of

Barnabas, who quotes two passages from the Greek Matthew, one from

22:14: "Many are called, but few chosen," with the significant formula

used only of inspired writings, "It is written." [920] This shows

clearly that early in the second century, if not before, it was an

acknowledged authority in the church. The Gospel of John also

indirectly presupposes, by its numerous emissions, the existence of all

the Synoptical Gospels.

The Hebrew Matthew.

Next we hear of a Hebrew Matthew from Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, "a

hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp." [921] He collected from

apostles and their disciples a variety of apostolic traditions in his

"Exposition of Oracles of the Lord," in five books (logion kuriakon

exegesis].In a fragment of this lost work preserved by Eusebius, he

says distinctly that "Matthew composed the oracles [of the Lord] in the

Hebrew tongue, and everyone interpreted them as best he could." [922]

Unfortunately the Hebrew Matthew, if it ever existed, has disappeared,

and consequently there is much difference of opinion about this famous

passage, both as regards the proper meaning of "oracles" (logia) and

the truth of the whole report.

1. The "oracles" are understood by some to mean only the discourses of

our Lord; [923] by others to include also the narrative portions. [924]

But in any case the Hebrew Matthew must have been chiefly an orderly

collection of discourses. This agrees best with the natural and usual

meaning of Logia, and the actual preponderance of the doctrinal element

in our canonical Matthew) as compared with our Mark. A parte potiori

fit denominatio.

2. The report of a Hebrew original has been set aside altogether as a

sheer mistake of Papias, who confounded it with the Ebionite "Gospel

according to the Hebrews," known to us from a number of fragments.

[925] It is said that Papias was a credulous and weak-minded, though

pious man. [926] But this does not impair his veracity or invalidate a

simple historical notice. It is also said that the universal spread of

the Greek language made a Hebrew Gospel superfluous. But the Aramaic

was still the vernacular and prevailing language in Palestine (comp.

Acts 21:40; 22:2) and in the countries of the Euphrates.

There is an intrinsic probability of a Hebrew Gospel for the early

stage of Christianity. And the existence of a Hebrew Matthew rests by

no means merely on Papias. It is confirmed by the independent

testimonies of most respectable fathers, as Irenaeus, [927] Pantaenus,

[928] Origen, [929] Eusebius, [930] Cyril of Jerusalem, [931]

Epiphanius, [932] and Jerome. [933]

This Hebrew Matthew must not be identified with the Judaizing "Gospel

according to the Hebrews," the best among the apocryphal Gospels, of

which in all thirty-three fragments remain. Jerome and other fathers

clearly distinguish the two. The latter was probably an adaptation of

the former to the use of the Ebionites and Nazarenes. [934] Truth

always precedes heresy, as the genuine coin precedes the counterfeit,

and the real portrait the caricature. Cureton and Tregelles maintain

that the Curetonian Syriac fragment is virtually a translation of the

Hebrew Matthew, and antedates the Peshito version. But Ewald has proven

that it is derived from our Greek Matthew. [935]

Papias says that everybody "interpreted" the Hebrew Matthew as well as

he could. He refers no doubt to the use of the Gospel in public

discourses before Greek hearers, not to a number of written

translations of which we know nothing. The past tense (ermeneuse)

moreover seems to imply that such necessity existed no longer at the

time when he wrote; in other words, that the authentic Greek Matthew

had since appeared and superseded the Aramaic predecessor which was

probably less complete. [936] Papias accordingly is an indirect witness

of the Greek Matthew in his own age; that is, the early part of the

second century (about a.d. 130). At all events the Greek Matthew was in

public use even before that time, as is evident from the, quotations in

the Didache, and the Epistle of Barnabas (which were written before

120, probably before 100).

The Greek Matthew.

The Greek Matthew, as we have it now, is not a close translation from

the Hebrew and bears the marks of an original composition. This appears

from genuine Greek words and phrases to which there is no parallel in

Hebrew, as the truly classical "Those wretches he will wretchedly

destroy," [937] and from the discrimination in Old Testament quotations

which are freely taken from the Septuagint in the course of the

narrative, but conformed to the Hebrew when they convey Messianic

prophecies, and are introduced by the solemn formula: "that there might

be fulfilled," or "then was fulfilled." [938]

If then we credit the well nigh unanimous tradition of the ancient

church concerning a prior Hebrew Matthew, we must either ascribe the

Greek Matthew to some unknown translator who took certain liberties

with the original, [939] or, what seems most probable, we must assume

that Matthew himself at different periods of his life wrote his Gospel

first in Hebrew in Palestine, and afterward in Greek. [940] In doing

so, he would not literally translate his own book, but like other

historians freely reproduce and improve it. Josephus did the same with

his history of the Jewish war, of which only the Greek remains. When

the Greek Matthew once was current in the church, it naturally

superseded the Hebrew, especially if it was more complete.

Objections are raised to Matthew's authorship of the first canonical

Gospel, from real or supposed inaccuracies in the narrative, but they

are at best very trifling and easily explained by the fact that Matthew

paid most attention to the words of Christ, and probably had a better

memory for thoughts than for facts. [941]

But whatever be the view we take of the precise origin of the first

canonical Gospel, it was universally received in the ancient church as

the work of Matthew. It was our Matthew who is often, though freely,

quoted by Justin Martyr as early as a.d. 146 among the "Gospel

Memoirs;" it was one of the four Gospels of which his pupil Tatian

compiled a connected "Diatessaron;" and it was the only Matthew used by

Irenaeus and all the fathers that follow.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[902] Maththaios, Matt. 9:9 (according to the spelling of ' B\* D,

adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort), or

Matthaios(as spelled in the text. rec.), like Matthias and Mattathias,

means Gift Jehovah ( hytm , hyntm, y'tm, ytm ), and corresponds to the

Greek Theodore. He perhaps took this name after his call; his former

name being Levi, Leuis, Leueis ( vyl , a joining), according to Mark

2:12; Luke 5:27, 29. The new name overshadowed the old, as the names of

Peter and Paul replaced Simon and Saul. The identity is evident from

the fact that the call of Matthew or Levi is related by the three

Synoptists in the same terms and followed by the same discourse.

Nicholson (Com. on Matt. 9:9) disputes the identity, as Grotius and

Sieffert did before, but on insufficient grounds. Before Mark 3:16

Peter is called by his former name Simon (Mark 1:16, 29, 30, 36), and

thereby shows his historical tact.

[903] Hence called Maththaios ho telones ,Matt. 10:3. He inserts his

previous employment to intimate the power of divine grace in his

conversion.

[904] Matt. 10:3, compared with Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15. But in the list

in Acts 1:13 he is associated with Bartholomew, and Thomas with Philip.

[905] Clement of Alexandria represents him as a strict Jewish Christian

who abstained from the use of flesh. This would make him one of the

weak brethren whom Paul (Rom. 14:1sqq.) charitably judges. But there is

nothing in the first Gospel to justify this tradition.

[906] The priority and relative superiority of Matthew are maintained

not only by Augustin and the catholic tradition, but also by moderately

liberal critics from Griesbach to Bleek, and even by the radical

critics of the T�bingen school (Baur, Strauss, Schwegler, Zeller,

Hilgenfeld, Davidson), and especially by Keim..

[907] So Luke 5:29. Mark 2:15 ("many publicans and sinners sat down

with Jesus and his disciples") and Matt. 9:10 ("many publicans and

sinners") agree; but Matthew modestly omits his own name in connection

with that feast. Some commentators understand "the house" to be the

house of Jesus, but Jesus had no house and gave no dinner parties. Luke

says expressly that it was the house of Levi.

[908] Carr, Com., p. 6.

[909] Luke 5:28; Mark 2:14; Matt. 9:9.

[910] Matt. 5:35 (" Jerusalem is the city of the great king"); 23:1

(sit on Moses' seat") 23:16 (" swear by the temple"); 16:28; 24:15 ("

in the holy place;" " let him that readeth understand"), and the whole

twenty-fourth chapter.

[911] Matt. 5:17; 15:24; comp. 10:6.

[912] Hug, Bleek, Olshausen, Ebrard, Meyer, Reim, Lange, and most

commentators fix the date between 60 and 69, other writers as early as

37-45 (but in conflict with Matt. 27:8; 28:15). Baur's view, which

brings the Greek Matthew down to the second destruction of Jerusalem

under Hadrian, 130-134, is exploded. Even Volkmar puts it much earlier

(105 to 115), Hilgenfeld (Einleitung in das N. T., p. 497) immediately

after the destruction of Jerusalem, Keim a.d. 66. Dr. Samuel Davidson,

in the second ed. of his Introd. to the N. T. (London, 1882, vol. I.

413-416), assigns the present Greek Matthew with Volkmar to 105, but

assumes an Aramaean original and Greek paraphrases of the same which

were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. He thinks that "the

eschatological discourses which connect the fail of Jerusalem, the

destruction of the temple and the end of the world, have been falsified

by history" (?); that consequently Jesus did not utter them as they are

recorded, but they were revised and altered by writers who incorporated

with them Jewish ideas and expressions (I. 403).

[913] Comp. Matt. 15:2 with Mark 7:3, 4. The translation of the

exclamation on the cross, Matt. 27:46, is intended for Greek Jews,

[914] By Godet, Studies on the New Testament, p. 23.

[915] hina (or hopos)plerothe to rethen, ortote eplerothe to rethen.

This formula occurs twelve times in Matthew (1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14;

8:17; 12:17, 13:35; 21:4; 26:56; 27:9, 35), six times in John, but

nowhere in Luke nor in Mark; for Mark 15:28 (kai eplerothe he graphe k.

t. l.) in the text. rec. is spurious and probably inserted from Luke

22:37.

[916] Comp. Matt. 2:1-12; 8:11, 12; 11:21; 12:41; 15:21-28; Matt. 23

and 24; 28:19, 20.

[917] For a full analysis see the critical monograph of Weiss, and

Lange's Matth., pp. 43-46. Keim, who builds his Geschichte Jesu--the

ablest and least objectionable of the purely critical biographies of

Christ,--chiefly on Matthew, praises its plan as sorgf�ltig, einfach

und einleuchtend, durchsichtig und sehr wohl durchgef�hrt (I. 52). He

divides it into two chief sections: the entry upon the public ministry

with the Bussruf and Reichspredigt (4:17: apo tote erxato ho Iesous

kerussein, k. t. l.), and the entry upon the path of death with the

Leidensruf and the Zukunftspredigt (Matt16:21: apo tote erxato ho Ies.,

k. t. l.). He also finds an ingenious symmetry of numbers in the

collocation of 10 miracles, 8 [7] beatitudes, 7 woes, 4 and 3 parables,

3 temptations, etc.

[918] For particulars on the style of Matthew and the other Evangelists

see my Companion to the Study of the Greek Testament (third ed., 1888),

pp. 43 sqq.

[919] See my book on the Didache (N. York, third ed., 1889), pp. 61-88.

[920] Ep. Barn., c. 4, at the close:prosechomen, mepote, hos gegraptai,

polloi kletoi, oligoi de eklektoi heurethomen. Since the discovery of

the entire Greek text of this Epistle in the Codex Sinaiticus (1859),

where it follows the Apocalypse, there can be no doubt any more about

the formula gegraptai(scriptum est). The other passage quoted in Matt.

5 is from Matt. 9:13: ouk helthen kalesai dikaious alla hamartolous.

The Ep. of Barnabas dates from the close of the first or the beginning

of the second century. Some place it as early as a.d. 70, others an

late as 120. The Didache is older.

[921] Euseb., H. E., III. 39: Ioannou men akoustes,Polukarpou de

hetairos gegonos.. Whether this " John" is the apostle or the

mysterious " Presbyter John," is a matter of dispute which will be

discussed in the second volume in the section on Papias. Eusebius

himself clearly distinguishes two Johns. The date of Papias must be set

back several years with that of Polycarp, his " companion," who

suffered martyrdom in 155 (not 164). The Chronicon Paschale which

represents Papias as martyred at Pergamum about the same time, mistook

PAPULOS in Eusebius, H. E., IV. 15 (at the close), for PAPIAS. See

Lightfoot, " Contemp. Review" for August, 1875, p. 381 sqq.

[922] Eus., Hist. Eccl., III. 39: Matthaios men houn Hebraidi dialek'to

ta logia sunataxato (or, according to the reading of Heinichen, I. 150,

sunagrapsato), ermeneuse d' auta hos hen dunatos hekastos . This

testimony has been thoroughly discussed by Schleiermacher (in the

"Studien und Kritiken," 1832), Holtzmann (Synopt. Evang., 248 sqq.),

Weizs�cker (Untersuchungen �b. d. ev. Gesch., 27 sqq.). Ewald

(Jahrb�cher, VI., 55 sqq.), Zahn (in "Stud. u. Kritiken," 1866, 649

sqq.), Steitz (ibid., 1868, 63 sqq.), Keim (Gesch. Jesu v. Naz., I., 56

sqq.), Meyer (Com. Evang. Matth., 6th ed. (1876), 4 sqq.), Lightfoot

(in "Contemp. Review" for August, 1875, pp. 396-403), and Weiss (Das

Matth�usevang., 1876, 1 sqq.).

[923] So Schleiermacher who first critically examined this passage

(1832), Schneckenbarger (1834), Lachmann (1835), Credner, Wieseler.

Ewald, Reuss, Weizs�cker, Holtzmann, Meyer (p. 11). It is supposed that

Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was similar to the lost work of Papias, with

this difference that the former was simply a collection (suntaxis or

sungraphe), the latter an interpretation (exegesis), of the Lord's

discourses (ton logion kuriakon).

[924] So L�cke (1833), Kern, Hug, Harless, Anger, Bleek, Baur,

Hilgenfeld, Lange, Ebrard, Thiersch, Keim, Zahn, Lightfoot, Thomson,

Keil, Weiss (but the last with a limitation to a meagre thread of

narrative). The chief arguments are: 1, that all early writers, from

Irenaeus onward, who speak of a Hebrew Matthew mean a regular Gospel

corresponding to our Greek Matthew; 2, the parallel passage of Papias

concerning the Gospel of Mark (Eus., III. 39), where apparently "the

Lord's discourses" (logoi kuriakoi) includes actions as well as words.

ta hupo tou Christou he lechthenta he prachthenta. But it is said

somewhat disparagingly, that Mark (as compared with Matthew) did not

give "an orderly arrangement of the Lord's words" (ouch hosper suntaxin

ton kuriakon poioumenos logon). The wider meaning of logia is supported

by Rom. 3:1, where ta logia tou theou, with which the Jews were

intrusted, includes the whole Old Testament Scriptures; and Hebr. 5:12,

" the first principles of the oracles of God". (ta stoicheia -ite-is

arches ton logion tou theou). Lightfoot quotes also passages from

Philo, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Origen (l.c., p. 400 sq.).

[925] So Wetstein, Hug, De Wette, Bleek, Ewald, Ritschl, Holtzmann,

Keim, Delitzsch, Keil. Some of these writers assume that the Gospel

according to the Hebrews was an Ebionite translation and recension of

the Greek Matthew. So Delitzsch and Keil (Com. p. 23). Keim is mistaken

when he asserts (I. 54) that scarcely anybody nowadays believes in a

Hebrew Matthew. The contrary opinion is defended by Meyer, Weiss, and

others, and prevails among English divines.

[926] Eusebius (III. 39) calls him sphodra smikros ton noun, " very

narrow-minded," but on account of his millenarianism, as the context

shows. In another place he calls him a man of comprehensive learning

and great knowledge of the Scriptures (III. 39: ta tanta malista

logiotatos kai tes graphes eidemon ).

[927] Adv. Haer., III1, 1: ho men` de Matthaios en tois Ebraiois te

idia dialekto auton kai graphen exenenken euangeliou, tou Petrou kai

Paulou en Rh ome euangelizomenon kai themeliounton ten ekklesian. The

chronological reference is so far inaccurate, as neither Peter nor Paul

were personally the founders of the church of Rome, yet it was founded

through their influence and their pupils, and consolidated by their

presence and martyrdom.

[928] He is reported by Eus., H.E. 10, to have found in India (probably

in Southern Arabia) the Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew (Hebraion

grammasi), which had been left there by Bartholomew, one of the

apostles. This testimony is certainly independent of Papias. But it may

be questioned whether a Hebrew original, or a Hebrew translation, is

meant.

[929] In Eus., H. E., VI. 25. Origen, however, drew his report of a

Hebrew Matthew not from personal knowledge, but from tradition (hos en

paradosei mathon).

[930] H. E., III. 24: Matthaios men gar proteron Hebraiois keruxas, hos

emelle kai eph heterous ienai, patrio glotte graphe paradous to kat

auton euangelion, to leipon te autou parousia toutois, aph' hon

estelleto, dia tes ; graphes apeplerou. " M., having first preached the

Gospel in Hebrew, when on the point of going also to other nations,

committed it to writing in his native tongue, and thus supplied the

want of his presence to them by his book."

[931] Catech. 14: Matth. ho grapsas to euangelion Hebraidi glosse.

[932] Haer., XXX. 3; comp. LI. 5.

[933] Praef. in Matth.; on Matt. 12:13; Dial. c Pelag., III, c. 2; De

Vir. illustr., c. 2 and 3. Jerome's testimony is somewhat conflicting.

He received a copy of the Hebrew M. from the Nazarenes in Beraea in

Syria for transcription (392). But afterward (415) he seems to have

found out that the supposed Hebrew Matthew in the library of Pamphilus

at Caesarea was "the Gospel according to the Hebrews" (Evangelium

juxta, or secundum Hebraeos), which he translated both into Greek and

Latin (De vir. ill., c. 2). This would have been useless, if the Hebrew

Gospel had been only the original of the canonical Matthew. See Weiss,

l.c., pp. 7 sq.

[934] The fragments of this Gospel ("quo utuntur Nazareni et

Ebionitae," Jerome) were collected by Credner, Beitr�ge, I. 380 sqq.;

Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. extra can. rec., IV., and especially by

Nicholson in the work quoted above. It is far superior to the other

apocryphal Gospels, and was so much like the Hebrew Matthew that many

confounded it with the same, as Jerome observes, ad Matth. 12:13 ("quod

vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum") and C. Pelag., III. 2. The

T�bingen view (Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld) reverses the natural order

and makes this heretical gospel the Urmatthaeus (proto-Matthew), of

which our Greek Matthew is an orthodox transformation made as late as

130; but Keim (I., 29 sqq.), Meyer (p. 19), and Weise (pp. 8 and 9)

have sufficiently refuted this hypothesis. Nicholson modifies the

T�bingen theory by assuming that Matthew wrote at different times the

canonical Gospel and those portions of the Gospel according to the

Hebrews, which run parallel with it.

[935] See Holtzmann, p. 269, and Ewald's "Jahrb�cher," IX. 69 sqq.

[936] So Meyer (p. 12, against Holtzmann), and Lightfoot (p. 397

against the author of "Supern. Rel."). Schleiermacher was wrong in

referring hermeneuse to narrative additions.

[937] Matt. 21:41: kakous kakos apolesei, pessimos pessime (or malos

male) perdet. The E. Revision reproduces the paronomasis (which is

obliterated in the E. V.) thus: "He will miserably destroy those

miserable men." Other plays on words: Petros and petra, 16:18;

battologein and polulogia , 6:7; aphanizousin hopos phanosi, "they make

their faces unappearable (disfigure them), that they may appear,"6:16;

comp. 24:7. Weiss derives the originality of the Greek Matthew from the

use of the Greek Mark; but this would not account for these and similar

passages.

[938] Jerome first observed that Matthew follows not Septuaginta

translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam (De vir. illustr., c. 3).

Credner and Bleek brought out this important difference more fully, and

Holtzmann (Die Syn. Evang., p. 259), Ritschl, K�stlin, Keim (I., 59

sqq), Meyer (p. 9), and Weiss (p. 44) confirm it. But Hilgenfeld and

Keim unnecessarily see in this fact an indication of a later editor,

who exists only in their critical fancy.

[939] Jerome acknowledges the uncertainty of the translator, De vir.

ill., c. 3: Quis postea in Graecum transtulerit [the Hebrew Matthew],

non satis certum est." It has been variously traced to James, the

brother of the Lord Synops. Pseudo-Athan.), to a disciple of Matthew,

or to another disciple.

[940] So Bengel, Guericke, Schott, Olshausen, Thiersch.

[941] Meyer and Weiss regard the reports of the resurrection of the

dead at the crucifixion and the story of the watch, Matt. 27:52, 62-66,

as post-apostolic legends; but the former is not more difficult than

the resurrection of Lazarus, and the latter has all the marks of

intrinsic probability. Meyer also gratuitously assumes that Matthew

must be corrected from John on the date of the crucifixion; but there

is no real contradiction between the Synoptic and the Johannean date.

See p. 133. Meyer's opinion is that Matthew wrote only a Hebrew

collection of the discourses of our Lord, that an unknown hand at an

early date added the narrative portions, and another anonymous writer,

before the year 70, made the Greek translation which was universally

and justly, as far as substance is concerned, regarded as Matthew's

work (pp. 14, 23). But these are an pure conjectures.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 81. Mark.

Commentaries.

George Petter (the largest Com. on M., London, 1661, 2 vols. fol.); C.

Fr. A. Fritzsche (Evangelium Marci, Lips., 1830); A. Klostermann (Das

Marcusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe f�r die evang. Gesch.,

G�ttingen, 1867); B. Weiss (Das Marcusevangelium und seine synopt.

Parallelen, Berlin, 1872); Meyer (6th ed. by Weiss, G�tt., 1878);

Joseph A. Alexander (New York, 1858, and London, 1866); Harvey Goodwin

(London, 1860); John H. Godwin (London, 1869); James Morison (Mark's

Memoir of Jesus Christ, London and Glasgow, 1873, second ed., 1876,

third ed., 1881, one of the very best Com., learned, reverential, and

sensible); C. F. Maclear (Cambridge, 1877); Canon Cook (London, 1878);

Edwin W. Rich (Philad., 1881); Matthew B. Riddle (New York, 1881).

Life of Mark

The second Evangelist combines in his name, as well as in his mission,

the Hebrew and the Roman, and is a connecting link between Peter and

Paul, but more especially a pupil and companion of the former, so that

his Gospel may properly be called the Gospel of Peter. His original

name was John or Johanan (i.e., Jehovah is gracious, Gotthold) his

surname was Mark (i.e., Mallet). [942] The surname supplanted the

Hebrew name in his later life, as Peter supplanted Simon, and Paul

supplanted Saul. The change marked the transition of Christianity from

the Jews to the Gentiles. He is frequently mentioned in the Acts and

the Epistles. [943]

He was the son of a certain Mary who lived at Jerusalem and offered her

house, at great risk no doubt in that critical period of persecution,

to the Christian disciples for devotional meetings. Peter repaired to

that house after his deliverance from prison (a.d. 44). This accounts

for the close intimacy of Mark with Peter; he was probably converted

through him, and hence called his spiritual "son" (1 Pet. 5:13). [944]

He may have had a superficial acquaintance with Christ; for he is

probably identical with that unnamed "young man" who, according to his

own report, left his "linen cloth and fled naked" from Gethsemane in

the night of betrayal (Mark 14:51). He would hardly have mentioned such

a trifling incident, unless it had a special significance for him as

the turning-point in his life. Lange ingeniously conjectures that his

mother owned the garden of Gethsemane or a house close by.

Mark accompanied Paul and Barnabas as their minister (huperetes) on

their first great missionary journey; but left them half-way, being

discouraged, it seems, by the arduous work, and returned to his mother

in Jerusalem. For this reason Paul refused to take him on his next

tour, while Barnabas was willing to overlook his temporary weakness

(Acts 15:38). There was a "sharp contention" on that occasion between

these good men, probably in connection with the more serious collision

between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11 sqq.). Paul was moved by a

stern sense of duty; Barnabas by a kindly feeling for his cousin. [945]

But the alienation was only temporary. For about ten years afterwards

(63) Paul speaks of Mark at Rome as one of his few "fellow-workers unto

the kingdom of God," who had been "a comfort" to him in his

imprisonment; and he commends him to the brethren in Asia Minor on his

intended visit (Col. 4:10, 11; Philem. 24). In his last Epistle he

charges Timothy to bring Mark with him to Rome on the ground that he

was "useful to him for ministering" (2 Tim. 4:11). We find him again in

company with Peter at "Baby]on," whether that be on the Euphrates, or,

more probably, at Rome (1 Pet. 5:3).

These are the last notices of him in the New Testament. The tradition

of the church adds two important facts, that he wrote his Gospel in

Rome as the interpreter of Peter, and that afterwards he founded the

church of Alexandria. The Coptic patriarch claims to be his successor.

The legends of his martyrdom in the eighth year of Nero (this date is

given by Jerome) are worthless. In 827 his relics were removed from

Egypt to Venice, which built him a magnificent five-domed cathedral on

the Place of St. Mark, near the Doge's palace, and chose him with his

symbol, the Lion, for the patron saint of the republic.

His Relation to Peter.

Though not an apostle, Mark had the best opportunity in his mother's

house and his personal connection with Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and other

prominent disciples for gathering the most authentic information

concerning the gospel history.

The earliest notice of his Gospel we have from Papias of Hierapolis in

the first half of the second century. He reports among the primitive

traditions which he collected, that "Mark, having become the

interpreter of Peter (hermeneutes Petrou genomenos], orote doon

achchuratelps [akribos egrapsen) whatever he remembered, [946] without,

however, recording in order (taxei) what was either said or done by

Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but

afterwards, as I said, [he followed] Peter, who adapted his

instructions to the needs [of his hearers], but not in the way of

giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses. [947] So then Mark

committed no error in thus writing down such details as he remembered;

for he made it his one forethought not to omit or to misrepresent any

details that he had heard." [948]

In what sense was Mark an "interpreter" of Peter? Not as the translator

of a written Aramaic Gospel of Peter into the Greek, for of such an

Aramaic original there is no trace, and Peter (to judge from his

Epistles) wrote better Greek; nor as the translator of his discourses

into Latin, for we know not whether he understood that language, and it

was scarcely needed even in Rome among Jews and Orientals who spoke

Greek; [949] nor in the wider sense, as a mere clerk or amanuensis, who

wrote down what Peter dictated; but as the literary editor and

publisher of the oral Gospel of his spiritual father and teacher. So

Mercury was called the interpreter of the gods, because he communicated

to mortals the messages of the gods. It is quite probable, however,

that Peter sketched down some of the chief events under the first

impression, in his vernacular tongue, and that such brief memoirs, if

they existed, would naturally be made use of by Mark. [950]

We learn, then, from Papias that Mark wrote his Gospel from the

personal reminiscences of Peter's discourses, which were adapted to the

immediate wants of his hearers; that it was not complete (especially in

the didactic part, as compared with Matthew or John), nor strictly

chronological.

Clement of Alexandria informs us that the people of Rome were so much

pleased with the preaching of Peter that they requested Mark, his

attendant, to put it down in writing, which Peter neither encouraged

nor hindered. Other ancient fathers emphasize the close intimacy of

Mark with Peter, and call his Gospel the Gospel of Peter. [951]

The Gospel.

This tradition is confirmed by the book: it is derived from the

apostolic preaching of Peter, but is the briefest and so far the least

complete of all the Gospels, yet replete with significant details. It

reflects the sanguine and impulsive temperament, rapid movement, and

vigorous action of Peter. In this respect its favorite particle

"straightway" is exceedingly characteristic. The break-down of Mark in

Pamphylia, which provoked the censure of Paul, has a parallel in the

denial and inconsistency of Peter; but, like him, he soon rallied, was

ready to accompany Paul on his next mission, and persevered faithfully

to the end.

He betrays, by omissions and additions, the direct influence of Peter.

He informs us that the house of Peter was "the house of Simon and

Andrew" (Mark 1:29). He begins the public ministry of Christ with the

calling of these two brothers (1:16) and ends the undoubted part of the

Gospel with a message to Peter (16:7), and the supplement almost in the

very words of Peter. [952] He tells us that Peter on the Mount of

Transfiguration, when he proposed to erect three tabernacles, "knew not

what to say" (9:6). He gives the most minute account of Peter's denial,

and--alone among the Evangelists--records the fact that he warmed

himself "in the light" of the fire so that he could be distinctly seen

(14:54), and that the cock crew twice, giving him a second warning

(14:72). No one would be more likely to remember and report the fact as

a stimulus to humility and gratitude than Peter himself.

On the other hand, Mark omits the laudatory words of Jesus to Peter:

"Thou art Rock, and upon this rock I will build my church;" while yet

he records the succeeding rebuke: "Get thee behind me, Satan." [953]

The humility of the apostle, who himself warns so earnestly against the

hierarchical abuse of the former passage, offers the most natural

explanation of this conspicuous omission. "It is likely," says

Eusebius, "that Peter maintained silence on these points; hence the

silence of Mark." [954]

Character and Aim of Mark.

The second Gospel was--according to the unanimous voice of the ancient

church, which is sustained by internal evidence--written at Rome and

primarily for Roman readers, probably before the death of Peter, at all

events before the destruction of Jerusalem. [955]

It is a faithful record of Peter's preaching, which Mark must have

heard again and again. It is an historical sermon on the text of Peter

when addressing the Roman soldier Cornelius: "God anointed Jesus of

Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing

good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was

with him." [956] It omits the history of the infancy, and rushes at

once into the public ministry of our Lord, beginning, like Peter, with

the baptism of John, and ending with the ascension. It represents

Christ in the fulness of his living energy, as the Son of God and the

mighty wonder-worker who excited amazement and carried the people

irresistibly before him as a spiritual conqueror. This aspect would

most impress the martial mind of the Romans, who were born to conquer

and to rule. The teacher is lost in the founder of a kingdom. The

heroic element prevails over the prophetic. The victory over Satanic

powers in the healing of demoniacs is made very prominent. It is the

gospel of divine force manifested in Christ. The symbol of the lion is

not inappropriate to the Evangelist who describes Jesus as the Lion of

the tribe of Judah. [957]

Mark gives us a Gospel of facts, while Matthew's is a Gospel of divine

oracles. He reports few discourses, but many miracles. He unrolls the

short public life of our Lord in a series of brief life-pictures in

rapid succession. He takes no time to explain and to reveal the inside.

He dwells on the outward aspect of that wonderful personality as it

struck the multitude. Compared with Matthew and especially with John,

he is superficial, but not on that account incorrect or less useful and

necessary. He takes the theocratic view of Christ, like Matthew; while

Luke and John take the universal view; but while Matthew for his Jewish

readers begins with the descent of Christ from David the King and often

directs attention to the fulfilment of prophecy, Mark, writing for

Gentiles, begins with "the Son of God" in his independent personality.

[958] He rarely quotes prophecy; but, on the other hand, he translates

for his Roman readers Aramaic words and Jewish customs and opinions.

[959] He exhibits the Son of God in his mighty power and expects the

reader to submit to his authority.

Two miracles are peculiar to him, the healing of the deaf and dumb man

in Decapolis, which astonished the people "beyond measure" and made

them exclaim: "He hath done all things well: he maketh even the deaf to

hear, and the dumb to speak" (Mark 7:31-37). The other miracle is a

remarkable specimen of a gradual cure, the healing of the blind man at

Bethsaida, who upon the first touch of Christ saw the men around him

walking, but indistinctly as trees, and then after the second laying on

of hands upon his eyes "saw all things clearly" (8:22-26). He omits

important parables, but alone gives the interesting parable of the seed

growing secretly and bearing first the blade, then the ear, then the

full grain in the ear (4:26-29).

It is an interesting feature to which Dr. Lange first has directed

attention, that Mark lays emphasis on the periods of pause and rest

which "rhythmically intervene between the several great victories

achieved by Christ." He came out from his obscure abode in Nazareth;

each fresh advance in his public life is preceded by a retirement, and

each retirement is followed by a new and greater victory. The contrast

between the contemplative rest and the vigorous action is striking and

explains the overpowering effect by revealing its secret spring in the

communion with God and with himself. Thus we have after his baptism a

retirement to the wilderness in Judaea before he preached in Galilee

(1:12); a retirement to the ship (3:7); to the desert on the eastern

shore of the lake of Galilee (6:31); to a mountain (6:46); to the

border land of Tyre and Sidon (7:24); to Decapolis (7:31); to a high

mountain (9:2); to Bethany (11:1); to Gethsemane (14:34); his rest in

the grave before the resurrection; and his withdrawal from the world

and his reappearance in the victories of the gospel preached by his

disciples. "The ascension of the Lord forms his last withdrawal, which

is to be followed by his final onset and absolute victory." [960]

Doctrinal Position.

Mark has no distinct doctrinal type, but is catholic, irenic,

unsectarian, and neutral as regards the party questions within the

apostolic church. But this is not the result of calculation or of a

tendency to obliterate and conciliate existing differences. [961] Mark

simply represents the primitive form of Christianity itself before the

circumcision controversy broke out which occasioned the apostolic

conference at Jerusalem twenty years after the founding of the church.

His Gospel is Petrine without being anti-Pauline, and Pauline without

being anti-Petrine. Its doctrinal tone is the same as that of the

sermons of Peter in the Acts. It is thoroughly practical. Its preaches

Christianity, not theology.

The same is true of the other Gospels, with this difference, however,

that Matthew has a special reference to Jewish, Luke to Gentile

readers, and that both make their selection accordingly under the

guidance of the Spirit and in accordance with their peculiar charisma

and aim, but without altering or coloring the facts. Mark stands

properly between them just as Peter stood between James and Paul.

The Style.

The style of Mark is unclassical, inelegant, provincial, homely, poor

and repetitious in vocabulary, but original, fresh, and picturesque,

and enlivened by interesting touches and flickers.. [962]

He was a stranger to the arts of rhetoric and unskilled in literary

composition, but an attentive listener, a close observer, and faithful

recorder of actual events. He is strongly Hebraizing, and uses often

the Hebrew and, but seldom the argumentative for. He inserts a number

of Latin words, though most of these occur also in Matthew and Luke,

and in the Talmud. [963] He uses the particle "forthwith" or

"straightway" more frequently than all the other Evangelists combined.

[964] It is his pet word, and well expresses his haste and rapid

transition from event to event, from conquest to conquest. He quotes

names and phrases in the original Aramaic, as "Abba," "Boanerges,"

"Talitha kum," "Corban," "Ephphathah," and "Eloi, Eloi," with a Greek

translation. [965] He is fond of the historical present, [966] of the

direct instead of the indirect mode of speech, [967] of pictorical

participles, [968] and of affectionate diminutives. [969] He observes

time and place of important events. [970] He has a number of peculiar

expressions not found elsewhere in the New Testament. [971]

Characteristic Details.

Mark inserts many delicate tints and interesting incidents of persons

and events which he must have heard from primitive witnesses. They are

not the touches of fancy or the reflections of an historian, but the

reminiscences of the first impressions. They occur in every chapter. He

makes some little contribution to almost every narrative he has in

common with Matthew and Luke. He notices the overpowering impression of

awe and wonder, joy and delight, which the words and miracles of Jesus

and his very appearance made upon the people and the disciples; [972]

the actions of the multitude as they were rushing and thronging and

pressing upon Him that He might touch and heal them, so that there was

scarcely standing room, or time to eat. [973] On one occasion his

kinsmen were about forcibly to remove Him from the throng. He directs

attention to the human emotions and passions of our Lord, how he was

stirred by pity, wonder, grief, anger and indignation. [974] He notices

his attitudes, looks and gestures, [975] his sleep and hunger. [976]

He informs us that Jesus, "looking upon" the rich young ruler, "loved

him," and that the ruler's "countenance fell" when he was told to sell

all he had and to follow Jesus. Mark, or Peter rather, must have

watched the eye of our Lord and read in his face the expression of

special interest in that man who notwithstanding his self-righteousness

and worldliness had some lovely qualities and was not very far from the

kingdom. [977]

The cure of the demoniac and epileptic at the foot of the mount of

transfiguration is narrated with greater circumstantiality and dramatic

vividness by Mark than by the other Synoptists. He supplies the

touching conversation of Jesus with the father of the sufferer, which

drew out his weak and struggling faith with the earnest prayer for

strong and victorious faith: "I believe; help Thou mine unbelief."

[978] We can imagine how eagerly Peter, the confessor, caught this

prayer, and how often he repeated it in his preaching, mindful of his

own weakness and trials.

All the Synoptists relate on two distinct occasions Christ's love for

little children, but Mark alone tells us that He "took little children

into his arms, and laid his hands upon them." [979]

Many minor details not found in the other Gospels, however

insignificant in themselves, are yet most significant as marks of the

autopticity of the narrator (Peter). Such are the notices that Jesus

entered the house of "Simon and Andrew, with James and John" (Mark

1:29); that the Pharisees took counsel "with the Herodians" (3:6); that

the raiment of Jesus at the transfiguration became exceeding white as

snow "so as no fuller on earth can whiten them" (9:3); that blind

Bartimaeus when called, "casting away his garment, leaped up" (10:50),

and came to Jesus; that "Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him

privately" on the Mount of Olives about the coming events (13:3); that

the five thousand sat down "in ranks, by hundreds and fifties" (6:40);

that the Simon who carried the cross of Christ (15:21) was a "Cyrenian"

and "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (no doubt, two well-known

disciples, perhaps at Rome, comp. Rom. 16:13).

We may add, as peculiar to Mark and "bewraying" Peter, the designation

of Christ as "the carpenter" (Mark 6:3); the name of the blind beggar

at Jericho, "Bartimaeus" (10:46); the "cushion" in the boat on which

Jesus slept (4:38); the "green grass" on the hill side in spring time

(4:39); the "one loaf" in the ship (8:14); the colt "tied at the door

without in the open street" (11:4); the address to the daughter of

Jairus in her mother tongue (5:41); the bilingual "Abba, Father," in

the prayer at Gethsemane (14:36; comp. Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6).

Conclusion.

The natural conclusion from all these peculiarities is that Mark's

Gospel, far from being an extract from Matthew or Luke or both, as

formerly held, [980] is a thoroughly independent and original work, as

has been proven by minute investigations of critics of different

schools and aims. [981] It is in all its essential parts a fresh,

life-like, and trustworthy record of the persons and events of the

gospel history from the lips of honest old Peter and from the pen of

his constant attendant and pupil. Jerome hit it in the fourth century,

and unbiassed critics in the nineteenth century confirm it: Peter was

the narrator, Mark the writer, of the second Gospel. [982]

Some have gone further and maintain that Mark, "the interpreter of

Peter," simply translated a Hebrew Gospel of his teacher; [983] but

tradition knows nothing of a Hebrew Peter, while it speaks of a Hebrew

Matthew; and a book is called after its author, not after its

translator. It is enough to say Peter was the preacher, Mark the

reporter and editor.

The bearing of this fact upon the reliableness of the Synoptic record

of the life of Christ is self-evident. It leaves no room for the

mythical or legendary hypothesis. [984]

Integrity of the Gospel.

The Gospel closes (Mark 16:9-20) with a rapid sketch of the wonders of

the resurrection and ascension, and the continued manifestations of

power that attend the messengers of Christ in preaching the gospel to

the whole creation. This close is upon the whole characteristic of Mark

and presents the gospel as a divine power pervading and transforming

the world, but it contains some peculiar features, namely: (1) one of

the three distinct narratives of Christ's ascension (16:19, "he was

received up into heaven;" the other two being those of Luke 24:51 and

Acts 1:9-11), with the additional statement that he "sat down at the

right hand of God" (comp. the similar statement, 1 Pet. 3:22) (2) an

emphatic declaration of the necessity of baptism for salvation ("he

that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"), with the negative

clause that unbelief (i.e., the rejection of the gospel offer of

salvation) condemns ("he that disbelieveth shall be condemned"); [985]

(3) the fact that the apostles disbelieved the report of Mary Magdalene

until the risen Lord appeared to them personally (Mark 16:11-14; but

John intimates the same, John 20:8, 9, especially in regard to Thomas,

20:25, and Matthew mentions that some doubted, Matt. 28:17; comp. Luke

24:37-41); (4) an authoritative promise of supernatural powers and

signs which shall accompany the believers (Mark 16:17, 18). Among these

is mentioned the pentecostal glossolalia under the unique name of

speaking with new tongues. [986]

The genuineness of this closing section is hotly contested, and

presents one of the most difficult problems of textual criticism. The

arguments are almost equally strong on both sides, but although the

section cannot be proven to be a part of the original Gospel, it seems

clear: (1) that it belongs to primitive tradition (like the disputed

section of the adulteress in John 8); and (2) that Mark cannot have

closed his Gospel with Mark 16:8 (gar) without intending a more

appropriate conclusion. The result does not affect the character and

credibility of the Gospel. The section may be authentic or correct in

its statements, without being genuine or written by Mark. There is

nothing in it which, properly understood, does not harmonize with

apostolic teaching.

Note on the Disputed Close of Mark, 16:9-20

I. Reasons against the genuineness:

1. The section is wanting altogether in the two oldest and most

valuable uncial manuscripts, the Sinaitic (') and the Vatican (B). The

latter, it is true, after ending the Gospel with Mark 16:8 and the

subscription kata mapkon, leaves the remaining third column blank,

which is sufficient space for the twelve verses. Much account is made

of this fact by Drs. Burgon and Scrivener; but in the same MS. I find,

on examination of the facsimile edition, blank spaces from a few lines

up to two-thirds and three-fourths of a column, at the end of Matthew,

John, Acts, 1 Pet. (fol. 200), 1 John (fol. 208), Jude (fol. 210), Rom.

(fol. 227), Eph. (fol. 262), Col. (fol. 272). In the Old Testament of

B, as Dr. Abbot has first noted (in 1872), there are two blank columns

at the end of Nehemiah, and a blank column and a half at the end of

Tobit. In any case the omission indicates an objection of the copyist

of B to the section, or its absence in the earlier manuscript he used.

I add the following private note from Dr. Abbot:, "In the Alexandrian

MS. a column and a third are left blank at the end of Mark, half a page

at the end of John, and a whole page at the end of the Pauline

Epistles. (Contrast the ending of Matthew and Acts.) In the Old

Testament, note especially in this MS. Leviticus, Isaiah, and the Ep.

of Jeremiah, at the end of each of which half a page or more is left

blank; contrast Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations. There are similar

blanks at the end of Ruth, 2 Samuel, and Daniel, but the last leaf of

those books ends a quaternion or quire in the MS. In the Sinaitic MS.

more than two columns with the whole following page are left blank at

the end of the Pauline Epistles, though the two next leaves belong to

the same quaternion; so at the end of the Acts a column and two-thirds

with the whole of the following page; and at the end of Barnabas a

column and a half. These examples show that the matter in question

depended largely on the whim of the copyist; and that we can not infer

with confidence that the scribe of B knew of any other ending of the

Gospel."

There is also a shorter conclusion, unquestionably spurious, which in L

and several MSS. of the Aethiopic version immediately follows Mark

16:8, and appears also in the margin of 274, the Harclean Syriac, and

the best Coptic MS. of the Gospel, while in k of the Old Latin it takes

the place of the longer ending. For details, see Westcott and Hort,

II., Append., pp. 30, 38, 44 sq.

2. Eusebius and Jerome state expressly that the section was wanting in

almost all the Greek copies of the Gospels. It was not in the copy used

by Victor of Antioch. There is also negative patristic evidence against

it, particularly strong in the case of Cyril of Jerusalem, Tertullian,

and Cyprian, who had special occasion to quote it (see Westcott and

Hort, II., Append., pp. 30-38). Jerome's statement, however, is

weakened by the fact that he seems to depend upon Eusebius, and that he

himself translated the passage in his Vulgate.

3. It is 'wanting in the important MS. k representing the African text

of the Old Latin version, which has a different conclusion (like that

in L), also in some of the best MSS. of the Armenian version, while in

others it follows the usual subscription. It is also wanting in an

unpublished Arabic version (made from the Greek) in the Vatican

Library, which is likewise noteworthy for reading hosin 1 Tim. 3:16.

4. The way in which the section begins, and in which it refers to Mary

Magdalene, give it the air of a conclusion derived from some extraneous

source. It does not record the fulfilment of the promise in Mark 16:7.

It uses (16:9) prote sabbatoufor the Hebraistic te mia-i-i ton

sabbatonof 16:2. It has many words or phrases (e.g., poreuomaiused

three times) not elsewhere found in Mark, which strengthen the

impression that we are dealing with a different writer, and it lacks

Mark's usual graphic detail. But the argument from difference of style

and vocabulary has been overstrained, and can not be regarded as in

itself decisive.

II. Arguments in favor of the genuineness:

1. The section is found in most of the uncial MSS., A C D Ch G D S, in

all the late uncials (in L as a secondary reading), and in all the

cursive MSS., including 1, 33, 69, etc.; though a number of the

cursives either mark it with an asterisk or note its omission in older

copies. Hence the statements of Eusebius and Jerome seem to need some

qualification. In MSS 22 (as Dr. Burgon has first pointed out) the

liturgical word telosdenoting the end of a reading lesson, is inserted

after both Mark 16:8 and 16:20, while no such word is placed at the end

of the other Gospels. This shows that there were two endings of Mark in

different copies.

2. Also in most of the ancient versions, the Itala (with the exception

of "k," or the codex Bobbiensis, used by Columban), the Vulgate, the

Curetonian Syriac (last part), the Peshito, the Philoxenian, the

Coptic, the Gothic (first part), and the Aethiopic, but in several MSS.

only after the spurious shorter conclusion. Of these versions the

Itala, the Curetonian and Peshito Syriac, and the Coptic, are older

than any of our Greek codices, but the MSS. of the Coptic are not older

than the twelfth or tenth century, and may have undergone changes as

well as the Greek MSS.; and the MSS. of the Ethiopic are all modern.

The best MSS. of the old Latin are mutilated here. The only extant

fragment of Mark in the Curetonian Syriac is 16:17-20, so that we

cannot tell whether Mark 16:9-20 immediately followed 16:8, or appeared

as they do in cod. L. But Aphraates quotes it.

3. In all the existing Greek and Syriac lectionaries or evangeliaries

and synaxaries, as far as examined, which contain the Scripture reading

lessons for the churches. Dr. Burgon lays great stress on their

testimony (ch. X.), but he overrates their antiquity. The

lection-systems cannot be traced beyond the middle of the fourth

century when great liturgical changes took place. At that time the

disputed verses were widely circulated and eagerly seized as a suitable

resurrection and ascension lesson.

4. Irenaeus of Lyons, in the second half of the second century, long

before Eusebius, expressly quotes Mark 16:19 as a part of the Gospel of

Mark (Adv. Haer., III. 10, 6). The still earlier testimony of Justin

Martyr (Apol., I. 45) is doubtful (The quotation of Mark 16:17 and 18

in lib. viii., c. 1 of the Apostolic Constitutions is wrongly ascribed

to Hippolytus.) Marinus, Macarius Magnes (or at least the heathen

writer whom he cites), Didymus, Chrysostom (??), Epiphanius, Nestorius,

the apocryphal Gesta Pilati, Ambrose, Augustin, and other later fathers

quote from the section.

5. A strong intrinsic argument is derived from the fact that Mark

cannot intentionally have concluded his Gospel with the words

ephobounto gar(Mark 16:8). He must either have himself written the last

verses or some other conclusion, which was accidently lost before the

book was multiplied by transcription; or he was unexpectedly prevented

from finishing his book, and the conclusion was supplied by a friendly

hand from oral tradition or some written source.

In view of these facts the critics and exegetes are very much divided.

The passage is defended as genuine by Simon, Mill, Bengel, Storr,

Matthaei, Hug, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Bleek, Olshausen, Lange,

Ebrard, Hilgenfeld, Broadus ("Bapt. Quarterly," Philad., 1869), Burgon

(1871), Scrivener, Wordsworth, McClellan, Cook, Morison (1882). It is

rejected or questioned by the critical editors, Griesbach, Lachmann,

Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort (though retained by

all in the text with or without brackets), and by such critics and

Commentators as Fritzsche, Credner, Reuss, Wieseler, Holtzmann, Keim,

Scholten, Klostermann, Ewald, Meyer, Weiss, Norton, Davidson. Some of

these opponents, however, while denying the composition of the section

by Mark, regard the contents as a part of the apostolic tradition.

Michelsen surrenders only 16:9-14, and saves 16:15-20. Ewald and

Holtzmann conjecture the original conclusion from 16:9, 10 and 16-20;

Volkmar invents one from elements of all the Synoptists.

III. Solutions of the problem. All mere conjectures; certainty is

impossible in this case.

1. Mark himself added the section in a later edition, issued perhaps in

Alexandria, having been interrupted in Rome just as he came to 16:8,

either by Peter's imprisonment and martyrdom, or by sickness, or some

accident. Incomplete copies got into circulation before he was able to

finish the book. So Michaelis, Hug, and others.

2. The original conclusion of Mark was lost by some accident, most

probably from the original autograph (where it may have occupied a

separate leaf), and the present paragraph was substituted by an

anonymous editor or collector in the second century. So Griesbach,

Schulthess, David Schulz.

3. Luke wrote the section. So Hitzig (Johannes Marcus, p. 187).

4. Godet (in his Com. on Luke, p. 8 and p. 513, Engl. transl.) modifies

this hypothesis by assuming that a third hand supplied the close,

partly from Luke's Gospel, which had appeared in the mean time, and

partly (Mark 16:17, 18) from another source. He supposes that Mark was

interrupted by the unexpected outbreak of the Neronian persecution in

64 and precipitously fled from the capital, leaving his unfinished

Gospel behind, which was afterward completed when Luke's Gospel

appeared. In this way Godet accounts for the fact that up to Mark 16:8

Luke had no influence on Mark, while such influence is apparent in the

concluding section.

5. It was the end of one of the lost Gospel fragments used by Luke 1:1,

and appended to Mark's by the last redactor. Ewald.

6. The section is from the pen of Mark, but was purposely omitted by

some scribe in the third century from hierarchical prejudice, because

it represents the apostles in an unfavorable light after the

resurrection, so that the Lord "upbraided them with their unbelief and

hardness of heart" (Mark 16:14). Lange (Leben Jesu, I. 166). Unlikely.

7. The passage is genuine, but was omitted in some valuable copy by a

misunderstanding of the word teloswhich often is found after Mark 16:8

in cursives. So Burgon. "According to the Western order," he says (in

the "Quarterly Review" for Oct., 1881), "S. Mark occupies the last

place. From the earliest period it had been customary to write

telos(The End) after 16:8, in token that there a famous ecclesiastical

lection comes to a close. Let the last leaf of one very ancient

archetypal copy have begun at 16:9, and let that last leaf have

perished;--and all is plain. A faithful copyist will have ended the

Gospel perforce--as B and ' have done--at S. Mark 16:8." But this

liturgical mark is not old enough to explain the omission in ', B, and

the MSS. of Eusebius and Jerome; and a reading lesson would close as

abruptly with garas the Gospel itself.

8. The passage cannot claim any apostolic authority; but it is

doubtless founded on some tradition of the apostolic age. Its

authorship and precise date must remain unknown, but it is apparently

older than the time when the canonical Gospels were generally received;

for although it has points of contact with them all, it contains no

attempt to harmonize their various representations of the course of

events. So Dr. Hort (II., Appendix, 51). A similar view was held by

Dean Alford.

For full information we refer to the critical apparatus of Tischendorf

and Tregelles, to the monograph of Weiss on Mark (Das Marcusevang., pp.

512-515), and especially to the exhaustive discussion of Westcott and

Hort in the second volume (Append., pp. 29-51). The most elaborate

vindication of the genuineness is by Dean Burgon: The Last Twelve

Verses o f the Gospel according to S. Mark Vindicated against Recent

Critical Objections and Established (Oxford and Lond., 1871, 334

pages), a very learned book, but marred by its over-confident tone and

unreasonable hostility to the oldest uncial MSS. (' and B) and the most

meritorious textual critics (Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles). For

other able defences see Dr. Scrivener (Introd. to the Criticism of the

New Test., 3d ed., 1883, pp. 583-590), Dr. Morison (Com. on Mark, pp.

446 and 463 sqq.), and Canon Cook (in Speaker's Com. on Mark, pp.

301-308).

Lachmann gives the disputed section, according to his principle to

furnish the text as found in the fourth century, but did not consider

it genuine (see his article in "Studien und Kritiken" for 1830, p.

843). Tischendorf and Tregelles set the twelve verses apart. Alford

incloses them in single brackets, Westcott and Hort in double brackets,

as an early interpolation; the Revised Version of 1881 retains them

with a marginal note, and with a space between Mark 16:8 and 9. Dean

Burgon ("Quarterly Rev." for Oct., 1881) holds this note of the

Revision (which simply states an acknowledged fact) to be "the gravest

blot of all," and triumphantly refers the critical editors and

Revisionists to his "separate treatise extending over 300 pages, which

for the best of reasons has never yet been answered," and in which he

has "demonstrated," as he assures us, that the last twelve verses in

Mark are "as trustworthy as any other verses which can be named." The

infallible organ in the Vatican seems to have a formidable rival in

Chichester, but they are in irreconcilable conflict on the true reading

of the angelic anthem (Luke 2:14): the Pope chanting with the Vulgate

the genitive (eudokias,bonae voluntatis), the Dean, in the same

article, denouncing this as a "grievous perversion of the truth of

Scripture," and holding the evidence for the nominative (eudokia) to be

"absolutely decisive," as if the combined testimony of '\* A B D,

Irenaeus, Origen (lat.), Jerome, all the Latin MSS., and the Latin

Gloria in Excelsis were of no account, as compared with his judgment or

preference.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[942] Marcus, and the diminutive Marcellus (Little Mallet), are well

known Roman names. Marcus Tullius Cicero wrote an oration pro Marco

Marcello.

[943] Acts 12:12, 25; 13:5, 13; 15:37; Col. 4:10; 2 Tim. 4:11; Philem.

24; 1 Pet. 5:13.

[944] There is no good reason for taking "son" here literally (with

Credner), when the figurative meaning so fully harmonizes with

Scripture usage and with what we otherwise certainly know of Mark's

intimate relations to Peter both from the Acts and from tradition. A

daughter of Peter (Petronilla) is mentioned by tradition, but not a

son. Clement of Alexandria says that Peter and Philip begat children."

[945] anepsios, Col. 4:10.

[946] emnemoneuse. It is so translated by Valois, Lardner, Meyer,

Weiss, Lightfoot. The rendering "recorded," which is preferred by Crus�

and Morison, makes it tautological with the preceding egrapsen. The

"he" may be referred to Mark or to Peter, probably to the former.

[947] all ouch hosper suntaxin ton kuriakon logon(orlogion, oracles).

[948] Euseb., Hist, Eccl., III. 39. For a critical discussion of this

important testimony see Weiss and Morison, also Lightfoot in the

"Contemp. Rev.," vol. XXVI. (1875), pp. 393 sqq. There is not the

slightest evidence for referring this description to a fictitious

pre-canonical Mark, as is still done by Davidson (new ed., I. 539).

[949] The Latin was provincial, the Greek universal in the Roman

empire. Cicero (Pro Arch., 10): "Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere

gentibus; Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur." The

tradition that Mark wrote his Gospel first in Latin is too late to

deserve any credit. Baronius defends it in the interest of the Vulgate,

and puts the composition back to the year 45. The supposed Latin

autograph of Mark's Gospel at Venice is a fragment of the Vulgate.

[950] Justin Martyr (Dial.c. Tryph., c. 106) actually quotes from the

"Memoirs (apomnemoneumata) of Peter" the designation of the sons of

Zebedee, "Boanerges" or "Sons of Thunder;" but he evidently refers to

the written Gospel of Mark, who alone mentions this fact, Mark 3:17.

[951] See the testimonies of Jerome, Eusebius, Origen, Tertullian,

Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Papias, well

presented in Kirchhofer (ed. Charteris) on Canonicity, pp. 141-150, and

in Morison's Com., pp. xx-xxxiv

[952] Mark 16:19: "The Lord Jesus ... was received up into heaven, and

sat down at the right hand of God;" comp. 1 Pet, 3:22: "who is on the

right hand of God, having gone into heaven."

[953] Mark 8:27-33; compared with Matt. 16:13-33.

[954] Dem. Evang., III. 5, quoted by Morison, p. xxxv. In view of the

facts quoted above the reader may judge of Dr. Davidson's assertion

(Introd. 1882 vol. I., 541): "That Mark was not the writer of the

canonnical Gospel may be inferred from the fact that it is not

specially remarkable in particulars relative to Peter."

[955] Irenaeus (Adv. Haer., III. 1) says "after the departure" of Peter

and Paul, "post horum excessum," or in the original Greek preserved by

Eusebius (H. E., V. 8. ed. Heinichen, 1. 224), meta ten touton exodon.

This must mean "after their decease," not "after their departure from

Rome" (Grabe). But Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Epiphanius, Eusebius,

Jerome, and other fathers assign the composition to a time before the

martyrdom of Peter. Christophorson (in his Latin Version of the Church

History of Eusebius, publ. 1570, as quoted by Stieren in Iren. Op., I.

423, note 4) suggested a different reading, meta ten ekdosin, i.e.,

after the publication of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, as spoken of in the

preceding sentence, and Morison (p. xxv) seems inclined to accept this

conjecture. Very unlikely; all the MSS., Rufinus and the Latin

translator of Irenaeus read exodon. See Stieren, in loc. The

conflicting statements can be easily harmonized by a distinction

between the composition before, and the publication after, the death of

Peter. By publication in those days was meant the copying and

distribution of a book.

[956] Acts 10:38. The sermon of Peter to Cornelius is the Gospel of

Mark in a nutshell.

[957] Lange (Com., p. 2): "Mark delineates Christ as, from first to

last, preeminently the victorious conqueror of all Satanic powers. He

has left us a record of the manifestation of Christ's power when that

great Lion seized upon the ancient world, and of his brief but decisive

victory, after which only the ruins of the ancient world are left,

which in turn furnish the materials for the new one." Thomson

(Speaker's Com., Introd. to Gospels, p. xxxv): "The wonder-working son

of God sweeps over his kingdom, swiftly and meteor-like: and men are to

wonder and adore. His course is sometimes represented as abrupt,

mysterious, awful to the disciples: He leaves them at night; conceals

himself from them on a journey. The disciples are amazed and afraid

(Mark 10:24, 32). And the Evangelist means the same impression of awe

to be imparted to the reader."

[958] The reading of the textus rec. huiou (tou) theou in Mark 1:1 is

sustained by 'ABDL, nearly all the cursives, and retained by Lachmann

and Tregelles in the text, by Westcott and Hort in the margin.

Tischendorf omitted it in his 8th ed. on the strength of his favorite

'\*(in its original form), and Origen. Irenaeus has both readings. The

term occurs seven times in Mark, and is especially appropriate at the

beginning of his Gospel and a part of its very title.

[959] Mark 3:17; 5:41; 7:1-4; 12:18; 15:6, 35.

[960] See Lange's Analysis of Mark, Com., pp. 12-14; also his

Bibelkunde, pp. 185-187. Lange discovered many characteristic features

of the Gospels, which have passed without acknowledgment into many

other books.

[961] As asserted by Baur, Schwegler, K�stlin, and quite recently again

by Dr. Davidson, who says (I. 505): "The colorless neutrality of the

Gospel was an important factor in conciliating antagonistic parties."

Dr. Morison (p. xlvi) well remarks against this T�bingen tendency

criticism: "There is not so much as a straw of evidence that the Gospel

of Mark occupied a position of mediation, or irenic neutrality, in

relation to the other two Synoptic Gospels. It is in the mere

wantonness of a creative imagination that its penman is depicted as

warily steering his critical bark between some Scylla in St. Matthew's

representations and some Charybdis in St. Luke's. There is no Scylla in

the representations of St. Matthew. It must be invented if suspected.

There is no Charybdis in the representations of St. Luke. Neither is

there any indication in St. Mark of wary steering, or of some latent

aim of destination kept, like sealed orders, under lock and key. There

is, in all the Gospels, perfect transparency and simplicity, 'the

simplicity that is in Christ.'"

[962] Ewald characterizes Mark's style as the Schmelz der frischen

Blume, as the volle, reine Leben der Stoffe, Kahnis as drastisch and

frappant, Meyer as malerisch anschaulich. Lange speaks of the

"enthusiasm and vividness of realization which accounts for the

brevity, rapidity, and somewhat dramatic tone of the narrative, and the

introduction of details which give life to the scene."

[963] kensos (census),

kenturion(centurio),xestes(sextarius),spekoulatop(speculator), and the

Latinizing phrases to hikanon poiein(satisfacere, Mark 15:15), eschatos

echei, (in extremis esse), sumboulion didonai (consilium dare). Mark

even uses the Roman names of coins instead of the Greek,

kodrantes(quadrans, 12:42).

[964] eutheos or euthus occurs (according to Bruder's Concord.)

forty-one times in the Gospel of Mark, nearly as often as in all other

New Test. writings combined. But there are some variations in reading.

Codex D omits it in several passages. The English Version, by its

inexcusable love of variations, obliterates many characteristic

features of the sacred writers. This very particle is translated in no

less than seven different ways: straightway, immediately, forthwith, as

soon as, by and by, shortly, and anon.

[965] Mark 3:17; 5:41 7:11, 34; 14:36; 15:34.

[966] Mark 1:21, 40, 44 2:3, 10, 17; 11:1; 14:43, 66.

[967] Mark 4:39; 5:8, 9, 12; 6:23, 31; 9:25; 12:6.

[968] Such as anablepsai, emblepsas, periblepsamenos , anapedesas,

kupsas , embrimesamenos, epistrapheis apostenaxas.

[969] As paidion, korasion, kunarion, thugatrion, ichthudion, otarion.

[970] Time: Mark 1:35; 2:1; 4:35; 6:2; 11:11, 19; 15:25; 16:2. Place:

2:1; 5:20; 7:31; 12:41; 13:3; 14:68; 15:39; 16:5.

[971] Asagreuein, alalos, alektorophonia, gnapheus , ekthambeisthai,

enankalizesthai, exapina, eneileo, exoudenoo, ennuchon, mogilalos,

prasiai prasiai, prosabbaton, promerimnan, prosormizesthai,

sunthlibein, telaugos , hupolenion, and others.

[972] Mark 1:22, 27; 2:12; 4:41; 6:2, 51; 10:24, 26, 32.

[973] Mark 3:10, 20, 32; 4:1; 5:21, 31; 6:31, 33.

[974] Mark 6:34: "he had compassion on them;" 6:6: "he marvelled

because of their unbelief" (as he marvelled also at the great faith of

the heathen centurion, Matt. 8:10; Luke 7:8); Mark 3:5: "when he had

looked round about them with anger, being grieved at the hardening of

their heart;" 8:12: "he sighed deeply in his spirit;" 10:14: "he was

moved with indignation," or "was much displeased" with the conduct of

the disciples.

[975] Mark 1:31; 3:5, 34; 5:32; 7:33, 34; 8:12, 33 ("but he, turning

about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter") 9:35; 10:23, 32;

11:11.

[976] Mark 4:38; 6:31; 11:12.

[977] Mark 10:21, 22: emblepsas auto hegapesen auton. This must be

taken in its natural meaning and not weakened into " kissed him," or "

spoke kindly to him," or " pitied him." Our Saviour, says Morison, in

l., " would discern in the young man not a little that was really

amiable, the result of the partial reception and reflection of gracious

Divine influences. There was ingenuousness, for instance, and moral

earnestness. There was restraint of the animal passions, and an

aspiration of the spirit toward the things of the world to come."

[978] Mark 9:21-25. Comp. Matt. 17:14-18; Luke 9:37-42.

[979] Mark 9:36; 10:16; comp. with Matt 18:2; 19:13; and Luke 9:48;

18:16.

[980] By Augustin, Griesbach, De Wette, Bleek, Baur, Davidson.

[981] As C. H. Weisse, Wilke, Ewald, Lange, Holtzmann, Bernhard Weiss,

Westcott, Abbott, Morison. See � 79, this vol.

[982] Jerome wrote to Hedibia, a pious lady in Gaul (Ep. CXX c. 10, in

Opera, ed. Migne, I. 1002): "Habebat ergo [Paulus] Titum interpretem;

sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cuius evangelium Petro narrante (not

dictante), et illo [Marco]scribente, compositum est." This letter was

written in 406 or 407, from Bethlehem. Morison (p. xxxvii): "If we

assume the Patristic tradition regarding St. Peter's relation to St.

Mark, we find the contents and texture of the Gospel to be without a

jar at any point, in perfect accord with the idea."

[983] So James Smith in his Dissertation on the Origin and Connection

of the Gospels, and again in the Dissertation on the Life and Writings

of St. Luke, prefixed to the fourth ed. of his Voyage and Shipwreck of

St. Paul (1880), pp. 29 sqq.

[984] "In substance and style and treatment, the Gospel of St, Mark is

essentially a transcript from life. The course and the issue of facts

are imaged in it with the clearest outline. If all other arguments

against the mythic origin of the Evangelic narratives were wanting,

this vivid and simple record, stamped with the most distinct impress of

independence and originality,--totally unconnected with the symbolism

of the Old Dispensation, totally independent of the deeper reasonings

of the New,--would be sufficient to refute a theory subversive of all

faith in history. The details which were originally addressed to the

vigorous intelligence of Roman bearers are still pregnant with

instruction for us. The teaching which 'met their wants' in the first

age, finds a corresponding field for its action now." Westcott, l.c.,

369 (Am. ed.).

[985] Mark 16:16 ho pisteusas kai baptistheis sothesetai, ho de

apistesas katakrithesetai. This declaration takes the place of the

command to baptize, Matt. 28:19. It applies only to converted believers

(ho pisteusas), not to children who are incapable of an act of faith or

unbelief, and yet are included in the covenant blessing of Christian

parents (comp. 1 Cor. 7:14). Hence it is only positive unbelief which

condemns, whether with or without baptism; while faith saves with

baptism, ordinarily, but exceptionally also without baptism. Else we

should have to condemn the penitent thief, the Quakers, and all

unbaptized infants. St. Augustin derived from this passage and from

John 3:5 (ex hudatos) the doctrine of the absolute and universal

necessity of water-baptism for salvation; and hence the further

(logical, but not theological inference drawn by the great and good

bishop of Hippo, with reluctant heart, that all unbaptized infants

dying in infancy are forever damned (or, at least, excluded from

heaven), simply on account of Adam's sin, before they were capable of

committing an actual transgression. This is the doctrine of the Roman

Church to this day. Some Calvinistic divines in the seventeenth century

held the same view with regard to reprobate infants (if there be such),

but allowed an indefinite extension of the number of elect infants

beyond the confines of Christendom. Zwingli held that all infants dying

in infancy are saved. Fortunately the Saviour of mankind has condemned

the dogma horribile of infant damnation by his own conduct toward

(unbaptized) children, and his express declaration that to them belongs

the kingdom of heaven, and that our heavenly Father does not wish any

of them to perish. Matt. 18:2-6; 19:13-15; Mark 10:13-16; Luke

18:15-17. In the light of these passages we must explain John 3:5 and

Mark 16:16, which have been so grossly misunderstood.

[986] glossais lalesousin kainais .Tischendorf retains kainais?

Tregelles, Westcott and Hort put it in the margin, as it is omitted in

several uncials and ancient versions.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 82. Luke.

Lucas, Evangelii el medicinae munera pandens;

Artibus hinc, illinc religione, valet:

Utilis ille labor, per quem vixere tot aegri;

Utilior, per quem tot didicere mori!"

Critical and Biographical

Schleiermacher: Ueber die Schriften des Lukas. Berlin, 1817. Reprinted

in the second vol. of his S�mmtliche Werke, Berlin, 1836 (pp. 1-220).

Translated by Bishop Thirlwall, London, 1825.

James Smith (of Jordanhill, d. 1867): Dissertation on the Life and

Writings of St. Luke, prefixed to his Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul

(1848), 4th ed., revised by Walter E. Smith, London, 1880 (pp. 293). A

most important monograph, especially for the historical accuracy and

credibility of the Acts, by an expert in navigation and an able

scholar.

E. Renan: Les �vangiles. Paris, 1877. Ch. XIX, pp. 435-448.

Th. Keim: Aus dem Urchristenthum. Z�rich, 1878, Josephus im N. T., pp.

1-27. An unsuccessful attempt to prove that Luke used Josephus in his

chronological statement, Luke 3:1, 2. Keim assumes that the third

Gospel was written after the "Jewish war" of Josephus (about 75-78),

and possibly after his "Antiquities" (a.d. 94), though in his

Geschichte Jesu (I. 71) he assigns the composition of Luke to a.d. 90.

Scholten: Das Paulinische Evangelium, transl. from the Dutch by

Redepenning. Elberf., 1881.

The Ancient Testimonies on the Genuineness of Luke, see in Charteris

(Kirchhofer): Canonicity, Edinb., 1880, pp. l54-166.

On the relation of Luke to Marcion, see especially Volkmar: Das

Evangelium Marcions, Leipz., 1852, and Sanday: The Gospels in the

Second Century, London, 1876 (and his article in the "Fortnightly

Review" for June, 1875).

Exegetical.

Commentaries by Origen (in Jerome's Latin translation, with a few Greek

fragments), Eusebius (fragments), Cyril of Alexandria (Syriac Version

with translation, ed. by Dean Smith, Oxf., 1858 and 1859), Euthymius

Zigabenus, Theophylact.--Modern Com.: Bornemann (Scholia in Luc. Ev.,

1830), De Wette (Mark and Luke, 3d ed., 1846), Meyer (Mark and Luke,

6th ed., revised by B. Weiss, 1878), James Thomson (Edinb., 1851, 3

vols.), J. J. Van Oosterzee (in Lange, 3d ed., 1867, Engl. ed. by

Schaff and Starbuck, N. Y., 1866), Fr. Godet (one of the very best, 2d

French ed., 1870, Engl. transl. by Shalders and Cusin, Edinb., 1875, 2

vols., reprinted in N. Y., 1881), Bishop W. B. Jones (in Speaker's

Com., Lond. and N. Y., 1878), E. H. Plumptre (in Bp. Ellicott's Com.

for English Readers, Lond., 1879), Frederich W. Farrar (Cambridge,

1880), Matthew B. Riddle (1882).

Life of Luke.

As Mark is inseparably associated with Peter, so is Luke with Paul.

There was, in both cases, a foreordained correspondence and

congeniality between the apostle and the historian or co-laborer. We

find such holy and useful friendships in the great formative epochs of

the church, notably so in the time of the Reformation, between Luther

and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Oecolampadius, Calvin and Beza, Cranmer,

Latimer and Ridley; and at a later period between the two Wesleys and

Whitefield. Mark, the Hebrew Roman "interpreter" of the Galilaean

fisherman, gave us the shortest, freshest, but least elegant and

literary of the Gospels; Luke, the educated Greek, "the beloved

physician," and faithful companion of Saul of Tarsus, composed the

longest and most literary Gospel, and connected it with the great

events in secular history under the reigns of Augustus and his

successors. If the former was called the Gospel of Peter by the

ancients, the latter, in a less direct sense, may be called the Gospel

of Paul, for its agreement in spirit with the teaching of the Apostle

of the Gentiles. In their accounts of the institution of the Lord's

Supper there is even a verbal agreement which points to the same source

of information. No doubt there was frequent conference between the two,

but no allusion is made to each other's writings, which tends to prove

that they were composed independently during the same period, or not

far apart. [987]

Luke nowhere mentions his name in the two books which are by the

unanimous consent of antiquity ascribed to him, and bear all the marks

of the same authorship; but he is modestly concealed under the "we" of

a great portion of the Acts, which is but a continuation of the third

Gospel. [988] He is honorably and affectionately mentioned three times

by Paul during his imprisonment, as "the beloved physician" (Col.

4:14), as one of his "fellow-laborers" (Philem. 24), and as the most

faithful friend who remained with him when friend after friend had

deserted him (2 Tim. 4:11). His medical profession, although carried on

frequently by superior slaves, implies some degree of education and

accounts for the accuracy of his medical terms and description of

diseases. [989] It gave him access to many families of social position,

especially in the East, where physicians are rare. It made him all the

more useful to Paul in the infirmities of his flesh and his exhausting

labors. [990]

He was a Gentile by birth, [991] though he may have become a proselyte

of the gate. His nationality and antecedents are unknown. He was

probably a Syrian of Antioch, and one of the earliest converts in that

mother church of Gentile Christianity. [992] This conjecture is

confirmed by the fact that he gives us much information about the

church in Antioch (Acts 11:19-30; 13:1-3; 15:1-3, 22-35), that he

traces the origin of the name "Christians" to that city (11:19), and

that in enumerating the seven deacons of Jerusalem he informs us of the

Antiochian origin of Nicolas (Acts 6:5), without mentioning the

nationality of any of the others. [993]

We meet Luke first as a companion of Paul at Troas, when, after the

Macedonian call, "Come over and help us," he was about to carry the

gospel to Greece on his second great missionary tour. For from that

important epoch Luke uses the first personal pronoun in the plural:

"When he [Paul] had seen the vision, straightway we sought to go forth

into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel

unto them" (Acts 16:10). He accompanied him to Philippi and seems to

have remained there after the departure of Paul and Silas for Corinth

(a.d. 51), in charge of the infant church; for the "we" is suddenly

replaced by "they" (17:1). Seven years later (a.d. 58) he joined the

apostle again, when he passed through Philippi on his last journey to

Jerusalem, stopping a week at Troas (Acts 20:5, 6); for from that

moment Luke resumes the "we" of the narrative. He was with Paul or near

him at Jerusalem and two years at Caesarea, accompanied him on his

perilous voyage to Rome, of which he gives a most accurate account, and

remained with him to the end of his first Roman captivity, with which

he closes his record (a.d. 63). He may however, have been temporarily

absent on mission work during the four years of Paul's imprisonment.

Whether he accompanied him on his intended visit to Spain and to the

East, after the year 63, we do not know. The last allusion to him is

the word of Paul when on the point of martyrdom: "Only Luke is with me"

(2 Tim. 4:11).

The Bible leaves Luke at the height of his usefulness in the best

company, with Paul preaching the gospel in the metropolis of the world.

Post-apostolic tradition, always far below the healthy and certain tone

of the New Testament, mostly vague and often contradictory, never

reliable, adds that he lived to the age of eighty-four, labored in

several countries, was a painter of portraits of Jesus, of the Virgin,

and the apostles, and that he was crucified on an olive-tree at Elaea

in Greece. His real or supposed remains, together with those of Andrew

the apostle, were transferred from Patrae in Achaia to the Church of

the Apostles in Constantinople. [994]

The symbolic poetry of the Church assigns to him the sacrificial ox;

but the symbol of man is more appropriate; for his Gospel is par

excellence the Gospel of the Son of Man.

Sources of Information.

According to his own confession in the preface, Luke was no eye-witness

of the gospel history, [995] but derived his information from oral

reports of primitive disciples, and from numerous fragmentary documents

then already in circulation. He wrote the Gospel from what he had heard

and read, the Acts from, what he had seen and heard. He traced the

origin of Christianity "accurately from the beginning."

His opportunities were the very best. He visited the principal

apostolic churches between Jerusalem and Rome, and came in personal

contact with the founders and leaders. He met Peter, Mark, and Barnabas

at Antioch, James and his elders at Jerusalem (on Paul's last visit)

Philip and his daughters at Caesarea, the early converts in Greece and

Rome; and he enjoyed, besides, the benefit of all the information which

Paul himself had received by revelation or collected from personal

intercourse with his fellow-apostles and other primitive disciples. The

sources for the history of the infancy were Jewish-Christian and

Aramaean (hence the strongly Hebraizing coloring of Luke 1-2); his

information of the activity of Christ in Samaria was probably derived

from Philip, who labored there as an evangelist and afterwards in

Caesarea. But a man of Luke's historic instinct and conscientiousness

would be led to visit also in person the localities in Galilee which

are immortalized by the ministry of Christ. From Jerusalem or Caesarea

he could reach them all in three or four days.

The question whether Luke also used one or both of the other Synoptic

Gospels has already been discussed in a previous section. It is

improbable that he included them among his evidently fragmentary

sources alluded to in the preface. It is certain that he had no

knowledge of our Greek Matthew; on the use of a lost Hebrew Matthew and

of Mark the opinion of good scholars is divided, but the resemblance

with Mark, though very striking in some sections, [996] is not of such

a character that it cannot as well, and even better, be explained from

prior oral tradition or autoptical memoirs, especially if we consider

that the resemblances are neutralized by unaccountable differences and

omissions. The matter is not helped by a reference to a proto-Mark,

either Hebrew or Greek, of which we know nothing.

Luke has a great deal of original and most valuable matter, which

proves his independence and the variety of his sources. He adds much to

our knowledge of the Saviour, and surpasses Matthew and Mark in

fulness, accuracy, and chronological order--three points which, with

all modesty, he claims to have aimed at in his preface. [997] Sometimes

he gives special fitness and beauty to a word of Christ by inserting it

in its proper place in the narrative, and connecting it with a

particular occasion. But there are some exceptions, where Matthew is

fuller, and where Mark is more chronological. Considering the fact that

about thirty years had elapsed since the occurrence of the events, we

need not wonder that some facts and words were dislocated, and that

Luke, with all his honest zeal, did not always succeed in giving the

original order.

The peculiar sections of Luke are in keeping with the rest. They have

not the most remote affinity with apocryphal marvels and fables, nor

even with the orthodox traditions and legends of the post-apostolic

age, but are in full harmony with the picture of Christ as it shines

from the other Gospels and from the Epistles. His accuracy has been put

to the severest test, especially in the Acts, where he frequently

alludes to secular rulers and events; but while a few chronological

difficulties, as that of the census of Quirinius, are not yet

satisfactorily removed, he has upon the whole, even in minute

particulars, been proven to be a faithful, reliable, and well informed

historian.

He is the proper father of Christian church history, and a model well

worthy of imitation for his study of the sources, his conscientious

accuracy, his modesty and his lofty aim to instruct and confirm in the

truth.

Dedication and Object.

The third Gospel, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, is dedicated to

a certain Theophilus (i.e., Friend of God), a man of social

distinction, perhaps in the service of the government, as appears from

his title "honorable" or "most noble." [998] He was either a convert or

at least a catechumen in preparation for church membership, and willing

to become sponsor and patron of these books. The custom of dedicating

books to princes and rich friends of literature was formerly very

frequent, and has not died out yet. As to his race and residence we can

only conjecture that Theophilus was a Greek of Antioch, where Luke,

himself probably an Antiochean, may have previously known him either as

his freedman or physician. The pseudo-Clementine Recognitions mention a

certain nobleman of that name at Antioch who was converted by Peter and

changed his palace into a church and residence of the apostle. [999]

The object of Luke was to confirm Theophilus and through him all his

readers in the faith in which he had already been orally instructed,

and to lead him to the conviction of the irrefragable certainty of the

facts on which Christianity rests. [1000]

Luke wrote for Gentile Christians, especially Greeks, as Matthew wrote

for Jews, Mark for Romans, John for advanced believers without

distinction of nationality. He briefly explains for Gentile readers the

position of Palestinian towns, as Nazareth, Capernaum, Arimathaea, and

the distance of Mount Olivet and Emmaus from Jerusalem. [1001] He does

not, like Matthew, look back to the past and point out the fulfilment

of ancient prophecy with a view to prove that Jesus of Nazareth is the

promised Messiah, but takes a universal view of Christ as the Saviour

of all men and fulfiller of the aspirations of every human heart. He

brings him in contact with the events of secular history in the vast

empire of Augustus, and with the whole human race by tracing his

ancestry back to Adam.

These features would suit Gentile readers generally, Romans as well as

Greeks. But the long residence of Luke in Greece, and the ancient

tradition that he labored and died there, give strength to the view

that he had before his mind chiefly readers of that country. According

to Jerome the Gospel was written (completed) in Achaia and Boeotia. The

whole book is undoubtedly admirably suited to Greek taste. It at once

captivates the refined Hellenic ear by a historic prologue of classic

construction, resembling the prologues of Herodotus and Thucydides. It

is not without interest to compare them.

Luke begins: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a

narrative concerning those matters which have been fufilled among us,

even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were

eyewitnesses and ministers of the word: it seemed good to me also,

having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to

write unto thee in order, most noble Theophilus; that thou mightest

know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

Herodotus: "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus,

which he publishes, in order to preserve from oblivion the remembrance

of former deeds of men, and to secure a just tribute of glory to the

great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the barbarians; and

withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud."

Thucydides: "Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war in

which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians fought against one another.

He began to write when they first took up arms, believing that it would

be great and memorable above any previous war. For he argued that both

States were then at the full height of their military power, and he saw

the rest of the Hellenes either siding or intending to side with one or

other of them. No movement ever stirred Hellas more deeply than this;

it was shared by many of the barbarians, and might be said even to

affect the world at large." (Jowett's translation.)

These prefaces excel alike in brevity, taste, and tact, but with this

characteristic difference: the Evangelist modestly withholds his name

and writes in the pure interest of truth a record of the gospel of

peace for the spiritual welfare of all men; while the great pagan

historians are inspired by love of glory, and aim to immortalize the

destructive wars and feuds of Greeks and barbarians.

Contents of the Gospel of Luke.

After a historiographic preface, Luke gives us: first a history of the

birth and infancy of John the Baptist and Jesus, from Hebrew sources,

with an incident from the boyhood of the Saviour (Luke 1 and 2). Then

he unfolds the history of the public ministry in chronological order

from the baptism in the Jordan to the resurrection and ascension. We

need only point out those facts and discourses which are not found in

the other Gospels and which complete the Synoptic history at the

beginning, middle, and end of the life of our Lord. [1002]

Luke supplies the following sections:

I. In the history of the Infancy of John and Christ:

The appearance of the angel of the Lord to Zacharias in the temple

announcing the birth of John, Luke 1:5-25.

The annunciation of the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary, 1:26-38.

The visit of the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth; the salutation of Elizabeth,

1:39-45.

The Magnificat of the Virgin Mary, 1:46-56.

The birth of John the Baptist, 1:57-66.

The Benedictus of Zacharias, 1:67-80.

The birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, 2:1-7.

The appearance of the angels to the shepherds of Bethlehem, and the

"Gloria in excelsis," 2:8-20.

The circumcision of Jesus, and his presentation in the Temple, 2:21-38.

The visit of Jesus in his twelfth year to the passover in Jerusalem,

and his conversation with the Jewish doctors in the Temple, 2:41-52.

To this must be added the genealogy of Christ from Abraham up to Adam;

while Matthew begins, in the inverse order, with Abraham, and presents

in the parallel section several differences which show their mutual

independence, Luke 3:23-38; comp. Matt. 1:1-17.

II. In the Public Life of our Lord a whole group of important events,

discourses, and incidents which occurred at different periods, but

mostly on a circuitous journey from Capernaum to Jerusalem through

Samaria and Peraea (9:51-18:14). This section includes--

1. The following miracles and incidents:

The miraculous draught of fishes, 5:4-11.

The raising of the widow's son at Nain, 7:11-18.

The pardoning of the sinful woman who wept at the feet of Jesus,

7:36-50.

The support of Christ by devout women who are named, 8:2, 3.

The rebuke of the Sons of Thunder in a Samaritan village, 9:51-56.

The Mission and Instruction of the Seventy, 10:1-6.

Entertainment at the house of Martha and Mary; the one thing needful,

10:38-42.

The woman who exclaimed: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee," 11:27.

The man with the dropsy, 14:1-6.

The ten lepers, 17:11-19.

The visit to Zacchaeus, 19:1-10.

The tears of Jesus over Jerusalem, 19:41-44.

The sifting of Peter, 22:31, 32.

The healing of Malchus, 22:50, 51.

2. Original Parables:

The two Debtors, 7:41-43.

The good Samaritan, 10:25-37.

The importunate Friend, 11:5-8.

The rich Fool, 12:16-21.

The barren Fig-tree, 13:6-9.

The lost Drachma, 15:8-10.

The prodigal Son, 15:11-32.

The unjust Steward, 16:1-13.

Dives and Lazarus, 16:19-31.

The importunate Widow, and the unjust Judge, 18:1-8.

The Pharisee and the Publican 18:10-14.

The ten Pounds, 19:11-28 (not to be identified with the Parable of the

Talents in Matt. 25:14-30).

III. In the history of the Crucifixion and Resurrection

The lament of the women on the way to the cross, Luke 23:27-30.

The prayer of Christ for his murderers, 23:3

His conversation with the penitent malefactor and promise of a place in

paradise, 23:39-43.

The appearance of the risen Lord to the two Disciples on the way to

Emmaus, 24:13-25; briefly mentioned also in the disputed conclusion of

Mark, 16:12, 13.

The account of the ascension, Luke 24:50-53; comp. Mark 16:19, 20; and

Acts 1:3-12.

Characteristic Features of Luke.

The third Gospel is the Gospel of free salvation to all men. [1003]

This corresponds to the two cardinal points in the doctrinal system of

Paul: gratuitousness and universalness of salvation.

1. It is eminently the Gospel of free salvation by grace through faith.

Its motto is: Christ came to save sinners. "Saviour" and "salvation"

are the most prominent ideas [1004] Mary, anticipating the birth of her

Son, rejoices in God her "Saviour" (Luke 1:47); and an angel announces

to the shepherds of Bethlehem "good tidings of great joy which shall be

to all the people "(2:10), namely, the birth of Jesus as the "Saviour"

of men (not only as the Christ of the Jews). He is throughout

represented as the merciful friend of sinners, as the healer of the

sick, as the comforter of the broken-hearted, as the shepherd of the

lost sheep. The parables peculiar to Luke--of the prodigal son, of the

lost piece of money, of the publican in the temple, of the good

Samaritan--exhibit this great truth which Paul so fully sets forth in

his Epistles. The parable of the Pharisee and the publican plucks up

self-righteousness by the root, and is the foundation of the doctrine

of justification by faith. The paralytic and the woman that was a

sinner received pardon by faith alone. Luke alone relates the prayer of

Christ on the cross for his murderers, and the promise of paradise to

the penitent robber, and he ends with a picture of the ascending

Saviour lifting up his hands and blessing his disciples.

The other Evangelists do not neglect this aspect of Christ; nothing can

be more sweet and comforting than his invitation to sinners in Matthew

11, or his farewell to the disciples in John; but Luke dwells on it

with peculiar delight. He is the painter of Christus Salvator and

Christus Consolator.

2. It is the Gospel of universal salvation. It is emphatically the

Gospel for the Gentiles. Hence the genealogy of Christ is traced back

not only to Abraham (as in Matthew), but to Adam, the son of God and

the father of all men (Luke 3:38). Christ is the second Adam from

heaven, the representative Head of redeemed humanity--an idea further

developed by Paul. The infant Saviour is greeted by Simeon as a "Light

for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel"

(2:32). The Baptist, in applying the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the

voice in the wilderness (Isa. 40), adds the words (from Isa. 52:10):

"All flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke 3:6). Luke alone

records the mission of the Seventy Disciples who represent the Gentile

nations, as the Twelve represent the twelve tribes of Israel. He alone

mentions the mission of Elijah to the heathen widow in Sarepta, and the

cleansing of Naaman the Syrian by Elisha (4:26, 27). He contrasts the

gratitude of the leprous Samaritan with the ingratitude of the nine

Jewish lepers (17:12-18). He selects discourses and parables, which

exhibit God's mercy to Samaritans and Gentiles [1005] Yet there is no

contradiction, for some of the strongest passages which exhibit

Christ's mercy to the Gentiles and humble the Jewish pride are found in

Matthew, the Jewish Evangelist. [1006] The assertion that the third

Gospel is a glorification of the Gentile (Pauline) apostolate, and a

covert attack on the Twelve, especially Peter, is a pure fiction of

modern hypercriticism.

3. It is the Gospel of the genuine and full humanity of Christ. [1007]

It gives us the key-note for the construction of a real history of

Jesus from infancy to boyhood and manhood. Luke represents him as the

purest and fairest among the children of men, who became like unto us

in all things except sin and error. He follows him through the stages

of his growth. He alone tells us that the child Jesus "grew and waxed

strong," not only physically, but also in "wisdom" (Luke 2:40); he

alone reports the remarkable scene in the temple, informing us that

Jesus, when twelve years old, sat as a learner "in the midst of the

doctors, both hearing them and asking questions;" and that, even after

that time, He "advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God

and men" (2:46, 52). All the Synoptists narrate the temptation in the

wilderness, and Mark adds horror to the scene by the remark that Christ

was "with the wild beasts" (Mark 1:12, meta ton therion); but Luke has

the peculiar notice that the devil departed from Jesus only "for a

season." He alone mentions the tears of Jesus over Jerusalem, and "the

bloody sweat" and the strengthening angel in the agony of Gethsemane.

As he brings out the gradual growth of Jesus, and the progress of the

gospel from Nazareth to Capernaum, from Capernaum to Jerusalem, so

afterwards, in the Acts, he traces the growth of the church from

Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Ephesus and Corinth, from Greece

to Rome. His is the Gospel of historical development. To him we are

indebted for nearly all the hints that link the gospel facts with the

contemporary history of the world.

4. It is the Gospel of universal humanity. It breathes the genuine

spirit of charity, liberty, equality, which emanate from the Saviour of

mankind, but are so often counterfeited by his great antagonist, the

devil. It touches the tenderest chords of human sympathy. It delights

in recording Christ's love and compassion for the sick, the lowly, the

despised, even the harlot and the prodigal. It mentions the beatitudes

pronounced on the poor and the hungry, his invitation to the maimed,

the halt, and the blind, his prayer on the cross for pardon of the

wicked murderers, his promise to the dying robber. It rebukes the

spirit of bigotry and intolerance of the Jews against Samaritans, in

the parable of the good Samaritan. It reminds the Sons of Thunder when

they were about to call fire from heaven upon a Samaritan village that

He came not to destroy but to save. It tells us that "he who is not

against Christ is for Christ," no matter what sectarian or unsectarian

name he may bear.

5. It is the Gospel for woman. It weaves the purest types of womanhood

into the gospel story: Elizabeth, who saluted the Saviour before his

birth; the Virgin, whom all generations call blessed; the aged

prophetess Anna, who departed not from the temple; Martha, the busy,

hospitable housekeeper, with her quiet, contemplative sister Mary of

Bethany; and that noble band of female disciples who ministered of

their substance to the temporal wants of the Son of God and his

apostles.

It reveals the tender compassion of Christ for all the suffering

daughters of Eve: the widow at Nain mourning at the bier of her only

son; for the fallen sinner who bathed his feet with her tears; for the

poor sick woman, who had wasted all her living upon physicians, and

whom he addressed as "Daughter;" and for the "daughters of Jerusalem"

who followed him weeping to Calvary. If anywhere we may behold the

divine humanity of Christ and the perfect union of purity and love,

dignity and tender compassion, it is in the conduct of Jesus towards

women and children. "The scribes and Pharisees gathered up their robes

in the streets and synagogues lest they should touch a woman, and held

it a crime to look on an unveiled woman in public; our Lord suffered a

woman to minister to him out of whom he had cast seven devils."

6. It is the Gospel for children, and all who are of a childlike

spirit. It sheds a sacred halo and celestial charm over infancy, as

perpetuating the paradise of innocence in a sinful world. It alone

relates the birth and growth of John, the particulars of the birth of

Christ, his circumcision and presentation in the temple, his obedience

to parents, his growth from infancy to boyhood, from boyhood to

manhood. Luke 1 - 2 will always be the favorite chapters for children

and all who delight to gather around the manger of Bethlehem and to

rejoice with shepherds on the field and angels in heaven.

7. It is the Gospel of poetry. [1008] We mean the poetry of religion,

the poetry of worship, the poetry of prayer and thanksgiving, a poetry

resting not on fiction, but on facts and eternal truth. In such poetry

there is more truth than in every-day prose. The whole book is full of

dramatic vivacity and interest. It begins and ends with thanksgiving

and praise. Luke 1-2 are overflowing with festive joy and gladness;

they are a paradise of fragrant flowers, and the air is resonant with

the sweet melodies of Hebrew psalmody and Christian hymnody. The Salute

of Elizabeth ("Ave Maria"), the "Magnificat" of Mary, the "Benedictus"

of Zacharias, the "Gloria in Excelsis" of the Angels, the "Nunc

Dimittis" of Simeon, sound from generation to generation in every

tongue, and are a perpetual inspiration for new hymns of praise to the

glory of Christ.

No wonder that the third Gospel has been pronounced, from a purely

literary and humanitarian standpoint, to be the most beautiful book

ever written. [1009]

The Style.

Luke is the best Greek writer among the Evangelists. [1010] His style

shows his general culture. It is free from solecisms, rich in

vocabulary, rhythmical in construction. But as a careful and

conscientious historian he varies considerably with the subject and

according to the nature of his documents.

Matthew begins characteristically with "Book of generation" or

"Genealogy" (biblos geneseos), which looks back to the Hebrew Sepher

toledoth (comp. Gen. 5:1; 2:4); Mark with "Beginning of the gospel"

(arche tou euangeliou), which introduces the reader at once to the

scene of present action; Luke with a historiographic prologue of

classical ring, and unsurpassed for brevity, modesty, and dignity. But

when he enters upon the history of the infancy, which he derived no

doubt from Aramaic traditions or documents, his language has a stronger

Hebrew coloring than any other portion of the New Testament. The songs

of Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, and Simeon, and the anthem of the

angelic host, are the last of Hebrew psalms as well as the first of

Christian hymns. They can be literally translated back into the Hebrew,

without losing their beauty. [1011] The same variation in style

characterizes the Acts; the first part is Hebrew Greek, the second

genuine Greek.

His vocabulary considerably exceeds that of the other Evangelists: he

has about 180 terms which occur in his Gospel alone and nowhere else in

the New Testament; while Matthew has only about 70, Mark 44, and John

50 peculiar words. Luke's Gospel has 55, the Acts 135 hapax legomena,

and among them many verbal compounds and rare technical terms.

The medical training and practice of Luke, "the beloved physician,"

familiarized him with medical terms, which appear quite naturally,

without any ostentation of professional knowledge, in his descriptions

of diseases and miracles of healing, and they agree with the vocabulary

of ancient medical writers. Thus he speaks of the "great fever" of

Peter's mother-in-law, with reference to the distinction made between

great and small fevers (according to Galen); [1012] and of "fevers and

dysentery," of which the father of Publius at Melita was healed (as

Hippocrates uses fever in the plural). [1013]

He was equally familiar with navigation, not indeed as a professional

seaman, but as an experienced traveller and accurate observer. He uses

no less than seventeen nautical terms with perfect accuracy. [1014] His

description of the Voyage and Shipwreck of Paul in Acts 27-28, as

explained and confirmed by a scholarly seaman, furnishes an

irrefragable argument for the ability and credibility of the author of

that book. [1015]

Luke is fond of words of joy and gladness. [1016] He often mentions the

Holy Spirit, and he is the only writer who gives us an account of the

pentecostal miracle. [1017] Minor peculiarities are the use of the more

correct limneof the lake of Galilee for thalassa, nomikosand

nomodidaskalosfor grammateus, to eiremenonin quotations for rethen, nun

phor arti, hesperafor opsia, the frequency of attraction of the

relative pronoun and participial construction.

There is a striking resemblance between the style of Luke and Paul,

which corresponds to their spiritual sympathy and long intimacy. [1018]

They agree in the report of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which

is the oldest we have (from a.d. 57); both substitute: "This cup is the

new covenant in My blood," for "This is My blood of the (new)

covenant," and add: "This do in remembrance of Me" (Luke 22:19, 20; 1

Cor. 11:24, 25). They are equally fond of words which characterize the

freedom and universal destination of the gospel salvation. [1019] They

have many terms in common which occur nowhere else in the New

Testament. [1020] And they often meet in thought and expression in a

way that shows both the close intimacy and the mutual independence of

the two writers. [1021]

Genuineness [1022]

The genuineness of Luke is above reasonable doubt. The character of the

Gospel agrees perfectly with what we might expect from the author as

far as we know him from the Acts and the Epistles. No other writer

answers the description.

The external evidence is not so old and clear as that in favor of

Matthew and Mark. Papias makes no mention of Luke. Perhaps he thought

it unnecessary, because Luke himself in the preface gives an account of

the origin and aim of his book. The allusions in Barnabas, Clement of

Rome, and Hermas are vague and uncertain. But other testimonies are

sufficient for the purpose. Irenaeus in Gaul says: "Luke, the companion

of Paul, committed to writing the gospel preached by the latter." The

Muratori fragment which contains the Italian traditions of the canon,

mentions the Gospel of "Luke, the physician, whom Paul had associated

with himself as one zealous for righteousness, to be his companion, who

had not seen the Lord in the flesh, but having carried his inquiries as

far back as possible, began his history with the birth of John." Justin

Martyr makes several quotations from Luke, though he does not name him.

[1023] This brings us up to the year 140 or 130. The Gospel is found in

all ancient manuscripts and translations.

The heretical testimony of Marcion from the year 140 is likewise

conclusive. It was always supposed that his Gospel, the only one he

recognized, was a mutilation of Luke, and this view is now confirmed

and finally established by the investigations and concessions of the

very school which for a short time had endeavored to reverse the order

by making Marcion's caricature the original of Luke. [1024] The

pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions quote from Luke. Basilides

and Valentinus and their followers used all the four Gospels, and are

reported to have quoted Luke 1:35 for their purpose.

Celsus must have had Luke in view when he referred to the genealogy of

Christ as being traced to Adam.

Credibility.

The credibility of Luke has been assailed on the ground that he shaped

the history by his motive and aim to harmonize the Petrine and Pauline,

or the Jewish-Christian and the Gentile-Christian parties of the

church. But the same critics contradict themselves by discovering, on

the other hand, strongly Judaizing and even Ebionitic elements in Luke,

and thus make it an incoherent mosaic or clumsy patchwork of moderate

Paulinism and Ebionism, or they arbitrarily assume different revisions

through which it passed without being unified in plan.

Against this misrepresentation we have to say: (1) An irenic spirit,

such as we may freely admit in the writings of Luke, does not imply an

alteration or invention of facts. On the contrary, it is simply an

unsectarian, catholic spirit which aims at the truth and nothing but

the truth, and which is the first duty and virtue of an historian. (2)

Luke certainly did not invent those marvellous parables and discourses

which have been twisted into subserviency to the tendency hypothesis;

else Luke would have had a creative genius of the highest order, equal

to that of Jesus himself, while he modestly professes to be simply a

faithful collector of actual facts. (3) Paul himself did not invent his

type of doctrine, but received it, according to his own solemn

asseveration, by revelation from Jesus Christ, who called him to the

apostleship of the Gentiles. (4) It is now generally admitted that the

T�bingen hypothesis of the difference between the two types and parties

in the apostolic church is greatly overstrained and set aside by Paul's

own testimony in the Galatians, which is as irenic and conciliatory to

the pillar-apostles as it is uncompromisingly polemic against the

"false" brethren or the heretical Judaizers. (5) Some of the strongest

anti-Jewish and pro-Gentile testimonies of Christ are found in Matthew

and omitted by Luke. [1025]

The accuracy of Luke has already been spoken of, and has been well

vindicated by Godet against Renan in several minor details. "While

remaining quite independent of the other three, the Gospel of Luke is

confirmed and supported by them all."

Time of Composition.

There are strong indications that the third Gospel was composed (not

published) between 58 and 63, before the close of Paul's Roman

captivity. No doubt it took several years to collect and digest the

material; and the book was probably not published, i.e., copied and

distributed, till after the death of Paul, at the same time with the

Acts, which forms the second part and is dedicated to the same patron.

In this way the conflicting accounts of Clement of Alexandria and

Irenaeus may be harmonized. [1026]

1. Luke had the best leisure for literary composition during the four

years of Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea and Rome. In Caesarea he was

within easy reach of the surviving eyewitnesses and classical spots of

the gospel history, and we cannot suppose that he neglected the

opportunity.

2. The Gospel was written before the book of Acts, which expressly

refers to it as the first treatise inscribed to the same Theophilus

(Acts 1:1). As the Acts come down to the second year of Paul's

captivity in Rome, they cannot have been finished before a.d. 63; but

as they abruptly break off without any mention of Paul's release or

martyrdom, it seems quite probable that they were concluded before the

fate of the apostle was decided one way or the other, unless the writer

was, like Mark, prevented by some event, perhaps the Neronian

persecution, from giving his book the natural conclusion. In its

present shape it excites in the reader the greatest curiosity which

could have been gratified with a few words, either that the apostle

sealed his testimony with his blood, or that he entered upon new

missionary tours East and West until at last he finished his course

after a second captivity in Rome. I may add that the entire absence of

any allusion in the Acts to any of Paul's Epistles can be easily

explained by the assumption of a nearly contemporaneous composition,

while it seems almost unaccountable if we assume an interval of ten or

twenty years.

3. Luke's ignorance of Matthew and probably also of Mark points

likewise to an early date of composition. A careful investigator, like

Luke, writing after the year 70, could hardly have overlooked, among

his many written sources, such an important document as Matthew which

the best critics put before a.d. 70.

4. Clement of Alexandria has preserved a tradition that the Gospels

containing the genealogies, i.e., Matthew and Luke, were written first.

Irenaeus, it is true, puts the third Gospel after. Matthew and Mark and

after the death of Peter and Paul, that is, after 64 (though certainly

not after 70). If the Synoptic Gospels were written nearly

simultaneously, we can easily account for these differences in the

tradition. Irenaeus was no better informed on dates than Clement, and

was evidently mistaken about the age of Christ and the date of the

Apocalypse. But he may have had in view the time of publication, which

must not be confounded with the date of composition. Many books

nowadays are withheld from the market for some reason months or years

after they have passed through the hands of the printer.

The objections raised against such an early date are not well founded.

[1027]

The prior existence of a number of fragmentary Gospels implied in Luke

1:1 need not surprise us; for such a story as that of Jesus of Nazareth

must have set many pens in motion at a very early time. "Though the art

of writing had not existed," says Lange, "it would have been invented

for such a theme."

Of more weight is the objection that Luke seems to have shaped the

eschatological prophecies of Christ so as to suit the fulfilment by

bringing in the besieging (Roman) army, and by interposing "the times

of the Gentiles" between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of

the world (Luke 19:43, 44; 21:20-24). This would put the composition

after the destruction of Jerusalem, say between 70 and 80, if not

later. [1028] But such an intentional change of the words of our Lord

is inconsistent with the unquestionable honesty of the historian and

his reverence for the words of the Divine teacher. [1029] Moreover, it

is not borne out by the facts. For the other Synoptists likewise speak

of wars and the abomination of desolation in the holy place, which

refers to the Jewish wars and the Roman eagles (Matt. 24:15; Mark

13:14). Luke makes the Lord say:, Jerusalem shall be trodden down by

the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (Luke 21:24).

But Matthew does the same when he reports that Christ predicted and

commanded the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom in all parts of

the world before the end can come (Matt. 24:14; 28:19; comp. Mark

16:15). And even Paul said, almost in the same words as Luke, twelve

years before the destruction of Jerusalem: "Blindness is happened to

Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in" (Rom. 11:25). Must

we therefore put the composition of Romans after a.d. 70? On the other

hand, Luke reports as clearly as Matthew and Mark the words of Christ,

that "this generation shall not pass away till all things" (the

preceding prophecies) "shall be fulfilled" (Luke 21:32). Why did he not

omit this passage if he intended to interpose a larger space of time

between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world?

The eschatological discourses of our Lord, then, are essentially the

same in all the Synoptists, and present the same difficulties, which

can only be removed by assuming: (1) that they refer both to the

destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, two analogous

events, the former being typical of the latter; (2) that the two

events, widely distant in time, are represented in close proximity of

space after the manner of prophetic vision in a panoramic picture. We

must also remember that the precise date of the end of the world was

expressly disclaimed even by the Son of God in the days of his

humiliation (Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32), and is consequently beyond the

reach of human knowledge and calculation. The only difference is that

Luke more clearly distinguishes the two events by dividing the

prophetical discourses and assigning them to different occasions (Luke

17:20-37 and 21:5-33); and here, as in other cases, he is probably more

exact and in harmony with several hints of our Lord that a considerable

interval must elapse between the catastrophe of Jerusalem and the final

catastrophe of the world.

Place of Composition.

The third Gospel gives no hint as to the place of composition. Ancient

tradition is uncertain, and modern critics are divided between Greece,

[1030] Alexandria, [1031] Ephesus, [1032] Caesarea, [1033] Rome. [1034]

It was probably written in sections during the longer residence of the

author at Philippi, Caesarea, and Rome, but we cannot tell where it was

completed and published. [1035]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[987] Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome erroneously supposed that Paul meant

the written Gospel of Luke when he speaks of "my gospel," Rom. 2:16;

16:25; 2 Tim. 2:8. The word gospel is not used in the New Test. in the

sense of a written record, except in the titles which are of

post-apostolic date; and the preface of Luke is inconsistent with the

idea that he composed his work under the direction of any one man.

[988] The name Loukas,Lucas, is abridged from lukanos .Lucanus or

Lucilius (as Apollos from Apollonius, Silas from Silvanus). It is not

to be confounded with Lucius, Acts 13:1; Rom. 16:21. The name was not

common, but contractions in as were frequent in the names of slaves, as

Lobeck observes. Dr. Plumptre (in his Com.)ingeniously conjectures that

Luke was from the region of Lucania in Southern Italy, and called after

the famous poet, M. Annaeus Lucanus, as his freedman. In this way be

accounts for Luke's familiarity with Italian localities (Acts

28:13-15), the favor of the uncle of Lucanus, J. Annaeus Gallic, shown

to Paul (18:14-17), the tradition of the friendship between Paul and

Seneca (a brother of Gallio), and the intended journey of Paul to Spain

(Rom. 15:28), where Seneca and Lucanus were born (at Corduba). But the

chronology is against this hypothesis. Lucanus was born a.d. 39, when

Luke must have been already about thirty years of age, as he cannot

have been much younger than Paul.

[989] Jerome (Ep. ad Paulinum) says of Luke "Fuit medicus, et pariter

omnia verba illius animae languentis sunt medicinae."

[990] Comp. Gal. 4:13; 2 Cor. 1:9; 4:10, 12, 16; 12:7.

[991] He is distinguished from "those of the circumcision," Col. 4:14;

comp. 4:11.

[992] Eusebius, III. 4: Loukas to men genos hon ton ap Antiocheias, ten

epistemen de iatros , k. t. l. Jerome, De vir. ill, 7: "Lucas medicus

Antiochensis ... sectator apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus

comes.

[993] James Smith (l.c., p. 4) illustrates the argumentative bearing of

this notice by the fact that of eight accounts of the Russian campaign

of 1812, three by French, three by English, and two by scotch authors

(Scott and Alison), the last two only make mention of the Scotch

extraction of the Russian General Barclay de Tolly.

[994] Jerome, De vir. ill., 7: "Sepultus est Constantinopoli, ad quam

urbem vicesimo Constantii anno ossa eius cum reliquiis Andreae apostoli

translata sunt."

[995] Hence the ancient tradition that he was one of the Seventy

Disciples, or one of the two disciples of Emmaus, cannot be true.

[996] As the account of the stilling of the tempest, Luke 8:22-25,

compared with Mark 4:35-41; and the parable of the wicked husbandman,

Luke 20:9-19, compared with Mark 12:1-12.

[997] Luke1:3: pasis--akribos--kathexes. Says Godet " Matthew groups

together doctrinal teachings in the form of great discourses; he is a

preacher. Mark narrates events as they occur to his mind; he is a

chronicler. Luke reproduces the external and internal development of

events; he is the historian, properly so called."

[998] Luke 1:4: kratiste Theophile. In Acts 1:1 the epithet is omitted.

Bengel infers from this omission that when Luke wrote the Acts he was

on more familiar terms with Theophilus. The same title is applied to

Governors Felix and Festus, Acts 23:26; 24:3; 20:25. The A. V. varies

between "most excellent" and "most noble;" the R. V. uniformly renders

"most excellent," which is apt to be applied to moral character rather

than social position. "Honorable" or "most noble" would be preferable.

Occasionally, however, the term is used also towards a personal friend

(see passages in Wetstein).

[999] For other conjectures on Theophilus, which locate him at

Alexandria or at Rome or somewhere in Greece, see the Bible Dicts. of

Winer and Smith sub Theophilus. Some have fancied that he was merely an

ideal name for every right-minded reader of the Gospel, as a lover of

truth.

[1000] Luke 1:4: hina epignos peri on katechethes ten asphaleian.

[1001] Luke 1:26; 4:31; 23:51; 24: 13 (Acts 1:12).

[1002] For a full analysis of contents see Van Oosterzee, Com., 8-10;

Westcott, Introd. to the G., 370-372 (Am. ed.); McClellan, Com. on N.

T., I. 425-438; Farrar, Com., 31-36; Lange, Bibelkunde, 187-193.

[1003] Lange (Leben Jesu, I. 258) gives as the theme of Luke: "the

revelation of divine mercy;" Godet (Com.) "the manifestation of divine

philanthropy" (Tit. 3:4); McClellan (I. 436): "salvation of sinners, by

God's grace, through faith in Jesus Christ, and him crucified;" Farrar

(p. 17): "who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed

of the devil" (Acts 10:38, better suited for Mark); Van Oosterzee: "as

Paul led the people of the Lord out of the bondage of the law into the

enjoyment of gospel liberty, so did Luke raise sacred history from the

standpoint of the Israelitish nationality to the higher and holier

ground of universal humanity." .

[1004] The term soter occurs, Luke 1: 47; 2:11; John 4:42, and often in

the Acts and the Epistles of Paul, but neither in Matthew nor Mark;

soteria occurs, Luke 1:69, 77; 19:9; John 4:22, and repeatedly in the

Acts and the Epistles; soterios,Luke 2:30; 3:6; Acts 28:28; Eph. 6: 17;

Tit. 2:11

[1005] Luke 4:25-27; 9:52-56; 10:33; 15:11 sqq.; 17:19; 18:10; 19:5.

[1006] See � 80, this vol.

[1007] Lange (Bibelkunde, p. 187) calls it "das Evangelium des

Menschensohnes, der Humanit�t Christi, der Verkl�rung aller Humanit�t."

[1008] Farrar (p. 23) calls Luke "the first Christian hymnologist"

(better hymnist), and quotes the lines from Keble: "Thou hast an ear

for angel songs,

A breath the gospel trump to fill, And taught by thee the Church

prolongs

Her hymns of high thanksgiving still."

[1009] This is the judgment of Renan, which is worth preserving in

full. "L'Evangile de Luc," he says (in Les Evangiles, p. 282 and 283),

"est le plus litt�raire des �vangiles. Tout y r�v�le un esprit large et

doux, sage, mod�r�, sobre et raisonnable dans l'irrationnel. Ses

exag�rations, ses invraisemblances, ses incons�quences tiennent � la

nature m�me de la parabole et en font le charme. Matthieu arrondit les

contours un peu secs de Marc. Luc fait bien plus;il �crit, il montre

une vraie entente de la composition. Son livre est un beau r�cit bien

suivi, � la fois h�bra�que et hell�nique, joignant l'�motion du drama �

la s�r�nit� de l'idylle. Tout y rit, tout y pleure, tout y chante;

partout des larmes et des cantiques; c'est l'hymne du peuple nouveau,

L'hosanna des petits et des humbles introduits dans le royaume de Dieu.

Un esprit de sainte enfance, de joie, de ferveur, le sentiment

�vang�lique dans son originalit� premi�re r�pandent sur toute la

l�gende une teinte d'une incomparable douceur. On ne fut jamais moins

sectaire. Pas un reproche, pas un mot dur pour le vieux peuple exclu;

son exclusion ne le punit-elle pas assez ? C'est le plus beau livre

qu'il y ait. Le plaisir que l'auteur dut avoir � l'�crire ne sera

jamais suffisamment compris."

[1010] Jerome, who had a great genius for language, says, Epist. ad

Dam., 20 (145): "Lucas qui inter omnes evangelistas Graeci sermonis

eruditissimus fuit, quippe et medicus, et qui Evangelium Graecis

scripserit." in another passage he says that Luke's "sermo saecularem

redolet eloqueiatiam."

[1011] See the Version of Delitzsch in his Hebrew New Testament,

published by the Brit. and For. Bible Society.

[1012] Luke 4:38: hen sunechomene pureto megalo. sunechomeneis likewise

a medical term.

[1013] Acts 28:8: puretois kai dusenterio sunechomenon . Other

instances of medical knowledge are found in Luke 8:46; 22:44; Acts 3:7;

9:18; 10:9, 10. Dr. Plumptre even traces several expressions of Paul

such as "healthy doctrine" (1 Tim. 1:10; 6 3), " gangrene" or " cancer"

(2 Tim. 2:17), the conscience " seared," or rather " cauterized"(1 Tim.

4:2), and the recommendation of a little wine for the stomach's sake (1

Tim. 5:23), to the influence of " the beloved physician," who

administered to him in his peculiar physical infirmities. Rather

fanciful. Rev. W. K. Hobart, of Trinity College, Dublin, published a

work (1882) on The Medical Language of St. Luke, in which he furnished

the proof from internal evidence that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts

of the Apostles were written by the same person, and that the writer

was a medical man. He has compared over four hundred peculiar words and

phrases of these books with the use of the same words in Hippocrates,

Aretaeus, Dioscorides, and Galen.

[1014] Among these are seven compounds of pleo, describing the motion

and management of a ship, as follows: pleo, to sail, Luke 8:23; Acts

21:3; 27:6, 24. apopleo, to sail from, Acts 13:4; 14:26; 20:15;

27:1.braduploeo (from bradus, slow), to sail slowly, Acts 27:7.

diapleo, to sail through (not " over," as in the A. V.), Acts 27:5.

ekpleo, to sail away, Acts 15:39; 18:18; 20:6. katapleo, to arrive,

Luke 8:26. hupopleo, to sail under the lee, Acts 27:4, 7. parapleo, to

sail by, Acts 20:16. Add to these the following nautical terms:

hanagomai, to get under way, to put to sea, Acts 27:4. diaperao to sail

over, Acts 21:2. diapheromai, to be driven to and fro, Acts 27:27.

epikello, to run the ship ashore, Acts 27:41. euthudromeo , to make a

straight course, Acts 16:11; 21:1. paralegomai (middle), to sail by,

Acts 27:8, 13. hupotrecho (aor. 2, hupedramon), to run under the lee,

Acts 27:16. pheromai (pass.), to be driven, Acts 27:15, 17. Also,

ekbolen epoiounto, Acts 27:18, and ekouphizon to ploion, 27:38, which

are technical terms for lightening the ship by throwing cargo

overboard.

[1015] See James Smith, i.e., and Schaff's Companion to the Gr. Test.,

pp.57-61.

[1016] As chara, Luke 1:14; 2:10; 8:13; 10:17; 15:7, 10; 24:41, 51.

[1017] pneuma hagion or pneuma alone, Luke 1:15, 34, 35, 41, 67; 2:25,

26, 27; 3:16, 22, 4:1, 14, 18; 12:10, 12; and still more frequently in

the Acts, which is the Gospel of the Holy Spirit.

[1018] See Holtzmann, Syn. Evang., pp. 316-324, copied in part (without

acknowledgment) by Davidson, Introd., I. 437 sqq. Holtzmann enumerates

about two hundred expressions or phrases common to Luke and Paul, and

more or less foreign to the other writers of the New Testament.

[1019] As charis, eleos , pistis, dikaiosune, dikaios , agion, gnosis,

dunamis kuriou.

[1020] As agnoein, adikia, athetein, aichmalotizein, anapempein,

antapokrinesthai, antikeimenos, antilambanesthai, apelpizein,

apologeisthai, atenizein, ekdiokein, epiphainein, eugenes , echein,

katargein, kinduneuein, kurieuein, panoplia,paradeisos, sunchairein,

suneudokein, husterema, charizesthai, psalmos also the particlesall

oude, ei kai, ei meti, tis oun.The word kuriosas a substitute for Jesus

occurs fourteen times in Luke and often in the Epistles, but only once

in the Synoptists (the closing verses of Mark, 16:19, 20).

[1021] Take the following specimens of striking parallelism (quoted by

Holtzmann, 322):

Luke Paul

6:48:etheken themelion epi ten petran 1 Cor. 3:10: os sophos

apchitekton themelion etheka

8:15: karpophorousin hupomone. Col. 1:10, 11: karpophorountes kai

auxanomenoi eis pasan hupomonen.

9:56: ouk elthe psuchas anthropon apolesai, alla sosai. 2 Cor. 10:8:;

Edoken eis oikodomen kai ouk eis kathairesin. 13:10.

10:8:esthiete ta paratithemena humin. 1 Cor. 10:27: pan to

paratithemenon humin esthiete.

10:20: ta onomata humon egraphe en tois ouranois Phil. 4:3: hon ta

onomata en Biblo zoes.

10:21: apekrupsas tauta apo sophon kai suneton kai apekalupsas auta

nepiois 1 Cor. 1:19: apolo ten sophian tonsophon kai ten sunesin ton

suneton atheteso. 27: ta mora tou kosmou exelexato ho theos hina

kataischune tous sophous.

11:41: panta kathara humin estin Tit. 1:15:panta men kathara tois

katharois.

11:49; apostelo eis autous prophetas kai apostolous kai ex auton

apoktenousi kai ekdioxousin 1 Thess. 2:15: ton kai ton kurion

apokteinanton Iesoun kai tous prophetas kai hemas ekdioxanton.

12:35:estosan humon ai osphues periezosmenai . Eph. 6:14: stete oun

perizosamenoi ton osphun humon en aletheia.

18:1: dein pantote proseuchesthai kai me ekkakein. 2 Thess. 1:11: eis

ho kai proseuxometha pantote. Col. 4:12: pantote hagonizomenos huper

humon en tais proseuxais .. Comp. 1 Thess. 5:1, 7; Rom. 1:10.

20:16: me genoito. Rom. 9:14; 11:11; Gal. 3:21.

20:38: pantes gar auto zosin. Rom. 14:7, 8: ean te gar zomen, to kupio

zomen. Comp. 2 Cor. 5:15.

21:24: kai ` Hierousalem estai patoumene hupo ethnon achri plerothosi

kairoi ethnon. Rom. 11:25: hoti porosis to Israel gegonen achris hou to

pleroma ton ethno

[1022] See the ancient testimonies in Charteris's Kirchhofer, l.c., 154

sqq.

[1023] Freely admitted by Zeller, Davidson (I. 444), and others of that

school.

[1024] Even the author of "Supernatural Religion" was forced at last to

surrender to the arguments of Dr. Sanday, in 1875, after the question

had already been settled years before in Germany by Hilgenfeld (1850)

and Volkmar (1852). Davidson also (Introd., new ed., I. 446) admits:

"There is no doubt that Marcion had the Gospel of Luke, which he

adapted to his own ideas by arbitrary treatment. He lived before

Justin, about a.d. 140, and is the earliest writer from whom we learn

the existence of the Gospel."

[1025] Davidson still adheres to this exploded T�bingen view in his new

edition (I. 467): "Luke wished to bring Judaism [sic!] and Paulinism

together in the sphere of comprehensive Christianity, where the former

would merge into the latter. In conformity with this purpose, he

describes the irreconcilable opposition between Jesus and his

opponents." As if Matthew and Mark and John did not precisely the same

thing. He even repeats the absurd fiction of Baur, which was refuted

long ago, not only by Godet, but even in part at least by Zeller,

Holtzmann, and Keim, that Luke had "the obvious tendency to depreciate

the twelve, in comparison with the seventy" (p. 469). Baur derived the

chief proof of an alleged hostility of Luke to Peter from his omission

of the famous passage, "Thou art Rock;" but Mark omits it likewise; and

Luke, on the other hand, is the only Evangelist who records the word of

Christ to Peter, Luke 22:32, on which the Romanists base the dogma of

papal infallibility.

[1026] The critics differ widely as to the date of composition: (1) For

a date prior to a.d. 70 are all the older divines, also Lange, Ebrard,

Guericke, van Oosterzee, Godet (60-67), Thiersch (58-60), Alford (58),

Riddle (60). (2) For a date between 70 and 90: De Wette, Bleek, Reuss,

Holtzmann, G�der, Meyer, Weiss (70-80), Keim, Abbott (80-90). (3) For

a.d. 100 and later: Hilgenfeld and Volkmar (100), Zeller and Davidson

(100-110). The date of Baur, a.d. 140, is perfectly wild and made

impossible by the clear testimonies of Justin Martyr and Marcion. Hence

he was unwilling to retract in toto his former view about the priority

of Marcion's Gospel, though he felt obliged to do it in part

(Kirchengesch. I. 75 and 78).

[1027] Dr. Abbott, of London (in "Enc. Brit.," X. 813, of the ninth

ed., 1879), discovers no less than ten reasons for the later date of

Luke, eight of them in the preface alone: "(1) the pre-existence and

implied failure of many 'attempts' to set forth continuous narratives

of the things 'surely believed;' (2) the mention of 'tradition' of the

eye-witnesses and ministers of the word as past, not as present

(paredosan , Luke 1:2); (3) the dedication of the Gospel to a man of

rank (fictitious or otherwise), who is supposed to have been

'catechized' in Christian truth; (4) the attempt at literary style and

at improvement of the 'usus ecclesiasticus' of the common tradition;

(5) the composition of something like a commencement of a Christian

hymnology; (6) the development of the genealogy and the higher tone of

the narrative of the incarnation; (7) the insertion of many passages

mentioning our Lord as ho kurios not in address, but in narrative; (8)

the distinction, more sharply drawn, between the fall of Jerusalem and

the final coming; (9) the detailed prediction of the fall of Jerusalem,

implying reminiscences of its fulfilment; (10) the very great

development of the manifestations of Jesus after the resurrection. The

inference from all this evidence would be that Luke was not written

till about a.d. 80 at earliest. If it could be further demonstrated

that Luke used any Apocryphal book (Judith, for example), and if it

could be shown that the book in question was written after a certain

date (Renan suggests a.d. 80 for the date of the book of Judith), it

might be necessary to place Luke much later; but no such demonstration

has been hitherto produced." But most of these arguments are set aside

by the hemin in Luke 1:2, which includes the writer among those who

heard the gospel story from the eye-witnesses of the life of Christ. It

is also evident from the Acts that the writer, who is identical with

the third Evangelist, was an intimate companion of Paul, and hence

belonged to the first generation of disciples, which includes all the

converts of the apostles from the day of Pentecost down to the

destruction of Jerusalem.

[1028] Keim (I. 70) thus eloquently magnifies this little difference:

"Anders als dem Matthaeus steht diesem Schrifstellen [Lukas] das

Wirklichkeitsbild der Katastrophe der heiligen Stadt in seiner ganzen

schrecklichen Gr�sse vor der Seele, die langwierige und kunstvolle

Belagerung des Feindes, die Heere, die befestigten Lager, der Ring der

Absperrung, die tausend Bedr�ngnisse, die Blutarbeit des Schwerts, die

Gefangenf�hrung des Volkes, der Tempel, die Stadt dem Boden gleich,

Alles unter dem ernsten Gesichtspunkt eines Strafgerichtes Gottes f�r

die dung des Gesandten. Ja �ber die Katastrophe hinaus, die �usserste

Perspektive des ersten Evangelisten, dehnt sich dem neuen

Geschichtschreiber eine new unbestimmbar grosse Periode der Tr�mmerlage

Jerusalemz unter dem ehernen Tritt der Heiden und heidnischer

Weltzeiten, innerhalb deren er selber schreibt. Unter solchen Umst�nden

hat die grosse Zukunftrede Jesu bei aller Sorgfalt, die wesentlichen

Z�ge, sogar die Wiederkunft in diesem 'Geschlect'zu halten die

mannigfaltigsten Aenderungen erlitten." The same argument is urged more

soberly by Holtzmann (Syn. Evang., 406 sq.), and even by G�der (in

Herzog, IX. 19) and Weiss (in Meyer, 6th ed., p. 243), but they assume

that Luke wrote only a few years after Matthew.

[1029] "It is psychologically impossible," says Godet (p. 543), "that

Luke should have indulged in manipulating at pleasure the sayings of

that Being on whom his faith was fixed, whom he regarded as the Son of

God."

[1030] Jerome: Achaia and Boeotia; Hilgenfeld (in 1858): Achaia or

Macedonia; Godet (in his first ed.): Corinth, in the house of Gaius

(Rom. 16:23), but more indefinitely in the second ed.: Achaia.

[1031] The Peshito, which gives the title: "Gospel of Luke the

Evangelist, which he published and preached in Greek in Alexandria the

Great."

[1032] K�stlin and Overbeck, also Hilgenfeld in 1875 (Einleit., p.

612).

[1033] Michaelis, Kuin�l, Schott, Thiersch, and others.

[1034] Hug, Ewald, Zeller, Holtzmann, Keim, Davidson.

[1035] Weiss, in the sixth ed. of Meyer (p. 244) "Wo das Evang.

geschrieben sei, ist v�llig unbekannt."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 83. John.

See Literature on John, � 40, of this vol.; Life and Character of John,

�� 41-43, of this vol.; Theology of John, � 72, pp. 549 sqq.

The best comes last. The fourth Gospel is the Gospel of Gospels, the

holy of holies in the New Testament. The favorite disciple and bosom

friend of Christ, the protector of his mother, the survivor of the

apostolic age was pre-eminently qualified by nature and grace to give

to the church the inside view of that most wonderful person that ever

walked on earth. In his early youth he had absorbed the deepest words

of his Master, and treasured them in a faithful heart; in extreme old

age, yet with the fire and vigor of manhood, he reproduced them under

the influence of the Holy Spirit who dwelt in him and led him, as well

as the other disciples, into "the whole truth."

His Gospel is the golden sunset of the age of inspiration, and sheds

its lustre into the second and all succeeding centuries of the church.

It was written at Ephesus when Jerusalem lay in ruins, when the church

had finally separated from the synagogue, when "the Jews" and the

Christians were two distinct races, when Jewish and Gentile believers

had melted into a homogeneous Christian community, a little band in a

hostile world, yet strong in faith, full of hope and joy, and certain

of victory.

For a satisfactory discussion of the difficult problems involved in

this Gospel and its striking contrast with the Synoptic Gospels, we

must keep in view the fact that Christ communed with the apostles after

as well as before his visible departure, and spoke to them through that

"other Advocate" whom he sent to them from the Father, and who brought

to remembrance all things he had said unto them. [1036] Here lies the

guarantee of the truthfulness of a picture which no human artist could

have drawn without divine inspiration. Under any other view the fourth

Gospel, and indeed the whole New Testament, becomes the strangest

enigma in the history of literature and incapable of any rational

solution.

John and the Synoptists.

If John wrote long after the Synoptists, we could, of course, not

expect from him a repetition of the story already so well told by three

independent witnesses. But what is surprising is the fact that, coming

last, he should produce the most original of all the Gospels.

The transition from Matthew to Mark, and from Mark to Luke is easy and

natural; but in passing from any of the Synoptists to the fourth Gospel

we breathe a different atmosphere, and feel as if we were suddenly

translated from a fertile valley to the height of a mountain with a

boundless vision over new scenes of beauty and grandeur. We look in

vain for a genealogy of Jesus, for an account of his birth, for the

sermons of the Baptist, for the history of the temptation in the

wilderness, the baptism in the Jordan, and the transfiguration on the

Mount, for a list of the Twelve, for the miraculous cures of demoniacs.

John says nothing of the institution of the church and the sacraments;

though he is full of the mystical union and communion which is the

essence of the church, and presents the spiritual meaning of baptism

and the Lord's Supper (John 3 and John 6). He omits the ascension,

though it is promised through Mary Magdalene (20:17). He has not a word

of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Lord's Prayer, none of the

inimitable parables about the kingdom of heaven, none of those telling

answers to the entangling questions of the Pharisees. He omits the

prophecies of the downfall of Jerusalem and the end of the world, and

most of those proverbial, moral sentences and maxims of surpassing

wisdom which are strung together by the Synoptists like so many

sparkling diamonds.

But in the place of these Synoptical records John gives us an abundance

of new matter of equal, if not greater, interest and importance. Right

at the threshold we are startled, as by a peal of thunder from the

depths, of eternity: "In the beginning was the Word." And as we proceed

we hear about the creation of the world, the shining of the true light

in darkness, the preparatory revelations, the incarnation of the Logos,

the testimony of the Baptist to the Lamb of God. We listen with

increasing wonder to those mysterious discourses about the new birth of

the Spirit, the water of life, the bread of life from heaven, about the

relation of the eternal and only-begotten Son to the Father, to the

world, and to believers, the mission of the Holy Spirit, the promise of

the many mansions in heaven, the farewell to the disciples, and at last

that sacerdotal prayer which brings us nearest to the throne and the

beating heart of God. John alone reports the interviews with Nicodemus,

the woman of Samaria, and the Greek foreigners. He records six miracles

not mentioned by the Synoptists, and among them the two greatest--the

changing of water into wine and the raising of Lazarus from the grave.

And where he meets the Synoptists, as in the feeding of the five

thousand, he adds the mysterious discourse on the spiritual feeding of

believers by the bread of life which has been going on ever since. He

makes the nearest approach to his predecessors in the closing chapters

on the betrayal, the denial of Peter, the trial before the

ecclesiastical and civil tribunals, the crucifixion and resurrection,

but even here he is more exact and circumstantial, and adds,

interesting details which bear the unmistakable marks of personal

observation.

He fills out the ministry of Christ in Judaea, among the hierarchy and

the people of Jerusalem, and extends it over three years; while the

Synoptists seem to confine it to one year and dwell chiefly on his

labors among the peasantry of Galilee. But on close inspection John

leaves ample room for the Galilaean, and the Synoptists for the Judaean

ministry. None of the Gospels is a complete biography. John expressly

disclaims, this (20:31). Matthew implies repeated visits to the holy

city when he makes Christ exclaim: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem ... how

often would I have gathered thy children together" (23:37; comp.

27:57). On the other hand John records several miracles in Cana,

evidently only as typical examples of many (2:1 sqq.; 4:47 sqq.; 6:1

sqq.). But in Jerusalem the great conflict between light and darkness,

belief and unbelief, was most fully developed and matured to the final

crisis; and this it was one of his chief objects to describe.

The differences between John and the Synoptists are many and great, but

there are no contradictions.

The Occasion.

Irenaeus, who, as a native of Asia Minor and a spiritual grand-pupil of

John, is entitled to special consideration, says: "Afterward" [i.e.,

after Matthew, Mark, and Luke] "John, the disciple of the Lord, who

also had leaned upon his breast, did himself publish a Gospel during

his residence at Ephesus in Asia." [1037] In another place he makes the

rise of the Gnostic heresy the prompting occasion of the composition.

[1038]

A curious tradition, which probably contains a grain of truth, traces

the composition to a request of John's fellow-disciples and elders of

Ephesus. "Fast with me," said John, according to the Muratorian

fragment (170), "for three days from this time" [when the request was

made], "and whatever shall be revealed to each of us" [concerning my

composing the Gospel], "let us relate it to one another. On the same

night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should

relate all things in his own name, aided by the revision of all. [1039]

... What wonder is it then that John brings forward every detail with

so much emphasis, even in his Epistles, saying of himself, What we have

seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have

handled, these things have we written unto you. For so he professes

that he was not only an eyewitness, but also a hearer, and moreover a

writer of all the wonderful works of the Lord in their historical

order." [1040]

The mention of Andrew in this fragment is remarkable, for he was

associated with John as a pupil of the Baptist and as the first called

to the school of Christ (John 1:35-40). He was also prominent in other

ways and stood next to the beloved three, or even next to his brother

Peter in the catalogues of the apostles. [1041]

Victorinus of Pettau (d. about 304), in the Scholia on the Apocalypse,

says that John wrote the Gospel after the Apocalypse, in consequence of

the spread of the Gnostic heresy and at the request of "all the bishops

from the neighboring provinces." [1042]

Jerome, on the basis of a similar tradition, reports that John, being

constrained by his brethren to write, consented to do so if all joined

in a fast and prayer to God, and after this fast, being saturated with

revelation (revelatione saturatus), he indited the heaven-sent preface:

"In the beginning was the Word." [1043]

Possibly those fellow-disciples and pupils who prompted John to write

his Gospel, were the same who afterward added their testimony to the

genuineness of the book, speaking in the plural ("we know that his

witness is true," 21:24), one of them acting as scribe ("I suppose,"

21:25).

The outward occasion does not exclude, of course, the inward prompting

by the Holy Spirit, which is in fact implied in this tradition, but it

shows how far the ancient church was from such a mechanical theory of

inspiration as ignores or denies the human and natural factors in the

composition of the apostolic writings. The preface of Luke proves the

same.

The Object.

The fourth Gospel does not aim at a complete biography of Christ, but

distinctly declares that Jesus wrought "many other signs in the

presence of the disciples which are not written in this book" (John

20:30; comp. 21:25).

The author plainly states his object, to which all other objects must

be subordinate as merely incidental, namely, to lead his readers to the

faith "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing

they may have life in his name" (20:31). This includes three points:

(1) the Messiahship of Jesus, which was of prime importance to the

Jews, and was the sole or at least the chief aim of Matthew, the Jewish

Evangelist; (2) the Divine Sonship of Jesus, which was the point to be

gained with the Gentiles, and which Luke, the Gentile Evangelist, had

also in view; (3) the practical benefit of such faith, to gain true,

spiritual, eternal life in Him and through Him who is the personal

embodiment and source of eternal life.

To this historico-didactic object all others which have been mentioned

must be subordinated. The book is neither polemic and apologetic, nor

supplementary, nor irenic, except incidentally and unintentionally as

it serves all these purposes. The writer wrote in full view of the

condition and needs of the church at the close of the first century,

and shaped his record accordingly, taking for granted a general

knowledge of the older Gospels, and refuting indirectly, by the

statement of facts and truths, the errors of the day. Hence there is

some measure of truth in those theories which have made an incidental

aim the chief or only aim of the book.

1. The anti-heretical theory was started by Irenaeus. Being himself

absorbed in the controversy with Gnosticism and finding the strongest

weapons in John, he thought that John's motive was to root out the

error of Cerinthus and of the Nicolaitans by showing that "there is one

God who made all things by his word; and not, as they say, one who made

the world, and another, the Father of the Lord." [1044] Jerome adds the

opposite error of Ebionism, Ewald that of the disciples of the Baptist.

No doubt the fourth Gospel, by the positive statement of the truth, is

the most effective refutation of Gnostic dualism and doketism, which

began to raise its head in Asia Minor toward the close of the first

century. It shows the harmony of the ideal Christ of faith and the real

Christ of history, which the ancient and modern schools of Gnosticism

are unable to unite in one individual. But it is not on this account a

polemical treatise, and it even had by its profound speculation a

special attraction for Gnostics and philosophical rationalists, from

Basilides down to Baur. The ancient Gnostics made the first use of it

and quoted freely from the prologue, e.g., the passage: "The true

light, which enlighteneth every man, was coming into the world" (1:9).

[1045]

The polemical aim is more apparent in the first Epistle of John, which

directly warns against the anti-Christian errors then threatening the

church, and may be called a doctrinal and practical postscript to the

Gospel.

2. The supplementary theory. Clement of Alexandria (about 200) states,

on the authority of "presbyters of an earlier generation," that John,

at the request of his friends and the prompting of the divine Spirit,

added a spiritual Gospel to the older bodily Gospels which set forth

the outward facts. [1046] The distinction is ingenious. John is more

spiritual and ideal than the Synoptists, and he represents as it were

the esoteric tradition as distinct from the exoteric tradition of the

church. Eusebius records also as a current opinion that John intended

to supply an amount of the earlier period of Christ's ministry which

was omitted by the other Evangelists. [1047] John is undoubtedly a most

welcome supplementer both in matter and spirit, and furnishes in part

the key for the full understanding of the Synoptists, yet he repeats

many important events, especially in the closing chapters, and his

Gospel is as complete as any. [1048]

3. The Irenic tendency-theory is a modern T�bingen invention. It is

assumed that the fourth Gospel is purely speculative or theological,

the last and crowning literary production which completed the process

of unifying Jewish and Gentile Christianity and melting them into the

one Catholic church of the second century.

No doubt it is an Irenicon of the church in the highest and best sense

of the term, and a prophecy of the church of the future, when all

discords of Christendom past and present will be harmonized in the

perfect union of Christians with Christ, which is the last object of

his sacerdotal prayer. But it is not an Irenicon at the expense of

truth and facts.

In carrying out their hypothesis the T�bingen critics have resorted to

the wildest fictions. It is said that the author depreciated the Mosaic

dispensation and displayed jealousy of Peter. How in the world could

this promote peace? It would rather have defeated the object. But there

is no shadow of proof for such an assertion. While the author opposes

the unbelieving Jews, he shows the highest reverence for the Old

Testament, and derives salvation from the Jews. Instead of showing

jealousy of Peter, he introduces his new name at the first interview

with Jesus (1:42), reports his great confession even more fully than

Matthew (John 6:68, 69), puts him at the head of the list of the

apostles (21:2), and gives him his due prominence throughout down to

the last interview when the risen Lord committed to him the feeding of

his sheep (21:15-19). This misrepresentation is of a piece with the

other T�bingen myth adopted by Renan, that the real John in the

Apocalypse pursues a polemical aim against Paul and deliberately

excludes him from the rank of the twelve Apostles. And yet Paul

himself, in the acknowledged Epistle to the Galatians, represents John

as one of the three pillar-apostles who recognized his peculiar gift

for the apostolate of the Gentiles and extended to him the right hand

of fellowship.

Analysis.

The object of John determined the selection and arrangement of the

material. His plan is more clear and systematic than that of the

Synoptists. It brings out the growing conflict between belief and

unbelief, between light and darkness, and leads step by step to the

great crisis of the cross, and to the concluding exclamation of Thomas,

"My Lord and my God."

In the following analysis the sections peculiar to John are marked by a

star.

\*I. The Prologue. The theme of the Gospel: the Logos, the eternal

Revealer of God:

(1.) In relation to God, John 1:1, 2.

(2.) In relation to the world. General revelation, 1:3-5.

(3.) In relation to John the Baptist and the Jews. Particular

revelation, 1:6-13.

(4.) The incarnation of the Logos, and its effect upon the disciples,

1:14-18.

II. The Public Manifestation of the Incarnate Logos in Active Word and

Work, 1:19 to 12:50.

\*(1.) The preparatory testimony of John the Baptist pointing to Jesus

as the promised and expected Messiah, and as the Lamb of God that

beareth the sin of the world, 1:19-37.

\*(2.) The gathering of the first disciples, 1:38-51.

\*(3.) The first sign: the changing of water into wine at Cana in

Galilee, 2:1-11. First sojourn in Capernaum, 2:12. First Passover and

journey to Jerusalem during the public ministry, 2:13.

\*(4.) The reformatory cleansing of the Temple, 2:14-22. (Recorded also

by the Synoptists, but at the close of the public ministry.) Labors

among the Jews in Jerusalem, 2:23-25.

\*(5.) Conversation with Nicodemus, representing the timid disciples,

the higher classes among the Jews. Regeneration the condition of

entering into the kingdom of God, 3:1-15. The love of God in the

sending of his Son to save the world, 3:16-21. (Jerusalem.)

\*(6.) Labors of Jesus in Judaea. The testimony of John the Baptist: He

must increase, but I must decrease, 3:22-36. (Departure of Jesus into

Galilee after John's imprisonment, 4:1-3; comp. Matt. 4:12; Mark 1:14;

Luke 4:14.)

\*(7.) Labors in Samaria on the journey from Judaea to Galilee. The

woman of Samaria; Jacob's well; the water of life; the worship of God

the Spirit in spirit and in truth; the fields ripening for the harvest,

John 4:1-42. Jesus teaches publicly in Galilee, 4:43-45 (comp. Matt.

4:17; Mark 1:14, 15 Luke 4:14, 15).

\*(8.) Jesus again visits Cana in Galilee and heals a nobleman's son at

Capernaum, John 4:46-54.

\*(9.) Second journey to Jerusalem at a feast (the second Passover?).

The healing of the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath,

5:1-18. Beginning of the hostility of the Jews. Discourse of Christ on

his relation to the Father, and his authority to judge the world,

5:19-47.

(10.) The feeding of the five thousand, 6:1-14. The stilling of the

tempest, 6:15-21.

\*The mysterious discourse in Capernaum on the bread of life; the

sifting of the disciples; the confession of Peter: "To whom shall we

go," etc.; the hinting at the treason of Judas, 6:22-71.

\*(11.) Third visit to Jerusalem, at the feast of the Tabernacles. The

hasty request of the brethren of Jesus who did not believe on him. His

discourse in the Temple with opposite effect. Rising hostility of the

Jews, and vain efforts of the hierarchy to seize him as a false teacher

misleading the people, 7:1-52.

[\*(12a.) The woman taken in adultery and pardoned by Jesus, 7:53-8:11.

Jerusalem. Probably an interpolation from oral tradition, authentic and

true, but not from the pen of John. Also found at the end, and at Luke

21.]

\*(12b.) Discourse on the light of the world. The children of God and

the children of the devil. Attempts to stone Jesus, John 8:12-59.

\*(13.) The healing of the man born blind, on a Sabbath, and his

testimony before the Pharisees, 9:1-41.

\*(14.) The parable of the good shepherd, 10:1-21. Speech at the feast

of Dedication in Solomon's porch, 10:22-39. Departure to the country

beyond the Jordan, 10:40-42.

\*(15.) The resurrection of Lazarus at Bethany, and its effect upon

hastening the crisis. The counsel of Caiaphas. Jesus retires from

Jerusalem to Ephraim, 11:1-57.

(16.) The anointing by Mary in Bethany, 12:1-8. The counsel of the

chief priests, 12:9-11.

(17.) The entry into Jerusalem, 12:12-19. (Comp. Matt. 21:1-17; Mark

11:1-11; Luke 19:29-44.)

\*(18.) Visit of the Greeks. Discourse of Jesus on the grain of wheat

which must die to bear fruit; the voice from heaven; the attraction of

the cross; the opposite effect; reflection of the Evangelist; summary

of the speeches of Jesus, John 12:20-50.

III. The Private Manifestation of Christ in the Circle of his

Disciples. During the fourth and last Passover week. Jerusalem,

13:1-17:26.

\*(l.) Jesus washes the feet of the disciples before the Passover meal,

13:1-20.

(2.) He announces the traitor, 13:21-27. The departure of Judas,

13:27-30.

\*(3.) The new commandment of love, 13:31-35. (Here is the best place

for the institution of the Lord's Supper, omitted by John, but reported

by all the Synoptists and by Paul.)

(4.) Prophecy of Peter's denial, 13:36-38.

\*(5.) The farewell discourses to the disciples; the promise of the

Paraclete, and of Christ's return, 14:1 - 16:33.

\*(6.) The Sacerdotal Prayer, 17:1-26.

IV. The Glorification of Christ in the Crucifixion and Resurrection,

18:1-20:31.

(1.) The passage over the Kedron, and the betrayal, 18:1-11.

(2.) Jesus before the high priests, Annas and Caiaphas, 18:12-14,

19-24.

(3.) Peter's denial, 18:15-18, 25-27.

(4.) Jesus before the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, 18:28-19:16.

Original in part (19:4-16).

(5.) The crucifixion, 19:17-37.

(6.) The burial of Jesus, 19:38-42.

(7.) The resurrection. Mary Magdalene, Peter and John visit the empty

tomb, 20:1-10.

(8.) Christ appears to Mary Magdalene, 20:11-18.

\*(9.) Christ appears to the apostles, except Thomas, on the evening of

the resurrection day, 20:19-23.

\*(10.) Christ appears to the apostles, including Thomas, on the

following Lord's Day, 20:26-29.

\*(11.) Object of the Gospel, 20:30, 31

\*V. The Appendix and Epilogue, 21:1-25.

(1.) Christ appears to seven disciples on the lake of Galilee. The

third manifestation to the disciples, 21:1-14.

(2.) The dialogue with Simon Peter: "Lovest thou Me?" "Feed My sheep."

"Follow Me," 21:15-19.

(3.) The mysterious word about the beloved disciple, 21:1-23.

(4.) The attestation of the authorship of the Gospel by the pupils of

John, 21:24, 25.

Characteristics of the Fourth Gospel.

The Gospel of John is the most original, the most important, the most

influential book in all literature. The great Origen called it the

crown of the Gospels, as the Gospels are the crown of all sacred

writings. [1049] It is pre-eminently the spiritual and ideal, though at

the same time a most real Gospel, the truest transcript of the

original. It lifts the veil from the holy of holies and reveals the

glory of the Only Begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth. It

unites in harmony the deepest knowledge and the purest love of Christ.

We hear as it were his beating heart; we lay our hands in his

wound-prints and exclaim with doubting Thomas: "My Lord and my God." No

book is so plain and yet so deep, so natural and yet so full of

mystery. It is simple as a child and sublime as a seraph, gentle as a

lamb and bold as an eagle, deep as the sea and high as the heavens.

It has been praised as "the unique, tender, genuine Gospel," "written

by the hand of an angel," as "the heart of Christ," as "God's

love-letter to the world," or "Christ's love-letter to the church." It

has exerted an irresistible charm on many of the strongest and noblest

minds in Christendom, as Origen in Egypt, Chrysostom in Asia, Augustin

in Africa, the German Luther, the French Calvin, the poetic Herder, the

critical Schleiermacher, and a multitude of less famous writers of all

schools and shades of thought. Even many of those who doubt or deny the

apostolic authorship cannot help admiring its more than earthly

beauties. [1050]

But there are other sceptics who find the Johannean discourses

monotonous, tedious, nebulous, unmeaning, hard, and feel as much

offended by them as the original hearers. [1051]

Let us point out the chief characteristics of this book which

distinguish it from the Synoptical Gospels.

1. The fourth Gospel is the Gospel of the Incarnation, that is, of the

perfect union of the divine and human in the person of Jesus of

Nazareth, who for this very reason is the Saviour of the world and the

fountain of eternal life. "The Word became flesh." This is the

theoretical theme. The writer begins with the eternal pre-existence of

the Logos, and ends with the adoration of his incarnate divinity in the

exclamation of the sceptical Thomas: "My Lord and my God!" Luke's

preface is historiographic and simply points to his sources of

information; John's prologue is metaphysical and dogmatic, and sounds

the keynote of the subsequent history. The Synoptists begin with the

man Jesus and rise up to the recognition of his Messiahship and divine

Sonship; John descends from the pre-existent Son of God through the

preparatory revelations to his incarnation and crucifixion till he

resumes the glory which he had before the world began. The former give

us the history of a divine man, the latter the history of a human God.

Not that he identifies him with the Godhead (ho theos); on the

contrary, he clearly distinguishes the Son and the Father and makes him

inferior in dignity ("the Father is greater than I"); but he declares

that the Son is "God" (theos), that is, of divine essence or nature.

And yet there is no contradiction here between the Evangelists except

for those who deem a union of the Divine and human in one person an

impossibility. The Christian Church has always felt that the Synoptic

and the Johannean Christ are one and the same, only represented from

different points of view. And in this judgment the greatest scholars

and keenest critics, from Origen down to the present time, have

concurred.

For, on the one hand, John's Christ is just as real and truly human as

that of the Synoptists. He calls himself the Son of man and "a man"

(John 8:40); he "groaned in the spirit" (11:33), he "wept" at the grave

of a friend (11:35), and his "soul" was "troubled" in the prospect of

the dark hour of crucifixion (12:27) and the crime of the traitor

(13:1). The Evangelist attests with solemn emphasis from what he saw

with his own eyes that Jesus truly suffered and died (19:33-35). [1052]

The Synoptic Christ, on the other hand, is as truly elevated above

ordinary mortals as the Johannean. It is true, he does not in so many

words declare his pre-existence as in John 1:1; 6:62; 8:58; 17:5, 24,

but it is implied, or follows as a legitimate consequence. He is

conceived without sin, a descendant of David, and yet the Lord of David

(Matt. 22:41); he claims authority to forgive sins, for which he is

accused of blasphemy by the Jews (quite consistently from their

standpoint of unbelief); he gives his life a ransom for the redemption

of the world; he will come in his glory and judge all nations; yea, in

the very Sermon on the Mount, which all schools of Rationalists accept

his genuine teaching, He declares himself to be the judge of the world

(Matt. 7:21-23; comp. 25:31-46), and in the baptismal formula He

associates himself and the Holy Spirit with the eternal Father, as the

connecting link between the two, thus assuming a place on the very

throne of the Deity (28:19). It is impossible to rise higher. Hence

Matthew, the Jewish Evangelist, does not hesitate to apply to Him the

name Immanuel, that is, "God with us"(1:23). Mark gives us the Gospel

of Peter, the first who confessed that Jesus is not only "the Christ"

in his official character, but also "the Son of the living God." This

is far more than a son; it designates his unique personal relation to

God and forms the eternal basis of his historical Messiahship (Matt.

16:16; comp. 26:63). The two titles are distinct, and the high priest's

charge of blasphemy (26:65) could only apply to the latter. A false

Messiah would be an impostor, not a blasphemer. We could not substitute

the Messiah for the Son in the baptismal formula. Peter, Mark, and

Matthew were brought up in the most orthodox monotheism, with an

instinctive horror of the least approach to idolatry, and yet they

looked up to their Master with feelings of adoration. And, as for Luke,

he delights in representing Jesus throughout as the sinless Saviour of

sinners, and is in full sympathy with the theology of his elder brother

Paul, who certainly taught the pre-existence and divine nature of

Christ several years before the Gospels were written or published (Rom.

1:3, 4; 9:5; 2 Cor. 8:9; Col. 1:15-17; Phil. 2:6-11).

2. It is the Gospel of Love. Its practical motto is: "God is love." In

the incarnation of the eternal Word, in the historic mission of his

Son, God has given the greatest possible proof of his love to mankind.

In the fourth Gospel alone we read that precious sentence which

contains the very essence of Christianity: "God so loved the world,

that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him

should not perish, but have eternal life" (John 3:16). It is the Gospel

of the Good Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep (10:11); the

Gospel of the new commandment: "Love one another" (13:34). And this was

the last exhortation of the aged disciple "whom Jesus loved."

But for this very reason that Christ is the greatest gift of God to the

world, unbelief is the greatest sin and blackest ingratitude, which

carries in it its own condemnation. The guilt of unbelief, the contrast

between faith and unbelief is nowhere set forth in such strong light as

in the fourth Gospel. It is a consuming fire to all enemies of Christ.

3. It is the Gospel of Mystic Symbolism. [1053] The eight miracles it

records are significant "signs" (semeia) which symbolize the character

and mission of Christ, and manifest his glory. They are simply his

"works" (erga), the natural manifestations of his marvellous person

performed with the same ease as men perform their ordinary works. The

turning of water into wine illustrates his transforming power, and

fitly introduces his public ministry; the miraculous feeding of the

five thousand set him forth as the Bread of life for the spiritual

nourishment of countless believers; the healing of the man born blind,

as the Light of the world; the raising of Lazarus, as the Resurrection

and the Life. The miraculous draught of fishes shows the disciples to

be fishers of men, and insures the abundant results of Christian labor

to the end of time. The serpent in the wilderness prefigured the cross.

The Baptist points to him as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin

of the world. He represents himself under the significant figures of

the Door, the good Shepherd, the Vine; and these figures have inspired

Christian art and poetry, and guided the meditations of the church ever

since.

The whole Old Testament is a type and prophecy of the New. "The law was

given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (1:17). Herein

lies the vast superiority of Christianity, and yet the great importance

of Judaism as an essential part in the scheme of redemption. Clearly

and strongly as John brings out the opposition to the unbelieving Jews,

he is yet far from going to the Gnostic extreme of rejecting or

depreciating the Old Testament; on the contrary "salvation comes from

the Jews" (says Christ to the Samaritan woman, 4:22); and turning the

Scripture argument against the scribes and Pharisees who searched the

letter of the Scriptures, but ignored the spirit, Christ confronts them

with the authority of Moses on whom they fixed their hope. "If ye

believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me. But ye believe

not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" (5:46). John sees

Christ everywhere in those ancient Scriptures which cannot be broken.

He unfolds the true Messianic idea in conflict with the carnal

perversion of it among the Jews under the guidance of the hierarchy.

The Johannean and Synoptic Discourses of Christ.

4. John gives prominence to the transcendent Discourses about the

person of Christ and his relation to the Father, to the world, and the

disciples. His words are testimonies, revealing the inner glory of his

person; they are Spirit and they are life.

Matthew's Gospel is likewise didactic; but there is a marked difference

between the contents and style of the Synoptic and the Johannean

discourses of Jesus. The former discuss the nature of the Messianic

kingdom, the fulfilment of the law, the duty of holy obedience, and are

popular, practical, brief, pointed, sententious, parabolic, and

proverbial; the latter touch the deepest mysteries of theology and

Christology, are metaphysical, lengthy, liable to carnal

misunderstanding, and scarcely discernible from John's own style in the

prologue and the first Epistle, and from that used by the Baptist. The

transition is almost imperceptible in John 3:16 and 3:31.

Here we reach the chief difficulty in the Johannean problem. Here is

the strong point of sceptical criticism. We must freely admit at the

outset that John so reproduced the words of his Master as to mould them

unconsciously into his own type of thought and expression. He revolved

them again and again in his heart, they were his daily food, and the

burden of his teaching to the churches from Sunday to Sunday; yet he

had to translate, to condense, to expand, and to apply them; and in

this process it was unavoidable that his own reflections should more or

less mingle with his recollections. With all the tenacity of his memory

it was impossible that at such a great interval of time (fifty or sixty

years after the events) he should be able to record literally every

discourse just as it was spoken; and he makes no such claim, but

intimates that he selects and summarizes.

This is the natural view of the case, and the same concession is now

made by all the champions of the Johannean authorship who do not hold

to a magical inspiration theory and turn the sacred writers into

unthinking machines, contrary to their own express statements, as in

the Preface of Luke. But we deny that this concession involves any

sacrifice of the truth of history or of any lineament from the

physiognomy of Christ. The difficulty here presented is usually

overstated by the critics, and becomes less and less, the higher we

rise in our estimation of Christ, and the closer we examine the

differences in their proper connection. The following reflections will

aid the student:

(1) In the first place we must remember the marvellous heighth and

depth and breadth of Christ's intellect as it appears in the Synoptists

as well as in John. He commanded the whole domain of religious and

moral truth; he spake as never man spake, and the people were

astonished at his teaching (Matt. 7:28, 29; Mark 1:22; 6:2; Luke 4:32;

John 7:46). He addressed not only his own generation, but through it

all ages and classes of men. No wonder that his hearers often

misunderstood him. The Synoptists give examples of such

misunderstanding as well as John (comp. Mark 8:16). But who will set

limits to his power and paedagogic wisdom in the matter and form of his

teaching? Must he not necessarily have varied his style when he

addressed the common people in Galilee, as in the Synoptists, and the

educated, proud, hierarchy of Jerusalem, as in John? Or when he spoke

on the mountain, inviting the multitude to the Messianic Kingdom at the

opening of his ministry, and when he took farewell from his disciples

in the chamber, in view of the great sacrifice? Socrates appears very

different in Xenophon and in Plato, yet we can see him in both. But

here is a far greater than Socrates. [1054]

(2) John's mind, at a period when it was most pliable and plastic, had

been so conformed to the mind of Christ that his own thoughts and words

faithfully reflected the teaching of his Master. If there ever was

spiritual sympathy and congeniality between two minds, it was between

Jesus and the disciple whom he loved and whom he intrusted with the

care of his mother. John stood nearer to his Lord than any Christian or

any of the Synoptists. "Why should not John have been formed upon the

model of Jesus rather than the Jesus of his Gospel be the reflected

image of himself? Surely it may be left to all candid minds to say

whether, to adopt only the lowest supposition, the creative intellect

of Jesus was not far more likely to mould His disciple to a conformity

with itself, than the receptive spirit of the disciple to give birth by

its own efforts to that conception of a Redeemer which so infinitely

surpasses the loftiest image of man's own creation." [1055]

(3) John reproduced the discourses from the fulness of the spirit of

Christ that dwelt in him, and therefore without any departure from the

ideas. The whole gospel history assumes that Christ did not finish, but

only began his work while on earth, that he carries it on in heaven

through his chosen organs, to whom he promised mouth and wisdom (Luke

21:15; Matt. 10:19) and his constant presence (Matt. 19:20; 28:20). The

disciples became more and more convinced of the superhuman character of

Christ by the irresistible logic of fact and thought. His earthly life

appeared to them as a transient state of humiliation which was preceded

by a pre-existent state of glory with the Father, as it was followed by

a permanent state of glory after the resurrection and ascension to

heaven. He withheld from them "many things" because they could not bear

them before his glorification (John 16:12). "What I do," he said to

Peter, "thou knowest not now, but thou shalt come to know hereafter"

(13:7). Some of his deepest sayings, which they had at first

misunderstood, were illuminated by the resurrection (2:22; 12:16), and

then by the outpouring of the Spirit, who took things out of the

fulness of Christ and declared them to the disciples (16:13, 14). Hence

the farewell discourses are so full of the Promises of the Spirit of

truth who would glorify Christ in their hearts. Under such guidance we

may be perfectly sure of the substantial faithfulness of John's record.

(4) Beneath the surface of the similarity there is a considerable

difference between the language of Christ and the language of his

disciple. John never attributes to Christ the designation Logos, which

he uses so prominently in the Prologue and the first Epistle. This is

very significant, and shows his conscientious care. He distinguished

his own theology from the teaching of his Master, no matter whether he

borrowed the term Logos from Philo (which cannot be proven), or coined

it himself from his reflections on Old Testament distinctions between

the hidden and the revealed God and Christ's own testimonies concerning

his relation to the Father. The first Epistle of John is an echo of his

Gospel, but with original matter of his own and Polemical references to

the anti-Christian errors of big day. "The phrases of the Gospel," says

Westcott, "have a definite historic connection: they belong to

circumstances which explain them. The phrases in the Epistle are in

part generalizations, and in part interpretations of the earlier

language in view of Christ's completed work and of the experience of

the Christian church."

As to the speeches of the Baptist, in the fourth Gospel, they keep, as

the same writer remarks, strictly within the limits suggested by the

Old Testament. "What he says spontaneously of Christ is summed up in

the two figures of the 'Lamb' and the 'Bridegroom,' which together give

a comprehensive view of the suffering and joy, the redemptive and the

completive work of Messiah under prophetic imagery. Both figures appear

again in the Apocalypse; but it is very significant that they do not

occur in the Lord's teaching in the fourth Gospel or in St. John's

Epistles."

(5) There are not wanting striking resemblances in thought and style

between the discourses in John and in the Synoptists, especially

Matthew, which are sufficient to refute the assertion that the two

types of teaching are irreconcilable. [1056] The Synoptists were not

quite unfamiliar with the other type of teaching. They occasionally

rise to the spiritual height of John and record briefer sayings of

Jesus which could be inserted without a discord in his Gospel. Take the

prayer of thanksgiving and the touching invitation to all that labor

and are heavy laden, in Matt. 11:25-30. The sublime declaration

recorded by Luke 10:22 and Matthew 11:27: "No one knoweth the Son, save

the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to

whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him," is thoroughly Christ-like

according to John's conception, and is the basis of his own declaration

in the prologue: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten

Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him"(John

1:18). Jesus makes no higher claim in John than he does in Matthew when

he proclaims: "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on

earth" (Matt. 28:18). In almost the same words Jesus says in John 17:2:

"Thou hast given him power over all flesh."

On the other hand, John gives us not a few specimens of those short,

pithy maxims of oriental wisdom which characterize the Synoptic

discourses. [1057]

The Style of the Gospel of John.

The style of the fourth Gospel differs widely from the ecclesiastical

writers of the second century, and belongs to the apostolic age. It has

none of the technical theological terms of post-apostolic

controversies, no allusions to the state of the church, its government

and worship, but moves in the atmosphere of the first Christian

generation; yet differs widely from the style of the Synoptists and is

altogether unique in the history of secular and religious literature, a

fit expression of the genius of John: clear and deep, simple as a

child, and mature as a saint, sad and yet serene, and basking in the

sunshine of eternal life and love. The fourth Gospel is pure Greek in

vocabulary and grammar, but thoroughly Hebrew in temper and spirit,

even more so than any other book, and can be almost literally

translated into Hebrew without losing its force or beauty. It has the

childlike simplicity, the artlessness, the imaginativeness, the

directness, the circumstantiality, and the rhythmical parallelism which

characterize the writings of the Old Testament. The sentences are short

and weighty, coordinated, not subordinated. The construction is

exceedingly simple: no involved periods, no connecting links, no

logical argumentation, but a succession of self-evident truths declared

as from immediate intuition. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry is very

apparent in such double sentences as: "Peace I leave with you; my peace

I give unto you;" "A servant is not greater than his lord; neither one

that is sent greater than he that sent him;" "All things were made by

him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made."

Examples of antithetic parallelism are also frequent: "The light

shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not;" "He was

in the world, and the world knew him not;" "He confessed, and denied

not;" "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish."

The author has a limited vocabulary, but loves emphatic repetition, and

his very monotony is solemn and impressive. He uses certain key-words

of the profoundest import, as Word, life, light, truth, love, glory,

testimony, name, sign, work, to know, to behold, to believe. These are

not abstract conceptions but concrete realities. He views the world

under comprehensive contrasts, as life and death, light and darkness,

truth and falsehood, love and hatred, God and the devil, and (in the

first Epistle) Christ and Antichrist.

He avoids the optative, and all argumentative particles, but uses very

frequently the simple particles kai, de, houn, hina. His most

characteristic particle in the narrative portions is "therefore"

(houn], oeiche is oite eim not spsllogistich [like araand its

compounds), but indicative simply of continuation and retrospect (like

"so" and "then" or the German "nun"), yet with the idea that nothing

happens without a cause; while the particle "in order that" (hina)

indicates that nothing happens without a purpose. He avoids the

relative pronoun and prefers the connecting "and" with the repetition

of the noun, as "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with

God, and the Word was God .... In him was life, and the life was the

light of men." The "and" sometimes takes the place of "but," as "The

light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not"

(John 1:5).

We look in vain for such important words as church, gospel, repentance

(metanoia), but the substance is there in different forms. He does not

even use the noun "faith" (pistis), which frequently occurs in the

Synoptists and in Paul, but he uses the verb "to believe" (pisteuein)

ninety-eight times, about twice as often as all three Synoptists

together.

He applies the significant term Logos (ratio and oratio) to Christ as

the Revealer and the Interpreter of God (1:18), but only in the

Prologue, and such figurative designations as "the Light of the world,"

"the Bread of life," "the Good Shepherd," "the Vine," "the Way," "the

Truth," and "the Life." He alone uses the double "Verily" in the

discourses of the Saviour. He calls the Holy Spirit the "Paraclete" or

"Advocate" of believers, who pleads their cause here on earth, as

Christ pleads it on the throne in heaven. There breathes through this

book an air of calmness and serenity, of peace and repose, that seems

to come from the eternal mansions of heaven. [1058]

Is such a style compatible with the hypothesis of a post- and

pseudo-apostolic fiction? We have a large number of fictitious Gospels,

but they differ as much from the fourth canonical Gospel as midnight

darkness from noonday brightness.

Authorship.

For nearly eighteen centuries the Christian church of all denominations

has enjoyed the fourth Gospel without a shadow of doubt that it was the

work of John the Apostle. But in the nineteenth century the citadel was

assailed with increasing force, and the conflict between the besiegers

and defenders is still raging among scholars of the highest ability. It

is a question of life and death between constructive and destructive

criticism. The vindication of the fourth Gospel as a genuine product of

John, the beloved disciple, is the death-blow of the mythical and

legendary reconstruction and destruction of the life of Christ and the

apostolic history. The ultimate result cannot be doubtful. The

opponents have been forced gradually to retreat from the year 170 to

the very beginning of the second century, as the time when the fourth

Gospel was already known and used in the church, that is to the

lifetime of many pupils and friends of John and other eye-witnesses of

the life of Christ. [1059]

I. The External Proof of the Johannean authorship is as strong, yea

stronger than that of the genuineness of any classical writer of

antiquity, and goes up to the very beginning of the second century,

within hailing distance of the living John. It includes catholic

writers, heretics, and heathen enemies. There is but one dissenting

voice, hardly audible, that of the insignificant sect of the Alogi who

opposed the Johannean doctrine of the Logos (hence their name, with the

double meaning of unreasonable, and anti-Logos heretics) and absurdly

ascribed both the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse to his enemy, the

Gnostic Cerinthus. [1060] Let us briefly sum up the chief testimonies.

1. Catholic testimonies. We begin at the fourth century and gradually

rise up to the age of John. All the ancient Greek manuscripts of the

New Testament, including the Sinaitic and the Vatican, which date from

the age of Constantine and are based upon older copies of the second

century, and all the ancient versions, including the Syriac and old

Latin from the third and second centuries, contain without exception

the Gospel of John, though the Peshito omits his second and third

Epistles and the Apocalypse. These manuscripts and versions represent

the universal voice of the churches.

Then we have the admitted individual testimonies of all the Greek and

Latin fathers up to the middle of the second century, without a

dissenting voice or doubt: Jerome (d. 419) and Eusebius (d. 340), who

had the whole ante-Nicene literature before them; Origen in Egypt (d.

254), the greatest scholar of his age and a commentator on John;

Tertullian of North Africa (about 200), a Catholic in doctrine, a

Montanist in discipline, and a zealous advocate of the dispensation of

the Paraclete announced by John; Clement of Alexandria (about 190), a

cultivated philosopher who had travelled in Greece, Italy, Syria, and

Palestine, seeking religious instruction everywhere; Irenaeus, a native

of Asia Minor and from 178 bishop of Lyons, a pupil of Polycarp and a

grand-pupil of John himself, who derived his chief ammunition against

the Gnostic heresy from the fourth Gospel, and represents the four

canonical Gospels--no more and no less--as universally accepted by the

churches of his time; Theophilus of Antioch (180), who expressly quotes

from the fourth Gospel under the name of John; [1061] the Muratorian

Canon (170), which reports the occasion of the composition of John's

Gospel by urgent request of his friends and disciples; Tatian of Syria

(155-170), who in his "Address to the Greeks" repeatedly quotes the

fourth Gospel, though without naming the author, and who began his,

"Diatessaron"--once widely spread in the church notwithstanding the

somewhat Gnostic leanings of the author, and commented on by Ephraem of

Syria--with the prologue of John. [1062] From him we have but one step

to his teacher, Justin Martyr, a native of Palestine (103-166), and a

bold and noble-minded defender of the faith in the reigns of Hadrian

and the Antonines. In his two Apologies and his Dialogue with Trypho

the Jew, he often quotes freely from the four Gospels under the name of

Apostolic "Memoirs" or "Memorabilia of the Apostles," which were read

at his time in public, worship. [1063] He made most use of Matthew, but

once at least he quotes a passage on regeneration [1064] from Christ's

dialogue with Nicodemus which is recorded only by John. Several other

allusions of Justin to John are unmistakable, and his whole doctrine of

the pre-existent Logos who sowed precious seeds of truth among Jews and

Gentiles before his incarnation, is unquestionably derived from John.

To reverse the case is to derive the sunlight from the moon, or the

fountain from one of its streams.

But we can go still farther back. The scanty writings of the Apostolic

Fathers, so called, have very few allusions to the New Testament, and

breathe the atmosphere of the primitive oral tradition. The author of

the "Didache" was well acquainted with Matthew. The first Epistle of

Clement has strong affinity with Paul. The shorter Epistles of Ignatius

show the influence of John's Christology. [1065] Polycarp (d. a.d. 155

in extreme old age), a personal pupil of John, used the First Epistle

of John, and thus furnishes an indirect testimony to the Gospel, since

both these 'books must stand or fall together. [1066] The same is true

of Papias (died about 150), who studied with Polycarp, and probably was

likewise a bearer of John. He "used testimonies from the former Epistle

of John." [1067] In enumerating the apostles whose living words he

collected in his youth, he places John out of his regular order of

precedence, along with Matthew, his fellow-Evangelist, and "Andrew,

Peter, and Philip" in the same order as John 1:40-43; from which it has

also been inferred that he knew the fourth Gospel. There is some reason

to suppose that the disputed section on the woman taken in adultery was

recorded by him in illustration of John 8:15; for, according to

Eusebius, he mentioned a similar story in his lost work. [1068] These

facts combined, make it at least extremely probable that Papias was

familiar with John. [1069] The joint testimony of Polycarp and Papias

represents the school of John in the very field of his later labors,

and the succession was continued through Polycrates at Ephesus, through

Melito at Sardis, through Claudius Apollinaris at Hieropolis, and

Pothinus and Irenaeus in Southern Gaul. It is simply incredible that a

spurious Gospel should have been smuggled into the churches under the

name of their revered spiritual father and grandfather.

Finally, the concluding verse of the appendix, John 21:24, is a still

older testimony of a number of personal friends and pupils of John,

perhaps the very persons who, according to ancient tradition, urged him

to write the Gospel. The book probably closed with the sentence: "This

is the disciple who beareth witness of these things, and wrote these

things." To this the elders add their attestation in the plural: "And

we know that his witness is true." A literary fiction would not have

been benefited by an anonymous postscript. The words as they, stand are

either a false testimony of the pseudo-John, or the true testimony of

the friends of the real John who first received his book and published

it before or after his death.

The voice of the whole Catholic church, so far as it is heard, on the

subject at all, is in favor of the authorship of John. There is not a

shadow of proof to the contrary opinion except one, and that is purely

negative and inconclusive. Baur to the very last laid the greatest

stress on the entangled paschal controversy of the second century as a

proof that John could not have written the fourth Gospel because he was

quoted as an authority for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on the

14th of Nisan; while the fourth Gospel, in flat contradiction to the

Synoptists, puts the crucifixion on that day (instead of the 15th), and

represents Christ as the true paschal lamb slain at the very time when

the typical Jewish passover was slain. But, in the first place, some of

the ablest scholars know how to reconcile John with the Synoptic date

of the crucifixion on the 15th of Nisan; and, secondly, there is no

evidence at all that the apostle John celebrated Easter with the

Quartodecimans on the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the day of the

Lord's Supper. The controversy was between conforming the celebration

of the Christian Passover to the day of the month, that is to Jewish

chronology, or to the day of the week on which Christ died. The former

would have made Easter, more conveniently, a fixed festival like the

Jewish Passover, the latter or Roman practice made it a movable feast,

and this practice triumphed at the Council of Nicaea. [1070]

2. Heretical testimonies. They all the more important in view of their

dissent from Catholic doctrine. It is remarkable that the heretics seem

to have used and commented on the fourth Gospel even before the

Catholic writers. The Clementine Homilies, besides several allusions,

very clearly quote from the story of the man born blind, John 9:2, 3.

[1071] The Gnostics of the second century, especially the Valentinians

and Basilidians, made abundant use of the fourth Gospel, which

alternately offended them by its historical realism, and attracted them

by its idealism and mysticism. Heracleon, a pupil of Valentinus, wrote

a commentary on it, of which Origen has preserved large extracts;

Valentinus himself (according to Tertullian) tried either to explain it

away, or he put his own meaning into it. Basilides, who flourished

about a.d. 125, quoted from the Gospel of John such passages as the

"true light, which enlighteneth every man was coming into the world"

(John 1:9), and, my hour is not yet come "(2:4). [1072]

These heretical testimonies are almost decisive by themselves. The

Gnostics would rather have rejected the fourth Gospel altogether, as

Marcion actually did, from doctrinal objection. They certainly would

not have received it from the Catholic church, as little as the church

would have received it from the Gnostics. The concurrent reception of

the Gospel by both at so early a date is conclusive evidence of its

genuineness. "The Gnostics of that date," says Dr. Abbot, [1073]

"received it because they could not help it. They would not have

admitted the authority of a book which could be reconciled with their

doctrines only by the most forced interpretation, if they could have

destroyed its authority by denying its genuineness. Its genuineness

could then be easily ascertained. Ephesus was one of the principal

cities of the Eastern world, the centre of extensive commerce, the

metropolis of Asia Minor. Hundreds, if not thousands, of people were

living who had known the apostle John. The question whether he, the

beloved disciple, had committed to writing his recollections of his

Master's life and teaching, was one of the greatest interest. The fact

of the reception of the fourth Gospel as his work at so early a date,

by parties so violently opposed to each other, proves that the evidence

of its genuineness was decisive. This argument is further confirmed by

the use of the Gospel by the opposing parties in the later Montanistic

controversy, and in the disputes about the time of celebrating Easter."

3. Heathen testimony. Celsus, in his book against Christianity, which

was written about a.d. 178 (according to Keim, who reconstructed it

from the fragments preserved in the refutation of Origen), derives his

matter for attack from the four Gospels, though he does not name their

authors, and he refers to several details which are peculiar to John,

as, among others, the blood which flowed from the body of Jesus at his

crucifixion (John 19:34), and the fact that Christ "after his death

arose and showed the marks of his punishment, and how his hands had

been pierced" (20:25, 27). [1074]

The radical assertion of Baur that no distinct trace of the fourth

Gospel can be found before the last quarter of the second century has

utterly broken down, and his own best pupils have been forced to make

one concession after another as the successive discoveries of the many

Gnostic quotations in the Philosophumena, the last book of the

pseudo-Clementine Homilies, the Syrian Commentary on Tatian's

Diatessaron, revealed the stubborn fact of the use and abuse of the

Gospel before the middle and up to the very beginning of the second

century, that is, to a time when it was simply impossible to mistake a

pseudo-apostolic fiction for a genuine production of the patriarch of

the apostolic age.

II. Internal Evidence. This is even still stronger, and leaves at last

no alternative but truth or fraud.

1. To begin with the style of the fourth Gospel, we have already seen

that it is altogether unique and without a parallel in post-apostolic

literature, betraying a Hebrew of the Hebrews, impregnated with the

genius of the Old Testament, in mode of thought and expression, in

imagery and symbolism, in the symmetrical structure of sentences, in

the simplicity and circumstantiality of narration; yet familiar with

pure Greek, from long residence among Greeks. This is just what we

should expect from John at Ephesus. Though not a rabbinical scholar,

like Paul, he was acquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures and not

dependent on the Septuagint. He has in all fourteen quotations from the

Old Testament. [1075] Four of these agree with the Hebrew and the

Septuagint; three agree with the Hebrew against the Septuagint (6:45;

13:18 19:37), the rest are neutral, either agreeing with both or

differing from both, or being free adaptations rather than citations;

but none of them agrees with the Septuagint against the Hebrew. [1076]

Among the post-apostolic writers there is no converted Jew, unless it

be Hegesippus; none who could read the Hebrew and write Hebraistic

Greek. After the destruction of Jerusalem the church finally separated

from the synagogue and both assumed an attitude of uncompromising

hostility.

2. The author was a Jew of Palestine. He gives, incidentally and

without effort, unmistakable evidence of minute familiarity with the

Holy Land and its inhabitants before the destruction of Jerusalem. He

is at home in the localities of the holy city and the neighborhood. He

describes Bethesda as "a pool by the sheep gate, having five porches"

(5:2), Siloam as "a pool which is by interpretation Sent" (9:7),

Solomon's porch as being "in the Temple" (10:23), the brook Kedron

"where was a garden" (18:1); he knows the location of the praetorium

(18:28), the meaning of Gabbatha (19:13), and Golgotha (19:17), the

distance of Bethany from Jerusalem "about fifteen furlongs off"

(11:18), and he distinguishes it from Bethany beyond Jordan (1:28). He

gives the date when the Herodian reconstruction of the temple began

(2:19). He is equally familiar with other parts of Palestine and makes

no mistakes such as are so often made by foreigners. He locates Cana in

Galilee (2:1; 4:26 21:2), to distinguish it from another Cana; Aenon

"near to Salim" where there are "many waters" (3:23); Sychar in Samaria

near "Jacob's, well," and in view of Mount Gerizim (4:5). He knows the

extent of the Lake of Tiberias (6:19); he describes Bethsaida as "the

city of Andrew and Peter" (1:44), as distinct from Bethsaida Julias on

the eastern bank of the Jordan; he represents Nazareth as a place of

proverbial insignificance (1:46).

He is well acquainted with the confused politico-ecclesiastical

Messianic ideas and expectations of the Jews (1:19-28, 45-49; 4:25;

6:14, 15 7:26; 12:34, and other passages); with the hostility between

Jews and Samaritans (4:9, 20, 22 8:48); with Jewish usages and

observances, as baptism (1:25; 3:22, 23 4:2), purification (2:6; 3:25,

etc.), ceremonial pollution (18:28), feasts (2:13, 23; 5:1 7:37, etc.),

circumcision, and the Sabbath (7:22, 23). He is also acquainted with

the marriage and burial rites (2:1-10; 11:17-44), with the character of

the Pharisees and their influence in the Sanhedrin, the relationship

between Annas and Caiaphas. The objection of Bretschneider that he

represents the office of the high-priest as an annual office arose from

a misunderstanding of the phrase "that year" (11:49, 51 18:13), by

which he means that memorable year in which Christ died for the sins of

the people.

3. The author was an eye-witness of most of the events narrated. This

appears from his life-like familiarity with the acting persons, the

Baptist, Peter, Andrew, Philip, Nathanael, Thomas, Judas Iscariot,

Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, Nicodemus, Martha and Mary, Mary Magdalene,

the woman of Samaria, the man born blind; and from the minute traits

and vivid details which betray autopticity. He incidentally notices

what the Synoptists omit, that the traitor was "the son of Simon" (

6:71; 12:4; 13:2, 26 at Thomas was called "Didymus" (11:16; 20:24

21:2); while, on the other hand, he calls the Baptist simply "John" (

he himself being the other John), without adding to it the distinctive

title as the Synoptists do more than a dozen times to distinguish him

from the son of Zebedee. [1077] He indicates the days and hours of

certain events, [1078] and the exact or approximate number of persons

and objects mentioned. [1079] He was privy to the thoughts of the

disciples on certain occasions, their ignorance and misunderstanding of

the words of the Master, [1080] and even to the motives and feelings of

the Lord. [1081]

No literary artist could have invented the conversation of Christ with

Nicodemus on the mystery of spiritual regeneration (John 3), or the

conversation with the woman of Samaria (John 4), or the characteristic

details of the catechization of the man born blind, which brings out so

naturally the proud and heartless bigotry of the Jewish hierarchy and

the rough, outspoken honesty and common sense of the blind man and his

parents (9:13-34). The scene at Jacob's well, described in John 4,

presents a most graphic, and yet unartificial picture of nature and

human life as it still remains, though in decay, at the foot of Gerizim

and Ebal: there is the well of Jacob in a fertile, well-watered valley,

there the Samaritan sanctuary on the top of Mount Gerizim, there the

waving grain-fields ripening for the harvest; we are confronted with

the historic antagonism of Jews and Samaritans which survives in the

Nablus of to-day; there we see the genuine humanity of Jesus, as he sat

down "wearied with his journey," though not weary of his work, his

elevation above the rabbinical prejudice of conversing with a woman,

his superhuman knowledge and dignity; there is the curiosity and

quick-wittedness of the Samaritan Magdalene; and how natural is the

transition from the water of Jacob's well to the water of life, and

from the hot dispute of the place of worship to the highest conception

of God as an omnipresent spirit, and his true worship in spirit and in

truth. [1082]

4. The writer represents himself expressly as an eye-witness of the

life of Christ. He differs from the Synoptists, who never use the first

person nor mix their subjective feelings with the narrative. "We beheld

his glory," he says, in the name of all the apostles and primitive

disciples, in stating the general impression made upon them by the

incarnate Logos dwelling. [1083] And in the parallel passage of the

first Epistle, which is an inseparable companion of the fourth Gospel,

he asserts with solemn emphasis his personal knowledge of the incarnate

Word of life whom he heard with his ears and saw with his eyes and

handled with his hands (1 John 1:1-3). This assertion is general, and

covers the whole public life of our Lord. But he makes it also in

particular a case of special interest for the realness of Christ's

humanity; in recording the flow of blood and water from the wounded

side, he adds emphatically: "He that hath seen hath borne witness, and

his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith things that are true,

that ye also may believe" (John 19:35). Here we are driven to the

alternative: either the writer was a true witness of what he relates,

or he was a false witness who wrote down a deliberate lie.

5. Finally, the writer intimates that he is one of the Twelve, that he

is one of the favorite three, that he is not Peter, nor James, that he

is none other than the beloved John who leaned on the Master's bosom.

He never names himself, nor his brother James, nor his mother Salome,

but he has a very modest, delicate, and altogether unique way of

indirect self-designation. He stands behind his Gospel like a

mysterious figure with a thin veil over his face without ever lifting

the veil. He leaves the reader to infer the name by combination. He is

undoubtedly that unnamed disciple who, with Andrew, was led to Jesus by

the testimony of the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan (1:35-40), the

disciple who at the last Supper "was reclining at the table in Jesus'

bosom" (13:23-25), that "other disciple" who, with Peter, followed

Jesus into the court of the high-priest (18:15, 16), who stood by the

cross and was intrusted by the dying Lord with the care of His mother

(19:26, 27), and that "other disciple whom Jesus loved," who went with

Peter to the empty sepulchre on the resurrection morning and was

convinced of the great fact by the sight of the grave-cloths, and the

head-cover rolled up in a place by itself (20:2-8). All these

narratives are interwoven with autobiographic details. He calls himself

"the disciple whom Jesus loved," not from vanity (as has been most

strangely asserted by some critics), but in blessed and thankful

remembrance of the infinite mercy of his divine Master who thus

fulfilled the prophecy of his name Johanan, i.e., Jehovah is gracious.

In that peculiar love of his all-beloved Lord was summed up for him the

whole significance of his life.

With this mode of self-designation corresponds the designation of

members of his family: his mother is probably meant by the unnamed

"sister of the mother" of Jesus, who stood by the cross (John 19:25),

for Salome was there, according to the Synoptists, and John would

hardly omit this fact; and in the list of the disciples to whom Jesus

appeared at the Lake of Galilee, "the sons of Zebedee" are put last

(21:2), when yet in all the Synoptic lists of the apostles they are,

with Peter and Andrew, placed at the head of the Twelve. This

difference can only be explained from motives of delicacy and modesty.

What a contrast the author presents to those pseudonymous literary

forgers of the second and third centuries, who unscrupulously put their

writings into the mouth of the apostles or other honored names to lend

them a fictitious charm and authority; and yet who cannot conceal the

fraud which leaks out on every page.

Conclusion.

A review of this array of testimonies, external and internal, drives us

to the irresistible conclusion that the fourth Gospel is the work of

John, the apostle. This view is clear, self-consistent, and in full

harmony with the character of the book and the whole history of the

apostolic age; while the hypothesis of a literary fiction and pious

fraud is contradictory, absurd, and self-condemned. No writer in the

second century could have produced such a marvellous book, which towers

high above all the books of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus and Tertullian

and Clement and Origen, or any other father or schoolman or reformer.

No writer in the first century could have written it but an apostle,

and no apostle but John, and John himself could not have written it

without divine inspiration.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1036] John 14:26; 16:18. Comp. Matt. 10:19, 20; Luke 12:12; Acts 4:8.

[1037] Adv. Haer., III., cap. 1, � 2.

[1038] Ibid. III. 11, 1.

[1039] "Ut recognoscentibus omnibus, Joannes suo nomine cuncta

describeret.

[1040] "Sic enim non solum visorem, sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorem

omnium mirabilium Domini per ordinem profitetur." See the Latin text as

published by Tregelles, also in Charteris, l.c., p. 3, and the

translation of Westcott, History of the Canon, p. 187.

[1041] Matt. 10:2; Luke 6:14; Mark 3:16; 13:3; John 1:41; 12:22; Acts

1:13.

[1042] Quoted by Westcott and Hilgenfeld. I will add the original from

Migne, Patrol., V. 333: "Cum enim essent Valentinus et Cerinthus, et

Ebion, et caeteri scholae satanae, diffusi per orbem, convenerunt ad

illum de finitimis provinciis omnes episcopi, et compulerunt eum, ut et

ipse testimonium coscriberet."

[1043] Preface to Com in Matt.

[1044] Adv. Haer., III. 11, 1.

[1045] Basilides in Hippolytus, Ref. Haer., VII. 22.

[1046] In Eusebius, H. E., VI. 14 (quoting from the Hypotyposes):ton

Ioannen eschaton sunidonta hoti ta somatika en tois euangeliois

dedelotai protrapenta hupo ton gnorimon[i.e., either well known

friends, or distinguished, notable men], pneumati theophorethenta,

pneumatikon poiesai euangelion. Origen had a similar view, namely, that

John alone among the Evangelists clearly teaches the divinity of

Christ. Tom. 1:6 in Joan. (Opp., IV. 6).

[1047] H. E., III. 24. Jerome repeats this view and connects it with

the antiheretical aim, De vir. illustr., c. 9, comp. Com. in Matt.

Proaem. Theodore of Mopsuestia thought that John intended to supplement

the Synoptists chiefly by the discourses on the divinity of Christ. See

Fritzsche's ed. of fragments of his Commentaries on the New Test.,

Turici, p. 19 sq. (quoted by Hilgenfeld, Einleitung, p. 696).

[1048] Godet expresses the same view (I. 862): "Cette intention de

compl�ter les r�cits ant�rieurs, soit au point de vue historique,comme

l'a pens� Eus�be, soit sous un rapport plus spirituel, comme l'a

d�clar� Cl�ment d'Alexandrie, est donc parfaitement fond�e en fait;

nous la constatons commne un but secondaire at, pour mieux dire, comme

moyen servant au but principal."

[1049] Opera, IV. 6: tolmeteon toinun eipein aparchen men pason graphon

heinai ta euangelia, ton de euangelion aparchen to kata Ioannen.

[1050] DeWette says that the discourses of Christ in John shine with

more than earthly brilliancy (sie strahlen in mehr als irdischem

Brillantfeuer, Exeg. Handbuch, I.3, p. 7). Holtzmann: "The fundamental

ideas of the fourth Gospel lie far beyond the horizon of the church in

the second century, and indeed of the whole Christian church down to

the present day" (in Schenkel's "Bibel. Lexik.," II. 234). Baur and

Keim (I. 133) give the Gospel the highest praise asa philosophy of

religion, but deny its historical value.

[1051] Renan and John Stuart Mill have confessed a strong antipathy to

these discourses. Renan's last judgment on the Gospel of John (in

L'�glise chr�t., 1879, p. 51) is as follows: "On l'a trop admir�. Il a

de la chaleur, parfois une sorte de sublimit�, mais quelque chose

d'enfl�, de faux, d'obsur. La na�vet� manque tout � fait. L'auteur ne

raconte pas; il d�montre. Rien de plus tatigant que ses longs r�cits de

miracles et que ces discussions, roulant sur des malentendus, o� les

adversaires de J�sus jouent le r�le d'idiots. Combien � ce pathos

verbeux nous pr�f�rons le doux style, tout h�breu encore, du Discours

sur la montagne, et cette limpidit� de narration qui fait le charme des

�vang�listes primitifs! Ceux-ci n'ont pas besoin de r�p�ter sans cesse

que ce qu'ils racontent est vrai. Leur sinc�rit�, inconsciente de

l'objection, n'a pas cette soif f�brile d'attestations r�p�t�esqui

montre que l'incr�dulit�, le doute, ont d�j� commenc�. Au ton

l�g�rement excit� de ce nouveau narrateur, on dirait qu'il a peur de

n'�tre pas cru, et qu'il cherche � surprendre la religion de son

lecteur par des affirmations pleines d'emphase." John Stuart Mill

(Three Essays on Religion, p. 253) irreverently calls the discourses in

John "poor stuff," imported from Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists,

and imagines that a multitude of Oriental Gnostics might have

manufactured such a book. But why did they not do it?

[1052] Notwithstanding such passages Dr. Davidson asserts (II. 278):

"In uniting the only-begotten Son of God with the historical Jesus, the

evangelist implies the absence of full humanity. The personality

consists essentially of the Logos, the flesh being only a temporary

thing. Body, soul, and spirit do not belong to Jesus Christ; he is the

Logos incarnate for a time, who soon returns to the original state of

oneness with the Father."

[1053] Lange, Westcott, Milligan and Moulton dwell at length on this

feature.

[1054] Hase (Geschichte Jesu, p. 61) makes some striking remarks on

this parallel: "Der Sokrates des Xenophon ist ein anderer als der des

Plato, jeder hat diejenige Seite aufgefasst, die ihm die n�chst und

liebste war; erst aus beider. Darstellungen erkennen wir den rechten

Sokrates. Xenophons anschauliche Einfachheit tr�gt das volle Gepr�ge

der Wahrheit dessen, was er erz�hlt. Dennoch dieser Sokrates, der sich

im engen Kreise sittlicher und politischer Vorstellungen herumdreht,

ist nicht der ganze Sokrates, der weiseste in Griechenland, der die

grosse Revolution in den Geistem seines Volks hervorgerufen hat.

Dagegen der platonische Sokrates sich weit mehr zum Sch�pfer der neuen

Periods griechischer Philosophie eignet und darnach aussieht, als habe

er die Weisheit vom Himmel zur Erde gebracht, der attische Logos."

[1055] Milligan and Moulton, in their excellent Commentary on John,

Introd., p. xxxiii.

[1056] "Si J�sus," says Renan, "parlait comme le veut Matthieu, il n'a

pu parler comme le veut Jean."

[1057] John 1:26, 43; 2:19; 4:44; 6:20, 35, 37; 12:13, 25, 27; 18:16,

20:20:19, 23. See the lists in Godet, I. 197sq., and Westcott, p.

lxxxii sq. The following are the principal parallel passages:

John 2:19: Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and

in three days I will raise it up. Matt. 26:61: This man said, I am able

to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. Cf. Mark

14:58; 15:29.

3:18: He that believeth on him is not judged: he that believeth not

hath been judged already. Mark 16:16: He that believeth and is baptized

shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.

4:44: For Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honor in his

own country. Matt. 15:57: But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not

without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house. Cf. Mark

6:4; Luke 4:24

5:8: Jesus saith unto him, Arise, take up thy bed, and walk. Matt. 9:6:

Arise, and take up thy bed, and go unto thy house. Cf. Mark 2:9; Luke

5:24.

6:20: It is I, be not afraid. Matt 14:27: It is I, be not afraid. Cf.

Mark 6:50.

6:35: He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on

me shall never thirst. Matt. 5:6; Luke 6:21: Blessed are they that

hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

6:37: All that which the Father giveth me shall come unto me; and him

that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out. Matt. 11:28, 29: Come

unto me, an ye that labor and are heavy laden, ... and ye shall find

rest unto your souls.

6:46: Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is from God,

he hath seen the Father. Cf. 1:18: No man hath seen God at any time;

the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath

declared him. Matt. 11:27: And no one knoweth the Son, save the Father,

neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever

the Son willeth to reveal him.

12:8: For the poor ye have always with you; but me ye have not always.

Matt. 26:11: For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not

always. Cf. Mark 14:7.

12:25: He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life

in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. Matt. 10: 39: He that

findeth his life shall lose it; and he thatloseth his life for my sake

shall find it. Cf. 16:25; Mark 8:35; Luke 9:24; 17:83.

12:27: Now is my soul troubled; and what shall say? Father, save me

from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour. Matt. 26:38:

Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto

death. Cf. Mark 14:84.

13:3: Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands

.... Matt. 11:27: All things have been delivered unto me of my Father.

13:16: Verily, verily I say unto you, A servant is not greater than his

lord. Matt. 10:24: A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant

above his lord. Cf. Luke 6:40.

13:20: He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that

receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. Matt. 10:40: He that receiveth

you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

14:18: I will not leave you desolate; I come unto you. Cf. 14:23: We

will ... make our abode with him. Matt. 28:20: I am with you alway,

even unto the end of the world.

15:21: But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake.

Matt. 10:22: And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's make.

17:2: Even as thou gavest him authority over all flesh. Matt. 28:18:

All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth.

20:23: Whosover sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them. Matt.

18:18: What things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in

heaven.

[1058] For further particulars of John's style see my Companion tothe

Study of the Greek Test., pp. 66-75, where the opinions of Renan,

Ewald, Luthardt, Keim, Godet, Westcott, Hase, and Weiss are given on

the subject.

[1059] See the literary notices on p. 405 sqq. To the able vindications

of the genuineness of John there mentioned must now be added the

masterly discussion of Dr. Weiss in his Leben Jesu (vol. I., 1882, pp.

84-124), which has just come to hand.

[1060] Recently renewed in part by Renan (1879). See below.

[1061] His quotation is considered the earliest by name; but Irenaeus,

who wrote between 177 and 192, represents an older tradition, and

proves to his satisfaction that there must be just four Gospels to

answer the four cherubim in Ezekiel's vision. Adv. Haer., III. 1, 1;

11, 8; V. 36, 2.

[1062] The Commentary of Ephraem Syrus on the Diatessaron (375) has

recently been discovered and published from an Armenian translation, at

Venice, in 1876. Comp. Zahn, Tatian's Diatessaron, Erlangen, 1881, and

Harnack, Die Ueberlieferung der griechisch en Apologeten des zweiten

Jahrh., Leipzig, 1882, pp. 213 sqq.

[1063] The use of the Gospel of John by Justin Martyr was doubted by

Baur and most of his followers, but is admitted by Hilgenfeld and Keim.

It was again denied by the anonymous author of "Supernatural Religion,"

and by Edwin A. Abbott (in the art. Gospels, "Enc. Brit.," vol. X 821),

and again conclusively proven by Sanday in England, and Ezra Abbot in

America.

[1064] The quotation is not literal but from memory, like most of his

quotations: Justin, Apol., I. 61: "For Christ also said, Except ye

beborn again [anagennethete, comp. 1 Pet. 3:23], ye shall in no wise

enter [eiselthete, but comp. the same word In John 8:5 and 7] into the

kingdom of heaven (the phrase of Matthew]. Now that it is impossible

for those who have once been born to re-enter the wombs of those that

bare them is manifest to all." John 3:3, 4: "Jesus answered and said to

him [Nicodemus], Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born

anew [or from above, gennethe anothen], he cannot see [idein 3: 5,

enter into] the kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man

be born when he is old? can he enter a second time into his mother's

womb and be born?" Much account has been made by the T�bingen critics

of the slight differences in the quotation (anagennethete for gennethe

anothen, eiselthein for idein and basileia ton ouranon for bas. tou

theou) to disprove the connection, or, as this is impossible, to prove

the dependence of John on Justin! But Dr. Abbot, a most accurate and

conscientious scholar, who moreover as a Unitarian cannot be charged

with an orthodox bias, has produced many parallel cases of free

quotations of the same passage not only from patristic writers, but

even from modem divines, including no less than nine quotations of the

passage by Jeremy Taylor, only two of which are alike. I think he has

conclusively proven his case for every reasonable mind. See his

invaluable monograph on The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 28

sqq. and 91 sqq. Comp. also Weiss, Leben Jesu, I. 83, who sees in

Justin Martyr not only "an unquestionable allusion to the Nicodemus

story of the fourth Gospel," but other isolated reminiscences

[1065] Comp. such expressions as "I desire bread of God, which is the

flesh of Jesus Christ ... and I desire as drink His blood, which is

love imperishable," Ad Rom., ch. 7, with John 6:47 sqq.; "living

water," Ad Rom. 7, with John 4:10, 11; "being Himself the Door of the

Father," Ad Philad., 9, with John 10:9; [the Spirit] "knows whence it

cometh and whither it goeth," Ad Philad., 7, with John 3:8. I quoted

from the text of Zahn. See the able art. of Lightfoot in "Contemp.

Rev." for February, 1875, and his S. Ignatius, 1885.

[1066] Polyc., Ad Phil., ch. 7: "Every one that doth not confess that

Jesus Christ hath come in the flesh is Antichrist; and whosoever doth

not confess the mystery of the cross is of the devil." Comp. 1 John

4:3. On the testimony of Polycarp see Lightfoot in the "Contemp. Rev."

for May, 1875. Westcott, p. xxx, says: "A testimony to one" (the Gospel

or the first Ep.) "is necessarily by inference a testimony to the

other."

[1067] According to Eusebius, III. 39. See Lightfoot in the "Contemp.

Rev." for August and October, 1875.

[1068] Eusebius, H. E., III. 39, closes his account of Papias with the

notice: "He has likewise set forth another narrative [in his Exposition

of the Lord's Oracles] concerning a woman who was maliciously accused

before the Lord touching many sins, which is contained in the Gospel

according to the Hebrews."

[1069] In a tradition too late (ninth century) to be of any critical

weight, Papias is even made the amanuensis of John in the preparation

of his Gospel. A Vatican Codex (of Queen Christina of Sweden) has this

marginal gloss: "Evangelium Johannis manifestatum et datum est

ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papiss, nomine

Hieropolitanus discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis [exegeticis],id

est in extremis, quinque libris retulit [referring no doubt to the five

books of Logion Kuriakon exegeseis] Descripsit vero evangelium dictante

Johanne recte." This was hailed as a direct testimony of Papias for

John by Prof. Aberle (Rom. Cath.) in the " T�bing. Quartalschrift,"

1864, No. 1, but set aside by Hilgenfeld versus Aberle, in his "

Zeitschrift," 1865, pp. 77 sqq., and Hase, l.c, p. 35. If Eusebius had

found this notice in the work of Papias, he would have probably

mentioned it in connection with his testimonies on the Gospels of

Matthew and Mark. But see Westcott, Canon, 5th ed., p. 77, note 1.

[1070] See Sch�rer's Latin dissertation De controversiis paschalibus,

etc., Leipz., 1869, and the German translation in the "Zeitschrift f�r

Hist. Theol." for 1970, pp. 182-284.

[1071] In the last portion of the book, discovered and first published

by Dressel (XIX. 22). This discovery has induced Hilgenfeld to retract

his former denial of the quotations in the earlier books, Einleit. in

d. N. T., p, 43 sq., note.

[1072] See the Philosophumena of Hippolytus, VII. 22, 27; Hofstede de

Groot, Basilides, trans. from the Dutch, Leipz, 1868; Hort, Basilides,

in Smith and Wace, I. 271; Abbot, l.c. 85 sqq.

[1073] L. c., p. 89.

[1074] See Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort, 1873, pp. 223-230, besides the

older investigations of Lardner, Norton, Tholuck, and the recent one of

Dr. Abbot, l.c., 58 sq.

[1075] John 1:23; 2:17; 6:31, 45; 7:38; 10:34; 12:14, 38, 40; 13:18;

15:25; 19:21, 36, 37.

[1076] See the careful analysis of the passages by Westcott, Intr., pp.

xiii sqq.

[1077] Johannes als der Erz�hlende, in seinem Selbstbewusstsein, bedarf

f�r den anderen Johannes des Beinamens nicht, ihm liegt die

Verwechslung ganz fern." Hase, Geschichte Jesu, p. 48. The former

belief of the venerable historian of Jena in the fall Johannean

authorship of the fourth Gospel was unfortunately shaken in his

conflict with the T�bingen giant, but he declares the objections of

Baur after all inconclusive, and seeks an escape from the dilemma by

the untenable compromise that the oral teaching of John a few years

after his death was committed to writing and somewhat mystified by an

able pupil. "Die Botschaft h�rt er wohl, allein ihm fehlt der Glaube."

[1078] John 1:29, 35, 39, 43; 2:1; 4:6, 40, 43, 52; 6:22; 7:14, 37;

11:6, 17, 39; 12:1, 12; 13:30; 18:28; 19:31; 20:1, 19, 26; 21:4.

[1079] John 1:35; 2:6; 4:18; 6:9, 10, 19; 19:23, 39; 21:8, 11.

[1080] John 2:17, 22; 4:27; 6:60; 12:16; 13:22, 28; 20:9; 21:12.

[1081] John 2:24, 25; 4:1-3; 5:6; 6:6, 15; 7:1; 11:33, 38; 13:1, 3, 11,

21 16:19; 18:4; 19:28.

[1082] "How often has this fourth chapter been read since by Christian

pilgrims on the very spot where the Saviour rested, with the

irresistible impression that every word is true and adapted to the time

and place, yet applicable to all times and places. Jacob's well is now

in ruins and no more used, but the living spring of water which the

Saviour first opened there to a poor, sinful, yet penitent woman is as

deep and fresh as ever, and will quench the thirst of souls to the end

of time." So I wrote in 1871 for the English edition of Lange's Com. on

John, p. 151. Six years afterward I fully realized my anticipations,

when with a company of friends I sat down on Jacob's well and read John

4 as I never read it before. Palestine, even in "the imploring beauty

of decay," is indeed a "fifth Gospel" which sheds more light on the

four than many a commentary brimful of learning and critical

conjectures.

[1083] John 1:14: etheasametha ten doxan. theaomai is richer than

horao, and means to behold or contemplate with admiration and delight.

The plural adds force to the statement, as in 21:24; 1 John 1:1; 2 Pet.

1:16.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 84. Critical Review of the Johannean Problem.

See the Liter. in � 40, pp. 408 sqq., and the history of the

controversy by Holtzmann, in Bunsen's Bibelwerk, VIII. 56 sqq.; Reuss,

Gesch. der heil. Schriften N. T.'s (6th ed.), I. 248 sqq.; Godet, Com.

(3d ed.), I. 32 sqq.; Holtzmann, Einleitung (2d ed.), 423 sqq.; Weiss,

Einleitung (1886), 609 sqq.

The importance of the subject justifies a special Section on the

opposition to the fourth Gospel, after we have presented our own view

on the subject with constant reference to the recent objections.

The Problem Stated.

The Johannean problem is the burning question of modern criticism on

the soil of the New Testament. It arises from the difference between

John and the Synoptists on the one hand, and the difference between the

fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse on the other.

I. The Synoptic aspect of the problem includes the differences between

the first three Evangelists and the fourth concerning the theatre and

length of Christ's ministry, the picture of Christ, the nature and

extent of his discourses, and a number of minor details. It admits the

following possibilities:

(1.) Both the Synoptists and John are historical, and represent only

different aspects of the same person and work of Christ, supplementing

and confirming each other in every essential point. This is the faith

of the Church and the conviction of nearly all conservative critics and

commentators.

(2.) The fourth Gospel is the work of John, and, owing to his intimacy

with Christ, it is more accurate and reliable than the Synoptists, who

contain some legendary embellishments and even errors, derived from

oral tradition, and must be rectified by John. This is the view of

Schleiermacher, L�cke, Bleek, Ewald, Meyer, Weiss, and a considerable

number of liberal critics and exegetes who yet accept the substance of

the whole gospel history as true, and Christ as the Lord and Saviour of

the race. The difference between these scholars and the church

tradition is not fundamental, and admits of adjustment.

(3.) The Synoptists represent (in the main) the Christ of history, the

fourth Gospel the ideal Christ of faith and fiction. So Baur and the

T�bingen school (Schwegler, Zeller, K�stlin, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar,

Holtzmann, , Hausrath, Schenkel, Mangold, Keim, Thoma), with their

followers and sympathizers in France (Nicolas, d'Eichthal, Renan,

R�ville, Sabatier), Holland (Scholten and the Leyden school), and

England (the anonymous author of "Supernatural Religion," Sam.

Davidson, Edwin A. Abbott). But these critics eliminate the miraculous

even from the Synoptic Christ, at least as far as possible, and

approach the fourth hypothesis.

(4.) The Synoptic and Johannean Gospels are alike fictitious, and

resolve themselves into myths and legends or pious frauds. This is the

position of the extreme left wing of modern criticism represented

chiefly by Strauss. It is the legitimate result of the denial of the

supernatural and miraculous, which is as inseparable from the Synoptic

as it is from the Johannean Christ; but it is also subversive of all

history and cannot be seriously maintained in the face of overwhelming

facts and results. Hence there has been a considerable reaction among

the radical critics in favor of a more historical position. Keim's,

"History of Jesus of Nazara" is a very great advance upon Strauss's

"Leben Jesu," though equally critical and more learned, and meets the

orthodox view half way on the ground of the Synoptic tradition, as

represented in the Gospel of Matthew, which he dates back to a.d. 66.

II. The Apocalyptic aspect of the Johannean problem belongs properly to

the consideration of the Apocalypse, but it has of late been

inseparably interwoven with the Gospel question. It admits likewise of

four distinct views:

(1.) The fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are both from the pen of the

apostle John, but separated by the nature of the subject, the condition

of the writer, and an interval of at least twenty or thirty years, to

account for the striking differences of temper and style. When he met

Paul at Jerusalem, a.d. 50, he was one of the three "pillar-apostles"

of Jewish Christianity (Gal. 2:9), but probably less than forty years

of age, remarkably silent with his reserved force, and sufficiently in

sympathy with Paul to give him the right hand of fellowship; when he

wrote the Apocalypse, between a.d. 68 and 70, he was not yet sixty, and

when he wrote the Gospel he was over eighty years of age. Moreover, the

differences between the two books are more than counterbalanced by an

underlying harmony. This has been acknowledged even by the head of the

T�bingen critics, who calls the fourth Gospel an Apocalypse

spiritualized or a transfiguration of the Apocalypse. [1084]

(2.) John wrote the Gospel, but not the Apocalypse. Many critics of the

moderate school are disposed to surrender the Apocalypse and to assign

it to the somewhat doubtful and mysterious "Presbyter John," a

contemporary of the Apostle John. So Schleiermacher, L�cke, Bleek,

Neander, Ewald, D�sterdieck, etc. If we are to choose between the two

books, the Gospel has no doubt stronger claims upon our acceptance.

(3.) John wrote the Apocalypse, but for this very reason he cannot have

written the fourth Gospel. So Baur, Renan, Davidson, Abbott, and nearly

all the radical critics (except Keim).

(4.) The fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are both spurious and the

work of the Gnostic Cerinthus (as the Alogi held), or of some anonymous

forger. This view is so preposterous and unsound that no critic of any

reputation for learning and judgment dares to defend it.

There is a correspondence between the four possible attitudes on both

aspects of the Johannean question, and the parties advocating them.

The result of the conflict will be the substantial triumph of the faith

of the church which accepts, on new grounds of evidence, all the four

Gospels as genuine and historical, and the Apocalypse and the fourth

Gospel as the works of John.

The Assaults on the Fourth Gospel.

Criticism has completely shifted its attitude on both parts of the

problem. The change is very remarkable. When the first serious assault

was made upon the genuineness of the fourth Gospel by the learned

General Superintendent Bretschneider (in 1820), he was met with such

overwhelming opposition, not only from evangelical divines like

Olshausen and Tholuck, but also from Schleiermacher, L�cke, Credner,

and Schott, that he honestly confessed his defeat a few years afterward

(1824 and 1828). [1085] And when Dr. Strauss, in his Leben Jesu (1835),

renewed the denial, a host of old and new defenders arose with such

powerful arguments that he himself (as he confessed in the third

edition of 1838) was shaken in his doubt, especially by the weight and

candor of Neander, although he felt compelled, in self-defence, to

reaffirm his doubt as essential to the mythical hypothesis (in the

fourth edition, 1840, and afterward in his popular Leben Jesu, 1864).

But in the meantime his teacher, Dr. Baur, the coryphaeus of the

T�bingen school, was preparing his heavy ammunition, and led the

second, the boldest, the most vigorous and effective assault upon the

Johannean fort (since 1844). [1086] He was followed in the main

question, though with considerable modifications in detail, by a number

of able and acute critics in Germany and other countries. He

represented the fourth Gospel as a purely ideal work which grew out of

the Gnostic, Montanistic, and paschal controversies after the middle of

the second century, and adjusted the various elements of the Catholic

faith with consummate skill and art. It was not intended to be a

history, but a system of theology in the garb of history. This

"tendency" hypothesis was virtually a death-blow to the mythical theory

of Strauss, which excludes conscious design.

The third great assault inspired by Baur, yet with independent learning

and judgment, was made by Dr. Keim (in his Geschichte Jesu von Nazara,

1867). He went beyond Baur in one point: he denied the whole tradition

of John's sojourn in Ephesus as a mistake of Irenaeus; he thus removed

even the foundation for the defence of the Apocalypse as a Johannean

production, and neutralized the force of the T�bingen assault derived

from that book. On the other hand, he approached the traditional view

by tracing the composition back from 170 (Baur) to the reign of Trajan,

i.e., to within a few years after the death of the apostle. In his

denial of the Ephesus tradition he met with little favor, [1087] but

strong opposition from the T�bingen critics, who see the fatal bearing

of this denial upon the genuineness of the Apocalypse. [1088] The

effect of Keim's movement therefore tended rather to divide and

demoralize the besieging force.

Nevertheless the effect of these persistent attacks was so great that

three eminent scholars, Hase of Jena (1876), Reuss of Strassburg, and

Sabatier of Paris (1879), deserted from the camp of the defenders to

the army of the besiegers. Renan, too, who had in the thirteenth

edition of his Vie de Jesus (1867) defended the fourth Gospel at least

in part, has now (since 1879, in his L'�glise chr�tienne) given it up

entirely. [1089]

The Defence of the Fourth Gospel.

The incisive criticism of Baur and his school compelled a thorough

reinvestigation of the whole problem, and in this way has been of very

great service to the cause of truth. We owe to it the ablest defences

of the Johannean authorship of the fourth Gospel and the precious

history which it represents. Prominent among these defenders against

the latest attacks were Bleek, Lange, Ebrard, Thiersch, Schneider,

Tischendorf, Riggenbach, Ewald, Steitz, Aberle, Meyer, Luthardt,

Wieseler, Beyschlag, Weiss, among the Germans; Godet, Pressens�, Asti�,

among the French; Niermeyer, Van Oosterzee, Hofstede de Groot, among

the Dutch; Alford, Milligan, Lightfoot, Westcott, Sanday, Plummer,

among the English; Fisher, and Abbot among the Americans. [1090]

It is significant that the school of negative criticism has produced no

learned commentary on John. All the recent commentators on the fourth

Gospel (L�cke, Ewald, Lange, Hengstenberg, Luthardt, Meyer, Weiss,

Alford, Wordsworth, Godet, Westcott, Milligan , Moulton, Plummer, etc.)

favor its genuineness.

The Difficulties of the Anti-Johannean Theory.

The prevailing theory of the negative critics is this: They accept the

Synoptic Gospels, with the exception of the miracles, as genuine

history, but for this very reason they reject John; and they accept the

Apocalypse as the genuine work of the apostle John, who is represented

by the Synoptists as a Son of Thunder, and by Paul (Gal. 2) as one of

the three pillars of conservative Jewish Christianity, but for this

very reason they deny that he can have written the Gospel, which in

style and spirit differs so widely from the Apocalypse. For this

position they appeal to the fact that the Synoptists and the Apocalypse

are equally well, and even better supported by internal and external

evidence, and represent a tradition which is at least twenty years

older.

But what then becomes of the fourth Gospel? It is incredible that the

real John should have falsified the history of his Master; consequently

the Gospel which bears his name is a post-apostolic fiction, a

religious poem, or a romance on the theme of the incarnate Logos. It is

the Gospel of Christian Gnosticism, strongly influenced by the

Alexandrian philosophy of Philo. Yet it is no fraud any more than other

literary fictions. The unknown author dealt with the historical Jesus

of the Synoptists, as Plato dealt with Socrates, making him simply the

base for his own sublime speculations, and putting speeches into his

mouth which he never uttered.

Who was that Christian Plato? No critic can tell, or even conjecture,

except Renan, who revived, as possible at least, the absurd view of the

Alogi, that the Gnostic heretic, Cerinthus the enemy of John, wrote the

fourth Gospel [1091] Such a conjecture requires an extraordinary

stretch of imagination and an amazing amount of credulity. The more

sober among the critics suppose that the author was a highly gifted

Ephesian disciple of John, who freely reproduced and modified his oral

teaching after he was removed by death. But how could his name be

utterly unknown, when the names of Polycarp and Papias and other

disciples of John, far less important, have come down to as? "The great

unknown" is a mystery indeed. Some critics, half in sympathy with

T�bingen, are willing to admit that John himself wrote a part of the

book, either the historic narratives or the discourses, but neither of

these compromises will do: the book is a unit, and is either wholly

genuine or wholly a fiction.

Nor are the negative critics agreed as to the time of composition.

Under the increasing pressure of argument and evidence they have been

forced to retreat, step by step, from the last quarter of the second

century to the first, even within a few years of John's death, and

within the lifetime of hundreds of his hearers, when it was impossible

for a pseudo-Johannean book to pass into general currency without the

discovery of the fraud. Dr. Baur and Schwegler assigned the composition

to a.d. 170 or 160; Volkmar to 155; Zeller to 150; Scholten to 140;

Hilgenfeld to about 130; Renan to about 125; Schenkel to 120 or 115;

until Keim (in 1867) went up as high as 110 or even 100, but having

reached such an early date, he felt compelled (1875) [1092] in

self-defence to advance again to 130, and this notwithstanding the

conceded testimonies of Justin Martyr and the early Gnostics. These

vacillations of criticism reveal the impossibility of locating the

Gospel in the second century.

If we surrender the fourth Gospel, what shall we gain in its place?

Fiction for fact, stone for bread, a Gnostic dream for the most

glorious truth.

Fortunately, the whole anti-Johannean hypothesis breaks down at every

point. It suffers shipwreck on innumerable details which do not fit at

all into the supposed dogmatic scheme, but rest on hard facts of

historical recollections. [1093]

And instead of removing any difficulties it creates greater

difficulties in their place. There are certain contradictions which no

ingenuity can solve. If "the great unknown" was the creative artist of

his ideal Christ, and the inventor of those sublime discourses, the

like of which were never heard before or since, he must have been a

mightier genius than Dante or Shakespeare, yea greater than his own

hero, that is greater than the greatest: this is a psychological

impossibility and a logical absurdity. Moreover, if he was not John and

yet wanted to be known as John, he was a deceiver and a liar: [1094]

this is a moral impossibility. The case of Plato is very different, and

his relation to Socrates is generally understood. The Synoptic Gospels

are anonymous, but do not deceive the reader. Luke and the author of

the Epistle to the Hebrews honestly make themselves known as mere

disciples of the apostles. The real parallel would be the apocryphal

Gospels and the pseudo-Clementine productions, where the fraud is

unmistakable, but the contents are so far below the fourth Gospel that

a comparison is out of the question. Literary fictions were not

uncommon in the ancient church, but men had common sense and moral

sense then as well is now to distinguish between fact and fiction,

truth and lie. It is simply incredible that the ancient church should

have been duped into a unanimous acceptance of such an important book

as the work of the beloved disciple almost from the very date of his

death, and that the whole Christian church, Greek, Latin, Protestant,

including an innumerable army of scholars, should have been under a

radical delusion for eighteen hundred years, mistaking a Gnostic dream

for the genuine history of the Saviour of mankind, and drinking the

water of life from the muddy source of fraud. [1095]

In the meantime the fourth Gospel continues and will continue to shine,

like the sun in heaven, its own best evidence, and will shine all the

brighter when the clouds, great and small, shall have passed away.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1084] See p. 419 sq., and my Companion to the Greek Testament, pp. 76

sqq.

[1085] Before him Edward Evanson, an ex-clergyman of the Church of

England, had attacked John and all other Gospels except Luke, in The

Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists, 1792. He was

refuted by the Unitarian, Dr. Priestley, who came to the conclusion

that the Gospel of John "bears more internal and unequivocal marks of

being written by an eye-witness than any other writings whatever,

sacred or profane." See his Letters to a Young Man (Works, vol. XX.

430).

[1086] Ueber die Composition und den Charakter des joh. Evangeliums, an

essay in the "Theol. Jahr�cher" of Zeller, T�bingen, 1844; again in his

Krit. Untersuchungen �ber die kanon. Evang., T�b., 1847, and in his

Kirchengesch., 1853(vol. I., pp. 146 sqq., 166 sqq., third ed.). Godet

(I. 17) calls the first dissertation of Baur justly "one of the most

ingenious and brilliant compositions which theological science ever

produced."

[1087] From Wittichen and Scholten.

[1088] Especially from Hilgenfeld. The tradition of the Ephesian

sojourn of John is one of the strongest and most constant in the

ancient church, and goes back to Polycrates, Irenaeus, Polycarp, and

Papias, the very pupils and grandpupils of John, who could not possibly

be mistaken on such a simple fact as this.

[1089] Dr. Weiss (Leben Jesu, I. 106) accords to Dr. Baur the merit of

having penetrated deeper into the peculiar character of the fourth

Gospel and done more for the promotion of its understanding then the

mechanical old exegesis, which had no conception of the difference and

looked only for dicta probantia; but he justly adds that Baur's

criticism is "sicklied all over with the pale cast" of modern

philosophical construction (von der Bl�sse moderner philosophischer

Construction angekr�nkelt). We are prepared to say the same of Dr.

Keim, a proud, but noble and earnest spirit who died of overwork in

elaborating his History of Jesus of Nazara. The most scholarly,

high-toned, and singularly able argument in the English language

against the Johannean authorship of the fourth Gospel is the article

"Gospels" in the "Encycl. Brit.," 9th ed., vol. X. 818-843 (1879), from

the pen of Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, head-master of the City of London

School.

[1090] Without detracting from the merits of the many worthy champions

of the cause of truth, I venture to give the palm to Dr. Godet, of

Neuch�tel, in the introductory volume to his third and thoroughly

revised Commentary on John (Introduction historique et critique, Paris,

1881, 376 pages), and to Dr. Weiss, of Berlin, in his very able Leben

Jesu, Berlin, 1882, vol. I. 84-198. In England the battle has been

fought chiefly by Bishop Lightfoot, Canon Westcott, Prof. Milligan, and

Dr. Sanday. In America, Dr. Ezra Abbot (1880) is equal to any of them

in the accurate and effective presentation of the historical argument

for the Johannean authorship of the fourth Gospel. His treatise has

been reprinted in his Critical Essays, Boston, l888 (pp. 9-107).

[1091] "Tout est possible," says Renan (L'�glise chr�t., p. 54), "�

ces�poques t�n�breuses; et, si l'�glise, en v�n�rant le quatri�me

�vangile comme l'oeuvre de Jean, est dupe de celui qu'elle regarde

comme un de ses plus dangereux ennemis, cela n'est pas en somme plus

�trange que tant d'autres malentendus qui composent la trame de

l'histoire religieuse de l'humanit�. Ce qu'il y a de s�r, c'est que

l'auteur est � la fois le p�re et l'adversaire du gnosticisme, l'ennemi

de ceux qui laissaient s'evaporer dans un doc�tisme nuageux l'humanit�

r�elle de J�sus et le complice de ceus qui le rel�guaient dans

l'abstraction divine." He thinks it more probable, however (p. 47),

that two Ephesian disciples of John (John the Presbyter and Aristion)

wrote the Gospel twenty or thirty years after his death.

[1092] In the last edition of his abridged Geschichte Jesu.

[1093] As Weiss (I. 109) admirably expresses it: "Ueberall im Einzelnen

wie in der Gesammtgestaltung des Lebens Jesu stossen wir auf das harte

Gestein geschichtlicher Erinnerung, welches dem kritischen

Aufl�sungsprozess, der es in ideelle Bildungen verwandeln will,

un�berwindlichen Widerstand leistet."

[1094] "Als die Dichtung eines halbgnostischen Philosophen aus dem

zweiten Jahrhundert ist es [the fourth Gospel] ein tr�gerisches

Irrlicht, ja in Wahrheit eine grosse L�ge,"Weiss, I. 124. Renan admits

the alternative, only in milder terms:"Il y a l� un petit artifice

litt�raire, du genre de ceux qu'affectionne Platon," l.c., p. 52.

[1095] This absurdity is strikingly characterized in the lines of the

Swabian poet, Gustav Schwab, which he gave me when I was a student at

T�bingen shortly after the appearance of Strauss's Leben Jesu: "Hat

dieses Buch, das ew'ge Wahrheit ist, Ein l�genhafter Gnostiker

geschrieben, So hat seit tausend Jahren Jesus Christ Den Teufel durch

Beelzebub vertrieben."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 85. The Acts of the Apostles.

Comp. � 82.

1. Critical Treatises.

M. Schneckenburger: Zweck der Apostelgeschichte. Bern, 1841.

Schwanbeck: Quellen der Ap. Gesch. Darmstadt, 1847.

Ed. Zeller: Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles. Stuttg.,

1854; trsl. by Jos. Dare, 1875-76, London, 2 vols.

Lekebusch: Composition u. Entstehung der Ap. Gesch. Gotha, 1854.

Klostermann: Vindiciae Lucancae. G�ttingen, 1866.

Arthur K�nig (R. C.): Die Aechtheit der Ap. Gesch. Breslau, 1867.

J. R. Oertel: Paulus in der Ap. Gesch. Der histor. Char. dieser

Schrift, etc. Halle, 1868.

J. B. Lightfoot: Illustrations of the Acts from recent Discoveries, in

the "Contemporary Review" for May, 1878, pp. 288-296.

Dean Howson: Bohlen Lectures on the Evidential Value of the Acts of the

Apostles, delivered in Philadelphia, 1880. London and New York, 1880.

Friedr. Zimmer: Galaterbrief und Apostelgeschichte. Hildburghausen,

1882.

Comp. also, in part, J. H. Scholten: Das Paulinische Evangelium, trsl.

from the Dutch by Redepenning, Elberf., 1881. A critical essay on the

writings of Luke (pp. 254 sqq.).

2. Commentaries on Acts.

By Chrysotom; Jerome; Calvin; Olshausen; De Wette (4th ed., revised by

Overbeck, 1870); Meyer (4th ed., 1870; 5th ed., revised by Wendt 1880);

Baumgarten (in 2 parts, 1852, Engl. transl. in 3 vols., Edinburgh,

1856); Jos. A. Alexander; H. B. Hackett (2d ed., 1858; 3d ed., 1877);

Ewald (1872); Lecher-Gerok (in Lange's Bibelwerk, transl. by Schaeffer,

N. Y., 1866); F. C. Cook (Lond., 1866); Alford; Wordsworth; Gloag;

Plumptre; (in Ellicott's Com.); Jacobson (in the "Speaker's Com.,"

1880); Lumby (in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools," 1880); Howson and

Spence (in Schaff's "Popul. Com.," 1880; revised for "Revision Com.,"

N. Y., 1882); K. Schmidt (Die Apostelgesch. unter dem

Hauptgesichtspunkt ihrer Glaubw�rdigkeit kritisch exegetisch

bearbeitet. Erlangen, 1882, 2 vols.); N�sgen (Leipz. 1882), Bethge

(1887).

The Acts and the Third Gospel.

The book of Acts, though placed by the ancient ecclesiastical division

not in the "Gospel," but in the "Apostle," is a direct continuation of

the third Gospel, by the same author, and addressed to the same

Theophilus, probably a Christian convert of distinguished social

position. In the former he reports what he heard and read, in the

latter what he heard and saw. The one records the life and work of

Christ, the other the work of the Holy Spirit, who is recognized at

every step. The word Spirit, or Holy Spirit, occurs more frequently in

the Acts than in any other book of the New Testament. It might properly

be called "the Gospel of the Holy Spirit."

The universal testimony of the ancient church traces the two books to

the same author. This is confirmed by internal evidence of identity of

style, continuity of narrative, and correspondence of plan. About fifty

words not found elsewhere in the New Testament are common to both

books. [1096]

Object and Contents

The Acts is a cheerful and encouraging book, like the third Gospel; it

is full of missionary zeal and hope; it records progress after

progress, conquest after conquest, and turns even persecution and

martyrdom into an occasion of joy and thanksgiving. It is the first

church history. It begins in Jerusalem and ends in Rome. An additional

chapter would probably have recorded the terrible persecution of Nero

and the heroic martyrdom of Paul and Peter. But this would have made

the book a tragedy; instead of that it ends as cheerfully and

triumphantly as it begins.

It represents the origin and progress of Christianity from the capital

of Judaism to the capital of heathenism. It is a history of the

planting of the church among the Jews by Peter, and among the Gentiles

by Paul. Its theme is expressed in the promise of the risen Christ to

his disciples (Acts 1:8): "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Spirit

is come upon you (Acts 2): and ye shall be my witnesses both in

Jerusalem (Acts 3-7), and in all Judaea and Samaria (Acts 8-12), and

unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts 13-28). The Gospel of Luke,

which is the Pauline Gospel, laid the foundation by showing how

salvation, coming from the Jews and opposed by the Jews, was intended

for all men, Samaritans and Gentiles. The Acts exhibits the progress of

the church from and among the Jews to the Gentiles by the ministry of

Peter, then of Stephen, then of Philip in Samaria, then of Peter again

in the conversion of Cornelius, and at last by the labors of Paul and

his companions. [1097]

The Acts begins with the ascension of Christ, or his accession to his

throne, and the founding of his kingdom by the outpouring of the Holy

Spirit; it closes with the joyful preaching of the Apostle of the

Gentiles in the capital of the then known world.

The objective representation of the progress of the church is the chief

aim of the work, and the subjective and biographical features are

altogether subordinate. Before Peter, the hero of the first or

Jewish-Christian division, and Paul, the hero of the second or

Gentile-Christian part, the other apostles retire and are only once

named, except John, the elder James, Stephen, and James, the brother of

the Lord. Even the lives of the pillar-apostles appear in the history

only so far as they are connected with the missionary work. In this

view the long-received title of the book, added by some other hand than

the author's, is not altogether correct, though in keeping with ancient

usage (as in the apocryphal literature, which includes "Acts of

Pilate," "Acts of Peter and Paul," "Acts of Philip," etc.). More than

three-fifths of it are devoted to Paul, and especially to his later

labors and journeys, in which the author could speak from personal

knowledge. The book is simply a selection of biographical memoirs of

Peter and Paul connected with the planting of Christianity or the

beginnings of the church (Origines Ecclesiae).

Sources.

Luke, the faithful pupil and companion of Paul, was eminently fitted to

produce the history of the primitive church. For the first part he had

the aid not only of oral tradition, but she of Palestinian documents,

as he had in preparing his Gospel. Hence the Hebrew coloring in the

earlier chapters of Acts; while afterward he writes as pure Greek, as

in the classical prologue of his Gospel. Most of the events in the

second part came under his personal observation. Hence he often speaks

in the plural number, modestly including himself. [1098] The "we"

sections begin Acts 16:10, when Paul started from Troas to Macedonia

(a.d. 51); they break off when he leaves philippi for corinth (17:1);

they are resumed (20:5, 6) when he visits macedonia again seven years

later (58), and then continue to the close of the narrative (a.d. 63).

Luke probably remained several years at Philippi, engaged in missionary

labors, until Paul's return. He was in the company of Paul, including

the interruptions, at least twelve years. He was again with Paul in his

last captivity, shortly before his martyrdom, his most faithful and

devoted companion (2 Tim. 4:11).

Time of Composition.

Luke probably began the book of Acts or a preliminary diary during his

missionary journeys with Paul in Greece, especially in Philippi, where

he seems to have tarried several years; he continued it in Caesarea,

where he had the best opportunity to gather reliable information of the

earlier history, from Jerusalem, and such living witnesses as Cornelius

and his friends, from Philip and his daughters, who resided in

Caesarea; and he finished it soon after Paul's first imprisonment in

Rome, before the terrible persecution in the summer of 64, which he

could hardly have left unnoticed.

We look in vain for any allusion to this persecution and the martyrdom

of Paul or Peter, or to any of their Epistles, or to the destruction of

Jerusalem, or to the later organization of the church, or the

superiority of the bishop over the presbyter (Comp. Acts 20:17, 28), or

the Gnostic heresies, except by way of prophetic warning (20:30). This

silence in a historical work like this seems inexplicable on the

assumption that the book was written after a.d. 70, or even after 64.

But if we place the composition before, the martyrdom of Paul, then the

last verse is after all an appropriate conclusion of a missionary

history of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome. For the bold and free

testimony of the Apostle of the Gentiles in the very heart of the

civilized world was the sign and pledge of victory.

The Acts and the Gospels.

The Acts is the connecting link between the Gospels and Epistles. It

presupposes and confirms the leading events in the life of Christ, on

which the church is built. The fact of the resurrection, whereof the

apostles were witnesses, sends a thrill of joy and an air of victory

through the whole book. God raised Jesus from the dead and mightily

proclaimed him to be the Messiah, the prince of life and a Saviour in

Israel; this is the burden of the sermons of Peter, who shortly before

had denied his Master. He boldly bears witness to it before the people,

in his pentecostal sermon, before the Sanhedrin, and before Cornelius.

Paul likewise, in his addresses at Antioch in Pisidia, at Thessalonica,

on the Areopagus before the Athenian philosophers, and at Caesarea

before Festus and Agrippa, emphasizes the resurrection without which

his own conversion never could have taken place.

The Acts and the Epistles.

The Acts gives us the external history of the apostolic church; the

Epistles present the internal life of the same. Both mutually

supplement and confirm each other by a series of coincidences in all

essential points. These coincidences are all the more conclusive as

they are undesigned and accompanied by slight discrepancies in minor

details. Archdeacon Paley made them the subject of a discussion in his

Horae Paulinae, [1099] which will retain its place among classical

monographs alongside of James Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.

Arguments such as are furnished in these two books are sufficient to

silence most of the critical objections against the credibility of Acts

for readers of sound common sense and unbiased judgment. There is not

the slightest trace that Luke had read any of the thirteen Epistles of

Paul, nor that Paul had read a line of Acts. The writings were

contemporaneous and independent, yet animated by the same spirit. Luke

omits, it is true, Paul's journey to Arabia, his collision with Peter

at Antioch, and many of his trials and persecutions; but he did not aim

at a full biography. The following are a few examples of these

conspicuously undesigned coincidences in the chronological order:

Paul's Conversion.

Comp. Acts chs. 9; 22and 26; three accounts which differ only in minor

details.

Gal. 1:15-17; 1 Cor. 15:8; 1 Tim. 1:13-16.

Paul's Persecution and Escape at Damascus.

Acts 9:23-25. The Jews took counsel together to kill him ... but his

disciples took him by night, and let him down through the wall lowering

him in a basket.

2 Cor. 11:32, 33. In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king

guarded the city of the Damascenes, in order to take me; and through a

window I was let down in a basket by the wall, and escaped his hands

Paul's Visits to Jerusalem.

9:26, 27. And when he was come to Jerusalem ... Barnabas took him, and

brought him to the apostles.

Gal. 1:18. Then after three years [counting from his conversion] I went

up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days.

15:2. They appointed that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them,

should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders [to the

apostolic conference to settle the question about circumcision].

Gal. 2:1. Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to

Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up by

revelation. [This inner motive does, of course, not exclude the church

appointment mentioned by Luke.]

Paul Left at Athens Alone.

17:16. Now while Paul waited for them [Silas and Timothy] at Athens.

1 Thess. 3:1 We thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone, and

sent Timothy, etc. Comp 3:7.

Paul Working at his Trade.

18:3. And because he [Aquila] was of the same trade, he abode with

them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tent makers. Comp.

20:34.

1 Thess. 2:9. Ye remember, brethren, our labor and travail: working

night and day, that we might not burden any of you. Comp. 1 Cor. 4:11,

12.

Paul's Two Visits to Corinth.

18:1; 20:2.

1 Cor. 2:1; 4:19; 16:5.

Work of Apollos at Corinth.

18:27, 28.

1 Cor. 1:12; 3:6.

Paul Becoming a Jew to the Jews.

16:3; 18:18 21:23-26.

1 Cor. 9:20.

Baptism of Crispus and Gaius.

18:8.

1 Cor. 1:14-17.

Collection for the Poor Brethren.

28:23.

1 Cor. 16:1.

Paul's Last Journey to Jerusalem.

20 ;6; 24:17

Rom. 15:25, 26

His Desire to Visit Rome.

19:21

Rom. 1:13;15:23

Paul an Ambassador in Bonds.

28:16-20

Eph. 6:19, 20

The Acts and Secular History.

The Acts brings Christianity in contact with the surrounding world and

makes many allusions to various places, secular persons and events,

though only incidentally and as far as its object required it. These

allusions are--with a single exception, that of Theudas--in full

harmony with the history of the age as known from Josephus and heathen

writers, and establish Luke's claim to be considered a well-informed,

honest, and credible historian. Bishop Lightfoot asserts that no

ancient work affords so many tests of veracity, because no other has

such numerous points of contact in all directions with contemporary

history, politics, and typography, whether Jewish or Greek or Roman.

The description of persons introduced in the Acts such as Gamaliel,

Herod, Agrippa I., Bernice, Felix, Festus, Gallio, agrees as far as it

goes entirely with what we know from contemporary sources. The

allusions to countries, cities, islands, in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece,

and Italy are without exception correct and reveal an experienced

traveller. We mention the chief points, some of which are crucial

tests.

1. The rebellion of Theudas, Acts 5:36, alluded to in the speech of

Gamaliel, which was delivered about a.d. 33. Here is, apparently, a

conflict with Josephus, who places this event in the reign of Claudius,

and under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus, a.d. 44, ten or twelve

years after Gamaliel's speech. [1100] But he mentions no less than

three insurrections which took place shortly after the death of Herod

the Great, one under the lead of Judas (who may have been Theudas or

Thaddaeus, the two names being interchangeable, comp. Matt. 10:3; Luke

6:16), and he adds that besides these there were many highway robbers

and murderers who pretended to the name of king. [1101] At all events,

we should hesitate to charge Luke with an anachronism. He was as well

informed as Josephus, and more credible. This is the only case of a

conflict between the two, except the case of the census in Luke 2:2,

and here the discovery of a double governorship of Quirinius has

brought the chronological difficulty within the reach of solution.

[1102]

2. The rebellion of Judas of Galilee, mentioned in the same speech,

Acts 5:37, as having occurred in the days of the enrolment (the census

of Quirinius), is confirmed by Josephus. [1103] The insurrection of

this Judas was the most vigorous attempt to throw off the Roman yoke

before the great war.

3. Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, 8:27. Strabo mentions a queen of

Mero� in Ethiopia, under that name, which was probably, like Pharaoh, a

dynastic title. [1104]

4. The famine under Claudius, 11:28. This reign (a.d. 41-54) was

disturbed by frequent famines, one of which, according to Josephus,

severely affected Judaea and Syria, and caused great distress in

Jerusalem under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus, a.d. 45. [1105]

5. The death of King Herod Agrippa I. (grandson of Herod the Great),

12:20-23. Josephus says nothing about the preceding persecution of the

church, but reports in substantial agreement with Luke that the king

died of a loathsome disease in the seventh year of his reign (a.d. 44),

five days after he had received, at the theatre of Caesarea, divine

honors, being hailed, in heathen fashion, as a god by his courtiers.

[1106]

6. The proconsular (as distinct from the propraetorian) status of

Cyprus, under Sergius Paulus, 13:7 (sun to anthupato Sergio Paulo).

Here Luke was for a long time considered inaccurate, even by Grotius,

but has been strikingly confirmed by modern research. When Augustus

assumed the supreme power (b.c. 27), he divided the government of the

provinces with the Senate, and called the ruler of the imperatorial

provinces, which needed direct military control under the emperor as

commander of the legions, propraetor (antistrategos) or legate

(presbutes), the ruler of a senatorial province, proconsul

(anthupatos). Formerly these terms had signified that the holder of the

office had previously been praetor (strategosor hegemon) or consul

(hupatos); now they signified the administrative heads of the

provinces. But this subdivision underwent frequent changes, so that

only a well-informed person could tell the distinction at any time.

Cyprus was in the original distribution (b.c. 27) assigned to the

emperor, [1107] but since b.c. 22, and at the time of Paul's visit

under Claudius, it was a senatorial province; [1108] and hence Sergius

Paulus is rightly called proconsul. Coins have been found from the

reign of Claudius which confirm this statement. [1109] Yea, the very

name of (Sergius) Paulus has been discovered by General di Cesnola at

Soli (which, next to Salamis, was the most important city of the

island), in a mutilated inscription, which reads: "in the proconsulship

of Paulus." [1110] Under Hadrian the island was governed by a

propraetor; under Severus, again by a proconsul.

7. The proconsular status of Achaia under Gallio, 18:12 (Gallionos

anthupatou ontos tes Achaias). Achaia, which included the whole of

Greece lying south of Macedonia, was originally a senatorial province,

then an imperatorial province under Tiberius, and again a senatorial

province under Claudius. [1111] In the year 53-54, when Paul was at

Corinth, M. Annaeus Novatus Gallio, the brother of the philosopher L.

Annaeus Seneca, was proconsul of Achaia, and popularly esteemed for his

mild temper as "dulcis Gallio."

8. Paul and Barnabas mistaken for Zeus and Hermes in Lycaonia, 14:11.

According to the myth described by Ovid, [1112] the gods Jupiter and

Mercury (Zeus and Hermes) had appeared to the Lycaonians in the

likeness of men, and been received by Baucis and Philemon, to whom they

left tokens of that favor. The place where they had dwelt was visited

by devout pilgrims and adorned with votive offerings. How natural,

therefore, was it for these idolaters, astonished by the miracle, to

mistake the eloquent Paul for Hermes, and Barnabas who may have been of

a more imposing figure, for Zeus.

9. The colonial dignity of the city of Philippi, in Macedonia, 16:12

("a Roman colony," kolonia; comp. 16:21, "being Romans"). Augustus had

sent a colony to the famous battlefield where Brutus and the Republic

expired, and conferred on the place new importance and the privileges

of Italian or Roman citizenship (jus Italicum). [1113]

10. "Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira," 16:14.

Thyatira (now Akhissar), in the valley of Lycus in Asia Minor, was

famous for its dying works, especially for purple or crimson. [1114]

11. The "politarchs" of Thessalonica, 17:6, 8. [1115] This was a very

rare title for magistrates, and might easily be confounded with the

more usual designation "poliarchs." But Luke's accuracy has been

confirmed by an inscription still legible on an archway in

Thessalonica, giving the names of seven "politarchs" who governed

before the visit of Paul. [1116]

12. The description of Athens, the Areopagus, the schools of

philosophy, the idle curiosity and inquisitiveness of the Athenians

(mentioned also by Demosthenes), the altar of an unknown God, and the

quotation from Aratus or Cleanthes, in Acts 17, are fully borne out by

classical authorities. [1117]

13. The account of Ephesus in the nineteenth chapter has been verified

as minutely accurate by the remarkable discoveries of John T. Wood,

made between 1863 and 1874, with the aid of the English Government. The

excessive worship of Diana, "the great goddess of Artemis," the

temple-warden, the theatre (capable of holding twenty-five thousand

people) often used for public assemblies, the distinct officers of the

city, the Roman proconsul (anthupatos), the recorder or "town-clerk"

(grammateus), and the Asiarchs (Asiarchai) or presidents of the games

and the religious ceremonials, have all reappeared in ruins and on

inscriptions, which may now be studied in the British Museum. "With

these facts in view," says Lightfoot, "we are justified in saying that

ancient literature has preserved no picture of the Ephesus of imperial

times--the Ephesus which has been unearthed by the sagacity and

perseverance of Mr. Wood--comparable for its life-like truthfulness to

the narrative of St. Paul's sojourn there in the Acts." [1118]

14. The voyage and shipwreck of Paul in Acts 27. This chapter contains

more information about ancient navigation than any work of Greek or

Roman literature, and betrays the minute accuracy of an intelligent

eye-witness, who, though not a professional seaman, was very familiar

with nautical terms from close observation. He uses no less than

sixteen technical terms, some of them rare, to describe the motion and

management of a ship, and all of them most appropriately; and he is

strictly correct in the description of the localities at Crete,

Salmone, Fair Havens, Cauda, Lasea and Phoenix (two small places

recently identified), and Melita (Malta), as well as the motions and

effects of the tempestuous northeast wind called Euraquilo (A. V.

Euroclydon) in the Mediterranean. All this has been thoroughly tested

by an expert seaman and scholar, James Smith, of Scotland, who has

published the results of his examination in the classical monograph

already mentioned. [1119] Monumental and scientific evidence outweighs

critical conjectures, and is an irresistible vindication of the

historical accuracy and credibility of Luke.

The Acts an Irenicum.

But some critics have charged the Acts with an intentional

falsification of history in the interest of peace between the Petrine

and Pauline sections of the church. The work is said to be a Catholic

Irenicum, based probably on a narrative of Luke, but not completed

before the close of the first century, for the purpose of harmonizing

the Jewish and Gentile sections of the church by conforming the two

leading apostles, i.e., by raising Peter to the Pauline and lowering

Paul to the Petrine Plane, and thus making both subservient to a

compromise between Judaizing bigotry and Gentile freedom. [1120]

The chief arguments on which this hypothesis is based are the

suppression of the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch, and the

friendly relation into which Paul is brought to James, especially at

the last interview. Acts 15 is supposed to be in irreconcilable

conflict with Galatian. But a reaction has taken place in the T�bingen

school, and it is admitted now by some of the ablest critics that the

antagonism between Paulinism and Petrinism has been greatly exaggerated

by Baur, and that Acts is a far more trustworthy account than he was

willing to admit. The Epistle to the Galatians itself is the best

vindication of the Acts, for it expressly speaks of a cordial agreement

between Paul and the Jewish pillar-apostles. As to the omission of the

collision between Peter and Paul at Antioch, it was merely a passing

incident, perhaps unknown to Luke, or omitted because it had no bearing

on the course of events recorded by him. On the other hand, he mentions

the "sharp contention" between Paul and Barnabas, because it resulted

in a division of the missionary work, Paul and Silas going to Syria and

Cilicia, Barnabas and Mark sailing away to Cyprus (15:39-41). Of this

Paul says nothing, because it had no bearing on his argument with the

Galatians. Paul's conciliatory course toward James and the Jews, as

represented in the Acts, is confirmed by his own Epistles, in which he

says that he became a Jew to the Jews, as well as a Gentile to the

Gentiles, in order to gain them both, and expresses his readiness to

make the greatest possible sacrifice for the salvation of his brethren

after the flesh (1 Cor. 9:20; Rom. 9:3).

The Truthfulness of the Acts.

The book of Acts is, indeed, like every impartial history, an Irenicum,

but a truthful Irenicum, conceived in the very spirit of the Conference

at Jerusalem and the concordat concluded by the leading apostles,

according to Paul's own testimony in the polemical Epistle to the

Galatians. The principle of selection required, of course, the omission

of a large number of facts and incidents. But the selection was made

with fairness and justice to all sides. The impartiality and

truthfulness of Luke is very manifest in his honest record of the

imperfections of the apostolic church. He does not conceal the

hypocrisy and mean selfishness of Ananias and Sapphira, which

threatened to poison Christianity in its cradle (Acts 5:1 sqq.); he

informs us that the institution of the diaconate arose from a complaint

of the Grecian Jews against their Hebrew brethren for neglecting their

widows in the daily ministration (61 sqq.) he represents Paul and

Barnabas as "men of like passions" with other men (14:15), and gives us

some specimens of weak human nature in Mark when he became discouraged

by the hardship of missionary life and returned to his mother in

Jerusalem (13:13), and in Paul and Barnabas when they fell out for a

season on account of this very Mark, who was a cousin of Barnabas

(15:39); nor does he pass in silence the outburst of Paul's violent

temper when in righteous indignation he called the high-priest a

"whited wall" (23:3); and he speaks of serious controversies and

compromises even among the apostles under the guidance of the Holy

Spirit--all for our humiliation and warning as well as comfort and

encouragement.

Examine and compare the secular historians from Herodotus to Macaulay,

and the church historians from Eusebius to Neander, and Luke need not

fear a comparison. No history of thirty years has ever been written so

truthful and impartial, so important and interesting, so healthy in

tone and hopeful in spirit, so aggressive and yet so genial, so

cheering and inspiring, so replete with lessons of wisdom and

encouragement for work in spreading the gospel of truth and peace, and

yet withal so simple and modest, as the Acts of the Apostles. It is the

best as well as the first manual of church history.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1096] See the conclusive proof in Zeller, pp. 414-452 (Engl. transl.

by Dare, vol. II. 213-254). Holtzmann (Syn. Evang., p. 875): "Als

ausgemacht darf man heutzutage wohl annehmen, dass der Verfasser der

Apostelgeschichte und des dritten Evangeliums ein und dieselbePerson

sind."Renan speaks in the same confident tone (Les Ap�tres, pp. x. and

xi. .): "Une chose hors de doute, c'est que les Actes ont eut le m�me

auteur que le troisi�me �vangile et sont une continuation de cet

�vangile ... La parfaite ressemblance du style et des id�es fournissent

� cet �gard d'abondantes d�monstrations .... Les deux livres r�unis

font un ensemble absolument du mime style, pr�sentant les m�mes

locutions favorites et la m�me fa�on de citer l'�criture."Scholten

dissents from this view and vainly tries to show that while both books

originated in the school of Paul, the third evangelist elevates

Paulinism above Jewish Christianity, and the author of Acts recommends

Paul to the Jewish-Christian party. The Gospel is polemical, the Acts

apologetic. Das Paulinische Evangelium, etc., transl. from the Dutch by

Redepenning, Elberf., 1881, p. 315.

[1097] The history of the Reformation furnishes a parallel; namely, the

further progress of Christianity from Rome (the Christian Jerusalem) to

Wittenberg, Geneva, Oxford and Edinburgh, through the labors of Luther,

Calvin, Cranmer and Knox.

[1098] Ewald, in his Commentary on Acts (1872), pp. 35 sqq., infers

from the use of the little word we and its connection with the other

portions that the whole work is from one and the same author, who is

none other than Luke of Antioch, the "beloved" friend and colaborer of

Paul. Renan says (La ap�tres, p. xiv.): "Je persiste � croire que le

dernier r�dacteur des Acts est bien le disciple de Paul qui dit

'nous'aux derniers chapitres,"but he puts the composition down to a.d.

71 or 72 (p. xx.), and in his Les �vangiles, ch. xix., pp. 435 sqq.,

still later, to the age of Domitian.

[1099] First published in 1790, and often since. See also the list of

parallel passages in Dr. Plumptre's Com. on Acts, pp. x. and xi.

[1100] Ant. XX. 5, � 1.

[1101] Ant. XVII. 10.

[1102] See above, p. 122.

[1103] Ant. XVIII. 1; XX. 5, � 2; War, II. 8, � 1. In the first passage

Josephus calls Judas a Gaulonite (i.e., from the country east of

Galilee), but in the other passage he is described as a Galilaean. He

may have been a native of Gaulonitis and a resident of Galilee.

[1104] Strabo, XVII., p. 820; comp. Pliny IV. 35; Dion Cass., LIV. 5.

[1105] Josephus, Ant. XX. 5; comp, Tacitus, Ann. XII. 43; Sueton.,

Claud. 28.

[1106] Ant. XVIII. 8.

[1107] Strabo, XIV., at the close.

[1108] Dio Cassius, LIII. 12.

[1109] Akerman, Numismatic Illustrations, pp. 39-42.

[1110] TON EPI - PAULOU - [ANTh]UPATOU. See Louis Palma di Cesnola's

Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples, New York, 1878, p. 424

sq. He says: "The Proconsul Paulus may be the Sergius Paulus of the

Acts of the Apostles 13, as instances of the suppression of one or two

names are not rare." Bishop Lightfoot ("Cont. Review" for 1876, p. 290

sq.) satisfactorily accounts for the omission of Sergius, and

identifies also the name Sergius Paulus from the elder Pliny, who

mentions him twice as a Latin author in the first book of his Natural

History and as his chief authority for the facts in the second and

eighteenth books, two of these facts being especially connected with

Cyprus. The Consul L. Sergius Paulus, whom Galen the physician met at

Rome a.d. 151, and whom he mentions repeatedly, first under his full

name and then simply as Paulus, may have been a descendant of the

convert of the apostle.

[1111] Tacitus, Ann. I. 76; Sueton., Claudius, c. 25.

[1112] Metam., VIII. 625-724.

[1113] Dion Cass., LI. 4; Pliny, Nat. Hist. IV.11.

[1114] Strabo, XIII. 4, � 14. Inscriptions found in the place attest

the existence of a guild of purple-dealers, with which Lydia was

probably connected.

[1115] tous politarchas , i.e.,tous archontas ton politon, praefectos

civitatis, the rulers of the city. Grimm says: "Usitatius Graecis erat,

poliarchos "

[1116] The Thessalonian inscription in Greek letters is given by

Boeckh. Leake, and Howson (in Conybeare and Howson's Life and Letters

of St. Paul, ch. IX., large Lond. ed., I. 860). Three of the names are

identical, with those of Paul's friends in that region-Sopater of

Beraea (Acts 20:4), Gaius of Macedonia (19:29), and Secundus of

Thessalonica (20:4). I will only give the first line: POLEITARChOUNTON

SOSIPATROU TOU KLEO.

[1117] See the commentaries on Acts 17:16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 28. The

singular theo in 17:23 creates some difficulty; for Pausanias (I. 1-4)

mentions "altars to unknown gods" which were set up in the harbor and

streets of Athens; and Diogenes La�rtius (Epimen., c. 3) speaks of

"altars without name" in many parts of Athens. It is supposed that Paul

meant one of these altars, or that he ingeniously adapted the

polytheistic inscription to his argument. In the dialogue Philopatris

which is erroneously ascribed to Lucian, one of the speakers swears "by

the unknown god of Athens."

[1118] See Wood:Discoveries at Ephesus, and Lightfoot's article above

quoted, p. 295. Lightfoot aided Mr. Wood in explaining the

inscriptions.

[1119] Comp. � 82 of this vol., and myCompanion to the Greek Test., p.

61.

[1120] This view was first broached by Baur (1836, 1838, and 1845),

then carried out by Schneckenburger (1841), more fully by Zeller

(1854), and by Hilgenfeld (1872, and in his Einleitung, 1875). Renan

also presents substantially the same view, though somewhat modified.

"Les Actes"(Les Ap�tres, p. xxix.) "sont une histoire dogmatique,

arrang�e pour appuyer les doctrines orthodoxes du temps ou inculquer

les id�es qui souria�ent le plus � la piet� de l'auteur."He thinks, it

could not be otherwise, as we know the history of religions only from

the reports of believers; "i il n'y a que le sceptique qui �crive

l'histoire ad narrandum."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 86. The Epistles.

The sermons of Stephen and the apostles in Acts (excepting the farewell

of Paul to the Ephesian Elders) are missionary addresses to outsiders,

with a view to convert them to the Christian faith. The Epistles are

addressed to baptized converts, and aim to strengthen them in their

faith, and, by brotherly instruction, exhortation, rebuke, and

consolation, to build up the church in all Christian graces on the

historical foundation of the teaching and example of Christ. The

prophets of the Old Testament delivered divine oracles to the people;

the apostles of the New Testament wrote letters to the brethren, who

shared with them the same faith and hope as members of Christ.

The readers are supposed to be already "in Christ," saved and

sanctified "in Christ," and holding all their social and domestic

relations and discharging their duties "in Christ." They are "grown

together" [1121] with Christ, sharing in his death, burial, and

resurrection, and destined to reign and rule with him in glory forever.

On the basis of this new relation, constituted by a creative act of

divine grace, and sealed by baptism, they are warned against every sin

and exhorted to every virtue. Every departure from their profession and

calling implies double guilt and double danger of final ruin.

Occasions and calls for correspondence were abundant, and increased

with the spread of Christianity over the Roman empire. The apostles

could not be omnipresent and had to send messengers and letters to

distant churches. They probably wrote many more letters than we

possess, although we have good reason to suppose that the most

important and permanently valuable are preserved. A former letter of

Paul to the Corinthians is implied in 1 Cor. 5:9: "I wrote to you in my

epistle;" [1122] and traces of further correspondence are found in 1

Cor. 16:3; 2 Cor. 10:9; Eph. 3:3. The letter "from Laodicea," referred

to in Col. 4:16, is probably the encyclical Epistle to the Ephesians.

The Epistles of the New Testament are without a parallel in ancient

literature, and yield in importance only to the Gospels, which stand

higher, as Christ himself rises above the apostles. They are pastoral

letters to congregations or individuals, beginning with an inscription

and salutation, consisting of doctrinal expositions and practical

exhortations and consolations, and concluding with personal

intelligence, greetings, and benediction. They presuppose throughout

the Gospel history, and often allude to the death and resurrection of

Christ as the foundation of the church and the Christian hope. They

were composed amidst incessant missionary labors and cares, under trial

and persecution, some of them from prison, and yet they abound in joy

and thanksgiving. They were mostly called forth by special emergencies,

yet they suit all occasions. Tracts for the times, they are tracts for

all times. Children of the fleeting moment, they contain truths of

infinite moment. They compress more ideas in fewer words than any other

writings, human or divine, excepting the Gospels. They discuss the

highest themes which can challenge an immortal mind--God, Christ, and

the Spirit, sin and redemption, incarnation, atonement, regeneration,

repentance, faith and good works, holy living and dying, the conversion

of the world, the general judgment, eternal glory and bliss. And all

this before humble little societies of poor, uncultured artisans,

freedmen and slaves! And yet they are of more real and general value to

the church than all the systems of theology from Origen to

Schleiermacher--yea, than all the confessions of faith. For eighteen

hundred years they have nourished the faith of Christendom, and will

continue to do so to the end of time. This is the best evidence of

their divine inspiration.

The Epistles are divided into two groups, Catholic and Pauline. The

first is more general; the second bears the strong imprint of the

intense personality of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1121] sumphutoi, Rom. 6:5; not "planted together" (as in the A. V. and

the Vulgate); the word being derived from phuo to cause to grow, not

from phuteuo, to plant.

[1122] The so-called Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul and his answer,

preserved in Armenian, are spurious and worthless.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 87. The Catholic Epistles.

I. Storr: De Catholicarum Epp. Occasione et Consilio. T�b. 1789.

Staeudlin: De Fontibus Epp. Cath. Gott. 1790. J. D. Schulze: Der

schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Jacobus und Judas.

Leipz. 1802. Der schriftsteller. Ch. des Johannes. 1803.

II. Commentaries on all the Catholic Epistles by Goeppfert (1780),

Schlegel (1783), Carpzov (1790), Augusti (1801), Grashof (1830),

Jachmann (1838), Sumner (1840), De Wette (3d ed. by Br�ckner 1865),

Meyer (the Cath. Epp. by Huther, D�sterdieck, Beyerschlag), Lange (Eng.

transl. with additions by Mombert, 1872), John T. Demarest (N. York,

1879); also the relevant parts in the "Speaker's Com.," in Ellicott's

Com., the Cambridge Bible for Schools (ed. by Dean Perowne), and in the

International Revision Com. (ed. by Schaff), etc. P. I. Gloag:

Introduction, to the Catholic Epp., Edinb., 1887.

The seven Epistles of James, 1st and 2d Peter, 1st, 2d, and 3d John,

and Jude usually follow in the old manuscripts the Acts of the

Apostles, and precede the Pauline Epistles, perhaps as being the works

of the older apostles, and representing, in part at least, the Jewish

type of Christianity. They are of a more general character, and

addressed not to individuals or single congregations, as those of Paul,

but to a larger number of Christians scattered through a district or

over the world. Hence they are called, from the time of Origen and

Eusebius, Catholic. This does not mean in this connection

anti-heretical (still less, of course, Greek Catholic or Roman

Catholic), but encyclical or circular. The designation, however, is not

strictly correct, and applies only to five of them. The second and

third Epistles of John are addressed to individuals. On the other hand

the Epistle to the Hebrews is encyclical, and ought to be numbered with

the Catholic Epistles, but is usually appended to those of Paul. The

Epistle to the Ephesians is likewise intended for more than one

congregation. The first Christian document of an encyclical character

is the pastoral letter of the apostolic Conference at Jerusalem (a.d.

50) to the Gentile brethren in Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:23-29).

[1123]

The Catholic Epistles are distinct from the Pauline by their more

general contents and the absence of personal and local references. They

represent different, though essentially harmonious, types of doctrine

and Christian life. The individuality of James, Peter, and John stand

out very prominently in these brief remains of their correspondence.

They do not enter into theological discussions like those of Paul, the

learned Rabbi, and give simpler statements of truth, but protest

against the rising ascetic and Antinomian errors, as Paul does in the

Colossians and Pastoral Epistles. Each has a distinct character and

purpose, and none could well be spared from the New Testament without

marring the beauty and completeness of the whole.

The time of composition cannot be fixed with certainty, but is probably

as follows: James before a.d. 50; 1st Peter (probably also 2d Peter and

Jude) before a.d. 67; John between a.d. 80 and 100.

Only two of these Epistles, the 1st of Peter and the 1st of John,

belong to the Eusebian Homologumena, which were universally accepted by

the ancient church as inspired and canonical. About the other five

there was more or less doubt as to their origin down to the close of

the fourth century, when all controversy on the extent of the canon

went to sleep till the time of the Reformation. Yet they bear the

general imprint of the apostolic age, and the absence of stronger

traditional evidence is due in part to their small size and limited

use.

James.

Comp. on the lit., biography, and doctrine of James, �� 27 and 69.

The Epistle of James the Brother of the Lord was written, no doubt,

from Jerusalem, the metropolis of the ancient theocracy and Jewish

Christianity, where the author labored and died a martyr at the head of

the mother church of Christendom and as the last connecting link

between the old and the new dispensation. It is addressed to the Jews

and Jewish Christians of the dispersion before the final doom in the

year 70.

It strongly resembles the Gospel of Matthew, and echoes the Sermon on

the Mount in the fresh, vigorous, pithy, proverbial, and sententious

style of oriental wisdom. It exhorts the readers to good works of

faith, warns them against dead orthodoxy, covetousness, pride, and

worldliness, and comforts them in view of present and future trials and

persecutions. It is eminently practical and free from subtle

theological questions. It preaches a religion of good works which

commends itself to the approval of God and all good men. It represents

the primary stage of Christian doctrine. It takes no notice of the

circumcision controversy, the Jerusalem compromise, and the later

conflicts of the apostolic age. Its doctrine of justification is no

protest against that of Paul, but prior to it, and presents the subject

from a less developed, yet eminently practical aspect, and against the

error of a barren monotheism rather than Pharisaical legalism, which

Paul had in view. It is probably the oldest of the New Testament books,

meagre in doctrine, but rich in comfort and lessons of holy living

based on faith in Jesus Christ, "the Lord of glory." It contains more

reminiscences of the words of Christ than any other epistle. [1124] Its

leading idea is "the perfect law of freedom," or the law of love

revealed in Christ.

Luther's harsh, unjust, and unwise judgment of this Epistle has been

condemned by his own church, and reveals a defect in his conception of

the doctrine of justification which was the natural result of his

radical war with the Romish error.

Peter.

See on the lit., biography, and theology of Peter, �� 25, 26, and 70.

The First Epistle of Peter, dated from Babylon, [1125] belongs to the

later life of the apostle, when his ardent natural temper was deeply

humbled, softened, and sanctified by the work of grace. It was written

to churches in several provinces of Asia Minor, composed of Jewish and

Gentile Christians together, and planted mainly by Paul and his

fellow-laborers; and was sent by the hands of Silvanus, a former

companion of Paul. It consists of precious consolations, and

exhortations to a holy walk after the example of Christ, to joyful hope

of the heavenly inheritance, to patience under the persecutions already

raging or impending. It gives us the fruit of a rich spiritual

experience, and is altogether worthy of Peter and his mission to tend

the flock of God under Christ, the chief shepherd of souls. [1126]

It attests also the essential agreement of Peter with the doctrine of

the Gentile apostle, in which the readers had been before instructed (1

Pet. 5:12). This accords with the principle of Peter professed at the

Council in Jerusalem (Acts 15:11) that we are saved without the yoke of

the law, "through the grace of the Lord Jesus." His doctrinal system,

however, precedes that of Paul and is independent of it, standing

between James and Paul. Peculiar to him is the doctrine of the descent

of Christ into Hades (1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6; comp. Acts 2:32), which

contains the important truth of the universal intent of the atonement.

Christ died for all men, for those who lived before as well as after

his coming, and he revealed himself to the spirits in the realm of

Hades. Peter also warns against hierarchical ambition in prophetic

anticipation of the abuse of his name and his primacy among the

apostles.

The Second Epistle of Peter is addressed, shortly before the author's

death, as a sort of last will and testament, to the same churches as

the first. It contains a renewed assurance of his agreement with his

"beloved brother Paul," to whose Epistles he respectfully refers, yet

with the significant remark (true in itself, yet often abused by

Romanists) that there are in them "some things hard to be understood"

(2 Pet. 3:15, 16). As Peter himself receives in one of these Epistles

(Gal. 2:11) a sharp rebuke for his inconsistency at Antioch (which may

be included in the hard things), this affectionate allusion proves how

thoroughly the Spirit of Christ had, through experience, trained him to

humility, meekness, and self-denial. The Epistle exhorts the readers to

diligence, virtue, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly love, and

brotherly kindness; refers to the Transfiguration on the Mount, where

the author witnessed the majesty of Christ, and to the prophetic word

inspired by the Holy Spirit; warns against antinomian errors; corrects

a mistake concerning the second coming; exhorts them to prepare for the

day of the Lord by holy living, looking for new heavens and a new earth

wherein dwelleth righteousness; and closes with the words: "Grow in the

grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be

glory both now and forever."

The second Epistle is reckoned by Eusebius among the seven

Antilegomena, and its Petrine authorship is doubted or denied, in whole

or in part, by many eminent divines [1127] but defended by competent

critics. [1128] The chief objections are: the want of early

attestation, the reference to a collection of the Pauline Epistles, the

polemic against Gnostic errors, some peculiarities of style, and

especially the apparent dependence of the second chapter on the Epistle

of Jude.

On the other hand, the Epistle, at least the first and third chapters,

contains nothing which Peter might not have written, and the allusion

to the scene of transfiguration admits only the alternative: either

Peter, or a forger. It seems morally impossible that a forger should

have produced a letter so full of spiritual beauty and unction, and

expressly denouncing all cunning fabrications. It may have been

enlarged by the editor after Peter's death. But the whole breathes an

apostolic spirit, and could not well be spared from the New Testament.

It is a worthy valedictory of the aged apostle awaiting his martyrdom,

and with its still valid warnings against internal dangers from false

Christianity, it forms a suitable complement to the first Epistle,

which comforts the Christians amidst external dangers from heathen and

Jewish persecutors.

Jude.

The Epistle of Jude, a, "brother of James" (the Just), [1129] is very

short, and strongly resembles 2 Peter 2, but differs from it by an

allusion to the remarkable apocryphal book of Enoch and the legend of

the dispute of Michael with the devil about the body of Moses. It seems

to be addressed to the same churches and directed against the same

Gnostic heretics. It is a solemn warning against the antinomian and

licentious tendencies which revealed themselves between a.d. 60 and 70.

Origen remarks that it is "of few lines, but rich in words of heavenly

wisdom." The style is fresh and vigorous.

The Epistle of Jude belongs likewise to the Eusebian Antilegomena, and

has signs of post-apostolic origin, yet may have been written by Jude,

who was not one of the Twelve, though closely connected with apostolic

circles. A forger would hardly have written under the name of a

"brother of James" rather than a brother of Christ or an apostle.

The time and place of composition are unknown. The T�bingen critics put

it down to the reign of Trajan; Renan, on the contrary, as far back as

54, wrongly supposing it to have been intended, together with the

Epistle of James, as a counter-manifesto against Paul's doctrine of

free grace. But Paul condemned antinomianism as severely as James and

Jude (comp. Rom. 6, and in fact all his Epistles). It is safest to say,

with Bleek, that it was written shortly before the destruction of

Jerusalem, which is not alluded to (comp. Jude 14, 15).

The Epistles of John.

Comp. �� 40-43, 83 and 84.

The First Epistle of John betrays throughout, in thought and style, the

author of the fourth Gospel. It is a postscript to it, or a practical

application of the lessons of the life of Christ to the wants of the

church at the close of the first century. It is a circular letter of

the venerable apostle to his beloved children in Asia Minor, exhorting

them to a holy life of faith and love in Christ, and earnestly warning

them against the Gnostic "antichrists," already existing or to come,

who deny the mystery of the incarnation, sunder religion from morality,

and run into Antinomian practices.

The Second and Third Epistles of John are, like the Epistle of Paul to

Philemon, short private letters, one to a Christian woman by the name

of Cyria, the other to one Gains, probably an officer of a congregation

in Asia Minor. They belong to the seven Antilegomena, and have been

ascribed by some to the "Presbyter John," a contemporary of the

apostle, though of disputed existence. But the second Epistle resembles

the first, almost to verbal repetition, [1130] and such repetition well

agrees with the familiar tradition of Jerome concerning the apostle of

love, ever exhorting the congregation, in his advanced age, to love one

another. The difference of opinion in the ancient church respecting

them may have risen partly from their private nature and their brevity,

and partly from the fact that the author styles himself, somewhat

remarkably, the "elder," the "presbyter." This term, however, is

probably to be taken, not in the official sense, but in the original,

signifying age and dignity; for at that time John was in fact a

venerable father in Christ, and must have been revered and loved as a

patriarch among his "little children."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1123] Hence Origen calls it an epistole katholike.

[1124] Reuss (Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. Testaments, 5th ed., I.

138): "Thatsache ist, dass die Ep. Jacobi f�r sich allein mehr

w�rtliche Reminiscenzen aus den Reden Jesu enth�lt als alle �brigen

Apost. Schriften zusammen .... Insofern dieselben offenbar nicht aus

schriftlichen Quellen geflossen sind, m�gen sie mit das h�here Alter

deg Briefs verb�rgen." Beyschlag (in the new ed. of Huther in Meyer,

1881) and Erdmann (1881), the most recent commentators of James, agree

with Schneckenburger, Neander, and Thiersch in assigning the Epistle to

the earliest date of Christian literature, against the T�bingen school,

which makes it a polemical treatise against Paul. Reuss occupies a

middle position. The undeveloped state of Christian doctrine, the use

of sunagoge for a Christian assembly (James 2:2), the want of a clear

distinction between Jews and Jewish Christians, who are addressed as

"the twelve tribes," and the expectation of the approaching parousia

(5:8), concur as signs of the high antiquity.

[1125] Commentators are divided on the meaning of Babylon, 1 Pet. 5:13,

whether it be the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse, i.e., heathen Rome,

as a persecuting power (the fathers, Roman Catholic divines, also

Thiersch, Baur, Renan), or Babylon on the Euphrates, or Babylon in

Egypt (old Cairo). The question is connected with Peter's presence in

Rome, which has been discussed in � 26. On the date of composition

commentators are likewise divided, as they differ in their views on the

relation of Peter's Epistle to Romans, Ephesians, and James, and on the

character of the persecution alluded to in the Epistle. Weiss, who

denies that Peter used the Epistles of Paul, dates it back as far as

54; the T�bingen critics bring it down to the age of Trajan (Volkmar

even to 140!), but most critics assign it to the time between 63 and

67, Renan to 63, shortly before the Neronian persecution. For once I

agree with him. See Huther (in the Meyer series), 4th ed., pp. 30 sqq.;

Weiss, Die Petrinische Frage (1865); Renan, L'Antechrist, p. vi and

110; and, on the part of the T�bingen school, Pfleiderer, Paulinismus,

pp. 417 sqq.; Hilgenfeld, Einleitung, pp. 625 sqq.; Holtzmann,

Einleitung, pp. 514 sqq. (2d ed.).

[1126] "This excellent Epistle," says Archbishop Leighton, whose

Practical Commentary upon the First Epistle General of St. Peter is

still unsurpassed for spirituality and unction, "is a brief and yet

very clear summary both of the consolations and instructions needful

for the encouragement and direction of a Christian in his journey to

heaven, elevating his thoughts and desires to that happiness, and

strengthening him against all opposition in the way, both that of

corruption within and temptations and afflictions from without."

Bengel: "Mirabilis est gravitas et alacritas Petrini sermonis, lectorem

suavissime retinens." Alford: "There is no Epistle in the sacred canon,

the language and spirit of which come more directly home to the

personal trials and wants and weaknesses of the Christian life."

[1127] Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, Neander, De Wette, Huther, and all the

T�bingen critics.

[1128] Weiss, Thiersch, Fronm�ller, Alford, and especially Fr. Spitta

in his Der Zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas (Halle,

1885, 544 pages).

[1129] Clement of Alexandria, Origen (in Greek), and Epiphanius

distinguish him from the Apostles. He is mentioned with James as one of

the brothers of Jesus, Matt. 18:55; Mark 6:3. Comp. on this whole

question the discussion in � 27.

[1130] Comp. 2 John 4 -7 with 1 John 2:7, 8; 4, 2, 3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 88. The Epistles of Paul

Paulos genomeno; megistos; hupogrammos. (Clement of Rome.)

Comp. �� 29-36 and 71.

General Character.

Paul was the greatest worker among the apostles, not only as a

missionary, but also as a writer. He "labored more than all." And we

may well include in this "all" the whole body of theologians who came

after him; for where shall we find an equal wealth of the profoundest

thoughts on the highest themes as in Paul? We have from him thirteen

Epistles; how many more were lost, we cannot even conjecture. The four

most important of them are admitted to be genuine even by the most

exacting and sceptical critics. They are so stamped with the

individuality of Paul, and so replete with tokens of his age and

surroundings, that no sane man can mistake the authorship. We might as

well doubt the genuineness of Luther's work on the Babylonian

captivity, or his Small catechism. The heretic Marcion, in the first

half of the second century, accepted ten, excluding only the three

Pastoral Epistles which did not suit his notions.

The Pauline Epistles are pastoral addresses to congregations of his own

founding (except that of Rome, and probably also that of Colossae,

which were founded by his pupils), or to individuals (Timothy, Titus,

Philemon). Several of them hail from prison, but breathe the same

spirit of faith, hope, and joy as the others, and the last ends with a

shout of victory. They proceeded from profound agitation, and yet are

calm and serene. They were occasioned by the trials, dangers, and

errors incident to every new congregation, and the care and anxiety of

the apostle for their spiritual welfare. He had led them from the

darkness of heathen idolatry and Jewish bigotry to the light of

Christian truth and freedom, and raised them from the slime of

depravity to the pure height of saving grace and holy living. He had no

family ties, and threw the whole strength of his affections into his

converts, whom he loved as tenderly as a mother can love her offspring.

[1131] This love to his spiritual children was inspired by his love to

Christ, as his love to Christ was the response to Christ's love for

him. Nor was his love confined to the brethren: he was ready to make

the greatest sacrifice for his unbelieving and persecuting fellow-Jews,

as Christ himself sacrificed his life for his enemies.

His Epistles touch on every important truth and duty of the Christian

religion, and illuminate them from the heights of knowledge and

experience, without pretending to exhaust them. They furnish the best

material for a system of dogmatics and ethics. Paul looks back to the

remotest beginning before the creation, and looks out into the farthest

future beyond death and the resurrection. He writes with the authority

of a commissioned apostle and inspired teacher, yet, on questions of

expediency, he distinguishes between the command of the Lord and his

private judgment. He seems to have written rapidly and under great

pressure, without correcting his first draft. If we find, with Peter,

in his letters, "some things hard to be understood," even in this

nineteenth century, we must remember that Paul himself bowed in

reverence before the boundless ocean of God's truth, and humbly

professed to know only in part, and to see through a mirror darkly. All

knowledge in this world "ends in mystery." [1132] Our best systems of

theology are but dim reflections of the sunlight of revelation.

Infinite truths transcend our finite minds, and cannot be compressed

into the pigeon-holes of logical formulas. But every good commentary

adds to the understanding and strengthens the estimate of the paramount

value of these Epistles.

The Chronological Order.

Paul's Epistles were written within a period of about twelve years,

between a.d. 52 or 53 and 64 or 67, when he stood at the height of his

power and influence. None was composed before the Council of Jerusalem.

From the date of his conversion to his second missionary journey (a.d.

37 to 52) we have no documents of his pen. The chronology of his

letters can be better ascertained than that of the Gospels or Catholic

Epistles, by combining internal indications with the Acts and

contemporary events, such as the dates of the proconsulship of Gallio

in Achaia, and the procuratorship of Felix and Festus in Judaea. As to

the Romans, we can determine the place, the year, and the season of

composition: he sends greetings from persons in Corinth (Rom. 16:23),

commends Phoebe, a deaconess of Kenchreae, the port of Corinth, and the

bearer of the letter (16:1); he had not yet been in Rome (1:13), but

hoped to get there after another visit to Jerusalem, on which he was

about to enter, with collections from Macedonia and Achaia for the poor

brethren in Judaea (15:22-29; comp. 2 Cor. 8:1-3); and from Acts we

learn that on his last visit to Achaia he abode three months in

Corinth, and returned to Syria between the Passover and Pentecost (Acts

20:3, 6, 16). This was his fifth and last journey to Jerusalem, where

he was taken prisoner and sent to Felix in Caesarea, two years before

he was followed by Festus. All these indications lead us to the spring

of a.d. 58.

The chronological order is this: Thessalonians were written first, a.d.

52 or 53; then Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, between 56 and 58;

then the Epistles of the captivity: Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon,

Philippians, between 61 and 63; last, the Pastoral Epistles, but their

date is uncertain, except that the second Epistle to Timothy is his

farewell letter on the eve of his martyrdom.

It is instructive to study the Epistles in their chronological order

with the aid of the Acts, and so to accompany the apostle in his

missionary career from Damascus to Rome, and to trace the growth of his

doctrinal system from the documentary truths in Thessalonians to the

height of maturity in Romans; then through the ramifications of

particular topics in Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, and the

farewell counsels in the Pastoral Epistles.

Doctrinal Arrangement.

More important than the chronological order is the topical order,

according to the prevailing object and central idea. This gives us the

following groups:

1. Anthropological and Soteriological: Galatians and Romans.

2. Ethical and Ecclesiastical: First and Second Corinthians.

3. Christological: Colossians and Philippians.

4. Ecclesiological: Ephesians (in part also Corinthians).

5. Eschatological: Thessalonians.

6. Pastoral: Timothy and Titus.

7. Social and Personal: Philemon.

The Style.

"The style is the man." This applies with peculiar force to Paul. His

style has been called "the most personal that ever existed." [1133] It

fitly represents the force and fire of his mind and the tender

affections of his heart. He disclaims classical elegance and calls

himself "rude in speech," though by no means "in knowledge." He carried

the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. But the defects are more than

made up by excellences. In his very weakness the Strength of Christ was

perfected. We are not lost in the admiration of the mere form, but are

kept mindful of the paramount importance of the contents and the hidden

depths of truth which he behind the words and defy the power of

expression.

Paul's style is manly, bold, heroic, aggressive, and warlike; yet at

times tender, delicate, gentle, and winning. It is involved, irregular,

and rugged, but always forcible and expressive, and not seldom rises to

more than poetic beauty, as in the triumphant paean at the end of the

eighth chapter of Romans, and in the ode on love (1 Cor. 13). His

intense earnestness and overflowing fulness of ideas break through the

ordinary rules of grammar. His logic is set on fire. He abounds in

skilful arguments, bold antitheses, impetuous assaults, abrupt

transitions, sudden turns, zigzag flashes, startling questions and

exclamations. He is dialectical and argumentative; he likes logical

particles, paradoxical phrases, and plays on words. He reasons from

Scripture, from premises, from conclusions; he drives the opponent to

the wall without mercy and reduces him ad absurdum, but without ever

indulging in personalities. He is familiar with the sharp weapons of

ridicule, irony, and sarcasm, but holds them in check and uses them

rarely. He varies the argument by touching appeals to the heart and

bursts of seraphic eloquence. He is never dry or dull, and never wastes

words; he is brief, terse, and hits the nail on the head. His terseness

makes him at times obscure, as is the case with the somewhat similar

style of Thucydides, Tacitus, and Tertullian. His words are as many

warriors marching on to victory and peace; they are like a mountain

torrent rushing in foaming rapids over precipices, and then calmly

flowing over green meadows, or like a thunderstorm ending in a

refreshing shower and bright sunshine.

Paul created the vocabulary of scientific theology and put a profounder

meaning into religious and moral terms than they ever had before. We

cannot speak of sin, flesh, grace, mercy, peace, redemption, atonement,

justification, glorification, church, faith, love, without bearing

testimony to the ineffaceable effect which that greatest of Jewish

rabbis and Christian teachers has had upon the language of Christendom.

Notes.

Chrysostom justly compares the Epistles of Paul to metals more precious

than gold and to unfailing fountains which flow the more abundantly the

more we drink of them.

Beza: "When I more closely consider the whole genius and character of

Paul's style, I must confess that I have found no such sublimity of

speaking in Plato himself ... no exquisiteness of vehemence in

Demosthenes equal to his."

Ewald begins his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles (G�ttingen, 1857)

with these striking and truthful remarks: "Considering these Epistles

for themselves only, and apart from the general significance of the

great Apostle of the Gentiles, we must still admit that, in the whole

history of all centuries and of all nations, there is no other set of

writings of similar extent, which, as creations of the fugitive moment,

have proceeded from such severe troubles of the age, and such profound

pains and sufferings of the author himself, and yet contain such an

amount of healthfulness, serenity, and vigor of immortal genius, and

touch with such clearness and certainty on the very highest truths of

human aspiration and action .... The smallest as well as the greatest

of these Epistles seem to have proceeded from the fleeting moments of

this earthly life only to enchain all eternity they were born of

anxiety and bitterness of human strife, to set forth in brighter lustre

and with higher certainty their superhuman grace and beauty. The divine

assurance and firmness of the old prophets of Israel, the

all-transcending glory and immediate spiritual presence of the Eternal

King and Lord, who had just ascended to heaven, and all the art and

culture of a ripe and wonderfully excited age, seem to have joined, as

it were, in bringing forth the new creation of these Epistles of the

times which were destined to last for all times."

On the style of Paul, see my Companion, etc., pp. 62 sqq. To the

testimonies there given I add the judgment of Reuss (Geschichte der h.

Schr. N. T., I. 67): "Still more [than the method] is the style of

these Epistles the true expression of the personality of the author.

The defect of classical correctness and rhetorical finish is more than

compensated by the riches of language and the fulness of expression.

The condensation of construction demands not reading simply, but

studying. Broken sentences, ellipses, parentheses, leaps in the

argumentation, allegories, rhetorical figures express inimitably all

the moods of a wide-awake and cultured mind, all the affections of a

rich and deep heart, and betray everywhere a pen at once bold, and yet

too slow for the thought. Antitheses, climaxes, exclamations, questions

keep up the attention, and touching effusions win the heart of the

reader."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1131] As he writes himself to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2:7): "We

were gentle in the midst of you, as when a nurse cherisheth her own

children." And to the ungrateful and unsteady Galatians 4:9 he writes:

"My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be

formed in you."

[1132] "Das ist das Ende der Philosophie: zu wissen, dass wir glauben

m�ssen." -(Geibel.)

[1133] By Renan, who, notwithstanding his fastidious French taste and

antipathy to Paul's theology, cannot help admiring his lofty genius.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 89. The Epistles to the Thessalonians.

Thessalonica, [1134] a large and wealthy commercial city of Macedonia,

the capital of "Macedonia secunda," the seat of a Roman proconsul and

quaestor, and inhabited by many Jews, was visited by Paul on his second

missionary tour, a.d. 52 or 53, and in a few weeks he succeeded, amid

much persecution, in founding a flourishing church composed chiefly of

Gentiles. From this centre Christianity spread throughout the

neighborhood, and during the middle ages Thessalonica was, till its

capture by the Turks (a.d. 1430), a bulwark of the Byzantine empire and

Oriental Christendom, and largely instrumental in the conversion of the

Slavonians and Bulgarians; hence it received the designation of "the

Orthodox City." It numbered many learned archbishops, and still has

more remains of ecclesiastical antiquity than any other city in Greece,

although its cathedral is turned into a mosque.

To this church Paul, as its spiritual father, full of affection for his

inexperienced children, wrote in familiar conversational style two

letters from Corinth, during his first sojourn in that city, to comfort

them in their trials and to correct certain misapprehensions of his

preaching concerning the glorious return of Christ, and the preceding

development of "the man of sin" or Antichrist, and "the mystery of

lawlessness," then already at work, but checked by a restraining power.

The hope of the near advent had degenerated into an enthusiastic

adventism which demoralized the every-day life. He now taught them that

the Lord will not come so soon as they expected, that it was not a

matter of mathematical calculation, and that in no case should the

expectation check industry and zeal, but rather stimulate them. Hence

his exhortations to a sober, orderly, diligent, and prayerful life.

It is remarkable that the first Epistles of Paul should treat of the

last topic in the theological system and anticipate the end at the

beginning. But the hope of Christ's speedy coming was, before the

destruction of Jerusalem, the greatest source of consolation to the

infant church amid trial and persecution, and the church at

Thessalonica was severely tried in its infancy, and Paul driven away.

It is also remarkable that to a young church in Greece rather than to

that in Rome should have first been revealed the beginning of that

mystery of anti-Christian lawlessness which was then still restrained,

but was to break out in its full force in Rome. [1135]

The objections of Baur to the genuineness of these Epistles, especially

the second, are futile in the judgment of the best critics. [1136]

The Theoretical Theme:: The parousia of Christ. The Practical Theme:

Christian hope in the midst of persecution.

Leading Thoughts: This is the will of God, even your sanctification (1

Thess. 4:3). Sorrow not as the rest who have no hope (4:13). The Lord

will descend from heaven, and so shall we ever be with the Lord (4:16,

17). The day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night (5:2). Let

us watch and be sober (5:6). Put on the breastplate of faith and love,

and for a helmet, the hope of salvation (5:8). Rejoice always; pray

without ceasing; in everything give thanks (5:16). Prove all things;

hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil (5:21,

22). The Lord will come to be glorified in his saints (2 Thess. 1:10).

But the falling away must come first, and the man of sin be revealed,

the son of perdition (2:3, 4). The mystery of lawlessness doth already

work, but is restrained for the time (2:7). Stand fast and hold the

traditions which ye were taught, whether by word, or by epistle of ours

(2:15). If any will not work, neither let him eat (3:10). Be not weary

in well-doing (3:13). The God of peace sanctify you wholly; and may

your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the

coming (e-in -ite parousia) our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Thess. 5:23).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1134] Strabo calls it Thessalonikaia. Its present name is Salonichi.

[1135] The difficult passage, 2 Thess. 2:1-12, must be explained in

connection with the prophecies of Daniel (the fourth empire) and the

Apocalypse. See the commentaries of L�nemann, Lange (Riggenbach,

translated by Lillie), Ellicott, Jowett, Marcus Dods, and the Excursus

of Farrar on the Man of Sin (St. Paul, II. 583-587). Many modern

exegetes adopt the patristic interpretation that "the restraining

power" (to katechon) is the Roman empire, "the restrainer" (ho

katechon) the then reigning emperor (Claudius), and "the man of sin"

his successor, Nero. But the last is very doubtful. The whole passage

must have a prophetic sweep far beyond the time of the old Roman

empire. There are "many antichrists" and many restraining forces and

persons in the successive ages, and the end is yet apparently afar off.

"Obviously, whatever the words signify, they must mean something which

has existed from Paul's day to our own, something which, during that

whole period, has had the effect of restraining wickedness." (Dods, in

Schaff's Com. on the N. T, III 535.)

[1136] Grimm, L�nemann, Reuss, Lipsius, and others have refuted the

arguments of Baur. The first Epistle is conceded to be genuine also by

Hilgenfeld, who declares (Einleit., p 246):"In dem ganzen Brief erkennt

man die Sprache des Paulus. Es ist kein Grund vorhanden, denselben dem

Paulus abzusprechen. Nicht so bedeutsam, wie andere Briefe, ist

derselbe eines Paulus keineswegs unw�rdig, vielmehr ein liebensw�rdiges

Denkmal v�terlicher F�rsorge des Apostels f�r eine junge

Christengemeinde." But the second Ep. to the Thess. Hilgenfeld assigns

to the age of Trajan, as a sort of Pauline Apocalypse; thus reversing

the view of Baur, who regarded the First Ep. as an imitation of the

second. Grotius and Ewald put the Second Ep. likewise first (especially

on account of 1 Thess. 1:7, 8, which seems to imply that the

congregation had already become famous throughout Greece), but they

regarded both as genuine.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 90. The Epistles to the Corinthians.

Corinth was the metropolis of Achaia, on the bridge of two seas, an

emporium of trade between the East and the West--wealthy, luxurious,

art-loving, devoted to the worship of Aphrodite. Here Paul established

the most important church in Greece, and labored, first eighteen

months, then three months, with, perhaps, a short visit between (2 Cor.

12:14; 13:1). The church presented all the lights and shades of the

Greek nationality under the influence of the Gospel. It was rich in

"all utterance and all knowledge," "coming behind in no gift," but

troubled by the spirit of sect and party, infected with a morbid desire

for worldly wisdom and brilliant eloquence, with scepticism and moral

levity--nay, to some extent polluted with gross vices, so that even the

Lord's table and love feasts were desecrated by excesses, and that the

apostle, in his absence, found himself compelled to excommunicate a

particularly offensive member who disgraced the Christian profession.

[1137] It was distracted by Judaizers and other troublers, who abused

the names of Cephas, James, Apollos, and even of Christ (as

extra-Christians), for sectarian ends. [1138] A number of questions of

morality and casuistry arose in that lively, speculative, and excitable

community, which the apostle had to answer from a distance before his

second (or third) and last visit.

Hence, these Epistles abound in variety of topics, and show the

extraordinary versatility of the mind of the writer, and his practical

wisdom in dealing with delicate and complicated questions and

unscrupulous opponents. For every aberration he has a word of severe

censure, for every danger a word of warning, for every weakness a word

of cheer and sympathy, for every returning offender a word of pardon

and encouragement. The Epistles lack the unity of design which

characterizes Galatians and Romans. They are ethical, ecclesiastical,

pastoral, and personal, rather than dogmatic and theological, although

some most important doctrines, as that on the resurrection, are treated

more fully than elsewhere.

I. The First Epistle to the Corinthians was composed in Ephesus shortly

before Paul's departure for Greece, in the spring of a.d. 57. [1139] It

had been preceded by another one, now lost (1 Cor. 5:9). It was an

answer to perplexing questions concerning various disputes and evils

which disturbed the peace and spotted the purity of the congregation.

The apostle contrasts the foolish wisdom of the gospel with the wise

folly of human philosophy; rebukes sectarianism; unfolds the spiritual

unity and harmonious variety of the church of Christ, her offices and

gifts of grace, chief among which is love; warns against carnal

impurity as a violation of the temple of God; gives advice concerning

marriage and celibacy without binding the conscience (having "no

commandment of the Lord," 7:25); discusses the question of meat

sacrificed to idols, on which Jewish and Gentile Christians, scrupulous

and liberal brethren, were divided; enjoins the temporal support of the

ministry as a Christian duty of gratitude for greater spiritual mercies

received; guards against improprieties of dress; explains the design

and corrects the abuses of the Lord's Supper; and gives the fullest

exposition of the doctrine of the resurrection on the basis of the

resurrection of Christ and his personal manifestations to the

disciples, and last, to himself at his conversion. Dean Stanley says of

this Epistle that it "gives a clearer insight than any other portion of

the New Testament into the institutions, feelings and opinions of the

church of the earlier period of the apostolic age. It is in every sense

the earliest chapter of the history of the Christian church." The last,

however, is not quite correct. The Corinthian chapter was preceded by

the Jerusalem and Antioch chapters.

Leading Thoughts: Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you (1 Cor.

1:13) ? It was God's pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching

[not through foolish preaching] to save them that believe (1:21). We

preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto

Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and

Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God (1:24). I

determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus, and him

crucified (2:2). The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit

of God (2:14). Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid,

which is Jesus Christ (3:11). Know ye not that ye are a temple of God,

and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man destroy the

temple of God, him shall God destroy (3:16, 17). Let a man so account

of ourselves as of ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries

of God (4:1). The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power (4:20).

Purge out the old leaven (5:7). All things are lawful for me; but not

all things are expedient (6:12). Know ye not that your bodies are

members of Christ (6:15) ? Flee fornication (6:18). Glorify God in your

body (6:20). Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing;

but the keeping of the commandments of God (7:19). Let each man abide

in that calling wherein he was called (7:20). Ye were bought with a

price; become not bondservants of men (7:23). Take heed lest this

liberty of yours become a stumbling block to the weak (8:9). If meat

[or wine] maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh [and drink

no wine] for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble (8:13).

They who proclaim the gospel shall live of the gospel (9:14). Woe is

unto me if I preach not the gospel (9:16). I am become all things to

all men, that I may by all means save some (9:22). Let him that

thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall (10:12). All things are

lawful, but all things are not expedient. Let no man seek his own, but

each his neighbor's good (10:23). Whosoever shall eat the bread or

drink the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner, shall be guilty of the

body and the blood of the Lord ... He that eateth and drinketh eateth

and drinketh judgment unto himself if he discern (discriminate) not the

body (11:27-29). There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit

(12:4). Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of

these is love (13:13). Follow after love (14:1). Let all things be done

unto edifying (14:26). By the grace of God I am what I am (15:9). If

Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your

sins (15:17). As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made

alive (15:22). God shall be all in all (15:28). If there is a natural

body, there is also a spiritual body (15:44). This corruptible must put

on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality (15:54). Be ye

steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord (15:58).

Upon the first day in the week let each one of you lay by him in store,

as he may prosper (16:2). Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you

like men, be strong. Let all that ye do be done in love (16:13, 14.).

II. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written in the summer or

autumn of the same year, 57, from some place in Macedonia, shortly

before the author's intended personal visit to the metropolis of

Achaia. [1140] It evidently proceeded from profound agitation, and

opens to us very freely the personal character and feelings, the

official trials and joys, the noble pride and deep humility, the holy

earnestness and fervent love, of the apostle. It gives us the deepest

insight into his heart, and is almost an autobiography. He had, in the

meantime, heard fuller news, through Titus, of the state of the church,

the effects produced by his first Epistle, and the intrigues of the

emissaries of the Judaizing party, who followed him everywhere and

tried to undermine his work. This unchristian opposition compelled him,

in self-defence, to speak of his ministry and his personal experience

with overpowering eloquence. He also urges again upon the congregation

the duty of charitable collections for the poor. The Epistle is a mine

of pastoral wisdom.

Leading Thoughts: As the sufferings of Christ abound unto us, even so

our comfort also aboundeth through Christ (2 Cor. 1:5). As ye are

partakers of the sufferings, so also are ye of the comfort (1:7). Not

that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy

(1:24). Who is sufficient for these things (2:16)? Ye are our epistle,

written in our hearts, known and read of all men (3:2). Not that we are

sufficient of ourselves, but our sufficiency is from God (3:5). The

letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life (3:6). The Lord is the

Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty (3:17).

We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as

your servants for Jesus' sake (4:5). We have this treasure in earthen

vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and

not from ourselves (4:7). Our light affliction, which is for the

moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of

glory (4:17). We know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be

dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands,

eternal, in the heavens (5:1). We walk by faith, not by sight (5:7). We

must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ (5:10).

The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that one

died for all, therefore all died (5:14). And he died for all, that they

who live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for

their sakes died and rose again (5:15). If any man is in Christ, he is

a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become

new (5:17). God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not

reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the

word of reconciliation (5:19). We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be

ye reconciled to God (5:20). Him who knew no sin he made to be sin in

our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him

(5:21). Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers (6:14). I am filled

with comfort, I overflow with joy in all our affliction (7:4). Godly

sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation, but the sorrow of the world

worketh death (7:10). Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that,

though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through

his poverty might become rich (8:9). He that soweth sparingly shall

reap also sparingly; and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also

bountifully (9:6). God loveth a cheerful giver (9:7). He that glorieth,

let him glory in the Lord (10:17). Not he that commendeth himself is

approved, but whom the Lord commendeth (10:18). My grace is sufficient

for thee; for my power is made perfect in weakness (12:9). We can do

nothing against the truth, but for the truth (13:8). The grace of the

Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy

Spirit, be with you all (13:14).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1137] Such scandals would be almost incredible in a Christian church

if the apostle did not tell us so. As to the case of incest, 1 Cor. 5:1

sqq., we should remember that Corinth was the most licentious city in

all Greece, and that in the splendid temple of her patron-goddess on

the Acropolis there were kept more than a thousand sacred female slaves

(hierodouloi) for the pleasure of strangers. Korinthia kore was the

name for a courtesan. Chastity was therefore one of the most difficult

virtues to practice there; and hence the apostle's advice of a radical

cure by absolute abstinence under the peculiar circumstances of the

time.

[1138] The question of the Corinthian parties (with special reference

to the Christ party) I have discussed at length in my Hist. of the Ap.

Church, pp. 285-291. Baur's essay on this subject (1831) was the

opening chapter in the development of the T�bingen theory.

[1139] Comp. 1 Cor. 16:5, 8; 5:7, 8; Acts 19:10, 21; 20: 31.

[1140] 2 Cor. 7:5; 8:1; 9:2. Some ancient MSS. date the second Epistle

from Philippi.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 91. The Epistles to the Galatians.

Comp. the introduction to my Com. on Gal. (1882).

Galatians and Romans discuss the doctrines of sin and redemption, and

the relation of the law and the gospel. They teach salvation by free

grace and justification by faith, Christian universalism in opposition

to Jewish particularism, evangelical freedom versus legalistic bondage.

But Galatians is a rapid sketch and the child of deep emotion, Romans

an elaborate treatise and the mature product of calm reflexion. The

former Epistle is polemical against foreign intruders and seducers, the

latter is irenical and composed in a serene frame of mind. The one

rushes along like a mountain torrent and foaming cataract, the other

flows like a majestic river through a boundless prairie; and yet it is

the same river, like the Nile at the Rapids and below Cairo, or the

Rhine in the Grisons and the lowlands of Germany and Holland, or the

St. Lawrence at Niagara Falls and below Montreal and Quebec where it

majestically branches out into the ocean.

It is a remarkable fact that the two races represented by the readers

of these Epistles--the Celtic and the Latin--have far departed from the

doctrines taught in them and exchanged the gospel freedom for legal

bondage; thus repeating the apostasy of the sanguine, generous,

impressible, mercurial, fickle-minded Galatians. The Pauline gospel was

for centuries ignored, misunderstood, and (in spite of St. Augustin)

cast out at last by Rome, as Christianity itself was cast out by

Jerusalem of old. But the overruling wisdom of God made the rule of the

papacy a training-school of the Teutonic races of the North and West

for freedom; as it had turned the unbelief of the Jews to the

conversion of the Gentiles. Those Epistles, more than any book of the

New Testament, inspired the Reformation of the Sixteenth century, and

are to this day the Gibraltar of evangelical Protestantism. Luther,

under a secondary inspiration, reproduced Galatians in his war against

the "Babylonian captivity of the church;" the battle for Christian

freedom was won once more, and its fruits are enjoyed by nations of

which neither Paul nor Luther ever heard.

The Epistle to the Galatians (Gauls, originally from the borders of the

Rhine and Moselle, who had migrated to Asia Minor) was written after

Paul's second visit to them, either during his long residence in

Ephesus (a.d. 54-57), or shortly afterwards on his second journey to

Corinth, possibly from Corinth, certainly before the Epistle to the

Romans. It was occasioned by the machinations of the Judaizing teachers

who undermined his apostolic authority and misled his converts into an

apostasy from the gospel of free grace to a false gospel of legal

bondage, requiring circumcision as a condition of justification and

full membership of the church. It is an "Apologia pro vita sua," a

personal and doctrinal self-vindication. He defends his independent

apostleship (Gal.1:1-2:14), and his teaching (2:15-4:31), and closes

with exhortations to hold fast to Christian freedom without abusing it,

and to show the fruits of faith by holy living (Gal. 5-6).

The Epistle reveals, in clear, strong colors, both the difference and

the harmony among the Jewish and Gentile apostles--a difference ignored

by the old orthodoxy, which sees only the harmony, and exaggerated by

modern scepticism, which sees only the difference. It anticipates, in

grand fundamental outlines, a conflict which is renewed from time to

time in the history of different churches, and, on the largest scale,

in the conflict between Petrine Romanism and Pauline Protestantism. The

temporary collision of the two leading apostles in Antioch is typical

of the battle of the Reformation.

At the same time Galatians is an Irenicon and sounds the key-note of a

final adjustment of all doctrinal and ritualistic controversies. "In

Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor

uncircumcision, but faith working through love" (5:6). "And as many as

shall walk by this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the

Israel of God" (6:16).

Central Idea: Evangelical freedom.

Key-Words: For freedom Christ set us free: stand fast therefore, and be

not entangled again in the yoke of bondage (5:1). A man is not

justified by works of the law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ

(2:16). I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that

live but Christ liveth in me (2:20). Christ redeemed us from the curse

of the law, having become a curse for us (3:13). Ye were called for

freedom, only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but

through love be servants one to another (5:13). Walk by the Spirit, and

ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh (5:16).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 92. The Epistle to the Romans.

On the church in Rome, see � 36 (pp. 360 sqq.); on the theology of the

Ep. to the Rom., � 71 (pp. 525 sqq.).

A few weeks before his fifth and last journey to Jerusalem, Paul sent,

as a forerunner of his intended personal visit, a letter to the

Christians in the capital of the world, which was intended by

Providence to become the Jerusalem of Christendom. Foreseeing its

future importance, the apostle chose for his theme: The gospel the

power of God unto salvation to every believer, the Jew first, and also

the Gentile (Rom. 1:16, 17). Writing to the philosophical Greeks, he

contrasts the wisdom of God with the wisdom of man. To the world-ruling

Romans he represents Christianity as the power of God which by

spiritual weapons will conquer even conquering Rome. Such a bold idea

must have struck a Roman statesman as the wild dream of a visionary or

madman, but it was fulfilled in the ultimate conversion of the empire

after three centuries of persecution, and is still in the process of

ever-growing fulfilment.

In the exposition of his theme the apostle shows: (1) that all men are

in need of salvation, being under the power of sin and exposed to the

judgment of the righteous God, the Gentiles not only (1:18-32), but

also the Jews, who are still more guilty, having sinned against the

written law and extraordinary privileges (2:1-3:20); (2) that salvation

is accomplished by Jesus Christ, his atoning death and triumphant

resurrection, freely offered to all on the sole condition of faith, and

applied in the successive acts of justification, sanctification, and

glorification (3:21-8:17); (3) that salvation was offered first to the

Jews, and, being rejected by them in unbelief, passed on to the

Gentiles, but will return again to the Jews after the fulness of the

Gentiles shall have come in (Rom. 9-11); (4) that we should show our

gratitude for so great a salvation by surrendering ourselves to the

service of God, which is true freedom (Rom. 12-16).

The salutations in Rom. 16, the remarkable variations of the

manuscripts in 15:33; 16:20, 24, 27, and the omission of the words "in

Rome," 1:7, 15, in Codex G, are best explained by the conjecture that

copies of the letter were also sent to Ephesus (where Aquila and

Priscilla were at that time, 1 Cor. 16:19, and again, some years

afterwards, 2 Tim. 4:19), and perhaps to other churches with

appropriate conclusions, all of which are preserved in the present

form. [1141]

This letter stands justly at the head of the Pauline Epistles. It is

more comprehensive and systematic than the others, and admirably

adapted to the mistress of the world, which was to become also the

mistress of Western Christendom. It is the most remarkable production

of the most remarkable man. It is his heart. It contains his theology,

theoretical and practical, for which he lived and died. It gives the

clearest and fullest exposition of the doctrines of sin and grace and

the best possible solution of the universal dominion of sin and death

in the universal redemption by the second Adam. Without this redemption

the fall is indeed the darkest enigma and irreconcilable with the idea

of divine justice and goodness. Paul reverently lifts the veil from the

mysteries of eternal foreknowledge and foreordination and God's

gracious designs in the winding course of history which will end at

last in the triumph of his wisdom and mercy and the greatest good to

mankind. Luther calls Romans "the chief book of the New Testament and

the purest Gospel," Coleridge: "the profoundest book in existence."

Meyer: "the greatest and richest of all the apostolic works," Godet

(best of all): "the cathedral of the Christian faith."

Theme: Christianity the power of free and universal salvation, on

condition of faith.

Leading Thoughts: They are all under sin (Rom. 3:9). Through the law

cometh the knowledge of sin (3:20). Man is justified by faith apart

from works of the law (3:28). Being justified by faith we have

(echomenor, let us have, echomen) peace with God through our Lord Jesus

Christ (5:1). As through one man sin entered into the world, and death

through sin, and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned

(5:12): [so through one man righteousness entered into the world, and

life through righteousness, and so life passed unto all men on

condition that they believe in Christ and by faith become partakers of

his righteousness]. Where sin abounded, grace did abound much more

exceedingly: that as sin reigned in death, even so might grace reign

through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord

(5:20, 21). Reckon yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God

in Christ Jesus (6:11). There is no condemnation to them that are in

Christ Jesus (8:1). To them that love God all things work together for

good (8:28). Whom he foreknew, he also foreordained to be conformed to

the image of his Son ... and whom he foreordained them he also called:

and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them

he also glorified (8:29, 30). If God is for us, who is against us

(8:31)? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ (8:35)? Hardening

in part hath befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come

in; and so all Israel shall be saved (11:25). God hath shut up all unto

disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all (11:32). Of Him, and

through Him, and unto Him are all things (11:36). Present your bodies a

living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable

service (12:1).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1141] On the textual variations, see Westcott and Hort, Appendix, pp.

110-114. Reuss, Ewald, Farrar suppose that Rom. 16 (or 16:3-20) was

addressed to Ephesus. Renan conjectures that an editor has combined

four copies of the same encyclical letter of Paul, each addressed to a

different church and having a different ending. Both these views are

preferable to Baur's rejection of the last two chapters as spurious;

though they are full of the Pauline spirit. Hilgenfeld (Einleit., p.

323) and Pfleiderer (Paulinismus, p. 314) maintain, against Baur, the

genuineness of Rom. 15 and Rom. 16. On the names in Rom. 16 see the

instructive discussion of Lightfoot in his Com. on Philippians, pp.

172-176.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 93. The Epistles of the Captivity.

During his confinement in Rome, from a.d. 61 to 63, while waiting the

issue of his trial on the charge of being "a mover of insurrections

among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect

of the Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5), the aged apostle composed four Epistles,

to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, and Philippians. He thus turned

the prison into a pulpit, sent inspiration and comfort to his distant

congregations, and rendered a greater service to future ages than he

could have done by active labor. He gloried in being a "prisoner of

Christ." He experienced the blessedness of persecution for

righteousness' sake (Matt. 5:10), and "the peace of God which passeth

all understanding" (Phil. 4:7). He often refers to his bonds, and the

coupling chain or hand-cuff (halusis) by which, according to Roman

custom, he was with his right wrist fettered day and night to a

soldier; one relieving the other and being in turn chained to the

apostle, so that his imprisonment became a means for the spread of the

gospel "throughout the whole praetorian guard." [1142] He had the

privilege of living in his own hired lodging (probably in the

neighborhood of the praetorian camp, outside of the walls, to the

northeast of Rome), and of free intercourse with his companions and

distant congregations.

Paul does not mention the place of his captivity, which extended

through four years and a half (two at Caesarea, two at Rome, and six

months spent on the stormy voyage and at Malta). The traditional view

dates the four Epistles from the Roman captivity, and there is no good

reason to depart from it. Several modern critics assign one or more to

Caesarea, where he cannot be supposed to have been idle, and where he

was nearer to his congregations in Asia Minor. [1143] But in Caesarea

Paul looked forward to Rome and to Spain; while in the Epistles of the

captivity he expresses the hope of soon visiting Colossae and Philippi.

In Rome he had the best opportunity of correspondence with his distant

friends, and enjoyed a degree of freedom which may have been denied him

in Caesarea. In Philippians he sends greetings from converts in

"Caesar's household" (Phil. 4:22), which naturally points to Rome; and

the circumstances and surroundings of the other Epistles are very much

alike.

Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon were composed about the same time

and sent by the same messengers (Tychicus and Onesimus) to Asia Minor,

probably toward the close of the Roman captivity, for in Philemon 22,

he engaged a lodging in Colosae in the prospect of a speedy release and

visit to the East.

Philippians we place last in the order of composition, or, at all

events, in the second year of the Roman captivity; for some time must

have elapsed after Paul's arrival in Rome before the gospeI could

spread "throughout the whole praetorian guard" (Phil. 1:13), and before

the Philippians, at a distance of seven hundred miles from Rome (a full

month's journey in those days), could receive news from him and send

him contributions through Epaphroditus, besides other communications

which seem to have preceded the Epistle. [1144]

On the other hand, the priority of the composition of Philippians has

been recently urged on purely internal evidence, namely, its doctrinal

affinity with the preceding anti-Judaic Epistles; while Colossians and

Ephesians presuppose the rise of the Gnostic heresy and thus form the

connecting link between them and the Pastoral Epistles, in which the

same heresy appears in a more matured form. [1145] But Ephesians has

likewise striking affinities in thought and language with Romans in the

doctrine of justification (comp. Eph. 2:8), and with Romans 12 and 1

Cor. 12 and 1 Cor. 14) in the doctrine of the church. As to the heresy,

Paul had predicted its rise in Asia Minor several years before in his

farewell to the Ephesian elders. And, finally, the grateful and joyful

tone of Philippians falls in most naturally with the lofty and glorious

conception of the church of Christ as presented in Ephesians.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1142] Phil. 1:7, 13, 14, 17; Eph. 3:1 ("the prisoner of Christ Jesus

in behalf of you Gentiles"); 4:1 ("the prisoner in the Lord"); Col.

4:3, 18 ("remember my bonds"); Philem. 10, 13; comp. Acts 28:17, 30.

[1143] So B�ttger, Thiersch, Reuss, Meyer, Weiss. Thiersch dates even 2

Timothy from Caesarea, but denies the second Roman captivity.

[1144] This is the prevailing view among critics. I have discussed the

order in the History of the Apost. Ch. (1853), pp. 322 sqq.

[1145] So Lightfoot (p. 31), followed by Farrar (II. 417). Ewald

likewise puts Philippianas before Colossians, but denies the

genuineuess of Ephesians. Bleek regards the data as insufficient to

decide the chronological order. See his Einleitung, p. 461, and his

posthumous Lectures on Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians, published

1865, p. 7.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 94. The Epistle to the Colossians.

The Churches in Phrygia.

The cities of Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis are mentioned together

as seats of Christian churches in the closing chapter of Colossians,

and the Epistle may be considered as being addressed to all, for the

apostle directs that it be read also in the churches of the Laodiceans

(Col. 4:13-16). They were situated within a few miles of each other in

the valley of the Lycus (a tributary of the Maeander) in Phrygia on the

borders of Lydia, and belonged, under the Roman rule, to the

proconsular province of Asia Minor.

Laodicea was the most important of the three, and enjoyed metropolitan

rank; she was destroyed by a disastrous earthquake a.d. 61 or 65, but

rebuilt from her own resources without the customary aid from Rome.

[1146] The church of Laodicea is the last of the seven churches

addressed in the Apocalypse (Rev. 3:14-22), and is described as rich

and proud and lukewarm. It harbored in the middle of the fourth century

(after 344) a council which passed an important act on the canon,

forbidding the public reading of any but "the canonical books of the

New and Old Testaments" (the list of these books is a later addition),

a prohibition which was confirmed and adopted by later councils in the

East and the West.

Hierapolis was a famous watering-place, surrounded by beautiful

scenery, [1147] and the birthplace of the lame slave Epictetus, who,

with Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, ranks among the first heathen

moralists, and so closely resembles the lofty maxims of the New

Testament that some writers have assumed, though without historic

foundation, a passing acquaintance between him and Paul or his pupil

Epaphras of Colossae. [1148] The church of Hierapolis figures in the

post-apostolic age as the bishopric of Papias (a friend of Polycarp)

and Apollinaris.

Colossae, [1149] once likewise famous, was at the time of Paul the

smallest of the three neighboring cities, and has almost disappeared

from the earth; while magnificent ruins of temples, theatres, baths,

aqueducts, gymnasia, and sepulchres still testify to the former wealth

and prosperity of Laodicea and Hierapolis. The church of Colossae was

the least important of the churches to which Paul addressed an Epistle,

and it is scarcely mentioned in post-apostolic times; but it gave rise

to a heresy which shook the church in the second century, and this

Epistle furnished the best remedy against it.

There was a large Jewish population in Phrygia, since Antiochus the

Great had despotically transplanted two thousand Jewish families from

Babylonia and Mesopotamia to that region. It thus became, in connection

with the sensuous and mystic tendency of the Phrygian character, a

nursery of religious syncretism and various forms of fanaticism.

Paul and the Colossians.

Paul passed twice through Phrygia, on his second and third missionary

tours, [1150] but probably not through the valley of the Lycus. Luke

does not say that he established churches there, and Paul himself seems

to include the Colossians and Laodiceans among those who had not seen

his face in the flesh. [1151] He names Epaphras, of Colossae, his "dear

fellow-servant" and "fellow-prisoner," as the teacher and faithful

minister of the Christians in that place. [1152] But during his long

residence in Ephesus (a.d. 54-57) and from his imprisonment he

exercised a general supervision over all the churches in Asia. After

his death they passed under the care of John, and in the second century

they figure prominently in the Gnostic, Paschal, Chiliastic, and

Montanistic controversies.

Paul heard of the condition of the church at Colossae through Epaphras,

his pupil, and Onesimus, a runaway slave. He sent through Tychicus

(Col. 4:7) a letter to the church, which was also intended for the

Laodiceans (4:16); at the same time he sent through Onesimus a private

letter of commendation to his master, Philemon, a member of the church

of Colossae. He also directed the Colossians to procure and read "the

letter from Laodicea," [1153] which is most probably the evangelical

Epistle to the Ephesians which was likewise transmitted through

Tychicus. He had special reasons for writing to the Colossians and to

Philemon, and a general reason for writing to all the churches in the

region of Ephesus; and he took advantage of the mission of Tychicus to

secure both ends. In this way the three Epistles are closely connected

in time and aim. They would mutually explain and confirm one another.

The Colossian Heresy.

The special reason which prompted Paul to write to the Colossians was

the rise of a new heresy among them which soon afterward swelled into a

mighty and dangerous movement in the ancient church, as rationalism has

done in modern times. It differed from the Judaizing heresy which he

opposed in Galatians and Corinthians, as Essenism differed from

Phariseeism, or as legalism differs from mysticism. The Colossian

heresy was an Essenic and ascetic type of Gnosticism; it derived its

ritualistic and practical elements from Judaism, its speculative

elements from heathenism; it retained circumcision, the observance of

Sabbaths and new moons, and the distinction of meats and drinks; but it

mixed with it elements of oriental mysticism and theosophy, the heathen

notion of an evil principle, the worship of subordinate spirits, and an

ascetic struggle for emancipation from the dominion of matter. It

taught an antagonism between God and matter and interposed between them

a series of angelic mediators as objects of worship. It thus contained

the essential features of Gnosticism, but in its incipient and

rudimental form, or a Christian Essenism in its transition to

Gnosticism. In its ascetic tendency it resembles that of the weak

brethren in the Roman congregation (Rom. 14:5, 6, 21). Cerinthus, in

the age of John, represents a more developed stage and forms the link

between the Colossian heresy and the post-apostolic Gnosticism. [1154]

The Refutation.

Paul refutes this false philosophy calmly and respectfully by the true

doctrine of the Person of Christ, as the one Mediator between God and

men, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And he meets

the false asceticism based upon the dualistic principle with the

doctrine of the purification of the heart by faith and love as the

effectual cure of all moral evil.

The Gnostic and the Pauline Pleroma.

"Pleroma" or "fulness" is an important term in Colossians and

Ephesians. [1155] Paul uses it in common with the Gnostics, and this

has been made an argument for the post-apostolic origin of the two

Epistles. He did, of course, not borrow it from the Gnostics; for he

employs it repeatedly in his other Epistles with slight variations. It

must have had a fixed theological meaning, as it is not explained. It

cannot be traced to Philo, who, however, uses "Logos" in a somewhat

similar sense for the plenitude of Divine powers.

Paul speaks of "the pleroma of the earth," i.e., all that fills the

earth or is contained in it (1 Cor. 10:26, 28, in a quotation from Ps.

24:1); "the pleroma," i.e., the fulfilment or accomplishment, "of the

law," which is love (Rom. 13:10 [1156] ); "the pleroma," i.e., the

fulness or abundance, "of the blessing of Christ" ( Rom. 15:29) "the

pleroma," or full measure, "of the time" ( Gal. 4:4; comp. Eph. 1:10;

Mark 1:15; Luke 21:24); "the pleroma of the Gentiles," meaning their

full number, or whole body, but not necessarily all individuals (Rom.

11:25); "the pleroma of the Godhead," i.e., the fulness or plenitude of

all Divine attributes and energies (Col. 1:19; 2:9); "the pleroma of

Christ," which is the church as the body of Christ (Eph. 1:23; comp.

3:19; 4:13).

In the Gnostic systems, especially that of Valentinus, "pleroma"

signifies the intellectual and spiritual world, including all Divine

powers or aeons, in opposition to the "kenoma," i.e., the void, the

emptiness, the material world. The distinction was based on the

dualistic principle of an eternal antagonism between spirit and matter,

which led the more earnest Gnostics to an extravagant asceticism, the

frivolous ones to wild antinomianism. They included in the pleroma a

succession of emanations from the Divine abyss, which form the links

between the infinite and the finite; and they lowered the dignity of

Christ by making him simply the highest of those intermediate aeons.

The burden of the Gnostic speculation was always the question: Whence

is the world? and whence is evil? It sought the solution in a dualism

between mind and matter, the pleroma and the kenoma; but this is no

solution at all.

In opposition to this error, Paul teaches, on a thoroughly monotheistic

basis, that Christ is "the image of the invisible God" (eikon tou theou

tou aoratou Col. 1:15; comp. 2 Cor. 4:4--an expression often used by

Philo as a description of the Logos, and of the personified Wisdom, in

Wisd. 7:26); that he is the pre�xistent and incarnate pleroma or

plenitude of Divine powers and attributes; that in him the whole

fulness of the Godhead, that is, of the Divine nature itself, [1157]

dwells bodily-wise or corporeally (somatikos), as the soul dwells in

the human body; and that he is the one universal and all-sufficient

Mediator, through whom the whole universe of things visible and

invisible, were made, in whom all things hold together (or cohere,

sunesteken) , and through whom the Father is pleased to reconcile all

things to himself.

The Christology of Colossians approaches very closely to the

Christology of John; for he represents Christ as the incarnate "Logos"

or Revealer of God, who dwelt among us "full (pleres) of grace and

truth," and out of whose Divine "fulness" (ek tou pleromatos autou) we

all have received grace for grace (John 1:1, 14, 16). Paul and John

fully agree in teaching the eternal pre�xistence of Christ, and his

agency in the creation and preservation of the world (Col. 1:15-17;

John 1:3). According to Paul, He is "the first-born or first-begotten"

of all creation (prototokos pases ktiseos,Col. 1:15, distinct from

protoktistos,first-created), i.e., prior and superior to the whole

created world, or eternal; according to John He is "the only-begotten

Son" of the Father. (ho monogenes huios [1158] John 1:14, 18; comp.

3:16, 18; 1 John 4:9), before and above all created children of God.

The former term denotes Christ's unique relation to the world, the

latter his unique relation to the Father.

The Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Colossians will be

discussed in the next section in connection with the Epistle to the

Ephesians.

Theme: Christ all in all. The true gnosis and the false gnosis. True

and false asceticism.

Leading Thoughts: Christ is the image of the invisible God, the

first-begotten of all creation (Col. 1:15).--In Christ are hidden all

the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (2:3).--In him dwelleth all the

fulness (to pleroma) of the Godhead bodily (2:9).--If ye were raised

together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is,

seated on the right hand of God (3:1).--When Christ, who is our life,

shall be manifested, then shall ye also with him be manifested in glory

(3:4).--Christ is all, and in all (3:11).--Above all things put on

love, which is the bond of perfectness (3:14).--Whatsoever ye do, in

word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus (3:17).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1146] The earthquake took place, according to Tacitus (Ann, XIV. 27),

in the seventh, according to Eusebius (Chron., Ol.210, 4), in the tenth

year of Nero's reign, and extended also to Hierapolis and Colossae.

[1147] In a Greek inscription, published by Boeckh and quoted by

Lightfoot, Hierapolis is thus apostrophized: "Hail, fairest soil in all

broad Asia's realm; Hail, golden city, nymph divine, bedeck'd With

flowing rills, thy jewels."

[1148] Epictetus ( Epiktetos), a slave and then a freedman of

Epaphroditus (who was himself a freedman of Nero), was considerably

younger than Paul, and taught first at Rome, and, after the expulsion

of the philosophers by Domitian, at Nicopolis in Epirus, where his

discourses (Enchiridion) were taken down by Arrian. For, like Socrates,

he himself wrote nothing. A meeting with Paul or Epaphras would " solve

more than one riddle," as Lightfoot says. But he shows no trace of a

knowledge of Christianity any more than Seneca, whose correspondence

with Paul is spurious, though both lived at Rome under Nero. Marcus

Aurelius, a century later, persecuted the Christians and alludes to

them only once in his Meditations (XI. 3), where he traces their heroic

zeal for martyrdom to sheer obstinacy. The self-reliant, stoic morality

of these philosophers, sublime as it is, would have hindered rather

than facilitated their acceptance of Christianity, which is based on

repentance and humility.

[1149] Kolossai, Colossae, is the correct reading of the oldest MSS.

against the later Kolassai, Colossae. Herodotus calls it polis megale,

and Xenophon eudaimon kai megale. In the middle ages it was called

Chonai. There are few remains of it left two miles north of the present

town of Chonos, which is inhabited by Christians and Turks.

[1150] Acts 16:6 (ten Phrugian kai Galatiken choran); 18:23.

[1151] Col. 2:1; comp. 1:4, 8, 9; and Lightfoot, Com., pp. 23 sqq. and

238.

[1152] Col. 1:7; 4:12; comp. Philem 23. Hilgenfeld (p. 663) thinks that

Paul founded those churches, and uses this as an argument against the

genuineness of the Epistle which implies the contrary. But how easily

could a forger have avoided such an apparent contradiction.

[1153] Col. 4:16: ten ek Laodikaias hina kai humeis a nagnote. An

abridged expression for "the letter left at Laodicea which you will

procure thence." So Bleek and Lightfoot, in loco.

[1154] On the Colossian heresy I refer chiefly to Neander (I. 319

sqq.), the lectures of Bleek (pp. 11-19), and the valuable Excursus of

Lightfoot, Com., pp. 73-113, who agrees with Neander and Bleek, but is

more full. Lightfoot refutes the view of Hilgenfeld (Der Gnosticismus

u. das N. Test., in the "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol.," vol. XIII.

233 sqq.), who maintains that the Ep. opposes two different heresies,

pure Gnosticism (Col. 2:8-10) and pure Judaism (2:16-23). Comp. his

Einleitung, pp. 665 sqq. The two passages are connected by ta stoicheia

tou kosmou(2:8 and 2:20), and the later history of Gnosticism shows, in

a more developed form, the same strange mixture of Judaizing and

paganizing elements. See the chapter on Gnosticism in the second

volume.

[1155] The word pleroma, from pleroun, to fill, to complete, occurs

eighteen times in the New Test., thirteen times in the Epistles of Paul

(see Bruder). It designates the result of the action implied in the

verb, i.e., complement, completeness, plenitude, perfection; and, in a

wider sense (as in John 1:16; Col. 1:19; 2:9), fulness, abundance. Like

other substantives ending in--ma, it has an active sense: the filling

substance, that which fills (id quod implet, or id quo res impletur).

So it is often used by the classics, e.g.,. pleroma poleos,the

population of a city; in the Septuagint, for the Hebrew 'lm, abundance,

e g., to pleroma tes ges. or to pleroma tes thalasses, that which fills

the earth, or the sea; and in the New Test., e.g., Mark 6:43 (kophinon

pleromata); 8:20 (spuridon pl.). The passive sense is rare: that which

is filled (id quod impletur or impletum est), the filled receptacle.

Comp. Grimm and Robinson, sub verbo, and especially Fritzsche, Ad Rom.

II. 469 sqq., and Lightfoot. Coloss. 323 sqq.

[1156] In this passage it in equivalent to plerosis, legis observatio.

[1157] Col2:9 to pleroma tes theotetos , deitas, Deity, not theiotetos,

divinitas, divinity. Bengel remarks: " Non modo divinae virtutes, sed

ipsa divina natura." So also Lightfoot.

[1158] Or, according to the other reading, which is equally well

supported, monogenes theos , one who is only-begotten God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 95. The Epistle to the Ephesians.

Contents.

When Paul took leave of the Ephesian Elders at Miletus, in the spring

of the year 58, he earnestly and affectionately exhorted them, in view

of threatening disturbances from within, to take heed unto themselves

and to feed "the church of the Lord, which he acquired with his own

blood." [1159]

This strikes the key-note of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is a

doctrinal and practical exposition of the idea of the church, as the

house of God (Eph. 2:20-22), the spotless bride of Christ (5:25-27),

the mystical body of Christ (4:12-16), "the fulness of Him that filleth

all in all" (1:23). The pleroma of the Godhead resides in Christ

corporeally; so the pleroma of Christ, the plenitude of his graces and

energies, resides in the church, as his body. Christ's fulness is God's

fulness; the church's fulness is Christ's fulness. God is reflected in

Christ, Christ is reflected in the church.

This is an ideal conception, a celestial vision, as it were, of the

church in its future state of perfection. Paul himself represents the

present church militant as a gradual growth unto the complete stature

of Christ's fulness (4:13-16). We look in vain for an actual church

which is free from spot or wrinkle or blemish (5:27). Even the

apostolic church was full of defects, as we may learn from every

Epistle of the New Testament. The church consists of individual

Christians, and cannot be complete till they are complete. The body

grows and matures with its several members. "It is not yet made

manifest what we shall be" (1 John 3:2).

Nevertheless, Paul's church is not a speculation or fiction, like

Plato's Republic or Sir Thomas More's Utopia. It is a reality in

Christ, who is absolutely holy, and is spiritually and dynamically

present in his church always, as the soul is present in the members of

the body. And it sets before us the high standard and aim to be kept

constantly in view; as Christ exhorts every one individually to be

perfect, even as our heavenly Father is perfect (Matt. 5:48).

With this conception of the church is closely connected Paul's profound

and most fruitful idea of the family. He calls the relation of Christ

to his church a great mystery (Eph. 5:32), and represents it as the

archetype of the marriage relation, whereby one man and one woman

become one flesh. He therefore bases the family on new and holy ground,

and makes it a miniature of the church, or the household of God.

Accordingly, husbands are to love their wives even as Christ loved the

church, his bride, and gave himself up for her; wives are to obey their

husbands as the church is subject to Christ, the head; parents are to

love their children as Christ and the church love the individual

Christians; children are to love their parents as individual Christians

are to love Christ and the church. The full and general realization of

this domestic ideal would be heaven on earth. But how few families come

up to this standard. [1160]

Ephesians and the Writings of John.

Paul emphasizes the person of Christ in Colossians, the person and

agency of the Holy Spirit in Ephesians. For the Holy Spirit carries on

the work of Christ in the church. Christians are sealed with the Holy

Spirit of promise unto the day of redemption (Eph. 1:13; 4:30). The

spirit of wisdom and revelation imparts the knowledge of Christ 1:17;

3:16. Christians should be filled with the Spirit (5:18), take the

sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and pray in the Spirit

at all seasons (6:17, 18).

The pneumatology of Ephesians resembles that of John, as the

christology of Colossians resembles the christology of John. It is the

Spirit who takes out of the "fulness" of Christ, and shows it to the

believer, who glorifies the Son and guides into the truth (John 14:17;

15:26; 16:13-15, etc.). Great prominence is given to the Spirit also in

Romans, Galatians, Corinthians, and the Acts of the Apostles.

John does not speak of the church and its outward organization (except

in the Apocalypse), but he brings Christ in as close and vital a

contact with the individual disciples as Paul with the whole body. Both

teach the unity of the church as a fact, and as an aim to be realized

more and more by the effort of Christians, and both put the centre of

unity in the Holy Spirit.

Encyclical Intent

Ephesians was intended not only for the church at Ephesus, the

metropolis of Asia Minor, but for all the leading churches of that

district. Hence the omission of the words "in Ephesus" (Eph. 1:1) in

some of the oldest and best MSS. [1161] Hence, also, the absence of

personal and local intelligence. The encyclical destination may be

inferred also from the reference in Col. 4:16 to the Epistle to the

church of Laodicea, which the Colossians were to procure and to read,

and which is probably identical with our canonical Epistle to the

Ephesians." [1162]

Character and Value of the Epistle.

Ephesians is the most churchly book of the New Testament. But it

presupposes Colossians, the most Christly of Paul's Epistles. Its

churchliness is rooted and grounded in Christliness, and has no sense

whatever if separated from this root. A church without Christ would be,

at best, a praying corpse (and there are such churches). Paul was at

once the highest of high churchmen, the most evangelical of

evangelicals, and the broadest of the broad, because most comprehensive

in his grasp and furthest removed from all pedantry and bigotry of sect

or party. [1163]

Ephesians is, in some respects, the most profound and difficult (though

not the most important) of his Epistles. It certainly is the most

spiritual and devout, composed in an exalted and transcendent state of

mind, where theology rises into worship, and meditation into oration.

It is the Epistle of the Heavenlies (ta epourania), a solemn liturgy,

an ode to Christ and his spotless bride, the Song of Songs in the New

Testament. The aged apostle soared high above all earthly things to the

invisible and eternal realities in heaven. From his gloomy confinement

he ascended for a season to the mount of transfiguration. The prisoner

of Christ, chained to a heathen soldier, was transformed into a

conqueror, clad in the panoply of God, and singing a paean of victory.

The style has a corresponding rhythmical flow and overflow, and sounds

at times like the swell of a majestic organ. [1164] It is very involved

and presents unusual combinations, but this is owing to the pressure

and grandeur of ideas; besides, we must remember that it was written in

Greek, which admits of long periods and parentheses. In Eph. 1:3-14 we

have one sentence with no less than seven relative clauses, which rise

like a thick cloud of incense higher and higher to the very throne of

God. [1165]

Luther reckoned Ephesians among "the best and noblest books of the New

Testament." Witsius characterized it as a divine Epistle glowing with

the flame of Christian love and the splendor of holy light. Braune

says: "The exalted significance of the Epistle for all time lies in its

fundamental idea: the church of Jesus Christ a creation of the Father

through the Son in the Holy Spirit, decreed from eternity, destined for

eternity; it is the ethical cosmos; the family of God gathered in the

world and in history and still further to be gathered, the object of

his nurture and care in time and in eternity."

These are Continental judgments. English divines are equally strong in

praise of this Epistle. Coleridge calls it "the sublimest composition

of man;" Alford: "the greatest and most heavenly work of one whose very

imagination is peopled with things in the heavens;" Farrar: "the

Epistle of the Ascension, the most sublime, the most profound, and the

most advanced and final utterance of that mystery of the gospel which

it was given to St. Paul for the first time to proclaim in all its

fulness to the Gentile world."

Theme: The church of Christ, the family of God, the fulness of Christ.

Leading Thoughts: God chose us in Christ before the foundation of the

world that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love

(Eph. 1:4). In him we have our redemption through his blood, the

forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace

(1:7). He purposed to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the

heavens, and the things upon the earth (1:10). God gave him to be head

over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him

that filleth all in all (1:23). God, being rich in mercy, quickened us

together with Christ and raised us up with him, and made us to sit with

him in the heavenly places, in Christ Jesus (2:4-6). By grace have ye

been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of

God: not of works, that no man should glory (2:8, 9). Christ is our

peace, who made both one, and broke down the middle wall of partition

(2:14). Ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are

fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being

built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus

himself being the chief corner stone (2:19, 20). Unto me, who am less

than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach Unto the

Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ (3:8). That Christ may dwell

in your hearts through faith; to the end that ye, being rooted and

grounded in love, may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what

is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of

Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the

fulness of God (3:17-19). Give diligence to keep the unity of the

Spirit in the bond of peace (4:3). There is one body, and one Spirit,

one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is

over all, and through all, and in all (4:6). He gave some to be

apostles; and some, prophets; and some, pastors and teachers for the

perfecting of the saints (4:11, 12). Speak the truth in love (4:15).

Put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness

and holiness of truth (4:24). Be ye therefore imitators of God, as

beloved children, and walk in love, even as Christ also loved you, and

gave himself up for as, an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odor

of a sweet smell (5:1, 2). Wives, be in subjection unto your own

husbands, as unto the Lord (5:22). Husbands, love your wives, even as

Christ also loved the church, and gave himself up for it (5:25). This

mystery is great; but I speak in regard of Christ and of the church

(5:32). Children, obey your parents in the Lord (6:1). Put on the whole

armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the

devil (6:11).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1159] Acts 20:28. Some of the best authorities (', B, Vulg., etc.)

read "church of God." So also Westcott and Hort, and the English

Revision; but the American Committee prefers, with Tischendorf, the

reading tou kuriou, which is supported by A, C\*, D, E, etc., and suits

better in this connection. Paul often speaks of "the church of God,"

but nowhere of "the blood of God." Possibly, as Dr. Hort suggests,

huiou may have dropped out in a very early copy after tou idiou. See a

full discussion by Dr. Abbot, in "Bibl. Sacra" for 1876, pp. 313 sqq.

(for kuriou), and by Westcott and Hort, Greek Test., II., Notes, pp. 98

sqq. (for theou).

[1160] For a fine analysis of the Epistle, I refer to Braune's Com. in

the Lange Series (translated by Dr. Riddle). He adopts a twofold, Stier

and Alford a threefold (trinitarian) division. See also Dr. Riddle's

clear analysis in Schaff's Popular Com. on the New Test., III. (1882).

p. 355. I. Doctrinal Part, chs. 1-3: The church, the mystical body of

Christ, chosen, redeemed, and united in Christ. II. Practical Part.

chs. 4-6: Therefore, let all the members of the church walk in unity,

in love, in newness of life, in the armor of God. But we should

remember that the Epistle is not strictly systematic, and the doctrinal

expositions and practical exhortations interlace each other.

[1161] en Epheso is omitted in the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. Marcion

retained the Epistle under the title "To the Laodicenes," as Tertullian

reports. Dr. Hort says: "Transcriptional evidence strongly supports the

testimony of documents against en Epheso." The arguments of Meyer and

of Woldemar Schmidt (in the fifth ed. of Meyer on Colossians) in favor

of the words are not conclusive.

[1162] This was already the view of Marcion in the second century.

Meyer, however, in loc., insists that another letter is meant, which

was lost, like one to the Corinthians. The apocryphal Ep. to the

Laodiceans (in Fabricius, Cod. Apocr. N. T., I. 873 sqq.), consisting

of twenty verses, is a mere fabrication from the other Epistles of

Paul. It was forbidden by the Second Council of Nicaea (787).

[1163] But the very reverse of churchy. Nothing can be further removed

from the genius of Paul than that narrow, mechanical, and pedantic

churchiness which sticks to the shell of outward forms and ceremonies,

and mistakes them for the kernel within.

[1164] Eph. 5:14 may be a part of a primitive hymn after the type of

Hebrew parallelism: "Awake thou that sleepest, Arise thou from the dead

And Christ will shine upon thee."

[1165] In literal English translation such a sentence is unquestionably

heavy and cumbrous. Unsympathetic critics, like De Wette, Baur, Renan,

Holtzmann, characterize the style of Ephesians as verbose, diffuse,

overloaded, monotonous, and repetitious. But Grotius, a first-class

classical scholar, describes it (in his Preface) as "rerum sublimitatem

adaequans verbis sublimioribus quam ulla habuit unquam lingua humana."

Harless asserts that not a single word in the Epistle is superfluous,

and has proved it in his very able commentary. Alford (III. 25)

remarks: "As the wonderful effect of the Spirit of inspiration on the

mind of man is nowhere in Scripture more evident than in this Epistle,

so, to discern those things of the Spirit, is the spiritual mind here

more than anywhere required." He contrasts, under this view, the

commentaries of De Wette and Stier, putting rather too high an estimate

on the latter. Maurice (Unity of the N. T., p. 535): "Every one must be

conscious of an overflowing fulness in the style of this Epistle, as if

the apostle's mind could not contain the thoughts that were at work in

him, as if each one that he uttered had a luminous train before it and

behind it, from which it could not disengage itself." Bishop Ellicott

says that the difficulties of the first chapter are "so great and so

deep that the most exact language and the most discriminating analysis

are too poor and too weak to convey the force or connection of

expressions so august, and thoughts so unspeakably profound." Dr.

Riddle: "It is the greatness of the Epistle which makes it so

difficult; the thought seems to struggle with the words, which seem

insufficient to convey the transcendent idea."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 96. Colossians and Ephesians Compared and Vindicated.

Comparison.

The Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians were written about the

same time and transmitted through the same messenger, Tychicus. They

are as closely related to each other as the Epistles to the Galatians

and to the Romans. They handle the same theme, Christ and his church;

as Galatians and Romans discuss the same doctrines of salvation by free

grace and justification by faith.

But Colossians, like Galatians, arose from a specific emergency, and is

brief, terse, polemical; while Ephesians, like Romans, is expanded,

calm, irenical. Colossians is directed against the incipient Gnostic

(paganizing) heresy, as Galatians is directed against the Judaizing

heresy. The former is anti-Essenic and anti-ascetic, the latter is

anti-Pharisaic and anti-legalistic; the one deals with a speculative

expansion and fantastic evaporation, the latter, with a bigoted

contraction, of Christianity; yet both these tendencies, like all

extremes, have points of contact and admit of strange amalgamations;

and in fact the Colossian and Galatian errorists united in their

ceremonial observance of circumcision and the Sabbath. Ephesians, like

Romans, is an independent exposition of the positive truth, of which

the heresy opposed in the other Epistles is a perversion or caricature.

Again, Colossians and Ephesians differ from each other in the

modification and application of their common theme: Colossians is

christological and represents Christ as the true pleroma or plenitude

of the Godhead, the totality of divine attributes and powers; Ephesians

is ecclesiological and exhibits the ideal church as the body of Christ,

as the reflected pleroma of Christ, "the fulness of Him who filleth all

in all." Christology naturally precedes ecclesiology in the order of

the system, as Christ precedes the church; and Colossians preceded

Ephesians most probably, also in the order of composition, as the

outline precedes the full picture; but they were not far apart, and

arose from the same train of meditation. [1166]

This relationship of resemblance and contrast can be satisfactorily

explained only on the assumption of the same authorship, the same time

of composition, and the same group of churches endangered by the same

heretical modes of thought. With Paul as the author of both everything

is clear; without that assumption everything is dark and uncertain.

"Non est cuiusvis hominis," says Erasmus, "Paulinum pectus effingere;

tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus." [1167]

Authorship.

The genuineness of the two cognate Epistles has recently been doubted

and denied, but the negative critics are by no means agreed; some

surrender Ephesians but retain Colossians, others reverse the case;

while Baur, always bolder and more consistent than his predecessors,

rejects both. [1168]

They must stand or fall together. But they will stand. They represent,

indeed, an advanced state of christological and ecclesiological

knowledge in the apostolic age, but they have their roots in the older

Epistles of Paul, and are brimful of his spirit. They were called forth

by a new phase of error, and brought out new statements of truth with

new words and phrases adapted to the case. They contain nothing that

Paul could not have written consistently with his older Epistles, and

there is no known pupil of Paul who could have forged such highly

intellectual and spiritual letters in his name and equalled, if not

out-Pauled Paul. [1169] The external testimonies are unanimous in favor

of the Pauline authorship, and go as far back as Justin Martyr,

Polycarp, Ignatius, and the heretical Marcion (about 140), who included

both Epistles in his mutilated canon. [1170]

The difficulties which have been urged against their Pauline origin,

especially of Ephesians, are as follows:

1. The striking resemblance of the two Epistles, and the apparent

repetitiousness and dependence of Ephesians on Colossians, which seem

to be unworthy of such an original thinker as Paul. [1171] But this

resemblance, which is more striking in the practical than in the

doctrinal part, is not the resemblance between an author and an

imitator, but of two compositions of the same author, written about the

same time on two closely connected topics; and it is accompanied by an

equally marked variety in thought and language.

2. The absence of personal and local references in Ephesians. This is,

as already remarked, sufficiently explained by the encyclical character

of that Epistle.

3. A number of peculiar words not found elsewhere in the Pauline

Epistles. [1172] But they are admirably adapted to the new ideas, and

must be expected from a mind so rich as Paul's. Every Epistle contains

some hapaxlegomena. The only thing which is somewhat startling is that

an apostle should speak of "holy apostles and prophets" (Eph. 3:5), but

the term "holy" (hagioi) is applied in the New Testament to all

Christians, as being consecrated to God (hagiasmenoi, John 17:17), and

not in the later ecclesiastical sense of a spiritual nobility. It

implies no contradiction to Eph. 3:8, where the author calls himself

"the least of all saints" (comp. 1 Cor. 15:9, "I am the least of the

apostles").

4. The only argument of any weight is the alleged post-Pauline rise of

the Gnostic heresy, which is undoubtedly opposed in Colossians (not in

Ephesians, at least not directly). But why should this heresy not have

arisen in the apostolic age as well as the Judaizing heresy which

sprung up before a.d. 50, and followed Paul everywhere? The tares

spring up almost simultaneously with the wheat. Error is the shadow of

truth. Simon Magus, the contemporary of Peter, and the Gnostic

Cerinthus, the contemporary, of John, are certainly historic persons.

Paul speaks (1 Cor. 8:1) of a "gnosis which puffeth up," and warned the

Ephesian elders, as early as 58, of the rising of disturbing errorists

from their own midst; and the Apocalypse, which the T�bingen critics

assign to the year 68, certainly opposes the antinomian type of

Gnosticism, the error of the Nicolaitans (Rev. 2:6, 15, 20), which the

early Fathers derived from one of the first seven deacons of Jerusalem.

All the elements of Gnosticism--Ebionism, Platonism, Philoism,

syncretism, asceticism, antinomianism--were extant before Christ, and

it needed only a spark of Christian truth to set the inflammable

material on fire. The universal sentiment of the Fathers, as far as we

can trace it up to Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Polycarp found the

origin of Gnosticism in the apostolic age, and called Simon Magus its

father or grandfather.

Against their testimony, the isolated passage of Hegesippus, so often

quoted by the negative critics, [1173] has not the weight of a feather.

This credulous, inaccurate, and narrow-minded Jewish Christian writer

said, according to Eusebius, that the church enjoyed profound peace,

and was "a pure and uncorrupted virgin," governed by brothers and

relations of Jesus, until the age of Trajan, when, after the death of

the apostles, "the knowledge falsely so called" (pseudonumos

gnosis,comp. 1 Tim. 6:20), openly raised its head. [1174] But he speaks

of the church in Palestine, not in Asia Minor; and he was certainly

mistaken in this dream of an age of absolute purity and peace. The

T�bingen school itself maintains the very opposite view. Every Epistle,

as well as the Acts, bears testimony to the profound agitations,

parties, and evils of the church, including Jerusalem, where the first

great theological controversy was fought out by the apostles

themselves. But Hegesippus corrects himself, and makes a distinction

between the secret working and the open and shameless manifestation of

heresy. The former began, he intimates, in the apostolic age; the

latter showed itself afterward. [1175] Gnosticism, like modern

Rationalism, [1176] had a growth of a hundred years before it came to

full maturity. A post-apostolic writer would have dealt very

differently with the fully developed systems of Basilides, Valentinus,

and Marcion. And yet the two short Epistles to the Colossians and

Ephesians strike at the roots of this error, and teach the positive

truth with an originality, vigor, and depth that makes them more

valuable, even as a refutation, than the five books of Irenaeus against

Gnosticism, and the ten books of the Philosophumena of Hippolytus; and

this patent fact is the best proof of their apostolic origin.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1166] Lardner, Credner, Mayerhoff, Hofmann, and Reuss reverse the

order on the ground of Col. 4:16, which refers to "the Epistle from

Laodicea," assuming that this is the encyclical Epistle to the

Ephesians. But Paul may have done that by anticipation. On the other

hand, the kai humeis (that ye also as well as those to whom I have just

written) in Eph. 6:21, as compared with Col. 4:7, justifies the

opposite conclusion (as Harless shows, Com., p. lix). Reuss thinks that

in writing two letters on the same topic the second is apt to be the

shorter. But the reverse is more frequent, as a second edition of a

book is usually larger than the first. De Wette, Baur, Hilgenfeld, and

Holtzmann regard Ephesians as an enlarged recasting (Umarbeitung and

Ueberarbeitung)of Colossians by a pupil of Paul.

[1167] Annot. ad Col. 4:16.

[1168] DeWette first attacked Ephesians as a verbose expansion

(wortreiche Erweiterung)of the genuine Colossians by a pupil of Paul.

See his Introd. to the New Test. (1826, 6th ed. by Messner and

L�nemann, 1860, pp. 313 sqq., and especially his Com. on Eph., 1843 and

1847). He based his doubts chiefly on the apparent dependence of

Ephesians on Colossians, and could not appreciate the originality and

depth of Ephesians. Mayerhoff first attacked Colossians (1838) as a

post-Pauline abridgment of Ephesians which he regarded as genuine. Baur

attacked both (1845), as his pupil Schwegler did (1846), and assigned

them to an anti-Gnostic writer of the later Pauline school. He was

followed by Hilgenfeld (1870, 1873, and 1875). Hitzig proposed a middle

view (1870), that a genuine Epistle of Paul to the Colossians was

enlarged and adapted by the same author who wrote Ephesians, and this

view was elaborately carried out by Holtzmann with an attempt to

reconstruct the Pauline original (Kritik der Epheser- und

Kolosserbriefe, Leipzig, 1872). But the assumption of another Epistle

of Paul to the Colossians is a pure critical fiction. History knows

only of one such Epistle. Pfleiderer (1873, Paulinismus, p. 370 sq. and

434) substantially agrees with Holtzmann, but assumes two different

authors for the two Epistles. He regards Ephesians as an advance from

old Paulinism to the Johannean theology. Renan and Ewald admit

Colossians to be genuine, but surrender Ephesians, assigning it,

however, to an earlier date than the T�lbingen critics (Ewald to a.d.

75 or 80). On the other hand, the genuineness of both Epistles has been

ably defended by Bleek, Meyer, Woldemar Schmidt, Braune, Weiss, Alford,

Farrar. Bishop Lightfoot, in his Com. on Col., promises to take the

question of genuineness up in the Com. on Ephes., which, however, has

not yet appeared. Dr. Samuel Davidson, in the revised edition of his

Introduction to the Study of the New Test. (1882, vol. II. 176 sqq. and

205 sqq.), reproduces the objections of the T�bingen critics, and adds

some new ones which are not very creditable to his judgment, e.g., Paul

could not warn the Ephesians to steal no more (Eph. 4:28), and not to

be drunk (5:18), because "the Christians of Asia Minor had no tendency

to drunken excesses, but rather to ascetic abstinence from wine; and

the advice given to Timothy might perhaps have been more suitable:

'Drink a little wine'" (p. 213). But what then becomes of the Epistle

to the Corinthians who tolerated an incestuous person in their midst

and disgraced the love feasts by intemperance? What of the Epistle to

the Romans which contains a similar warning against drunkenness (Rom.

13:13)? And what could induce a pseudo-Paul to slander the church at

Ephesus, if it was exceptionally pure?

[1169] Farrar (II. 602): "We might well be amazed if the first hundred

years after the death of Christ produced a totally unknown writer who,

assuming the name of Paul, treats the mystery which it was given him to

reveal with a masterly power which the apostle himself rarely equalled,

and most certainly never surpassed. Let any one study the remains of

the Apostolic Fathers, and he may well be surprised at the facility

with which writers of the T�bingen school, and their successors, assume

the existence of Pauls who lived unheard of and died unknown, though

they were intellectually and spiritually the equals, if not the

superiors, of St. Paul himself!"

[1170] See the quotations in Charteris's Canonicity, pp. 237 sqq and

247 sqq.

[1171] This is DeWette's chief argument. See his table of parallel

passages in Einleitung, � 146a (pp. 313-318 of the sixth ed.).

[1172] Such as aischrologia (Col. 3:8), antanapleroo (1:24), eipeopoieo

(1:20), ethelothreskeia (2:23), pithanologia (2:4); ta epourania (Eph.

1:3, 20; 2:6; 3:10; 6:12),ta p'eumatika (6:12), kosmokratores (6:12),

polupoikilos sophia (3:10). Even the word aphesis (Col. 1:14 and Eph.

1:7) for paresis (Rom. 3:25) has been counted among the strange terms,

as if Paul had not known before of the remission of sins. Holtzmann has

most carefully elaborated the philological argument. But the veteran

Reuss (I. 112) treats it as futile, and even Davidson must admit (II

219) that "the sentiments (of Ephesians) are generally Pauline, as well

as the diction," though he adds that "both betray marks of another

writer."

[1173] Baur, Schwegler, and Hilgenfeld (Einleit., 652 sq.).

[1174] Eus., H. E., III. 32: "The same author [Hegesippus], relating

the events of the times, also says that 'the church continued until

then as a pure and uncorrupt virgin (parthenos kathara kai adiaphthoros

emenen he ekklesia); whilst if there were any at all that attempted to

pervert the sound doctrine of the saving gospel, they were yet skulking

in darkness (en adelo pou skotei); but when the sacred choir of the

apostles became extinct, and the generation of those that had been

privileged to hear their inspired wisdom had passed away, then also

arose the combination of godless error through the fraud of false

teachers. These also, as there was none of the apostles left,

henceforth attempted, without shame (gumne loipon ede te kephale), to

preach their falsely so-called gnosis against the gospel of truth.'

Such is the statement of Hegesippus." Comp. the notes on the passage by

Heinichen in his ed. of Euseb., Tome III., pp. 100-103.

[1175] The same Hegesippus, in Eus., IV. 22, places the rise of the

heresies in the Palestinian church immediately after the death of

James, and traces some of them back to Simon Magus. He was evidently

familiar with the Pastoral Epistles, and borrowed from them the terms

pseudonumos gnosis , heterodidaskaloi., hugies kanon.

[1176] The critical school of Rationalism began in Germany with Semler

of Halle (1725-1791), in the middle of the eighteenth century, and

culminated in the T�bingen School of our own age.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 97. The Epistle to the Philippians.

The Church at Philippi.

Philippi was a city of Macedonia, founded by and called after Philip,

the father of Alexander the Great, in a fertile region, with contiguous

gold and silver mines, on the banks of a small river and the highway

between Asia and Europe, ten miles from the seacoast. It acquired

immortal fame by the battle between Brutus and Mark Antony (b.c. 42),

in which the Roman republic died and the empire was born. After that

event it had the rank of a Roman military colony, with the

high-sounding title, "Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis." [1177] Hence

its mixed population, the Greeks, of course, prevailing, next the Roman

colonists and magistrates, and last a limited number of Jews, who had a

place of prayer on the riverside. It was visited by Paul, in company

with Silas, Timothy, and Luke, on his second missionary tour, in the

year 52, and became the seat of the first Christian congregation on the

classical soil of Greece. Lydia, the purple dealer of Thyatira and a

half proselyte to Judaism, a native slave-girl with a divining spirit,

which was used by her masters as a means of gain among the

superstitious heathen, and a Roman jailer, were the first converts, and

fitly represent the three nationalities (Jew, Greek, and Roman) and the

classes of society which were especially benefited by Christianity. "In

the history of the gospel at Philippi, as in the history of the church

at large, is reflected the great maxim of Christianity, the central

truth of the apostle's teaching, that here is 'neither Jew nor Greek,

neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one in

Christ Jesus.' " [1178] Here, also, are the first recorded instances of

whole households (of Lydia and the jailer) being baptized and gathered

into the church, of which the family is the chief nursery. The

congregation was fully organized, with bishops (presbyters) and deacons

at the head (Phil. 1:1).

Here the apostle was severely persecuted and marvellously delivered.

Here he had his most loyal and devoted converts, who were his "joy and

crown." For them he felt the strongest personal attachment; from them

alone he would receive contributions for his support. In the autumn of

the year 57, after five years' absence, he paid a second visit to

Philippi, having in the meantime kept up constant intercourse with the

congregation through living messengers; and on his last journey to

Jerusalem, in the spring of the following year, he stopped at Philippi

to keep the paschal feast with his beloved brethren. They had liberally

contributed out of their poverty to the relief of the churches in

Judaea. When they heard of his arrival at Rome, they again sent him

timely assistance through Epaphroditus, who also offered his personal

services to the prisoner of the Lord, at the sacrifice of his health

and almost his life. It was through this faithful fellow-worker that

Paul sent his letter of thanks to the Philippians, hoping, after his

release, to visit them in person once more.

The Epistle.

The Epistle reflects, in familiar ease, his relations to this beloved

flock, which rested on the love of Christ. It is not systematic, not

polemic, nor apologetic, but personal and autobiographic, resembling in

this respect the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and to some

extent, also, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It is the free

outflow of tender love and gratitude, and full of joy and cheerfulness

in the face of life and death. It is like his midnight hymn of praise

in the dungeon of Philippi. "Rejoice in the Lord alway; again I will

say, Rejoice" (Phil. 4:4). [1179] This is the key-note of the letter.

[1180] It proves that a healthy Christian faith, far from depressing

and saddening the heart, makes truly happy and contented even in

prison. It is an important contribution to our knowledge of the

character of the apostle. In acknowledging the gift of the Philippians,

he gracefully and delicately mingles manly independence and gratitude.

He had no doctrinal error, nor practical vice to rebuke, as in

Galatians and Corinthians.

The only discordant tone is the warning against "the dogs of the

concision" (katatome, 3:2), as he sarcastically calls the champions of

circumcision (peritome), who everywhere sowed tares in his wheat

fields, and at that very time tried to check his usefulness in Rome by

substituting the righteousness of the law for the righteousness of

faith. But he guards the readers with equal earnestness against the

opposite extreme of antinomian license (3:2-21). In opposition to the

spirit of personal and social rivalry and contention which manifested

itself among the Philippians, Paul reminds them of the self-denying

example of Christ, who was the highest of all, and yet became the

lowliest of all by divesting himself of his divine majesty and humbling

himself, even to the death on the cross, and who, in reward for his

obedience, was exalted above every name (2:1-11).

This is the most important doctrinal passage of the letter, and

contains (together with 2 Cor. 8:9) the fruitful germ of the

speculations on the nature and extent of the kenosis, which figures so

prominently in the history of christology. [1181] It is a striking

example of the apparently accidental occasion of some of the deepest

utterances of the apostle. "With passages full of elegant negligence

(Phil. 1:29), like Plato's dialogues and Cicero's letters, it has

passages of wonderful eloquence, and proceeds from outward relations

and special circumstances to wide-reaching thoughts and grand

conceptions." [1182]

The objections against the genuineness raised by a few hyper-critical

are not worthy of a serious refutation. [1183] 184

The Later History.

The subsequent history of the church at Philippi is rather

disappointing, like that of the other apostolic churches in the East.

It appears again in the letters of Ignatius, who passed through the

place on his way to his martyrdom in Rome, and was kindly entertained

and escorted by the brethren, and in the Epistle of Polycarp to the

Philippians, who expressed his joy that "the sturdy root of their

faith, famous from the earliest days, still survives and bears fruit

unto our Lord Jesus Christ," and alludes to the labors of "the blessed

and glorious Paul" among them. Tertullian appeals to the Philippian

church as still maintaining the apostle's doctrine and reading his

Epistle publicly. The name of its bishop is mentioned here and there in

the records of councils, but that is all. During the middle ages the

city was turned into a wretched village, and the bishopric into a mere

shadow. At present there is not even a village on the site, but only a

caravansary, a mile or more from the ruins, which consist of a theatre,

broken marble columns, two lofty gateways, and a portion of the city

wall. [1184] "Of the church which stood foremost among all the

apostolic communities in faith and love, it may literally be said that

not one stone stands upon another. Its whole career is a signal

monument of the inscrutable counsels of God. Born into the world with

the brightest promise, the church of Philippi has lived without a

history and perished without a memorial." [1185]

But in Paul's Epistle that noble little band of Christians still lives

and blesses the church in distant countries.

Theme: Theological: The self-humiliation (kenosis) of Christ for our

salvation (Phil. 2:5-11). Practical: Christian cheerfulness.

Leading Thoughts: He who began a good work in you will perfect it

(1:6). If only Christ is preached, I rejoice (1:13). To me to live is

Christ, and to die is gain (1:21). Have this mind in you, which was

also in Christ Jesus: who emptied himself, etc. (2:5 sqq.). God worketh

in you both to will and to work (2:13). Rejoice in the Lord alway;

again I will say, Rejoice 3:1; 4:1. I count all things to be loss for

the excellency of the knowledge of Christ (3:8). I press on toward the

goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus (3:14).

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever

things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are

lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue,

and if there be any praise, think on these things (4:8). The peace of

God passeth all understanding (4:7).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1177] Augustus conferred upon Philippi the special privilege of the

"jus Italicum," which made it a miniature likeness of the Roman people,

with "praetors" and "lictors," and the other titles of the Roman

magistrates. Under this character the city appears in the narrative of

the Acts (16:12 sqq.), where "the pride and privilege of Roman

citizenship confront us at every turn." See Lightfoot, pp. 50 sqq.,

Braune, and Lumby.

[1178] Lightfoot, l.c., p. 53.

[1179] chairete "combines a parting benediction with an exhortation to

cheerfulness. It is neither 'farewell' alone, nor 'rejoice' alone"

(Lightfoot).

[1180] Bengel:"Summa Epistolae: Gaudeo, gaudete." Farrar (II. 423): "If

any one compare the spirit of the best-known classic writers in their

adversity with that which was habitual to the far deeper wrongs and far

deadlier sufferings of St. Paul--if he will compare the Epistle to the

Philippians with the 'Tristia' of Ovid, the letters of Cicero from

exile, or the treatise which Seneca dedicated to Polybius from his

banishment in Corsica--he may see, if he will, the difference which

Christianity has made in the happiness of man."

[1181] The kenosis controversy between the Lutherans of Giessen and

T�bingen in the early part of the seventeenth century, and the more

extensive kenosis literature in the nineteenth century (Thomasius,

Liebner, Gess, Godet, etc.).

[1182] Dr. Braune, in Lange's Com., p. 4.

[1183] The arguments of Baur and Swegler have been set aside by

L�nemann (1847), Br�ckner (1848), Resch (1850), Hilgenfeld (1871), and

Reuss (1875); those of Holsten (1875 and 1876) by P. W. Schmidt,

Neutestam, Hyperkritik, 1880. Comp. Holzmann in Hilgenfeld's

"Zeitschrift f�r wiss. Theol.," 1881, 98 sqq.

[1184] Dr. H. B. Hackett, who visited the spot, corrects the false

statement of Meyer and other commentators that there is still a village

(Felibah, or Filibidjek, as Farrar says) on the former site. See his

translation of Braune on Phil., p. 6.

[1185] Lightfoot, p. 64. But almost the same sad tale may be told of

the churches of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, under the withering

rule of the Mohammedan Turks. Even Ephesus, where both Paul and John

labored so successfully, is little more than a heap of ruins.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 98. The Epistle to Philemon.

Of the many private letters of introduction and recommendation which

Paul must have written during his long life, only one is left to us,

very brief but very weighty. It is addressed to Philemon, a zealous

Christian at Colossae, a convert of Paul and apparently a layman, who

lent his house for the religious meetings of the brethren. [1186] The

name recalls the touching mythological legend of the faithful old

couple, Philemon and Baucis, who, in the same province of Phrygia,

entertained gods unawares and were rewarded for their simple

hospitality and conjugal love. The letter was written and transmitted

at the same time as that to the Colossians. It may be regarded as a

personal postscript to it.

It was a letter of recommendation of Onesimus (i.e., Profitable),

[1187] a slave of Philemon, who had run away from his master on account

of some offence (probably theft, a very common sin of slaves), [1188]

fell in with Paul at Rome, of whom he may have heard in the weekly

meetings at Colossae, or through Epaphras, his fellow-townsman, was

converted by him to the Christian faith, and now desired to return, as

a penitent, in company with Tychicus, the bearer of the Epistle to the

Colossians (Col. 4:9).

Paul and Slavery.

The Epistle is purely personal, yet most significant. Paul omits his

official title, and substitutes the touching designation, "a prisoner

of Christ Jesus," thereby going directly to the heart of his friend.

The letter introduces us into a Christian household, consisting of

father (Philemon), mother (Apphia), son (Archippus, who was at the same

time a "fellow-soldier," a Christian minister), and a slave (Onesimus).

It shows the effect of Christianity upon society at a crucial point,

where heathenism was utterly helpless. It touches on the institution of

slavery, which lay like an incubus upon the whole heathen world and was

interwoven with the whole structure of domestic and public life.

The effect of Christianity upon this gigantic social evil is that of a

peaceful and gradual care from within, by teaching the common origin

and equality of men, their common redemption and Christian brotherhood,

by, emancipating them from slavery unto spiritual freedom, equality,

and brotherhood in Christ, in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek,

neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one moral

person (Gal. 3:28). This principle and the corresponding practice

wrought first an amelioration, and ultimately the abolition of slavery.

The process was very slow and retarded by the counteracting influence

of the love of gain and power, and all the sinful passions of men; but

it was sure and is now almost complete throughout the Christian world;

while paganism and Mohammedanism regard slavery as a normal state of

society, and hence do not even make an attempt to remove it. It was the

only wise way for the apostles to follow in dealing with the subject. A

proclamation of emancipation from them would have been a mere brutum

fulmen, or, if effectual, would have resulted in a bloody revolution of

society in which Christianity itself would have been buried.

Paul accordingly sent back Onesimus to his rightful master, yet under a

new character, no more a contemptible thief and runaway, but a

regenerate man and a "beloved brother," with the touching request that

Philemon might receive him as kindly as he would the apostle himself,

yea as his own heart (Philem. 16, 17). Such advice took the sting out

of slavery; the form remained, the thing itself was gone. What a

contrast! In the eyes of the heathen philosophers (even Aristotle)

Onesimus, like every other slave, was but a live chattel; in the eyes

of Paul a redeemed child of God and heir of eternal life, which is far

better than freedom. [1189]

The New Testament is silent about the effect of the letter. We cannot

doubt that Philemon forgave Onesimus and treated him with Christian

kindness. In all probability he went beyond the letter of the request

and complied with its spirit, which hints at emancipation. Tradition

relates that Onesimus received his freedom and became bishop of Beraea

in Macedonia; sometimes he is confounded with his namesake, a bishop of

Ephesus in the second century, or made a missionary in Spain and a

martyr in Rome, or at Puteoli. [1190]

Paul and Philemon.

The Epistle is at the same time an invaluable contribution to our

knowledge of Paul. It reveals him to us as a perfect Christian

gentleman. It is a model of courtesy, delicacy, and tenderness of

feeling. Shut up in a prison, the aged apostle had a heart full of love

and sympathy for a poor runaway slave, made him a freeman in Christ

Jesus, and recommended him as if he were his own self.

Paul and Pliny.

Grotius and other commentators [1191] quote the famous letter of Pliny

the Consul to his friend Sabinianus in behalf of a runaway slave. It is

very creditable to Pliny, who was born in the year when Paul arrived as

a prisoner in Rome, and shows that the natural feelings of kindness and

generosity could not be extinguished even by that inhuman institution.

Pliny was a Roman gentleman of high culture and noble instincts,

although he ignorantly despised Christianity and persecuted its

innocent professors while Proconsul in Asia. The letters present

striking points of resemblance: in both, a fugitive slave, guilty, but

reformed, and desirous to return to duty; in both, a polite, delicate,

and earnest plea for pardon and restoration, dictated by sentiments of

disinterested kindness. But they differ as Christian charity differs

from natural philanthropy, as a Christian gentleman differs from a

heathen gentleman. The one could appeal only to the amiable temper and

pride of his friend, the other to the love of Christ and the sense of

duty and gratitude; the one was concerned for the temporal comfort of

his client, the other even more for his eternal welfare; the one could

at best remand him to his former condition as a slave, the other raised

him to the high dignity of a Christian brother, sitting with his master

at the same communion table of a common Lord and Saviour. "For polished

speech the Roman may bear the palm, but for nobleness of tone and

warmth of heart he falls far short of the imprisoned apostle."

The Epistle was poorly understood in the ancient church when slavery

ruled supreme in the Roman empire. A strong prejudice prevailed against

it in the fourth century, as if it were wholly unworthy of an apostle.

Jerome, Chrysostom, and other commentators, who themselves had no clear

idea of its ultimate social bearing, apologized to their readers that

Paul, instead of teaching metaphysical dogmas and enforcing

ecclesiastical discipline, should take so much interest in a poor

runaway slave. [1192] But since the Reformation full justice has been

done to it. Erasmus says: "Cicero never wrote with greater elegance."

Luther and Calvin speak of it in high terms, especially Luther, who

fully appreciated its noble, Christ-like sentiments. Bengel: "mire

asteios." Ewald: "Nowhere can the sensibility and warmth of a tender

friendship blend more beautifully with the loftier feeling of a

commanding spirit than in this letter, at once so brief, and yet so

surpassingly full and significant." Meyer: "A precious relic of a great

character, and, viewed merely as a specimen of Attic elegance and

urbanity, it takes rank among the epistolary masterpieces of

antiquity." Baur rejects it with trifling arguments as post-apostolic,

but confesses that it "makes an agreeable impression by its attractive

form," and breathes "the noblest Christian spirit." [1193] Holtzmann

calls it "a model of tact, refinement, and amiability." Reuss: "a model

of tact and humanity, and an expression of a fine appreciation of

Christian duty, and genial, amiable humor." Renan, with his keen eye on

the literary and aesthetic merits or defects, praises it as "a

veritable little f-d'oeuvre, of the art of letter-writing." And

Lightfoot, while estimating still higher its moral significance on the

question of slavery, remarks of its literary excellency: "As an

expression of simple dignity, of refined courtesy, of large sympathy,

of warm personal affection, the Epistle to Philemon stands unrivalled.

And its pre-eminence is the more remarkable because in style it is

exceptionally loose. It owes nothing to the graces of rhetoric; its

effect is due solely to the spirit of the writer."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1186] A worthless tradition makes him bishop of Colossae and a martyr

in the Neronian persecution. So Onesimus and almost every important man

in the apostolic church was turned into a bishop and martyr. On the

names in the Epistle, see Lightfoot's Com. on Col. and Philem., pp. 372

sqq.

[1187] Hence the good-humored play on the meaning of the word, Philem.

11, achrestos, euchrestos ,"unprofitable to thee, but now profitable to

thee and to me;" and the play on the name, Philem. 20, onaimen, "let me

have comfort in thee."

[1188] Philem. 18 seems to describe the actual offence, though the case

is stated hypothetically, ei de ti ... opheilei (a mild word for

eklepsen, stole). The apostle would not wound the feelings of the

slave, nor irritate the master, and offers himself to discharge the

debt.

[1189] "The Gospel," says Lightfoot (p. 389), "never directly attacks

slavery as an institution: the apostles never command the liberation of

slaves as an absolute duty. It is a remarkable fact that St. Paul in

this Epistle stops short of any positive injunction. The word

'emancipation' seems to be trembling on his lips, and yet he does not

once utter it. He charges Philemon to take the runaway slave Onesimus

into his confidence again; to receive him with all affection; to regard

him no more as a slave, but as a brother; to treat him with the same

consideration, the same love, which he entertains for the apostle

himself to whom he owes everything. In fact he tells him to do very

much more than emancipate his slave, but this one thing he does not

directly enjoin. St. Paul's treatment of this individual case is an apt

illustration of the attitude of Christianity toward slavery in

general."

[1190] For these conflicting legends, see the Acts Sanctorum Boll.,

XVI. Febr., II. 857 sqq.

[1191] As Hackett (in Lange), Lightfoot, Lumby, and others.

[1192] See Lightfoot, p. 383, and the Speaker's Com. New Test., III.

829.

[1193] "Es wird hier,"he says (Paulus, II. 88, second ed.), "im

Christenthum die sch�ne Idee aufgefasst, dass die durch dasselbe mit

einander Verbundenen in einer wahren Wesensgemeinschaft mit einander

stehen, so dass der Eine in dem Anderen sein eigenes Selbst erkennt,

sich mit ihm v�llig Eins weiss und einer f�r alle Ewigkeit dauernden

Vereinigung angeh�rt."Hilgenfeld admits the genuineness, saying (p.

331): "Der ganze Brief tr�gt das Gepr�ge der einfachen Wahrheit an sich

und verr�th auch in den Wortspielen, Philem. 11, 20, die Schreibart des

Paulus."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 99. The Pastoral Epistles.

Comp. � 33, pp. 327-329.

Contents.

The three Pastoral Epistles, two to Timothy and one to Titus, form a

group by themselves, and represent the last stage of the apostle's life

and labors, with his parting counsels to his beloved disciples and

fellow-workers. They show us the transition of the apostolic church

from primitive simplicity to a more definite system of doctrine and

form of government. This is just what we might expect from the probable

time of their composition after the first Roman captivity of Paul, and

before the composition of the Apocalypse.

They are addressed not to congregations, but to individuals, and hence

more personal and confidential in their character. This fact helps us

to understand many peculiarities. Timothy, the son of a heathen father

and a Jewish mother, and Titus, a converted Greek) were among the

dearest of Paul's pupils. [1194] They were, at the same time, his

delegates and commissioners on special occasions, and appear under this

official character in the Epistles, which, for this reason, bear the

name "Pastoral."

The Epistles contain Paul's pastoral theology and his theory of church

government. They give directions for founding, training, and governing

churches, and for the proper treatment of individual members, old and

young, widows and virgins, backsliders and heretics. They are rich in

practical wisdom and full of encouragement, as every pastor knows.

The Second Epistle to Timothy is more personal in its contents than the

other two, and has the additional importance of concluding the

autobiography of Paul. It is his last will and testament to all future

ministers and soldiers of Christ.

The Pauline Authorship.

There never was a serious doubt as to the Pauline authorship of these

Epistles till the nineteenth century, except among a few Gnostics in

the second century. They were always reckoned among the Homologumena,

as distinct from the seven Antilegomena, or disputed books of the New

Testament. As far as external evidence is concerned, they stand on as

firm a foundation as any other Epistle. They are quoted as canonical by

Eusebius, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenaeus.

Reminiscences from them, in some cases with verbal agreement, are found

in several of the Apostolic Fathers. They are included in the ancient

MSS. and Versions, and in the list of the Muratorian canon. Marcion

(about 140), it is true, excluded them from his canon of ten Pauline

Epistles, but he excluded also the Gospels (except a mutilated Luke),

the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. [1195]

But there are certain internal difficulties which have induced a number

of modern critics to assign them all, or at least First Timothy, to a

post-Pauline or pseudo-Pauline writer, who either changed and adapted

Pauline originals to a later state of the church, or fabricated the

whole in the interest of Catholic orthodoxy. In either case, the writer

is credited with the best intentions and must not be judged according

to the modern standard of literary honesty and literary property.

Doctrinally, the Pastoral Epistles are made the connecting link between

genuine Paulinism and the Johannean Logos--philosophy;

ecclesiastically, the link between primitive Presbyterianism and

Catholic Episcopacy; in both respects, a necessary element in the

formation process of the orthodox Catholic church of the second

century.

The objections against the Pauline authorship deserve serious

consideration, and are as follows: (1) The impossibility of locating

these Epistles in the recorded life of Paul; (2) the Gnostic heresy

opposed; (3) the ecclesiastical organization implied; (4) the

peculiarities of style and temper. If they are not genuine, Second

Timothy must be the oldest, as it is least liable to these objections,

and First Timothy and Titus are supposed to represent a later

development. [1196]

The Time of Composition.

The chronology of the Pastoral Epistles is uncertain, and has been made

an objection to their genuineness. It is closely connected with the

hypothesis of a second Roman captivity, which we have discussed in

another place.

The Second Epistle to Timothy, whether genuine or not, hails from a

Roman prison, and appears to be the last of Paul's Epistles; for he was

then hourly expecting the close of his fight of faith, and the crown of

righteousness from his Lord and Master (2 Tim. 4:7, 8). Those who deny

the second imprisonment, and yet accept Second Timothy as Pauline, make

it the last of the first imprisonment.

As to First Timothy and Titus, it is evident from their contents that

they were written while Paul was free, and after he had made some

journeys, which are not recorded in the Acts. Here lies the difficulty.

Two ways are open:

1. The two Epistles were written in 56 and 57. Paul may, during his

three years' sojourn in Ephesus, a.d. 54-57 (see Acts 19:8-10; 20:31),

easily have made a second journey to Macedonia, leaving Ephesus in

charge of Timothy (1 Tim. 1:3); and also crossed over to the island of

Crete, where he left Titus behind to take care of the churches (Tit.

1:5). Considering the incompleteness of the record of Acts, and the

probable allusions in 2 Cor. 2:1; 12:13, 14, 21; 13:1, to a second

visit to Corinth, not mentioned in the Acts, these two journeys are

within the reach of possibility. [1197] But such an early date leaves

the other difficulties unexplained.

2. The tradition of the second Roman captivity, which can be raised at

least to a high degree of probability, removes the difficulty by giving

us room for new journeys and labors of Paid between his release in the

spring of 63 and the Neronian persecution in July, 64 (according to

Tacitus), or three or four years later (according to Eusebius and

Jerome), as well as for the development of the Gnostic heresy and the

ecclesiastical organization of the church which is implied in these

Epistles. Hence, most writers who hold to the genuineness place First

Timothy and Titus between the first and second Roman captivities.

[1198]

Paul certainly intended to make a journey from Rome to Spain (Rom.

15:24), and also one to the East (Philem. 22; Phil. 1:25, 26; 2:24),

and he had ample time to carry out his intention even before the

Neronian persecution, if we insist upon confining this to the date of

Tacitus. [1199]

Those who press the chronological difficulty should not forget that a

forger could have very easily fitted the Epistles into the narrative of

the Acts, and was not likely to invent a series of journeys,

circumstances, and incidents, such as the bringing of the cloak, the

books, and the parchments which Paul, in the hurry of travel, had left

at Troas (2 Tim. 4:13).

The Gnostic Heresy.

The Pastoral Epistles, like Colossians, oppose the Gnostic heresy

(gnosis pseudonumos,1 Tim. 6:20) which arose in Asia Minor during his

first Roman captivity, and appears more fully developed in Cerinthus,

the contemporary of John. This was acknowledged by the early Fathers,

Irenaeus and Tertullian, who used these very Epistles as Pauline

testimonies against the Gnosticism of their day.

The question arises, which of the many types of this many-sided error

is opposed? Evidently the Judaizing type, which resembled that at

Colossae, but was more advanced and malignant, and hence is more

sternly denounced. The heretics were of "the circumcision" (Tit. 1:10);

they are called "teachers of the law" (nomodidaskaloi,1 Tim. 1:7, the

very reverse of antinomians), "given to Jewish fables" (Ioudaikoi

muthoi, Tit. 1:14), and "disputes connected with the law" (machai

nomikai, Tit. 3:9), and fond of foolish and ignorant questionings (2

Tim. 2:23). They were, moreover, extravagant ascetics, like the

Essenes, forbidding to marry and abstaining from meat (1 Tim. 4:3, 8;

Tit. 1:14, 15). They denied the resurrection and overthrew the faith of

some (2 Tim. 2:18).

Baur turned these heretics into anti-Jewish and antinomian Gnostics of

the school of Marcion (about 140), and then, by consequence, put the

Epistles down to the middle of the second century. He finds in the

"genealogies" ( 1 Tim. 1:4; Tit. 3:9) the emanations, of the Gnostic

aeons, and in the "antitheses" (1 Tim. 6:20), or anti-evangelical

assertions of the heretical teachers, an allusion to Marcion's

"antitheses" (antilogies), by which he set forth the supposed

contradictions between the Old and New Testaments. [1200] But this is a

radical misinterpretation, and the more recent opponents of the

genuineness are forced to admit the Judaizing character of those

errorists; they identify them with Cerinthus, the Ophites, and

Saturninus, who preceded Marcion by several decades. [1201]

As to the origin of the Gnostic heresy, which the T�bingen school would

put down to the age of Hadrian, we have already seen that, like its

counterpart, the Ebionite heresy, it dates from the apostolic age,

according to the united testimony of the later Pauline Epistles, the

Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude, the Apocalypse, and the patristic

tradition. [1202]

Ecclesiastical Organization.

The Pastoral Epistles seem to presuppose a more fully developed

ecclesiastical organization than the other Pauline Epistles, and to

belong to an age of transition from apostolic simplicity, or

Christo-democracy--if we may use such a term--to the episcopal

hierarchy of the second century. The church, in proportion as it lost,

after the destruction of Jerusalem, its faith in the speedy advent of

Christ, began to settle down in this world, and to make preparations

for a permanent home by a fixed creed and a compact organization, which

gave it unity and strength against heathen persecution and heretical

corruption. This organization, at once simple and elastic, was

episcopacy, with its subordinate offices of the presbyterate and

deaconate, and charitable institutions for widows and orphans. Such an

organization we have, it is said, in the Pastoral Epistles, which were

written in the name of Paul, to give the weight of his authority to the

incipient hierarchy. [1203]

But, on closer inspection, there is a very marked difference between

the ecclesiastical constitution of the Pastoral Epistles and that of

the second century. There is not a word said about the divine origin of

episcopacy; not a trace of a congregational episcopate, such as we find

in the Ignatian epistles, still less of a diocesan episcopate of the

time of Irenaeus and Tertullian. Bishops and presbyters are still

identical as they are in the Acts 20:17, 28, and in the undoubtedly

genuine Epistle to the Philippians 1:1. Even Timothy and Titus appear

simply as delegates of the apostle for a specific mission. [1204] The

qualifications and functions required of the bishop are aptness to

teach and a blameless character; and their authority is made to depend

upon their moral character rather than their office. They are supposed

to be married, and to set a good example in governing their own

household. The ordination which Timothy received (1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22)

need not differ from the ordination of deacons and elders mentioned in

Acts 6:6; 8:17; comp. 14:23; 19:6). "Few features," says Dr. Plumptre,

himself an Episcopalian, "are more striking in these Epistles than the

absence of any high hierarchical system." The Apocalypse, which these

very critics so confidently assign to the year 68, shows a nearer

approach to episcopal unity in the "angels" of the seven churches. But

even from the "angels," of the Apocalypse there was a long way to the

Ignatian and pseudo-Clementine bishops, who are set up as living

oracles and hierarchical idols.

The Style.

The language of the Pastoral Epistles shows an unusual number of

un-Pauline words and phrases, especially rare compounds, some of them

nowhere found in the whole New Testament, or even in Greek literature.

[1205]

But, in the first place, the number of words peculiar to each one of

the three epistles is much greater than the number of peculiar words

common to all three; consequently, if the argument proves anything, it

leads to the conclusion of three different authors, which the

assailants will not admit, in view of the general unity of the

Epistles. In the next place, every one of Paul's Epistles has a number

of peculiar words, even the little Epistle of Philemon. [1206] The most

characteristic words were required by the nature of the new topics

handled and the heresy combated, such as "knowledge falsely so called"

(pseudonumos gnosis, 1 Tim. 6:20) "healthful doctrine" (hugiainousa

didaskalia, 1 Tim. 1:10); "Jewish myths" (Tit. 1:14); "genealogies"

(Tit. 3:9); "profane babblings" (2 Tim. 2:16). Paul's mind was

uncommonly fertile and capable of adapting itself to varying,

conditions, and had to create in some measure the Christian idiom. The

T�bingen critics profess the highest admiration for his genius, and yet

would contract his vocabulary to a very small compass. Finally, the

peculiarities of style are counterbalanced by stronger resemblances and

unmistakable evidences of Pauline authorship. "There are flashes of the

deepest feeling, outbursts of the most intense expression. There is

rhythmic movement and excellent majesty in the doxologies, and the

ideal of a Christian pastor drawn not only with an unfaltering hand,

but with a beauty, fulness, and simplicity which a thousand years of

subsequent experience have enabled no one to equal, much less to

surpass." [1207]

On the other hand, we may well ask the opponents to give a good reason

why a forger should have chosen so many new words when he might have so

easily confined himself to the vocabulary of the other Epistles of

Paul; why he should have added "mercy" to the salutation instead of the

usual form; why he should have called Paul "the chief of sinners" (1

Tim. 1:15), and affected a tone of humility rather than a tone of high

apostolic authority?

Other Objections.

The Epistles have been charged with want of logical connection, with

abruptness, monotony, and repetitiousness, unworthy of such an original

thinker and writer as Paul. But this feature is only the easy,

familiar, we may say careless, style which forms the charm as well as

the defect of personal correspondence. Moreover, every great author

varies more or less at different periods of life, and under different

conditions and moods.

It would be a more serious objection if the theology of these Epistles

could be made to appear in conflict with that of his acknowledged

works. [1208] But this is not the case. It is said that greater stress

is laid on sound doctrine and good works. But in Galatians, Paul

condemns most solemnly every departure from the genuine gospel (Gal.

1:8, 9), and in all his Epistles he enjoins holiness as the

indispensable evidence of faith; while salvation is just as clearly

traced to divine grace alone, in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 1:9;

Tit. 3:5), as in Romans.

In conclusion, while we cannot be blind to certain difficulties, and

may not be able, from want of knowledge of the precise situation of the

writer, satisfactorily to explain them, we must insist that the

prevailing evidence is in favor of the genuineness of these Epistles.

They agree with Paul's doctrinal system; they are illuminated with

flashes of his genius; they bear the marks of his intense personality;

they contain rare gems of inspired truth, and most wholesome admonition

and advice, which makes them to-day far more valuable than any number

of works on pastoral theology and church government. There are not a

few passages in them which, for doctrine or practice, are equal to the

best he ever wrote, and are deeply lodged in the experience and

affection of Christendom. [1209]

And what could be a more fitting, as well as more sublime and

beautiful, finale of such a hero of faith than the last words of his

last Epistle, written in the very face of martyrdom: "I am already

being offered, and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the

good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith:

henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness which the

Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day: and not only

to me, but also to all them that have loved his appearing."

Note.

Schleiermacher led the way, in 1807, with his attack on 1 Timothy,

urging very keenly historical, philological, and other objections, but

assuming 2 Timothy and Titus to be the genuine originals from which the

first was compiled. DeWette followed in his Introduction. Baur left

both behind and rejected all, in his epoch-making treatise, Die

sogenannten Pastoralbriefe, 1835. He was followed by Schwegler (1846),

Hilgenfeld (1875), Mangold, Schenkel, Hausrath, Pfleiderer (both in his

Paulinismus and in his Commentary in the Protestanten-Bibel, 1874),

Holtzmann; also by Ewald, Renan (L'�glise chr�tienne, pp. 85 sqq.), and

Sam. Davidson (Introd., revised ed., II. 21 sqq.). The most elaborate

book against the genuineness is Holtzmann's Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch

und exeg. behandelt, Leipzig, 1880 (504 pp.); comp. his Einleitung

(1886).

Reuss (Les �pitres Pauliniennes, 1878, II. 243 sq., 307 sq., and Gesch.

des N. T, 1887, p. 257 sqq.) rejects 1 Timothy and Titus, but admits 2

Timothy, assigning it to the first Roman captivity. He thinks that 2

Timothy would never have been doubted except for its suspicious

companionship. Some of the opponents, as Pfleiderer and Renan, feel

forced to admit some scraps of genuine Pauline Epistles or notes, and

thus they break the force of the opposition. The three Epistles must

stand or fall together, either as wholly Pauline, or as wholly

pseudo-Pauline.

The genuineness has been ably vindicated by Guericke, Thiersch, Huther,

Wiesinger, Otto, Wieseler, Van Oosterzee, Lange, Herzog, von Hofmann,

Beck, Alford, Gloag, Fairbairn (Past. Ep., 1874), Farrar (St. Paul, II.

607 sqq.), Wace (in the Speaker's Com. New Test., III., 1881, 749

sqq.), Plumptre (in Schaff's Com. on the New Test., III., 1882, pp. 550

sqq.), K�lling (Der erste Br. a. Tim. 1882), Salmon (1885), and Weiss

(1886).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1194] For biographical details see the Bible Dictionaries and

Commentaries.

[1195] See the testimonies in Kirchhofer's Quellensammlung, as

translated and enlarged by Charteris, Canonicity, 255-268. Renan admits

the resemblance between the First Epistle of Clemens Romanus (c. 44)

and Second Timothy (e.g., in the use of the word analusis for death),

but assumes that both borrowed from a common source, the favorite

language of the church of Rome, and also that the forger of the

Pastoral Epistles probably made use of some authentic letters of Paul.

L'�glise chr�t., p. 95: "Quelques passages de ces trois �p�tres sont

d'ailleurs si beaux, qu'on peut se demander si le faussaire n'avait pas

entre les mains quelques billets authentiques de Paul."

[1196] Baur and Hilgenfeld (Einleit., p. 764) bring them down to 150

(after Marcion, 140), and date them from Rome. But this is impossible,

and rests on a false exegesis. Pfleiderer, of the same T�bingen school,

puts 2 Timothy in the age of Trajan, the other two in the age of

Hadrian. He, moreover, regards the passages 2 Tim 1:15-18 and 4:9-21 as

fragments of a genuine Epistle of Paul. Comp. also Holtzmann, p. 271.

[1197] So Schrader, Wieseler, Reythmayr, formerly also Reuss (in his

Gesch., etc., 5th ed., 1875, but withdrawn in his French Com. on the

Pauline Epp., 1878).

[1198] So Theophylact, Oecumenius, Ussher, Pearson, Tillemont, Neander,

Bleek, Ruffet, Lange, Farrar, Plumptre, Lightfoot, etc.

[1199] A release of Paul from the first Roman captivity and a visit to

Spain is also asserted by such critics as Ewald and Renan.

[1200] The antitheseis tes pseudonumou gnoseos(" oppositions" in the E.

V. and Revision) are understood by the best exegetes to mean simply the

doctrinal theses which the heretics opposed to the sound doctrine

(comp. 2 Tim. 2:23; Tit. 1:9). So DeWette, Matthies, and Wiesinger.

Hofmann and Huther identify them with kenophoniai and logomachiai (1

Tim. 5:4). Holtzmann (p. 131) likewise rejects Baur's interpretation.

[1201] Holtzmann, l.c., p. 127; also Lipsius, Schenkel, Pfleiderer.

[1202] See above, � 96 (this vol.)

[1203] Such is the ingenious reasoning of Baur and Renan (L'Egl.

chr�t., pp. 85 and 94 sqq.). Comp. the discussion of details by

Holtzmann, l.c., ch. XI., pp. 190 sqq.

[1204] 1 Tim. 1:3; 3:14; 2 Tim. 4:9, 21; Tit. 1:5; 8:12. See above, �

61 (this vol.) The fact is acknowledged by impartial episcopal writers,

as Dean Alford, Bishop Lightfoot, Dean Stanley, and Dean Plumptre (in

Schaff's Com. N. T., III. 552). I will quote from Canon Farrar (St.

Paul. II. 417) "If the Pastoral Epistles contained a clear defence of

the Episcopal system of the second century, this alone would be

sufficient to prove their spuriousness; but the total absence of

anything resembling it is one of the strongest proofs that they belong

to the apostolic age. Bishop and presbyter are still synonymous, as

they are throughout the New Testament ... Timothy and Titus exercise

functions which would be now called episcopal; but they are not called

'bishops.' Their functions were temporary, and they simply act as

authoritative delegates of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Nor is there

any trace of exalted pretensions in the overseers whom they appoint.

The qualifications required of them are almost exclusively moral."

Comp. also some good remarks of Prof. Wace, in the Speaker's Com. on

the New Test., III. 764, where it is justly said that the church polity

in the Pastoral Epistles represents an intermediate stage between the

Presbyterian episcopacy of the earlier apostolic period and the

post-apostolic episcopacy.

[1205] This philological argument was begun by Schleiermacher, but

confined to First Timothy, and was carried out, with reference to all

three Epistles, by Holtzmann, l.c., ch. VI., pp. 84-118. I will give

his results. The Pastoral Epistles have, in all, 897 words. Of these

there are 169 Hapaxlegomena not found in the New Testament, namely: (a)

74 in First Timothy, such as agathoergein. hagneia, adelotes,

andrapodistes , adrophonos, eterodidaskalein, theosebeia, katastole,

plegma, orismos , philarguria, pseudologos, pseudonumos . (b) 46 in

Second Timothy, e.g ., agoge, athlein, beltion, membrana, orthotomein,

pragmateia, philotheos. (c) 28 in Titus, e, g., hairetikos ,

akatagnostos, aphthoria, apseudes , kalodidaskalos, mataiologos ,

presbutis, soterios , philagathos, philandros (palingenesia, Tit. 3:5,

occurs also Matt. 19:28, but in a different sense). (d) 21 common to

two or three Past. Epp., e g, diabolos, (as adjective), anosios ,

didaktikos, kenophonia, nomimos , paratheke, genealogia, eusebos.

[1206] Farrar (II. 611) affirms that there are no less than 111

peculiar terms in Romans, 180 in Corinthians, 57 in Galatians, 54 in

Phillipians, 6 in Philemon. Luke's peculiar vocabulary is especially

rich; he uses, as Holtzmann observes (p. 96), 34 words in common with

the Pastoral Epistles, and has, besides, 82 words not found in Paul.

[1207] Farrer, II. 611.

[1208] Pfleiderer (Protestanten-Bibel. p. 834) says: "Die kirchliche

Lehrrichtung der Hirtenbriefe ist eine von der altpaulinischen sehr

weit verschiedene. Von den eigenth�mlich paulinischen Lehren �ber

Gesetz und Evangelium, �ber Werke und Glauben finden sich in unseren

Briefen nur abgeblasste Reste, die fast wie feststehende �berliefte

Formeln klingen, w�hrend das Glaubensbewusstsein ein anderes geworden

ist."In this harsh and unjust judgment the fact is overlooked that the

three Epistles are pastoral and not doctrinal Epistles.

[1209] Such passages as 1 Tim. 1:15, 17; 2:1, 4-6, 8; 3:2, 16; 4:1, 4,

7, 10, 15; 5:8, 17, 18, 22; 6:6, 9-12; 2 Tim. 1:6; 2:11, 12, 19, 22;

8:12, 16, 17; 4:2, 6-8; Tit. 1:7, 15; 2:11; 8:5, 6.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 100. The Epistle To The Hebrews.

I. Commentaries on Hebrews by Chrysostom (d. 407, hermeneia, in 34

Homilies publ. after his death by an Antioch. presbyter, Constantinus);

Theodoret (d. 457); Oecumenius (10th cent.); Theophylact (11th cent.);

Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274); Erasmus (d. 1536, Annotationes in N. T., with

his Greek Test., 1516 and often, and Paraphrasis in N. T., 1522 and

often); Card. Cajetanus (Epistolae Pauli, etc., 1531); Calvin (d. 1564,

Com. in omnes P. Ep. atque etiam in Ep. ad Hebraeos, 1539 and often,

also Halle, 1831); Beza (d. 1605, transl. and notes, 1557 and often;

had much influence on King Jame's Version); Hyperius (at Marburg, d.

1564); Dav. Pareus (d. 1615, Com. in Ep. ad Hebr.); Corn. A Lapide

(Jesuit, d. 1637, Com. in omnes Pauli Epp., 1627 and often); Guil.

Estius (R. C. Prof. at Douai, 1614, etc.); Jac. Cappellus (Sedan,

1624); Lud. Cappellus (Geneva, 1632); Grotius (d. 1645, Arminian, a

great classical and general scholar); Joh. Gerhard (d. 1637); John Owen

(the great Puritan divine, d. 1683, Exercitations on the Epistle to the

Hebrews, London, 1668-80, in 4 vols. fol., Lat. transl., Amsterd., 1700

[new Engl. ed. in 7 vols., in his Works, Lond., 1826, 21 vols.; Edinb.

ed. of Works by W. H. Goold, 1850-55; 24 vols., Philad. reprint, 1869],

"a work of gigantic strength as well as gigantic size," as Chalmers

called it, and containing a whole system of Puritan theology); Jac.

Pierce (Non-conformist, d. 1726); Sykes (d. 1756); Carpzov (d. 1803,

Exercitat., etc., 1750); J. D. Michaelis (2d ed., 1780-86, 2 vols.);

Rosenm�ller (1793); Storr (d. 1805; T�b., 1789); B�hme (Lips., 1825);

Mos. Stuart (Andover, 1827, 2 vols., 4th ed., abridged and revised by

Robbins, 1860); K�hn�l (1831); Friedrich Bleek (Prof. in Bonn., d.

1859; the large Com. in 3 vols., Berlin, 1836-40, an exegetical

masterpiece, most learned, critical, candid, judicious, and

reverential, though free; his Lectures on Hebrews were ed., after his

death, by Windrath, 1868); Tholuck (Hamburg, 1836, dedicated to Bunsen,

3d ed., 1850, transl. by James Hamilton, Edinb., 1852); Stier (1842);

DeWette (1847, 2d ed.); Ebrard (1850, in Olshausen's Com., vol. v.;

Engl. transl., Edinb., 1853); Turner (new ed. N. Y., 1855); Sampson

(ed. by Dabney, N. Y., 1856); L�nemann (in Meyer's Com., 1857, 4th ed.,

1878); Delitzsch (1857, transl. by Th. L. Kingsbury, Edinb., 1868, 2

vols.); John Brown (Edinb., 1862, 2 vols.); Reuss (in French, 1862);

Lindsay (Edinb., 1867, 2 vols.); Moll (in Lange's Com., translated and

enlarged by Kendrick, 1868); Ripley (1868); Kurtz (1869); Ewald (1870);

Hofmann (1873); Biesenthal (1878); Bloomfield; Alford; Wordsworth; W.

Kay (in the Speaker's Com. N. T, vol. iv., 1882); Moulton (in

Ellicott's Com. for English Readers); A. B. Davidson (of the New

College, Edinburgh. 1882); Angus (1883); Sam. T. Lowrie (1884); Weiss

(1888).

II. The doctrinal system of the Ep. has been most fully expounded by

Riehm (d. 1888 in Halle): Der Lehrbegriff des Hebr�erbriefs, Basel und

Ludwigsburg, 1858-59, 2 vols.; new ed., 1867, in 1 vol. (899 pages).

Comp. the expositions of Neander, Messner, Baur, Reuss, and Weiss. On

the use of the O. T., see Tholuck: Das A. T. im N., Hamb., 3d ed.,

1849; on the Christology of the Epistle, Beyerschlag: Christologie des

N. T. (1866), 176 sqq.; on the Melchisedek priesthood, Auberlen, in

"Studien und Kritiken" for 1857, pp. 453 sqq. Pfleiderer, in his

Paulinismus (pp. 324-366), treats of Hebrews, together with Colossians

and the Epistle of Barnabas, as representing Paulinism under the

influence of Alexandrinism.

III. On the introductory questions, comp. Norton in the: "Christian

Examiner" (Boston), 1827-29; Olshausen: De auctore Ep. ad Hebraeos (in

Opusc. theol., 1834); Wieseler: Untersuchung �ber den Hebraeerbrief,

Kiel, 1861; J. H. Thayer: Authorship and Canonicity of the to the

Hebrews, in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover, 1867; Zahn, in Herzog's

"Encykl.," vol. v. (1879), pp. 656-671; and articles in "Bible

Dictionaries," and in "Encycl. Brit.," 9th ed., vol. xi., 602 sqq.

The anonymous Epistle "to the Hebrews," like the Book of Job, belongs

to the order of Melchizedek, combining priestly unction and royal

dignity, but being "without father, without mother, without pedigree,

having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb. 7:1-3). Obscure

in its origin, it is clear and deep in its knowledge of Christ. Hailing

from the second generation of Christians (2:3), it is full of

pentecostal inspiration. Traceable to no apostle, it teaches, exhorts,

and warns with apostolic authority and power. Though not of Paul's pen,

it has, somehow, the impress of his genius and influence, and is

altogether worthy to occupy a place in the canon, after his Epistles,

or between them and the Catholic Epistles. Pauline in spirit, it is

catholic or encyclical in its aim. [1210]

Contents.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is not an ordinary letter. It has, indeed,

the direct personal appeals, closing messages, and salutations of a

letter; but it is more, it is a homily, or rather a theological

discourse, aiming to strengthen the readers in their Christian faith,

and to protect them against the danger of apostasy from Christianity.

It is a profound argument for the superiority of Christ over the

angels, over Moses, and over the Levitical priesthood, and for the

finality of the second covenant. It unfolds far more fully than any

other book the great idea of the eternal priesthood and sacrifice of

Christ, offered once and forever for the redemption of the world, as

distinct from the national and transient character of the Mosaic

priesthood and the ever-repeated sacrifices of the Tabernacle and the

Temple. The author draws his arguments from the Old Testament itself,

showing that, by its whole character and express declarations, it is a

preparatory dispensation for the gospel salvation, a significant type

and prophecy of Christianity, and hence destined to pass away like a

transient shadow of the abiding substance. He implies that the Mosaic

oeconomy was still existing, with its priests and daily sacrifices, but

in process of decay, and looks forward to the fearful judgment which a

few years, afterward destroyed the Temple forever. [1211] He

interweaves pathetic admonitions and precious consolations with

doctrinal expositions, and every exhortation leads him to a new

exposition. Paul puts the hortatory part usually at the end.

The author undoubtedly belonged to the Pauline school, which emphasized

the great distinction between the Old and the New Covenant; while yet

fully acknowledging the divine origin and paedagogic use of the former.

But he brings out the superiority of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice

to the Mosaic priesthood and sacrifice; while Paul dwells mainly on the

distinction between the law and the gospel. He lays chief stress on

faith, but he presents it in its general aspect as trust in God, in its

prospective reference to the future and invisible, and in its

connection with hope and perseverance under suffering; while Paul

describes faith, in its specific evangelical character, as a hearty

trust in Christ and his atoning merits, and in its justifying effect,

in opposition to legalistic reliance on works. Faith is defined, or at

least described, as "assurance (hupostasis) of things hoped for, a

conviction (elenchos) of things not seen" (11:1). This applies to the

Old Testament as well as the New, and hence appropriately opens the

catalogue of patriarchs and prophets, who encourage Christian believers

in their conflict; but they are to look still more to Jesus as "the

author and perfecter of our faith" (12:2), who is, after all, the

unchanging object of our faith, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and

for ever" (13:8).

The Epistle is eminently Christological. It resembles in this respect

Colossians and Philippians, and forms a stepping-stone to the

Christology of John. From the sublime description of the exaltation and

majesty of Christ in Heb. 1:1-4 (comp. Col. 1:15-20), there is only one

step to the prologue of the fourth Gospel. The exposition of the high

priesthood of Christ reminds one of the sacerdotal prayer (John 17).

The use of proof-texts from the Old Testament seems at times contrary

to the obvious historical import of the passage, but is always

ingenious, and was, no doubt, convincing to Jewish readers. The writer

does not distinguish between typical and direct prophecies. He

recognizes the typical, or rather antitypical, character of the

Tabernacle and its services, as reflecting the archetype seen by Moses

in the mount, but all the Messianic prophecies are explained as direct

(Heb. 1:5-14; 2:11-13; 10:5-10). He betrays throughout a high order of

Greek culture, profound knowledge of the Greek Scriptures, and the

symbolical import of the Mosaic worship. [1212] He was also familiar

with the Alexandrian theosophy of Philo, [1213] but he never introduces

foreign ideas into the Scriptures, as Philo did by his allegorical

interpretation. His exhortations and warnings go to the quick of the

moral sensibility; and yet his tone is also cheering and encouraging.

He had the charisma of exhortation and consolation in the highest

degree. [1214] Altogether, he was a man full of faith and the Holy

Spirit, and gifted with a tongue of fire.

The Style.

Hebrews is written in purer Greek than any book of the New Testament,

except those portions of Luke where he is independent of prior

documents. The Epistle begins, like the third Gospel, with a rich and

elegant period of classic construction. The description of the heroes

of faith in the eleventh chapter is one of the most eloquent and

sublime in the entire history of religious literature. He often reasons

a minori ad majus (ei ... poso mallon). He uses a number of rare and

choice terms which occur nowhere else in the New Testament. [1215]

As compared with the undoubted Epistles of Paul, the style of Hebrews

is less fiery and forcible, but smoother, more correct, rhetorical,

rhythmical, and free from anacolutha and solecisms. There is not that

rush and vehemence which bursts through ordinary rules, but a calm and

regular flow of speech. The sentences are skilfully constructed and

well rounded. Paul is bent exclusively on the thought; the author of

Hebrews evidently paid great attention to the form. Though not strictly

classical, his style is as pure as the Hellenistic dialect and the

close affinity with the Septuagint permit.

All these considerations exclude the idea of a translation from a

supposed Hebrew original.

The Readers.

The Epistle is addressed to the Hebrew Christians, that is, according

to the usual distinction between Hebrews and Hellenists (Acts 6:1;

9:27), to the converted Jews in Palestine, chiefly to those in

Jerusalem. To them it is especially adapted. They lived in sight of the

Temple, and were exposed to the persecution of the hierarchy and the

temptation of apostasy. This has been the prevailing view from the time

of Chrysostom to Bleek. [1216] The objection that the Epistle quotes

the Old Testament uniformly after the Septuagint is not conclusive,

since the Septuagint was undoubtedly used in Palestine alongside with

the Hebrew original.

Other views more or less improbable need only be mentioned: (1) All the

Christian Jews as distinct from the Gentiles; [1217] (2) the Jews of

Jerusalem alone; [1218] (3) the Jews of Alexandria; [1219] (4) the Jews

of Antioch; [1220] (5) the Jews of Rome; [1221] (6) some community of

the dispersion in the East (but not Jerusalem). [1222]

Occasion and Aim.

The Epistle was prompted by the desire to strengthen and comfort the

readers in their trials and persecutions (Heb. 10:32-39; Heb. 11 and

12), but especially to warn them against the danger of apostasy to

Judaism (2:2, 3; 3:6, 14; 4:1, 14; 6:1-8; 10:23, 26-31). And this could

be done best by showing the infinite superiority of Christianity, and

the awful guilt of neglecting so great a salvation.

Strange that but thirty years after the resurrection and the

pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, there should have been such a

danger of apostasy in the very mother church of Christendom. And yet

not strange, if we realize the condition of things, between 60 and 70.

The Christians in Jerusalem were the most conservative of all

believers, and adhered as closely as possible to the traditions of

their fathers. They were contented with the elementary doctrines, and

needed to be pressed on "unto perfection" (5:12; 6:1-4). The Epistle of

James represents their doctrinal stand-point. The strange advice which

he gave to his brother Paul, on his last visit, reflects their timidity

and narrowness. Although numbered by "myriads," they made no attempt in

that critical moment to rescue the great apostle from the hands of the

fanatical Jews; they were "all zealous for the law," and afraid of the

radicalism of Paul on hearing that he was teaching the Jews of the

Dispersion "to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their

children, neither to walk after the customs" ( Acts 21:20, 21).

They hoped against hope for the conversion of their people. When that

hope vanished more and more, when some of their teachers had suffered

martyrdom (Heb. 13:7), when James, their revered leader, was stoned by

the Jews (62), and when the patriotic movement for the deliverance of

Palestine from the hated yoke of the heathen Romans rose higher and

higher, till it burst out at last in open rebellion (66), it was very

natural that those timid Christians should feel strongly tempted to

apostatize from the poor, persecuted sect to the national religion,

which they at heart still believed to be the best part of Christianity.

The solemn services of the Temple, the ritual pomp and splendor of the

Aaronic priesthood, the daily sacrifices, and all the sacred

associations of the past had still a great charm for them, and allured

them to their embrace. The danger was very strong, and the warning of

the Epistle fearfully solemn.

Similar dangers have occurred again and again in critical periods of

history.

Time and Place of Composition.

The Epistle hails and sends greetings from some place in Italy, at a

time when Timothy, Paul's disciple, was set at liberty, and the writer

was on the point of paying, with Timothy, a visit to his readers

(13:23, 24). The passage, "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound

with them" (13:3), does not necessarily imply that he himself was in

prison, indeed 13:23 seems to imply his freedom. These notices

naturally suggest the close of Paul's first Roman imprisonment, in the

spring of the year 63, or soon after; for Timothy and Luke were with

him there, and the writer himself evidently belonged to the circle of

his friends and fellow-workers.

There is further internal evidence that the letter was written before

the destruction of Jerusalem (70), before the outbreak of the Jewish

war (66), before the Neronian persecution (in July, 64), and before

Paul's martyrdom. None of these important events are even alluded to;

[1223] on the contrary, as already remarked, the Temple was still

standing, with its daily sacrifices regularly going on, and the doom of

the theocracy was still in the future, though "nigh unto a curse,"

"becoming old and ready to vanish away;" it was "shaken" and about to

be removed; the day of the fearful judgment was drawing nigh. [1224]

The place of composition was either Rome or some place in Southern

Italy, if we assume that the writer had already started on his journey

to the East. [1225] Others assign it to Alexandria, or Antioch, or

Ephesus. [1226]

Authorship.

This is still a matter of dispute, and will probably never be decided

with absolute certainty. The obscurity of its origin is the reason why

the Epistle to the Hebrews was ranked among the seven Antilegomena of

the ante-Nicene church. The controversy ceased after the adoption of

the traditional canon in 397, but revived again at the time of the

Reformation. The different theories may be arranged under three heads:

(1) sole authorship of Paul; (2) sole authorship of one of his pupils;

(3) joint authorship of Paul and one of his pupils. Among the pupils

again the views are subdivided between Luke, Barnabas, Clement of Rome,

Silvanus, and Apollos. [1227]

1. The Pauline Authorship was the prevailing opinion of the church from

the fourth century to the eighteenth, with the exception of the

Reformers, and was once almost an article of faith, but has now very

few defenders among scholars. [1228] It rests on the following

arguments:

(a) The unanimous tradition of the Eastern church, to which the letter

was in all probability directed; yet with the important qualification

which weakens the force of this testimony, that there was a widely

prevailing perception of a difference of style, and consequent

supposition of a Hebrew original, of which there is no historic basis

whatever. Clement of Alexandria ascribed the Greek composition to Luke.

[1229] Origen observes the greater purity of the Greek style, [1230]

and mentions Luke and Clement, besides Paul, as possible authors, but

confesses his own ignorance. [1231]

(b) The mention of Timothy and the reference to a release from

captivity (Heb. 13:23) point to Paul. Not necessarily, but only to the

circle of Paul. The alleged reference to Paul's own captivity in 10:34

rests on a false reading (desmois mou, E. V., "in my bonds," instead of

the one now generally adopted, tois desmiois, "those that were in

bonds"). Nor does the request 13:18, 19, imply that the writer was a

prisoner at the time of composition; for 13:23 rather points to his

freedom, as he expected, shortly to see his readers in company with

Timothy.

(c) The agreement of the Epistle with Paul's system of doctrine, the

tone of apostolic authority, and the depth and unction which raises the

Epistle to a par with his genuine writings. But all that can be said in

praise of this wonderful Epistle at best proves only its inspiration

and canonicity, which must be extended beyond the circle of the

apostles so as to embrace the writings of Luke, Mark, James, and Jude.

2. The Non-Pauline Authorship is supported by the following arguments:

(a) The Western tradition, both Roman and North African, down to the

time of Augustin, is decidedly against the Pauline authorship. This has

all the more weight from the fact that the earliest traces of the

Epistle to the Hebrews are found in the Roman church, where it was

known before the close of the first century. Clement of Rome makes very

extensive use of it, but nowhere under the name of Paul. The Muratorian

Canon enumerates only thirteen Epistles of Paul and omits Hebrews. So

does Gaius, a Roman presbyter, at the beginning of the third century.

Tertullian ascribed the Epistle to Barnabas. According to the testimony

of Eusebius, the Roman church did not regard the Epistle as Pauline at

his day (he died 340). Philastrius of Brescia (d. about 387) mentions

that some denied the Pauline authorship, because the passage 6:4-6

favored the heresy and excessive disciplinary rigor of the Novatians,

but he himself believed it to be Paul's, and so did Ambrose of Milan.

Jerome (d. 419) can be quoted on both sides. He wavered in his own

view, but expressly says: "The Latin custom (Latina consuetudo) does

not receive it among the canonical Scriptures;" and in another place:

"All the Greeks receive the Epistle to the Hebrews, and some Latins (et

nonnulli Latinorum)." Augustin, a profound divine, but neither linguist

nor critic, likewise wavered, but leaned strongly toward the Pauline

origin. The prevailing opinion in the West ascribed only thirteen

Epistles to Paul. The Synod of Hippo (393) and the third Synod of

Carthage (397), under the commanding influence of Augustin, marked a

transition of opinion in favor of fourteen. [1232] This opinion

prevailed until Erasmus and the Reformers revived the doubts of the

early Fathers. The Council of Trent sanctioned it.

(b) The absence of the customary name and salutation. This has been

explained from modesty, as Paul was sent to the Gentiles rather than

the Jews (Pantaenus), or from prudence and the desire to secure a

better hearing from Jews who were strongly prejudiced against Paul

(Clement of Alexandria). Very unsatisfactory and set aside by the

authoritative tone of the Epistle.

(c) In 2:3 the writer expressly distinguishes himself from the

apostles, and reckons himself with the second generation of Christians,

to whom the word of the Lord was "confirmed by them that heard" it at

the first from the Lord. Paul, on the contrary, puts himself on a par

with the other apostles, and derives his doctrine directly from Christ,

without any human intervention (Gal. 1:1, 12, 15, 16). This passage

alone is conclusive, and decided Luther, Calvin, and Beza against the

Pauline authorship. [1233]

(d) The difference, not in the substance, but in the form and method of

teaching and arguing. [1234]

(e) The difference of style (which has already been discussed). This

argument does not rest on the number of peculiar words for such are

found in every book of the New Testament, but in the superior purity,

correctness, and rhetorical finish of style.

(f) The difference in the quotations from the Old Testament. The author

of Hebrews follows uniformly the Septuagint, even with its departures

from the Hebrew; while Paul is more independent, and often corrects the

Septuagint from the Hebrew. Bleek has also discovered the important

fact that the former used the text of Codex Alexandrinus, the latter

the text of Codex Vaticanus. [1235] It is incredible that Paul, writing

to the church of Jerusalem, should not have made use of his Hebrew and

rabbinical learning in quoting the Scriptures.

3 Conjectures concerning the probable author. Four Pauline disciples

and co-workers have been proposed, either as sole or as joint authors

with Paul, three with some support in tradition--Barnabas, Luke, and

Clement--one without any Apollos. Silvanus also has a few advocates.

[1236]

(a) Barnabas. [1237] He has in his favor the tradition of the African

church (at least Tertullian), his Levitical training, his intimacy with

Paul, his close relation to the church in Jerusalem, and his almost

apostolic authority. As the huios parakleseos(Acts 4:36), he may have

written the logos parakleseos(Heb. 13:22). But in this case he cannot

be the author of the Epistle which goes by his name, and which,

although belonging to the Pauline and strongly anti-Judaizing tendency,

is yet far inferior to Hebrews in spirit and wisdom. Moreover, Barnabas

was a primitive disciple, and cannot be included in the second

generation (2:3).

(b) Luke. [1238] He answers the description of 2:3, writes pure Greek,

and has many affinities in style. [1239] But against him is the fact

that the author of Hebrews was, no doubt, a native Jew, while Luke was

a Gentile (Col. 4:11, 14). This objection, however, ceases in a measure

if Luke wrote in the name and under the instruction of Paul.

(c) Clemens Romanus. [1240] He makes thorough use of Hebrews and

interweaves passages from the Epistle with his own ideas, but evidently

as an imitator, far inferior in originality and force.

(d) Apollos. [1241] A happy guess of the genius of Luther, suggested by

the description given of Apollos in the Acts 18:24-28, and by Paul (1

Cor. 1:12; 3:4-6, 22; 4:6; 16:12; Tit. 3:13). Apollos was a Jew of

Alexandria, mighty in the Scriptures, fervent in spirit, eloquent in

speech, powerfully confuting the Jews, a friend of Paul, and

independently working with him in the same cause at Ephesus, Corinth,

Crete. So far everything seems to fit. But this hypothesis has not a

shadow of support in tradition, which could hardly have omitted Apollos

in silence among the three or four probable authors. Clement names him

once, [1242] but not as the author of the Epistle which he so freely

uses. Nor is there any trace of his ever having been in Rome, and

having stood in so close a relationship to the Hebrew Christians in

Palestine.

The learned discussion of modern divines has led to no certain and

unanimous conclusion, but is, nevertheless, very valuable, and sheds

light in different directions. The following points may be regarded as

made certain, or at least in the highest degree probable: the author of

Hebrews was a Jew by birth; a Hellenist, not a Palestinian; thoroughly

at home in the Greek Scriptures (less so, if at all, in the Hebrew

original); familiar with the Alexandrian Jewish theology (less so, if

at all, with the rabbinical learning of Palestine); a pupil of the

apostles (not himself an apostle); an independent disciple and coworker

of Paul; a friend of Timothy; in close relation with the Hebrew

Christians of Palestine, and, when he wrote, on the point of visiting

them; an inspired man of apostolic insight, power, and authority, and

hence worthy of a position in the canon as "the great unknown."

Beyond these marks we cannot go with safety. The writer purposely

withholds his name. The arguments for Barnabas, Luke, and Apollos, as

well as the objections against them, are equally strong, and we have no

data to decide between them, not to mention other less known workers of

the apostolic age. We must still confess with Origen that God only

knows the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Notes.

I.--The Position of Hebrews in the New Testament. In the old Greek MSS.

(', B, C, D) the Epistle to the Hebrews stands before the Pastoral

Epistles, as being an acknowledged letter of Paul. This order has,

perhaps, a chronological value, and is followed in the critical

editions Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort), although

Westcott and Hort regard the Pastoral Epistles as Pauline, and the Ep.

to the Hebrews as un-Pauline. See their Gr. Test., vol. II., 321.

But in the Latin and English Bibles, Hebrews stands more appropriately

at the close of the Pauline Epistles, and immediately precedes the

Catholic Epistles.

Luther, who had some doctrinal objections to Hebrews and James, took

the liberty of putting them after the Epistles of Peter and John, and

making them the last Epistles except Jude. He misunderstood Heb. 6:4-6;

10:26, 27; 12:17, as excluding the possibility of a second repentance

and pardon after baptism, and called these passages, "hard knots" that

ran counter to all the Gospels and Epistles of Paul; but, apart from

this, he declared Hebrews to be, "an Epistle of exquisite beauty,

discussing from Scripture, with masterly skill and thoroughness, the

priesthood of Christ, and interpreting on this point the Old Testament

with great richness and acuteness."

The English Revisers retained, without any documentary evidence, the

traditional title, "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews."

This gives sanction to a particular theory, and is properly objected to

by the American Revisers. The Pauline authorship is, to say the least,

an open question, and should have been left open by the Revisers. The

ancient authorities entitle the letter simply, Pros Hebraious,and even

this was probably added by the hand of an early transcriber. Still less

is the subscription, "Written to the Hebrews from Italy by Timothy" to

be relied on as original, and was probably a mere inference from the

contents (Heb. 13:23, 24).

II.--The Hapaxtegomena of the Epistle. agenealogetos,without pedigree

(said of Melchizedek), Heb. 7:3. ametor, motherless, 7:3. apator,

fatherless, 7:3. apaugasma,effulgence (said of Christ in relation to

God), 1:2. aistheterion, sense, 5:14. akrothinion, spoils, 7:4.

euperistatos(from euand periistemi,to place round), a difficult word of

uncertain interpretation, easily besetting, closely clinging to (E. R.

on the margin: admired by many), 12:1. kritikos,quick to discern, 4:12.

he mellousa oikoumene, the future world, 2:5. mesiteuein, to interpose

one's self, to mediate, 6:17., metriopathein, to have compassion on, to

bear gently with, 5:2 (said of Christ). horkomosia, oath, 7:20, 21, 28.

parapikrainein, to provoke, 3:16. parapikrasmos,provocation, 3:8, 15.

polumeros,by divers portions, 1:1. polutropos,in divers manners, 1:1.

prodromos,forerunner, 6:20 (of Christ). sunepimarturein, to bear

witness with, 2:4. trachelizein. to open, 4:13 (tetrachelismena, laid

open). hupostasis,substance (or person), 1:3 (of God); confidence,

3:14; assurance, 11:1. This word, however, occurs also in 2 Cor. 11:17,

in the sense of confidence. charakter, express image (Christ, the very

image of the essence of God), Heb. 1:3.

On the other hand, the Ep. to the Hebrews has a number of rare words in

common with Paul which are not elsewhere found in the New Testament or

the Septuagint, as aidos(12:13; 1 Tim. 2:9), anatheoreo(Heb. 13:7; Acts

17:23), anupotaktos(Heb.2:8; 1 Tim. 1:9; Tit. 1:6, 10), apeitheia(Heb.

4:6, 11; Rom. 11:30, 32; Eph. 2:2; Col. 3:5), apolousis(Heb. 11:25; 1

Tim. 6:17), aphilarguros(Heb. 13:5; 1 Tim. 3:3), endikos(Heb. 2:1; Rom.

3:8), energes(Heb. 4:12; 1 Cor. 16:9; Philem. 6),ephapax(Heb. 7:27;

10:10; Rom. 9:10; 1 Cor. 15:6), kosmikos(Heb. 9:11; Tit. 2:12),

mimetes(Heb. 6:12; 1 Cor. 4:16, etc.), nekroo (Heb. 11:12; Rom. 4:19;

Col. 3:5), oregomai (Heb. 11:16; 1 Tim. 3:1; 6:10), parakoe(Heb. 2:2;

Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 10:6), plerophoria(Heb. 6:11; 10:22; Col. 2:2; 1

Thess. 1:5), philoxenia(Heb. 13:2; Rom. 12:13).

On the linguistic peculiarities of Hebrews, see Bleek, I. 315-338

L�nemann, Com., pp. 12 and 24 sqq. (4th ed., 1878); Davidson, Introd.,

I. 209 sqq. (revised ed., 1882); and the Speaker's Com. N. T., IV.

7-16.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1210] See notes at the end of the section.

[1211] Heb. 9:8, "while as the first tabernacle is yet standing" (tes

protes skenes echouses stasin); 9:6, "the priests go in continually"

(eisiasin, not went in, as in the E. V.); 8:4; 13:10; 6:8; 8:13; 10:25,

27; 12:27. Those who assign the composition to a time after the

destruction of Jerusalem, deprive the present tenses of their natural

import and proper effect.

[1212] The charge of partial ignorance of the Jewish ritual is

unfounded, and can therefore not be made an argument either for or

against the Pauline authorship. In the genuine text of Heb. 10:11, the

high priest is not mentioned, but the priest (hiereus), and in 7:27 the

high priest is not asserted to offer daily sacrifice, but to need daily

repentance. The altar of incense is placed in the holy of holies, 9:4;

but this seems to have been a current opinion, which is also mentioned

in the Apocalypse of Baruch. See Harnack in "Studien und Kritiken" for

1876, p. 572, and W. R. Smith in " Enc. Brit.," xi., 606.

[1213] See Carpzov, Sacrae Exercitationes in Ep. ad Heb. ex Philone

Alex. (Helmstadii, 1750); Riehm, l.c., pp. 9 sqq.; Hilgenfeld,

Einleit., p. 384; and Pfleiderer, Paulinismus.

[1214] The Epistle is called a logos parakleseos , Heb. 13:22; comp.

12:5; 6:18

[1215] See note II. at the close.

[1216] So also DeWette, Tholuck, Thiersch, Delitzsch, L�nemann, Riehm,

Moll (in Lange's Com.), Langen, Weiss.

[1217] So Oecumenius, Lightfoot, Lange; also Grimm (sub verbo): "Omnes

de Judaeis sive aramaice sive graece loquentibus Christiani."

[1218] Ebrard. Moulton, on the contrary, thinks that some other church

in Palestine is addressed, and that Jerusalem is excluded by Heb. 2:3.

[1219] Wieseler (who adds an unlikely reference to the temple of Onias

in Leontopolis), Credner, Baur, Hilgenfeld, K�stlin, Reuss, Bunsen,

Conybeare and Howson, and Plumptre.

[1220] Von Hofmann.

[1221] Wetstein, Alford, Holtzmann, Kurtz, Zahn; also Renan, who thinks

(L'Antechrist. p. 211) that the Ep. was written by Barnabas in Ephesus,

and addressed to the church in Rome; hence it was first known in Rome.

[1222] A. B. Davidson (Ep. to the Hebr., 1882, p. 18).

[1223] Zahn refers Heb. 10:32-34 to the Neronian persecution; but this

is excluded by 12:4, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood" (mechri

ahimatos). Harnack finds also traces of the Domitian persecution. Still

more unlikely.

[1224] Lardner, Thiersch, Lindsay, Bullock (in Smith's B. Dict., Am.

ed., II., 1028), and others, assign the Epistle to a.d. 63; DeWette,

Moll, and Lange to between 62 and 66 (between the death of James and

the outbreak of the Jewish war); Ebrard to 62; Wieseler (Chronol, des

Ap. Zeitalters, p. 519) to July, 64; Stuart and Tholuck to about 64;

Weiss to 65 ("bald nach der Mitte der sechziger Jahre"); Hilgenfeld to

between 64 and 66; Davidson (Introd., revised ed., I. 222) to 66; Ewald

to 67; Renan and Kay to 65. On the other hand, Zahn gives as the date

a.d. 80, Holtzmann and Harnack about 90, Volkmar and Keim, 116-118.

These late dates are simply impossible, not only for intrinsic reasons

and the allusion to Timothy, but also because Clement of Rome, who

wrote about 95, shows a perfect familiarity with Hebrews.

[1225] The inference of the place from hoi apo tes Italias Heb. 13:24,

is uncertain, since in the epistolary style it may imply that the

writer was at that time out of Italy, or in Italy (which would be more

distinctly expressed by en Italia orhoi ex ). The brethren may have

been fugitives from Italy (so Bleek). But the latter view seems more

natural, and is defended by Theodoret, who knew Greek as his mother

tongue. Tholuck and Ebrard quote the phrases hoi apo ges and hoi apo

thalasses, travellers by land and sea, and from Polybius, hoi apo tes

Alexandreias basileis, the Alexandrian kings. Still more to the point

is Pseudo-Ignatius Ad. Her. 8, quoted by Zahn (see his ed. of Ign., p.

270, 12): aspazontai se ... pantes hoi apo Philippon en christo, oten

kai epesteila soi.

[1226] The Sinaitic MS. and C have the subscription "to the Hebrews," A

adds "from Rome," K "from Italy." Sam. Davidson dates it from

Alexandria, Renan from Ephesus, where he thinks Barnabas was at that

time with some fugitive Italians, while Timothy was imprisoned perhaps

at Corinth (L'Antechrist. p. 210).

[1227] For the patristic testimonies, I refer to the collection in

Charteris, Canonicity, pp. 272-288; for a candid and exhaustive

discussion of the whole question, to Bleek's large Com., I., 82-272;

also to Alford's Com., vol iv., Part I., pp. 1-62

[1228] Von Hofmann (of Erlangen) is almost the only one in Germany;

Bishop Wordsworth and Dr. Kay in England. Among the older defenders of

the Pauline authorship we mention Owen (1668), Mill (1707), Carpzov

(1750), Bengel (1752). Sykes (1755), Andr. Cramer (1757), Storr (1789),

and especially the learned and acute Roman Catholic scholar, Hug, in

his Einleitung.

[1229] Dr. Biesenthal has, by a retranslation of the Ep. into Hebrew,

endeavored to prove this theory in "Das Trostschreiben des Ap. Paulus

an die Hebraeer,"Leipz., 1878. But, of course, this is no argument any

more than Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the entire New Testament.

Such happy phrases as polumeros kai polutropos (Heb.1:1) and emathen

eph' hon epathen ten hupakoen (5:8) cannot be reproduced in Hebrew at

all.

[1230] sunthesei tes lexeos ellenik-iote-ira. Ap. Euseb. H. E. VI. 25.

[1231] tis de ho grapsas ten epistolen, to men alethes theos hoiden.

[1232] "Pauli Apostoli epistolae tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebraeos una."

[1233] Calvin: "Scriptor unum se ex apostolorum discipulis profitetur,

quod est a Paulina consuetudine longe alienum." And on Heb. 2:3, "Hic

locus indicio est; epistolam a Paulo non fuisse compositam,"etc.

[1234] As Calvin expresses it: "Ipsa docendi ratio et stilus alium quam

Paulum esse satis testantur." On this point see especially Riehm's

valuable Lehrbegriff, etc., and the respective sections in the works on

the N. T. Theology; also Kurtz's Com., pp. 24 sqq. The parallelisms

which Dr. Kay sets against this argument in the Speaker's Com., pp. 14

sqq., only prove what nobody denies, the essential agreement of Hebrews

with the Pauline Epistles

[1235] See the proof in Bleek, vol. I. 338-375. Conveniently ignored in

the Speaker's Com., p. 13.

[1236] Of the other friends of Paul, Timothy is excluded by the

reference to him in Heb. 13:23. Mark, Demas, Titus, Tychicus,

Epaphroditus, Epaphras, Aristarchus, Aquila, Jesus Justus have never

been brought forward as candidates. Silvanus, or Silas, is favorably

mentioned by B�hme, Mynster, and Riehm (890 sqq.), on account of his

prominent position, Acts 15:22, 27, 34, 40; 16:19; 1 Pet. 5:12.

[1237] Tertullian, Ullmann, Wieseler, Thiersch, Ritschl, Renan, Zahn.

W. R. Smith (in the "Enc. Brit.") likewise leans to the Barnabas

hypothesis.

[1238] Clement of Alexandria (who, however, regarded Luke only, and

wrongly, as translator), Calvin, Grotius, Crell, Ebrard, Delitzsch,

D�llinger. Ebrard supposes that Luke wrote the Epistle at the request

and in the name of Paul, who suggested the general plan and leading

ideas. This is the most plausible form of the Luke hypothesis, but does

not account for the doctrinal differences.

[1239] This linguistic argument has been overdone by Delitzsch and

weakened by fanciful or far-fetched analogies. See the strictures of

L�nemann, pp. 24-31.

[1240] Mentioned as a subjective conjecture by Origen (Klemes ho

genomenos episkopos Rhomaion egrapse ten epistolen) alongside with

Luke. Renewed by Erasmus and Bisping.

[1241] Luther, Osiander, Norton, Semler, Bleek, Tholuck, Credner,

Reuss, Bunsen, Hilgenfeld, Lange, Moll, Kendrick, Alford, L�nemann,

Kurtz, Samuel Davidson, A. B. Davidson. The Apollos hypothesis has been

the most popular until, within the last few years, Renan, Zahn, and W.

Robertson Smith have turned the current again in favor of the Barnabas

hypothesis. Riehm, after a full and judicious discussion, wavers

between Apollos and Silvanus, but ends with Origen's modest confession

of ignorance (p. 894).

[1242] Ep. ad Cor., c. 47.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 101. The Apocalypse.

On the Lit. and life of John, see �� 40 and 41 (this vol.); on the

authorship of the Apoc. and the time of composition, � 37 (this vol.);

� 41 (this vol.); and � 84 (this vol.)

1. Modern Critical, works of German and French scholars on the

Apocalypse: L�cke (Voltst�ndige Einleitung, etc., 2d ed., 1852; 1,074

pages of introductory matter, critical and historical; compare with it

the review of Bleek in the "Studien and Kritiken" for 1854 and 1855);

DeWette Com., 1848, with a remarkable preface, 3d ed. by M�ller, 1862);

Bleek (Posthumous Lectures, ed. by Hossbach, 1862); Ewald (Die Johann.

Schriften, vol. II, 1862; besides his older Latin Com., 1828);

D�sterdieck (in Meyer's Com., 3d ed., 1877); Renan (L'Antechrist,

1873); Reuss (1878). A. Sabatier, in Lichtenberger's "Encyclop�die," I.

396-407. E. Vischer: Die Offenb. Joh. eine J�d. Apok. in christl.

Bearbeitung, Leipz., 1886. F. Spitta: Die Offenb. Joh. untersucht,

Halle, 1889.

2. For Doctrinal and Practical exposition, the Commentaries of

Hengstenberg (1849, spoiled by false prophecies and arbitrary fancies)

Auberlen (on Daniel and Revelation, 2d ed., 1854); Gaussen (Daniel le

proph�te, 1850); Ebrard (in Olshausen's Com., 1853); Luthardt (1861);

J. C. K. Hofmann (1844 and 1862); J. L. F�ller (follows Hofmann, 1874);

Lange (1871, Am. ed. enlarged by Craven, 1874); Gebhardt (Lehrbegriff

der Apok., 1873); Kliefoth (1874). Comp. also Rougemont: La R�v�lation

de St. Jean expliquant l'histoire (1866). Godet: Essay upon the Apoc.,

in his Studies on the N. T., translated from the French by W. H.

Lyttleton, London, 1876, 294-398.

3. English Com.: E. H. Elliott (d. 1875, Horae Apoc., 5th ed., 1862, 4

vols.); Wordsworth (4th ed., 1866); Alford (3d ed., 1866); C. J.

Vaughan (3d ed., 1870, practical); William Lee (Archdeacon in Dublin,

in the "Speaker's" Com. N. T., vol. iv., 1881, pp. 405-844) E.

Huntingford (Lond., 1882); Milligan (1883 and 1886 the best). Trench:

The Epistles to the Seven Churches (2d ed., 1861), and Plumptre:Expos.

of the Epp. to the Seven Ch. (Lond. and N. Y., 1877).

4. American Com. by Moses Stuart (1845, 2 vols., new ed., 1864, with an

Excursus on the Number of the Beast, II. 452); Cowles (1871).

5. Of Older Commentaries, the most important and valuable are the

following:

(a) Greek: Andreas of Caesarea in Cappadocia (5th cent.; the first

continuous Com. on the Apoc., publ. 1596, also in the works of

Chrysostom; see L�cke, p. 983); Arethas Of Caes. in Cappad. (not of the

6th cent., as stated by L�cke, p. 990, and others, but of the 10th,

according to Otto, and Harnack, in Altchristl. Liter., 1882, pp, 36

sqq.; his sunopsis scholike, ed. by J. A. Cramner, in his Catenae

Graec. Patr. in N. T., Oxon., 1840, vol. VIII.; and in the works of

Oecumenius); 0ecumenius (10th cent., see L�cke, p. 991).

(b) Rom. Cath.: Lud. Ab Alcasar (a Jesuit, 1614); Cornelius A Lapide

(1662); Bossuet (1690, and in Oeuvres, vol. III., 1819); Bisping

(1876).

(c) Protestant: Jos. Mede (Clavis Apocalyptica, Cambr., 1632; Engl.

transl. by More, 1643; a new transl. by R. B. Cooper, Lond., 1833);

Hugo Grotius (first, 1644); Vitringa (1705, 1719, 1721); Bengel (1740);

Bishop Thomas Newton (in Dissertations on the Prophecies, 8 vols.,

1758).

This list is a small selection. The literature on the Apocalypse,

especially in English, is immense, but mostly impository rather than

expository, and hence worthless or even mischievous, because

confounding and misleading. Darling's list of English works on the

Apocalypse contains nearly fifty-four columns (I., 1732-1786).

General Character of the Apocalypse.

The "Revelation" of John, or rather "of Jesus Christ" through John,

[1243] appropriately closes the New Testament. It is the one and only

prophetic book, but based upon the discourses of our Lord on the

destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, and his second

advent (Matt. 24). It has one face turned back to the prophecies of

old, the other gazing into the future. It combines the beginning and

the end in Him who is "the Alpha and the Omega." It reminds one of the

mysterious sphinx keeping ceaseless watch, with staring eyes, at the

base of the Great Pyramid. "As many words as many mysteries," says

Jerome; "Nobody knows what is in it," adds Luther. [1244] No book has

been more misunderstood and abused; none calls for greater modesty and

reserve in interpretation. [1245]

The opening and closing chapters are as clear and dazzling as sunlight,

and furnish spiritual nourishment and encouragement to the plainest

Christian; but the intervening visions are, to most readers, as dark as

midnight, yet with many stars and the full moon illuminating the

darkness. The Epistles to the Seven Churches, the description of the

heavenly Jerusalem, and the anthems and doxologies [1246] which are

interspersed through the mysterious visions, and glister like brilliant

jewels on a canopy of richest black, are among the most beautiful,

sublime, edifying, and inspiring portions of the Bible, and they ought

to guard us against a hasty judgment of those chapters which we may be

unable to understand. The Old Testament prophets were not clearly

understood until the fulfilment cast its light upon them, and yet they

served a most useful purpose as books of warning, comfort, and hope for

the coming Messiah. The Revelation will be fully revealed when the new

heavens and the new earth appear--not before. [1247]

"A prophet" (says the sceptical DeWette in his Commentary on

Revelation, which was his last work) "is essentially an inspired man,

an interpreter of God, who announces the Word of God to men in

accordance with, and within the limits of, the divine truth already

revealed through Moses in the Old Testament, through Christ in the New

(the apokalupsis musteriou, Rom. 16:25. Prophecy rests on faith in a

continuous providence of God ruling over the whole world, and with

peculiar efficacy over Israel and the congregation of Christ, according

to the moral laws revealed through Moses and Christ especially the laws

of retribution. According to the secular view, all changes in human

affairs proceed partly from man's power and prudence, partly from

accident and the hidden stubbornness of fate; but according to the

prophetic view, everything happens through the agency of God and in

harmony with his counsels of eternal and unchangeable justice, and man

is the maker of his own fortunes by obeying or resisting the will of

God." [1248]

The prophecy of the Bible meets the natural desire to know the future,

and this desire is most intense in great critical periods that are

pregnant with fears and hopes. But it widely differs from the oracles

of the heathen, and the conjectures of farseeing men. It rests on

revelation, not on human sagacity and guesses; it gives certainty, not

mere probability; it is general, not specific; it does not gratify

curiosity, but is intended to edify and improve. The prophets are not

merely revealers of secrets, but also preachers of repentance,

revivalists, comforters, rebuking sin, strengthening faith, encouraging

hope.

The Apocalypse is in the New Testament what the Book of Daniel is in

the Old, and differs from it as the New Testament differs from the Old.

Both are prophetic utterances of the will of God concerning the future

of his kingdom on earth. Both are books of the church militant, and

engage heaven and earth, divine, human, and satanic powers, in a

conflict for life and death. They march on as "a terrible army with

banners." They reverberate with thunderings and reflect the lightning

flashes from the throne. But while Daniel looks to the first advent of

the Messiah as the heir of the preceding world-monarchies, John looks

to the second advent of Christ and the new heavens and the new earth.

He gathers up all the former prophecies and sends them enriched to the

future. He assures us of the final fulfilment of the prophecy of the

serpent-bruiser, which was given to our first parents immediately after

the fall as a guiding star of hope in the dark night of sin. He blends

the glories of creation and redemption in the finale of the new

Jerusalem from heaven.

The Apocalypse, as to its style of composition, is written in prose,

like Daniel, but belongs to prophetic poetry, which is peculiar to the

Bible and takes there the place of the epic poetry of the Greeks; God

himself being the hero, as it were, who rules over the destinies of

man. It is an inspired work of art, and requires for its understanding

a poetic imagination, which is seldom found among commentators and

critics; but the imagination must be under the restraint of sober

judgment, or it is apt to run into fantastic comments which themselves

need a commentary. The apocalyptic vision is the last and most complete

form of the prophetic poetry of the Bible. The strong resemblance

between the Revelation and Daniel, Ezekiel and Zechariah is admitted,

and without them it cannot be understood.

But we may compare it also, as to its poetic form and arrangement, with

the book of Job. Both present a conflict on earth, controlled by

invisible powers in heaven. In Job it is the struggle of an individual

servant of God with Satan, the arch-slanderer and persecutor of man,

who, with the permission of God, uses temporal losses, bodily

sufferings, mental anguish, harassing doubt, domestic affliction, false

and unfeeling friends to secure his ruin. In the Apocalypse it is the

conflict of Christ and his church with the anti-Christian world. In

both the scene begins in heaven; in both the war ends in victory but in

Job long life and temporal prosperity of the individual sufferer is the

price, in the Apocalypse redeemed humanity in the new heavens and the

new earth. Both are arranged in three parts: a prologue, the battle

with successive encounters, and an epilogue. In both the invisible

power presiding over the action is the divine counsel of wisdom and

mercy, in the place of the dark impersonal fate of the Greek drama.

[1249]

A comparison between the Apocalypse and the pseudo-apocalyptic Jewish

and Christian literature--the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Book of Enoch,

the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the

Sibylline Oracles, etc.--opens a wide field on which we cannot enter

without passing far beyond the limits of this work. We may only say

that the relation is the same as that between the canonical Gospels and

the apocryphal pseudo-Gospels, between real history and the dreamland

of fable, between the truth of God and the fiction of man. [1250]

The theme of the Apocalypse is: "I come quickly," and the proper

attitude of the church toward it is the holy longing of a bride for her

spouse, as expressed in the response (Rev. 22:20): "Amen: come, Lord

Jesus." It gives us the assurance that Christ is coming in every great

event, and rules and overrules all things for the ultimate triumph of

his kingdom; that the state of the church on earth is one of continual

conflict with hostile powers, but that she is continually gaining

victories and will at last completely and finally triumph over all her

foes and enjoy unspeakable bliss in communion with her Lord. From the

concluding chapters Christian poetry has drawn rich inspiration, and

the choicest hymns on the heavenly home of the saints are echoes of

John's description of the new Jerusalem. The whole atmosphere of the

book is bracing, and makes one feel fearless and hopeful in the face of

the devil and the beasts from the abyss. The Gospels lay the foundation

in faith, the Acts and Epistles build upon it a holy life; the

Apocalypse is the book of hope to the struggling Christian and the

militant church, and insures final victory and rest. This has been its

mission; this will be its mission till the Lord come in his own good

time. [1251]

Analysis of Contents.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, the Revelation proper, and an

Epilogue. We may compare this arrangement to that of the Fourth Gospel,

where John 1:1-18 forms the Prologue, John 21 the Epilogue, and the

intervening chapters contain the evangelical history from the gathering

of the disciples to the Resurrection.

I. The Prologue and the Epistles to the Seven Churches, Rev. 1-3. The

introductory notice; John's salutation and dedication to the Seven

Churches in Asia; the vision of Christ in his glory, and the Seven

Churches; the Seven Epistles addressed to them and through them to the

whole church, in its various states. [1252]

II. The Revelation proper or the Prophetic Vision of the Church of the

Future, 4:1-22:5. It consists chiefly of seven Visions, which are again

subdivided according to a symmetrical plan in which the numbers seven,

three, four, and twelve are used with symbolic significance. There are

intervening scenes of rest and triumph. Sometimes the vision goes back

to the beginning and takes a new departure.

(1) The Prelude in heaven, Rev. 4 and 5. (a) The appearance of the

throne of God (Rev. 4). (b) The appearance of the Lamb who takes and

opens the sealed book (Rev. 5).

(2) The vision of the seven seals, with two episodes between the sixth

and seventh seals, 6:1-8:1.

(3) The vision of the seven trumpets of vengeance, 8:2-11:19.

(4) The vision of the woman (the church) and her three enemies,

12:1-13:18. The three enemies are the dragon (12:3-17), the beast from

the sea (12:18-13:10), and the beast from the earth, or the false

prophet (13:11-18).

(5) The group of visions in Rev 14: (a) the vision of the Lamb on Mount

Zion (14:1-5); (b) of the three angels of judgment (14:6-11), followed

by an episode (14:12, 13); (c) the vision of the harvest and the

vintage of the earth (14:14-20).

(6) The vision of the seven vials of wrath, 15:1-16:21.

(7) The vision of the final triumph, 17:1-22:5: (a) the fall of Babylon

(17:1-19:10); (b) the overthrow of Satan (19:11-20:10), with the

millennial reign intervening (20:1-6); (c) the universal judgment

(20:11-15); (d) the new heavens and the new earth, and the glories of

the heavenly Jerusalem (21:1-22:5).

III. The Epilogue, 22:6-21. The divine attestation, threats, and

promises.

Authorship and Canonicity.

The question of authorship has already been discussed in connection

with John's Gospel. The Apocalypse professes to be the work of John,

who assumes a commanding position over the churches of Asia. History

knows only one such character, the Apostle and Evangelist, and to him

it is ascribed by the earliest and most trustworthy witnesses, going

back to the lifetime of many friends and pupils of the author. It is

one of the best authenticated books of the New Testament. [1253]

And yet, owing to its enigmatical obscurity, it is the most disputed of

the seven Antilegomena; and this internal difficulty has suggested the

hypothesis of the authorship of "Presbyter John," whose very existence

is doubtful (being based on a somewhat obscure passage of Papias), and

who at all events could not occupy a rival position of superintendency

over the churches in Asia during the lifetime of the great John. The

Apocalypse was a stumbling-block to the spiritualism of the Alexandrian

fathers, and to the realism of the Reformers (at least Luther and

Zwingli), and to not a few of eminent modern divines; and yet it has

attracted again and again the most intense curiosity and engaged the

most patient study of devout scholars; while humble Christians of every

age are cheered by its heroic tone and magnificent close in their

pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem. Rejected by many as unapostolic

and uncanonical, and assigned to a mythical Presbyter John, it is now

recognized by the severest school of critics as an undoubted production

of the historical Apostle John. [1254]

If so, it challenges for this reason alone our profound reverence. For

who was better fitted to be the historian of the past and the seer of

the future than the bosom friend of our Lord and Saviour? Able

scholars, rationalistic as well as orthodox, have by thorough and

patient investigation discovered or fully confirmed its poetic beauty

and grandeur, the consummate art in its plan and execution. They have

indeed not been able to clear up all the mysteries of this book, but

have strengthened rather than weakened its claim to the position which

it has ever occupied in the canon of the New Testament.

It is true, the sceptical critics who so confidently vindicate the

apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, derive from this very fact their

strongest weapon against the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel. But

the differences of language and spirit which have been urged are by no

means irreconcilable, and are overruled by stronger resemblances in the

theology and christology and even in the style of the two books. A

proper estimate of John's character enables us to see that he was not

only able, but eminently fitted to write both; especially if we take

into consideration the intervening distance of twenty or thirty years,

the difference of the subject (prospective prophecy in one, and

retrospective history in the other), and the difference of the state of

mind, now borne along in ecstacy (en preumati) from vision to vision

and recording what the Spirit dictated, now calmly collecting his

reminiscences in full, clear self-consciousness (en noi). [1255]

The Time of Composition.

The traditional date of composition at the end of Domitian's reign (95

or 96) rests on the clear and weighty testimony of Irenaeus, is

confirmed by Eusebius and Jerome, and has still its learned defenders,

[1256] but the internal evidence strongly favors an earlier date

between the death of Nero (June 9, 68) and the destruction of Jerusalem

(August 10, 70). [1257] This helps us at the same time more easily to

explain the difference between the fiery energy of the Apocalypse and

the calm repose of the fourth Gospel, which was composed in extreme old

age. The Apocalypse forms the natural transition from the Synoptic

Gospels to the fourth Gospel. The condition of the Seven Churches was

indeed different from that which existed a few years before when Paul

wrote to the Ephesians; but the movement in the apostolic age was very

rapid. Six or seven years intervened to account for the changes. The

Epistle to the Hebrews implies a similar spiritual decline among its

readers in 63 or 64. Great revivals of religion are very apt to be

quickly followed by a reaction of worldliness or indifference.

The arguments for the early date are the following:

1. Jerusalem was still standing, and the seer was directed to measure

the Temple and the altar (Rev. 11:1), but the destruction is predicted

as approaching. The Gentiles "shall tread (patesousin) the holy city

under foot forty and two months" (11:2; Comp. Luke 21:24), and the

"dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which

spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was

crucified" (Rev. 11:8). The existence of the twelve tribes seems also

to be assumed in 7:4-8. The advocates of the traditional date

understand these passages in a figurative sense. But the allusion to

the crucifixion compels us to think of the historical Jerusalem.

2. The book was written not long after the death of the fifth Roman

emperor, that is, Nero, when the empire had received a deadly wound

(comp. 13:3, 12, 14). This is the natural interpretation of 17:10,

where it is stated that the seven heads of the scarlet-colored beast,

i.e., heathen Rome, "are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is,

the other is not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a

little while." The first five emperors were Augustus, Tiberius,

Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, with whom the gens Julia ingloriously

perished. Next came Galba, a mere usurper (seventy-three years old),

who ruled but a short time, from June, 68, to January, 69, and was

followed by two other usurpers, Otho and Vitellius, till Vespasian, in

70, restored the empire after an interregnum of two years, and left the

completion of the conquest of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem

to his son Titus. [1258] Vespasian may therefore be regarded as the

sixth head, the three rebels not being counted; and thus the

composition of the Apocalypse would fall in the spring (perhaps Easter)

of the year 70. This is confirmed by 13:3, 12, 14, where the deadly

wound of the beast is represented as being already healed. [1259] But

if the usurpers are counted, Galba is the sixth head, and the

Revelation was written in 68. In either case Julius Caesar must be

excluded from the series of emperors (contrary to Josephus).

Several critics refer the seventh head to Nero, and ascribe to the seer

the silly expectation of the return of Nero as Antichrist. [1260] In

this way they understand the passage 17:11: "The beast that was, and is

not, is himself also an eighth and is of the seven." But John makes a

clear distinction between the heads of the beast, of whom Nero was one,

and the beast itself, which is the Roman empire. I consider it simply

impossible that John could have shared in the heathen delusion of Nero

redivivus, which would deprive him of all credit as an inspired

prophet. He may have regarded Nero as a fit type and forerunner of

Antichrist, but only in the figurative sense in which Babylon of old

was the type of heathen Rome.

3. The early date is best suited for the nature and object of the

Apocalypse, and facilitates its historical understanding. Christ

pointed in his eschatological discourses to the destruction of

Jerusalem and the preceding tribulation as the great crisis in the

history of the theocracy and the type of the judgment of the world. And

there never was a more alarming state of society. The horrors of the

French Revolution were confined to one country, but the tribulation of

the six years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem extended over the

whole Roman empire and embraced wars and rebellions, frequent and

unusual conflagrations, earthquakes and famines and plagues, and all

sorts of public calamities and miseries untold. It seemed, indeed, that

the world, shaken to its very centre, was coming to a close, and every

Christian must have felt that the prophecies of Christ were being

fulfilled before his eyes. [1261]

It was at this unique juncture in the history of mankind that St. John,

with the consuming fire in Rome and the infernal spectacle of the

Neronian persecution behind him, the terrors of the Jewish war and the

Roman interregnum around him, and the catastrophe of Jerusalem and the

Jewish theocracy before him, received those wonderful visions of the

impending conflicts and final triumphs of the Christian church. His was

truly a book of the times and for the times, and administered to the

persecuted brethren the one but all-sufficient consolation: Maran atha!

Maran atha!

Interpretation.

The different interpretations are reduced by English writers to three

systems according as the fulfilment of the prophecy is found in the

past, present, or future. [1262]

1. The Preterist system applies the Revelation to the destruction of

Jerusalem and heathen Rome. So among Roman Catholics: Alcasar (1614),

Bossuet (1690). Among Protestants: Hugo Grotius (1644), Hammond (1653),

Clericus (1698), Wetstein (1752), Abauzit, Herder, Eichhorn, Ewald,

L�cke, Bleek, DeWette, Reuss, Renan, F. D. Maurice, Samuel Davidson,

Moses Stuart Cowles, Desprez, etc. Some [1263] refer it chiefly to the

overthrow of the Jewish theocracy, others chiefly to the conflict with

the Roman empire, still others to both.

But there is a radical difference between those Preterists who

acknowledge a real prophecy and permanent truth in the book, and the

rationalistic Preterists who regard it as a dream of a visionary which

was falsified by events, inasmuch as Jerusalem, instead of becoming the

habitation of saints, remained a heap of ruins, while Rome, after the

overthrow of heathenism, became the metropolis of Latin Christendom.

This view rests on a literal misunderstanding of Jerusalem.

2. The Continuous (or Historical) system: The Apocalypse is a prophetic

compend of church history and covers all Christian centuries to the

final consummation. It speaks of things past, present, and future; some

of its prophecies are fulfilled, some are now being fulfilled, and

others await fulfillment in the yet unknown future. Here belong the

great majority of orthodox Protestant commentators and polemics who

apply the beast and the mystic Babylon and the mother of harlots

drunken with the blood of saints to the church of Rome, either

exclusively or chiefly. But they differ widely among themselves in

chronology and the application of details. Luther, Bullinger, Collado,

Pareus, Brightman, Mede, Robert Fleming, Whiston, Vitringa, Bengel,

Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Faber, Woodhouse, Elliott, Birks, Gaussen,

Auberlen, Hengstenberg, Alford, Wordsworth, Lee.

3. The Futurist system: The events of the Apocalypse from Rev. 4 to the

close lie beyond the second advent of Christ. This scheme usually

adopts a literal interpretation of Israel, the Temple, and the numbers

(the 31 times, 42 months, 1260 days, 3 1/2 years). So Ribera (a Jesuit,

1592), Lacunza (another Jesuit, who wrote under the name of Ben-Ezra

"On the coming of Messiah in glory and majesty," and taught the

premillennial advent, the literal restoration of the ancient Zion, and

the future apostasy of the clergy of the Roman church to the camp of

Antichrist), S. R. Maitland, De Burgh, Todd, Isaac Williams, W. Kelly.

Another important division of historical interpreters is into

Post-Millennarians and Pre-Millennarians, according as the millennium

predicted in Rev. 20 is regarded as part or future. Augustin committed

the radical error of dating the millennium from the time of the

Apocalypse or the beginning of the Christian era (although the seer

mentioned it near the end of his book), and his view had great

influence; hence the wide expectation of the end of the world at the

close of the first millennium of the Christian church. Other

post-millennarian interpreters date the millennium from the triumph of

Christianity over paganism in Rome at the accession of Constantine the

Great (311); still others (as Hengstenberg) from the conversion of the

Germanic nations or the age of Charlemagne. All these calculations are

refuted by events. The millennium of the Apocalypse must he in the

future, and is still an article of hope.

The grammatical and historical interpretation of the Apocalypse, as

well as of any other book, is the only safe foundation for all

legitimate spiritual and practical application. Much has been done in

this direction by the learned commentators of recent times. We must

explain it from the standpoint of the author and in view of his

surroundings. He wrote out of his time and for his time of things which

must shortly come to pass (1:1, 3; 22:20), and he wished to be read and

understood by his contemporaries (1:3). Otherwise he would have written

in vain, and the solemn warning at the close (22:18, 19) would be

unintelligible. In some respects they could understand him better than

we; for they were fellow-sufferers of the fiery persecutions and

witnesses of the fearful judgments described. Undoubtedly he had in

view primarily the overthrow of Jerusalem and heathen Rome, the two

great foes of Christianity at that time. He could not possibly ignore

that great conflict.

But his vision was not confined to these momentous events. It extends

even to the remotest future when death and Hades shall be no more, and

a new heaven and a new earth shall appear. And although the fulfilment

is predicted as being near at hand, he puts a millennium and a short

intervening conflict before the final overthrow of Satan, the beast,

and the false prophet. We have an analogy in the prophecy of the Old

Testament and the eschatalogical discourses of our Lord, which furnish

the key for the understanding of the Apocalypse. He describes the

destruction of Jerusalem and the general judgment in close proximity,

as if they were one continuous event. He sees the end from the

beginning. The first catastrophe is painted with colors borrowed from

the last, and the last appears as a repetition of the first on a grand

and universal scale. It is the manner of prophetic vision to bring

distant events into close proximity, as in a panorama. To God a

thousand years are as one day. Every true prophecy, moreover, admits of

an expanding fulfilment. History ever repeats itself, though never in

the same way. There is nothing old under the sun, and, in another

sense, there is nothing new under the sun.

In the historical interpretation of details we must guard against

arbitrary and fanciful schemes, and mathematical calculations, which

minister to idle curiosity, belittle the book, and create distrust in

sober minds. The Apocalypse is not a prophetical manual of church

history and chronology in the sense of a prediction of particular

persons, dates, and events. This would have made it useless to the

first readers, and would make it useless now to the great mass of

Christians. It gives under symbolic figures and for popular edification

an outline of the general principles of divine government and the

leading forces in the conflict between Christ's kingdom and his foes,

which is still going on under ever-varying forms. In this way it

teaches, like all the prophetic utterances of the Gospels and Epistles,

lessons of warning and encouragement to every age. We must distinguish

between the spiritual coming of Christ and his personal arrival or

parousia. The former is progressive, the latter instantaneous. The

coming began with his ascension to heaven (comp. Matt. 26:64:

"Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of

power, and coming on the clouds of heaven") and goes on in unbroken

succession of judgments and blessings (for "the history of the world is

a judgment of the world"); hence the alternation of action and repose,

of scenes of terror and scenes of joy, of battles and victories. The

arrival of the Bridegroom is still in the unknown future, and may be

accelerated or delayed by the free action of the church, but it is as

certain as the first advent of Christ. The hope of the church will not

be disappointed, for it rests on the promise of Him who is called "the

Amen, the faithful and true witness" (Rev. 3:14).

Notes.

The Number 666.

The historical understanding of the Apocalypse turns, according to its

own statement, chiefly on the solution of the numerical riddle in the

thirteenth chapter, which has tried the wits of commentators from the

time of Irenaeus in the second century to the present day, and is still

under dispute. The history of its solution is a history of the

interpretation of the whole book. Hence I present here a summary of the

most important views. First some preliminary remarks.

1. The text, Apoc. 13:18: "Here is wisdom: he that hath understanding,

let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man

(arithmos gar anthropou estin), and the number is six hundred and

sixty-six " chxs orhexakosioi hexekonta hex ).

This is the correct reading in the Greek text (supported by Codd. ', A,

B (2), P (2), Origen, Primasius, and Versions), and is adopted by the

best editors. Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. v. 30, quoted also in full by

Tischendorf in his edition VIII. critica major) found it "in all the

most approved and ancient copies" (en pasi tois spoudaiois kai

archaiois antigraphois), and "attested by those who had themselves seen

John face to face." There was, however, in his day, a very remarkable

variation, sustained by Cod. C, and "some" copies, known to, but not

approved by, Irenaeus, namely, 616. (chis, i.e., hexakosioi deka hex)

In the Anglo-American revision this reading is noted in the margin.

2. "The number of a man" may mean either the number of an individual,

or of a corporate person, or a human number (Menschenzahl), i.e., a

number according to ordinary human reckoning (so Bleek, who compares

metron anthropou, , "the measure of a man," Rev. 21:17, and Isa. 8:1).

Just because the number may be counted in the customary way, the writer

could expect the reader to find it out. He made the solution difficult

indeed, but not impossible. Dr. Lee (p. 687) deems it not inconsistent

with a proper view of inspiration that John himself did not know the

meaning of the number. But how could he then ask his less knowing

readers to count the number?

3. The mystic use of numbers (the rabbinical Ghematria, geometria) was

familiar to the Jews in Babylon, and passed from them to the Greeks in

Asia. It occurs in the Cabbala, in the Sibylline Books (I. 324-331), in

the Epistle of Barnabas, and was very common also among the Gnostic

sects (e g., the Abrasax or Abraxas, which signified the unbegotten

Father, and the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, corresponding to

the number of days in the year). [1264] It arose from the employment of

the letters of the Hebrew and Greek alphabets for the designation of

numbers. The Hebrew Aleph counts 1, Beth 2, etc., Yodh 10; but Kaph

(the eleventh letter) counts 20, Resh (the twentieth letter) 200, etc.

The Greek letters, with the addition of an acute accent (as a', b'),

have the same numerical value in their order down to Sigma, which

counts 200; except that s' (st) is used for 6, and Ph' (an antiquated

letter Koppa between pand r) for 90. The Hebrew alphabet ends with Tau=

400, the Greek with Omega = 800. To express thousands an accent is put

beneath the letter, as,a, = 1,000; ,b, = 2,000; ,i, = 10,000.

4. On this fact most interpretations of the Apocalyptic puzzle are

based. It is urged by Bleek, DeWette, Wieseler, and others, that the

number 666 must be deciphered from the Greek alphabet, since the book

was written in Greek and for Greek readers, and uses the Greek letters

Alpha and Omega repeatedly as a designation of Christ, the Beginning

and the End (1:8; 21:6; 22:13). On the other hand, Ewald and Renan, and

all who favor the Nero-hypothesis, appeal against this argument to the

strongly Hebraistic spirit and coloring of the Apocalypse and the

familiarity of its Jewish Christian readers with the Hebrew alphabet.

The writer, moreover, may have preferred this for the purpose of

partial concealment; just as he substituted Babylon for Rome (comp. 1

Pet. 5:13). But after all, the former view is much more natural. John

wrote to churches of Asia Minor, chiefly gathered from Gentile converts

who knew no Hebrew. Had he addressed Christians in Palestine, the case

might be different.

5. The number 666 (three sixes) must, in itself, be a significant

number, if we keep in view the symbolism of numbers which runs through

the whole Apocalypse. It is remarkable that the numerical value of the

name Jesus is 888 (three eights), and exceeds the trinity of the sacred

number (777) as much as the number of the beast falls below it. [1265]

6. The "beast" coming out of the sea and having seven heads and ten

horns (Rev. 13:1-10) is the anti-Christian world-power at war with the

church of Christ. It is, as in Daniel, an apt image of the brutal

nature of the pagan state. It is, when in conflict with the church, the

secular or political Antichrist; while "the false prophet," who works

signs and deceives the worshippers of the beast (16:13; 19:20; 20:10),

is the intellectual and spiritual Antichrist, in close alliance with

the former, his high-priest and minister of cultus, so to say, and

represents the idolatrous religion which animates and supports the

secular imperialism. In wider application, the false prophet may be

taken as the personification of all false doctrine and heresy by which

the world is led astray. For as there are "many Antichrists," so there

are also many false prophets. The name "Antichrist," however, never

occurs in the Apocalypse, but only in the Epistles of John (five

times), and there in the plural, in the sense of "false prophets" or

heretical teachers, who deny that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (1

John 4:1-3). Paul designates the Antichrist as, "the man of sin," the

son of perdition who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is

called God or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of

God, setting himself forth as God" (2 Thess. 2:3, 4). But he seems to

look upon the Roman empire as a restraining power which, for a time at

least, prevented the full outbreak of the "mystery of lawlessness,"

then already at work (2:6-8). He thus wrote a year or two before the

accession of Nero, and sixteen years or more before the composition of

the Apocalypse.

The beast must refer to heathen Rome and the seven heads to seven

emperors. This is evident from the allusion to the "seven mountains,"

that is, the seven-hilled city (urbs septicollis) on which the woman

sits, 17:9. But not a few commentators give it a wider meaning, and

understand by the heads as many world-monarchies, including those of

Daniel, before Christ, and extending to the last times. So Auberlen,

Ganssen, Hengstenberg, Von Hofmann, Godet, and many English divines.

7. The numerous interpretations of the mystic number of the beast may

be reduced to three classes:

(a) The figures 666 represent the letters composing the name of a

historical power, or of a single man, in conflict with Christ and his

church. Here belong the explanations: Latinus, Caesar-Augustus, Nero,

and other Roman emperors down to Diocletian. Even such names as Julian

the Apostate, Genseric, Mohammed (Maometis), Luther (Martinus

Lauterus), Joannes Calvinus, Beza Antitheos, Louis XIV., Napoleon

Bonaparte, the Duke of Reichstadt (called "King of Rome"), Napoleon

III., have been discovered in the three sixes by a strange kind of

imposition. [1266]

(b) The number is chronological, and designates the duration of the

life of the beast, whether it be heathenism, or Mohammedanism, or

popery.

(c) The number is symbolical of Antichrist and the anti-Christian

power.

We now proceed to the principal interpretations.

Latinus or the Roman Empire.

Lateinos (Lateinosfor latinos,Latinus), i.e., the Latin or Roman

empire. This is the numerical value of 666 in Greek: l= 30 +a= 1 + t=

300 + e = 5 + i= 10 + n= 50 + o= 70 + s= 200 = total 666. The Greek

form Lateinosis no valid objection; for ei often represents the Latin

long i, as in Antoneinos, Pauleinos, Papeiros Sabeinos, Phausteios.J.

E. Clarke shows that he Latine basileia, "the Latin empire," likewise

gives the number 666. [1267]

This interpretation is the oldest we know of, and is already mentioned

by Irenaeus, the first among the Fathers who investigated the problem,

and who, as a pupil of Polycarp in Smyrna (d. 155), the personal friend

of John, deserves special consideration as a witness of traditions from

the school of the beloved disciple. He mentions three interpretations,

all based on the Greek alphabet, namely Euanthas(which is of no

account), Lateinos(which he deems possible), and Teitan, i.e., Titus

(which he, upon the whole, prefers), but he abstains from a positive

decision, for the reason that the Holy Scripture does not clearly

proclaim the name of the beast or Antichrist. [1268]

The interpretation Latinus is the only sensible one among the three,

and adopted by Hippolytus, Bellarmin, Eichhorn, Bleek, DeWette, Ebrard,

D�sterdieck, Alford, Wordsworth, Lee, and others.

Latinus was the name of a king of Latium, but not of any Roman emperor.

Hence it must here be taken in a generic sense, and applied to the

whole heathen Roman empire.

Here the Roman Catholic divines stop. [1269] But many Protestant

commentators apply it also, in a secondary sense, to the Latin or papal

church as far as it repeated in its persecuting spirit the sins of

heathen Rome. The second beast which is described, Rev. 13:11-17, as

coming out of the earth, and having two horns like unto a lamb, and

speaking as a dragon, and exercising all the authority of the first

beast in his sight, is referred to the papacy. The false prophet

receives a similar application. So Luther, Vitringa, Bengel, Auberlen,

Hengstenberg, Ebrard, and many English divines.

Dean Alford advocates this double application in his Commentary. "This

name," he says, "describes the common character of the rulers of the

former Pagan Roman Empire--'Latini sunt qui nunc regnant,' Iren.: and,

which Irenaeus could not foresee, unites under itself the character of

the later Papal Roman Empire also, as revived and kept up by the agency

of its false prophet, the priesthood. The Latin Empire, the Latin

Church, Latin Christianity, have ever been its commonly current

appellations: its language, civil and ecclesiastical, has ever been

Latin: its public services, in defiance of the most obvious requisite

for public worship, have ever been throughout the world conducted in

Latin; there is no one word which could so completely describe its

character, and at the same time unite the ancient and modern attributes

of the two beasts, as this. Short of saying absolutely that this was

the word in St. John's mind, I have the strongest persuasion that no

other can be found approaching so near to a complete solution." Bishop

Wordsworth gives the same anti-papal interpretation to the beast, and

indulges in a variety of pious and farfetched fancies. See his Com. on

13:18, and his special work on the Apocalypse.

Nero.

The Apocalypse is a Christian counterblast against the Neronian

persecution, and Nero is represented as the beast of the abyss who will

return as Antichrist. The number 666 signifies the very name of this

imperial monster in Hebrew letters, rsq nvn , Neron Kaesar, as follows:

n (n) = 50, r (r) = 200, v (o) = 6, n (n) = 50, q (k) = 100, s (s) =

60, r (r) = 200; in all 666. The Neronian coins of Asia bear the

inscription: Neron Kaisar. But the omission of the y(which would add 10

to 666) from rsyq = Kaisar, has been explained by Ewald (Johanneische

Schriften, II. 263) from the Syriac in which it is omitted, and this

view is confirmed by the testimony of inscriptions of Palmyra from the

third century; see Renan (L'Antechrist, p. 415).

The coincidence, therefore, must be admitted, and is at any rate most

remarkable, since Nero was the first, as well as the most wicked, of

all imperial persecutors of Christianity, and eminently worthy of being

characterized as the beast from the abyss, and being regarded as the

type and forerunner of Antichrist.

This interpretation, moreover, has the advantage of giving the number

of a man or a particular person (which is not the case with Lateinos),

and affords a satisfactory explanation of the varians lectio 616; for

this number precisely corresponds to the Latin form, Nero Caesar, and

was probably substituted by a Latin copyist, who in his calculation

dropped the final Nun (= 50), from Neron (666 less 50=616).

The series of Roman emperors (excluding Julius Caesar), according to

this explanation, is counted thus: Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula,

Claudius, Nero, Galba. This makes Nero (who died June 9, 68) the fifth,

and Galba the sixth, and seems to fit precisely the passage 17:10:

"Five [of the seven heads of the beast] are fallen, the one [Galba] is,

the other [the seventh] is not yet come; and when he cometh he must

continue a little while." This leads to the conclusion that the

Apocalypse was written during the short reign of Galba, between June 9,

68, and January 15, 69. It is further inferred from 17:11 ("the beast

that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven;

and he goeth into perdition"), that, in the opinion of the seer and in

agreement with a popular rumor, Nero, one of the seven emperors, would

return as the eighth in the character of Antichrist, but shortly

perish.

This plausible solution of the enigma was almost simultaneously and

independently discovered, between 1831 and 1837, by several German

scholars, each claiming the credit of originality, viz.: C. F. A.

Fritzsche (in the "Annalen der gesammten Theol. Liter.," I. 3, Leipzig,

1831); F. Benary (in the "Zeitschrift f�r specul. Theol.," Berlin,

1836); F. Hitzig (in Ostern und Pfingsten, Heidelb., 1837); E. Reuss

(in the "Hallesche Allg. Lit.-Zeitung" for Sept., 1837); and Ewald, who

claims to have made the discovery before 1831, but did not publish it

till 1862. It has been adopted by Baur, Zeller, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar,

Hausrath, Krenkel, Gebhardt, Renan, Aub�, R�ville, Sabatier, Sam.

Davidson (I. 291); and among American commentators by Stuart and

Cowles. It is just now the most popular interpretation, and regarded by

its champions as absolutely conclusive.

But, as already stated in the text, there are serious objections to the

Nero-hypothesis:

(1) The language and readers of the Apocalypse suggest a Greek rather

than a Hebrew explanation of the numerical riddle.

(2) The seer clearly distinguishes the beast, as a collective name for

the Roman empire (so used also by Daniel), from the seven heads, i.e.,

kings (basileis) or emperors. Nero is one of the five heads who ruled

before the date of the Apocalypse. He was "slain" (committed suicide),

and the empire fell into anarchy for two years, until Vespasian

restored it, and so the death-stroke was healed (Rev. 13:3). The three

emperors between Nero and Vespasian (Galba, Otho, and Vitellius) were

usurpers, and represent an interregnum and the deadly wound of the

beast. This at least is a more worthy interpretation and consistent

with the actual facts.

It should be noticed, however, that Josephus, Ant. XVIIII. 2, 2; 6, 10,

very distinctly includes Julius Caesar among the emperors, and calls

Augustus the second, Tiberius the third, Caius Caligula the fourth

Roman emperor. Suetonius begins his Lives of the Twelve Caesars with

Julius and ends with Domitian, including the lives of Galba, Otho, and

Vitellius. This fact tends at all events to weaken the foundation of

the Nero-hypothesis.

(3) It is difficult to conceive of a reasonable motive for concealing

the detested name of Nero after his death. For this reason Cowles makes

Nero the sixth emperor (by beginning the series with Julius Caesar) and

assigns the composition to his persecuting reign. But this does not

explain the wound of the beast and the statement that "it was and is

not."

(4) A radical error, such as the belief in the absurd heathen fable of

the return of Nero, is altogether incompatible with the lofty character

and profound wisdom of the Apocalypse, and would destroy all confidence

in its prophecy. If John, as these writers maintain, composed it in 68,

he lived long enough to be undeceived, and would have corrected the

fatal blunder or withheld the book from circulation.

(5) It seems incredible that such an easy solution of the problem

should have remained unknown for eighteen centuries and been reserved

for the wits of half a dozen rival rationalists in Germany. Truth is

truth, and must be thankfully accepted from any quarter and at any

time; yet as the Apocalypse was written for the benefit of

contemporaries of Nero, one should think that such a solution would not

altogether have escaped them. Irenaeus makes no mention of it.

The Emperor of Rome.

Caesar Romae, from mvr rsyq So Ewald formerly (in his first commentary,

published in 1828). But this gives the number 616, which is rejected by

the best critics in favor of 666. In his later work, Ewald adopts the

Nero-hypothesis (Die Johanneischen Schriften, Bd. II., 1862, p. 202

sq.).

Caligula.

From Gaios Kaisar. But this counts likewise 616.

Titus.

The Greek Teitan. Irenaeus considers this the most probable

interpretation, because the word is composed of six letters, and

belongs to a royal tyrant. If we omit the final n(n), we get the other

reading (616). The objection is that Titus, the destroyer of Jerusalem,

was one of the best emperors, and not a persecutor of Christians.

Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

Wetstein refers the letters to Titus Flavius Vespasianus, father and

sons (Titus and Domitian). He thinks that John used both numbers, 616

in the first, 666 in the second edition of his book. "Eleganter" he

says in his notes, et apposite Joannes Titum Flavium Vespasianum patrem

et filios hoc nomine designat ... Convenit secundo nomen.

Teitanpraenomini ipsorum Titus. Res ipsa etiam convenit. Titanes

fuerunt theomachoi, tales etiam Vespasiani." Nov. Test., II., p. 806;

comp. his critical note on p. 805.

Diocletian.

Diocletian, Emperor, in Roman characters, Diocles Augustus, counting

only some of the letters, namely: DIo CLes aVg Vst Vs. [1270]

Diocletian was the last of the persecuting emperors (d. 313). So

Bossuet. To his worthless guess the Huguenots opposed the name of the

"grand monarch" and persecutor of Protestants, Louis XIV., which yields

the same result (LVDo VICVs).

The Roman Emperors from Augustus To Vespasian.

M�rcker (in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1868, p. 699) has found out

that the initial letters of the first ten Roman emperors from

Octavianus (Augustus) to Titus, including the three usurpers Galba,

Otho, and Vitellius, yield the numerical value of 666. D�sterdieck (p.

467) calls this "eine frappante Spielerei."

Caesar Augustus.

Kaisarsebaston(for-s, suited to the neuter therion), i.e., the "Caesar

Augustan" beast. [1271] The official designation of the Roman emperors

was Kaisar Sebastos(Caesar Augustus), in which their blasphemous

apotheosis culminates. In support of it may be quoted "the names of

blasphemy on the heads of the beast," Rev. 13:1.

This is the conjecture proposed by Dr. Wieseler in his book: Zur

Geschichte der Neutest. Schrift und des Urchristenthums, 1880, p. 169.

It is certainly ingenious and more consistent with the character of the

Apocalypse than the Nero-hypothesis. It substantially agrees with the

interpretation Lateinos. But the substitution of a final n for sis an

objection, though not more serious than the omission of the yodh from

qyrs

The Chronological Solutions.--The Duration of Antichrist.

The number 666 signifies the duration of the beast or antichristian

world power, and the false prophet associated with the beast.

(1) The duration of Heathenism. But heathen Rome, which persecuted the

church, was Christianized after the conversion of Constantine, a.d.

311. The other forms and subsequent history of heathenism lie outside

of the apocalyptic vision.

(2) Mohammedanism. Pope Innocent III., when rousing Western Europe to a

new crusade, declared the Saracens to be the beast, and Mohammed the

false prophet whose power would last six hundred and sixty-six years.

See his bull of 1213, in which he summoned the fourth Lateran Council,

in Hardouin, Conc., Tom. VII. 3. But six hundred and sixty-six years

have passed since the Hegira (622), and even since the fourth Lateran

Council (1215); yet Islam still sits on the throne in Constantinople,

and rules over one hundred and sixty million of consciences.

(3). The anti-Christian Papacy. This interpretation was suggested by

mediaeval sects hostile to Rome, and was matured by orthodox Protestant

divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the fresh

impression of the fearful persecutions which were directly instigated

or approved by the papacy, and which surpass in cruelty and extent the

persecutions of heathen Rome. It is asserted that the terrible Duke of

Alva alone put more Protestants to death in the Netherlands within a

few years than all the heathen emperors from Nero to Diocletian; and

that the victims of the Spanish Inquisition (105,000 persons in

eighteen years under Torquemada's administration) outnumber the ancient

martyrs. It became almost a Protestant article of faith that the

mystical Babylon, the mother of harlots, riding on the beast, the woman

drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs

of Jesus (Apoc. 17:5 sqq.), is none other than the pseudo-Christian and

anti-Christian church of Rome, and this view is still widely prevalent,

especially in Great Britain and North America.

Luther struck the key-note of this anti-popery exegesis. He had at

first a very low opinion of the Apocalypse, and would not recognize it

as apostolic or prophetic (1522), but afterward he utilized for polemic

purposes (in a preface to his edition of the N. T. of 1530). He dated

the one thousand years (Rev. 20:7) with Augustin from the composition

of the book, and the six hundred and sixty-six years from Gregory VII.,

as the supposed founder of the papacy, and understood Gog and Magog to

mean the unspeakable Turks and the Jews. As Gregory VII. was elected

pope 1073, the anti-Christian era ought to have come to an end a.d.

1739; but that year passed off without any change in the history of the

papacy.

Luther was followed by Chytraeus (1563), Selnecker (1567), Hoe v.

Honegg (1610 and 1640), and other Lutheran commentators. Calvin and

Beza wisely abstained from prophetic exposition, but other Reformed

divines carried out the anti-popery scheme with much learning, as

Bibliander (1549 and 1559), Bullinger (1557), David Pareus (1618),

Joseph Mede (the founder of the ingenious system of synchronism, in his

Clavis Apocalyptica, 1627), Coccejus (1696), Vitringa (a very learned

and useful commentator, 1705, 3d ed. 1721), and Joh. Albrecht Bengel

(in his Gnomon, his Ordo Temporum, 1741, and especially his Erkl�rte

Offenbarung Johannis, 1740, new ed. 1834). This truly great and good

man elaborated a learned scheme of chronological interpretation, and

fixed the end of the anti-Christian (papal) reign at the year 1836, and

many pious people among his admirers in W�rtemburg were in anxious

expectation of the millennium during that year. But it passed away

without any serious change, and this failure, according to Bengel's own

correct prediction, indicates a serious error in his scheme. Later

writers have again and again predicted the fall of the papacy and the

beginning of the millennium, advancing the date as times progress; but

the years 1848 and 1870 have passed away, and the Pope still lives,

enjoying a green old age, with the additional honor of infallibility,

which the Fathers never heard of, which even St. Peter never claimed,

and St. Paul effectually disputed at Antioch. All mathematical

calculations about the second advent are doomed to disappointment, and

those who want to know more than our blessed Lord knew in the days of

his flesh deserve to be disappointed. "It is not for you to know times

or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority" (Acts

1:7). This settles the question.

Mystical and Symbolical Interpretations.

The number is neither alphabetical nor chronological, but the mystical

or symbolical name of Antichrist, who is yet to come. Here we meet

again with different views.

Primasius, the African commentator of the Apocalypse (a pupil of

Augustin), mentions two names as giving the general characteristics of

Antichrist: Antemosand arnoume, the former honori contrarius the other

from arneomai, to deny, by which the Antichrist is justly described,

"utpote per duas partes orationis, nominis scilicet et verbi, et

personae qualitas et operis insinuatur asperitas." Utterly worthless.

See L�cke, p. 997. Z�llig finds in the figure the name of Bileam. Not

much better is Hengstenberg's explanation: Adonikam, i.e., "The Lord

arises," a good name for Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:4)! He bases it on Ezra

2:13: "The children of Adonikam, six hundred and sixty-six." Ezra gives

a list of the children of Israel who returned from the captivity under

Zerubbabel. What this has to do with Antichrist is difficult to see.

Von Hofmann and F�ller think that the number implies the personal name

of Antichrist.

Another view is this: the number is symbolical, like all other numbers

in the Apocalypse, and signifies the anti-Christian world-power in all

its successive forms from heathen Rome down to the end. Hence it admits

of many applications, as there are "many Antichrists." The number six

is the number of human work and toil (six days of the week), as seven

is the number of divine rest. Or, six is the half of twelve--the number

of the church--and indicates the divided condition of the temporal

power. Three sixes signify worldliness (worldly glory, worldly wisdom,

worldly civilization) at the height of power, which with all vaunted

strength is but weakness and folly, and falls short of the divine

perfection symbolized by the numbers seven and twelve. Such or similar

views were suggested by Herder, Auberlen, R�sch, Hengstenberg, Burger,

Maurice, Wordsworth, Vaughan, Carpenter, etc.

The Messiah of Satan.

To the class of mystical interpretation belongs the recent view of

Professor Godet, of Neuchatel, which deserves special mention. This

eminent commentator sees in 666 the emblematic name of The Messiah of

Satan in opposition to the divine Messiah. The number was originally

represented by the three letters chxs'. The first and the last letters

are an abridgment of the name of Christ, and have the value of 606 (x=

600 + s= 6); the middle xis, in virtue of its form and of the sibilant

sound, the emblem of Satan, and as a cipher has the value of 60. Satan

is called in the Apocalypse the old serpent in allusion to the history

of the temptation (Gen. 3). This explanation was first suggested by

Heumann and Herder, and is made by Godet the basis of an original

theory, namely, that Antichrist or the man of sin will be a Jew who

will set up a carnal Israel in opposition to the true Messiah, and

worship the prince of this world in order to gain universal empire.

[1272] Corruptio optimi pessima. Renan says: "Nothing can equal in

wickedness the wickedness of Jews: at the same time the best of men

have been Jews; you may say of this race whatever good or evil you

please, without danger of overstepping the truth." In blasphemy, as

well as in adoration, the Jew is the foremost of mankind. Only an

apostate can blaspheme with all his heart. Our Gentile Voltaires are

but lambs as compared with Jews in reviling Christ and his church. None

but Israel could give birth to Judas, none but apostate Israel can give

birth to Antichrist. Israel answers precisely to the description of the

apocalyptic beast, which was and is not and shall be (Rev. 17:11),

which was wounded to death, and is to be miraculously healed, in order

to play, as the eighth head, the part of Antichrist. Godet refers to

the rising power of the Jews in wealth, politics, and literature, and

especially their command of the anti-Christian press in Christian

countries, as indications of the approach of the fulfilment of this

prophecy.

Godet holds to the late date of the Apocalypse under Domitian, and

rejects the application of the seven heads of the beast to Roman

emperors. He applies them, like Auberlen, Hengstenberg, and others, to

as many empires, before and after Christ, but brings in, as a new

feature, the Herodian dynasty, which was subject to the Roman power.

According to his view, the first head is ancient Egypt trying to

destroy Israel in its cradle; the second is the Assyro-Babylonian

empire which destroyed the kingdom of the ten tribes, and then

Jerusalem; the third is the Persian empire, which held restored Israel

under its authority; the fourth is the Greek monarchy under Antiochus

Epiphanes (the little horn of Daniel 8, the Antichrist of the Old

Testament), who attempted to suppress the worship of God in Israel, and

to substitute that of Zeus; the fifth is the Jewish state under the

Herods and the pontificates of Annas and Caiaphas, who crucified the

Saviour and then tried to destroy his church; the sixth is the Roman

empire, which is supposed to embrace all political power in Europe to

this day; the seventh head is that power of short duration which shall

destroy the whole political system of Europe, and prepare it for the

arrival of Antichrist from the bosom of infidel Judaism. In this way

Godet harmonizes the Apocalypse with the teaching of Paul concerning

the restraining effect of the Roman empire, which will be overthrown in

order to give way to the full sway of Antichrist. The eighth head is

Israel restored, with a carnal Messiah at its head, who will preach the

worship of humanity and overthrow Rome, the old enemy of the Jews

(Apoc. 18), but be overthrown in turn by Christ (Rev. 19 and 2 Thess.

2:8). Then follows the millennium, the sabbath of humanity on earth

after its long week of work, not necessarily a visible reign of Christ,

but a reign by his Spirit. At the end of this period, Satan, who as yet

is only bound, shall try once more to destroy the work of God, but

shall only prepare his final defeat, and give the signal for the

universal judgment (Rev. 20). The terrestrial state founded on the day

of creation now gives place to the now heavens and the new earth (Rev.

21), in which God shall be all in all. Anticipating the sight of this

admirable spectacle, John prostrates himself and invites all the

faithful to cry with the Spirit and the spouse, "Lord, come--come soon"

(Rev. 22). What a vast drama! What a magnificent conclusion to the

Scriptures opening with Genesis! The first creation made man free; the

second shall make him holy, and then the work of God is accomplished.

Conclusion.

A very ingenious interpretation, with much valuable truth, but not the

last word yet on this mysterious book, and very doubtful in its

solution of the numerical riddle. The primary meaning of the beast, as

already remarked, is heathen Rome, as represented by that monster

tyrant and persecutor, Nero, the very incarnation of satanic

wickedness. The oldest interpretation (Lateinos), known already to a

grand-pupil of St. John, is also the best, and it is all the more

plausible because the other interpretations which give us the

alphabetical value of 666, namely, Nero and Caesar Augustus, likewise

point to the same Roman power which kept up a bloody crusade of three

hundred years against Christianity. But the political beast, and its

intellectual ally, the false prophet, appear again and again in

history, and make war upon the church and the truth of Christ, within

and without the circle of the old Roman empire. Many more wonders of

exegetical ability and historical learning will yet be performed before

the mysteries of Revelation are solved, if they ever will be solved

before the final fulfilment. In the meantime, the book will continue to

accomplish its practical mission of comfort and encouragement to every

Christian in the conflict of faith for the crown of life.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1243] Apokalupsis Iesou Christou Rev. 1:1. The oldest inscription in

Cod. ' is apokalupsis ioanou. Later MSS. add tou hagiou and tou

theologou, etc.

[1244] "Tot verba, tot mysteria."--"Niemand weiss, was darinnen steht."

Zwingli would take no doctrinal proof-text from Revelation.

[1245] The amount of nonsense, false chronology, and prophecy which has

been put into the Apocalypse is amazing, and explains the sarcastic

saying of the Calvinistic, yet vehemently anti-Puritanic preacher,

Robert South (Serm. XXIII., vol. I., 377, Philad. ed., 1844), that "the

book called the Revelation, the more it is studied, the less it is

understood, as generally either finding a man cracked, or making him

so." The remark is sometimes falsely attributed to Calvin, but he had

great respect for the book, and quotes it freely for doctrinal

purposes, though he modestly or wisely abstained from writing a

commentary on it.

[1246] Rev. 4:11; 5:8-14; 7:12-17; 11:15; 14:13; 15:3; 19:1, 2, 6, 7.

[1247] Herder: "How many passages in the prophets are obscure in their

primary historical references, and yet these passages, containing

divine truth, doctrine, and consolation, are manna for all hearts and

all ages. Should it not be so with the book which is an abstract of

almost all prophets and Apostles?"

[1248] Zur Einleit. in die Offenb. Joh., p. 1. The translation is

condensed.

[1249] Prof. Godet compares the Apocalypse with the Song of Songs,

viewed as a dramatic poem, and calls it "the Canticle of the New

Testament," as the Song of Songs is "the Apocalypse of the Old." But I

cannot see the aptness of this comparison. Eichhorn treated the

Apocalypse as a regular drama with a prologue, three acts, and an

epilogue.

[1250] See L�cke, pp. 66-345; Lange, pp. 6 sqq.; Hilgenfeld, Die

j�dische Apokalyptik (1857); Sch�rer, N. T'liche Zeitgeschichte (1874),

pp. 511-563.

[1251] Godet (p. 297): "The Apocalypse is the precious vessel in which

the treasure of Christian hope has been deposited for all ages of the

church, but especially for the church under the cross." Dr. Chambers

(p. 15): "The scope of this mysterious book is not to convince

unbelievers, nor to illustrate the divine prescience, nor to minister

to men's prurient desire to peer into the future, but to edify the

disciples of Christ in every age by unfolding the nature and character

of earth's conflicts, by preparing them for trial as not a strange

thing, by consoling them with the prospect of victory, by assuring them

of God's sovereign control over all persons and things, and by pointing

them to the ultimate issue when they shall pass through the gates of

pearl never more to go out."

[1252] Comp. � 50, (this vol.).

[1253] See the testimonies in Charteris, Canonicity, pp. 336-357; also

L�cke (pp. 419-887), Alford (iv. 198-229), Lee (pp. 405-442), and other

commentators.

[1254] This is the almost unanimous opinion of the T�bingen critics and

their sympathizers on the Continent and in England.

[1255] Comp. Rev. 1:10; 1 Cor. 14:15. See, besides the references

mentioned at the head of the section, the testimony of Dr. Weiss, who,

in his Leben Jesu (1882), I. 97-101, ably discusses the difference,

between the two books, and comes to the conclusion that they are both

from the same Apostle John. "Yes" (he says, with reference to a

significant concession of Dr. Baur), "the fourth Gospel is 'the

spiritualized Apocalypse,' but not because an intellectual hero of the

second century followed the seer of the Apocalypse, but because the Son

of Thunder of the Apocalypse had been matured and transfigured by the

Spirit and the divine guidance into a mystic, and the flames of his

youth had burnt down into the glow of a holy love."

[1256] The great majority of older commentators, and among the recent

ones Elliott, Alford, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Lange, Hofmann, Godet, Lee,

Milligan, and Warfield (in Schaff's "Encycl." III. 2035). I myself

formerly advocated the later date, in the Hist. of the Ap. Church

(1853), pp. 418 sqq

[1257] The early date is advocated or accepted by Neander, L�cke,

Bleek, Ewald, DeWette, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, D�sterdieck, Renan,

Aub�, Stuart, Davidson, Cowles, Bishop Lightfoot, Westoott, Holtzmann,

Weiss; and among earlier writers by Alcasar, Grotius, Hammond, Abauzit,

and John Lightfoot.

[1258] Suetonius, Vespas. c. 1 "Rebellione trium principum et caede

incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens

Flavia."

[1259] So Bleek (p. 121), L�cke (in the second ed.), B�hmer, Weiss,

D�sterdieck (Introd. pp. 55 sqq. and Com. on Rev. 13:3, and 17:7-14).

[1260] So Ewald, Reuss, Baur, etc. See NOTES below.

[1261] Comp. ch. vi., pp. 376-402, and especially the most graphic

description of those terrible years by Renan, in L'Antechrist, ch.

xiv., pp. 320-339, which I would like to transcribe if space permitted.

His facts are well supported by heathen and Jewish testimonies

especially Tacitus, Suetonius, Strabo, Pliny, Josephus, etc.

[1262] See Alford, Com. iv., 245 sqq.; Elliott, 4th vol.; Sam.

Davidson, Introd. to the N. T., first ed. III. 619, revised ed., vol.

II. 297, and Lee, Com. p. 488. Davidson adds a fourth class of

"extreme," as distinguished from simple "Futurists," who refer the

entire book, including Rev. 2 and 3, to the last times. Lee substitutes

with L�cke the term "Historical" for "Continuous," but Historical

applies better to the first class called "Preterists." Lee adds (491),

as a fourth system, the "Spiritual system," and names Augustin (his

"City of God," as the first philosophy of history), J. C. K. von

Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Ebrard as its chief defenders. It is

the same with what Auberlen calls the reichsgeschichtliche Auslegung.

[1263] So Herder, in his suggestive book MARAN AThA, das Buch von der

Zukunft des Herrn, des N. Testaments Siegel, Riga, 1779. He was

preceded in the anti-Jewish explication by Abauzit of Geneva (1730),

who assigned the book to the reign of Nero, and Wetstein (1752), and

followed by Hartwig (1780) and Z�llig. The last, in a learned work on

the Apocalypse (Stuttgart, 1834, 2 vols., 1840), refers it exclusively

to the Jewish state.

[1264] a = 1, b = 2, r = 100, a = 1, x = 60, a = 1, s = 200; total,

365. A vast number of engraved stones, called " Abraxas-gems," are

still extant. The origin of Abraxas is usually ascribed to Basilides or

his followers.

[1265] I = 10 + e = 8 + s = 200 + o = 70 + u = 400 + s = 200, total

iesous = 888. Comp. Barnabas, Ep. c. 9; and the Sibylline Books, I.

324-331.

[1266] These pious absurdities are surpassed by the rationalistic

absurdity of Volkmar, who (in his Com. on the Apoc., 1862, p. 197)

carries the imaginary hostility of John to Paul so far as to refer "the

false prophet" (Rev. 16:13; 19:20) to the Apostle of the Gentiles,

because he taught (Rom. 13) that every soul should be subject to the

then reigning Nero (ie., the beast)! Even Hilgenfeld (Einleit. p. 436)

and Samuel Davidson (I. 291), while agreeing with Volkmar in the

Nero-hypothesis, protest against such impious nonsense.

[1267] See Lee, Com. p. 687. Adam Clarke regarded this unanswerable.

[1268] Adv. Haer., v. 30, ��3 and 4. Josephus, from prudential regard

to his patrons, the Flavian emperors, withheld the interpretation of

the fourth beast and the stone cut out of the mountain in Daniel's

vision. Ant. x. 10, � 4. On which Havercamp remarks: "Nor is this to be

wondered at that he would not now meddle with things future; for he had

no mind to provoke the Romans by speaking of the destruction of that

city, which they called the eternal city."

[1269] If they go farther, they discover the anti-Christian beast in

the mediaeval German (the so-called "Holy Roman") empire in conflict

with the papacy, in the Napoleonic imperialism, the Russian Czarism,

the modern German empire (the anti-papal Cultur-Kampf ), in fact in

every secular power which is hostile to the interests of the Roman

hierarchy and will "not go to Canossa." This would be the very reverse

of the old Protestant interpretation.

[1270] D = 500 + I = 1 + C = 100 + L = 50 + V = 5 + V = 5 = 666.

[1271] The numerical value of Kaisarsebaston is = 20 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 1

+ 100 + 200 + 5 + 2 + 1 + 6 + 70 + 50, in all 666.

[1272] In the essay above quoted, p. 388, and in the article Revelation

in Johnson's "Cyclopaedia," III. 1606 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 102. Concluding Reflections. Faith and Criticism.

There is no necessary conflict between faith and criticism any more

than between revelation and reason or between faith and philosophy. God

is the author of both, and he cannot contradict himself. There is an

uncritical faith and a faithless criticism as there is a genuine

philosophy and a philosophy falsely so called; but this is no argument

either against faith or criticism; for the best gifts are liable to

abuse and perversion; and the noblest works of art may be caricatured.

The apostle of faith directs us to "prove all things," and to "hold

fast that which is good." We believe in order to understand, and true

faith is the mother of knowledge. A rational faith in Christianity, as

the best and final religion which God gave to mankind, owes it to

itself to examine the foundation on which it rests; and it is urged by

an irresistible impulse to vindicate the truth against every form of

error. Christianity needs no apology. Conscious of its supernatural

strength, it can boldly meet every foe and convert him into an ally.

Looking back upon the history of the apostolic age, it appears to us as

a vast battle-field of opposite tendencies and schools. Every inch of

ground is disputed and has to be reconquered; every fact, as well as

every doctrine of revelation, is called in question; every hypothesis

is tried; all the resources of learning, acumen, and ingenuity are

arrayed against the citadel of the Christian faith. The citadel is

impregnable, and victory is certain, but not to those who ignorantly or

superciliously underrate the strength of the besieging army. In the

sixteenth century the contest was between Roman Catholicism and

Evangelical Protestantism; in the nineteenth century the question is

Christianity or infidelity. Then both parties believed in the

inspiration of the New Testament and the extent of the canon, differing

only in the interpretation; now inspiration is denied, and the

apostolicity of all but four or five books is assailed. Then the Word

of God, with or without tradition, was the final arbiter of religious

controversies; now human reason is the ultimate tribunal.

We live in an age of discovery, invention, research, and doubt.

Scepticism is well nigh omnipresent in the thinking world. It

impregnates the atmosphere. We can no more ignore it than the ancient

Fathers could ignore the Gnostic speculations of their day. Nothing is

taken for granted; nothing believed on mere authority; everything must

be supported by adequate proof, everything explained in its natural

growth from the seed to the fruit. Roman Catholics believe in an

infallible oracle in the Vatican; but whatever the oracle may decree,

the earth moves and will continue to move around the sun. Protestants,

having safely crossed the Red Sea, cannot go back to the flesh-pots of

the land of bondage, but must look forward to the land of promise. In

the night, says a proverb, all cattle are black, but the daylight

reveals the different colors.

Why did Christ not write the New Testament, as Mohammed wrote the

Koran? Writing was not beneath his dignity; he did write once in the

sand, though we know not what. God himself wrote the Ten Commandments

on two tables of stone. But Moses broke them to pieces when he saw that

the people of Israel worshipped the golden calf before the thunders

from Sinai had ceased to reverberate in their ears. They might have

turned those tables into idols. God buried the great law-giver out of

sight and out of the reach of idolatry. The gospel was still less

intended to be a dumb idol than the law. It is not a killing letter but

a life-giving spirit. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh

profiteth nothing; the words of Christ "are spirit and are life." A

book written by his own unerring hand, unless protected by a perpetual

miracle, would have been subject to the same changes and corruptions in

the hands of fallible transcribers and printers as the books of his

disciples, and the original autograph would have perished with the

brittle papyrus. Nor would it have escaped the unmerciful assaults of

sceptical and infidel critics, and misinterpretations of commentators

and preachers. He himself was crucified by the hierarchy of his own

people, whom he came to save. What better fate could have awaited his

book? Of course, it would have risen from the dead, in spite of the

doubts and conjectures and falsehoods of unbelieving men; but the same

is true of the writings of the apostles, though thousands of copies

have been burned by heathens and false Christians. Thomas might put his

hand into the wound-prints of his risen Lord; but "Blessed are they

that have not seen and yet have believed."

We must believe in the Holy Spirit who lives and moves in the Church

and is the invisible power behind the written and printed word.

The form in which the authentic records of Christianity have come down

to us, with their variations and difficulties, is a constant stimulus

to study and research and calls into exercise all the intellectual and

moral faculties of men. Every one must strive after the best

understanding of the truth with a faithful use of his opportunities and

privileges, which are multiplying with every generation.

The New Testament is a revelation of spiritual and eternal truth to

faith, and faith is the work of the Holy Spirit, though rooted in the

deepest wants and aspirations of man. It has to fight its way through

an unbelieving world, and the conflict waxes hotter and hotter as the

victory comes nearer. For the last half century the apostolic writings

have been passing through the purgatory of the most scorching criticism

to which a book can be subjected. The opposition is itself a powerful

testimony to their vitality and importance.

There are two kinds of scepticism: one represented by Thomas, honest,

earnest, seeking and at last finding the truth; the other represented

by Sadducees and Pontius Pilate, superficial, worldly, frivolous,

indifferent to truth and ending in despair. With the latter "even the

gods reason in vain." When it takes the trouble to assail the Bible, it

deals in sneers and ridicule which admit of no serious answer. The

roots of infidelity he in the heart and will rather than in the reason

and intellect, and wilful opposition to the truth is deaf to any

argument. But honest, truth-loving scepticism always deserves regard

and sympathy and demands a patient investigation of the real or

imaginary difficulties which are involved in the problem of the origin

of Christianity. It may be more useful to the church than an unthinking

and unreasoning orthodoxy. One of the ablest and purest sceptical

critics of the century (DeWette) made the sad, but honorable

confession:

"I lived in times of doubt and strife,

When childlike faith was forced to yield;

I struggled to the end of life,

Alas! I did not gain the field."

But he did gain the field, after all, at last; for a few months before

his death he wrote and published this significant sentence: "I know

that in no other name can salvation be found, than in the name of Jesus

Christ the Crucified, and there is nothing higher for mankind than the

divine humanity (Gottmenschheit) realized in him, and the kingdom of

God planted by him." Blessed are those that seek the truth, for they

shall find it.

The critical and historical rationalism which was born and matured in

this century in the land of Luther, and has spread in Switzerland,

France, Holland, England, Scotland, and America, surpasses in depth and

breadth of learning, as well as in earnestness of spirit, all older

forms of infidelity and heresy. It is not superficial and frivolous, as

the rationalism of the eighteenth century; it is not indifferent to

truth, but intensely interested in ascertaining the real facts, and

tracing the origin and development of Christianity, as a great

historical phenomenon. But it arrogantly claims to be the criticism par

excellence, as the Gnosticism of the ancient church pretended to have

the monopoly of knowledge. There is a historical, conservative, and

constructive criticism, as well as an unhistorical, radical, and

destructive criticism; and the former must win the fight as sure as

God's truth will outlast all error. So there is a believing and

Christian Gnosticism as well as an unbelieving and anti- (or pseudo-)

Christian Gnosticism.

The negative criticism of the present generation has concentrated its

forces upon the life of Christ and the apostolic age, and spent an

astonishing amount of patient research upon the minutest details of its

history. And its labors have not been in vain; on the contrary, it has

done a vast amount of good, as well as evil. Its strength lies in the

investigation of the human and literary aspect of the Bible; its

weakness in the ignoring of its divine and spiritual character. It

forms thus the very antipode of the older orthodoxy, which so

overstrained the theory of inspiration as to reduce the human agency to

the mechanism of the pen. We must look at both aspects. The Bible is

the Word of God and the word of holy men of old. It is a revelation of

man, as well as of God. It reveals man in all his phases of

development--innocence, fall, redemption--in all the varieties of

character, from heavenly purity to satanic wickedness, with all his

virtues and vices, in all his states of experience, and is an

ever-flowing spring of inspiration to the poet, the artist, the

historian, and divine. It reflects and perpetuates the mystery of the

incarnation. It is the word of him who proclaimed himself the Son of

Man, as well as the Son of God. "Men spake from God, being moved by the

Holy Spirit." Here all is divine and all is human.

No doubt the New Testament is the result of a gradual growth and

conflict of different forces, which were included in the original idea

of Christianity and were drawn out as it passed from Christ to his

disciples, from the Jews to the Gentiles, from Jerusalem to Antioch and

Rome, and as it matured in the mind of the leading apostles. No doubt

the Gospels and Epistles were written by certain men, at a certain

time, in a certain place, under certain surroundings, and for definite

ends; and all these questions are legitimate objects of inquiry and

eminently deserving of ever-renewed investigation. Many obscure points

have been cleared up, thanks, in part, to these very critics, who

intended to destroy, and helped to build up.

The literary history of the apostolic age, like its missionary

progress, was guided by a special providence. Christ only finished a

part of his work while on earth. He pointed his disciples to greater

works, which they would accomplish in his name and by his power, after

his resurrection. He promised them his unbroken presence, and the gift

of the Holy Spirit, who, as the other Advocate, should lead them into

the whole truth and open to them the understanding of all his words.

The Acts of the Apostles are a history of the Holy Spirit, or of the

post-resurrection work of Christ in establishing his kingdom on earth.

Filled with that Spirit, the apostles and evangelists went forth into a

hostile world and converted it to Christ by their living word, and they

continue their conquering march by their written word.

Unbelieving criticism sees only the outside surface of the greatest

movement in history, and is blind to the spiritual forces working from

within or refuses to acknowledge them as truly divine. In like manner,

the materialistic and atheistic scientists of the age conceive of

nature's laws without a lawgiver; of a creature without a creator; and

stop with the effect, without rising to the cause, which alone affords

a rational explanation of the effect.

And here we touch upon the deepest spring of all forms of rationalism,

and upon the gulf which inseparably divides it from supernaturalism. It

is the opposition to the supernatural and the miraculous. It denies God

in nature and God in history, and, in its ultimate consequences, it

denies the very existence of God. Deism and atheism have no place for a

miracle; but belief in the existence of an Almighty Maker of all things

visible and invisible, as the ultimate and all-sufficient cause of all

phenomena in nature and in history, implies the possibility of miracle

at any time; not, indeed, as a violation of his own laws, but as a

manifestation of his law-giving and creative power over and above (not

against) the regular order of events. The reality of the miracle, in

any particular case, then, becomes a matter of historical

investigation. It cannot be disposed of by a simple denial from �

priori philosophical prejudice; but must be fairly examined, and, if

sufficiently corroborated by external and internal evidence, it must be

admitted.

Now, the miracles of Christ cannot be separated from his person and his

teachings. His words are as marvellous as his deeds; both form a

harmonious whole, and they stand or fall together. His person is the

great miracle, and his miracles are simply his natural works. He is as

much elevated above other men as his words and deeds are above ordinary

words and deeds. He is separated from all mortals by his absolute

freedom from sin. He, himself, claims superhuman origin and

supernatural powers; and to deny them is to make him a liar and

impostor. It is impossible to maintain his human perfection, which all

respectable rationalists admit and even emphasize, and yet to refuse

his testimony concerning himself. The Christ of Strauss and of Renan is

the most contradictory of all characters; the most incredible of all

enigmas. There is no possible scientific mediation between a purely

humanitarian conception of Christ, no matter how high he may be raised

in the scale of beings, and the faith in Christ as the Son of God, whom

Christendom has adored from the beginning and still adores as the Lord

and Saviour of the world.

Nor can we eliminate the supernatural element from the Apostolic Church

without destroying its very life and resolving it into a gigantic

illusion. What becomes of Paul if we deny his conversion, and how shall

we account for his conversion without the Resurrection and Ascension?

The greatest of modern sceptics paused at the problem, and felt almost

forced to admit an actual miracle, as the only rational solution of

that conversion. The Holy Spirit was the inspiring and propelling power

of the apostolic age, and made the fishers of Galilee fishers of men.

A Christian, who has experienced the power of the gospel in his heart,

can have no difficulty with the supernatural. He is as sure of the

regenerating and converting agency of the Spirit of God and the saving

efficacy of Christ as he is of his own natural existence. He has tasted

the medicine and has been healed. He may say with the man who was born

blind and made to see: "One thing I do know, that, whereas I was blind,

now I see." This is a short creed; but stronger than any argument. The

fortress of personal experience is impregnable; the logic of stubborn

facts is more cogent than the logic of reason. Every genuine conversion

from sin to holiness is a psychological miracle, as much so as the

conversion of Saul of Tarsus.

The secret or open hostility to the supernatural is the moving spring

of infidel criticism. We may freely admit that certain difficulties

about the time and place of composition and other minor details of the

Gospels and Epistles are not, and perhaps never can be, satisfactorily

solved; but it is, nevertheless, true that they are far better

authenticated by internal and external evidence than any books of the

great Greek and Roman classics, or of Philo and Josephus, which are

accepted by scholars without a doubt. As early as the middle of the

second century, that is, fifty years after the death of the Apostle

John, when yet many of his personal pupils and friends must have been

living, the four Canonical Gospels, no more and no less, were

recognized and read in public worship as sacred books, in the churches

of Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Italy, and Gaul; and such universal

acceptance and authority in the face of Jewish and heathen hostility

and heretical perversion can only be explained on the ground that they

were known and used long before. Some of them, Matthew and John, were

quoted and used in the first quarter of the second century by Orthodox

and Gnostic writers. Every new discovery, as the last book of the

pseudo-"Clementine Homilies," the "Philosophumena" of Hippolytus, the

"Diatessaron" of Tatian, and every deeper investigation of the "Gospel

Memoirs" of Justin Martyr, and the "Gospel" of Marcion in its relation

to Luke, have strengthened the cause of historical and conservative

criticism and inflicted bleeding wounds on destructive criticism. If

quotations from the end of the first and the beginning of the second

century are very rare, we must remember that we have only a handful of

literary documents from that period, and that the second generation of

Christians was not a race of scholars and scribes and critics, but of

humble, illiterate confessors and martyrs, who still breathed the

bracing air of the living teaching, and personal reminiscences of the

apostles and evangelists.

But the Synoptical Gospels bear the strongest internal marks of having

been composed before the destruction of Jerusalem (a.d. 70), which is

therein prophesied by Christ as a future event and as the sign of the

fast approaching judgment of the world, in a manner that is consistent

only with such early composition. The Epistle to the Hebrews, likewise,

was written when the Temple was still standing, and sacrifices were

offered from day to day. Yet, as this early date is not conceded by

all, we will leave the Epistle out of view. The Apocalypse of John is

very confidently assigned to the year 68 or 69 by Baur, Renan, and

others, who would put the Gospels down to a much later date. They also

concede the Pauline authorship of the great anti-Judaic Epistles to the

Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians, and make them the very basis of

their assaults upon the minor Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the

Apostles, on the ground of exaggerated or purely imaginary differences.

Those Epistles of Paul were written twelve or fourteen years before the

destruction of Jerusalem. This brings us within less than thirty years

of the resurrection of Christ and the birthday of the church.

Now, if we confine ourselves to these five books, which the most

exacting and rigorous criticism admits to be apostolic--the four

Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse--they alone are sufficient to

establish the foundation of historical faith; for they confirm by

direct statement or allusion every important fact and doctrine in the

gospel history, without referring to the written Gospels. The memory

and personal experience of the writers--Paul and John--goes back to the

vision of Damascus, to the scenes of the Resurrection and Crucifixion,

and the first call of the disciples on the banks of the Jordan and the

shores of the Lake of Galilee. Criticism must first reason Paul and

John out of history, or deny that they ever wrote a line, before it can

expect sensible men to surrender a single chapter of the Gospels.

Strong as the external evidence is, the internal evidence of the truth

and credibility of the apostolic writings is still stronger, and may be

felt to this day by the unlearned as well as the scholar. They widely

differ in style and spirit from all post-apostolic productions, and

occupy a conspicuous isolation even among the best of books. This

position they have occupied for eighteen centuries among the most

civilized nations of the globe; and from this position they are not

likely to be deposed.

We must interpret persons and events not only by themselves, but also

in the light of subsequent history. "By their fruits ye shall know

them." Christianity can stand this test better than any other religion,

and better than any system of philosophy.

Taking our position at the close of the apostolic age, and looking back

to its fountain-head and forward to succeeding generations, we cannot

but be amazed at the magnitude of the effects produced by the brief

public ministry of Jesus of Nazareth, which sends its blessings through

centuries as an unbroken and ever-expanding river of life. There is

absolutely nothing like it in the annals of the race. The Roman empire

embraced, at the birth of Christ, over one hundred millions of men,

conquered by force, and, after having persecuted his religion for three

hundred years, it died away without the possibility of a resurrection.

The Christian church now numbers four hundred millions, conquered by

the love of Christ, and is constantly increasing. The first century is

the life and light of history and the turning point of the ages. If

ever God revealed himself to man, if ever heaven appeared on earth, it

was in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth. He is, beyond any

shadow of doubt, and by the reluctant consent of sceptics and infidels,

the wisest of the wise, the purest of the pure, and the mightiest of

the mighty. His Cross has become the tree of life to all nations; his

teaching is still the highest standard of religious truth; his example

the unsurpassed ideal of holiness; the Gospels and Epistles of his

Galilean disciples are still the book of books, more powerful than all

the classics of human wisdom and genius. No book has attracted so much

attention, provoked so much opposition, outlived so many persecutions,

called forth so much reverence and gratitude, inspired so many noble

thoughts and deeds, administered so much comfort and peace from the

cradle to the grave to all classes and conditions of men. It is more

than a book; it is an institution, an all-pervading omnipresent force,

a converting, sanctifying, transforming agency; it rules from the

pulpit and the chair; it presides at the family altar; it is the sacred

ark of every household, the written conscience of every Christian man,

the pillar of cloud by day, the pillar of light by night in the

pilgrimage of life. Mankind is bad enough, and human life dark enough

with it; but how much worse and how much darker would they be without

it? Christianity might live without the letter of the New Testament,

but not without the facts and truths which it records and teaches. Were

it possible to banish them from the world, the sun of our civilization

would be extinguished, and mankind left to midnight darkness, with the

dreary prospect of a dreamless and endless Nirvana.

But no power on earth or in hell can extinguish that sun. There it

shines on the horizon, the king of day, obscured at times by clouds

great or small, but breaking through again and again, and shedding

light and life from east to west, until the darkest corners of the

globe shall be illuminated. The past is secure; God will take care of

the future.

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALEBIT.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1] Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church, (Oak Harbor, WA:

Logos Research Systems, Inc.) 1997. This material has been carefully

compared, corrected� and emended (according to the 1910 edition of

Charles Scribner's Sons) by The Electronic Bible Society, Dallas, TX,

1998.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Indexes

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Subject Index

Apostles, [1]i.III\_1.20-p106.2

John, [2]i.VII.41-p0.1

Paul, [3]i.V\_1.30-p0.1

Peter, [4]i.IV\_1.25-p0.1

Baptism, [5]i.IX.53-p40.1

Church

Christian Ministry, [6]i.X.59-p0.1

Spiritual Gifts, [7]i.VIII.44-p18.2

Greek Literature, [8]i.I\_1.12-p0.1

Heathenism, [9]i.I\_1.11-p0.1

James, [10]i.IV\_1.27-p0.1

Jesus Christ, [11]i.II\_1-p3.2

Judaism, [12]i.I\_1.9-p0.1

New Testament

Acts, [13]i.XII.85-p0.1

Epistle To The Hebrews, [14]i.XII.100-p0.1

Epistle to Philemon, [15]i.XII.98-p0.1

Epistle to the Colossians, [16]i.XII.94-p0.1

Epistle to the Ephesians, [17]i.XII.95-p0.1

Epistle to the Philippians, [18]i.XII.97-p0.1

Epistles of John, [19]i.XII.87-p41.2

Epistles to the Corinthians, [20]i.XII.90-p0.1

Epistles to the Galatians, [21]i.XII.91-p0.1

Epistles to the Thessalonians, [22]i.XII.89-p0.1

James, [23]i.XII.87-p11.2

Jude, [24]i.XII.87-p34.2

Luke, [25]i.XII.82-p1.2

Mark, [26]i.XII.81-p0.1

Matthew, [27]i.XII.80-p0.1

Peter, [28]i.XII.87-p20.2

Revelation, [29]i.XII.101-p0.1

Papacy, [30]i.IV\_1.26-p26.2

Resurrection, [31]i.II\_1.19-p0.1

Roman Empire, [32]i.I\_1.12-p0.2

Rome, [33]i.V\_1.36-p19.2

Slavery, [34]i.VIII.47-p11.4

Spiritual Gifts

Tongues, [35]i.IV\_1.24-p62.1

Synagogue, [36]i.IX.51-p0.1

Synoptics, [37]i.XII.79-p5.2

The Lord's Supper, [38]i.IX.54-p34.3

Worship, [39]i.IX.52-p0.1, [40]i.VIII.50-p20.1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Scripture References

Genesis

[41]1:1 [42]1:2 [43]1:3 [44]1:28 [45]2:3 [46]2:4 [47]3

[48]3:15 [49]3:20 [50]5:1 [51]6:1 [52]9:4 [53]10

[54]17:10 [55]22:9 [56]22:12 [57]25:27

Exodus

[58]8:15 [59]8:32 [60]9:16 [61]9:23 [62]9:34-35 [63]12:2

[64]12:5 [65]16:5 [66]19:16 [67]20:10 [68]23:16 [69]28:36

[70]28:36-37 [71]29:39 [72]29:41 [73]32:31-32 [74]34 [75]34

[76]39:30-31

Leviticus

[77]11:25 [78]14:7 [79]15:1-18 [80]17:7 [81]17:11 [82]18

[83]23 [84]23:11 [85]23:15 [86]23:15 [87]23:16 [88]25:10

Numbers

[89]4:3 [90]4:35 [91]4:39 [92]4:43 [93]4:47 [94]15:37-41

[95]19:7 [96]19:7 [97]19:19 [98]24:17 [99]24:17 [100]28:4

[101]28:26

Deuteronomy

[102]5:14 [103]6:4-9 [104]11:13-21 [105]12:23 [106]16:9-10

[107]16:9-12 [108]18:15 [109]24:1

Judges

[110]5:9 [111]18 [112]35 [113]100:8

1 Samuel

[114]7:10

1 Kings

[115]19:11-12

2 Kings

[116]5:14

2 Chronicles

[117]30:22 [118]35:1-19

Ezra

[119]2:13

Job

[120]26:14 [121]26:14 [122]37:2

Psalms

[123]2 [124]24:1 [125]55:18 [126]77:18 [127]77:19 [128]88:8

[129]89:28 [130]119:163

Proverbs

[131]8:30 [132]19:17

Isaiah

[133]1:13 [134]3:10 [135]6:1 [136]8:1 [137]10:33

[138]11:6-9 [139]12:3 [140]24:16 [141]29 [142]29:6 [143]40

[144]41 [145]52:10 [146]53:7 [147]61:2

Jeremiah

[148]33:25 [149]35:2 [150]48:25 [151]48:27

Ezekiel

[152]1:15 [153]7:3 [154]7:8 [155]10:1 [156]11:22 [157]18:30

[158]24:14 [159]33:20

Daniel

[160]7:7 [161]7:11 [162]7:25 [163]8 [164]9:27

Matthew

[165]1 [166]1 [167]1:1-17 [168]1:5-7 [169]1:13 [170]1:16

[171]1:18 [172]1:18 [173]1:23 [174]1:23 [175]1:25 [176]2

[177]2 [178]2 [179]2 [180]2:1 [181]2:1-4 [182]2:1-12

[183]2:1-12 [184]2:2 [185]2:7 [186]2:9 [187]2:16 [188]2:16

[189]3:1 [190]3:1-12 [191]3:7 [192]3:10 [193]3:11

[194]3:13-17 [195]4:1-11 [196]4:12 [197]4:12 [198]4:12-18:35

[199]4:16 [200]4:17 [201]4:23 [202]4:23 [203]4:23-25 [204]5

[205]5 [206]5 [207]5:1 [208]5:6 [209]5:9 [210]5:10

[211]5:10-12 [212]5:17 [213]5:17 [214]5:20 [215]5:22

[216]5:34 [217]5:35 [218]5:48 [219]5:48 [220]6:9 [221]6:9

[222]6:14 [223]6:24 [224]6:33 [225]7:4 [226]7:7 [227]7:11

[228]7:11 [229]7:12 [230]7:21 [231]7:21-23 [232]7:21-23

[233]7:26 [234]7:28-29 [235]8 [236]8:5-13 [237]8:10

[238]8:10 [239]8:14 [240]8:14 [241]9:1-8 [242]9:2 [243]9:2

[244]9:2-8 [245]9:5 [246]9:5 [247]9:6 [248]9:9 [249]9:9

[250]9:10 [251]9:13 [252]9:13 [253]9:15 [254]9:18

[255]9:27-31 [256]10 [257]10 [258]10 [259]10:2 [260]10:3

[261]10:3 [262]10:3 [263]10:3 [264]10:5-6 [265]10:17

[266]10:19 [267]10:19-20 [268]10:22 [269]10:22 [270]10:24

[271]10:40 [272]11 [273]11:1-19 [274]11:20-24 [275]11:20-24

[276]11:25-27 [277]11:25-27 [278]11:25-30 [279]11:25-30

[280]11:27 [281]11:27 [282]11:27 [283]11:27 [284]11:28-29

[285]11:28-30 [286]11:28-30 [287]12 [288]12 [289]12:1

[290]12:3 [291]12:5 [292]12:13 [293]12:13 [294]12:36-37

[295]12:36-37 [296]12:37 [297]12:46 [298]13 [299]13:2

[300]13:11 [301]13:14 [302]13:24-50 [303]13:54-56 [304]13:55

[305]13:55 [306]13:55 [307]13:55 [308]13:55 [309]13:55

[310]13:55 [311]13:55 [312]13:56 [313]13:57 [314]14:1-13

[315]14:22-16:12 [316]14:27 [317]14:28-31 [318]14:30-31

[319]15:2 [320]15:2 [321]15:3 [322]15:6 [323]15:21-28

[324]15:57 [325]16 [326]16:13-23 [327]16:13-33 [328]16:16

[329]16:16 [330]16:16 [331]16:16-23 [332]16:17 [333]16:17-19

[334]16:18 [335]16:18 [336]16:18 [337]16:18 [338]16:18

[339]16:18 [340]16:18 [341]16:20-23 [342]16:21-23

[343]16:21-23 [344]16:24 [345]17 [346]17 [347]17:2

[348]17:14-18 [349]17:14-21 [350]17:24-27 [351]17:24-27

[352]18 [353]18 [354]18 [355]18:1-6 [356]18:2 [357]18:2-6

[358]18:7 [359]18:7 [360]18:11 [361]18:15-18 [362]18:17

[363]18:17 [364]18:18 [365]18:23-35 [366]18:55 [367]19

[368]19:1-20:31 [369]19:10-12 [370]19:18 [371]19:20

[372]19:23 [373]19:28 [374]20 [375]20:1-16 [376]20:3

[377]20:20-24 [378]20:28 [379]21 [380]21:1-17 [381]21:28-32

[382]21:33-44 [383]21:41 [384]21:43 [385]22 [386]22:1-14

[387]22:14 [388]22:16 [389]22:23 [390]22:30 [391]22:37-40

[392]22:41 [393]23 [394]23 [395]23 [396]23:6 [397]23:8

[398]23:10 [399]23:14 [400]24 [401]24 [402]24:1-2 [403]24:2

[404]24:14 [405]24:14 [406]24:15 [407]24:15 [408]24:15

[409]24:21 [410]24:34 [411]24:36 [412]25:1-13 [413]25:14-30

[414]25:14-30 [415]25:21 [416]25:23 [417]25:27 [418]25:31-46

[419]25:31-46 [420]25:34 [421]25:35-36 [422]25:41 [423]26

[424]26 [425]26:11 [426]26:13 [427]26:14-16 [428]26:17

[429]26:20 [430]26:26 [431]26:28 [432]26:30 [433]26:38

[434]26:47 [435]26:51 [436]26:61 [437]26:63 [438]26:64

[439]26:64 [440]26:65 [441]27:3-10 [442]27:8 [443]27:8

[444]27:19 [445]27:35 [446]27:46 [447]27:51 [448]27:52

[449]27:52 [450]27:55 [451]27:55 [452]27:56 [453]27:56

[454]27:56 [455]27:62 [456]27:62 [457]27:62 [458]27:62-66

[459]27:62-66 [460]28:1 [461]28:2 [462]28:6 [463]28:11-15

[464]28:15 [465]28:17 [466]28:17 [467]28:17 [468]28:18

[469]28:18 [470]28:18-20 [471]28:18-20 [472]28:19 [473]28:19

[474]28:19 [475]28:19 [476]28:19 [477]28:19 [478]28:20

[479]28:20 [480]48 [481]56 [482]222 [483]363 [484]415

[485]793 [486]1516 [487]2425

Mark

[488]1 [489]1:1 [490]1:1-8 [491]1:4 [492]1:8 [493]1:9-11

[494]1:10 [495]1:12 [496]1:12 [497]1:12 [498]1:13 [499]1:14

[500]1:14 [501]1:14-15 [502]1:14-9:50 [503]1:15 [504]1:15

[505]1:15 [506]1:16 [507]1:16 [508]1:20 [509]1:21 [510]1:21

[511]1:21 [512]1:22 [513]1:22 [514]1:27 [515]1:29 [516]1:29

[517]1:29 [518]1:30 [519]1:31 [520]1:35 [521]1:36 [522]1:39

[523]1:40 [524]1:44 [525]2 [526]2 [527]2:3-12 [528]2:5

[529]2:5 [530]2:9 [531]2:9 [532]2:10 [533]2:12 [534]2:14

[535]2:15 [536]2:28 [537]3:5 [538]3:5 [539]3:6 [540]3:7

[541]3:10 [542]3:10 [543]3:16 [544]3:16 [545]3:17 [546]3:17

[547]3:17 [548]3:17 [549]3:17 [550]3:18 [551]3:20 [552]3:32

[553]4 [554]4:11 [555]4:26-29 [556]4:34 [557]4:35-41

[558]4:38 [559]4:38 [560]4:39 [561]4:39 [562]5:22 [563]5:25

[564]5:33 [565]5:36 [566]5:41 [567]6:2 [568]6:2-3 [569]6:3

[570]6:3 [571]6:3 [572]6:3 [573]6:3 [574]6:3 [575]6:3

[576]6:3 [577]6:3 [578]6:3 [579]6:4 [580]6:4 [581]6:4

[582]6:14-29 [583]6:14-29 [584]6:31 [585]6:34 [586]6:40

[587]6:43 [588]6:45-8:26 [589]6:45-8:26 [590]6:46 [591]6:50

[592]7 [593]7:3 [594]7:3-4 [595]7:4 [596]7:5 [597]7:8

[598]7:9 [599]7:13 [600]7:24 [601]7:31 [602]7:31-37

[603]8:14 [604]8:16 [605]8:22-26 [606]8:25 [607]8:27-33

[608]8:27-33 [609]8:27-33 [610]8:30-33 [611]8:31 [612]8:31-33

[613]8:35 [614]9 [615]9:2 [616]9:3 [617]9:6 [618]9:14-29

[619]9:21-25 [620]9:36 [621]10:1-52 [622]10:13-16

[623]10:13-16 [624]10:14 [625]10:21 [626]10:21-22 [627]10:24

[628]10:32 [629]10:35-41 [630]10:46 [631]10:50 [632]11

[633]11 [634]11:1 [635]11:1-11 [636]11:4 [637]11:22

[638]12:1-11 [639]12:1-12 [640]12:38-39 [641]12:40 [642]13

[643]13:1 [644]13:1-2 [645]13:2 [646]13:3 [647]13:14

[648]13:32 [649]14 [650]14 [651]14:7 [652]14:9 [653]14:12

[654]14:14-15 [655]14:34 [656]14:36 [657]14:51 [658]14:54

[659]14:58 [660]14:72 [661]14:72 [662]14:84 [663]15:7

[664]15:15 [665]15:21 [666]15:28 [667]15:40 [668]15:40

[669]15:40 [670]15:40 [671]15:41 [672]15:41 [673]15:42

[674]15:42 [675]15:47 [676]15:47 [677]16 [678]16 [679]16

[680]16:1 [681]16:1 [682]16:1 [683]16:2 [684]16:7 [685]16:7

[686]16:8 [687]16:8 [688]16:8 [689]16:8 [690]16:8 [691]16:8

[692]16:8 [693]16:8 [694]16:8 [695]16:9 [696]16:9

[697]16:9-10 [698]16:9-14 [699]16:9-20 [700]16:9-20

[701]16:9-20 [702]16:9-20 [703]16:11-14 [704]16:12-13

[705]16:14 [706]16:15 [707]16:15 [708]16:15-16 [709]16:15-20

[710]16:16 [711]16:16 [712]16:16 [713]16:16 [714]16:16

[715]16:17 [716]16:17 [717]16:17-18 [718]16:17-18

[719]16:17-18 [720]16:17-18 [721]16:17-20 [722]16:19

[723]16:19 [724]16:19 [725]16:19-20 [726]16:20 [727]20

[728]25 [729]29 [730]40 [731]44 [732]158 [733]174

[734]540 [735]793

Luke

[736]1 [737]1 [738]1 [739]1 [740]1 [741]1 [742]1 [743]1

[744]1:1 [745]1:1 [746]1:1 [747]1:1 [748]1:1 [749]1:2

[750]1:2 [751]1:2 [752]1:4 [753]1:4 [754]1:5 [755]1:5

[756]1:5 [757]1:5-25 [758]1:14 [759]1:15 [760]1:26

[761]1:26 [762]1:26 [763]1:26 [764]1:26-38 [765]1:27

[766]1:27 [767]1:34 [768]1:35 [769]1:35 [770]1:39-45

[771]1:41 [772]1:46 [773]1:46-56 [774]1:47 [775]1:47

[776]1:57-66 [777]1:67 [778]1:67-80 [779]1:68 [780]1:69

[781]1:69 [782]1:77 [783]2 [784]2:1 [785]2:1 [786]2:1-7

[787]2:2 [788]2:2 [789]2:2 [790]2:3 [791]2:7 [792]2:8

[793]2:8-20 [794]2:14 [795]2:14 [796]2:21 [797]2:21-38

[798]2:29 [799]2:30 [800]2:32 [801]2:40 [802]2:41-52

[803]2:42-52 [804]2:44 [805]2:46 [806]2:46 [807]2:46

[808]2:52 [809]2:52 [810]3:1 [811]3:1 [812]3:1 [813]3:1-2

[814]3:1-2 [815]3:1-18 [816]3:2 [817]3:6 [818]3:16

[819]3:16 [820]3:21-23 [821]3:22 [822]3:23 [823]3:23-38

[824]3:23-38 [825]3:38 [826]4 [827]4:1-13 [828]4:14

[829]4:14 [830]4:14-15 [831]4:14-9:50 [832]4:15 [833]4:16

[834]4:16-22 [835]4:17-20 [836]4:19 [837]4:20 [838]4:24

[839]4:24 [840]4:25-27 [841]4:26-27 [842]4:26-27 [843]4:26-27

[844]4:32 [845]4:38 [846]5:4-11 [847]5:20 [848]5:23

[849]5:24 [850]5:27 [851]5:28 [852]5:29 [853]5:29 [854]5:50

[855]6:4 [856]6:10 [857]6:14 [858]6:15 [859]6:15 [860]6:16

[861]6:21 [862]6:30-31 [863]6:31 [864]6:40 [865]7:1

[866]7:1-9 [867]7:5 [868]7:8 [869]7:9 [870]7:11-18

[871]7:36-50 [872]7:41-43 [873]8:2-3 [874]8:3 [875]8:3

[876]8:3 [877]8:22-25 [878]8:23 [879]8:26 [880]8:41

[881]8:46 [882]8:49 [883]9:4-56 [884]9:7-9 [885]9:21-27

[886]9:22 [887]9:22 [888]9:24 [889]9:37-42 [890]9:37-43

[891]9:44 [892]9:44 [893]9:45 [894]9:45 [895]9:48 [896]9:49

[897]9:49-50 [898]9:51-56 [899]9:51-18:14 [900]9:51-18:14

[901]9:58 [902]9:58 [903]10 [904]10 [905]10:1-6

[906]10:13-15 [907]10:21-22 [908]10:22 [909]10:25-37

[910]10:30-37 [911]10:38-42 [912]11:1-2 [913]11:5-8

[914]11:27 [915]11:38 [916]11:43 [917]12 [918]12:11

[919]12:12 [920]12:16-21 [921]12:49 [922]13:4 [923]13:6-9

[924]13:6-9 [925]13:14 [926]14:1-6 [927]14:11 [928]15:8-10

[929]15:11-32 [930]15:11-32 [931]16:1-13 [932]16:10-12

[933]16:14 [934]16:19-31 [935]17:1 [936]17:11-19

[937]17:12-18 [938]17:20-37 [939]17:21 [940]18:1-8

[941]18:10-14 [942]18:15-17 [943]18:15-17 [944]18:15-19:28

[945]19 [946]19:1-10 [947]19:3 [948]19:11-28 [949]19:29-44

[950]19:29-21:38 [951]19:41-44 [952]19:43-44 [953]19:43-44

[954]19:44 [955]20:9-18 [956]20:9-19 [957]21 [958]21

[959]21:5-33 [960]21:15 [961]21:16 [962]21:20 [963]21:20-24

[964]21:24 [965]21:24 [966]21:24 [967]21:32 [968]22

[969]22:7 [970]22:15 [971]22:17 [972]22:19 [973]22:19-20

[974]22:31-32 [975]22:31-32 [976]22:32 [977]22:37

[978]22:50-51 [979]23:3 [980]23:19 [981]23:27-30

[982]23:39-43 [983]23:54 [984]23:56 [985]24 [986]24:10

[987]24:10 [988]24:11 [989]24:13-25 [990]24:16 [991]24:18

[992]24:23 [993]24:37-41 [994]24:39 [995]24:47 [996]24:50-53

[997]24:51 [998]24:53 [999]27 [1000]34 [1001]38 [1002]67

[1003]174 [1004]209 [1005]415 [1006]969

John

[1007]1 [1008]1:1 [1009]1:1 [1010]1:1 [1011]1:1 [1012]1:1

[1013]1:1 [1014]1:1 [1015]1:1-2 [1016]1:1-3 [1017]1:1-18

[1018]1:3 [1019]1:3 [1020]1:3 [1021]1:3-5 [1022]1:4

[1023]1:4-5 [1024]1:5 [1025]1:5 [1026]1:6-13 [1027]1:9

[1028]1:9 [1029]1:9 [1030]1:10 [1031]1:14 [1032]1:14

[1033]1:14 [1034]1:14 [1035]1:14 [1036]1:14 [1037]1:14

[1038]1:14 [1039]1:14 [1040]1:14 [1041]1:14 [1042]1:14

[1043]1:14 [1044]1:14-18 [1045]1:15 [1046]1:16 [1047]1:16

[1048]1:16-17 [1049]1:17 [1050]1:17 [1051]1:18 [1052]1:18

[1053]1:18 [1054]1:19-28 [1055]1:19-37 [1056]1:19-12:50

[1057]1:23 [1058]1:25 [1059]1:26 [1060]1:28 [1061]1:29

[1062]1:29 [1063]1:29 [1064]1:30 [1065]1:32 [1066]1:32-34

[1067]1:32-34 [1068]1:33 [1069]1:35 [1070]1:35 [1071]1:35-40

[1072]1:35-40 [1073]1:35-40 [1074]1:38-51 [1075]1:39

[1076]1:40-43 [1077]1:41 [1078]1:42 [1079]1:42 [1080]1:43

[1081]1:43 [1082]1:44 [1083]1:45-49 [1084]1:46 [1085]1:46

[1086]1:51 [1087]1:51 [1088]2:1 [1089]2:1-10 [1090]2:1-11

[1091]2:4 [1092]2:6 [1093]2:9 [1094]2:12 [1095]2:12

[1096]2:13 [1097]2:13 [1098]2:13 [1099]2:13 [1100]2:14-22

[1101]2:17 [1102]2:19 [1103]2:19 [1104]2:19 [1105]2:19

[1106]2:20 [1107]2:21-22 [1108]2:22 [1109]2:22 [1110]2:23

[1111]2:23 [1112]2:23-25 [1113]2:24-25 [1114]3 [1115]3

[1116]3:1-15 [1117]3:2 [1118]3:3-4 [1119]3:5 [1120]3:5

[1121]3:5 [1122]3:5 [1123]3:5 [1124]3:8 [1125]3:16

[1126]3:16 [1127]3:16 [1128]3:16 [1129]3:16-17 [1130]3:16-21

[1131]3:18 [1132]3:22-23 [1133]3:22-36 [1134]3:23 [1135]3:25

[1136]3:30 [1137]3:31 [1138]3:36 [1139]4 [1140]4 [1141]4

[1142]4 [1143]4 [1144]4:1-3 [1145]4:1-42 [1146]4:2

[1147]4:2 [1148]4:5 [1149]4:5-42 [1150]4:9 [1151]4:10-11

[1152]4:20 [1153]4:22 [1154]4:22 [1155]4:22 [1156]4:22

[1157]4:24 [1158]4:24 [1159]4:24 [1160]4:25 [1161]4:26

[1162]4:42 [1163]4:43-45 [1164]4:44 [1165]4:46-54 [1166]5:1

[1167]5:1 [1168]5:1 [1169]5:1-18 [1170]5:2 [1171]5:8

[1172]5:19-47 [1173]5:21 [1174]5:25 [1175]5:44 [1176]5:46

[1177]6 [1178]6:1-14 [1179]6:4 [1180]6:4 [1181]6:14-15

[1182]6:15-21 [1183]6:16 [1184]6:19 [1185]6:22-71 [1186]6:45

[1187]6:47 [1188]6:47 [1189]6:47-58 [1190]6:52-58 [1191]6:62

[1192]6:63 [1193]6:63 [1194]6:68-69 [1195]6:68-69 [1196]6:71

[1197]7:1-52 [1198]7:2 [1199]7:3-4 [1200]7:5 [1201]7:5

[1202]7:5 [1203]7:10 [1204]7:15 [1205]7:15 [1206]7:22-23

[1207]7:26 [1208]7:37 [1209]7:46 [1210]7:49 [1211]7:49

[1212]7:53-8:11 [1213]8 [1214]8:2 [1215]8:5 [1216]8:12-59

[1217]8:15 [1218]8:40 [1219]8:40 [1220]8:42 [1221]8:44

[1222]8:44 [1223]8:44 [1224]8:48 [1225]8:57 [1226]8:58

[1227]8:58 [1228]8:59 [1229]9:1-41 [1230]9:2-3 [1231]9:7

[1232]9:13-34 [1233]9:34 [1234]10:1-21 [1235]10:9 [1236]10:11

[1237]10:11 [1238]10:15 [1239]10:17 [1240]10:22-39

[1241]10:23 [1242]10:39 [1243]10:40-42 [1244]11:1-57

[1245]11:16 [1246]11:17-44 [1247]11:18 [1248]11:33

[1249]11:33 [1250]11:35 [1251]11:49 [1252]11:51 [1253]12:1-8

[1254]12:4 [1255]12:9-11 [1256]12:12-19 [1257]12:16

[1258]12:20-32 [1259]12:20-50 [1260]12:27 [1261]12:27

[1262]12:32 [1263]12:34 [1264]12:34 [1265]12:38 [1266]12:41

[1267]13:1 [1268]13:1 [1269]13:1 [1270]13:1-20

[1271]13:1-17:26 [1272]13:2 [1273]13:7 [1274]13:18

[1275]13:21 [1276]13:21-27 [1277]13:23 [1278]13:23-25

[1279]13:26 [1280]13:27-30 [1281]13:29 [1282]13:31-35

[1283]13:34 [1284]13:34-35 [1285]13:36-38 [1286]14:1-16:33

[1287]14:6 [1288]14:15 [1289]14:16 [1290]14:17 [1291]14:21

[1292]14:26 [1293]14:26 [1294]14:26 [1295]15:13 [1296]15:26

[1297]15:26 [1298]15:27 [1299]16:12 [1300]16:13-14

[1301]16:13-15 [1302]17 [1303]17 [1304]17:1-26 [1305]17:2

[1306]17:3 [1307]17:3 [1308]17:5 [1309]17:5 [1310]17:17

[1311]17:22-24 [1312]17:24 [1313]17:24 [1314]18:1

[1315]18:1-11 [1316]18:1-20:31 [1317]18:9 [1318]18:12-14

[1319]18:13 [1320]18:13 [1321]18:15-16 [1322]18:15-18

[1323]18:18 [1324]18:19-24 [1325]18:20 [1326]18:20

[1327]18:25-27 [1328]18:28 [1329]18:28 [1330]18:28

[1331]18:28-19:16 [1332]18:39-40 [1333]18:40 [1334]19:4-16

[1335]19:13 [1336]19:14 [1337]19:14 [1338]19:15 [1339]19:17

[1340]19:17-37 [1341]19:20 [1342]19:24 [1343]19:25

[1344]19:25 [1345]19:25 [1346]19:25 [1347]19:25 [1348]19:25

[1349]19:25 [1350]19:26-27 [1351]19:27 [1352]19:30

[1353]19:33-35 [1354]19:34 [1355]19:34 [1356]19:35

[1357]19:37 [1358]19:38-42 [1359]20:1 [1360]20:1-10

[1361]20:2-8 [1362]20:4 [1363]20:8-9 [1364]20:11-18

[1365]20:14 [1366]20:19 [1367]20:19-23 [1368]20:21-23

[1369]20:21-23 [1370]20:22 [1371]20:24 [1372]20:25

[1373]20:25 [1374]20:25 [1375]20:25 [1376]20:26

[1377]20:26-29 [1378]20:27 [1379]20:27 [1380]20:30

[1381]20:30 [1382]20:30 [1383]20:30-31 [1384]20:30-31

[1385]20:31 [1386]21 [1387]21:1-14 [1388]21:1-23

[1389]21:1-25 [1390]21:2 [1391]21:2 [1392]21:2 [1393]21:2

[1394]21:15-17 [1395]21:15-19 [1396]21:15-19 [1397]21:15-23

[1398]21:18-19 [1399]21:18-19 [1400]21:22 [1401]21:22-23

[1402]21:24 [1403]21:24 [1404]21:24-25 [1405]21:25

[1406]21:25 [1407]50

Acts

[1408]1:1 [1409]1:1 [1410]1:1 [1411]1:3-12 [1412]1:5

[1413]1:7 [1414]1:8 [1415]1:8 [1416]1:9-11 [1417]1:12

[1418]1:13 [1419]1:13 [1420]1:13 [1421]1:13 [1422]1:13-14

[1423]1:15 [1424]1:15 [1425]1:19 [1426]1:20 [1427]1:21

[1428]1:22 [1429]1:24 [1430]1:26 [1431]2 [1432]2 [1433]2

[1434]2 [1435]2 [1436]2 [1437]2 [1438]2 [1439]2:1

[1440]2:1 [1441]2:1 [1442]2:1-47 [1443]2:2 [1444]2:3

[1445]2:3 [1446]2:4 [1447]2:4 [1448]2:4 [1449]2:4 [1450]2:4

[1451]2:4 [1452]2:4 [1453]2:4 [1454]2:5 [1455]2:6 [1456]2:8

[1457]2:8 [1458]2:8-11 [1459]2:8-12 [1460]2:9 [1461]2:9

[1462]2:10 [1463]2:13 [1464]2:14 [1465]2:14 [1466]2:15

[1467]2:15 [1468]2:17 [1469]2:18 [1470]2:23 [1471]2:24

[1472]2:27 [1473]2:32 [1474]2:32 [1475]2:33 [1476]2:36

[1477]2:38 [1478]2:38 [1479]2:38 [1480]2:41 [1481]2:42

[1482]2:46 [1483]2:46 [1484]3 [1485]3:1 [1486]3:6 [1487]3:7

[1488]3:11 [1489]4:8 [1490]4:13 [1491]4:24-30 [1492]4:32

[1493]4:36 [1494]5 [1495]5:1 [1496]5:1-10 [1497]5:12

[1498]5:12 [1499]5:36 [1500]5:37 [1501]5:37 [1502]5:37

[1503]5:37 [1504]5:37 [1505]5:42 [1506]6 [1507]6 [1508]6:1

[1509]6:3 [1510]6:3 [1511]6:5 [1512]6:5 [1513]6:6 [1514]6:6

[1515]6:9 [1516]6:9 [1517]6:9 [1518]7 [1519]7:58 [1520]8

[1521]8 [1522]8 [1523]8 [1524]8 [1525]8 [1526]8:9-10

[1527]8:9-24 [1528]8:10 [1529]8:13 [1530]8:14-17 [1531]8:15

[1532]8:16 [1533]8:17 [1534]8:18 [1535]8:27 [1536]8:27

[1537]8:28 [1538]8:30 [1539]8:32 [1540]8:37 [1541]9 [1542]9

[1543]9 [1544]9:2 [1545]9:2 [1546]9:3 [1547]9:4 [1548]9:17

[1549]9:18 [1550]9:20 [1551]9:23 [1552]9:23-25 [1553]9:23-25

[1554]9:26-27 [1555]9:26-27 [1556]9:27 [1557]9:30 [1558]10

[1559]10 [1560]10 [1561]10 [1562]10 [1563]10:2

[1564]10:10-16 [1565]10:27-29 [1566]10:34-35 [1567]10:35

[1568]10:35 [1569]10:38 [1570]10:38 [1571]10:46 [1572]10:46

[1573]10:46 [1574]10:46 [1575]10:46 [1576]11 [1577]11:19

[1578]11:19-30 [1579]11:26 [1580]11:28 [1581]11:28

[1582]11:28-30 [1583]11:30 [1584]11:30 [1585]11:30

[1586]11:30 [1587]12:2 [1588]12:2 [1589]12:2 [1590]12:2-23

[1591]12:9 [1592]12:12 [1593]12:17 [1594]12:17 [1595]12:17

[1596]12:17 [1597]12:20-23 [1598]12:23 [1599]12:25 [1600]13

[1601]13 [1602]13 [1603]13 [1604]13:1 [1605]13:1-3

[1606]13:2 [1607]13:3 [1608]13:4 [1609]13:5 [1610]13:7

[1611]13:13 [1612]13:14-16 [1613]13:15 [1614]13:15

[1615]13:15 [1616]13:15 [1617]13:15 [1618]13:15 [1619]13:44

[1620]14 [1621]14:11 [1622]14:11-14 [1623]14:12 [1624]14:15

[1625]14:16 [1626]14:22 [1627]14:23 [1628]14:23 [1629]14:23

[1630]15 [1631]15 [1632]15 [1633]15 [1634]15 [1635]15

[1636]15 [1637]15 [1638]15 [1639]15 [1640]15 [1641]15:1

[1642]15:1 [1643]15:1-3 [1644]15:1-11 [1645]15:2 [1646]15:2

[1647]15:5 [1648]15:5 [1649]15:6 [1650]15:6 [1651]15:6

[1652]15:7 [1653]15:7-11 [1654]15:7-11 [1655]15:8 [1656]15:11

[1657]15:12 [1658]15:20 [1659]15:21 [1660]15:21 [1661]15:22

[1662]15:22 [1663]15:22 [1664]15:22 [1665]15:22 [1666]15:22

[1667]15:22 [1668]15:22 [1669]15:22-35 [1670]15:23

[1671]15:23 [1672]15:23 [1673]15:23 [1674]15:23 [1675]15:23

[1676]15:23-29 [1677]15:23-29 [1678]15:25 [1679]15:27

[1680]15:29 [1681]15:34 [1682]15:36-39 [1683]15:36-18:22

[1684]15:38 [1685]15:39 [1686]15:39 [1687]15:39-41

[1688]15:40 [1689]16:3 [1690]16:3 [1691]16:4 [1692]16:6

[1693]16:10 [1694]16:10 [1695]16:11 [1696]16:12 [1697]16:13

[1698]16:14 [1699]17 [1700]17:1 [1701]17:1 [1702]17:3

[1703]17:6 [1704]17:8 [1705]17:16 [1706]17:16 [1707]17:18

[1708]17:20 [1709]17:21 [1710]17:22 [1711]17:23 [1712]17:23

[1713]17:23 [1714]17:26-27 [1715]17:27 [1716]17:28

[1717]17:28 [1718]17:28 [1719]17:28 [1720]17:31 [1721]18:1

[1722]18:2 [1723]18:3 [1724]18:3 [1725]18:3 [1726]18:8

[1727]18:8 [1728]18:9 [1729]18:12 [1730]18:12-16 [1731]18:17

[1732]18:18 [1733]18:21 [1734]18:21 [1735]18:21

[1736]18:24-28 [1737]18:27-28 [1738]19 [1739]19:6 [1740]19:6

[1741]19:6 [1742]19:6 [1743]19:8-10 [1744]19:10 [1745]19:21

[1746]19:21 [1747]19:21 [1748]19:22 [1749]20 [1750]20

[1751]20:2 [1752]20:3 [1753]20:4 [1754]20:4 [1755]20:5-6

[1756]20:5-6 [1757]20:6 [1758]20:7 [1759]20:8 [1760]20:16

[1761]20:16 [1762]20:16 [1763]20:17 [1764]20:17 [1765]20:17

[1766]20:17 [1767]20:17 [1768]20:28 [1769]20:28 [1770]20:28

[1771]20:28 [1772]20:28 [1773]20:28 [1774]20:29-30

[1775]20:29-30 [1776]20:30 [1777]20:30 [1778]20:31

[1779]20:34 [1780]20:35 [1781]20:35 [1782]20:35 [1783]21

[1784]21:2 [1785]21:3 [1786]21:9 [1787]21:15 [1788]21:17-20

[1789]21:18 [1790]21:18 [1791]21:20-21 [1792]21:20-25

[1793]21:23-24 [1794]21:23-26 [1795]21:23-26 [1796]21:25

[1797]21:26 [1798]21:37-26:31 [1799]21:38 [1800]21:40

[1801]21:40 [1802]22 [1803]22 [1804]22 [1805]22:2

[1806]22:2 [1807]22:3 [1808]22:3 [1809]22:10 [1810]22:14

[1811]22:17-21 [1812]22:19 [1813]23:3 [1814]23:15 [1815]23:16

[1816]23:26 [1817]23:26 [1818]24:5 [1819]24:17 [1820]24:17

[1821]25:13 [1822]25:23 [1823]26 [1824]26 [1825]26 [1826]26

[1827]26:5 [1828]26:14 [1829]26:14 [1830]26:19 [1831]26:19

[1832]26:28 [1833]27 [1834]27 [1835]27 [1836]27:4

[1837]27:4 [1838]27:5 [1839]27:7 [1840]27:7 [1841]27:8

[1842]27:13 [1843]27:15 [1844]27:16 [1845]27:17 [1846]27:18

[1847]27:27 [1848]27:41 [1849]28 [1850]28:8 [1851]28:13

[1852]28:13 [1853]28:13-15 [1854]28:15 [1855]28:16-20

[1856]28:17 [1857]28:17-29 [1858]28:23 [1859]28:28

[1860]28:30 [1861]28:30 [1862]28:30 [1863]28:30

[1864]28:30-31 [1865]135

Romans

[1866]1:3 [1867]1:3 [1868]1:3 [1869]1:3 [1870]1:3-4

[1871]1:4 [1872]1:7 [1873]1:8 [1874]1:8 [1875]1:8

[1876]1:10 [1877]1:13 [1878]1:13 [1879]1:13 [1880]1:15

[1881]1:15 [1882]1:16 [1883]1:16-17 [1884]1:16-17

[1885]1:16-17 [1886]1:17 [1887]1:17 [1888]1:18 [1889]1:18

[1890]1:18-21 [1891]1:18-32 [1892]1:19 [1893]1:19-20

[1894]1:19-32 [1895]1:22 [1896]1:32 [1897]2:1-3:20 [1898]2:4

[1899]2:6 [1900]2:13 [1901]2:14-15 [1902]2:16 [1903]2:25

[1904]2:25 [1905]2:26 [1906]2:27 [1907]3 [1908]3 [1909]3:1

[1910]3:8 [1911]3:9 [1912]3:20 [1913]3:20 [1914]3:20

[1915]3:20 [1916]3:20 [1917]3:21-26 [1918]3:21-8:17

[1919]3:22 [1920]3:25 [1921]3:26 [1922]3:28 [1923]3:28

[1924]3:28 [1925]4 [1926]4:1 [1927]4:11 [1928]4:17-21

[1929]4:19 [1930]4:24-25 [1931]4:24-25 [1932]4:25 [1933]4:25

[1934]4:25 [1935]5:1 [1936]5:1 [1937]5:1 [1938]5:5

[1939]5:8-21 [1940]5:10 [1941]5:12 [1942]5:12-21

[1943]5:12-21 [1944]5:15 [1945]5:15 [1946]5:16 [1947]5:16

[1948]5:16 [1949]5:17 [1950]5:18 [1951]5:18 [1952]5:18

[1953]5:18 [1954]5:20 [1955]5:20-21 [1956]6 [1957]6 [1958]6

[1959]6 [1960]6 [1961]6:2 [1962]6:3-10 [1963]6:4 [1964]6:4

[1965]6:4 [1966]6:4-8 [1967]6:5 [1968]6:9-10 [1969]6:11

[1970]6:17 [1971]6:19 [1972]6:22 [1973]7 [1974]7

[1975]7:6-13 [1976]7:7-9 [1977]7:7-25 [1978]7:10-25

[1979]7:24 [1980]8 [1981]8 [1982]8 [1983]8:1 [1984]8:3

[1985]8:3 [1986]8:3 [1987]8:3 [1988]8:3 [1989]8:3 [1990]8:3

[1991]8:3-11 [1992]8:4 [1993]8:15 [1994]8:15 [1995]8:26

[1996]8:28 [1997]8:29 [1998]8:29 [1999]8:29-30 [2000]8:30

[2001]8:31 [2002]8:31-39 [2003]8:31-39 [2004]8:32 [2005]8:32

[2006]8:32 [2007]8:35 [2008]8:39 [2009]9 [2010]9 [2011]9

[2012]9 [2013]9 [2014]9 [2015]9:2-3 [2016]9:3 [2017]9:4-5

[2018]9:5 [2019]9:5 [2020]9:5 [2021]9:5 [2022]9:5 [2023]9:5

[2024]9:10 [2025]9:14 [2026]9:17 [2027]9:18 [2028]9:22

[2029]9:23 [2030]9:30 [2031]10 [2032]10 [2033]10

[2034]10:6-7 [2035]10:12-13 [2036]10:14-15 [2037]10:18

[2038]11 [2039]11 [2040]11:25 [2041]11:25 [2042]11:25

[2043]11:25 [2044]11:29 [2045]11:30 [2046]11:32 [2047]11:32

[2048]11:32 [2049]11:32 [2050]11:33 [2051]11:36 [2052]11:86

[2053]12 [2054]12 [2055]12 [2056]12 [2057]12 [2058]12

[2059]12:1 [2060]12:3-9 [2061]12:5 [2062]12:8 [2063]12:13

[2064]13 [2065]13:7-10 [2066]13:8 [2067]13:10 [2068]13:13

[2069]14 [2070]14:1 [2071]14:2 [2072]14:2 [2073]14:5

[2074]14:5 [2075]14:5 [2076]14:6 [2077]14:7-8 [2078]14:14

[2079]14:17 [2080]14:21 [2081]14:21 [2082]14:21 [2083]15

[2084]15:3 [2085]15:8 [2086]15:17 [2087]15:18-19 [2088]15:19

[2089]15:20 [2090]15:22-29 [2091]15:23 [2092]15:24

[2093]15:24 [2094]15:24 [2095]15:24 [2096]15:25-26

[2097]15:25-27 [2098]15:25-27 [2099]15:25-27 [2100]15:28

[2101]15:28 [2102]15:28 [2103]15:28 [2104]15:29 [2105]15:33

[2106]16 [2107]16 [2108]16 [2109]16 [2110]16 [2111]16:1

[2112]16:1 [2113]16:1 [2114]16:3 [2115]16:5 [2116]16:7

[2117]16:13 [2118]16:20 [2119]16:21 [2120]16:23 [2121]16:23

[2122]16:23 [2123]16:24 [2124]16:25 [2125]16:26 [2126]16:27

[2127]1588 [2128]1793

1 Corinthians

[2129]1:2 [2130]1:9 [2131]1:12 [2132]1:12 [2133]1:12

[2134]1:12 [2135]1:12 [2136]1:13 [2137]1:14 [2138]1:14-17

[2139]1:17-18 [2140]1:19 [2141]1:19 [2142]1:21 [2143]1:23

[2144]1:23 [2145]1:24 [2146]1:26 [2147]1:26-29 [2148]1:29

[2149]1:30 [2150]1:30 [2151]2 [2152]2:1 [2153]2:1-2

[2154]2:2 [2155]2:2 [2156]2:2 [2157]2:3 [2158]2:4 [2159]2:5

[2160]2:8 [2161]2:12 [2162]2:14 [2163]2:26-31 [2164]3:3

[2165]3:4-6 [2166]3:6 [2167]3:10 [2168]3:11 [2169]3:11

[2170]3:15-16 [2171]3:16-17 [2172]3:22 [2173]4:1 [2174]4:1

[2175]4:6 [2176]4:11-12 [2177]4:16 [2178]4:19 [2179]4:20

[2180]4:26 [2181]5:1 [2182]5:1 [2183]5:5 [2184]5:5

[2185]5:7 [2186]5:7 [2187]5:7-8 [2188]5:9 [2189]5:9

[2190]5:9 [2191]6:9-11 [2192]6:10 [2193]6:12 [2194]6:13-20

[2195]6:14 [2196]6:15 [2197]6:15 [2198]6:15-20 [2199]6:18

[2200]6:20 [2201]7:5 [2202]7:7 [2203]7:7-8 [2204]7:8

[2205]7:14 [2206]7:18 [2207]7:19 [2208]7:19 [2209]7:19

[2210]7:20 [2211]7:23 [2212]7:25 [2213]7:25 [2214]7:29

[2215]8:1 [2216]8:1 [2217]8:6 [2218]8:7-13 [2219]8:7-13

[2220]8:9 [2221]8:13 [2222]9 [2223]9:1 [2224]9:1 [2225]9:1

[2226]9:1 [2227]9:5 [2228]9:5 [2229]9:5 [2230]9:5 [2231]9:5

[2232]9:5 [2233]9:5 [2234]9:5 [2235]9:5 [2236]9:5-6

[2237]9:14 [2238]9:16 [2239]9:19-23 [2240]9:20 [2241]9:20

[2242]9:20-22 [2243]9:22 [2244]9:27 [2245]10 [2246]10:1-4

[2247]10:12 [2248]10:16 [2249]10:16-17 [2250]10:23

[2251]10:23-33 [2252]10:26 [2253]10:27 [2254]10:28

[2255]11:19 [2256]11:23 [2257]11:23 [2258]11:23-26

[2259]11:23-30 [2260]11:24-25 [2261]11:27-29 [2262]11:28

[2263]12 [2264]12 [2265]12 [2266]12 [2267]12 [2268]12

[2269]12 [2270]12:4 [2271]12:7 [2272]12:10 [2273]12:28

[2274]12:28 [2275]12:28 [2276]12:28 [2277]12:30 [2278]13

[2279]13 [2280]13 [2281]13 [2282]13 [2283]13:1

[2284]13:1-13 [2285]13:2 [2286]13:13 [2287]13:13 [2288]14

[2289]14 [2290]14:1-5 [2291]14:2 [2292]14:2 [2293]14:2-4

[2294]14:4 [2295]14:5 [2296]14:13 [2297]14:13 [2298]14:13

[2299]14:14 [2300]14:14-15 [2301]14:15 [2302]14:16

[2303]14:18 [2304]14:19 [2305]14:19 [2306]14:22 [2307]14:22

[2308]14:22 [2309]14:23 [2310]14:23 [2311]14:27 [2312]14:27

[2313]14:27 [2314]14:28 [2315]15 [2316]15:1 [2317]15:3

[2318]15:3 [2319]15:3-8 [2320]15:4-8 [2321]15:5 [2322]15:6

[2323]15:6 [2324]15:7 [2325]15:7 [2326]15:7 [2327]15:8

[2328]15:8 [2329]15:8 [2330]15:8 [2331]15:8 [2332]15:8

[2333]15:8-9 [2334]15:9 [2335]15:9 [2336]15:9 [2337]15:9

[2338]15:9 [2339]15:9-10 [2340]15:10 [2341]15:12 [2342]15:13

[2343]15:13-19 [2344]15:14 [2345]15:15 [2346]15:17

[2347]15:21 [2348]15:22 [2349]15:22 [2350]15:22 [2351]15:28

[2352]15:28 [2353]15:33 [2354]15:44 [2355]15:45-49

[2356]15:47 [2357]15:54 [2358]15:58 [2359]16:1 [2360]16:1-2

[2361]16:1-3 [2362]16:2 [2363]16:2 [2364]16:3 [2365]16:3

[2366]16:3 [2367]16:5 [2368]16:5 [2369]16:8 [2370]16:9

[2371]16:12 [2372]16:13-14 [2373]16:19 [2374]16:19

[2375]16:19 [2376]16:22 [2377]18:1-2 [2378]29:11 [2379]1214

2 Corinthians

[2380]1:3 [2381]1:5 [2382]1:5 [2383]1:7 [2384]1:8-9

[2385]1:9 [2386]1:12 [2387]1:24 [2388]1:24 [2389]2:1

[2390]2:5-10 [2391]2:16 [2392]2:16 [2393]3:2 [2394]3:5

[2395]3:6 [2396]3:6 [2397]3:6-9 [2398]3:14-15 [2399]3:17

[2400]4:4 [2401]4:5 [2402]4:6 [2403]4:6 [2404]4:7 [2405]4:7

[2406]4:7 [2407]4:8-9 [2408]4:17 [2409]5:1 [2410]5:7

[2411]5:7 [2412]5:10 [2413]5:10 [2414]5:14 [2415]5:15

[2416]5:15 [2417]5:15 [2418]5:15 [2419]5:16 [2420]5:16

[2421]5:17 [2422]5:17 [2423]5:17 [2424]5:18 [2425]5:19

[2426]5:19 [2427]5:20 [2428]5:21 [2429]5:21 [2430]5:21

[2431]5:21 [2432]5:21 [2433]5:21 [2434]6:14 [2435]7:4

[2436]7:5 [2437]7:9-10 [2438]7:10 [2439]8 [2440]8

[2441]8:1-3 [2442]8:9 [2443]8:9 [2444]8:9 [2445]8:9

[2446]8:9 [2447]9:6 [2448]9:7 [2449]9:12-15 [2450]10

[2451]10:6 [2452]10:8 [2453]10:9 [2454]10:10 [2455]10:16

[2456]10:17 [2457]10:18 [2458]11:5 [2459]11:5 [2460]11:7-9

[2461]11:13 [2462]11:17 [2463]11:24-29 [2464]11:32-33

[2465]11:32-33 [2466]11:32-33 [2467]12 [2468]12:2

[2469]12:2-4 [2470]12:7-9 [2471]12:9 [2472]12:12

[2473]12:13-14 [2474]12:14 [2475]12:21 [2476]13:1 [2477]13:1

[2478]13:8 [2479]13:14

Galatians

[2480]1:1 [2481]1:1 [2482]1:1 [2483]1:1-2:14 [2484]1:2

[2485]1:4 [2486]1:4 [2487]1:6 [2488]1:8-9 [2489]1:11

[2490]1:12 [2491]1:12 [2492]1:13 [2493]1:15 [2494]1:15

[2495]1:15 [2496]1:15-16 [2497]1:15-16 [2498]1:15-17

[2499]1:16 [2500]1:16 [2501]1:16 [2502]1:16 [2503]1:16

[2504]1:16 [2505]1:17 [2506]1:17 [2507]1:17-18 [2508]1:18

[2509]1:18 [2510]1:18 [2511]1:18-19 [2512]1:18-19

[2513]1:18-19 [2514]1:18-24 [2515]1:19 [2516]1:19 [2517]1:19

[2518]1:19 [2519]1:21 [2520]1:22 [2521]1:22-24 [2522]2

[2523]2 [2524]2 [2525]2 [2526]2 [2527]2 [2528]2 [2529]2:1

[2530]2:1 [2531]2:1 [2532]2:1 [2533]2:1-10 [2534]2:1-10

[2535]2:1-10 [2536]2:1-10 [2537]2:1-11 [2538]2:2 [2539]2:3-5

[2540]2:3-5 [2541]2:4 [2542]2:4 [2543]2:4 [2544]2:6

[2545]2:6 [2546]2:7-9 [2547]2:7-10 [2548]2:8-9 [2549]2:8-9

[2550]2:9 [2551]2:9 [2552]2:9 [2553]2:9 [2554]2:9 [2555]2:9

[2556]2:9 [2557]2:9 [2558]2:9 [2559]2:10 [2560]2:11

[2561]2:11 [2562]2:11 [2563]2:11 [2564]2:11 [2565]2:11

[2566]2:11 [2567]2:11 [2568]2:11 [2569]2:11-14 [2570]2:11-14

[2571]2:11-14 [2572]2:11-14 [2573]2:11-21 [2574]2:11-21

[2575]2:12 [2576]2:12 [2577]2:12 [2578]2:12 [2579]2:12

[2580]2:12 [2581]2:12 [2582]2:13-15 [2583]2:14 [2584]2:14-21

[2585]2:15-4:31 [2586]2:16 [2587]2:16 [2588]2:16 [2589]2:16

[2590]2:16 [2591]2:16 [2592]2:18 [2593]2:20 [2594]2:20

[2595]2:21 [2596]2:21 [2597]3:10 [2598]3:13 [2599]3:13

[2600]3:13 [2601]3:16 [2602]3:19 [2603]3:21 [2604]3:22

[2605]3:24 [2606]3:24 [2607]3:24 [2608]3:27 [2609]3:27

[2610]3:27 [2611]3:28 [2612]3:28 [2613]3:28 [2614]3:28

[2615]4 [2616]4:3 [2617]4:4 [2618]4:4 [2619]4:4 [2620]4:4-6

[2621]4:5-7 [2622]4:6 [2623]4:6 [2624]4:6 [2625]4:9

[2626]4:9 [2627]4:10 [2628]4:13 [2629]4:13-15 [2630]4:14

[2631]4:15 [2632]4:25 [2633]5 [2634]5 [2635]5:1 [2636]5:1

[2637]5:2-4 [2638]5:6 [2639]5:6 [2640]5:6 [2641]5:6

[2642]5:11 [2643]5:13 [2644]5:16 [2645]5:16-26 [2646]5:22

[2647]6:2 [2648]6:7 [2649]6:10 [2650]6:14 [2651]6:14

[2652]6:15 [2653]6:16 [2654]8:22 [2655]8:28 [2656]8:28

Ephesians

[2657]1:1 [2658]1:3 [2659]1:3-14 [2660]1:4 [2661]1:4

[2662]1:7 [2663]1:7 [2664]1:10 [2665]1:10 [2666]1:13

[2667]1:13 [2668]1:17 [2669]1:17 [2670]1:18 [2671]1:20

[2672]1:20 [2673]1:23 [2674]1:23 [2675]1:23 [2676]1:23

[2677]2:2 [2678]2:4-6 [2679]2:8 [2680]2:8-9 [2681]2:14

[2682]2:18 [2683]2:19-20 [2684]2:20 [2685]2:20-22 [2686]2:22

[2687]3:1 [2688]3:3 [2689]3:4 [2690]3:5 [2691]3:8 [2692]3:8

[2693]3:8 [2694]3:8 [2695]3:16 [2696]3:17-19 [2697]3:19

[2698]4:3 [2699]4:3 [2700]4:6 [2701]4:9-10 [2702]4:11

[2703]4:11 [2704]4:11-12 [2705]4:12-16 [2706]4:13 [2707]4:13

[2708]4:13-16 [2709]4:15 [2710]4:24 [2711]4:24 [2712]4:28

[2713]4:30 [2714]4:30 [2715]5:1-2 [2716]5:3 [2717]5:3

[2718]5:5 [2719]5:14 [2720]5:14 [2721]5:14 [2722]5:18

[2723]5:19 [2724]5:22 [2725]5:22-23 [2726]5:25 [2727]5:25-27

[2728]5:27 [2729]5:30 [2730]5:32 [2731]5:32 [2732]6

[2733]6:1 [2734]6:4 [2735]6:11 [2736]6:14 [2737]6:17-18

[2738]6:19-20 [2739]6:21 [2740]6:21

Philippians

[2741]1:1 [2742]1:1 [2743]1:1 [2744]1:1 [2745]1:6 [2746]1:7

[2747]1:12-15 [2748]1:13 [2749]1:13 [2750]1:13 [2751]1:13

[2752]1:14 [2753]1:15-18 [2754]1:17 [2755]1:20-23 [2756]1:21

[2757]1:21 [2758]1:25 [2759]1:25 [2760]1:25-26 [2761]1:29

[2762]2:1-11 [2763]2:5 [2764]2:5 [2765]2:5-11 [2766]2:5-11

[2767]2:6 [2768]2:6-11 [2769]2:6-11 [2770]2:7 [2771]2:7

[2772]2:8 [2773]2:9-11 [2774]2:12-13 [2775]2:12-13

[2776]2:12-13 [2777]2:13 [2778]2:13 [2779]2:24 [2780]2:25-30

[2781]3:1 [2782]3:2 [2783]3:2 [2784]3:2-21 [2785]3:5

[2786]3:6 [2787]3:6 [2788]3:6 [2789]3:8 [2790]3:8-10

[2791]3:12 [2792]3:12-14 [2793]3:14 [2794]3:14 [2795]4:1

[2796]4:3 [2797]4:3 [2798]4:3 [2799]4:4 [2800]4:7 [2801]4:7

[2802]4:8 [2803]4:22 [2804]9 [2805]1855

Colossians

[2806]1:7 [2807]1:10-11 [2808]1:14 [2809]1:15 [2810]1:15

[2811]1:15 [2812]1:15 [2813]1:15 [2814]1:15 [2815]1:15-17

[2816]1:15-17 [2817]1:15-18 [2818]1:15-18 [2819]1:15-20

[2820]1:16-18 [2821]1:18 [2822]1:19 [2823]1:19 [2824]1:24

[2825]2:1 [2826]2:2 [2827]2:3 [2828]2:8-10 [2829]2:9

[2830]2:9 [2831]2:9 [2832]2:16 [2833]2:20 [2834]3:1

[2835]3:4 [2836]3:4 [2837]3:5 [2838]3:5 [2839]3:5 [2840]3:8

[2841]3:11 [2842]3:11 [2843]3:14 [2844]3:16 [2845]3:17

[2846]4:3 [2847]4:7 [2848]4:7 [2849]4:7-14 [2850]4:9

[2851]4:10 [2852]4:10 [2853]4:10 [2854]4:10 [2855]4:10-11

[2856]4:11 [2857]4:12 [2858]4:13-16 [2859]4:14 [2860]4:14

[2861]4:14 [2862]4:16 [2863]4:16 [2864]4:16 [2865]4:16

[2866]4:16 [2867]4:16 [2868]4:16 [2869]4:18 [2870]8:18-25

1 Thessalonians

[2871]1:3 [2872]1:5 [2873]1:5-6 [2874]1:6 [2875]1:7-8

[2876]2:7 [2877]2:9 [2878]2:9 [2879]2:13 [2880]2:15

[2881]2:18 [2882]3:1 [2883]3:7 [2884]4:3 [2885]4:3

[2886]4:4 [2887]4:4-5 [2888]4:7 [2889]4:13 [2890]4:16-17

[2891]5:1 [2892]5:2 [2893]5:6 [2894]5:7 [2895]5:8

[2896]5:10 [2897]5:16 [2898]5:21 [2899]5:21-22 [2900]5:23

[2901]5:23 [2902]5:27 [2903]6:27

2 Thessalonians

[2904]1:10 [2905]1:11 [2906]2:1-12 [2907]2:2 [2908]2:3-4

[2909]2:3-4 [2910]2:3-12 [2911]2:4 [2912]2:6-7 [2913]2:6-8

[2914]2:7 [2915]2:7 [2916]2:8 [2917]2:8 [2918]2:13

[2919]2:13 [2920]3:8 [2921]3:10

1 Timothy

[2922]1:3 [2923]1:3 [2924]1:3 [2925]1:3 [2926]1:4 [2927]1:5

[2928]1:7 [2929]1:9 [2930]1:9 [2931]1:10 [2932]1:10

[2933]1:12-14 [2934]1:13 [2935]1:13-16 [2936]1:15 [2937]1:15

[2938]1:15 [2939]1:15 [2940]1:15 [2941]1:16 [2942]1:17

[2943]2:9 [2944]3:1 [2945]3:1 [2946]3:1-13 [2947]3:2

[2948]3:2 [2949]3:3 [2950]3:11 [2951]3:15 [2952]3:16

[2953]3:16 [2954]3:16 [2955]3:16 [2956]3:16 [2957]3:16

[2958]4:1 [2959]4:3 [2960]4:4 [2961]4:8 [2962]4:12

[2963]4:14 [2964]4:14 [2965]4:14 [2966]5:4 [2967]5:17

[2968]5:17 [2969]5:22 [2970]5:22 [2971]5:23 [2972]6:10

[2973]6:17 [2974]6:20 [2975]6:20 [2976]6:20 [2977]6:20

[2978]8:8

2 Timothy

[2979]1:6 [2980]1:6 [2981]1:6 [2982]1:7 [2983]1:14

[2984]1:15-18 [2985]2:8 [2986]2:8 [2987]2:11-13 [2988]2:16

[2989]2:17 [2990]2:18 [2991]2:19 [2992]2:19 [2993]2:23

[2994]2:23 [2995]2:25 [2996]3:16 [2997]4:6-8 [2998]4:6-8

[2999]4:7-8 [3000]4:9 [3001]4:9 [3002]4:10-12 [3003]4:11

[3004]4:11 [3005]4:11 [3006]4:11 [3007]4:11 [3008]4:11

[3009]4:11 [3010]4:13 [3011]4:13 [3012]4:16-17 [3013]4:19

[3014]4:20 [3015]4:20 [3016]4:21 [3017]4:21 [3018]4:21

Titus

[3019]1:5 [3020]1:5 [3021]1:5 [3022]1:5 [3023]1:5 [3024]1:5

[3025]1:5 [3026]1:5-7 [3027]1:6 [3028]1:7 [3029]1:7

[3030]1:9 [3031]1:9 [3032]1:10 [3033]1:10 [3034]1:12

[3035]1:14 [3036]1:14 [3037]1:14-15 [3038]1:15 [3039]1:15

[3040]2:11 [3041]2:11 [3042]2:12 [3043]2:13 [3044]2:13

[3045]3 [3046]3:3-7 [3047]3:4 [3048]3:4-7 [3049]3:5

[3050]3:5 [3051]3:5 [3052]3:5 [3053]3:9 [3054]3:9 [3055]3:9

[3056]3:10 [3057]3:12 [3058]3:13

Philemon

[3059]1:6 [3060]1:10 [3061]1:10 [3062]1:11 [3063]1:11

[3064]1:13 [3065]1:16 [3066]1:17 [3067]1:18 [3068]1:20

[3069]1:22 [3070]1:22 [3071]1:22 [3072]1:23 [3073]1:24

[3074]1:24 [3075]1:24 [3076]1:24 [3077]1:24

Hebrews

[3078]1:1 [3079]1:1 [3080]1:1-4 [3081]1:2 [3082]1:2

[3083]1:3 [3084]1:3 [3085]1:5-14 [3086]2:1 [3087]2:2

[3088]2:2-3 [3089]2:3 [3090]2:3 [3091]2:3 [3092]2:3

[3093]2:3 [3094]2:4 [3095]2:5 [3096]2:8 [3097]2:11-13

[3098]2:14 [3099]2:17 [3100]3:6 [3101]3:8 [3102]3:14

[3103]3:14 [3104]3:15 [3105]4:1 [3106]4:1-11 [3107]4:6

[3108]4:11 [3109]4:12 [3110]4:12 [3111]4:13 [3112]4:14

[3113]5:2 [3114]5:8-9 [3115]5:8-9 [3116]5:12 [3117]5:12

[3118]5:14 [3119]6:1-4 [3120]6:1-8 [3121]6:2 [3122]6:2

[3123]6:4-6 [3124]6:11 [3125]6:12 [3126]6:17 [3127]6:20

[3128]7:1-3 [3129]7:3 [3130]7:3 [3131]7:3 [3132]7:4

[3133]7:20-21 [3134]7:27 [3135]7:28 [3136]9:8 [3137]9:10

[3138]9:11 [3139]10:5-10 [3140]10:10 [3141]10:11 [3142]10:22

[3143]10:23 [3144]10:26-27 [3145]10:26-31 [3146]10:32-34

[3147]10:32-34 [3148]10:32-39 [3149]10:34 [3150]11 [3151]11:1

[3152]11:1 [3153]11:12 [3154]11:16 [3155]11:25 [3156]12

[3157]12:1 [3158]12:2 [3159]12:13 [3160]12:17 [3161]12:18-19

[3162]13:2 [3163]13:3 [3164]13:5 [3165]13:7 [3166]13:7

[3167]13:8 [3168]13:17 [3169]13:18-19 [3170]13:22 [3171]13:22

[3172]13:23 [3173]13:23 [3174]13:23 [3175]13:23 [3176]13:23

[3177]13:23-24 [3178]13:23-24 [3179]13:24

James

[3180]1:1 [3181]1:1 [3182]1:1 [3183]1:1 [3184]1:2 [3185]1:4

[3186]1:17 [3187]1:17 [3188]1:17 [3189]1:18 [3190]1:20

[3191]1:22 [3192]1:22 [3193]1:23 [3194]1:23 [3195]1:25

[3196]1:25 [3197]1:25 [3198]1:25 [3199]1:27 [3200]2

[3201]2:1 [3202]2:2 [3203]2:2 [3204]2:2-3 [3205]2:9

[3206]2:11 [3207]2:13 [3208]2:14 [3209]2:14-26 [3210]2:19

[3211]2:21 [3212]2:22 [3213]2:24 [3214]2:24 [3215]2:25

[3216]2:26 [3217]3:2 [3218]3:2 [3219]3:9 [3220]3:17-18

[3221]4:3 [3222]4:4 [3223]4:7 [3224]5 [3225]5:12

1 Peter

[3226]1 [3227]1:1 [3228]1:2 [3229]1:3-4 [3230]1:3-5

[3231]1:8 [3232]1:12 [3233]1:12 [3234]1:18 [3235]1:20

[3236]1:20 [3237]1:21 [3238]1:23 [3239]2:4-8 [3240]2:12

[3241]2:19 [3242]2:20 [3243]3:7 [3244]3:9 [3245]3:10-12

[3246]3:10-12 [3247]3:19 [3248]3:19 [3249]3:21 [3250]3:22

[3251]3:23 [3252]4:6 [3253]4:6 [3254]4:16 [3255]4:16

[3256]5 [3257]5:1 [3258]5:1-2 [3259]5:1-3 [3260]5:1-4

[3261]5:2 [3262]5:3 [3263]5:12 [3264]5:12 [3265]5:12

[3266]5:12 [3267]5:13 [3268]5:13 [3269]5:13 [3270]5:13

[3271]5:13 [3272]5:13 [3273]5:13 [3274]5:13

2 Peter

[3275]1:16 [3276]1:21 [3277]1:21 [3278]2 [3279]2:1

[3280]2:1-3 [3281]2:4 [3282]2:12-14 [3283]2:15 [3284]3:9

[3285]3:13 [3286]3:15-16 [3287]3:15-16 [3288]3:15-16

[3289]3:15-16 [3290]3:15-16 [3291]3:16

1 John

[3292]1:1 [3293]1:1-3 [3294]1:1-3 [3295]1:2 [3296]1:2

[3297]1:3-4 [3298]1:4 [3299]1:4 [3300]1:5 [3301]1:6

[3302]1:7 [3303]1:8 [3304]1:8 [3305]1:8-9 [3306]1:10

[3307]1:10 [3308]2:1 [3309]2:1 [3310]2:2 [3311]2:2

[3312]2:3-4 [3313]2:7-8 [3314]2:23 [3315]2:29 [3316]3:2

[3317]3:2 [3318]3:2 [3319]3:5 [3320]3:8 [3321]3:8 [3322]3:9

[3323]3:11 [3324]3:16 [3325]3:23 [3326]4:1 [3327]4:1-3

[3328]4:1-3 [3329]4:2 [3330]4:2-3 [3331]4:3 [3332]4:8

[3333]4:9 [3334]4:16 [3335]5:4 [3336]5:8 [3337]5:12-13

[3338]5:18 [3339]5:20

2 John

[3340]1:1 [3341]1:4 [3342]1:6 [3343]1:7 [3344]1:10

[3345]1:10 [3346]1:10 [3347]1:11

Jude

[3348]1:1 [3349]1:1 [3350]1:4 [3351]1:11 [3352]1:14

[3353]1:15

Revelation

[3354]1 [3355]1:1 [3356]1:1 [3357]1:3 [3358]1:3 [3359]1:3

[3360]1:4 [3361]1:5 [3362]1:5 [3363]1:5 [3364]1:5-8

[3365]1:6 [3366]1:6 [3367]1:8 [3368]1:9 [3369]1:10

[3370]1:10 [3371]1:10 [3372]1:11 [3373]1:13 [3374]1:17

[3375]1:18 [3376]1:20 [3377]2 [3378]2 [3379]2 [3380]2:2

[3381]2:2 [3382]2:6 [3383]2:6 [3384]2:9 [3385]2:9

[3386]2:10 [3387]2:10 [3388]2:13 [3389]2:14 [3390]2:14

[3391]2:14 [3392]2:14-15 [3393]2:15 [3394]2:15 [3395]2:17

[3396]2:20 [3397]2:20 [3398]2:20 [3399]2:20 [3400]3:4

[3401]3:9 [3402]3:14 [3403]3:14-22 [3404]4 [3405]4 [3406]4

[3407]4:1-22:5 [3408]4:6-9 [3409]4:11 [3410]4:18 [3411]5

[3412]5 [3413]5:6 [3414]5:8 [3415]5:11 [3416]5:14 [3417]6:1

[3418]6:1-8:1 [3419]6:3 [3420]6:5 [3421]6:6 [3422]6:7

[3423]6:9 [3424]6:9-11 [3425]6:10 [3426]7:4-8 [3427]7:11

[3428]7:15 [3429]8:2-11:19 [3430]11:1 [3431]11:2 [3432]11:2

[3433]11:7 [3434]11:8 [3435]12:1-12 [3436]12:1-13:18

[3437]12:3-17 [3438]12:18-13:10 [3439]13 [3440]13:1

[3441]13:1-10 [3442]13:3 [3443]13:3 [3444]13:3 [3445]13:3

[3446]13:3 [3447]13:11-17 [3448]13:11-18 [3449]13:12

[3450]13:12 [3451]13:14 [3452]13:14 [3453]13:18 [3454]13:18

[3455]14 [3456]14:1-5 [3457]14:3 [3458]14:4 [3459]14:4

[3460]14:6-11 [3461]14:12-13 [3462]14:14-20 [3463]15:1-16:21

[3464]15:7 [3465]16:13 [3466]16:13 [3467]17:1-19:10

[3468]17:1-22:5 [3469]17:5 [3470]17:6 [3471]17:6 [3472]17:8

[3473]17:9 [3474]17:10 [3475]17:10 [3476]17:11 [3477]17:11

[3478]17:11 [3479]17:11 [3480]18 [3481]18 [3482]18:2

[3483]18:11-14 [3484]19 [3485]19:4 [3486]19:11-20:10

[3487]19:13 [3488]19:20 [3489]20 [3490]20 [3491]20:1-6

[3492]20:7 [3493]20:10 [3494]20:11-15 [3495]21

[3496]21:1-22:5 [3497]21:6 [3498]21:14 [3499]21:17 [3500]22

[3501]22:6-21 [3502]22:13 [3503]22:16 [3504]22:18-19

[3505]22:18-19 [3506]22:20 [3507]22:20

Tobit

[3508]2:1 [3509]2:1

Wisdom of Solomon

[3510]7:26

2 Maccabees

[3511]12:32

Sirach

[3512]38:24-34

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Citations

\* "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte" (begun in 1877 and published in

Gotha) contains bibliographical articles of Ad. Harnack, M�ller,

and others, on the latest literature.: [3513]1

\* A Manual of Historical Literature. N. York, 3d ed. 1888.: [3514]1

\* Ad Demonic. c. 4: [3515]1

\* Adv. Haer. 1. v. c. 6, � 1: [3516]1

\* Adv. Marc. V. 8; comp. De Anima, c. 9: [3517]1

\* Allg. Gesch. der christl. Religion und Kirche. Vol. 1st (1842).

Einleit. (p. 1-116).: [3518]1

\* Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche: [3519]1

\* An Introduction to the Critical Study of Eccles. History. London,

1838. Quoted p. 1. The work is chiefly an account of the

ecclesiastical historians. pp. 1-212.: [3520]1

\* An Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History,

attempted in an account of the progress, and a short notice of the

sources of the history of the Church.: [3521]1

\* Andover, 1851.: [3522]1

\* Annales Ecclesiastici: [3523]1

\* Anselm of Canterbury: [3524]1

\* Antiquitates Judaicae: [3525]1

\* Apostolic Age (1832, 4th ed. 1842: [3526]1

\* Apostolic Age, p. 182: [3527]1

\* Beginnings of the Christian Church: [3528]1

\* Bible Dictionaries: [3529]1

\* Biblical and Historical Dictionaries: [3530]1

\* C. de Smedt (R. C.): Introductio generalis ad historiam

ecclesiasticam critice tractandam. Gandavi (Ghent), 1876 (533

pp.).: [3531]1

\* Christ and other Masters. London, 4th ed. by Procter, 1875.:

[3532]1

\* Christ in History; or, the Central Power among Men. Bost. 1854, 2d

ed. 1860.: [3533]1

\* Christianity and the Church in the time of its Founding: [3534]1

\* Com. I. 35, English translation by Crombie and Cusin: [3535]1

\* Com. on 1 Cor. 14, p. 177: [3536]1

\* Com. on The New Test., vol. I., p. xli: [3537]1

\* Com., p. xxxiii.: [3538]1

\* Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical

Literature, New York, 1867-'81, 10 vols. and two supplementary

volumes, 1885 and 1887, largely illustrated: [3539]1

\* Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von

Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine. Leipzig, 5th ed., revised,

1881, 3 vols. A standard work.: [3540]1

\* Das Apost. Zeitalter. 1853, I. pp. 224-318.: [3541]1

\* Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte (Breslau, 2d ed. 1865, vol. I.

p. 117): [3542]1

\* De Civ. Dei, XVIII. c. 49: [3543]1

\* De Stella Nova in Pede Serpentarii (Opera, vol. II. 575 sqq.):

[3544]1

\* Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (London and Boston, 1875, 2

vols.): [3545]1

\* Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines

during the first eight centuries (London and Boston, 1877-'87, 4

vols.): [3546]1

\* Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung. T�b. 1852.:

[3547]1

\* Die N. Testamentlichen Lehrbegriffe, oder Untersuchungen �ber das

Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen des Christenthums und

die erste Gestaltung desselben. Mainz, 1852, 2 vols.: [3548]1

\* Die Reformation: [3549]1

\* Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religionsphilosophie,

1835: [3550]1

\* Die kirchenhist. Arbeiten von 1851-1860. In Niedner's "Zeitschrift

f�r histor. Theologie," for 1866, Gotha, pp. 3-160. The same: Die

�ltere Kirchengesch. in ihren neueren Darstellungen. In "Jahrb�cher

f�r deutsche Theol." Vol. II. 648 sqq.: [3551]1

\* Eccelesiastica Historia Novi Testamenti, commonly called Centuriae

Magdeburgenses: [3552]1

\* Ein Tag in Capernaum, p. 137: [3553]1

\* Einl. in d. Philos. der Mythologie, p. 109: [3554]1

\* Einleitung in das Studium u. die Liter. der K.: [3555]1

\* Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte: [3556]1

\* Einleitung in die K: [3557]1

\* Encyclop�die des sciences religieuses, Paris, 1877-'82, in 13

vols., with supplement: [3558]1

\* Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed., completed 1889 in 25 vols.):

[3559]1

\* English Com.: [3560]1

\* G. 1839 ("Verm. Schriften," ed. D�llinger, II. 261 sqq.).: [3561]1

\* G. G�tt. 1801.: [3562]1

\* General Church History: [3563]1

\* General History of the Christian Religion and Church: [3564]1

\* Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch

die Apostel., I. 3, 4: [3565]1

\* Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi: [3566]1

\* Geschichte des r�mischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero.

Berlin, 1872.: [3567]1

\* Geschichte u. Literatur der K. Geschichte. Hann. 1827.: [3568]1

\* Geschichtswissenschaft. Berlin, 1886.: [3569]1

\* Gnostic Heresies (1818): [3570]1

\* Gott in der Geschichte oder der Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine

sittliche Weltordnung. Bd. I. Leipz. 1857. (Erstes Buch. Allg.

Einleit. p. 1-134.) Engl. Transl.: God in History. By S. Winkworth.

Lond. 1868. 3 vols.: [3571]1

\* Grundriss der Historik. Leipz. 1868; new ed. 1882.: [3572]1

\* Grunds�tze der zur K. Gesch. n�thigen Vorbereitungslehren u.

B�cherkenntnisse. 3d ed. Giessen, 1793.: [3573]1

\* Handbook of Christian Church History: [3574]1

\* Handbuch der mathemat. und technischen Chronologie (Berlin, 1826,

vol. III. 400 sqq.): [3575]1

\* Heidenthum und Judenthum. Vorhalle zur Geschichte des

Christenthums. Regensb. 1857. Engl. transl. by N. Darnell under the

title: The Gentile and the Jew in the courts of the Temple of

Christ: an Introduction to the History of Christianity. Lond. 1862,

2 vols.: [3576]1

\* Hist oriae Sacrae Epitome: [3577]1

\* Hist. of the Apostolic Church. pp. 137-188 (New York ed.).: [3578]1

\* Histoire du Christianisme: [3579]1

\* Histoire eccl�siastique: [3580]1

\* Historia Ecclesiastica: [3581]1

\* Historia Ecclesiastica N. Testamenti: [3582]1

\* Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris et Nova Testamenti: [3583]1

\* Historia Tripartita: [3584]1

\* Historiae Ecclesiasticae V. et N. Testamenti: [3585]1

\* Historical Commentaries on the State of Christianity in the first

three centuries. 1753. Transl. by Vidal and Murdock, vol. i. chs. 1

and 2 (pp. 9-82, of the N. York ed. 1853).: [3586]1

\* History a Christian Doctrines: [3587]1

\* History of Christian Doctrine (N. York, 1863, 2 vols.): [3588]1

\* History of Christology.: [3589]1

\* History of European Morals (vol. II. 9): [3590]1

\* History of Methodism: [3591]1

\* History of Natural Theology (God in Human Thought, N. York, 1874, 2

vols.): [3592]1

\* History of the Apostolic Church: [3593]1

\* History of the Apostolic Church; with a General Introduction to Ch.

H. (N. York, 1853), pp. 1-134.: [3594]1

\* History of the Christian Church: [3595]1 [3596]2

\* History of the Christian Church (N. York and Edinb., 1859-'67, in 3

vols.; also in German, Leipzig, 1867; rewritten and enlarged, N. Y.

and Edinb., 1882-'88; third revision, 1889, 5 vols.; to be

continued): [3597]1

\* History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries

(1879): [3598]1

\* History of the Christian Church with Maps. N. York, 1887: [3599]1

\* History of the Church of Christ: [3600]1

\* History of the Councils: [3601]1

\* History of the Creeds of Christendom (N. York, 4th ed., 1884, 3

vols., with documents original and translated): [3602]1

\* History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: [3603]1

\* History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States

(1864-'67, 4 vols.): [3604]1

\* History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

(Philad. 1864, 2 vols.): [3605]1

\* History of the Reformation (1873); Beginnings of Christianity

(1877): [3606]1

\* History of the Rise and Progress of the Huguenots in France (N.

York, 1879, 2 vols.): [3607]1

\* Ideen zur Philosophie der Gesch. der Menschheit: [3608]1

\* Impartial History of the Church and Heretics: [3609]1

\* In Aeginet. c. 23: [3610]1

\* Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris:

[3611]1

\* Introduction to History of the Apost. Church (N. York, 1853), pp.

51-134.: [3612]1

\* John Hus (N. York, 1864, 2 vols.): [3613]1

\* Julian the Apostate (1812): [3614]1

\* Lectures on Christian Doctrine History (Dogmengeschichte): [3615]1

\* Lectures on Mediaeval Church History (Lond. 1877): [3616]1

\* Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Andover, Mass., 1856.:

[3617]1

\* Lectures on the Study of History, delivered in Oxford, 1859-'61.

Oxf. and Lond. (republished in N. York) 1866.: [3618]1

\* Lehrbuch der Chronologie: [3619]1

\* Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte: [3620]1

\* Lehrbuch der N. Testamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Leipz. 1874.

Revised and enlarged under the title: Gesch. des j�d. Volkes im

Zeitalter Christi. 1886, 2 vols. Engl. translation, Edinb. and N.

Y.: [3621]1

\* Liber Pontificalis: [3622]1

\* Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece. Lips. 1871: [3623]1

\* Life and Work of St. Paul (I. 93): [3624]1

\* Life and Work of St. Paul, I. 431: [3625]1

\* Life of Christ (1837, 4th ed. 1845): [3626]1

\* London, 1838.: [3627]1

\* Manual of Church History: [3628]1

\* Memoirs of Royal Ast. Society, vol. xxv.: [3629]1

\* Memorials of Christian Life (1823, 3d ed. 1845, 3 vols.): [3630]1

\* Mikrokosmus, bk. viith; 4th ed. 1884; Eng. transl. by Elizabeth

Hamilton and E. E. C. Jones, 1885, 3d ed. 1888: [3631]1

\* N. Testamentliche Zeitgeschichte. Heidelb. 1868 sqq., 2d ed.

1873-'77, 4 vols. The first vol. appeared in a third ed. 1879. The

work includes the state of Judaism and heathenism in the time of

Christ, the apostolic and the post-apostolic age to Hadrian (a.d.

117). English translation by Poynting and Guenzer, Lond. 1878 sqq.:

[3632]1

\* Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History: [3633]1

\* Opera Omnia (Frcf. et Erlang. 1858-'70, 8 vols.), vol. IV. pp. 175

sqq.; 201 sqq.; 279 sqq.: [3634]1

\* Outlines of Universal History (1885): [3635]1

\* Papal Fables of the Middle Age: [3636]1

\* Parchim & Ludwigslust, 1839.: [3637]1

\* Paul, II. 281, English translation: [3638]1

\* Phenomenon singulare seu Mercurius in Sole (ibid. II. 801 sqq.):

[3639]1

\* Philad. 1846.: [3640]1

\* Prop�deutik der Kirchengeschichte. Mainz, 1888 (352 pp.).: [3641]1

\* Reformers before the Reformation: [3642]1

\* Religious Encyclopaedia: [3643]1

\* Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age, p. 249 sq., 3d ed.: [3644]1

\* Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age. p. 166: [3645]1

\* Smith's "Bible Dictionary," p. 3108, Am. ed.: [3646]1

\* St. Bernard (1813, 2d ed. 1848): [3647]1

\* St. Chrysostom (1822, 3d ed. 1848): [3648]1

\* Stella nova in pede Serpentarii (Prague, 1606): [3649]1

\* Summa Historia Ecclesiasticae: [3650]1

\* Summa Historialis: [3651]1

\* Supernatural Religion (vol. II. 487): [3652]1

\* Symbolik: [3653]1

\* Tertullian (1825, 2d ed. 1849): [3654]1

\* Textbook of Church History: [3655]1

\* The Beginnings of Christianity. N. York, 1877. Chs. II.-VII.:

[3656]1

\* The Church and the Churches: [3657]1

\* The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. Transl. by Egbert C.

Smyth and C. T H. Ropes. N. York, 1879. Book I. chs. 1 and 2. The

German original appeared in a 4th ed., 1884.: [3658]1

\* The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre (1886, 2 vols.): [3659]1

\* The Methods of Historical Study. Lond 1886.: [3660]1

\* The Philosophy of History in Europe. Edinb., 1874, etc.: [3661]1

\* The Pope and the Council: [3662]1

\* The True Idea and Uses of Church History. N. York, 1856.: [3663]1

\* Three Essays on Religion. (Am. ed., p. 253): [3664]1

\* Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Eccles. History Lond.

1857. (Also incorporated in his History of the Eastern Church

1861.): [3665]1

\* Trinity and Incarnation (1841-'43, in 3 vols.): [3666]1

\* Uebersicht der kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur vom Jahre

1825-1850. In Niedner's "Zeitschrift f�r historische Theologie,"

1851.: [3667]1

\* Universal History of the Church: [3668]1

\* Vie de J�sus (Chap. III. p. 35): [3669]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber N. Testamentliche Zeitgeschichte, aus dessen

Nachlass herausgegeben von L�hlein, mit Vorwort von Hundeshagen.

Frankf. a M. 1862.: [3670]1

\* What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical

Development: [3671]1

\* during the Middle Ages (1885): [3672]1

\* lnaugural Address, delivered at the Danville Theol. Seminary.

Cincinnati, 1854.: [3673]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Names

\* (Tholuck.): [3674]1

\* A. F. Gfr�rer: [3675]1

\* A. Hausrath: [3676]1

\* Abel Stevens: [3677]1

\* Abraham Geiger: [3678]1

\* Adam of Bremen: [3679]1

\* Alexander the Great: [3680]1

\* Anastasius: [3681]1

\* Andronicus Palaeologus: [3682]1

\* Angelo Mai: [3683]1

\* Antoine: [3684]1

\* Antoninus: [3685]1

\* Arthur Penrhyn Stanley: [3686]1

\* August Neander: [3687]1

\* Augustin: [3688]1

\* Augustine: [3689]1 [3690]2 [3691]3

\* Bancroft: [3692]1

\* Bartholomaeus of Lucca: [3693]1

\* Baur: [3694]1

\* Beza: [3695]1

\* Billroth: [3696]1

\* Bishop Lightfoot: [3697]1

\* Bishop Wordsworth: [3698]1

\* Brieger: [3699]1

\* Caesar Augustus: [3700]1 [3701]2

\* Caesar Baronius: [3702]1

\* Caligula: [3703]1

\* Calvin: [3704]1

\* Canon Farrar: [3705]1 [3706]2

\* Card. Hergenr�ther: [3707]1

\* Casaubon: [3708]1

\* Caspar Sacharelli: [3709]1

\* Cassian: [3710]1

\* Cassiodorus: [3711]1

\* Catiline: [3712]1

\* Ch. K. Adams: [3713]1

\* Charles Hardwick: [3714]1 [3715]2

\* Cheetham: [3716]1

\* Chrysostom: [3717]1

\* Cicero: [3718]1 [3719]2 [3720]3 [3721]4

\* Claude Fabre: [3722]1

\* Claude Fleury: [3723]1

\* Claudius: [3724]1

\* Clement of Alexandria: [3725]1

\* Coleridge: [3726]1

\* Constantine the Great: [3727]1

\* D�llinger: [3728]1

\* D'achery: [3729]1

\* Dante: [3730]1

\* Dean Stanley: [3731]1 [3732]2 [3733]3

\* Delitzsch: [3734]1 [3735]2

\* Diomedes Kyriakos: [3736]1

\* Dionysius "the Little": [3737]1

\* Dionysius Exiguus: [3738]1

\* Domitian: [3739]1

\* Dorner: [3740]1

\* Dr. Baur: [3741]1 [3742]2

\* Dr. Ch. Frisch: [3743]1

\* Dr. E. C. Bissell: [3744]1

\* Dr. Godet: [3745]1

\* Dr. John Joseph Ignatius D�llinger: [3746]1

\* Dr. Keim: [3747]1

\* Dr. M�nter: [3748]1

\* Dr. Schenkel: [3749]1

\* Dr. Westcott: [3750]1

\* Dr. Wieseler: [3751]1

\* Durand: [3752]1

\* E. Abbot: [3753]1

\* E. H. Gillett: [3754]1

\* E. Sch�rer: [3755]1

\* Edmund De Pressens�: [3756]1

\* Edward Gibbon: [3757]1

\* Engelhardt: [3758]1 [3759]2

\* Ernest Renan: [3760]1

\* Etienne L. Chastel: [3761]1

\* Eusebius: [3762]1 [3763]2

\* Evagrius: [3764]1

\* Ewald: [3765]1 [3766]2 [3767]3

\* F. C. Baur: [3768]1

\* F. Kerz: [3769]1

\* F. X. Funk: [3770]1

\* F. X. Kraus: [3771]1

\* Farrar: [3772]1 [3773]2 [3774]3

\* Ferdinand Christian Baur: [3775]1

\* Fleury: [3776]1

\* Fran�ois Pagi: [3777]1

\* Franz Kaulen: [3778]1

\* Fred. Spanheim: [3779]1

\* Frederic W. Farrar: [3780]1

\* Fricke: [3781]1

\* G. Uhlhorn: [3782]1

\* Gallandi: [3783]1

\* Geiseler: [3784]1

\* Geo. P. Fisher: [3785]1

\* George P. Fisher: [3786]1

\* Gerhard Uhlhorn: [3787]1

\* Goethe: [3788]1 [3789]2 [3790]3

\* Gottfried Arnold: [3791]1

\* Gregory of Tours: [3792]1

\* Guericke: [3793]1

\* H. Br�ck: [3794]1

\* H. Hackett: [3795]1

\* H. P. C. Henke: [3796]1

\* H. Schiller: [3797]1

\* H. Schmid: [3798]1 [3799]2

\* H. Venema: [3800]1

\* Hagenbach: [3801]1

\* Haimo: [3802]1

\* Harnack: [3803]1

\* Hase: [3804]1

\* Hasse: [3805]1 [3806]2

\* Hauck: [3807]1

\* Hefele: [3808]1

\* Henry B. Smith: [3809]1

\* Henry Hart Milman: [3810]1

\* Henry M. Baird: [3811]1

\* Herod Antipas: [3812]1

\* Herod the Great: [3813]1

\* Herzog: [3814]1 [3815]2 [3816]3

\* Hilgenfeld: [3817]1

\* Hillel I: [3818]1

\* Humboldt: [3819]1

\* Ideler: [3820]1 [3821]2 [3822]3

\* Idumean Herod: [3823]1

\* Innocent XI: [3824]1

\* Irenaeus: [3825]1

\* Isaac Milner: [3826]1

\* Isocrates: [3827]1

\* J. C. L. Gieseler: [3828]1

\* J. G. Dowling: [3829]1

\* J. H. Hottinger: [3830]1

\* J. L. von Mosheim: [3831]1 [3832]2

\* J. M. Schr�ckh: [3833]1

\* J. N. Brischar: [3834]1

\* J. P. Lange: [3835]1

\* Jacobi: [3836]1

\* Jacques B�nigne Bossuet: [3837]1

\* James C. Robertson: [3838]1

\* Jerome: [3839]1 [3840]2

\* Jesus Christ: [3841]1

\* Joh. Adam M�hler: [3842]1

\* Joh. Alzog: [3843]1

\* John Stuart Mill: [3844]1

\* John von M�ller: [3845]1

\* Jos. Ign. Ritter: [3846]1

\* Joseph Hergenr�ther: [3847]1

\* Joseph Milner: [3848]1

\* Josephus: [3849]1 [3850]2 [3851]3

\* Julius Caesar: [3852]1

\* Justin Martyr: [3853]1

\* Juvenal: [3854]1

\* K�llner: [3855]1

\* Karl Rudolph Hagenbach: [3856]1

\* Kepler: [3857]1 [3858]2

\* Kurtz: [3859]1

\* L. Ellies Dupin: [3860]1

\* L. Freidl�nder: [3861]1

\* Laderchi: [3862]1

\* Lange: [3863]1

\* Laurentius Valla: [3864]1

\* Lecky: [3865]1

\* Leopold Von Stolberg: [3866]1

\* Lichtenberger: [3867]1

\* Lindner: [3868]1

\* Locherer: [3869]1

\* Luther: [3870]1

\* Lutterbeck: [3871]1

\* M�ller: [3872]1

\* M�nscher: [3873]1

\* M. Schneckenburger: [3874]1

\* Mabillon: [3875]1

\* Mansi: [3876]1

\* Mart�ne: [3877]1

\* Massuet: [3878]1

\* Matthew Arnold: [3879]1

\* Matthias Flacius: [3880]1

\* Mcclintock: [3881]1

\* Merle D'aubign�: [3882]1

\* Milman: [3883]1

\* Montfaucon: [3884]1

\* Motley: [3885]1

\* Muratori: [3886]1

\* Napoleon: [3887]1

\* Natalis (Noel) Alexander: [3888]1

\* Neander: [3889]1 [3890]2 [3891]3

\* Nero: [3892]1 [3893]2

\* Nicephorus Callisti: [3894]1

\* Nicolaus of Cusa: [3895]1

\* Niebuhr: [3896]1

\* Niedner: [3897]1

\* Nitzsch: [3898]1

\* Origen: [3899]1

\* Otto Frid. Fritzsche: [3900]1

\* Pallavicini: [3901]1

\* Paolo Sarpi: [3902]1

\* Paulus Diaconus: [3903]1

\* Persius: [3904]1

\* Petau: [3905]1

\* Ph. Schaff: [3906]1

\* Philaret Bapheidos: [3907]1

\* Philip Schaff: [3908]1 [3909]2

\* Philip Smith: [3910]1

\* Philo: [3911]1

\* Phocas: [3912]1

\* Pingr�: [3913]1

\* Plato: [3914]1

\* Plitt: [3915]1

\* Plumptre: [3916]1

\* Plutarch: [3917]1

\* Polycrates: [3918]1

\* Pompey: [3919]1 [3920]2

\* Pontius Pilate: [3921]1

\* Poppaea: [3922]1

\* Prescott: [3923]1

\* Pritchard: [3924]1

\* Professor Reuss: [3925]1

\* Publius Lentulus: [3926]1

\* Quirinius: [3927]1

\* Raynaldi: [3928]1

\* Remi Ceillier: [3929]1

\* Renan: [3930]1

\* Reuss: [3931]1

\* Rev. Charles Pritchard: [3932]1

\* Riehm Kitto: [3933]1

\* Rohrbacher: [3934]1

\* Rothe: [3935]1 [3936]2

\* Rousseau: [3937]1

\* Rufinus: [3938]1

\* Ruinart: [3939]1

\* Samuel Basnage: [3940]1

\* Schaff: [3941]1

\* Schelling: [3942]1

\* Schenkel: [3943]1

\* Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont: [3944]1

\* Seneca: [3945]1 [3946]2 [3947]3 [3948]4

\* Sirmond: [3949]1

\* Smith: [3950]1 [3951]2

\* Socrates: [3952]1 [3953]2

\* Sozomen: [3954]1 [3955]2

\* Spanheim: [3956]1

\* St�udlin: [3957]1

\* St. Augustin: [3958]1

\* Stanley: [3959]1

\* Stebbing: [3960]1

\* Strabo: [3961]1

\* Strong: [3962]1

\* Tacitus: [3963]1 [3964]2

\* Terentius: [3965]1

\* Tertullian: [3966]1 [3967]2 [3968]3

\* Theiner: [3969]1

\* Theod. Katerkamp: [3970]1

\* Theodoret: [3971]1 [3972]2

\* Theodoric: [3973]1

\* Theodorus: [3974]1

\* Thomas Grantham: [3975]1

\* Thomasius: [3976]1

\* Tiberius: [3977]1 [3978]2 [3979]3

\* Tischendorf: [3980]1

\* Titus: [3981]1

\* Trench: [3982]1

\* Ullmann: [3983]1

\* Vespasian: [3984]1

\* Virgil: [3985]1

\* W. G. T. Shedd: [3986]1

\* Wace: [3987]1

\* Waddington: [3988]1

\* Washington Irving: [3989]1

\* Weingarten: [3990]1

\* Welte: [3991]1

\* Wetzer: [3992]1

\* Winer: [3993]1

\* Wm. Smith: [3994]1

\* Zaccagni: [3995]1

\* Zaccaria: [3996]1

\* the Venerable Bede: [3997]1

\* the three Assemani: [3998]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

\* : [3999]1

\* abba ho pater: [4000]1

\* agape: [4001]1 [4002]2

\* agathon andra: [4003]1

\* agathoergein. hagneia, adelotes, andrapodistes , adrophonos,

eterodidaskalein, theosebeia, katastole, plegma, orismos ,

philarguria, pseudologos, pseudonumos .: [4004]1

\* agenealogetos,: [4005]1

\* agnoein, adikia, athetein, aichmalotizein, anapempein,

antapokrinesthai, antikeimenos, antilambanesthai, apelpizein,

apologeisthai, atenizein, ekdiokein, epiphainein, eugenes , echein,

katargein, kinduneuein, kurieuein, panoplia,paradeisos,

sunchairein, suneudokein, husterema, charizesthai, psalmos: [4006]1

\* agraphois: [4007]1

\* agreuein, alalos, alektorophonia, gnapheus , ekthambeisthai,

enankalizesthai, exapina, eneileo, exoudenoo, ennuchon, mogilalos,

prasiai prasiai, prosabbaton, promerimnan, prosormizesthai,

sunthlibein, telaugos , hupolenion: [4008]1

\* agoge, athlein, beltion, membrana, orthotomein, pragmateia,

philotheos.: [4009]1

\* adokimos,: [4010]1

\* adelphotheos: [4011]1

\* adelphos: [4012]1

\* adelphoi: [4013]1 [4014]2

\* adikian emisesa: [4015]1

\* adokimou ontos: [4016]1

\* akouomen lalounton auton tais hemeterais glossais ta megaleia tou

theou.: [4017]1

\* akribos: [4018]1

\* akrothinion: [4019]1

\* alethos genomenon: [4020]1

\* all ouch hosper suntaxin ton kuriakon logon: [4021]1

\* all oude, ei kai, ei meti, tis oun.: [4022]1

\* ametor: [4023]1

\* amnos: [4024]1

\* analusis: [4025]1

\* anistete to diabolo,: [4026]1

\* anosios , didaktikos, kenophonia, nomimos , paratheke, genealogia,

eusebos.: [4027]1

\* anabatikon Paulou: [4028]1

\* anablepsai, emblepsas, periblepsamenos , anapedesas, kupsas ,

embrimesamenos, epistrapheis apostenaxas.: [4029]1

\* anagennesis,: [4030]1

\* anagennaomai: [4031]1

\* anagennesas hemas eis elpida: [4032]1

\* anagennethete: [4033]1 [4034]2

\* anaginoskein: [4035]1

\* anagnosis tou nomou kai ton propheton: [4036]1

\* anataxasthai diegesin peri ton peplerophoremenon en hemin

pragmaton: [4037]1

\* anethemen: [4038]1

\* anelemphthe en doxe.: [4039]1

\* anepsios,: [4040]1

\* anthupatos: [4041]1 [4042]2

\* anti: [4043]1

\* antanapleroo: [4044]1

\* antitheseis tes pseudonumou gnoseos: [4045]1

\* antistrategos: [4046]1

\* anupotaktos: [4047]1

\* apator: [4048]1

\* apethanen ... thamatotheis ... zoopoietheis pneumati ... ekeruxen

-i... -iporeutheis eis ouranon: [4049]1

\* apekrupsas tauta apo sophon kai suneton kai apekalupsas auta

nepiois: [4050]1

\* apolousis: [4051]1

\* apostoloi, angeloi: [4052]1

\* apostolos: [4053]1

\* apaugasma,: [4054]1

\* apeitheia: [4055]1

\* apekateste: [4056]1

\* apekatestese: [4057]1

\* apekatestathe: [4058]1

\* apo tote erxato ho Ies., k. t. l: [4059]1

\* apographe: [4060]1

\* apokalupsis musteriou: [4061]1

\* apokathistemi: [4062]1

\* apokalupsai ton huion autou en emoi: [4063]1

\* apolutrosis: [4064]1

\* apolo ten sophian tonsophon kai ten sunesin ton suneton atheteso.:

[4065]1

\* apologia: [4066]1

\* apomnemoneumata: [4067]1

\* apopleo: [4068]1

\* apostato apo adikias: [4069]1

\* apostelo eis autous prophetas kai apostolous kai ex auton

apoktenousi kai ekdioxousin: [4070]1

\* arithmos gar anthropou estin: [4071]1

\* arneomai: [4072]1

\* arnion: [4073]1

\* arnoume: [4074]1

\* arche tou euangeliou: [4075]1

\* archisunagogoi: [4076]1

\* archisunagogos: [4077]1

\* archon tes sunagoges,: [4078]1

\* aspazontai se ... pantes hoi apo Philippon en christo, oten kai

epesteila soi: [4079]1

\* aster: [4080]1 [4081]2

\* asteios: [4082]1

\* apheontai: [4083]1

\* aphientai: [4084]1

\* aphanizousin hopos phanosi: [4085]1

\* aphilarguros: [4086]1 [4087]2

\* hagiasmenoi: [4088]1

\* hagiasmos: [4089]1

\* hanagomai: [4090]1

\* ha katertisen: [4091]1

\* ha proetoimasen: [4092]1

\* aagennemenoi ... dia logou zontos theou: [4093]1

\* alla muria thaumasia: [4094]1

\* allos parakletos: [4095]1

\* anatheoreo: [4096]1

\* anthropoi agrammatoi kai idiotai: [4097]1

\* anthropos: [4098]1

\* anthropos egeneto: [4099]1

\* anthropos,: [4100]1 [4101]2

\* ara oun touto legei: [4102]1

\* archon: [4103]1 [4104]2

\* astron: [4105]1 [4106]2

\* aphesis: [4107]1 [4108]2

\* achreston, euchreston: [4109]1

\* achrestos, euchrestos ,: [4110]1

\* hagioi: [4111]1

\* halusis: [4112]1

\* halosin: [4113]1

\* hapax legomena: [4114]1

\* ara nun: [4115]1

\* ara oun: [4116]1

\* Akulas: [4117]1 [4118]2

\* Alphaios: [4119]1

\* Anabathmoi Iakobou: [4120]1

\* Antemos: [4121]1

\* Antoneinos, Pauleinos, Papeiros Sabeinos, Phausteios.: [4122]1

\* Apokalupsis Iesou Christou: [4123]1

\* Apomnemoneumata: [4124]1

\* Archaiologia Ioudaike: [4125]1

\* Asianos: [4126]1

\* Asiarchai: [4127]1

\* Anothen mello staurothenai: [4128]1

\* Ate: [4129]1

\* ean me baptisontai: [4130]1

\* ean tis hamarte, parakleton echomen pros ton patera Iesoun Christon

dikaion.: [4131]1

\* ean te gar zomen, to kupio zomen: [4132]1

\* e-in -ite parousia: [4133]1

\* egeneto: [4134]1 [4135]2 [4136]3 [4137]4 [4138]5

\* ego eimi Kepha.: [4139]1

\* engus machairas engus theou: [4140]1

\* edoxasen: [4141]1

\* edikaiosen: [4142]1

\* edikaiothe en pneumati,: [4143]1

\* etheasametha ten doxan: [4144]1

\* etheasametha ten doxan autou: [4145]1

\* ethelothreskeia: [4146]1

\* ek theou: [4147]1 [4148]2

\* ek spermatos Daueid kata sarka ... huios theou kata pneuma

hagiosunes: [4149]1

\* ek te s pisteos: [4150]1

\* ek tou emou lambanei kai anangelei humin: [4151]1

\* ek tou ouranou: [4152]1

\* ek tou pleromatos autou: [4153]1

\* ekathisen: [4154]1

\* ekalesen: [4155]1

\* ekeruxen: [4156]1

\* ekbolen epoiounto: [4157]1

\* ekeruchthe en hethnesin,: [4158]1

\* ekklesia: [4159]1 [4160]2 [4161]3 [4162]4

\* ekklesiai kat hoikon: [4163]1

\* eklegomai, ekloge, eklektos: [4164]1

\* eklego: [4165]1

\* ekouphizon to ploion: [4166]1

\* ekporeusis: [4167]1

\* ekporeuetai: [4168]1

\* elenchei: [4169]1

\* eme doxasei: [4170]1

\* emblepsas auto hegapesen auton: [4171]1

\* emnemoneuse: [4172]1

\* en adelo pou skotei: [4173]1

\* en emoi: [4174]1

\* en Epheso: [4175]1 [4176]2

\* en Italia: [4177]1

\* en Rome aperchomai staurothenai: [4178]1

\* en Christo: [4179]1

\* en auto katoikei pan to pleroma tes theotetos somatikos: [4180]1

\* en arche: [4181]1

\* en logo kai didaskalia: [4182]1

\* en noi: [4183]1 [4184]2

\* en pasi tois spoudaiois kai archaiois antigraphois: [4185]1

\* en pneumati: [4186]1

\* en preumati: [4187]1

\* en sarki eleluthota: [4188]1

\* en to pascha: [4189]1

\* en to sunplerousthai ten hemeran tes Pentekostes: [4190]1

\* enanthropesis,: [4191]1

\* enebrimesato to pneumati: [4192]1

\* energes: [4193]1

\* energon: [4194]1

\* energoumene di agapes: [4195]1

\* enerphein: [4196]1

\* ensarkosis,: [4197]1

\* ex ergon ek theou: [4198]1

\* ex ergon dikaioutai, anthropos kai ouk ek pisteos monon: [4199]1

\* ex hudatos: [4200]1

\* ex hon ho Christos to kata sarka, ho on epi panton, theos eulogetos

eis tous aionas: [4201]1

\* ex autou: [4202]1

\* exegesis: [4203]1

\* exelexato hemas en auto: [4204]1

\* exegesato: [4205]1

\* exoudenemenos: [4206]1

\* epi to terma tes duseos: [4207]1

\* epi to terma tes duseos elthon: [4208]1

\* epi: [4209]1

\* episkopoi: [4210]1

\* episkopos: [4211]1 [4212]2 [4213]3

\* episteuon kai ebaptizonto: [4214]1

\* epi to theo to soteri mou: [4215]1

\* epikello: [4216]1

\* epikataratos: [4217]1

\* epimeletai: [4218]1

\* epiousios [in tee Lords Prapser], tee diminutie otion: [4219]1

\* episkopeo: [4220]1

\* episkope: [4221]1 [4222]2

\* epistates: [4223]1

\* episteuthe en kosmo,: [4224]1

\* epistole katholike: [4225]1

\* epoiesen: [4226]1

\* eptocheusen plousios on, hina humeis te ekeinou ptocheia

ploutesete: [4227]1

\* erchomenon en sarki: [4228]1

\* esthiete ta paratithemena humin: [4229]1

\* eskenosen en hemin: [4230]1

\* estathe epano: [4231]1

\* esti: [4232]1

\* eschatos echei,: [4233]1

\* etarachthe to pneumati: [4234]1

\* eudokimountos: [4235]1

\* ephane gar autois triten echon hemeran palin zon: [4236]1

\* ephapax: [4237]1

\* ephanerothe en sarki: [4238]1

\* ephobounto gar: [4239]1

\* heauton ekenosen, morphen doulou labon: [4240]1

\* hexakosioi hexekonta hex: [4241]1

\* hexakosioi deka hex: [4242]1

\* heorte hebdomadon, hagia hepta hebdomadon: [4243]1

\* heorte therismou: [4244]1

\* heorte ton Ioudion: [4245]1

\* heorte: [4246]1

\* heptakis desma phoresas: [4247]1

\* hermeneia: [4248]1

\* hermeneia glosson: [4249]1

\* hermeneus: [4250]1

\* hermeneutes Petrou genomenos], orote doon achchuratelps [akribos

egrapsen: [4251]1

\* hermeneutes: [4252]1

\* hespera: [4253]1

\* heterais glossais laleis: [4254]1

\* heteroousis: [4255]1

\* egrapsen: [4256]1

\* etheken themelion epi ten petran: [4257]1

\* eklepsen: [4258]1

\* elenchos: [4259]1

\* emathen eph' hon epathen ten hupakoen: [4260]1

\* endikos: [4261]1

\* exodon: [4262]1

\* epeita ophthe Iakobo.: [4263]1

\* erga: [4264]1

\* estosan humon ai osphues periezosmenai: [4265]1

\* eschaton: [4266]1

\* eschaton de panton, hosperei to ektromati, ophthe kamoi: [4267]1

\* esosen hemas dai loutrou palingenesias kai anakainoseos pneumatos

hagiou: [4268]1

\* echei: [4269]1

\* echete ten pistin tou kupiou hemon Hiesou Christou tes doxes:

[4270]1

\* echomen: [4271]1 [4272]2

\* echomen: [4273]1 [4274]2

\* hekastos te idia dialekto hemon en he egennethemen: [4275]1

\* heterai gl: [4276]1

\* Ek sou gar genos esmen: [4277]1

\* Ekklesiastike istoria apo tou kuriou hemon Iesou Christou mechri

ton kath' hemas chronon hupo Philaretou Bapseidou, archimandritou

D. Ph. kai kathegetou tes Theologias en te en Chalke Theologike

Schole. Tomos protos. Archaia ekkles; historia.: [4278]1

\* En Konstantinopolei: [4279]1

\* Epiktetos: [4280]1

\* Essenoi, Essaioi, Ossaioi: [4281]1

\* Eteleiothesan hoi hagioi endoxoi apostoloi Petros kai Paulos meni

Iounio: [4282]1

\* Hebraion grammasi: [4283]1

\* Hen andron, hen theon genos, ek mias de pneomen matros amphoteroi.:

[4284]1

\* Egeire, ho katheudon,: [4285]1

\* Edoken eis oikodomen kai ouk eis kathairesin.: [4286]1

\* e: [4287]1

\* enankasthe: [4288]1

\* ermeneuse: [4289]1

\* ermeneuse d' auta hos hen dunatos hekastos .: [4290]1

\* he: [4291]1 [4292]2

\* he heorte: [4293]1

\* he Dunamis tou theou he kaloumene Megale: [4294]1

\* he Latine basileia: [4295]1

\* he basileia ton ouranon: [4296]1

\* he basileia tou theou: [4297]1

\* he diakonos: [4298]1

\* he zoe ephanerothe, kai heorakamen kai marturoumen kai apangellomen

huminten zoen ten aionion hetis hen pros ton patera kai ephanerothe

hemin: [4299]1

\* he zoe: [4300]1

\* he mellousa oikoumene: [4301]1

\* he pistis sunergei tois ergois autou kai ek ton ergon he pistis

eteleiothe: [4302]1

\* he paraskeue tou pascha: [4303]1

\* he parousia tou somatos asthenes , kai ho logos exouthenemenos:

[4304]1

\* he pentekoste: [4305]1

\* he skenopegia: [4306]1

\* he psuche mou tetaraktai: [4307]1

\* hegemon: [4308]1

\* hegemonia: [4309]1 [4310]2

\* hegemonias: [4311]1

\* hegemoneuein: [4312]1

\* hegemoneuontos: [4313]1 [4314]2

\* hemeras tinas: [4315]1

\* hemera: [4316]1

\* hemera ton neon: [4317]1

\* hemerai hikanai: [4318]1

\* hemin: [4319]1

\* hemin hoi ap arches: [4320]1

\* hermeneuse: [4321]1

\* e kai di apokalupseon ezothen ouson: [4322]1

\* edion didontes e lambanontes,: [4323]1

\* en: [4324]1

\* hen: [4325]1 [4326]2 [4327]3

\* hen sunechomene pureto megalo. sunechomene: [4328]1

\* hechos hosper pheromenes pnoes biaias: [4329]1

\* He pistis choris ergon nekra estin.: [4330]1

\* idia. te s pisteos: [4331]1

\* idein: [4332]1 [4333]2

\* hierodouloi: [4334]1

\* hiereus: [4335]1 [4336]2

\* hiereus, v: [4337]1

\* hilasmos: [4338]1 [4339]2

\* hilasmos, hilasterion: [4340]1

\* hina: [4341]1 [4342]2

\* hina epignos peri on katechethes ten asphaleian: [4343]1

\* Iakobos, kai Kephas kai Ioannes, oi dokountes stuloi heinai ...

autoi eis ten peritomen: [4344]1

\* Iesou Christo,: [4345]1

\* Iesous Christos Theou Huios Soter: [4346]1

\* Iesous Christos, aph' ou kai to Christianoi eponomazesthai

eschekamen: [4347]1

\* Ioudaios: [4348]1

\* Ioudaikoi muthoi: [4349]1

\* Ioannes ...hos egennethe hiereus to petalon pephorekos

-ikai-imartus kai-i` -ididaskalos houtos en Epheso, kekoimetai.:

[4350]1

\* Ioannou men akoustes,Polukarpou de hetairos gegonos..: [4351]1

\* oktokaidekaton tes Herodon basileias eniautou: [4352]1

\* onaimen: [4353]1

\* optasia ton angelon: [4354]1

\* oregomai: [4355]1

\* opsia: [4356]1

\* ho adelphos tou Kuriou: [4357]1

\* ho adelphos tou Kuriou Iakobos ho onomastheis hupo panton dikaios:

[4358]1

\* ho alethinos theos: [4359]1

\* ho epistethios: [4360]1

\* ho echon ton huion echei ten zoen ... zoen echete aionion: [4361]1

\* ho Christos houtos en: [4362]1

\* ho baptizon en pneumati hagio-i-i: [4363]1

\* ho thaumasas: [4364]1

\* ho theos ton eautou huion pempsas en homoiomati sarkos hamartias:

[4365]1

\* ho theos: [4366]1 [4367]2 [4368]3 [4369]4

\* ho kurios: [4370]1

\* ho kurios hemon: [4371]1

\* ho kurios,: [4372]1

\* ho kardiognoste: [4373]1

\* ho katechon: [4374]1 [4375]2

\* ho logos sarx egeneto: [4376]1

\* ho logos tou staurou: [4377]1

\* ho logos tou thuou: [4378]1

\* ho men` de Matthaios en tois Ebraiois te idia dialekto auton kai

graphen exenenken euangeliou, tou Petrou kai Paulou en Rh ome

euangelizomenon kai themeliounton ten ekklesian: [4379]1

\* ho mikros: [4380]1 [4381]2

\* ho monogenes theos ,: [4382]1

\* ho monogenes huios: [4383]1

\* ho monogenes huios ,: [4384]1

\* ho parakupsas eis nomon teleion ton tes eleutherias: [4385]1

\* ho pisteusas: [4386]1

\* ho pisteusas kai baptistheis sothesetai, ho de apistesas

katakrithesetai: [4387]1

\* ho poneros ouch haptetai autou: [4388]1

\* ho tekton: [4389]1

\* ho tripechus anthropos: [4390]1

\* ho huios tou anthropou: [4391]1

\* hodegesei humas eis ten aletheian pasan: [4392]1

\* homoglossia: [4393]1

\* homoousios and theotokos: [4394]1

\* hopoioi pote esan, ouden moi diapherei: [4395]1

\* horao: [4396]1

\* horkomosia: [4397]1

\* hos apodosei hekasto kata ta erga autou: [4398]1

\* ho miseis medeni poieses: [4399]1

\* ho pempsei ho pater en to onomati mou: [4400]1

\* hon ego pempso: [4401]1

\* hon de thelei sklerunei: [4402]1

\* hos ephanerothe en sarki: [4403]1

\* hos tou idiou huiou ouk epheisato: [4404]1

\* opsis-i,-i: [4405]1

\* ho: [4406]1

\* homoioi auto esometha, hoti opsometha auton kathos estin.: [4407]1

\* hopos: [4408]1

\* horama: [4409]1

\* hos: [4410]1 [4411]2

\* hos estin eikon tou theou tou aoratou prototokos pases kriseos,

hoti en auto ekristhe ta pan'ta ... ta panta di autou kaii eis

auton ektistai: [4412]1

\* hosios: [4413]1

\* hoti eis uper panton apethanen, ara hoi pantes apethanon: [4414]1

\* hoti porosis to Israel gegonen achris hou to pleroma ton ethno:

[4415]1

\* Hos ephanerothe en sarki,: [4416]1

\* hugies kanon: [4417]1

\* hugiainousa didaskalia: [4418]1

\* humas didaxei panta kai hupomnesei humas panta ha heipon humin ego:

[4419]1

\* hupedramon: [4420]1

\* huper: [4421]1

\* huper, peri: [4422]1

\* hupo to terma: [4423]1

\* hupostasis: [4424]1

\* hupakoe: [4425]1

\* huperoon: [4426]1

\* huperlian apostoloi: [4427]1 [4428]2

\* huperetes: [4429]1 [4430]2

\* hupomone: [4431]1

\* hupopleo: [4432]1

\* hupostasis,: [4433]1

\* hupotrecho: [4434]1

\* udati: [4435]1

\* hupatos: [4436]1

\* hus: [4437]1

\* os sophos apchitekton themelion etheka: [4438]1

\* hos antikeimeno orgizomenos: [4439]1

\* hos en paradosei mathon: [4440]1

\* hos peristeran: [4441]1

\* hos prepei huiois theou: [4442]1

\* hosei: [4443]1

\* hosei: [4444]1 [4445]2 [4446]3

\* ophthe angelois,: [4447]1

\* hosper: [4448]1 [4449]2

\* hon ta onomata en Biblo zoes: [4450]1

\* a: [4451]1

\* oo: [4452]1

\* rethen: [4453]1

\* rhabbi: [4454]1

\* rhabboni: [4455]1

\* rhabbouni: [4456]1

\* rhantisontai: [4457]1

\* Rhomaike Istoria: [4458]1

\* ANTh: [4459]1

\* Boanerges: [4460]1

\* Boanerges: [4461]1

\* Gaios Kaisar: [4462]1

\* Gallionos anthupatou ontos tes Achaias: [4463]1

\* Dikaios: [4464]1

\* Danaides kai Dirkai: [4465]1

\* Dia nomou epignosis hamartias: [4466]1

\* Dikaioma: [4467]1

\* Dikaiosis: [4468]1

\* Dikaiosune: [4469]1 [4470]2

\* Dikaiosune tou nomou Dikaiosune tou theou: [4471]1

\* Euangelion kata Petron oph Ebionite origin, Kerugma Petrou ,

Praxeis Petrou, Apokalupsis Petrou, Periodoi Petrou: [4472]1

\* Euanthas: [4473]1

\* Eudokesen ho theos ... apokalupsai ton huion autou en emoi, hina

euangelizomai auton en tois ethnesin: [4474]1

\* Thessalonikaia: [4475]1

\* Tho: [4476]1

\* Kerugma Petrou: [4477]1

\* Kerugma Petrou en Rhome: [4478]1

\* Kurie, pou poreue: [4479]1

\* Kai eplesthesan pantes pneumatos hagiou, kai erxanto lalein

heterais glossais, Kathos to pneuma edidou apophthengesthai autois:

[4480]1

\* Kai ho logos sarx egeneto kai eskenosen en emin, kai etheasametha

ten doxan autou.: [4481]1

\* Kaisar Sebastos: [4482]1

\* Kaisar: [4483]1

\* Kaisar: [4484]1

\* Kaisarsebaston: [4485]1 [4486]2

\* Kilikios tragos: [4487]1

\* Klemes ho genomenos episkopos Rhomaion egrapse ten epistolen:

[4488]1

\* Kleopas: [4489]1

\* Kleopatros: [4490]1

\* Klopas: [4491]1

\* Kolassai: [4492]1

\* Kolossai: [4493]1

\* Korinthia kore: [4494]1

\* Kretes aei pseustai, kaka theria, gasteres argai: [4495]1

\* Kurenios: [4496]1

\* Logos: [4497]1

\* Logos asarkos , Logos spermatikos: [4498]1

\* Lateinos: [4499]1 [4500]2

\* Lateinos: [4501]1

\* Leuis, Leueis: [4502]1

\* Logion Kuriakon exegeseis: [4503]1

\* Loukas to men genos hon ton ap Antiocheias, ten epistemen de iatros

, k. t. l: [4504]1

\* Loukas,: [4505]1

\* Markos d Italie, Loukas Achaiidi: [4506]1

\* MARAN AThA: [4507]1

\* Maththaios ho telones ,: [4508]1

\* Maththaios,: [4509]1

\* Maria he tou Iakobou kai Ioseph meter: [4510]1

\* Matthaios: [4511]1

\* Matthaios men houn Hebraidi dialek'to ta logia sunataxato: [4512]1

\* Mattheios men egrapsen Hebraiois thaumata Christou,: [4513]1

\* Matth. ho grapsas to euangelion Hebraidi glosse.: [4514]1

\* Metanoesate, kai baptistheto ekastos humon en to onomati Iesou Chr.

eis aphesin ton hamartion humon, kai lempsesthe ten dorean tous

hagiou pneumatos: [4515]1

\* Metanoeite kai pisteuete en to euangelio,: [4516]1

\* Monogenes: [4517]1

\* Monogenes theos: [4518]1

\* Nomos parteiselthen: [4519]1

\* Neron Kai: [4520]1

\* Nikephorou Kallistou tou Xanthopoulou Ekklesiastikes his torias

Biblia ie.: [4521]1

\* Xristos outos elegeto: [4522]1

\* Onesimon: [4523]1

\* Petros: [4524]1

\* Petros hos: [4525]1

\* Petros;: [4526]1

\* Petrou: [4527]1

\* Pasi d' Ioannes kerux megas , ouranophoites.: [4528]1

\* PAPIAS: [4529]1

\* PAPULOS: [4530]1

\* POLEITARChOUNTON SOSIPATROU TOU KLEO: [4531]1

\* Paulos genomeno; megistos; hupogrammos: [4532]1

\* Paidagogos eis Christon: [4533]1

\* Pantodapais glossais: [4534]1

\* Periodoi Petrou: [4535]1

\* Praxeis: [4536]1

\* Praxeis Paulou: [4537]1

\* Praxeis Paulou], used by Origen and ranked by Eusebiu" with the

Antilegomena �or notha: [4538]1

\* Praxeis ton hagion apostolon Petrou kai Paulou: [4539]1

\* Pros Hebraious,: [4540]1

\* Proseuchesthai: [4541]1

\* Su hei Petros, kai epi taute petra oikodomeso mou ten ekklesian,

kai pulai hadou ou katischusousin autes: [4542]1

\* Suzugos: [4543]1

\* Saulos: [4544]1

\* Saoul, Saoul: [4545]1

\* Sardianos: [4546]1

\* Sebastos: [4547]1

\* Ta kpuphia ton anthpopon: [4548]1

\* To hudor hoinon gegenemenon: [4549]1

\* TON EPI - PAULOU: [4550]1

\* Teitan: [4551]1

\* Teitan: [4552]1

\* Teitan: [4553]1

\* Tou: [4554]1

\* Trallianos: [4555]1

\* UO: [4556]1

\* UPATOU: [4557]1

\* Ph: [4558]1

\* Ch G D S: [4559]1

\* Chonai: [4560]1

\* Christeios: [4561]1

\* Christos Iesous elthen eis ton kosmon hamartolous sosai, hon protos

eimi ego: [4562]1

\* Christianoi einai kategoroumetha, to de chreston miseisthai ou

dikaion: [4563]1

\* Christou proegnosmenou men pro kataboles kosmou, phanerothentos de:

[4564]1

\* Pseudadelphoi pareisaktoi: [4565]1

\* a: [4566]1 [4567]2 [4568]3 [4569]4 [4570]5 [4571]6

\* aidos: [4572]1

\* aistheterion: [4573]1

\* aichmalosia: [4574]1

\* hairetikos , akatagnostos, aphthoria, apseudes , kalodidaskalos,

mataiologos , presbutis, soterios , philagathos, philandros:

[4575]1

\* autos hen archomenos hosei eton triakonta: [4576]1

\* autos hilasmos estin peri ton hamartion hemon, ou peri ton

hemeteron de monon, alla kai peri olou tou kosmou: [4577]1

\* autoptai kai huperetai genomenoi tou logou: [4578]1

\* autois: [4579]1

\* autokrator: [4580]1

\* aute apographe prote egeneto hegemoneuontos tes Surias

Kureniou-b.-b: [4581]1

\* haute estin he nikesasa ton kosmon, he pistis hemon: [4582]1

\* aischrologia: [4583]1

\* apo tote erxato ho Iesous kerussein, k. t. l: [4584]1

\* apokalupsis ioanou: [4585]1

\* atthaios men gar proteron Hebraiois keruxas, hos emelle kai eph

heterous ienai, patrio glotte graphe paradous to kat auton

euangelion, to leipon te autou parousia toutois, aph' hon

estelleto, dia tes ; graphes apeplerou: [4586]1

\* aute: [4587]1

\* b: [4588]1 [4589]2 [4590]3

\* baptisma eis t`on thanaton: [4591]1

\* baptisma metanoias eis aphesin hamartion: [4592]1

\* bapto: [4593]1

\* biblos geneseos: [4594]1

\* bios: [4595]1

\* baptizein en pneumati hagio,: [4596]1

\* baptizein and baptismos: [4597]1

\* baptizo: [4598]1

\* baptismon didache: [4599]1

\* baptismous poterion: [4600]1

\* bas. tou theou: [4601]1

\* basileia: [4602]1

\* basileia ton ouranon: [4603]1

\* basileus: [4604]1

\* basileis: [4605]1

\* battologein: [4606]1

\* bouletheis apekuesen hemas logo aletheias: [4607]1

\* bradus: [4608]1

\* braduploeo: [4609]1

\* gar kai genos esmen: [4610]1

\* gar: [4611]1 [4612]2 [4613]3

\* gegraptai: [4614]1

\* genesis: [4615]1

\* gene glosson: [4616]1

\* genethenai ex udatos -ikai-ipneumatos: [4617]1

\* geron: [4618]1

\* gennethenai anothen: [4619]1

\* gennethe anothen: [4620]1

\* gennethe anothen, eiselthein: [4621]1

\* genomenes staseos: [4622]1

\* gerousia: [4623]1

\* geometria: [4624]1

\* glosse lalein: [4625]1 [4626]2 [4627]3

\* glossais: [4628]1

\* glossais lalesousin kainais .: [4629]1

\* glossais,: [4630]1

\* glossa: [4631]1 [4632]2 [4633]3

\* glossai: [4634]1 [4635]2

\* glossai,: [4636]1

\* gnosis pseudonumos,: [4637]1

\* gnosis.: [4638]1

\* grammateus: [4639]1 [4640]2

\* grammateis , nomikoi, nomodidaskaloi: [4641]1

\* gumne loipon ede te kephale: [4642]1

\* gunaikes: [4643]1

\* di autou: [4644]1

\* de: [4645]1

\* dikaios kai oblias,: [4646]1

\* dicha: [4647]1

\* dunamis theou eis soterian panti to pisteuonti , Ioudaio te:

[4648]1

\* dein pantote proseuchesthai kai me ekkakein: [4649]1

\* desmois mou: [4650]1

\* deuterosis: [4651]1

\* deloo: [4652]1

\* di otasian: [4653]1

\* di horamatos hophtheis: [4654]1

\* di horamaton kai enupnion: [4655]1

\* di autou: [4656]1

\* dia pisteos Christou: [4657]1

\* dia: [4658]1 [4659]2 [4660]3

\* diabolos,: [4661]1

\* diakonos tes en Kenchreais: [4662]1

\* diakonos,: [4663]1

\* diakon: [4664]1

\* dialektos: [4665]1

\* diegesin: [4666]1

\* dio legei: [4667]1

\* diakonissa: [4668]1

\* diakosiai kai tessares kata ten Galilaian eisi poleis kai komai:

[4669]1

\* diakonia, antilepseis.: [4670]1

\* diakriseis pneumaton: [4671]1

\* diameine.: [4672]1

\* diamerizein: [4673]1

\* diamerizomenai glossai hosei puros: [4674]1

\* diaperao: [4675]1

\* diapleo: [4676]1

\* diapheromai: [4677]1

\* diaphorois baptismois: [4678]1

\* didaskalos: [4679]1 [4680]2

\* didaktikon: [4681]1

\* didaskalia: [4682]1

\* diegeseis: [4683]1

\* dikaioma: [4684]1

\* dikaiosis: [4685]1 [4686]2

\* dikaiosis, dikaioma, dikaios, dikaioo: [4687]1

\* dikaioo: [4688]1 [4689]2

\* dikaiosune: [4690]1

\* dikaiosunes: [4691]1

\* dikaiosune,: [4692]1

\* diples times: [4693]1

\* doxazein: [4694]1

\* duskolos,: [4695]1

\* e: [4696]1

\* ei de ti ... opheilei: [4697]1

\* ei kai: [4698]1

\* ei kategnosmenon me legeis: [4699]1

\* ei me: [4700]1 [4701]2

\* ei ... poso mallon: [4702]1

\* eidolothuta: [4703]1

\* eikon: [4704]1

\* eipeopoieo: [4705]1

\* eirene: [4706]1

\* eis ho kai proseuxometha pantote: [4707]1

\* eis Christon ebaptisthete: [4708]1

\* eis auton: [4709]1

\* eis auton': [4710]1

\* eis auto touto exegeira se: [4711]1

\* eis nomon teleion ton tes eleutherias: [4712]1

\* eis to einai auton dikaion kai dikaiounta ton ek Christou: [4713]1

\* eis ton kolpon: [4714]1

\* eiselthete: [4715]1

\* eisiasin: [4716]1

\* eis laos Kuriou kai glossa mia: [4717]1

\* heidos.: [4718]1

\* euangelion: [4719]1 [4720]2

\* eudaimon kai megale: [4721]1

\* eudokia: [4722]1

\* eudokias,: [4723]1

\* euengelisthe: [4724]1

\* eutheos: [4725]1

\* euthus: [4726]1

\* eutheos: [4727]1

\* euthudromeo: [4728]1

\* eulogetos: [4729]1

\* euperistatos: [4730]1

\* euprepes moicheia: [4731]1

\* eu: [4732]1

\* euangelion tetramorphon: [4733]1

\* eikon tou theou tou aoratou: [4734]1

\* ei: [4735]1

\* ekeinos: [4736]1

\* ekpleo: [4737]1

\* zoa,: [4738]1

\* zosa phone kai menousa: [4739]1

\* zeteite: [4740]1

\* e: [4741]1

\* esous: [4742]1

\* thalassa: [4743]1

\* thelei: [4744]1

\* thaumason ta paronta: [4745]1

\* theaomai: [4746]1

\* theos aniktos,: [4747]1

\* theos agnostos: [4748]1

\* theos ta panta en pasin: [4749]1

\* theon: [4750]1

\* theos: [4751]1 [4752]2 [4753]3 [4754]4 [4755]5 [4756]6 [4757]7

[4758]8 [4759]9 [4760]10 [4761]11 [4762]12

\* theos hen ho logos.: [4763]1

\* theion gar genos esti brotoisin: [4764]1

\* theo: [4765]1

\* theiotetos,: [4766]1

\* theou: [4767]1 [4768]2

\* theologos: [4769]1 [4770]2

\* theomachoi: [4771]1

\* therapeutes: [4772]1

\* theria: [4773]1

\* therion: [4774]1

\* thlipsis, basileia: [4775]1

\* i: [4776]1 [4777]2

\* kurios: [4778]1

\* kenosis: [4779]1 [4780]2

\* kurios: [4781]1

\* kensos: [4782]1

\* kai anasta ek ton nekron,: [4783]1

\* kai epiphausei soi ho christos: [4784]1

\* kai eplerothe he graphe k. t. l: [4785]1

\* kai Helleni: [4786]1

\* kai humeis: [4787]1

\* kai ei: [4788]1

\* kai hoi: [4789]1

\* kai parestai,: [4790]1

\* kai zeteseos ouk oliges: [4791]1

\* kaiper estin: [4792]1

\* kai, de, houn, hina: [4793]1

\* kathos paredosan: [4794]1

\* kathexes.: [4795]1

\* kathegetes: [4796]1

\* kai ` Hierousalem estai patoumene hupo ethnon achri plerothosi

kairoi ethnon: [4797]1

\* kaine ktisis ,: [4798]1

\* kainos anthropos ,: [4799]1

\* kainai glossai: [4800]1

\* kainais: [4801]1

\* kainais?: [4802]1

\* kakous kakos apolesei: [4803]1

\* kaleo: [4804]1

\* kalos,: [4805]1

\* karpophorountes kai auxanomenoi eis pasan hupomonen: [4806]1

\* karpophorousin hupomone: [4807]1

\* kat idian: [4808]1

\* kat idian de tois dokousin: [4809]1

\* kat idian eipein,: [4810]1

\* kata dikaisune ten en nomo genomenos amemptos: [4811]1

\* kata sarka: [4812]1

\* kataprosopon tapeinos: [4813]1

\* kata tina chresmon tois autothi dokimois di apokalupseos

ekdothenta: [4814]1

\* katallage: [4815]1

\* katapleo: [4816]1

\* kataskopesai ten eleutherian hemon hen echomen en Christo Iesou,

hina hemas katadoulosousin: [4817]1

\* katatome: [4818]1

\* kategnosmenos en: [4819]1

\* katoikountes: [4820]1

\* kenophoniai: [4821]1

\* kenturion: [4822]1

\* keph-ale: [4823]1

\* kth.: [4824]1

\* klesis: [4825]1 [4826]2

\* kleronomia: [4827]1

\* kodrantes: [4828]1

\* koinonia: [4829]1

\* kolonia: [4830]1

\* korinthiazomai: [4831]1

\* korinthiastes: [4832]1

\* kosmikos: [4833]1

\* kosmokratores: [4834]1

\* kophinon pleromata: [4835]1

\* kratiste Theophile: [4836]1

\* kriseos: [4837]1

\* kritikos,: [4838]1

\* kuberneseis,: [4839]1

\* kuriou: [4840]1

\* k. t. l: [4841]1 [4842]2

\* l: [4843]1

\* limne: [4844]1

\* logia: [4845]1

\* logoi kuriakoi: [4846]1

\* logos: [4847]1

\* logos echei: [4848]1 [4849]2

\* logos parakleseos: [4850]1

\* logos parakleseos ,: [4851]1

\* lutron: [4852]1

\* latinos,: [4853]1

\* logia: [4854]1 [4855]2

\* logion: [4856]1

\* logion kuriakon exegesis].: [4857]1

\* logomachiai: [4858]1

\* lukanos .: [4859]1

\* machai nomikai: [4860]1

\* megala stoicheia, and a hiereus to petalon pephorekos: [4861]1

\* memneso tou Kuriou: [4862]1

\* metron anthropou: [4863]1

\* mechri ahimatos: [4864]1

\* me genoito: [4865]1 [4866]2

\* mia sar'x: [4867]1

\* monon: [4868]1

\* ma: [4869]1

\* maran atha: [4870]1

\* marturesas: [4871]1

\* marturesas epi ton hegoumenon: [4872]1

\* marturesei peri emou: [4873]1

\* marturia: [4874]1

\* megalunein ton theon: [4875]1

\* mesiteuein: [4876]1

\* meta ten ekdosin,: [4877]1

\* meta ten touton exodon: [4878]1

\* meta ton therion: [4879]1

\* meta: [4880]1

\* metanoia: [4881]1 [4882]2 [4883]3

\* metriopathein: [4884]1

\* mimetes: [4885]1

\* monarchia: [4886]1

\* monogenes theos ,: [4887]1

\* monogenes: [4888]1 [4889]2 [4890]3

\* monogenes theos ,: [4891]1

\* monogenes,: [4892]1 [4893]2

\* musterion: [4894]1

\* n: [4895]1 [4896]2 [4897]3

\* nun phor arti: [4898]1

\* neanias: [4899]1 [4900]2

\* neanides, paidiskai: [4901]1

\* nekroo: [4902]1

\* nous: [4903]1 [4904]2 [4905]3 [4906]4 [4907]5 [4908]6 [4909]7

\* nous, pneuma: [4910]1

\* nomikos: [4911]1

\* nomodidaskaloi,: [4912]1

\* nomodidaskalos: [4913]1

\* x: [4914]1 [4915]2 [4916]3

\* xestes: [4917]1

\* o: [4918]1 [4919]2

\* oi dokontes: [4920]1

\* oi stuloi: [4921]1

\* hoi apo ges: [4922]1

\* hoi apo thalasses,: [4923]1

\* hoi apo tes Alexandreias basileis,: [4924]1

\* hoi apo tes Italias: [4925]1

\* hoi apostoloi kai hoi presbuteroi adelphoi: [4926]1

\* hoi apostoloi, kai oi presbuteroi adelphoi: [4927]1

\* hoi apostoloi, kai oi-i -ipresbuteroi, kai hoi adelphoi: [4928]1

\* hoi ex: [4929]1

\* hoi epidemountes Rhomaioi, Ioudaioi te kai proselutoi: [4930]1

\* hoi eusebeis oi phoboumenoi ton theon: [4931]1

\* hoi ek tes kaisaros oikias: [4932]1

\* hoi epidemountes zenoi: [4933]1

\* hoi kalos proestotes presbuteroi: [4934]1

\* hoi polloi: [4935]1 [4936]2

\* hoi stuloi, hoi dokountes: [4937]1

\* oikous: [4938]1

\* oikos,: [4939]1

\* ois oude: [4940]1

\* hoidamen hoti ean phanerothe: [4941]1

\* hois oude: [4942]1

\* ou dikaioutai anthropos ez ergon nomou ean me dia pisteos Christou

Iesou: [4943]1

\* ou monon ... alla kai peri holou tou kosmou: [4944]1

\* oude en: [4945]1

\* ouden: [4946]1

\* ouk eginosken auten heos ohu,: [4947]1

\* ouk elthe psuchas anthropon apolesai, alla sosai: [4948]1

\* ouk helthen kalesai dikaious alla hamartolous.: [4949]1

\* ouketi: [4950]1

\* ouranios optasia: [4951]1

\* ouch hosper suntaxin ton kuriakon poioumenos logon: [4952]1

\* ohus proegno: [4953]1

\* hou esan katamenontes: [4954]1

\* houn], oeiche is oite eim not spsllogistich [like ara: [4955]1

\* houtos estin ho alithinos theos kai zoe aionios ,: [4956]1

\* houtos: [4957]1 [4958]2

\* p: [4959]1

\* p'euma Christou: [4960]1

\* palin, deuteron: [4961]1

\* pampolloi: [4962]1

\* panta: [4963]1

\* panta kathara humin estin: [4964]1

\* panta men kathara tois katharois: [4965]1

\* pantas tous paidos ... apodietous kai katotero kata ton` chronon

hon ekribosen para ton magon: [4966]1

\* pantes: [4967]1 [4968]2

\* pantes gar auto zosin: [4969]1

\* pantote hagonizomenos huper humon en tais proseuxais .: [4970]1

\* paresis: [4971]1

\* pases kriseos: [4972]1

\* pases ktiseos: [4973]1

\* pempsis: [4974]1

\* pempso: [4975]1

\* perata tes oikoumenes: [4976]1

\* petra: [4977]1 [4978]2

\* pistei choris ergon nomou: [4979]1

\* pistis: [4980]1 [4981]2 [4982]3 [4983]4

\* pistis di agapes energoumene: [4984]1

\* polis megale: [4985]1

\* porkos: [4986]1

\* pan to paratithemenon humin esthiete: [4987]1

\* pasa dosis agathe kai pan dorema teleion: [4988]1

\* pasa sarx: [4989]1

\* pasin tois hagiois ... sun episkopois kai diakonois: [4990]1

\* pasis: [4991]1

\* paidion, korasion, kunarion, thugatrion, ichthudion, otarion:

[4992]1

\* paidotrophia: [4993]1

\* palingenesia: [4994]1

\* palingenesia: [4995]1

\* paredosan: [4996]1

\* para ton apostolon: [4997]1

\* para tou Patros ekporeuetai: [4998]1

\* paradosis: [4999]1

\* parakletos: [5000]1

\* parakletos.: [5001]1

\* paredoken to pneuma: [5002]1

\* parabates tou nomou: [5003]1

\* paradoxon ergon poietes: [5004]1

\* parakletor: [5005]1

\* parakoe: [5006]1

\* paralegomai: [5007]1

\* parapikrainein: [5008]1

\* parapikrasmos,: [5009]1

\* parapleo: [5010]1

\* paraskeue: [5011]1 [5012]2

\* pareisaktoi: [5013]1

\* pareisaxousin: [5014]1

\* pareisedusan: [5015]1

\* parthenos: [5016]1 [5017]2

\* parthenos kathara kai adiaphthoros emenen he ekklesia: [5018]1

\* paroikia, dioikesis ,: [5019]1

\* parousia: [5020]1

\* patesousin: [5021]1

\* peithein: [5022]1

\* pentekaidekato etei tes basileias auton de ton naos epeskeuase:

[5023]1

\* peri hamartias: [5024]1

\* peri tou Ioudaikou polemou: [5025]1

\* peri: [5026]1

\* periodoi Ioannou: [5027]1

\* periistemi,: [5028]1

\* perioche tou laou: [5029]1

\* peritome: [5030]1

\* pithanologia: [5031]1

\* pistos ho logos .: [5032]1

\* pisteuein: [5033]1

\* pleo: [5034]1 [5035]2

\* pleres: [5036]1

\* pleroma: [5037]1

\* pleroma poleos,: [5038]1

\* plerosis,: [5039]1

\* pleroun: [5040]1

\* plerophoria: [5041]1

\* plerothe to rethen,: [5042]1

\* pneumata en phulake: [5043]1

\* pneumati hagio: [5044]1

\* pneumati theophorethenta, pneumatikon poiesai euangelion: [5045]1

\* pneuma: [5046]1 [5047]2 [5048]3 [5049]4 [5050]5 [5051]6

\* pneuma hagion: [5052]1

\* pneuma Christou promarturomenon: [5053]1

\* pou sto.: [5054]1

\* poimanate: [5055]1

\* poimenes kai didaskaloi: [5056]1

\* poliarchos: [5057]1

\* polu plethos eklekton: [5058]1

\* polles suzeteseos genomenes: [5059]1

\* pollo mallon: [5060]1

\* polloi epecheiresan: [5061]1

\* polulogia: [5062]1

\* polumeros kai polutropos: [5063]1

\* polumeros,: [5064]1

\* polupoikilos sophia: [5065]1

\* polutropos,: [5066]1

\* por'neia: [5067]1

\* poreuomai: [5068]1

\* porkeia: [5069]1

\* porneia: [5070]1

\* praxeis tou ... Ioannou tou theologou: [5071]1

\* prin: [5072]1

\* prin e sunelthein autous: [5073]1

\* pro panton ton ktismaton: [5074]1

\* pro tou hegemeneuein: [5075]1

\* pro tou polemou: [5076]1

\* pros ton theon: [5077]1

\* pros to telei tes Dometianou arches: [5078]1

\* prognosis: [5079]1 [5080]2

\* prodromos,: [5081]1

\* pros ton theon: [5082]1

\* prote sabbatou: [5083]1

\* prote: [5084]1 [5085]2 [5086]3

\* protos tinos: [5087]1

\* prota: [5088]1

\* proton: [5089]1 [5090]2

\* praitorion: [5091]1

\* presbuteroi: [5092]1 [5093]2

\* presbuteros: [5094]1

\* presbutes: [5095]1 [5096]2 [5097]3

\* presbuterous ... parakalo ho sunpresbuteros? poimanate to en humin

poimnion tou theou, episkopountes: [5098]1

\* proorisen: [5099]1

\* proegen autous: [5100]1

\* proginosko: [5101]1

\* proorizo: [5102]1

\* proorisas hemas eis huiothesian: [5103]1

\* proorismos, prothesis: [5104]1

\* pros horan: [5105]1

\* prosabbaton: [5106]1

\* prosechomen, mepote, hos gegraptai, polloi kletoi, oligoi de

eklektoi heurethomen: [5107]1

\* proseuchesthai: [5108]1

\* proseuchesthai glosse: [5109]1

\* prosetethe: [5110]1

\* proseukterion: [5111]1

\* proseuche: [5112]1

\* protera: [5113]1

\* protogonos,: [5114]1

\* propheteia: [5115]1

\* protoktistos: [5116]1

\* protoktistos,: [5117]1

\* prototokos: [5118]1 [5119]2 [5120]3 [5121]4 [5122]5

\* prototokos pases ktiseos,: [5123]1

\* protokathedriai: [5124]1

\* puretois kai dusenterio sunechomenon: [5125]1

\* r: [5126]1 [5127]2

\* s: [5128]1 [5129]2 [5130]3 [5131]4 [5132]5

\* s: [5133]1 [5134]2

\* sarkosis: [5135]1

\* sarx: [5136]1 [5137]2

\* sarx egeneto: [5138]1

\* suzuge gnesie: [5139]1

\* suzugos: [5140]1

\* sumphutoi: [5141]1

\* sun: [5142]1

\* sun to anthupato Sergio Paulo: [5143]1

\* sunopsis scholike: [5144]1

\* suntaxis: [5145]1

\* suntaxis ton logion: [5146]1

\* soma: [5147]1

\* sabbateion: [5148]1

\* sar: [5149]1

\* semeia: [5150]1

\* semeion: [5151]1

\* skeue eleous ha proetoimasen: [5152]1

\* skeue orges katertismena eis apoleian: [5153]1

\* skene: [5154]1

\* skenopoios: [5155]1

\* skleron soi pros kentra laktizein: [5156]1

\* sophia: [5157]1

\* sophistai, hierogrammateis, patrion exegetai nomon-i, -i: [5158]1

\* sperma: [5159]1

\* spekoulatop: [5160]1

\* spuridon pl: [5161]1

\* stete oun perizosamenoi ton osphun humon en aletheia: [5162]1

\* sterean petran, themelion ekklesias: [5163]1

\* strategos: [5164]1

\* sungenes: [5165]1

\* sungraphe: [5166]1

\* sumboulion didonai: [5167]1

\* sumpresbuteros,: [5168]1

\* sunesteken: [5169]1

\* sunesthien: [5170]1

\* sunesthien meta ton ethnon: [5171]1

\* sunagogion: [5172]1

\* sunagrapsato: [5173]1

\* sunagoge: [5174]1

\* sunagoge: [5175]1

\* sunepimarturein: [5176]1

\* sunthesei tes lexeos ellenik-iote-ira: [5177]1

\* sphodra smikros ton noun: [5178]1

\* somatikos: [5179]1

\* soter: [5180]1

\* soterios,: [5181]1

\* soteria: [5182]1 [5183]2

\* ta enkainia: [5184]1

\* ta epourania: [5185]1 [5186]2

\* ta onomata humon egraphe en tois ouranois: [5187]1

\* ta hupo tou Christou he lechthenta he prachthenta: [5188]1

\* ta logia tou theou: [5189]1

\* ta megaleia tou Theou: [5190]1

\* ta mora tou kosmou exelexato ho theos hina kataischune tous

sophous: [5191]1

\* ta p'eumatika: [5192]1

\* ta panta: [5193]1

\* ta panta en pasin: [5194]1

\* ta stoicheia -ite-is arches ton logion tou theou: [5195]1

\* ta stoicheia tou kosmou: [5196]1 [5197]2

\* ta tanta malista logiotatos kai tes graphes eidemon: [5198]1

\* taxei: [5199]1

\* ta musteria tou theou: [5200]1

\* tekna theou ... ek theou egennethesan: [5201]1

\* telos: [5202]1 [5203]2 [5204]3

\* terma tes duseos: [5205]1 [5206]2

\* ten ek Laodikaias hina kai humeis a nagnote: [5207]1

\* ten Phrugian kai Galatiken choran: [5208]1

\* ten theoteta tou logou: [5209]1

\* ten kata toutous paradedomenen eusebeian: [5210]1

\* ten pistin tou Kuriou hemon Iesou Christou tes dozes: [5211]1

\* tis de ho grapsas ten epistolen, to men alethes theos hoiden:

[5212]1

\* to en autois: [5213]1

\* to epanorthoma tou adikematos,: [5214]1

\* to hikanon poiein: [5215]1

\* to huperoon: [5216]1

\* to hudor: [5217]1

\* to aima: [5218]1

\* to haima: [5219]1

\* to dia tessaron: [5220]1

\* to eiremenon: [5221]1

\* to katechon: [5222]1 [5223]2

\* to pascha: [5224]1

\* to peuma hagion: [5225]1

\* to pleroma: [5226]1

\* to pleroma tes ges.: [5227]1

\* to pleroma tes thalasses,: [5228]1

\* to pleroma tes theotetos ,: [5229]1

\* to phos,: [5230]1

\* to phulattein tous nomous: [5231]1

\* ton adelphon Iesou tou legomenou Christou, Iakabos onoma auto:

[5232]1

\* ton adelphon Iesou tou legomenou Christou, Iakobos onoma auto:

[5233]1

\* ton Ioannen eschaton sunidonta hoti ta somatika en tois euangeliois

dedelotai protrapenta hupo ton gnorimon: [5234]1

\* ton me gnonta hamartian: [5235]1

\* tote eplerothe to rethen: [5236]1

\* tupoi paideias, tupos tes didaskalias: [5237]1

\* tuposdidaches: [5238]1

\* tes protes skenes echouses stasin: [5239]1

\* tes charitos tou kuriou Iesou pisteuomen sothen'ai, kath' hon

tropon kakeinoi: [5240]1

\* te mia-i-i ton sabbaton: [5241]1

\* ton kai ton kurion apokteinanton Iesoun kai tous prophetas kai

hemas ekdioxanton.: [5242]1

\* ton logion kuriakon: [5243]1

\* tais adelphais Kuriou: [5244]1

\* tauta de gegraptai hina pisteuete oti Iesous estin Christos , ho

huios tou theou, kai hina pisteuontes zeen echete en to onomati

autou.: [5245]1

\* tetramorphon to euangelion, heni pneumati sunechomenon: [5246]1

\* tetrachelismena: [5247]1

\* time: [5248]1

\* tines apo Iakobou: [5249]1 [5250]2

\* tines ton apo Iakobou.: [5251]1

\* tines ton apo tes haireseos ton Pharisaion pepisteukotes .: [5252]1

\* to `pascha: [5253]1

\* tous pantas: [5254]1 [5255]2

\* tous politarchas ,: [5256]1

\* tous archontas ton politon: [5257]1

\* toutou: [5258]1

\* tois adelthois: [5259]1

\* tois desmiois: [5260]1

\* tois dokousin: [5261]1

\* tois dokousin en autois: [5262]1

\* tois pisteuousin: [5263]1

\* tois prophetais: [5264]1

\* tou: [5265]1

\* tou hagiou: [5266]1

\* tou idiou: [5267]1

\* tou theologou: [5268]1

\* tou kuriou: [5269]1

\* tou legomenou Christou: [5270]1

\* tou megalou theou kai soteros hemon Christou Iesou: [5271]1

\* tou turannou teleutesantos: [5272]1

\* to-i` -ignostontou theou: [5273]1

\* tolmeteon toinun eipein aparchen men pason graphon heinai ta

euangelia, ton de euangelion aparchen to kata Ioannen: [5274]1

\* trapezitai dokimoi: [5275]1

\* trachelizein: [5276]1

\* tropaia: [5277]1

\* tuphloo: [5278]1

\* u: [5279]1

\* huios: [5280]1

\* huios parakleseos: [5281]1

\* huios: [5282]1 [5283]2 [5284]3

\* huios ,: [5285]1

\* huioi brontes: [5286]1

\* huiou: [5287]1 [5288]2

\* huiothesia: [5289]1

\* pheromai: [5290]1

\* phuo: [5291]1

\* phos: [5292]1

\* phaneroo: [5293]1

\* pherenike: [5294]1

\* pheromene: [5295]1

\* phesin: [5296]1

\* phtheirousin ethe chresta homiliai kakai: [5297]1

\* philozenos .: [5298]1

\* philochristos: [5299]1

\* philiesous: [5300]1

\* philoxenia: [5301]1

\* phuteuo: [5302]1

\* charis: [5303]1

\* charis kai eirene: [5304]1 [5305]2

\* charis, eleos , pistis, dikaiosune, dikaios , agion, gnosis,

dunamis kuriou: [5306]1

\* charisma iamaton, dunamis semeion kai teraton: [5307]1

\* chariti theou eimi ho eimi, kai he charis autou he eis eme ou kene

egenethe, alla perissoteron auton panton ekopiasa, ouk ego de, alla

he charis tou theou sun emoi: [5308]1

\* chairein: [5309]1 [5310]2

\* chairete: [5311]1

\* chara: [5312]1

\* charismata: [5313]1 [5314]2

\* charakter: [5315]1

\* chis: [5316]1

\* chxs: [5317]1

\* chxs: [5318]1

\* chrestos: [5319]1

\* chrestianoi: [5320]1

\* psallein to noi: [5321]1

\* psallein to pneumati: [5322]1

\* pseudadelphoi hoitines pareiselthon: [5323]1

\* pseudonumos gnosis: [5324]1

\* pseudonumos gnosis , heterodidaskaloi: [5325]1

\* pseudonumos gnosis,: [5326]1

\* pseudapostoloi,: [5327]1

\* ,: [5328]1

\* ejkklhsiastikh; iJstoriva: [5329]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Hebrew Words and Phrases

\* y: [5330]1

\* msh: [5331]1

\* qdts: [5332]1

\* mvr rsyq: [5333]1

\* ': [5334]1 [5335]2 [5336]3 [5337]4 [5338]5 [5339]6 [5340]7 [5341]8

[5342]9 [5343]10 [5344]11 [5345]12 [5346]13 [5347]14 [5348]15

[5349]16 [5350]17 [5351]18

\* 'yv': [5352]1

\* 'lm: [5353]1

\* vr: [5354]1

\* g: [5355]1

\* gmr': [5356]1

\* g: [5357]1

\* g: [5358]1

\* gmr: [5359]1

\* dysh: [5360]1

\* dlv tyb: [5361]1

\* h gch: [5362]1

\* hd?: [5363]1

\* hd?: [5364]1

\* hyntm: [5365]1

\* hytm: [5366]1

\* vshnh: [5367]1

\* vyl: [5368]1

\* vysnrph : [5369]1

\* vyrvbkh vvy: [5370]1

\* zgr: [5371]1

\* ch: [5372]1 [5373]2

\* ch: [5374]1 [5375]2

\* chgygh: [5376]1

\* chlphy: [5377]1

\* chsh': [5378]1

\* y'tm: [5379]1

\* ynqz: [5380]1

\* ybr: [5381]1

\* ytm: [5382]1

\* lhq: [5383]1 [5384]2

\* n: [5385]1

\* nnhvy: [5386]1

\* nnchvhy: [5387]1

\* n: [5388]1

\* s: [5389]1

\* sybr?h vyb: [5390]1

\* symkch: [5391]1

\* syrphvs: [5392]1

\* slyq?: [5393]1

\* q: [5394]1

\* q nvn : [5395]1

\* qdts hqdts: [5396]1

\* qyrs: [5397]1

\* qydtsh: [5398]1

\* qydts: [5399]1

\* qydts: [5400]1

\* r: [5401]1 [5402]2

\* r?m: [5403]1

\* rvch: [5404]1

\* rsyq: [5405]1

\* r?shh yrg: [5406]1

\* rvbts: [5407]1 [5408]2

\* tsnkh sh'l: [5409]1

\* tsnkh tyb: [5410]1

\* tlpht tb: [5411]1

\* ?lyh: [5412]1

\* ?vsh: [5413]1

\* ?md: [5414]1

\* sh: [5415]1

\* shgr: [5416]1

\* shgr ynb: [5417]1

\* shrp: [5418]1

\* bkrr: [5419]1

\* tlmvd: [5420]1

\* v: [5421]1

\* : [5422]1

\* ': [5423]1 [5424]2 [5425]3 [5426]4 [5427]5 [5428]6

\* ): [5429]1

\* ).: [5430]1

\* ). Not to be confounded with the angels in the Apocalypse.: [5431]1

\* \*(in its original form), and Origen. Irenaeus has both readings.

The term occurs seven times in Mark, and is especially appropriate

at the beginning of his Gospel and a part of its very title.:

[5432]1

\* ,: [5433]1 [5434]2 [5435]3 [5436]4 [5437]5

\* , "just.": [5438]1

\* B A C, etc) and versions in favor of these words. The omission can

be better explained from carelessness or dogmatic prejudice rather

than the insertion.: [5439]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of German Words and Phrases

\* ": [5440]1

\* " blieb die Synagoge als einziger Tr�ger ihrer Nationalit�t;

dorthin floh ihr Glauben und von dorther empfingen sie Belehrug f�r

ihren irdischen Wandel, Kraft zur Ausdauer in unerh�rten Leiden und

Hoffnung auf eine k�nftige Morgenr�the der Freiheit. Der

�ffentliche Gottesdienst der Synagoge ward das Panier j�discher

Nationalit�t, die Aegide des j�dischen Glaubens.": [5441]1

\* "Der Schlachtruf, der St.: [5442]1

\* "Der ganze Brief tr�gt das Gepr�ge der einfachen Wahrheit an sich

und verr�th auch in den Wortspielen, Philem.: [5443]1

\* "In dem ganzen Brief erkennt man die Sprache des Paulus. Es ist

kein Grund vorhanden, denselben dem Paulus abzusprechen. Nicht so

bedeutsam, wie andere Briefe, ist derselbe eines Paulus keineswegs

unw�rdig, vielmehr ein liebensw�rdiges Denkmal v�terlicher F�rsorge

des Apostels f�r eine junge Christengemeinde.: [5444]1

\* "Mir wird von alle dem so dumm,: [5445]1

\* "f�r durchaus �cht; denn es ist in ihnen der Abglanz einer Hoheit

wirksam, die von der Person Christi ausging: die ist q�ttlicher

Art, wie nur je auf Erden das G�ttliche erschienen ist: [5446]1

\* �ber der Fieberluft br�tet, war damals eine durchaus gesunde,

�berall angebaute, von Leben wimmelden Strassen durchschnittene

Ebene.: [5447]1

\* (Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff, Berlin, 1862, and in his Bibl.

Theol. des N.: [5448]1

\* (Der Lehrbegriff des Ev. und der Briefe Johannis, Berlin,: [5449]1

\* (Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis,: [5450]1

\* (Probabilia de Ev. et Ep. Joh. Ap. Indole et Origine,: [5451]1

\* ): [5452]1

\* ,: [5453]1 [5454]2 [5455]3 [5456]4 [5457]5 [5458]6 [5459]7

\* , 1876, and his Apost. Zeitalter,: [5460]1

\* , Lips., 1881, gives the last text of Tischendorf (with the

readings of Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort below) and the revised

translation of Luther. His Greek text is also separately issued

with an "Adnotatio critica," not contained in the diglott edition.

The Greek-English New Testament, containing Westcott and Hort's

Greek Text and the Revised English Version on opposite pages, with

introduction by Schaff.: [5461]1

\* , Part I-III., 1881-84; and Geschichte des Kanons d. N. T.,

Leipz.,: [5462]1

\* , das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn, des N. Testaments Siegel,:

[5463]1

\* , die Schreibart des Paulus: [5464]1

\* , ein Akt grossartiger Selbstverleugnung, der Hingabe des alten

Menschen und seiner ganzen religi�sen Welt in den Tod, um fortan

keinen Ruhm: [5465]1

\* , n�mlich Leute die vor andern durch Fr�mmigkeit auszgezeichnet und

gleichsam mehr oder heiliger als andere sein wollen: [5466]1

\* , pp. 624 sq., and Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der

Kaiserzeit,: [5467]1

\* . Ed. by Weizs�cker.: [5468]1

\* . Hamburg, 1832; 4th ed., 1847, 2 vols. (in the second vol.); Engl.

transl. by J. A. Ryland: [5469]1

\* . Heidelberg, 1881.--Philip Schaff: Companion to the Greek

Testament and the English Version.: [5470]1

\* . Z�rich, 1878, pp. 171-181. Rom u. das Christenthum: [5471]1

\* .": [5472]1 [5473]2 [5474]3

\* 1836; reproduced in his Paul: [5475]1

\* 1846, and Lehrbuch,: [5476]1

\* 1873; Engl. transl., The Doctrine of the Apocalypse,: [5477]1

\* 1st Petrus in Rom und Bishof der r�mischen Gemeinde gewesen?:

[5478]1

\* : Allgem. Gesch. der Religionsformen der heidnischen V�lker.:

[5479]1

\* : Biblische Theologie des N. Testaments: [5480]1

\* : Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den

Zeugnissen der Apostel: [5481]1

\* : Chronologisch-Geographische Einleitung in das Leben: [5482]1

\* : Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl u. seine Geschichte.: [5483]1

\* : Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte.: [5484]1

\* : Das Leben Jesu Christi.: [5485]1

\* : Das Todesjahr des K�nigs Herodes und das Todesjahr Jesu Christi:

[5486]1

\* : Der Apostel Paulus.: [5487]1

\* : Der Stern der Weisen.: [5488]1

\* : Die Lehre der Apostel.: [5489]1

\* : Die Lehre vom heil. Abendmahl.: [5490]1

\* : Die Sage vom Ursprung der Christusbilder: [5491]1

\* : Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese.:

[5492]1

\* : Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie: [5493]1

\* : Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs.: [5494]1

\* : Essai historique sur la societ� civil dans le monde romain et sur

sa transformation par le christianisme.: [5495]1

\* : Geschichte Christus' und seiner Zeit.: [5496]1

\* : Geschichte des j�d. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi.: [5497]1

\* : Griechische Mythologie. Berlin, 1854, 3d ed. 1875, 2 vols. By the

same; R�mische Mythologie.: [5498]1

\* : Handbuch der Chronologie. Berlin, 1825-226, 2 vols. By the same:

Lehrbuch der Chronologie,: [5499]1

\* : Lebensgeschichte Jesu in chronolog. Uebersicht: [5500]1

\* : Logos spermatic�s. Parallelstellen zum N. Text. aus den Schriften

der alten Griechen. Ein Beitrag zur christl. Apologetik und zur

vergleichenden Religionsforschung.: [5501]1

\* Acta Apost. Apocr.,: [5502]1

\* Acta Joannis, unter Benutzung von C. v. Tischendorf's Nachlass

bearbeitet: [5503]1

\* Acta Johannis,: [5504]1

\* Ad. Hilgenfeld: [5505]1

\* Adam und Christus: [5506]1

\* Agrapha. Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente gesammelt und

untersucht.: [5507]1

\* Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche: [5508]1

\* Als Wiederschein von: [5509]1

\* Als ausgemacht darf man heutzutage wohl annehmen, dass der

Verfasser der Apostelgeschichte und des dritten Evangeliums ein und

dieselbePerson sind.: [5510]1

\* Als die Dichtung eines halbgnostischen Philosophen aus dem zweiten

Jahrhundert ist es: [5511]1

\* Als ging mir ein M�hlrad im Kopf herum.": [5512]1

\* An sich hat Gott das absolute Becht, die Menschen von vornherein

zum Heil oder zum Verderben zu erschaffen und durch freie

Machtwirkung diesem Ziele zuzuf�hren; aber er hat sich in Betreff

des christlichen Heils dieses Rechtes nur insofern bedient, als er

unabh�ngig von allem menschlichen Thun und Verdienen nach seinem

unbeschr�nkten Willen bestimmt, an welche Bedingung er seine Gnade

kn�pfen will. Die Bedingung, an welche er seine Erw�hlung gebunden

hat, ist nun nichts anders als die Liebe zu ihm, welche er an den

empf�nglichen Seelen vorhererkennt. Die Erw�hlten aber werden

berufen, indem Gott durch das Evangelium in ihnen den Glauben

wirkt: [5513]1

\* Anders als dem Matthaeus steht diesem Schrifstellen: [5514]1

\* Anf�nge des christl. Gottesdienstes: [5515]1

\* Anfangs werden beide Termini: [5516]1

\* Apostelconvent, in Schenkel's Bibel-Lexikon, I. (1869), pp.

194-207. A clear and sharp statement of eight apparent

contradictions between Acts 15: [5517]1

\* Auflallen und Aufjauchzen der Christlichen Begeisterung, ein

st�rmisches Hervorbrechen aller der verborgenen Gef�hle und

Gedanken in ihrer vollsten Unmittelbarkeit und Gewalt: [5518]1

\* Aus dem Urchristenthum: [5519]1

\* Aus dem Urchristenthum. Z�rich, 1878, Josephus im N. T: [5520]1

\* Aus dem Urchristenthum. Z�rich, 1879, Der Apostelkonvent, pp.

64-89. (Comp. Hilgenfeld's review in the "Zeitschrift f�r

wissenschaftl. Theologie," 1879, pp. 100f sqq.) One of the last

efforts of the author of the Leben Jesu von Nazara: [5521]1

\* B�umlein: [5522]1

\* B�hm: [5523]1

\* Bd.: [5524]1

\* Bei dem Untergang aller Institutionen,": [5525]1

\* Beitr�ge zu den Theol. Wissenschaften: [5526]1

\* Beitr�ge zur Einleitung in das N. T: [5527]1

\* Beitr�ge zur Evangelien-Kritik.: [5528]1

\* Beitr�ge zur richtigen W�rdigung der Evangelien: [5529]1

\* Beitr�ge zur richtigen W�rdigung der Evangelien und der evangel.

Geschichte.: [5530]1

\* Ben�tzungshypothese: [5531]1

\* Besondere: [5532]1

\* Bibelkunde,: [5533]1

\* Bibl. Theol. des N. T,: [5534]1

\* Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae: [5535]1

\* Biblische Dogmatik, herausgeg. von R. R�etschi.: [5536]1

\* Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments.: [5537]1

\* Bruchst�cke aus der Geschichte der Aufhebung der Sklaverei: [5538]1

\* Brust entsprungen,: [5539]1

\* Characterbild: Die Halben und die Ganzen.: [5540]1

\* Charakterbild Jesu: [5541]1

\* Christenthum und Kirche in der Zeit der Gr�ndung: [5542]1

\* Christenverfolgungen der C�saren,: [5543]1

\* Christliche Kirchengeschichte.: [5544]1

\* Christologie des N. T.: [5545]1

\* Christus-Arch�ologie; Das Buch von Jesus Christus und seinem wahren

Ebenbilde.: [5546]1

\* Christusbild der Apostel: [5547]1

\* Christusbilder,: [5548]1

\* Christuspartei in der Korinthischen Gemeinde: [5549]1

\* Christusvision des Paulus und die Genesis des paulinischen

Evangeliums: [5550]1

\* Christusvision des Paulus,: [5551]1

\* Chronolog. Synopse der vier Evangelien.: [5552]1

\* Chronologie des Lebens Jesu.: [5553]1

\* Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters.: [5554]1 [5555]2

\* Composition u. Entstehung der Ap. Gesch.: [5556]1

\* Conciliengeschichte,: [5557]1

\* Da: [5558]1

\* Dann hat er die Theile in seiner Hand,: [5559]1

\* Das �bet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gem�th.: [5560]1

\* Das A. T. im N.,: [5561]1

\* Das Abendmahl. Sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten

Kirche.: [5562]1

\* Das Alte Test. bei Johannes,: [5563]1

\* Das Apost. Zeitalter: [5564]1

\* Das Apostelconcil in the "Jahrb�cher f�r deutsche Theologie:

[5565]1

\* Das Apostolische Zeitalter: [5566]1 [5567]2

\* Das Characterbild Jesu.: [5568]1

\* Das Christusbild der Apostel: [5569]1

\* Das Christusbild der Apostel und der nachapostolischen Zeit.:

[5570]1

\* Das Christusbild der Apostel und der nachapostolischen Zeit. Leipz.

1879. Comp. the review by H. Holtzmann: [5571]1

\* Das Christusbild der Apostel.: [5572]1

\* Das Datum der Geburt Christi,: [5573]1

\* Das Evangelium Marcions: [5574]1

\* Das Evangelium des Paulus: [5575]1

\* Das Geburtsjahr Christi.: [5576]1 [5577]2

\* Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung f�r das Christenthum: [5578]1

\* Das Judenthum in Pal�stina zur Zeit Christi.: [5579]1

\* Das Leben Jesu Christi,: [5580]1

\* Das Leben Jesu Christi.: [5581]1

\* Das Leben Jesu f�r das deutsche Volk bearbeitet.: [5582]1

\* Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet.: [5583]1

\* Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen: [5584]1

\* Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen (Leipz. 1851), and his art.,

Apokryphen des N. T,: [5585]1

\* Das Leben Jesu.: [5586]1 [5587]2 [5588]3 [5589]4

\* Das Leben Jesu. Leipz. 1829; 5th ed. 1865. The same: Geschichte

Jesu.: [5590]1

\* Das Marcusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe f�r die evang.

Gesch.,: [5591]1

\* Das Marcusevangelium und seine synopt. Parallelen: [5592]1

\* Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen,: [5593]1

\* Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen. Berlin,

1872. Das Matth�usevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen erkl�rt.

Halle, 1876. Two very thorough critical works. Comp. also his reply

to Holtzmann in the "Jahrb�cher for Protest. Theologie," 1878; and

his Einleitung in's N. T.,: [5594]1

\* Das Matth�usevang.,: [5595]1

\* Das N. T. um das Jahr.: [5596]1

\* Das Paulinische Evangelium: [5597]1

\* Das Paulinische Evangelium, trsl. from the Dutch by Redepenning,:

[5598]1

\* Das Paulinische Evangelium.: [5599]1

\* Das Sacrament der Taufe: [5600]1

\* Das Trostschreiben des Ap.: [5601]1

\* Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und Lehren.: [5602]1

\* Das Wesen der Kirche nach Lehre und Geschiche des N. T.,: [5603]1

\* Das Wesen und der sittliche Einfluss des Heidenthums, besonders

unter den Griechen und R�mern, mit Hinsicht auf das Christenthum.

Berlin, 1823. In Neander's Denkw�rdigkeiten,: [5604]1

\* Das Zeugniss des Jos.,: [5605]1

\* Das apostolische Zeitalter.: [5606]1

\* Das apostolische und das nachapostolische Zeitalter. 2d ed. 1857;

3d ed. thoroughly revised, Leipzig, 1885. Engl. trsl. by Miss

Davidson,: [5607]1

\* Das geschichtliche Problem des R�merbriefs: [5608]1

\* Das ist das Ende der Philosophie: zu wissen, dass wir glauben

m�ssen: [5609]1

\* Das muratorische Fragment und die Entstehung einer Sammlung

Apost.-katholischer Schriften,: [5610]1

\* Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner

Entwicklung.: [5611]1

\* De Baptismo Disputationes: [5612]1

\* De Catholicarum Epp. Occasione et Consilio: [5613]1

\* De Fontibus Epp. Cath: [5614]1

\* De Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri vero anno natalicio. Frankf.

1606. De vero anno quo aeternus Dei Filius humanam naturam in utero

benedicitae Virginis Mariae assumpsit.: [5615]1

\* De gave der talen,: [5616]1

\* De godsdienst van Isra�l tot den ondergang van den joodschen staat:

[5617]1

\* Dem Ereigniss der Sprachenverwirrung l�sst sich in der ganzen Folge

der religi�sen Geschichte nur Eines an die Seite stellen, die

momentan wiederhergestellte Spracheinheit: [5618]1

\* Den Teufel durch Beelzebub vertrieben.: [5619]1

\* Den hellige Nadvere.: [5620]1

\* Der Altkatholicismus: [5621]1

\* Der Apostel Johannes: [5622]1

\* Der Apostel Paulus.: [5623]1 [5624]2

\* Der Apostel-Konvent: [5625]1

\* Der Apostelconvent,: [5626]1

\* Der Brief geh�rt der vorpaulinischen Zeit an und steht jedenfalls

zeitlich wie inhaltlich dem ersten Brief Petri am n�chsten: [5627]1

\* Der Fall des Heidenthums,: [5628]1

\* Der Gnosticismus u. das N. Test.,: [5629]1

\* Der Jacobusbrief als urchristliches Geschichtsdenkmal. In the

"Stud. u. Kritiken," 1874, No. 1, pp. 105-166. See his Com.:

[5630]1

\* Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff,: [5631]1

\* Der Lehrbegriff der Apocalypse,: [5632]1

\* Der Lehrbegriff des Hebr�erbriefs,: [5633]1

\* Der Lehrgehalt des Jakobusbriefes.: [5634]1

\* Der Paulinismus: [5635]1

\* Der Paulinismus.: [5636]1

\* Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff: [5637]1

\* Der R�merbrief und seine gesch. Voraussetzungen,: [5638]1

\* Der Sokrates des Xenophon ist ein anderer als der des Plato, jeder

hat diejenige Seite aufgefasst, die ihm die n�chst und liebste war;

erst aus beider. Darstellungen erkennen wir den rechten Sokrates.

Xenophons anschauliche Einfachheit tr�gt das volle Gepr�ge der

Wahrheit dessen, was er erz�hlt. Dennoch dieser Sokrates, der sich

im engen Kreise sittlicher und politischer Vorstellungen

herumdreht, ist nicht der ganze Sokrates, der weiseste in

Griechenland, der die grosse Revolution in den Geistem seines Volks

hervorgerufen hat. Dagegen der platonische Sokrates sich weit mehr

zum Sch�pfer der neuen Periods griechischer Philosophie eignet und

darnach aussieht: [5639]1

\* Der Stern der Weisen und das Geburtsjahr Christi. Leipz. 1847. By

the same. Zur Chronologie des Lehramtes Christi.: [5640]1

\* Der Zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas: [5641]1

\* Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im Apost. und altkathol.

Zeitalter. Erlangen, 1854. The same: Prakt. Theol: [5642]1

\* Der gelesen Alles habe, Und besitze Dichtergabe, Klar zu schildern

mir das Wesen, Der ich nicht ein Wort gelesen.: [5643]1

\* Der geschichtliche Christus.: [5644]1

\* Der glaube des Paulus an Jesus als den Christus war folge dessen,

dass auch ihm Christus erschienen war,: [5645]1

\* Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Jacobus und

Judas. Leipz. 1802. Der schriftsteller: [5646]1

\* Der weltgeschichtl. Entwickelungsprocess nach dem Lehrsystem des

Ap. Paulus: [5647]1

\* Die Acten des Paulus und der Thecla und die �ltere Thecla-Legende,:

[5648]1

\* Die Aechtheit der Ap. Gesch.: [5649]1

\* Die Anf�nge der christlichen Kirche u. ihrer Verfassung, vol.:

[5650]1

\* Die Anthropologie des Ap. Paulus: [5651]1

\* Die Apostelgesch. unter dem Hauptgesichtspunkt ihrer

Glaubw�rdigkeit kritisch exegetisch bearbeitet: [5652]1

\* Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und ihr historischer Wert.:

[5653]1

\* Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist in biblischen Sprachgebrauch:

[5654]1

\* Die Bekehrung des Paulus mit besonderer R�cksicht auf die

Erkl�rungsversuche von Baur und Holsten,: [5655]1

\* Die Botschaft h�r' ich wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glaube.: [5656]1

\* Die Botschaft h�rt er wohl, allein ihm fehlt der Glaube.": [5657]1

\* Die Christenverfolgungen der C�saren.: [5658]1

\* Die Christin im heidnischen Hause vor den Zeiten Constantin's des

Grossen.: [5659]1

\* Die Christologie des Ap. Paulus: [5660]1

\* Die Christologie des Ap. Paulus.: [5661]1

\* Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments.: [5662]1

\* Die Christusfrage.: [5663]1

\* Die Einheit der Kirche, oder das Princip des Katholicismus,

dargestellt im Geiste der Kirchenvater der drei ersten

Jahrhunderte.: [5664]1

\* Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche,: [5665]1

\* Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche.: [5666]1

\* Die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission:

[5667]1

\* Die Ethik des Ap. Paulus.: [5668]1

\* Die Ethik des Paulus: [5669]1

\* Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtl. Bedeutung.

Leipz., 1854. His Einleitung: [5670]1

\* Die Gabe der Sprachen,: [5671]1

\* Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden,: [5672]1

\* Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums.: [5673]1

\* Die Genesis des Joh. Evangeliums: [5674]1

\* Die Geschichte Jesu f�r das Verst�ndniss der Gegenwart.: [5675]1

\* Die Hoffnung bildet in der Anschauung des Petrus den eigentlichen

Mittelpunkt des Christenlebens. Sie erscheint bei ihm in der

h�chsten Energie, wonach die gehoffte Vollendung bereits

unmittelbar nahe ger�ckterscheint: [5676]1

\* Die Inschrift sind �berwiegend griechisch, allerdings zum Theil bis

zur Unverst�ndlichkeit jargonartig; daneben finden sich

lateinische, aber keine hebr�ischen.: [5677]1

\* Die Johann. Schriften, vol.: [5678]1

\* Die Judenchristen betreffend, wurde dabei stillschweigend als

selbstverst�ndliche Voraussetzung angenommen, dass bei diesen Alles

beim Alten bleibe, dass also aus der Gesetzesfreiheit der

Heidenchristen keierlei Consequenzen f�r die Abrogation des

Gesetzes unter den Judenchristen zu ziehen seien; auf dieser

Voraussetzung beruhte die Beschr�nkung der �lteren Apostel auf die

Wirksamkeit bei den Juden: [5679]1

\* Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter. Francf. a. M. 1852; 3d ed.

Augsburg, 1879, "improved," but very slightly. (The same in English

from the first ed. by Th. Carlyle.: [5680]1

\* Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder die Theologie des alten und neuen

Bundes: [5681]1

\* Die Lehre des Paulus von der Auferstehung: [5682]1

\* Die Lehre von der Eucharistie in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.:

[5683]1

\* Die Messiasidee zur Zeit Christi,: [5684]1

\* Die Messiasvision des Petrus: [5685]1

\* Die N. T. lichen Aemter u. ihr Verh�ltniss zur Gemeinde.: [5686]1

\* Die N. T. lichen Lehrbegriffe, oder Untersuchungen �ber das

Zeitalter der Religionswende.: [5687]1

\* Die N. Testamentliche Lehre vom heil. Amte: [5688]1

\* Die Neron. Christenverfolgung.: [5689]1

\* Die Offenb. Joh. eine J�d. Apok. in christl. Bearbeitung,: [5690]1

\* Die Offenb. Joh. untersucht,: [5691]1

\* Die Ortschaften am See Genezareth: [5692]1

\* Die Pastoralbriefe,: [5693]1

\* Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre.: [5694]1

\* Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgesch.: [5695]1

\* Die Petrinische Frage: [5696]1

\* Die Pilatus-Acten, Kiel, 1871; Die edessenische Abgar-Sage,:

[5697]1

\* Die Quellen der r�m. Petrussage. Kiel, 1872. By the same:

Chronologie der r�m Bisch�fe.: [5698]1

\* Die Religion der R�mer.: [5699]1

\* Die S�ndlosigkeit Jesu.: [5700]1

\* Die Schule Hillel's und deren Geqner);: [5701]1

\* Die Sklaverei.: [5702]1

\* Die Synopt. Evang.,: [5703]1

\* Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments.: [5704]1

\* Die Theologie des heil. Paulus.: [5705]1

\* Die Umwandlung der urspranglichen christl. Gemeindeorganisation zur

katholischen Kirche,: [5706]1

\* Die Versammlungen der �ltesten Christengemeinden, 1876; and Das

Apost. Zeitalter: [5707]1

\* Die Versammlungen der �ltesten Christengemeinden.: [5708]1

\* Die apostolische Verk�ndigung erging damals in einer Sprache des

Geistes, welche das Gegenbild der in Babel zerschellten: [5709]1

\* Die christliche Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des N. Testaments:

[5710]1

\* Die constitutiven Factoren des Apost. Gottesdienstes: [5711]1

\* Die drei urspr�nglichen, noch ungeschriebenen Evangelien.: [5712]1

\* Die enge Verbindung des A. Testamenes mit dem Neuen: [5713]1

\* Die gottesdienstlichen Vortr�ge der Juden: [5714]1

\* Die j�dische Apokalyptik: [5715]1

\* Die kirchliche Lehrrichtung der Hirtenbriefe ist eine von der

altpaulinischen sehr weit verschiedene. Von den eigenth�mlich

paulinischen Lehren �ber Gesetz und Evangelium, �ber Werke und

Glauben finden sich in unseren Briefen nur abgeblasste Reste, die

fast wie feststehende �berliefte Formeln klingen, w�hrend das

Glaubensbewusstsein ein anderes geworden ist.: [5716]1

\* Die paulinische Rechtfertigunglehre: [5717]1

\* Die paulinische Theodicee: [5718]1

\* Die r�mische Grundsteuer und das Vectigalrecht.: [5719]1

\* Die r�mische Papstmythe.: [5720]1

\* Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Ap. Paulus,: [5721]1

\* Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtl.

Charakter: [5722]1

\* Diese vision war f�r Paulus der eingriff einer fremden

transcendenten macht in sein geistesleben. Die historische kritik

aber unter der herrschaft des gesetzes der immanenten entwicklung

des menschlichen geistes aus innerweltlichen causalit�ten muss die

vision als einen immanenten, psychogischen akt seines eigenen

geistes zu begreifen suchen. Ihr liegt damit eine ihrer

schwiezigsten aufgaben vor, eine so schwierige, dass ein meister

der historischen kritik, der zugleich so tief in das wesen des

paulinischen geistes eingedrungen ist, als Baur, noch eben erkl�rt

hat, dass: [5723]1

\* Diese vision war f�r das bewusstsein des Paulus das schauen einer

objectiv-wirklichen, himmlischen gestalt, die aus ihrer

transcendenten unsichtbarkeit sich ihm zur erscheinung gebracht

habe. Aus der wirklichkeit dieser gesehauten gestalt, in welcher er

den gekreuzigtenJesus erkannte, folgerte auch er, dass der

kreuzestote zu neuem leben von der allmacht Gottes auferweckt

worden, aus der gewissheit der auferweckung aber, dass dieser von

den toten auferweckte der sohn Gottes und der Messias sei. Wie also

an der wirklichkeit der auferweckung dem Paulus die ganze wahrheit

seines evangelium h�ngt: [5724]1

\* Doctrina Pauli apostoli de Vi Mortis Christi Satisfactoria: [5725]1

\* Dogmengeschichte: [5726]1

\* Dogmengeschichte.: [5727]1

\* Durch tausend Herzen von: [5728]1

\* Eigentlich verstanden, bezeichnet: [5729]1

\* Ein: [5730]1 [5731]2

\* Ein Tag in Capernaum: [5732]1

\* Ein halbtodt aus dem Grabe Hervorgekrochener, siech

Umherschleichender, der �rztlichen Pflege, des Verbandes, der

St�rkung und Schonung Bed�rftiger, und am Ende doch dem Leiden

Erliegender konnte auf die J�nger unm�glich den Eindruck des

Sieqers �ber Tod und Grab, des Lebensf�rsten machen, der ihrem

sp�tern Auftreten zu Grunde lag. Ein solches Wiederaufleben h�tte

den Eindruck, den er im Leben und Tode auf sie gemacht hatte, nur

schw�chen, denselben h�chstens elegisch ausklingen lassen,

unm�glich aber ihre Trauer in Beigeisterung verwandeln, ihre

Verehrung zur Anbetung steigern k�nnen: [5733]1

\* Ein l�genhafter Gnostiker geschrieben,: [5734]1

\* Einen zu bereichern unter allen,: [5735]1

\* Einleitung in das N. T: [5736]1

\* Einleitung in das N. T.,: [5737]1

\* Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie. Stuttg. 1856; and

Philosophie der Mythologie: [5738]1

\* Endlich mag man aufh�ren, von ironischer Bitterkeit des Paulus

gegen�ber den Geltenden zu reden: denn wer gleich nachher den

Bundesschluss mit den 'S�ulen'feierlich und befriedigt registrirt,

der hat seine Abweisung der menschlichen Autorit�ten in v.: [5739]1

\* Entstehung und erste Schicksale der Christengemeinde in Rom:

[5740]1

\* Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs.: [5741]1

\* Es wird hier,: [5742]1

\* F�r die po�tische Welt der religi�sen Sage ist innerhalb einer rein

historischen Darstellung kein Raum; ihre Gebilde verbleichen vor

einem geschichtlich hellen Hintergrund .... Wenn wir die heilige

Geschichte als Bruchst�ck einer allgemeinen Geschichte nachweisen

und zeigen k�nnen, wie die R�nder passen, wenn wir die abgerissenen

F�den, die sie mit der profanen Welt verbanden, wieder aufzufinden

verm�gen, dann ist die Meinung ausgeschlossen, diese Geschichte sei

der sch�ne Traum eines sp�teren Geschlechtes gewesen: [5743]1

\* F. Meyering: Das Bild Christi nach der Schrift: [5744]1

\* Fehlt leider! nur das geistige Band.: [5745]1

\* Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons: [5746]1

\* Gabe der Sprachen im apost. Zeitalter,: [5747]1

\* Galaterbrief und Apostelgeschichte.: [5748]1

\* Gesch. Christus',: [5749]1

\* Gesch. Jesu von Naz.: [5750]1

\* Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. Testaments,: [5751]1

\* Gesch. der Hebr�er.: [5752]1

\* Gesch. der r�mischen Kaiserzeit.: [5753]1

\* Gesch. des Sonntags in der alten Kirche: [5754]1

\* Gesch. des Volkes Israel,: [5755]1

\* Gesch. des Volkes Israel.: [5756]1

\* Geschichte Christus',: [5757]1

\* Geschichte Israels.: [5758]1

\* Geschichte Jesu: [5759]1 [5760]2 [5761]3

\* Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, 1867). He went beyond Baur in one

point: he denied the whole tradition of John's sojourn in Ephesus

as a mistake of Irenaeus; he thus removed even the foundation for

the defence of the Apocalypse as a Johannean production, and

neutralized the force of the T�bingen assault derived from that

book. On the other hand, he approached the traditional view by

tracing the composition back from 170 (Baur) to the reign of

Trajan, i.e.: [5762]1

\* Geschichte Jesu von Nazara.: [5763]1 [5764]2

\* Geschichte Jesu,: [5765]1

\* Geschichte der Apostel Jesu his zur Zerst�rung Jerusalems.: [5766]1

\* Geschichte der Apostel Jesu.: [5767]1

\* Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccab�er bis auf

unsere Tage. Leipz. 1820-'28, 9 vols. By the same: Geschichte des

Judenthums und seiner Secten.: [5768]1

\* Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu.: [5769]1

\* Geschichte der Juden von den �ltesten Zeiten bis auf die

Gegenwart.: [5770]1

\* Geschichte der Juden,: [5771]1

\* Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch

die Apostel. Hamb. 1832. 2 vols.; 4th ed. revised 1847. The same in

English (History of the Planting and Training of the Christ.

Church), by J. E. Ryland, Edinb. 1842, and in Bohn's Standard

Library, Lond. 1851; reprinted in Philad. 1844; revised by E. G.

Robinson, N.: [5772]1

\* Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christl. Kirche durch die

Apostel: [5773]1

\* Geschichte der christl. Kirche,: [5774]1

\* Geschichte der christlichen Kirche,: [5775]1

\* Geschichte der christlichen Sittenlehre in der Zeit des Neuen

Testamentes,: [5776]1

\* Geschichte der heil: [5777]1

\* Geschichte der heil. Schriften N. Test.,: [5778]1

\* Geschichte der r�m. Kaiserzeit unter der Regierung des Nero.:

[5779]1

\* Geschichte des Alten Bundes.: [5780]1

\* Geschichte des Christenthums in der Periode seiner Einf�hrung in

die Welt durch Jesum und die Apostel.: [5781]1

\* Geschichte des Folkes Israel,: [5782]1

\* Geschichte des Heidenthums in Beziehung auf Religion, Wissen,

Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Staatsleben.: [5783]1

\* Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde.: [5784]1

\* Geschichte des Sonntags in der alten Kirche: [5785]1

\* Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus.: [5786]1

\* Geschichte des Volkes Israel und der Gr�ndung des Christenthums.:

[5787]1

\* Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung

Masada's im J. 72 nach Chr.: [5788]1

\* Geschichte des Volkes Israel,: [5789]1

\* Geschichte des Volkes Jizrael.: [5790]1

\* Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe von Christus

his auf unsere Zeiten: [5791]1

\* Gesonderte: [5792]1

\* Gespr�che mit Eckermann: [5793]1

\* Gipfel: [5794]1

\* Glaubw�rdigkeit der evang. Geschichte,: [5795]1

\* Glossolalie des apost. Zeitalters,: [5796]1

\* Glossolalie,: [5797]1

\* Gottmenschheit: [5798]1

\* Griech. und R�m. Mythologie.: [5799]1

\* Griechenthum und Christenthum, oder der Vorhof des Sch�nen und das

Heiligthum der Wahrheit.: [5800]1

\* Grundriss der Bibelkunde: [5801]1

\* Handbuch: [5802]1

\* Handbuch der K G.: [5803]1

\* Handbuch der Universal-Kirchengeschichte.: [5804]1

\* Hase (in Winer's "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theol." 1827),

Bleek in "Studien und Kritiken" for 1829 and 1830), Baur in the

"T�binger Zeitschrift f�r Theol." for 1830 and 1831, and in the

"Studien und Krit." 1838), Schneckenburger: [5805]1

\* Hat dieses Buch, das ew'ge Wahrheit ist,: [5806]1

\* Heidelb. 1865; 2d ed. 1872. Comp. also his N. T. liche

Zeitgeschichte,: [5807]1

\* Heidenthum u Judenthum: [5808]1

\* Heidenthum und Judenthum: [5809]1

\* Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes f�r die Kritik der

neutestamentl. Schriften: [5810]1

\* His Kirchengeschichte: [5811]1

\* Histoire des trois premiers si�cles de l'�glise chr�tienne.:

[5812]1

\* Historisch oder Mythisch?: [5813]1

\* Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften:

[5814]1

\* Historisch-kritischer Versuch �ber die Entstehung und die fr�hesten

Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien.: [5815]1

\* Homerische Theologie. N�rnb. 1840; 2d ed. 1861. The same: Die

nach-homerische Theologie des Griechischen Volksglaubens bis auf

Alexander.: [5816]1

\* Ich halte die Evangelien,": [5817]1

\* In dem halben Jahrhundert von Vespasian bis Hadrian erreichte Rom

seinen h�chsten Glanz, wenn auch unter den Antoninen und sp�ter

noch vieles zu seiner Versch�nerimg geschehen ist.: [5818]1

\* In ihm erreicht die neuteitamentliche Theologie ihre h�chste Stufe

und ihre vollendetste Form: [5819]1

\* In the "Jahrb�cher f�r Deutsche Theologie," Gotha, 1876, pp.

474-530. HisApost. Zeitalter: [5820]1

\* Insofern dieselben offenbar nicht aus schriftlichen Quellen

geflossen sind, m�gen sie mit das h�here Alter deg Briefs

verb�rgen: [5821]1

\* Israel in der Weltgeschichte.: [5822]1

\* Ist's, weil sie in: [5823]1

\* J�disches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu.: [5824]1

\* Jakobus Alph�i, und Jakobus der Bruder des Herrn: [5825]1

\* Jakobus der Gerechte und seine Namensbr�der,: [5826]1

\* Jesu: [5827]1

\* Jesus und Hillel: [5828]1

\* Jesus und Hillel.: [5829]1

\* Jesus war ein Jude, ein pharis�ischer Jude mit galil�ischer

F�rbung, ein Mann der die Hofnungen der Zeit theilte und diese

Hoffnungen in sich erf�llt glaubte. Einen neuen Gedanken sprach er

keineswegs aus [!], auch brach er nicht etwa die Schranken der

Nationalit�t .... Er hob nicht im Entferntesten etwas vom Judenthum

auf; er war ein Pharis�er, der auch in den Wegen Hillels ging."

This view is repeated by Rabbi Dr. M. H. Friedlander, in his

Geschichtsbilder aus der Zeit der Tanaite n und Amor�er. Ein

Beitrag zur Geschichte des Talmuds (Br�nn, 1879, p. 32): "Jesus,

oder Jeschu, war der Sohn eines Zimmermeisters, Namens Josef, aus

Nazareth. Seine Mutter hiess Mirjam oder Maria. Selbst der als

conservativer Katholik [sic!] wie als bedeutender Gelehrter

bekannte Ewald nennt ihn 'Jesus den Sohn Josef',....: [5830]1

\* Johannes als: [5831]1

\* Kirchengesch.,: [5832]1

\* Kirchengeschichte.: [5833]1

\* Kirchenlexicon,: [5834]1

\* Kopf: [5835]1

\* Krit. Untersuchungen �ber die kanon. Evang.,: [5836]1

\* Kritische Untersuchungen �ber die kanonischen Evangelien. 1847.

Comp. the first volume of his Church History: [5837]1

\* Kritischer Versuch �ber die Schriften des Lucas. Berlin, 1817

(Werke I. 2, pp. 1-220); trans. by Thirlwall, Lond., 1825. Comp.

his Einleitung in das N. Testament: [5838]1

\* L�mmlein: [5839]1

\* L'organisation des �glises chr�tiennes jusqu'au milieu du 3e

si�cle.: [5840]1

\* Le si�cle apostolique;: [5841]1

\* Leben Jesu: [5842]1

\* Leben Jesu (1835), renewed the denial, a host of old and new

defenders arose with such powerful arguments that he himself (as he

confessed in the third edition of 1838) was shaken in his doubt,

especially by the weight and candor of Neander, although he felt

compelled, in self-defence, to reaffirm his doubt as essential to

the mythical hypothesis (in the fourth edition, 1840, and afterward

in his popular Leben Jesu,: [5843]1

\* Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des

Urchristenthums.: [5844]1

\* Leben Jesu f�r das deutsche Volk: [5845]1

\* Leben Jesu,: [5846]1 [5847]2

\* Leben Jesu, � 17-19. The critical period began with the infidel and

infamous attacks of Reimarus, Bahrdt, and Venturini, and the noble

apologetic works of Hess, Herder, and Reinhard. But a still greater

activity was stimulated by the Leben Jesu: [5848]1

\* Leben Jesu, 5th ed. p. 44 sqq., and in his Geschichte Jesu,:

[5849]1

\* Lebensgeschichte Jesu.: [5850]1

\* Lehrbegriff der Apok.,: [5851]1

\* Lehrbuch: [5852]1 [5853]2

\* Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte: [5854]1

\* Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.: [5855]1 [5856]2

\* Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte: [5857]1

\* Lehrbuch der bibl. Geschichte des A. T.: [5858]1

\* Lehrbuch der heil. Geschichte.: [5859]1

\* Lehrbuch der historischen Methode. Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten

Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte.: [5860]1

\* Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte: [5861]1

\* Lehrbuch, 10th ed. 1887, in 2 vols., the larger Handbuch: [5862]1

\* Leidensruf: [5863]1

\* Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte.: [5864]1

\* Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte: [5865]1

\* Matth�usevangelium: [5866]1

\* Menschheitssprache war und von allen ohne Unterschied der Sprachen

gleichm�ssig verstanden wurde. Wie das weisse Licht alle Farben aus

sich erschliesst, so fiel die geistgewirkte Apostelsprache wie in

prismatischer Brechung verst�ndlich in aller Ohren und ergreifend

in aller Herzen. Es war ein Vorspiel der Einigung, in welcher die

von Babel datirende Veruneinigung sich aufheben wird. Dem Sivan-Tag

des steinernen Buchstabens trat ein Sivan-Tag des lebendigmachenden

Geistes entgegen. Es war der Geburtstag der Kirche, der

Geistesgemeinde im Unterschiede von der altestamentlichen

Volksgemeinde; darum nennt Chrysostomus in einer Pfingsthomilie die

Pentekoste die Metropole der Feste: [5867]1

\* Menschwerdung).: [5868]1

\* Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge.: [5869]1

\* Musste diese G�tterwelt vergehen.: [5870]1

\* N�rnb. 1848. Also: Drei B�cher von der Kirche,: [5871]1

\* N. T'liche Zeitgeschichte: [5872]1

\* N. T.liche Zeitgeschichte,: [5873]1

\* Nach allen diesen Ueberlegungen wird man zugestehen m�ssen, dass

auch die neuerdings beliebt gewordene Theorie nur eine Hypothese

ist, welche Einiges erkl�rt, die Hauptsache nicht erkl�rt, ja im

Ganzen und Grossen das geschichtlich Bezeugte schiefen und

hinf�lligen Gesichtspunkten unterstellt. Misslingt aber

gleichm�ssig der Versuch, die �berlieferte Aufs

Auferstehungsgeschichte festzuhalten, wie das Unternehmen, mit

Hilfe der paulinischen Visionen eine nat�rliche Erkl�rung des

Geschehenen aufzubauen, so bleibt f�r die Geschichte zun�chst kein

Weg �brig als der des Eingest�ndnisses, dass die Sagenhaftigkeit

der redseligen Geschichte und die dunkle K�rze der glaubw�rdigen

Geschichte es nicht gestattet, �ber die r�thselhaften Ausgange des

Lebens Jesu, so wichtig sie: [5874]1

\* Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte,: [5875]1 [5876]2 [5877]3

\* Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. Heidelberg, 1873 sqq. Parts II.

and III. (second ed. 1875) embrace the apostolic times, Part IV.

(1877) the post-apostolic times. English translation by Poynting

and Quenzer: [5878]1

\* Nicht das Einzle unterdr�ckend Noch damit willk�hlich schm�ckend,

Sondern in des Einzlen H�lle Legend allgemeine F�lle;: [5879]1

\* Nicht der aus dem Schutt der Zeiten W�hle mehr Erb�rmlichkeiten,

Sondern der den Plunder sichte Und zum Bau die Steine schichte:

[5880]1

\* Nichts steht geschichtlich fester: [5881]1

\* Niemand weiss, was darinnen steht: [5882]1

\* Noch im zweiten Jahrh. findet: [5883]1

\* Nochmals das Geburtsjahr Jesu Christi.: [5884]1

\* Novum Testamentum Graece et Germanice: [5885]1

\* Ordo Temporum: [5886]1

\* Paulinismus: [5887]1

\* Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi.: [5888]1

\* Paulus, der Apostel der Heiden: [5889]1

\* Petrus in Rom und Johannes in Kleinasien. In his "Zeitschrift f�r

wissenschaftliche Theol." for 1872. Also his Einleitung in das N.

T.,: [5890]1

\* Pharis�er bezeichnet: [5891]1

\* Philosphie der Religion.: [5892]1

\* Priester: [5893]1

\* Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftl. Mythologie.: [5894]1

\* Protestanten-Bibel Neuen Testaments.: [5895]1

\* Quellen der Ap. Gesch.: [5896]1

\* Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols: [5897]1

\* Real-Ecyclop�die des Judenthums (f�r Bibel und Talmud: [5898]1

\* Real-Encyklop�die f�r Protestantische Theologie und Kirche,:

[5899]1

\* Rechtsausgleichung: [5900]1

\* Reden mit Zungen und Weissagen,: [5901]1

\* Rief nicht sein Echo auf zu tausend Streiten?: [5902]1

\* Rom. u. das Christenthum.: [5903]1

\* Rossteuscher: [5904]1

\* Sagt mir nichts von Resultaten! Denn die will ich selber ziehen.

Lasst Begebenheiten, Thaten, Heiden, rasch vor�berziehen.: [5905]1

\* Satz ist's, der in Variationen: [5906]1

\* Schlangentr�ger: [5907]1

\* Schmelz der frischen Blume: [5908]1

\* Sittengeschichte Roms,: [5909]1

\* Sittengeschichte Roms.: [5910]1

\* Sklaverei und Christenthum: [5911]1

\* So hat seit tausend Jahren Jesus Christ: [5912]1

\* Sonach ruht die Wahrheit der Auferstehung unersch�tterlich auf dem

Zeugnisse, ja auf dem Dasein der apostolischen Kirche.: [5913]1

\* St. Paulus war ein armes, d�rres M�nnlein, wie Magister Philippus:

[5914]1

\* Straussische Tendenzmalerei.: [5915]1

\* Sucht erst den Geist hinauszutreiben;: [5916]1

\* Symbolik und Mythologie der alien V�lker: [5917]1

\* System der altsynagogalen palt�stinsichen Theologie, aus Targum,

Midrasch, und Talmud dargestellt. Nach des Verf. Tode herausgeg.

von Frz. Delitzsch und G. Schnedermann: [5918]1

\* T�b. 1845, second ed. by E. Zeller,: [5919]1

\* T�bingen: [5920]1

\* Tendenzschriften: [5921]1

\* Thatsache ist, dass die Ep. Jacobi f�r sich allein mehr w�rtliche

Reminiscenzen aus den Reden Jesu enth�lt als alle �brigen Apost.

Schriften zusammen: [5922]1

\* Theol. Arbeiten des rhein. wissenschaftl. Predigervereins: [5923]1

\* Theol. Jahrb�cher," of T�bingen: [5924]1

\* Theol. Studien und Kritiken: [5925]1

\* Theologie des neuen Testaments: [5926]1

\* Tot verba, tot mysteria: [5927]1

\* Ueber Zweck und Veranlassung des R�merbriefs,: [5928]1

\* Ueber den 25 jahrigen Aufenthalt des heil. Petrus in Rom: [5929]1

\* Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopates in der christl. Kirche.: [5930]1

\* Ueber die �lteste r�mische Christengemeinde: [5931]1

\* Ueber die Composition und den Charakter des joh. Evangeliums,:

[5932]1

\* Ueber die Schriften des Lukas. Berlin, 1817. Reprinted in the

second vol. of his S�mmtliche Werke: [5933]1

\* Ueberall im Einzelnen wie in der Gesammtgestaltung des Lebens Jesu

stossen wir auf das harte Gestein geschichtlicher Erinnerung,

welches dem kritischen Aufl�sungsprozess, der es in ideelle

Bildungen verwandeln will, un�berwindlichen Widerstand leistet.":

[5934]1

\* Und dann das Unm�glichste: der arme, schwache, kranke, m�hsam auf

den F�ssen erhaltene, versteckte, verkleidete, schliesslich

hinsterbende Jesus ein Gegenstand des Glaubens, des Hochgef�hles,

des Triumphes seiner Anh�nger, ein auferstandener Sieger und

Gottessohn! In der That hier beginnt die Theorie armselig,

abgeschmackt, ja verwerflich zu werden, indem sie die Apostel als

arme Betrogene, oder gar mit Jesus selber als Betr�ger zeigt. Denn

vom Scheintod hatte man auch damals einen Begriff, und die Lage

Jesu musste zeigen, dass hier von Auferstehung nicht die Rede war;

hielt man ihn doch f�r auferstanden, gab er sich selbst als

auferstanden, so. fehlte das n�chterne Denken, und h�tete er sich

gar, seinen Zustand zu verrathen, so fehlte am Ende auch die

Ehrlichkeit. Aus allen diesen Gr�nden ist der Scheintod von der

Neuzeit fast ausnahmslos verworfen worden.": [5935]1

\* Und sieht man Andre still mit Opfern kommen,: [5936]1

\* Und welch' ein Friedensecho hat geklungen: [5937]1

\* UnpartheiischeKirchen- und Ketzerhistorie.: [5938]1

\* Untersuchung �ber den Hebraeerbrief,: [5939]1

\* Untersuchungen �b. d. ev. Gesch.,: [5940]1

\* Untersuchungen �ber die evang. Gesch., ihre Quellen: [5941]1

\* Urevangelium: [5942]1

\* Verhimmelung der Visionshypothese: [5943]1

\* Versuch �ber den Plan Jesu: [5944]1

\* Vier B�cher von der Kirche.: [5945]1

\* Vindiciae Lucancae: [5946]1

\* Vindiciae Petrinae.: [5947]1

\* Voltst�ndige Einleitung,: [5948]1

\* Vom Erl�ser der Menschen nach unsern 3 ersten Evang. Riga, 1796.

The same: Von Gottes Sohn, der Welt Heiland, nach Joh. Evang.:

[5949]1

\* Vom Ursprung der S�nde nach paulinischem Lehrgehalt: [5950]1

\* Vom ersten Anfang fortt�nt durch Aeonen.": [5951]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber N. T. Theol,: [5952]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber das Leben Jesu: [5953]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber das Leben Jesu, herausgeg. von R�tenik. Berlin,

1864. The lectures were delivered 1832, and published from

imperfect manuscripts. "Eine Stimme aus vergangenen Tagen." Comp.

the critique of D. F. Strauss in Der Christus des Glaubens und der

Jesus der Geschichte.: [5954]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber die Apokalypse,: [5955]1

\* Vorlesungen �ber neutestamentliche Theologie.: [5956]1

\* Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?: [5957]1

\* Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst? Leipz., 4th ed., 1866

(Engl. transl. by W. L. Gage,: [5958]1

\* Was die Auferstehung an sich ist, liegt ausserhalb des Kreises der

geschichtlichen Untersuchung: [5959]1

\* Was kein Verstand der Verst�ndigen sieht,: [5960]1

\* Wegweiser zur Quellen- und Literaturkunde der Kirchengeschichte.:

[5961]1

\* Weissagung und Erf�llung.: [5962]1

\* Wenn auch Jesus' Gelehrsamkeit nicht riesig war, da die Galil�er

auf keiner hohen Stufe der Cultur standen, so zeichnete er sich

doch durch Seelenadel, Gem�thlichkeit und Herzensg� te vortheilhaft

aus. Hillel I. scheint sein Vorbild und Musterbild gewesen zu sein;

denn der hillelianische Grundsatz: 'Was dir nicht recht ist, f�ge,

deinen Nebenmenschen nicht zu,' war das Grundprincip seiner Lehren:

[5963]1

\* Wer will was Lebendig's erkennen und beschreiben,: [5964]1

\* Wie die Welt l�uft immer weiter, Wird stets die Geschicte breiter

Und uns wird je mehr je l�nger N�thig ein Zusammendr�nger:: [5965]1

\* Wie viele rasche Feuer sind entglommen: [5966]1

\* Wieseler (in "Stud. u. Krit." 1838 and 1860), Schenkel: [5967]1

\* Wir wissen gar nicht, was wir Luther'n und der Reformation zu

danken haben. Mag die geistige Cultur immer Fortschreiten, m�gen

die Naturwissenschaften in immer breiterer Ausdehnung und Tiefe

wachsen und der menschliche Geist sick erweitern wie er will: �ber

die Hoheit und sittliche Cultur des Christenthums, wie es in den

Evangelien leuchtet, wird er nicht hinauskommen: [5968]1

\* Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte. Erl.:

[5969]1

\* Wo sich jetzt eine ruinenerf�llte Ein�de gegen das Albanesergebirge

hinerstreckt: [5970]1

\* Worte der Erinnerung an Dr. Baur,: [5971]1

\* Zeittafeln zur K-Gesch.: [5972]1

\* Zeittafeln zur Kirchengeschichte,: [5973]1

\* Zukunftspredigt: [5974]1

\* Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus: [5975]1

\* Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus.: [5976]1

\* Zum Geburtsjahr Jes: [5977]1

\* Zungenreden: [5978]1

\* Zur �ltesten Gesch. des Primates in der Kirche.: [5979]1

\* Zur Gesch. des Kanon. Halle, 1847; Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon,

herausg. von Volkmar.: [5980]1

\* Zur Geschichte des Kanons.: [5981]1

\* Zur paulinischen Eschatologie: [5982]1

\* Zweck der Apostelgeschichte.: [5983]1

\* Zwischen dem Tod: [5984]1

\* abschreckend: [5985]1

\* als Nachfolger der Apostel; ihm unterstehen Volk und Geistlichkeit;

ihm wohnt die F�lle der priesterlichen Gewalt inne.: [5986]1

\* als dass Christus aus den Todten auferstanden den Seinigen

wiederschien und dass dieses ihr wiedersehen der anfang ihres neuen

h�hern glaubens und alles ihres Christlichen wirkens selbst war. Es

ist aber ebenso gewiss dass sie ihn nicht wie einen gew�hnlichen

menschen oder wie einen aus dem grabe aufsteigenden schatten oder

gespenst wie die sage von solchen meldet, sondern wie den einzigen

Sohn Gottes, wie ein durchaus schon �berm�chtiges und

�bermenschliches wesen wiedersahen und sich bei sp�teren

zur�ckerinnerungen nichts anderes denken konnten als dass jeder

welcher ihn wiederzusehen gew�rdigt sei auch sogleich unmittelbar

seine einzige g�ttliche w�rde erkannt und seitdem felsenfest daran

geglaubt habe. Als den �chten K�nig und Sohn Gottes hatten ihn aber

die Zw�lfe und andre schon im leben zu erkennen gelernt: der

unterschied ist nur der dass sie ihn jetzt auch nach seiner rein

g�ttlichen seite und damit auch als den �ber den tod siegreichen

erkannt zu haben sich erinnerten. Zwischen jenem gemeinen schauen

des irdischen Christus wie er ihnen sowohl bekannt war und diesem

h�hern tieferregten entz�ckten schauen des himmlischen ist also

dock ein innerer zusammenhang, so dass sie ihn auch jetzt in diesen

ersten tagen und wochen nach seinem tode nie als den himmlischen

Messias geschauet h�tten wenn sie ihn nicht schon vorher als den

irdischen so wohl gekannt h�tten: [5987]1

\* als der wenn nicht Auferstandene, so doch vielmehr himmlisch

Verherrlichte: [5988]1

\* als ein objectiv geschehenes Wunder, oder als ein subjectiv

psychologisches: [5989]1

\* als habe er die Weisheit vom Himmel zur Erde gebracht, der attische

Logos.: [5990]1

\* am Pfingstfeste, mit dem das Christenthum, bestimmt das ganze

Menschengeschlecht durch die Erkenntniss des Einen wahren Gottes

wieder zur Einheit zu verkn�pfen, seinen grossen Weg beginnt:

[5991]1

\* an die vorzugsweise Geltenden,: [5992]1

\* auf dieser Voraussetzung beruhte die Sendung der Leute von Jakobus

aus Jerusalem nach Antiochia und beruhte der Einfluss derselben auf

Petrus, dessen vorhergegangenes freieres Verhalten dadurch als eine

Ausnahme von der Regel gekennzeichnet wird.: [5993]1

\* da eine Ueberschreitung dieser Schranke ohne Verletzung des

Gesetzes nicht m�glich war: [5994]1

\* daher ihm auch der Glaube eine: [5995]1

\* das Evangelium des Menschensohnes, der Humanit�t Christi, der

Verkl�rung aller Humanit�t.": [5996]1

\* das Wirklichkeitsbild der Katastrophe der heiligen Stadt in seiner

ganzen schrecklichen Gr�sse vor der Seele, die langwierige und

kunstvolle Belagerung des Feindes, die Heere, die befestigten

Lager, der Ring der Absperrung, die tausend Bedr�ngnisse, die

Blutarbeit des Schwerts, die Gefangenf�hrung des Volkes, der

Tempel, die Stadt dem Boden gleich, Alles unter dem ernsten

Gesichtspunkt eines Strafgerichtes Gottes f�r die dung des

Gesandten. Ja �ber die Katastrophe hinaus, die �usserste

Perspektive des ersten Evangelisten, dehnt sich dem neuen

Geschichtschreiber eine new unbestimmbar grosse Periode der

Tr�mmerlage Jerusalemz unter dem ehernen Tritt der Heiden und

heidnischer Weltzeiten, innerhalb deren er selber schreibt. Unter

solchen Umst�nden hat die grosse Zukunftrede Jesu bei aller

Sorgfalt, die wesentlichen Z�ge, sogar die Wiederkunft in diesem

'Geschlect'zu halten die mannigfaltigsten Aenderungen erlitten.":

[5997]1

\* das Wunder der Auferstehung konnte die Zweifel zerstreuen, welche

den Glauben selbst in die ewige Nacht des Todes verstossen zu

m�ssen schienen: [5998]1

\* das umgekehrte Babel: [5999]1

\* den Eindruck geheimnissvoller Einsamkeit, �bermenschlichen Wunders,

g�ttlicher Sch�pfung).: [6000]1

\* der Erz�hlende, in seinem Selbstbewusstsein, bedarf f�r den anderen

Johannes des Beinamens nicht, ihm liegt die Verwechslung ganz

fern.": [6001]1

\* der Prozess der Bekehrung nichts weniger, als eine kalte

Denkoperation; es war vielmehr der tiefsittliche Gehorsamsakt eines

zarten Gewissens gegen die sich unwiderstehlich aufdr�ngende h�here

Wahrheit: [6002]1

\* des Herrn.: [6003]1

\* die Bisch�fe auch Gr. presbuteroi genannt, nicht aber umgekeht.

Sofort fixirt sich dann der Sprachgebrauch: der B. ist der

Vorsteher der: [6004]1

\* die Hebraeer,: [6005]1

\* die W�rde des milit�rischen Befehlshabers und des Regenten �ber die

Provinzen. H�tte Lucas 'Augustus Kaiser: [6006]1

\* dies feriati,: [6007]1

\* drastisch: [6008]1

\* ein Get�se wie von einem dahinfahrenden heftigen Wehen: [6009]1

\* ein tr�gerisches Irrlicht, ja in Wahrheit eine grosse L�ge,":

[6010]1

\* eine �ussere Anlehnnung an einen vielgefeierten Namen, es fehlt

auch nicht an innern Ber�hrungspunkten zwischen dem Evangelium und

der Apokalypse, und man kann nur die tiefe Genialit�t und feine

Kunst bewundern, mit welcher der Evangelist die Elemente, welche

vom Standpunkt der Apokalypse auf den freiern und h�hern des

Evangeliums hin�berleiteten, in sich aufgenommen hat, um die

Apokalypse zum Evangelium zu vergeistigen. Nur vom Standpunkt dei

Evangeliums aus l�sst sich das Verh�ltniss, in das sich der

Verfasser desselben zu der Apokalypse setzte, richtig begreifen.":

[6011]1

\* einer jener fixstern-artigen K�rper: [6012]1

\* frappant: [6013]1

\* geht und tr�gt die Schuld.": [6014]1

\* gesagt, so w�rde man an eine Z�hlung von Tiberius'

Provincialverwaltung weniger denken k�nnen: [6015]1

\* grundverkehrt,: [6016]1

\* im Christenthum die sch�ne Idee aufgefasst, dass die durch dasselbe

mit einander Verbundenen in einer wahren Wesensgemeinschaft mit

einander stehen, so dass der Eine in dem Anderen sein eigenes

Selbst erkennt, sich mit ihm v�llig Eins weiss und einer f�r alle

Ewigkeit dauernden Vereinigung angeh�rt.: [6017]1

\* in der Ap. Gesch. Der histor. Char. dieser Schrift,: [6018]1

\* in der Geschichte: [6019]1

\* ist: [6020]1

\* ja kein Leben mehr zu haben, als in Christo, dem Gekreuzigten. Das

ist ja der Grundton, den wir aus allen Briefen des Apostels

heraust�nen h�ren, wo immer er sein pers�nliches Verh�ltniss zum

Kreuz Christi schildert; es ist nie bloss ein Verh�ltniss

objectiver Theorie, sondern immer zugleich und wesentlich das der

subjectiven Verbundenheit des innersten Gem�ths mit dem

Gekreuzigten, eine mystische Gemeinschaft mit dem Kreuzestod und

mit dem Auferstehungsleben Christi.: [6021]1

\* jede einzelne Creatur bezeichnet, so kann der Genii. nur comparativ

genommen werden, und nur besagen, dass er im Vergleich mit jeden

Creatur der Erstgeborne war: [6022]1

\* keine, weder psychologische noch dialektische Analyse kann das

innere Geheimniss des Actes erforschen, in welchem Gott seinen Sohn

in ihm enth�lte: [6023]1

\* keine, weder psychologische, noch dialektische analyse das innere

geheimnis des aktes erforschen k�nne, in welchem Gott seinen sohn

dem Paulus enth�llte.'Und doch darf sich die kritik von dem

versuch, dies geheimnis zu erforschen, nicht abschrecken, lassen.

Denn diese vision ist einer der entscheidendsten punkte f�r ein

geschichtliches begreifen des urchristentums. In ihrer genesis ist

der keim des paulinischen evangelium gegeben. So lange der schein

nicht aufgehoben ist, dass die empf�ngnis dieses keims als die

wirkung einer transcendenten kraft erfolgt sei, besteht �ber dem

empfangenen fort und fort der schein des transcendenten. Und die

kritik am wenigsten darf sich damit beruhigen, dass eine

transcendenz, eine objectivit�t, wie sie von ihren gegnern f�r

diese vision gefordert wird, von der selbstgewissheit des modernen

geistes verworfen sei. Denn diese selbstgewissheit kann ihre

wahrheit nur behaupten, solange und soweit ihre kategorieen als das

gesetz der wirklichkeit nachgewiesen sind.: [6024]1

\* malerisch anschaulich: [6025]1

\* nicht dem Andenken der Apostel gewidmet, sondern dem notorischen

Uebermuth der judenchristlichen Parteig�nger in Galatien.: [6026]1

\* nun: [6027]1

\* oder: [6028]1

\* oder auch nur 'Herrscher': [6029]1

\* published by his son (1865-'67, in 3 volumes), and a brief: [6030]1

\* schliesst die Reihe leibhaftiger Erscheinungen ab, und scheidet

damit diese von sp�teren vision�ren oder sonst apokalyptischen.:

[6031]1

\* so ist es die, vision des auferweckten, mit welcher ihm die

wahrheit des messias-glaubens aufging, und der umschwung seines

bewusstseins sich vollendete.: [6032]1

\* sorgf�ltig, einfach und einleuchtend, durchsichtig und sehr wohl

durchgef�hrt: [6033]1

\* stimmt zu den synoptischen Evangelien weniger als jenes

m�dchenhafte Johannesbild, welches unter uns gangbar geworden ist:

[6034]1

\* und: [6035]1

\* und seiner Auferstehung liegt ein so tiefes undurchdringliches

Dunkel, dass man nach so gewaltsam zerrissenem und so wundervoll

wiederhergestelltem Zusammenhange sich gleichsam auf einem neuen

Schauplatz der Geschichte sieht.: [6036]1

\* und zwar wandte ich mich speciell: [6037]1

\* vielfach mit demselben Werthe angewendet: [6038]1

\* volle, reine Leben der Stoffe,: [6039]1

\* vor-reformatorisch.: [6040]1

\* weder zu den Ungl�ubigen noch zu den Uebergl�ubigen: [6041]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of French Words and Phrases

\* "Il y a l� un petit artifice litt�raire, du genre de ceux

qu'affectionne Platon: [6042]1

\* "L'Evangile de Luc: [6043]1

\* "ces entretiens sans cesse interrompus et recommec�s avec le mort

ch�ri remplissaient les jours et les mois .... Pr�s d'un an

s'�coula dans cette vie suspendue entre le ciel et la terre. Le

charme, loin de d�cro�tre, augmentait: [6044]1

\* "est le plus litt�raire des �vangiles. Tout y r�v�le: [6045]1

\* �tude critique sur les rapports suppos� entre S�n�que et

Saint-Paul: [6046]1

\* � ces�poques t�n�breuses; et, si l'�glise, en v�n�rant le quatri�me

�vangile comme l'oeuvre de Jean, est dupe de celui qu'elle regarde

comme un de ses plus dangereux ennemis, cela n'est pas en somme

plus �trange que tant d'autres malentendus qui composent la trame

de l'histoire religieuse de l'humanit�. Ce qu'il y a de s�r, c'est

que l'auteur est � la fois le p�re et l'adversaire du gnosticisme,

l'ennemi de ceux qui laissaient s'evaporer dans un doc�tisme

nuageux l'humanit� r�elle de J�sus et le complice de ceus qui le

rel�guaient dans l'abstraction divine: [6047]1

\* �tait le grand r�servoir o� tous puisaient: [6048]1

\* ,: [6049]1

\* , du moins un probl�me psychologique aujourd'hui insoluble.

L'explication dite naturelle, qu'elle fasse intervenir un orage on

qu'elle se retranche dans le domaine des hallucinations ... ne nous

donne pas la clef de cette crise elle-m�me, qui a d�cid� la

m�tamorphose du pharisien en chr�tien: [6050]1

\* . Schriften N. T.,: [6051]1

\* 1866), follows the steps of Reuss, and comes to a negative

conclusion (in his art. Jean: [6052]1

\* 1879, in the sixth part of his great work, "La Bible" and in the

Sixth edition of his: [6053]1

\* 2d ed. 1878; 3d ed."compl�tement revue,": [6054]1

\* : La religion � Rome sous les S�v�res.: [6055]1

\* : Les esclaves chr�tiens depuis les premiers temps de l'�glise

jusqu' � la fin de la domination romaine en Occident Paris: [6056]1

\* : Nouvelle Biblioth�que des auteurs eccl�sastiques, contenant

l'Histoire de leur vie, le catalogue, la critique et la chronologie

de leurs ouvrages: [6057]1

\* : Seneca und Paulus,: [6058]1

\* Au ton l�g�rement excit� de ce nouveau narrateur: [6059]1

\* Ces grands r�ves m�lancoliques: [6060]1

\* Cette intention de compl�ter les r�cits ant�rieurs, soit au point

de vue historique,comme l'a pens� Eus�be, soit sous un rapport plus

spirituel, comme l'a d�clar� Cl�ment d'Alexandrie, est donc

parfaitement fond�e en fait; nous la constatons commne un but

secondaire at, pour mieux dire, comme moyen servant au but

principal: [6061]1

\* Com. sur l'�pitre aux Romains: [6062]1

\* Commentaire sur l'�vangile de Saint Jean,: [6063]1

\* Daniel le proph�te,: [6064]1

\* De l'influence du christianisme sur la condition des femmes.:

[6065]1

\* Discours sur l'histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde

jusgu'� l'empire de Charlemagne.: [6066]1

\* Ein Tag in Capernaum,: [6067]1

\* Essai sur les sources de la vie de J�sus,: [6068]1

\* Essai sur les sources de la vie de J�sus.: [6069]1

\* H�bron et la Samarie: [6070]1

\* Hist. du peuple d'Israel.: [6071]1

\* Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquit�: [6072]1

\* Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu'� Adrien. Paris, 1867

(first part of his L'Histoire et la g�ographie de la Palestine

d'apr�s les Thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques),: [6073]1

\* Histoire de la R�format du: [6074]1

\* Histoire de la R�formation en Europe au temps de Calvin: [6075]1

\* Histoire de la th�ologie ch�tienne au si�cle apostolique.: [6076]1

\* Histoire de noire Sauveur J�sus Christ.: [6077]1

\* Histoire des empereurs,: [6078]1

\* Histoire des origines du Christianisme: [6079]1

\* Histoire des trois premiers si�cles de l'�glise chr�tienne.:

[6080]1

\* Histoire du canon des S. �critures.: [6081]1

\* Histoire g�n�rale des auteurs sacr�s et eccl�saistiques: [6082]1

\* Histoire universelle de l'�glise catholique.: [6083]1

\* Il est been moins disciple de J�sus et de saint Paul que de

Plutarque et de Julien: [6084]1

\* J�sus Christ et sa doctrine,: [6085]1

\* J�sus Christ, son temps, sa vie, son oeuvre: [6086]1

\* J�sus Christ, son temps, sa vie, son oeuvre.: [6087]1

\* J�sus, quoique parlant sans cesse de r�surrection, de nouvelle vie,

n'avait jamais dit bien clairement qu'il ressusciterait en sa

chair. Les disciples,: [6088]1

\* J'ai travers� dans tous les sens la province �vangelique; j'ai

visit� J�rusalem: [6089]1

\* Je crois le passage sur J�sus authentique. Il est parfaitement dans

le go�t de Joseph, et si cet historian a fait mention de J�sus,

c'est bien comme cela qu'il a d� en parler. On sent seulement

qu'une main chr�tienne a retouch� le morceau, y a ajout� quelques

mots sans lesquels il e�t �t� presque blasph�matoire, a peut-�tre

retranch� ou modifi� quelques expressions: [6090]1

\* Je persiste � croire que le dernier r�dacteur des Acts est bien le

disciple de Paul qui dit 'nous: [6091]1

\* L'�glise chr�t.,: [6092]1

\* L'�glise chr�t.,: [6093]1

\* L'�glise chr�tienne: [6094]1

\* L'�pitre aux Romains, 1879 and 1880, 2 vols).--Corinthians: [6095]1

\* L'Antechr: [6096]1

\* L'Antechrist: [6097]1 [6098]2

\* L'Antechrist. Paris, deuxi�me ed., 1873. Chs. VI. VIII, pp. 123

sqq. Also his Hibbert Lectures,: [6099]1

\* L'Eglise Chr�tienne,: [6100]1

\* L'abolition de l'esclavage,: [6101]1

\* L'ap�tre Paul. Esquisse d'une histoire de sa pens�e.: [6102]1

\* L'hosanna: [6103]1

\* L'orgie de N�ron fut le grand bapt�me de sanq qui d�siqna Rome,

comme la ville des martyrs, pour jouer un r�le � part dans

l'histoire du christianisme, et en �tre la seconde ville sainte. Ce

fut la prise de possession de la colline Vatcane par ces

triomphateurs d'un genre inconnu jusque-l�: [6104]1

\* La �vangiles et la, seconde g�n�ration des chr�tiens: [6105]1

\* La R�v�lation de St. Jean expliquant l'histoire (1866).: [6106]1

\* La Th�ologie johannique: [6107]1

\* La ap�tres,: [6108]1

\* La conversion de Paul, apr�s tout ce qui en a �t� dit de notre

temps, reste toujours, si ce n'est un miracle absolu, dans le sens

traditionnel de ce mot: [6109]1

\* La cr�ation de l'�piscopat est l'aeuvre du IIe si�cle. L'absorption

de l'Eglise par les: [6110]1

\* La gloire de la r�surrection: [6111]1

\* La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins: [6112]1

\* La tradition vivante: [6113]1

\* Le m�me ph�nom�ne se retrouve, du reste, dans presque toutes les

litt�ratures sacr�es. Les V�das ont travers� des si�cles sans �tre

�erits; un homme qui se respectait devait les savoir par coeur.

Celui qui avait besoin d'un manuscrit pour r�citer ces hymnes

antiques faisait un aveu d'ignorance; aussi les copies n'en

ont-elles jamais �t� estim�es. Citer de m�moire la Bible, le Coran,

est encore de nos jours un point d'honneur pour les 0rientaux:

[6114]1

\* Le recensement de Quirinius en Jud�e.: [6115]1

\* Les �pitres pauliniennes: [6116]1

\* Les �vangiles: [6117]1

\* Les �vangiles,: [6118]1

\* Les �vangiles.: [6119]1

\* Les �vangiles apocryphes,: [6120]1

\* Les �vangiles et la seconde g�n�ration Chr�tienne.: [6121]1

\* Les Actes: [6122]1

\* Les Ap�tres,: [6123]1 [6124]2 [6125]3 [6126]4

\* Les Ap�tres.: [6127]1

\* Les Ap�tres:: [6128]1

\* Les Ap�tres,: [6129]1

\* Les Evangiles,: [6130]1 [6131]2

\* Les derniers jours de J�rusalem.: [6132]1

\* M�moires pour servir � l'histoire eccl�siastique des six premiers

si�cles, justifi�s par les citations des auteurs originaux: [6133]1

\* On l'a trop admir�. Il a de la chaleur: [6134]1

\* Par sa pauvret� humblement support�e, par la douceur de son

caract�re, par l'opposition qu'il faisait aux hypocrites et aux

pr�tres, Hillel fut le vrai ma�tre de J�sus, s'il est permis de

parler de ma�tre, quand il s'agit d'une si haute originalit�.:

[6135]1

\* Paul cl�t l'�numeration des apparitions de J�sus ressuscit� aux

ap�tres par celle qui lui a �t� accord�e � lui-m�me; il lui

attribue donc la m�me r�alit� qu'� celles-l�, et il la distingue

ainsi d'une mani�re tranch�e de toutes les visions dont il fut plus

tard honor� et que mentionnent le livre des Actes, et les �pitres.:

[6136]1

\* Rien de plus tatigant que ses longs r�cits de miracles et que ces

discussions, roulant sur des malentendus: [6137]1

\* Rome et la Judie au temps de la chute de N�ron (ans 66-72 apr�s

J�sus-Christ), 2.: [6138]1

\* Saint-Paul et S�n�que: [6139]1

\* Si J�sus: [6140]1

\* St. Paul, sa vie, son oeuvre et ses �pitres.: [6141]1

\* Strassb., 1852. 3d ed., Paris, 1864. 2 vols. English translation

from the third French ed. by Annie Harwood.: [6142]1

\* Th�ologie johannique,: [6143]1

\* Tout est possible: [6144]1

\* Une chose hors de doute, c'est que les Actes ont eut le m�me auteur

que le troisi�me �vangile et sont une continuation de cet �vangile

... La parfaite ressemblance du style et des id�es fournissent �

cet �gard d'abondantes d�monstrations .... Les deux livres r�unis

font un ensemble absolument du mime style, pr�sentant les m�mes

locutions favorites et la m�me fa�on de citer l'�criture.: [6145]1

\* Vie de J�sus.: [6146]1

\* Vie de J�sus: [6147]1

\* Vie de J�sus (p. xii.), Renan says: ": [6148]1

\* Vie de J�sus,: [6149]1 [6150]2 [6151]3

\* Vie de J�sus.: [6152]1

\* Vie de J�sus,: [6153]1

\* Vie de Jesus: [6154]1

\* ad narrandum.: [6155]1

\* appartient � Marie de, Magdala. Apres J�sus, c'est Marie qui a le

plus fait pour la fondation du christianisme. L'ombre cr��e par les

sens d�licats de Madeleine plane encore sur le monde .... Sa grande

affirmation de femme: 'Il est resuscit�!' a �t� la base de la foi

de l'humanit�.": [6156]1

\* aux derniers chapitres,: [6157]1

\* beau jeune homme: [6158]1

\* c'est-�-dire un �v�nement qui arr�te ou change violemment le cours

naturel des choses, un effet sans autre cause que l'intervention

arbitraire et imm�diate de Dieu: [6159]1

\* cilice,: [6160]1

\* dans les premi�res heures qui suivirent sa mort, n'avaient � cet

�gard aucune esp�rance: [6161]1

\* des petits et des humbles introduits dans le royaume de Dieu. Un

esprit de sainte enfance, de joie, de ferveur: [6162]1

\* doux Galil�en: [6163]1

\* esprit large et doux, sage, mod�r�, sobre et raisonnable dans

l'irrationnel. Ses exag�rations, ses invraisemblances: [6164]1

\* est un fait accompli avant la fin du premier. Dans l'�p�tre de

Cl�ment Romain: [6165]1

\* et cette limpidit� de narration qui fait le charme des �vang�listes

primitifs! Ceux-ci n'ont pas besoin de r�p�ter sans cesse que ce

qu'ils racontent est vrai. Leur sinc�rit�, inconsciente de

l'objection, n'a pas cette soif f�brile d'attestations r�p�t�esqui

montre que l'incr�dulit�, le doute, ont d�j� commenc�: [6166]1

\* etc., ce n'est pas encore l'�piscopat, c'est le presbyt�rat qui est

en cause. On n'y trouve pas trace d'un 'presbyteros''sup�rieur aux

autres et devant d�tr�ner les autres. Mais l'auteur proclame

hautement que le presbyt�rat, to clerg�, est ant�rieur au peuple:

[6167]1

\* f-d'oeuvre,: [6168]1

\* i il n'y a que le sceptique qui �crive l'histoire: [6169]1

\* il �crit, il montre une vraie entente de la composition. Son livre

est un beau r�cit bien suivi, � la fois h�bra�que et hell�nique,

joignant l'�motion du drama � la s�r�nit� de l'idylle. Tout y rit,

tout y pleure, tout y chante; partout des larmes et des cantiques;

c'est l'hymne du peuple nouveau: [6170]1

\* ils font violence � toute r�alit�: [6171]1

\* ils sont tristes et abattus; l'espoir qu'ils avaient eu de le voir

realiser le salut d'Isra�l est convaincu de vanit�: [6172]1

\* le sentiment �vang�lique dans son originalit� premi�re r�pandent

sur toute la l�gende une teinte d'une incomparable douceur. On ne

fut jamais moins sectaire. Pas un reproche, pas un mot dur pour le

vieux peuple exclu; son exclusion ne le punit-elle pas assez ?

C'est le plus beau livre qu'il y ait. Le plaisir que l'auteur dut

avoir � l'�crire ne sera jamais suffisamment compris: [6173]1

\* nul endroit du monde ne fut si bien fait pour les r�ves de l'absolu

bonheur: [6174]1

\* o� les adversaires de J�sus jouent le r�le d'idiots. Combien:

[6175]1

\* on dirait des hommes qui ont perdu une grande et ch�re illusion.

Mais l' enthousiasme et l'amour ne connaissent par les situations

sans issue. Ils se jouentde l'impossible, et plutot que d'abdiquer

l'esp�rance: [6176]1

\* on dirait qu'il a peur de n'�tre pas cru, et qu'il cherche: [6177]1

\* parfois une sorte de sublimit�, mais quelque chose d'enfl�, de

faux, d'obsur. La na�vet� manque tout � fait. L'auteur ne raconte

pas; il d�montre: [6178]1

\* parlait comme le veut Matthieu, il n'a pu parler comme le veut

Jean: [6179]1

\* pathos verbeux nous pr�f�rons le doux style, tout h�breu encore, du

Discours sur la montagne: [6180]1

\* pp. 477 sqq. He changed his view again in his L'�glise chr�tienne,:

[6181]1

\* presbyteri: [6182]1

\* re�choes the T�bingen: [6183]1

\* rendue responsable de tout le sang vers�, devint comme Babylone une

sorte de ville sacramentelle et symbolique.: [6184]1

\* secs de Marc. Luc fait bien plus: [6185]1

\* ses incons�quences tiennent � la nature m�me de la parabole et en

font le charme. Matthieu arrondit les contours: [6186]1

\* sont une histoire dogmatique, arrang�e pour appuyer les doctrines

orthodoxes du temps ou inculquer les id�es qui souria�ent le plus �

la piet� de l'auteur.: [6187]1

\* soyez de bons banquiers: [6188]1

\* surprendre la religion de son lecteur par des affirmations pleines

d'emphase.: [6189]1

\* un esprit prodigieusement d�clamatoire, une mauvaise nature,

hypocrite, l�g�re, vaniteuse; un compos� incroyable d'intelligence

fausse, de m�chancet� profonde, d'�go�sme atroce et sournois, avee

des raffinements inou�s de subtilit�: [6190]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

This document is from the Christian Classics Ethereal

Library at Calvin College, http://www.ccel.org,

generated on demand from ThML source.

References

1. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p106.2

2. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p0.1

3. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p0.1

4. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p0.1

5. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p40.1

6. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.59-p0.1

7. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p18.2

8. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p0.1

9. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p0.1

10. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p0.1

11. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1-p3.2

12. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p0.1

13. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p0.1

14. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p0.1

15. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p0.1

16. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p0.1

17. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p0.1

18. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.97-p0.1

19. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p41.2

20. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.90-p0.1

21. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.91-p0.1

22. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p0.1

23. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p11.2

24. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p34.2

25. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p1.2

26. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p0.1

27. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p0.1

28. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p20.2

29. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p0.1

30. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p26.2

31. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p0.1

32. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p0.2

33. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p19.2

34. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.47-p11.4

35. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p62.1

36. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p0.1

37. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p5.2

38. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p34.3

39. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.52-p0.1

40. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.50-p20.1

41. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p44.4

42. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p29.7

43. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p44.2

44. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=28#i.V\_1.30-p54.5

45. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.IX.57-p17.1

46. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p145.3

47. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p190.6

48. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.I\_1.8-p7.1

49. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.VIII.46-p10.1

50. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p145.2

51. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XI.70-p17.7

52. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=9&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p76.5

53. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p79.4

54. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=17&scrV=10#i.XI.69-p25.9

55. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=22&scrV=9#i.XI.69-p25.12

56. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=22&scrV=12#i.XI.69-p25.13

57. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=25&scrV=27#i.IX.51-p13.1

58. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=8&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p103.16

59. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p103.16

60. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=9&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p103.12

61. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=9&scrV=23#i.VII.41-p40.1

62. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=9&scrV=34#i.XI.71-p103.16

63. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p19.2

64. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=12&scrV=5#i.II\_1.16-p111.1

65. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=16&scrV=5#i.II\_1.16-p122.6

66. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=19&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.24-p25.1

67. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=20&scrV=10#i.I\_1.13-p11.2

68. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=23&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.24-p17.9

69. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=28&scrV=36#i.IV\_1.27-p48.2

70. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=28&scrV=36#i.VII.43-p16.1

71. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=29&scrV=39#i.II\_1.16-p124.2

72. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=29&scrV=41#i.II\_1.16-p124.3

73. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=32&scrV=31#i.V\_1.31-p33.2

74. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=34&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p76.1

75. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=34&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p79.2

76. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=39&scrV=30#i.VII.43-p16.1

77. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.IX.54-p29.12

78. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=14&scrV=7#i.IX.54-p29.16

79. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p126.5

80. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=17&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p76.2

81. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.V\_1.34-p76.4

82. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p79.3

83. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=23&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p91.3

84. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=23&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.24-p91.1

85. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=23&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.24-p17.17

86. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=23&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.24-p91.1

87. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=23&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.24-p91.1

88. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=25&scrV=10#i.VIII.48-p18.1

89. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.II\_1.16-p42.1

90. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=35#i.II\_1.16-p42.1

91. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=39#i.II\_1.16-p42.1

92. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=43#i.II\_1.16-p42.1

93. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=47#i.II\_1.16-p42.1

94. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=15&scrV=37#i.IX.51-p33.2

95. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=19&scrV=7#i.IX.54-p29.13

96. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=19&scrV=7#i.IX.54-p29.14

97. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=19&scrV=19#i.IX.54-p29.17

98. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=24&scrV=17#i.II\_1.16-p22.2

99. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=24&scrV=17#i.II\_1.16-p23.2

100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=28&scrV=4#i.II\_1.16-p124.4

101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=28&scrV=26#i.IV\_1.24-p17.12

102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.I\_1.13-p11.3

103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.IX.51-p33.1

104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=11&scrV=13#i.IX.51-p33.1

105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=12&scrV=23#i.V\_1.34-p76.3

106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.24-p17.16

107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.24-p19.3

108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.I\_1.10-p15.1

109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=24&scrV=1#i.II\_1.17-p113.2

110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Judg&scrCh=5&scrV=9#i.IX.51-p13.2

111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Judg&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.II\_1.18-p52.2

112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Judg&scrCh=35&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p68.2

113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Judg&scrCh=100&scrV=8#i.II\_1.16-p87.1

114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Sam&scrCh=7&scrV=10#i.VII.41-p40.2

115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Kgs&scrCh=19&scrV=11#i.VII.41-p16.1

116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Kgs&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.IX.54-p29.1

117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Chr&scrCh=30&scrV=22#i.II\_1.16-p126.4

118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Chr&scrCh=35&scrV=1#i.II\_1.17-p74.1

119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezra&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.101-p184.5

120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=26&scrV=14#i.VII.41-p39.11

121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=26&scrV=14#i.VII.41-p40.3

122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=37&scrV=2#i.VII.41-p39.8

123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IX.53-p21.2

124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=24&scrV=1#i.XII.94-p40.3

125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=55&scrV=18#i.IX.51-p41.1

126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=77&scrV=18#i.VII.41-p40.4

127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=77&scrV=19#i.VII.41-p39.10

128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=88&scrV=8#i.II\_1.18-p20.1

129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=89&scrV=28#i.XI.71-p95.18

130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=119&scrV=163#i.II\_1.18-p13.7

131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=8&scrV=30#i.XI.72-p36.4

132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=19&scrV=17#i.II\_1.18-p12.6

133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.IX.51-p13.3

134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.27-p93.7

135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.VII.41-p22.4

136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=8&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p99.3

137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=10&scrV=33#i.V\_1.36-p44.2

138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=11&scrV=6#i.II\_1.18-p31.1

139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=12&scrV=3#i.II\_1.16-p27.1

140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=24&scrV=16#i.II\_1.18-p28.1

141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=29&scrV=0#i.II\_1.16-p117.1

142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=29&scrV=6#i.VII.41-p40.5

143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=40&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p125.3

144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=41&scrV=0#i.VIII.48-p18.2

145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=52&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p125.4

146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=53&scrV=7#i.XI.72-p73.4

147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=61&scrV=2#i.II\_1.16-p110.1

148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=33&scrV=25#i.V\_1.34-p29.1

149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=35&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.27-p94.1

150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=48&scrV=25#i.V\_1.36-p44.3

151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=48&scrV=27#i.V\_1.36-p44.4

152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.78-p49.1

153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.II\_1.18-p19.1

154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=7&scrV=8#i.II\_1.18-p19.1

155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=10&scrV=1#i.XII.78-p49.1

156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=11&scrV=22#i.XII.78-p49.1

157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=18&scrV=30#i.II\_1.18-p19.1

158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=24&scrV=14#i.II\_1.18-p19.1

159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=33&scrV=20#i.II\_1.18-p19.1

160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.VI.37-p69.2

161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=7&scrV=11#i.IX.51-p41.2

162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=7&scrV=25#i.VI.38-p69.2

163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.1

164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=9&scrV=27#i.II\_1.16-p116.2

165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p18.1

166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p157.1

167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p80.2

168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p157.1

169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p157.1

170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.27-p72.5

171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.II\_1.16-p7.2

172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.27-p70.8

173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.VII.43-p12.2

174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p123.6

175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p70.6

176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.I\_1.11-p24.2

177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p59.1

178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p106.1

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p109.1

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p12.1

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p22.1

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p43.1

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p157.6

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.II\_1.16-p29.2

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.II\_1.16-p16.3

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.II\_1.16-p30.2

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.II\_1.16-p16.1

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.II\_1.16-p18.1

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.IX.54-p23.5

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p19.1

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=7#i.XII.80-p59.2

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.24-p29.3

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.IX.54-p29.19

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p20.1

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p20.1

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.II\_1.16-p106.1

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p69.3

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.79-p21.1

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.II\_1.17-p50.2

200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p70.3

201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=23#i.II\_1.17-p62.2

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=23#i.IX.51-p17.4

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=23#i.XII.80-p50.2

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p71.3

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p48.1

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p56.1

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.II\_1.17-p64.2

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.XII.83-p164.1

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=9#i.XI.69-p27.21

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XII.93-p3.4

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XI.69-p27.3

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.XII.80-p35.1

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.XI.69-p5.1

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.XI.71-p59.1

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.XI.69-p27.9

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=34#i.XI.69-p27.27

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=35#i.XII.80-p34.1

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=48#i.XI.69-p27.5

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=48#i.XII.95-p9.1

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.IX.53-p12.1

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.X.65-p11.1

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XI.69-p27.15

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=24#i.XI.69-p27.25

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=33#i.II\_1.18-p18.1

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=4#i.IX.54-p29.8

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.XI.69-p27.23

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=11#i.II\_1.17-p117.2

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=11#i.XI.69-p27.7

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=12#i.II\_1.17-p119.5

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=21#i.XI.69-p27.11

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=21#i.XI.69-p27.17

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=21#i.XII.83-p123.3

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=26#i.XI.69-p27.13

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p136.1

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p50.1

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=5#i.II\_1.17-p44.1

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=10#i.I\_1.11-p46.1

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=10#i.XII.81-p81.2

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=14#i.III\_1.20-p122.2

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=8&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.26-p50.1

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p26.1

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.XII.79-p27.2

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.XII.79-p27.13

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.XII.79-p162.2

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p27.3

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p27.14

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=6#i.XII.83-p158.1

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=9#i.XII.80-p29.3

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=9#i.XII.80-p15.2

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=10#i.XII.80-p26.3

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=13#i.II\_1.18-p17.2

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=13#i.XII.80-p71.4

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=15#i.IX.53-p11.1

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=18#i.IX.51-p26.11

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=9&scrV=27#i.XII.80-p58.1

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p48.2

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p115.1

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p176.1

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p27.1

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p66.3

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=3#i.XII.80-p16.2

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=3#i.XII.80-p17.1

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=3#i.XII.85-p116.1

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=5#i.II\_1.17-p47.1

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=17#i.IX.51-p31.1

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p140.2

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p8.2

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=22#i.VI.37-p84.1

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p194.1

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p185.1

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=40#i.XII.83-p188.1

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p124.1

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p49.1

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=20#i.II\_1.17-p30.1

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=20#i.XII.80-p49.2

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.80-p49.3

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.80-p56.2

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.II\_1.17-p90.1

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p144.3

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XI.72-p38.1

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p144.5

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p170.1

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p182.1

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p167.1

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p49.4

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p56.3

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.5

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p218.1

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.IX.57-p20.1

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=3#i.XII.79-p171.11

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p171.12

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=13#i.XII.80-p92.1

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p27.9

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=36#i.XII.80-p56.4

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=36#i.XI.69-p27.19

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=37#i.XI.69-p17.5

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.27-p70.5

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p48.3

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.II\_1.18-p24.1

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=11#i.II\_1.18-p28.2

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p171.1

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=24#i.XII.80-p57.1

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=54#i.II\_1.15-p16.2

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.II\_1.17-p58.3

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p88.5

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p89.2

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p82.2

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p83.2

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p30.2

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p70.5

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=55#i.IV\_1.27-p6.4

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=56#i.IV\_1.27-p84.1

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=57#i.IV\_1.27-p31.2

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p162.4

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=14&scrV=22#i.XII.79-p21.4

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=14&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p161.1

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=14&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p59.3

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=14&scrV=30#i.II\_1.14-p85.5

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=2#i.II\_1.17-p82.1

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=2#i.XII.80-p38.1

321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p82.2

322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.II\_1.17-p82.3

323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=21#i.XII.79-p157.6

324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=57#i.XII.83-p155.1

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.7

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.26-p10.2

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.81-p38.2

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XI.70-p6.1

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p105.4

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p123.7

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XII.79-p157.3

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.V\_1.31-p56.12

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.XII.80-p56.5

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.V\_1.31-p56.7

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.25-p3.2

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.26-p44.1

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.26-p47.1

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.X.59-p4.1

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.X.63-p11.3

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.X.65-p10.1

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=20#i.II\_1.17-p97.1

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=21#i.II\_1.19-p13.1

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=21#i.II\_1.17-p84.1

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=24#i.II\_1.18-p14.3

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p50.3

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p46.1

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p144.8

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=14#i.XII.81-p87.2

349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p162.7

350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=24#i.XII.80-p58.2

351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=17&scrV=24#i.XII.80-p59.4

352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.8

353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p56.6

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p88.1

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.II\_1.17-p89.1

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=2#i.XII.81-p89.2

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=2#i.XII.81-p108.8

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=7#i.II\_1.18-p27.1

359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=7#i.XI.73-p8.1

360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=11#i.II\_1.17-p96.2

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.X.63-p10.1

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=17#i.X.63-p11.1

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=17#i.X.65-p10.3

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p200.1

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=23#i.XII.80-p57.2

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=55#i.XII.87-p38.1

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.9

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p22.1

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=10#i.VIII.47-p11.1

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=18#i.XI.72-p84.19

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=20#i.XII.83-p140.3

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=23#i.XII.79-p26.5

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=28#i.XII.99-p57.4

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.9

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p57.3

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=3#i.II\_1.18-p14.4

377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=20#i.VII.41-p45.1

378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.II\_1.18-p11.3

379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p23.1

380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p82.2

381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p57.4

382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=33#i.XII.79-p82.1

383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=41#i.XII.80-p102.1

384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=43#i.XII.80-p56.7

385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.10

386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p57.5

387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=14#i.XII.80-p70.1

388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=16#i.V\_1.36-p60.5

389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=23#i.III\_1.20-p111.1

390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=30#i.II\_1.18-p23.1

391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=37#i.II\_1.17-p118.1

392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=41#i.XII.83-p123.2

393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p43.2

394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p48.4

395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p56.8

396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=6#i.IX.51-p22.1

397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=8#i.II\_1.17-p53.1

398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=10#i.II\_1.17-p52.10

399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=14#i.II\_1.17-p56.2

400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=0#i.XII.78-p33.2

401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p18.7

402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=1#i.VI.38-p36.1

403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=2#i.II\_1.17-p36.1

404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p157.6

405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p236.4

406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=15#i.VI.38-p61.1

407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=15#i.VI.39-p5.2

408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p236.1

409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=21#i.VI-p4.1

410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=34#i.XII.80-p63.2

411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=36#i.XII.82-p237.1

412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p57.6

413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=14#i.XII.80-p57.7

414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p110.2

415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=21#i.II\_1.18-p21.2

416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=23#i.II\_1.18-p21.3

417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=27#i.II\_1.18-p12.3

418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=31#i.XII.80-p56.9

419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=31#i.XII.83-p123.4

420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=34#i.XI.71-p104.1

421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=35#i.II\_1.18-p24.2

422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=41#i.XI.71-p104.2

423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p110.3

424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p24.1

425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=11#i.XII.83-p173.1

426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p157.4

427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=14#i.XII.80-p59.5

428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=17#i.II\_1.16-p123.1

429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=20#i.II\_1.16-p123.2

430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=26#i.IX.v-p3.1

431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=28#i.IV\_1.24-p92.6

432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=30#i.IX.53-p15.1

433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=38#i.XII.83-p179.1

434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=47#i.V\_1.35-p12.2

435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=51#i.XII.79-p26.3

436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=61#i.XII.83-p149.1

437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=63#i.XII.83-p123.8

438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=64#i.II\_1.17-p95.1

439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=64#i.XII.101-p90.1

440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=65#i.XII.83-p123.9

441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=3#i.XII.80-p59.5

442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=8#i.XII.80-p36.1

443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=8#i.XII.78-p35.2

444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=19#i.XII.80-p59.6

445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=35#i.IV\_1.24-p27.5

446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=46#i.XII.80-p38.3

447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=51#i.XII.80-p59.11

448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=52#i.XII.80-p59.7

449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=52#i.XII.80-p108.1

450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=55#i.II\_1.17-p59.2

451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=55#i.VIII.46-p12.2

452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=56#i.IV\_1.27-p88.2

453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=56#i.IV\_1.27-p87.3

454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=56#i.IV\_1.27-p67.5

455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=62#i.II\_1.16-p122.2

456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=62#i.II\_1.16-p127.1

457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=62#i.XII.80-p108.2

458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=62#i.II\_1.19-p24.1

459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=62#i.XII.80-p59.8

460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=1#i.VIII.46-p14.1

461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=2#i.XII.80-p59.10

462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=6#i.II\_1.17-p35.1

463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=11#i.XII.80-p59.9

464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=15#i.XII.78-p35.3

465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=17#i.II\_1.16-p75.1

466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=17#i.II\_1.19-p14.4

467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p108.16

468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p144.7

469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p197.1

470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=18#i.II\_1.19-p20.1

471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=18#i.XII.80-p56.10

472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.XII.80-p22.1

473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.IX.54-p4.1

474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.XII.79-p157.6

475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.XII.81-p108.3

476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p236.5

477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p123.5

478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=20#i.XII.83-p140.3

479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=20#i.XII.83-p191.1

480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=48&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p107.3

481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=56&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p123.1

482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=222&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p88.2

483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=363&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p115.2

484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=415&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p109.2

485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=793&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p106.2

486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1516&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p49.6

487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2425&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p48.5

488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p112.1

489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.81-p49.4

490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p19.2

491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.IX.54-p23.1

492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.IX.54-p29.21

493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.79-p20.2

494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.24-p29.5

495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.79-p20.2

496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.81-p52.1

497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.82-p129.6

498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p20.2

499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.II\_1.16-p106.2

500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p69.4

501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p70.4

502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p21.2

503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.I\_1.8-p5.1

504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.IX.54-p23.19

505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.94-p41.8

506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.81-p35.2

507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.80-p15.18

508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.VII.41-p23.1

509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.II\_1.17-p62.3

510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.IX.51-p17.5

511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XII.81-p69.1

512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.81-p79.1

513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p136.2

514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=27#i.XII.81-p79.2

515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XII.81-p35.1

516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XII.80-p15.19

517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XII.81-p90.1

518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=30#i.XII.80-p15.20

519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=31#i.XII.81-p82.1

520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.81-p73.1

521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=36#i.XII.80-p15.21

522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=39#i.II\_1.17-p62.4

523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=40#i.XII.81-p69.2

524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=44#i.XII.81-p69.3

525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p47.1

526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p107.1

527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.79-p162.1

528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p27.4

529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p27.15

530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.79-p27.5

531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p158.2

532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=10#i.II\_1.17-p96.3

533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XII.80-p15.14

534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XII.80-p29.2

535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.XII.80-p26.2

536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=2&scrV=28#i.II\_1.17-p96.4

537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.79-p27.10

538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.81-p81.4

539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XII.81-p90.2

540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=7#i.XII.81-p52.2

541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.27-p66.4

542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.XII.81-p80.1

543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.80-p15.17

544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p27.3

545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p27.2

546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.VII.41-p39.1

547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.VII.41-p65.1

548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p50.1

549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p68.1

550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=18#i.XII.80-p17.2

551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.XII.81-p80.2

552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=3&scrV=32#i.XII.81-p80.3

553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p116.1

554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.II\_1.18-p28.3

555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.XII.81-p51.3

556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=34#i.V\_1.34-p38.12

557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=35#i.XII.82-p43.2

558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=38#i.XII.81-p83.1

559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=38#i.XII.81-p91.3

560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=39#i.XII.81-p70.1

561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=4&scrV=39#i.XII.81-p91.4

562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.IX.51-p26.14

563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=5&scrV=25#i.V\_1.35-p12.3

564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=5&scrV=33#i.IX.51-p26.5

565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=5&scrV=36#i.IX.51-p26.4

566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=5&scrV=41#i.XII.81-p91.7

567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p136.2

568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.II\_1.15-p16.1

569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p58.1

570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p88.6

571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p89.3

572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p82.3

573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p83.3

574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p84.2

575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p30.1

576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p6.5

577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.XII.81-p91.1

578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.XII.87-p38.2

579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.27-p77.5

580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.27-p31.1

581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.XII.83-p155.2

582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.II\_1.17-p59.5

583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p162.3

584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=31#i.XII.81-p52.3

585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=34#i.XII.81-p81.1

586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=40#i.XII.81-p90.6

587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=43#i.XII.94-p39.10

588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=45#i.XII.79-p21.5

589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=45#i.XII.79-p161.1

590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=46#i.XII.81-p52.4

591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=50#i.XII.83-p161.2

592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=0#i.IX.54-p29.15

593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p82.4

594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.XII.80-p38.2

595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=4#i.IX.54-p29.3

596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.II\_1.17-p82.4

597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=8#i.II\_1.17-p82.4

598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=9#i.II\_1.17-p82.4

599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=13#i.II\_1.17-p82.4

600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=24#i.XII.81-p52.5

601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=31#i.XII.81-p52.6

602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=7&scrV=31#i.XII.81-p51.1

603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=14#i.XII.81-p91.5

604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p136.5

605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=22#i.XII.81-p51.2

606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=25#i.XII.79-p27.18

607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=27#i.IV\_1.26-p10.1

608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=27#i.XII.79-p157.2

609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=27#i.XII.81-p38.1

610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=30#i.II\_1.17-p97.2

611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=31#i.II\_1.19-p13.2

612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=31#i.II\_1.17-p84.2

613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=8&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p176.2

614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.VII.41-p44.1

615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.XII.81-p52.7

616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=3#i.XII.81-p90.3

617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=6#i.XII.81-p36.2

618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p162.6

619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=21#i.XII.81-p87.1

620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=36#i.XII.81-p89.1

621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p22.2

622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=13#i.II\_1.17-p89.2

623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=13#i.XII.81-p108.9

624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=14#i.X.65-p11.2

625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=21#i.V\_1.31-p26.1

626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=21#i.XII.81-p85.1

627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=24#i.XII.81-p47.1

628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=32#i.XII.81-p47.2

629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=35#i.VII.41-p45.2

630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.XII.81-p91.2

631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=10&scrV=50#i.XII.81-p90.4

632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p92.1

633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p23.2

634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.81-p52.8

635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p82.3

636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=4#i.XII.81-p91.6

637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=11&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p59.2

638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p82.3

639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p43.4

640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=12&scrV=38#i.II\_1.17-p53.2

641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=12&scrV=40#i.II\_1.17-p56.3

642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XII.78-p33.3

643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.VI.38-p36.2

644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.VI.38-p4.1

645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.II\_1.17-p36.2

646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.81-p90.5

647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p236.2

648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=32#i.XII.82-p237.2

649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.IX.53-p15.2

650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p24.2

651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=7#i.XII.83-p173.2

652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=9#i.XII.79-p157.5

653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=12#i.II\_1.16-p123.3

654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.24-p92.5

655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=34#i.XII.81-p52.9

656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=36#i.XII.81-p91.8

657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=51#i.XII.81-p13.1

658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=54#i.XII.81-p36.3

659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=58#i.XII.83-p149.2

660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=72#i.IV\_1.26-p9.1

661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=72#i.XII.81-p36.4

662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=84#i.XII.83-p179.2

663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p45.6

664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=15#i.XII.81-p66.6

665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=21#i.XII.81-p90.7

666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p40.5

667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=40#i.IV\_1.27-p87.4

668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=40#i.IV\_1.27-p88.3

669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=40#i.IV\_1.27-p67.2

670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=40#i.IV\_1.27-p67.7

671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=41#i.II\_1.17-p59.3

672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=41#i.VIII.46-p12.3

673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=42#i.II\_1.16-p122.1

674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=42#i.II\_1.16-p126.10

675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=47#i.IV\_1.27-p88.4

676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=47#i.IV\_1.27-p67.8

677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.II\_1.19-p14.5

678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p63.4

679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.81-p127.4

680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.II\_1.19-p14.1

681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p87.5

682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p67.9

683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=2#i.XII.81-p120.5

684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=7#i.XII.81-p35.3

685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=7#i.XII.81-p120.1

686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p110.2

687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p115.2

688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p117.1

689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p122.3

690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p126.2

691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p132.2

692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p135.2

693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p135.7

694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p138.1

695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p120.2

696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p135.5

697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p127.3

698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p127.1

699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.II\_1.19-p22.2

700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p107.1

701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p112.2

702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p123.2

703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=11#i.XII.81-p108.13

704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=12#i.XII.82-p115.2

705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=14#i.XII.81-p134.1

706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#i.X.59-p4.2

707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p236.6

708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#i.II\_1.19-p20.2

709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#i.XII.81-p127.2

710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.IX.54-p4.2

711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.IX.54-p24.2

712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XII.81-p108.1

713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XII.81-p108.12

714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p152.1

715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.24-p64.2

716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.24-p68.3

717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.24-p88.3

718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p108.18

719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p125.2

720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p132.1

721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=17#i.XII.81-p123.1

722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.81-p36.1

723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.81-p107.2

724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.81-p125.1

725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p116.2

726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=20#i.XII.81-p122.3

727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p113.3

728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=25&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p171.13

729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=29&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p106.3

730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=40&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p124.1

731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=44&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p147.1

732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=158&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p92.2

733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=174&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p112.2

734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=540&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p116.1

735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=793&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p107.2

736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p113.1

737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p66.1

738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p123.2

739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p133.1

740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p137.2

741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.80-p63.1

742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p18.2

743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p41.1

744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.78-p35.1

745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p182.1

746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p226.2

747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.81-p133.1

748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p233.1

749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XII.79-p170.1

750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XII.82-p232.2

751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XII.82-p232.7

752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p52.1

753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p55.1

754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.II\_1.16-p12.2

755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.II\_1.16-p43.4

756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.II\_1.16-p47.3

757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p70.1

758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p155.2

759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p156.3

760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.II\_1.16-p12.3

761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.II\_1.16-p43.5

762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.II\_1.16-p47.4

763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.XII.82-p57.1

764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.XII.82-p71.1

765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=27#i.IV\_1.27-p72.6

766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=27#i.VII.43-p12.3

767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=34#i.XII.82-p156.3

768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.82-p156.3

769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.82-p213.2

770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=39#i.XII.82-p72.1

771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=41#i.XII.82-p156.3

772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=46#i.IX.53-p19.1

773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=46#i.XII.82-p73.1

774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=47#i.VIII.46-p11.1

775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=47#i.XII.82-p123.13

776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=57#i.XII.82-p74.1

777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=67#i.XII.82-p156.3

778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=67#i.XII.82-p75.1

779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=68#i.IX.53-p20.1

780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=69#i.IV\_1.24-p42.3

781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=69#i.XII.82-p123.5

782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=77#i.XII.82-p123.6

783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p110.1

784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p61.12

785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p70.1

786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p76.1

787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.II\_1.14-p105.3

788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.II\_1.16-p55.2

789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.85-p117.1

790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.II\_1.16-p61.11

791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.IV\_1.27-p70.10

792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.II\_1.16-p90.2

793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p77.1

794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.IX.53-p17.1

795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XII.81-p138.2

796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.II\_1.16-p61.8

797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.XII.82-p78.1

798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=29#i.IX.53-p18.1

799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=30#i.XII.82-p123.9

800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=32#i.XII.82-p125.2

801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=40#i.XII.82-p129.3

802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=41#i.XII.82-p79.1

803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=42#i.XII.79-p18.3

804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=44#i.IV\_1.27-p77.3

805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=46#i.II\_1.17-p62.5

806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=46#i.II\_1.17-p64.1

807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=46#i.XII.82-p129.4

808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=52#i.II\_1.15-p7.1

809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=52#i.XII.82-p129.5

810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p41.1

811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p51.1

812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p87.3

813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p43.1

814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p10.3

815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p19.3

816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.27-p43.1

817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XII.82-p125.5

818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.IX.54-p23.6

819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.IX.54-p29.20

820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=21#i.XII.79-p20.3

821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.24-p29.1

822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.II\_1.16-p41.2

823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.XII.79-p18.2

824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.XII.82-p80.1

825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=38#i.XII.82-p125.1

826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.II\_1.16-p110.2

827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p20.3

828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.II\_1.16-p106.3

829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p69.5

830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p70.5

831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.79-p21.3

832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p17.6

833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.79-p171.14

834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.II\_1.17-p71.1

835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=17#i.IX.51-p39.1

836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=19#i.VIII.48-p18.3

837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=20#i.IX.51-p30.3

838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.IV\_1.27-p31.3

839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p155.3

840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.XII.82-p126.1

841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.III\_1.20-p119.2

842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.IV\_1.27-p74.6

843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.XII.82-p125.6

844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=32#i.XII.83-p136.3

845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=4&scrV=38#i.XII.82-p149.1

846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p84.1

847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.XII.79-p27.6

848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=23#i.XII.79-p27.7

849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p158.3

850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=27#i.XII.80-p15.15

851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=28#i.XII.80-p29.1

852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=29#i.XII.80-p26.1

853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=29#i.XII.80-p15.16

854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=5&scrV=50#i.XI.71-p59.3

855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.II\_1.18-p10.2

856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.XII.79-p27.11

857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p27.2

858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.27-p66.5

859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.XII.80-p17.3

860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=16#i.XII.85-p116.2

861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=21#i.XII.83-p164.2

862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=30#i.II\_1.18-p7.3

863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=31#i.II\_1.17-p117.1

864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=40#i.XII.83-p185.2

865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=1#i.XII.79-p171.2

866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=1#i.II\_1.17-p44.2

867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.IX.51-p19.1

868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p81.3

869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=9#i.I\_1.11-p46.2

870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p85.1

871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=36#i.XII.82-p86.1

872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=7&scrV=41#i.XII.82-p99.1

873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=2#i.XII.82-p87.1

874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p59.1

875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.VII.41-p23.2

876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.VIII.46-p12.1

877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=22#i.XII.82-p43.1

878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=23#i.XII.82-p152.3

879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=26#i.XII.82-p152.15

880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=41#i.IX.51-p26.9

881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=46#i.XII.82-p150.3

882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=8&scrV=49#i.IX.51-p26.3

883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=4#i.VII.41-p42.1

884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=7#i.XII.79-p162.5

885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=21#i.II\_1.17-p97.3

886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=22#i.II\_1.19-p13.3

887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=22#i.II\_1.17-p84.3

888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p176.3

889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=37#i.XII.81-p87.3

890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=37#i.XII.79-p162.8

891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=44#i.II\_1.19-p13.4

892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=44#i.II\_1.17-p84.4

893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=45#i.II\_1.19-p13.5

894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=45#i.II\_1.17-p84.5

895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=48#i.XII.81-p89.3

896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=49#i.VII.43-p8.1

897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=49#i.VII.41-p44.2

898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=51#i.XII.82-p88.1

899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=51#i.XII.79-p21.6

900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=51#i.XII.82-p82.2

901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=58#i.II\_1.17-p96.1

902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=58#i.IX.56-p8.1

903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p73.2

904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p218.2

905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p89.1

906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=13#i.II\_1.17-p30.2

907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=21#i.II\_1.17-p90.2

908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p144.4

909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=25#i.XII.82-p100.1

910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=30#i.II\_1.17-p45.2

911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=38#i.XII.82-p90.1

912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.IX.53-p12.2

913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p101.1

914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XII.82-p91.1

915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=38#i.IX.54-p29.2

916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=43#i.II\_1.17-p53.3

917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p117.1

918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=12&scrV=11#i.IX.51-p31.2

919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=12&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p8.3

920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=12&scrV=16#i.XII.82-p102.1

921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=12&scrV=49#i.II\_1.18-p20.2

922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=13&scrV=4#i.V\_1.36-p53.5

923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=13&scrV=6#i.II\_1.16-p116.1

924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=13&scrV=6#i.XII.82-p103.1

925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.IX.51-p26.13

926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p92.1

927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=14&scrV=11#i.II\_1.18-p11.4

928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p104.1

929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=15&scrV=11#i.I\_1.8-p13.1

930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=15&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p105.1

931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p106.1

932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=16&scrV=10#i.II\_1.18-p21.1

933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=16&scrV=14#i.II\_1.17-p56.4

934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p107.1

935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.II\_1.18-p27.2

936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p93.1

937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=12#i.XII.82-p125.7

938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=20#i.XII.82-p237.3

939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=21#i.X.65-p11.3

940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p108.1

941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p109.1

942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.II\_1.17-p89.3

943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.XII.81-p108.10

944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.XII.79-p22.3

945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p96.1

946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p94.1

947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p67.4

948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p110.1

949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=29#i.XII.83-p82.4

950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=29#i.XII.79-p23.3

951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=41#i.XII.82-p95.1

952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=43#i.VI.38-p36.3

953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=43#i.XII.82-p234.1

954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=19&scrV=44#i.II\_1.17-p36.3

955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=20&scrV=9#i.XII.79-p82.2

956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=20&scrV=9#i.XII.82-p43.3

957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.XII.78-p33.4

958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p76.2

959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p237.3

960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p140.1

961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.27-p77.4

962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=20#i.VI.38-p61.2

963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=20#i.XII.82-p234.1

964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.82-p236.3

965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.94-p41.10

966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.101-p67.4

967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=21&scrV=32#i.XII.82-p236.9

968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p24.3

969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=7#i.II\_1.16-p123.4

970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=15#i.II\_1.16-p123.5

971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.24-p27.3

972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=19#i.X.59-p4.3

973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p158.2

974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=31#i.IV\_1.26-p11.1

975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=31#i.XII.82-p96.1

976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=32#i.XII.82-p220.1

977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=37#i.XII.80-p40.7

978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=50#i.XII.82-p97.1

979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=3#i.XII.82-p113.1

980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=19#i.V\_1.34-p45.5

981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=27#i.XII.82-p112.1

982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=39#i.XII.82-p114.1

983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=54#i.II\_1.16-p122.3

984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=56#i.II\_1.19-p14.2

985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=0#i.II\_1.19-p20.3

986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.27-p87.6

987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.27-p67.10

988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=11#i.II\_1.19-p14.3

989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=13#i.XII.82-p115.1

990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=16#i.II\_1.18-p47.7

991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.27-p79.5

992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=23#i.V\_1.31-p64.5

993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=37#i.XII.81-p108.17

994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=39#i.II\_1.18-p26.1

995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=47#i.I\_1.9-p53.2

996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=50#i.XII.82-p116.1

997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=51#i.XII.81-p107.3

998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=53#i.IV\_1.24-p93.4

999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=27&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p109.3

1000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=34&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p112.3

1001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=38&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p48.1

1002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=67&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p125.1

1003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=174&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p113.2

1004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=209&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p96.2

1005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=415&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p110.2

1006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=969&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p117.1

1007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.IX.54-p29.22

1008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.71-p95.7

1009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p18.2

1010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p36.3

1011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p40.1

1012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p40.3

1013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p123.1

1014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.94-p45.3

1015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p59.1

1016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p112.1

1017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p38.1

1018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p97.7

1019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p44.1

1020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.94-p45.7

1021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.83-p60.1

1022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.72-p70.3

1023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.I\_1.11-p55.1

1024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.I\_1.8-p10.1

1025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.83-p207.5

1026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XII.83-p61.1

1027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.I\_1.11-p55.1

1028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p42.1

1029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p239.2

1030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.I\_1.11-p55.1

1031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.VII-p7.2

1032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p95.7

1033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p100.3

1034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p12.1

1035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p25.1

1036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p40.2

1037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p41.3

1038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p48.1

1039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p60.1

1040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p105.2

1041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p262.1

1042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.94-p45.4

1043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.94-p46.2

1044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p62.1

1045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.II\_1.16-p61.4

1046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.94-p39.3

1047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.94-p45.5

1048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p95.24

1049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.72-p8.1

1050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p128.1

1051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.72-p35.1

1052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p144.6

1053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XII.94-p46.3

1054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p252.1

1055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p64.1

1056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p63.1

1057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p248.1

1058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p252.3

1059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p146.1

1060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p251.9

1061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XI.72-p67.2

1062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XI.72-p74.2

1063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XII.83-p255.1

1064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=30#i.II\_1.16-p61.5

1065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=32#i.IV\_1.24-p29.6

1066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=32#i.II\_1.17-p94.1

1067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=32#i.XII.79-p20.4

1068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=33#i.IX.54-p23.7

1069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p255.2

1070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p256.1

1071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.VII.41-p28.1

1072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p26.1

1073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p263.1

1074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=38#i.XII.83-p65.1

1075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=39#i.XII.83-p255.3

1076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=40#i.XII.83-p232.1

1077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=41#i.XII.83-p27.4

1078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=42#i.IV\_1.26-p47.4

1079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=42#i.XII.83-p51.1

1080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=43#i.XII.83-p146.2

1081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=43#i.XII.83-p255.4

1082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=44#i.XII.83-p251.15

1083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=45#i.XII.83-p252.1

1084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=46#i.II\_1.17-p50.1

1085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=46#i.XII.83-p251.16

1086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=51#i.II\_1.17-p96.5

1087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=51#i.XI.72-p107.9

1088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p251.11

1089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p252.9

1090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p66.1

1091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XII.83-p239.3

1092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XII.83-p252.4

1093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XI.72-p109.4

1094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.27-p70.4

1095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p66.2

1096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.II\_1.16-p115.3

1097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.II\_1.16-p107.1

1098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p66.3

1099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p252.7

1100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p67.1

1101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p257.1

1102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.II\_1.19-p5.1

1103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.IX.52-p7.1

1104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p148.1

1105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p251.10

1106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.II\_1.16-p103.2

1107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.II\_1.19-p13.6

1108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p140.6

1109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p257.2

1110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.II\_1.16-p107.2

1111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p252.7

1112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p67.2

1113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=2&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p258.1

1114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p13.1

1115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p259.1

1116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p68.1

1117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.V\_1.35-p12.4

1118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=3#i.XII.83-p226.1

1119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.IX.54-p4.3

1120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.IX.54-p24.1

1121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p97.2

1122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.81-p108.6

1123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.81-p108.11

1124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.83-p230.4

1125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p23.4

1126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p124.2

1127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p133.1

1128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.94-p46.4

1129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p59.4

1130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p68.2

1131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=18#i.XII.94-p46.5

1132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p252.3

1133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p69.1

1134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p251.12

1135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p252.5

1136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=30#i.II\_1.16-p94.2

1137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=31#i.XII.83-p133.1

1138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=36#i.XI.72-p89.3

1139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.I\_1.13-p20.1

1140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.28-p5.2

1141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p259.2

1142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p259.4

1143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p260.1

1144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p69.2

1145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p70.1

1146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p33.1

1147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p252.3

1148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=5#i.XII.83-p251.13

1149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=5#i.II\_1.17-p45.1

1150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p252.2

1151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.XII.83-p230.2

1152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=20#i.XII.83-p252.2

1153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=22#i.I\_1.9-p53.1

1154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=22#i.XII.82-p123.7

1155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p128.2

1156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p252.2

1157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.IV\_1.24-p93.6

1158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.IX.56-p4.1

1159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.XI.72-p30.1

1160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p252.1

1161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p251.11

1162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=42#i.XII.82-p123.3

1163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=43#i.XII.83-p70.2

1164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=44#i.IV\_1.27-p31.4

1165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=46#i.XII.83-p71.1

1166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p114.1

1167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p108.1

1168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p252.7

1169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p72.1

1170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p251.1

1171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.IX.57-p20.2

1172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p72.2

1173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XI.72-p76.4

1174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=25#i.XI.72-p76.5

1175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=44#i.II\_1.18-p11.5

1176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=46#i.XII.83-p128.3

1177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XII.83-p13.2

1178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p73.1

1179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.II\_1.16-p113.2

1180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.II\_1.16-p115.6

1181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XII.83-p252.1

1182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p73.2

1183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p106.5

1184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p251.14

1185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p74.1

1186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=45#i.XII.83-p248.2

1187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=47#i.XI.72-p71.1

1188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=47#i.XII.83-p230.1

1189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=47#i.IX.v-p3.3

1190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=52#i.XI.72-p66.1

1191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=62#i.XII.83-p123.1

1192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#i.IX.v-p3.3

1193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#i.IX.v-p23.1

1194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=68#i.XI.70-p6.2

1195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=68#i.XII.83-p51.2

1196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=71#i.XII.83-p253.1

1197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p75.1

1198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=2#i.II\_1.16-p115.7

1199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p72.4

1200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.II\_1.17-p24.1

1201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.27-p79.7

1202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.27-p30.3

1203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=10#i.XI.72-p106.6

1204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=15#i.II\_1.15-p16.3

1205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=15#i.XI.72-p106.6

1206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p252.8

1207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p252.1

1208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=37#i.XII.83-p252.7

1209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=46#i.XII.83-p136.4

1210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=49#i.II\_1.17-p113.1

1211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=49#i.II\_1.18-p10.5

1212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=53#i.XII.83-p76.1

1213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XII.81-p110.1

1214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=2#i.II\_1.17-p64.3

1215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=5#i.XII.83-p225.4

1216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p77.1

1217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p232.2

1218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=40#i.XI.72-p107.11

1219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=40#i.XII.83-p121.1

1220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=42#i.II\_1.19-p5.2

1221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=44#i.VII.41-p47.1

1222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=44#i.XI.72-p65.3

1223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=44#i.XI.72-p73.3

1224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=48#i.XII.83-p252.2

1225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=57#i.II\_1.16-p103.1

1226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=58#i.XI.71-p95.8

1227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=58#i.XII.83-p123.1

1228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=59#i.XI.72-p106.6

1229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p78.1

1230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p238.1

1231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=7#i.XII.83-p251.2

1232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p259.3

1233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=34#i.IX.51-p31.3

1234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p79.1

1235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p230.3

1236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=11#i.XI.72-p107.1

1237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=11#i.XII.83-p124.3

1238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=15#i.XI.72-p107.1

1239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=17#i.XI.72-p107.1

1240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=22#i.XII.83-p79.2

1241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p251.3

1242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=39#i.XI.72-p106.6

1243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=40#i.XII.83-p79.3

1244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p80.1

1245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p253.2

1246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p252.9

1247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p251.8

1248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=33#i.XI.72-p107.3

1249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=33#i.XII.83-p121.2

1250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p121.3

1251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=49#i.XII.83-p252.10

1252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=11&scrV=51#i.XII.83-p252.10

1253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p81.1

1254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=4#i.XII.83-p253.1

1255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p81.2

1256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p82.1

1257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p140.7

1258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=20#i.II\_1.17-p46.1

1259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=20#i.XII.83-p83.1

1260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=27#i.XI.72-p107.1

1261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p121.4

1262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=32#i.II\_1.15-p18.1

1263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=34#i.II\_1.17-p84.6

1264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=34#i.XII.83-p252.1

1265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=38#i.XII.79-p171.3

1266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=41#i.VII.41-p22.3

1267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p125.1

1268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.II\_1.16-p126.1

1269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p121.5

1270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p85.1

1271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p84.2

1272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p253.1

1273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=7#i.XII.83-p140.5

1274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=18#i.XII.83-p248.2

1275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=21#i.XI.72-p107.5

1276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=21#i.XII.83-p86.1

1277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.VII.41-p22.5

1278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p263.2

1279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p253.1

1280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p86.2

1281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=29#i.II\_1.17-p59.4

1282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=31#i.XII.83-p87.1

1283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=34#i.XII.83-p124.4

1284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=34#i.XI.72-p96.3

1285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=36#i.XII.83-p89.1

1286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p90.1

1287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p14.1

1288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=15#i.XI.72-p99.3

1289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p80.1

1290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=17#i.XII.95-p16.1

1291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=21#i.XI.72-p99.4

1292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=26#i.IV\_1.24-p14.2

1293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=26#i.XI.72-p80.2

1294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p8.1

1295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=13#i.XI.72-p75.2

1296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.XI.72-p81.3

1297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.XII.95-p16.1

1298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=27#i.XII.79-p170.5

1299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p140.4

1300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p140.8

1301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.95-p16.1

1302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=0#i.XI.72-p23.1

1303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=0#i.XII.100-p15.3

1304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p91.1

1305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p108.3

1306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=3#i.XI.67-p5.1

1307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p88.1

1308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p61.1

1309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=5#i.XII.83-p123.1

1310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=17#i.XII.96-p24.21

1311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=22#i.XI.72-p95.1

1312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=24#i.XI.72-p61.2

1313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p123.1

1314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p251.4

1315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p93.1

1316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p92.1

1317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=9#i.II\_1.16-p123.6

1318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=12#i.XII.83-p94.1

1319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.27-p43.2

1320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p252.10

1321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p263.3

1322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p95.1

1323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=18#i.II\_1.16-p91.1

1324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p94.1

1325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=20#i.II\_1.17-p62.1

1326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=20#i.IX.51-p39.2

1327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p95.1

1328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=28#i.II\_1.16-p126.2

1329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p251.5

1330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p252.6

1331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=28#i.XII.83-p96.1

1332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=39#i.II\_1.16-p126.12

1333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=40#i.II\_1.16-p123.7

1334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=4#i.XII.83-p96.2

1335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p251.6

1336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=14#i.II\_1.16-p122.4

1337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=14#i.II\_1.16-p126.7

1338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=15#i.VIII.46-p13.1

1339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p251.7

1340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=17#i.XII.83-p97.1

1341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=20#i.I\_1.11-p58.1

1342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=24#i.IV\_1.24-p27.4

1343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p86.1

1344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p67.11

1345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p70.12

1346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p70.13

1347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p72.3

1348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.VII.41-p25.1

1349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p264.1

1350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p263.4

1351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=27#i.VII.41-p23.3

1352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=30#i.XI.72-p107.7

1353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=33#i.XII.83-p121.6

1354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=34#i.XI.72-p82.3

1355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=34#i.XII.83-p243.2

1356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=35#i.XII.83-p262.8

1357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=37#i.XII.83-p248.2

1358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=38#i.XII.83-p98.1

1359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=1#i.VIII.46-p14.2

1360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p99.1

1361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p263.5

1362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=4#i.VII.41-p30.1

1363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=8#i.XII.81-p108.14

1364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=11#i.XII.83-p100.1

1365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=14#i.II\_1.18-p47.6

1366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=19#i.IX.57-p24.1

1367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=19#i.XII.83-p101.1

1368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=21#i.II\_1.19-p20.4

1369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=21#i.X.59-p4.4

1370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.24-p14.3

1371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p253.2

1372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=25#i.II\_1.19-p14.6

1373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=25#i.II\_1.19-p49.4

1374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=25#i.XII.81-p108.15

1375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p243.3

1376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=26#i.IX.57-p24.2

1377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=26#i.XII.83-p102.1

1378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=27#i.II\_1.18-p26.2

1379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=27#i.XII.83-p243.4

1380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.II\_1.18-p5.2

1381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XII.78-p8.1

1382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XII.83-p37.1

1383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XII.78-p13.1

1384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XII.83-p103.1

1385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=31#i.XI.72-p63.1

1386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p38.2

1387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p105.1

1388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p107.1

1389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p104.1

1390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p51.3

1391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p251.11

1392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p253.2

1393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=2#i.XII.83-p264.2

1394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.26-p8.2

1395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p51.4

1396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p106.1

1397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.III\_1.20-p124.1

1398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=18#i.VI.37-p46.1

1399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.25-p53.3

1400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=22#i.VII.43-p18.1

1401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=22#i.VII.41-p15.1

1402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p32.1

1403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p235.1

1404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=24#i.XII.83-p108.1

1405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p32.2

1406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=25#i.XII.83-p37.2

1407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=50&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p147.2

1408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.78-p37.1

1409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p52.3

1410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p228.1

1411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.82-p116.3

1412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.IX.54-p29.23

1413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.101-p179.1

1414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.II\_1.19-p20.5

1415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.XII.85-p32.1

1416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.81-p107.4

1417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.82-p57.2

1418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.27-p33.1

1419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.27-p66.6

1420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.80-p17.4

1421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.83-p27.5

1422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.24-p36.1

1423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.II\_1.19-p42.1

1424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.24-p24.1

1425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.24-p68.2

1426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.X.61-p6.7

1427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XII.79-p170.4

1428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.79-p176.1

1429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.V\_1.34-p53.7

1430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.V\_1.31-p35.2

1431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p83.1

1432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p42.2

1433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p63.2

1434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p79.1

1435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p88.2

1436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.25-p7.1

1437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.25-p37.1

1438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p32.2

1439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p17.5

1440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p19.4

1441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p91.6

1442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p8.1

1443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p92.2

1444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.24-p37.1

1445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.24-p38.1

1446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p3.2

1447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p38.2

1448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p51.1

1449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p64.4

1450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p64.13

1451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p73.1

1452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p75.1

1453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p75.2

1454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.I\_1.13-p6.1

1455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p68.2

1456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.24-p49.1

1457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.24-p68.2

1458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.24-p21.1

1459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.II\_1.17-p73.1

1460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.I\_1.13-p6.2

1461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.V\_1.34-p38.4

1462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=10#i.V\_1.36-p53.1

1463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.24-p69.8

1464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.25-p35.1

1465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XI.70-p9.1

1466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.24-p69.9

1467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p41.3

1468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.24-p38.3

1469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.24-p38.4

1470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XI.71-p44.9

1471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=24#i.II\_1.19-p4.1

1472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=27#i.XI.70-p17.2

1473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=32#i.II\_1.19-p4.2

1474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=32#i.XII.87-p28.4

1475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=33#i.XI.70-p15.14

1476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=36#i.XI.70-p15.9

1477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=38#i.IX.54-p4.4

1478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=38#i.IX.54-p23.9

1479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=38#i.XI.70-p15.15

1480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=41#i.III\_1.20-p92.1

1481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=42#i.XII.79-p175.1

1482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p93.5

1483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.25-p33.1

1484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p32.3

1485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.VII.42-p10.1

1486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.26-p50.4

1487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=7#i.XII.82-p150.4

1488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.24-p93.3

1489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=8#i.XII.83-p8.4

1490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.VII.41-p27.1

1491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.IX.53-p21.1

1492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=32#i.VIII.49-p5.1

1493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=36#i.XII.100-p83.2

1494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p38.1

1495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p159.1

1496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.X.63-p13.1

1497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.24-p93.2

1498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.24-p93.5

1499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=36#i.XII.85-p115.1

1500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=37#i.II\_1.16-p57.6

1501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=37#i.II\_1.16-p60.1

1502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=37#i.II\_1.16-p63.6

1503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=37#i.III\_1.23-p41.1

1504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=37#i.XII.85-p119.1

1505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=42#i.IV\_1.24-p93.5

1506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.X.62-p4.3

1507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p100.1

1508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p30.1

1509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.X.62-p5.1

1510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.X.62-p9.1

1511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=5#i.VII.40-p14.3

1512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p29.4

1513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=6#i.X.59-p10.1

1514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=6#i.XII.99-p49.5

1515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.II\_1.17-p70.1

1516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.V\_1.36-p53.6

1517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.IX.51-p20.1

1518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=7&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p89.1

1519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=7&scrV=58#i.V\_1.30-p8.7

1520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.I\_1.13-p21.1

1521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.28-p5.1

1522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p89.2

1523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.26-p25.3

1524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XII.79-p227.1

1525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p32.4

1526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.26-p21.2

1527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.26-p21.1

1528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=10#i.XI.73-p13.1

1529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=13#i.IX.54-p4.4

1530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=14#i.VII.41-p43.1

1531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=15#i.IX.54-p34.1

1532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=16#i.IX.54-p4.4

1533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=17#i.XII.99-p49.5

1534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=18#i.IX.54-p4.4

1535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=27#i.III\_1.20-p76.1

1536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=27#i.XII.85-p121.1

1537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=28#i.XII.79-p171.15

1538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=30#i.XII.79-p171.16

1539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.XII.79-p171.17

1540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=37#i.IX.54-p4.4

1541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p14.1

1542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p89.3

1543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p57.1

1544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.V\_1.31-p77.1

1545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.IX.51-p17.7

1546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p72.6

1547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=4#i.V\_1.31-p11.1

1548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=17#i.V\_1.30-p72.7

1549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=18#i.V\_1.30-p72.8

1550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=20#i.V\_1.32-p7.2

1551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=23#i.V\_1.32-p7.5

1552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=23#i.V\_1.33-p6.1

1553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=23#i.XII.85-p61.1

1554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=26#i.V\_1.33-p7.2

1555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=26#i.XII.85-p65.1

1556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=27#i.XII.100-p30.2

1557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=30#i.V\_1.30-p22.2

1558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p53.2

1559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p24.1

1560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.28-p7.1

1561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.28-p7.2

1562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p96.2

1563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=2#i.I\_1.13-p12.2

1564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=10#i.III\_1.22-p58.4

1565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=27#i.V\_1.35-p10.1

1566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=34#i.IV\_1.26-p13.1

1567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=35#i.I\_1.11-p46.3

1568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=35#i.XI.70-p11.1

1569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=38#i.XII.81-p46.1

1570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=38#i.XII.82-p121.2

1571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p42.5

1572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p45.1

1573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p63.3

1574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p64.14

1575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=46#i.IV\_1.24-p69.1

1576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p96.2

1577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p29.3

1578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p29.2

1579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=26#i.V\_1.36-p60.11

1580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.X.60-p10.1

1581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.XII.85-p123.1

1582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.V\_1.33-p11.1

1583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=30#i.V\_1.34-p41.2

1584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=30#i.III\_1.23-p108.2

1585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=30#i.X.61-p27.1

1586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=11&scrV=30#i.X.61-p33.1

1587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.III\_1.20-p111.2

1588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.III\_1.23-p8.2

1589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.27-p65.2

1590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.III\_1.23-p108.1

1591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=9#i.V\_1.31-p64.8

1592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=12#i.XII.81-p11.1

1593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.27-p82.6

1594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.25-p44.2

1595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.26-p38.2

1596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.27-p6.1

1597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=20#i.XII.85-p125.1

1598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=23#i.III\_1.23-p8.3

1599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=12&scrV=25#i.XII.81-p11.2

1600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.v-p32.3

1601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.V\_1.33-p13.2

1602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p126.1

1603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p32.5

1604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p24.3

1605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p29.2

1606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.III\_1.23-p114.1

1607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.IX.53-p11.2

1608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p152.6

1609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=5#i.IX.51-p39.3

1610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=7#i.XII.85-p127.1

1611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=13#i.XII.85-p159.4

1612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.II\_1.17-p63.1

1613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.V\_1.34-p89.2

1614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p26.15

1615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p37.2

1616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p39.4

1617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.IX.51-p39.6

1618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=15#i.IX.53-p8.1

1619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=44#i.IX.51-p39.5

1620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p126.1

1621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=11#i.XII.85-p134.1

1622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.24-p81.1

1623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=12#i.V\_1.30-p69.5

1624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=15#i.XII.85-p159.3

1625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=16#i.I\_1.8-p11.1

1626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=22#i.II\_1.18-p14.5

1627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=23#i.X.61-p28.1

1628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=23#i.X.61-p31.1

1629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=23#i.XII.99-p49.6

1630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p5.1

1631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p6.1

1632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p8.3

1633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.III\_1.20-p120.1

1634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p126.2

1635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.25-p49.2

1636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p96.1

1637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.X.61-p42.2

1638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.X.64-p6.1

1639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.XI.72-p37.2

1640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p155.1

1641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.V\_1.34-p26.1

1642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p9.2

1643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p29.2

1644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.26-p51.1

1645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=2#i.V\_1.34-p45.3

1646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=2#i.XII.85-p68.1

1647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=5#i.V\_1.34-p26.2

1648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=5#i.V\_1.34-p98.1

1649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.V\_1.34-p45.1

1650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.VII.42-p11.1

1651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.X.64-p9.1

1652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p43.1

1653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p53.1

1654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.III\_1.22-p58.5

1655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.V\_1.34-p53.6

1656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=11#i.XII.87-p28.2

1657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=12#i.X.64-p9.2

1658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=20#i.V\_1.34-p76.6

1659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=21#i.V\_1.34-p89.1

1660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=21#i.IX.51-p18.1

1661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.V\_1.34-p63.2

1662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.VII.42-p11.2

1663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.X.61-p36.9

1664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.X.64-p9.3

1665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.X.64-p16.7

1666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.X.64-p16.10

1667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.X.64-p16.11

1668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XII.100-p81.2

1669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XII.82-p29.2

1670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.V\_1.34-p61.2

1671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.IV\_1.27-p38.2

1672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.IV\_1.26-p51.2

1673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.VII.42-p11.3

1674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.X.64-p9.4

1675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.X.64-p16.1

1676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.V\_1.34-p64.1

1677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.XII.87-p6.3

1678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=25#i.X.61-p36.10

1679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=27#i.XII.100-p81.2

1680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=29#i.III\_1.22-p57.7

1681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=34#i.XII.100-p81.2

1682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=36#i.VIII.46-p6.7

1683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=36#i.III\_1.23-p132.1

1684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=38#i.XII.81-p14.2

1685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=39#i.XII.82-p152.13

1686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=39#i.XII.85-p159.5

1687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=39#i.XII.85-p155.2

1688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=40#i.XII.100-p81.2

1689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.V\_1.34-p49.1

1690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.XII.85-p88.1

1691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p66.1

1692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=6#i.XII.94-p21.1

1693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p31.1

1694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=10#i.XII.85-p40.6

1695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p152.30

1696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=12#i.XII.85-p136.1

1697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.IX.51-p17.13

1698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=14#i.XII.85-p138.1

1699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p144.1

1700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p31.3

1701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p40.8

1702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=3#i.I\_1.11-p52.1

1703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=6#i.XII.85-p140.1

1704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=8#i.XII.85-p140.2

1705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=16#i.XII.85-p72.1

1706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=16#i.XII.85-p145.1

1707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=18#i.XII.85-p145.1

1708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=20#i.XII.79-p171.4

1709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=21#i.XII.85-p145.1

1710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=22#i.XII.85-p145.1

1711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=23#i.I\_1.8-p17.1

1712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=23#i.XII.85-p145.1

1713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p102.6

1714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=26#i.I\_1.8-p12.1

1715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=27#i.I\_1.11-p52.2

1716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=28#i.I\_1.11-p52.3

1717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=28#i.V\_1.30-p28.1

1718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=28#i.XI.71-p20.2

1719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=28#i.XII.85-p145.1

1720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=31#i.XI.71-p100.7

1721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p80.1

1722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=2#i.V\_1.36-p62.1

1723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p60.1

1724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p50.2

1725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=3#i.XII.85-p76.1

1726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=8#i.IX.51-p26.6

1727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=8#i.XII.85-p92.1

1728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=9#i.V\_1.31-p70.2

1729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=12#i.XII.85-p132.1

1730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=12#i.V\_1.29-p15.3

1731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=17#i.IX.51-p26.7

1732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=18#i.XII.85-p88.1

1733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=21#i.IV\_1.24-p18.1

1734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=21#i.IV\_1.24-p91.4

1735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=21#i.IX.57-p31.2

1736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=24#i.XII.100-p90.1

1737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=18&scrV=27#i.XII.85-p84.1

1738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p144.1

1739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p46.1

1740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p63.3

1741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p64.15

1742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=6#i.XII.99-p49.6

1743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=8#i.XII.99-p26.2

1744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=10#i.XII.90-p8.3

1745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=21#i.III\_1.23-p12.4

1746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=21#i.XII.85-p104.1

1747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=21#i.XII.90-p8.4

1748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=22#i.III\_1.23-p14.3

1749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p154.1

1750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p100.1

1751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=2#i.XII.85-p80.2

1752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=3#i.XII.88-p17.8

1753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=4#i.V\_1.36-p60.10

1754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=4#i.XII.85-p142.1

1755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p31.5

1756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=5#i.XII.85-p40.10

1757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=6#i.XII.88-p17.8

1758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=7#i.IX.57-p24.3

1759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.24-p92.9

1760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.24-p91.5

1761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=16#i.XII.82-p152.20

1762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=16#i.XII.88-p17.8

1763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#i.X.61-p7.5

1764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#i.X.61-p12.1

1765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#i.X.61-p12.2

1766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#i.XII.85-p45.1

1767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#i.XII.99-p48.1

1768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.X.59-p9.1

1769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.X.61-p7.5

1770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.X.61-p36.4

1771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.XII.85-p45.2

1772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.XII.95-p6.1

1773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#i.XII.99-p48.1

1774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=29#i.III\_1.22-p57.2

1775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=29#i.VII.42-p23.1

1776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XI.73-p8.3

1777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=30#i.XII.85-p45.3

1778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=31#i.XII.99-p26.2

1779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=34#i.XII.85-p76.2

1780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=35#i.II\_1.18-p7.2

1781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=35#i.II\_1.18-p7.5

1782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=35#i.XI.71-p101.2

1783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.26-p23.1

1784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=2#i.XII.82-p152.24

1785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=3#i.XII.82-p152.4

1786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=9#i.VII.43-p12.4

1787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=15#i.V\_1.34-p67.1

1788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=17#i.V\_1.35-p30.1

1789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=18#i.VII.42-p13.1

1790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=18#i.X.61-p42.1

1791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=20#i.XII.100-p43.2

1792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=20#i.V\_1.34-p90.1

1793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=23#i.IV\_1.27-p48.1

1794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=23#i.V\_1.34-p50.3

1795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=23#i.XII.85-p88.1

1796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=25#i.V\_1.34-p67.4

1797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=26#i.VI.39-p8.2

1798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=37#i.III\_1.23-p166.1

1799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=38#i.III\_1.23-p149.1

1800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=40#i.IV\_1.24-p68.2

1801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=40#i.XII.80-p84.3

1802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p14.2

1803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p89.4

1804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p57.1

1805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p58.1

1806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=2#i.XII.80-p84.4

1807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=3#i.II\_1.17-p64.4

1808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p9.2

1809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=10#i.V\_1.31-p75.3

1810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=14#i.V\_1.31-p75.4

1811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=17#i.V\_1.33-p9.1

1812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=22&scrV=19#i.IX.51-p31.4

1813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=23&scrV=3#i.XII.85-p159.6

1814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=23&scrV=15#i.II\_1.16-p61.9

1815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=23&scrV=16#i.V\_1.30-p52.1

1816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=23&scrV=26#i.V\_1.34-p61.4

1817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=23&scrV=26#i.XII.82-p52.4

1818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=24&scrV=5#i.XII.93-p3.2

1819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=24&scrV=17#i.III\_1.23-p13.4

1820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=24&scrV=17#i.XII.85-p100.1

1821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=25&scrV=13#i.V\_1.36-p42.1

1822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=25&scrV=23#i.V\_1.36-p42.2

1823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p14.3

1824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p89.4

1825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p14.4

1826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p57.1

1827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p44.6

1828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=14#i.V\_1.31-p20.1

1829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.24-p68.2

1830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=19#i.V\_1.31-p64.2

1831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=19#i.V\_1.31-p19.1

1832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=26&scrV=28#i.V\_1.36-p60.12

1833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p172.1

1834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p152.43

1835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=0#i.XII.85-p148.1

1836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p152.17

1837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p152.22

1838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=5#i.XII.82-p152.11

1839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=7#i.XII.82-p152.9

1840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=7#i.XII.82-p152.18

1841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p152.32

1842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=13#i.XII.82-p152.33

1843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p152.38

1844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=16#i.XII.82-p152.36

1845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=17#i.XII.82-p152.39

1846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=18#i.XII.82-p152.41

1847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=27#i.XII.82-p152.26

1848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=27&scrV=41#i.XII.82-p152.28

1849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p172.1

1850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p150.1

1851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=13#i.V\_1.36-p69.1

1852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=13#i.V\_1.36-p69.2

1853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=13#i.XII.82-p24.5

1854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=15#i.V\_1.36-p70.1

1855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=16#i.XII.85-p108.1

1856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=17#i.XII.93-p4.10

1857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=17#i.V\_1.36-p46.1

1858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=23#i.XII.85-p96.1

1859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=28#i.XII.82-p123.10

1860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=30#i.V\_1.36-p76.2

1861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=30#i.III\_1.23-p17.2

1862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=30#i.III\_1.23-p196.1

1863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=30#i.XII.93-p4.11

1864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=28&scrV=30#i.V\_1.33-p29.1

1865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=135&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p147.3

1866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.27-p72.7

1868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p100.2

1869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.83-p123.10

1870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p93.1

1871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.83-p123.11

1872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.92-p7.6

1873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.V\_1.36-p68.1

1874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.III\_1.22-p53.2

1875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.24-p21.2

1876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p194.7

1877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.III\_1.23-p12.1

1878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.85-p105.1

1879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.88-p17.5

1880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.III\_1.23-p12.2

1881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.92-p7.7

1882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.V\_1.32-p18.1

1883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p17.5

1884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p105.9

1885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.92-p5.1

1886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p17.1

1887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p74.2

1888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.V\_1.33-p18.1

1889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p19.1

1890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p20.1

1891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XII.92-p6.1

1892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.I\_1.11-p50.1

1893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.I\_1.8-p10.2

1894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.I\_1.11-p40.1

1895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.III\_1.23-p12.3

1896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p120.2

1897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.92-p6.2

1898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p53.1

1899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XI.69-p17.1

1900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p171.5

1901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.I\_1.11-p51.1

1902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XII.82-p22.1

1903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=25#i.V\_1.34-p51.3

1904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=25#i.II\_1.18-p10.9

1905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=26#i.XI.71-p120.2

1906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=27#i.II\_1.18-p10.10

1907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p21.4

1908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p27.1

1909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p81.5

1910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.100-p102.27

1911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XII.92-p12.2

1912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.I\_1.10-p6.1

1913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.XI.69-p25.3

1914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.XI.71-p27.3

1915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.XI.72-p108.4

1916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=20#i.XII.92-p12.3

1917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p35.1

1918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=21#i.XII.92-p6.3

1919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p54.10

1920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=25#i.XII.96-p24.17

1921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=26#i.XI.71-p33.1

1922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.XI.69-p25.5

1923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.XI.69-p25.14

1924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.XII.92-p12.4

1925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p15.1

1926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XI.69-p25.3

1927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.II\_1.18-p22.3

1928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p54.9

1929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=19#i.XII.100-p102.45

1930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.V\_1.31-p28.3

1932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.II\_1.19-p9.2

1933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.XI.71-p34.7

1934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.XI.71-p119.2

1935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XI.71-p58.1

1936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XI.71-p58.3

1937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.92-p12.7

1938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p38.1

1939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XII.100-p102.53

1941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XII.92-p12.8

1942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.V\_1.30-p38.8

1943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XI.71-p24.1

1944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p24.9

1945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p100.6

1946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.V\_1.30-p38.4

1947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p120.2

1948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p120.4

1949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p24.10

1950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.V\_1.30-p38.5

1951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p119.3

1952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p120.2

1953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p120.5

1954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.I\_1.10-p14.2

1955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.XII.92-p12.9

1956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.III\_1.22-p54.6

1957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p21.2

1958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p64.3

1959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XII.87-p40.1

1960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p105.2

1961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.V\_1.35-p17.2

1962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.II\_1.19-p4.3

1964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.IX.54-p4.5

1965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.IX.54-p23.12

1966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p67.8

1967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=5#i.XII.86-p5.2

1968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.II\_1.19-p7.1

1969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=11#i.XII.92-p12.10

1970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=17#i.XI.68-p7.2

1971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=19#i.XI.71-p61.1

1972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p61.2

1973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p21.1

1974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p21.3

1975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p27.3

1976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.XI.71-p20.5

1977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.V\_1.31-p21.1

1978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=10#i.XI.71-p20.6

1979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=24#i.XI.71-p20.7

1980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.III\_1.22-p54.6

1981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p20.8

1982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p21.6

1983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=1#i.XII.92-p12.11

1984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p29.1

1985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p93.3

1986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p95.1

1987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p99.1

1988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p100.1

1989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p59.1

1990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p108.8

1991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=3#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p120.2

1993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=15#i.IV\_1.24-p78.19

1994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=15#i.XII.81-p91.9

1995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=26#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

1996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=28#i.XII.92-p12.12

1997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#i.XI.71-p44.1

1998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#i.XI.71-p44.5

1999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#i.XII.92-p12.13

2000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=30#i.XI.71-p49.1

2001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=31#i.XII.92-p12.14

2002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=31#i.V\_1.32-p24.1

2003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=31#i.XI.71-p72.1

2004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p29.2

2005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p95.1

2006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p99.2

2007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=35#i.XII.92-p12.15

2008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=39#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

2009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p47.2

2010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.1

2011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.3

2012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.7

2013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p103.2

2014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p6.4

2015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=2#i.V\_1.31-p33.1

2016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=3#i.XII.85-p155.4

2017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=4#i.I\_1.9-p53.3

2018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

2019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p93.6

2020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p93.24

2021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p98.5

2022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p98.9

2023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.XII.83-p123.12

2024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=10#i.XII.100-p102.35

2025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p197.1

2026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p103.10

2027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p103.14

2028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p103.4

2029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=23#i.XI.71-p103.7

2030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=30#i.XI.71-p74.5

2031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.4

2032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.8

2033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p103.3

2034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=6#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

2035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=12#i.V\_1.34-p55.2

2036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p51.1

2037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=18#i.III\_1.22-p53.3

2038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.6

2039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p74.9

2040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.82-p203.1

2041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.82-p236.7

2042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.92-p12.16

2043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.94-p41.12

2044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=29#i.XI.71-p51.3

2045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=30#i.XII.100-p102.15

2046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p25.1

2047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.XI.71-p79.1

2048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.XII.92-p12.17

2049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.XII.100-p102.16

2050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=33#i.XI.71-p79.2

2051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=36#i.XII.92-p12.18

2052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=86#i.XI.71-p79.3

2053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p15.3

2054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p64.4

2055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p68.1

2056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.93-p11.2

2057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p105.3

2058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p6.5

2059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.92-p12.19

2060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=3#i.VIII.45-p4.1

2061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=5#i.X.65-p6.1

2062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=8#i.X.61-p36.8

2063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=13#i.XII.100-p102.62

2064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p109.2

2065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=7#i.XI.72-p101.1

2066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=8#i.XI.69-p10.2

2067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=10#i.XII.94-p40.5

2068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=13#i.XII.96-p15.3

2069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p50.1

2070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.XII.80-p19.1

2071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=2#i.V\_1.34-p77.2

2072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p57.6

2073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=5#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

2074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=5#i.IX.57-p21.2

2075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=5#i.XII.94-p29.1

2076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=6#i.XII.94-p29.2

2077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=7#i.XII.82-p200.1

2078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=14#i.III\_1.20-p119.3

2079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=17#i.IV\_1.25-p37.3

2080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=21#i.V\_1.34-p77.2

2081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=21#i.III\_1.22-p57.6

2082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=21#i.XII.94-p29.3

2083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p8.2

2084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=3#i.III\_1.22-p51.2

2085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.V\_1.32-p18.2

2086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=17#i.X.65-p11.5

2087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=18#i.III\_1.22-p54.1

2088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=19#i.III\_1.20-p77.1

2089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=20#i.IV\_1.25-p53.1

2090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XII.88-p17.6

2091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=23#i.XII.85-p105.1

2092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=24#i.V\_1.33-p36.1

2093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=24#i.V\_1.32-p16.2

2094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=24#i.III\_1.20-p78.1

2095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=24#i.XII.99-p30.1

2096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=25#i.XII.85-p101.1

2097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=25#i.V\_1.34-p41.5

2098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=25#i.III\_1.23-p13.1

2099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=25#i.VIII.49-p6.3

2100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.V\_1.33-p36.2

2101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.V\_1.33-p57.3

2102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.V\_1.32-p16.3

2103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.XII.82-p24.6

2104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=29#i.XII.94-p41.2

2105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=33#i.XII.92-p7.2

2106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.V\_1.36-p102.4

2107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p7.1

2108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p8.1

2109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p8.3

2110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=0#i.XII.92-p8.4

2111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p14.1

2112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.X.62-p14.1

2113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.XII.88-p17.4

2114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.V\_1.36-p62.2

2115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=5#i.IX.56-p6.2

2116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=7#i.V\_1.36-p55.1

2117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.81-p90.8

2118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=20#i.XII.92-p7.3

2119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=21#i.XII.82-p24.4

2120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=23#i.III\_1.23-p14.2

2121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=23#i.XII.82-p242.1

2122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=23#i.XII.88-p17.3

2123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=24#i.XII.92-p7.4

2124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=25#i.XII.101-p24.2

2125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=26#i.III\_1.22-p53.4

2126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=27#i.XII.92-p7.5

2127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1588&scrV=0#i.v.7-p39.3

2128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1793&scrV=0#i.II\_1.16-p63.1

2129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.V\_1.33-p18.4

2130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p67.3

2131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.III\_1.22-p53.5

2132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.26-p47.6

2133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.VII.42-p8.3

2134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.85-p85.1

2135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p90.2

2136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.90-p10.2

2137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.III\_1.23-p14.5

2138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.85-p93.1

2139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p35.2

2140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XI.71-p93.8

2141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.82-p182.1

2142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XII.90-p10.3

2143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XI.71-p31.2

2145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XII.90-p10.4

2146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.XI.71-p51.4

2147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=26#i.III\_1.20-p95.1

2148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XI.72-p108.5

2149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=30#i.XI.71-p13.1

2150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=30#i.XI.71-p61.3

2151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p38.2

2152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p81.1

2153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.V\_1.30-p13.2

2154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.V\_1.31-p28.1

2156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.90-p10.5

2157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p72.4

2158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.III\_1.22-p54.2

2159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p54.7

2160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XI.71-p99.5

2161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p10.6

2163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=26#i.VIII.44-p9.1

2164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=3#i.III\_1.20-p94.2

2165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.XII.100-p90.2

2166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XII.85-p85.2

2167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p167.1

2168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.XI.71-p105.5

2169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.XII.90-p10.7

2170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p57.3

2171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.90-p10.8

2172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XII.100-p90.2

2173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.90-p10.9

2174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.90-p10.29

2175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p90.2

2176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.85-p77.2

2177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.100-p102.42

2178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=19#i.XII.85-p81.2

2179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=20#i.XII.90-p10.10

2180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=26#i.XII.90-p10.30

2181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.X.63-p14.1

2182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.90-p4.1

2183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=5#i.X.63-p8.1

2184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=5#i.X.63-p10.3

2185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.XII.90-p10.11

2187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.IX.57-p31.1

2188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=9#i.V\_1.34-p81.2

2189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=9#i.XII.86-p6.1

2190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=9#i.XII.90-p8.5

2191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p54.4

2192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.X.65-p11.4

2193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=12#i.XII.90-p10.12

2194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=13#i.V\_1.34-p81.1

2195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.X.65-p6.2

2197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.XII.90-p10.13

2198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p57.3

2199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=18#i.XII.90-p10.14

2200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.90-p10.15

2201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.IX.53-p11.3

2202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.VIII.47-p11.2

2203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=7#i.V\_1.30-p54.2

2204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=8#i.V\_1.30-p54.4

2205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=14#i.XII.81-p108.5

2206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=18#i.VI.39-p8.1

2207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=19#i.V\_1.34-p51.2

2208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=19#i.V\_1.35-p6.1

2209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=19#i.XII.90-p10.16

2210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=20#i.XII.90-p10.17

2211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=23#i.XII.90-p10.18

2212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=25#i.VII.43-p12.5

2213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=25#i.XII.90-p8.6

2214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=29#i.II\_1.18-p23.3

2215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p53.6

2216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=1#i.XII.96-p25.2

2217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=6#i.XI.71-p97.4

2218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p77.1

2219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=7#i.III\_1.22-p57.5

2220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XII.90-p10.19

2221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=13#i.XII.90-p10.20

2222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p97.5

2223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.V\_1.31-p64.3

2224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.V\_1.31-p66.3

2225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.V\_1.31-p75.2

2226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p52.4

2227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.27-p84.3

2228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.III\_1.20-p122.1

2229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.III\_1.22-p58.7

2230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.27-p33.2

2231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.27-p41.1

2232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.V\_1.30-p54.1

2233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.25-p44.3

2234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.25-p51.1

2235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.26-p50.2

2236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#i.V\_1.35-p21.1

2237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p10.21

2238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=16#i.XII.90-p10.22

2239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=19#i.V\_1.34-p50.2

2240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=20#i.XII.85-p89.1

2241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=20#i.XII.85-p155.3

2242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=20#i.II\_1.18-p24.3

2243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=22#i.XII.90-p10.23

2244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=27#i.VIII.46-p6.3

2245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p97.5

2246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=1#i.V\_1.30-p20.3

2247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=12#i.XII.90-p10.24

2248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=16#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=16#i.IX.v-p3.2

2250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=23#i.XII.90-p10.25

2251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=23#i.III\_1.22-p57.5

2252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=26#i.XII.94-p40.1

2253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=27#i.XII.82-p176.1

2254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=28#i.XII.94-p40.1

2255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=19#i.XI.73-p8.2

2256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=23#i.IX.v-p3.2

2257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=23#i.XII.79-p157.7

2258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=23#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=23#i.XI.71-p101.1

2260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=24#i.XII.82-p158.3

2261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=27#i.XII.90-p10.26

2262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=28#i.IX.v-p21.1

2263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p66.7

2264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p8.2

2265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p15.1

2266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p47.1

2267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.93-p11.3

2268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.III\_1.22-p54.4

2269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.VIII.45-p4.2

2270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=4#i.XII.90-p10.27

2271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=7#i.VIII.45-p8.1

2272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.24-p52.5

2273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=28#i.IV\_1.24-p64.6

2274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=28#i.X.58-p5.6

2275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=28#i.X.60-p5.2

2276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=28#i.X.61-p36.7

2277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=30#i.IV\_1.24-p52.6

2278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p15.2

2279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p70.2

2280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.VIII.45-p34.1

2281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XI.69-p18.4

2282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.XII.88-p37.1

2283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p64.23

2284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p101.2

2285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.XI.69-p15.1

2286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p42.1

2287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=13#i.XII.90-p10.28

2288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p78.9

2289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.XII.93-p11.3

2290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.VIII.45-p20.1

2291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p64.10

2292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.24-p69.10

2294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.24-p52.1

2296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.24-p52.2

2297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.24-p64.10

2298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=14#i.IV\_1.24-p64.22

2301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=15#i.XII.101-p59.2

2302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=16#i.IX.51-p34.1

2303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.24-p70.1

2304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.24-p64.10

2305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.24-p43.1

2307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.24-p64.8

2308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=22#i.VIII.45-p21.2

2309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=23#i.IV\_1.24-p53.1

2310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=23#i.IV\_1.24-p69.7

2311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=27#i.IV\_1.24-p52.3

2312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=27#i.IV\_1.24-p64.10

2313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=27#i.IV\_1.24-p64.16

2314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=28#i.IV\_1.24-p52.4

2315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.V\_1.31-p66.7

2316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.XI.71-p24.2

2317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=3#i.V\_1.31-p87.2

2318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p32.1

2319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=3#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=4#i.II\_1.19-p22.1

2321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=5#i.IV\_1.26-p14.2

2322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p24.2

2323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p102.36

2324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.IV\_1.27-p82.5

2325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.IV\_1.27-p34.1

2326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.IV\_1.27-p6.2

2327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.V\_1.31-p66.5

2328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.V\_1.31-p72.1

2329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.II\_1.19-p35.1

2330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.III\_1.22-p52.5

2331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.III\_1.23-p89.6

2332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.XII.85-p58.2

2333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=8#i.V\_1.31-p15.2

2334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.V\_1.33-p45.1

2335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.V\_1.31-p77.3

2336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p56.6

2337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.XII.90-p10.31

2338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.XII.96-p24.23

2339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=9#i.V\_1.31-p30.1

2340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=10#i.V\_1-p5.2

2341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=12#i.V\_1.31-p73.1

2342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p14.1

2343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=13#i.II\_1.19-p9.1

2344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p54.11

2345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=15#i.II\_1.19-p4.4

2346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=17#i.XII.90-p10.32

2347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p100.5

2348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p17.6

2349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p24.3

2350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=22#i.XII.90-p10.33

2351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.XI.71-p81.2

2352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.XII.90-p10.34

2353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=33#i.V\_1.30-p23.1

2354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=44#i.XII.90-p10.35

2355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=45#i.III\_1.22-p51.3

2356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=47#i.XI.71-p97.5

2357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=54#i.XII.90-p10.36

2358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=58#i.XII.90-p10.37

2359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p97.1

2360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p13.2

2361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=1#i.V\_1.34-p41.3

2362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=2#i.IX.57-p24.4

2363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=2#i.XII.90-p10.38

2364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.III\_1.23-p12.5

2365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.6

2366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=3#i.XII.86-p7.1

2367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=5#i.XII.85-p81.3

2368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=5#i.XII.90-p8.1

2369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=8#i.XII.90-p8.2

2370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=9#i.XII.100-p102.30

2371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p90.2

2372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.90-p10.39

2373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.III\_1.22-p53.7

2374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.IX.56-p6.3

2375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.XII.92-p7.8

2376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=16&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.24-p78.21

2377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=18&scrV=1#i.XI.71-p62.1

2378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=29&scrV=11#i.IX.53-p12.3

2379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1214&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.24-p63.5

2380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p67.4

2381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p67.5

2382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.90-p14.2

2383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.90-p14.3

2384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.V\_1.30-p72.5

2385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.82-p26.2

2386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XI.71-p38.3

2387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XI.71-p54.8

2388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XII.90-p14.4

2389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.99-p26.5

2390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.X.63-p15.1

2391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.X.59-p7.1

2392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XII.90-p14.5

2393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XII.90-p14.6

2394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.90-p14.7

2395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XI.69-p9.2

2396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XII.90-p14.8

2397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.V\_1.32-p10.1

2398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.V\_1.34-p89.3

2399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.90-p14.9

2400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XII.94-p43.3

2401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=5#i.XII.90-p14.10

2402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p15.3

2403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p16.1

2404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.V\_1.30-p73.1

2405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.VIII.46-p6.2

2406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.90-p14.11

2407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=8#i.V\_1.32-p22.1

2408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=17#i.XII.90-p14.12

2409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.90-p14.13

2410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.XI.71-p54.4

2411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.XII.90-p14.14

2412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XI.69-p17.3

2413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XII.90-p14.15

2414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p14.16

2415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p34.1

2416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p35.3

2417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p200.3

2418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=15#i.XII.90-p14.17

2419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.II\_1.18-p37.2

2420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.V\_1.30-p44.1

2421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.V\_1.31-p12.1

2422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.XI.72-p84.21

2423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.XII.90-p14.18

2424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p35.4

2425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=19#i.XI.71-p35.5

2426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=19#i.XII.90-p14.19

2427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.XII.90-p14.20

2428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.III\_1.22-p51.4

2429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p35.6

2430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p93.10

2431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p95.2

2432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p100.10

2433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XII.90-p14.21

2434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p14.22

2435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=4#i.XII.90-p14.23

2436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=5#i.XII.90-p12.1

2437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p53.2

2438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=10#i.XII.90-p14.24

2439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p41.4

2440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.III\_1.23-p13.3

2441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=1#i.XII.88-p17.7

2442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p29.4

2443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p93.12

2444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XII.83-p123.13

2445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XII.90-p14.25

2446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=9#i.XII.97-p16.1

2447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=6#i.XII.90-p14.26

2448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=7#i.XII.90-p14.27

2449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=12#i.VIII.49-p6.2

2450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p27.11

2451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p102.54

2452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p173.1

2453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=9#i.XII.86-p7.2

2454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=10#i.V\_1.30-p69.1

2455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.25-p53.2

2456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=17#i.XII.90-p14.28

2457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=18#i.XII.90-p14.29

2458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=5#i.V\_1.34-p27.10

2459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=5#i.V\_1.35-p31.2

2460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=7#i.II\_1.17-p60.4

2461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=13#i.V\_1.34-p27.12

2462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=17#i.XII.100-p101.47

2463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=24#i.V\_1.32-p21.1

2464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.V\_1.33-p6.2

2465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.III\_1.23-p10.1

2466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=32#i.XII.85-p62.1

2467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.V\_1.30-p72.10

2468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.V\_1.31-p70.1

2469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.III\_1.20-p12.2

2470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=7#i.V\_1.30-p72.1

2471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=9#i.XII.90-p14.30

2472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=12#i.III\_1.22-p54.3

2473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=13#i.XII.99-p26.5

2474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p3.1

2475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=21#i.XII.99-p26.5

2476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.90-p3.2

2477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.99-p26.5

2478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=8#i.XII.90-p14.31

2479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.XII.90-p14.32

2480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p52.1

2481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.V\_1.31-p17.1

2482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p73.2

2483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.91-p7.3

2484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p53.1

2485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p34.6

2486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p35.7

2487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XI.71-p51.5

2488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.XII.99-p68.2

2489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.V\_1.31-p17.1

2490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.V\_1.31-p17.1

2491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p73.3

2492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.V\_1.31-p77.2

2493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p52.2

2494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1.31-p17.1

2495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.100-p73.4

2496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1.31-p3.2

2497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1.31-p15.1

2498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.85-p58.1

2499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.V\_1.31-p65.1

2500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.V\_1.31-p66.1

2501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.V\_1.31-p75.1

2502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.III\_1.22-p52.3

2503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.III\_1.23-p89.5

2504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.100-p73.5

2505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.II\_1.17-p19.1

2506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.V\_1.32-p7.6

2507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.V\_1.32-p8.1

2508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.III\_1.22-p47.2

2509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.III\_1.23-p96.1

2510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XII.85-p66.1

2511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.III\_1.20-p119.1

2512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.III\_1.22-p58.6

2513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.VII.41-p23.4

2514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.V\_1.33-p7.1

2515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.27-p82.4

2516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.27-p6.6

2517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.27-p74.3

2518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.IV\_1.27-p6.3

2519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.V\_1.30-p22.1

2520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.III\_1.22-p53.1

2521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.V\_1.34-p28.1

2522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p5.2

2523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p6.2

2524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.V\_1.34-p8.4

2525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.IV\_1.25-p7.2

2526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.X.64-p6.2

2527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p27.2

2528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.84-p44.1

2529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.20-p94.1

2530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p53.1

2531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p10.2

2532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p69.1

2533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.20-p120.2

2534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p56.1

2535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p9.3

2536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.23-p126.3

2537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.III\_1.22-p47.2

2538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.V\_1.34-p38.2

2539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.V\_1.34-p47.1

2540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.V\_1.34-p100.2

2541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p27.1

2542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.III\_1.22-p60.2

2543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p100.4

2544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.V\_1.34-p40.3

2545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.III\_1.22-p56.4

2546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.V\_1.31-p35.1

2547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.V\_1.34-p41.1

2548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.III\_1.22-p58.6

2549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.26-p14.1

2550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.III\_1.20-p112.1

2551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.27-p82.4

2552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p28.1

2553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p56.5

2554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.IV\_1.26-p47.5

2555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.V\_1.35-p31.4

2556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.VII.40-p7.2

2557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.VII.42-p7.1

2558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.84-p16.2

2559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=10#i.VIII.49-p6.1

2560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.V\_1.31-p56.11

2561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.III\_1.22-p53.1

2562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.25-p50.1

2563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.26-p26.1

2564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.V\_1.35-p19.1

2565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XII.81-p14.3

2566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.VIII.46-p6.6

2567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XI.68-p11.1

2568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XII.87-p29.3

2569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.III\_1.22-p58.1

2570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.III\_1.23-p126.4

2571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.26-p22.1

2572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.IV\_1.26-p52.1

2573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.III\_1.20-p121.1

2574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.V\_1.31-p27.1

2575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.V\_1.34-p67.3

2576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.27-p82.4

2577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.III\_1.22-p58.3

2578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.27-p28.1

2579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.27-p50.1

2580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.V\_1.35-p9.2

2581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.VII.42-p8.1

2582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.V\_1.36-p62.4

2583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.V\_1.34-p14.6

2584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.V\_1.35-p16.1

2585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.XII.91-p7.4

2586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.27-p74.5

2587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.III\_1.20-p119.4

2588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XI.69-p25.4

2589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XI.69-p25.7

2590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p108.6

2591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XII.91-p12.4

2592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.II\_1.18-p10.11

2593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.XI.71-p66.1

2594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.XII.91-p12.5

2595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.V\_1.34-p14.7

2596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.III\_1.22-p55.1

2597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.II\_1.18-p10.6

2598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.II\_1.18-p10.7

2599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.III\_1.22-p51.1

2600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.XII.91-p12.6

2601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.V\_1.30-p20.2

2602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=19#i.I\_1.10-p14.4

2603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=21#i.XII.82-p197.2

2604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p17.7

2605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=24#i.I\_1.10-p8.1

2606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=24#i.V\_1.31-p27.2

2607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=24#i.XI.71-p27.4

2608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=27#i.IX.54-p4.6

2609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=27#i.IX.54-p23.14

2610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=27#i.XI.71-p67.1

2611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.II\_1.18-p23.2

2612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.IV\_1.24-p39.1

2613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.VIII.46-p8.2

2614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=28#i.XII.98-p12.1

2615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.V\_1.30-p72.11

2616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p38.2

2617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.I\_1.8-p5.2

2618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p100.8

2619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XII.94-p41.4

2620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.III\_1.22-p51.1

2621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p58.2

2622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.24-p78.18

2623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XI.71-p38.4

2624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.81-p91.10

2625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.V\_1.30-p38.3

2626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XII.88-p11.2

2627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.IX.57-p21.1

2628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.82-p26.1

2629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.V\_1.30-p72.2

2630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.V\_1.30-p18.1

2631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=15#i.V\_1.30-p72.9

2632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=25#i.V\_1.32-p9.1

2633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.V\_1.30-p70.4

2634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.91-p7.5

2635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XI.69-p9.1

2636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.91-p12.3

2637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p55.1

2638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.V\_1.34-p51.1

2639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.V\_1.34-p51.4

2640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.XI.69-p18.1

2641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.XII.91-p9.1

2642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=11#i.XI.71-p31.1

2643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.XII.91-p12.7

2644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.XII.91-p12.8

2645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.III\_1.22-p54.5

2646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.IV\_1.25-p37.4

2647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.XI.69-p10.1

2648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=7#i.XI.69-p17.4

2649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.VII.40-p8.7

2650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.III\_1.22-p51.1

2651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.V\_1.31-p28.2

2652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.V\_1.31-p12.2

2653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=16#i.XII.91-p9.2

2654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=8&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p25.2

2655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=8&scrV=28#i.VIII.48-p20.1

2656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=8&scrV=28#i.VIII.49-p7.1

2657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.95-p21.1

2658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.96-p24.8

2659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.95-p34.1

2660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p46.1

2661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.95-p40.2

2662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.95-p40.4

2663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.96-p24.15

2664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.94-p41.6

2665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.95-p40.5

2666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.II\_1.18-p22.4

2667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.95-p15.1

2668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p38.5

2669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XII.95-p15.2

2670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p51.6

2671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.II\_1.19-p4.5

2672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.XII.96-p24.9

2673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.X.65-p6.3

2674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.94-p41.16

2675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.95-p7.4

2676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.95-p40.6

2677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p102.17

2678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XII.95-p40.7

2679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.93-p11.1

2680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.95-p40.8

2681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XII.95-p40.9

2682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.XI.71-p40.1

2683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.XII.95-p40.10

2684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.X.59-p4.5

2685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.XII.95-p7.1

2686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=22#i.XI.71-p40.2

2687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.93-p4.5

2688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=3#i.XII.86-p7.3

2689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.XII.79-p171.18

2690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.96-p24.18

2691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.V\_1.33-p45.3

2692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.V\_1.31-p30.2

2693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.95-p40.11

2694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.96-p24.22

2695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.95-p15.3

2696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.95-p40.12

2697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=3&scrV=19#i.XII.94-p41.17

2698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.VIII.49-p7.2

2699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.95-p40.13

2700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.95-p40.14

2701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XI.70-p17.11

2702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.X.60-p5.1

2703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.X.61-p30.2

2704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.95-p40.15

2705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.95-p7.3

2706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.X.65-p7.1

2707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.94-p41.18

2708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.95-p8.1

2709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=15#i.XII.95-p40.16

2710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.XI.72-p84.23

2711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.XII.95-p40.17

2712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=28#i.XII.96-p15.2

2713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=30#i.II\_1.18-p22.5

2714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=30#i.XII.95-p15.1

2715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.95-p40.18

2716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=3#i.II\_1.18-p25.1

2717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=3#i.V\_1.34-p81.4

2718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=5#i.V\_1.34-p81.5

2719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.IX.53-p22.1

2720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.IX.53-p26.1

2721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.XII.95-p31.1

2722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XII.95-p15.4

2723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=19#i.IX.53-p16.1

2724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.XII.95-p40.19

2725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.VIII.47-p8.1

2726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=25#i.XII.95-p40.20

2727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=25#i.XII.95-p7.2

2728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=27#i.XII.95-p8.2

2729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=30#i.XI.71-p67.2

2730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=32#i.XII.95-p10.1

2731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=32#i.XII.95-p40.21

2732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.XII.82-p123.11

2733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.95-p40.22

2734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.II\_1.17-p66.1

2735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=11#i.XII.95-p40.23

2736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p191.1

2737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=17#i.XII.95-p15.5

2738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=19#i.XII.85-p109.1

2739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=21#i.V\_1.36-p77.2

2740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=6&scrV=21#i.XII.96-p8.3

2741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.X.61-p14.1

2742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.X.61-p33.2

2743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.97-p7.1

2744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.99-p48.2

2745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XII.97-p30.2

2746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.93-p4.1

2747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.V\_1.36-p76.1

2748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.V\_1.36-p102.1

2749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.93-p4.2

2750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.93-p8.1

2751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.97-p30.3

2752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.93-p4.3

2753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1.36-p78.1

2754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XII.93-p4.4

2755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.V\_1.33-p35.3

2756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p67.7

2757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XII.97-p30.4

2758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.V\_1.33-p35.1

2759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.25-p37.5

2760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.XII.99-p30.3

2761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=29#i.XII.97-p17.1

2762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.97-p15.5

2763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p95.3

2764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XII.97-p30.5

2765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p93.14

2766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XII.97-p29.3

2767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XI.71-p98.2

2768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XI.71-p29.3

2769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XII.83-p123.15

2770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.XI.71-p99.3

2771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.XI.72-p109.3

2772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XI.71-p100.9

2773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p99.4

2774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XI.71-p47.1

2775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XI.71-p65.1

2776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XI.71-p102.2

2777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p65.4

2778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.97-p30.6

2779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=24#i.XII.99-p30.3

2780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=25#i.V\_1.36-p77.4

2781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.97-p30.7

2782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.V\_1.30-p70.5

2783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XII.97-p15.2

2784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XII.97-p15.4

2785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.V\_1.30-p9.1

2786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p77.4

2787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p15.4

2788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.V\_1.31-p25.1

2789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.97-p30.9

2790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.V\_1.30-p13.1

2791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=12#i.V\_1.35-p27.1

2792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=12#i.VIII.46-p6.1

2793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p51.7

2794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.97-p30.10

2795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.97-p30.8

2796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p54.3

2797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.V\_1.30-p54.6

2798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.82-p179.1

2799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XII.97-p12.1

2800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.93-p3.5

2801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.97-p30.12

2802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=8#i.XII.97-p30.11

2803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=22#i.XII.93-p6.1

2804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=9&scrV=0#i.V\_1.30-p8.3

2805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1855&scrV=0#i.I\_1.9-p26.4

2806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.94-p23.1

2807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p170.1

2808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.96-p24.14

2809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p95.4

2810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p95.9

2811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p98.1

2812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.94-p43.2

2813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.94-p45.9

2814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.94-p50.2

2815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.83-p123.14

2816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.94-p45.6

2817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p93.16

2818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p97.3

2819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.100-p15.2

2820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.v.1-p5.2

2821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.X.65-p6.4

2822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.94-p39.4

2823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=19#i.XII.94-p41.14

2824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.X.65-p6.5

2825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.94-p22.1

2826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p102.58

2827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.94-p50.3

2828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.94-p30.2

2829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p93.18

2830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.94-p41.15

2831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.94-p50.5

2832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.IX.57-p21.3

2833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.V\_1.31-p27.4

2834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.94-p50.6

2835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p67.6

2836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.XII.94-p50.7

2837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.V\_1.34-p81.6

2838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p102.18

2839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p102.46

2840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.96-p24.2

2841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.VIII.48-p20.2

2842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.XII.94-p50.8

2843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.94-p50.9

2844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.IX.53-p16.2

2845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XII.94-p50.10

2846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.93-p4.6

2847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.94-p24.1

2848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.96-p8.4

2849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.V\_1.36-p77.1

2850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XII.98-p7.4

2851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.27-p77.1

2852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.V\_1.35-p21.2

2853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.XII.81-p11.3

2854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.XII.81-p15.2

2855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.XII.81-p15.3

2856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p86.1

2857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.82-p194.3

2858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.94-p5.1

2859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p24.8

2860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.82-p28.1

2861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.100-p86.2

2862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.IX.53-p9.2

2863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.79-p171.19

2864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.86-p7.4

2865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.94-p24.2

2866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.94-p25.1

2867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.95-p22.3

2868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.96-p8.1

2869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=4&scrV=18#i.XII.93-p4.7

2870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=8&scrV=18#i.VIII.47-p8.2

2871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.69-p18.3

2872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p102.59

2873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.71-p38.6

2874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.IV\_1.25-p37.2

2875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.89-p9.2

2876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.XII.88-p11.1

2877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.II\_1.17-p60.2

2878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.85-p77.1

2879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XII.79-p171.6

2880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p188.1

2881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.V\_1.30-p72.3

2882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.85-p73.1

2883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=3&scrV=7#i.XII.85-p73.2

2884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p61.4

2885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.89-p12.2

2886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XI.71-p61.5

2887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p81.3

2888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XI.71-p61.6

2889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.89-p12.3

2890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.XII.89-p12.4

2891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.XII.82-p194.5

2892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.XII.89-p12.5

2893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.XII.89-p12.6

2894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.XII.82-p194.6

2895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.XII.89-p12.7

2896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=10#i.XI.71-p67.9

2897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=16#i.XII.89-p12.8

2898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.II\_1.18-p12.2

2899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.XII.89-p12.9

2900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=23#i.XI.71-p64.1

2901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=23#i.XII.89-p12.15

2902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=27#i.IX.53-p9.1

2903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=6&scrV=27#i.XII.79-p171.20

2904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.89-p12.10

2905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p194.1

2906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.89-p7.1

2907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XI.71-p38.7

2908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.89-p12.11

2909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p105.6

2910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p81.1

2911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XII.101-p184.4

2912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.VI.37-p20.1

2913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XII.101-p105.7

2914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.VI.37-p97.1

2915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.XII.89-p12.12

2916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XI.71-p38.8

2917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.101-p193.4

2918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p38.9

2919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p61.7

2920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.II\_1.17-p60.3

2921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.XII.89-p12.13

2922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.V\_1.33-p34.1

2923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.X.60-p12.1

2924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.99-p26.3

2925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.99-p49.1

2926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.99-p38.1

2927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.69-p18.5

2928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.99-p37.3

2929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p68.3

2930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.100-p102.9

2931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.82-p150.5

2932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.99-p60.4

2933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.V\_1.31-p15.5

2934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.V\_1.31-p77.5

2935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.85-p58.3

2936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1-p7.2

2937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.V\_1.31-p30.3

2938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XI.71-p23.1

2939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.99-p62.1

2940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.99-p70.1

2941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.V\_1.31-p30.4

2942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XII.99-p70.1

2943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.XII.100-p102.3

2944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.X.61-p6.8

2945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p102.49

2946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.X.61-p16.1

2947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.X.61-p10.1

2948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.X.61-p36.1

2949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p102.24

2950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.X.62-p14.4

2951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.V\_1.33-p45.5

2952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.IX.53-p22.2

2953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.IX.53-p33.1

2954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.71-p93.20

2955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p108.10

2956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p110.7

2957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.81-p119.2

2958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XI.73-p8.4

2959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.99-p37.9

2960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p77.3

2961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=8#i.XII.99-p37.10

2962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.X.61-p5.3

2963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.X.59-p10.2

2964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.X.61-p33.3

2965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.99-p49.4

2966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=4#i.XII.99-p39.6

2967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.X.61-p35.1

2968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=17#i.X.61-p36.6

2969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.X.61-p31.3

2970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=22#i.XII.99-p49.4

2971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=23#i.XII.82-p150.7

2972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.XII.100-p102.50

2973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=17#i.XII.100-p102.21

2974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.96-p27.2

2975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.99-p36.2

2976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.99-p38.3

2977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.99-p60.2

2978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=8&scrV=8#i.X.62-p9.2

2979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.X.59-p10.3

2980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.X.61-p31.4

2981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XII.99-p70.2

2982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XI.71-p38.10

2983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XI.71-p38.10

2984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.99-p19.1

2985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.IV\_1.27-p72.8

2986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.82-p22.2

2987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.IX.53-p22.3

2988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=16#i.XII.99-p60.7

2989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=17#i.XII.82-p150.6

2990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.XII.99-p37.12

2991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.II\_1.18-p13.3

2992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.II\_1.18-p22.2

2993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XII.99-p37.8

2994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XII.99-p39.2

2995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=25#i.XI.71-p53.3

2996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.75-p8.1

2997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.V\_1.33-p43.1

2998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.V\_1.32-p25.1

2999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.XII.99-p24.1

3000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.X.60-p12.2

3001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p49.2

3002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=10#i.V\_1.36-p77.5

3003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.V\_1.33-p32.1

3004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.V\_1.35-p21.4

3005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.81-p11.4

3006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.81-p15.5

3007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p24.10

3008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p31.7

3009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.85-p40.12

3010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.V\_1.33-p34.2

3011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.99-p32.1

3012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.V\_1.33-p56.4

3013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=19#i.XII.92-p7.9

3014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=20#i.V\_1.33-p34.3

3015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=20#i.III\_1.23-p14.4

3016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=21#i.V\_1.36-p106.1

3017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=21#i.X.60-p12.2

3018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=21#i.XII.99-p49.2

3019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.V\_1.33-p34.4

3020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.X.60-p12.3

3021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.X.61-p7.6

3022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.X.61-p28.2

3023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.X.61-p31.2

3024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.99-p26.4

3025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.99-p49.3

3026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.X.61-p16.2

3027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p102.10

3028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.X.61-p10.2

3029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XII.99-p70.3

3030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.X.61-p36.3

3031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p39.3

3032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.99-p37.1

3033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.100-p102.11

3034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.V\_1.30-p25.1

3035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.99-p37.5

3036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.99-p60.5

3037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.99-p37.11

3038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.82-p185.1

3039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.99-p70.3

3040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XI.71-p23.2

3041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XII.82-p123.12

3042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p102.39

3043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p93.22

3044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.71-p98.6

3045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=0#i.XI.71-p38.11

3046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=3#i.XI.71-p17.8

3047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.XII.82-p121.1

3048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.IX.53-p36.1

3049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.IX.54-p4.7

3050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p84.17

3051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.99-p57.3

3052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XII.99-p68.4

3053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p37.7

3054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p38.2

3055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XII.99-p60.6

3056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.X.63-p10.2

3057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=12#i.V\_1.33-p34.5

3058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.XII.100-p90.3

3059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p102.31

3060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.V\_1.30-p54.10

3061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.93-p4.8

3062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.V\_1.30-p54.10

3063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.XII.98-p6.1

3064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.XII.93-p4.9

3065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.98-p13.1

3066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XII.98-p13.1

3067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XII.98-p7.1

3068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.XII.98-p6.3

3069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.V\_1.33-p35.2

3070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.93-p7.1

3071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.99-p30.2

3072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.94-p23.2

3073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.V\_1.36-p77.3

3074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.V\_1.35-p21.3

3075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XII.81-p11.5

3076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XII.81-p15.4

3077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.XII.82-p24.9

3078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p101.33

3079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p101.35

3080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p15.1

3081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XI.71-p97.6

3082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p101.9

3083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p101.44

3084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p101.49

3085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p16.1

3086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p102.26

3087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p102.52

3088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p42.2

3089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p7.2

3090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p34.1

3091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p73.1

3092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p74.1

3093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p85.1

3094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XII.100-p101.39

3095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p101.21

3096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.XII.100-p102.8

3097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p16.1

3098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XI.72-p108.9

3099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=17#i.XI.72-p59.2

3100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p42.2

3101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XII.100-p101.30

3102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.100-p42.2

3103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.100-p101.45

3104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.XII.100-p101.31

3105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p42.2

3106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.IX.57-p26.1

3107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.100-p102.13

3108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p102.14

3109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p101.19

3110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p102.29

3111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=13#i.XII.100-p101.41

3112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.XII.100-p42.2

3113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p101.25

3114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.II\_1.15-p8.1

3115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.XI.72-p108.9

3116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XII.80-p81.7

3117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p43.1

3118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.XII.100-p101.11

3119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p43.1

3120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p42.2

3121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.IX.54-p29.5

3122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=2#i.IX.54-p34.2

3123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.XII.100-p99.1

3124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p102.56

3125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p102.41

3126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=17#i.XII.100-p101.23

3127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=6&scrV=20#i.XII.100-p101.37

3128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p7.1

3129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p101.3

3130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p101.5

3131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p101.7

3132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=4#i.XII.100-p101.13

3133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=20#i.XII.100-p101.27

3134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=27#i.XII.100-p102.33

3135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=28#i.XII.100-p101.27

3136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=9&scrV=8#i.XII.100-p13.1

3137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=9&scrV=10#i.IX.54-p29.11

3138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=9&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p102.38

3139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p16.1

3140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=10#i.XII.100-p102.34

3141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=11#i.XII.100-p17.1

3142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=22#i.XII.100-p102.57

3143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p42.2

3144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=26#i.XII.100-p99.1

3145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=26#i.XII.100-p42.2

3146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=32#i.VI.37-p58.4

3147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=32#i.XII.100-p51.1

3148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=32#i.XII.100-p42.1

3149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=34#i.XII.100-p67.2

3150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=0#i.XII.100-p42.1

3151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p14.3

3152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p101.46

3153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p102.44

3154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=16#i.XII.100-p102.48

3155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=25#i.XII.100-p102.20

3156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=0#i.XII.100-p42.1

3157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.100-p101.17

3158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p14.4

3159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=13#i.XII.100-p102.2

3160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=17#i.XII.100-p99.1

3161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=18#i.IV\_1.24-p25.2

3162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=2#i.XII.100-p102.61

3163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.100-p49.2

3164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=5#i.XII.100-p102.23

3165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=7#i.XII.100-p44.1

3166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=7#i.XII.100-p102.5

3167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=8#i.XII.100-p14.5

3168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=17#i.X.61-p36.5

3169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=18#i.XII.100-p67.5

3170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=22#i.XII.100-p19.2

3171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=22#i.XII.100-p83.4

3172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.V\_1.33-p51.1

3173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p49.3

3174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p67.1

3175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p67.6

3176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p81.1

3177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p49.1

3178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=23#i.XII.100-p100.2

3179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=24#i.XII.100-p54.2

3180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.V\_1.34-p61.3

3181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p82.7

3182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p38.3

3183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.69-p12.1

3184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XI.69-p27.2

3185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.69-p27.4

3186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.IX.53-p34.5

3187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.69-p27.6

3188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.71-p54.3

3189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.69-p13.1

3190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.XI.69-p27.8

3191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XI.69-p27.10

3192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=22#i.XII.79-p171.7

3193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XI.69-p27.12

3194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XII.79-p171.8

3195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.V\_1.34-p59.1

3196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.IV\_1.27-p56.1

3197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.XI.69-p8.1

3198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.XII.79-p171.9

3199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=1&scrV=27#i.XI.69-p20.1

3200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XI.69-p14.1

3201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p57.1

3202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.IX.51-p17.8

3203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XII.87-p18.5

3204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.IX.51-p22.2

3205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.II\_1.18-p10.12

3206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.II\_1.18-p10.12

3207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.XI.69-p27.14

3208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XI.69-p27.16

3209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.XI.69-p25.2

3210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.XI.69-p16.1

3211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.XI.71-p121.5

3212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=22#i.XI.69-p18.6

3213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=24#i.XI.69-p25.10

3214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=24#i.XI.71-p121.6

3215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=25#i.XI.71-p121.7

3216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=2&scrV=26#i.IV\_1.27-p3.2

3217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.V\_1.35-p27.2

3218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XI.69-p27.18

3219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.VIII.46-p6.4

3220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=3&scrV=17#i.XI.69-p27.20

3221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XI.69-p27.22

3222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=4&scrV=4#i.XI.69-p27.24

3223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=4&scrV=7#i.II\_1.18-p13.5

3224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.X.61-p33.4

3225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XI.69-p27.26

3226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XI.72-p84.13

3227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.25-p52.1

3228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XI.71-p44.10

3229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.IV\_1.24-p34.1

3230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.70-p13.1

3231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.II\_1.18-p37.3

3232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.V\_1.34-p53.3

3233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=12#i.XI.70-p15.12

3234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.70-p14.1

3235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.XI.70-p15.1

3236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.XI.71-p44.7

3237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.II\_1.19-p4.6

3238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.XI.72-p84.11

3239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.26-p7.1

3240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.VI.37-p59.1

3241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=19#i.VI.37-p59.2

3242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.VI.37-p59.3

3243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=7#i.VIII.46-p8.1

3244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XI.70-p17.9

3245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.IX.53-p22.4

3246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=10#i.IX.53-p34.4

3247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=19#i.XI.70-p17.1

3248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=19#i.XII.87-p28.3

3249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=21#i.IX.54-p4.8

3250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=22#i.XII.81-p107.5

3251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.XII.83-p225.2

3252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XI.70-p17.4

3253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.87-p28.3

3254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.28-p9.1

3255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.V\_1.36-p60.13

3256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.X.61-p33.5

3257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.X.64-p16.6

3258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.X.61-p18.1

3259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.26-p53.1

3260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.VIII.45-p30.1

3261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.IV\_1.26-p8.1

3262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=3#i.XII.81-p15.6

3263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.V\_1.35-p22.1

3264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.X.60-p12.4

3265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XII.87-p28.1

3266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XII.100-p81.3

3267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.VI.37-p60.1

3268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.25-p52.2

3269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.25-p58.2

3270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.IV\_1.26-p50.3

3271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.XII.81-p11.6

3272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.XII.81-p12.2

3273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.XII.87-p26.1

3274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=13#i.XII.101-p102.2

3275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.XII.83-p262.6

3276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.IV\_1.24-p26.4

3277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.XI.70-p15.13

3278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.87-p38.3

3279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.V\_1.34-p27.4

3280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XI.73-p8.5

3281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=4#i.XI.70-p17.6

3282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=12#i.IV\_1.26-p21.3

3283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p29.7

3284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XI.71-p23.3

3285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.XI.70-p13.2

3286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.V\_1.34-p53.4

3287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.III\_1.20-p123.1

3288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p58.8

3289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.V\_1.35-p22.2

3290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=15#i.XII.87-p29.2

3291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XII.75-p10.1

3292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p262.5

3293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p12.3

3294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.83-p262.7

3295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p41.4

3296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p70.1

3297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p95.2

3298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.IV\_1.25-p37.6

3299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XI.72-p23.2

3300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p30.2

3301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.VII.41-p47.2

3302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XI.72-p74.3

3303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.V\_1.35-p27.3

3304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.VII.41-p47.3

3305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.VIII.46-p6.5

3306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.VII.41-p47.4

3307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XI.72-p67.1

3308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p68.1

3309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p80.3

3310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XI.71-p23.5

3311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p66.2

3312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.XI.72-p99.1

3313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=7#i.XII.87-p48.2

3314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=23#i.XI.73-p17.1

3315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=29#i.XI.72-p84.9

3316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p61.3

3317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p90.1

3318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.XII.95-p8.3

3319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p65.1

3320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XI.72-p65.2

3321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=8#i.XI.72-p73.2

3322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.XI.72-p85.1

3323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.XI.72-p96.1

3324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.XI.72-p75.3

3325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=23#i.XI.72-p96.2

3326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.VII.41-p66.5

3327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p25.2

3328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p105.5

3329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=2#i.XI.72-p110.2

3330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=2#i.XI.71-p105.6

3331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=3#i.XII.83-p231.1

3332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=8#i.VII.41-p17.1

3333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=9#i.XII.94-p46.6

3334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=16#i.VII.41-p17.1

3335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=4#i.XI.72-p91.1

3336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.XI.72-p82.1

3337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=12#i.XI.72-p89.1

3338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=18#i.XI.72-p86.1

3339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=20#i.XI.72-p70.4

3340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p84.1

3341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.XII.87-p48.1

3342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XI.72-p99.2

3343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=7#i.XI.72-p110.4

3344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.VII.41-p47.5

3345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.VII.41-p66.4

3346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.VII.43-p8.2

3347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2John&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.VII.43-p8.2

3348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p82.8

3349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.27-p83.4

3350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.V\_1.34-p27.6

3351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.III\_1.22-p29.6

3352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.XII.87-p40.2

3353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.XII.87-p40.3

3354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p39.1

3355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p18.2

3356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p88.1

3357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.79-p171.21

3358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p88.2

3359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p88.4

3360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=4#i.VII.42-p18.1

3361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p75.1

3362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p76.1

3363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.XI.72-p77.1

3364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=5#i.IX.53-p37.1

3365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.X.59-p12.1

3366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=6#i.XI.72-p74.1

3367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.XII.101-p102.1

3368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=9#i.VII.42-p18.2

3369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.IV\_1.24-p69.5

3370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.IX.57-p24.5

3371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.XII.101-p59.1

3372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=11#i.VII.42-p18.3

3373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=13#i.VIII.50-p7.1

3374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=17#i.XI.72-p76.2

3375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=18#i.XI.72-p76.3

3376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=1&scrV=20#i.VII.42-p18.4

3377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.VIII.50-p6.1

3378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.X.58-p5.7

3379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p81.1

3380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p29.3

3381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.III\_1.22-p29.5

3382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.III\_1.22-p29.5

3383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=6#i.XII.96-p25.3

3384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p29.2

3385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=9#i.VI.37-p58.1

3386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=10#i.VI.37-p58.2

3387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=10#i.XI.72-p78.1

3388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=13#i.VI.37-p58.3

3389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.V\_1.34-p67.2

3390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.V\_1.34-p80.1

3391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.III\_1.22-p29.5

3392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=14#i.III\_1.22-p57.1

3393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.III\_1.22-p29.5

3394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=15#i.XII.96-p25.4

3395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=17#i.VII.43-p16.2

3396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.V\_1.34-p67.2

3397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.V\_1.34-p80.2

3398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.III\_1.22-p29.4

3399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=20#i.XII.96-p25.5

3400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=3&scrV=4#i.VIII.50-p13.1

3401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=3&scrV=9#i.III\_1.22-p29.2

3402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.101-p90.2

3403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=3&scrV=14#i.XII.94-p7.1

3404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p42.1

3405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p42.2

3406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p86.2

3407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p41.1

3408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=6#i.XII.78-p49.4

3409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p22.1

3410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=4&scrV=18#i.IX.57-p26.2

3411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p42.1

3412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p42.3

3413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.XII.78-p49.4

3414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=8#i.XII.78-p49.4

3415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=11#i.XII.78-p49.4

3416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.XII.78-p49.4

3417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.78-p49.4

3418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p43.1

3419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.XII.78-p49.4

3420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=5#i.XII.78-p49.4

3421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=6#i.XII.78-p49.4

3422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=7#i.XII.78-p49.4

3423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.VII.42-p29.5

3424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=9#i.VI.37-p71.2

3425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.VII.41-p66.3

3426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=7&scrV=4#i.XII.101-p67.6

3427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=7&scrV=11#i.XII.78-p49.4

3428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=7&scrV=15#i.XI.72-p60.4

3429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=8&scrV=2#i.XII.101-p44.1

3430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=11&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p67.1

3431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=11&scrV=2#i.VI.38-p69.1

3432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=11&scrV=2#i.XII.101-p67.3

3433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=11&scrV=7#i.VI.37-p69.1

3434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=11&scrV=8#i.XII.101-p67.5

3435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XI.72-p73.1

3436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p45.1

3437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p45.2

3438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=18#i.XII.101-p45.3

3439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=0#i.VI.37-p21.1

3440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p169.3

3441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p105.1

3442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.VI.37-p98.5

3443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p68.1

3444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p69.1

3445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p70.1

3446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=3#i.XII.101-p135.2

3447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p123.1

3448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p45.4

3449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=12#i.XII.101-p68.2

3450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=12#i.XII.101-p69.2

3451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.XII.101-p68.3

3452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=14#i.XII.101-p69.3

3453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=18#i.XII.101-p97.1

3454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=18#i.XII.101-p124.1

3455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p46.1

3456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p46.2

3457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=3#i.XII.78-p49.4

3458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=4#i.VII.43-p12.6

3459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=4#i.VIII.47-p11.3

3460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=6#i.XII.101-p46.3

3461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=12#i.XII.101-p46.4

3462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=14#i.XII.101-p46.5

3463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=15&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p47.1

3464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=15&scrV=7#i.XII.78-p49.4

3465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.101-p105.2

3466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=16&scrV=13#i.XII.101-p109.1

3467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p48.2

3468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p48.1

3469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=5#i.XII.101-p177.1

3470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=6#i.VI.37-p3.1

3471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=6#i.VI.37-p70.1

3472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=8#i.VI.37-p98.1

3473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=9#i.XII.101-p106.1

3474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=10#i.XII.101-p68.4

3475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=10#i.XII.101-p131.1

3476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.VI.37-p98.4

3477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p72.1

3478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p131.2

3479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p191.1

3480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.VI.37-p37.1

3481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=18&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.2

3482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=18&scrV=2#i.VI.37-p71.1

3483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=18&scrV=11#i.I\_1.12-p20.1

3484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.3

3485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=4#i.XII.78-p49.4

3486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p48.3

3487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=13#i.XI.72-p40.4

3488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=20#i.XII.101-p105.3

3489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p87.2

3490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.5

3491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p48.4

3492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=7#i.XII.101-p178.1

3493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=10#i.XII.101-p105.4

3494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=11#i.XII.101-p48.5

3495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.6

3496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.XII.101-p48.6

3497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=21&scrV=6#i.XII.101-p102.1

3498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=21&scrV=14#i.III\_1.22-p29.1

3499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=21&scrV=17#i.XII.101-p99.2

3500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=0#i.XII.101-p193.7

3501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=6#i.XII.101-p49.1

3502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=13#i.XII.101-p102.1

3503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=16#i.IV\_1.27-p72.9

3504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=18#i.VII.40-p58.4

3505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=18#i.XII.101-p88.5

3506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=20#i.XII.101-p33.1

3507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=20#i.XII.101-p88.3

3508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Tob&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p17.3

3509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Tob&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.IV\_1.24-p17.18

3510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Wis&scrCh=7&scrV=26#i.XII.94-p43.4

3511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=2Macc&scrCh=12&scrV=32#i.IV\_1.24-p17.4

3512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3?scrBook=Sir&scrCh=38&scrV=24#i.II\_1.17-p55.1

3513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p9.3

3514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p10.2

3515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.3

3516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.2

3517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.7

3518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p27.2

3519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p92.2

3520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p4.2

3521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p6.2

3522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p10.3

3523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p39.2

3524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.9

3525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p10.3

3526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.2

3527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.73-p21.2

3528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.3

3529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.1

3530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.1

3531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p19.1

3532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p32.2

3533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p12.2

3534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.6

3535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p64.2

3536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.8

3537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p53.2

3538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p66.2

3539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.22

3540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p37.2

3541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p28.2

3542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.3

3543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p79.3

3544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.3

3545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.3

3546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.6

3547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p5.2

3548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p30.2

3549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.3

3550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.7

3551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p8.2

3552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p82.3

3553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.7

3554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.6

3555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p5.2

3556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p8.2

3557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p7.2

3558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.19

3559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.23

3560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p9.4

3561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p7.3

3562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p5.3

3563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p70.2

3564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p93.2

3565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p5.2

3566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p60.2

3567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p36.2

3568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p3.2

3569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p21.2

3570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.4

3571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p15.2

3572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p18.2

3573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p4.2

3574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p71.2

3575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.6

3576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p31.2

3577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.10

3578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p29.2

3579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p114.2

3580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p47.2

3581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p42.1

3582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p83.2

3583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p46.2

3584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.1

3585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p91.1

3586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p26.2

3587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.9

3588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p144.2

3589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.12

3590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p16.2

3591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.6

3592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.4

3593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p145.2

3594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p24.1

3595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.1

3596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p129.2

3597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p145.4

3598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p132.3

3599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p146.2

3600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p126.2

3601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p64.3

3602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p145.3

3603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p124.2

3604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.7

3605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.3

3606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p146.3

3607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.9

3608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p23.2

3609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p85.2

3610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.4

3611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p87.2

3612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p6.2

3613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.2

3614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.5

3615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.2

3616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p131.2

3617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p13.2

3618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p17.2

3619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p36.1

3620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.5

3621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p35.2

3622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.12

3623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p9.3

3624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p95.3

3625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p17.2

3626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.1

3627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p6.3

3628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p71.4

3629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p37.3

3630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.3

3631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p23.15

3632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p34.2

3633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p10.2

3634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.2

3635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p146.4

3636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.8

3637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p8.3

3638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p9.2

3639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.4

3640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p9.3

3641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p22.2

3642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.6

3643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.11

3644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p70.2

3645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p11.2

3646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p37.4

3647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.6

3648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.7

3649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.8

3650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p84.2

3651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.17

3652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p15.1

3653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p67.3

3654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p96.8

3655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p98.2

3656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p38.2

3657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.7

3658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p39.2

3659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.10

3660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p20.2

3661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p23.12

3662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.9

3663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p14.2

3664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p17.2

3665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p16.2

3666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.8

3667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p7.2

3668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p56.2

3669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.7

3670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p33.2

3671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p9.2

3672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p132.4

3673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.i-p11.2

3674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p71.1

3675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p70.1

3676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p34.1

3677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.5

3678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.2

3679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.7

3680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p5.2

3681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.11

3682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p25.3

3683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.17

3684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p41.4

3685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.16

3686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p135.2

3687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p93.1

3688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.9

3689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p9.4

3690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p27.3

3691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p79.2

3692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p140.7

3693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.13

3694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.8

3695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p43.1

3696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.7

3697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.59-p17.1

3698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p53.1

3699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p9.1

3700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p57.5

3701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p11.2

3702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p39.1

3703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p51.5

3704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p42.1

3705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p93.1

3706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p17.1

3707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p69.11

3708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p41.1

3709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p42.2

3710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p14.1

3711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.2

3712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p57.4

3713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p10.1

3714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p130.1

3715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p32.1

3716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.2

3717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p42.1

3718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.5-p6.1

3719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p57.3

3720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p5.1

3721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p27.1

3722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p47.4

3723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p47.1

3724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.2

3725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p9.2

3726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p37.1

3727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.10

3728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p31.1

3729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.8

3730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p27.4

3731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p11.1

3732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p70.1

3733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.73-p21.1

3734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.6

3735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.11

3736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p156.6

3737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.8-p4.1

3738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p6.2

3739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.7

3740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.10

3741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p9.1

3742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p85.1

3743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.1

3744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p9.5

3745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p64.1

3746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p71.1

3747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p87.1

3748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p34.1

3749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p89.1

3750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p66.1

3751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p30.4

3752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.14

3753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.10

3754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.1

3755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p35.1

3756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p117.1

3757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p124.1

3758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p7.1

3759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.1

3760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p119.1

3761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p114.1

3762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p21.1

3763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p56.1

3764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.9

3765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p121.1

3766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.15

3767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p44.1

3768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p5.1

3769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p60.4

3770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p69.13

3771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p69.9

3772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p134.3

3773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p121.3

3774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p95.2

3775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p101.1

3776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p47.6

3777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p41.5

3778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.16

3779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p84.1

3780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p136.1

3781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.15

3782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p8.1

3783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.9

3784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.4

3785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p38.1

3786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p146.1

3787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p39.1

3788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p35.1

3789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p3.1

3790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.3

3791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p85.1

3792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.1

3793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.8

3794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p69.7

3795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.9

3796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p92.1

3797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p36.1

3798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.29

3799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.14

3800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p91.2

3801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.10

3802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.9

3803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.18

3804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.6

3805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.19

3806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.7

3807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.8

3808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p64.1

3809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p142.1

3810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p134.5

3811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p147.8

3812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p51.4

3813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p11.3

3814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.26

3815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.2

3816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.4

3817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p37.2

3818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p102.1

3819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p30.7

3820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p28.2

3821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p32.5

3822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p35.1

3823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p57.6

3824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p46.3

3825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.1

3826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p126.3

3827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.2

3828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p98.1

3829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p4.1

3830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p83.1

3831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p87.1

3832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p26.1

3833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p89.1

3834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p60.6

3835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p28.1

3836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.12

3837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p49.1

3838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p129.1

3839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p57.1

3840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p10.1

3841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p4.1

3842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p67.2

3843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p68.3

3844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p17.1

3845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.1-p5.3

3846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p66.1

3847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.15

3848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p126.1

3849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p10.1

3850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p4.1

3851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p12.4

3852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p5.3

3853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p9.1

3854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.4

3855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.20

3856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p104.1

3857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p24.1

3858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.7

3859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.17

3860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p53.1

3861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p37.1

3862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p39.6

3863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.10

3864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p33.1

3865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.44-p16.1

3866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p60.1

3867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.18

3868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.10

3869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p62.1

3870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p45.1

3871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p30.1

3872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p109.1

3873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.2

3874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p33.1

3875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.2

3876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.7

3877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.12

3878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.4

3879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p17.4

3880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p82.1

3881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.20

3882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p115.1

3883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p134.1

3884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.6

3885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p140.5

3886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.1

3887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p34.1

3888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p46.1

3889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.6

3890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p27.1

3891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p5.1

3892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p22.2

3893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.3

3894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p25.1

3895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p33.2

3896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p14.1

3897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.3

3898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.16

3899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p9.3

3900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p9.2

3901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.13

3902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.11

3903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.5

3904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.5

3905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.18

3906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.12

3907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p156.2

3908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p6.1

3909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p145.1

3910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p132.1

3911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p14.1

3912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p25.4

3913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p30.6

3914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p6.1

3915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.6

3916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p10.13

3917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p7.1

3918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p15.1

3919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p57.1

3920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p6.3

3921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p51.2

3922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.4

3923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p140.1

3924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p28.1

3925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p91.1

3926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p43.1

3927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p55.1

3928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p39.4

3929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p54.2

3930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.6

3931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p45.1

3932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p37.1

3933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.5

3934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p56.1

3935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.23

3936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.1

3937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.15-p26.1

3938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.8

3939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.10

3940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p41.3

3941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1-p29.1

3942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.1

3943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.4

3944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p51.1

3945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p8.1

3946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.2

3947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.6

3948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.8

3949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.16

3950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.1

3951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.4

3952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.1

3953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.5

3954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.3

3955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.6

3956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p41.2

3957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p3.1

3958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p41.1

3959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p134.2

3960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p126.5

3961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p4.2

3962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.21

3963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p16.1

3964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.3

3965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p25.1

3966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p52.5

3967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p88.1

3968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.6

3969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p39.8

3970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p61.1

3971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.5

3972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.7

3973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p30.3

3974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p22.7

3975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p126.4

3976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.12

3977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p22.1

3978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.1

3979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p42.2

3980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p10.3

3981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.6

3982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p131.1

3983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p111.4

3984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p7.5

3985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p27.2

3986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p144.1

3987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p154.5

3988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p128.1

3989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p140.3

3990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.25

3991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.13

3992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.12

3993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.2

3994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p152.7

3995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.3

3996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.5

3997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p32.3

3998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p43.15

3999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.11

4000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.17

4001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p39.2

4002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p29.4

4003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p52.3

4004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p55.1

4005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.2

4006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p160.1

4007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p6.4

4008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p74.1

4009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p56.1

4010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.1

4011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p48.3

4012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p70.3

4013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p70.2

4014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p63.3

4015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p13.8

4016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.8

4017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p49.3

4018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p45.2

4019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.12

4020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p64.6

4021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p23.1

4022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p160.2

4023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.4

4024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p74.5

4025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p16.1

4026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p13.6

4027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p58.2

4028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p12.1

4029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p71.1

4030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.15

4031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.10

4032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.14

4033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p225.1

4034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p227.1

4035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p171.10

4036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p37.1

4037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p182.3

4038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.3

4039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p32.1

4040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p15.1

4041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.6

4042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p146.1

4043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.5

4044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.3

4045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p39.1

4046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.4

4047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.7

4048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.6

4049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p17.3

4050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p181.1

4051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.19

4052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p29.1

4053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.68-p6.1

4054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.8

4055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.12

4056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.17

4057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.19

4058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.8

4059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.6

4060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p71.2

4061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p24.1

4062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.16

4063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p65.2

4064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.10

4065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p182.2

4066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p56.5

4067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p27.1

4068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.5

4069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p13.4

4070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p187.1

4071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p97.2

4072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p184.3

4073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p74.4

4074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p184.2

4075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p145.4

4076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p26.12

4077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p26.1

4078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p26.8

4079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.8

4080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p30.1

4081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.3

4082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p27.1

4083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.1

4084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p27.12

4085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.7

4086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p25.1

4087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.22

4088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.20

4089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p60.2

4090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.21

4091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.8

4092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.9

4093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.12

4094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p17.4

4095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p80.7

4096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.4

4097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p27.2

4098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p100.4

4099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p106.4

4100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p107.10

4101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p108.7

4102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p22.1

4103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.7

4104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p26.10

4105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p30.3

4106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.4

4107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.12

4108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.13

4109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.13

4110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p6.2

4111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.19

4112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.93-p3.6

4113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p39.1

4114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p147.4

4115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p21.10

4116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p21.9

4117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p62.5

4118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p62.6

4119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p79.1

4120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p9.1

4121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p184.1

4122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.12

4123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p18.1

4124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p9.1

4125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p10.4

4126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.9

4127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p146.3

4128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p5.3

4129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p41.1

4130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.9

4131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p68.2

4132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p200.2

4133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p12.14

4134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.6

4135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p51.1

4136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p109.1

4137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p110.1

4138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p112.2

4139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p8.4

4140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p20.3

4141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p49.4

4142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p49.3

4143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p28.1

4144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p262.2

4145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p12.2

4146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.5

4147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.6

4148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.8

4149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.2

4150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p113.1

4151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.14

4152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.7

4153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p45.2

4154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p27.7

4155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p49.2

4156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p17.8

4157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.40

4158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p30.1

4159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.14

4160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.63-p11.2

4161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.65-p10.2

4162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p97.1

4163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.56-p6.1

4164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.13

4165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.12

4166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.42

4167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.1

4168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.7

4169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.15

4170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.10

4171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p85.2

4172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p22.1

4173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p28.2

4174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p66.2

4175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p22.1

4176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p22.2

4177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.3

4178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p5.5

4179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p67.10

4180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.19

4181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.3

4182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p35.4

4183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p69.6

4184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p58.2

4185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p98.2

4186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p69.4

4187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p58.1

4188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p110.3

4189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p126.11

4190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p91.7

4191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.7

4192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p107.4

4193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.28

4194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p65.2

4195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.13

4196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p65.3

4197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.6

4198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p111.1

4199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p25.11

4200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p108.7

4201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.7

4202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p78.2

4203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p80.3

4204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p46.2

4205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p37.1

4206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p69.3

4207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.32-p16.1

4208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p52.1

4209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p54.2

4210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.4

4211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.1

4212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.2

4213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p10.3

4214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.11

4215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.46-p11.2

4216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.27

4217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p10.4

4218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.5

4219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p26.2

4220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.3

4221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.2

4222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p6.6

4223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.8

4224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p31.1

4225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p7.1

4226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.8

4227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.13

4228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p110.5

4229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p175.1

4230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p60.2

4231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p37.7

4232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p23.2

4233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.7

4234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p107.6

4235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.9

4236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p17.3

4237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.32

4238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p110.6

4239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p126.1

4240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p109.2

4241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p97.4

4242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p98.4

4243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.15

4244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.8

4245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p108.3

4246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p113.3

4247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p53.1

4248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p3.2

4249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p23.1

4250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p81.2

4251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p21.1

4252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p81.3

4253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.12

4254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p19.2

4255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p42.1

4256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p22.2

4257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p166.1

4258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p7.3

4259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p14.2

4260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p64.4

4261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.25

4262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p44.3

4263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p34.2

4264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p127.2

4265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p190.1

4266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p72.3

4267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p72.2

4268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.18

4269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p88.2

4270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p57.2

4271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p58.5

4272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.92-p12.5

4273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p58.4

4274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.92-p12.6

4275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p49.2

4276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.3

4277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p34.1

4278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p156.3

4279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p156.5

4280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p13.1

4281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.1

4282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p29.1

4283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p87.1

4284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p35.1

4285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p23.1

4286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p173.2

4287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p108.2

4288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p100.5

4289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p96.1

4290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p77.3

4291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.1

4292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p14.2

4293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p115.1

4294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.73-p13.2

4295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.13

4296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p41.1

4297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p41.2

4298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p13.1

4299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p70.2

4300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.8

4301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.20

4302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p14.2

4303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p126.6

4304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p69.2

4305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.1

4306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p115.4

4307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p107.2

4308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.8

4309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p44.7

4310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.3

4311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p43.2

4312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.13

4313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p43.3

4314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.1

4315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.32-p7.3

4316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.2

4317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.11

4318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.32-p7.4

4319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p232.6

4320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p170.3

4321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p97.1

4322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.4

4323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p7.4

4324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.5

4325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p34.2

4326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p41.2

4327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p50.1

4328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p149.2

4329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p26.1

4330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p3.1

4331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p112.1

4332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p226.3

4333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p227.3

4334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.90-p4.2

4335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p5.4

4336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p17.2

4337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.59-p12.3

4338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p23.6

4339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p65.4

4340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.11

4341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p40.1

4342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p207.4

4343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p55.2

4344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p7.2

4345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p70.7

4346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p42.1

4347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.4

4348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p62.3

4349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p37.4

4350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p17.1

4351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p76.1

4352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p81.1

4353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p6.4

4354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p64.4

4355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.47

4356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.13

4357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p68.3

4358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.1

4359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p70.8

4360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p22.6

4361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p89.2

4362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p17.2

4363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.8

4364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p15.1

4365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.4

4366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.8

4367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.17

4368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p41.7

4369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p119.2

4370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p232.3

4371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.9

4372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p36.1

4373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p53.5

4374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p20.3

4375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p7.3

4376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p48.2

4377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.14

4378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p40.6

4379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p86.1

4380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p67.3

4381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p87.2

4382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.4

4383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p45.11

4384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.3

4385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p56.2

4386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p108.4

4387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p108.2

4388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p86.2

4389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p58.2

4390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p70.1

4391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p96.6

4392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.13

4393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.4

4394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p9.2

4395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p40.5

4396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p262.4

4397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.26

4398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p17.2

4399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p119.1

4400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.6

4401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.5

4402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.15

4403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.21

4404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.5

4405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p10.2

4406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p34.2

4407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p90.3

4408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p40.2

4409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p64.7

4410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p34.1

4411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p119.1

4412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.17

4413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.3

4414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.2

4415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p203.2

4416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p27.1

4417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p29.2

4418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p60.3

4419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.12

4420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.35

4421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.3

4422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p33.3

4423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p54.1

4424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p14.1

4425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.5

4426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p92.7

4427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.9

4428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p31.1

4429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p30.1

4430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p14.1

4431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p29.3

4432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.16

4433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.43

4434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.34

4435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.3

4436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.9

4437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p18.2

4438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p167.2

4439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.2

4440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p88.1

4441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p29.2

4442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p13.2

4443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p29.4

4444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p44.2

4445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p28.2

4446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p87.2

4447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p29.1

4448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p28.1

4449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p87.1

4450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p179.2

4451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p49.5

4452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.8

4453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.10

4454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.1

4455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.5

4456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.6

4457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.10

4458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p79.6

4459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p131.2

4460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.3

4461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.2

4462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p147.1

4463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p132.2

4464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p118.1

4465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p90.2

4466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.10-p6.2

4467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p120.1

4468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p119.1

4469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p108.1

4470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p117.1

4471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p110.1

4472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p11.1

4473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p118.1

4474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p3.1

4475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p4.1

4476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.9

4477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p25.1

4478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p28.1

4479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p5.4

4480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p3.1

4481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII-p7.1

4482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p169.2

4483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.13

4484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p46.2

4485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p168.1

4486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p169.1

4487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p50.3

4488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p88.1

4489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p79.4

4490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p79.6

4491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p79.3

4492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p15.2

4493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p15.1

4494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.90-p4.3

4495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p25.2

4496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.7

4497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p40.5

4498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p54.1

4499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.2

4500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.10

4501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p118.2

4502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.12

4503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p234.1

4504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p29.1

4505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p24.1

4506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p27.1

4507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p83.1

4508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p16.1

4509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.1

4510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p67.6

4511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.4

4512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p77.1

4513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p26.1

4514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p90.1

4515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.10

4516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.18

4517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.23

4518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.18

4519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.10-p14.1

4520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.9

4521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p26.1

4522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p34.1

4523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.12

4524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.3

4525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p58.1

4526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p47.2

4527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p5.2

4528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p28.1

4529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p76.3

4530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p76.2

4531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p143.1

4532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p3.1

4533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.10-p7.1

4534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.3

4535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p12.4

4536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p12.3

4537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p5.1

4538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p12.2

4539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p11.2

4540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p100.1

4541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.18

4542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p3.1

4543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.9

4544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p11.3

4545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p11.2

4546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.7

4547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p46.3

4548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.4

4549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p109.5

4550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p131.1

4551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p151.1

4552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p155.1

4553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p118.3

4554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p28.2

4555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.8

4556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.11

4557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p131.3

4558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.11

4559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p122.1

4560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p15.5

4561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.6

4562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p7.1

4563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.3

4564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.2

4565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p60.1

4566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.1

4567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.4

4568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.6

4569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.8

4570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.14

4571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.5

4572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.1

4573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.10

4574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p56.6

4575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p57.1

4576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p44.1

4577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p66.3

4578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p170.6

4579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.9

4580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.5

4581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.2

4582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p91.2

4583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.1

4584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.3

4585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p18.4

4586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p89.1

4587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.10

4588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.2

4589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.9

4590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.15

4591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.13

4592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.2

4593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p27.2

4594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p145.1

4595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.9

4596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.18

4597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p26.2

4598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p27.1

4599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.6

4600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.4

4601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p227.5

4602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p44.9

4603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p227.4

4604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p41.2

4605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p135.1

4606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.5

4607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p13.2

4608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.8

4609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.7

4610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p28.4

4611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p105.7

4612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p110.3

4613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p135.9

4614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p71.2

4615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p7.1

4616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.5

4617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.5

4618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p8.5

4619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.3

4620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p226.2

4621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p227.2

4622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p45.4

4623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p5.2

4624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p100.1

4625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.12

4626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p67.3

4627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p19.4

4628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.11

4629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p109.1

4630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p19.3

4631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.9

4632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p67.2

4633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p67.4

4634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p27.6

4635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p67.1

4636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.7

4637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p36.1

4638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p11.2

4639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.8

4640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p146.2

4641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.12

4642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p28.3

4643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p90.4

4644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p78.3

4645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p100.3

4646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.5

4647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p116.2

4648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p17.2

4649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p193.1

4650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p67.3

4651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p12.4

4652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.9

4653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.5

4654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.1

4655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.3

4656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p97.1

4657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p114.1

4658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p29.1

4659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p29.6

4660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p15.2

4661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p58.1

4662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p14.3

4663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p4.1

4664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p4.2

4665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p68.1

4666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p226.1

4667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p22.5

4668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p13.2

4669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p29.1

4670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p27.1

4671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p17.1

4672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.3

4673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p27.2

4674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p27.1

4675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.23

4676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.10

4677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.25

4678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p29.7

4679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.7

4680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.11

4681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p36.2

4682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p13.1

4683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p230.2

4684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p38.6

4685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p55.2

4686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p93.2

4687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p116.1

4688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.1

4689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p93.3

4690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p55.3

4691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.17

4692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p93.1

4693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p35.3

4694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p70.2

4695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p26.4

4696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.6

4697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p7.2

4698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p44.2

4699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.10

4700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p74.2

4701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p74.4

4702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p23.1

4703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p68.1

4704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.2

4705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.4

4706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p57.1

4707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p194.2

4708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.15

4709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p97.2

4710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p78.4

4711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.11

4712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p8.2

4713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p33.2

4714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p36.1

4715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p225.3

4716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p13.3

4717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p88.1

4718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.6

4719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p6.1

4720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p6.6

4721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p15.4

4722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p138.4

4723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p138.3

4724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p17.10

4725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p67.1

4726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p67.2

4727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.32-p7.1

4728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.29

4729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.11

4730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.14

4731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p86.1

4732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.15

4733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.68-p5.1

4734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p43.1

4735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.11

4736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p36.5

4737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.12

4738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p49.2

4739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p174.3

4740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p11.2

4741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.1

4742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.6

4743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.5

4744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p22.2

4745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p16.1

4746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p262.3

4747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.12-p23.1

4748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p52.4

4749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p89.1

4750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p34.2

4751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.3

4752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.4

4753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.7

4754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.12

4755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.6

4756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.10

4757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.14

4758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.16

4759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.19

4760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.21

4761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p41.6

4762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p119.3

4763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p18.3

4764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p34.2

4765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p145.2

4766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p44.2

4767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.3

4768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.7

4769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p11.1

4770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p18.1

4771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p155.3

4772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.6

4773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p49.3

4774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p168.3

4775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p29.2

4776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.16

4777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.7

4778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.4

4779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.15

4780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.97-p29.2

4781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p160.3

4782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.1

4783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p24.1

4784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p25.1

4785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p40.6

4786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p17.4

4787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p8.2

4788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p44.3

4789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.8

4790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p98.2

4791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p45.7

4792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p98.3

4793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p207.1

4794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p170.2

4795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p45.3

4796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.9

4797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p202.1

4798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.20

4799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.22

4800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.1

4801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p19.1

4802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p109.2

4803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.2

4804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p51.8

4805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p35.5

4806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p170.2

4807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p169.1

4808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.11

4809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.5

4810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.13

4811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p25.2

4812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p98.10

4813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p69.4

4814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.39-p5.1

4815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.13

4816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.14

4817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.8

4818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.97-p15.1

4819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p19.2

4820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p53.4

4821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p39.4

4822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.2

4823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p47.7

4824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p29.2

4825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p50.2

4826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p51.2

4827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p57.3

4828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.9

4829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p39.3

4830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p136.2

4831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p18.2

4832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p18.3

4833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.37

4834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.11

4835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.11

4836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p52.2

4837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.18

4838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.18

4839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p29.1

4840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.6

4841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.3

4842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.7

4843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.4

4844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.4

4845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p227.2

4846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.1

4847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p41.1

4848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p56.2

4849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p56.3

4850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p83.3

4851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p19.1

4852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.8

4853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.3

4854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p78.1

4855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.4

4856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p23.2

4857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p76.4

4858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p39.5

4859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p24.2

4860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p37.6

4861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p8.4

4862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p46.2

4863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p99.1

4864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p51.2

4865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p17.1

4866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p196.1

4867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p108.2

4868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.9

4869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.5

4870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.20

4871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.32-p25.2

4872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p52.2

4873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.11

4874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p29.4

4875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p42.4

4876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.22

4877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p44.2

4878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p44.1

4879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p129.7

4880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.2

4881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.16

4882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p52.1

4883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p208.1

4884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.24

4885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.40

4886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p44.8

4887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p46.1

4888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.13

4889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.13

4890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p40.7

4891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.2

4892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.12

4893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.20

4894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p34.3

4895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.8

4896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p151.2

4897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p170.1

4898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.11

4899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p8.6

4900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p8.8

4901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p90.3

4902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.43

4903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p69.3

4904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p25.1

4905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.17

4906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p20.3

4907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p21.5

4908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p21.8

4909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.4

4910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p106.2

4911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.6

4912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p37.2

4913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.7

4914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.5

4915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p190.3

4916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p190.5

4917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.3

4918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.3

4919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p116.9

4920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p40.1

4921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p40.2

4922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.5

4923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.6

4924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.7

4925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.1

4926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p63.1

4927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.4

4928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.2

4929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p54.4

4930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p53.2

4931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p12.1

4932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p102.3

4933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p53.3

4934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p35.2

4935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p24.5

4936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p24.7

4937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p56.3

4938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p93.1

4939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p92.1

4940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.1

4941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p90.2

4942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.4

4943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p25.8

4944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p23.7

4945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.5

4946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.6

4947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p70.7

4948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p172.1

4949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p71.5

4950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p66.2

4951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p64.1

4952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.3

4953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.2

4954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p92.4

4955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p207.2

4956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p70.5

4957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.4

4958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p70.6

4959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.12

4960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.10

4961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.4

4962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p26.4

4963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.7

4964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p184.1

4965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p185.2

4966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p16.2

4967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p24.4

4968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p24.6

4969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p199.1

4970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p194.4

4971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.16

4972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.22

4973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.19

4974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.4

4975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.8

4976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p52.4

4977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p47.3

4978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.4

4979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p25.6

4980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.1

4981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.5

4982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.12

4983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p208.2

4984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p18.2

4985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p15.3

4986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p76.8

4987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p176.2

4988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p35.1

4989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p108.1

4990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p14.2

4991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p45.1

4992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p72.1

4993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p65.1

4994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.16

4995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p57.2

4996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p232.1

4997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.3

4998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.2

4999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p82.5

5000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p80.5

5001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p80.4

5002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p107.8

5003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p10.8

5004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p17.1

5005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p80.6

5006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.51

5007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.31

5008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.28

5009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.29

5010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.19

5011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p122.5

5012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p126.8

5013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.2

5014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.3

5015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.7

5016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p11.3

5017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p12.1

5018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p28.1

5019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.9

5020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p64.2

5021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p67.2

5022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p54.2

5023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p82.1

5024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.16

5025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p10.7

5026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.4

5027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p14.4

5028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.16

5029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p93.6

5030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.97-p15.3

5031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.6

5032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.53-p22.6

5033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p208.3

5034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.1

5035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.2

5036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p45.1

5037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.1

5038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.6

5039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p41.1

5040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.2

5041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.55

5042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p40.3

5043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p17.5

5044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p23.4

5045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p46.2

5046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p69.2

5047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p24.1

5048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p21.7

5049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p29.2

5050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.5

5051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.2

5052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.1

5053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.6

5054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p96.2

5055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p18.4

5056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p30.1

5057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p141.3

5058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p80.1

5059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p45.2

5060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p24.8

5061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p182.2

5062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p102.6

5063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p64.3

5064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.32

5065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.12

5066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.34

5067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p79.1

5068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p120.6

5069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p76.7

5070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p76.9

5071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p14.1

5072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.6

5073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p70.9

5074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.20

5075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.7

5076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.39-p5.3

5077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p41.5

5078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p35.1

5079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p43.2

5080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.8

5081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.36

5082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p36.2

5083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p120.3

5084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.5

5085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.1

5086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p63.5

5087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.3

5088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.4

5089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p57.3

5090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p17.3

5091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p102.2

5092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p27.1

5093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p5.1

5094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.3

5095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p8.2

5096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p8.4

5097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.5

5098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p18.2

5099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.3

5100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p37.6

5101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.4

5102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p44.11

5103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p46.3

5104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p43.4

5105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.2

5106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p126.9

5107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p71.1

5108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.20

5109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.17

5110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.10-p14.3

5111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.11

5112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.12

5113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p61.2

5114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.15

5115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p15.1

5116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.11

5117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p45.10

5118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p70.11

5119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.10

5120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.14

5121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.16

5122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.24

5123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p45.8

5124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p22.3

5125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p150.2

5126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.3

5127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.13

5128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.7

5129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p101.10

5130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p168.2

5131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p170.2

5132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p190.4

5133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.2

5134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.5

5135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p7.3

5136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p20.4

5137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p106.1

5138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p106.3

5139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.7

5140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p54.8

5141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.86-p5.1

5142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p10.1

5143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.2

5144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p9.2

5145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p80.1

5146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p164.1

5147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.3

5148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.10

5149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.10

5150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p127.1

5151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p21.1

5152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.6

5153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.5

5154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p60.3

5155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p50.1

5156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p20.2

5157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p11.1

5158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.13

5159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p20.1

5160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.4

5161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.12

5162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p191.2

5163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p56.6

5164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p127.7

5165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p77.2

5166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p80.2

5167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.8

5168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.5

5169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p44.4

5170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p58.2

5171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p9.1

5172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.9

5173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p77.2

5174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p18.4

5175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.1

5176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.38

5177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p65.1

5178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p84.1

5179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p44.3

5180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p123.1

5181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p123.8

5182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p105.8

5183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p123.4

5184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p115.5

5185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p29.1

5186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.7

5187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p178.1

5188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.2

5189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.6

5190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p42.1

5191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p182.3

5192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p24.10

5193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p25.4

5194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p80.1

5195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p81.8

5196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p38.1

5197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p30.3

5198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p84.2

5199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p22.3

5200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p71.5

5201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p84.2

5202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p122.2

5203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p135.1

5204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p135.3

5205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p52.3

5206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p57.2

5207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p25.2

5208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p21.2

5209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.43-p11.2

5210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p65.3

5211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p12.2

5212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p66.1

5213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.4

5214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p120.3

5215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p66.5

5216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p92.3

5217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.19

5218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p82.6

5219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p81.20

5220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p44.3

5221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p156.9

5222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p20.2

5223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p7.2

5224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p115.2

5225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.11

5226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p50.4

5227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.8

5228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.9

5229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p44.1

5230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p44.10

5231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p65.2

5232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p23.2

5233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p44.1

5234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p46.1

5235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.11

5236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p40.4

5237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.68-p7.3

5238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.68-p7.1

5239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p13.2

5240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p55.1

5241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p120.4

5242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p188.2

5243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p80.4

5244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p20.3

5245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p13.2

5246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p7.1

5247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.42

5248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p34.9

5249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p12.1

5250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p8.2

5251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p12.5

5252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p26.3

5253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p113.1

5254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p25.3

5255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p78.1

5256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p141.1

5257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p141.2

5258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p28.3

5259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p20.2

5260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p67.4

5261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.8

5262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.10

5263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p25.5

5264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p15.5

5265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.2

5266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p18.5

5267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.5

5268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p18.6

5269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.3

5270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p23.3

5271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p93.23

5272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.42-p41.1

5273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p50.2

5274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p113.1

5275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p12.1

5276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.40

5277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p34.1

5278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.11

5279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p104.4

5280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.15

5281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p83.1

5282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p18.3

5283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.8

5284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.22

5285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.12

5286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.4

5287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.1

5288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.4

5289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p57.2

5290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p152.37

5291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.86-p5.3

5292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p29.3

5293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.10

5294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.3

5295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p26.3

5296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p14.2

5297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p23.2

5298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p25.2

5299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p29.1

5300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p29.2

5301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p102.60

5302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.86-p5.4

5303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p39.1

5304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p38.4

5305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p61.5

5306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p159.1

5307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p32.1

5308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1-p5.1

5309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p38.1

5310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p61.1

5311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.97-p13.1

5312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p155.1

5313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.45-p7.1

5314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p37.2

5315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p101.48

5316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p98.3

5317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p190.2

5318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p97.3

5319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.1

5320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p60.2

5321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.21

5322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p64.19

5323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p27.5

5324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p60.1

5325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p29.1

5326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.96-p27.1

5327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.35-p31.3

5328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p13.4

5329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p21.2

5330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.11

5331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p19.1

5332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.2

5333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p143.1

5334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.5

5335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p18.3

5336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.3

5337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.64-p16.9

5338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.5

5339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p35.7

5340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.3

5341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.5

5342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.6

5343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p115.1

5344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p135.6

5345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p135.8

5346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p137.1

5347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p138.5

5348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.95-p6.2

5349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p97.2

5350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p18.3

5351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p98.1

5352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.4

5353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p39.7

5354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.2

5355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p5.4

5356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p12.5

5357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p10.1

5358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p44.1

5359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p12.6

5360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.2

5361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.23

5362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.7

5363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.15

5364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.2

5365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.7

5366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.5

5367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p12.3

5368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.13

5369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p5.2

5370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.10

5371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.7

5372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.7

5373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.8

5374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.14

5375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p30.2

5376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p126.3

5377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p79.2

5378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.9

5379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.9

5380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p27.2

5381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.3

5382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.11

5383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.3

5384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.17

5385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.5

5386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p22.2

5387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p22.1

5388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.2

5389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.7

5390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p124.1

5391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.14

5392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p52.15

5393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p62.7

5394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.6

5395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.1

5396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p117.2

5397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p170.3

5398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.4

5399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p63.1

5400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p118.2

5401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.3

5402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.8

5403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.9

5404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.21

5405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.12

5406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p11.1

5407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.19

5408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p29.2

5409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p26.2

5410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.27

5411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.25

5412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p92.8

5413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p17.13

5414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p103.13

5415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p29.3

5416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.6

5417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.5

5418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.1

5419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.17

5420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p12.2

5421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p128.4

5422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.62-p5.3

5423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.16

5424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.18

5425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.20

5426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.22

5427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.24

5428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p17.26

5429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p117.3

5430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p27.3

5431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p29.4

5432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p49.7

5433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p66.5

5434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p121.3

5435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.6

5436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.8

5437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p15.10

5438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p63.2

5439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p101.6

5440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p102.3

5441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p15.2

5442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.4

5443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p28.3

5444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.89-p9.1

5445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p204.4

5446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.5

5447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p27.2

5448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.7

5449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.2

5450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p58.1

5451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p44.3

5452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.2

5453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p60.3

5454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.4

5455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p92.3

5456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.3

5457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.6

5458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p36.2

5459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p48.4

5460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.10

5461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p8.2

5462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.6

5463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p83.2

5464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p28.4

5465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.7

5466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.6

5467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p8.9

5468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p59.3

5469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p4.3

5470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p10.3

5471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p12.3

5472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p48.6

5473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p102.5

5474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.6

5475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.3

5476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.5

5477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p58.3

5478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p17.2

5479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p17.2

5480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p59.2

5481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p65.2

5482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p103.4

5483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p6.2

5484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p48.2

5485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p54.2

5486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p108.2

5487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p22.2

5488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p92.3

5489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p10.2

5490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p8.2

5491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p50.4

5492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.13-p17.2

5493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.3-p10.1

5494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p46.2

5495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p28.2

5496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p60.2

5497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p35.2

5498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p25.2

5499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p91.2

5500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p62.2

5501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p34.2

5502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p12.3

5503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p13.1

5504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p12.1

5505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.9

5506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.14

5507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p27.2

5508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p94.1

5509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.17

5510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p27.1

5511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p54.1

5512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p205.1

5513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p102.4

5514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p235.1

5515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p10.2

5516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.1

5517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p8.2

5518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.16

5519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p12.2

5520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p10.2

5521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p12.3

5522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.4

5523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.5

5524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p9.3

5525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p15.1

5526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.3

5527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.3

5528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p16.2

5529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p93.3

5530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p29.2

5531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p149.1

5532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.5

5533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p129.1

5534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.5

5535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p6.1

5536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p5.2

5537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p6.3

5538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p7.2

5539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.6

5540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p70.4

5541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p50.2

5542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p44.2

5543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p57.1

5544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p90.1

5545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p4.6

5546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p50.6

5547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p37.4

5548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.4

5549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p25.2

5550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p49.3

5551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p61.1

5552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p93.2

5553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p106.2

5554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p66.2

5555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p41.2

5556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p10.2

5557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p64.4

5558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.21

5559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p80.1

5560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p92.1

5561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p4.4

5562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p10.2

5563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p50.24

5564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p26.2

5565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p10.2

5566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p34.1

5567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p59.2

5568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p70.2

5569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p50.3

5570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p70.3

5571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p56.2

5572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p90.1

5573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p100.2

5574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p13.1

5575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p49.6

5576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p105.2

5577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p107.2

5578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p20.2

5579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p28.2

5580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.1

5581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p55.2

5582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p52.3

5583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p52.2

5584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p6.7

5585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p12.3

5586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p53.2

5587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p57.2

5588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p82.2

5589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p84.2

5590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p50.2

5591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p5.3

5592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p5.5

5593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p163.2

5594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p33.2

5595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p77.5

5596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.7

5597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p11.2

5598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p17.2

5599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p41.2

5600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p9.2

5601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p64.1

5602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p60.2

5603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p28.2

5604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p13.2

5605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p32.1

5606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p38.2

5607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p40.2

5608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.5

5609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.88-p13.1

5610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.3

5611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p34.2

5612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p5.2

5613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p3.2

5614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p3.4

5615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p88.2

5616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.14

5617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p32.2

5618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.3

5619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p59.1

5620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p16.2

5621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p74.1

5622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p24.2

5623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p23.2

5624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p29.2

5625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p11.2

5626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p14.3

5627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.69-p26.1

5628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p14.2

5629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.94-p30.1

5630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p15.1

5631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.1

5632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p58.2

5633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p4.2

5634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p14.1

5635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p56.2

5636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p9.3

5637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p20.2

5638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p11.2

5639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p137.2

5640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p97.2

5641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p32.1

5642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p8.2

5643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.6-p22.1

5644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p77.3

5645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p66.4

5646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p3.6

5647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.20

5648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p10.3

5649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p12.2

5650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p23.2

5651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.16

5652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p21.1

5653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p53.2

5654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.25

5655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p61.2

5656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p2.3

5657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p254.3

5658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p13.2

5659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.47-p4.2

5660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.12

5661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p52.2

5662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p12.2

5663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p71.2

5664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p22.2

5665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p35.2

5666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p41.2

5667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p30.2

5668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p51.2

5669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.8

5670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p19.3

5671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.1

5672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p37.2

5673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p43.2

5674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p36.4

5675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p64.2

5676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.70-p7.1

5677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p37.1

5678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p4.5

5679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p90.2

5680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p37.2

5681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p14.2

5682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.23

5683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.v-p5.2

5684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p30.2

5685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p49.4

5686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p26.2

5687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p8.2

5688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p34.2

5689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p15.2

5690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p4.10

5691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p4.12

5692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p31.2

5693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p5.4

5694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p48.2

5695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p58.2

5696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p26.2

5697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p12.7

5698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p24.2

5699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p18.2

5700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p49.2

5701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.10

5702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p8.2

5703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p163.1

5704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p9.2

5705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p50.2

5706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p47.2

5707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p12.2

5708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p43.2

5709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.12

5710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p42.2

5711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p11.2

5712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p42.2

5713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p5.2

5714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.51-p6.2

5715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p32.1

5716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.99-p68.1

5717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.5

5718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.10

5719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p110.2

5720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p26.2

5721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p5.2

5722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p22.2

5723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.1

5724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p66.6

5725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.2

5726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p110.1

5727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p88.2

5728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.12

5729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.2

5730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.25

5731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p74.6

5732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p31.1

5733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p30.1

5734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p57.1

5735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p42.4

5736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p36.2

5737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.7

5738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p22.2

5739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p40.6

5740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p12.3

5741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p45.2

5742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p28.1

5743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p13.1

5744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p58.2

5745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p81.1

5746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.5

5747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.8

5748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p16.2

5749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p35.1

5750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p50.13

5751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p18.1

5752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p42.2

5753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p37.5

5754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p13.2

5755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p48.2

5756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p40.2

5757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p6.14

5758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p34.2

5759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.1

5760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p10.5

5761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p137.1

5762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p30.1

5763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p77.2

5764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p88.1

5765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p47.3

5766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p46.2

5767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p31.2

5768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p45.2

5769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p19.2

5770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p50.2

5771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p18.2

5772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p33.2

5773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p4.2

5774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.4

5775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p47.3

5776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII-p15.2

5777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.4

5778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p40.1

5779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p10.2

5780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p26.2

5781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p32.2

5782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p17.2

5783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p21.2

5784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p25.2

5785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.57-p11.2

5786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p24.2

5787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p29.2

5788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p31.2

5789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p19.2

5790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p49.2

5791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.54-p7.2

5792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.3

5793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.7

5794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p47.9

5795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p50.5

5796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.11

5797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.10

5798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.102-p13.1

5799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p26.2

5800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p29.2

5801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p10.2

5802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.1

5803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p67.1

5804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p69.1

5805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.2

5806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p56.1

5807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p29.3

5808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.5

5809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p27.2

5810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p10.1

5811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p68.1

5812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p43.2

5813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p49.3

5814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p14.2

5815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p14.2

5816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p19.2

5817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.4

5818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p31.1

5819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p9.1

5820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p43.3

5821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p18.3

5822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p27.2

5823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.22

5824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p56.1

5825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p21.2

5826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.27-p24.2

5827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.2

5828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.9

5829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p76.2

5830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.4

5831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p254.1

5832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p29.3

5833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p15.2

5834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.14

5835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.26-p47.8

5836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p29.2

5837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p17.2

5838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p13.2

5839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p74.7

5840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p43.4

5841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p43.3

5842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p44.5

5843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p27.1

5844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p48.2

5845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p44.6

5846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.5

5847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p50.11

5848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p44.4

5849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p85.3

5850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p45.2

5851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p5.6

5852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p72.2

5853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.30

5854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p16.2

5855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p14.2

5856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p99.1

5857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p8.8

5858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p37.2

5859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p26.3

5860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p8.2

5861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p25.2

5862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p107.18

5863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.4

5864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p17.2

5865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX-p9.2

5866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p163.3

5867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.14

5868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p59.8

5869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p22.2

5870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p43.1

5871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p26.3

5872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p32.2

5873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p11.2

5874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p49.2

5875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p8.1

5876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p8.6

5877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p26.2

5878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p55.2

5879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.6-p19.1

5880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.6-p16.1

5881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p48.3

5882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p19.2

5883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.7

5884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p109.2

5885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p8.1

5886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p89.2

5887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p4.8

5888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p24.2

5889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p30.2

5890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p27.2

5891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.2

5892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p16.2

5893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.59-p12.2

5894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p15.2

5895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p48.4

5896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p8.2

5897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p95.1

5898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p22.4

5899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p153.3

5900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p38.7

5901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.6

5902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.8

5903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p16.2

5904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.7

5905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.6-p25.1

5906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.26

5907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.6

5908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p64.1

5909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p9.2

5910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p4.2

5911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p10.2

5912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p58.1

5913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p27.1

5914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p70.2

5915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p30.2

5916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p79.1

5917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p12.2

5918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p20.2

5919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p24.3

5920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p37.1

5921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p27.1

5922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.87-p18.2

5923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p28.2

5924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p44.8

5925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p14.4

5926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p15.2

5927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p19.1

5928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.2

5929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p16.2

5930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p24.2

5931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p10.9

5932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p29.1

5933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p7.2

5934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p52.1

5935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p30.3

5936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.20

5937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.10

5938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p86.1

5939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p5.3

5940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p77.4

5941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p23.2

5942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p158.1

5943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p34.1

5944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p46.2

5945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.58-p27.2

5946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p11.2

5947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p15.2

5948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p4.2

5949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p47.2

5950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.7

5951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.28

5952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.6

5953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p63.2

5954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p51.2

5955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p86.1

5956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p11.2

5957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p50.9

5958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p21.2

5959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p47.4

5960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p91.1

5961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v-p9.2

5962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p22.2

5963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.5

5964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p78.1

5965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.6-p13.1

5966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p70.15

5967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.12

5968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.78-p177.8

5969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p56.2

5970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p27.1

5971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p103.1

5972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p67.2

5973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p143.1

5974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.5

5975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p49.2

5976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p47.2

5977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p102.2

5978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p9.13

5979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.25-p29.2

5980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.1

5981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.4

5982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p91.18

5983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p7.2

5984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.1

5985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p90.2

5986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.10

5987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p48.5

5988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p49.3

5989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p47.5

5990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p137.3

5991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.5

5992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.7

5993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p90.4

5994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p90.3

5995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.4

5996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p129.2

5997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p235.2

5998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p47.2

5999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p78.2

6000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p85.6

6001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p254.2

6002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.3

6003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p96.2

6004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.8

6005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.100-p64.2

6006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.4

6007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IX.57-p17.2

6008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p64.3

6009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.IV\_1.24-p26.2

6010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p54.2

6011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p56.1

6012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.5

6013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p64.4

6014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.72-p74.8

6015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.8

6016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p121.2

6017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p28.2

6018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p13.2

6019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p50.4

6020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.6

6021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.8

6022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.71-p95.23

6023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p85.2

6024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p67.2

6025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p64.5

6026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p40.7

6027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p207.3

6028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p61.4

6029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p45.6

6030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p102.4

6031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p72.4

6032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p66.8

6033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.80-p51.2

6034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.41-p39.12

6035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p48.2

6036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.3

6037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.34-p38.6

6038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p7.4

6039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.81-p64.2

6040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.4-p18.1

6041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.16-p33.1

6042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p54.3

6043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.1

6044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p43.3

6045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.3

6046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p15.7

6047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p47.3

6048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p174.4

6049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.10

6050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p91.4

6051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.5

6052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.8

6053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.3

6054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p50.17

6055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p36.2

6056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p9.2

6057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p54.1

6058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p15.9

6059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.8

6060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p43.1

6061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p48.1

6062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p72.5

6063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p50.16

6064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p5.3

6065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.47-p3.2

6066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p50.1

6067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p12.4

6068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.7

6069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p25.2

6070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p38.3

6071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.9-p41.2

6072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p5.2

6073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p10.2

6074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p116.1

6075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p116.2

6076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p7.2

6077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p79.2

6078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p52.2

6079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p50.2

6080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p118.2

6081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.74-p12.2

6082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p55.1

6083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p57.1

6084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.33-p17.1

6085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p85.2

6086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p118.1

6087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p75.2

6088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.5

6089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p38.2

6090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p34.4

6091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p40.2

6092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p47.2

6093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.1

6094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p37.3

6095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p64.3

6096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p62.1

6097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p24.2

6098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p4.8

6099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p8.2

6100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p23.6

6101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VIII.48-p6.2

6102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p55.2

6103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.8

6104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p62.2

6105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p120.2

6106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.101-p5.8

6107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p31.4

6108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p40.1

6109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p91.2

6110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p23.2

6111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p33.1

6112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.I\_1.11-p35.2

6113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p174.2

6114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p174.5

6115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p101.2

6116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p92.1

6117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p9.2

6118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p40.5

6119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p24.2

6120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p12.5

6121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.77-p35.2

6122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p154.1

6123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p70.3

6124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.36-p8.2

6125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p27.2

6126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p154.2

6127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.20-p51.2

6128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.4

6129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p43.2

6130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.79-p174.1

6131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.2

6132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p23.2

6133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p52.1

6134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.2

6135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p100.8

6136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p72.6

6137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.4

6138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.38-p21.2

6139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p15.5

6140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p144.1

6141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.29-p28.2

6142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XI.66-p7.3

6143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p46.2

6144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p47.1

6145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p27.3

6146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.v.7-p120.1

6147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.8

6148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p34.3

6149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p44.5

6150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p12.7

6151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p47.5

6152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.14-p69.2

6153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p38.1

6154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.84-p33.1

6155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p154.5

6156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p33.2

6157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p40.3

6158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.11

6159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.31-p91.3

6160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.V\_1.30-p50.4

6161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.6

6162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.9

6163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p47.9

6164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.4

6165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p23.4

6166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.7

6167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p23.5

6168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.98-p28.5

6169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p154.4

6170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.7

6171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.9

6172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.7

6173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.10

6174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.17-p25.1

6175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.5

6176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.19-p16.8

6177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.9

6178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.3

6179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p144.2

6180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.6

6181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VII.40-p47.6

6182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.X.61-p23.3

6183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.III\_1.22-p17.3

6184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p62.3

6185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.6

6186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.82-p139.5

6187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.85-p154.3

6188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.II\_1.18-p12.5

6189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.XII.83-p117.10

6190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc1/cache/hcc1.html3#i.VI.37-p27.1