

A
COURSE OF LECTURES,
CONTAINING
A DESCRIPTION AND SYSTEMATIC ARRANGEMENT
OF THE
SEVERAL BRANCHES OF DIVINITY :
ACCOMPANIED WITH
AN ACCOUNT BOTH OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS,
AND OF THE PROGRESS, WHICH HAS BEEN MADE AT
DIFFERENT PERIODS,
IN
Theological Learning.

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PART VII.
On the Authority of the Old Testament.

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Our inquiries into the Integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures may be divided into two periods, the one extending from the time of Moses to that of our Saviour, the other from the time of our Saviour to the present age. In the former period we may collect historical notices, concerning the care which was taken by the Jews for the preservation of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the latter period we must endeavour to repel the charge, which has been laid to the Jews, of having wilfully corrupted the Hebrew Scriptures; and further to shew that the utmost caution has been used to prevent accidental mistakes. The preservation of the Pentateuch or the Book of the Law, a matter of special importance to the Jews. Care taken in this respect by Moses himself. Remarks on the Temple-copy of the Law. Whether this copy was preserved, when the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Preservation of THE LAW (whether the Temple-copy or not) during the Babylonish captivity, and production of it by Ezra, when the Temple was rebuilt. On the preservation of the other books, which were written before the Babylonish captivity. Collection made by Ezra and Nehemiah, of the books which were written before, during, and after the Babylonish captivity. The books so collected formed the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, and were preserved in the Temple till the destruction of it by Titus. The Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour, received his sanction, as they then existed.

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LECTURE XXXI.

THE authenticity and credibility of the New Testament having been established in the last eight Lectures, I now proceed to the authenticity and credibility of the Old Testament. It is true, that in this arrangement the order of *time* is inverted. But whatever rules may be observed in the position of historical facts, we are not restricted by similar rules, in our modes of *reasoning* on those facts. When we undertake to establish the authority of different records, the question, which of them shall be *first* submitted to examination may depend on circumstances unconnected with priority of composition : and that arrangement must always be preferred, which enables us to conduct our proofs in the most satisfactory manner. If then the authority of a later record can be established without a previous inquiry into the authority of a former record, and the authority of the later record will assist us in establishing the authority of

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the former record, the later record becomes of necessity the first object of inquiry.

Precisely in this relation do the Old and New Testaments stand with respect to each other. The records, which contain the Mosaic and Christian religions, must not be confounded with the religions themselves. The new Covenant was certainly founded on the old Covenant: the Mosaic dispensation was certainly a prelude to the Christian, yet the authority of the *record*, which conveys the Christian Covenant, may be examined without reference to the *record* which conveyed the former Covenant. And this rule has been strictly observed in all the Lectures relating to the authenticity and credibility of the New Testament. Though the new Covenant *itself* is founded on the old Covenant, the truth of the *record*, which conveys the new Covenant, was *not* founded on the truth of the record, which conveys the old Covenant. Both the authenticity and the credibility of the New Testament were established by arguments, which are wholly independent of the Old Testament. The external evidence for the *authenticity* of the New Testament was shewn to consist in the testimony of Greek and Latin writers to the fact, that the several books of the New Testament were written by the persons, to whom

they are ascribed. And, as this fact is an *historic* fact, a fact open to the observation of *man*, human testimony is competent proof. This external evidence was then confirmed by internal evidence, drawn from the New Testament, without any reference, direct or indirect, to the Old Testament. In like manner the *credibility* of the New Testament, as well in regard to the miracles, as to the facts of ordinary occurrence, was established without reference to the Old Testament. For it was established by arguments drawn partly from the character and situation of the Apostles and Evangelists, in other parts from the New Testament itself.

We may argue therefore from the authority of the New Testament to that of the Old Testament, without exposing ourselves to the charge of arguing from premises dependent on the inference to which we apply them. The *mode* of application will be explained in the next Lecture.

Another reason for beginning with the New Testament is, that the proofs of authenticity and credibility, in reference to the individual books, may be conducted more easily and more intelligibly, than the similar proofs in regard to the Old Testament. *Every* book of the New

Testament is ascribed to a particular author: and it was shewn that every book of the New Testament was justly so ascribed. A distinct inquiry was then instituted into the *credibility* of the New Testament, from which it appeared that the term was applicable, as well to the individual books, as to the books, when taken collectively.

In extending our inquiries from the New to the Old Testament consistency requires, that we should apply the same terms in the same sense. But we cannot say, that a book is authentic, or written by the author, to whom it is ascribed, when the author of that book is unknown. Nor will the difficulty be removed by *altering* the meaning of the term authentic. If we make a distinction between the terms 'authentic' and 'genuine,' and say that a book is genuine when written by the author to whom it is ascribed, but authentic only, when the author is entitled to credit: we transfer the difficulty from one term to another. The term 'authentic' being then taken in a *compound* sense, and made to include both the notion of genuine and the notion of credible, it is tautology to speak of authenticity *and* credibility: for authenticity then *includes* credibility. Instead of saying that

the books of the New Testament are authentic and credible, according to the definition, which has been hitherto observed in these Lectures, we must then say, that they are genuine and credible. But this substitution of terms will be of no avail, when we extend our inquiries to the Old Testament. Whether a book, written by the author to whom it is ascribed be called a genuine book, or be called an authentic book, the application of the term 'genuine' will be equally difficult with the application of the term 'authentic,' when we are concerned with a book, of which the author is unknown. Since then it is useless to alter the terms, when the difficulty remains the same, let us take a summary view of the books of the Old Testament, with reference to the terms 'authentic' and 'credible,' according to the sense, in which they have been applied to the New Testament.

The five books of Moses are both authentic and credible. The arguments for their authenticity have been already stated in a Discourse which I delivered from this pulpit more than thirty years ago¹. But a proof of authenticity is not equally applicable to *all* the historical

¹ The third edition was printed in 1806, and is entitled 'The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated.'

books of the Old Testament. Whether the book of *Joshua* derived its name from Joshua as the author of it, or was so called because Joshua was the principal actor in it, has long been a subject of dispute. The truth probably lies between the two opposite opinions. The principal materials, of which the book is composed, were probably committed to writing by Joshua himself: and these materials were afterwards employed in the composition of the work, which bears his name. This supposition will at least remove many difficulties, which attend the opinion that the book in its present form was written at the time when the Israelites took possession of Canaan. To the book of *Judges* no author's name is prefixed: nor have we at present sufficient data, to form even a probable conjecture, who the author of it was. The variety of persons to whom it has been ascribed, sufficiently shews, that nothing is really known about the author. The book of *Ruth* was evidently so called, not from the author, but from the subject of the book. With respect to the books of *Samuel*, it is impossible that *both* of them should have been written by the prophet of that name: for the death of the prophet Samuel is described before the end of the first book. The two books of the *Kings* and the two books of the *Chronicles*,

were probably written after the return from the Babylonish Captivity: and it appears from the references, which they contain, that they were drawn from records, which existed before the Captivity. But whether the books of the Kings and the Chronicles were compiled by Ezra, or by some other person, is matter of mere conjecture. To the book, which bears the name of Ezra, as also to the book, which bears the name of Nehemiah, the term 'authentic' may be justly applied. For we have sufficient reason to believe, that Ezra and Nehemiah were the authors of the books, which bear their names. The author of the book of Esther is again unknown; its title being evidently derived from the person, whose history it records.

From the preceding review of the historical books in the Old Testament it appears that the term 'Authenticity' is inapplicable to the greater part of them. But the term 'Credibility' is applicable to them *all*. When the author is known (as for instance we know the author of the Pentateuch) we may argue, as we did in regard to the New Testament from the situation and character of the writer to the credibility of his writings. Hence we argue, and justly argue from the authenticity to the credibility of

the Pentateuch. The four last books contain events, which were contemporary with the author himself; events in which he bore the principal part. And he had ample means of knowing the truth of what he has recorded in the first book. The Jews themselves, from the commencement of their existence as a nation, have afforded one continued chain of evidence for the credibility as well as the authenticity of the Pentateuch. It is impossible, that they should have received from the very beginning a code of legislation as coming from the hands of Moses, and a narrative of events connected with that legislation, if the record, which contained those events and that legislation, had not been true.

. In like manner we may argue from the authenticity to the credibility of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Those writers were also contemporary with the events which they have described, and bore a principal part in them.

In the books, of which the authors are unknown, the arguments for credibility must rest on a different ground. But if we cannot argue from the *known* situation and character of the writer, we may have reason to believe, that the author, though we know not his name, wrote

under circumstances, which enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge of the facts recorded. Now there is nothing which more displays the accuracy of an historian, or excites greater confidence in the truth of his narrative, than references to books of authority, as vouchers for his own history. And it is worthy of notice, that such references occur chiefly, though not solely in the books of the Kings and of the Chronicles, where we are most at a loss to discover the authors. In the two books of the Kings, we find references, at one time, to a book called the Acts of Solomon, at other times to a book called the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, at other times again to a book called the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. In the two books, which now bear the name of the Chronicles, we find references to the book of Nathan, to the book of Gad, to the book of Shemaiah and Iddo, to the book of Jehu, to the book of the Kings of Israel, and to the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.

Now the historic books of the Old Testament have been received as true by the Jews of every age: consequently by the Jews, who lived at the same time with the authors of those histories. But the Jews, who were contempo-

rary with the authors of those histories, must have known the character of those ancient records, to which the historians appealed. They must have known likewise, whether those historians employed with *fidelity* the records to which they appealed. But if those records had not been known to be *faithful* records, and the historians had not *faithfully employed* their materials, their histories would never have been received as true histories. Indeed the sacred historians could have had no motive to write, as they did, if their narratives were false. The picture, which they drew, both of the kingdom of Judah and of the kingdom of Israel, was not a picture, which could flatter the vanity of their countrymen. The actions ascribed both to the kings of Judah and to the kings of Israel are for the most part of that description, that nothing but a conviction of their truth could have induced a Jewish historian to record them.

The truth of the narratives, which relate to the *declension* of the Jewish state, appears also from their accordance with the prophetic writings, of the same period. But, as we are now taking only a general view of the subject, it would be foreign to the present Lecture to consider this argument in detail.

From the summary view, which has been taken of the historical books, let us proceed to a similar view of the prophetic books. They contain the writings of the four greater prophets : Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the writings of the twelve other prophets, which from the comparative shortness of their compositions, are called the twelve minor prophets. To all *these* books the term authenticity is applicable without exception. Each of these books is ascribed to a particular author : and we have reason to believe that they are justly so ascribed. But the *arguments* for the authenticity of each single book, even if contracted to the smallest possible compass, would greatly exceed the limits, which are now prescribed to us. And they are the less necessary at present, because it will be the object of the two following Lectures to establish *generally* the authority of the Old Testament, and to fix it on a basis, unconnected with the consideration of the *individual* books.

But it is necessary to make a few observations on the term Credibility as applicable to the prophetic writings. The truth of a prophecy, like the truth of a history, depends on the accordance of the writing with the events to which it relates ; though in the one case the writing

precedes, in the other case follows the events. And as a history may be true, though the author is unknown, so a prophecy may be true, even though it proceeded not from the author to whom it is commonly ascribed. The truth of a prophecy has indeed *no* dependence on the name of the person who delivered it. If a prophecy has been literally fulfilled, it is a *true* prophecy, whoever was the person, that first committed the prophecy to writing. When we speak of a prophecy in the Old or New Testament, we always mean the prediction of some event, which no man could have foreknown without *divine* assistance. By the aid of reason we may argue from existing causes to their probable effects: by the aid of history we may learn in what manner such causes have operated on former occasions: and we may argue from analogy, that a recurrence of the same causes will, under similar circumstances, produce similar effects. But such an insight into the probable consequences of existing causes, is very different from that foreknowledge of distant events, which is displayed in the prophecies of the Old Testament. The most important of those prophecies, the prophecies relating to the Messiah, not only related to a very distant event, but to an event unconnected with any causes, which were then operating.

It appears then, that two questions must be asked, in order to ascertain the truth of a prophecy. The first question is, Do the words of the alleged prophecy, according to their plain and literal meaning, relate to that distant event, to which they have been subsequently applied? The second question is, Was that prophecy delivered so long before the event predicted, as to place it beyond the reach of human foresight? If these two questions can be answered in the affirmative, we have a *true* prophecy. In other words, we have a *divine* prophecy. And this inference will be valid, whether the prophecy was written, or not, by the author to whom it is usually ascribed: whether it be an *original* part, in other words, whether it be an *authentic* part of the book, which contains it, or not.

The truth of this reasoning will best appear from an example. For this purpose let us take the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. This chapter contains as literal a description of the sufferings, death, and burial of our Saviour, as if it were literal history. Yet it is unquestionably literal prophecy. And it would be literal prophecy, even if it were not written by the prophet Isaiah. It is a constituent part of the Septuagint Version, as well as of the Hebrew Bible: and therefore

must have existed in the Hebrew Bible at the time when that version was made. It is well known that this Greek version was begun, if not completed, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt: and if the translation of the prophetical books was *not* made at the same time with that of the Pentateuch, it *cannot* have been deferred to a later period, than that of Ptolemy Philometor. For in *his* reign the Jews of Egypt, in imitation of the Jews of Palestine, adopted the practice (previously confined to the Pentateuch) of reading in the Synagogue Lessons from the Prophets. And this practice could not have been adopted by the Egyptian Jews, without a Greek translation. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah therefore, *must* have existed in the Hebrew Bible before the time of Ptolemy Philometor. It must have been written therefore at a time, and under circumstances, which placed a knowledge of the events predicted beyond the reach of human foresight. Consequently it is a *true* prophecy, a *divine* prophecy.

Having now taken a summary view both of the historical and of the prophetical books, in reference to authenticity and credibility, I will conclude with some remarks on the five re-

maining books of the Old Testament. These are the book of Job, the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. These five books are placed together in our Bibles; and occupy the space between the historical and the prophetical writings. Four out of these five books, as will hereafter appear, constituted the third class of the Hebrew Scriptures, according to the description of Josephus. Later Jews referred all of them to the third class: and according to the description of Jerom¹, these five books, in the very order in which they now stand in our own Bibles, were then the first five books in the class of Hagiographa. But we are at present concerned with those books in reference only to the terms authenticity and credibility. The *antiquity* of the book of Job, as well as of the things recorded in it, can admit of no doubt. Indeed it is most probable, that it relates to events, which preceded the age of Moses. Nor is it impossible, that Moses himself was the author of it. But as this is only matter of opinion, we cannot apply to it the term authenticity. This however does not affect the *truth* of the book, whether we regard the whole of it as real history, or consider it, as a book in-

¹ See his Prologus Galeatus.

tended to convey religious instruction, founded only in part on real history. The book of Psalms contains a collection by different authors, some of whom as appears from the subjects, must have lived as late as the Babylonish captivity. But as the greatest part of them are ascribed to David, and justly so ascribed, they are strictly authentic. The same term applies to the book of Proverbs, which is entitled the Proverbs of Solomon the Son of David. It applies also to the book of Ecclesiastes, which is entitled "the words of the Preacher the son of David." And lastly it applies to the remaining book, which is entitled "the Song of Songs, which is Solomon's."

As a general statement is all that is here intended, and the present Lecture was meant only to explain the state of the question, the *arguments* in favour of the individual books cannot now be adduced. But in the two next Lectures, which will relate to the books of the Old Testament *collectively* taken, I shall endeavour to prove that they are, all of them, books of undoubted authority.

LECTURE XXXII.

THE several books, which constitute the Old Testament, were examined in the last Lecture, with reference to their Authenticity and Credibility. Such examination was necessary for a right understanding of the subjects, which we are now considering. It was necessary to ascertain how far those terms, which are applicable to *every* book of the New Testament, are applicable to the books of the Old Testament. The result of the examination was, that *both* of those terms are not applicable to *every* book of the Old Testament.

I propose therefore in the present Lecture to take a *different* view of those writings: and to consider them not individually, but collectively. For this purpose it will be necessary to adopt a term, which may be applied to them all. Such

a term is the term 'authority,' which may include both authenticity and credibility, where both terms are applicable, and denote credibility or truth, where the other term cannot be applied. In this *general* view of the Old Testament we shall be freed from various difficulties, which may attend the examination of single books. If then we can find a solid basis, on which the *whole* superstructure can be securely built, the authority of the Old Testament will be established at once.

Now the credibility of the New Testament, as proved in the preceding Lectures, is not confined to facts of ordinary occurrence. It extends also to the *miracles* recorded in the New Testament. But a miracle is nothing less than a suspension of the laws of nature: and those laws can be suspended by no other power, than that *almighty* power, by which those laws were ordained. Every miracle therefore performed by our Saviour was a proof of *divine* interposition: and the argument of Nicodemus was irresistible, when he said, "no man can do the miracles, which *thou* doest, except God be with him." The testimony of our Saviour therefore was more than the testimony of man: it was testimony, which carried with it *divine* authority.

The evidence produced from the Greek and Latin Fathers in favour of the New Testament, went no further, than to prove its authenticity. The fact, that a certain book was written by a certain author, being a fact, which lies open to the observation of man, may be established by the testimony of man. But such proofs of authenticity are distinct from the proofs of credibility. We may argue indeed, in many cases, from the former to the latter: we may in such cases make the former the basis, on which the latter is raised as a superstructure. In such cases we argue from the character and situation of the writer to the credibility of his writings. But we cannot thus argue upon *every* occasion; for the character and situation of a writer *may* be such, as to *destroy* the credit of his writings. The proof of credibility therefore must generally be conducted in a manner, which is distinct from the proof of authenticity. And these distinct proofs were given in regard to the New Testament.

But the testimony of our Saviour to a book of the Old Testament establishes its authority *at once*. The two *separate* processes of authenticity and credibility are then unnecessary. It is then immaterial, whether we know the name

of the author, or not. Whatever name he bore, his work has the stamp of authority: and this authority renders it worthy of credit, even if we are unable to discover in the work itself sufficient data for the establishment of its *own* credibility.

There are various ways in which our Saviour has borne testimony to the books of the Old Testament. The books of Moses he has quoted repeatedly, and quoted them, as the *work* of Moses. Next to the books of Moses he made the greatest use of the book of Psalms: and in quoting the 110th Psalm he expressly ascribed it to David¹. The books of Isaiah and of Daniel he both quoted and ascribed to Isaiah and Daniel. But the greater part of his quotations from the Old Testament were made without reference to the particular book, from which the passages were taken. This mode of quotation was agreeable to the practice of the Jews. The learned among the Jews in the time of our Saviour confined their studies almost wholly to the Old Testament, with which therefore they were so well acquainted, that a quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures suggested of itself the place from which the passage was taken. It is true, that there are several books of the Old

¹ Matt. xxii. 43, 44.

Testament, which are neither named nor quoted in any part of the New Testament. But no conclusion injurious to those books can thence fairly be deduced. Though every book, which was actually quoted by our Saviour derives authority from that quotation, it would be unjust to argue, as if the books, which were *not* quoted, were books *devoid* of authority. We must consider the *purpose*, for which our Saviour appealed to the books of the Old Testament. The immediate object of every such quotation was to illustrate some fact, or some doctrine, to which the passage was applied. If therefore on such occasions we do not find *all* the books of the Old Testament applied in illustration, the obvious conclusion is, not that the books, which were omitted, had less authority, than those which were quoted, but that they were less *applicable* to the immediate object, than the books, which were *selected* for quotation.

If indeed our Saviour had intended to enumerate the books of the Old Testament, or to determine the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, the omission of any book in that catalogue or canon would have been fatal to the authority of the book omitted. But neither our Saviour nor his Apostles had any such intention. The

canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was already known: and that canon was sanctioned by our Saviour, though he quoted not from every part of it. There is no ground therefore for any distinction between the books, which were quoted, and the books, which were not quoted by our Saviour. Whenever he appealed to the Scriptures, that is, to the Scriptures of the Old Testament (for no book of the New Testament was then in existence) he appealed to the Hebrew Scriptures without distinction. When he commanded the Jews to 'search the Scriptures²,' he spake of those Scriptures *generally*. And after his resurrection he expounded to the Apostles "in *all* the Scriptures the things concerning himself³."

It appears then that *all* the Hebrew Scriptures, as they existed in the time of our Saviour received the sanction of his authority. If then the Hebrew Scriptures, as they existed in the time of our Saviour, contained the same books, which are *now* contained in our Hebrew Bibles, we have the sanction of our Saviour for *every* book of the Old Testament. I mean of course the *canonical* books of the Old Testament. For the writings, which we call apocryphal, were *never* a part of the Hebrew Canon.

² John v. 39.

³ Luke xxiv. 27.

To facilitate the proof, that the Hebrew Scriptures in the time of our Saviour contained the same books which are now contained in our Hebrew Bibles, we must previously consider the mode, in which the Jews have been accustomed to divide and arrange the writings of the Old Testament. These writings were formed into three classes. The first class contained the five books of Moses, and was denominated simply **THE LAW, OR THE LAW OF MOSES**. The second class was denominated **THE PROPHETS**, and included not only the books, which *we* designate by that name, but various *historical* books, as written by persons, to whom the Jews gave also the appellation of prophet. To the third class were referred the remaining books of the Old Testament. When this three-fold division was first made, it does not appear, that the third class, like the two former, was distinguished by any particular title: but the books of this class were *afterwards* called in Hebrew *Chetubim*, in Greek *Hagiographa*. The period, when these titles were first applied to the books of the third class is not exactly known: but that they were so applied in the fourth century, appears from the Talmud⁴,

⁴ In the Tract called *Bava Bathra*, where the books of the Old Testament are enumerated, the first class is called **תורה**, the

and from Jerom's Preface to the books of the Old Testament ⁵.

The three-fold division itself existed long before the time of our Saviour. In the Second Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, which Prologue was written by the Greek translator in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, the

the books of the second class are called כְּנִיאוֹת, and those of the third class כְּתוּבִים.

⁵ The words of Jerom are, Tertius Ordo 'Αγιόγραφα possidet. In Martianay's edition of Jerom's Works (tom. I. p. 318.) the Preface from which these words are quoted is called Præfatio Hieronymi Presbyteri de omnibus libris Veteris Testamenti. And Jerom himself in the latter part of the Preface (Ibid p. 322.) says of it, Hic Prologus Scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimas in Latinum convenire potest; ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est, inter 'Απόκριφα esse ponendum. Since then it is in reality a Preface to *all* the books of the Old Testament, which Jerom translated from Hebrew into Latin, it should in strict propriety be placed at the beginning of his Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible. But having been placed in the manuscripts between the book of Ruth, and the first book of Samuel (though I know not for what reason) it is so placed in the printed editions. And from this position it has acquired the title of Præfatio in libros Samuel et Malachim, which it bears in the edition by Vallarsi, tom. IX. p. 454. But as this title, as well as that of Præfatio in librum Regum, is inconsistent with the *contents* of the Preface, and with the description which Jerom himself has given of it, I have retained the title adopted by Martianay, and called it Jerom's Preface to the books of the Old Testament. It is commonly known by the name of Prologus galeatus, in consequence of Jerom's calling it Prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium.

three-fold division of the Hebrew Scriptures is twice mentioned. In both places the first class is termed **THE LAW** : in both places the second class is termed **THE PROPHETS**. But the third class had then obtained no particular title. In the first place of that Prologue, the three classes are described as containing "The Law, The Prophets, and other books of our Fathers." In the second place of that Prologue, they are described as containing "The Law, The Prophets, and the rest of the Books."

Philo and Josephus, who have likewise a three-fold division of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which the first class contains **THE LAW**⁶, and the second class is termed **THE PROPHETS**⁷, have

⁶ Both Josephus and Philo use this term in the *plural*, saying the *laws* of Moses, instead of the *law* of Moses. But this makes no difference, as they evidently mean the same thing, which in Hebrew is expressed by **תורה**. Josephus indeed has *expressly* declared that he means the five books of Moses. His own words are, Πέντε μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ Μωϋσέως ἃ τοὺς τε Νόμους περιέχει, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν. Contra Apion. lib. i. cap. 8. tom. II. p. 441. ed. Havercamp.

⁷ Philo uses the expression, Λόγια θεοπισθέντα διὰ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ, tom. II. p. 475. ed. Mangey.—Josephus uses the expression, Οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ, tom. II. p. 441. ed. Havercamp. or Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 10. (tom. I. p. 103. ed. Reading) where Eusebius has quoted from Josephus the whole passage relating to the Hebrew Scriptures. He has also

so far given a title to the third class, that they have *characterized* the books, of which it then consisted. Philo describes the third class, as containing Hymns, (that is, Psalms) and other books, by which knowledge and piety are promoted and perfected⁸. Josephus describes the third class as containing Hymns (or Psalms,) to God, and instructions of life for man⁹." The two descriptions are very similar: and we may conclude from these descriptions, that the book of Psalms then occupied the first place of the third class. Now it is worthy of notice, that the book of Psalms *still* occupies the first place of the third class, not only in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, but generally in the Hebrew manuscripts.

Let us now consider in what manner our Saviour himself describes the Hebrew Scriptures. When he appeared to the Apostles after his resurrection, he said to them, "These are the words, which I spake unto you, while I was yet with

also quoted the passage from Philo, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 17. tom. I. p. 67. ed. Reading.

⁸ "Ὑμνους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται.

⁹ "Ὑμνους εἰς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου.

you, that all things must be fulfilled which are written in **THE LAW OF MOSES**, and in **THE PROPHETS**, and in **THE PSALMS**, concerning me¹⁰." Here we have an exact description of the Hebrew Scriptures according to the Jewish division of them. The first class contained the books of Moses: the second class contained the books of the Prophets: the third class contained the books, of which the Psalms occupied the first place, and hence afforded a title in the time of our Saviour to the class itself. For as Josephus expressly declares, that the third class then contained four books¹¹, we may be assured that our Saviour understood by the appellation of **THE PSALMS**, when added to **THE LAW**, and **THE PROPHETS**, not merely that single book, but the class, of which that book was the head.

From the consideration of the three classes, let us proceed to the consideration of the several books of which the three classes were composed. According to Josephus, in the place where he has stated the three-fold division, the first class contained five books, the second class contained thirteen books, and the third class contained

¹⁰ Luke xxiv. 44.

¹¹ The words quoted in the 9th note are preceded by the words *Αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ*.

four books¹². The whole number therefore, contained in the three classes was *twenty-two*. Likewise according to Jerom, in the Preface above quoted, the books which then constituted the Hebrew Bible, amounted to *twenty-two*¹³. Now the number of books in the Old Testament, according to *our* Bibles, amounts to thirty-nine, independently of the Apocrypha, which are no part of the Hebrew Canon.

But this difference arises merely from the mode, in which the Jews have been accustomed to combine and arrange the books of the Old Testament. This mode is fully explained by Jerom in the above quoted Preface. From this Preface, which is commonly known by the name of *Prologus galeatus*, it appears¹⁴, that the book of Ruth was made an appendage to the book of Judges: that the two books of Samuel were regarded as *one* book; as also the two books of the Kings, and the two books of the Chronicles:

¹² Josephi Opera, tom. II. p. 441. ed. Havercamp; or Eusebii Hist. Eccles. tom. I. p. 103. ed. Reading.


¹³ *Libri viginti duo: id est, Mosi quinque, Prophetarum octo, Hagiographarum novem.* tom. I. p. 319. ed. Martianay. The difference between Jerom and Josephus, in their *division* of the books belonging to the second and third classes will be considered hereafter.

¹⁴ Ibid.

that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were again converted into one book ; that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were made an appendage to the prophecy of Jeremiah ; and lastly, that the twelve minor prophets were regarded as constituting only a single book. In this manner the number of books in the Old Testament, which according to our own arrangement amount to thirty-nine, was reduced by the Jews to twenty-two.

In these combinations and reductions it was evidently the object of the Jews to make the number of books in the Hebrew Bible, accord with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. But however fanciful the object of those reductions may have been, and whatever mystery the Jews may have subsequently imagined to lie concealed in the supposed undesigned coincidence, we are concerned only with the fact, that the reduction *was* made, and made in the manner above described. From that mode of reduction, it appears that the books which constituted the Hebrew Bible in the time of Josephus, and consequently in the time of our Saviour, agreed, as to their *real* number, with the books which *now* constitute the Hebrew Bible.

But from their agreement in *number* we cannot immediately argue to the *identity* of the books. Various links must be inserted in the chain of our reasoning, before we can conclude, that the Hebrew Scriptures in the time of our Saviour contained precisely the *same* books, which are now contained in our Hebrew Bibles. This proposition requires a separate proof; and this separate proof shall be the subject of the next Lecture.



LECTURE XXXIII.

THE fact, which it is proposed to establish in this Lecture, is a fact of the utmost importance to the authority of the Old Testament. Our present object is to prove, that the Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour, contained the same books, which are *now* contained in our Hebrew Bibles.

But before we enter on the proof, it is necessary to consider the *principle*, on which the proof must be conducted. That the Hebrew Scriptures in the first century contained such and such books, is an *historical fact*, for which in the first instance we may inquire after *historical evidence*. Now we have Jerom's catalogue of the books, which composed the Hebrew Bible in the fourth century: we have Origen's catalogue of those books, as they existed in

the third century, as also the catalogue of the Talmud; we have Melito's catalogue, written soon after the middle of the second century. But we have *no* catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures so ancient as the first century.

Josephus in the passage, where he divides the Hebrew Scriptures into three classes, containing together twenty-two books, has not mentioned those books by *name*, except the books of Moses, which constituted the first class, and the Psalms, which were placed at the head of the third class. Nor has he in any other part of his writings given a catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures. If we endeavour to collect evidence from the quotations, which are scattered in the works of Josephus, we shall again fail of attaining our object. For there are several books of the Old Testament which he has *never* quoted. At least no quotation has been hitherto discovered in his writings, either from the book of Job, or from the book of Proverbs, or from Ecclesiastes, or from Solomon's Song.

If we examine the works of Philo, who likewise wrote in the first century, we shall find the evidence still more defective. Philo has given no catalogue of the books, which then

constituted the Hebrew Scriptures, and there are not less than eight books of the Old Testament, from which he has never quoted. At least no quotation has been hitherto discovered in the works of Philo, from the books of Ruth, Nehemiah, the Chronicles, the book of Daniel, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song.

If we examine the quotations in the New Testament, for the purpose of ascertaining the books of the Old Testament, we shall again fail of obtaining sufficient evidence. For there are six books of the Old Testament, namely the books of Judges, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song, from which no quotations have been hitherto discovered in the New Testament. It is true, that no conclusion injurious to those books can be drawn from the circumstance, that they were not quoted. For the non-quotation of them may be explained on a supposition, which is very consistent with their existence in the Hebrew Scriptures. It has been already observed, that we may rather explain the non-quotation of those books on the supposition, that they furnished no matter adapted to the purpose, for which quotations were made from the other books of the Old Testament.

But this is not the question, with which we are *now* concerned. We are now concerned with the question, what *positive* evidence can be adduced for the existence of those books in the Hebrew Canon. It was shewn in the preceding Lecture, that the Hebrew Scriptures *in general* received the sanction of our Saviour. But we are now seeking for evidence to determine what those Scriptures in the time of our Saviour *really were*.

From the statement already made it appears, that no writer of the first century has either given a catalogue of those books, or enabled us to determine them by his quotations. If then the historical fact that the Hebrew Scriptures in the time of our Saviour contained the *same* books, which are now contained in our Hebrew Bibles, can be established by no other means, than by *direct* historical evidence, our endeavours to establish that fact must be fruitless. There is indeed one source of information, still open to us; namely the Septuagint version, which existed long *before* the first century. But the Septuagint version contains many books, which never did and never *could* make a part of the Hebrew Canon. We cannot therefore argue from the Septuagint to the books, which

received the sanction of our Saviour. We want a catalogue of those books, and of those books *only*. And as no such catalogue exists as ancient as the first century, the proof required is still wanting, if it depends on direct historical testimony.

But is it really true, though it has been confidently asserted, that no historical fact can be established, without direct historical evidence? Are there no facts in ancient history, which we firmly believe, though the facts are not on record? Is there no such thing as proof from *induction*? Indeed historical facts not only *may* be established by the aid of induction, but may be frequently established *more firmly* than they can by direct historical evidence. When we appeal to historical evidence, we depend on the accuracy and the veracity of the reporter, in both of which there is at least a possibility of error. But it not unfrequently happens, that, when a fact is established by induction, we not only prove it to be true, but prove, that it cannot be false.

Let us try therefore, whether we cannot establish by induction the important fact, that the books, which are now contained in our

Hebrew Bibles, and those books only, were the books, which received the sanction of our Saviour. It is this sanction on which we must depend for the *general* authority of the Old Testament. It is this sanction, and not the opinions, either of Greek or of Latin Fathers ; it is this sanction, and not the decree of any general Council, which must determine the canonical books of the Old Testament.

We may begin by assuming that the Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour were the *same* Hebrew Scriptures, which constituted the twenty-two books in the three classes of Josephus. No alteration *can* have been made in the interval, which elapsed, between the time when our Saviour appealed to the three classes of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the time when Josephus made a similar appeal. We have the testimony of Josephus himself, that a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures was preserved in the Temple¹. That copy, as long as the Temple existed, was sufficient guarantee against every alteration. Jose-

¹ Josephus in appealing to the copy of the Scriptures preserved in the Temple, uses these words : *Δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων*. *Antiquit. Lib. V. Cap. 17. Tom. I. p. 273. ed. Havercamp.*

phus was born within a very few years after the death of our Saviour: he was born in the 37th year of the Christian era, born therefore three and thirty years before the destruction of the Temple by Titus. His mode of education must have afforded him frequent access to the Temple copy of the Scriptures, whether it be true, or not, that after the destruction of the Temple he obtained the copy itself. If therefore we can prove that the three classes of Josephus contained the same books, which are *now* contained in our Hebrew Bibles, we prove that the same books were contained also in the three classes of the Hebrew Scriptures to which our Saviour appealed.

For this purpose we must endeavour to connect the account of Josephus with the account, which Jerom has given of the Hebrew Scriptures in his *Prologus galeatus*. In this Preface or Prologue Jerom, like Josephus, divides the Hebrew Scriptures into three classes, which he calls **THE LAW, THE PROPHETS,** and **THE HAGIOGRAPHIA**. He has further *enumerated* the several books of which each class consisted: and it appears from this enumeration, that the books, which were *then* contained in the Hebrew Bible, were the same

books, which are *now* contained in it². If then we can connect the *catalogue* of the Hebrew Scriptures, which was given by Jerom, with the *account* of the Hebrew Scriptures, which was given by Josephus, we shall connect the Hebrew Scriptures, as they *now* exist, with the Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour.

In comparing the accounts of Josephus and Jerom, there is no difficulty in regard to the first class; for this class was *always* appropriated to the five books of Moses. Josephus indeed *expressly* declares, that these were the books which constituted his first class; and he has given the additional explanation, that they related, as well to the creation of man, as to the law³. And Jerom enumerates in his first class the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy⁴.

The only difficulty therefore, which attends the comparison of the two accounts, is that

² Hieronymi Op. Tom. I. p. 318. ed. Martianay.

³ Πέντε μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ Μωϋσείως, ἃ τοῦτε Νόμοι παρῆχα, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογενίας παράδοσιν. Tom. II. p. 441. ed. Havercamp.

⁴ He adds, Hi sunt quinque libri Mosi, quem proprie Thora, id est Legem, appellant.

which relates to the two other classes. According to the account of Josephus, the second class contained *thirteen* books, and the third class contained *four* books⁵, whereas according to the account of Jerom, the second class contained *eight* books, and the third class contained *nine*⁶. But then it must be observed that if we take the two classes *together*, both writers agree as to the number. Both writers agree in stating the number to be *seventeen*. The only difference consists in the repartition of the books between the two classes. And as we know that the Jews have been gradually augmenting the number of books in the third class, by a proportionate diminution of the number in the second, we need not wonder if the third class, which in the first century contained only *four* books, contained *nine* at the end of the fourth century, and that the books of the second class had been proportionally reduced from thirteen to eight⁷. Notwithstanding

⁵ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσείας τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου, τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Πέρσων βασιλέως, οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν ΤΡΙΣΙ καὶ ΔΕΚΑ βιβλίοις. Αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσι.

⁶ Prophetarum octo, Hagiographorum novem.

⁷ Later Jews have made an additional augmentation to the books of the third class, by detaching Ruth and the Lamentations from

therefore the inequality of the division, we may argue from the two classes *together* as safely as we could argue from each single class, if the division between them had remained *unaltered*.

Since then Josephus and Jerom agree, in making the *whole* number of books, which composed the Hebrew Scriptures, amount to twenty-two: since they further agree both as to the *number* of the books, and the books *themselves* which composed the first class: since they agree also as to the number of books, which composed the second and third classes together, we may fairly argue from Jerom's *catalogue* of the books contained in those classes, to the *particular* books, which composed the second and third classes of Josephus. But it appears from Jerom's catalogue, that his second and third classes contained all the books of the Hebrew Bible, except the five books of Moses, which belonged to the first class. We may safely infer therefore, that, as the first class of Josephus contained also the five books of

from the books to which they were previously annexed, and transferring them to the Hagiographa. This was done by *some* of the Jews even in the time of Jerom, as he relates in his Prologus galeatus. And they are *generally* so printed in our Hebrew Bibles.

Moses, his second and third classes, in like manner, contained the other books of the Hebrew Bible.

But if any doubt should remain on the accuracy of this conclusion, it may be corroborated by Josephus himself. In that passage of his treatise against Apion, to which reference has been so frequently made, Josephus, though he has not *enumerated* the seventeen books, which composed the two last classes, has given a *description* of those books: and this description exactly agrees with the inference deduced from the preceding comparison. Of the *thirteen* books, which composed the *second* class he says, that they were written in the interval, which elapsed, between the death of Moses and that of Artaxerxes Longimanus⁸. Of the *four* books,

⁸ According to the common printed text of Josephus, his words (Contra Apion. lib. I. 8.) are Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου, τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Πέρσων βασιλέως, ἀρχῆς, οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν, κ.τ.λ. But in Note 5, I have quoted these words without ἀρχῆς, because it is wanting both in the copy given by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. lib. III. c. 10.) and in most manuscripts of the works of Josephus. See Havercamp's Note. And it will presently appear, that ἀρχῆς does not accord with the context. Not the *reign* of Artaxerxes, and still less the *beginning* of his reign, but the *death* of Artaxerxes is the limit assigned by Josephus for the duration of that succession of prophets, by whom the thirteen books of the second class were written.

which composed the *third* class, he says, that they contained "Hymns to God, and instructions of life for man." All the *historical* books therefore of the Old Testament, except the five books of Moses, and all the *prophetical* books without exception must have belonged to his second class⁹. Now the historical books of the Old Testament, beside the books of Moses, amounted, after the Jewish mode of reckoning, to *seven*; namely Joshua, Judges with Ruth, Samuel in one book, the Kings in one book, the Chronicles in one book, and Ezra with Nehemiah in one book. The prophetical writings according to the same mode of reckoning, were composed of *five* books, namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah with the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets in one book. If then we refer all the historical books of the Old Testament except the books of Moses, to the second class of Josephus, and refer to the same class all the prophetical writings, we shall have *twelve* out of the thirteen books, of

⁹ The *historical* books, which the Jews refer to the second class, or the class of the *Prophets*, are called in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible *Prophetæ priores*, or *Prophetæ anteriores*. It is true, that there are *some* historical books, which the Jews now refer to the third class. But it is evident, that in the time of Josephus, the third class contained *no* historical book.

which that class was then composed. We shall have, according to the Jewish reckoning, *seven* historical, and *five* prophetical books, the former, as well as the latter, being anciently referred by the Jews to the class of the **PROPHETS**. These twelve books *must* have belonged to the second class of Josephus: for they could neither belong to the first class, which was appropriated to the books of Moses, nor could they belong to the third class, which in the time of Josephus, as appears from his own description of it, was confined to books of a very different character.

If it be objected, that in thus referring the above-named historical books, and the above-named prophetical books, to the second class of Josephus, we take for granted the *existence* of those books in the Hebrew Canon at that period, the answer is, that we have already argued to the existence of those books from the comparison of Josephus with Jerom. We are now only shewing in what manner the description which Josephus has given of the two last classes *agrees* with the inference above deduced. But we may go still further, and shew from Josephus *himself*, that the twelve books in question were then a portion of the Hebrew

Scriptures. For *not one* of those twelve books is included among those, from which it appears that Josephus has never quoted.

To ascertain the *thirteenth* book of the second class, it is necessary to consider the books of the third class. It has been already shewn that the book of the Psalms was at the *head* of the third class, as it is to this very day in our Hebrew Bibles. The book of Proverbs, and the book of Ecclesiastes must likewise have belonged to the third class: for they literally contain, according to the words of Josephus, "instructions of life for man." Indeed the book of Proverbs, and the book of Ecclesiastes, as well as the book of Psalms, have been referred to the third class by the Jews of every age.

We have now only two books remaining, among all the books of the Old Testament, which have not been referred to one of the three classes; namely the book of Job and Solomon's Song. Since then it appears that one book is still wanted to complete the second class, and that only three out of the four have been determined of the third class, it necessarily follows, that one of these two books belonged to the second, the other to the third

class. Whether we can positively determine, to *which* of the two classes those books respectively belonged, is a matter of little importance. In the catalogue, which Jerom has given of the Hebrew Scriptures, the book of Job, and Solomon's Song are both of them referred to the third class. But Josephus must have intended to include *one* of them in the second class, which would otherwise be incomplete, while the third class would be redundant. It is most probable, that the book of Job was included by Josephus, in the second class, as an historical book; and that the Song of Solomon was included in his third class under the character of Hymns. But whether this opinion be correct or not, it makes no difference to the general argument. The seventeen books, which compose the second and third classes of Josephus, will in either case be the same with the seventeen books, which are enumerated in the second and third classes of Jerom.

That *later* Jews have referred to the third class various books, which are here referred to the second class of Josephus, affords no argument against the accuracy of our reasoning. The book of Daniel, for instance, was removed by the Jews in the fourth century from the

class of **THE PROPHETS** to the class of **Hagio-grapha**. But it is certain, that in the time of Josephus the book of Daniel occupied a place among **THE PROPHETS**. Josephus himself has determined the place, to which the book of Daniel belonged, not only by his description of the two last classes, but by an actual appeal to Daniel as a prophet. In the twelfth book of his **Jewish Antiquities**, he says, that “the Temple was destroyed according to the prophecy of Daniel, given four hundred and eight years before¹⁰. And when our Saviour quoted the book of Daniel he called it the book of Daniel the prophet¹¹. It still occupied a place among the prophets in the time of Origen, who lived in the third century. For Origen has given a catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures, arranged according to the order of the Jews in twenty-two books; and in this catalogue Daniel is placed between Jeremiah and Ezekiel¹².

The *historical* books of Ezra, Nehemiah,

¹⁰ Τὴν δ' ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Δανιήλου προφητείαν πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτὼ γενομένην ἐτῶν. *Antiquit. lib. XII. cap. 7. §. 6.* Tom. I. p. 617. ed. Havercamp.

¹¹ *Matt. xxiv. 15.*

¹² Origen's Catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures is preserved by Eusebius. *Hist. Eccles. lib. VI. cap. 25.* Tom. I. p. 290. ed. Reading.

Esther, and the Chronicles have likewise been removed to the third class; yet they certainly belonged to the second class of Josephus. They were not only excluded from the third class by the *character* of the third class: but their position in the second class accords with the description, which Josephus has given of that class. He says, that the books belonging to the second class were written, in the interval, which elapsed, between the death of Moses, and that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or as he himself expresses it, Artaxerxes, successor of Xerxes¹³. And he adds, that though books were written *after* that period, they were not so highly esteemed because the succession of prophets had then ceased¹⁴. While he excluded therefore the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, all of which were written *after* the time of Artaxerxes, he must have included the historical books, which belonged to the *Hebrew Canon*. Of these canonical books, the book of Esther is that which records the latest portion of biblical history. But even *this*

¹³ See Note 8.

¹⁴ Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστει δ' οὐχ' ὁμοίαις ἡξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν Προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. Tom. II. p. 441. ed. Havercamp.

book must have been included in the second class of Josephus; for according to Josephus himself, who has made copious extracts from it, the book of Esther must have been written *during* the reign of Artaxerxes, and before the expiration of the limit assigned to the composition of the books belonging to the second class¹⁵.

Whatever view therefore we take of the books, which belonged to the classes of Josephus, we come to the same conclusion. We may *justly* therefore infer, that the books, which constituted the Hebrew Scriptures in the time of Josephus, were precisely the books, which constituted the Hebrew Scriptures in the time

¹⁵ The history of Esther is given by Josephus, Antiquit. lib. XI. cap. 6. At the beginning of the Chapter he relates, that Xerxes was succeeded by a king, *ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσι*. He then relates the history of Esther, as it is related in the book of Esther, using only the name of Artaxerxes, instead of Ahasuerus. He concludes his history of Esther with the institution of the feast of Purim, and says, §. 13. *Ἐγραψε δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ ζῶσιν Ἰουδαίοις ταῦται παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτάς, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παρουδῶναι*. Since then, according to Josephus the history of Esther took place during the reign of Artaxerxes, successor of Xerxes, and he asserts that no book written *after* the time of Artaxerxes was admitted into the Hebrew Canon, the book of Esther, without which his second class would be incomplete, must have been coeval with the history itself.

of Jerom. The two writers not only agreed as to the books, which belonged to the canon of the Old Testament: they agreed also as to the exclusion of the books, which did *not* belong to it. Josephus excludes them by saying, that they were written, when the succession of prophets had ceased¹⁶. And Jerom excludes them from his catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures, by saying that he had given that catalogue for the purpose of shewing, that all books, *beside* those, are apocryphal¹⁷.

Since then the Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour were the same Hebrew Scriptures which were known to Josephus: since they contained the same books, which were enumerated by Jerom, and still constitute our Hebrew Bibles, the authority of the Old Testament according to the canon of our own Church, though not according to the canon of the Church of Rome, rests upon a basis, which cannot be shaken¹⁸.

¹⁶ See Note 14.


¹⁷ Hic Prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium, omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest; ut scire valeamus quicquid *extra* hos est inter Ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum. Hieronymi Op. Tom. I. p. 322. ed. Martianay.

¹⁸ The Church of England receives as canonical those books of the Old Testament, which constitute the Hebrew Scriptures,

and

It remains only to shew, that ~~the~~ books themselves have descended to the present age without material alteration. In other words, it is still necessary to establish the *Integrity* of the Hebrew Bible : and this shall be the business of the next Lecture.

and those books *only*. Consequently it receives those books, and those books only, which received the sanction of our Saviour. But there is no such sanction for many of the books, which are received as canonical by the Church of Rome.



LECTURE XXXIV.

OUR inquiries into the Integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures, may be divided into two periods; the one extending from the time of Moses to that of our Saviour, the other extending from the time of our Saviour to the present age. In the former period we may collect such historical notices, as we can find, respecting the care, which was taken by the Jews for the preservation of their sacred writings. In the latter period we must endeavour to shew, that the charge of *wilful* corruption, which has been laid to the Jews, is devoid of foundation; that the utmost care has been taken to guard against *accidental* mistakes; and that the Hebrew Scriptures have descended to the present age with as few alterations as is possible in works of high antiquity.

The preservation of the Pentateuch was a matter of special importance to the Jews: it was their code of legislation, as well civil as religious; it was the book by which all their institutions were determined during their existence as a nation. In the thirty-first chapter of the book of Deuteronomy, we find an account of the care, which was taken in this respect by Moses himself. It is there related, that "Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it unto "the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the "ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto "all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven "years, in the solemnity of the year of release, "in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is "come to appear before the Lord thy God, "in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt "read this law before all Israel in their hearing¹."—"And it came to pass, when Moses "had made an end of writing the words of "this Law in a Book, until they were finished, "that Moses commanded the Levites, which "bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, "saying, Take this *Book of the Law*, and "put it in the side of the ark of the covenant

¹ Ver. 9—11.

"of the Lord your God²". Since then, the Book of the Law, as written by Moses, was entrusted to the Priests and the Levites, was deposited in the ark of the covenant, and read to the people every seventh year, sufficient care was taken for the uncorrupted preservation of it.

In the subsequent books of the Old Testament we find frequent references to the *Law of Moses*. In the eighth chapter of the book of Joshua the children of Israel were commanded to build an altar, "as it is written in the book of THE LAW OF MOSES³". But there is a more remarkable passage in the first chapter of Joshua, "Only be thou strong and very courageous, "that thou mayest observe to do all according to the Law, which Moses my servant "commanded thee. Turn not from it to the "right hand nor to the left, that thou mayest "prosper whithersoever thou goest. This Book "of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, "but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, "that thou mayest observe to do all that is "written therein⁴." In the books of the Kings, in the books of the Chronicles, in the book of

² Ver. 24—26.

³ Ver. 31.

⁴ Ver. 7, 8.

Ezra, in the book of Nehemiah, we find also references to the Law of Moses, as the code of legislation, by which the Jewish institutions were determined both before, and after the Babylonish captivity.

We have already seen, that the autograph of Moses was, by his own command entrusted to the Priests and the Levites, and deposited in the ark of the covenant. When the Temple of Solomon was built, which was about five hundred and fifty years after the death of Moses, the ark of the covenant was removed to "*the most holy place*" of the Temple⁵. But from the seventh chapter of the first book of Kings, where this removal is related, it appears, that "there was nothing in the ark, save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb⁶." That the two tables of stone, containing the ten commandments were deposited in the ark of the covenant, appears from the tenth chapter of Deuteronomy⁷. But the two tables of stone were not *the book of the Law*, which Moses also commanded to be placed in the ark. The book of the Law therefore must have been placed in some other part of the

⁵ 1 Kings vii. 6.

⁶ Ibid. ver. 9.

⁷ Ver. 5.

Temple. That it was the custom of the Jews to preserve their sacred writings in the Temple, we know from the authority of Josephus⁸. And that in the time of Josiah, King of Judah, there was a copy of THE LAW in the Temple appears from what is related both in the second book of the Kings, and in the second book of the Chronicles⁹. "When they brought out the "money, that was brought into the house of "the Lord, Hilkiash the priest found a book of "the Law of the Lord given by Moses. And "Hilkiash answered and said to Shaphan the "Scribe, I have found the Book of the Law "in the house of the Lord." To understand these words we must recollect, that Manasseh and Amon, the two immediate predecessors of Josiah in the kingdom of Judah, were gross idolaters; and that Manasseh converted the Temple itself into a place of idol-worship. Manasseh reigned fifty and five years¹⁰: and such was his cruelty during this long reign, that he shed innocent blood, "till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other¹¹." The Temple therefore having been so long employed as a place of idolatry, the priests of Jehovah having

⁸ See Lect. xxxiii. note 1.

⁹ 2 Kings xxii. 8. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

¹⁰ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1.

¹¹ 2 Kings xxi. 16.

been killed or expelled to make room for the priests of Baal, and every thing sacred having been destroyed, which was not concealed from the idolaters, the discovery of the book of the Law, when the Temple was restored to its former worship, could not fail to excite surprise, whether it was the autograph of Moses, or only a faithful copy of it. That the Book of the Law was found in the Temple, was not *of itself* any cause of wonder. It was the discovery of the Temple-copy of the Law, at a time and under circumstances, which had left no hope of its preservation.

Whether the Temple-copy of the Law was rescued from destruction when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, it is difficult at present to determine. It appears from the second book of Chronicles¹², that the sacred vessels of the Temple were either destroyed or carried to Babylon. But neither in this place, nor in the second book of Kings, nor in the fifty-second chapter of Jeremiah, where the *vessels* of the Temple are minutely described, do we find any account of the Book of the Law. In that apocryphal work, which we call the second book

¹² Chap. xxxvi. 18, 19.

of Esdras, the unknown author, assuming to himself a character, which did not belong to him, thus addresses himself to God in the name of the Hebrew Ezra; "Thy Law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things concerning thee¹³." If this account were correct, not only the Temple-copy of the Law, but all other copies of the Law must have been destroyed at the taking of Jerusalem. If after the Babylonish captivity, when Ezra was restoring the Temple-worship, *no* man knew the things of the Law, no copy of it could have been left. A thing so improbable in itself, and contradicted by better authority, can hardly be admitted on the evidence of an author, who wrote under a false name, whose book comparatively modern was never a part even of the Septuagint, and of which our English translation is nothing more than a translation from the *Latin*.

The authentic books of Ezra and Nehemiah afford us no reason to suppose, that the Law of Moses had been so destroyed, as is represented in that apocryphal book, called the second book of Esdras. From the eighth chapter of Nehemiah it is evident, that the Book of the Law

¹³ 2 Esdras xiv. 21.

(whether the Temple-copy or not) was preserved during the period of the Babylonish captivity. For when the worship of God was restored at Jerusalem, "they spake unto Ezra the Scribe, "to bring the Book of the Law of Moses, which "the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra "the priest *brought* the Law before the congregation¹⁴." The prophet Daniel must also have had a copy of the Law, for he appealed to it, and quoted it¹⁵.

On the preservation of the other books, which were written before the Babylonish captivity, we have no historical evidence. But if we may argue from analogy, the sacred writings *in general* were preserved in the Temple. When Joshua made a covenant with the people, he wrote the "words in the book of the Law of "God¹⁶." And when Samuel had anointed Saul, "he told the people the *manner* of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord¹⁷." From these occasional notices we may infer, that when the Temple was built, it became the general depository of the sacred writings, which were thus preserved to the time of the Babylonish captivity.

¹⁴ Nehemiah viii. 1, 2.

¹⁶ Joshua xxiv. 25, 26.

¹⁵ Daniel ix. 13.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. x. 25.

When the Temple was rebuilt, we have equal reason to believe, that it became again the depository of the sacred writings: and we know that it was so in the time of Josephus. Ezra and Nehemiah, who lived in the reign of Artaxerxes, the period assigned by Josephus for the closing of the Hebrew Canon, are represented in the tradition of the Jews, as members of that Synagogue, which was known by the name of the Great Synagogue. And though it cannot be denied, that the accounts of the Jews concerning the Great Synagogue have a large admixture of fable, the *existence* of such a Synagogue for the purpose of collecting and arranging the Hebrew Scriptures can hardly be doubted. Whether the circumstances, ascribed to it, be true or not, the *fact itself* must have had some foundation, or the belief in it would not have so generally prevailed. The very titles, which are borne by Ezra in his own authentic work, accord with the belief, that he was engaged in the formation of the Hebrew Canon. He is not only called Ezra the Priest: he is also called Ezra the Scribe. In the seventh chapter of the Book of Ezra¹⁸, we find, that Artaxerxes the king gave a letter “unto Ezra

“ the priest, a Scribe of the Law of the God
 “ of Heaven.” The title of Scribe, or in Hebrew
 Soph¹⁹, was given to those, who were en-
 trusted, not merely with the copying, but with
 the *preservation* of the sacred writings. Even
 the high-priest Hil¹⁹kiah, when he found in the
 Temple the Book of the Law, delivered it to
 Shaphan the Scribe²⁰. That Nehemiah was also
 engaged in collecting the Hebrew Scriptures,
 and in the formation of a Temple-Library, is
 recorded in the second chapter of the second
 book of the Maccabees²¹; a book which though
 no part of the Hebrew Canon, has always been
 a part of the Septuagint, as far as our knowledge
 of it extends.

When the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures
 had been thus formed, it does not appear that
 any attempt was made to destroy or to injure
 it, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; when
 the books of the Law, which were found in
 the Temple, were cut in pieces and burnt with
 fire²². But the Temple-copy of the Law of
 Moses could not have been the *only* copy, which
 then existed. And it appears, that Judas Mac-
 cabeus “ gathered together all those things (which,

¹⁹ סופר.

²¹ Ver. 13.

²⁰ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 15.

²² 1 Macc. i. 56.

as appears from the context includes all those *writings*) which were lost by reason of the war²³." From that period to the time of our Saviour, the Hebrew Scriptures remained undisturbed in the Temple: and their preservation in the Temple till its destruction by Titus, appears from the accounts of Josephus which have been already quoted.

The preceding narrative has been given, for the purpose of shewing the care which was taken by the ancient Jews for the safety of the Hebrew Scriptures. But our inquiries into the integrity of the Hebrew Bible, during the period which has elapsed since the age of our Saviour, are still more important. The Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour, received his sanction as they *then* existed: and therefore must have been free from those corruptions, with which the Jews have been *subsequently* charged. Nor does it appear, that our Saviour, though he reproved the Scribes and Pharisees for many other abuses, has ever accused them of corrupting the sacred writings.

The question therefore, which we must now examine is, whether the Jews have corrupted

²³ 2 Macc. xi. 14, compared with ver. 13.

the Hebrew Scriptures *since* the time of our Saviour. The charge has been frequently made, as well in modern times, as in the early ages of the Church. But the known veneration of the Jews for the Hebrew Scriptures must induce us to receive such a charge with extreme caution. Josephus, in the place, where he describes the three classes of the Hebrew Scriptures, says, it appears from experience, with what veneration the Jews regard their sacred writings; and he concludes with saying, "Into all the Jews is "instilled from their very birth the belief, that "those writings are the precepts of God, to "which they are firmly attached, and for which, "if necessary, they are prepared to die²⁴." It is not very credible, that men should wilfully corrupt those very writings, to which they were so warmly, so devotedly attached. Though they ceased to exist, as a separate nation, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, their veneration for the Law of Moses continued without abatement. Even in their state of dispersion the Book of the Law has been the guide of their actions, as far as their circumstances would allow

²⁴ Πᾶσι σύμφυτον ἔστιν εὐθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίους τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ ταῦτοσ ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως. Tom. II. p. 442. ed. Havercamp. See also what Philo says, tom. II. p. 139. ed. Mangey.

them to follow it. They could have had no motive therefore to corrupt the Law of Moses. Nor could they have had any motive to corrupt the *historical* books of the Old Testament. The places, in which they have been chiefly suspected, are prophecies relating to the Messiah. But if it were really true, that the Jews had formed a design of altering the prophecies of the Messiah, so as to render them inapplicable to the person of Jesus Christ, they would have acted in such a manner as to defeat their own purpose. For the prophecies, which relate most clearly to our Saviour, the prophecies which afford the least possible room for doubt, are precisely the prophecies, which have been left untouched: while the places, where doubts have been excited, in consequence of a difference between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, are for the most part places of little importance. And, what is still more extraordinary, there are passages in the Hebrew Bible, which merely in consequence of their difference from the Septuagint, the Jews have been suspected of corrupting, when it appears from a comparison of the Hebrew with the Greek, that the Hebrew reading is *less* favourable to the Jews than the Greek reading²⁵.

²⁵ Waltoni Prolegom. vii. 4.

In fact, the charge of corrupting the Hebrew Scriptures, though it has been repeated in modern times, had its *origin* in the ignorance of those, who introduced it. The Greek and Latin Fathers were for the most part unacquainted with Hebrew, though Origen and Jerom were illustrious exceptions. The Greek Fathers quoted from the Septuagint; the Latin Fathers from the Latin version, which was made from the Septuagint. They had no Latin translation from the Hebrew till the time of Jerom: and even *his* translation was not immediately adopted as the authorised version of the Latin church. Nor must we forget the state of the Septuagint itself, in the third century; the copies of which so differed from each other, as well as from the Hebrew Bible, that Origen undertook his celebrated work called the Hexapla, for the purpose of correcting the existing evils. Under these circumstances, when the ancient Fathers, in controversy with the Jews, quoted passages of Scripture from the Greek and Latin versions, it necessarily happened, that such quotations occasionally differed from the Hebrew. The revival of Hebrew learning by the establishment of the school at Tiberias, enabled the Jews to detect the differences, between the Hebrew original and the Septuagint version. They replied, therefore, that the quotations of their opponents were

incorrect, as differing from the Hebrew original. But their opponents, relying on the infallibility of the Greek version, retorted on the Jews, that the difference arose from their own *corruption of the Hebrew*. This is the origin of the charge, so frequently laid to them. And it is enough to *know* its origin to perceive its want of foundation.

But even if the Jews had been *inclined* to corrupt the Hebrew Scriptures, there were so many impediments in the way of such corruption, that they could not have carried it to any great extent. Charges of that description are more easily made, than proved. Men frequently argue, as if the omission of a passage in *one* manuscript would operate, as it were by magic, its extinction from *all the rest*. But it is really not an easy matter to expunge, without detection, from works of such general circulation, as the Hebrew Bible, and the Greek Testament. The checks on the corruption of the latter have been fully described on a former occasion: and similar checks have operated, to secure the integrity of the Hebrew Bible.

That *accidental* mistakes have been made in transcribing the Hebrew Scriptures, is nothing more, than what is common to the transcripts of

every work. And Hebrew manuscripts especially were liable to such mistakes, as well from the similarity in some of the Hebrew letters, as from other causes peculiar to the Hebrew language. But the guards and fences, which were erected by the Jews, to stop the progress of such mistakes, were proportionate to the causes, which tended to produce them. The operation of the Masora, in protecting the Hebrew manuscripts from error, has been explained on former occasions. It will be sufficient therefore at present to observe in general terms, that the rules, by which Hebrew transcribers are bound in the copying of the Scriptures, are so strict, that if they cannot secure a total exemption from error, they go as far, as can be expected from human efforts.

But we must not omit to notice a species of alteration in the Hebrew Scriptures, which can neither be ranked among wilful corruptions, nor among accidental mistakes. In the Pentateuch we sometimes find names of places, which names were not given to those places till *after* the time of Moses. For instance Hebron was, before the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, called Kirjath-arba, as is related in the book of Joshua itself²⁸.

²⁸ Joshua xiv. 15.

Yet in the book of Genesis it is called by the later name of Hebron²⁷. This name could not have been written by Moses, who lived before the time of its adoption. From this and similar examples it has been inferred, that the Pentateuch *itself* was written at a later period, than that which is commonly ascribed to it. And where we have no *other* arguments to determine the date of an ancient work, arguments like these will have considerable weight. But where we have convincing arguments on the other side, arguments which prove the authenticity of the work, we must conclude that the author himself used the *ancient* names; and that the later names were afterwards substituted, for the sake of perspicuity.

Other passages, which could not have proceeded from the hand of Moses, are of the following description, "These are the kings, that reigned over the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel"²⁸. These words were undoubtedly written after the establishment of monarchy in Israel, and therefore long after the time of Moses. But they do not prove, that the Pentateuch itself was not written by Moses. They only shew, that we

²⁷ Gen. xiii. 18.²⁸ Gen. xxxvi. 31.


have here an *addition* to the text of Moses. Now such additions do not affect the general authenticity of the work, and are easily distinguished from what was written by Moses.

Additions of another kind are such as that, which is found in the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy. The thirty-third chapter, which contains the blessings pronounced by Moses on the tribes of Israel, has evident tokens of being the conclusion of the work, as finished by Moses himself. But as some account of his death appeared a necessary addition to it, the supplement was made, and probably by Joshua, whence it was engrafted on the book itself.

We may conclude with the general observation, that whatever additions have been made to the original text, either in this place, or any other place of the Hebrew Bible, those additions, which contain historical notices, must have been made, either before, or at the time when the canon was determined, and consequently would not have been admitted, unless they had been entitled to credit.

Let us now recapitulate in a few words what has been proved in the preceding Lectures.

It has been proved, that the Hebrew Scriptures, as they then existed, received the sanction of our Saviour. It has been proved, that the Hebrew Scriptures, which received the sanction of our Saviour, contained the same books, which are now contained in our Hebrew Bibles. And lastly it has been proved, that the books themselves have descended to the present age, not only free from wilful corruption, but as free from accidental mistakes, as can possibly be expected in works of high antiquity. We may rely therefore on the authority, and the integrity of the Hebrew Bible.



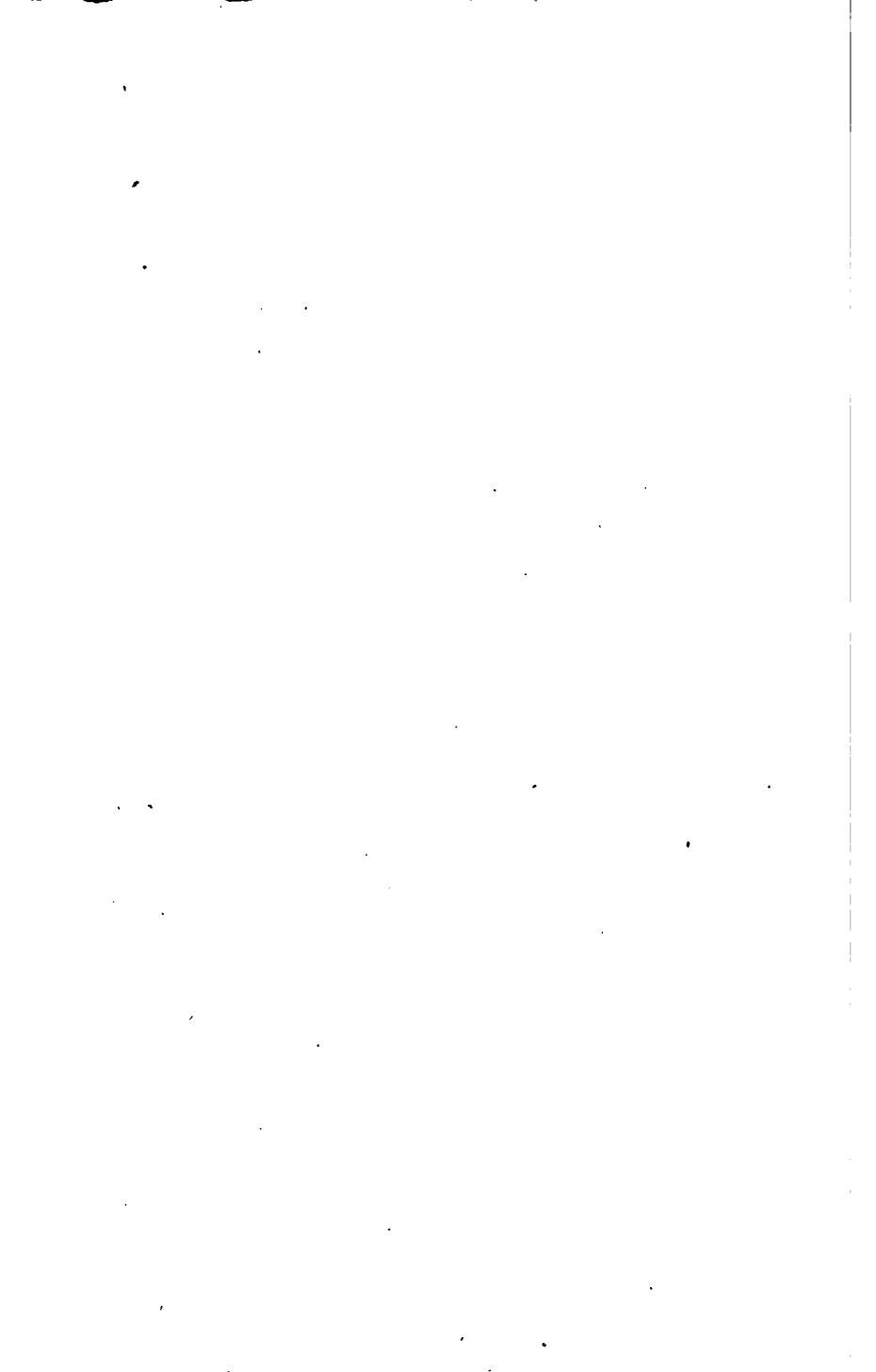
ERRATA.

P. 24. Note 5. l. 7. *vertimas* *read* *vertimus*.'

98. — 13. *Hagiographarum* *read* *Hagiographorum*.

48. — 15. l. 10. *παρουδῶναι* *read* *παραδῶναι*.



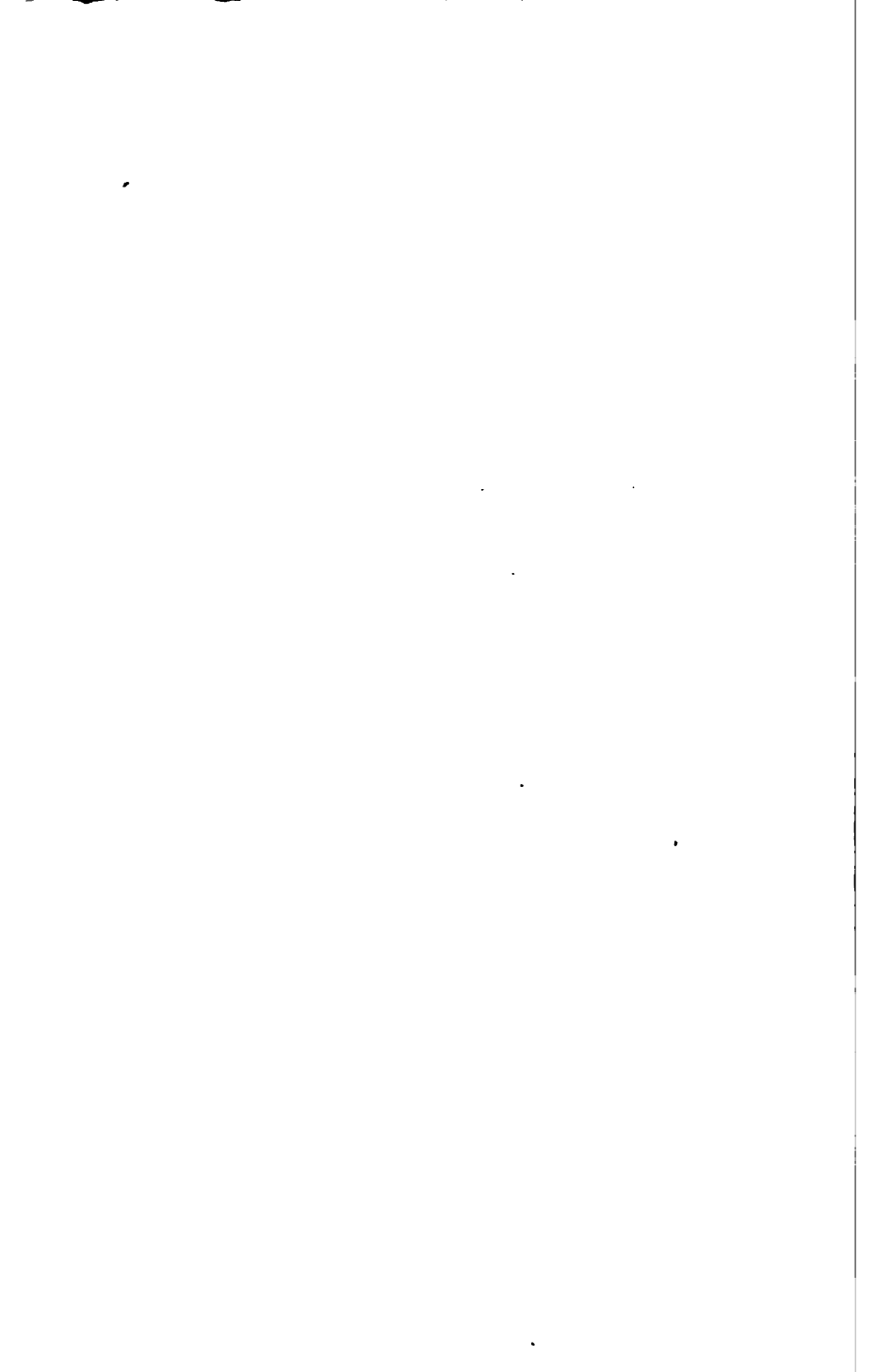




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