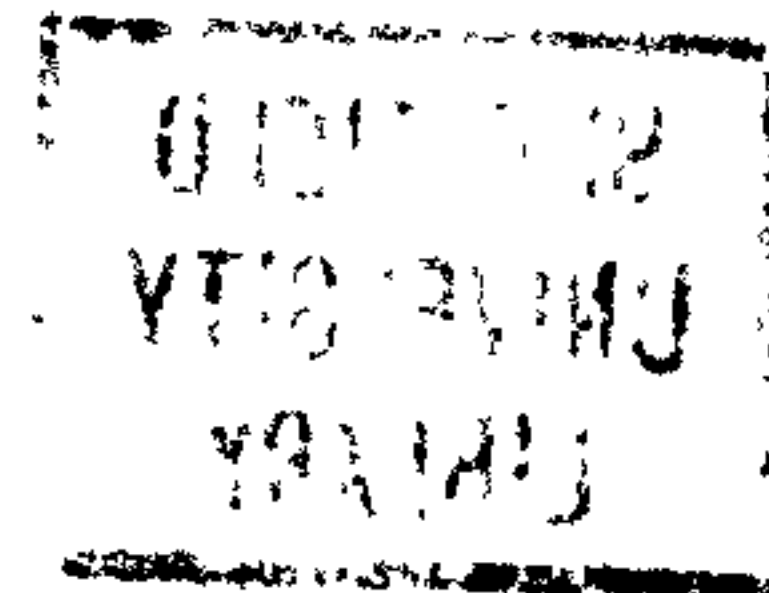


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B I B L E                      E X P O S I T O R

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by

B.D. (Lond.), M.Litt.  
(Dur.).

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## F O R E W O R D

WHEN the writer joined the staff of Doncaster Parish Church a few years ago, C.J.Vaughan was just a name he recalled reading as an occasional reference in a certain standard commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. But it soon became clear that Dr Vaughan was a name with highly significant associations for Doncaster - both in town and Church; and that the man whose imposing portrait hangs in the Mansion House was worthy of investigation. Moreover, the writer was living in the old Clergy House where the first of the 'Doves' resided.

This neglected Victorian divine, as R.R.Williams calls him, had willed that no biography should appear after his death. No doubt this accounts for the almost total disregard of one of the outstanding Churchmen of that 'ampler world, of crowded churches, leisured scholarship, a settled social hierarchy, expanding trade, and prolonged peace and plenty.' \*

\* R.R.Williams, Church Quarterly Review CLIV p.72

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The thesis will follow quite naturally the pattern of the course of study, in which the conclusion was reached rather by a process of elimination. It has been a search for what may be described as the religious mind of Vaughan, as revealed in his sermons and commentaries and other fragments culled from odd corners. It is an attempt to place him fairly in the whole movement of English Biblical exposition in the nineteenth century: not just an appraisal of his method of commentating and expounding, but an endeavour to discover his outlook and approach in Biblical and theological matters.

His life spanned the greater part of the century; and he will be studied in relation to his contemporaries, particularly the three younger brethren of his generation, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. No little interest lies in following the development of the four minds - great minds - trained in the same atmosphere at Cambridge, once they go their several ways to expound the same Holy Scriptures of the Greek New Testament. All enjoyed a thorough grounding in the Classics, but how the personality of each developed and employed the academic tools given to him will

become clear to the reader as he studies the fine products which have been preserved in numerous commentaries, addresses, lectures and sermons.

By a remarkable stroke of good fortune, some time after the study was under way, the writer was introduced to the daughter of one of Vaughan's 'Doves', a certain Miss Helen M. Argles, whose father was a pupil at Harrow in Vaughan's time, and subsequently a 'Dove.' The late Reverend Canon George M. Argles had preserved a set of notes on the Greek Testament, being the permanent record of Vaughan's lectures to his Harrow pupils and 'Doves.' They deal very fully with all the New Testament Epistles, and there are fragmentary notes on the rest of the Book. They are wholly legible, though often the writing is very small, and are an extraordinary piece of studentship. Their chief significance for the present work is that they indicate Vaughan's mind on those many books of the New Testament for which there are no published commentaries. The whole volume of Canon Argles' notes has been edited, and forms an appendix to this thesis. If the editing and copying has at times been laborious, the writer does value the material and has learned much en route.

C H A R L E S     J O H N     V A U G H A N

1 8 1 6     -     1 8 9 7

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Vicar     of     St Martin's,     Leicester     1841 - 1844

Headmaster     of     Harrow     1844 - 1859

Vicar     of     Doncaster     1860 - 1869

Master     of     the     Temple     1869 - 1894

Dean     of     Llandaff     1879 - 1897

\*     \*     \*

## B I O G R A P H I C A L      I N T R O D U C T I O N

"THE DEAN'S has been the most serviceable life in the Church in my time" - such was Archbishop Benson's testimony to C.J.Vaughan in 1894, when it was clear that the Dean was drawing towards the close of his long and notable life. The Archbishop continues,

'His great sense, true Christianity, and wonderful power of expressing both in the purest and most idiomatic modern English, have held a constant congregation of the ablest men and lawyers at the Temple, and he has trained 350 of the best young clergymen, in scholarship, in love of Scripture, in wisdom, and moderation of view, at a time when all those qualities are least valued and most valuable.' [LIFE by A.C.Benson, 11 p 558]

The particular aspect of Dr Vaughan's noble life to be discussed here must not be overshadowed by a lengthy biography. Nevertheless, a brief survey of the chief phases of the whole will be helpful in appreciating the part.

Charles John was born in 1816, the second son of the Reverend Edward Thomas Vaughan, Vicar of St Martin's Church, Leicester. His mother was the daughter of a certain Mr Thomas Fares, a banker in the same city. Charles was educated in his home till the father died in 1829, when he went to Rugby. At that time the famous school was flourishing under Dr Arnold, and we are told that Vaughan became one of the 'inner circle of Arnold's favourite pupils.'

He went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by sharing the honours of Senior Classic and Chancellor's medallist with the fourth Lord Lyttleton in 1838. He became Fellow of Trinity in 1839; and after abandoning an attempted reading of law, he was ordained in 1841. Almost immediately he was appointed to the family living of St Martin, Leicester. He married the sister of his old school friend, Stanley - who later became Dean of Westminster.

In 1844, at the age of 28, he set foot on the first major step of his career when he was appointed to the headmastership of Harrow school. In our time, when the reputation of that school stands so high, it is



difficult to imagine the state of affairs when C.J.V. assumed control. There were but 97 boys, and the place was chaotic. Drunkenness, gambling, stone-throwing, and other ill-behaviour in public were some aspects of the life at the school which confronted the new headmaster, and which he dealt with effectively in his characteristic manner - quietly but authoritatively. He brought to Harrow the principles of the monastorial system which he had learned under Arnold at Rugby. These he adapted to the situation with eminent success. One of his sixth formers has written:

"His mode of procedure was to make friends with the sixth form, so that they might become a parliament for the control and well-being of the school." \*

Vaughan's own dictum was, 'Broadly speaking, the master is responsible for morals and the monitor for manners.' He held firmly to the right of the sixth form to use the cane, and the value of a system in which certain boys, selected by no favours but on their own merit, 'are empowered to exercise over their juniors a legalised and carefully regulated authority' [Vaughan].

\* F.D.HOW, Six Great Schoolmasters, 1904, p 146.

Within a year the numbers of boys rose to 180; in 1847 there were 283; and in 1859 the original number had increased sevenfold to 466.

Vaughan's able choice of assistant masters was a feature of his reign at Harrow: Dr Pears, later headmaster of Repton; Dr Bradby of Haileybury; Dr Farrar of Marlborough; Dr Westcott, Bishop of Durham.

His great power is said to have lain chiefly in the following qualities:

1, His gift of reading character, and his skill as a diplomatist, brought the boys thoroughly under his influence. 2, His power of sympathy and power of uplifting those who came under his care, whether for admonition or counsel. 3, That quality which made it impossible for one to take a liberty with him. No word or action of his could be set aside as trivial. 4, His deep Classical learning and ability as a teacher.

In the prime of his life he went on his way to Doncaster, and placed the reins of government at Harrow in the hands of his best-loved pupil, Dr Butler.



The significance of Vaughan's work at Doncaster will be covered in following sections, for it was in the lofty and grave neo-Gothic church [which Gilbert Scott had just completed] that Vaughan perfected his powers as a preacher. From that unusual, circular pulpit - from which the present writer has been privileged to preach many sermons - Dr Vaughan delivered his mighty addresses and lectures to the hundreds who packed the spacious building.

At a time when the population of Doncaster was growing and the housing sites were developing well beyond the ancient boundaries of the town, the Vicar had the foresight to provide daughter-churches, now the parish churches of Christ Church and St. Mary's. Vaughan was a pastor, as well as teacher, preacher and educationalist. To this aspect of his ministry in Doncaster the local newspaper pays tribute in an article published at the time of the announcement of Vaughan's appointment as Master of the Temple:

"The enlargement of the Infirmary was prompted with unwearied zeal. The ministration of services in Duke Street Chapel and the Ragged School are maintained by his generosity." \*

\* Doncaster Gazette, 2nd July 1869

The article continues:

"Indeed, there is no part of the Parish Church district but what bears some marks of his usefulness. Not a home or a cottage is forgotten. The poorest of the poor have cause to recollect his cheerful and kind welcome. Under these circumstances, he endeared himself to all, not only by public acts of benevolence, but by those silent offerings which no one knows of but the recipients themselves." \*

In the part of the parish across the River Don, known as Marsh Gate, where dwelt the distinctly artisan part of the population, Vaughan built the 'school-church' of St Andrew, where the present writer [more than a century later] served as curate-in-charge. Frequent references in the contemporary issues of the Doncaster Gazette show to what extent Dr and Mrs Vaughan were the authors of many good works on behalf of the multitudes of the poor who suffered greatly in a series of bitterly cold winters.

In 1869 Dr Vaughan left the Church where there is now a reredos with its accompanying inscription:

"The grateful and loving gift of eighty-eight of those graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who here prepared themselves for Holy Orders under the instructions and guidance of the Rev C.J.Vaughan, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster."

\* Doncaster Gazette ibid.

C.J.Vaughan had already declined the Deanery of Westminster - largely because he did not feel at home in the social atmosphere into which such a position inevitably took him. But he was happy to go to the Temple where he was unfettered, where he would have the type of congregation that appealed to him, and where he could also carry on the work begun at Doncaster of training ordinands. In 1879 he was offered the Deanery of Llandaff, which he accepted, and continued as Master of the Temple. In Wales, then, he found further outlets for his zeal and experience. 'His long connection with academic circles and his native sense of scholarship made him an invaluable leader in the plans for the founding of the University College of Cardiff, of which he became President in 1894.' \*

And so he drew nigh to the end of his long and immensely useful life. Much of what he said in the Temple and Llandaff years has been published in books of sermons which are not difficult to obtain. Much of what he did in the lives of more than 450 Doves has been passed on and will only be recorded in the Book of Life - eternally, that is the supreme legacy.

\* R.R.Williams ibid p 85.

The writer has been able to borrow the letters from Dr Vaughan to the late Very Reverend R.L.White [formerly Dean of Maritzburg] at the time when the latter was applying to join the Doves at Llandaff. He was one of the very last of the Doves, and the letters reveal something of the mind and personality of the writer.

A brief note dated January 15th 1894:

"Next January will suit me well for receiving you if I am still living and working.

Meanwhile will you ask your Oxford tutor, or someone who knows you well, to write me a private letter as to your fitness (in one line [? ]) for a clergyman's life.

Sincerely yours, C.J.VAUGHAN. "

Letter dated Nov. 2nd 1894:

". . . I am going on well, and have scarcely had to miss the regular reading any one day yet. . . I write briefly, for my pen still moves less quickly than of old.

Sincerely yours, C.J.VAUGHAN. "

Answering an enquiry as to what the student will need:

"Almost any books will be useful to you. But a Greek Testament, a Greek Lexicon, and a Concordance of the Greek Testament, will be necessary. Besides these, I should like you to write to Messrs Deighton and Bell.... for a copy of the Instructions for what is known as the Cambridge Preliminary Exam for Holy Orders...You will be glad to have also a few books with you for your private reading in a leisure hour...." 2nd Dec.1894.



The last letter to the Reverend R.L.White -  
intended to be circulated among or read to other  
Doves was written on March 29th 1897. It runs:

" To my dear 'Society of Friends.'  
My very dear Sons and Brothers,

This long-protracted but merciful illness,  
with its perpetual oscillations between better  
and worse, makes me long for some communication  
with you before an Advent which I may not live  
to see.

I have thought that perhaps this sermon §,  
heard by some of you, and expressing some of the  
thoughts which I should most wish to express  
to you, might answer my purpose as well as  
anything.

At any rate it will tell you that I am  
thinking of you, and anxious that your ministry,  
begun well, should also end well; that no  
sense of dullness or weariness should be  
allowed to drop your hand from the plough,  
but that all should be done pressing forward  
to the glad 'Well-done.'

I cannot tell you how I myself am - so  
frequent are the changes - one Sunday in the  
Cathedral, and the next week in bed.

We are in the hands of God. Enough for us.  
'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.'

Your devoted friend,

C.J.Vaughan.

P.S. Multitudes of kind and beautiful letters  
lie unanswered, alas, alas ! The pen no longer  
flies, it lingers, it loiters, it procrastinates.  
Forgive, forgive."

§ Copy of Sermon, 'What have I done to thee?',  
preached at Llandaff 24th Sept. 1893.

The Dean lingered on till he passed away on the 15th October, 1897.

Thus did the Church lose a fervent preacher, a faithful pastor, a brilliant scholar, an expert teacher, a skilful organiser, and a lover of men. The present Bishop of Leicester, one of the few persons living who have made any study of the life and works of Vaughan, writes this in his article:

"His great contribution, however, was his own life, utterly dedicated, exemplary in devotion, in freedom from self-seeking and in earnestness. His scholarship was an ornament to the nineteenth century ministry, and a challenging example to their successors in the twentieth. His life was long, and in some respects uneventful. One reader at least cannot read the University sermons unmoved, and it may be surmised that for many years yet to come he will hold his place as a 'preacher's preacher', and an example of a quiet and studious Ministry which the twentieth century has made all but impossible to achieve to-day." \*

\* R.R.Williams, op.cit., pp 84 - 85.

## VAUGHAN THE EDUCATIONALIST

OF THE epoch-making work which Vaughan accomplished at Harrow School something has already been written. He was an able reformer and administrator, and was not afraid to apply new methods to meet the urgent situation. One instance of this was seen in the formation of the new 'Form' in 1853. This was a sort of extra-mural class for day boys of local middle-class residents of Harrow. It gave the members a course less severely classical than that in the school proper, but kept within the limits of the foundation. It was a prompt course of action to meet an immediate need which faced the new headmaster, for it gripped firmly a nettle which had been a stinging problem in the locality for many years. Whilst under the personal direction of the headmaster, the scheme worked independently of the school itself.

At Doncaster there was a great need for the application of Vaughan's powers as an educationalist, and he will be remembered there, among other things, for what he did for the Grammar School and the National School.

The early history of Doncaster Grammar School is obscure, but its first mention appears to be in the

and who "devised certain lands towards the foundation of the School." In 1562, Thomas Ellis, in his will, devised "several houses & c. towards the making of the School." [Doncaster Gazette, 8th Aug. 1862].

At the time of Vaughan's institution to the living at Doncaster this ancient Grammar School was at a very low ebb. In the Doncaster Gazette of 6th September 1861 a letter from Dr Vaughan addressed to the Mayor of Doncaster regrets "that the present virtual extinction of its ancient Grammar School is injurious to the best interests of the town, and loudly calls for the interposition of that body to which the town must at all times look for the effective maintenance of its institutions." And he invited "the kind attention of the Corporation to this important subject at the earliest possible moment." The press report continues:

"The Council unanimously came to the following resolution:- 'That Mr Stoddart [the headmaster] resigning his office, and all emoluments and perquisites connected therewith, the Council will pay him the sum of one hundred pounds.' We trust that no further delay will occur to prevent the re-establishment of our ancient Grammar School."

On December 6th, 1861, the same newspaper reported:

"The revival of this ancient institution will be carried into effect after the Christmas vacation. . . . The result of the three  
/hours'



"hours' deliberation [i.e. of the Municipal Charity Trustees of which Vaughan was chairman] has not been allowed to be made public. An animated discussion, we understand, ensued, and a scheme propounded by the Rev. Dr. Vaughan was generally approved of and recommended for the adoption of the town Council. . . . It is fortunate the town possesses so distinguished a scholar as the Rev. Dr. Vaughan to assist in its resuscitation: for his experience and success at Harrow, and his knowledge and aptitude on these questions are the best assurance that the inhabitants will have the full benefit of a complete educational institution."

On the 4th April, 1862, it was announced that the Reverend W. Gurney, M.A., of Stockport, had been appointed to the headmastership of Doncaster Grammar School. The following tribute was paid to C.J.V. in the issue of the 8th August, 1862, reporting the re-opening of the School:

"To the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, however, the revival of the Grammar School must be a source of the highest satisfaction, in as much as it is to the rev. gentleman's zeal and earnestness, and we may add, influence, that this has been accomplished."

For best part of a century the School has continued to flourish, and the writer knows from first-hand experience that Vaughan's hopes for the revived centre of learning have been amply fulfilled and maintained.

Dr Vaughan read himself in as Vicar of St George's Church, Doncaster on October 21st, 1860. In the local paper of the 2nd November the same year there was a column about the National School (established 1816). Regret was expressed that it has "by force of circumstances become most inconveniently situate for the poorer classes belonging to St. George's." A proposition was being made

"to bring it within reach of all persons interested in its success. . . and . . . to erect schools nearer the parish church. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan feels, at the commencement of his career, that unless his schools are easy of access to the very persons whom they are intended to benefit, his usefulness will be contracted."

An eligible site was suggested in the extensive grounds behind the residence of Mr Ruddock in French Gate, and belonging to W.H. Forman, Esq., "Marsh Gate, French Gate, Church Street, Fisher Gate and the Holmes, and all the courts and yards running out of or into these several thoroughfares would be placed in a better position; in fact the schools would be in their midst, and what is still equally of importance, Dr. Vaughan's supervision would be secured." \*

\* Doncaster Gazette 2nd Nov. 1860

On Sunday 3rd May 1861, the Vicar preached two sermons in the Parish Church on behalf of the National Schools. His texts were: Deuteronomy 8:7 in the morning, and Revelation 7:13 at night. The collections amounted to £23 . 4 . 3. The Gazette reported, on 11th July, 1862, that a meeting had been held of the Committee of the National School under the chairmanship of Vaughan, seeking to increase a list of subscribers. The Rev. the Vicar had emphasized the need for the new school, equipped with modern teaching appliances, and built on a site nearer the Parish Church.

The Minute Book of the Committee of the Doncaster National School furnishes details of the next phase in the outworking of Vaughan's plans on behalf of his less privileged parishioners:

9th May, 1865 -

"Dr. Vaughan reported that he was in negotiation with the Town Council for the enfranchisement of two properties of which he had already purchased the leases; originally those occupied by Mrs. Wright in St George Gate, and by Mr. Harrison and Mrs. White in Church Street; in the hope that they might form the site of the National Schools. Resolved - that the Committee approve of the proposed site, and will further by all means in their power the renewal and rebuilding of the Schools."

13th June, 1865:

"Dr. Vaughan reported that the Town Council in committee had consented to the enfranchisement of the leasehold property [referred to at the last meeting] for the purpose of their becoming the site of the new National Schools; and that he was awaiting the confirmation of their consent by a general meeting of the Council, which he understood would be held in the present week. Dr. Vaughan also stated that he had ascertained from Mr. Falconer that the Trust Deed of the National School contained no express power of sale of the existing buildings; and that consequently an order of the Court of Chancery would be required to effect the sale."

27th June, 1865:

"Dr. Vaughan presented letters from the Town Clerk, containing the report of the confirmation of the grant of freehold land in St. George Gate and Church Street as the site of the new National Schools. Resolved - that Mr. Falconer be requested to take the necessary steps for obtaining the authority of the Court of Chancery for the sale of the present school buildings."

4th July, 1865:

"Mr. Wood reported that Dr. Vaughan had seen Mr. Falconer. . . . and that Mr. Falconer had undertaken to use all speed in procuring the necessary authority from the Court of Chancery. Resolved - that Mr. Teale be requested to furnish plans for the new National Schools."

3rd October, 1865:

"Dr. Vaughan reported that he had received from the Mayor the official announcement of the Lords of the Treasury to the grant of the freehold site for the new National Schools."



12th December, 1865:

"Mr. Teale's plans and estimates having been laid before the Committee, Resolved - that the plan marked A be approved, and that Dr. Vaughan be requested to communicate the intention of the Committee to erect new schools to the Committee of the Council requesting the necessary information as to the steps next to be taken."

6th February, 1866:

"Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Easterfield reported that the subscriptions for the new building amounted to £2707 . 5 . 0 . . . of which sum £915 . 19 . 6 was already paid. Resolved that Dr. Vaughan be requested to write to the secretary of the Committee of the Council to withdraw the application for a grant in aid of the new building, explaining that the bounty of the friends of the school had enabled the managers to dispense with the assistance of the Government in the erection of these schools . . . . Mr. Teale be requested to prepare working drawings for the new school, with a view to the specification and tenders, with any minor modifications of the plan which he may think desirable."

10th April, 1866:

"Resolved - that in accordance with Mr. Teale's advice a separate specification be made for the foundations and that the principal builders in Doncaster be requested to send in tenders for that preliminary part of the work."

24th April, 1866:

"Tenders presented; Mr. Athron's being accepted."

3rd July: "Mr. Teale . . . was requested to hasten the completion of specifications for the building, and to advise for tenders."

31st July: "Mr. Teale attended the Committee, to present the tenders for the new buildings."

5th September, 1866:

"Mr. Teale presented a list of proposed reductions in the specification for the new building, with a view to a diminution of cost. The Committee reviewed the item, and requested Mr. Teale to ascertain from Mr. Athron the exact reduction of his tender which would result from the adoption of the proposed alterations, and to report definitely to a meeting of the Committee to be held on Saturday the 8th inst. at 3 p.m."

8th Sept: "Mr. Teale reported that Mr. Athron's estimate was reduced to £ 3,800 . . . . .  
Resolved- that Mr. Athron's tender [as amended] be accepted."

16th October, 1866:

"The agreement with Mr. Athron was signed . . .  
The laying of the foundation stone having been fixed for Tuesday Oct. 23rd, it was announced that the Archbishop of York had consented to preach at the morning service on that day, and afterwards to lay the stone."

The Foundation stone was duly laid on October 23rd, 1866.

In a list of subscriptions donated towards the building, Dr Vaughan has £ 1,000 against his name.

\* 1867

A minute dated 31st December records that the Archbishop of York would preach on Sunday evening January 5th 1868 for the National Schools, and would open the new school on that morning. The new school was opened according to the schedule. The same building is used at the present time, though not as a Church school.

# VAUGHAN AS TEACHER, AND TRAINER OF MEN

UNTIL the latter part of the nineteenth century it was usual for men to take a degree at Oxford or Cambridge and then to be ordained without further preparation. Theological and pastoral training for the Christian Ministry, as we understand it to-day, was a rare thing. Theological colleges, as distinct from university colleges, were an innovation of the nineteenth century, particularly of the second half.

"Connop Thirlwall could only say of Cambridge in 1843: 'Our colleges are not theological seminaries. We have no theological colleges, no theological tutors, no theological students'\* - and this was said of the university which then produced about half the clergy of England !" \*

The examination of those who were to be ordained was generally perfunctory; and Bishop Westcott used to say that he could not look back with any pleasure upon the circumstances of his ordination. The theological colleges, designed for the non-graduate type of ordinand, which gradually came into being, were an optional extra for graduates who could afford a course - not a compulsory extra.

\* H.G.G.Herklots in a published sermon, Trinity Sunday, 1951.

This was the position when Vaughan came to Doncaster in 1860. It was here that, as the Dictionary of National biography writes, "he entered on what was destined to be the most distinctive work of his life, the preparation of young men for ordination."

The real beginning of the enterprise, which stands unique in the annals of modern Anglican history, and which is epitomised in the nick-name Vaughan's "Doves", lies in a sermon which he preached to the University of Cambridge on Trinity Sunday, 1861. Under the text, "What shall I do, Lord?" [Acts 22:10], he preached on the subject - 'Choice of Professions' \*. It is a fine sermon, typical of its author, and it contains the invitation which started the 'Doves' in 1861, and the flow of candidates did not cease till the founder's last year. In all some 460 men passed through Vaughan's hands for personal training and preparation for the pastoral ministry.

This now famous sermon is an earnest appeal to all his hearers to consider carefully their future professions, whatever these might be - for the sake of their own souls apart from any other consideration. In this respect the sermon is largely hortatory. But in his opening paragraphs

\* in the volume 'University Sermons New and Old,' 1888



[with reference to the season at hand] he makes some theological observations concerning his belief in respect of the Trinity:

"Trinity Sunday is, in brief, the Festival of Revelation. It gathers into one whole all that we have been taught of God; solemnly charges us to remember the primeval disclosure, 'The Lord our God is one Lord;' warns us that we suffer not any diversity of operations to make us lose sight of the unity of the Godhead; bids us be careful how we suffer in ourselves any such thought of mediation or of atonement, of grace or of inspiration, as might separate into three wills or three essences those holy persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, whom the Scriptures of truth everywhere recognise and reveal; and yet, on the other hand, reminds us how necessary to the Christian's hope and to the Christian's life is a true faith in each one of these; how incomplete and how formidable were the conception of a God who created, without the further disclosure of a Divine Person who redeemed, and of a Divine Person who sanctifies. Trinity Sunday is not, as some would make it, the commemoration of a formal doctrine, for which man has had to invent a term. . . . Rather is it the commemoration of the fulness of God. . . [it] assures us that the will of the Saviour and the will of the Comforter is not less the will of the Father; that the Father gave the Son because He loved us, and that the Father and the Son will come to us in the Spirit and make an abode in us not as three but as one" op. cit. pp 18 - 20.

Towards the end of the sermon, Vaughan makes an appeal for candidates for the Anglican Ministry, having

outlined, firstly, what is required in the Christian Ministry, and, secondly, what training is required to fit a man for this office. Vaughan is explicit when he goes on to indicate that a university theological course - for all its peculiar privilege and value - does not of itself equip a man for many of the parochial and pastoral duties which will fall to him if he is called to Holy Orders.

"Surely these are powers best and most safely acquired in the observation of their exercise. And where is the experienced Pastor who would not gladly take under his general direction, from time to time, three or four candidates for Holy Orders ?

Great joy would it carry to the heart of one parochial clergyman - for him I can answer - to receive applications of such a nature; to find that there were men of blameless character, of steady purpose, of open mind, and of true devotion, who were willing to take up their abode in his Parish, before Ordination, to see what he could show them, and to render to him such services, in his schools and amongst his poor, as church order may permit and mutual convenience arrange.

Then, and not till then, would he feel that his Parish was efficiently worked, and he would cherish the hope that what was thus given to him would be repaid in some measure by opportunities of widening experience and growing in the knowledge alike of man and of God" - op.cit. p 35.

Thus was sown the seed which was to bear such remarkable fruit: fruit which Archbishop Benson had in mind when

he said that Vaughan's was the "most serviceable life in the Church" in his time.

Twofold preparation was afforded by the system inaugurated while Vaughan was at Doncaster. First, the men read divinity - with particular attention being given to the Greek Testament - and they received instruction in sermon writing under the Vicar's personal supervision. Secondly, at some of the clergy schools [notably Leeds] the men gained practical experience in visiting the homes of the poor and the sick. In this training Vaughan avoided interference with a man's special theological bent. He let each man's mind work freely and avoided merely turning out men of the same pattern. He sought the greatest personal intimacy with his 'Doves', encouraged confidence in all matters of doubt or difficulty, and gave himself pre-eminently to the spiritual side of the ministerial work of those whom he trained.

Dr Butler, in his funeral oration, said of Vaughan in this connection:

"In giving some thirty-five years without a break to the training of young men for the Ministry of the Gospel, in becoming their

"lifelong counsellor, in keeping close and re-consecrating at not too long intervals the singular tie which bound them to him - in this he was doing a new thing. Here he struck out... 'a new and living way' of pastoral service.... In these young men the childless man found his children, the old man found his sons. They were the renewal, and more than the renewal, of his Harrow youth, the wings, as it were, of his active intellect, the support and comfort and romance of his age" - cf HOW, op.cit, p 177.

And the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Davidson, himself a Dove, paid tribute thus:

"For a man to gather round him a set of pupils, year after year, not coming to him because of any official position that he had, or because of their membership in any corporation, college or society - that I believe to stand absolutely alone, at all events in modern history. In that position Dr Vaughan had no rival in the Church of England, perhaps in the Church at large."  
- How, ibid.

Among the Doves, eighteen became bishops [including Archbishop Davidson and Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania], and many came to occupy positions of dignity and responsibility in Britain and beyond.

Of the actual ordering of the life of the Doves, R.L.White said at Harrow Chapel on January 21st, 1945:

"The Life we lived at Llandaff....was very simple. We lived in the village; I lodged in the house of [Vaughan's] butler...Every day we went for a lecture to the deanery. This was chiefly an intensive study of the Greek Testament - a careful study of the language, every tense and every participle



"alive with meaning, the spirit of St Paul and St John manifested through their language, and the New Testament glowing as it never had before with the glory behind it. This study gave a glimpse of the secret of his preparation for his own sermons and of his profound meditation on every word. Now and then he dictated to us an outline sermon, or an analysis of one of the Epistles. On Mondays it was one of the laws of the Medes and Persians that each one of us in his own lodgings should compose a sermon on a text selected by Dr Vaughan. Woe to anyone who shirked!"

- Address printed in the Vaughan Centenary issue of the Harrovian.

F.W.B. Bullock sums up Vaughan's work:

"He held special services for [the Doves], lectured to them daily on the Greek Testament, and also made arrangements that each man should gain some experience of pastoral work. Those who came under his influence found his teaching most helpful and inspiring. The drawback was that there was little or no common life as in a theological college. Each student lived in lodgings by himself, and did not see much of the others except at services and lectures. Vaughan's work with the ordination candidates was entirely personal; no one assisted him with it, and no one followed him after his death. During those years [1879-94], when he held both the Mastership of the Temple and the Deanery of Llandaff, he usually spent the winter in London and the summer in Wales, taking his 'Doves' with him from place to place."

- A History of Training for the Ministry  
in the Church of England 1800-1874, 1955,  
p. 118.

On the occasion of the ordination of his son, Hugh, Archbishop Benson wrote:

"We are unspeakably indebted to Dean Vaughan's wise, searching ἐπεὶκεία in training our Hugh. When you multiply such a debt as this by the number of men for whom he has done the same, I doubt whether the Church owes so much to ANYONE at all. What is greater than the formation of Ministers for the spreading of the Kingdom?"

- LIFE, 11, p 58.

One who knew Vaughan personally writes:

"The 'Church Times', some twenty years ago, noticed that there was no clearly distinguishing characteristic in the men who had passed through his hands. That is quite true; in fact, he much disliked the nickname which outsiders fastened upon his pupils. Their only characteristic was the fact that they could not be labelled, except in jest. The one thing in common was the influence of a man who was a born teacher; who set himself not to mould the youth but to teach him moral and intellectual self-reliance. He would not solve a personal difficulty, but only turn the man inside out, and make him see what he himself really felt upon close examination of the actual factors." G.G.Coulton

- 'Fourscore Years,' 1945, p 141.

"Vaughan, with a wonderful insight into characters around him, was keenly self-conscious. He knew that he had peculiar gifts of irony and sarcasm, bound up with his literary sensitiveness and command of language."  
- op.cit. p 142.

"Vaughan kept as much of his rough-hewn Evangelicalism as a man of his intellect was likely to retain." - op.cit. 144.

The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, on  
the Sunday after Vaughan's funeral at Llandaff, said:

"As to his teaching, his brilliant scholarship and rare clearness of expression gave to almost every lesson something of the finish of a work of art. . . . For the sheer scholar's instinct, the thinking and feeling in the great tongues of Greece and Rome, more especially the Greek, the exact perception of the force of words..... there are few who could be placed by his side. Never were these gifts of teaching more conspicuous, or, I think, exercised with more satisfaction to himself, than when he took us in the Greek Testament, notably in the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews."

- Quoted in HOW, op. cit, p.161.

## A D D I T I O N A L      N O T E

A   L i s t   o f   'D o v e s'   w h o  
a c h i e v e d   D i s t i n c t i o n.

[ The date signifies the year in which the  
man joined Vaughan's 'Columbarium' \* ]

. . .

- 1863      G. AUSTEN  
            - Chancellor of York Minster
- W.J.LAWRANCE  
            - Dean of St.Albans
- 1864      W.R.W. STEPHENS  
            - Dean of Winchester
- 1865      G.M.ARGLES  
            - Canon of York [ whose notes of  
                                Vaughan's lectures are contained  
                                in the Appendix Volume of this thesis]
- J.F. LANGFORD  
            - Hon.Canon of Gibraltar
- 1866      F.F. LAMBERT  
            - Hon.Canon of St Albans; Proctor
- F.W.WILLIS  
            - Hon.Canon of Liverpool.

\* - the nick-name which the writor recently  
discovered through correspondence with  
Canon Gosling one of the surviving Doves.



1868\*

W.H.L. COGSWELL

- Canon of Chester

LORD SHERBORNE

- Hon.Canon of Gloucester

G.C. FISHER

- Bishop-Suffragan of Ipswich

H.W. YEATMAN-BIGGS- Bishop of Southwark, Worcester,  
and COVENTRYC.H. TURNER

- Bishop-Suffragan of Islington

Hon. B.P. BOUVERIE

- Prebendary of Salisbury

A.T.DAVIDSON

- Chief Inspector of Schools in  
Dio.Manchester, and Hon.Canon  
of ManchesterHon. E.C. GLYN

- Bishop of PETERBOROUGH

1870

B. DEEDES

- Archdeacon of Hampstead

H.H. MONTGOMERY

- Bishop of TASMANIA

E.M. SANDERSON

- Hon.Canon of Liverpool

1871

J.T. HARTLEY

-Hon.Canon of Ripon

\* This appears to be a significant year  
for the Doves in the light of history

- 1871 G. ARBUTHNOT  
- Archdeacon of Coventry
- A.T. SCOTT  
Archdeacon of Tonbridge
- R.V. BARKER  
- Hon.Canon of St Edmundsbury
- G.E. MASON  
- Principal of St Bede's College,  
Umtata, dio.St John, Kaffraria
- C.F. ROGERS  
- Hon.Canon of Truro
- 1872 A.S. VALPY  
- Canon of Winchester
- H.A. MACNAGHTEN  
- Hon.Canon of Sheffield
- R.T. DAVIDSON  
- ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
1903-1928
- A.F. CLARKE  
- Archdeacon of Rochdale
- 1873 J.N. QUIRK  
- Bishop-Suffragan of Jarrow
- Sir E.HOSKYNs, Bt.  
- Bishop of SOUTHWELL
- F.W. GOODWYN  
- Canon of Gloucester
- 1874 T.L. CLAUGHTON  
- Canon of Worcester
- B.DARLEY  
- Hon.Canon of Sheffield

- 1876 J.S. SINCLAIR  
- Archdeacon of Cirencester
- 1877 F.G. 1e P. McCLINTOCK  
- Dean of Armagh
- J. FOORD  
Canon of York
- 1878 A.J.P. SHEPHERD  
- Hon.Canon of Oxford, Proctor.
- J.H. CHARLES  
- Hon.Canon of Peterborough
- A.G. RAWSTORNE  
- Bishop-Suffragan of Whalley
- 1879 C.W. BARNARD  
Hon.Canon of Birmingham
- J.F. HOWSON  
- Archdeacon of Craven
- J.H.J. ELLISON  
- Chaplain to the King,  
Prebendary of St Paul's
- 1881 A.J.F. ADAMS  
- Principal of Cottayam College,  
Travancore
- A.H. BAYNES  
- Assistant Bishop of Birmingham
- R.J. BURDON  
Prebendary of Chichester
- 1882 G.M. LAMBRICK  
- Prebendary of Wells
- E.A. COGHILL  
- Hon.Canon of Southwell

**1883**

H. E. JONES

## Bishop-Suffragan of Lewes

**R.M. AINSLIE,**

—

- Hon. Canon of Liverpool

E. A. PARRY

**- ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES.**

G. G. Coulton

- Fellow of St John's College,  
Cambridge

**M.G. LASCELLES**

- Vicar of Harewood,  
Hon. Canon of Ripon

1884

**Hon. R. GRIMSTON**

- Hon. Canon of St Albans

**J.C. GODWIN**

- Hon. Canon of Bristol

**188.5**

**E. J. BODINGTON**

**- Archdeacon of Dorset**

P. H. ELIOT

**- Bishop-Suffragan of Buckingham**

1886

Cecil WILSON

**- Bishop of Bunbury**

**II. F. S. ADAMS**

**- Non.Canon of Southwark**

1887

J.C. HILL

**- Bishop-Suffragan of Hulme**

**E.H. WARDCASTLE**

**- Archdeacon of Canterbury**

H. M. BRAITHWAITE

- Non. Canon of Gloucester

**T.T. BLOCKLEY**

- Chaplain of Magdalen College  
and of Christ Church, Oxford.

1888

**J.H. GREIG**

- Bishop of GUILDFORD

**R.C.M. HARVEY**

**- Archdeacon of Halifax**

**D. JENKS**

- Director of the S.S.M. Kelham,  
Hon. Canon of Leicester.

1889

**L. J. WHITE-THOMSON**

**- BISHOP OF ELY**

L. R. HANCOCK

- Archdeacon in Brazil

**T. R. HINE-HAYCOCK**

- Hon. Priest to His Majesty

1890

H.L. GOUDGE

- Regius Professor of Divinity,  
Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church

J.C. TURNER

- Archdeacon of Basingstoke

1891

**T.J. PEROWNE**

- Hon. Canon of Norwich

H.D. Noel-PATERSON

- Hon. Canon of Worcester, Proctor.

1892

H.M. HORDERN

- Bishop-Suffragan of Lewes

A.C. HARRMAN

**- Prebendary of Wells**

C.A.F. CAMPBELL

**- Archdeacon of Wisbech**

H. Le FLEMING

- Hon. Canon of Guildford

- 1893 F.G. SCOVELL  
- Hon.Canon of Sheffield
- E.P. BLAKENEY  
- Hon.Canon of Sheffield
- F. HALSEY  
- Hon.Canon of St Albans
- 1894 R3PULLEINE  
- Hon.Canon of Ripon
- W.J.M. COOMBS  
- Canon of York
- E.L. Le F.E. GORST  
- Hon.Canon of Chester
- 1895 G.L. GOSLING  
Hon.Canon of St Albans
- R.L. WHITE  
- Dean of Maritzburg
- F.W. HASSARD-SHORT  
- Hon.Canon of Rochester

\*

The very last Dove was A. DALBY,  
- late Vicar of Leamington-Hastings, Rugby.



The following letter was sent to the present writer on the 8th December, 1957 by Canon G.L.Gosling, one of the surviving Doves. It is a reply to a request for any personal reminiscences or information which might not otherwise be available. Among other things it revealed that a third Dove is still living [A.E.AYRE] - the second being Canon Coombes.

"Dear Mr. Howbray,

. . . .I have in the last few months heard from another surviving Dove, the Rev. A.E. Ayre, and there may be some others.

I should say that Vaughan's refusal of a bishopric [perhaps more than one] was possibly due to the fact that he had started on a particular task, which he was unwilling to discontinue for a higher office in the Ministry.

Vaughan was certainly not a lesser man than the Trio [ie, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort]....

Vaughan as a teacher, at least of youth, may be judged by his 10 years at Harrow, which rose from about 60 boys to over 400, as he himself told me.

I was only at Llandaff after Vaughan's retirement from the Temple, from January 1895 to June 1896, when I was ordained

"at Worcester - had a Rector who was a Dove - and was at Harrow - with a fellow-curate who was also from Harrow - in the parish of Halesowen, whose previous two Rectors were Doves, and no less than 30 [to the best of my recollection] had been curates in that parish, which was thus a real 'columbarium' - while I might add that an earlier Rector [Horne] had sent his own son to Vaughan . . .

Yours sincerely

G.L.Gosling

PS. A last thought. Vaughan told me that when the Bishop of Llandaff wrote to him with the invitation to become the Dean, he [C.J.V.] thought at first that the Bishop was asking him to suggest someone for that office, but he did not tell me what led him, Master of the Temple, to go there and become a pluralist !

PPS. Vaughan was once asked by the Inspector of Taxes about the profits on his theological college [which it was not] and was much amused because his work was entirely a labour of love - we paid nothing except our maintenance in lodgings."

## V A U G H A N      A S      P R E A C H E R

MANY volumes of sermons were published during the lifetime of Dr Vaughan, which, if not widely circulated and read nowadays, are not difficult to secure. It is therefore intended only to quote here illustrations of Vaughan's sermons which are not generally available, and the impression which he left on his contemporaries who heard him in the flesh. The more impartial type of hearer who reported on the Vicar for the Doncaster Gazette [referred to by the abbreviation D.G. in this chapter] gives valuable side-lights on the Preacher at a time when he was maturing in this sphere of Biblical exposition.

In general, Vaughan 's sermons are thoughtful, essentially spiritual, didactic, and strongly charged with exhortation. The Christian faith is nothing if it does not positively benefit the souls of the hearers. C.J.V. expected his hearers to be doers of the Word, and not hearers only. The English is superb; the illustrations skilfully introduced, and never over-done; the doctrinal element prominent but discreetly placed. The profound Classical and Biblical scholar is there behind the sermon but does not protrude through it. R.R.Williams puts his finger on the point when he says



in the article in the Church Quarterly review,  
 "The characteristic feature of the sermons is MORAL  
 EARNESTNESS." And Vaughan had an exceptional inclin-  
 ation for the Pauline Epistles.

G.G.Coulton gives this impression first-hand:

"He was a most impressive preacher and reader.  
 I have never heard his equal with the Pauline  
 Epistles. . . The thoughts seemed to come from  
 the well, with no suggestion of a personal  
 intermediary. . . His sermons were much of the  
 same character when delivered, though naturally  
 much evaporated in print. They were scholarly,  
 weighty, unadorned but nearly perfect in their  
 union of plain Bible English with classical  
 rhetoric in the best sense of that much-abused  
 word."

- 'Fourscore Years', 1945, p 144.

The same writer says further, "As to his sermon teaching,  
 it was just perfect common-sense, of which one prime  
 factor lies in the preacher's recognition of his own  
 limitations."

R.L.White, in the Harrow address referred to above,  
 says, "As regards his own sermons, he said that he had  
 tried preaching extempore, but it was so unsatisfactory  
 that he gave it up." And he further quotes Bishop  
 Westcott as saying that, "No Sunday is to me complete  
 without reading a sermon of Dr Vaughan's."

On Sunday 18th November, 1860, Dr Vaughan preached two sermons on the theme, "WHO WAS JESUS CHRIST?", and described them as "an answer to the infidel." The evening sermon was a continuation of the morning, and the local paper reported:

"Dr Vaughan's description of Christ and His works upon earth were truly eloquent. His character was portrayed in most vivid language and with such earnestness as to absorb the attention of overflowing congregations . . . .

We may state that Dr Vaughan was a thorough master of the question, 'Who was Jesus Christ?' He declared that the discussion had been most painful to his mind, but still he felt great responsibility rested with the ministers of the Gospel if they allowed dangerous errors to go uncontradicted, as serious mischief might be done to many who heard them, jeopardising their everlasting welfare. . . . He threw new light upon this inexhaustible subject; although it would be impossible to convey anything like an adequate picture of the scenes alluded to, the traits of character pointed out, the triumphs of his conclusion, with the contrast of a believer and an unbeliever in the Gospel dispensation at the close of life, were most impressive and convincing."

- D.G. 23 Nov. 1860.

Of a sermon on Revelation 5:11, 12, preached on Easter Sunday evening 1861:

"His explanations were clear and comprehensive, full of interest, and of much force, and throughout listened to with marked attention - a circumstance not at all to be wondered at, for it was in all respects a fine specimen of pure pulpit eloquence."

- D.G. 5 April, 1861.



On the 28th April 1861 Vaughan preached two sermons on behalf of the National Schools of Doncaster, and won the following commendation:

"The revered gentleman furnished a clear exposition of the hidden truths contained in the book; and by references to passages of Scripture confirms his arguments in such a way as to leave no doubt on the minds of his congregation . . . much is to be learned, and a considerable amount of information imparted, which only the learned can adduce."

- D.G. 3 May, 1861.

There is an illuminating quotation from The Dial in the Doncaster Gazette of 5th July, 1861, concerning Vaughan's Cambridge University Sermons:

"The power of moral magnetism is one of the rarest as well as the noblest human endowments. Too seldom do we meet with men who are able to go habitually out of themselves, and lead lives of mingled anxiety and hope, of sorrow or joy, for their brethren's sake. This is one of the indispensable conditions of moral attractiveness, and it constitutes the choicest charm, the most irresistible spell. Such a charm belongs to the small volume before us, and to every other we have seen proceed from the same pen. It hardly need be said that so rare a gift involves proportionate responsibility. This Dr Vaughan well understands; his magnet not only draws, it also points to the lodestar, and leads the wanderer into the path of duty and peace.....

Another characteristic of this writer is what at first may look like skilful eclecticism; but it has none of the weakness of  
/ eclecticism

"eclecticism, and may rather be represented as an unusual balance and completeness, which tends ever to comprehend and combine, in orthodox integrity, whatever is true and good . . . .

All who are acquainted with Dr Vaughan's writings will acknowledge the justness of the remark, that they are characterised by a moral suggestiveness, which goes not the less directly and powerfully to the conscience, that the manner of it is exquisitely delicate and refined.

Some writers in these latter days have achieved reputation by urging manly earnestness, though they have not spoken in Christ's name: Dr Vaughan finds the Bible itself an inexhaustible mine of exhortation. Towards the close of the last sermon, there is what reads like an invitation to Doncaster, addressed to candidates for ordination, in order that, after their university studies, classical, mathematical and theological, they may have opportunity of coming into close contact with the pastoral life before entering on the responsibilities."

Vaughan preached a memorial sermon to a certain Mr Dent, who was a notable Quaker in Doncaster. In it he said:

"They [the Quakers] have reproved the multiplication of needless and useless oaths: they have remonstrated against the wanton perpetuation of war: they have set an example of moderation and truthfulness of speech: above all, they have strongly maintained the need of a spiritual life and the reality of a spiritual presence, and have been able in many instances to say, not as the confession only of a true doctrine, but as the expression of a living faith, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

- D.G. 27 Sept. 1861.



Preaching at Sheffield on behalf of the National Society, 5th September, 1862, Vaughan described the "prevalent famine, not of bread and water, but of hearing and knowing the Word of God . . . among the teeming masses of our population . . . The Bible is above all things earnest." [ D.G., 11 Sept. 1862 ].

On the news becoming known that Dr Vaughan had declined the Deanery of Westminster, the Doncaster Gazette commented:

"This remarkable instance of self-denial speaks for itself: it teaches a useful and salutary lesson - that the richest and most coveted prizes, and the greatest honours, do not always possess irresistible charm. Personally we rejoice at the decision of the worthy Vicar, and no one can have listened to the fervid eloquence, and observed the heartfelt interest Dr Vaughan manifests for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock, without admiring his singular disinterestedness."  
[ 13 November, 1862 ]

Once a year Dr Vaughan held a series of addresses for the artisan parishioners in particular. On a series of 'Scripture Readings for Working Men,' held 28th July, and four following Tuesdays, 1863, the local press reported:

" 'The Death-bed of Isaac' was described with great clearness, and in such terms as to engage the attention of his hearers from the commencement to its close. Indeed, the Rev. gentleman has the happy art of conveying his meaning with a force and interest that cannot fail to attract and engage his audience." - D.G. 7 Aug. 1863.

The quality of moral earnestness which evidently impressed the various reporters whose notes we have reproduced, is seen again in a typical Vaughanian peroration. It is from a sermon preached on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Doncaster Parish Church on 22nd November, 1863. Here we see the preacher's zeal for missionary and evangelistic enterprise manifesting itself in characteristic eloquence:

"Who can look abroad upon the world and pretend to think that Gospel work is done ? Look at whole nations sitting in darkness: look at your own countrymen scattered here and there by enterprise or desperation, without a religious instructor of any kind to keep alive the seed of religious truth. Can you evade the demand made upon your faith, made upon your charity - nay, made upon your humanity - to publish that Gospel of the prophets of which we have spoken, and in which we are rejoicing this day ? . . . .

O for a voice to sound it first to us as individuals - to say to one who has become case-hardened in a long, I had almost said involuntary, state of slumber: the days that are now shall not be what they once were. Time is short, eternity is long. God has sent a word to you by a Saviour. This is the prophetic message: Thy Kingdom come. My brethren, I know that it is an old and worn out story this call to evangelise the nations; this call to care for the spiritual necessities of your own flesh and blood, cast out to lighten your country's burdens, and in lands that are not theirs.



"Nevertheless, if it be repeated a thousand times, it is a true story, and the voice of Christ is in it; year by year must the cry sound in the Church's war, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every people.' By our obedience to that call must our faith be tested."

- D.G. 27 Nov. 1863.

Another impression of his preaching runs:

"Whether it arises from a predilection to the preacher, or the deep interest created by the persuasiveness of his language, we cannot say; but he applies his arguments with so much ability as to class him foremost among the learned and distinguished ministers of the present day."

- D.G. 19 Aug. 1864.

Again and again in his sermons Dr Vaughan reaches peaks of oratory and exposition and controlled spiritual passion. None are more moving or typical of the man than that in a lecture on 'Intercession' given in Doncaster Parish Church on the 5th May, 1867:

"Intercession is one of the voices of nature and is beyond the reach of logic. A mother would appeal for her son, or a wife for her husband, without any thought of intellectual or moral difficulties that might lie in the way; or without any misgiving as to the successful result of her intercession . . . . But intercession is not an impulse to be counteracted; it should be fostered. The word 'intercession' means properly 'intervention,' or going between. In the Greek  
/ original



"Original it had a more limited meaning - the approaching or visiting another on behalf of someone else. It did not matter what was the precise object of entreaty or supplication - provided only that the prayer was uttered in a purely unselfish spirit on behalf of another and not for oneself . . . . In intercession we are likest to God. By intercession I do not mean importunity, or an effort to overbear reluctance. God forbid that we should ever conceive that He is either indifferent or reluctant; or that any mere importunity of ours would induce Him to alter His purpose . . . What I mean is the carrying into God's presence our real anxieties, longings and yearnings concerning another - the things which we suffer or groan under, on their behalf, according to His will...

If we are to have our share in the work of intercession, we must feel for one another; and pray, not only in sincerity of spirit, but with patience, remembering always how patient and forbearing God has been with us."

- D.G. 10 May, 1867.

On 'Communion and Ritualism' we find some outspoken words from the Vicar of Doncaster:

"FROM early times language has been held concerning this sacrament which, strictly interpreted, would almost favour this superstition. But it was the language of fervour, of devotion, of pious thankfulness, not intended for the reasoning of logicians or the definition of theologians. As such, if exaggerated, it was devout; if inaccurate, it was harmless. We cannot say this of all high doctrine, as it is  
/ called

"called, upon the subject of this sacrament. The temptation which was strong to piety was stronger to sacerdotalism. That it should be possible by human instrumentality to create God; possible to turn common bread and wine, by a few movements of the hands and a few utterances of the lips, into the very body and blood of Him who made the worlds; this was the keystone of that arch of priestly domination which once bestrode Christendom."

- D.G. 31 May 1867.

And this is but one of many quite Churchillian turns which characterise Vaughan's style.

When the time came for the Doctor to leave his much loved parish, and go to the Temple, the local paper had this to say:

"Dr Vaughan is qualified by his scholarship, the masculine simplicity of his own religious character, and by the authority which resides in his reputation as a preacher, a writer and a divine, to be its [the Temple's] religious instructor."

- D.G. 9 July 1869.

His last sermon at Doncaster was preached on the 18th July 1869, and was based on the text, I Thess. 5:19. He formally bade farewell on the 2nd September of the same year.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE TO BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

The various fragments and letters temporarily in the hands of the writer do not all bear directly upon the main subject of this thesis. They do, however, help in building up a picture of the mind of the Dean which is reflected in the writings which are being studied. In as much as, once they are returned to their owners, they may be lost sight of for ever, we are reproducing the more relevant items in this Additional Note, and so preserving for further reference unique insights into Dr Vaughan's person and thought.

Miss Mary L. White has given permission for the reproduction of any of the letters which were written to her father, the late R.L.White. It would appear that in those last two years of his life, Vaughan treated Mr.White with considerable friendliness and intimacy. There are frequent notes inviting him to take dinner at the Deanery. And after the Dean's death, his widow writes with a similar affection to the former Dove, the Reverend Mr White.



Letter dated March 30th 1895:

"Dear White,

Just one line - to tell you  
how welcome was your report of yourself  
this morning. . . .

An old 'man' of mine comes to-day,  
and preaches to-morrow afternoon.

Must it be only 'sincerely' between  
thee and me ?

No - 'very affectionately' am I yours,

C.J.VAUGHAN.

The subject for Monday is διαθήκη  
and οἰκονομία. "

Letter dated August 15 1895:

"Dear White,

I have made a poor return for  
your letter, but I have been greatly worried  
(to use the feminine word) by the minor  
Canonry competition, and was almost ill with  
it.

That is now settled. We had three selected  
candidates to interview us in Chapter on  
Tuesday, and elected the Rev Ellis Gregory  
Roberts, a 2nd in 'Mods' and 'Greats' at Oxford,  
a 'bilinguist' [which Archd'n Bruce says means  
'one who has forgotten his Welsh and never  
learned English']; a very small man, less  
than the Bishop.....but one who impressed us  
all by his intelligence, decision and good  
countenance.....

Ever your affectionate,

C.J.VAUGHAN. "

On the eve of R.L.White's Ordination, Dec. 19th 1895,

"My very dear White,

Just one line - to say over again how earnestly my thoughts follow you, first through the long wearisome journey, then through the three days intervening, on to the day of days when you enter upon the new life. May the day be hopeful and helpful, and the life to which it admits you interesting, full and satisfying.

I shall never forget you while I live.

Yes, be still [as you say] 'one of us.' Think of us - pray for us - come back here whenever you can, and let our life be one, still and for ever.

May God ever help you and keep you.

Your loving friend,

C.J.VAUGHAN."

It is clear, from the fellowship which the Doves shared from time to time through many years after the founder's death, that the bond of affection which bound them to each other was a strong and lasting one, and these fragments from the Dean's letters indicate the strength of the love which he poured upon his pupils. It is interesting to see the odd flicker of humour and the undisguised affection on the part of one whose outward appearance [at any rate in the early years] could be so grave and august.



Letter dated December 21. 1895:

"My very dear White,

I feel that I must follow you with one little line of tenderest sympathy on this day of days when [perhaps at this very moment (1.10 p.m.)] you are kneeling at the Lord's Table, just after the Ordination itself.

Your letter of the 18th was very dear and touching. I should like to be sure that your cruel journey, with its long hours and many stoppings, had not hurt you.

But now other thoughts fill your mind, and I can but feel with you the sacredness of the crisis and the deep interest of the work for which God Has been preparing you in all ways through all these years.

May He now receive you into His chosen band of ἐργάται and σωτηρίας, give great blessing to your labours, and at a far distant day [if it may be so] take you home to Himself.

Your ever mindful and attached friend,

C.J.VAUGHAN.

We shall long miss you here - but you will still and ever be 'one of us.' "

And on February 8th 1896:

". . . I like so well the thought of your preaching from notes made from a sermon of mine. I feel it a great honour - and there is something sweet in the thought of you and me preaching as it were as one person.

I am pretty well again. I certainly was a little down and thought perhaps I should have to acquiesce in a lower level than that of the past year. Think of me, dear child, as I of you,  
lovingly always, C.J.Vaughan."

Letter dated April 23rd 1896:

"Just one line, dear Ralph, to say Welcome, most welcome, at all times, and particularly on the 7th to the 11th of May.

Did you, could you, doubt it? This is a busy day - getting up my Colossians, and looking over the seven paraphrases of Titus for to-morrow, besides several letters. So you shall have only the assurance of my loving welcome, and the old signature,

Your loving friend,

C.J.VAUGHAN."

On June 10th 1925 there was a gathering of Doves at Lambeth Palace, held by kind permission of Archbishop Davidson, and where The Reverend Chancellor Austen of York read a paper of Reminiscences of Dr and Mrs Vaughan. The paper was printed and circulated privately to Doves. The following extracts from it are instructive:

"Dean Vaughan's special work of preparing men for Holy Orders began at Doncaster...He took a full share in all the duties of a parish priest. He was almost always three times at church on Sundays, generally preaching twice. He attended daily Mattins and gave an unwritten address at one Evensong in the Forman chapel. His deliberate and reverent reading of the Bible and of the prayers was most impressive. There were numerous week-day meetings - a Bible Class [one treating of St John's Gospel to be specially remembered], a class for Sunday School teachers, one for district / visitors

visitors monthly, one or more for confirmation candidates as occasion required [once he started with 140]. He visited the Grammar school daily; he was largely responsible for re-organising the National Schools, and might be seen in the afternoon - stick in hand [as always afterwards] - starting to visit the sick, suffering and sorrowing.

He used to give special mid-day courses in Advent, some in the Corn Exchange, and often dealt with Old Testament characters. In one of his later letters he refers to having preached eleven different Lenten courses. . . .

His correspondence was immense. He sometimes wrote thirty letters a day, every one of them in his own neat legible handwriting, and when standing up at his desk.

He was particularly apt in turning Greek or Latin into English and in writing epitaphs. Some may remember his alliterative hexameters:

Si qua sede sedes, et sit tibi comoda sedes,  
Illa sede sede, nec ab illa sede recede.

His rendering was -

If on any seat thou sittest and the sitting  
suit thy will,  
Think, O think before thou flittest, think  
again and sit thee still.

He would then quote Dean Stanley's rendering -

If on a seat thyself thou seat, and if the  
seat be sweet,  
Oh kindly treat that kind retreat, nor from  
that treat retreat.

These different renderings seem to me singularly characteristic of the two scholars.



Now when was all this work done ? At all hours. A great deal after dinner, when he would disappear and lock his study door. Later on he returned into the drawing-room for prayers.

He rarely took a real holiday. He took little exercise: a walk in London, to the Athenaeum and back, was about all he allowed himself.

But his absorbing interest in life was the training and welfare of men. His interviews with them and his letters to them were sacred. They were characterised by the PARAKLESIS which he explained as "cheering up and cheering on."

At a loss for a subject and its treatment [a newly fledged Dove] asked Vaughan for hints. The reply was, "Choose your own subject, and in any speech you make avoid compliments, egotism, and jocularities."

He set store on biographies, and commended the Life and Letters of Connop Thirlwall, of Dr Arnold, and some addresses of Edward Irving, and often quoted one of his sayings, "be the pastor always, less than the pastor never."

He had a real affection for his men, but could be firm and almost severe if necessary. His humility was stamped in his gait and illustrated by forbidding any biography of himself to be written and by his nolo episcopari. There was a charm in his manner difficult to describe. His influence was extraordinary. Servants would do anything for him. He treated everyone with unusual respect.

Perhaps I may venture to mention here and now that when the see of Canterbury was vacant a friend of the then Prime Minister was authorised to sound him as to whether he would accept the offer if made."



FROM CANON W.J.M.COOLBS - one of the three surviving  
Doves, in a letter to the  
present writer, 9 Jan.1958:

" . . . I had only been with the  
dear Dean at Llandaff for three  
or four weeks in January 1894,  
when, after preaching in the Temple  
Church early in February, he was  
stricken down and unable to read  
with us again for many months.  
Most of us stayed on at Llandaff  
hoping and longing for his return  
and the reward came at length.....  
We were thus drawn the more closely  
to him in the bonds of affection,  
but his life then was of course  
that of an invalid until the end.

. . . . His appearance was so  
striking, his voice so beautiful,  
and his reading of the Scriptures,  
notably St Paul's Epistles, such  
as I have never heard equalled.

Whenever he was present and  
taking part in Divine Service you  
had eyes for nobody else - Bishops  
like 'Dukes seemed too a penny' !!  
When Master of the Temple he would  
often remark with a twinkle in his  
eye, 'Many Bishops ! ONE Master.'

#### RE - VAUGHAN'S DECLINING OF BISHOPRIC[S]:-

In his letter Canon Coombs enclosed some cuttings  
from newspapers at the time of Vaughan's death. In the  
references to Vaughan and the offer of preferment, it  
appears rather that more mystery than light is shed  
upon this elusive aspect of his life.

## THE TIMES:-

"If it is true that he declined more than one offer of a bishopric, the reason - or, at all events, one reason - may, probably, be found in the conviction that a Bishop nowadays could hardly avoid taking a side in current controversies, and that, do what he would, he ran the risk of being dragged into the arena and made to appear a partisan, however little he might be so in reality. His unwillingness to be raised to the Bench proceeded from a degree of self-knowledge which it is rare to meet with, and still more rare to see obeyed."

## THE TELEGRAPH:-

"When Dr Vaughan was about to quit Harrow, in 1859, Lord Palmerston offered him the Bishopric of Rochester, which he declined. Other offers of a like kind are believed to have since been made to him, but without success. It has, indeed, been alleged that his objection to taking his seat in the House of Lords was the cause of his invariable refusal to become a bishop; but it must be added that some of those who knew him best were of opinion that he lacked the toughness of fibre and the knowledge of human nature, especially in its worst aspects, which are necessary for the proper and successful discharge of episcopal functions."

## AN UNSPECIFIED CUTTING [possibly a Doncaster paper]:-

"There was a memorial service at Doncaster parish church... an address was given by the Rev." C. Russell...

"nephew of the late Lord John Russell, in the course of which he stated that he was once the bearer of an offer of a position of honour and responsibility quite unique to Dr. Vaughan, and the late Dean begged that it might not be offered, and it never was."

\* \* \*

memorial

In his ~~funeral~~ address at Llandaff on the occasion of the death of Dr Vaughan, the Master of Trinity, Dr Butler, quoted the moving words which had come to light in the Dean's will:-

"In the prospect of death, a little nearer or further off, I wish to state explicitly that I have put my whole trust in the revelation of the Gospel as made in the Gospel of St. John and in the Epistles of St. John and St. Paul. I believe in the forgiveness of sins as the foundation-stone of the Gospel, and commit myself humbly and hopefully to God in this faith for life, death and eternity."



B I B L I O G R A P H Y     O F  
T H E     W O R K S     O F     C . J . V A U G H A N

\*

- 1828 King Richard II, Act 2, Scene 1, with Greek  
Version by C.J.Vaughan.  
King Lear, Act 3, Scene 2, with Greek Version  
by C.J.Vaughan.
- 1849 The Axe laid at the root of the Trees.  
Sermon on the death of A.F.H.Ashley.
- 1847 Sermons in Harrow School Chapel. 1849 Nine Sermons.
- 1849 A letter on the late Post Office agitation.
- 1850 A second letter - ditto -
- 1851 A sermon on Numbers 8:14. The Personality of the  
Tempter. Sermon.
- 1851 Independence and Submission. Two addresses.
- 1853 Sermons in Harrow School Chapel. 2nd Series.
- 1853 A letter to Viscount Palmerston on the  
Monitorial System of Harrow School.
- 1852 A few words on the Crystal Palace Question.
- 1854 A Nation waiting for Tidings.
- 1854 Passages from the Life of Cicero. Lecture.
- 1854 A Discourse on Church Discipline and the  
Burial Service.
- 1855 The Lord, the Work and the Promise. Sermon.
- 1855 Hymns for the Chapel of Harrow School.
- 1857 " " " 2nd Edn.



- 1857 The Vocation of a Public School  
- Sermon at Repton.
- 1857 The Indian Sorrow and its lessons for the Young-  
a sermon.
- 1859 ST PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS - with Notes.
- 1870 " " " 3rd Edn.
- 1880 " " " 4th Edn.
- 1859 The Comparative Blessedness of Giving and  
Receiving. Sermon on Acts 20:35.
- 1859 Notes for Lectures on Confirmation, with  
suitable Prayers.
- 1859 The Last Enemy destroyed. Sermon.
- 1859 Power from on High. A sermon.
- 1859 Rest. A sermon.
- 1860 Where art Thou ? A sermon.
- 1860 Rays of Sunlight for Dark Days - in prose  
and verse. Preface by C.J.Vaughan.
- 1860 Revision of the Liturgy. 5 discourses.
- 1860 Love the keynote of the Pastoral Ministry.
- 1860 Epiphany, Lent and Easter. Selected sermons.
- 1860 The Church's Duties and the Church's Opportunities.
- 1861 Epiphany, Lent and Easter. 2nd Edition, enlarged.
- 1861 The Call of the Closing Year. Sermon.
- 1861 Four Sermons preached in May 1861.
- 1861 The Joy of Success connected by the Joy  
of Safety. A sermon.

- 1861 Mourning in the Land.
- 1862 Revised Code of the Committee of the Council  
on Education dispassionately considered.
- 1859 Memorials of Narrow Sundays. Sermons.
- 1862 Lessons of Life and Godliness. Sermons in  
Doncaster Parish Church.
- 1862 The Talebearer. Extracts from Lessons of Life  
and Godliness.
- 1863 LECTURES ON THE REVELATION OF ST JOHN. 2 vols.
- 1864 The Epistles of St Paul for English readers.
- 1864 The Church of the First Days. Lectures on  
the Acts of the Apostles.
- 1864 Domestic Service. A Tract - S.P.C.K.
- 1864 The Book and the Life, and other University  
Sermons.
- 1864 A Good Old Age. Sermon.
- 1864 Quietness and Confidence the strength of  
the Church. A sermon.
- 1864 Son, thou art ever with me. A sermon.
- 1865 Plain words on Christian Living.
- 1865 " " - enlarged.
- 1865 Music in Churches. A sermon.
- 1865 Life's Work and God's Discipline. 3 sermons.

- 1865 Free and Open Worship in the Parish Churches  
of England. A sermon.
- 1866 Characteristics of Christ's Teaching drawn  
from the Sermon on the Mount.
- 1866 Christ the Light of the World. A sermon.
- 1866 Free and Open Worship in the Parish Churches  
of England. 2nd edition.
- 1867 Voices of the Prophets.
- 1867 The Wand and the Scroll. A sermon.
- 1868 Prospects in the Church of England. A sermon.
- 1868 Foes of Faith. A sermon.
- 1869 Christ the Precentor of the Congregation. Sermon.
- 1869 Inaugural Sermon preached in the Temple Church.
- 1869 Lessons of the Cross and Passion. Six  
lectures in Hereford Cathedral.
- 1869 Last Words in the Parish Church of Doncaster.
- 1869 Progress the Condition of Permanence.  
Commemoration sermon in Harrow Chapel.
- 1862 The Three Tabernacles. A sermon.
- 1870 Christ Satisfying the instincts of Humanity.  
Eight lectures delivered in the Temple Church.
- 1870 Counsels to Young Students. Three Sermons.
- 1870 Earnest Words for Earnest Men.
- 1870 Incompleteness a mark of True Work. Sermon.

- 1871 Family Prayers.
- 1871 Half Hours in the Temple, & Sundays in the Temple.
- 1872 The Book of Light in the Hand of Love.  
A sermon for Bible Society.
- 1872 The Boy King's Choice of Wisdom. A sermon  
before the Governors, Masters and  
Scholars of St Olave's School, 301 st  
Anniversary.
- 1872 The Young Life equipping itself for God's  
Service.
- 1872 Things New and Old. Sermons at Rugby School.
- 1873 The Father of Lights. A sermon.
- 1874 Words of Hope from the Pulpit of the Temple  
Church.
- 1874 Solidity of True Religion. Sermon.  
And other sermons.
- 1874 Lay Help. Sermon
- 1874 Forget Thine Own People. An appeal to the Home  
Church for Foreign Missions. 3 lectures.
- 1875 The Lord's Prayer.
- 1875 Addresses to Young Clergymen.
- 1875 Words from the Cross. Lent Lectures.
- 1876 Sermon in Westminster Abbey on the Death  
of Dean Stanley.
- 1876 Heroes of Faith. Lectures on Hebrews XI.
- 1878 My Son, Give me thine heart. Sermons before  
the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.



- 1879 Counsel and Might. Prayers and Meditations  
adapted from sermons by C.J.V.
- 1880 Rest Awhile. A sermon.
- 1881 Temple Sermons.
- 1882 St Paul's Prayer and the Answer. Sermon on  
II Cor 12:8, 9.
- 1882 The Lost Coin. A sermon. And The Festival of  
Christmas.
- 1882 Authorised or Revised ? Sermons on some  
texts in which the R.V. differs from A.V. in  
the N.T.
- 1885 The School Life. 7 addresses.
- 1885 Sermon on Psalm 90:1.
- 1885 St PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS,  
with translation and notes by C.J.V.
1888. Selection of University Sermons, 1861-87.
- 1888 The Family Prayer and Sermon Book.
- 1888 Sermons given in Pembroke College Chapel,  
Cambridge, 1888.
- 1890 THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, with Notes.
- 1890 The Church of the First Days. New Edition.
- 1891 The Prayers of Jesus Christ. Lectures in Temple.
- 1893 Restful Thoughts in Restless Times.
- 1894 Last Words in the Temple Church.
- 1898 A Good old Age. Sermon.
- 1915 Family Prayers - reprinted.

The following represents the Inscription on  
 Dr Vaughan's Memorial (recumbent figure) in Llandaff  
 Cathedral:

C H A R L E S      J O H N      V A U G H A N      D.D.

D e a n      o f      L l a n d a f f      1879 - 1897

h o n o u r e d      i n      h i s      g e n e r a t i o n

                 a s      a  
 S C H O L A R,

M A S T E R,      P R E A C H E R, C O U N S E L L O R.

A      M a n      G r e a t l y      B e l o v e d

A m b i t i o u s      t o      b e      Q u i e t      [ I Thess.4:11 ]

B o r n      A u g u s t      6th 1816

D i e d      O c t o b e r      15th 1897.

\*

# T H E      B A C K G R O U N D

## R e l i g i o u s   T h o u g h t   i n   t h e   C 19th

\*

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was an age of extensive and radical changes in all aspects of life and thought; and the sphere of religion and theology did not escape the movements which were born of the spirit of the century. Whether the effects of the universal changes in men's outlook were direct or indirect, the Christian faith in all its parts underwent certain definite changes by the end of the century. Even the most conservative elements [save for sheer obscurantism] were in some degree affected by the new learning and methods.

Early in the century great names influencing English thought generally, and so in part religiously, included Carlyle, Ruskin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Spencer, Bentham, Mill and Darwin, not to forget Browning. Coleridge appealed to certain select minds - and, incidentally, he influenced Hort quite considerably. This poet made a stand for freedom of thought in religion as against

a too ready acceptance of authority. He held the belief that the surest guide in matters of faith was the Spirit of God working in the Church and in the soul of the individual Christian. The place of Coleridge in the great development of nineteenth century thought has not always been fully recognised. Farrar made this judgment: "If in later days the Church of England has made an immense advance [ie in theology] the progress is perhaps more due to Samuel Taylor Coleridge than to any ordained or professional theologian" [Bampton Lectures, p.422 f.].

This change came over the face of English religious thought slowly, and was much more a subtle change of atmosphere and approach rather than a revolutionary eruption of 'new' theologies. It was a gradual, and in some respects imperceptible at the time, displacement of traditional ideas; the shifting of an emphasis; a fresh angle of approach.

The whole process involved a coincidence of several factors. There was the rapid accumulation of so much fresh knowledge in the increasingly scientific and expanding century; the faster and freer dissemination of the knowledge to a wider public [significantly intensified by the repeal of the paper duty in 1860]; and the advances which were made in the education of



more and more people. Thus the writings of the four commentators who are particularly under review [Vaughan, J.B.Lightfoot, B.F.Westcott and F.J.A.Hort] were published at a time when there was an increasing demand for theological matter and the facilities for meeting the demand.

The superabundance of knowledge led to the division of learning: so that theology [whilst ideally and traditionally the Queen of sciences, who gathered all varieties of knowledge into a single whole] had to capitulate, together with all sciences, to the prevailing tendency to divide and specialise. This led in turn to a divorce between the religious faith and other forms of human activity. It was a serious disadvantage; and Westcott wrote, "there was on all sides a want of solidarity and comprehensiveness in the religious contribution and a dangerous readiness to accept unverified formulas" [ quoted in The Life of E.W.Benson, vol. ii, p. 691].

The nineteenth century was not an age of confidence so far as theology was concerned, even if it can be demonstrated that this was true of other spheres. Some people overthrew orthodox beliefs altogether, and never

troubled to replace them. But many, having shaken off traditional dogmas and creeds and categories of religious thought, spent their days restlessly seeking to reconcile their spiritual needs with their newly-acquired intellectual principles, for example. Matthew Arnold, Henry Sidgwick, J.A.Symonds, and J.A.Froude.

It is not easy for the Christian of the mid-twentieth century to picture the situation a hundred years ago. We have grown up in the very atmosphere of religious controversy on matters fundamental to our faith; and most thinking Christians are made aware of Biblical criticism [in some form or other] from the start. But in the period of Vaughan and the Cambridge Trio, there was a well-defined line of demarcation between the acceptance of Christianity in traditional fulness, and plain unbelief - among the great majority of English people. For a young man reared in traditional Christianity to go up to a university and be confronted by [what is to us a very mild] liberal theology was a severe shock. The pious Handley Moule, brilliant student of, and episcopal successor to, B.F.Westcott, was filled with serious doubts "under the droppings of the controversies and questions of the present day."

- Harford and Macdonald, 'Bishop Handley Moule' p.53

IN the early mid-century, so far as the great majority of clergy were concerned - whether high or low - there was a firm holding to traditional beliefs and methods. They were scarcely aware of the revolutionary [albeit gentle] changes which were pending, and ignorant of this wealth and welter of new knowledge. Some reacted against the whole fresh approach and a new phase of fundamentalism enjoyed enthusiastic acceptance in many quarters. But in the end all were affected, in one direction or another, and to a greater or lesser degree. It is interesting to note in passing, that in this period of theological revolution touching the very fundamentals of the Christian faith - in many ways a unique era in the Church's history - there was a dearth of first-class theologians in England. R.W.Dale comments on it, and laments that the race of theologians seemed almost extinct [ cf LIFE, A.W.W.Dale, 1898, p 201 ].

The new methods of scientific criticism which had made headway in other fields had sooner or later to be applied to the Bible: the gulf between theology in its traditional forms and the new modes of thought had to be bridged, if Christianity was not eventually to be



relegated to the museum of outmoded thought. The critical study of the Bible was mainly done, so far as England was concerned, at Oxford and Cambridge.

One of the earliest publications which created concern among the orthodox [which meant in fact the majority] was Milman's "History of the Jews" (1830). Here was embraced, for the first time in so open and unapologetic a fashion, the principle of treating a traditionally sacred subject in the same way as a wholly secular one. "Essays and Reviews" (1860) was a catalyst which, appearing at a peculiarly opportune [or inopportune] moment, effected results out of all proportion to its intrinsic worth §. In 1862 Colenso launched his progressive "The Pentateuch and Joshua" into an English public which was relatively ignorant of developments on the Continent - by this time well advanced. The same year saw the publication of Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church." Vaughan's brother-in-law was clearly under the influence of Ewald, a leading scholar across the German Ocean. But it was not until well into the second half of the century that the advanced, and still advancing, views and methods of foreign scholars began to make an impression in England. K.H.Graf's "Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A.Ts." was published in 1866. The English text of

§ see below in ch.5. Also, V.F.Storr, Dev.of Eng.Theol.ch.xxi for able appraisal of this book.



Wellhausen's "History of Israel" \* did not appear till 1885; with Kuenen's "The Hexateuch" in 1886 [Trans. of "Hist.-crit. Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds (ed.2), i.1].  
- 1885.

Moreover, it was not till the fourth quarter of the century that there arose in Britain any outstanding protagonists of the critical position. In 1870 W. Robertson Smith became Professor of Oriental Languages and Old Testament in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. From Oxford, Driver sent forth his "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" in 1891. T.K. Cheyne rather went to extremes in the Bampton lectures of 1891. At Cambridge, J.J.S. Perowne led Old Testament studies with moderation in the 'sixties, and Kirkpatrick flourished in the 'eighties at the same time as H.E. Ryle.

As far as the New Testament is concerned, one of the earliest departures from orthodoxy was made by Seeley in "Ecce Homo" [1865], and it caused quite a stir, though it was well received by the more broad-minded. This was followed by many and varied 'Lives' of Christ, especially in the last two decades of the century.

\* Geschichte Israels, i., 1878 reprinted (substantially unaltered, with improvements in details) as 'Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels' (1883; 3rd Ed. 1886), and trans. into English as "History of Israel", 1885.

Broadly considered, the chief credit for the promotion of Biblical studies in England - and this in a thorough, cautious and devout spirit - goes to the Cambridge Trio, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort, notably in the realm of New Testament studies. No less a person than Hastings Rashdall writes of them: "They raised English theology from a condition of nullity up to the level of the best German work, while they infused into it a characteristic English spirit of caution and sobriety" [ cf 'Principles and Precepts', p 164 ]. Lightfoot held chairs of Divinity from 1861 - 1879; Westcott was Regius Professor from 1870 - 1890; Hort held professorships from 1878 till his death in 1892.

It will be seen from this brief survey that C.J.Vaughan received his education and training in divinity before the new method had made any real impact upon England. He matured in the early days of its spreading, and published his commentaries and lectures before there were any 'assured results' of historical criticism. This fact, considered together with his very conservative temperament, suggests reasons why his writings wholly ignore the rising tide of new ideas in Biblical studies.

P A R T        T W O

V A U G H A N    A N D    H I S  
Y O U N G E R        C O N T E M P O R A R I E S \*

\* J. B. L i g h t f o o t

B.F. W e s t c o t t

F.J.A. H o r t

B. J o w e t t

C. J. E l l i c o t t

## F O R E W O R D      T O      P A R T      T W O

THE PROBLEM of making a fair and adequate comparison between C.J.Vaughan and the Cambridge Trio, his slightly younger contemporaries, was resolved when the writer acquired the volume of notes which one of Vaughan's Doves had taken from his Greek Testament lectures. These notes, edited and typed out in the Appendix to this thesis, give fairly full notes on all the New Testament Epistles, with fragments on the other books. They are valuable in that they treat the same portions of the New Testament as are covered by the published commentaries of the other three scholars, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. The late Dean of Llandaff published only two serious commentaries on the Greek text - 'Romans' and 'Hebrews.' His volumes on 'Philippians' and 'Revelation' are of the semi-popular order and chiefly homiletic expositions.

Some observations on Vaughan's 'Romans' will be given in the first chapter of Part Two; then his exposition of other New Testament books will be made in comparison with the published works of the Cambridge Trio.



C h a p t e r    O n e

V A U G H A N ' S       C O M M E N T A R Y

O N

T H E    E P I S T L E

T O    T H E    R O M A N S

\*

THE reader of this fine work \* , who is more familiar with modern commentaries, will be struck at once by the almost complete absence of quotations from, or even allusions to, other commentaries. In illustrating the meaning of a Greek word or phrase there is a very occasional citation of a Patristic or Classical usage. For example, in the brief, passing reference in his note on *κατηκούμενος* (2:18) Vaughan writes: "The word *κατηχεῖν* 'to sound' or 'din in one's ears', is used by St. Luke and St. Paul [as by Lucian also] in the sense of REPEATED ORAL INSTRUCTION." Or, on *νικήσῃς* (3:4), "This seems to be the only clear example in Scripture of the Classical use of *νικᾶν* as a forensic expression TO GAIN A CAUSE." Again, in a grammatical note at 3:9, "In Classical Greek we have the various constructions *αἰτιάσθαι τινά τινος*, *περί τινος* with an infinitive [as here], *ὥς* or *ὅτι*, and *τι κατὰ τινος*."

Vaughan makes even rarer mention of the Versions than he does of Classical writings. But he is at pains to point out rare words, or those peculiar to Paul, or unique terms and usages.

\* "ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS," 4th Edn, 1874.

This commentary is essentially the work of a Greek scholar who has employed little outside help beyond a concordance to the Septuagint and one for the New Testament. He draws upon the resources of his acute mind steeped in Classical learning. He has gone to great trouble to select an abundance of illustrative passages from the Septuagint and New Testament when commenting on very many important texts or terms; and even in briefer comments it is exceptional to find no example drawn from the Greek Scriptures or a cross-reference to similar usage in the same Epistle.

The Preface to the first edition indicates the purpose and method of the writer: "I enter into no competition with those who have sought to provide students of Scripture with large materials of theological information, or to guide them through a labyrinth of conflicting interpretations." The first edition of the work is dedicated to his elder pupils at Harrow School, and thus he has set before himself "the case of readers who require rather results than processes of investigation, and have sought not so much to argue and to discuss as to interpret and to teach."

The Preface is quite revealing in respect of the mind and approach of the author. In a salutary warning against the tendency of the "interpretation of the Word of God . . . to degenerate into a censorship of its human interpreters," he writes:

"The προφήτης, instead of being the very mouthpiece of the μύστις, becomes the mere echo of surrounding προφήται. Gifts are exercised in the collation and comparison of previous commentaries, which would be invaluable if brought to bear on the living oracles themselves" - p vi.

Vaughan states the guiding principle of his method of Bible study:

"I believe that, to a mind educated in the study of ancient writers, and a heart disciplined for the pursuit of Divine knowledge, the Scriptures will gradually unfold their own meaning as the reward of a patient and trustful study" - p vi.

He adds that the clearness of vision will inevitably be disturbed, "now by a prepossession, and now by an antipathy, alike inconsistent with the spirit of calm and candid enquiry, and uncongenial to the very climate in which such a process should be carried on," by the premature presentation of the opinions of a human commentator. But, lest this should give rise to misunderstanding of the writer's attitude towards



others who have gone before, he expresses appreciation of their labours, and a consciousness of the incompleteness of his own work resulting from this very method. Nevertheless, for Vaughan what mattered most was the assiduous application of his own mind to the Scriptures as they stand, and that the conclusions should be the result of his own hard thinking. "For almost eighteen years, at intervals, I have been occupied in this study. Each single note is the result of some honest labour." That is typical of this devout scholar: and the humility of the man - one of his most notable graces - shines through his Preface, and is reflected in his commentary.

Vaughan rightly reminds the reader that in approaching 'Romans', he is applying himself to an EPISTLE - a form of literature which stands by itself, distinct altogether from every other kind of writing. In elaborating this point, and explaining why he has abstained from any attempt to give a detailed analysis of its contents, he gives us a paragraph wholly characteristic of his customary brilliant style - the use of short, sharp epithets, which take us directly to the heart of the matter, often assisted by alliteration or similar arresting figure:

"We must scarcely attempt to divide [the Epistle] into sections. We must scarcely imagine it to have been written upon a preconceived plan. We expect it in sequence, not system; coherence, not composition. It is enough if each sentence, each topic, flows easily out of the preceding; if every thought suggests the next which follows, by a train not of elaborate reasoning, but of natural association. Taking it as it is, we may show its connection, we may trace its argument; but we mar its beauty, and we miss its meaning, if we reduce it to a framework of premeditated heads and formal subdivisions" \* p x.

The text of the Epistle used is the Westcott and Hort recension, adopted by Vaughan by permission of his friend, Westcott, in anticipation of the publication of that text.

In the Preface to the third edition, Vaughan again emphasises the solitary line of study and exposition, but he does disclaim absolute independence of suggestion and influence from others. It is interesting to have a glimpse of such influences as worked on the great man's mind. He specifically mentions his debt to Dr Arnold and the Sixth Form classes at Rugby. Also he recalls a passage in Archdeacon Evans's "Bishopric of Souls," in which, writes Vaughan, a young clergyman is recommended to study the Greek Testament for

himself, without note or comment, by the help of Wahl's "Clavis" alone. Presumably this advice was taken to heart and mind by Vaughan. This Preface, too, gives us plain indication of the high view of Scripture which Vaughan held, and which is echoed in all his Biblical writings and utterances. He feels keenly the honour of ministering the "living life-giving Word" to all hearers; more especially those "educated minds, those powerful intellects, to which it is his responsible task to present week by week, in the most venerable of Churches, the living life-giving Word." It was to this august congregation of the Temple Church, London, that the Master dedicated the revised and enlarged edition of his commentary on 'Romans' in 1870. The fourth, and final, edition was "little more than a careful reprint . . . the chief difference will be found in the improved text of passages quoted from the New Testament in the Notes."

In a close examination of the commentary on 'Romans', it needs to be borne in mind that the author deliberately



sets out to compose his work without reference to other commentators, and that [as he explicitly states in the Preface] it will consist rather of results than of processes of investigation." Further, he has "sought not so much to argue and to discuss as to interpret and to teach." This is true enough. But, for the most part, the statements of his "results" are surprisingly brief, the actual quantity of exegetical matter relatively slender, though admittedly it is concentrated and wholly relevant.

There is, however, a preponderance of matter given over to etymology, and to the citation of references [with quotations in full, very often] - so that some 'comments' are almost miniature concordances. The whole is nicely tied together, and a helpful continuum maintained, by spontaneous paraphrases. That is, the plan of the commentary admitting only the barest analysis and there being no formal paraphrases at the beginning of each carefully marked section [as, for example, in the commentary by Sanday and Headlam], the author inserts his very free renderings as he thinks will best keep the Apostle's meaning before the reader.



Sometimes there is a paraphrase at the beginning of the section, with straightforward commenting on each verse successively. At other times, he gives a paraphrase in the comment of each of a series of verses. Again, Vaughan has a favourite way of writing a kind of exegetical paraphrase - which is clearly one of his mannerisms, to judge by the superabundance of such in the notes of his lectures taken down by the student and reproduced in the Appendix. This is illustrated in, say, the comment on Romans 3:19:

"Nor can these descriptions of human depravity be thrown off by the Israelite upon the despised Gentile. It is obvious that the Jewish Scriptures must address themselves to the Jew. If they represent a certain character as prevalent amongst men, it must be the Jewish character, not the Gentile only. And this is the very aim of such delineations, to silence all self-justification on the part of even the more favoured race, and bring the whole world, whether Jewish or Gentile, in the prostration of conscious guilt to the bar of God's judgment" - p 63.

Then, paraphrase, Classical usage, exegesis and concordance are all closely packed into one paragraph of comment, for example at 3:4 -

" ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε - 'WHEN THOU  
 CONTENDEST; WHEN THOU ENTEREST INTO  
 TRIAL AS A LITIGANT.' For this  
 Classical use of κρίνεσθαι compare  
 I Cor. vi.6, ἀλλὰ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφεῷ  
 κρίνεται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀπίστων.

The figure itself is in frequent use in  
 the Prophets when expostulating for God  
 with men. God is represented as  
 HAVING A CONTROVERSY with them;  
 appealing sometimes to heaven and earth,  
 sometimes to man himself, to decide the  
 question as to the reasonableness and  
 justice of His dealings with him. See,  
 for example, Isai.i.2, 18, LXX . . . .  
 xliii.26 . . . . Jer.xxv.31 . . . Hos.iv.1.  
 ...xii.2. . . . Mic.vi.2 \*. It is thus  
 that David, in the passage quoted in the  
 text, declares that this one sin of his  
 will be enough to decide the great con-  
 troversy between God and man, in favour  
 of God's justice, mercy and truth"

- p 54.

\* all quoted in full in Greek

The actual lay-out of the commentary is not easy  
 to follow, and one has found it necessary to underline  
 and otherwise mark the text in order to follow more  
 clearly Vaughan's many subdivisions in expounding the  
 root meanings of words, and in order to differentiate  
 various elements in the exegesis.

The commentary shows slight [if any] influence of  
 critical scholarship. It both lacks extremes of  
 theological dogmatism, and also it expounds very

moderately and uncontroversially those passages and texts of the Epistle which have been the fields of so much deep study and debate both before and after Vaughan. The work is none the less that of a truly scholarly mind and of a profound spirit, and it is an excellent basis for any study of the Epistle to the Romans. However, one looks in vain for any very distinctive elements in Vaughan's theological interpretations. Indeed, one must admit that there are times when it is disappointing to find Vaughan so brief, and rather too apt to give 'results' when some 'process of investigation' [to use his own phrase] would have been helpful. He even gives the appearance of being evasive on certain vital texts. Perhaps Vaughan himself would have added more, but maintained a careful circumspection according to his pre-determined policy.

On the basic doctrine of the Sovereignty of God, together with its complement in the freedom of man, Vaughan has something to say, but his remarks are scattered. There is a relatively long exposition on 8:29, 30, though this is mostly a series of



lexicographical notes on the key verbs, with ample examples of usages, prefaced by what is actually the longest paragraph of exegesis in the book. It runs as follows:

29, 30 ὅτι ] I SAY, κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς BECAUSE, & c. Everyone who is eventually saved can only ascribe his salvation, from the first step to the last, to God's favour and act. Human merit must be excluded: and this can only be, by tracing back the work far beyond the obedience which evidences, or even the faith which appropriates, salvation; even to an act of spontaneous favour on the part of God who foresees and foreordains from eternity all His works.

Although therefore no one has a right to say in this life, I AM ONE OF THOSE WHOM GOD HAS ABSOLUTELY ORDAINED TO ETERNAL LIFE; yet with regard to himself in the retrospect when he reaches heaven - and even now generally, with respect to those, WHOSOEVER THEY BE, who may eventually reach heaven - a Christian will thankfully accept the language here employed. The retrospective character of the whole passage is strongly marked by the tense used throughout, even in the last (altogether future) link of the chain, *τούτους καὶ ἐδόξεσεν*. For a parallel passage, somewhat expanded, see Eph. i. 3 - 14; in which the *εὐδοκία τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ* (verse 5), or the *πρόθεσις* (verse 11), may be said to correspond to *προέγνω* here; *προορίσας* (verse 5) is the *προώρισεν* of this passage; *γνωρίσας τὸ μυστήριον* (verse 9) answers to *ἐκάλεσεν* here; the *ἀφ' ἧς τῶν παρὰ πτωμάτων* (verse 7) to *ἐδικαίωσεν* (here); and the *ἀπολύτρωσις τῆς περιποιήσεως* (verse 14) to *ἐδόξασεν* here.



Vaughan also cites II Thess. 2:13, 14 and I Pet. 1:1.

and he concludes the paragraph:

"There is in Scripture no one stereotyped form of statement on this great subject, but an entire harmony in the result, even where terms are varied or interchanged" - p 163.

He then continues to describe the five steps in the Christian's election, based on the five verbs of verses 29 and 30.

" *Προέγνω* FOREKNOW. It may be well to retain this simple rendering of the word. And yet the bare idea of KNOWING BEFOREHAND . . . is evidently inadequate to the mysterious thought here expressed. Mere pre-science [on God's part] of human volition leaves man the originator of his own salvation, in utter contradiction to Scripture here and everywhere. That *προγνωσις* which is made the first step in the spiritual history seems to express, not indeed so much as PREDETERMINATION [which would confuse *προέγνω* with *προώρισεν*], but yet a RESTING OF THE MIND OF GOD BEFOREHAND UPON A PERSON WITH APPROVAL [compare Exod. xxxiii. 12, LXX . . . Psalm i. 6 . . .] which can only be mentally and doctrinally severed from the second step *προώρισεν* "

- pp 163 - 4.

Vaughan recognises *προώρισεν* as the second step, the immediate consequence of the *προγνωσις* . He

thinks it may be doubted whether the idea of SPIRITUAL resemblance is here pre-dominant [ as in II Cor. 3:18 ], or rather that of CORPOREAL likeness after resurrection, as in Phil. 3.21. "Both thoughts may be included: but it is the latter which COMPLETES AND FULFILLS the design spoken of " - p 164.

A significant comment follows on the phrase

πρωτότοκου ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς

"The effect of this predestined conformity of Christians to Christ, now in soul, hereafter in body also, will be to make Him, in His resurrection glory, as it were the firstborn Son among many brethren, all sharing His likeness as [as it is written] glorified with Him.

See Col.1.18 . . . Rev.1.5 . . . .  
For πρωτότοκος in its application to Christ as the Eternal Son, see Col.1.15"  
- p.165.

The third step [ ἐκάλεισεν ] is the "actual conveyance of the Gospel invitation to those who have been already marked out in God's purpose as heirs of salvation." The fourth step [ ἐδικαίωσεν ] is similarly briefly described as, "the immediate acceptance and forgiveness of those who believe and embrace the Gospel." The final step [ ἐδόξασεν ] is the "future recognition of the sons of God, and their admission into glory" - p 165.

The whole group of comments is summed up in the note on verse 31:

"These things being so; God being thus manifestly engaged, by a whole chain of consecutive interpositions, on the side of us who believe; what have we to fear? Nothing in this life - nothing hereafter"  
- p 166.

\* \* \* \*

The writer has found it interesting to compare, in passing, the method and spirit of Vaughan with those of a Continental contemporary. In the Additional Note at the end of this chapter there is an extract from the commentary on the Epistle to the Romans by H.A.W. MEYER [1881], and taken from his note on the corresponding passage - Romans 8:29 - 30. The following observations are offered by way of comparison:

Allowing for Meyer's characteristic Teutonic verbosity and expansiveness, he has a gift of incisiveness like Vaughan. He sums up a truth in a telling sentence. Moreover, he gives that same careful attention to the Greek significance underlying a particular usage. Though he quotes other commentators fully and freely, he does not allow them to overshadow his own expositions based on a careful study of the



etymology and general Biblical usage. Like Vaughan, he frequently gathers a number of corresponding Biblical usages to enforce his point. Meyer manifests the same kind of independence of thought; is realistic and balanced in his conclusions; and reveals a personal spirituality of insight into, and interpretation of, the Scriptures. Yet there is no indication that either was familiar with the other's works.

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Other sources of Vaughan's views, in addition to those mentioned previously, are suggested in the short notes in chapter 9. On verses 6 - 9 he sums up simply: "Natural descent was not enough to constitute an heir of God's special blessings: that is a matter of special promise, and consequently of Divine will and choice." But he clearly has no sympathy with Calvin's gloss ['dum alios ad salutem praedestinat, alios ad aeternam damnationem'], for, he adds, "Nothing is here said of the FINAL DESTINY of either brother: that was shaped by the spirit and conduct of each: what is spoken of here is the position of the one, and not of the other, as the depository of the promise to Abraham"



Vaughan sets out further thoughts in his comment on verse 18. He reminds his reader that the argument which began with the assignment of privileges, of special religious advantages and blessings, has developed into that of INDIVIDUAL acceptance and rejection:

"And here, too, human merit and claim can only be excluded by a bold and broad statement of the sovereignty of God:

ὃν θέλει ἐλεᾷ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει.

Such is ever the method of Scripture: to state each of two apparently conflicting principles [such, for example, as those of God's grace and man's responsibility] singly and separately, and leave conscience rather than intellect to reconcile and adjust them" - p 180.

In commenting on σκληρύνει of this verse, he says that this word is suggested by the quotation in v.17 from the history of Pharaoh. He cites Exodus 4:21 [LXX]; 7:3; 9:12; 10:20 - 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17.

"In such passages that result is ascribed to a judicial process, which is elsewhere spoken of as the act of the sinner. Thus Exodus viii.32 . . . . " He continues:

"It is by the operation of a law of man's nature as God created it, that HE WHO WILL NOT TURN, AT LAST CANNOT. And God, who established that law of man's nature, is said in Scripture to DO that which OCCURS UNDER IT or RESULTS FROM IT. Thus ὃν θέλει σκληρύνει becomes equivalent to, HE HAS FRAMED AT HIS

"PLEASURE THE MORAL CONSTITUTION OF  
MAN, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE REBELLIOUS  
SINNER IS AT LAST OBDURATE" - p 180.

Further, he writes of verse 22 as a "necessary  
and beautiful modification of the comparison. God  
does not FORM for destruction these vessels of wrath:  
that is their own work. Rather, He ENDURES them,  
and that WITH MUCH LONG-SUFFERING. His sovereignty  
is shown, not in causing but in punishing [and still  
more in deferring the punishment of] evil" - p 182.

Vaughan's remaining note on the subject of God's  
sovereignty occurs at 11:6, and fairly sums up his  
main point in the expositions on this theme:

"Human salvation must be ascribed either to  
man or to God: it cannot be a mixed  
result of two different, incommensurable,  
and incongruous agencies" - p 201.

A typical example of Vaughan's non-critical treat-  
ment of the Scriptures may be seen in his note of  
Romans 1:17. He quotes the LXX of Habakkuk 2:4, and  
then writes:

"The words were originally written of the  
safety of the righteous man under God's  
protection, in that desolation by the

"Chaldeans which was the subject of the prophecy. But the same thing is true for all times: the secret of the life of the righteous is faith. And thus the clause is three times quoted in an Evangelical sense in the New Testament. See Gal.iii.11. Heb.x.38" - p 12.

A very different handling of the passage is found in modern commentators, as, for example, in C.H.DODD:

"For Habakkuk, 'faith' meant faithfulness, fidelity. The righteous would preserve his life, in the troubles surrounding him, by sheer character - by honesty, integrity, trustworthiness. Whether the prophet meant that he would literally escape threatening destruction, or that, in spite of the worst that might happen, he would 'save his soul', we need not stop to enquire. In any case, Paul understood the word 'faith' differently."

- Romans, Moffatt N.T.Commentary, 1932, p 14.

H.A.W.MEYER'S note on this verse gives us a viewpoint much more akin to Vaughan's, and indicates his generally more conservative attitude:

" *κατὸς λόγον* , represents what has just been stated IN ACCORDANCE WITH A DECLARATION OF SCRIPTURE, consequently according to the necessity of the divine counsel of salvation. HE WHO FROM FAITH [on Christ] IS RIGHTEOUS [transferred into the relation of the *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* ] shall LIVE [be partaker of the Messianic eternal life]. This, as the <sup>M</sup>essianic sense



"intended to be conveyed by the Spirit of God [2 Peter 1.21] in the prophetic words, Hab.11.4, 'the righteous shall by his faithfulness\*live [attain to the theocratic life-blessedness], is recognised by Paul, and expressed substantially in the language of the LXX, rightly omitting the  $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ , which they inaccurately add to  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ .' Paul has connected the phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  [  $\text{ἐκ πίστεως}$  ] with  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , since if the LIFE of the righteous has  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  as its cause, his  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  can itself have no other ground or source. . . . (this) is plain from the connection, according to which it is not the LIFE  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , but THE REVELATION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  . that is to be confirmed by the Old Testament."

- Romans, vol.11, pp 72-3.

\* "This FAITHFULNESS, in the prophet's sense, the  $\text{הֵי אֱמֶת}$ , and the  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  in the Christian sense, have the same fundamental idea, TRUSTFUL SELF-SURRENDER to God."

- Footnote ibid.

In the following verse, Vaughan makes no sort of apology for the  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ; indeed, he says by way of elaborated paraphrase of this verse:

"There is in process of disclosure, wherever the Gospel is carried, a definite and determined indignation of the Holy One against all sin, to be manifested in due time from the heaven in which He dwells . . . . [II Thess. 1.7, 8]" - p 12.



In contrast, DODD takes best part of three and a half pages to ease the whole conception. He says that he prefers to keep the old translation [as against Moffatt's "anger"] "because such an archaic phrase suits a thoroughly archaic idea. To render it into the terms of ordinary intercourse is to bring the idea into a sphere to which it does not belong. The Greek word [ORGĒ] does, indeed, mean 'anger'; but God's anger suggests the simple anthropomorphic idea that God is angry with men, and Paul's idea is not so simple" (pp.20-21). This he attempts to demonstrate. He concludes: "In the long run we cannot think with full consistency of God in terms of the highest human ideals of personality and yet attribute to Him the irrational passion of anger" (p.24). Similarly, Dodd wants to make Romans 9:22 thoroughly impersonal and render σκεύη ὀργῆς "in accordance with what was said on 1:18 . . . OBJECTS OF RETRIBUTION" (p.159).

Vaughan plainly interprets 9:22 as follows, with particular reference to the phrase "endured with much longsuffering":-

"A necessary and beautiful modification of the comparison. God does not FORM for destruction these VESSELS OF WRATH:

"that is their own work. Rather, He ENDURES them, and that WITH MUCH LONG-SUFFERING. His sovereignty is shown, not in causing but in punishing [and still more in deferring the punishment of] evil" - p 182.

Vaughan's simple literalism is shown again in his comment on 2:15, τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν:-

" (1) In certain cases, though rare and exceptional [such as those of Melchisedec, Job, & c.], BY HOLY LIVES, under the guidance of conscience enlightened by primitive tradition or in other ways apart from direct revelation to their nation or themselves.

(2) In a far lower sense, by the instinctive reverence felt in all ages and countries for good and right, however little adhered to in personal conduct; and, springing out of this, just laws and institutions of all kinds, testifying for good" - p 38.

And he adds, somewhat naïvely it seems, on  
κατηχορεύωντων κ.τ.λ.:-

"As if the accusing action of the thoughts of the heart [in the case supposed] were far more common than the exculpatory. The supposition of an acceptable obedience apart from revelation is made rather for the sake of the ~~completeness~~ completeness of the argument than from an idea of its frequent realization" - p 41.

A further illustration of his simple concordance method of non-critical exposition occurs in his note on Romans 3:22. With particular reference to μαρτυρουμένη ὑπό, he first gives a long list of New Testament texts which speak of the Old Testament's foreshadowing of the New [Rom. 1:2; Luke 18:31; 24:27; 24:44, 46; John 5:39, 46; Acts 2:25, 31; 3:22, 24; 17:2, 3; 24:22, 23; I Peter 1:10, 11]. These he quotes in full. He concludes:

"These strong assertions point not only to separate passages of direct prediction, but still more to the Evangelical character of the Old Testament as a whole. There is a thread of Christian prophecy running through the law and the prophets. The tense of μαρτυρουμένη expresses a repeated or habitual attestation" - p 68.

The comment on 3:26 δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦνται not only gives us Vaughan's own view on the interpretation, but is an example of the clear and concise way he states his exposition:

"There seems to be nothing here of the idea, JUST AND YET A JUSTIFIER, which is so often found in the words. It is not AND YET, but rather, AND ALSO. God has the glorious attribute of not only POSSESSING but also COMMUNICATING righteousness"



A characteristic epigram is his comment on 5:15 -

"The Redemption is co-extensive with the Fall.  
It embraces all, though all may not embrace it."

- p 111.

Similarly on 5:19 -

"If men perish now, it is not for want of  
room [Luke xiv.22], but for want of faith."

- p 115.

Again, on 5:20 -

"Paul is not afraid to ascribe to God's  
PURPOSE that which results from God's  
PROCEDURE. The whole of the 7th  
chapter is the commentary upon this  
verse"

- p 115.

Typical of Vaughan is his pithy note on  
in 6:4 [which Sanday and Headlam quote] -

"In other words, our baptism was a sort  
of funeral; a solemn act of consigning  
us to that death of Christ in which we  
are made one with Him"

- p 118.

In a different context we see something of the  
thought of our writer, as well as having another  
illustration of his clear, precise commentary.



On the phrase τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας in 6:6,  
he says:

"THE BODY OF [BELONGING TO] SIN. Not a mere periphrasis for sin, as if it were the SUBSTANCE or SUM OF SIN, but rather to be understood [as the context shows] of THE MATERIAL BODY IN ITS PRESENT UNRENEWED STATE, AS THE INLET OF TEMPTATION AND THE AGENT OF SIN. IT WAS THE OBJECT OF THE CRUCIFIXION WITH CHRIST OF THE OLD MAN, TO REDUCE TO A STATE OF INACTION AND IMPOTENCE [καταργεῖν] THIS NATURAL BODY, OF MATTER AND SENSE, AND TO ENABLE THE CHRISTIAN MAN TO LIVE ALREADY AS THOUGH HE HAD ACTUALLY DIED WITH CHRIST AND RISEN AGAIN"

- p 121.

Thus he follows the interpretation which BENGEL tersely sums up in his GNOMON, "The BODY OF SIN, the mortal body, abounding in sin and lusts" -  
[ vol. iii, E.T., 1866, p 79 ].

Sanday and Headlam accept this view; but Dodd says, "It is not the structure of flesh and blood as such. . . Thus the SINFUL BODY is the self as the organization of the sinful impulses inherent in the flesh" - op.cit.p 90.

Of the doctrine of the Atonement, Vaughan actually says relatively little. He seems to pre-suppose a knowledge of [and acceptance of] the doctrine as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. He gives a full note on ἡλυστήριον (3:25), its root and cognate forms,

with numerous illustrations from the LXX. He concludes this particular note thus:

"The application of the term ἱλαστήριον to Christ Himself constitutes Him as it were the MERCY-SEAT of the new temple in which God dwells with redeemed man" - p 74.

On διὰ πίστεως in the same verse:

"These words depend on ἱλαστήριον, defining the instrumentality by which the expiatory work of Christ is applied to the individual man; and are closely connected with the following words ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι; PROPITIATORY BY MEANS OF FAITH resting IN THE BLOOD OF Christ HIMSELF as its home and sphere" - p 74.

And on αἵματι :

"Gen. ix, 4, LXX. ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς.  
Deut. xii.23, τὸ δὲ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ.

The life-blood of Christ, shed upon the Cross, stands for the whole work of redemption. The death was the crowning and completive act of the life-long sacrifice.

Phil. ii.8 γενόμενος ὑπὸ θανάτου μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.

The death presupposes the incarnation, the life, the ministry, the obedience; and anticipates the resurrection, the ascension, the priesthood, the advent.

"Thus the BLOOD OF CHRIST is the summary term for the whole of the ἀνεκδιγγτος Σωτηρία [2 Cor. ix. 15]."

- pp 74-75.

A further indication of Vaughan's view on the subject is to be found in the comment on τῇ ἀπαρτίᾳ [6:10]:

"Literally, IN RELATION TO SIN. The NATURE of the relation must be defined by the context. Christ's DEATH UNTO SIN differs essentially from man's. It is a death not of renunciation or avoidance, or forsaking, but of atonement and propitiation"

- p 123.

The least satisfactory [and satisfying] part of the commentary is that on the section, chapters 9 - 11. No mention is made of any of the problems arising out of Paul's teaching here. Indeed, one would be otherwise led to think that it was all straightforward. The commentary fails to keep pace with the mounting tempo of the latter part of chapter 11. The writer does not help his reader to appreciate the striking philosophy of history which Paul is setting before the Romans. If Vaughan had made any attempt at illuminating this magnificent apostolic scheme, he could not have avoided dealing with Paul's universalism.



Even those who do not go as far as Dodd in regarding it as "incredible that Paul should have committed himself to such an absolute universalism", will want some helpful note on the scheme.

Throughout the commentary there are valuable notes on individual texts or short passages [chiefly of a lexical kind], but they are inadequately drawn together. They insufficiently indicate important implications, problems and relevant ideas which are, in some cases, scarcely below the surface. In particular, with reference to this highly significant passage [chapters 9 - 11], it is disappointing to reach his powerful conclusion in 11:32 [συνέκλεισεν

ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπειθείαν ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσει]

and find that Paul's commentator has only this to say:

"The arrangement of God has been this: that the whole world in its two great divisions (the Jewish and the Gentile) should successively be locked up as it were in a prison of unbelief and disobedience, that so all alike might become in due time objects of mercy; of which the very foundation is, KINDNESS TO THE UNDESERVING. Compare Gal.iii.22 . . . . There THE SCRIPTURE is said to do, by its sentence of condemnation, that which is here ascribed directly to the will and act of God. It is His purpose to

/ preclude



"preclude self-righteousness, by showing  
 what man is without Him. Compare I Cor.  
 1.21 . . . Ex.xiv.3 [LXX] . . . Josh.vi.1"  
 - p 213 f.

Still more of an anticlimax is it to find that the  
 only expository note on the glorious culmination in  
 11:33 ff is as follows:

"ὡ βάθος . A reflection applicable  
 to the whole of the foregoing doctrine;  
 but suggested primarily by verse 32,  
 which describes not only the gradual  
 and intricate processes by which the  
 purposes of God are accomplished, but also  
 how evil itself is overmastered and made  
 eventually subservient to good"  
 - p 214.

In conclusion, we may cite Vaughan's clear note  
 on prophesying, not only as a further illustration  
 of his characteristic mode of exposition, but as a  
 reflection of his own balanced outlook generally on  
 Christian Faith, doctrine and living. Thus on  
 Romans 12:6, προφητεύων. He has first a concise  
 tabulated note on the evidence concerning this  
 spiritual gift to be found in the First Epistle to  
 the Corinthians. Then follows a typical collection  
 of cross references, fully quoted. Finally, on the  
 phrase κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως he writes:

"That is, προφητεύωμεν . On the principle that πνεύματα προφητῶν προφηταῖς σκοτάσσεται [I Cor. xiv.32], let us exercise the gift of prophecy with due regard to the proportion of the faith; let our instructions be so shaped, timed, and ordered, as that each part and side of the truth have its turn in our hands; let us rightly divide the word of truth; let us have no favourite doctrines, to the neglect of others, but let the whole counsel of God, not a few fragments of it, be our study and our subject. It is from the disregard of this rule that all error and all heresy has sprung . . . The rule itself is exactly expressed in 2 Tim.ii.15"

- p 221.

## A d d i t i o n a l   N o t e

EXTRACT FROM H . A . W . M E Y E R ' S NOTE ON  
ROMANS 8:29 - 30 in COMMENTARY, E.T., vol.2 (1881).

"προέγνω . The text merely gives the terminus of the προ in προέγνω and προώρισε quite indefinitely, namely: BEFORE THEIR CALLING . . . More precise definitions, therefore, should not be given here . . . The question of whether this exposition [ i.e. in the sense of PRESCIENCE ] or the other of the pre-ELECTION, . . . is the true one, cannot be got rid of by mixing up the two conceptions; nor is it to be decided by dogmatic presuppositions, but simply by the usage of the language, in accordance with which προγ . never in the N.T. [ not even in xi.2, I Pet.1.20 ] means anything else than to KNOW BEFORE-HAND. . . . That in classic usage it ever means anything else, cannot be at all proved . . . The right of interpretation remains, therefore: PRAECOGNOVIT [ Vulg. = PRAESCIVIT ]. . . . It is God's BEING AWARE IN HIS PLAN, by means of which, before the subjects are destined by Him to salvation, HE KNOWS whom He has to destined thereto"

- pp 93 - 95.

"προώρισε . From the following εἰς τὸ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. it is plain that Paul here means the same which in v.23 he has designated as υἱοθεσία, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν consequently the GLORY to which God has predestined them, the state of the μέλλουσα δόξα [ver.18], so far as this shall be the same [ even in respect of the glorified

/ body

"body, Phil.iii.21, I Cor.xv.49 ] as that which the exalted Christ has . . . Christ was to fulfil His lofty commission not merely by standing in the relation of His glory to the Father as *μονογενής*, but BY BEING THE FIRST-BORN AMONG MANY BRETHREN, ie among many who through Him, the Essential and primordial Son of God, should, as ADOPTED *υἱοὶ Θεοῦ*, and consequently in so far as His brethren, have attained to the same *δόξα* of sharing the possession of the dignity and privilege (Col.i.18) of the First-born" - p 96.

" *ἐκάλεισεν* . Hencethe divine saving grace is to be conceived as working by means of the word on those who become called, namely in opening and preparing the heart for the reception of the word, Acts xvi.14; Phil.i.6, 29; John vi.44. . . With the *κλήσις* begins the execution of the *προορισμός* in accordance with the *πρόγνωσις*; and the SUBJECTS concerned are, in contrast to the multitude standing outside of this divine process of salvation, the *ἐκλεκτοί* ." - p 96.

" *ἐδικαίωσεν* . Justification is consequently the SOLE GROUND of the glorifying; sanctification is ADDED TO IT, in order that the justified may attain to that goal in the way that God desires" - p 96.

" *ἐδόξασε* . . . it represents the de facto certainly future glorification as so necessary and certain, that it appears as if already given and completed with the *ἐδικαίωσεν* " - p 97.

On v.31 Meyer remarks, "a question not of challenge [ Hofmann ], with which the following does not accord, but of the sure, already triumphant certainty that all hostile power must be unsuccessful and harmless for us"



Chapter Two

C. J. VAUGHAN AND

JOSEPH BARBER

LIGHTFOOT

\*

J o s e p h     B a r b e r     L i g h t f o o t

1 8 2 8   -   1 8 8 9

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND has been too soon deprived of one of the greatest minds by whom it has been served and adorned not only in this generation but in its whole history . . . He was at once one of the greatest theological scholars and an eminent Bishop."

In such glowing terms did the London Times sum up the life of the eminent Bishop of Durham on the morrow of his death.

Born in 1828, he was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and then at Trinity College, Cambridge. A double first in Mathematics and Classics in 1851, he became Wrangler, Senior Classic and first Chancellor's Medallist. The following year he was elected Fellow of Trinity. In 1854 he was ordained by Bishop Prince Lee of Manchester, and made priest in 1858. Three years later saw him elected Hulsean Professor of Divinity; in 1870 he declined the Regius Professorship in favour of Westcott, but in 1875 he accepted the Lady Margaret chair.

From his first professorship in 1861 began a series of lectures on the New Testament, with particular reference to the Pauline Epistles, which proved to be of outstanding brilliance, thoroughness and clarity of exposition. Eventually the largest lecture rooms in Cambridge were too small for the numbers who attended, and the lectures had to be transferred to the Great Hall of Trinity College which was packed with crowds of both undergraduates and other residents of the University.

In these years, together with Westcott and Hort, he inspired and cultivated a school of Cambridge theology which exercised an abiding influence on the thought<sup>of</sup>/succeeding generations of scholars both at home and abroad.

Bishop H.C.G. Moule testifies, "His strong points were unfailing thoroughness of knowledge and unsurpassable clearness of exposition and instruction. . . a surer mind never worked" - cf Eden and Macdonald, Lightfoot of Durham, 1932.

It was at Cambridge that the life-long friendship between Lightfoot, Westcott and E.W. Benson really began.

In the October term of 1848, Lightfoot was one of Westcott's twelve private pupils at Cambridge. Lightfoot had joined the King Edward VI School, Birmingham, a term after Westcott had left. E.W. Benson had been a junior contemporary of Westcott at school. F.J.A. Hort was also a private pupil of Westcott. Though his juniors he survived all three.

In 1859 there was projected a scheme for the production of a scholarly Biblical commentary by the firm of Macmillan. It was Hort who crystallised the scheme and enclosed it in a letter to Lightfoot in 1860, as follows:

	WESTCOTT	LIGHTFOOT	HORT
1st Issue	St John's Gospel	Rom., Cor., Gal., Thess.	Synoptic Gospels.
2nd Issue	Apocalypse	Eph., Phil., Col., Pastorals.	Acts
3rd Issue	St. John's Epistles.	Hebrews.	James, Pet., Jude.

Evidently Lightfoot expressed some doubt as to Hort's taking the Synoptic Gospels. In his reply, Hort is outspoken in a manner which reveals his own approach to the Bible, and reflects Lightfoot's conservatism\*.

\* see Additional Note at the end of this chapter.



In 1871 Lightfoot was nominated Canon of St Paul's, which appointment brought out his great gifts as a preacher. The Dean and Chapter formed a mighty team - Dean Church and his "quarternion of soldiers", Liddon, Gregory, Lightfoot and Claughton.

It is not relevant to digress at length on the scheme which Lightfoot inaugurated after his consecration to the see of Durham, 'The Sons of the House.' In 1879 a plan for the personal training of men to enter Holy orders was drawn up; suffice to mention it, as having its precedent in Vaughan's Doves, and as yet another element in the life of the Bishop. The scheme was continued under Westcott and Moule, but under Lightfoot it was unique in that he was unmarried and therefore the fellowship between Bishop and trainees was more intimate. Every meal and chapel service was shared with Lightfoot. The time-table was: breakfast, chapel, private study or lectures, during the morning; lunch; then visitation in a parochial district three days in the week - reading or exercise on the other three week days. The high-light of the week was Sunday night supper, when local clergy and students all gathered for relaxation; this was, in the words of one of the 'Sons',

"a great occasion." An extract from an ordination address indicates Lightfoot's mind respecting this brotherhood, and the depth and nobility of his thought \*.

As a scholar Lightfoot ranks well in the front of the front rank. He has been called, by a contemporary, "the greatest interpreter of the New Testament in our day." Handley Moule who worked under him, specified as his chief merits, 'unfailing thoroughness of knowledge, and unsurpassable clearness of exposition and instruction.' Others who knew Lightfoot testified to his wonderful memory for finding and bringing together at the proper moment all the material he required. He did not accumulate this material in note books compiled over a long period of time. In his working copies of Irenaeus and Eusebius were to be found on the fly-leaves pencilled notes with brief headings and references to the pages.

"I have seen a small paper-covered indexed notebook in which references to articles in foreign theological journals were recorded under their subjects. Possessed of an excellent library, especially strong in periodical literature in several languages, he had an almost intuitive perception where material on any given subject could be found. He would then read up all the

\* see Additional Note.

"necessary authorities, sit down and write out his conclusions [whether essay, excursus or important paragraph], and send the result straight off to the press to be set up in type just as it was . . .

"The Bishop's knowledge of languages was very extensive. He said to me once in the simplest manner: 'Does it not sometimes happen to you that when you have to read a book you forget in what language it is written?' To him I suppose that would be true in at least seven languages [English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek]. And he had a considerable, or at least a working, knowledge of several others, Hebrew of course, and Syriac, and Arabic and Ethiopic; moreover he was not unacquainted with Armenian . . . [and] one of the three or four English scholars of his day thoroughly acquainted with the Coptic dialects."

"His power of detachment and concentration was extraordinary. I have seen him break off from an incomplete sentence for a momentous interview with one of his clergy, give him his undivided and sympathetic attention, followed by the wisest counsel and a final decision, and almost before the door was closed upon his visitor become once more absorbed in his literary work . . . I should convey quite a wrong impression if I pictured Dr. Lightfoot as a scholar mainly shut up in his study and devoted to his patristic writings. Throughout he took the deepest interest in men and affairs and had a quick perception of the beauties of nature, whether expressed in flowers or in noble scenery."

- BISHOP J.R.HARMER, quoted in  
 'Lightfoot of Durham', Eden and Macdonald,  
 1932, pp 117-20.

L I G H T F O O T - T h e o l o g i a n,  
E x p o s i t o r      a n d      H i s t o r i a n

THE PREFACE to the commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians reveals the man:

"The general plan and execution of the work will commend or condemn themselves; but a few words may be added on one or two points which require explanation. It is no longer necessary, I trust, to offer any apology for laying aside the received text. When so much conscientious labour has been expended on textual criticism, it would be unpardonable in an editor to acquiesce in readings which for the most part are recommended neither by intrinsic fitness nor by the sanction of antiquity" - p vii.

Considering the general conservatism of English theological thought of the time, it may be regarded as quite a bold step sixteen years before the publication of the revised version. Lightfoot was clearly an independent scholar. He continues, in the Preface to 'Galatians', to explain why he could not accept any existing text and must construct one for himself. Then he adds:

"Moreover I was encouraged by the promise of assistance from my friends the Rev.B.F.Westcott and the Rev.F.J.A.Hort, who are engaged in a joint recension of the Greek Testament, and have revised the text of this Epistle for my use. Though I have ventured to differ from them in some passages and hold myself finally responsible in all, I am greatly indebted to them for their aid" - p viii.



This independence is further illustrated in his rare references to other commentators. In this he reminds us of C.J.Vaughan, who also was first a fine Classical scholar. Lightfoot's notes [as Vaughan's] are brief and to the point. He has confidence in his own conclusions and gives them vigorously. By way of illustration, see the note on Galatians 3:20 -

" A MEDIATOR IS NOT A MEDIATOR OF ONE, BUT GOD IS ONE. The number of interpretations of this passage is said to mount up to 250-300. Many of these arise out of an error as to the Mediator, many more disregard the context and not a few are quite arbitrary. Without attempting to discuss others which are not open to these objections, I shall give that which appears to me the most probable."

A valuable element in his commentaries is the paraphrase of the text in English. Before each paragraph of an Epistle's commentary, he gives us his own rendering in modern English. Together they form an excellent translation of the particular Epistle.

Lightfoot was an earnest protagonist for the cause of Hellenistic Greek. The principles on which he, together with Westcott and Hort, insisted [relative to the soundness of Hellenistic Greek grammar] were vindicated by the discoveries later on of papyri finds in Egypt in such profusion.

Notwithstanding the excellence of Biblical exposition, - exact in scholarship, lucid in style, and telling in manner of presentation, - the overall impression that one gains is that of an historian rather than of a theologian. The present writer has been left with the same kind of feeling as after reading Vaughan's commentaries. Most plainly is this indicated in the 1. commentary on 'Galatians.' Here we have a doctrinal Epistle par excellence. Yet the following are the titles of the chapters in Lightfoot's Introduction:-

1. The Galatian People.
2. The Churches of Galatia.
3. The Date of the Epistle.
4. The Genuineness of the Epistle.
5. Character and Contents of the Epistle.

These occupy 68 pages.

There are three 'Dissortations,' one of them a very full essay:

- i. 'Were the Galatians Celts or Teutons?' [12 pages].
- ii. 'The Brethren of the Lord' [39 pages].
- iii. 'St. Paul and the Three' [82 pages].

There are also fifteen Notes on the following topics:

'St. Paul's Sojourn in Arabia'

'St. Paul's First Visit to Jerusalem'

- 'The name and office of an Apostle'
- 'Various readings in ii.5'
- 'The later visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem'
- 'Patristic accounts of the collision at Antioch'
- 'The interpretation of Deut. xxi. 23'
- 'The words denoting Faith'
- 'The faith of Abraham'
- 'St. Paul's infirmity in the flesh'
- 'The various readings in iv. 25'
- 'The meaning of Hagar in iv. 25'
- 'Philo's Allegory of Hagar and Sarah'
- 'The various readings in v. 1'
- 'Patristic Commentaries on this Epistle,'
- these take up 62 pages.

Thus in a commentary of 374 pages [excluding Preface and Index], 263 pages are concerned with subjects which are more or less historical, in some places linguistic, but certainly not theological.

II. The commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians is planned as follows:

## INTRODUCTION

1. St. Paul in Rome.
2. Order of the Epistles of the Captivity.
3. The Church of Philippi.
4. Character and Contents of the Epistle.  
The Genuineness of the Epistle. - 77 pages.

## DISSERTATIONS

1. The Christian Ministry [88 pages]
2. St. Paul and Seneca  
The Letters of Paul and Seneca [63 pages].

## NOTES

The synonymes 'bishop' and 'presbyter'  
 The meaning of 'praetorium' in 1.13  
 The synonymes μορφή and σκήμα.  
 Different interpretations of οὐκ ἐργαζόμενον ἡδύσαστο  
 Lost Epistles to the Philippians?  
 'Clement my fellow-labourer'  
 Caesar's household. - 34 pages.

Thus, out of 333 pages [excluding Preface and Index],  
 262 are devoted to Introduction and historical matter.

## III. The Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians:

### INTRODUCTION

1. The Churches of the Lycus
2. The Colossian Heresy
3. The Character and Contents of the Epistle. - 128 pp.



## NOTES

On some Various Readings in the Epistle.

On the meaning of πλήρωμα.

The Epistle from Laodicea

- 54 pages.

So that out of 300 pages of the commentary proper, 182 are introductory, and historical.

#### IV. The Commentary on the Epistle to Philemon.

INTRODUCTION - 26 pages.

#### DISSERTATIONS

- i. The name Essene [5 pp]
- ii. Origin and Affinities of the Essenes [41 pp]
- iii. Essenism and Christianity [22 pp]

Thus, out of 116 pages, 94 are occupied with Introduction and historical subjects.

J. Armitage Robinson sums up this aspect of Lightfoot's scholarship:

"He was essentially a historian, and he dreaded losing himself in textual criticism and linguistic interpretation. He wanted to see the man who wrote these letters and to portray the period in which he lived . . . . For all his acquaintance with the history of theology, Lightfoot was not a theologian. The mystical and philosophic qualifications essential to the true theologian were endowments granted in rich measure to his fellow workers, the former

/ to Westcott

"to Westcott, the latter to Hort; but they were no part of Lightfoot's equipment for ~~the~~ his task. All three had the love of truth in the smallest details and the training in scholarship which are indispensable to the interpreter of Scripture. All three were independent thinkers and intensely religious and devout. But each had his own bent, and Lightfoot's natural line was that of history. His article on 'Eusebius', the father of Ecclesiastical history, in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, is a treatise in itself, and the one contribution that he actually made to that history of the Church in the fourth century which at one time he had eagerly desired to write."

- quoted in 'Lightfoot of Durham', pp 127-8.

This weighty armament of historical knowledge was of inestimable value in Lightfoot's defence of Christianity. In the 'sixties the most dangerous threat to orthodox Christianity on its historical side came from the Tübingen school. The extreme theory propounded by F.C.Baur and his school was that such a feud existed between Paul and Peter that the early Church endeavoured to hide this from posterity by re-writing - thus most of the books of the New Testament were written with this object in view. The dissertations of Lightfoot, 'St. Paul and the Three'

and those on the 'Essenes' constituted some of the valuable contributions made to the defence of the traditional account of Christian origins.

Though it does not come strictly within the scope of this study, no mention of Lightfoot could be made without reference to that monumental work on which he was engaged at the same time as he was pursuing his vigorous expository labours - namely, the Apostolic Fathers. The object of this magnum opus was to be a complete edition. Thirty years before the first published edition appeared Lightfoot had been attracted to the Ignatian problem. In 1855 he began work on the Ignatian Epistles. Thirty years later, in 1885, the results of his labours were published, with a second edition in 1888.

It was in these great volumes that Lightfoot was able to expand himself freely and fully as an historian. Negatively viewed, he had thereby 'knocked the last nail in the coffin of the Tübingen theory' (Eden and Macdonald). Positively, he had 'given vividness and security to the stories of the early martyrs, and had unravelled the relation of the various Emperors to

the growing Church. He had set a standard of minute carefulness . . . His clear exposition made him eminently readable' (ibid.).

First and foremost Lightfoot was an historian. At the same time he was an interpreter of Holy Scripture 'of unsurpassable clearness of exposition and instruction.' His commentaries will remain standard works. Speculation as such only interested him from the historical angle and his knowledge of pure philosophy was limited. It would not be exact to apply to him the term 'theologian' in its strictly technical sense; and yet the truly religious character of all his labours - preaching, training for the ministry, teaching, expounding, interpreting, commentating, pastoral oversight - could scarcely have been accomplished at so high a level without a strong theological element in his make-up, theological in its broader meaning. With no doctrinal extravagancies or idiosyncrasies [which some are apt to regard as the hall-mark of a theologian proper], Lightfoot was in all things a man of moderation - "Still, as Bishop Lightfoot says, let us avoid exaggeration" - B.F. Westcott in a letter dated 8th Nov. 1894 (LIFE, ii, p.225).



# Additional Notes

## 1. LETTER FROM HORT TO LIGHTFOOT, 1st May, 1860:

" . . . If your idea is to have an uniform commentary, which shall demonstrate that the final results of accurate and honest criticism do not disturb 'orthodox' assumptions, you are quite right not to admit a coadjutor who cannot feel certain of having equal good luck. The integrity of your plan must take precedence of all personal considerations, and I should not have any reason to complain.

At the same time, as far as I can see at present, I should shrink from transferring myself to other books of the N.T. in your scheme on the ground that you could not trust me with the Gospels. The difference between us, if difference there is, can hardly be confined to a single theory; and I could not work freely on any book of the N.T. if I were under an obligation to produce results of a predetermined ~~xxxx~~ colour.

. . . It would be hardly too much to say that I have as yet NO theories about the Gospels. I remember the conversation to which you refer . . . Agreeing to the best of my belief with Westcott as to the oral or traditional narrative which was the common foundation of the Synoptic Gospels, I demurred to his explanation of the cause of its local limitation. I found it difficult to believe that the events and discourses belonging to Jerusalem were deliberately excluded by the Apostles [or others concerned] as unfitted for the then circumstances of the Church; and I thought it a more natural explanation of

/ the admitted

"the admitted fact to suppose that the first form of the narrative was a local Galilean tradition, which the Apostles [and others], finding ready to hand, variously modified and corrected, supplying, PERHAPS, beginnings and endings, but did not go out of their way with matter belonging to a different cycle of events. This view I now hold neither more strongly nor more weakly than before. I have seen nothing to make me think it untenable . . .

I am convinced that ANY view of the Gospels, which distinctly and consistently recognises for them a natural and historical origin [whether under a special Divine superintendence or not], and assumes that they did not drop down ready-made from heaven, must and will be 'startling' to an immense proportion of educated English people. But so far, at least, Westcott and I are perfectly agreed, and I confess I had hopes that you too would assent. And, if thus much be conceded, I cannot see that my supposed view is a whit more 'startling' than Westcott's. . . . .

If you make a decided conviction of the absolute infallibility of the N.T. practically a SINE QUA NON for co-operation, I fear I could not join you, even if you were willing to forget your fears about the origin of the Gospels. I am most anxious to find the N.T. infallible, and have a strong sense of the Divine purpose guiding all its parts; but I cannot see how the exact limits of such guidance can be ascertained except by unbiassed A POSTERIORI criticism. Westcott - and, I suppose, you - would say that any apparent errors discovered by criticism are only

/ apparent

"apparent, and that only owing to the imperfection of our knowledge. I fully believe that this is true of a large proportion of what the rash critics peremptorily pronounce to be errors; and I think it POSSIBLE that it may be true of all, but, as far as my present knowledge goes, hardly PROBABLE. And if, as I expect, there are cases where there appears to be just a thin loophole for the possibility of admitting imperfect knowledge as the sole cause of an apparent error, but where the circumstances are such as to suggest a natural explanation of the origin of a real error, such as would be at once accepted in any other book, I should feel bound to state both facts, expressing at the same time my own feeling that it is more reasonable to suppose an error.

I do not think there is a real difference of principle between[at least] Westcott and myself, but only a [perhaps hypothetical] difference of opinion as to facts. But you must judge whether the difference is such as to disqualify me for your commentary . . . . it would be mere working in fetters to me to attempt an apologetic commentary as such, though I would not have the smallest doubt that most of the results would be to that effect. Also forgive my saying that it seems to me the truest wisdom to think as little as possible about disarming suspicion. Depend on it, whatever either you or I may say in an extended commentary, if only we speak our mind, we shall not be able to avoid giving offence to both Jowett's friends and the miscalled orthodoxy of the day."

[ LIFE & LETTERS, by A.F.Hort, 1896,  
vol. 1, pp 418 - 420 ]

In a letter to J.B.Lightfoot, dated 4 May, 1860,  
from F.J.A.HORT:

"I am also glad that you take the same  
provisional ground as to infallibility  
that I do."

[L. & L. 1, p 424].



2. EXTRACT FROM AN ORDINATION ADDRESS BY  
BISHOP LIGHTFOOT:

"Whatever other affinities may have drawn man to man during their residence here.... the true and ultimate bond of union must be the participation in a common work and the loving devotion to a common Master. This is the consecration and the crown of your friendships, of your brotherhood. Of your brotherhood. Yes, I delight to place this before you as the ideal of our fellowship here. A brotherhood in Christ; not an exclusive association of clique or caste; not a repulsive Pharisaism which exalts special advantages into special merits; not a centripetal, but a centrifugal influence - or rather centrifugal because it is centripetal, a force gathering strength at the central fire, but a force diffusing heat, and light and life far and wide. . . The affection of brother to brother is only a stepping stone to that larger grace which knows no distinction of man and man, which transcends all external barriers . . . If it stops short of this it fails of its true end. It becomes a snare to ourselves, and a stone of offence to the Church of Christ. Remember therefore the Apostle's precept, *ἐπιχρησάτε ἐν τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ τὴν ἀγάπην*. Let your *φιλαδελφία* expand into *ἀγάπη*."

- Quoted in 'Lightfoot of Durham,'  
Eden and Macdonald, 1932, p 32.

### 3. B.F.WESTCOTT ON J.B.LIGHTFOOT:

"I believe that his greatest work was the Brotherhood of clergy whom he called to labour with him in the Diocese, and bear his spirit to another generation, greater than his masterpieces of interpretation, greater than his masterpieces of masculine and passionate eloquence."

- quoted by Eden and Macdonald, op.cit., p xi.

### 4. LIGHTFOOT AND HIS TIMES:

"His episcopate has often been called 'The Golden Age' of Durham, and splendid it assuredly was. He was a great man sent to meet a great opportunity. . . . It is essential, in estimating his work, to bear in mind the extraordinary changes that have come over England since his day. One shrewd observer remarks that 'the interval since Lightfoot has been perhaps the most revolutionary in our history, with the possible exception of the Reformation.' In every sphere, political, economic, academic, ecclesiastic, and local, there have been astonishing changes. Three Franchise Bills have completely remodelled the electorate, and 'Labour', now such a powerful force in England, and especially in Durham, was unheard of in the 'eighties. Times of great depression they certainly had, coming at regular intervals, but nothing to compare with the stagnation and unemployment that paralyse industry to-day. Again, both in his charitable generosity and in the maintenance of his great position, Lightfoot, were he now living, would find himself handicapped by the altered value of money . . . These and many other changes which have combined to make the work of the clergy to-day more difficult even than it was 40 years ago must be continually borne in mind" - op.cit. pp xiv - xv.

# THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

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J.B.LIGHTFOOT does not expound along a theological or doctrinal line; his commentaries are essentially of an historical and lexical character. In the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians the first two chapters do not, in any case, give much scope for doctrinal exegesis. But the third and fourth chapters must evoke the theological opinions of a commentator, and in his volume \* Lightfoot reveals his own views most significantly in connection with the term νόμος. The series of texts which call forth his most useful comments [from the point of view of this thesis] begin at 2:19 - 20. Lightfoot's paraphrase of the section 2:17 - 21 is as follows:

"Thus to be justified in Christ, it was necessary to sink to the level of Gentiles, to become 'SINNERS' in fact. But are we not thus making Christ a minister of sin? Away with the profane thought. No! The guilt is not in abandoning the law, but in seeking it again when abandoned. Thus, and thus alone, we convict ourselves of transgression. On the other hand,

\* Epistle to the Galatians, 1884.

"in abandoning the law we did but follow the promptings of the law itself. Only by dying to the law could we live unto God. With Christ I have been crucified at once to the law and to sin. Henceforth I live a new life - yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. This new life is not a rule of carnal ordinances; it is spiritual, and its motive principle is faith in the Son of God who manifested His love for me by dying for my sake. I cannot then despise God's grace. I cannot stultify Christ's death by clinging still to a justification based upon law"

- pp 116 & 119.

The term νόμος occurs 32 times in GALATIANS;

76 times in ROMANS; 8 times in I CORINTHIANS;

and only 6 times elsewhere in Paul's writings.

On the phrase διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, Lightfoot

remarks that of all the answers to the question,

In what sense can it be said that THROUGH LAW

Christ died to ~~the~~ law? - two only deserve attention.

"The law may be said in two different ways to be

παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν." He defines first

ITS ECONOMICAL PURPOSE, and gives a summary of

this view:

"The law bore on its face the marks of its transitory character. Its prophecies foretold Christ. Its

/ sacrifices



"sacrifices and other typical rites foreshadowed Christ. It was therefore an act of obedience to the law, when Christ came, to take him as my master in place of the law"

- p 118.

On two counts Lightfoot dismisses this interpretation, which he admits is in character with Paul's teaching elsewhere. (a) The written law is always *ὁ νόμος*. Without the article 'law' is considered as a principle, exemplified chiefly and signally in the Mosaic law, but being wider than this in its application. "In explaining this passage, therefore, we must seek for some element in the Mosaic law which it had in common with law generally . . . " and (b) this interpretation makes the words *διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον* an appeal rather to the reason and intellect, than to the heart and conscience; the whole tenor of the passage points rather to the moral and spiritual change wrought in the Christian believer.

Secondly, ITS MORAL EFFECTS:

"The law reveals sin; it also provokes sin; nay, in a certain sense it may be said to create sin, for 'sin is not reckoned where there is no law' [Rom. 5:13]. Thus the law is the strength of sin [ I Cor.15:56].

"At the same time it provides no remedy for the sinner. On the contrary it condemns him hopelessly, for no one can fulfil all the requirements of the law. The law then exercises a double power over those subject to it; it makes them sinners, and it punishes them for being so. What can they do to escape? They have no choice but to throw off the bondage of the law, for the law itself has driven them to this. They find the deliverance, which they seek, in Christ. See Romans 7:24, 25, and indeed the whole passage, Romans 5.20 - 8.11. Thus then they pass through three stages, (1) Prior to the law, - sinful, but ignorant of sin; (2) Under the law - sinful, and conscious of sin, yearning for better things; (3) Free from the law - free and justified in Christ.

"This sequence is clearly stated in Romans 5.20. The second stage [ *διὰ νόμου* ] is a necessary preparation for the third [ *νόμῳ ἀπελευθέρων* ]. 'Proinde,' says Luther on 3.19 (the edition of 1519), 'ut remissio propter salutem, ita praevaricatio propter remissionem, ita lex propter transgressionem.'

"What the Mosaic ordinances were to the Jews, other codes of precepts and systems of restraints were in an inferior degree and less efficaciously to other nations. They too, like the Jews, had felt the bondage of law in some form or other."

On verse 20, Lightfoot comments:

"I HAVE BEEN CRUCIFIED WITH CHRIST. A new turn is thus given to the metaphor of death.

"In the last verse it was the release from past obligations; here it is the annihilation of old sins. The two, however, are not unconnected. Sin and law loose their hold at the same time. The sense of feebleness, of prostration, to which a man is reduced by the working of the law, THE PROCESS OF DYING, in fact, is the moral link which unites the two applications of the image: see Rom. 7.5, 9 - 11. Thus his death becomes life. Being crucified with Christ, he rises with Christ, and lives to God. The parallel passage in the Romans best illustrates the different senses given to death. See also, for a similar and characteristic instance of working out a metaphor, the different applications of *ἡμέρα* in I Thess. 5.2 - 8."

With reference to the famous quotation of Habakkuk 2:4 in Galatians 3:11, the writer gives the following translation of the verse from the Hebrew text:

"Behold, his soul is uplifted [proud, stubborn], it is not right [calm, even]: but the just man shall live by his steadfastness [fidelity] . . . . *וְהַיָּשָׁר יֵחִי בְּבִטְחוֹ* p'ts"

Lightfoot continues:

"What is the correct rendering of the first clause, whether it refers to the Chaldaean invader or to the heedless Jew, may be questioned; but the second clause without doubt describes the attitude of the faithful Israelite in the season of danger . . .

"It will thus be seen that in the first clause of the verse, the LXX, though it makes excellent sense, differs widely from the Hebrew. In the second clause again

"the Hebrew word נֶאֱמָר is not directly 'faith', meaning 'trust, belief,' but 'steadfastness, faithfulness.' The context, however, justifies πίστις, even in the sense 'trust,' as a paraphrastic rendering, and it was so translated by Symmachus, Aquilla, and Theodotion, and in the other Greek versions. . . . In its original context the passage has reference to the temporal calamities inflicted by the Chaldaean invasion. Here a spiritual meaning and general application are given to words referring primarily to special external incidents. Another portion of this same prophecy of Habakkuk (i.15, comp. ii.5) relating to the Chaldaeans is similarly applied in a speech of St. Paul. Acts xiii.41, in which context (v.39) there is perhaps a tacit allusion to the words ὁ δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.... quoted here."

The notes on the great culminating verse 13 of the third chapter are admittedly brief and disappointing. Lightfoot renders it:

"Christ ransomed us from this curse pronounced by the law, Himself taking our place and becoming a curse for our sakes: for so says the Scripture, Cursed is every one that hangeth on the gibbet."

On ἐξηγόρασεν, he simply reminds us that the verb has two meanings. (1) 'to redeem, ransom, especially from slavery; (2) 'to buy up' - a rather exceptional sense. "The former meaning is



"required here and iv.5; the latter seems best suited to Eph.v.16, Col.iv.5."

And on κατάρπα ,

"The victim is regarded as bearing the sins of those for whom atonement is made. The curse is transferred from them to it. It becomes in a certain sense the impersonation of the sin and of the curse. This idea is very prominent in the scape-goat, Lev.xvi.5 sq.: see especially the language of the Epistle of Barnabas, section 7, where the writer explains the scape-goat as a type of Christ. Compare also Lev.iv.25 and 29. In Hebrew חטאת is both 'sin' and 'sin-offering.' Counterparts to these types of the Great Sacrifice are found also among heathen nations, e.g. the Athenians, Arist. Ran. 733, Lysias ANDOC. p.108, and especially the Egyptians, Herod.ii.39 . . . "

The commentator makes this cautious statement upon 'the curse' in the few remaining lines:

"Our Lord had died the death of the worst malefactors: He had undergone the punishment, which under the law, betokened the curse of God. So far He has become κατάρπα . . . But He was in no literal sense κατάρπατος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ and St.Paul instinctively ~~xxxxxxxx~~ omits those words which do not strictly apply, and which, if added, would have required some qualification."

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Lightfoot's most significant commentary on the two verses, Galatians 3:19, 20, is embraced in his paraphrase at the head of the section. He shows how he reads the fourfold argument regarding the inferiority of the law:

"Had the law then no purpose? Yes: but its very purpose, its whole character and history, betray its inferiority to the dispensation of grace. In four points this inferiority is seen. FIRST; Instead of justifying it condemns, instead of giving life it kills: it was added to reveal and multiply transgressions.

SECONDLY; it was but temporary; when the seed came to whom the promise was given, it was annulled.

THIRDLY; it did not come direct from God to man. There was a double interposition, a twofold mediation, between the giver and the recipient. There were the angels, who administered it as God's instruments; there was Moses [or the high-priest] who delivered it to man.

FOURTHLY; As follows from the idea of mediation, it was of the nature of a contract, depending for its fulfilment on the observance of its conditions by the two contracting parties. Not so the promise, which, proceeding from the sole fiat of God, is unconditional and changeable."

The note on παιδαγωγός in 3:24 is typical of Lightfoot's thorough, lucid and forthright method, and is cited as such rather than for any arrestingly original exegesis:

"Comp. I Cor. iv. 15. The paedagogus or tutor, frequently a superior slave, was entrusted with the moral supervision of the child. Thus his office was quite distinct from that of the διδάσκαλος, so that the English rendering 'school-master,' conveys a wrong idea."

He then quotes quite a full extract from Plato [Lysis, p. 203 c] as illustrating the use which Paul makes of the metaphor. Further, he refers the reader to Becker and Marquardt ROM. ALT. v. i. p. 114, and Smith's DICT. of ANTIQ. s. v. - and continues:

"As well as his inferior rank, as in his recognised duty of enforcing discipline, this person was a fit emblem of the Mosaic Law. The rabbinical writers naturalised the word παιδαγωγός, גידן [see Schöttgen here], and in the Jerusalem Targum is used to translate נזן [A.V. 'a nursing-father'] Numb. xi. 12.

The tempting explanation of παιδαγωγός εἰς Χριστόν, 'one to conduct us to the school of Christ,' ought probably to be abandoned. Even if this sense did not require πρὸς Χριστόν or εἰς Χριστόν the context is unfavourable to it. There is no reference here to our Lord

"as a TEACHER. 'Christ' represents the freedom of mature age, for which the constraints of childhood are a preparation; compare Ephes.iv.13 . . . . The metaphor of the paedagogus seems to have grown out of ἐκτροφεὺς μέδων and thus the main idea is that of strict supervision. The παιδαγωγὸς had the whole moral direction of the child, so that παιδαγωγία became equivalent to 'moral training,' and the idea conveyed by the term need not be restricted to any one function. Compare Plut. NUM 15 . . . and Liban.iv.437, ed Reiske [quoted in Wetstein] . . ."

p 149.

At the end of the notes on chapter 3 there is a full additional note on 'Faith,' which is characteristically clear, adequate and comprehensive, and quite orthodox.

At 4:11 we are given a clear analysis of the relation between both the Jewish and heathen religion to LAW. In the section ending with verse eleven, writes Lightfoot, Paul has been describing the Mosaic Law as the "alphabet . . . of moral and spiritual instruction." In the period of childhood the mode of instruction was tempered to the undeveloped capacities of mankind - "It was subject to a discipline of absolute precepts, of external ordinances." But Paul is speaking both of the Jewish race and of the heathen



world before Christ, i.e. of all forms of law which might be subservient to the same purpose. This is made clear by Paul's including his Galatian readers under the same tutelage.

"Nor is this fact to be explained by supposing them to have passed through a stage of Jewish proselytism on their way to Christianity. St. Paul distinctly refers to their previous idolatrous worship (ver. 8), and no less distinctly and emphatically does he describe their adoption of Jewish ritualism, as a RETURN to the weak and beggarly discipline of childhood, from which they had been emancipated when they abandoned that worship."

The question which comes immediately to mind is, How could Paul class in the same category the divinely ordained law which is described as 'holy and just and good' [Rom. 7:12], and those degraded heathen systems which he elsewhere reprobates as 'fellowship with devils' [I Cor. 10:20] ?

"The answer seems to be that the Apostle here regards the higher element in heathen religion as corresponding, however imperfectly, to the lower element in the Mosaic law. For we may consider both the one and the other as made up of two component parts, the SPIRITUAL and the RITUALISTIC."

Viewed in the SPIRITUAL aspect there is no comparison. So far as the heathen religions add anything of their own to that innate sense of dependence upon God which is universal and which they could not crush, they are wholly bad. On the contrary, in the Mosaic religion, the spiritual element was most truly divine. And Christianity has appropriated all that was spiritual in its predecessor. "Deprived of this, it was a mere mass of lifeless ordinances, differing only in degree, not in kind, from any other ritualistic system."

It is the RITUALISTIC element that constitutes the meeting point of Judaism and heathenism.

"In Judaism this was as much lower than its spiritual element, as in Heathenism it was higher. Hence the two systems approach within such a distance of each other that they can under certain limitations be classed together. They have at least so much in common that a lapse into Judaism can be regarded as a relapse to the position of unconverted Heathenism. Judaism was a system of bondage like Heathenism. Heathenism had been a disciplinary training like Judaism . . . Both alike are στοιχεῖα, 'elementary systems of training.' They had at least this in common, that as ritual systems they were made up of precepts and ordinances, and thus were

"representatives of 'law' as opposed to 'grace,' 'promise,' that is, as opposed to the Gospel. Doubtless in this respect even the highest form of heathen religion was much lower and less efficient than the Mosaic ritual. But still in an imperfect way they might do the same work: they might act as a restraint, which multiplying transgressions and thus begetting and cherishing a conviction of sin prepared the way for the liberty of manhood in Christ"

- p 173-

"Thus comparing the two together from the point of view in which St. Paul seems to consider them, we get as the component part of each: JUDAISM; (1) The SPIRITUAL - absolutely good, absorbed in the Gospel; (2) The RITUALISTIC - relatively good -  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  HEATHENISM; - (1) The RITUALISTIC - relatively good -  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (2) The SPIRITUAL - absolutely bad, antagonistic to the Gospel.

If this explanation of St. Paul's meaning be correct, it will appear on the one hand that his teaching has nothing in common with Goethe's classification, when he placed Judaism at the head of Ethnic religions. On the other hand it will explain the intense hatred with which the Judaizers, wholly unable to rise above the level of their sectarian prejudices and take a comprehensive view of God's providence, regarded the name and teaching of St. Paul"

- p 173.

Lightfoot gives a terse and notable conclusion to his exposition on this subject at 4:30:-

"The Law and the Gospel cannot co-exist; The Law must disappear before the Gospel. It is scarcely possible to estimate the strength of conviction and depth of prophetic insight which this declaration implies. The Apostle thus confidently sounds the death-knell of Judaism at a time when one half of Christendom clung to the Mosaic law with a jealous affection little short of frenzy, and while the Judaic party seemed to be growing in influence and was strong enough, even in the Gentile churches of his own founding, to undermine his influence and endanger his life. The truth which to us appears a truism must then have been regarded as a paradox"

p 184.

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Two further notes are worthy of mention:

On 5:23, Lightfoot epitomises, "Law exists for the purpose of restraint, but in the works of the Spirit there is nothing to restrain."

At 6:2, he comments, "The Apostle seems to have used both *πάρος* and *νόμος* [the latter certainly], with reference to the ritualistic tendencies of the Galatians."



There are two passages in the Preface to the first edition of Lightfoot's Commentary on 'Galatians' which merit our attention; justifying his use of an independent text he writes:

"If I had pursued the latter course [ie adopting the recension of some well-known editor], I should certainly have selected either Bentley or Lachmann. But Bentley's text was constructed out of very imperfect materials, and Lachmann only professed to give results which were approximate and tentative. Of the services of Tischendorf in collecting and publishing materials it is impossible to speak too highly, but his actual text is the least important and least satisfactory part of the work. Dr Tregelles, to whom we owe the best recension of the Gospels, has not yet reached the Epistles of St. Paul.

"But apart from the difficulty of choosing a fit guide, there is always some awkwardness in writing notes to another's text, and the sacrifice of independent judgment is in itself an evil; nor will it be considered unseemly presumption in a far inferior workman, if with better tools he hopes in some respects to improve upon his models. Moreover I was encouraged by the promise of assistance from my friends the Rev. B.F. Westcott and the Rev. F.J.A. Hort, who are engaged in a joint recension of the Greek Testament, and have revised the text of this epistle for my use. Though I have ventured to

/ differ

"differ from them in some passages and hold myself finally responsible in all, I am greatly indebted to them for their aid"

- 1865, pp vii - viii.

Interesting too is the passage on pp xi - xii which gives further light on the writer's mind:

"While it has been my object to make this commentary generally complete, I have paid special attention to everything relating to Paul's personal history and his intercourse with the Apostles and Church of the Circumcision. It is this feature in the Epistle to the Galatians which has given it an overwhelming interest in recent theological controversy. Though circumstances have for the moment concentrated the attention of Englishmen on the Old Testament Scriptures, the questions which have been raised in this Epistle are intrinsically far more important, because they touch the vital parts of Christianity.

"If the primitive Gospel was, as some have represented it, merely one of many phases of Judaism, if those cherished beliefs which have been the life and light of many generations were afterthoughts, progressive accretions, having no foundation in the Person and Teaching of Christ, then indeed St. Paul's preaching was in vain and our faith is vain also.

"I feel very confident that the historical views of the Tübingen school are too extravagant to obtain any wide or lasting hold over the minds of men. But even in extreme cases mere denunciation may be unjust and is certainly unavailing. Moreover, for our own sakes we should try and discover the element of truth which underlies even the greatest exaggerations of able men, and correct our impressions thereby.

" 'A number there are,' says Hooker, 'who think they cannot admire, as they ought, the power of the Word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason.' The circumstances which called forth this remark contrast strangely with the main controversies of the present day; but the caution is equally needed. The abnegation of reason is not the evidence of faith but the confession of despair. Reason and reverence are natural allies, though untoward circumstances may sometimes interpose and divorce them".

# A C o m p a r i s o n   w i t h   t h e   N o t e s o f   C . J . V a u g h a n .

On the Passage, Galatians 2:17 - 21, Vaughan's notes  
are as follows:

17 'If we ourselves also were found  
to be sinners...as we should be  
if we regarded the keeping of  
the law as necessary.'

Cf I Cor. 15:56. When he says  
that the strength of sin is the  
law, he means then here is Christ  
come to support all the ordinances  
of the law, whose effect was to  
bring out sin into still clearer  
light.

'Now if by seeking to be justi-  
fied in Christ we ourselves also  
were found sinners' - 'were convic-  
ted of being sinners by the very  
act of our coming to Christ.'  
St Paul implies that St Peter's  
own act tended to support the  
idea that Christ came to be a  
minister of sin, ie to prop up  
a system which was 'the strength  
of sin,' cf Phil. 3:4-11, for the  
conflict and change in St Paul's  
own case.

19 *διὰ νόμου* - 'through a law' ie,  
'by living under a system of law-  
by the experience which I had by  
living under it,' cf Rom. 7. 'It  
was the law itself which taught  
me its own impotence.'



20. The Christian died virtually when Christ died actually.

'I died to the present state of worldly things, and amongst them to law, which is a thing belonging to the state of things in the world.'

'If I go back to the law it is as much as to say that I might have done without the law altogether. And as to that to which I now live [ie as regards my present life in the flesh] it is a life lived entirely by faith.'

No particular comment is made in the MS notes on Galatians 3:11 [nor indeed on the other two texts in which this quotation from Habakkuk 2:4 occurs, namely, Romans 1:17 and Hebrews 10:38]. But in the published commentary on 'Romans' Vaughan has this to say:

'The words were originally written of the safety of the righteous man under God's protection in that desolation by the Chaldeans which was the subject of the prophecy. But the same thing is true for all times: the secret of the life of ~~faith~~ the righteous is faith. And thus the clause is three times quoted in an Evangelical sense in the New Testament.'

(Fourth edn. p. 11)

On the crucial verse thirteen of chapter three Vaughan comments:

ἐξήγοραθεν does not mean necessarily recovery from captivity, but 'purchase' out of a previous condition. Cf I Cor. 6:20; 7:23; II Pet. 2:1.

The Gentiles may in a sense be said to have broken a law because they have broken the law of conscience. Cf Rom. 1:19; 2:14 f.

ἐκ τῆς κατάρας the curse belonging to the law; the curse under which the law brought us by our breach of it, cf Rom. 7:10.

On the verses, Galatians 3:19, 20, Vaughan has an unusually long note in the MSS, as follows:

19 'Do I mean that the law was to no purpose? Not at all so. What then was the law? . . . ' After seeming to disparage the law overmuch he stops to show that it had an important purpose of its own.

ὃ ἐπηγγέλτα In Rom. 4:21 and Heb. 12:26 the word is used in the middle sense undoubtedly, which are the only other passages where the passive form occurs. Dr Lightfoot here takes it as a passive quoting II Macc. 4:27. But it seems that it might as well be taken as a middle here too: "to whom he made the promise."

It was given for the sake of revealing human transgressions - for the sake of stimulating human transgression and bringing out that sin in man which before was ~~latent~~ dormant in him, but as really there as it was afterwards.

διαταγὴς δι' ἁγγέλων -

cf Heb. 2:2. It is a third point of disparagement that the law was ordained by angels not by the Lord Himself; cf for the fact Dt 33:2; Psalm 68:17; Acts 7:53; - Psalm 104:4 gives a further hint as connecting angels with the phenomenon that accompanied the law.

The angels, it would seem, must have been employed in the material work connected with the giving of the law, ie the forming and writing the tables of stone.

The fourth point of disparagement is ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου ; and Heb. chapters 1 & 2, and 3 & 4 are respectively commentaries on ORDAINED BY ANGELS and IN THE HAND OF A MEDIATOR - as proofs of the inferiority of the law.

The precise correspondence and agreement seems some argument in support of St Paul being the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Cf I tim. 2:5 for Christ as 'Mediator.' But Christ is a mediator in a sense different from that in which Moses was one. The latter was distinct from God, but Christ was one with Him. Hence the inferiority of the one to the other.

20 ὁ μεσίτης is the generic article, "Now he who is a mediator is not a mediator of one" [between one]: there must be two - there

must be two parties involved to make a mediator possible, and that was the case in the giving of the law as God was entering into a covenant with men.

And so the term 'mediator' is applicable to the law . . . 'but God the giver of the promise is one.' The law was a matter of stipulation and so there was a place for a mediator there, but there is no place for one in the case of the promise. God the One God speaks with His own lips and says, 'I will give this and that - there is not room for a mediator and a stipulation.'

Reminder: the first disparagement was that the law is additional *πρόστέθῃ*. The second is that it was temporary, only to last *ἄχρις οὗ* . . . . The third, the law was ordained by angels. And the fourth, the mediation of Moses.

Mark the word 'mediator,' he says, it suggests something quite different from the promise - the word 'mediator' itself shows the distinction between the law and the Gospel.

Vaughan has nothing corresponding to the clear and helpful exposition on the passage, Galatians 4:1-11, in *Lightfoot*. His fragmentary notes run as follows:



3 The elementary lessons of outward things: 'the visible elements of the world' - sun, moon, sea, etc, once deified and worshipped by the Galatians. The rudiments which belong to the material world - the KOSMOS. Referring to the ritual observances of the Jewish law.

στοιχεῖα came to mean (i) the material elements, as in II Peter 3:10, 12.

(ii) The elements of learning, cf Heb. 5:12.

The rudiments of learning belonging to the material universe, and so having reference to material not spiritual things. For the use of κόσμος here cf Heb. 9:1.

5 ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν This clause is not to be connected with ἐξαγοράσῃ, but it is a common summary of the testamentary privileges of all men whether Jews or gentiles.

6 We are not to begin by being good and then obtain the sonship; but we must be made sons first and then we must look for the gift of the Spirit. We have already been made sons by Christ's redemption. What we have to do is to claim this sonship.

The remainder of the brief notes on this section are prosaic and do not merit further quotation.

Vaughan makes two or three references to Lightfoot, in one of the instances [5:1] disagrees with the bishop over the reading:

Lightfoot makes  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  the beginning of the sentence here, and connects what precedes it with the last chapter on the grounds of the position of  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma$  after  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ . But this does not seem a valid objection. The  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma$  might easily stand with the verb, indeed that is its proper place, though late in the sentence.

In his [relatively] long note on 6:11, it is interesting to note Vaughan's reference to Lightfoot, his own view on the point and his exposition which is very typical of Vaughan, and which distinguishes him from many of his contemporaries with a wholly different approach:

Lightfoot thinks that an unusually large hand expresses eagerness in writing, and as if to show that he wrote boldly. He translates it, 'How large, mark you,' instead of taking  $\sigma\mu\iota\gamma$  with  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ . He thinks that the former part of the epistle was written by an amanuensis.

'In how large letters' - he would not speak of the largeness of the characters in which he wrote to express defect and infirmity in himself. He says it to confirm the fact of his special love and anxiety for them. Secretaries would write with small letters with a view to greater despatch. He writes in clear characters to show the authority and plainness of speech with which he writes.

'In how large letters - in what great and apparently unsightly characters !'

But there is probably a deeper admonition. The great doctrine of the Epistle is Justification by faith in Christ, not by the works of the law. The message to the prophet Habakkuk had been the same - the just shall live by his faith - and he had been told to write it and make it plain on tables that he who ran might read it. St. Paul, writing too in large letters, connects himself with the prophetic watchman.

# THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

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THE notable Christological passage, 2:5 - 11, \*is  
paraphrased as follows:

"Reflect in your own minds the mind of Christ Jesus. Be humble as He also was humble. Though existing before the worlds in the Eternal Godhead, yet he did not cling with avidity to the prerogatives of His divine majesty, did not ambitiously display His equality with God; but divested Himself of the glories of heaven, and took upon Him the nature of a servant, assuming the likeness of men. Nor was this all. Having thus appeared among men in the fashion of a man, He humbled Himself yet more, and carried out His obedience even to dying. Nor did He die by a common death: He was crucified, as the lowest malefactor is crucified. But as was His humility, so also was His exaltation. God raised Him to a pre-eminent height, and gave Him a title and a dignity far above all dignities and titles else. For to the name and majesty of Jesus all created things in heaven and earth and hell shall pay homage on bended knee; and every tongue with praise and thanksgiving shall declare that Jesus Christ is Lord, and in and for Him shall glorify God the Father"

p.110.

\* Epistle to the Galatians, 1883.



Verse 6, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ. There is a detached note on the meaning of μορφή and its distinction from σχῆμα, to which reference will be made below. Lightfoot comments at this point, "Though μορφή is not the same as φύσις or οὐσία, yet the possession of the μορφή involves participation in the οὐσία also: for μορφή implies not the external accidents but the essential attributes. Similar to this, though not so decisive, are the expressions used elsewhere of the divinity of the Son εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ 11 Cor. 4:4, Col. 1:15, and Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, Heb. 1:3.

Similar also is the term which St. John has adopted to express this truth, ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ," p 110.

The bishop thinks that ὑπάρχων denotes 'prior existence' but not necessarily 'eternal existence.' The latter idea follows from the conception of the Person of Christ which the context supposes.

The difficult phrase οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ᾔσκησεν gives our commentator opportunity to bring his wide reading to bear upon the pursuit of an adequate rendering. Offering the paraphrase, 'yet DID NOT REGARD IT AS A PRIZE, a treasure to be clutched and retained at all /hazards',

he reminds us that the more usual form of the word is <sup>ζ'</sup>ἀρπάζμα which properly signifies a piece of plunder, but can mean 'a highly-prized possession, an unexpected gain' when used with verbs like ἡγεῖσθαι, ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζειν. This he illustrates from Classical and Patristic authors. He then deals with the problem of the form ἀρπαγμός; he says, "neither analogy nor usage is decisive as to its meaning."

(i) The termination -μός denotes primarily the PROCESS, which would yield the force of 'an act of plundering.' But nouns in -μός are frequently used to describe a concrete thing, eg θεσμός, χρησμός, φραγμός.

Thus the form is no impediment to the sense which Lightfoot gives above. (ii) The actual term ἀρπαγμός occurs so rarely that usage cannot be considered decisive. The only Classical usage in Plutarch seems certainly to denote the act. Therefore we are at liberty to select the sense which most suitably fits the context. "THOUGH He pre-existed in the form of God, YET He did not look upon equality with God as a prize which must not slip from His grasp, BUT He emptied Himself, divested Himself, taking upon Him the form of a slave" (p.111). The A.V. rendering

disconnects this clause from its context, objections to which are dealt with in the additional note.

In this Note, "Different Interpretations of οὐχ ἄπραγμόν ἡγήσατο," he considers the two principal interpretations, namely, (i) that wherein the prominent idea is ASSERTION, with stress on the MAJESTY: (ii) SURRENDER, with emphasis on our Lord's HUMILITY.

1. If ἄπραγμός is taken to mean 'robbery,' 'usurpation,' then the expression asserts that the equality with God was the natural possession, the inherent right of Christ. But (a) it neglects the foregoing words. Paul, enforcing the duty of humility, emphasizes the right which Christ RENOUNCED, not what He claimed; (b) in the phrase which follows [ ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν ] the ἀλλὰ corresponds with the οὐχ, so that ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν must contain the idea which directly contrasts with ἄπραγμόν ἡγήσατο. This sense may probably be traced to the influence of the Latin Fathers, who interpreted the Latin Version without reference to the original. There is no support from any Greek Father.

2. If *ἀπαρχὴ* is taken to mean 'prize,'  
 'treasure,' [being considered equivalent to *ἐσπέρη* ]  
 then the logical connection with the whole context is  
 preserved. This is the almost universal usage of the  
 Greek Fathers.

Lightfoot paraphrases the two possible interpret-  
 ations thus: (a) "He existed in the form of God  
 AND SO did not think it usurpation to be equal with  
 God." (b) "He existed in the form of God BUT  
 NEVERTHELESS did not eagerly assert His equality with  
 God." There is Chrysostom's middle interpretation,  
 but this understands too much.

Theologically considered, the meaning which Bishop  
 Lightfoot rejects does indeed directly assert our  
 Lord's divinity. But, says the writer, the theological  
 difference is only apparent. The divinity of Christ  
 is asserted in the words 'pre-existence in the form  
 of God,' and indirectly implied in our present clause  
 taken in connection with its context. "For how could  
 it be a sign of humility in our Lord not to assert  
 His equality with God, if He were not divine?" (p.137).  
 And Lightfoot concludes by strongly affirming that



those who favour humanitarian views of our Lord's Person cannot use the second [ie his own] interpretation.

Verse 7, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν , " 'So far from this: He divested Himself,' not of His divine nature, for this was impossible, but 'of the glories, the prerogatives, of Deity. This He did by taking upon Him the form of a servant.' The emphatic position of ἑαυτὸν points to the humiliation of our Lord as VOLUNTARY, SELF-IMPOSED."

Verse 9, τὸ ὄνομα , " 'THE NAME, ie the title and dignity,' comp. Ephes. 1.21 . . . . If St. Paul were referring to any one term, Κύριος would best explain the reference; for it occurs in the context ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός verse 11. But here, as in the passages quoted, we should probably look to a very common Hebrew sense of 'name,' not meaning a definite appellation but denoting office, rank, dignity. In this case the use of the 'Name of God' in the Old Testament to denote the Divine Presence or Majesty, more especially as the object of adoration and praise,

will suggest the true meaning: since the context dwells on the honour and worship henceforth offered to Him on whom 'THE NAME,' has been conferred. 'To praise THE NAME, to bless THE NAME, to fear THE NAME, of God' are frequent expressions in the Old Testament." So Lightfoot writes on  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  in the following verse:

" 'in the name,' i.e. the majesty the manifestation to man, as an object of worship and praise. It is not 'the name Jesus,' but 'the name OF Jesus.' The name here must be the same with the name in the preceding verse. And the personal name of Jesus cannot there be meant; for the bestowal of the name is represented as following upon the humiliation and death of the Son of Man. If such had been the meaning, the words would have run, not 'He bestowed on Him the name, etc.,' but 'He exalted the name borne by Him;' for, though eminently significant in His case and thus prophetic of His glorious office (Matt. 1.21), it was the personal name of many others besides.

That the bending of the knee is an act of reverence TO Jesus, and not only to God THROUGH Him, will appear from the following considerations; (1) The parallel clause

describes an act of reverence paid directly to the Son as its object, the ultimate aim, however, being the glory of the Father. (2) The construction ἐν τῷ δυνάμει ἡσού τῶν δόξου κάμψῃ in this sense is supported by many analogous instances where direct adoration is meant, e.g. Ps. lxi.5, xlii.10. . . ."

There is an important detached Note on 'The Synonymes μορφή and σχῆμα , ' to which some reference should be made in this series of extracts illustrating the nature of Lightfoot's Biblical expositions.

The Classical usage is discussed, and the conclusion drawn that σχῆμα suggests the idea of something changeable, fleeting, unsubstantial. Μορφή , like σχῆμα , originally referred to the organs of sense. The latter may be rendered by 'figure,' 'fashion,' and the former by 'form.' "It comprises all those sensible qualities, which striking the eye lead to the conviction that we see such and such a thing." The word has none of the secondary meanings which attach to σχῆμα , as gesture or dress or pretext. Then comes a survey of the usage in Plato, Aristotle and the later philosophers.

In turning to the New Testament, Lightfoot elaborates the different usages of the two terms. He holds that passages containing *σχῆμα* show the word to have about it the nuance of 'instability, changeableness,' no less definitely than in Classical Greek. He cites Romans 12:2; I Cor. 7:31; II Cor. 11:13; II Cor. 11:14, 15; I Peter 1:14. "On the other hand the great and entire change of the inner life, otherwise described as being born again, being created anew, is spoken of as a conversion of *μορφή* always, of *σχῆμα* never." Examples are given from Romans 8:29; Phil. 3:10; II Cor. 3:18; Galatians 4:19. And there are cases where the two terms occur in the same context: Romans 12:2; Phil. 3:21.

Finally, turning to the crucial passage in Phil. 2:6, the author deals at once with the question whether *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* refers to the Incarnate or the pre-incarnate Christ. Those who hold the former view [like Hilary, Luther, Erasmus] explain the words of the supernatural or divine power and grace manifested by our Lord during His earthly ministry. De Wette, though referring the expression to Christ Incarnate, urges that the point of time marked by *ὑπάρχων* is



evidently prior to our Lord's actual ministry; it describes the glory dwelling in Him POTENTIALLY, at the moment when He commenced His ministry. Lightfoot, however, is definite in his view that the whole reference is to the pre-incarnate being of our Lord.

"Even if the words *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών* did not directly refer to the Incarnation, as they appear to do, nothing else can be understood by *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος*. We cannot suppose St. Paul to have meant that our Lord was not in the likeness of men before His baptism and ministry, and became so then for the first time . . . . The whole context in St. Paul clearly implies that the being born as man was the first step in His humiliation, as the death on the Cross was the last. In other words, it requires that *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* be referred to a point of time prior to the Incarnation" (p.132).

In discussing the sense in which the phrase is applied to the pre-incarnate Christ, Lightfoot affirms that *μορφῇ* must apply to the attributes of the Godhead. "It is used in a sense substantially the same which it bears in Greek philosophy. It suggests the same idea

which is otherwise expressed in St. John by ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
 in Christian writers of succeeding ages by υἱὸς Θεοῦ ὢν Θεός,  
 and in the Nicene Creed by Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ."

Lightfoot's concluding paragraph is significant  
 for a consideration of the commentator's thought  
 generally:

"In accepting this conclusion  
 we need not assume that St. Paul  
 consciously derived his use of  
 the term from any philosophical  
 nomenclature. There was suf-  
 ficient definiteness even in its  
 popular usage to suggest this  
 meaning when it was transferred  
 from the objects of sense to the  
 conceptions of the mind.

"Yet if St. John adopted Λόγος,  
 if St. Paul himself adopted εἰκὼν,  
 πρωτότοκος, and the like, from  
 the language of existing theo-  
 logical schools, it seems very  
 far from improbable that the  
 closely analogous expression  
 μορφή Θεοῦ should have been  
 derived from a similar source.

"The speculations of Alex-  
 andrian and Gnostic Judaism  
 formed a ready channel, by which  
 the philosophical terms of ancient  
 Greece were brought within reach  
 of the Apostles of Christ.

"Thus in the passage under  
 consideration the μορφή is  
 contrasted with the σκῆμα, as

"that which is intrinsic and essential with that which is accidental and outward. And the three clauses imply respectively the true divine nature of our Lord [μορφὴ Θεοῦ], the true human nature [μορφὴ δούλου], and the externals of the human nature [σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος]"

- p.133.

The Notes on Philippians 2:5 - 11  
from Vaughan's Commentary \*

. . .

5. HAVE THIS MIND] more exactly,  
'have this thing for your mind'  
(your principle of thought and feeling)  
'in your case, which was (is) also had  
for his mind' (His principle of thought  
and feeling) 'in the case of Christ  
Jesus.'

THIS] an entire and absolute self-  
forgetfulness.

WHICH WAS ALSO] Or, WHICH IS ALSO.  
Is not the same mind in Him still ?

6 SUBSISTING] In so important a passage  
accuracy is more vital than beauty of  
rendering, and a somewhat formal and  
metaphysical term may be acquiesced in  
for its fidelity to the Greek.

We have in this passage three words  
for existence, TO BE (ΕΙΝΑΙ), TO BE  
BEFOREHAND (ΠΑΡΕΧΕΙΝ), TO BEGIN TO BE  
(ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ), and the variation is not  
accidental.

TO SUBSIST (ΠΑΡΕΧΕΙΝ) is TO BE  
BEFOREHAND, TO BE, TO BEGIN WITH, TO BE  
BY AND BE or ORIGINALLY. If the word  
says slightly less than John 1:1 (IN THE  
BEGINNING WAS), it is at least entirely  
in harmony with it, and asserts PRE-  
EXISTENCE if not (in so many words)  
eternal existence. The condition which  
was the basis and substratum of all else  
was a prior existence in the form of God.

\* St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians,  
with Translation, Paraphrase, and Notes, 1885.



6. THE FORM OF GOD] Three words occur in this passage expressive of the general idea of resemblance, FORM (μορφή), FASHION (σχῆμα), LIKENESS (ὁμοίωμα).

The first alone is applicable to God, for it alone has the sense, not of external appearance, but of essential quality. For a full account of the words I must refer to Bishop Lightfoot on this passage, and to Archbishop Trench's Synonyms of the New Testament.

COUNTED NOT AS ] In the interpretation of this difficult phrase there are two main lines of divergence. 1. The Authorised Version, with its rendering, THOUGHT IT NOT ROBBERY, makes the clause refer to the pre-existent Christ; 'He counted it no grasping,' no assumption of that which was not His right, to be equal with God - Nevertheless He divested Himself of that glory.

Three objections lie against this:

- (1) the aorist tense of the verb (ᾤκνησεν), which is unsuitable to a habitual state of mind, and suggests rather a particular mental act;
- (2) its being a verb at all, when the participle ('and thinking it no robbery') would have been a far more natural mode of expression;
- (3) the emphasis thus laid upon a thought least of all appropriate to the designed moral, which is not that of self-assertion but of self-abnegation.

2. The Revised Version, on the contrary, renders it THOUGHT IT NOT A PRIZE [with the margin, 'Greek, a thing to be grasped'], thus making this clause the transition from the

pre-existence to the humiliation.  
 I have just so far modified this view  
 as to make the word (ἁρπαγμός) not  
 A THING TO BE GRASPED but AN ACT or  
 MEANS OF GRASPING, and to understand the  
 exact thought to be, that He who from  
 eternity was in the form of God, instead  
 of regarding that equality with God as  
 giving Him an unbounded power of self-  
 aggrandisement, did on the contrary  
 empty Himself of all by a voluntary  
 self-incorporation with the creature,  
 and with the creature not in its  
 greatness but in its littleness, not  
 in its conditions of comfort and honour,  
 but in its uttermost abasement of shame  
 and suffering.

Thus (1) we preserve the exact  
 sense of the precise form of the  
 principal word (ἁρπαγμός not  
 ἁρπαγή), and (2) we avoid the  
 appearance of disparagement by Christ  
 Himself of His own equality with God  
 (counted it not a prize to be on an  
 equality with God).

THE BEING EQUAL | The form of the Greek  
 is THE BEING EQUAL THINGS (neuter plural)  
 WITH GOD.

A passage in the Septuagint  
 (Job 11:12) is quoted to show that  
 no real difference is made by this  
 peculiarity (such as should make it  
 necessary to render the phrase here  
 TO HAVE EQUALITY OF BEING WITH GOD),  
 while possibly the more obvious  
 form (masculine singular) might  
 have seemed to involve a risk of  
 'dividing the substance' of the  
 Godhead.

7. BUT MADE HIMSELF EMPTY ]  
 Instead of FILLING, HE EMPTIED.  
 Instead of taking to Himself  
 (as the equality with God would have  
 enabled Him to do without stint or  
 limit) He put away and put off from  
 Himself. LEAVING US AN EXAMPLE.

EMPTY ] The figure is that of  
 EMPTY-HANDED, destitute of possession.  
 Ruth 1.21 . . . Mark xii.2,3 . . .  
 Luke 1.53 . . . For the idea of the  
 text compare 2 Cor. 3:9. . .

TAKING THE FORM ] Literally,  
 LEAVING THEM. The assumption of  
 human form is conceptionally prior  
 to, and the means of, the self-  
 emptying.

TAKING ] The figure is that of taking  
 into the hand for use of equipment.  
 John xiii.12 . . .

THE FORM OF A SERVANT ] The word  
 FORM (see note on verse 6) is applied  
 both to the divinity and to the  
 humanity of Christ. Not so the word  
 FASHION, which can only be used of ~~the~~ the  
 humanity (verse 3).

A SERVANT ] Literally. A SLAVE.  
 But this is not in relation to men  
 but to God. Christ was a free man.  
 In this one respect He did not take  
 our nature ~~xxxx~~ in its lowest level  
 of degradation. It was necessary  
 for His MINISTRY that He should be  
 personally free. Also slavery is  
 an unnatural condition, and therefore

unsuitable to Him Who took upon  
Him our nature in its truth not in  
its unrealities. But in relation  
to God creatureship is servitude.

OF HIM AND THROUGH HIM AND TO HIM  
ARE ALL THINGS.

BEING BORN ] This clause is strictly  
parallel and equivalent to the pre-  
ceding. IN OTHER WORDS, BEING BORN  
IN THE LIKENESS OF MEN.

BORN ] Literally, HAVING BECOME,  
HAVING BEGUN TO BE.

The pre-existent Christ enters upon  
a new being by Incarnation. He begins  
to be in a likeness which was not His  
before.

The word BORN is adopted from  
the English Version (both Authorized  
and Revised) of the same word in  
Galatians iv.4 . . . It is too  
definite, but seems preferable to  
the MADE which appears to be prac-  
tically the only alternative.

LIKENESS ] Rom. viii.3 . . . .

OF MEN ] of mankind.

3. AND BEING FOUND ] A further  
stage of the humiliation begins here.  
He might have condescended to take  
our nature, and yet, in doing so,  
He might have stipulated for a con-  
dition of wealth and honour; He  
might have made the original equality  
with God a means of gain ( *σπέρμας* )  
at least in this, that He should take



our nature at it best, not at its worst. By not doing so, He humbled Himself over again.

FOUND ] The word properly implies a previous search or enquiry, but often loses that precision in its use. TAKEN COGNIZANCE OF, PRESENTED TO VIEW. See for example Luke xvii.13, 'there were not found that returned to give glory to God.' Acts v.39. 2 Cor.v.3.

IN FASHION ] See note on verse 6. This word (σχῆμα) unlike that rendered FORM (μορφή), has always the idea of something sensible, material, or circumstantial, and in reference to the humanity of Christ distinguishes the accidental in it from the permanent. The only other place of its occurrence in Scripture is 1 Cor.vii.31, 'the fashion of this world passeth away.' For a verb derived from it see iii.21, and the note there.

AS A MAN ] That is, such in all points as a human being is. Heb.ii.17 'it behoved Him to be made in all things like unto His brethren.'

MADE HIMSELF LOWLY ] Both in character and in circumstance. Matt xi.29, 'I am meek and lowly (ταπεινός) in heart.'

BECOMING ] Literally, HAVING BECOME. See note on verse 7, Taking the form. The obedience is conceptionally prior to, and the condition of, the humbling.

BECOMING OBEDIENT. ] Not as though from a prior opposite or different state. Compare Heb.v.8, 'yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered.'

The thought is, the development of the spirit of obedience (which was always His) in a series of acts.

OBEDIENT ] It is left to be understood to whom. Just so St. Paul in Rom. vi. 16 uses OBEDIENCE [without further explanation] as the opposite of sin....

EVEN UNTO DEATH ] In the A.V. OBEDIENT UNTO DEATH might easily be misunderstood. The insertion of even in the Revised ought to obviate this. OBEDIENT TO THE FATHER'S WILL TO THE VERY EXTENT OF DYING. Beyond that limit obedience cannot go. GREATER LOVE, greater devotion, HATH NO MAN THAN THIS, THAT HE LAY DOWN HIS LIFE for its object (John xv. 13).

YEA, THE DEATH OF THE CROSS ] More exactly, AND [THAT DEATH] A DEATH OF [BELONGING TO, CAUSED BY] A CROSS. The absence of a definite article in the Greek lays the stress upon the kind of death, so ignominious, so torturing. The word itself (σταυρός) originally meant only an upright stake such as palisades are made of, and even as an instrument of punishment was not confined to what we understand by crucifixion.

[In Esther vii. 9 the Septuagint renders, LET HIM BE HANGED THEREON by the Greek for LET HIM BE CRUCIFIED THEREON ].

But its use in the New Testament is uniform, involving all the feelings of natural disgust and horror connected with a Roman Crucifixion, as well as the patriotic resentment of it as one of the most

/odious

odious badges of a foreign yoke. It may be worth noticing that our Lord used the figure of bearing the Cross as the duty of the true disciple (Matt.x.38) even before He foretold His own death by crucifixion, Matt.xx.19. The force of the text, which lies in the degrading character of the death, is seen in such passages as I Cor.i.23 . . . Gal.v.11 . . . Heb.xii.2 . . . While the more attractive aspect is shown in Eph.ii.16. Col.i.20, 'having made peace through the blood of His cross.'

9. WHEREFORE ] As the reward of this uttermost self-humiliation. Compare Heb.xii.2 . . .

HIGHLY EXALTED HIM ] One of St. Paul's strong compounds with the preposition OVER (ὐπέρ). Like, WE ARE MORE THAN CONQUERORS (Rom.viii.37). GRACE DID MUCH MORE ABOUND (Rom.v.20). Explained by Eph.i.20 and c. . . .

GRANTED ] GAVE AS A FREE GIFT. See i.29. The word (χρίσθε) is peculiar in Scripture to St. Luke and St. Paul.

THE NAME ] We are not to imagine one particular name (such as JESUS, or even LORD) to be intended. The NAME is the SUMMARY OF THE PERSON; it is that expedient by which we represent to ourselves and to others a person such as He is in form, feature, character &c. NAME, in Scripture, has very sacred applications. The great passage



is Exod. xxxiv.5, &c., where THE NAME OF THE LORD is the enumeration of His attributes, and is made equivalent to God such as He is.

Thus in the Lord's Prayer, Hallowed be Thy Name is a petition that God may be regarded and treated as that Holy Person which He indeed is. In the text the NAME GIVEN to Christ is the designation or description of Him in His completeness, as the crucified and glorified Saviour, IN WHOM DWELLETH ALL THE FULLNESS OF THE GODHEAD BODILY (Col.ii.9).

The expression is equivalent to the more general terms of I Peter i.21 . . . and Heb.ii.9...

ABOVE EVERY NAME ] ABOVE EVERY DESIGNATION or DESCRIPTION of created being, human or super-human. Eph.i.21 . . . .

10. THAT IN THE NAME OF JESUS ] Not AT THE NAME. That IN THE NAME OF JESUS - WITHIN (and not apart from or independently of) THE REVEALED BEING (in person, work, office, and mind) OF JESUS - EVERY KNEE MIGHT BEND, whether in submission, worship or prayer.

A magnificent amplitude is thus given to the divine purpose in the exaltation of the risen Lord. He is the Person who comprehends and contains in Himself all the worship as well as all the life of God's universe.



EVERY KNEE MIGHT BEND ] Three

thoughts are here, as above

indicated. (1) SUBMISSION;

Isai.xlv.23 . . . (2) WORSHIP;

I Chron.xxix.20 [LXX] . . .

(3) PRAYER; Eph.iii.14 . . .

OF BEINGS ] Or, OF THINGS.

The Greek is ambiguous. The context seems to suggest persons rather than things, and the passage in Rev.v.13 is of too poetical and pictorial a character to be pressed to a decision of the question of gender here.

UNDER THE EARTH ] In Hades, the conceived abode of departed spirits. Psalm lxxiii.9... Luke xxiii.43... Rev.i.18 . . .

11. AND EVERY TONGUE ] A continuation of the quotation begun in verse 10 from Isai.xlv.23 . . .

MAKE CONFESSION ] The word (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) is used both in the sense of confession of sin, as in Matt.iii.6. Acts xix.18. James v.16; and (which is more suitable here) of the acknowledgment in grateful praise of what God is. See Matt.xi.25. Lk.x.21. Rom.xv.9.

JESUS CHRIST IS LORD ] Here there could be no question as to the rendering, though in the Greek order LORD stands first. In some like passages the distinction of subject and predicate is not so clear. Rom.x.9.... 2 Cor.iv.5. Comp. I Cor.xii.3.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD. ] This is the ultimate object of all. SEE I Pet.i.21... Rom.xi.36.

# A Comparison with the Notes of C. J. Vaughan.

The Dean's notes on Philippians 2:5 - 11 are thus:-

5. *ΤΟΥΤΟ ΦΡΟΝΕΙΘΩ* -  
'Let this be made the sentiment  
in the case of you.'

Some omit the *χαρ* here; but  
Tischendorf keeps it. Alford  
reads *φρονεῖτε* in which case it  
would be, 'Have this sentiment  
in your minds which was also the  
sentiment in Christ Jesus.'

The important passage which  
now follows is introduced  
incidentally, as most doctrinal  
passages are, as a motive for  
love.

6. *Οὐχ ἑρπύμην ἡγήσατο*  
'He thought it not a thing to  
be snatched - to be grasped and  
clung to - to be equal with God  
(i.e. to have equality of being  
with God), but made Himself empty  
(of His divine prerogatives) by  
taking a form of a servant  
(i.e. of a created being - for  
every created being must be a  
slave in respect of God as being  
His inalienable property) by  
becoming in (i.e.) by coming into  
likeness of men; and being found  
in fashion as a human being. He  
humbled Himself (still lower) by  
becoming subject unto death, and  
death such as that of the Cross  
(thus marking the quality).'

ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ seems to refer to the pre-incarnate state of Christ, as may be gathered from the contrast between this and μορφὴν δούλου λαβών. They cannot both refer to the incarnate state.

ἄρπαγμόν is the emphatic word in the sentence, and casts τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ into the shade. The leading idea in it is not snatching from another but 'for oneself.'

6. τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ - is no new thing which He thought it not robbery to be, but His state already existing respecting which He οὐκ ἠσχέσατο .

8. . γενόμενος ὑπήκοος  
= 'becoming obedient (to God) even unto death (the climax of His obedience).'

9. Some take ὄνομα here of the Name of Jesus, but cf. Heb. 1:4. It probably means a 'title.' Not any particular name - but name in the Hebrew sense of the description of the person. 'A title of honour.' Cf. I Pet. 1:21; Heb. 2:9, where 'glory' expresses the same as 'name' does here.

10. ἵνα ἐν ..... 'that IN the Name of Jesus (not AT the Name)' - it means that all address to God is to be made in His Name, cf. Eph. 5:20.

The expression is doubtful, whether it means bending the knee in  
/ submission

submission or in prayer.

In the former sense it is used in Rom. 11:4; 14:11; in the latter, in Eph. 3:14. It seems to be prayer here. The submission is expressed in what follows.

ἅν γόνυ 'every knee of all created things, whether angelic or human; and of human beings whether alive or dead.'

11. Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός  
 - cf. II Cor. 4:5. Κύριος is the predicate: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός the subject. This was the early form of confession, i.e. that Jesus Christ was Lord, cf. I Cor. 12:3.

ὥστε, seeing that Christ thus humbled Himself and was afterwards exalted.



# THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

\*

IN his commentary, Lightfoot divides the great Christological section (1:15 - 18) into two parts:

- (i) vv. 15 - 17, The Supremacy of Christ in relation to the UNIVERSE, the Natural Creation;
- (ii) v. 18, The Supremacy of Christ in relation to the CHURCH, the new Moral Creation.

The two aspects are combined, *ἵνα γένηται ἐν ᾧ πάντες αὐτὸς πρῶτεύωσι.*

Then he continues to give a brief explanation of the term LOGOS, which idea underlies the whole passage, though not actually occurring. Denoting both 'reason' and 'speech', Logos was a philosophical term adopted by Alexandrian Judaism before Paul wrote, to express the MANIFESTATION of the Unseen God, the Absolute Being, in the creation and government of the world. "It includes all the modes by which God makes Himself known to man. As His REASON, it denoted

His purpose or design; as His SPEECH, it implied His revelation" (p.143). ". . . Christian teachers, when they adopted this term, exalted and fixed its meaning by attaching to it two precise and definite

ideas: (1) 'The Word is a Divine Person,' ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος .

(2) 'The Word became incarnate in Jesus Christ,'

ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο ."

In as much as these two propositions altered materially the significance of all the subordinate terms connected with the idea of the Logos, "their use in Alexandrian writers, such as Philo, cannot be taken to DEFINE, though it may be brought to ILLUSTRATE their meaning, in St. Paul and St. John" (p.144).

Lightfoot's paraphrase of the section runs as follows:

"He is the perfect image, the visible representation, of the unseen God. He is the first-born, the absolute Heir of the Father, begotten before all ages; the Lord of the Universe by virtue of primogeniture, and by virtue also of creative agency. For in and through Him the whole world was created, things in heaven and things on earth, things visible to the outward

"eye and things cognisable by the inward perception. His supremacy is absolute and universal. All powers in heaven and earth are subject to Him. This subjection extends even to the most exalted and most potent of angelic beings, whether they be called Thrones or Dominions or principedoms or powers, or whatever title of dignity men may confer upon them. Yes: He is first and He is last. Through Him, as the mediatorial Word, the universe has been created; and unto Him, as the final goal, it is tending. In Him is no before or after. He is pre-existent and self-existent before all the worlds. And in Him, as the binding and sustaining power, universal nature coheres and consists"

- p.144.

Verse 15, on  $\epsilonἰκῶν$  : beyond the very obvious notion of likeness, the word involves two other ideas. Firstly, REPRESENTATION; Lightfoot indicates and elaborates the fact that whereas in  $\delta\mu\acute{o}\iota\omega\mu\alpha$  "the resemblance may be accidental, as one egg is like another," in the case of  $\epsilonἰκῶν$ , it "implies an archetype of which it is a copy." Secondly, MANIFESTATION; contrary to Chrysostom's view [that as archetype is invisible, so the image must be invisible], "this idea comes from the implied contrast to  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  . . . . But the underlying idea

of the εἰκών , and indeed of the λόγος generally, is the manifestation of the hidden" (p.145).

The term πρωτότοκος has a twofold parentage:

(a) like 'image' it is closely connected with the Alexandrian vocabulary of the Logos \*, signifying the original conception, the archetypal idea, of creation. (b) The Messianic reference of Psalm 89:27 seems to have been generally allowed. "As the Person of Christ was the Divine response alike to the philosophical questionings of the Alexandrian Jew and to the patriotic hopes of the Palestinian, these two currents of thought meet in the term πρωτότοκος as applied to our Lord, who is both the true Logos and the true Messiah." And the Christians would prefer πρωτότοκος to πρωτόγονος because the former would include Messianic reference.

The main ideas which the word involves are twofold, corresponding with the Alexandrian conception of the Logos and the Palestinian conception of the Messiah, respectively. (1) PRIORITY to all creation: the absolute pre-existence of the Son. Lightfoot

\* πρωτόγονος is the actual epithet Philo applied to the Logos.



makes it plain that the term *πρωτότοκος* itself guards against any idea of Christ's being but one, though the earliest, of created beings. *πρωτόκτιστος* is the appropriate term for the latter. Further, the genitive case does not "necessarily imply that the *πρωτότοκος* Himself belonged to the *κτίσις* , as will be shown presently." In any case, this is excluded by the context. It is inconsistent with the universal agency in creation which is ascribed to Christ in the following phrase, *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα*, and with the absolute pre-existence and self-existence claimed for Him just below, *αὐτὸς ἔστιν πρὸ πάντων*.

Again, the description *πρωτότοκος τῆς κτίσεως* must be interpreted in such a way that it is not inconsistent with His other title of *μονογενής* , UNICUS, "alone of His kind and therefore distinct from created things. The two words express the same eternal fact; but while *μονογενής* states it in itself, *πρωτότοκος* places it in relation to the Universe" (p.147).

(2) SOVEREIGNTY over all creation. "The right of primogeniture appertains to Messiah over all created things (cf. Psalm 89:27)" . . . In its Messianic reference

this secondary idea of sovereignty predominated in the word *πρωτότοκος*, so that from this point of view *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* would mean 'Sovereign Lord over all creation by virtue of primogeniture.' "

The very full note on *πάσης κτίσεως* shows Lightfoot at his best - or rather, in view of his consistently excellent workmanship, at his most characteristic. The phrase itself he renders by "OF ALL CREATION" rather than "of every created thing." Briefly, the three senses of *κτίσις* in the New Testament are considered: (i) Creation as the act of creating, cf. Romans 1:20; (ii) Creation as the aggregate of created things, cf. Mark 13:19; (iii) A creation, a single created thing, a creature, cf. Romans 8:39. It is best to take the noun here [without the definite article] as of the created world generally. "Indeed, *πάσης κτίσεως* in the sense of *πάντος κτίσματος* would be awkward in this connection; for *πρωτότοκος* seems to require either a collective noun, or a plural . . . ." (p.148).

Grammatically considered, the genitive case of the noun must be interpreted so as to include the full

meaning of *πρωτότοκος* . "It will therefore signify:  
 'He stands in the relation of *πρωτότοκος* to all creation,'  
 i.e. 'He is the Firstborn, the absolute Heir and sover-  
 eign Lord of all Creation.' . . . . Another explanation  
 which would connect the genitive with the first part of  
 the compound alone [*πρωτό-*], comparing John 1:15, 30,  
*πρωτός μου ἦν* , unduly strains the grammar, while it  
 excludes the idea of 'heirship, sovereignty.'

Finally, the patristic exegesis is considered. All  
 the Fathers of the second and third centuries "without  
 exception, so far as I have noticed," correctly refer  
 it to the eternal Word and not to the Incarnate Christ...  
 But "the Arians fastened upon the expression *πρωτότοκος*  
*κλῆς κτίσεως* , and drew from it the inference that the  
 Son was a created being." But many orthodox Fathers  
 were not satisfied with this, and transferred the expres-  
 sion into a new sphere and held that the significant  
 phrase described the Incarnate Christ. But this required  
 the *κτίσις* and the *κτίσασθαι* to be understood in the  
 context of the new spiritual creation (Gal. 6:15).

Two arguments in favour of this interpretation may  
 adequately be met. (1) *PROTOTOXIOS* contradicts *GENESES*

IF applied to the Divine Nature. "But," writes the Bishop, "those who maintained, and rightly maintained, that *πρωτότοκος* (Luke 2:7) did not necessarily imply that our Lord's mother had other sons, ought not to have been led away by this fallacy." (2) It was claimed that *πρωτότοκος* in other passages (Rom.viii.29, Rev.i.5, and just below, ver.18) is applied to the humanity of Christ. "But elsewhere, in Heb.i.6. . . , the term must almost necessarily refer to the pre-existence of the Son; moreover the very point of the Apostle's language in the text . . . is the parallelism in the two relations of our Lord - his relation to the natural creation, as the Eternal Lord, and his relation to the spiritual creation, as the Head of the Church - so that the same word. . . is studiously used of both" (Col.i.15, 18).

But logical consistency required that this interpretation should be carried further, and Marcellus did so. He extended this principle to the whole context, including even *εἰκὼν τοῦ ὑποστάτου Θεοῦ*, which likewise he interpreted of our Lord's humanity. "In this way a most important Christological passage was transferred into an alien sphere; and the strongest argument against



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Arianism melted away in the attempt to combat Arianism on false grounds. There are three objections to this interpretation:

- i. "It disregards the history of the terms in their connection with the pre-Christian speculations of Alexandrian Judaism. These however, though directly or indirectly they were present to the minds of the earlier fathers and kept them in the right exegetical path, might very easily have escaped a writer in the fourth century" - p 149.
- ii. It shatters the context and in such a way as would reduce all theological exegesis to chaos.
- iii. It takes no account of the cosmogony and angelology of the false teachers against which the Apostle's exposition here is directed.

Then follows a concise but comprehensive survey of individual patristic exegetes, which indicates the diversity of opinion. But, "at a later date, when the pressure of an immediate controversy had passed away, the Greek writers generally concur in the earlier and truer interpretation of the expression (pp 149-50).

Verse 16, ἐν ἀνθρώποις : Lightfoot indicates in his notes that he was well-read in the writings of Philo.

After showing that the "Apostolic doctrine of the Logos teaches us to regard the Eternal Word as holding the same relation to the Universe which the Incarnate Christ holds to the Church," he sums up:

"The Judaeo-Alexandrian teachers represented the Logos, which in their view was nothing more than the Divine mind energizing, as the *τόπος* where the eternal ideas, the *νοητὸς κόσμος* had their abode . . . The Apostolic teaching is an enlargement of this conception, in as much as the Logos is no longer a philosophical abstraction, but a Divine Person" - p 151.

There is a substantial note on the categories of angels in verse 16. The sub-division is not exhaustive, but only those are singled out who might be set in rivalry with the Son. A comparison with the parallel passage in Ephesians 1:21 brings out the following points:

- i. "No stress can be laid on the sequence of names, as though Paul were enunciating a precise doctrine of the grades of the celestial hierarchy."
- ii. An expression in Ephesians 1:21 shows the Apostle's MOTIVE for introducing these lists of names, namely, "of every dignity or title (whether real or imaginary) which is revered, etc."

Lightfoot concludes, "Hence it appears that in this catalogue St. Paul does not profess to describe objective realities, but contents himself with repeating subjective opinions. He brushes away all these speculations without enquiring how much or how little truth there may be in them, because they are altogether beside the question. His language here shows the same spirit of impatience with this elaborate angelology, as in ii.18"

- p 152.

iii. The reference is to orders of the celestial hierarchy rather than to earthly dignities - the hierarchy as conceived by Gnostic Judaizers. The whole design and purport of the letter are to combat the worship paid to angels.

Lightfoot thinks that the reference may be extended to include earthly dignities, and even to include bad angels. He paraphrases the Apostle's meaning:

"You dispute much about the successive grades of angels; you distinguish each grade by its special title; you can tell how each order was generated from the preceding; you assign to each its proper degree of worship. Meanwhile you have ignored or you have degraded Christ. I tell you it is not so. He is first and foremost, Lord of heaven and earth, far above all thrones or dominations, all principedoms or powers, far above every dignity and every potentate - whether earthly or heavenly - whether angel or demon or man - that evokes your reverence or excites your fear"

- p 153.

Then follows a comprehensive note on the various forms which the grading of the celestial hierarchy took in Jewish or Judaeo-Christian speculation.

Verse 17:

"The imperfect ἦν might have sufficed (comp. Joh.i.1), but the present declares that this pre-existence is absolute existence. The ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ here corresponds exactly to the ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ in St. John, and this again is illustrated by Exod.iii.14. The verb therefore is not an enclitic, but should be accentuated ἔστιν . . . . The αὐτός is as necessary for the completeness of the meaning, as the ἔστιν . The one emphasizes PERSONALITY, as the other declares the PRE-EXISTENCE . . . .

"The other interpretation which explains πρὸ πάντων of superiority in rank, and not of priority in time, is untenable for several reasons.

(1) This would most naturally be expressed otherwise in Biblical language as ἐπὶ πάντων (e.g. Rom.ix.5, Eph.iv.6), or ὑπὲρ πάντα (Eph.i.22), or ὑπεράνω πάντων (Eph.i.21, iv.10).

(2) The key to the interpretation is given by the analogous words in the context, esp. πρωτότοκος, vv.15,18.

(3) Nothing short of this declaration of absolute pre-existence would be adequate to introduce the statement which follows, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν"



Lightfoot's typical incisive exposition is seen in his notes on 'Head' and 'Beginning' in v.18:

"ἡ κεφαλή 'the head,' the inspiring, ruling, guiding, combining, sustaining power, the main-spring of its activity, the centre of its unity, and the seat of its life. In his earlier epistles the relations of the Church to Christ are described under the same image ( I Cor.xii.12-27; comp. vi.15, x.17, Rom.xii.4 sq.); but the apostle there takes as his starting-point the various functions of the members, and not, as in these later epistles, the originating and controlling power of the Head . . . . " - p 157.

"ἀρχή , 'the origin, the beginning.' The term is here applied to the incarnate Christ in relation to the Church, because it is applicable to the Eternal Word in relation to the universe, Rev.iii.14. . . . The parallelism of the two relations is kept in view throughout. The word ἀρχή here involves two ideas: (1) Priority in time; Christ was the first-fruits of the dead (1 Cor.xv. 20, 23); (2) originating power; Christ was also the source of life, Acts iii.14... He is not merely the PRINCIPIUM PRINCIPIIATUM but the PRINCIPITUM PRINCIPENS (see Trench, Epistles to the Seven Churches, p.183 sq.). He rose first from the dead, that others might rise through Him" - p 157.

At this point it is appropriate to mention Lightfoot's additional note on 'The Meaning of πληρώμα'. This is characteristically exhaustive and occupies eighteen pages. He reminds the reader of the dual meaning of the verb πληροῦν: (a) TO FILL (e.g. Ac. 2:2), and (b) TO FULFIL, COMPLETE, PERFECT, ACCOMPLISH. The verb occurs about one hundred times in the New Testament, with the latter meaning in four-fifths of the usages. In the case of the noun πλήρωμα, Lightfoot is concerned that different grammatical senses have been attached to it, even within the limits of the same Epistle.

"Indeed so long as we see in πληροῦν only the sense 'to fill', and refuse to contemplate the sense 'to complete,' it seems impossible to escape from the difficulties which meet us at every turn, otherwise than by assigning to its derivative πλήρωμα both an active and a passive sense; but the greatest violence is thus done to the connexion of theological ideas" - p 257.

The commentator is most emphatic that substantives in -μα formed from the perfect passive "appear always to have a passive sense . . . they give the RESULT of the agency involved in the corresponding verb."

"Now if we confine ourselves to the second of the two senses above ascribed to πληροῦν, it seems possible to explain πλήρωμα in the same way, at all events in all the theological passages of St. Paul and St. John, without doing any violence to the grammatical form. As πληροῦν is 'to complete,' so πλήρωμα is 'that which is completed,' i.e. the complement, the full tale, the entire number or quantity, the plenitude, the perfection"

- p 253.

This he illustrates adequately from the Classics.

Admittedly there are some difficulties in the usage of the Gospels; "but it is objectionable to give an active sense to πλήρωμα under any circumstances."

In St. Paul's Epistles the word πλήρωμα [fulness, plenitude] must have had a more or less definite theological value when he wrote. This inference, which is suggested by the frequency of the word, seems almost inevitable when we come to Colossians 1:19.

"The absolute use of the word, πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα, 'all THE fulness,' would otherwise be unintelligible, for it does not explain itself." Regarded as a theological term, the word does not appear to have been adopted, like so many other expressions in Paul, from the terminology of Alexandrian Judaism. We may therefore

conjecture that it had a Palestinian origin, and that the Essene Judaizers of Colossae, whom Paul is confronting, derived it from this source. In this case it would represent the Hebrew  $\text{קָדוֹשׁ}$ , of which it is a translation in the LXX, and the Aramaic  $\text{ܩܕܝܫ}$  or some other derivative of the same root, such being its common rendering in the Peshitto. §

The sense in which Paul employs this term was doubtless the sense which he found already attached to it. He means the plenitude of the Godhead [cf Col. 2:9]. In the first Christological passage of the Epistle, though the word stands without the addition of 'the Godhead', the significance required by the context is the same.

§ It is noteworthy that Lightfoot's wide reading in other languages appears from time to time, unobtrusively but relevantly, to illuminate a particular point. In a footnote (p 261) on a text from the Ignatian Epistles, besides making references to Greek and Latin terms, he writes: "The present Syriac text has ET PERFECTAE for  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$ ; but there is no reason for supposing that the Syriac translator had another reading before him. A slight change in the Syriac,  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$  \*for  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$  \*\*, would bring this version into entire accordance with the Greek."

\* =  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$

\*\* =  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$



"The true doctrine of the one Christ, who is the absolute mediator in the creation and government of the world, is opposed to the false doctrine of a plurality of mediators, 'thrones, dominions, principalities, powers.' An absolute and unique position is claimed for Him, because in Him resides 'all the pleroma,' i.e. the full complement, the aggregate of the divine attributes, virtues, energies. This is another way of expressing the fact that He is the Logos, for the Logos is the synthesis of all the various  $\deltaυνάμεις$ , in and by which God manifests Himself whether in the kingdom of nature or in the kingdom of grace" - p 262.

This application is in entire harmony with the basic meaning of the word. Lightfoot illustrates from Philo and Aristotle how the same idea has been transferred to the theological sphere.

In turning to the Epistle to the Ephesians, we need to bear in mind the different aims of the two letters. In Colossians, Paul's main object is to assert the supremacy of the Person of Christ; in Ephesians, his theme is the life and energy of the Church, as dependent on Christ.

"So the pleroma residing in Christ is viewed from a different aspect, no longer in relation to God, so much as in relation to the Church. It is that plenitude of ~~gxnx~~ Divine graces and virtues which is communicated through Christ to the Church as His Body. The Church, as IDEALLY regarded, the bride 'without spot or wrinkle or any such thing,' becomes in a manner identified with Him. All the Divine graces which reside in Him are imparted to her; His 'fulness' is communicated to her: and thus she may be said to be His pleroma (i.23).

This is the ideal Church. The actual militant Church must be ever advancing, ever struggling towards the attainment of this ideal. Hence the Apostle describes the end of all offices and administrations in the Church to be that the collective body may attain its full and mature growth, or (in other words) may grow up to the complete stature of Christ's fulness.

But Christ's fulness is God's fulness. Hence in another passage he prays that the brethren may by the indwelling of Christ be fulfilled till they attain to the pleroma of God(iii.19). It is another way of expressing the continuous aspiration and effort after holiness which is enjoined in our Lord's precept, 'Ye shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect' - p 263.

Then Lightfoot indicates the points of resemblance under this head between Paul and the Gospel of John. Nor is the use of the word very different in the Ignatian letters.

Finally, without adding anything materially to his own exposition of the term, the author gives a full survey of the idea in the writings of the Gnostic sects.

In dealing with the tricky verse 24 of the first chapter, Lightfoot shows customary erudition and straightforwardness, at the same time refusing to be drawn away by involving himself with secondary considerations. He translates plainly, "I fill up on my part the things lacking of the afflictions of Christ." He is insistent that the ἄντί of ἀντανάγκησῶ should be given its full and proper significance: so that the verb shall mean supplying 'from AN OPPOSITE QUARTER to the deficiency.' "The point of the Apostle's boast is that Christ the sinless Master should have LEFT something for the unworthy servant to suffer." The term τὰ ὑστερήματα must be rendered 'the things lacking' and not 'the later' sufferings of Christ as opposed to some earlier sufferings.

ὡς τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ Lightfoot has a deal to say, of which the following is the summary. "Of the afflictions of Christ" is the plain and only

natural interpretation. Other renderings put a forced meaning on the genitive, and ignore the meaning of *ἀντί* which points to a DISTINCTION of persons suffering.

"The theological difficulty . . . . is imaginary and not real." There is a sense in which it is legitimate to speak of the afflictions of Christ as INCOMPLETE; a sense in which they may and must be supplemented. The sufferings of Christ may be considered from two points of view. They are either SATISFACTORIAE or AEDIFICATORIAE. "They have their sacrificial efficacy, and they have their ministerial utility."

"From the former point of view the Passion of Christ was the one full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. In this sense there could be no *ἀντί* of Christ's sufferings . . . .

"From the latter point of view it is a simple matter of fact that the afflictions of every saint and martyr do supplement the afflictions of Christ. The Church is built up by repeated acts of self-denial in successive individuals and successive generations. They continue the work which Christ began. They bear their part in the sufferings of Christ [2 Cor. i.7 . . . . Phil.iii.10. . . .]



"but St. Paul would have been the last to say that his own sufferings filled up all the ὑστερήματα, but only that they went towards filling them up. The present tense ἀντανάπληρῶ denotes an inchoate, and not a complete act. These ὑστερήματα will never be fully supplemented, until the struggle of the Church with sin and unbelief is brought to a close."

"Thus the whole idea of expiation or satisfaction is wholly absent from this passage; and with it is removed the twofold temptation which has beset theologians of opposite schools" - pp 164-7.

On the second Christological section (2:9 f) Lightfoot says, "The same truths have been stated before (i.14 sq.) more generally, and they are now restated, with direct and immediate reference to the heretical teaching." He notes the difference between

θεότης [here only in the New Testament] and  
 θειότης [Romans 1:20 only], and then gives a  
 commentary on σωματικῶς :

"BODILY-WISE, CORPOREALLY, i.e.  
 'assuming a bodily form, becoming incarnate.' This is an addition to the previous statement in i.19.

" . . . The indwelling of the pleroma refers to the Eternal Word, and not to the Incarnate Christ: but σωματικῶς is added to show that the Word, in whom the pleroma thus had its abode from all eternity, crowned His work by the Incarnation.

"Thus while the main statement  
κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος

of St. Paul corresponds to the opening sentence ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν  
καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος -

of St. John, the subsidiary adverb σωματικῶς of St. Paul has its counterpart in the additional statement καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο of St. John. All other meanings which have been assigned to σωματικῶς here, as 'wholly' . . . or 'really' . . . or 'essentially' . . . are unsupported by usage.

"Nor again can the body be understood of anything else but Christ's human body; as for instance of the created world . . . or of the Church . . . St. Paul's language is carefully guarded. He does not say ἐν σώματι, for the Godhead cannot be confined to any limits of space; nor σωματοειδῶς for this might suggest the unreality of Christ's human body; but σωματικῶς 'in bodily wise,' 'with a ~~πληκτικῶς~~ bodily manifestation.'"

A C o m p a r i s o n   w i t h   t h e   N o t e s  
o f   C . J . V a u g h a n .

The slight commentary on Colossians 1:15 - 18 is  
as follows:

- 15      ὅς ἐστι   'who is now,' i.e. in His  
glorified state, in which He is  
exalted in our humanity to glory.

Εἰκὼν      Must be understood of Christ  
as the manifestation of God in His whole  
person and work. He is the visible  
manifestation of that in God which is  
invisible.

Πρωτότοκος   two ideas are here included:  
(1) PRIORITY,      (2) DIGNITY.  
Christ was first begotten of His Father  
before all worlds; and holds the rank,  
as compared with every created thing,  
of firstborn in dignity.

- 16      This may be against the Gnostic contrast  
between a demiurge and God.

- 17      Συνέστηκε = 'keeps together,'  
i.e. is held together in its present  
state; 'subsists.'

- 18      Πρωτ. ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν   = the first  
who rose from the dead, cf. I Cor. 15:23.

Vaughan gave a note on Ephesians 1:23:-

Πλήρωμα occurs often in this Epistle and in that to the Colossians, cf. John 1:16; Eph. 3:19; 4:13; Col. 1:19, for passages where it is used exactly in this sense.

Πλήρωμα is generally taken for granted to be in apposition to σῶμα and to mean the CHURCH - "the fulness of Him who filleth all things (i.e. the universe) in the matter of (in respect of) all things," i.e. "to whom the universe owes all its fulness."

Πληρουμένου - this is the only place where the middle voice occurs. But Πλήρωμα seems very likely to refer to Christ - "gave Him, Christ, I say, as the fulness of Him who is filled with all things/in respect of all things" - or middle, "who fills the universe with all things."

"The fulness of Him," i.e. "the fulness of God", is what Christ is here said to be. This view seems supported by Col. 1:13.

Πληρουμένου taken in the passive sense would express the unsearchable resources of God.

On Colossians 1:24 Vaughan's notes run:-

The reading ὅς before ὑμῶν is found in some MSS, and makes the sentence less bald. It is admitted by Alford.



ἀνταναπληρῶ 'and fill up  
on the opposite side, i.e., in  
my turn, the deficiencies of  
the afflictions of Christ,' or  
'and take my turn in filling  
up,' - cf. II Cor. 1:5:

τὰ ὑστερήματα = 'what still  
remains to be borne of . . . .'  
Even when Christ's personal  
sufferings ended there were still  
afflictions to be borne by those  
whom He regards as one with Him-  
self; so that He condescends to  
call them His own though in fact  
those of His people, cf. Matt.  
25:42; Acts 9:4; Isa. 63:9;  
I Cor. 12:12.

Christ is here the mystical  
Christ, i.e. Christ including His  
people. The whole sufferings of  
Christ, as including the Church  
and all His people, are here  
referred to.

So far as Christ's were personal  
sufferings, and not those of  
atonement, they resembled those  
of His people. The Saviour of  
the body and the members of the  
body are one in flesh. Therefore,  
the sufferings of Christ are not  
limited to Christ, rather the suf-  
ferings of Christ are not except  
in Christ. Christ still suffers,  
not in His own person but in the  
persons of His apostles. Every  
suffering saint is 'filling up  
the affliction of Christ.'

The only comment Vaughan makes on Colossians 2:9 is:-

ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ 'dwells permanently  
as its home.'

ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΩΣ 'dwells bodily  
fashion,' in the once mortal  
but now glorified body of Christ.  
Cf. the Docetic tendency making  
matter evil.

There is no note on ΘΕΟΤΗΣ , but in his Commentary  
on Romans at 1:20 he writes:-

ΘΕΙΟΤΗΣ . Divinity, Godlike  
character, possession of Divine  
attributes; not Deity, Godhead,  
which is ΘΕΟΤΗΣ .

# B I B L I O G R A P H Y   O F   T H E W O R K S   O F   B I S H O P   L I G H T F O O T

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1877 All things to All Men. Sermon at the  
Consecration of the First Bishop of Truro.

1877 The Apostolic Fathers:

Part I St Clement of Rome. A Revised  
text with Introduction, Notes and  
Translation.

Part II St Ignatius, St Polycarp.  
Revised text with Introduction,  
Notes, Dissertations and Translation.

1889-90 The Apostolic Fathers, Second Edition.

1865 St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians:  
A Revised text with Introduction,  
Notes and Dissertations.

1868 St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians:  
A Revised text with Introduction,  
Notes and Dissertations.

1875 St Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to  
Philemon: A Revised text with  
Introduction, Notes & Dissertations.

1879 Academic Instruction and University Extension -  
a retrospect and forecast [Address].

1889 Essays on the work entitled Supernatural Religion.

1890 Leaders in the Northern Church.

1892 The Fourth Gospel: evidences external and internal  
of its Johannine Authorship [Abbott, Peabody  
and Lightfoot].

1893 Biblical Essays.

1895 Notes on the Epistles of St Paul:  
I & II Thessalonians; I Corinthians chs.1-7;  
Romans chs. 1-7; Ephesians E 1 - 14;  
- from unpublished commentaries.

1901 The Christian Ministry.

1906 Analyses of certain of St Paul's Epistles  
- reprinted from Commentaries.

1927 Excluded works of the N.T. - translations  
by Lightfoot and others.



**C h a p t e r   T h r e e**

**C. J. V A U G H A N   A N D**  
**B R O O K E                F O S S**  
**W E S T C O T T**

**\***

B r o o k e     F o s s     W e s t c o t t

1 8 2 5 - 1 9 0 1

THE only surviving son of Frederick Brooke Westcott, Brooke Foss was born at Birmingham in 1825. His mother was Sarah, daughter of a certain Mr W.Armitage. His father was a lecturer in botany at Sydenham College Medical School. B.F.Westcott received his early education at the King Edward VI's School under the notable James Prince Lee. It is recorded that the pupil was keen in his studies, interested in the Classics, and of a religious and thoughtful disposition. He showed an unusual concern for social and industrial movements of his day. His hobbies were music and drawing. The former he did not pursue, but the splendid sketches reproduced in his 'LIFE' show that he kept up the latter.

In October 1844 he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, and began a brilliant career which was to go on shining to the very end of his days. He was

awarded the medal for a Greek ode and the member's prize for a Latin essay. His closest friends at Cambridge were C.B.Scott [later Headmaster of Westminster School], D.J.Vaughan [brother of C.J.Vaughan], Alfred Barry [afterwards Bishop of Sydney], J.E.B.Mayor, and J.S.Howson [later Dean of Chester]. These Fellows of Trinity were a lively group, interested in various topics - literary, artistic, philosophical and theological.

Westcott graduated 24th Wrangler in 1848, and was bracketed with Scott first in the first class. For the Chancellor's Medals he was second to Scott. Both were elected Fellows in 1849. For three and a half years after graduating he took pupils among whom were J.B.Lightfoot, E.W.Benson and F.J.A.Hort. He joined a number of friends in founding a society for investigating supernatural appearances and effects; but soon abandoned the enterprise feeling that it could not achieve useful results.

He read theology and gained the Norrisian Prize for an essay on "The Alleged Historical Contradictions of the Gospels." It was published in 1851 under the

title, "The Elements of the Gospel Harmony" - no mean dissertation for a man of twenty-five.

There is a significant entry in his diary for 1846, whilst still an undergraduate, which his son gives in the biography:

"If I am enabled - what a glorious employment for one's leisure hours it would be to prepare a new edition of the New Testament. If it please God, may I be allowed to do this, and enabled to do it in a proper spirit. If my time could be more serviceably employed, may I withdraw my own wishes and projects cheerfully"

- LIFE, 1. p 42 \*

He was ordained in 1851 by his former headmaster, Prince Lee, now Bishop of Manchester. In 1852 he joined the staff as a master at Harrow School under Dr C.J.Vaughan. There he was rather more successful in influencing individuals than in commanding a class. And it was while at Harrow that Westcott wrote some of his best known books, establishing a reputation as a Biblical critic and theologian [cf. Bibliography]. During these years, too, he contributed to Dr Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, concerning which he wrote in

\* A. Westcott, Life and Letters of B.F. Westcott,  
2 vols., 1903.



a letter to Hort in September 1861:

"I have done no work, except desultory work for Dr. Smith, which is so far pleasant as it is filling up spare time without any great strain, and keeps up the power of thinking. One article, 'Philosophy' (!), cost me a great amount of trouble, but I was glad to get a bird's eye view of the history, and to become aware of the fact that the history of pre-Christian philosophy in its religious bearings has not yet been written"

- LIFE, i. p 241.

In 1869 he was appointed to the residentiary canonry of Peterborough; and in the following year, on the resignation of Dr Jeremie from the Regius Professorship at Cambridge, Lightfoot declined the Chair and pressed Westcott to accept should he be elected - which he was, due largely to Lightfoot's influence. He retained the canonry till 1883.

His artistic side led him to take considerable interest in the architecture and history of his own cathedral in particular, and in the function of ancient cathedrals in modern society more generally. He wrote articles on the subject; and practised what he preached by introducing new methods and activities

into Peterborough Cathedral. During his vacations in residence at Peterborough he tutored young Oxford graduates in theology, one of whom was H. Scott Holland.

Professor Westcott returned to Cambridge at a time of active change, notably in the University's relation to the Church. He took a lead in the movement for reform and encouragement of theological studies. In 1871 the Divinity professors published a joint programme of their lectures - the first time such a concerted action had been undertaken. Westcott also began a revision of regulations for the B.D., and D.D. degrees, and had the chief share in putting them into effect. In 1874 he saw some of the fruit of his labours in the first honours examinations in Theology. Other similar measures, successfully accomplished, mark Westcott as a man of sound judgment and administration.

His teaching in the University was of greater significance even than his administration. There being no Professor of Ecclesiastical History as yet in the University, from 1871 - 74 he delivered a series of lectures on selected periods and topics:

from the early centuries of the Church's history.

From 1874 - 79 his chief subject for public lectures was Christian Doctrine. He also held an informal evening class once a week, in which throughout a number of years he gave expositions on the Johannine writings. His lectures, as also his published works, showed both a careful pursuit of the meaning of words and phrases, and at the same time a broad grasp of the wider aspects of truth. We know how successful he was in interpreting the findings of his own deep spiritual insight and in stimulating within his hearers [and readers] something of his own breadth of interest and liberality of spirit.

In a long life, packed with activity, one series of studies evidently stood out in the memory of Westcott. In Holy Week 1887 he preached in Hereford Cathedral a course of sermons entitled 'The Victory of the Cross.' These are of special interest to our enquiry as they contain, to use his own words, "an outline of the view of the Atonement which frequent study has led me to regard as both scriptural and, in the highest sense of the word, 'natural'" - LIFE, ii. 12.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury dated 5th December, 1894, he wrote:

"I do not think that I ever took more pains on anything than on the lectures on the subject which I gave at Hereford Cathedral (The Victory of the Cross). No doubt many do not agree with me, but I do not think that anyone would say that the view which I maintain is opposed to anything in our formularies . . ."

- LIFE, ii. p.226.

Further reference will be made to these addresses and his views below.

Westcott's keenly theological approach to the Scriptures is apparent in all his commentaries and expositions. It had been a cherished ambition to produce a work on Christian Doctrine, to which the external history of the Church would have been contributory. Some of his Monday lectures in his evening classes were on this subject and have in part been published in 'The Gospel of Life.' In a note in the Preface to the book he wrote:

"It was my intention to have added notes on the Modes and Epochs of Revelation, and on the characteristics of Judaism, on the sacred books of prae-Christian religions, and on



"the Historical Development of Christian Doctrine, for which I collected materials; but it is hardly likely now that I shall be able to bring the materials into proper shape."

That is all he said when compelled to abandon the hope of completing his projected magnum opus.

A personal reminiscence of the exceptionally fine and effective manner of delivery of Westcott's lectures is given to us by the Reverend G.H. Rendall and quoted in the LIFE:

"As in the closing words of an almost whispering earnestness, tense with spiritual emotion and vibrating with prophetic hope, he tried to sum up the collective message of all the fragmentary efforts by which πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως 'in many parts and many modes' men had groped their way towards self-realization and truth, I remember how every pen dropped, and breath was hushed, and a pin-fall would have sounded, as we listened spell-bound to a peroration that passed into a confession and a prayer"

- LIFE, i. p 374-5.

B.F. Westcott had an horizon well beyond the bounds of his own country, and he was largely instrumental in founding the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. Like C.J. Vaughan, too, he was anxious that graduates should

have more adequate preparation for the Christian Ministry than was generally received. Thus was established the Cambridge Clergy Training School with Westcott as President. He lectured to the members of the School, and they attended his lectures on Christian Doctrine. 'Westcott House' is an abiding tribute to his care and labours in this connection.

In May 1883 he resigned the examining chaplaincy to the Bishop of Peterborough and at the same time his canonry. He became examining chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and accepted a canonry at Westminster. He declined the offers of the deaneries at Exeter and Norwich.

The first ten years of Westcott's professorship were largely occupied with the preparation of the critical text of the New Testament in conjunction with Hort. Altogether some twenty-eight years' exacting labour went to produce the finished work which was published in 1881 - two monumental volumes. The London Times in its article on Westcott, following his death, has a paragraph which sums up concisely this aspect of the Bishop's life and work:

"To the world at large Westcott's tenure of the Regius Professorship will always be associated with the so-called 'Cambridge Text' of the New Testament, little as his professorship had to do with it. Probably in the whole history of the New Testament since the time of Origen there has been nothing more remarkable than the quiet persistence with which these Fellows of Trinity - Westcott, aged twenty-eight, and Hort, some three years younger - started in the spring of 1853 to systematise New Testament criticism.

They found themselves aware of the unsatisfactoriness of the TEXTUS RECEPTUS, and conscious that neither Lachmann nor Tischendorf gave such an approximation to the Apostolic words as we could accept with reasonable satisfaction.' So they 'agreed to commence at once the formation of a manual text for (their) own use, hoping at the same time that it might be of service to others.'

....True, the lion's share of the accomplishment was due to Hort, who wrote the masterly statement of their principles of criticism in the second volume; but the importance of Westcott's co-operation appears from the declaration of the two authors that their 'combination of completely independent operations' enabled them 'to place far more confidence in the results than either could have presumed to cherish had they

"rested on his own sole responsibility.' To Westcott also must be given the merit of having by his earnest cheerfulness kept up the courage of his shy and nervous colleague . . . The Revised Version, as the English representative of the Cambridge text, is making its way slowly, but the 'Westcott-Hort' theories hold the field"

The Times, 29 July 1901.

The very fine commentary on the Gospel of St John was published in 1882. As early as 1859 Westcott wrote a letter to Hort from Eastbourne where he was spending his Easter holiday:

"I have been enjoying extremely some work on St. John. How, indeed, is it possible not to enjoy such work? Yet how hard it is to study the Gospel widely enough and yet minutely. Just now it strikes me as a great Hebrew epic. The Hebrew poetical character - in the highest sense of the word - is very remarkable, and I do not think that I was ever sufficiently conscious of it before"

- LIFE , i. p 237.

In May 1869 he received two letters from the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr Mansel, telling him that the Archbishop of York was anxious that he should undertake the Gospel of St. John for the SPEAKERS' COMMENTARY. His acceptance of this proposal practically involved the surrender of his dearest wish to bring out a



commentary on the Greek text of the Fourth Gospel,  
as part of the contemplated 'tripartite commentary.'

In his diary on the 22nd May Westcott noted:

"St. John commentary undertaken ἐν Χριστῷ."

The reading of this commentary evoked some remarks  
from the Hon. Victoria Lady Welby, which are relevant  
to our study:

"... it came home to me with special  
force that beyond the scholar, beyond  
the theologian, beyond even the saint,  
there was revealed a thinker of spirit-  
ual insight in a deeper than mystical  
sense, as 'mystical' is usually under-  
stood and used . . . . No words of  
mine indeed could express the reverent  
thankfulness which I must always feel  
for the way in which he met a mode of  
thinking which must often have jarred  
upon the scholar's ear."

- LIFE, ii. pp 69 f.

The commentary on the Epistles of St John followed  
in 1883; while that on the Epistle to the Hebrews  
was published in 1889. Many superlatives were bestowed  
upon the latter when it appeared, some considering it  
the greatest of Dr Westcott's writings. Here was  
combined in concentration, detailed exegesis, together  
with the fruits of wide learning, and characterised by

grammatical accuracy. The whole work reflects that deep insight into ethical, spiritual and historical truth which we have seen in whatever the Regius Professor gave to his large and eager body of readers. Of this exceptional insight, Westcott's son wrote:

"This spiritual vision, which enabled my father to see so much that others could not see, was, as several have felt, both his weakness and strength as a Biblical commentator. He always disliked to be described as 'mystic,' being at a loss to know, when all appeared so evident to himself, where the mystery came in. He had grave doubts as to his being 'a recluse,' but was absolutely certain that he was not 'a mystic.'"

- LIFE, ii. pp 29-30.

In May 1882 he was elected a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

The last phase of his career began in 1890 when, in his 66th year he accepted the bishopric of Durham, and was consecrated on the 1st May.

He succeeded the great Lightfoot and led the Church at a time when there were many problems and opportunities. He took the bold step of calling a conference of employers of labour, secretaries of trade unions, and men who had

taken a prominent part in administering the poor laws or in municipal life. He was largely responsible for the settlement of the strike in the mining industry in 1892. He won great esteem among both employers and pitmen.

As Bishop he continued Lightfoot's scheme for training six or eight candidates reading for Holy Orders at Auckland Castle. He encouraged men to go to the foreign mission field. He was much loved in the diocese; and in his public addresses he continually dwelt on fundamental truths and their application to the life of the Church. His personal piety, industry and teaching gifts left their mark in his diocese. With all his administration, he found time to write and publish almost to the end. His wife died early in 1901, and he followed her a few months later.

To sum up: if it is at all possible to make comparisons when one is dealing with men of such stature as the Cambridge Trio, we may suggest that Westcott was the least great as a pure scholar. His learning may not have been as comprehensive as that of Lightfoot, and though more speculative than the

latter he did not have the philosophical breadth of mind of Hort. At the same time it is possible that if Westcott had given himself more to philosophical studies he would have developed that side of his thought and teaching.

In his day Westcott exercised a more widespread influence than either of his colleagues. This was due in part to the mass of publications written in a readable style; and in part also to the number of interests which occupied his virile and fertile mind. His deep and genuine concern for current social problems, and his missionary interests brought him into touch with a larger public than the others. He was primarily a religious teacher with a genius for interpreting what he himself saw so clearly. If he disclaimed the designation 'mystic', certainly he was the prophet among the Trio. The essence of his teaching may be read in 'Christus Consummator', a course of sermons preached in Westminster Abbey during August and January 1885 and 1886 respectively. Some have held that he is too subtle in his interpretations, but that is apt to be the characteristic of men with sharp spiritual awareness and profound insight which penetrates deeply into the meaning of texts and passages from the Scriptures.



Westcott's leading ideas on the final problems of existence are to be found in his 'Gospel of Life' published in 1892.

Some have alleged a resemblance between the teaching of the Bishop and that of F.D.Maurice, and concluded that Westcott - like Hort - was influenced by Maurice. But Westcott for the most part refrained from reading Maurice lest he should be unduly influenced by him. On one subject, however, he did allow himself to be guided by two writers, Comte and Maurice; and in the Preface to 'Social Aspects of Christianity' he wrote:

"In the summer of 1867 I was able to analyse carefully the POLITIQUE POSITIVE, and I found in it a powerful expression of many salient features of that which I have long held to be the true social embodiment of the Gospel... Two years later I read Maurice's SOCIAL MORALITY. Few books can teach nobler lessons, and I should feel it hard to say how much I owe to it directly and by suggestion."

In a letter dated 28th March, 1884, to the Reverend J.LL.Davies, he declares:

"For the last week I have spent my leisure in Maurice's Life. I never knew before how deep my sympathy is with most of his characteristic thoughts." - LIFE, ii. p 37.

And in a further letter of 17th March, 1892:

" . . . Here, again, you would find help in one of my very few favourite books, Maurice's SOCIAL MORALITY....."

- LIFE, ibid.

As in the case of Westcott's views on the Atonement and their approximate co-incidence with those of MacLeod Campbell, his conclusions are his own and represent the findings of an independent enquiry. By his popular, widely read articles and books, Westcott was for best part of half a century propagating views which were much the same as those of the 'heretic' Maurice, and which were largely as self-made.

With the passing of B.F. Westcott, the last and most scintillating of the Cambridge Trio, English Biblical exposition reached the end of a distinct epoch. The man who once confessed to R.W. Dale, "I am not a patient reader of commentaries," bequeathed several masterpieces to the new age of the new century.

"If the Cambridge school of theology has helped both religion and science by honest dealing with words, by enquiring, that is, what words mean, not what they may be made to mean, Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort deserve grateful mention in the History of the Church of England" - WARRE CORNISH, Hist. of the English Church in the 19th Century, ii, p 210.

T H E      F I R S T      E P I S T L E  
o f      S T. J O H N

\*

"THIS morning I went to hear the Hulsean Lecturer. He preached on the Atonement. But who is equal to such a subject? All he said was very good, but then he did not enter into the great difficulties of the notion of sacrifice and vicarious punishment. To me it is always most satisfactory to regard the Christian as in Christ - absolutely one with Him, and then he does what Christ has done: Christ's actions become his, and Christ's life and death in some sense his life and death. Don't you think that this is the real answer to the difficulties? or do I not make myself clear?" \*

IN a letter dated Good Friday 1855 B.F. Westcott wrote this frank expression of his inner thoughts to his wife. For him the Christian doctrine of the Atonement was fraught with difficulties; he does not hesitate to say so, and he is not afraid to grapple with the doctrinal problems and attempt to reach a conclusion for himself even if his findings are not orthodox. In accepting the Johannine Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews he was certainly giving himself scope for full consideration of this doctrine as he prepared the commentaries.

\* LIFE, 1. p 231.

In 'The Epistles of St. John' (1883) Dr Westcott does not hesitate to get immediately to grips with the crucial texts containing the key-word *ἱλασμός*, 2:2 and 4:10.

In the note on 2:2 Westcott writes,

"The ideas of 'advocacy' and 'propitiation' are distinct, and yet in close connection. The latter furnishes the basis of the former: the latter is universal, while the former, so far as it is revealed, is exercised for believers. It is to be noticed further, that the 'propitiation' itself is spoken of as something eternally valid [HE IS] and not as past [HE WAS; comp. iii.16 *τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθηκεν*]."

Under *ἱλασμός*, he reminds the reader that the Latin renderings are unusually numerous - PROPITIATIO (which prevailed), EXORATIO, DEPRECATIO, PLACATIO; and also the verbal renderings (ipse) EXORAT, INTERPELLAT, POSTULAT PRO . . .

"Christ is said to be the 'propitiation' and not simply the 'propitiator' [as He is called the 'Saviour', iv.14], in order to emphasize the thought that He is Himself the propitiatory offering as well as the priest (comp. Rom. iii.25). A propitiator might make use of a means of propitiation, as He is 'our life' (Col. iii.4). . . . It follows that the efficacy of His work for the individual depends upon fellowship with Him."



And he further observes:

"The propitiation of Christ is here described as being 'for', not 'in the matter of (περί) our sins' [comp. συ γὰρ], and not as 'in behalf of us' (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν) . . . . 'for the whole world.'"

The variation in the construction ('for our sins . . . . for the whole world') is full of meaning [comp. Heb.ix.7]. Christians as such are holy but still not unstained by sins contracted 'in the walk of life' [John xiii.10]; the world, all outside the Church, as such is sinful [c.v.19]. But for all alike Christ's propitiation is valid. The propitiation extends as far as the need of it (l.c.), through all place and all time."

At 4:10 he refers the reader to the note on 2:2 and adds:

"The idea is introduced here to mark the preparation of men for fellowship with God. God was pleased to make men fit to share His nature. The life (verse 9) followed on the removal of sin."

In an Additional Note on 2:2, entitled 'The Use of ἁλωμός and Cognates in the Greek Scriptures' (p.85), Westcott gives a list of the uses of this pivotal term and related forms in the New Testament and Septuagint,

pointing out that ἱλασμός occurs only at I John 2:2 and 4:10. ἐξιλασμός is found more frequently. Then follows a list of the uses of ἱλάσκομαι and ἐξιλάσκομαι; the whole concluding with this note:

"These constructions stand in remarkable contrast with the Classical and Hellenistic usage in which the accusative of the person propitiated is the normal construction from Homer downwards; a usage which prevails in patristic writers.

"They show that the Scriptural conception of ἱλασκεσθαι is not that of appeasing one who is angry, with a personal feeling, against the offender; but of altering the character of that which from without occasions a necessary alienation, and interposes an inevitable obstacle to fellowship. Such phrases as 'propitiating God' and God 'being reconciled' are foreign to the language of the N.T. Man is reconciled [ II Cor.5.18 ff.; Rom.5.10].

"There is a propitiation in the matter of the sin or of the sinner. The love of God is the same throughout; but He 'cannot' in virtue of His very nature welcome the impenitent and sinful: and more than this, He 'cannot' treat sin as if it were not sin.

"This being so, the ἱλασμός when it is applied to the sinner, so to speak, neutralises the sin. In this respect the idea of the efficacy of Christ's propitiation corresponds with one  
/aspect

"aspect of the Pauline phrase 'in Christ'. The believer being united with Christ enjoys the quickening, purifying, action of Christ's 'Blood,' of the virtue of His life and death, of His life made available for men through death."

The reader is then bidden to compare the Additional

Note on 1:9, 'The Idea of Sin in St. John.' But first we will consider the Note on 1:7 'THE IDEA OF CHRIST'S BLOOD IN THE N.T.'-

The commentator begins by reminding the reader that the interpretation of passages in the New Testament which refer to the blessings obtained by the 'Blood' of Christ must rest finally on the interpretation given to the use of 'blood' in the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. "Our own natural associations with Blood tend, if not to mislead, at least to obscure the ideas which it suggested to the Jew." He makes the point that "the place occupied by Blood in the Jewish sacrifices was connected with the general conception attached to it throughout the Pentateuch. The Blood is the seat of Life in such a sense that it can be spoken of directly as the Life itself [  $\psi 9$  ] Gen. ix. 4; Deut. xii. 23]. Hence it was forbidden to eat flesh with the blood [Gen. ix. 4; Lev. vii. 26f. . . .]: a man might not use another's life for the support of his physical life."

By the outpouring of the Blood the life was not destroyed, only separated from the organism which it had before quickened. There is a plain declaration of the significance of Blood in sacrifice in Leviticus xvii.10 ff. The Blood thus shed is distinctly treated as living. When sprinkled upon the altar it makes atonement by virtue of the Life which is in it.

Westcott very clearly expounds the two aspects of the use of the Blood - "the death of the victim by the shedding of its blood, and the liberation, so to speak, of the principle of life by which it had been animated, so that this life became available for another end . . ."

"The slaughtering of the victim, which was properly the work of the offerer, was sharply separated from the sprinkling of the blood, which was the exclusive work of the priest. The death was inflicted by him who in his representative acknowledged the due punishment of his sin; the bringing near to God of the life so rendered up was the office of the appointed mediators between God and men.

Death and life were both exhibited, death as the consequence of sin, and life made by the divine appointment a source of life. And it is worthy of notice that these two thoughts of the shedding and of the sprinkling of the Blood,

/which



"which embrace the two elements in the conception of atonement, were equally expressed by the one word  $\alphaἱματεκχυσία$ , SANGUINIS EFFUSIO [FUSIO] V., OUTPOURING OF BLOOD (Heb. ix. 22). Thus the life was first surrendered and then united with God"

- op.cit. p.35.

But, of course, the Jewish animal sacrifices were imperfect and transitional: and the union between the offerer and the offering was conventional and not real. The victim was irrational, so that there could be no true fellowship between it and the offender. Its death was involuntary, so that it could not embody in the highest form surrender to the Divine will. But with Christ, all men are made capable of vital union, for He supplied all that was wanting in the Levitical sacrifices.

"Thus in accordance with the typical teaching of the Levitical ordinances the Blood of Christ represents Christ's Life (1) as rendered in free self-sacrifice to God for men, and (2) as brought into perfect fellowship with God, having been set free by death.

The Blood of Christ is, as shed, the Life of Christ given for men, and as applied, the Life of Christ now given to men, the Life which is the spring of their life (John xii. 24). In each case the efficacy of the Life of Christ depends, from man's side, on the incorporation of the believer in Christ."

It is this latter thought which the writer is at pains to press home, and his emphasis is consonant with the doctrine which is further expounded in his 'The Victory of the Cross.'

He continues to state that while the idea embraced in the term 'Blood' includes all that is involved in Christ's Death, "the Death of Christ . . . expresses only a part, the initial part, of the whole conception of Christ's Blood. The Blood always includes the thought of the life preserved and active beyond death."

Moreover, we are reminded that "the simple idea of the Death of Christ, as separated from His Life, falls wholly into the background in the writings of John [Jn xi.50f.; xviii.14; xii.24f., 33; xviii.32]. It is only in the words of Caiaphas that the virtue of Christ's death is directly mentioned. In this respect his usage differs from that of St. Paul and St. Peter ( *πρόκειν* ). If the Good Shepherd 'lays down His life for the sheep (John x.11), this last act only reveals the devotion of His care for them" - p.36.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, he maintains, the manifold efficacy of Christ's Blood is directly illustrated

by a parallel with two representative sacrifices  
 "by which Israel was brought into fellowship with God  
 [Heb.ix.15 ff.], and the ritual of the Day of Atonement,  
 by which the broken fellowship was again restored  
 [Heb.ix.11 ff.]."

Westcott concludes the Note by stating that similar thoughts find expression in other writings of the New Testament. Thus we read with predominant reference to the initial act of salvation - Acts 20:28; I Pet.1:18f.; Col.1:20. "But even in such cases the first act is not regarded as an isolated act of forgiveness. It is the beginning of a state which continues." So the author gives by way of examples: Rom.5:9; Eph.1:7; 2:13. "In other places the thought of the continuous efficacy of Christ's Blood as a power of life is even more conspicuous - I Peter 1:2; Heb.9:14; 10:19; 12:24."

In the Additional Note on 'The Idea of Sin in St. John' (pp.37-40), Westcott discusses aspects of sin, and concludes that man needs forgiveness, redemption and reconciliation. Forgiveness, to be complete, requires the removal of the direct results of the act on the doer, as well as the remission of the penalty.

"The exercise of such a power of forgiveness corresponds with a new creation" [I John 1:9; cf. Matt. 9:5; and John 5:14]. Redemption also includes two elements: "the deliverance of the sinner from thralldom to a foreign power, and the restoration of his lost strength. St. John does not use the group of words connected with λύτρον . . . but he has the simple λύω [Apoc. 1:5]; and in the Apocalypse he carries out the notion yet further, representing Christians as 'bought' for God [v. 9; xiv. 3f.]" (p. 39).

There are two ways of regarding man's estrangement from God. Sin is a bar to God's love; and conversely a man as sinful cannot love God. "He requires a change in condition and a change in feeling, propitiation and reconciliation." The latter thought is expressed in the Pauline term καταλλάσσειν and its cognates; the former in the ἡλasmus group.

"The change in the personal relation of man to God, from the side of man, indicated by 'reconciliation' [2 Cor. v. 18-20; Rom. v. 10f.], is referred to its source by St. John, who shows that the love of God in the Mission of His Son calls out man's love [I John iv. 10]. On the other hand



"God looks with good pleasure on man in Christ: Christ is 'the propitiation for our sins' (c.ii.2). 'His blood cleanseth from all sin (i.7).

"The last phrases lead at once to St. John's view of the way in which the work of the Word Incarnate avails for forgiveness, for redemption, for reconciliation. By dying on the Cross He made His Life - His Blood - available for all who believe in Him. The gift of God is eternal, divine, life, 'and this life is in His Son' (I John viii f.). The possession of such life is the destruction of past sin, safety from sin to come (I John iii.9). By incorporation with Christ the believer shares the virtue of His humanity (John vi. 51, 57). Thus finally unbelief in Him is the test of sin (John xvi.9)"

- pp.39 - 40.

The Note closes with a reminder that the relation of good to evil is not one which exists of necessity in the nature of things. It is not metaphysical, inherent in being; nor physical, as if there were an essential antagonism between matter and spirit; but MORAL, "that is recognised in the actual course of life, so that evil when present is known to be opposed to good" - p.40.

T H E     E P I S T L E     T O  
T H E     H E B R E W S

\*

THE doctrine of the Atonement is dealt with more fully in Dr Westcott's commentary on 'Hebrews'\* than in that on I John. There is a masterliness and conviction about the Biblical exposition of our author in the work of maturity published in 1889, which makes it surprising that the great anonymous Epistle has not played a larger part in the Biblical exposition of succeeding scholars. For a great many Christian congregations the Epistle is an unfamiliar book. It appears, however, that interest is being renewed in the teaching of 'Hebrews' on the fundamental truths of our Faith.

The format of the commentary, as in Westcott's volumes on 'John' and the Epistles of John, tends to make his exposition fragmentary, and we must therefore cull the pieces of argument and consider his main points.

\* The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1889

On Hebrews 2:17, 18, Westcott mentions that ἀρχιερεύς is both introduced abruptly into the Epistle, and is unique here in its application to our Lord among the books of the New Testament. Under ἱλασκεσθαι he first directs us to his Additional Note on I John 2:2, and then continues:

"The essential conception is that of altering that in the character of an object which necessarily excludes the action of the grace of God, so that God, being what He is, cannot (as we speak) look on it with favour. The 'propitiation' acts on that which alienates God and not on God whose love is unchanged throughout."

He calls Chrysostom to his support, ἵνα προσενέγκῃ  
 οὐσίαν δυναμένην ἡμᾶς καθάρσαι,  
 διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος.

and Oecumenius, διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν (ἄνθρωπος) εἰς τὸ  
 ἐξιλεῶσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ἰκαθαρῆσαι  
 τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.

and Primasius, 'misertus est [generis humani] sicut  
 fidelis pontifex, reconcilians nos  
 Deo Patri, et reconciliando purgans.'

Of the present infinitive, ἱλασκεσθαι, Westcott says, "The one (eternal) act of Christ (c.x.12-14) is here regarded in its continuous present application."

A further important paragraph under verse 18 deals with the High-priestly work of Christ in relation to men:

"Propitiation must not only be made for them but also applied to them. He who propitiates must enter into the experience of the sinner to support him in temptation. And this Christ can do; 'for wherein He himself hath suffered . . . He is able to succour...' He removes the barrier of sin which checks the outflow of God's love to the sinner, and at once brings help to the tempted [contrast ἡλικεσθαι, βουθυσαι] by restoring in them the full sense of filial dependence. The whole work of our High-priest depends for its efficacy (χρη) on the perfect sympathy of Christ with humanity and His perfect human experience" - p 58.

Westcott is concerned to emphasise that the power of sympathy is not the mere capacity for feeling, but is to be found in the actual lessons of experience. It is on the experience of the strength of the temptation to sin which only the sinless can know in full intensity that true sympathy with the sinner depends. "He who falls yields before the last strain."

In conclusion he calls attention to the importance of noting the stress which the writer of the Letter lays upon the historic work of Christ. It is as a



REDEEMER that Christ is set forth, not simply a Teacher. "The redemption of man and the fulfilment of his destiny is not wrought by a moral or spiritual union with God laid open by Christ, or established in Christ, but by a union of humanity with God extending to the whole of man's nature and maintained through death."

Of course, the writer of the Epistle insists on the transcendental action of Christ. "He rests the foundation of this union upon Christ's earthly experience. Christ 'shared in blood and flesh' (v.14), and 'was in all things made like to His brethren' (v.17). He took to Himself all that belongs to the perfection of man's being. He lived according to the conditions of man's life and died under the circumstances of man's mortality. So His work extends to the totality of human powers and existence, and brings all into fellowship with the divine . . . . Comp. Clem.R. AD COR.1.49; Iren. v.1.1; ii.22.4; iii.16.6. The passages of Irenaeus will repay careful study" - pp 58-59.

In a brief Additional Note Westcott gathers together the Epistle's references to the High-priesthood of Christ under the following heads:

1. Preparatory, 2:17; 2:18; 3:1; 4:14 - 16.
2. The Characteristics of Christ's High-priesthood,  
5:1 - 10: 6:20; 7:14 - 19; 26 - 28.
3. The Work of Christ as High-priest,  
8:1 - 6; 9:11 - 28; 10:1 - 18.
4. Application of the fruits of Christ's High-priesthood  
to Believers, 10:19 - 25; 13:10 - 16.

And a suggestive paragraph concludes thus:

"These passages should be studied in their broad features, especially in regard to the new traits which they successively introduce. The following out of the enquiry is more than an exercise in Biblical Theology. Nothing conveys a more vivid impression of the power of the Apostolic writings than to watch the unfolding of a special idea in the course of an Epistle without any trace of conscious design on the part of the writer, as of a single part in some great harmony" - p 71.

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In an Additional Note on 'The Use of the Term 'Blood' in the Epistle' (pp 293-5), Westcott enlarges on the treatment already given to the subject in the commentary on the Epistles of John. He repeats his fundamental point that the Scriptural idea of Blood is that of LIFE

and not of death. He adds that this idea is widespread among primitive races, and illustrates from the Odyssey (xi.36ff.; 95ff.). The use of the term in 'Hebrews' becomes first fully intelligible by taking account of the fact that Blood "represents the energy of the physical, earthly, life as it is. The Blood poured out is the energy of present human life made available for others" - p 294.

Westcott makes four points:

1. The Blood in relation to the Incarnation, 2:14.

As man Christ could die even as men die, and thereby make the virtue of His life accessible to the race.

Death in Scripture is not regarded as the natural necessity for all men, but as a consequence of sin.

Perfect obedience was offered in the perfect assumption of manhood.

2. The second mention of Christ's Blood brings before us the accomplishment of this work, 9:12. "Through a life lived and a death willingly borne according to the mind of God, He could rightly approach God in His glorified humanity; and at the same time He provided

for men also the means of approach 'in His Blood.'"

3. The Blood of Christ gives access to God to the Believer, 9:14; 10:19. The Blood has a twofold action, personal and social. It is the 'Blood of sprinkling' (12:24), touching with its quickening power each believer. It is also a force of consecration through which 'Jesus sanctified the people' (13:12).

4. The Blood of Christ has established for the RACE a new relation to God. "The offered Life in which Christ found the glorified Life of the Resurrection (13:20), is, in virtue of His Nature, the BLOOD OF AN ETERNAL COVENANT. In this the Christian is sanctified (ix.29) when he is admitted into the Christian society. And, however little we may be able to give distinctness to the truth, its hallowing, cleansing, power reaches to all finite things with which man has contact.

"The mere indication of the passages, as they follow one after the other and reveal the harmonious completeness of the apostolic teaching, will be enough to encourage the student to examine them in detail in their mutual relations" - pp 294 - 5-.



The Additional Note on 9:12, 'The Idea of λυτροῦσθαι, λύτρωσις, & c.,' is no less worthy of comment.

The use in the New Testament of the group of words connected with λύτρον is based upon their usage in the Septuagint. The word λύτρον in relation to men is equivalent to 𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤏, as a ransom for a life. The verb λυτροῦσθαι is very frequent as the translation of שָׁלַח and 𐤏𐤕𐤕 [of each more than forty times.] It is used literally of the 'redemption' of that which has been alienated; and in a more general sense of the deliverance of people from the power of outward enemies; and from the power of death. It is specially used of the 'redemption' of Israel from Egypt, and of a future 'redemption' of which this was a type.

λύτρωσις occurs with the full breadth of the meaning of the verb. In the New Testament λύτρον is found twice and in compound, ἀντίλυτρον, once. The verb, λυτροῦσθαι, is comparatively rare - three times only. λύτρωσις, three times; ἀπολύτρωσις, nine times. The whole group [with the exception of the single occurrence of λύτρον in the Synoptic narrative] is confined to Paul and writings coloured by his language. They are entirely absent from Johannine works.

The conception of 'redemption' lies in the history of Israel. Deliverance from Egypt is the type of Christ's redemption. God did not pay to the oppressor any price for Israel's redemption but "the idea of the exertion of a mighty force, the idea that the 'redemption' costs much is everywhere present. The force may be represented by Divine might, or love, or self-sacrifice, which become finally identical. But there is no thought of any power which can claim from God what is not according to the original ordinance of His righteous compassion" - p.296.

Questions relating to a recipient of a Divine ransom are apt to be misleading. The deliverance of man from bondage could only be through the satisfaction of the claims of a violated law. "These claims regarded under the light of punishment present a twofold aspect. To him who rebels against the divine law, they are simply pain: to him who humbly submits himself to it, they are salutary discipline." The first aspect includes the patristic notion which was (crudely) expressed as a ransom paid to the devil: the second embraces the truth of later theology, that the ransom was paid to God. But each is incomplete

and it is "perilous to attempt to draw conclusions from limited interpretations of Scripture."

The idea of 'deliverance' or 'redemption' requires to be supplemented by the idea of 'purchase.'

"Man has no power of standing by himself. His freedom lies in his complete acceptance of the will of God. When, therefore, he is 'redeemed' from the power of evil he is also 'purchased,' so as to become wholly in the hands of God.

"The idea of 'purchase,' though of less frequent occurrence in the N.T. than the idea of 'redemption,' is more widely spread. It occurs in St. Paul, 2 Peter and the Apocalypse (ἀγοράζειν, ἐξαγοράζειν)....

"The Christian, it appears, is bought at the price of Christ's Blood for God. He is Christ's bond-servant, and at the same time God's son by adoption. They that have been purchased have a work for others: they are the first-fruits to God and the Lamb" - pp 296-7.

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There is a lucid Additional Note on 9:14, 'Aspects of Christ's Sacrifice,' in which the writer declares that the self-sacrifice of Christ on the Cross fulfilled all that was fore-shadowed in the

Levitical Sacrifices - the ideas of atonement and fellowship resting on the idea of covenant. That Sacrifice on the Cross is presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews under three distinct aspects:

1. As a Sacrifice of Atonement (9:14, 15)
2. As a Covenant Sacrifice (9:15 - 17)
3. As a Sacrifice which is the groundwork of a Feast (13:10, 11).

There is one feature common to the three. In the animal sacrifices of the Law two points are carefully distinguished which our own habits of thought lead us to confuse, namely, the killing of the victim and the application of the blood.

"The killing was properly the act of the person on whose behalf the victim was presented . . . The application of the blood was the office of the priest only. Christ was Offerer at once and Offering. In Him the victim and the people and the priest were one. He therefore performed both acts, He OFFERED HIMSELF THROUGH THE ETERNAL SPIRIT (ix.14), and so by the surrender of life He fulfilled the work of the people, of the humanity which He had assumed.

"Through His Blood He entered into the Divine Presence and cleansed the heavenly archetypes of the earthly sanctuary (ix.12, 23), and so by the



"impartment of a new life He fulfils the work of the priest, having realised in His divine-human nature the end of man's existence" - pp 297-8.

Direct references to Christ's Death are less frequent than those to the Blood. "Death, with its unnatural agony, was the condition, under the actual circumstances of fallen man, whereby alone the Life of the Son of Man could be made available for the race (11.9, 14). The Blood was the energy of Christ's true human life, under the circumstances of earth, whereby alone man's life receives the pledge and the power of a divine glory" - p 298.

Then, in the concluding paragraph, we have the distinctive viewpoint of Dr Westcott. The Blood and the Death correspond generally with the two sides of Christ's work, the fulfilment of the destiny of man as created, and the fulfilment of this destiny though man has fallen.

"The first would have been necessary even though sin had not interrupted the due course of man's progress and relation to God. It becomes necessary therefore, in order to gain a complete view of the Sacrifice of Christ, to combine with the crowning act upon

"the Cross His fulfilment of the will of God from first to last (x.5 ff.), the Sacrifice of Life with the Sacrifice of Death" - p 298.

This Epistle presents two series of blessings gained for men by Christ in respect of His Sacrifice:

1. that answering to the restoration of man's right relation to God which has been violated by sin;
- ii. the other answering to the fulfilment of the purpose of creation, the attainment by man of the Divine likeness.

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The textual notes on the three key passages mentioned in the Additional Note on 9:14 yield the following exegesis:

HEBREWS 9:14 - 15

*κόσμη μόνον*, Superiority of the Sacrifice of Christ because it was (1) Voluntary, (2) Rational not animal, (3) Spontaneous, (4) Moral, an offering of Himself by the action of the highest power in Himself.

τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ , parallel to beasts' blood  
and ashes as the means (a) of atonement for sins, (b) of  
purification from contact with death.

"It will be observed that it is not the death of the victim as suffering, but the use of the Blood (i.e. the Life) which is presented here as the source of purification. The efficacy of blood - the life, Lev. xvii. 11 - is regarded in different aspects in this passage . . . a means of atonement . . . a means of purification: it has a power retrospectively and prospectively. Death, again, which makes the blood available, is the seal of the validity of a covenant. But no one view exhausts the meaning of that which is the fulness of a life made available for others"

- p 261.

αὐτὸ διὰ πνεύματος..... τῷ Θεῷ "The sacrifice upon the altar of the Cross preceded the presentation of the blood. The phrase ἐλὺτόν προσήνεγκεν clearly fixes the reference to this initial act of Christ's High-priestly sacrifice. This act He accomplished διὰ πνεύματος αἰώνιου . In virtue of His inseparable and unchangeable Divine nature Christ was priest while He was victim also."

The absence of the article from πνεῦμα αἰώνιου marks the spirit here as a power possessed by Christ, His

/ 'Spirit'

'Spirit.' Christ's Spirit is eternal, as man's is not. And, whereas in man the 'spirit' is that whereby he is capable of connection with God, in Christ [Who did not cease to be the Son of God] the 'spirit' is the seat of His Divine Personality.

"So far the πνεῦμα αἰώνιον included the limited πνεῦμα of the Lord's humanity. This πνεῦμα, having its own proper existence, was in perfect harmony with the πνεῦμα αἰώνιον . . . .

"This 'eternal spirit' obtained complete sovereignty at the Resurrection (I Cor.xv.45); and it is probably by reference to this fact that the difficult passage 2 Cor. iii.17 ff. is to be explained" - p 262.

Whereas other sacrifices were wrought by the hand, being outward acts, this was wrought by that which is highest in man's nature whereby he holds fellowship with God, being a truly spiritual act.

καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ . . . . ὁ θεὸς δυνάμει "The action of the blood of Christ is not to work any outward change, but to communicate a vital force. It removes the defilement and the defiling power of 'dead works', works which are done apart from Him Who is the 'life'."



## HEBREWS 9:15 - 17

The author passes from the idea of the efficacy of Christ's Blood, as a means of entrance into the Divine Presence and cleansing for the individual, to the inauguration of a new Covenant. Death gives validity to the compact; and the blood of the victim, communicated to the lives of those with whom God forms a covenant, unites them to Him with a power of LIFE - a principle recognised in the ritual ordinances of the Mosaic system. There is a natural transition from the idea of the one all-efficacious atonement to that of the corresponding Covenant: "the Blood, the Life of Christ, which was the source and support of the Life, was the seal of the Covenant."

Westcott claims that "the establishment of a New Covenant, a new and permanent relationship between God and man, required as its preliminary condition the discharge of man's existing obligations. The sins which the Law had set in a clear light could not be ignored." Legal atonements were inadequate, limited in their application, and arbitrary. But Christ had

offered the perfect sacrifice, perfect in efficacy, and moral value. This sacrifice was the characteristic basis of the New Covenant" - p 264.

Verses 16, 17. The mention of the 'new covenant' idea and of 'death' in close connection suggests a fresh thought. The Death of Christ fulfilled two distinct purposes: i, it provided an atonement for past sins; ii, it provided an absolute ratification of the Covenant with which it was connected. The Death set men free and removed the burden of the past; the Covenant gave man the support he required and provided for the service of the future. "In any case a covenant is ratified by the death of a representative victim. But here Christ died in His own Person; and by thus dying He gave absolute validity to the covenant which He mediated"

- p 265.

HEBREWS 13:10, 11

ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον The 'altar' must correspond with the Temple altar as including both the idea of sacrifice and the idea of food from the sacrifice. Primarily there is but one sacrifice for the Christian, Christ upon the

Cross; and one means of support, participation in Him.

"In this first and highest sense, into which each secondary sense must be resolved, the only earthly 'altar' is the Cross on which Christ offered Himself: Christ is the offering: He is Himself the feast of the believer. The altar is not regarded at any time apart from the victim. It is the source of the support which the Christian partakes. When the idea of the one act of sacrifice predominates, the image of the Cross rises before us: when the idea of our continuous support, then the image of Christ living through death prevails."

- p 438.

And concerning the Eucharist:

"The sacrifice is one, the altar is one. But, just as in the discourse at Capernaum, the absolute idea points towards or even passes into the outward form in which it was embodied. The fact of that Death was visibly set forth, and the reality of that participation pledged, in the Eucharist. The 'Table' of the Lord (I Cor.x.21), the bread and the wine, enabled the believer 'to show forth Christ's Death,' to realise the sacrifice upon the Cross and to appropriate Christ's 'flesh and blood.' In this sacrament then, Christ gives Himself as the support of His...people, the Christian has that which more than fulfils the types of the Jewish ritual"

- p 438.

The problem of the passage HEBREWS 9:15 ff. in respect of the meaning of *διὰ θύκης* is treated by both Vaughan and Westcott, and the respective treatments serve to illustrate very well the differences in method which are becoming apparent in this comparative study. It is a little involved, and before considering Westcott's Note we might usefully review in brief the difficulties. The crucial section runs as follows:

"And for this reason He is Mediator of a new *διὰ θύκης*, that a death having taken place for redemption from the transgressions that were under the first *διὰ θύκης*, they that have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance (15).

For where there is a *διὰ θύκης*, the death of him that made it must needs be presented (16).

For a *διὰ θύκης* is sure where there has been death, since it does not ever have force when he that made it lives (17)."

Verse 16 is clear. The Gospel is regarded as a new *διὰ θύκης* (introduced first at 7:22, and enlarged on in 8:6 - 13). The connecting thought here is -

It is because of Christ's sacrifice having been such as has been described, that He is the Mediator of that new and better covenant. A sacrifice (a death) was required for giving it validity (vv 16 - 23), and the



CHARACTER of the sacrifice implies a better covenant than the old, even as Jeremiah foretold. Moreover, the purpose of His death is said to be 'for (the) redemption from the transgressions that were under the first covenant.' For in the passage of Jeremiah the defect of the first covenant was based on the transgression of its conditions by man, while under the new one, such transgressions were to be no more remembered. But this could not be without atonement for them; the whole ceremonial of the Law signified this; and also that such atonement could not be except by death. The death of Christ satisfied this requirement: and so the new covenant could come in. So far the line of thought is clear. Neither is there any difficulty in understanding vv. 18ff. taken by themselves.

The problem lies in the intervening verses, 16, 17, which appear to use the keyword διαθήκη in a new and different sense, a sense not otherwise suggested - that of TESTAMENT rather than COVENANT.

The term διαθήκη has the general meaning of DISPOSITION or SETTLEMENT. It may, in particular, denote a compact between living persons [COVENANT], or a will to take effect after the testator's death [TESTAMENT].

In verses 16 and 17 the term appears to be used specifically in the latter sense of TESTAMENT, for they express general propositions which are NOT true of all covenants, but which ARE true [according to their most obvious sense] of all testaments. Thus, apart from the context with its plain meaning of 'covenant', we should not think of *διαθήκη* in verses 16-17 as meaning anything other than 'testament.' The chief difficulties, then, in the whole passage before us are these:

1. *διαθήκη* is not used in the specific sense of 'testament' before or afterwards in the Epistle to the Hebrews, or in Jeremiah 31 [which is the basis of the whole argument], or elsewhere in the O.T. or N.T.
2. The sense does not suit the case of the OLD *διαθήκη*, which was a covenant between the living God and His people. There is no hint of two senses being required for the term in the passage, since the blood-shedding which inaugurated the new answers to that which inaugurated the old - death inaugurated both in the same sense.
3. *διαθήκη* in the sense of 'covenant' is equivalent to *ברית*, and common in the LXX, expressing an idea familiar to both Jews and Jewish Christians. But, as far as we know, the conception of testamentary dispositions was foreign to the Hebrews; and even if known to them, it is unlikely that our author would have used it as an illustration of a Divine dispensation.
4. Christ is called the *μεσίτης* of the new *διαθήκη*,

But a testament does not require a Mediator, nor, if it has one, can the same person be both mediator and testator.

Though Westcott will not convince all his readers, yet his treatment of the problem will win admiration in its method. In his Additional Note on 9:15ff. (pp.298ff.) he sets forth his argument with characteristic clarity and lucidity of expression, and a definiteness which makes for satisfaction on the part of the reader. We may now summarize the Note:

1. The meaning of the word *διαθήκη* in the New Testament must be determined by its use in the LXX. With two exceptions it has uniformly the meaning of *ברית*, COVENANT - between peoples and between persons. Similarly, in the Apocrypha. There is not the least trace of the idea of 'testament,' which was foreign to the Jews till the time of the Herods. And the choice of *διαθήκη* to express the idea of a Divine covenant is easily intelligible.

2. On the other hand, from the time of Plato the term generally meant 'testament,' 'will,' 'disposition' [of property, etc.,] to take effect after death, in Classical writers.

3. Philo follows the LXX in attaching the force of 'covenant' to *διαθήκη*, especially Divine covenant, but he shows that it is easy to pass over from this into the idea of 'will.' "God will leave to the sinless and blameless an inheritance by terms of a covenant (*κατὰ διαθήκην*) . . . " Josephus uses the word several times for 'will.'

4. The Latin renderings are interesting. In the N.T. it is uniformly translated TESTAMENTUM, even where the sense of 'covenant' is unquestionable, and in quotations from the O.T. where FOEDUS stands in the Vulgate rendering of the O.T. itself. The first translators naturally gave the ordinary equivalent of *διαθήκη*; which Old Latin rendering Jerome left untouched. But it is not unlikely that in the common language TESTAMENTUM was not restricted to the classical sense of 'will,' but had the wider meaning of CHARTA TESTIUM SUBSCRIPTIONIBUS FIRMATATA, not uncommon in later ecclesiastical documents. The Syriac versions transliterate the Greek word.

6. The Biblical evidence, so far as it is clear, is wholly in favour of the sense 'covenant,' with the necessary limitation of the sense of the word in connection with a Divine covenant. In the text of



Hebrews 9:15-18 the connection of the verse is most close. It is most reasonable to suppose that

*διαθήκη* has the same sense throughout, viz. 'covenant.'

7. But certain arguments are advanced in favour of rendering the term as 'will' in the phrases

And further, it is asked, How can it be said that a covenant requires 'death' to give it validity ?

8. In answer: the mention of 'inheritance' [which is used to govern the rendering of *διαθήκη* as 'testament'] in verse 15 does not appear to furnish any adequate explanation of a transition from the idea of 'covenant' to that of 'testament.' Though it be true that Christ has obtained an inheritance (1:4), it cannot be said that He 'bequeathed' it to His people. If He 'made a disposition' in favour of His people (Luke 22:29), by union with Him they enjoy together with Him what it is - nothing less than Himself. Again, there can be no question that in v.15 Christ is spoken of as 'the Mediator of a new covenant' (cf *ἑγγυος*)  
in 7:22. The conceptions of Christ as 'Mediator of a covenant' and as a 'Testator' are essentially distinct. Further, if the writer had in mind the simple fact of the death of a testator it is unintelligible that he should have

used language so strange as ἐπὶ νεκροῖς and φέρειν θάψαι .

9. The rendering 'testament' does not clear away the difficulties of the passage itself or in relation to its context. Consider the writer's argument. In v.15 the two ideas of a 'covenant' and a 'death' have been introduced. The death is both a means of redemption from past obligations, and (as anti-typical) the ratification of the covenant. "The early phrases used for making a covenant shew that the idea of death actually entered into the conception of a covenant." In some way or other the victim which was slain and, in some cases at least, divided (Gen.xv.10; Jer.xxxiv. 18 f.), represented the parties to the covenant. Probably the fundamental idea was that so far as this special arrangement was concerned they had no longer will or life. The arrangement was final and unchangeable."

Westcott emphasizes that the covenant is not one between man and man on equal terms, but between man and God. The death of the Covenant-victim assumes a new character, unchangeableness of death and also the self-surrender of death.

10. Based on the view that the sense of  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\eta$  remains unchanged throughout as 'covenant,' the general force of the argument will be this: The dispensation established by Christ rests upon a Covenant, requiring for absolute validity the ratification by death [cf in type the Covenant-sacrifice of Gen.15 and the Covenant with Israel]. Christ was the Covenant-victim who satisfied all conditions. Through His death He made adequate atonement for sin and a perfect ratification of the Covenant in His blood, ie His life offered and communicated. Humanity, representatively, fulfilled its part in Him. Christ offered His life for all men, therefore all men may draw nigh to God. Hence ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the Old Covenant become fully intelligible: the life offered was imparted to the people in symbol, and the victim of ratification of the Covenant had its blood sprinkled on the people and the sanctuary.

It was natural that the Greek commentators should take the familiar sense of  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\eta$ , 'will,' and the Latin Fathers found it given (apparently) by the text they used.

# Additional Note

## 'THE VICTORY OF THE CROSS'

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IN HOLY WEEK 1888, Dr Westcott preached a series of sermons on his own doctrine of the Atonement in Hereford Cathedral. He says in the Preface that he has endeavoured to give "an outline of the view of the Atonement" which frequent study has led him to "regard with more and more confidence as both Scriptural and, in the highest sense of the word, natural, since I had first occasion to work at the subject in 1858." He adds that, shortly before writing these sermons, he read "with deep interest Dr Macleod Campbell's and Dr Dale's Essays on the Atonement," which he had "till then purposely refrained from reading." He goes on, "To both I owe many suggestive thoughts which I should have been glad to pursue in detail if such discussion had fallen within my scope."

He acknowledges also a sermon of M. Bersier [LA SOLIDARITÉ, 1878], and of R.W. Monseil [THE RELIGION OF REDEMPTION, 1867], and Dr Mulford's REPUBLIC OF GOD. It is well, too, that he concludes the Preface with the comment:



"Yet I confess that such a subject seems to me best approached in a devotional rather than in a scholastic form . . ." - though this is offset by the next sentence, "At the same time I should not have printed the sermons without justificatory notes if the pressure of necessary work had left me the least prospect of adding what would be required to supply such a commentary."

With reference to the Preface, two things may be said about the view which Westcott presents. First, that if the bulk of his thinking on this subject had been done during the thirty years between 1858 and the delivery of the sermons in 1888, and that his debt to Macleod Campbell is no more than 'suggestive thoughts' at the end of the long period of reflection, it is all the more interesting to find the crux of his theory approaching so closely that of the Scots theologian. Incidentally, both Westcott and Campbell were leading figures in Churches which demanded subscription to a doctrine of the 'penal substitution' group. Westcott, in this particular matter, is much more independent and original in his thought than Vaughan or Lightfoot. It was a bold deviation for a leading Churchman. But he had a good example and precedent in Maurice, and his colleague, Hort, was no less independent in his way.

Hort's views on the Atonement are treated below; suffice to quote from a letter of Hort to the Reverend John Ellerton in 1876, concerning a talk he had had with Westcott. Hort writes, "I found that he [Westcott]

took quite the same view.....  
 Apart from his knowledge of the Bible, the Fathers, and theology generally, his total freedom from Protestant prejudices gives, I think, some weight to his opinion"  
 - LIFE, 11.p.213. #

In the second place, the apologetic "in a devotional rather than in a scholastic form" prepares one for the substance of the book. If Westcott approaches Campbell in the basic doctrine, he is far removed from the latter's power of argument so far as 'The Victory of the Cross' is concerned. For it is not till the fifth chapter that Westcott brings us to the thing that we have really been anticipating: the subjects of the first four sermons are certainly more 'devotional' than 'scholastic'.

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# Hort on Macleod Campbell: "A very valuable book on the Atonement...is just coming out by Campbell... He was at Cambridge last term, and a milder and more beautiful spirit I have seldom seen, with much of the wisdom that it might be expected to produce." - LIFE, 1.p 319.  
 "...Campbell's book on the Atonement, which is invaluable as far as it goes; but unluckily he knows nothing except Protestant theology"  
 - op.cit.1.p 322.

The immediate impression is of the paucity of Scriptural quotations [whether actual, or in paraphrase, or by inference]. There is hardly a reference or allusion to the Old Testament at all - not even in the preparatory chapters. Certainly there is not a single allusion to Old Testament sacrifice, mediation, prophecy or the manifold aspects of language and thought associated with the root K - P - R. In the New Testament, the great Pauline passages, and the Petrine and Apocalyptic Scriptures, on which the traditional substitutionary and satisfaction theories have been based, are totally ignored; and, like Macleod Campbell, his doctrine is based chiefly on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Texts which are of significance to his doctrine are as follows: Mark 10:45; John 10:10, 17-18, 30; 17:19; Acts 20:35; Romans 6:23; 11:16; James 1:18; the pivotal verses around which the whole turns are: Hebrews 2:10; 5:8; 10:14. The incidental quotation of the text, "to make propitiation for our sins" (p 89) does not draw him into any reference to the New Testament conception of ἱλίσκεσθαι, etc. He also makes much of Galatians 3:28. The remaining few quotations from Scripture in the book are quite immaterial to his doctrine.

It is not until the fourth sermon that we are led anywhere near the heart of the subject; but even here, under the heading 'The Sufferings of Christ' [Hebrews 5:8], we do not feel very close to an answer to the question which any treatment of the doctrine of the Atonement should aim at solving, namely, What is the relation between the Death of Jesus Christ and the Divine forgiveness of sins? In drawing near "to the innermost sanctuary of the Divine righteousness and of the Divine love", in the fifth sermon, Westcott exercises that tantalising caution which has characterised the series up to the present.

"Every word and every thought must be guarded from the suspicion of presumption and laid in the light of the Cross. And however carefully we may strive to make the virtue of Christ's sacrifice more intelligible to ourselves, we must remember that the reality of its virtue is that by which we live. A theory of the Atonement may be a minister of faith, but the fact of the Atonement is the inspiration of faith" - p.75.

And on p 77 he is still holding us in suspense by saying, "And at present it is the more important to indicate the Scriptural lines of a doctrine of the Atonement because the significance of this central fact of our faith has been obscured by the use of modes of exposition which



belong to an earlier age. It is easier to present in a definite shape systems of human reasoning than a view of the ways of God . . ." So he continues through another two pages of pre-ambles until he lands with a strikingly strong and definite paragraph:

"When however we cling trustfully to the sacred words which bear us in their simple majesty above the schemes which answer to passing phases of human knowledge, some theories as to the nature of the Atonement and as to the essence of Christ's work can be set aside. No support remains for the idea that Christ offered in His sufferings, sufferings equivalent in amount to the sufferings due from the race of men or from the elect: no support for the idea that He suffered as a substitute for each man or for each believer, discharging individually the penal consequences of their actions. No support for the idea that we have to take account of a legal transaction according to which a penalty once inflicted cannot be required again. The infinite value of Christ's work can no longer be supposed to depend upon His capacity for infinite suffering, or upon the infinite value of each suffering of One who never ceased to be GOD" - p 79

At length he reaches the crux of his position:

"Such conceptions have gained currency because they seem to express, however imperfectly, isolated fragments of truth; but they fall immeasurably below the sublime simplicity of the apostle's teaching, who gathers up in one phrase the meaning of Christ's work in contrast with all the types of sacrificial service: HE HATH SAID, LO, I AM COME TO DO THY WILL [O GOD].... IN WHICH WILL WE HAVE BEEN SANCTIFIED THROUGH THE OFFERING OF THE BODY OF JESUS CHRIST ONCE FOR ALL . . . . FOR BY ONE OFFERING HE HATH PERFECTED FOR EVER THEM THAT ARE SANCTIFIED.

"Christ who took humanity to Himself was able to fulfil the will of GOD under the conditions of our present earthly life, both actively and passively, raising to its highest perfection every faculty of man, and bearing every suffering through which alone fallen man could attain his destiny" - pp 79-80.

Apart from those acknowledgments made in the Preface there are no further references to Macleod Campbell, and only one to Dale. If these sermons represent the fruit of thirty years' independent thought, then there really is a curious similarity between Westcott's position and Macleod Campbell's.

In his book, 'The Nature of the Atonement,' Campbell expounds the heart of his belief in chapter five.

Noting the latter quotation by Westcott, and bearing in mind the text at the head of the fifth Sermon [Heb.10:8-10], we turn to Macleod Campbell's volume, p 122ff, and read:

"That light of the Atonement itself, in which the Apostle wrote, pervades the whole argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the first principle and essence of his reasoning is contained in these verses of the tenth chapter, verses 4 - 10 . . . .The will of God which the Son of God came to do and did, this was the essence and substance of the Atonement . . . . Let us then receive these words, 'Lo, I come to do thy will, O God,' as the great key-word on the subject of the Atonement."

[Here he quotes the parallel O.T. passage, Psalm 40:7-11]

". . . and I quote the context of the psalm because it brings out so clearly, that the WILL of God contemplated is that WILL which immediately connects itself in our thoughts with what GOD IS . . . . This expression of the purpose of the Son of God in coming into this world, is therefore coincident with His own statement of His work when in the world - the way, that is, in which He fulfilled that purpose, - viz, 'I have declared thy name, and will declare it.' . . . To send Him in the likeness of sinful flesh was to make Him a sacrifice for sin, for it was to lay the burden of our sins upon Him. Thus related to us, while by love identified with us, the Son of God necessarily came under all our burdens, and especially our great burden sin. . . . that living the life of love in humanity He must needs care for all humanity. . .

"at once condemning that life of self, desiring its destruction, and feeling Himself by love devoted to the work of delivering man from it, at whatever cost to Himself." \*

\* cf. Westcott, op.cit., p 80.

Westcott develops this crucial discussion under four heads:

1. Christ exhausted all suffering, bearing it according to the will and mind of God.
2. We on our part need the constant support of His present sympathy in our labours.
3. Christ is able to communicate the virtue of His work, the reality of forgiveness, to all who are in Him.
4. We on our part can even now through every trial realise His joy.

There is a significant passage which unfolds a viewpoint very close to those interpretations of the doctrine of the Atonement which G.B.Stevens [in his book 'The Christian Doctrine of Salvation'] groups under the heading "Modern Subjective theories" - Westcott writes:

"The suffering in itself is nothing worth: the moral end for which it is the means gives it its value. Suffering therefore which is welcomed with the response of love, when it is brought to us by the will of God, love for the Creator to whose purpose it answers, love for the creature to whose purifying it serves, illuminates the whole course of this world.



"In this sense sufferings are a revelation of the Fatherhood of God Who brings back His children to Himself in righteousness and love. In this sense Christ suffered, knowing the nature of sin, knowing the judgment of GOD, realising in every pain the healing power of a Father's wisdom. And in this sense the virtue of His Passion remains in its eternal power" \* op.cit.p 82.

He clinches the point he is trying to make with a verse, ending in the couplet:

" But love I gave thee, with myself to love,

And thou must love Me who have died for thee. "

The remainder of the chapter is largely the application of this interpretation to individual life and experience. Westcott is careful, in passing, to warn us against a view which would tend to ascribe to a righteous God an easygoing disposition in respect of forgiveness. One of the choicest paragraphs anywhere in Westcott's writings is in this chapter 5 of The Victory of the Cross. It is typical of his whole interpretation of the Bible. The present writer desires to sum up Westcott in a phrase he once read: he is "extraordinarily successful in understanding Christ in a Christian way." On tracing the origin of the phrase we find that Sydney Cave used it of Macleod Campbell ! [The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, 1952 Edn., pp 187-8].

\* The Christian Doctrine of Salvation, 1930 Edn., pp 221 ff.

The climactic paragraph referred to runs as follows:

"He consumed with the fire of His love the impurity which He removed. And so it is still: He gives the virtue of His own life to quicken the soul which rests in Him. True forgiveness is indeed the energy of love answered by love. The forgiveness which remits a punishment may leave the heart untouched. The forgiveness which remits a sin includes by its very nature the return of a responsive gratitude. The believer makes Christ's work his own, and GOD sees him in the Son of Man. He dies daily, dies into life" - pp 85 - 86.

To sum up. It appears from such plain and unequivocal statements as Westcott gives in this chapter that his view hovers between, or is a synthesis of, the two types of doctrine called by G.B.Stevens, "Modern Ethical Satisfaction Theories" and "Modern Subjective Theories." The main elements in Westcott's theory are summed up in a paragraph of Horace Bushnell, though there is no reason to suppose Westcott had been influenced by - or even read - Bushnell:

"By the previous exposition Christ is shown to be a Saviour, not as being a ground of justification, but as being the Moral Power of God upon us, so a power of salvation. His work terminates, not in the release of penalties by due compensation, but in the transformation of character, and

"the rescue, in that manner, of guilty men from the retributive causations provoked by their sin. He does not prepare the remission of sins in the sense of mere letting go, but he executes the remission by taking away the sins and dispensing the justification of life. This one word 'life' is the condensed import of all that he is, or undertakes to be."

- The Vicarious Sacrifice, p 449.

The final words of Westcott's fifth and key sermon:

"The virtue of Christ's sacrifice is not a vain thing for us: it is our life."

With the sixth, and concluding, sermon, we are back in the hortatory atmosphere. There is nothing distinctive, whether of Westcott himself, or of a particular school of thought. There are some sound, broad statements concerning the Sovereignty of Christ which command universal assent in Christendom. The text is John 12:32, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself" - and it is treated as by an orthodox Churchman. His peroration is an appeal for "an energy of spiritual force" and is intensely practical in its application.

## A d d i t i o n a l   N o t e

## " C H R I S T U S   C O N S U M M A T O R "

\*

IT had been considered sufficient for our present purposes to limit specimen passages for comparison with Vaughan to those treating the doctrine of the Atonement. The contrast both in substance and method is plain enough, and, we trust, illustrates differences between the two men. At the same time, some mention ought to be made of Westcott's equally distinctive interpretation of the Incarnation. This has been dealt with clearly and comprehensively in his commentary on the Epistles of John, notably the essay entitled 'The Gospel of Creation.'

The volume, 'Christus Consummator,' published in 1886, contains a set of sermons preached in Westminster Abbey in August 1885 and January 1886, together with an appendix - a sermon originally preached at Cambridge. It is the second part which is relevant here - headed 'Aspects of the Incarnation.' References will be given from the third edition of 1890.



In the first sermon, 'The Incarnation a subject for Devout Study,' Westcott states his method and aim:

"This then will be our spirit, love illumined by faith, attested by the heart. And it follows at once that our aim will be vital and not merely intellectual. We shall not strive to gain any completeness of technical definition on the doctrine of the Incarnation. We acknowledge indeed that outlines are a necessity for man's representation of the truth of things: but they are a concession to his weakness and a symbol of it. There is no outline in nature, and no form of words can adequately express a spiritual reality . . . " - p 90.

The tenor of this paragraph has been met before in Westcott's writings, and is open to objection in this particular instance on two or three grounds. First, he evidently regards the 'vital' and the 'intellectual' aspects of Biblical exposition as in some way mutually exclusive. It is clear that Westcott himself felt a tension in his own mind over this; and the significance of this paragraph explicitly stated [as well as that of many other passages by implication] is that Westcott's Biblical exposition is liable to suffer from the cramp. Indeed the problem - which Westcott has the courage to declare - of this inward tension is one that has been felt

by many expositors. His older contemporary, Vaughan, appears not to have had serious difficulties in this connection. Perhaps it was that he escaped certain difficulties by ignoring other writers, allowing himself to be untouched by Biblical criticism, and expounding only on the basis of his Classical knowledge and a sound and steady religious instinct.

Again, Westcott's exposition is at once cramped if he consciously puts on the brake at some given point - presumably decided upon by himself; for example, "We shall not strive to gain any completeness . . . they are a concession to his weakness." If the Doctor had really felt what seems clearly indicated, it would have been better to confine himself to methods and categories of the mystics; or, alternatively, to have gone the whole hog in the manner of F.D. Maurice.

Further, we note that the restraint on the intellect is in fact lifted at times, notably when he presses his view as to the necessity of the Incarnation, to which reference will be made below, and when he expatiates on other-worldly themes for which there is slender Biblical evidence. Thus far and no further - this seems at times to be Westcott's guiding principle.

The next chapter, 'The Incarnation and the Creation', introduces the theme of Westcott's doctrine of the necessity of the Incarnation. Discussing the "fictitious unities" of, for example, Naturalism and Pantheism, he says that "they direct us to unrecognised aspects of the Incarnation." He considers it no disloyalty to the past to maintain that the view of the Incarnation which was gained in the fourth or fifth, thirteenth or sixteenth, centuries was not final.

"If now we endeavour to determine the ultimate cause of the defectiveness of the modern teaching on the Person of Christ of which I have spoken, we shall find it, I believe, most plainly shewn in the prevalent opinion as to the ground of the Incarnation. The Incarnation is commonly made to depend upon the Fall. And the whole tenour of revelation, as I conceive, leads us to regard the Incarnation as inherently involved in the Creation."

- p 104.

Westcott then refers particularly to Genesis 3:15 and 1:26 f., and continues with a dogmatism curiously emphatic for one who does "not strive to gain any completeness of technical definition on the doctrine of the Incarnation."

"In this august declaration of God's purpose and God's work we have set before us, clear beyond controversy, the primal endowment and the final goal of humanity. We are taught that man received, received inalienably as man, a fitness for gaining, through growth and discipline and continuous benediction, union with God. God's image was given to him that he might gain God's likeness. This original capacity of man was the measure of the love of God for His creature. Sin could not increase it: nothing less than personal union with God could fulfil it. The fitness and the necessity of the Incarnation exist therefore from the moment when man was made.

The Incarnation, in other words, when we use the term in the most general sense, apart from every thought of suffering and humiliation, corresponds with the perfection of man as he was constituted first, and not merely with the restoration of man who had missed his end.

HOMO PARTICEPS DEI - Man made partaker of God - is the satisfaction, the only possible satisfaction, of HOMO CAPAX DEI - Man capable of receiving God. The marvel is that the purpose of creation was wrought out in spite of that wilful self-assertion of the creature which might have seemed to have fatally thwarted it."



Westcott stands in a minority - a strong minority albeit - with such great minds as Dorner, in holding this view. Mackintosh makes an able attempt to undermine this theory. It is interesting, to say the least, to find Westcott, who urges no attempt to "gain any completeness of technical definition on the doctrine of the Incarnation," yet propounding so speculative a theory with no small degree of completeness. "The wise will regard with suspicion problems so hypothetical as barely to be capable of intelligible formulation," declares Mackintosh [The Person of Jesus Christ, 1913]. And on the same page he writes, "It would involve the complete readjustment of the New Testament perspective" (op.cit. p 441).

However, Westcott finds that "the thought of the predestined humanity of the Eternal Word, the Son of God, as the archetype of humanity, throws light, growing light, upon some of those points of the Faith, where many of us feel the darkness to be most oppressive" (p 106). Among those tenebrose points of the Faith he enumerates, the Being of God, the broken and chequered sum of human existence, the conception of personality, the connection of man and nature,

the mystery of the future, and the deep truths of the Atonement. This latter is dealt with in the next chapter, on which it is necessary only to make one or two observations.

'The Incarnation and the Fall' is surmounted by the text Colossians 1:19-20. Westcott asks how another's sufferings can avail for men's offences. He answers the question by developing an argument based upon one of his favourite themes - the solidarity of society, and leads up to the idea of solidarity in the Atonement. The 'blood of martyrs' is called in to illustrate the character of the sacrifice of Christ as 'vicarious.' "It expresses the highest energy of love which takes a friend's sorrows into the loving heart and taking them by God's grace transfigures them satisfying every claim of righteousness, justifying every instinct of hope, quickening the spirit of self surrender, offering within the sphere of common life a faint image of forgiveness, of redemption, of reconciliation" (p 123). And as he brings his argument to a climax - very eloquently - we find, as we have found elsewhere, that combination of [or oscillation between] doctrines which approximate to those theories of the Atonement which are commonly known as 'representative' and 'Abelardian' or 'subjective.'

"Thus we can see, even if it be in a riddle, a little more of the meaning of the Incarnation. Christ perfectly fulfilled the destiny of man, fulfilled through suffering the destiny of man, fallen, realising at every stage and through death itself union with God: there lies for the whole race in Him the promise of forgiveness.

Christ bore to the uttermost, even to the Cross, the consequences of human sin, and gave His blood to men as the power of a new life: there lies for the whole race the means of redemption.

Christ shewed the Father's love with such persuasiveness of tender mercy as to move every awakened conscience to glad self-surrender: there lies for the whole race the potency of reconciliation" - p 125.

And he concludes with a reminder that "forgiveness, redemption, reconciliation, are not blessings which Christ bestows apart from Himself, but in Himself: in the humanity which He has created afresh and cleanses by His blood" - p 126.

The fourth chapter, 'The Incarnation and Nature', does not add anything substantially to what we have seen already of Westcott's keen ideas concerning the solidarity of humanity. In typical speculative rhetoric he enlarges on Romans 8:19, 22.

The concluding sermon is based on the words of John 1:16, "For of His fulness we all received, and grace for grace." In pointing the reader to the main aspects of the preceding addresses, he now suggests that these noble truths are not an intellectual luxury or a spiritual charm, but for the inspiration of our WHOLE being. They are given to us that they may arouse and guide and sustain 'him who has welcomed them.' He marvels at the truth revealed in the Johannine Prologue, passing from the opening statement in verse 1 [omitting for the present the parenthetic illustrations] to the truths in verses 14 and 16. "The Word finds a place naturally on the throne of the Father and in the heart of man." Westcott is in a mood of wonder and adoration. He is quite overwhelmed by a realization of what is implied in the phrase, "Out of His fulness all we received, and grace for grace."

"We believe not that one man by the cultivation of natural powers has striven upwards to fellowship with God, but that the Son of God has taken humanity to Himself and gained that for the race which each member can find for himself in Him" - p 151.



The sermon is a development of the ideas here expressed. "That is one of the main lessons of the Incarnation. It is for ever leading us through the seen to the unseen, offering in this way GRACE FOR GRACE; and so it is that Christianity in consideration of our nature is essentially Sacramental . . . . He uses the commonest things for the highest ends." And so on to the peroration:

" . . . in the Incarnation, as a fact, nay, as THE fact of human life, the fall and the redemption both find complete expression. In the Incarnation law and love are seen in their final harmony" - p 156.

# A Comparison with the Notes of Vaughan's Commentary \*

UNDER Hebrews 2:17 Vaughan observes that "it is not enough that He should become incarnate. He must also be assimilated to us in all the circumstances, liabilities, trials, temptations, sufferings even unto death, of us whom He came to save."

*ἁρπαγὸς*] The word occurs here for the first time in the Epistle, and for the first time in Scripture in application to Christ. It is characteristic of the Epistle to give in this manner an INTIMATION of what is to be afterwards a leading topic. It is a shadow cast before from the great section of chapters v. - x. Yet it is no sudden or premature obtrusion of the topic. It is prepared for by 1.3.... 11.9,... and by 11.11...."

*ἵνα τὸ ἱκετόν*] The tense shows that it is not the one sacrifice of propitiation which is spoken of, but the exercise of the perpetual priesthood.

TO THE END THAT HE MAY CONTINUALLY  
SECURE THE FORGIVENESS OF THE CONTIN-  
UALLY RECURRING SINS OF THE PEOPLE.

\* The Epistle to the Hebrews, with Notes, 1890.

The verb ἱλάσκεσθαι occurs [in the New Testament] only here and in Luke xviii.13 . . . In the Septuagint, it is always used [as in this latter passage] in a middle sense, though often in a passive form, TO BECOME PROPITIUS (ἱλκος, ἱλεω), FAVOURABLE or GRACIOUS [compare Exodxxxii.12..... Jer. xxxi.34..... Matt.xvi.22.....,

(1) with περί, as Exod.xxxii.14...  
or

(2) with a DATIVE, (a) of the PERSON,  
as in 2 Kings.v.18. . . .

(b) of the THING,  
as Psalmxxv.11. . . .

or

(3) ABSOLUTELY, as Lam. iii.42....  
Dan.ix.19....

The peculiarity of the text is the ACCUSATIVE, not (as in Classical usage) of the Deity to be propitiated, but of the sin to be expiated. The scriptural usage avoids the expression, RENDERING God gracious to the sinner (though there is a sense in which this might be made consistent with true doctrine), as tending to obscure the divine love which originates the redemption. John iii.16...

Thus, although the literal rendering of ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας might seem to be, TO RENDER GOD GRACIOUS AS TO OUR SINS, this would be an unscriptural phrase. The real thought is, TO SECURE THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS, FROM DAY TO DAY AND FROM HOUR TO HOUR, BY HIS PRESENCE WITH GOD AS THE PROPITIATION FIRST AND THEN THE INTERCESSOR. I John ii.1 . . .

On 2:18 Vaughan writes:

ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χρ[ίστος] ] A reason for the κατὰ πάντα,  
and for the ἐλεήμων, of verse 17.  
FOR IN THAT HE HIMSELF HAS SUFFERED  
BY HAVING BEEN SUBJECTED TO ALL  
MANNER OF BODILY, MENTAL, and SPIRIT\*  
UAL TRIAL, HE IS ABLE &C.

ἴσχύεται ] Compare iv.15 . . . .  
v2 . . . . The ability spoken of  
belongs to Him as God, and waited  
not for any experience to acquire it  
for Him. But its exercise requires  
that its possession should be known  
and felt by those whom it is to aid;  
and this assurance can only be  
inspired in them by His having  
actually suffered like them and with  
them.

τοῖς ὑπειραγομένοις ] THOSE WHO ARE  
UNDERGOING TRIAL. It is a descrip-  
tion of life. Each day of life is  
an exploration of character. God  
tries, and the devil tempts.  
(1) Circumstances of difficulty,  
thwartings of the will, dispensations  
of sorrow, severely try the patience  
and faith of the man.  
(2) Good and evil are presented to  
him, and the choice lies between  
them. Nor is that choice unbiased.  
A fallen nature, and a busy temper,  
combine to influence it in favour  
of evil.

ὑποβιβάζονται ] Illustrations of the  
versatility of this helping abound  
in Scripture. Matt. xv. 25, 28 . . .  
Mark ix. 22, 24. . .



Vaughan's treatment of the idea and use of the term 'Blood' is fragmentary. The scattered notes on relevant texts are as follows:

2:14 "He must partake of flesh and blood, that He may be capable of dying. It is by dying that He can alone conquer death, first in its personal head, and then in its individual action. The sting of death is sin (I Cor. xv..56). Sin is the tyranny of a usurper, who must be personally vanquished if his subjects are to be freed. The whole work of Christ is a conflict with the devil (Luke xi. 21, 22). Every instance of successful ministry was an omen of final victory ( Luke x.18). But His death was the decisive battle (John xii.31, 32).

His death as our atonement, His resurrection to be our life, His ascension to be our Lord, defeated, despoiled, dethroned the devil, making death no longer the terror of those who believe, and securing for them the eventual reversal of death in the resurrection at the last day (John xvi.11. Rom.v.10. viii.3, 11. Col.ii.15. Rev.xii. 5, 7 - 11.).

9:12 *Σὺ μόνος τοῦ Ἰδίου* ] So only could He enter FOR US. As the Eternal Son, He has a right there: as the High-priest of man, He enters in virtue of the sacrifice of Himself.

On 9:14 Vaughan writes:

Διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ] A very difficult passage. (1) Much depends upon the sense given to προσήνεγκεν. Is it the προσφέρειν of v.1, or is it the second προσφέρειν of viii.3? In other words, is it the sacrifice of the death, or is it the sacrifice of the self-presentation, as the risen and ascended Lord, in heaven itself? In verses 25, 26, the two are contrasted. If He has often to PRESENT Himself, He must often have suffered.

(2) Upon the answer to this question will partly depend the meaning of διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου. That it is the Holy Spirit who is spoken of is certain either way. The omission of the article emphasizes the epithet ETERNAL.

(a) But if the προσήνεγκεν refers to the self-presentation in heaven (as προσφέρειν in verse 25), then the agency of the Holy Spirit in RESURRECTION may be prominent in the mention of the πνεύματος αἰωνίου here. See Rom. viii.11, where the indwelling Spirit is made the agent of the future Resurrection of the CHRISTIAN, and, by implication, of the Resurrection of Christ Himself.

If this view of the προσήνεγκεν is taken, the statement is that, by the agency of the Holy Spirit in raising Him from the dead, Christ was enabled to present Himself to God in heaven as the crucified and risen Saviour, in

fulfilment of the type of the high priest carrying the blood of the victims, already sacrificed on the brazen altar, into the holy of holies on the day of Atonement.

(b) In the OTHER view, the agency of the Eternal Spirit must be specially connected with the *ἁγιασμα* which follows; and the thought will be, that the Saviour, whose humiliation consisted in receiving the Holy Spirit (John iii.34...) as His inspirer and enabler throughout THE DAYS OF HIS FLESH, and living in all things as a Man full of the Holy Ghost, laying aside the present exercise of the powers and attributes of Deity, was thus preserved blameless *μὴ ἔχον ὀνειδισμὸν*, and, as the antitype of the perfect victim of the Levitical ritual, offered Himself on the altar of the Cross as the all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world. I am in suspense between the two interpretations, but incline now to the former.

At this point the MSS notes are of interest. The writer of the notes [who was a Dove in 1865] must originally have written - presumably at the dictation of Vaughan in his Greek Testament classes \* as follows:

*προσέφερεν* - of the presentation of Himself to God, after His death and resurrection, in heaven.

This note has faded, as most of the MSS. Some insertions are bolder and therefore almost certainly later. We cannot tell whether the following was written before or after the publication of Vaughan's commentary on 'Hebrews', but it confirms the fact that the Dean's view on the particular point fluctuated; and it was certainly written after the more faded inscription:-

*προσθήκεν* probably of the offering of Himself on the Cross as the completion of that life of self-sacrifice which He had lived.

Westcott, on the other hand, is definite; and has no doubt that it is the offering on the Cross that is signified; and the 'eternal Spirit' refers to Christ's own Divine Nature.

9:25 *(ἐν δίσκῳ) ἡ* The *ἐν* here, preserving its usual idea of CONTAINED IN, has the sense of ENCASED in as His protecting armour. Compare Eph. vi. 14 .... The blood which the high priest carried was his INSTRUMENT of entrance, his key or his passport, in ONE aspect . . . it was also his ARMOUR, his coat of mail, in ANOTHER aspect.



13:12 *ἁγιασθῆναι* ] It was the object of the Levitical day of Atonement *ἁγιασθῆναι* τὸν ἱερέα. The word *ἁγιασθῆναι* occurs in the directions for the ceremonial of that day (Lew.xvi) only in verse 19 . . . But the SENSE of *ἁγιασθῆναι* lies in the phrase which is used in v.17 . . . .

That which was there done in type (1) by the blood of animal victims (2) for the national Israel, Jesus did effectually (1) by His own blood (2) for the greater Israel, of every kindred and tongue and people and nation (Rev.v.9). . . . But here the exact thought in *ἁγιασθῆναι* seems to be that of A CONSECRATION EFFECTED BY THE REMOVAL OF GUILT BY AN AVAILING ATONEMENT. So that the best reference will be to the *ἁγιασθῆναι* of ix.13, where see the note.

9:13 SANCTIFIES, in the sense of restoring to outward communion with God and His chosen nation. This was the effect of the application of the water of separation to one who had incurred the special defilement of contact with physical death. It was the effect of the ceremony of the day of Atonement upon the priests and people generally, in the form of a typical and prophetic absolution from offences against God. The two rites are combined in the one statement: both are said to avail only for a *καθάρσις* of the *σάρξ*.

13:20 *ἐν ᾧ* ] A closing reference to the entrance of the high priest into the holy of holies on the day of Atonement. For *ἐν ᾧ* as the PROTECTING ENVELOPEMENT, the passport into the divine presence, see ix.25. x.19. Here first the blood which gives admission into the presence is spoken of as giving egress from death. The ARRIVAL in the heavenly presence for us in virtue of the atoning blood is here viewed in its start from the grave and from Paradise. It was in virtue of the availing sacrifice that Christ either left the tomb or reentered heaven.

. . .

Particular attention was drawn above to Westcott's Additional Note on *διαθήκη*, as illustrating the difference between himself and Vaughan. At 9:15 Vaughan's commentary simply refers one to 7:22 and 8:6, 8. We turn to 7:22 and read:

*διαθήκης* ] From *διατίθεσθαι*  
[DISPONERE, to set or place in distribution, to arrange] *διαθήκη* has the comprehensive sense of an arrangement, whether of relations (covenant) or of possessions (testament). In classical Greek the latter use predominates, though the former is also found. In the Septuagint and the New Testament the

former is invariable, except in Heb. ix. 16, &c., where the preceding θανάτου and κληρονομίας prepare us for the argument from διαθήκη, as TESTAMENT, a sense naturally occurring to a Greek writer. Examples of COVENANT in all connexions are frequent in the Septuagint. Between INDIVIDUALS [as I Sam. xxiii. 18. Mal. ii. 14], between NATIONS [as Josh. ix. 6], between GOD AND MAN, whether as an engagement of special blessing on God's part [as Gen. xv. 18. Isai. lix. 21] or of special devotion on man's part [as 2 Chron. xv. 12. Jer. i. 5].

The MUTUAL idea is never wholly lost, but is thrown into the shade by the disparity of the parties, so that the real meaning of διαθήκη (in its divine application) is a gracious engagement of God on man's behalf. Thus a divine COVENANT approaches very nearly to the sense of TESTAMENT, which is a disposal of property by the free will of the disposer.

The commentary on 8:6 and 8:8 has no further light to shed relevant to the interpretation of the key-word

διαθήκη. At 9:16, however, there is one further comment:

The transition from COVENANT to TESTAMENT is clear and not to be evaded. The latter was the commoner sense of διαθήκη. To one thinking in Greek there was nothing incongruous in the 2 senses.

The fundamental idea of διαθήκη is ARRANGEMENT. A covenant is an arrangement of RELATIONS, a testament is an arrangement of POSSESSIONS. The transition is eased by the words *Δυνάτου* and *Κληρονομίας* in verse 15. It is as if the sacred writer had said, AND THUS THE διαθήκη WHICH IS IN ONE ASPECT A COVENANT IS IN ANOTHER ASPECT A TESTAMENT. IT PRESUPPOSES A DEATH; AND IT CONFERS AN INHERITANCE. VIEW IT IN THIS LIGHT. THINK WHAT A TESTAMENT IS. SEE HOW APPROPRIATE IS THE IDEA TO THE GOSPEL διαθήκη .



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- 1855 A general Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries.
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\* = writings published or reprinted in later volume.

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**C h a p t e r   F o u r**

**C. J. V A U G H A N   A N D**

**F E N T O N                      J O H N**

**A N T H O N Y                  H O R T**

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F e n t o n   J o h n   A n t h o n y   H o r t

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THE LIFE of 'our greatest English theologian of the century'§ - from a purely biographical standpoint - is admittedly less colourful and eventful than the lives of his two colleagues whom we are considering. The member of the Trio least endowed with gifts of organisation and public presence was he who, in the words of a modern writer looking back after half a century, 'outranged them by the extent of his knowledge.'# His literary output was comparatively small. He left behind no marks of leadership as a diocesan bishop. The one superb and abiding monument in the epoch-making edition of the Greek New Testament together with its famous Introduction does not reflect the full breadth, length and depth of the heart and mind of Hort. It is rather in his letters that we see what really lay beneath the retiring personality and within a rather frail body.

§ SANDAY, in the American Journal of Theology pp 95 ff.

# L.E.ELLIOTT-BINNS, English Thought, 1860-1900,  
publ. 1956.

Fenton John Anthony was the son of Fenton Hort, the son of Sir John Hort. Fenton Sr. was a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge and a man of private means who never followed a profession. He married Anne Collett, the daughter of a Suffolk clergyman. F.J.A. was born in Dublin in 1828, but his family moved to Cheltenham in 1837.

The domestic aspect of his life became overshadowed by a gulf which increasingly separated son and mother on religious matters. Anne Hort had been brought up strictly in the Evangelical tradition. The growth of the Oxford Movement filled her with a dread as to its possible effects on her son. As he grew up and thought out his own theological position she was unable to enter into it. Feeling that he had deserted the old paths of truth a barrier went up between them. Religion was a closed subject, and both regretted it. But certain basic qualities of character the mother passed on to the son. A favourite saying of hers was, "I hate mediocrity." To her, it is clear, F.J.A. owed to a considerable extent his absolute truthfulness of soul, uprightness of character, overmastering sense of duty, the courage of his convictions, and his deep trust in God issuing in a simple piety and reverential spirit.

His biographer writes:

"It was natural that at Cambridge he should seek out first the teachers of the Evangelical school, who then represented what was best in the religious life of the University. Chief of these was Dr. Carus, for whom he always retained a great regard. At a not much later period however he outgrew the Evangelical teaching, which he came to regard as 'sectarian,' but he did not throw himself into any opposite camp. .... all that was best in those first lessons became part and parcel of himself. Before long he was to come under other influences, especially that of F.D. Maurice" pp 41-42, vol.1. #

To this latter point we shall return.

F.J.A. went to Rugby School in 1841, and for one year enjoyed the privilege of sitting at the feet of the great Dr Arnold. Hort acknowledged the influence of even this brief spell in after years. He showed exceptional intellectual progress in the five years spent at Rugby, and always spoke with gratitude of his second headmaster, Dr Tait, later Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1846 Fenton John went to Trinity College, Cambridge, as a pensioner and read mathematics and classics; but his intellectual energy drove through philosophy, theology and natural science - as well as other pursuits, including



an active interest in public affairs. In 1849 he gained a foundation scholarship at his own college. Owing to illness which interrupted his examinations, he secured only a third class in mathematics. But in the classical tripos 1850 he came fifth in the first class. In the following year he gained a first in both moral science and natural science (distinction).

It has already been mentioned that he was shy by nature and did not easily make friendships. Among those who became his intimates were J. Ellerton, J. B. Mayor, J. E. B. Mayor, Henry Bradshaw, Vansittart and Westlake. Towards the end of his undergraduate career he struck up a friendship with B. F. Westcott.

In 1852 he was elected to a fellowship at Trinity at the same time as Lightfoot. But it was the personal acquaintance with F. D. Maurice which proved to be the most significant contact of his life. The latter's influence and teaching were nothing less than a revelation to him. He was brought into touch with Charles Kingsley, Tom Hughes, D. and A. Macmillan, and J. M. Ludlow, with whose endeavours on behalf of working men he found himself in sympathy, and whose ideas on social and educational reform caught his imagination.

From 1852 - 57 Hort resided at Cambridge, devoting himself to intensive study. It was in these years that he laid the foundation of all his later work, notably that research on the text of the New Testament. He engaged in other activities, one occupation being joint editorship with Lightfoot and J.E.B. Mayor of the 'Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.'

In 1854 he was ordained deacon at Cuddesdon, and was priested in 1856 the same year in which he was made examiner for the natural science tripos. '56 also saw his striking essay on Coleridge which took its honoured place in "Cambridge Essays."

The following year, 1857, brought a sudden change in the course of his career, for he married a certain Fanny Holland and thereby forfeited his fellowship. He accepted the benefice of St Ippolyts cum Great Wymondley, near Hitchin in Hertfordshire, in which secluded spot he lived until 1872. It was a sad period of bad health and strained means. For two years, 1863-5, he was compelled to give up all work, living part of the time in Cheltenham and part in Switzerland. On returning to his parish, he was drawn more and more into university work at Cambridge, for which he was

frequently an examiner. In 1871 he was Hulsean Lecturer; and during this time he prepared articles for Dr Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. In 1870 he joined the New Testament Revision Company, and for ten years the revision work was one of the most exacting duties of his life. On the strength of these labours he built up a tremendous prestige in matters of textual criticism and Biblical scholarship.

The long period of exile from Cambridge was broken in 1871 when he was elected to a fellowship at Emmanuel College. It was a happy return, not least in that his friend Westcott had recently been appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. Hort lectured in Divinity from 1872-8. He occupied himself in committee work of all kinds and maintained that wider interest in men and things which was characteristic of him. Meanwhile he devoted all available time to the great work on New Testament criticism on which he was engaged with Westcott. In 1870 Hort had written for a second time an 'Introduction' to their text.

In 1876 he published two theses; the first which had gained him the B.D. degree, on the subject, "On *μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν*

"Θεοῦ in Scripture and Tradition." The second, for the degree of D.D., was "On the Constantinopolitan and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century." These theses illustrate the breadth of his reading.

In 1878 his patience was rewarded when he was elected Hulsean Professor in place of J.J.S. Perowne. Thus, for one brief session the Trio were all Professors of Divinity, until Lightfoot became Bishop of Durham.

On the 12th May 1881 Hort's twenty years' work was presented to the public with the publication of the Greek New Testament, into which Westcott and he had put the best of their intellects and devotion. This was followed by the Introduction and Appendix in September of the same year. Between these two, on the 17th May, the Revised English Version appeared. It was the Introduction written by Hort to the W & H edition of the Greek text which secured a permanent place for its author among the foremost New Testament critics of the age. From 1882 - 90 Hort associated with Westcott and W.F. Moulton in preparing a revised version of the books of Wisdom and II Maccabees.



The Lady Margaret readership in Divinity fell vacant and Hort was elected, in 1887. Westcott went to Durham in 1890, leaving Hort as the survivor at Cambridge of the illustrious Trio. His health was failing, though his mind was as active as ever. But he did not live long after this, passing on the 30th November 1892.

All through his many years of exacting textual and other Biblical studies, he never lost his love of natural science. He was one of the early members of the Alpine Club, and became known as a botanist of some standing. He had a great love for poetry, and had something of a gift in this direction. His literary output was not in proportion to his prestige and influence. If only he had written more of the same standard as fragments published on I Peter and James. He was a scholar and thinker, with a strong philosophical element in his make-up. He had a keen historical sense. His constant aim was an inexorable pursuit of the truth. He rejoiced in strong convictions; but he kept aloof from all party movements.

Hort was more liberal and more sacerdotal in his views than the other two members of the Trio; and was

even more daring in speculation and less bound by tradition than Westcott. He regarded himself as a seeker, and, it is said, even hesitated to accept the Hulsean lectureship because of a 'growing dislike of the position of a professed advocate.' \*

When, after his death, 'The Way, the Truth, the Life' was published, it demonstrated 'how openness of mind could co-exist with an unshaken grasp of central truths,' and in it he presented a 'large and progressive faith which seemed as far removed from ordinary dogmatism as dogmatism itself from religion' - Life, ii. 371-3. Although much of the work done by Hort was concerned with settling details of linguistic or historical accuracy, he never lost sight of the deeper questions which lay behind them.

Although the Trio worked together in perfect harmony they were, as has already been indicated, far from sharing the same outlook in matters ecclesiastical. Lightfoot and Westcott would approximate much closer to an Evangelical position - in the broad sense, not by virtue of any party attachment. But Hort was a

Life and Letters, by A.F.Hort, 1896, ii. p 52f.

staunch sacerdotalist, and, says his biographer, shocked his friends by expressing his conviction that Protestantism was only "parenthetical and temporary"

- Life, ii. 86.

This sharp difference of standpoint was undoubtedly a factor in the non-appearance of a systematic theology by the Trio, though Westcott [who particularly hoped for the production of such a work] published 'The Gospel of Life' which was in part a fulfilment of the wish.

The Trio was a remarkable team, in many respects unique in the history of Christian scholarship, effecting a strategically important ministry in English theological thought at a time of upheaval. They led English-speaking scholarship in Biblical matters into sound and sane paths. They were conscious of the work they had to do and they co-operated as a team in the effective accomplishment of it. Each had his other interests which brought him in touch with diverse people and movements. But Hort's connection with Maurice represents the most extreme 'other-connection' of any of the three. In a letter to Charles Kingsley the reserved and reticent Hort said:

"Mr. Maurice . . . to whom we both, I believe, owe under God nearly all the better part of our being, not least the desire... of calling no man our master, but learning the truth from the strangest and most dissimilar quarters" - Life, i. 184.

According to his biographer, Hort's was a mind singularly receptive and independent. At the same time, he is careful to point out, there was at no time any decided break in the continuity of his religious convictions; and, further, he was even from the first 'nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri.' He was ever grateful to all masters under whom he sat, but he received their teaching with an enquiring and independent mind. He was unhappy about the Evangelical position in which he had been brought up, for he 'could not discover the religious philosophy which he desiderated' - Life, i. 62. In this search for a locus standi he was attracted to the writings of F.D. Maurice. The particular aspect of Maurice which appealed to him was the way in which he brought the doctrines and sacraments of the Church into relation with the needs of individual and social life. Moreover, though elements of the Oxford Movement were congenial to him, he was not able to share their distrust of the human reason which characterised the 'anti-liberalism' of the Movement. With Maurice there was not that distrust. Hort writes almost extravagantly of Maurice:

"...the KINGDOM OF CHRIST, everyday seems to bring out more clearly in my mind the truth, beauty, wisdom, scripturality, and above all unity of Maurice's baptismal scheme...I love him more and more every day"  
- Life, i. 67.



"I am more and more drinking in Maurice's LORD'S PRAYER. I will not go so far as to say that, except for the KINGDOM OF CHRIST, there is not a theological book in English equal to it; but it is very hard to get imbued with."

-ibid. i.88.

"Maurice's wonderful sermons [ie on the Prayer Book].... are invaluable indeed.... The last two on 'The Consecration Prayer' and 'The Eucharist' are grand beyond expression."

-ibid. i.114.

In 1871 Hort was approached by the Bishop of Ely [H. Browne] with regard to his becoming one of the Bishop's examining chaplains. But he was doubtful whether he could or should accept. He wrote frankly to the Bishop declaring his "firm and assured belief in the reality of revelation, the authority of the Scriptures, the uniqueness and supremacy of the Gospels, the truth and permanent value of the earlier creeds. . . the Divine mission and authority of the Church and her institutions and the like." But he feared that on details and accessories his views might not be generally accepted in all respects.

" . . . Moreover, Mr Maurice has been a dear friend of mine for twenty-three years, and I have been deeply influenced by his books. To myself it seems that I owe to them chiefly a firm and full hold of the Christian faith; but they have led me to doubt whether the Christian Faith is adequately or purely represented in all respects in the accepted doctrines of any living school."

- Life, ii.155-6.

In a letter to V.H.Stanton dated 30th November, 1891, not long, it will be noted, before he died, he wrote with unabated appreciation of Maurice:

"It seems to me that Maurice's words \* suggest the really vital distinction about all authority in matters of belief, that it is salutary only in so far as it is propaedeutic, placing men in the best attitude for forming a judgment and helping them in the process, but never demanding to be listened to against judgment.

As regards Church authority in particular, it seems to me that much analysis is needed to distinguish heterogeneous things that commonly bear the same name, and that form of authority which rests on precedent specially needs investigation, e.g. whether there are such things as perpetually binding precedents, and if so,

\* Maurice's lectures on EDUCATION.

"how they are to be distinguished from such things as the Church of each age may or should shape for itself."

- Life, ii. 435.

In a letter to F.D. Maurice in 1849, Hort expresses himself on his thoughts about eternal punishment, and it is clear that he inclines towards a strongly universalistic position. After Maurice's expulsion from King's College, London, Hort wrote in 1853:

"He was condemned exclusively on the last essay, Jelf's charge being- (1) that he 'threw a cloudiness about the meaning of the word ETERNAL'; and (2) that he seemed to tend towards the belief that the wicked might perhaps find mercy at last, or words to that effect . . . . My own feeling is that a considerable number of High Churchmen will support [Maurice]. On the first head he only repeats Plato's doctrine, which Augustine lays down in the most emphatic terms in the CONFESSIONS; on the second he goes no further than is implied in prayers for the dead."

- Life, ii. 261.

In 1854 to the Reverend J. Ellerton:

"I agree with you in thinking it a pity that Maurice verbally repudiates purgatory, but I fully and unwaveringly agree with him in the three cardinal points of the

"controversy: (1) that eternity is independent of duration; (2) that the power of repentance is not limited to this life; (3) that it is not revealed whether or not all will ultimately repent.

The modern denial of the second has, I suppose, had more to do with the despiritualizing of theology than almost anything that could be named. How contrary it is to the spirit of the Fathers of ALL schools may be seen from the notes to Pearson on the Descent into Hell."

\* Life, i. 275.

As an undergraduate Hort was profoundly concerned about the doctrine of Substituted Punishment. He wrote to Maurice a most revealing letter in 1849 in which he sought earnestly some light on the problem. The question was still very much alive in his mind in 1860 when he wrote to Westcott:

"I have never been satisfied with anything of his [ie Rev. J. L. Davies] that I have seen on the Atonement. If I understand you rightly, you would confine your own positive statements to these, that we are saved by our Lord's death, and that we could not have been saved without it. This is the doctrine



"of Coleridge, Thompson (Bampton Lectures), and (I suppose, though I once understood him in a more destructive sense) Jowett. Sometimes I feel disposed to say the same, but on the whole I believe we may say more. Certainly such a mere statement of results seems to me very preferable to the popular attempts at explanation, but still it seems to me a mere product of despairing (but not unbelieving) speculation opposed to the actual revelations made to us in the Bible. To me the necessity being Divine does not appear sufficient reason for our not being able to apprehend its nature .....

I do not pretend to be able to explain many perplexing facts any better than other people, but I think that many of the current difficulties arise from taking jural rather than moral justice as a standard, and that we have much to learn respecting moral justice.

E.g., the FACTS recorded in the Bible seem to me to show that it is not unjust (i) that the innocent should suffer, and (ii) that the suffering of the innocent should be the benefit of the guilty; and the experience of human life seems to me to confirm the same.

But this is a very different thing from taking a human explanation or interpretation of the facts (as the 'forensic' 'plan of salvation') as itself a criterion of justice.

"That suffering may be a necessary consequence of sin, 'quite apart from free forgiveness,' I most fully believe, and so I think does Davies. But surely the essence of the Atonement must consist in the forgiveness itself, and not in the abolition of such suffering; whether it involves at all any such abolition, I cannot yet make up my mind. Perhaps we may be too hasty in assuming an absolute necessity of absolutely proportional suffering.

I confess I have no repugnance to the primitive doctrine of a ransom paid to Satan, though neither am I prepared to give full assent to it. But I can see no other possible form in which the ransom doctrine is at all tenable; anything is better than the notion of a ransom paid TO THE FATHER."

- Life, 1.427-428.

To the Reverend B.F. Westcott, 1860:

"I entirely agree - correcting one word - with what you there say on the Atonement, having for many years believed that 'the absolute union of the Christian (or rather, of man) with Christ Himself' is the spiritual truth of which the popular doctrine of substitution is an immoral and material counterfeit. But I doubt whether that answers the question as to the nature of the satisfaction. Certainly nothing can be more unscriptural than

22

"the modern limiting of Christ's bearing our sins and sufferings to His death; but indeed that is only one aspect of an almost universal heresy."

- Life, 1.430.

In a letter to the Bishop of Ely dated 12th November, 1871:

"I feel most strongly the truth of what you say about sin and atonement as answering to each other. Christian peace not from sin denied, or sin ignored, but sin washed away. If it was not washed away once for all upon the Cross, an awakened conscience has no refuge but in futile efforts after heathenish self-atonement. Nor can I see how, man being what he is now, the Incarnation could bring about a complete redemption unless it included a true atonement.

But it does not seem to me any disparagement to the sufferings and death of Christ to believe that they were the acting out and the manifestation of an eternal sacrifice, even as we believe that the sonship proceeding from the miraculous birth of the Virgin Mary was the acting out and manifestation of the eternal Sonship. So also the uniqueness of the great Sacrifice seems to me not to consist in its being a substitute which makes all other sacrifices useless and unmeaning, but in its giving them the power and meaning which of themselves they could not have.

"Christ is not merely our Priest, but our High Priest, or Priest of Priests; and this title seems to me to give reality to Christian, as it did to Jewish, priesthood; both to the universal priesthood of the Church and to the representative priesthood of the apostolic ministry, without which the idea of any priesthood vanishes into an empty metaphor. . . ."

In a subsequent paragraph of the same letter there is an interesting appraisal of F.D.Maurice:

"But you will, I am sure, forgive me for expressing a belief that Mr. Maurice would assent entirely to what I have said. He may have dwelt too exclusively on that idea of sacrifice which is suggested by Hebrews x. 5 - 10, and he may have failed to make clear that Sacrifice is not the only way of conceiving Atonement. I remember that his book on Sacrifice disappointed me at the time, while I had the feeling that, if I had read it over and over again pen in hand, (which I had never done), I should have found a more solid and valuable residuum. In common with several of his later books, it suffers partly from its diffuseness and laxity of form, partly from his extreme anxiety to dwell on the partial truths felt after by those from whom he differs, so that he often fails to give sufficient prominence to the truths which he assumes.



"He does, I fear, sometimes wrest Scripture unawares in some single direction; but I know none who submits himself to it with greater reverence, or is more desirous to be helped towards the understanding of it by the teaching of the Church of all ages . . . "

Life, ii.157 f.

To the Reverend John Ellerton he wrote in 1876:

". . . the ideas expressed in the hymn, 'Still....His prevailing death He pleads,' has no apostolic warrant, and cannot even be reconciled with apostolic doctrine.

It is of course only by an accommodation that we can use the language of time at all in speaking of things Divine; but so far as the Atonement in relation to God is spoken of in terms of time, the Bible seems to me to teach us to think of it as lying entirely in the past, a thing done 'once for all;' that which remains continually being the eternal subjection to the Father's 'will,' of which the obedience unto death was the manifestation.

Do consider Hebrews x. 1 - 23, 35 - 39 (especially 2, 3, 12-14). What is said of 'intercession' seems to belong simply to the presenting of human prayers as the Head of the race, or some cognate idea. All traces of Christian sacrifices that I can

"find in the N.T. represent them as 'living,' because they are founded not on the Death alone, but on the Death as fulfilled and interpreted by the Resurrection."

In quite another connection, and giving us a fragment or two of Hort's views on two of the personages discussed in this thesis, we quote from a letter to the Reverend J. Ellerton dated 7th May, 1865. Its particular reference is to Lightfoot's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians:

"I hardly expect that justice will be done to its solid and sterling qualities. Its quietness and careful avoidance of any kind of ostentation are not unlikely to disguise it from ordinary critics. The notes are, I think, much the best that we possess on Galatians, and the accompanying essays very sound and wise. The main purpose of the volume is to determine precisely the nature of the Apostolic HISTORY to which Galatians is the key, and that is its distinctive merit.

As far as I know at present, I should not acquiesce in all the statements about the relation of Ebionism to the early Church in the last and most important essay 'On St. Paul and the Three;'

"but it is a substantially true account of at least the earliest period, written with equal candour and force. Doctrinal questions are almost entirely avoided, as Lightfoot means to keep them for Romans. However, that is certainly the weakest point of the book; and Jowett's notes and essays, with all their perversities, are still an indispensable supplement."

- Life, ii.35.

It is not as a theologian with a critical, penetrating, sensitive and utterly honest mind that Hort is - or will be - remembered. Together with Westcott, he is the eminent textual critic who produced the revised Greek Text of the New Testament. His care, accuracy and industry in this connection put a severe strain on his health, and he always found it an effort to finish a piece of work by a given date. But it was considered desirable by Hort that the Greek text should be published before the English Version. Thus by a small margin of time, on the 12th May 1881, the fruit of nearly thirty years' work was offered to an expectant public; on the 17th May the English R.V. appeared.

Now that the Greek Testament was off his hands he was comparatively free; but new work came, and the text was by no means done with. He soon began to prepare a small school edition, consisting of the Text itself with a shorter introduction. Characteristic of his method was his overhaul of the typography. He spent many hours, magnifying glass in hand, going through the text in search of broken letters and other minute blemishes. This edition appeared in 1885.

The publication of Westcott's and Hort's magnum opus soon brought forth criticism. One attack which was very sharp came from the pen of Dean Burgon and appeared in the Quarterly Review. The first of three articles attacked the revisers' text, ignoring - except for one long footnote - the second volume which contained the revisers' justification of their methods and results. The second article was a criticism of the new English Version; while the third examined the textual theory advanced in W-H's second volume. Dean Burgon selected Hort as the most guilty offender in as much as the Introduction was his writing. Hort's reply was silence - but not due to any indifference to criticism, but of



firm choice. There was no common ground on which he could meet the critic who began with the conviction or prejudice that any reading stood self-condemned which altered a cherished passage. It was impossible for Hort seriously to engage a critic who determined that the traditional printed text was to be the starting point of investigation, and that authorities should be counted not weighed. There was nothing of pride in Hort's action - or inaction - but he earnestly felt that his knowledge and experience in this matter was superior to his critic, and that he would be acting with proper dignity to allow time for maturer study on the part of those who had raised their voices prematurely. The mind of Hort is to be seen in a passage from the Introduction:

"To be faithful to such light as could be enjoyed in our own day was the utmost that we could desire. How far we have fallen short of this standard, we are well aware; yet we are bold to say that none of the shortcomings are due to lack of anxious and watchful sincerity. An implicit confidence in all truth, a keen sense of its variety, and a deliberate dread of shutting out truth as yet unknown, are no

"security against some of the wandering lights that are apt to beguile a critic; but, in so far as they are obeyed, they at least quench every inclination to guide criticism into delivering such a testimony as may be to the supposed advantage of truth already inherited or acquired.

Critics of the Bible, if they have been taught by the Bible, are unable to forget that the duty of guileless workmanship is never superseded by any other. From Him who is at once the supreme Fountain of truth and the all-wise Lord of its uses, they have received both the materials of knowledge and the means by which they are wrought into knowledge; into His hands, and His alone, when the working is over, must they render back that which they have first and last received."

On Hort's view concerning the Scriptures, we note an illuminating paragraph in a letter to Westcott, 2nd May, 1860:

". . . But I am not able to go as far as you in asserting the absolute infallibility of a canonical writing. I may see a certain fitness and probability in such a view, but I cannot set up an A PRIORI assumption against the (supposed) results of criticism . . . I shall rejoice

"on fuller investigation to find that imperfect knowledge is a sufficient explanation of ALL apparent errors, but I do not expect to be so fortunate. If I am ultimately driven to admit occasional errors, I shall be sorry; but it will not shake my conviction of the providential ordering of human elements in the Bible."

- Life, i. 422.

With reference to a suggestion that Hort was making to organise a statement of protest signed by prominent names against the agitation being directed towards 'Essays and Reviews', he wrote to Westcott:

"Believing that the suppression of free criticism must ultimately be injurious to the cause of truth and religion, we especially regret the adoption of a harsh and intolerant policy, which tends to deter men of thought and learning from entering the ministry of the Church, and to impel generous minds into antagonism to the Christian faith."

- Life, i. 439.

The generosity and honesty of Hort is illustrated in his references to Calvinism and Calvin. In commenting on Kingsley's 'The Saint's Tragedy' he wrote:

"(Kingsley) has also dealt a manly blow at the central LIE of Calvinism, viz. that man's natural state is diabolical...."

- Life, i.64.

To Mr.J.Ellerton:

"I feel most strongly how thankful we should be that God, in His care for this branch of the Church, restrained the framers of our Articles from introducing into them those Calvinistic errors to which they were themselves so much inclined, as is indicated by several phrases in the Articles; but the policy of the Evangelicals is to have the Articles interpreted by the other writings of their human framers, and not by the ancient and Catholic Symbols and Liturgies which our Divine Chief Bishop has provided for our safeguard"

- Life, i.75.

In a private letter dated 1887:

[Hort had seen the plain gravestone of Calvin]

"He was one of the greatest of men, and a very good man too; with a little more charitableness and self-distrust he would have been one of the best men. Few men have left a deeper mark on the world after them, partly for evil, but also greatly for good."

- Life, ii.363.



"PROLEGOMENA TO ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES  
TO THE ROMANS AND THE EPHESIANS" - 1895

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

Hort thinks the Epistle was of undoubted Pauline authorship, written from Corinth towards the close of the Third Missionary Journey, in the spring of 58 AD. He attaches great importance to the question of the purpose of the Epistle, "for so long as the purpose remains obscure, the main drift of its doctrinal teaching must remain obscure also" (p 5).

This is followed by a paragraph which manifests the lucidity of Hort's exposition and profundity of insight:

"... and though there is much Apostolic Christianity which is not expressly set forth in the Epistle to the Romans, yet that Epistle holds such a place among the authoritative documents of the faith, that any grave misunderstanding of it is likely to lead to a misunderstanding of Apostolic Christianity.

If we look back on the history of doctrine, we can see that in

"the case of this Epistle, as of all the larger writings of the New Testament, there are considerable elements which have never yet been duly recognised and appropriated. But it is equally true that portions of the Epistle to the Romans have had an enormous influence on theological thought. In conjunction with the preparatory Epistle to the Galatians this Epistle is the primary source of Augustinian Theology, itself renewing its strength from time to time, and more especially in various shapes in the age of the Reformation.

We have therefore every reason for trying to gain the most comprehensive view that we can of what St. Paul really meant, and in so doing I think we shall find that, as usual, the worst stumbling blocks belong not to the Apostolic teaching itself, but to arbitrary limitations of it" - pp 5 - 6.

The lectures deal with, The Roman Church; The Purpose of the Epistle; and The Structure of chapter 16. There is nothing in the way of significant Biblical exposition.

## II INTRODUCTION TO THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

Hort begins his lectures on Ephesians with a remark characteristic of his true scholarly frankness:

"But there is no disguising the fact that it is a very difficult book, needing much patience to trace out its meaning, and even then by no means always as yet allowing its precise sense to be discovered" - p 66.

He continues, after a paragraph or two in the same strain, to suggest that "this seems to be the best time for saying a little about books." In the pages which follow he gives not only a bibliography, but an indication of the sources which he himself has found most helpful.

Of 'Introductions' he heads the list with MEYER ["the first really great commentary on St. Paul in recent times"]; and next, ALFORD of whom he speaks very warmly. He commends also, B. WEISS, WOLDEMAR SCHMIDT and BLEEK, on the side favourable to St. Paul; and HOLTZMANN and HILGENFELD, on the other side.

On 'Interpretation' he re-affirms MEYER and ALFORD, adding LIGHTFOOT (for Colossians) and Ellicott. He recommends OLSHAUSEN ["now rather of old date, to whom Archbishop Trench was much indebted"]. The highest praise goes to BENGEL whose GNOMON "in terse and

"pregnant Latin, is one of the very few commentaries that can never become obsolete" - p 70.

Then Hort emphasizes that "all commentaries are however unprofitable without an assiduous previous use of grammar and lexicon or concordance." WINER "stands far above every other for this purpose." But GRIMM-THAYER'S and CREMER'S great works are regarded as indispensable. "More valuable than any lexicon is Bruder's invaluable Greek Concordance to the New Testament."

He sums up these observations with sound words:

"If it be true, as assuredly it is, that the New Testament is best illustrated by itself, i.e. by the light which one passage receives from comparison with other passages, a good Greek concordance is the most indispensable of all instruments of study to every Biblical student" - pp 71-2.

The Dedication of the Notes on the First Epistle of St. Peter makes a fitting conclusion to these extracts which reveal Hort's mind on method in Biblical study, and leads us into some consideration of the text of those Notes -



Inscribed to

B O N A M Y P R I C E

Professor of Political Economy  
in the University of Oxford

Formerly Master of the Twenty  
in Rugby School

in Gratitude for Teachings

of Exactness and of Reality

in Language in History

and through and above both

in Theology

\*

[This dedication was found without date in the box  
containing Dr Hort's notes on I Peter and is to be  
seen printed in the 1898 edition prefaced by Westcott]

# THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER, 1:1 - 2:17, 1898.

IN a prefatory note Dr Westcott writes that the Notes published in this volume are fragments of a Commentary which was planned in 1860. The Pauline Epistles were assigned to Lightfoot; the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, James, Peter, Jude, to Hort; and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles were given to Westcott. At the outset 'Hebrews' and the Apocalypse were not definitely allocated.

"There were natural differences between us in the application of our principles: one looked primarily to the vivid realisation of the original meaning of the text, another to the determination of the elements of philosophical theology which it contained, another to the correspondences of different parts of the apostolic records which suggest the fulness of the vital harmony by which they are united.

But varieties of temperament never led to the least departure from the common endeavour to interpret the text with scrupulous care and unprejudiced fidelity without any assumption or any reserve. This, we held, was required by the divine claim of the Books themselves" - Westcott,

Preface, p viii.

"The first characteristic of Dr. Hort as an interpreter which will strike his readers is, I think, his remarkable power of setting aside all traditional opinion in examining the text before him. He takes nothing for granted. He regards no traditional view as valid through long acceptance. He approaches each record, each phrase, as if it came directly from its author. He asks at once naturally and without effort 'What did the words mean to him who wrote them and to those who first received them?'

In this there was no disparagement of the results of Christian life and thought. Few indeed studied more widely and carefully the biblical writings of all ages than Dr. Hort himself; but he felt that, if we are to comprehend truly the message which the N.T. enshrines, we must go back and dismiss as far as possible all the associations which have gathered round familiar passages. The result is a singular freshness and originality of treatment, which conveys to the student a vivid sense of the reality of the record"                      *ibid.* p x.

Westcott then enumerates other characteristics of Hort, namely: keen historical insight; unwearied thoroughness; the endeavour to show through Apostolic teaching the coherence of all revelation and of all life;

a dominant interest in theological interpretation, rather than philological or historical.

We may quote now some illustrations of these traits from the Notes on I Peter 1:1 - 2:17.

Westcott sees an application of Hort's keen historical insight in "the signs which he notices of the influence of the Lord's words upon the Christian language." In this connection, mark Hort's note on 1:2 which includes the following:

"Here therefore, as in several Epistles of St. Paul . . . there is an implicit reference to the Threefold Name. In no passage is there any indication that the writer was independently working out a doctrinal scheme: a recognised belief or idea seems to be everywhere pre-supposed. How such an idea could arise in the mind of St. Paul or any other Apostle without sanction from a Word of the Lord, it is difficult to imagine: and this consideration is a sufficient answer to the doubts which have, by no means unnaturally, been raised whether Matt. xxviii. 19 may not have been added or recast in a later generation. St. Peter, like St. Paul, associates with the subject of each clause... a distinctive function as towards mankind: on their relations to the Divine Unity he is silent"

- p 18a.



A valuable extract from Hort himself is given by Westcott concerning the preparatory stage of the suggested commentary:

"The principles of N.T. lexicography, especially the deduction of theological terms from O.T. usage, usually through the medium of the LXX . . . "

". . . generally the principle that the N.T. is written in terms of the O.T."

- ibid. p xi.

Westcott adds his own remarks:

"In correspondence with these theses, the Notes are a treasury of historical philology. Almost every page gives examples of the gradual fashioning of some word for its use in the N.T., and records both parallelisms with the LXX, and differences from it, guarding alike the independence of the Apostolic writers and their obligation to an earlier generation"

- ibid. p xi.

By way both of illustrating this latter point, and also of giving a fine example of Hort's theological interpretation - typical of his method - we will quote in extenso the commentary on I Peter 1:9 -

ἀλλὰ τιμῶν αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ  
ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ.

WITH PRECIOUS BLOOD, [EVEN  
THE BLOOD] OF CHRIST, AS A  
LAMB WITHOUT BLEMISH AND  
WITHOUT SPOT.

The absence of the article and the order of words together make the main construction clear. St Peter does not speak of "the precious blood of Christ," as though the phrase or idea were familiar, but he says "with precious blood, as of &c." It is less clear whether ὡς ἀμνοῦ . . . ἀσπίλου is in direct connexion, almost apposition, with Χριστοῦ, or depends separately on αἵματι, Χριστοῦ coming independently after the words "with precious blood, blood as of a lamb without blemish or spot, even the blood of Christ."

The order at first suggests the latter: but the order in iii. 7 (ὡς ἀσθενεστέρω σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ) suggests, or at least sanctions, the former, and it is certainly difficult to detach αἵματι from τιμῶν in supplying it before ὡς, and without such detachment the preciousness would seem to depend on ὡς ἀμνοῦ καὶ. The sense then appears to be "with precious blood, even the blood of Christ, as a lamb &c." The reservation of Χριστοῦ for the end was apparently necessitated by the words which follow in vv. 20, 21; it was as Messiah that He was foreknown and at length manifested.

τίμῳ αἵματι ] The phrase may have been indirectly suggested by the O.T. Ps. Lxxii. 14 has "And precious shall their blood be in his sight," where however the LXX goes astray through a wrong Hebrew reading; but Symmachus [writing later than St Peter], has καὶ τίμιον ἔσται τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ : cf. Ps. cxvi. 15 "Precious (τίμιος LXX) in the sight of Jehovah is the death of his saints."

As regards the meaning there can be no direct antithesis to φθαρτοῖς ; St Peter would naturally avoid using ἀφθάρτους with such a word as αἷμα [contrast v. 23].

Αἷμα would naturally be called τίμιον as representing the life or soul violently taken away, such a life or soul (ψυχὴ) being more precious than any possession [Matt. xvi. 26 // Mc. viii. 37. . . . ; compare Eur. ALC. 301 ψυχῆς γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τίμιώτερον]. But this αἷμα had an unique preciousness of its own. We shall come at the end of the verse to the doctrinal bearings of the phrase.

ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου] The use of ὡς excludes a distinct naming of Christ as the Lamb: it simply compares Him to a lamb. So in Jo. i. 14... "a glory as of an only begotten from a father." But as He was elsewhere to St John ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (iii. 16, 18; I Jo. iv. 9), so here also an ascription to Him of the title given by John the Baptist, and partially repeated in the Apocalypse, may lie behind.

We will first consider the separate words.

$\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  as a biblical word has a curious history.  $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  is an old Greek word for "blame" [cf. Schmidt, SYNONYMIK, iii.p.458], from which comes  $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\mu\alpha\iota$  (-έομαι) "to blame", and thence  $\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  "unblamed" or "unblamable" or [as we say] "blameless."

$\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , derived directly from  $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , existed also by the side of  $\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  as a rare poetic word [also Herod. ii.177 and an epitaph quoted in Steph. THES. GR. LING. (ed. Hase) sub voce].

The LXX translators, having to express the Hebrew  $\text{מַעֲרָב}$ , a blemish, apparently caught at the sound of the Greek  $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , and employed it for their purpose. The senses of the two words were really quite different, but they had enough in common to allow them to be confounded. This having once been done, it was a still easier step to choose  $\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  as the usual rendering of  $\text{מַעֲרָב}$  where it clearly means "unblemished," this use being probably helped by the double  $\text{מַ}$  in each of the two Hebrew words.

Accordingly the Apocrypha, the N.T., and other books which pre-suppose the LXX [e.g. Philo DE ANIMAL. SACR.2], use  $\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  in the entirely unclassical sense of "blemish," "unblemished." [Curiously enough, this usage reacted on  $\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  which came at last to be sometimes used in the same sense.]



ἄσπιλος is classical, though late and not common. It means, without a στίλος, i.e. a spot or stain.

In this allusion to the blood of an unblemished and unspotted lamb, what had St Peter in mind? Chiefly, I think, and perhaps solely the paschal lamb. The reference is obscured by the difference of the words used from those of the LXX, which however is easily accounted for.

Ex.xii.5 speaks of πρόβατον τέλειον going on to say that it was to be taken ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων (B: ἁγίων A and most MSS.) καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων. No one can suppose that πρόβατον could be used by St Peter here: ἁγίος would naturally be substituted even if his text did not contain it in the same verse. Τέλειον stands for ὁ δὲ, which elsewhere is always represented by ἁμωμος, where the sense is ceremonially "unblemished" [and in the later books even where the meaning is morally "unblemished"], this exceptional case being the first in order. Many MSS. actually insert ἁμωμον in Exod.xii.5 by the side of τέλειον, doubtless as a duplicate rendering. St Peter however probably meant his two adjectives taken together to be equivalent to the one comprehensive ὁ δὲ, expressing the double integrity of freedom from defect and freedom from defilement. This explanation will justify the application of ἄσπιλον to ἁγίου, which is further justified by the reference to Christ. We shall presently come to other considerations as to the reference to the Paschal Lamb.

Χριστός ] Here there is no such strong reason for taking the word as simply a Greek equivalent of "Messiah" as there was in v.11. But the sense thus ascertained for the earlier passage appears on consideration to be also appropriate here προχινώσκω, in its proper sense, is more applicable to our Lord as fulfilling an office than simply as one born and dying at a certain time, the sense required by Χριστού taken as a proper name. Further, Scripture gives peculiar significance to the sufferings and death of Messiah, more especially in connexion with the admission of the Gentiles referred to both before and after (vv. 18, 21). According to the construction which we have adopted the presence of ἀμνοῦ creates no difficulty, shut off as it is by ὡς.

We must now return to the general sense of this verse, taking with it ἐλυτρώθητε, as repeated out of the preceding verse. The starting point of this and all similar language in the Epistles is our Lord's saying in Mt.xx.28. // Mc.x.45 "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἅντρον (a ransom) ἀντὶ πολλῶν," where ἀντί expresses simply exchange. In return for the price or ransom paid the ransomed are received back.

The nearest repetition of these words is in I Tim.ii.6 ὁ δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, τὸ μαρτύριον κερροῖς ἰδίοις —

where the  $\alpha\nu\pi\acute{\iota}$  of the Gospels has been joined to  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ , and  $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho$  substituted as the separate preposition.

Next comes Tit. ii. 14  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   
 $\textcircled{2}$   $\text{Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἑδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν}$   
 $\text{ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης}$   
 $\text{ἀνομίας κ.π.λ.}$

The only other cognate word used by St. Paul is  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and that in two senses:

(1) one strongly modified from the simple idea of ransoming and applied to sins in association with present forgiveness or atonement, Rom. iii. 24 (I Cor. i. 30, somewhat vague); Eph. i. 7 / Col. i. 14 (Eph. i. 7 having  $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ); and

(2) the other in relation to the future redemption of a privilege or possession, Rom. viii. 23; Eph. i. 14; iv. 30. The Ep. to the Hebrews ( $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$  ix. 12,  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$  ix. 15) follows St. Paul's former sense.

For  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , St Paul uses  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  in writing to Corinthian Greeks I Cor. vi. 20; vii. 23; more however with reference to the ownership acquired than the bondage ended."

Hort then deals with "the important evidence of the Apocalypse", and after a careful examination of the relevant passages writes,

"These passages together represent the blood of the Lamb as the ransom paid for the release of men of every nation from the bondage of



the earth, and from the bondage of men....and from the bondage of their sins; and they in turn are represented as reflecting the character of the Lamb, they are undefiled and without blemish. . . . There is therefore a presumption that here too the paschal lamb was at least the primary subject of allusion.

The difficulty that has been felt is the fact that the paschal lamb is not itself represented in Exodus as a ransom paid for deliverance from Egyptian bondage. It did but save the Jewish firstborn from the destroying angel who smote the Egyptians. But this is not decisive, when the use of *λυτρουμα* in the O.T. is considered.

The LXX. use it chiefly for two Hebrew words, *קָנָה* and *פָּדָה* both of which have by usage the "strict sense 'redeem', i.e. set free by payment, a man or a property, while they are also used in many places where deliverance from bondage alone is perceptible in the sense. Accordingly in the LXX. *λυτρουμα* is connected with the Exodus . . . .

How completely in the time of our Lord the word was associated with Divine deliverance from bondage we see by Lc. ii. 38...xxiv. 28... It was not unnatural therefore that the blood of the paschal lamb should be considered as a ransom and associated with the whole deliverance of whatever kind belonging to that night of the Exodus, more especially as it did in the strictest sense REDEEM the firstborn of Israel.



Whether St Peter meant a distinct reference likewise to Is. lili. 7 is less clear. That whole chapter must have been present to his mind in much of the Epistle: he must have been thinking of it in v. 11, and he borrows its language in ii. 22-25. But the two passages differ from each other as to the relation in which they exhibit the lamb of which they speak; and it is hardly probable that the *ἄμνος* of St. Peter can have any reference to the last verse of the passage in Isaiah, "He poured out his soul unto death," more especially as the cardinal word "poured out" is rendered *ἐκέχυεν* by the LXX.

The idea of the whole passage is a simple one, deliverance through the payment of a costly ransom by another. On two further questions connected with it St Peter here is silent, viz. who was it that made the payment, and to whom it was made. In some of the passages already quoted, Christ Himself appears as the ransomer: elsewhere it is the Father, as in Acts xx. 28, rightly understood, and illustrated by Rom. v. 8. (where note *ἐκ τούτου*) and viii. 32. The two kinds of language are evidently consistent. As regards the second point, the testimony is only inferential, and serious difficulties beset both the view which chiefly found favour with the Fathers, that the ransom was paid to the evil one, and still more the doctrine widely spread in the middle ages and in modern times, that it was paid to the Father. The true lesson is that the language which speaks of a ransom is but figurative language; the only language doubtless by which this

part of the truth could in any wise be brought within our apprehension; but not the less figurative, and therefore affording no trustworthy ground for beliefs beyond the limits suggested by the silence of our Lord and His apostles."

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Vaughan's solitary note on I Peter 1:19 runs as follows:

"Here is the idea of redemption. It expresses, (1) a previous captivity; (2) then a λύτρον - something paid as the price of deliverance; (3) the consequent deliverance."

There is no doubt that our Saviour is here compared with the Paschal Lamb, and the deliverance He wrought is compared with the deliverance from Egypt."

# B I B L I O G R A P H Y      O F

## T H E      W O R K S      O F      F. J. A. H O R T

\*

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[with Prolegomena, Addenda and Corrigenda  
by F.J.A.Hort].
- 1889 The Acts of the Apostles - being the Greek Text  
as revised by Westcott and Hort.
- 1894 Judaistic Christianity. A course of lectures.
- 1893 The Way, the Truth, the Life. Hulsean lectures  
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- 1895 Six lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers.
- 1895 Prolegomena to St Paul's Epistles to the  
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- 1897 Village Sermons.
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Commentary and additional Notes by F.J.A.H.
- 1901 Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine  
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- 1902 Miscellanies. Book vii. With Introductory  
Notes, Translation, Dissertations and Indices.
- 1903 The Apocalypse of St John 1 - 3. The Greek text,  
with Introduction, Commentary and Add.Notes.
- 1909 The Epistle of St James. Greek Text with  
Introduction. Commentary as far as ch.4.  
verse 7, and additional notes.
- 1909 The N.T. - text revised by Westcott and Hort.
- 1912 Letters to his children on Confirmation.



ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL PLAN we have covered the ground in making a comparison between Vaughan and the Cambridge Trio - those so very near to him in time, education, personal stature and (in the cases of Lightfoot and Westcott) in concern for the training of ordinands. However, as the lives and work of the Trio have been closely examined and, together with Vaughan, seen against the background of the whole field of Biblical exposition in the nineteenth century, we feel that the religious mind of Vaughan can only be fairly appraised in a fuller and wider comparison. In particular we cannot dismiss the substantial contributions made to Biblical studies by other worthy scholars.

The division into younger and older contemporaries is arbitrary; but it will serve to indicate whether the outlook and method of the expositors considered are significant at all in respect of their dates. We shall also see more clearly where Vaughan is to be placed in the over-all pattern of the century. Without widening the scope too much, we have tried to keep in touch with the tendencies of the age as well as the men. In this fascinating period, when tremendous ideas and principles were germinating - destined to re-shape the whole thought of mankind -, we have had to exercise restraint lest the

whole thesis got out of hand. To break into the nineteenth century at any point is to be in danger of being carried away by a complexity of powerful undercurrents. Thus any treatment of persons or trends of thought must be brief and fragmentary, serving as reminders only; each one being a study perhaps on its own. If it be true that the great man is, in the main, the product of the forces of his time, we are here concerned primarily with great men, and one truly great man in particular - C.J.Vaughan.

# **C h a p t e r   F i v e**

**B E N J A M I N   J O W E T T**

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## B e n j a m i n J o w e t t

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THE second part of this thesis is complete according to the original plan and purpose. Nevertheless, the writer has come to feel that it would be a conspicuous omission if nothing were added, however limited the space, on Benjamin Jowett. Thus a brief note is to be included, (1) because he was in some sense a Biblical expositor of the same period as Vaughan; (2) because he was, like Vaughan and the Trio, a Churchman; (3) because he is an example of a scholar in the sister University; and (4) because no comparative study such as this could fail to take note of so colourful, enigmatic and influential a figure as 'Old Growler' of Balliol.

Born in 1817 he was just that much a 'younger contemporary' of Vaughan. Of Yorkshire stock, he was born in Camberwell, south London, and was educated at St Paul's School. At an unusually early age he showed a flair for Greek. He won an open scholarship to Balliol and Dr Slack said of him, "Jowett - the best Latin scholar whom I have ever sent to college." In 1838,



while still an undergraduate, he was elected a fellow of his college. In 1839 he gained a first class degree; and in 1841 he won the Chancellor's prize for the Latin Essay and was appointed to a tutorship. This he retained till his election as Master in 1870. In 1842 he was ordained deacon, and in 1845 priest. He was brought up an Evangelical, and at Oxford as a young man he found himself in the midst of the Oxford Movement. He joined A.P. Stanley in the battle for toleration. He developed a keen interest in theology, and cultivated an intimate friendship with Stanley. Together they planned an edition of St Paul's Epistles, Jowett undertaking Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans; Stanley, the Corinthian Epistles. In 1854 Jowett published his commentary on Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans. In 1855 he was appointed Regius Professor of Greek.

The publication of 'Essays and Reviews' in 1860 caused a furore, not to say a panic, in the Church of England. For his part in this, with the contribution of an essay on the subject 'On the Interpretation of Scripture', Jowett sealed an already growing reputation as a 'heretic' and 'infidel.'

Theology continued to occupy a considerable amount of his time, though he published nothing. Prodigious work among his students and in the sphere of classics is the outstanding aspect of his remaining years. He founded no school, neither did he become the leader of a party in religion or philosophy; and he certainly lost all hope of leadership in the Church after the scandal of 'Essays and Reviews.' At the same time, he had no desire to leave the Church for Non-conformity where his passion for the free pursuit of truth and for liberty of thought would have been more welcome. "His critical instincts led him in one direction, his religious feelings drew him in another" (Dic.Nat.Biog.). His speculations ended in a compromise, and psychologically such men cannot be leaders in the wider sense. Sir Leslie Stephen's famous epigram is to the point, \* "He stood at the parting of many ways, and he wrote 'No thoroughfare' upon them all." If it is a caricature it represents a certain truth about the man.

It was a remarkable influence which Jowett exercised over those upon whom he put his spell; and all the more so when the diversity of personalities is considered.

\* We have verified this saying, and find that Stephen quotes it as spoken by a student of Jowett, cf. 'Jowett's Life' p xviii, in 'The Interpretation of Scripture and other Essays', 1900 (?).

"The outsider, meanwhile, was a little in the dark as to the precise nature of a tie which united the central member to disciples who dispersed along so many diverging radii" (Stephen, *ibid.*).

Jowett was a man of wide philosophical culture, living at Oxford for some fifty-seven years during an era of profound intellectual change. His successor in the tutorship, when he became Master, was T.H.Green an attached friend. Jowett, whose external manner could be severe [evoking the nickname, already quoted, among his friends], and who spared his students nought if he thought correction or reproof beneficial, was not likely to be universally popular. Yet such was the nature of his enigmatical personality, that he drew young men, forged a bond, and cultivated friendships which he, like Johnson to whom he has been compared, saw were kept in repair. When his pupils had become bishops, judges and Cabinet Ministers, he still felt - and treated them - as a father. Balliol was everything to Jowett; and if he was too conservative in his attitude towards the college in a time of reform, his devotion more than off-set the reluctance to alter things.

“ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.”

THE writer had not read this Essay by Jowett until recently. He turned to it expecting to find the grossest heresy, if not blatant infidelity, after hearing of Jowett's share in the popular opprobrium bestowed on the authors of 'Essays and Reviews.' But, having worked through its seventy-six pages of long paragraphs in close print, he has been deeply impressed. Here is a combination of sound common sense, intellectual honesty, penetration of insight and courage in exposing, scholarly but unacademic argument, appreciation of the position of the ordinary Christian ("the poor" !), and a true reverence for the Scriptures, which have produced a clear and cogent essay.

Jowett sums up the principal aim in the essay - "to distinguish the interpretation from the application of Scripture." Again and again, in various phrases and by means of different illustrations on numerous aspects of the matter, he presses home the fundamental idea. He wants to know "not what Scripture may be made to mean, but what it does."



"And it is no exaggeration to say that he who in the present state of knowledge will confine himself to the plain meaning of words and the study of their context may know more of the original spirit and intention of the authors of the New Testament than all the controversial writers of former ages put together" - p 9.

[ The Interpretation of Scripture  
and other Essays, 1900 (?) ]

Jowett recognises the difficulty involved in reaching back over the centuries to the original intentions of the writers of the Scriptures. But in as much as many of the errors which he enumerates arise out of the confusion between interpretation of Scripture and its application, it must be done.

"The present is nearer than the past; the circumstances which surround us preoccupy our thoughts; it is only by an effort that we reproduce the ideas, or events, or persons of other ages. And thus, quite naturally, almost by a law of the human mind, the application of Scripture takes the place of its original meaning. And the question is, not how to get rid of this natural tendency, but how we may have the true use of it. For it cannot be got rid of, or rather is one of the chief instruments of religious usefulness in the world: 'Ideas must be given through / something';

"those of religion find their natural expression in the words of Scripture, in the adaptation of which to another state of life it is hardly possible that the first intention of the writers should be always preserved.

Interpretation is the province of few; it requires a finer perception of language and a higher degree of cultivation than is attained by the majority of mankind. But applications are made by all, from the philosopher reading 'God in History', to the poor woman who finds in them a response to her prayers, and the solace of her daily life.

In the hour of death we do not want critical explanations; in most cases, those to whom they would be offered are incapable of understanding them. A few words, breathing the sense of the whole Christian world, such as 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' (though the exact meaning of them may be doubtful to the Hebrew scholar); 'I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me'; touch a chord which would never be reached by the most skilful exposition of the argument of one of St Paul's Epistles"

- op.cit. 55-56.

Is there a tinge of sarcasm as he exposes the traditionalism and prejudice and bigotry which resist the search for truth ?

"In natural science it is felt to be useless to build on assumptions; in history we look with suspicion on a priori ideas of what ought to have been; in mathematics, when a step is wrong, we pull down the house until we reach the point at which the error is discovered. But in theology it is otherwise; there the tendency has been to conceal the unsoundness of the foundations under the fairness and loftiness of the superstructure.

It has been thought safer to allow arguments to stand which, although fallacious, have been on the right side, than to point out their defect. And thus many principles have imperceptibly grown up which have overridden facts. No one would interpret Scripture as many do, but for certain previous suppositions with which we come to the perusal of it" - op.cit. 10.

"Those who remonstrate against double senses, allegorical interpretations, forced reconcilements, find themselves met by a sort of pre-supposition that 'God speaks not as man speaks'. The limitation of the human faculties is confusedly appealed to as reason for abstaining from investigations which are quite within their limits. The suspicion of Deism, or perhaps of Atheism, awaits enquiry.

By such fears a good man refuses to be influenced; a philosophical mind is apt to cast them aside with

"too much bitterness. It is better to close the book than to read it under conditions of thought which are imposed from without. Whether those conditions of thought are the traditions of the Church, or the opinions of the religious world-Catholic or Protestant - makes no difference. They are inconsistent with the freedom of the truth and the moral character of the Gospel."

- op.cit.10-11.

Jowett deals at some length with the question of "inspiration." He states some of the definitions of the term, and says that many of them lose sight of the original meaning and derivation of the word; that some are framed with a view of meeting difficulties; and that all perhaps err in attempting to define what, though real, is incapable of being defined in an exact manner. Even to-day, nearly one hundred years after the publication of 'Essays and Reviews,' there are those who would be shocked by the quotation which follows; how much more in Jowett's own day:-

"There is no appearance in their writings that the Evangelists or Apostles had any inward gift, or were subject to any power external to them different from that of preaching or teaching which they daily exercised; nor do they anywhere lead us to suppose that they



"were free from error or infirmity. St Paul writes like a Christian teacher, exhibiting all the emotions and vicissitudes of human feeling, speaking, indeed, with authority, but hesitating in difficult cases and more than once correcting himself, corrected, too, by the course of events in his expectation of the coming of Christ." - p 12.

Jowett makes two points in this connection: first, that the nature of inspiration can only be known from the examination of Scripture. There is no other source to which we can turn for information; and we have no right to assume some imaginary doctrine of inspiration like the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church. In the second place, any true doctrine of inspiration must conform to all well-ascertained facts of history or of science.

Strong objection is made to the "apologetic temper" in many interpreters of Scripture resulting from previous assumptions in its study. Commentators have often been too busy over details [proving miracles, expounding the details of prophecy, reconciling discrepancies], and less concerned with the declaration of life and immortality, the life and power of prophecy, or with "the importance of the great event of the appearance of the Saviour."

Jowett protests against two particular ways in which this "temper of accommodation" shows itself, namely, (1) in the attempt to adapt the truths of Scripture to the doctrines of the Creeds; and (2) in the adaptation of the precepts and maxims of Scripture to the language or practice of our own age.

The author tackles boldly the criticism that what he is writing is a wanton exposure of the difficulties of Scripture which is really only the concern of the few; and that the obtrusion of the same may offend the weaker brother, some half-educated or prejudiced soul, "for whom, nevertheless, in the touching language of St Paul, 'Christ died.'" He recognises that "a confusion of the heart and head may lead sensitive minds into a desertion of the principles of the Christian life, which are their own witness, because they are in doubt about facts which are really external to them." But there is a duty to speak the truth as well as to withhold it, for [in a typical Jowett aphorism] "the healthy tone of religion among the poor depends upon freedom of thought and enquiry among the educated." That there has been no "improper unveiling of the difficulties of Scripture" is shown by (i) the fact that the difficulties referred to are very well known.

Many thoughtful persons have discovered these things for themselves, but they are reticent to reveal their findings - "hence a sort of smouldering scepticism" (p 32). Another aphorism, "Doubt comes in at the window, when Inquiry is denied at the door" (ibid.), leads on to some warnings about the possible injury to enquiring lay-men, and to Christian ministers who are powerless to give any satisfactory answer to opponents. Again (ii) it is now no longer possible to ignore the results of criticism:

"It would be a strange and almost incredible thing that the Gospel, which at first made war only on the vices of mankind, should now be opposed to the highest and rarest of human virtues - the love of truth. And that in the present day the great object of Christianity should be, not to change the lives of men, but to prevent them from changing their opinions; that would be a singular inversion of the purposes for which Christ came into the world."

- op.cit. p 33.

After enlarging upon this theme, Jowett adds an apologetic paragraph which is most interesting, not only indicating his own convictions, but showing his gracious treatment of those from whom he differs. This is more than can be said of both some of his fellow-passengers and critics.

"It may be thought another ungracious aspect of the preceding remarks, that they cast a slight upon the interpreters of Scripture in former ages. The early Fathers, the Roman Catholic mystical writers, the Swiss and German Reformers, the Non-conformist divines, have qualities for which we look in vain among ourselves; they throw an intensity of light upon the page of Scripture which we nowhere find in modern commentaries. But it is not the light of interpretation. They have a faith which seems indeed to have grown dim nowadays, but that faith is not drawn from the study of Scripture; it is the element in which their own mind moves which overflows on the meaning of the text. The words of Scripture suggest to them their own thoughts or feelings. They are preachers, or in the New Testament sense of the word, prophets rather than interpreters.

There is nothing in such a view derogatory to the saints and doctors of former ages. That Aquinas or Bernard did not shake themselves free from the mystical method of the Patristic times or the Scholastic one which was more peculiarly their own; that Luther and Calvin read the Scriptures in connection with the ideas which were kindling in the mind of their age, and the events which were passing before their eyes, these and similar

/ remarks



"remarks are not to be construed as depreciatory of the genius of famous men of old; they relate only to their interpretation of Scripture, in which it is no slight upon them, to maintain that they were not before their day"

- op.cit.p 35.

Another point which Jowett emphasizes is that "the study of the New Testament has suffered . . . by following too much in the track of classical scholarship." All dead languages, he thinks, have suffered at the hands of grammarians, and that the importance of the result, or the certainty, is out of all proportion to the labour spent on the achievement of it. "The field is exhausted by great critics, and then subdivided among lesser ones" (46). The subject has a limit, and is apt to grow barren. More and more importance and authority is given to lesser and lesser matters, so that we have a "scholasticism of philology" in our own day as there was a scholasticism of philosophy in the Middle Ages. He gives as examples, discussions about Pauline chronology, or his second imprisonment; the identity of James, brother of Christ; the use of the Greek article, and so on. They have "gone beyond the line of utility." "There seem to be reasons for doubting whether any considerable light can be thrown on the New Testament from inquiry into the language. Such

inquiries are popular because they are safe; but their popularity is not the measure of their use" (47). This leads Jowett into a discussion on the textual aspect of the subject. Then he deals with the necessity of change in prevailing modes of interpretation, and the contrast with the never-changing truth of the Christian life. His concluding section concerns the application of the critical interpretation of Scripture to the present divided Church; to the sphere of Christian missions; to education generally; to preaching [But, without originality (originality is the gift of few), it seems possible to make use of Scripture in sermons in a much more living way than at present" (73)]; to the training and preparation of clergy. He ends with a word of encouragement to him who will "war against his prejudices -

He has by a Divine help been enabled to plant his foot somewhere beyond the waves of time. He may depart hence before the natural term, worn out with intellectual toil; regarded with suspicion by many of his contemporaries; yet not without a sure hope that the love of truth, which men of saintly lives often seem to slight, is, nevertheless, accepted before God"

- p 76.

## " On ATONEMENT AND SATISFACTION "

[Essay in 'The Interpretation of Scripture  
and other Essays' pp 466-505]

AFTER explaining that certain presentations of the doctrine of the Atonement\* are revolting to the moral feelings of some, he declares himself ready to show (1) that these conceptions of the work of Christ have no foundation in Scripture; (2) that their growth may be traced in ecclesiastical history; and (3) that the only sacrifice, atonement or satisfaction, with which the Christian has to do, is a moral and spiritual one, "not the pouring out of blood upon the earth, but the living sacrifice 'to do thy will, O God'; in which the believer has part as well as his Lord; about which there can be no more question in our day than there was in the first ages."

It is a spirited essay, following out a contention already expressed in the writing 'On the Interpretation of Scripture' that in theology we are more under the influence of rhetoric than in any other branch of knowledge.

\* "God is represented as angry with us for what we never did; He is ready to inflict a disproportionate punishment on us for what we are; He is satisfied by the sufferings of His Son in our stead" - p 466.

The essay is divided into three main sections:

- i. a survey of the Scriptural passages and their teaching;
- ii. a review of the main periods and writers on the doctrine in the Christian era;
- iii. his own position.

He begins the first part by a positive statement which he proceeds to substantiate:

"It is difficult to concentrate the authority of Scripture on points of controversy. For Scripture is not doctrine but teaching; it arises naturally out of the circumstances of the writers; it is not intended to meet the intellectual refinements of modern times" - p 466.

Then he disallows the intricate system of types and anti-types in the Old and New Testaments which has grown up in the course of development of the doctrine - whilst not at all denying a proper connection between the two Testaments. He contrasts the Mosaic legal system with the emphasis of the prophets, and quotes the well-known texts such as Isaiah 1:13; Micah 6:6, etc. Jowett makes a strong point in that "there can be no truer expression of the Gospel than in the words of Christ Himself." He thinks that nothing omitted by Christ is essential to the Gospel. He discusses the words of Christ.



He handles the actual death of Christ and its meaning very reverently:

"There is a mystery in the life and death of Christ; that is to say, there is more than we know or are perhaps capable of knowing. The relation in which He stood both to His Father and to mankind is imperfectly revealed to us; we do not fully understand what may be termed in a figure His inner mind or consciousness. Expressions occur which are like flashes of this inner self, and seem to come from another world . . . . .

There are circumstances in our Lord's life, too, of a similar nature, such as the transfiguration, or the agony in the garden, of which the Scripture records only the outward fact. Least of all do we pretend to fathom the import of His death. He died for us, in the language of the Gospels, in the same sense that He lived for us; He 'bore our sins' in the same sense that He 'bore our diseases' (Mtt. viii. 17). . . . .

He died as the Son of God, free to lay down His life; confident that He would have power to take it again. More than this is meant; and more than human speech can tell. But we do not fill up the void of our knowledge by drawing out figures of speech into

/ consequences

"at variance with the attributes of God. No external mode of describing or picturing the work of Christ realizes its inward nature. Neither will the reproduction of our own feelings in a doctrinal form supply any objective support or ground of the Christian faith" - pp475-6.

Jowett writes fully on those passages of the New Testament in which the language of Sacrifice and Substitution occur, notably Romans 3:23, 25; I Cor. 5:7; Gal. 2:20; 3:13. The main ideas he suggests in his discussion are: i) these expressions are not the peculiar or characteristic modes in which the Apostle describes the believer in relation to his Lord; ii) they belong to the religious language of the age, and are figurative; iii) we shall be led into error if we attempt to explain the application of the word 'sacrifice' to Christ from the original meaning of the thing; iv) the sacrificial language is not used with any definiteness or precision \* ; v) nor is any such use made of figurative expressions of this kind by other N.T. writers; vi) the extent to which the Apostle uses figurative language in general, may be taken as a measure of the force of the figure in particular expressions.

\* "All this tends to show that these figures of speech are not the eternal symbols of the Christian faith, but shadows only which lightly come and go, and ought not to be fixed by definitions, or made the foundation of doctrinal systems" - p 478.

The second section opens with some penetrating observations, before going on to a useful and proportionate survey of the history of the doctrine.

"Theology sprang up in the first ages independently of Scripture. This independence continued afterwards; it has never been wholly lost. There is a tradition of the nineteenth century, as well as of the fourth or fourteenth, which comes between them. The mystical interpretation of Scripture has further parted them; to which may be added the power of system: doctrines when framed into a whole cease to draw their inspiration from the text. Logic has expressed 'the thoughts of many hearts' with a seeming necessity of form; this form of reasoning has led to new inferences. Many words and formulas have also acquired a sacredness from their occurrence in liturgies and articles, or the frequent use of them in religious discourse. The true interest of the theologian is to restore these formulas to their connection in Scripture, and to their place in ecclesiastical history. The standard of Christian truth is not a logical clearness or sequence, but the simplicity of the mind of Christ."

- p.483.

In the third part Jowett shows a conciliatory spirit, and appeals for a basis of agreement on the doctrine. The statements of Scripture are very simple respecting the work of Christ, and may be used without involving us in

the elaborate differences which have characterised the history of the doctrine. 1. The death of Christ may be described as a sacrifice - but a moral and spiritual one. 2. It may be described as a ransom - if we regard it as a figure for 'deliverance to the captive' without pressing the question, To whom was it paid? 3. The death of Christ is spoken of as a death "for" us or our sins, but meaning "in behalf of us" or "because of us", not "in our stead."

Jowett's clearest positive statement is:

"The death of Christ is the fulfilment and consummation of His life, the greatest moral act ever done in the world, the highest manifestation of perfect love, the centre in which the rays of love converge and meet, the extremest abnegation or annihilation of self. it is the death of One who seals with his blood the witness of the truth which He came into the world to teach, which therefore confirms our faith in Him as well as animates our love. . . . .

It is a death in which all the separate gifts of heroes and martyrs are united in a divine excellence..... who felt all and shrank not - of One who, in the hour of death, set the example to his followers of praying for his enemies. It is a death which, more even than his life, is singular and mysterious, in which nevertheless we all are partakers - in which there was the thought and

/consciousness



"consciousness of mankind to the end of time, which has also the power of drawing to itself the thoughts of men to the end of time" - p 502.

Dr R.C.Moberly thought that this somewhat polemic essay served a good and useful purpose in its time, but intimated that its description of orthodox views was hardly less than a caricature of opinions which existed, or were at all influential, in his day. He also thought that Jowett's plea for a view of Christ's death and work which can be ethically justified was scarcely needed at the beginning of the 20th century [ Atonement and Personality, 1901, pp 386 - 389 ].

Two things may be added here in conclusion. First, if Jowett's essay is a caricature of orthodox views, it has the truth of caricature method in plainly delineating the weaknesses of orthodox theories. Secondly, it is less of a caricature of the satisfaction theories than they are of the Scriptural doctrine. Finally, whatever was true in this respect in Moberly's day, with the revival of some of the old orthodox views to-day, Jowett has some usefully corrective things to say.

" THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL TO THE  
THESSALONIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS "

\*

WE have given a summary of one of the essays from this commentary published in 1854 - 5. The extracts chosen to illustrate Jowett's mode of exposition are taken from the second volume of the edition of 1859. They may be compared with Vaughan's treatment of the same passages set out above in the chapter dealing with the latter's commentary on Romans.

R o m a n s 1 : 17

*Kαὶ ὡς γέγραπται*, AS IT IS WRITTEN.]

Scarcely any of the quotations of the Old Testament which occur in the New, are taken precisely in their original sense and connexion. They may be classed, in general, under three heads: (1) Those which have an analogous meaning, like the words which follow from the prophet Habakkuk, in which a particular faith in God is identified with that faith in Christ which is the general condition of the Gospel, or, as in the quotation respecting the faith of Abraham, in chap. iv., where everyone will admit that 'the New Testament lies hidden in the Old.'

(2) Verbal allusions, such as Matt.1.15, 17 . . .

(3) Passages from the Old Testament taken figuratively and typically, such as I Cor.ix.9... Gal.iv.25. . . In this class of instances there is often a connected symbolical meaning, as in I Cor.x.1 - 11, where the temptations of the Israelites in the wilderness shadow forth the temptations of the Corinthian Church. The Epistle to the Hebrews furnishes a system of such symbols derived from the history and ceremonial of the Old Testament.

Most of the quotations in the Epistles of St. Paul belong to the first of these three classes, a few of them to the third. Like the other writers of the New Testament, the Apostle detaches them from their context. He seems to have hardly thought of the connexion in which they originally occurred. He quotes as persons in the present day might quote, who are unaccustomed to the critical study of Scripture. His aim is to seize the common spirit of the Old Testament and the New; to bring forward that side of the Old Testament which is the anticipation of the New. Hence he rarely dwells on similarity of words, but on passages which speak of forgiveness of sins, of the nearness of God to man, of faith counted for righteousness.

The age in which St. Paul wrote was remarkable for its fragmentary use of ancient writings. The Rabbis

Quoted single verses from the Old Testament, without regard to their connexion; and a similar mystical use was made of Homer and Hesiod by the Alexandrian writers, who cited them in single lines as authorities. In modern times the force of a quotation is, in like manner supposed to consist in the authority that is adduced. It is an appeal to a revered name.

But another notion of the force of a quotation must also be allowed. A striking passage from Shakespeare appositely cited does not necessarily impress us with any weight of authority; if the words themselves are appropriate, no matter in what connexion they occur. So in quaint usages of Scripture in the writings of Bacon, Fuller, or any of our old divines, it may be often rather the dissimilitude than the resemblance of the original and adopted meaning that gives them true force. One of the most striking uses of ancient sayings is their adaptation to express new thoughts; and the more familiar the old sense, the more striking and, as it were, refreshing the new one.

Something of this kind is true of modern no less than of ancient, of sacred as well as of profane writings. It is an element that must be allowed for in the interpretation of Scripture. When men heard the truths of the Gospel drawn forth from the treasury of the Psalms and the prophets, their

/feelings



feeling must have been one of surprise; they would greet the familiar sound and marvel that they, for the first time, saw its meaning. The words which they had so often repeated, which like the ceremonies themselves, had been a mere ceremonial, had a new life breathed into them. The mode in which this new truth was drawn out and elicited was not analogous to any critical or intellectual process; rather it might be compared to the manner in which the poor appropriate to themselves the warnings or promises of Scripture, led by some hidden law of association or spiritual influence which makes them wiser than the learned.

The evidences or reasons by which men were induced to accept the truths veiled to them in 'dark sayings of old,' might be summed up in one - the witness of their own spirit. . . . .

ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως, BUT THE JUST.]

The LXX have ἐκ πίστεως *How*.  
Hab. ii. 4. Heb. BY HIS FAITH.  
The English Version translates,  
THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY FAITH, which  
is the natural mode of connecting  
the words in the original passage.

It is not, however, quite certain, and not very important to determine whether here and in the parallel passage, Gal. iii. 11, the Apostle

/ intends

intends the words *ἐκ πίστεως* to be taken with *δικαίως* or with *ὑποτά*, whether the just by faith shall live, or the just shall live by faith. Whether *ὑποτά* would be used thus absolutely may be doubted. Compare Gal. iii. 12.

The theme of the Epistle has already been stated in the quotation from Habakkuk. In the eighteenth verse we enter on its first division, the subject of which is the world as it existed before the revelation of the righteousness which is of faith and also co-exists with it.

It is subdivided into two parts, the Gentile and Jewish world, which here as elsewhere (compare iii. 19) are not precisely separated. Throughout the first chapter the Apostle is speaking of the Gentiles; but it is not until the seventeenth verse of the next chapter, that we are made clearly aware that he has been speaking of the Jews. To both he holds up the law as the mirror in which the human race should see itself, as he had for himself learned to condemn himself by its dictates.

The point of view in which the Apostle regards the heathen, is partly inward and partly outward; that is to say, based on the contemplation of the actual facts of human evil which he saw around, but at the same time blending with this, the sense and consciousness of sin

which he felt within him. The Apostle himself had been awakened suddenly to the perception of his own state: in the language of this chapter, 'the wrath of God from heaven' had been revealed in him; 'the righteousness of God, which is by faith' in Jesus Christ, had been also revealed in him. Alive without the law once, he had become conscious of sin and finally sensible of deliverance.

And now transferring the thoughts of his own heart to an evil world, he tries it in like manner by the law of God and nature: it seems to him to be in the first stage of the great change, to have knowledge and to be self-condemned. The knowledge of God it always had latent in the works of creation; and now it has fallen below itself and is convicted by itself.

It is true that the Apostle, like all other teachers, supplies from within what did not consciously exist in the mind of man. What he sees before him, might have seemed to another as nothing more than a dead inert mass of heathenism and licentiousness.

But there are two lights by which he regards it: first, the light of his own experience, which seems to stir and quicken it into life; secondly, the light of God's law, by which, when brought near to it, it is condemned, and thus enters, as it were, on a new epoch, condemned and forgiven at once.

24 Δικαιούμενον δωρεάν. ]

Some regard this as the principal clause, expressed by a participle, instead of a verb.  
 "Having fallen short of the glory of God, they are justified freely."  
 It is better to lay emphasis on δωρεάν, and take δικαιούμενον with an allusion to δικαιοσύνη, in v.22-

"There is no difference, for all are sinners, and fall short of the kingdom of heaven, and in that they are justified they are so freely by the grace of God,"

ἀπολυτρώσεως, REDEMPTION, ]

as of a captive from slavery.  
 Comp. Gal.iii.15, and our Lord's own words, Matt.xx.28. . . . .

ἱλαστήριον ] has three senses given to it by commentators on this passage: - First, as in Heb. ix.5., 'mercy-seat,' a meaning of the word supposed to have arisen from a misconception of the LXX. respecting the Hebrew כִּפֹּת, the covering of the ark, which they wrongly connected with כִּפָּר, to expiate or cover sin.

This interpretation is too obscure and peculiar for the present passage: -

- (1) it would require the article;
- (2) it is inappropriate,



because St. Paul is not here speaking of the mercy, but of the righteousness of God;  
 (3) the image, if used, should be assisted by the surrounding phraseology.

Two other explanations offer themselves:- either (i) ἱλαστήριον may be a masculine adjective in apposition with οὗ, "whom God set forth as propitiatory," or better, (ii) a neuter adjective, which has passed into a substantive - whom God has set forth as a 'propitiation,' like σωτήριον, Exod. xx.24; cf. xxix.28.

διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αἵματι .]

No such expression occurs in Scripture as faith in the blood, or even in the death of Christ. Nor is πίστις followed by ἐν in the New Testament, though faith, like other Christian states, is often spoken of as existing in Christ (Gal. iii.26). The two clauses should therefore be separated, "through faith - by his blood."

Εἰς ἀνδείξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ .]

There are three ways in which this manifestation may be conceived-

- (1) as the life and death of Christ are an example to all mankind;
- (2) as His death was the penalty for sin;
- (3) as He is the sum of that revelation which the Apostle terms "the righteousness of God through faith by His blood;" the latter word being

an explanation from the objective side of what *διὰ πίστεως* expresses from the subjective, and connecting with *ἱλαστήριον* as *διὰ πίστεως* with *δικαιούμενοι ἐν τῷ αἵματι*.

*διὰ τὴν παρέσιν τῶν προχ. ἁμαρτημάτων,*  
BECAUSE OF THE LETTING GO OF SINS  
THAT ARE PAST.]

These words are translated in the English version "for the remission of sins that are past."

To this it may naturally be objected: - 'Why of sins that are past, rather than sins in general ?'

Sins are past to the individual when they are forgiven; but St. Paul is not here speaking of individuals, but of the world, in which they are ever going on. The words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ix.15. -

*εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων* -

offer an apparent rather than a real parallel.

Nor is there any trace of the word *παρέσις* (which is not found in the New Testament except in this passage) occurring elsewhere in the sense of 'forgiveness.'

The natural translation of the words is: - 'Because of the letting go or omission of past sins.' That is the reason why God manifests His righteousness, because formerly He had hidden himself, and seemed not to

/observe:

observe sin. "The times of that ignorance God winked at, but now commands all men everywhere to repent." There was a moral necessity which made the old dispensation the cause of the new one. God was not willing that men should be for ever ignorant of his true nature.

On the other side it has been argued, that when past sins are spoken of, it is not necessary to think of them as the sins of a past world, or a prior dispensation. The Apostle is laying stress on the fact that 'at this very time a new revelation was made to man.'

Those who received this new revelation regarded their sins as past in reference to it; and so the Apostle himself regards them. According to this view, the sense of the passage could be brought out more clearly if the clause *διὰ τὴν κρείσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων*

were translated "for the remission of THEIR past sins," the article referring back to the 23rd and 24th verses. The word *κρείσις* is rendered *ἀφείσις* by Hesychius, and occurs in the Epistles of Phalaris in the sense of remission of a debt.

Once more, to resume the other side of the argument, it may be truly argued that the words *ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, v. 26., agree better with the thought that God had passed over the former sins of the world

"in his long-suffering," than to his having forgiven them. Long-suffering is not the word to apply to the forgiveness of sins, but rather to the period before they were forgiven, or to the delay in taking vengeance for them. And on the whole it seems better to suppose that St. Paul refers, though obscurely, to that 'mystery which was kept secret since the world began,' Rom. xvi. 26., of which he elsewhere speaks, than that he uses words without point or in doubtful significations.

26. Εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον.

That He may vindicate his ways, and be the justifier of him that believes, - an epexegetis of *πρὸς τὴν ἐνδειξιν*, "that his own righteousness may be clear, and, as a further step, that he may clear the believer in Christ."



B I B L I O G R A P H Y   O F   T H E   R E L I G I O U S  
W O R K S   O F   B E N J A M I N   J O W E T T

\*

- 1854 - 5     The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians,  
Galatians, Romans,     with Critical Notes  
and Dissertations,     in two volumes.
- 1860         Essay,   'On the Interpretation of Scripture'  
              - in   "Essays and Reviews".
- 1895         College Sermons.
- 1899         Sermons, - biographical.
- 1901         Sermons on Faith and Doctrine.

C h a p t e r    S i x

C H A R L E S       J O H N  
E L L I C O T T

\*

C h a r l e s   J o h n   E l l i c o t t

1 8 1 9 - 1 9 0 5

CHARLES JOHN was the son of Charles Stamford Ellicott, Rector of Whitwell. In 1837 he went up to St John's College, Cambridge, and gained a second class in the classics tripos. He won the Members' Prize for the Latin Essay in the same year, 1842. The following year saw his achievement of the Hulsean Prize Essay on 'The Sabbath.' In 1845 he was elected to a Platt fellowship at his own college. He was ordained deacon in 1846, and priest in 1847.

In 1848 he became Rector of Pitton in Rutlandshire, and commenced a series of commentaries on St Paul's Epistles. The commentary on Galatians was published in 1854; the volumes on Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon and Thessalonians followed in 1855, -6, -7, -8, respectively. I Corinthians came out in 1887; but Romans and II Corinthians were never completed. Until

Lightfoot's works began to appear, Ellicott's expositions were reckoned among the best commentaries in English on the Greek text, both for scholarship and breadth of view.

In 1858 he succeeded Trench as Professor of New Testament Exegesis in King's College, London, and thus stepped on the first rung of a ladder of long life and many notable steps. The next year he was Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge. In 1860 he was elected Hulsean Professor, holding it in conjunction with the King's College professorship. But in the same year he was seriously injured in a train crash whilst travelling from Cambridge to London. His triumph over some permanent effects of this accident, and his determination not to let them hinder his ministry, show the character of the man. In 1861 he became Dean of Exeter; in which year also he contributed to the volume called "Aids to Faith" - a publication designed to counter the views put forth in "Essays and <sup>R</sup>eviews." Ellicott's essay dealt with Jowett's on "The Interpretation of Scripture."

In 1863 Ellicott was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester  
/ and Bristol.



Ellicott proved himself to be an energetic and able administrator, with wide and varied interests. He was recommended by Disraeli for the see of Canterbury, but the Queen chose Dr Tait. He was chairman of the company which revised the New Testament, missing only two out of the four hundred and seven sittings. To him fell the honour of presenting the results of their labours on the New Testament in 1881; and similarly on the Apocrypha in 1896. Another important literary achievement was the publication of 'The Old and New Testaments for English Readers.' For this task he gathered around himself a strong band of scholars, including Plumptre and Sanday. The New Testament came out in three volumes between 1878 and '79; the Old Testament between 1882-4. There was an abridged edition for schools of the N.T., 1878-83; and 'The Complete Bible Commentary for English Readers' published in 1897. His long episcopate ended when he resigned on Lady Day 1905, and his exceptionally long and useful ministry closed with his passing on the 15th October the same year.

The Preface of Ellicott's Commentary\* reveals the writer's purpose, method and helps used. He says that he is attempting to elucidate St Paul's Epistles "by systematically applying to the Sacred text the present principles of grammar and criticism." His book

"is the result of several years' devotion to the study of biblical Greek, and owes its existence to the conviction that, in this country, the present very advanced state of philology has scarcely been applied with sufficient rigour to the interpretation of the New Testament. Our popular commentaries are too exclusively exegetical<sup>#</sup>, and presuppose, in the ordinary student, a greater knowledge of the peculiarities of the language of the New Testament than it is at all probable that he possesses." p iii.

<sup>#</sup> "I must explain the meaning in which I use this word when in contradistinction to 'grammatical.' By a grammatical commentary, I mean one in which the principles of grammar are either exclusively or principally used to elucidate the meaning: by an exegetical commentary, one in which other considerations, such as the circumstances or known sentiments of the writer, & c., are also taken into account."

\* so far as we are concerned for reference here, the Volume on 'Galatians', 1854.

Ellicott discerningly cites two stumbling-blocks which "even the more promising student" is sure to meet.... when he first maturely enters upon the study of the Holy Scriptures." 1. His former discipline in classical Greek is calculated to mislead him in the study of writers who "belong to an age when change had impaired, and conquest had debased the language."

"His exclusive attention to a single dialect, informed for the most part, by a single and prevailing spirit, ill prepares him for the correct apprehension of writings in which the tinge of nationalities, and the admixture of newer and deeper modes of thought are both distinctly recognizable. . . . the advanced student in Attic Greek is liable to carry with him prejudices, which may, for a time at least, interfere with his full appreciation of the outward form in which the Sacred Oracles are enshrined."

- p iv.

ii. At the time Ellicott wrote the grammar of New Testament Greek was only just beginning to recover from "the deplorable state" in which it had been left till Fritzsche and Winer did something about it. And, Ellicott, admits, the response was only limited at the time of his writing.

On the matter of the Scriptures themselves, Ellicott held a strongly conservative view. He avoids labels, but holds a position which might be called 'enlightened fundamentalist.'

"I have, then, in all cases, striven, humbly and reverently, to elicit from the words their simple and primary meaning: where that has SEEMED at variance with historical or dogmatic deductions, - where, in fact, exegesis has seemed to range itself on one side, grammar on the other, - I have never failed candidly to state it...."  
p vii.

"Amidst all these details, I have, I trust, never forgotten that there is something higher than mere critical acumen, something more than grammatical exactitude; something which the world calls the 'theological sense,' but which more devout thinkers recognize as the assisting grace of the Eternal Spirit of God. Without this, without also a deeper and more mysterious sympathy with the mind of the sacred writer, whom we are presuming to interpret, no mere verbal discussions can ever tend truly to elucidate. no investigation thoroughly to satisfy.. I trust, indeed, that I have never been permitted to forget these golden words of him whom of all commentators I most honour and revere : - οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ ῥήματα γυμνὰ ἐξετάζειν, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἔψεται τὰ ἁποκρήματα· οὐδὲ τὴν λέξιν καθ' ἑαυτὴν βασανίζειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ προσέχειν τοῦ γράφοντος.

- Chrysostom, tom.x.p.675 B (ed.Bened.).



And again,

"No one who feels deeply upon the subject of inspiration will allow himself to be beguiled into an indifference to the mysterious interest that attaches itself to the very grammar of the New Testament." - p x.

Ellicott pleads no excuse that he has made his notes so exclusively critical and grammatical. He rejoices that the awakening interest in theology affords him a justification for confining himself to a single province of sacred literature. "The time for compiled commentaries is passing away."

"Our resources are now too abundant for the various details of criticism, lexicography, grammar, exegesis, archaeology and doctrine, to be happily or harmoniously blended in one mass. One mind is scarcely sufficiently comprehensive to grasp properly these various subjects; one judgment is scarcely sufficiently discriminating to arrive at just conclusions on so many topics.

The sagacious critic, the laborious lexicographer, the patient grammarian, the profound exegete, the suggestive historian, and the impartial theologian, are, in the present state of biblical science, never likely to be united in one person."

- pp x - xi.

Ellicott is glad that "the most neglected portion of N.T. literature", its lexicography, is being attended to; and noted that Dr Scott was working on an NT lexicon.

A cursory glance over the commentaries of Ellicott will show how widely read he was, and to what extent he deliberately followed a policy of drawing on his favourite writers. He mentions his particular creditors in the Preface - Chrysostom ["often as a scholar, always as an exegete, I entertain the greatest respect and admiration."] and Theodoret among the older commentators. Hammond and Bengel; Peile and Scholefield; Dr Brown and Bloomfield, are mentioned. Ellicott regrets not having the third volume of Alford's N.T., whilst admitting his disagreement with Alford on some points of criticism and adaptation. "Meyer more as a grammarian, De Wette more as an exegete, command the highest attention and respect; to the former especially, though a little too Atticistic in his prejudices"(!). Winer and Schott; Usteri [who "has generally caught the spirit of his author"]; Rückert, are commended. Olshausen and Windischmann wrote works "in the best theological spirit". Hilgenfeld is useful on historical questions, "but has a bad tone in exegesis." But these are "not more than one third of the expositors" he consulted.

By way of a specimen of Ellicott's method of commentating we have selected his notes on Galatians 3:11 - 13.

- 11 "δὲ introduces another and supplementary argument, founded on the declaration of Scripture, that the blessing of life is given to faith, not works. The adversative force of δὲ may perhaps be felt in the incidental reply which the verse affords to a deduction that might have been obviously made from ver. 10; 'But - lest any one should imagine that if a man DID so ἐμμένειν καὶ he would be blessed - let me add,' etc.: comp. de W. in loc.

ἐν νόμῳ ] 'under the law', i.e. in the sphere and domain of the law; Acts xiii. 39, Rom. ii. 12, iii. 19. The instrumental meaning advocated by Peile and others is perfectly tenable, and will fully admit the ordinary explanation of the usage (object existing, etc., in means, Jelf, § 622.3): comp. ἐμμένειν ἐν παντί καὶ ver. 10. Meyer urges in its favour the prominence of ἐν νόμῳ and its apparent opposition to Χριστός ver. 13. But it must be remembered that though logically ἐν νόμῳ immediately precedes ver. 13, yet, owing to the inversion of the syllogism, the opposition between the clauses is much obscured. St. Paul's object here seems to be, not only, to answer the tacit or possible objection, but to show further that the idea of justification was incompatible with the very nature and character of the law.

παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ] 'in the sight of,'  
 1.6. 'in the judgment of God,'  
 Rom.11.13, xii.16, I Pet.11.20:  
 a usage sufficiently common in  
 classical writers; see Bernhardt,  
 Synt.v.27.b, p.257, and exx.  
 in Palm u. Rost, Lex.s.v. παρὰ,  
 II.2, vol.II.p.667.

ὁ δίκαιος κτλ. ] 'the just shall  
 live by faith,' Habak.11.4, again  
 cited in Rom.1.17, Heb.x.38.

It is extremely difficult to  
 decide whether ἐκ πίστεως is to be  
 joined with ὁ δίκ. ('the just by faith'),  
 or with the verb. The former is  
 perfectly correct in point of gram-  
 mar, though doubted by Bp.Middl.  
 (see Winer, Gr. § 19.2, p.155),  
 and is adopted by Hammond and other  
 eminent expositors. But as it is  
 certain (how CAN B.Crus. assert the  
 contrary?) that the original Heb-  
 rew (see Hitzig in loc., Kl.Prophet.  
 p.263, 264) does not bear this  
 meaning - as St.Paul is quoting the  
 words in the order in which they  
 stand in the LXX, not in that (ὁ ἐκ  
 πίστεως δίκ.) most favourable to such  
 a transl., - as the argument seems  
 best sustained by the other constr-  
 uction, see Middl. in loc., and  
 comp. Bull, Exam.Cens. Animadv. III.  
 5, - and lastly, as ἡγέμεται ἐκ πίστεως  
 thus stands in more exact opposit-  
 ion to ἡγέμεται ἐν νόμῳ, the collo-  
 cation adopted by the Auth. Vers.  
 appears most probable and most  
 correct. So appy. Chrys.

- 12 ὁ δὲ νόμος κ.τ.λ. forms the pro-  
 positio minor of the syllogism,  
 ὁ δίκ. ἐκ πίστεως ἡγέμεται. being the prop.  
 major, ἐν νόμῳ οὐδὲ δίκ. the conclusion.



- (12) The Auth. Vers. by trans.  
the *καὶ* 'and' obscures the argu-  
mentation.

ὁ ποιῶν καὶ αὐτὰ ] sc. τὰ ἁρσέ-  
ταιγματα and τὰ κρίματα, men-  
tioned in the former part of the  
verse here referred to, Le.xviii.  
5. Ποιῶν is emphatic;  
'Praecepta legis non sunt de cre-  
dendis, sed de faciendis,' Aquin.

ἐν αὐτοῖς ] 'in them,' i.e. as  
Winer paraphrases, 'ut in iis vitae  
fons quasi insit.'

- 13 ἡμᾶς ] Jews; not Jews and hea-  
thens; 'Judaeos praecipue pressit  
maledictio,' Beng., comp. Chrys.  
For (1) the whole context implies  
that the law is the Mosaic law:  
see Ust. in loc. (2) This law  
had, strictly speaking, no force  
over the Gentiles, but was, in  
fact, the μεσότοιχος between the  
Jews and Gentiles: Eph.ii.14,15.

For a further discussion of this,  
cons. Meyer and Ust. in loc., and  
Brown, Galat. p.129 sq. The doc-  
trinal deductions made from this  
and similar passages, though per-  
fectly just and true (comp. Neand.  
Plant. Vol.1.p.438, Bohn), cannot  
be urged against the more limited  
meaning which the context seems  
obviously to require.

(13) ἔξηγοράσεν ] 'ransomed,' 'red-  
eemed.' The force of the pre-  
position need not be very strong-  
ly pressed, e.g. 'emtionē nos INDE  
eruit,' Beng.: see Polyb. III.42.2...  
This tendency to use verbs compounded  
with prepp. without any obvious  
increase of meaning, is one of the  
characteristics of later Greek:  
Thiersch, de Pentat. Vers. Alex.  
II.1, p.83. Christ is represented  
as having ransomed the Jews from the  
curse of the law, by having taken  
it upon Himself for their sakes  
and in their stead. An accurate  
explanation of this, and the cognate  
idea of ἀπολύτρωσις, will be found  
in Ust. Lehrs. II. I. I, p.107, and  
II. I. 3, p.202.

κατάρα ] 'a curse,' not as Peile,  
'an accursed thing,' which dilutes  
the force of the antithesis. The  
abstr. for the concr. is probably,  
as Meyer observes, chosen design-  
edly, to express with more force  
the completeness of the satisfac-  
tion which Christ made to the law.  
On the doctrinal import of the  
expression, see quotations from  
the Ff. in Suicer, Thes. s. v. κατάρα  
vol. II. p. 57.

ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν ] 'for us,' salutis  
nostrae reparandae causâ,' Schott.  
The meaning of ὕπὲρ in this and  
similar passages has been the sub-  
ject of much controversy.

Is it 'in commodum (alicujus)'  
or 'in loco (alicujus)' ? The  
following seems the most simple  
answer.

- (13) ὑπέρ, in its ethical sense, has principally and primarily (see note, ch.1.4) the first meaning, especially in doctrinal passages, where the atoning death of Christ is alluded to, e.g. 2 Cor.v.21...

But as there are general passages in the N.T. where ὑπέρ has eminently the second meaning, e.g. Philem.13...! so also in these doctrinal passages it may admit the second meaning UNITED with the first, where the context (e.g. in 1 Cor.xv.3 it would be inadmissible) and nature of the argument seem to require it; though probably never (Winer, Gr. § 51.1, p.458) the second exclusively.

Here, owing to the context and the causal participial clause, the inclusive transl. 'for' is to be preferred to the exclusive 'instead of.'

A discussion of the use of this prep. will be found, Ust.Lehrb.11. I.I.p.115 sq.. Magee, Atonement, No.30, Vol.1.p.245 sq.

P A R T       T H R E E

V A U G H A N       A N D       H I S  
O L D E R       C O N T E M P O R A R I E S \*

\* F. D. M a u r i c e

Chr. W o r d s w o r t h

H. A l f o r d

F. W. R o b e r t s o n



**C h a p t e r   S e v e n**

**F R E D E R I C K       D E N I S O N**  
**MAURICE**

**\***

F r e d e r i c k   D e n i s o n   M a u r i c e

1 8 0 5 - 1 8 7 2

THE only surviving son of Michael and Priscilla Maurice was born in Normanstone, Suffolk, in 1805. The father, educated for the dissenting ministry, had become a Unitarian before leaving the Hackney Academy, and sacrificed the prospects of an estate rather than abandon his opinions. There were seven daughters in the family, Frederick coming between the third and fourth.

It was a grievous tragedy for the family, and an occasion of mental upheaval for F.D., when painful controversies within the family circle culminated in a final break. The three elder sisters changed their religious convictions and refused to worship with their father [one joined the Established Church, and one the Baptists]. The mother followed in 1821, after a long period of perplexity. The youthful Frederick received such impressions resulting from this domestic schism, that a passion for unity characterised all his future life and teaching.

F.D.Maurice revolted against Unitarianism and dissenters generally, and, in an attempt to escape from the difficulties of his position, determined to become a barrister. He went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1823, and read classics - attending Julius Hare's lectures. Along with John Sterling he migrated to Trinity Hall and read law. In 1827 he took a first-class in civil law, but left the University without a degree because he was not prepared to subscribe to the Articles.

He went to London and engaged in journalism and literary work. During this period he wrote his one novel, 'Eustace Conway.' At the beginning of 1830 he entered as a student of Exeter College, Oxford, and graduated with a second class in classics in 1831. At Oxford he joined an 'Essay Society' and made the acquaintance of W.E.Gladstone and James Bruce [afterwards 8th Earl of Elgin]. Bruce introduced Maurice to the writings of Thomas Erskine. The significance of this introduction is evident in the influence which the Scots writer exercised on Maurice's thought. It was the teaching of Erskine which helped him to retain a strong belief in the Sovereignty of God whilst

rejecting the doctrine of reprobation. But, as he makes clear in the dedication to 'Prophets and Kings', his debt to Erskine was something much more than this. He owed to Erskine his conviction of the universality of the Gospel and his mystical theory of Christ's Divine Headship of humanity. He writes in the dedication, "Have we a Gospel for men, for all men? Is it a Gospel that God's will is a will to all Good, a will to deliver them from all Evil? Is it a Gospel that He has reconciled the world to Himself? Is it this absolutely, or this with a multitude of reservations, explanations, contradictions?" Then he adds, addressing Erskine, "It is more than twenty years (written in 1853) since a book of yours brought home to my mind the conviction that no Gospel can be of any use to the world but this, and that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is such a one," The book referred to was 'The Brazen Serpent' - in which Erskine affirmed a necessary and eternal connection between Christ and humanity\*.

\* Erskine taught that human nature, though composed of many members, is viewed in its totality as one organic body, of which Christ is the Head and Representative. Through the eternal connection of Christ with humanity, two absolute and unconditional benefits were secured, namely, forgiveness and immortality. Again, to those who fulfil



Both the teaching and the person of F.D.Maurice are immensely fascinating, and the temptation is to be led away into full discussions of his activities, his developing ideas, his philosophy and theology, and the publications which embody his thought. As important, however, as he is in nineteenth century Theology and Church history, he is rather more incidental for this thesis. He was not a Bible expositor in the same sense as Vaughan, the Cambridge Trio and others treated here. At the same time, he did interpret the Scriptures and leave us some of his sermons and lectures. An example of his exposition will be given below.

Maurice was growing in disfavour with men - notably the chief religious parties. Feelings ran higher, and relationships worsened, until the crisis came in 1853 with the publication of "Theological Essays." The result was neither more nor less than Maurice expected.

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Again, to those who fulfil the condition of faith, "this is the great thing which Christ has accomplished by suffering for us - He has become the Head of a new and uncondemned life to every man in the light of which we may see God's love in the law and the punishment, and may thus suffer to the glory of God, and draw out from the suffering that blessing which is contained in it." cf H.G.Wood, F.D.Maurice, 1950, p 37

He wrote to Kingsley, "I knew when I wrote the sentences about eternal death that I was writing my own sentence: at King's College" [where he held the Chairs both of History and Theology], "and so it will be. Jelf [the Principal] is behaving very fairly, even kindly: but the issue is quite certain." The resolution of the College Council was carefully worded to avoid the term 'heretical,' but Maurice's teaching was described as dangerous and unsettling to the minds of theological students. And so ended another stage in the career of a much misunderstood - or perhaps truer to say much not-understood - theologian who suffered the fate of such great men born before their proper time.

He had been appointed in 1840 to the History Chair, and in 1846 to the Divinity Chair at King's College. After the tragedy of 1853 he was invited to become Principal of the newly founded Working Men's College in the following year. There he continued till his election to the Knightbridge Chair of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. He held this professorship till his death in 1872. He had been Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn from 1846 to 1860, and for a time prior to that Chaplain at Guy's Hospital.

He was incumbent of St Peter's, Vere Street, from 1860 to 1869, and of St Edward's, Cambridge from 1870 to 1872. In the latter Church there is a memorial which concluded with the following words:

Chaplain of this Church where he spoke  
his last words of love and sealed a life devoted  
to the cause of truth and unity among Christians.  
Faith was his in Christ, Eternal  
Hope and Love.

Whatever the value of his philosophy, he was among the first of the clergy to perceive the full importance of the great social movement of the time; and in spite of much practical failure he helped to raise the general tone of feeling upon such questions.

He was not a party man. In his younger days he had left a sect based upon dogma because he thought the Established Church represented a vital principle of Christian unity, and rested upon a spiritual fact instead of the intellectual acceptance of defined opinions. An effort to avoid a harsh dogmatic outline gives an indis-

/ tinctness

to his style, if not his thought, and some held him to be a "muddy mystic." But he differs from many a mystic in his belief that there must be a strong historical element in theology. He was, withal, a man of extensive breadth of sympathy and interest, of profound insight, of subtlety of thought, and of wide learning. No man of the century was more true to his convictions, to which he had arrived by a painful route of sheer spiritual and intellectual honesty.

So far as his doctrine of the Atonement is concerned, the general resemblance of his thought to men like Schleiermacher and Macleod Campbell. The best statement of his views is to be found in "Theological Essays" under number VII, 'On the Atonement.' pp 128 ff. of the 1853 edition. The subject is laid out under seven heads.

1. "It is involved in the very method of theology, as the Bible and the creeds set it forth to us, that the will of God should be asserted as the ground of all that is right, true, just, gracious .... It would be accounted heresy in all orthodox schools to deny that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of men; that the Father sent forth the Son to



be the propitiation for our sins;  
that Chríst, by His life, proved that  
God is light, and that in Him is no  
darkness at all."

To Maurice these are "fundamental truths, to which  
all others must do homage, which no other passages  
can contradict." He demands that this should be fully  
recognized, that complete control of these principles  
be established over the whole of theology.

2. "It is admitted in all schools, Romanist  
and Protestant, which do not dissent  
from the creed, that Christ the Son of  
God was in heaven and earth, one with  
the Father, one in will, purpose, sub-  
stance; and that on earth His whole  
life was nothing else than an exhibit-  
ion of this will, an entire submission  
to it."

This is final and determinative.

3. Christ was actually "the Lord of men,  
the King of their spirits, the source of  
all the light which ever visited them,  
the Person for whom all nations longed  
as their real Head and Deliverer, the  
root of righteousness in each man."

From this admitted doctrine Maurice deduces an important  
inference: "One who appears as the actual repres-  
entative of humanity, cannot be a formal  
substitute for it. We deny Him in the  
first character by claiming the second  
for Him."

4. "The Scripture says, 'Because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself partook of the same.' He became subject to death, that He might destroy him who had the power of death, that is the devil. Here are reasons assigned for the Incarnation and Death of Christ. He shared the sufferings of those whose Head He is. He overcame death, their common enemy, by submitting to it. He delivered them from the power of the Devil."

Christ must not be put at a distance from us, as bearing sufferings to us inconceivable; it was our actual miseries and griefs into which He entered. He rescued us out of the power of death, an evil accident of our condition, not part of God's original order; out of the power of the devil, our enemy, not out of the hand of God.

§. If the Scripture says, 'The Lamb of God taketh away the SIN of the world,' have we a right to call ourselves orthodox if we change the words and put 'penalty of sin' for 'sin'? Those who say the law must execute itself - it must have its penalty, should remember their own words. How does it execute itself, if a person, against whom it is not directed, interposes to bear its punishment?

6. "All orthodox schools have said that a perfectly holy and loving Being can be satisfied only with a holiness and love corresponding to His own; that Christ satisfied the Father by presenting the image of his own holiness and love, that in His sacrifice and death, all that holiness and love came forth completely . . . How then can we tolerate for an instant that notion of God, which would represent Him as satisfied by the punishment of sin, not by the purity and graciousness of the Son ?"

7. Maurice sums up his whole view in a very typical paragraph:

"Supposing all these principles gathered together; supposing the Father's will to be a will to all good; the Son of God, being one with Him, and Lord of man, to obey and fulfil in our flesh that will by entering into the lowest condition into which men had fallen through their sin; - supposing this Man to be, for this reason, an object of continual complacency to the Father, and that complacency to be drawn out by the death of the Cross; is not this, in the highest sense, atonement ?

Is not the true sinless root of humanity revealed; is not God in Him reconciled to man ? May not that reconciliation be proclaimed as a gospel to all men ? Is not the Cross the meeting-point between man and man, between man and God ? . . . are we not bringing our understandings to the foot of this Cross, when we solemnly abjure all schemes and statements, however sanctioned



by the arguments of divines, however plausible as implements of declamation, which prevent us from believing and proclaiming that in it all the wisdom and truth and glory of God were manifested to the creature; that in it man is presented as a holy and acceptable sacrifice to the Creator?" \*

There is a resemblance to Coleridge here, but even moreso to Erskine. In this latter respect it is seen in the general conception of the gospel resulting from the whole system. Maurice teaches, as does Erskine, that in Christ men are already pardoned, reconciled, and redeemed, and need further only a consciousness of this - a subjective experience of the objective Divine fact accomplished for them in Christ. But they differ in that, while both reject the idea of substitution in favour of representation, Erskine lays stress on the Incarnation of Christ in the fallen nature of humanity, in which nature He accepted the condemnation of human sin; but Maurice teaches that the surrender of Christ's will to God reveals the true sinless root of humanity. In both, however, we have the renewal of the patristic tradition. R.S.Franks sees in Erskine and Maurice a "British parallel to the difference between Schleiermacher and Thomasius as to Christ's 'satisfaction.'" [Hist. of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ, ii.p.391]

\* CF. The Brazen Serpent, 1831, pp 61 ff.



The volume, 'The Epistles of St. John, A Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics,' [1857], gave to a wider audience the substance of lectures delivered at the Working Men's College. In a brief preface Maurice writes:

"I have not scrupled to tell this Class that I consider the question whether there is a foundation for human morality - or whether it is dependent upon the opinions and fashions of different ages and countries, to be THE question in which, as a body and as individuals, we are most interested."

By way of an example of his exposition we will take part of his fourth lecture, on I John 2:1-3, under the sentence, AND HE IS THE PROPITIATION FOR OUR SINS: AND NOT FOR OURS ONLY, BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD.

"Our translators have introduced the word SINS into the second clause, supposing it ought to be repeated from the first. Perhaps they are right; I am not sure; and I believe, when we have examined the principal word in the passage, we shall find that it makes no great difference whether we say that He was a Propitiation for the whole world, or for the sins of the whole world.

That principal word is PROPITIATION. What does it signify? I must refer you back to what I have been saying about the word 'Advocate.'

"Those heathens and Jews who looked for an Advocate who should induce some Divine Ruler not to punish them, also looked for something which the Advocate should offer to the Divine Ruler, in order that He might be moved to compassion. They expected that He should give the God some adequate or sufficient motive not to execute the vengeance which it seemed to them that He was executing, or was likely to execute, upon them.

No more natural notion could come into the minds of people who had done wrong, and who knew they had done it. If some fellow-creature had displeased them, this was the course they were inclined to adopt; the more inclined the harder and crueller their feelings towards him were. 'Pay me that thou owest,' as our Lord says in His parable, is the language which one fellow-servant is apt to use to another.

He does not care to make his fellow-servant better; he cares only to get an amends for some injury which he thinks he has suffered at his hands. And he supposes that the Lord of all acts upon the same principle... not that (He cares) that they should become right and gracious men.

". . . Though this was the natural notion of both Jews and heathens. . . no Jew and no heathen was satisfied with it. . . The best heathens said that the Being they worshipped must be right and true Himself, and that it was dangerous and wicked to attribute any acts to Him that would be base and evil in them.

The Jew, taught by the law and the prophets, believed that the God and Judge of all the earth was a righteous being, and could only do right; and that the whole scheme and purpose of His government was to make men right. Whatever sacrifices and offerings He appointed, such a Jew was sure, were appointed for this end....

They brought an animal...confessed their sins over it; the priest presented it; it was declared to be the sign and pledge of an atonement and reconciliation between God and the worshipper.

These Jewish offerings, then, were no compensations to an offended Prince. They were indications and expressions of the will of a gracious Ruler. They were witnesses of a union between Him and them which could not be broken.

And there was in that tabernacle in which those sacrifices were offered, a mercy-seat, where God declared that He would meet the worshippers. It was the most conspicuous object in the building; the cherubims covered it with their wings. The High Priest who offered the sacrifices died; this sign of God's presence with the people lasted on from generation to generation.

St. John had been used to gaze on this mercy-seat when he was a boy in the Temple at Jerusalem, when he went yearly to the feasts.



[Now] he was far away from Jerusalem. The Temple was perhaps still in existence; but if it was, it was desecrated; it was surrounded with armies; it was soon to be burnt with fire.

What had become of the sacrifices, and the priests, and the mercy seat? St. John says, Jesus Christ the Righteous, our Advocate, is the Mercy-seat. In Him God meets us; in Him we may meet God. In Him God is satisfied with us; in Him we can be satisfied with God.

Why did he say so? Because he believed that the only sacrifice with which God can be pleased is the voluntary sacrifice of a self; is the sacrifice of one who delights to do His will, and to suffer it. Because he believed that God had signified His delight in it, by raising Jesus from the dead. Because he believed that that act declared Him to be the Son of God—the Mediator and High Priest who had always united God to man, from whom all other mediators and priests derived their worth and meaning; without whom they were nothing. Because he believed that, being this, Jesus Christ the Righteous fulfilled the idea of the Mercy Seat, in whom God and His creatures can have fellowship, in whom the children who have wandered from their home may find it again.

But was this all? No . . . . Was this, then, a JEWISH high priest, sacrifice, mercy seat? If He was that (and He was that) He must be more. The Lord had taken the nature of man; He had died the death



of man. Was He not then, a high priest, a sacrifice, a mercy seat for man? Could St. John dare to say He is a mercy seat for our sins only? Must he not say, 'He also accomplishes what the Gentiles have been dreaming of in their miserable propitiations? He is ~~the~~ mercy seat for the whole world. The whole world is atoned or reconciled in Him. All have a right to draw nigh to God as their Father in Him . . . Therefore we have a right to say, 'Our race, our manhood is glorified in Him.' . . .

This then is the second part of our Christian ethics. . . To-day we have heard of the elevation of men into union with God. Jesus Christ the Righteous is the Person through whom mankind recovers its true position and glory. Therefore our ethics are in the strictest sense Christian; but they are also in the strictest sense human. They adapt themselves to the wants of individual men. They concern societies of men. They prove that there is a fellowship for the whole race of men." - pp.62-7.

There is a peroration to the lecture which shows how acute was Maurice's ethical sense, and how he cannot separate the idea of Christ's reconciliation from an application to mankind, as distinct from the salvation of the individual soul. The longing of men for fellowship with God, he says, is seen in prayers and litanies.

"These prayers were, I may say, the very signs of humanity, the proof that man does not and cannot reckon himself among the beasts that perish." Yet prayers may be turned to selfish and vile ends. Christian ethics rescue prayers from these 'vile applications', and belief in an Advocate and Representative of mankind delivers us from our own darkness that we may know God who is Light.

"When we believe that Jesus Christ the righteous is the Propitiation or Mercy Seat for us and for the whole world, that He has made the sacrifice of Himself which is well pleasing to God, our confession of our individual sins increases our confidence in the purposes of God for the universe; our most earnest petition being that He will make us true and loving sacrifices to accomplish His good will to us and to mankind" - p 68.

It is, as A.M. Ramsey says, a moot question how far Platonism affected Maurice's basic assumptions. Plato meant a great deal to Maurice, for the lectures of Hare brought Plato to life and the impression remained. In a letter to Hort in 1850 Maurice confessed, "I have never taken up any dialogue of Plato without getting more from it than from any book not in the Bible." And again,

he admitted that to him the Bible and Plato were the twin sources of his thinking.

"Inevitably his platonism coloured his Biblical exegesis; and it led him to a tendency to expound the whole Bible through the spectacles of his own interpretation of the Johannine prologue. But . . . it was the Bible which really dominated; and in it Maurice saw 'the history of a divine descent into the misery to wrestle with it, to bring back the victims of it into the home of peace from which they had wandered \* " - A.M.Ramsey, F.D.Maurice and Modern Theology, 1951, p 23.

\* - cf. The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, p 158.

# B I B L I O G R A P H Y   O F   T H E   C H I E F W O R K S   O F   F. D. M A U R I C E

\*

- 1834    Eustace Conway, a novel.
- 1835    Subscription no Bondage.
- 1838    The Kingdom of Christ.
- 1839    Has the Church or the State power  
         to educate the Nation ? - lectures.
- 1841    Reasons for not joining a Party in the Church  
         [a letter to S.Wilberforce]
- 1846    The Epistle to the Hebrews -  
         Warburtonian Lectures, with a preface on  
         Newman's 'Theory of Development.'
- 1847    The Religions of the World, and their  
         relations to Christianity [Boyle Lectures].
- 1848    The Prayer Book, considered especially in  
         relation to the Romish System.
- 1851    The Old Testament [19 sermons in Lincoln's  
                         Inn Chapel ].
- 1853    Theological Essays.
- 1853    The Word 'Eternal' and the punishment of  
         the wicked.
- 1853    The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament.
- 1854    The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the  
         Scriptures.
- 1854    Ecclesiastical History of the 1st & 2nd Centuries.



- 1854 The Unity of the New Testament -  
a synopsis of the First Three Gospels  
and the Epistles of St. James, St. Jude,  
St. Peter and St. Paul.
- 1857 Learning and Working.
- 1857 Rome and its influence on Modern Civilization-.
- 1857 The Epistles of St. John - lectures on  
Christian Ethics.
- 1857 The Eucharist - 5 sermons.
- 1857 The Gospel of St. John - sermons.
- 1857 The Indian Mutiny - 5 sermons.
- 1861 Lectures on the Apocalypse.
- 1863 Claims of the Bible and of Science:  
[upon the Colenso Controversy].
- 1864 The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven  
- 18 lectures on St. Luke's Gospel.
- 1866 The Workmen and the Franchise.
- 1866 Casuistry, Moral Philosophy and Moral Theology  
- Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge.
- 1871 Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy - 2 vols.

**C h a p t e r     E i g h t**

**C H R I S T O P H E R     W O R D S W O R T H**

**\***

## C h r i s t o p h e r    W o r d s w o r t h

1 8 0 7 - 1 8 8 5

BORN in 1807, Christopher was the youngest son of Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. John, the scholar, and Charles, Bishop of St Andrews were his elder brothers. Christopher Jr was educated at Winchester, and in 1825 entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he achieved an exceptional academic record. In 1830 he graduated as Senior Classic and gained the first Chancellor's medal for classical studies. Then he was elected a Fellow of his college. In 1833 he was ordained deacon, and priested in 1835. The following year he was made Public Orator at Cambridge, and later the same year was appointed Headmaster of Harrow. In 1844 he became a Canon of Westminster, and Archdeacon of Westminster in 1865. He was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1868.

As a result of his enterprising oversight the 'Scholae Cancellarii' was established for the training of ordinands, and he appointed E.W.Benson to be in charge

of this new project. Bishop Wordsworth proved himself an able organiser and administrator, clear-headed and business-like. He had a remarkable memory which enhanced his many other gifts which made him famous as a scholar and writer.

His most famous publication was a Commentary on the whole Bible. The revised Greek Text and Commentary came out between 1856 - 60; the Old Testament followed in twelve parts between 1864 - 70. He also wrote a four-volume work on 'Church History up to A.D. 451.' Lesser works published include more general topics, patristic and devotional writings. He died after a long and distinguished career in 1885.

Some extracts from the edition of 1872 will be given by way of illustration from the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.



## R o m a n s    1 : 17

ὅς ἐστιν δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται }  
 BUT THE JUST SHALL LIVE }  
 BY FAITH. (Habak.ii.4).

This was said by the Prophet Habakkuk to encourage the Jews when fainting under the oppression of the Chaldeans. Have faith in God. He will send you a deliverer.. Cyrus, a type of Christ, was raised up, as God had promised (Isa.xliv.28); he conquered and destroyed the Chaldean king in his revelry, and restored the Jews to Jerusalem, and enabled them to rebuild the Temple, an emblem of the Church in glory.

The Apostle applies this prophecy of Habakkuk to the Christian Church, and to his own argument concerning the blessing of eternal life, consequent on FAITH in Christ. This application was specially appropriate, in reference to his Jewish fellow-Christians, who were thus taught that the temporal promises to their fathers in the Old Dispensation had a spiritual fulfilment to themselves in the New.

Concerning this prophecy and its relation to the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, see above on Gal.iii.11; v.11.

The conjunction *ὅς*, "but", contains a warning that, while the just shall live by FAITH, the unjust, who does not believe, shall PERISH, and so is introductory to what follows.

R o m a n s 3 : 24 - 26

24. δικαιούμενοι ] BEING JUSTIFIED;  
observe the present tense: the  
work of justification is ever  
going on, by the application of  
the cleansing efficacy of Christ's  
blood to all who lay hold on Him  
by Faith.

25. ἱλαστήριον ] PROPITIATION.  
See above on v.21.

[ The relevant portion of this NOTE  
runs as follows:

Some expositors (Theophyl., Oecumen.,  
Erasmus, Luther, following Theodoret)  
suppose ἱλαστήριον here to signify  
the PROPITIATORIUM, the Propitiatory,  
or the Mercy-Seat, or Throne of Grace,  
on which God's presence and favour  
rests, and in which His Shechinah or  
Glory manifests itself, as it did  
between the Cherubim overshadowing  
the Ark (Ps.lxxx.1), and which is  
sprinkled by our Great High Priest  
with His own Blood. (Exod.xxv.17.  
Lev.xvi. 14-18.) Cp.Heb.ix.5.

This exposition deserves consid-  
eration, and was adopted by many  
ancient interpreters, and has been  
ably maintained by Philippi, p.106;  
but it does not seem so suitable to  
the context as that which renders  
ἱλαστήριον a SIN-OFFERING, or  
PROPITIATORY VICTIM. See the  
authorities in Fritz., p.193, and in  
Meyer, De Wette, and Alf.

For, the fact on which the Apostle here dwells, is the BLOOD-SHEDDING OF CHRIST, by which He paid the price of our Redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις), and appeased the anger of God, and cleansed us from sin, and displayed the sternness of God's Justice and Wrath against it; and showed that the temporary praeter-mission (παρεσις) on God's part, of the PAST SINS of mankind, was NOT due to any indifference on His side to the guilt of sin (as some might have imagined, Ps.x.12; 1.21), and yet enabled Him, without any compromise of His Justice, to be the Justifier of all who build their foundation on Faith in Jesus, the Saviour of all.

Besides, the word προέθετο, HE PUBLICLY SET FORTH (cp. Thucyd. ii. 34), is not applicable to the covering of the Mercy-Seat which was concealed from the People, and even from the Priests, and which is, as its name, ἱλαστήριον, ἡλῶθῃ, capporeth, or covering (Levit. xvi. 2. Exod. xxv. 17, 18-22; cp. Heb. ix. 5) signifies, the covering of our sins by Christ's Righteousness. . .

- 26 Δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ ] -  
JUSTIFYING him who builds by Faith on Jesus as his foundation, and springs from Him as from the source of his life, and as the root of his spiritual being.

These paragraphs require an investigation of the meaning of the word ΔΙΚΑΙΩΩ, as used by St. Paul.



Its sense had also been declared by the usage of the Septuagint Version, where δικαιοῦν is equivalent to פ'טִדִּיק (hitsedik), JUSTIFICAVIT, and has the force of ACQUITTING or ACCOUNTING and DECLARING RIGHTEOUS, in opposition to CONDEMNING and PRONOUNCING GUILTY. Cp. below, viii. 33, with the use of the word by the LXX in Gen. xxxviii. 26; xliv. 16. Exod. xxi. 7. Deut. xxv. 1. 2 Sam. xv. 4. Ps. lxxxii. 3; Isa. v. 23.

This meaning is further illustrated by the use of the word δικαίω in the Gospels and Acts. See Matt. xi. 9; . . . Acts xiii. 39. In all these cases the word δικαιοῦν signifies to ACCOUNT and DECLARE righteous, and to REGARD and to TREAT as such. But it does not signify to MAKE righteous.

But this appears to be the proper sense of the word δικαίω, as used by St. Paul.

Here then we are led to advert to the controversies that have arisen in the Church concerning the word JUSTIFICATION and TO JUSTIFY, as applied to man.

It is affirmed by some that they intimate an IMPUTATION of the righteousness of another (viz. of Christ) to us.

Others assert that they also represent the INFUSION of His Righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) into us.



Perhaps the truth may best be cleared by saying, that while it is true, that the word  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , strictly rendered, signifies to ACCOUNT righteous by IMPUTATION, and not to MAKE righteous by infusion; and that the formal act, wherein JUSTIFICATION, properly understood, consists, is the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to us, and the declaration of our acquittal and restoration to God's favour by virtue of the meritorious acts and sufferings of Christ; yet that in this statement there is no denial, but rather a declaration, that we are also MADE righteous by our union with Christ, and that God's righteousness ( $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ) is not only IMPUTED, but also is IMPARTED to us in Him who is 'the Lord our Righteousness.'

This work is done by the grace received from God through Christ by the operation of the Holy Ghost; but this work of INFUSION of grace is not properly to be called Justification, but rather to be designated SANCTIFICATION.

[Wordsworth concludes the Note on the passage with some full references to Hooker, Andrewes, Dr Barrow, and Waterland.] Finally he writes:

This doctrine of Justification is to be maintained-

- (1) Against PHARISAICAL PRIDE, claiming justification as a debt for its own deserts. (Rom. iv. 4)

- (2) Against PELAGIAN PRESUMPTION, magnifying human ability, and depreciating divine grace.
- (3) Against TRIDENTINE DIVINES [Session vi. can.32], (i) setting up a merit of congruity in works preceding Justification; and (ii) maintaining a merit of congruity in works following Justification (see Art.xiii. of Church of England); and (iii) teaching works of supererogation (see Art.xiv).
- (4) Against SOCINIANS, relying on their own works, and rejecting the propitiation set forth by God through faith in Christ's blood (iii.25).
- (5) Against ANTINOMIANS & SOLIFIDIANS, destroying the Law as a rule of conduct, by a perversion of this doctrine, which, as St.Paul affirms, 'establishes the Law,' vs31.
- (6) Against CALVINISTIC & METHODISTICAL FANATICISM, relying on its own PERSONAL ASSURANCE of God's present and unfailing favour, and thus endeavouring to JUSTIFY ITSELF.
- (7) Against those who despise the instrumentality of the Holy Sacraments, by which the Holy Spirit applies the merits of Christ's death for our Justification.

**C h a p t e r      N i n e**

**H E N R Y      A L F O R D**

**\***

H e n r y      A l f o r d

1 8 1 0 - 1 8 7 1

HENRY was the son of the Reverend Henry Alford, Vicar of Ampton. His mother died at his birth in 1810. He was at first a private pupil of the Reverend John Bickersteth, with whose son [later Bishop of Ripon] he formed a close friendship. He went up to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1829, and graduated 8th Classic, and 34th Wrangler in 1832. Ordained in 1833, he went as curate to his father at Ampton. In the following year he was elected Fellow of Trinity College; and in 1835 was instituted to the benefice of Wymeswold.

In this living he was occupied for eighteen years with parochial ministration, private tuition and work on his commentaries. Here he published the first volume of his Greek Testament - the last volume came out in 1861. In 1841 - 2 he was Hulsean Lecturer, and published his lectures under the title "The Consistency of the Divine conduct in revealing the Doctrines of Redemption."



In 1857 he was appointed Dean of Canterbury, in which deanery he remained till his early death in 1871. He was of a poetical temperament, and his talents were drawn out by the company he kept at Cambridge - Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, Trench, Blakesley and Thompson [afterwards Master of Trinity]. Alford published some poems and wrote hymns including the familiar "Come, ye thankful people, come," and "In token that thou shalt not fear." His artistic gifts extended to painting, composition of music and wood-carving.

He received an Evangelical upbringing; and, after being influenced by the clericalist movement of 1835 - 1842, he returned to a distinctly Protestant basis for his religious and ecclesiastical convictions.

His fame rests chiefly on his Greek Testament. He adopted a text mainly from Buttman and Lachman. Later he corrected it by the help of the works of Tregelles and Tischendorf. His references to passages illustrating the use of words in Hellenistic Greek are original and important. His notes show an independent mind and sound judgment.

His theological standpoint seems to be more on the liberal side as regards belief in inspiration, separating himself definitely from the 'verbal inspiration' position, but equally detached from the viewpoint of, say, Benjamin Jowett.

He produced a New Testament for English Readers, an adaptation of the Greek edition. He undertook a revised English Version, begun in company with three others, but finished the course alone. Later he was a member of the company of revisers for the New Testament, until his death intervened in 1871.

\*

By way of illustrating his method and viewpoint, we will cite his notes on some of those passages in the Epistle to the Romans, concerning which we have elsewhere given attention to the commentaries of Vaughan and other expositors.

## " THE GREEK TESTAMENT " - volume II - 1855

## R o m a n s 1 : 17

καθὼς γέγ. | He shows that  
 'righteousness by faith' is no  
 NEW IDEA, but found in the pro-  
 phets. The words (ref.) are  
 cited again in Gal.iii.11. Heb.  
 x.38, in the former place with  
 the same purpose as here. They  
 are used in Habakkuk with refer-  
 ence to credence given to the  
 prophetic word: but properly  
 speaking, ALL FAITH IS ONE, in  
 whatever word or act of God  
 reposed: so that the Apostle is  
 free from any charge of forcing  
 the words to the present purpose.

The two ways of arranging them,  
 - ἐκ πίστεως ῥησεται, and ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ  
 πίστεως - ῥησεται, in fact amount  
 to the same: if the former, which  
 is more agreeable to the Heb. be  
 taken, ῥησεται must mean, 'shall  
 live on,' endure in his δικαιοσύνη,  
 by means of faith - which would  
 assert that it was a δικαιοσύνη  
 of faith, as strongly as the  
 latter does.

[That is all on 1:17b]

## R O M A N S 3 : 24 - 26

24] δικαιοῦμενοι agrees with πάντες,  
 without any ellipsis; nor need it  
 be resolved into καὶ δικαιοῦνται:  
 the participial sentence is ~~xxxxxx~~  
~~not~~ subordinated to the great  
 general statement of the insuffi-  
 / ciency



of all to attain to the glory of God. It is not necessary, in the interpretation, that the subjects of πάντες and δικαιούμενοι should be in matter of fact strictly commensurate:- 'ALL have sinned - ALL are (must be, if justified) justified freely, &c.

δωρεάν ] see reff.: here, 'without merit or desert as arising from earnings of our own;' 'gratis.'

τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι ] 'by His grace,' i.e. 'His free undeserved Love,' as the working cause. (De W.) .

διὰ τῆς ἀπολ. κ.τ.λ. ] 'By means of the propitiatory redemption which is in (has been brought about by, and is now in the Person of) Christ Jesus.'

ἀπολύτρωσις, redemption by a λύτρον, 'propitiation,' - and, as expressed by the preposition ἀπο, redemption FROM some state of danger or misery: here, - from the guilt of sin by the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ's death, see reff. and Matt.xx28. In Eph.1.7 this ἀπολύτρωσις is defined to = ἡ ἀφέσις τῶν παραπτωμάτων.

25] προέθετο, not here 'decreed,' as in ch.1.13, Eph.1.9, - but 'put forth,' 'set forth,' manifested historically in His incarnation, sufferings and exaltation. Wetst. quotes Thucyd. II.34 τὰ ὅσῃ κροτίθενται τῶν ἀποχενομένων, 'they expose the bones of the deceased to public view.'



ἱλαστήριον ] 'as a propitiatory offering.' So we have σωτήρια , Exod.xx.24-, χαριστήριον , 2 Macc. xii.45,- and καθάρσιον , Herod. i.35, in the sense of thank-offerings and offerings of purification (no subst., as θύμα , need be supplied,- the words being themselves substantives): and we have this very word in Dio Chrys. Orat. ii.p.184 (cited by Stuart), where he says that the Greeks offered an ἱλαστήριον τῇ Ἀθύνῃ, a propitiatory sacrifice.

The ordinary interpretation [Theodoret, Theophyl., Luth., Calv., Grot., Calov., Wolf, Olsh.] is founded on the sense in which the LXX use the word, as signifying the golden cover of the ark of the covenant, between the Cherubim, where Jehovah appeared and whence He gave His oracles. . . . . The expression occurs in full, ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα , Exod.xxv.17: elsewhere ἱλαστήριον only, as Heb. ix.5. See also Philo, Vit.Mos. p.668.

But De Wette well shews the inapplicability of this interpretation, as not agreeing with εἰς ἕνδειξιν κτλ' (which requires a VICTIM, see below), and as confusing the unity of the idea here, Christ being (according to it) one while a victim (ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι), and another, something else.

The other interpretation (Vg. propitiationem: so E.V.: Beza,

Rückert, al.: adj. - Rosenmüller, Wahl), which makes ἱλαστήριον, an adjective agreeing with οὗ, 'a propitiator,' hardly agrees with προέθετο, implying an external demonstration of Christ as the ἱλαστήριον, not merely an appointment in the divine oeconomy.

διὰ πίστεως ] 'by faith,' as the subjective means of appropriation of this propitiation: - not to be joined with ἐν αὐτοῦ αἵματι (but the om. of τῆς is no objection to this, see above on ver. 22), as Luth., Calv. al., Olsh., Rückert, - for such an expression as, πίστις or πιστεύω ἐν τῷ αἵμ. ἰ. Χρ. would be unexampled, - and (which is decisive) the clause ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι requires a primary, not a subordinate place in the sentence, because the next clause εἰς ἔνδ. τ. δικαύτ., directly refers to it. As διὰ πίστ. is the subjective means of appropriation, so ἐν τῷ αἵμ. αὐτοῦ is the objective means of manifestation, of Christ as propitiatory sacrifice.

αἷμα does not = θάνατος, but refers to propitiation by BLOOD, - the well-known typical use of it in sacrifice.

εἰς ἔνδειξιν κ.τ.λ.] 'in order to the manifestation of His righteousness:' this is the aim of

the putting forth of Christ as an expiatory victim.

δικαιοσύνη, not TRUTH (Ambrst. al), - not GOODNESS (Theodoret, Grot., Hammond., Koppe, Rosenm., Reiche), - not both these combined with JUSTICE (Beza), - not JUSTIFYING or SIN-FORGIVING righteousness (Chrys., Aug., Estius, Krehl., B.-Crus.), - not the RIGHTEOUSNESS WHICH HE GIVES (Luther, Elsner, Wolf, al.), which last would repeat the idea already contained in v.21, and rob εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ δίκαιον of all meaning, - not HOLINESS, which does not correspond to δίκαιος and δικαιοσύνη, - but 'JUDICIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,' JUSTICE (as Origen, Calov., Tholuck, Meyer, Schrader, Rückert ed.2, al.).

This interpretation alone suits the requirements of the sense, and corresponds to the idea of δικαιοσύνη, which is itself judicial. A SIN-OFFERING betokens on the one side the expiation of guilt, and on the other ensures pardon and reconciliation: and thus the Death of Christ is not only a proof of God's grace and love, but also of His judicial righteousness which requires punishment and expiation. (Mainly from De Wette).

διὰ τ. πάρεσιν κτλ. ] = διὰ τὸ παρίεναι  
τὸν Θεόν τὰ προχ. ἁμαρτήματα ἐν τῇ  
ἁνοχῇ αὐτοῦ -  
and contains the REASON WHY God



would manifest His judicial righteousness; 'on account of the overlooking of the sins which had passed, in the forbearance of God:' i.e. to vindicate that character for justice, which might seem, owing to the suspension of God's righteous sentence on sin in former ages in His forbearance, to be placed in question: - to shew, that though He did not then punish fully for sin, and though He did then set forth inadequate means of (subjective) justification, - yet He did both, not because His justice was slumbering, nor because the nature of His righteousness was altered, - but because HE HAD PROVIDED A WAY whereby sin might be forgiven, and He might be just.

Observe, *καρπείας* is not forgiveness, but 'OVERLOOKING,' which is the work of forbearance (see Acts xvii.30), whereas FORGIVENESS is the work of GRACE, - see ch.ii.4: - nor is *τῶν προγεγενημένων*, 'the sins of each man which precede his conversion' (Calov.), but THOSE OF THE WHOLE WORLD BEFORE THE DEATH OF CHRIST. See the very similar words Heb.ix.15.

The rendering *διὰ*, 'by means of' (Origen, Luth., Calv., Calov., Le Clerc, Elsn., Koppe, Reiche, Schrader), is both ungrammatical and unmeaning.



26. πρὸς τὴν ἐνδ. κ.τ.λ. ]

The art. distinguishes this ἐνδείξις from the former as the FULLER AND ULTIMATE OBJECT, of which that ἐνδείξις was a subordinate part: - 'WITH A VIEW TO THE (or His) MANIFESTATION OF HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THIS PRESENT TIME.' The shewing forth that He was righteous throughout His dealings with the whole world, by means of setting forth an adequate and complete propitiation in the death of Christ, was TOWARDS, formed a subsidiary manifestation to, His GREAT MANIFESTATION OF HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS [same sense as before, JUDICIAL righteousness, JUSTICE] UNDER THE GOSPEL. The joining πρὸς τὴν ἐνδείξιν κ.τ.λ. with ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τ. Θεοῦ (Beza, Rückert 2 ed., Thol., al.) would draw off the attention from the leading thought of the sentence to a digression respecting the ἀνοχῇ τ. Θεοῦ, which is not probable.

εἰς τὸ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. ] IN ORDER THAT HE MAY BE (shewn to be; - the whole present concern is with ἐνδείξις, the exhibition to men of the righteousness of God) JUST AND (yet, on the other side) JUSTIFYING HIM WHO IS OF [THE] FAITH IN JESUS (τὸν ἐκ πίστεως ἡς, him who belongs to, stands in, works from as his starting-point, faith in Jesus: - see ch. 11.8, note, and reff.).

C h a p t e r    T e n

F R E D E R I C K    W I L L I A M  
R O B E R T S O N

\*

F r e d e r i c k      W i l l i a m

R o b e r t s o n

1 8 1 6 - 1 8 5 3

THE eldest of a family of four sons, Frederick William was born in 1816. His father was an officer in the Royal Artillery. Frederick was educated at Beverley Grammar School, the New Edinburgh Academy and Edinburgh University. He also read at Oxford. Originally he had studied for the army, but abandoned his father's footsteps. In his university career he gained no distinction in the same way as did the others discussed in this study. But Robertson's thorough reading of Plato and Aristotle exerted a considerable influence upon his mind, which is reflected in his later thought. He was ordained in 1840 to a curacy in Winchester. After a short time his health broke down. Then he went as curate to Archibald Boyd [later Dean of Exeter] in 1842. He grew out of harmony with his sphere and resigned, going to Germany in 1846; here he sought rest from incompatible elements which aggravated an already

melancholic spirit. He returned to England and was given charge of St.Ebb's, Oxford, in the underprivileged part of the town. But his exceptional abilities as a preacher and teacher of the Christian Faith drew crowds of undergraduates.

In 1847 he was offered the incumbency of Trinity Chapel, Brighton. In a brief and perhaps unique ministry of six years, he revealed gifts which some have described as of the order of genius. At any rate they were of an unusually high order, and in but half a dozen years they gained him a place among the famous of the nineteenth century.

F.W.R. belonged to no party. He had wide sympathies with all parties, and at the same time was essentially original and fearless in holding and proclaiming his convictions. He was a silver-tongued orator; and had a special flair for influencing the poor and those who were so largely outside the interests or range of influence of the Church of his day. His frankness made him the object of attacks from the cliques of Brighton society as well as from other clergy and ministers who plainly resented him.



Robertson suffered from a fiery vehemence of expression at times, an exaggerated sensitiveness and an unfortunate lack of that saving grace of humour. His nervous energy was expended at a rate which doubtless shortened his life. He died of inflammation of the brain on the 15th August 1853; and it is said that two thousand people followed at the funeral. His private letters are of a high literary order; but his fame rests on his preaching, some of which is preserved in collections of printed sermons, rather than on pure writing. His theology was his own, and if one had to put him in any category it would be in the broad church group. His religious origins had been definitely with the Evangelical school, but he had passed through a profound spiritual crisis in his early years as a clergyman which affected his whole religious thought. He was a complex person; not deeply scholarly in the sense in which the Trio, say, were scholars - and yet he had powers of deep thought which made him 'F.W. Robertson.' Tremendous oratory and the power to pour out his soul to packed congregations combined with an intense subjectivity. A passionate devotion to Christ reigned in a spirit rather indifferent to the authority of antiquity. Given to overstatement, he was possessed with an acute moral consciousness.

If it be asked why we have drawn Robertson into the scope of this study, one may answer that - rather as in the case of Maurice - no study of the nineteenth century Biblical exposition could omit so significant, colourful and influential a figure, even though he was not an expositor of the same kind as Vaughan and the Trio. Sydney Cave \* makes the important point that, on the one hand, in Germany theology in the nineteenth century has a history - "it has been the result of the interplay of schools of thought, which have been closely connected with current philosophies." On the other hand, in England "theology has been less the work of schools of thought than of individuals." And so far as the Person and Work of Christ are concerned "the two most important contributions in English to our subject came, not from University teachers, but from isolated and lonely thinkers, from F.W. Robertson and from McLeod Campbell." Cave further suggests that Robertson was a preacher and not a theologian; and yet he succeeded where most English theologians failed "in bringing men back to the historic Christ as the Way, the Truth, the Life."

\* The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, 1952, p.187.

Some of the leading principles which governed his thought and life may be summed up as follows\* -

(i) Teaching should be suggestive rather than dogmatic, for spiritual truth is discerned by a man's whole spiritual being, and not alone by his intellect. (ii) Truth is made up of two opposite propositions, and is not to be found in a via media between them. (iii) The object of the teacher should be the establishment of positive truth, rather than the negative repression of error. Error can only be destroyed by planting a positive truth in its place. (iv) There is a soul of goodness in things evil. (v) Belief in the divine character of Christ's humanity is antecedent to belief in its divine origin. (vi) From within outwards is the method which Christianity follows; the same method should be adopted by the Christian teacher. A study of his sermons shows how fully he carried out his precepts.

Robertson did not speak ill of dogma; he appreciated its necessity. But he saw clearly that it could never be final, and it could never exhaust the full significance of truth. LIVING TRUTH is the key-note of his whole life and thought and teaching. There is doctrinal

\* Life and Letters, ed. Stopford Brooke, cf vol. ii, pp 102, 106, 160-1.



teaching in his sermons, but the doctrines are always set forth in their organic relation to life, and as being principles which are timeless and flexible and needful of interpretation for each successive age.

V.F.Storr sums this up: "He loved to suggest rather than define. His object was to bring his hearer into the presence of the living truth, and there leave him, so that, while he absorbed the truth, the truth might absorb him." §

Storr (ibid.) also calls attention to the resemblance between Hort and Robertson in at least one important respect. "Hort's Hulsean Lectures, 'The Way, The Truth, The Life,' breathe throughout the very similar spirit to that which animated Robertson. They show the same sense of the organic nature of truth, the same appreciation of the conditions necessary for its apprehension, the same conviction that all ways of truth meet in Christ."

Though something of a fiery and explosive personality, theologically viewed - and more than that - Robertson was a mediator. In an age when party attachment was so vital a matter, and party cries echoed round the Church,

§ The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1860, 1913, p.415.



and the conflict was mounting between traditional theology and new knowledge, F.W. Robertson stood out as a reconciler. Finally - and with this reminder of one of Robertson's principles we may fittingly bring our study to a close - , in all his teaching he emphasized the Scriptural principle that spiritual truth must be spiritually discerned. Only the pure in heart could see God. Truth enters the mind of man by other avenues than that of the intellect alone; yet the intellect plays its part in conscious reflection. Truth must ripen from within; it is folly to attempt to impose it from without by authoritative declarations. Truth cannot be separated from life.

. . .

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- 1 Translation of Lessing's 'Education of the Human Race.'
  - 2 Lectures on the Influence of Poetry on the  
Working Classes, 1852.
  - 3 Expository Lectures on St Paul's Epistles to the  
Corinthians, 1859.
  - 4 Literary Remains, 1876.
- \*
- 5 Life and Letters, Ed. by Stpford A. Brooke, 1872.

## C O N C L U S I O N

THE declared intention underlying this study was that it should be neither plain biography nor a merely objective examination of published works and manuscripts. Rather was it to be a voyage of discovery into the ocean of the religious mind of a notable divine, whose life covered eighty-one years of the nineteenth century. Giving adequate attention to biography, and making full use of his Biblical expositions, we have sought to appraise the religious constitution, the theological thought and outlook, the expository method and expression, and the practical achievements of C.J.Vaughan; - and to do this by comparison with his contemporaries, in an age of revolution in Biblical studies and religious thought generally.

Among the many aspects of our enquiry, we have not lost sight of the interesting question, Why has one, so highly esteemed and revered by those who knew him intimately, become a neglected figure; while others,

seemingly of no greater religious or intellectual stature, have been remembered in the gallery of the famous ? Strange that 'the most serviceable life in the Church' of Archbishop Benson's generation should be practically unknown to-day, and without mention in a recent full and standard text-book on the nineteenth century \*.

A comparison of the thought and exposition of Dr Vaughan with those of his most accredited contemporaries in the same field gains added significance by virtue of the period and place of their training, and their basic reading. The following table is striking:

C.J.Vaughan, 1816 - 1897, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

J.B.Lightfoot, 1828 - 89, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

B.F.Westcott, 1825-1901, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

F.J.A.Hort, 1828 - 1892, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

F.D.Maurice, 1805 - 1872, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

C.Wordsworth, 1807 - 1835, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

\* Elliott-Binns, English Thought, 1860-1900,  
publ. 1956.

H.Alford, 1810-1871, Trinity College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

C.J.Ellicott, 1819-1905, St.John's College, Cambridge,  
- Classics.

F.W.Robertson, 1816-1853, Brazenose College, Oxford,  
- Classics.

B.Jowett, 1817-1893, Balliol College, Oxford,  
- Classics.

We note that, with the exception of Robertson and Jowett, they were all Cambridge men. The latter, with the exception of Ellicott, were all Trinity men. All of them read Classics, whether at Oxford or Cambridge; and all of them were undergraduates within the short space of twenty-five years. So that, not only did all our expositors begin at the same starting-tape in respect of subject and time, and most of them in the same University; but they all breathed the same kind of cultural atmosphere. It would be a fascinating study to examine in detail how and why each developed differently, in some cases so very differently, from the others.



But our purpose in this concluding chapter is to underline some of the more significant facts which the foregoing study has brought to light, and to make some observations upon them. It was remarked in the Foreword that 'the conclusion was reached rather by a process of elimination.' Thus indeed it has been. The writer began by knowing very little about Vaughan and not much more about the Cambridge Trio and the other contemporaries. The Trio and Vaughan were thought of in an indefinite way as belonging to a Cambridge School and being all much about the same in outlook and method. It was known that those who had known Vaughan personally thought exceptionally highly of him; and one Dove still living considers that 'Vaughan was certainly not a lesser man than the Trio.' So, it must be frankly admitted, as the commentaries and MSS of Vaughan's Biblical exposition were read, we felt some disappointment that they did not compare favourably with the works of the Trio, though we fully acknowledge the excellence of classical scholarship and the soundness of exegesis which characterise the Dean.

Vaughan's commentaries are essentially grammatical, lexical and homiletical. His notes to the Doves,

according to the MSS, are of the same style only with a rather stronger homiletical emphasis. As we move on to consider the Trio, we find a progressive comprehensiveness and speculativeness.

Lightfoot is fuller than Vaughan in every way. For one thing, Vaughan does not go beyond the Scriptures themselves in his background material and cross-references. It is the rarest thing for him to quote an extra-canonical author. There are occasional references to Alford, Wordsworth and Ellicott in the MSS, with one or two allusions to Dr Lightfoot. In any case, we are ready to believe that some, if not all, such references may have been inserted by the student who took down the notes. Certainly, in a number of instances the colour of the ink is deeper and suggests a later inscription. If it be so, then it serves to strengthen the conclusion that Vaughan avoided reference to other commentators, as he clearly affirms in his Preface to the commentary on Romans.

With Lightfoot, however, we are deliberately given the benefits of his extensive reading and historical insights. Yet not as some of the other commentators in our study does Lightfoot quote, so that one is apt to

lose sight of the wood for trees, and find the incessant flow of fragments and abbreviations something of an irritation [notably Ellicott, and to a lesser extent Alford.] Judicious and relevant are Lightfoot's citations. He maintains an even flow of exposition, illuminated by a free translation, and saves his specialised commentating for additional notes. A number of these have become classics on the subjects with which they deal. It has already been noted in the appropriate chapter that there are not strong doctrinal, theological or speculative elements in Lightfoot's works.

Passing on to Westcott, we receive the impression of a much more subtle, speculative and flexible mind; and reflections of a personality at once more colourful and of wider interests. No less than Vaughan and Lightfoot a first-class classical scholar, Bishop Westcott gets to grips with the great theological problems of the Scriptures which he seeks to interpret and expound. Both in the individual comments on verses or phrases or words, and more especially in the Additional Notes which abound, he relates the details to the whole continuum of the basic truths of the Biblical revelation. There is an intellectual



honesty responding to the unusual spiritual insight; problems are recognised, controversial points acknowledged, earnest endeavours made to evolve theories which - if unorthodox in an age when it really meant something to be off-centre - are boldly projected; and out of this fertile, virile and original mind there was poured forth a torrent of volumes, covering a period of over fifty years (1851 - 1902).

As far as Biblical exposition is concerned, it reached its highest water mark with the publication of the commentaries on St. John's Epistles and on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The contrast between Vaughan's thought, expository method and personality, and those of Westcott is considerable. This is further emphasized by the breadth and variety of Westcott's interests, in contrast to the more limited sphere in which Vaughan moved. We should not under-rate the highly significant world in which Vaughan ministered - the pulpit, the public school, the theological students' class-room, the parish and the university. But Westcott can add to these the spheres of social welfare, theology, patristics, textual criticism, the diocese and so on; and wrote authoritatively upon them.



It is further indicative of the religious mind of Westcott that he found himself in such sympathy with the thought and outlook of F.D.Maurice. This was far removed from the sympathies and conservative mould of Vaughan's mind. At the same time, though liberal, Westcott would have been classed with the Evangelical side of the Church rather than with the sacerdotal, as his colleague Hort.

After reading the brief fragments of Hort's notes which were published, one immediately feels a deep regret that nothing more was made available. His style, mode of attack, balanced treatment, moderation in quotations, clarity, incisiveness, cogency of argument and independence of judgment, all combine to produce a model style and method of Biblical exposition. Westcott's excellent commentaries are apt to be a little too elaborate for a working commentary. The little specimens of Hort's work suggest that he has the best aspects of Westcott's method together with certain valuable characteristics of his own.

There is no doubt that what Hort lacked in personality and self-expression he made up in knowledge and

thought. The energies which, save for his very shy nature, might have been spent in public activity and administration, worked quietly within to produce one of the most finished theologians as well as a foremost linguistic scholar of the century. All his wide and deep scholarship was the tool of a rich and sensitive mind, and of an original and highly independent spirit.

Vaughan, Lightfoot and Westcott - though different in their ecclesiastical viewpoints - may be considered as belonging to the Evangelical persuasion; Vaughan more to the right, Westcott to the left. But Hort was a sacerdotalist, with a keen sense of the richness of much pre-reformation Christianity. He complains that Protestant commentaries often forget that there was any Christianity between Paul and the Reformation. He was also an ardent admirer of F.D. Maurice - we would almost say disciple, if that were not too determinative for one so independent of thought. Thorough to a degree in all he was and did, Hort took nothing for granted, whether for himself or in his readers and students. And on this note we may conveniently conclude our summing up of Vaughan and the Cambridge Trio.

We have found, in moving from Vaughan to Hort, by way of Lightfoot and then Westcott, a progressive comprehensiveness and speculativeness. In respect of exposition Vaughan takes so much for granted, for he rather assumes his reader to be an orthodox Churchman, with a plain classical background and no problems. Vaughan's exposition is almost confined to the Epistles of the New Testament, and having a special regard to the Pauline letters\*. His religion is a Pauline Christianity mediated through orthodox Anglicanism of the definitely Protestant strain. He seems to have no problems himself of a serious textual or theological character. Hort, on the other hand, sees Biblical problems clearly, goes right to the heart of them, and, come what may, fearlessly works out his own utterly honest intellectual solutions. Hort read widely, and was well aware of the significance of the revolution of thought and method which was taking place on the Continent and which, if slowly, was affecting English scholarship.

\* In his notes to the Doves, Vaughan assumes a Pauline authorship for 'Hebrews.' But in the 1890 edition of his commentary on that Epistle he states that it is not St. Paul's, however Pauline in character.



It is scarcely possible to imagine two Churchmen, engaged in the same ministry of Biblical exposition, who were yet more dissimilar than Vaughan and Hort. It is interesting to see that, of our Cambridge 'Quartet,' the one with the most definite and advanced views, both in intellectual liberality and ecclesiastical catholicity, is the one who is most exacting and inexorable in his attempt to get impartially at the truth. To Vaughan the truth is the simple tradition of the New Testament teaching which is summed up in the Prayer Book and Creeds, and further enlarged by a study of the Greek Testament along lexical lines. To Hort the truth is deeply hidden, and with much endeavour of spirit and intellect may have to be sought out through a maze of problems.

The division of the nineteenth century commentators into Vaughan's younger and older contemporaries is arbitrary, and our study has shown that dates of birth do not materially affect their modes of thought and exposition. Those whose thought ripened rather earlier and published earlier do not necessarily belong to the conservative type of expositor; neither do those who



flourished later necessarily belong to the more liberal school of interpreters. Maurice and Jowett, for example, were ahead of their time, and suffered bitter persecution from pulpit and press, and were dubbed as heretics. On the other hand, Ellicott's thought remained conservative right through to the turn of the century, and was not sufficiently affected by the changing environment for him to have need to revise his commentaries.

Even allowing for the native temperament of the English, it is remarkable how slowly continental influences won their way. English theology and religious thought and Biblical studies were, as S.Cave puts it. 'strangely isolated.'\* Even allowing, again, for the two factors to which Cave attributes the slow progress, namely, the pre-occupation of Evangelicals with practical problems of piety, and the absorption of the Tractarians with their special doctrines, - this still left plenty in the broad centre to produce advancing moderates like Westcott, or more radical like Hort, Maurice and Jowett. But the fact is that the centre produced steady, conservative scholars like Alford, Wordsworth and Ellicott to be valuable and valued -

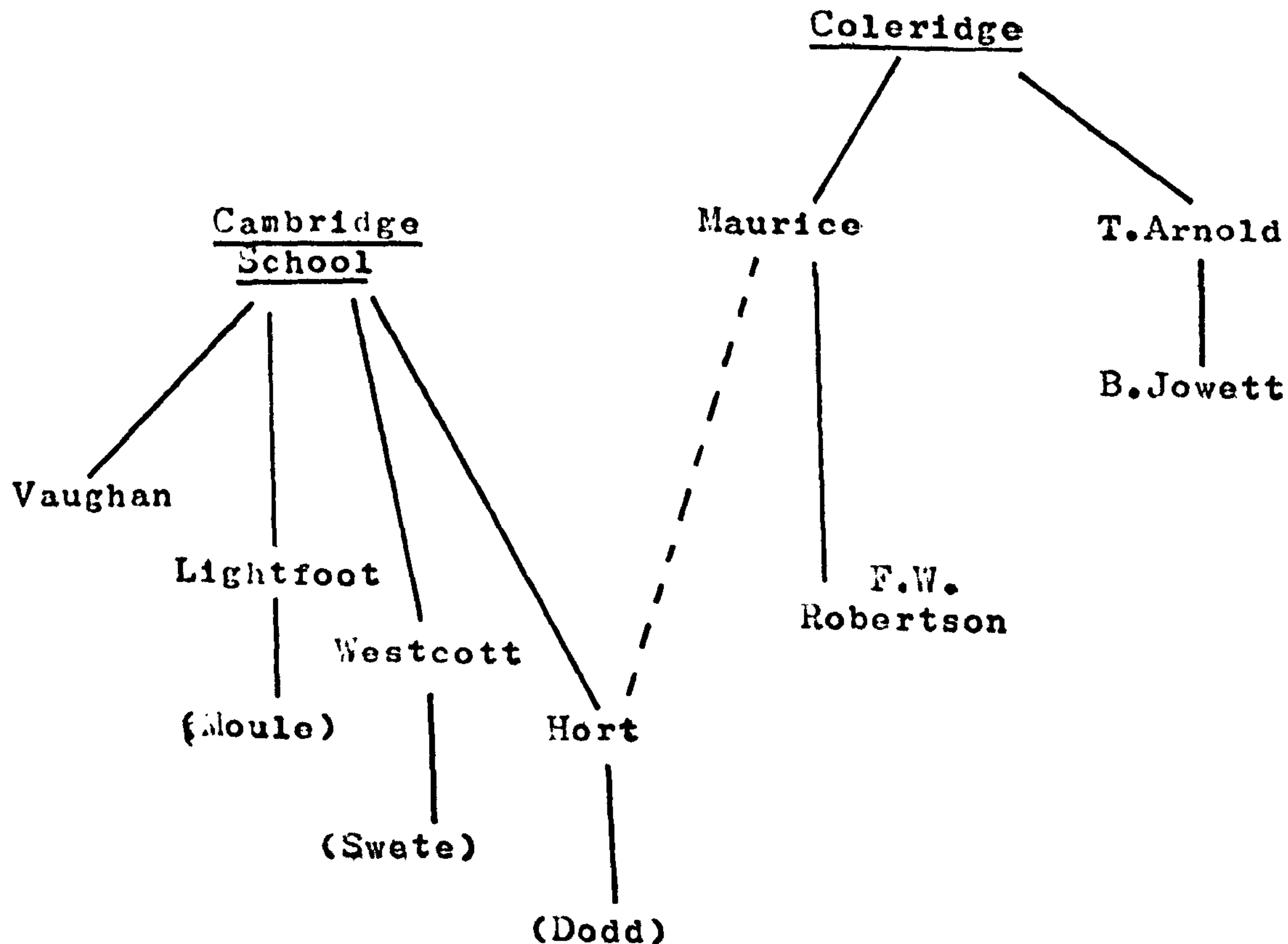
\* The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, ed.1952,  
p.186.

if lesser - lights, to share the same heavens with the greater lights, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort.

Vaughan, quâ expositor, belonged to that school of expositors, grounded in the classics, who were more or less untouched by the movements of modern thought in philosophy and theology and of critical method. He ranks among those conservative scholars who confined their exposition to grammatical and lexical notes, and who illustrated texts and words by cross-references within the Bible itself - *ἡντιμεταφυσικὸς τινεμεταφυσικὸς συγκρίνοντες*. Such theological features as appear are coloured by elementary Church teaching; and withal the practical application is given due place. It is not to be criticized as inferior in quality, for a first-class classical education and sound scholarship went to the making of Vaughan's exposition. But uncritical in its method, relatively untheological, conservative and elementary - suited, as indeed much of it was originally intended, to a public school sixth form and ordinands nearly a century ago - it is not surprising that Vaughan's published works have not much to offer a student to-day. Even Sanday and Headlam (I.C.C.) writing over sixty years

ago can only remark in their annotated bibliography,  
 "Dr Vaughan's . . . close study of the Epistle (ie to the  
 Romans). . . its greatest value lies in the careful  
 selection of illustrative passages" from the LXX and  
 Greek Testament \*.

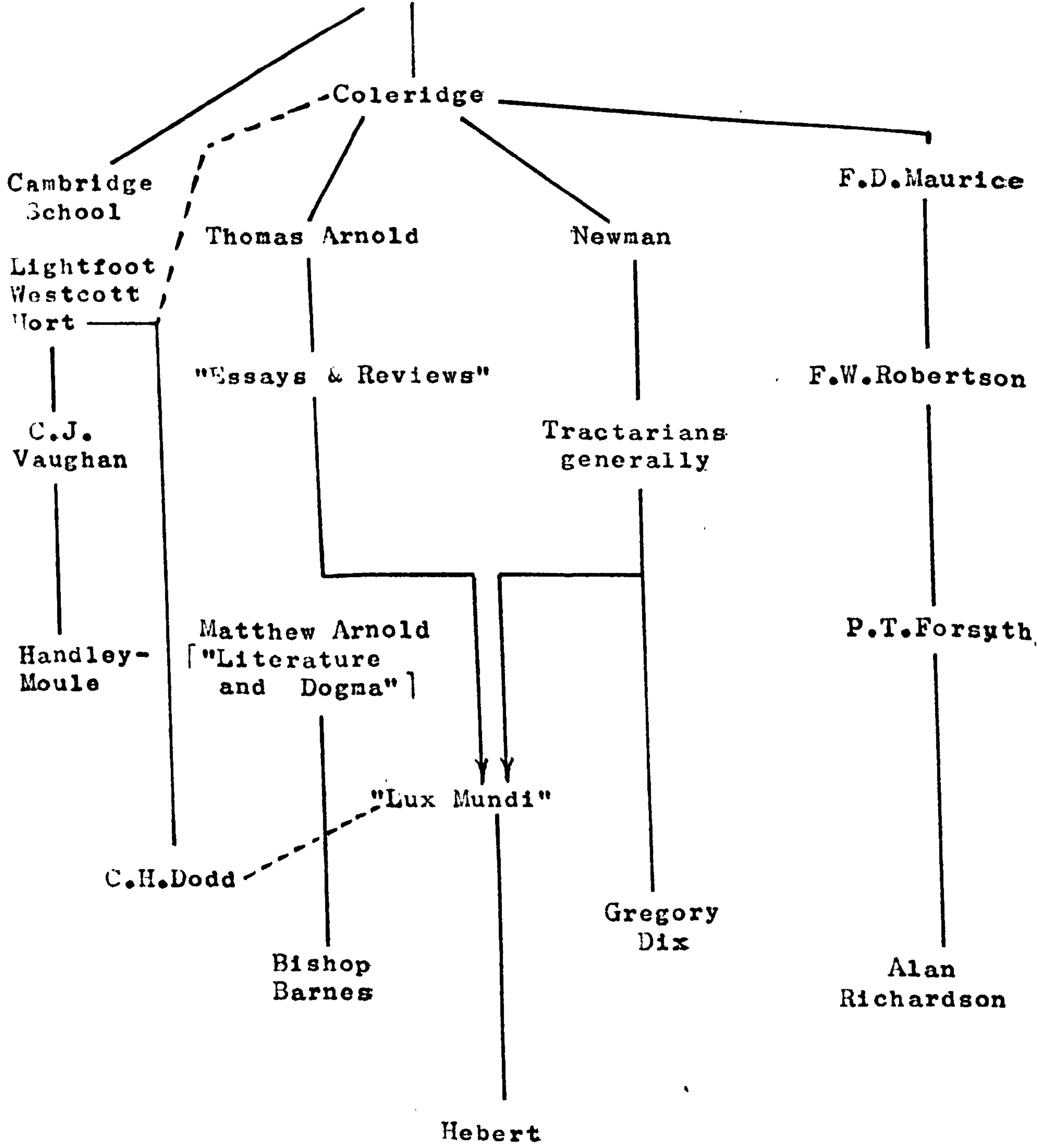
R.R.Williams in 'Scripture and Tradition' [ed Dillistone,  
 1955] gives a chart which is reproduced on the next page.  
 In the light of our studies we should like to suggest  
 a possible revision of relevant parts of the scheme as  
 follows:




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\* Int.Crit.Comm., Ep.Romans, 1895, p cvii.

# GERMAN THOUGHT [Philosophical and Critical]



- R.R.WILLIAMS in 'Scripture and Tradition'  
ed.F.W.Dillistone, p.125.



It is true that Vaughan and the Trio were all born of the Cambridge School, but they each developed so distinctly along their several lines, that we must not fail to recognise this. We are apt to think of Westcott and Hort only in connection with their work on the Greek text, and, as in the case of many pairs of scholars, assume that they had most things in common. Had Westcott and Hort not joined forces in this monumental enterprise, and had Hort written more along the line of exposition, it is unlikely that the eighth and twenty-third letters of the English alphabet would have become associated, in the realm of Biblical studies, in an almost legendary geminous union. It does not appear that Vaughan had any progeny so far as method in Biblical exposition is concerned. The successor to Westcott in the see of Durham, Handley Moule, may be seen as the inheritor of the tendencies of Lightfoot. But then, like all such charts, these genealogical trees of scholarship have limitations, and so much depends on the viewpoint taken in assessing a man's progenitors. In any case, critical method, theology, churchmanship, temperament, linguistic knowledge, class of reader or hearer - these and other factors all intersect, as we have seen in the cases dealt with above.

The rigidly conservative approach to Biblical exposition; the obsolete method of treatment; the traditional theology, whose categories and vocabulary are largely drawn from the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised <sup>V</sup>ersion of the Bible; the apparent unawareness of developments in religious thought going on all around him; and the unattractive style of his commentaries; - all these factors combine to provide some explanation at least as to why Vaughan's exposition has been neglected and overlooked. Add to these the fact that Vaughan left a will which expressly forbade any biography, and we can understand how those in after years who did not know him and his notable work as preacher, educationalist, trainer of men and administrator, would not be likely to take note of him. AND YET, those who did know him, from the Archbishop to the humblest of the Doves, from the Master of Trinity to the Doncaster Gazette reporter, all speak in a tone ranging from admiration to practically hero-worship. We are bound press our enquiry in search of an explanation.

The reason seems to lie partly in the force of his personality, which no book can mediate in the same way as

the living presence. Further he left upon his hearers the impression of a clear, sensitive intellect; and he possessed an unusual power of expression through voice, diction and manner. We select a few impressions at random from a wide variety of people over a period of many years:

Archbishop Benson: "We are unspeakably indebted to Dean Vaughan's wise and searching ~~EXIGENCY~~ \* in training our Hugh."

G.G.Coulton: "(Vaughan) set himself not to mould the youth, but to teach him moral and intellectual self-reliance.... Vaughan, with a wonderful insight into characters around him, was keenly self-conscious."

F.D.How: referring to four outstanding qualities which characterised the headmastership of Vaughan, includes:

"that quality which made it impossible for one to take a liberty with him. No word or action of his could be set aside as trivial."

Doncaster Gazette, 23 November, 1860:

"Dr.Vaughan's description of Christ and His works upon earth were truly eloquent. His character was portrayed in most vivid language and with such earnestness as to absorb the attention of the overflowing congregations."

\* Liddell & Scott, 'equity - the SPIRIT as opposed to the LETTER.'



Doncaster Gazette, 8 July, 1861:

"The power of moral magnetism is one of the rarest as well as the noblest human endowments... It hardly need be said that so rare a gift involves proportionate responsibility. This Dr. Vaughan well understands: his magnet not only draws, it points to the lodestar, and leads the wanderer into the path of duty and peace."

Again, "Dr Vaughan's writings . . . they are characterised by moral suggestiveness, which goes not the less directly to the conscience, that the manner of it is exquisitely delicate and refined."

R.R.Williams: "His great contribution, however, was his own life, utterly dedicated, exemplary in devotion, in freedom from self-seeking and in earnestness."

In his article \*R.R.Williams underlines MORAL EARNESTNESS as the essential quality of Vaughan's sermons. It is not an overstatement to extend this and say that it is the essential quality of Vaughan's life. But even that superb attribute does not cover everything, and we must look a little further and deeper.

\* 'A Neglected Victorian Divine', Ch.Quarterly Rev.  
vol. cliv.



In our search for clues which point to that inner religious mind of Dr Vaughan, we were struck by two paragraphs in his Preface to the first edition of the Commentary on 'Romans.'

"The interpretation of the Word of God is too apt to degenerate into a censorship of its human interpreters. Men are satisfied to drink of a very turbid stream, who might slake their thirst at the living spring. The προφήτης, instead of being the very mouthpiece of the πῶντις, becomes the mere echo of the surrounding προφήται. Gifts are exercised in the collation and comparison of previous commentaries, which would be invaluable if brought to bear immediately on the living oracles themselves." \*

Perhaps Vaughan had in mind Plato's Timaeus, 72 B, when he wrote about προφήτης and the πῶντις.

Cf. "To be the nabi of an elohim means then to be his 'mouth.' His mouth, not his megaphone. The nabi does not convey a finished speech, which has already been made articulate, he shapes to sound a hidden soundless speech, the speech which in the human sense is pre-verbal, and in the divine sense primarily verbal, as a mouth of a person shapes to sound the secret, soundless speech of his innermost being." M. BUBER, Hasidism, 1948, p. 120.

Vaughan continues:

"I believe that to a mind educated in the study of ancient writers, and a heart disciplined for the pursuit of Divine knowledge, the Scriptures will gradually unfold their own meaning as the reward of a patient and trustful study. On the other hand, if this process be interfered with by the premature presentation of the opinion of a human commentator, the clearness of the vision will inevitably be disturbed, now by a prepossession, and now by an antipathy, alike inconsistent with the spirit of calm and candid enquiry, and uncongenial to the very climate in which such a process should be carried on" - p. vi.

Vaughan seeks to interpret the Word of God. Yet his commentaries and notes do not yield a very impressive interpretation, though they are in themselves able and worthy exegesis of terms and explanations of grammatical usage, together with some helpful exhortation. But, taken broadly, we conclude that the kind of interpretation which Vaughan has in mind in the two paragraphs quoted above is something fuller and higher than the limited exposition found in his writings and in the text of his notes to Doves. In Vaughan, then, the rich and

essential interpretation of the Word of God is not to be found unfolding in an imposing system of theological or doctrinal exposition, or in deep speculative discourse, or in acute historical insights, or in profound mystical utterances, or in lofty ethical applications of Christian principles. Others offer us interpretations of the Divine Word in one or more of these modes more effectively than Vaughan. And yet, that Vaughan did enter into the heart of the Scriptures, and 'stand in the council of the Lord, and perceived and heard His Word,' there is no doubt.

Without belittling his printed expositions or the MS notes, we are bound to admit that the vital kind of interpretation Vaughan insists upon seems to be more evident in his preaching; and according to those who knew and saw and heard him, it was transmitted powerfully by his life and personality and spirit; and it lay in the nuance of what he said rather than in the actual words. Some of the words of his sermons are more aglow with the *וְהָיָה* than is his scholarly exegesis of Pauline terminology and usage. But it is something more than mere homily and homiletics.



It is clear from the reading of Vaughan's sermons, and in other places too - even in the MSS where it appears that the speaker let himself go and the scribe captured the spoken words just as they came forth -, that here was a man who could say with Jeremiah, "there is in mine heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain." The prophetic  $\gamma\lambda\tau$  was not lexical and grammatical exegesis, or theological exposition, or historical interpretation; but MORAL FIRE ignited by personal communion with the Divine Source of all holy fire.

All the Biblical and theological interpreters discussed in the foregoing pages were seeking, each in his own way, to interpret the Word of God. In the case of Vaughan the commentary does not appear to have been his best instrument for the task. The sermon, the lecture, the actual reading of the Word, the interview, that personal contact of soul with soul, were Vaughan's most effective means of making vitally real to others the truth as it is in Jesus.



In this one respect Vaughan approximates to Maurice and Robertson - and they were neither commentators nor theologians supremely. They were prophets, each with his own emphasis, and touching the personal lives of multitudes of people. Likewise, of this goodly fellowship was C.J.Vaughan \*.

\* Cf. S. NOWINCKEL, "Yahweh's Word resembles Yahweh's law in being recognizable by its content rather than by its form. The test is religious and moral, an 'apprehension' or 'knowledge' of God . . ."

- 'The Spirit and the Word,' J.B.L.vol.53,p.216.

O. PROCKSCH, "It is a peculiar feature of (Isaiah) that he is fond of characterising the revelation granted to him by the old priestly expression Torah... as though the prophet were the true priest, who communicates God's dealings with men by means of the Word, while he was often enough in conflict with the official priesthood. For it is not cultus but preaching that creates the bond between God and man, and preaching is simply and solely the proclamation/the Word of God." of

- Theologie des A.T. (1949),p.206.

The life of Charles John Vaughan, spanning best part of the century which saw so extensive a revolution in theological thought and critical method, was something of both a paradox and a paragon. In relation to the advanced state of textual criticism, higher criticism and theology towards the end of the century, he was a noble anachronism. But as a teacher and trainer of men, his appeal and technique were wonderfully effective right through to the last few Doves in his eighty-second year. As a preacher of the Gospel - as God's prophet - his evangelical passion never waned and the prophetic voice never wavered. His last message, penned with much pain and hesitation, still glows with the old fire. As a plain minister of the Word, who from choice never left the ranks of the priesthood, he walked with God - and was not, for God took him.

A M a n G r e a t l y B e l o v e d

A m b i t i o u s t o b e Q u i e t

## P O S T S C R I P T

AFTER this thesis had been bound, and immediately prior to its submission, the writer received a manuscript from Canon Coombs containing an extract from "Confessions of a Convert" - by Monsignor Hugh Benson, son of Archbishop Benson:

"I read for a year and a half with Dean Vaughan at Llandaff.

He was a very unique and exceptional man, and it was owing no doubt to his extraordinary charm of personality and his high spirituality that my father, in spite of the divergence of his views from those of the Dean, decided to place me under his charge.

I think that he was in some respects the most remarkable preacher I have ever heard. He wrote out his sermons with infinite pains, word for word, destroying, I believe, the entire MS and beginning it all over again if he were interrupted during his composition of it; and then delivering it word for word from his paper with scarcely a gesture except quick, slight glances and almost timid movements of his head. But the English was simply perfect, comparable only with that of Ruskin and Newman; his voice was as smooth and pointed and pliable as the blade of a rapier; and above all he possessed that magnetic kind of personality that affected his educated hearers, at any rate, like a strain of music.



"He was a pronounced Evangelical in his views; I still possess somewhere a couple of sets of notes that I wrote for him, under his influence, on the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in which anything approaching to sacramental doctrine is explicitly denied. Yet his faith was so radiantly strong, his love for the Person of our Lord so intense, that his pupils, I think, whatever their predispositions, were almost unconscious of the lack of other things. When we were under his spell it appeared as if no more could be necessary than the love and devotion of our master to God.

His wife, too, was another great feature in our life. She was a strange old lady, resembling in face Queen Victoria, and one of the cleverest women I ever met...

We led a harmless life, reading Greek Testament with the Dean every morning, composing a sermon for him once a week, playing a great deal of football, and attending the Cathedral services every day. But here, in spite of the Dean's strong Evangelicalism, commended though it was by his charming and spiritual personality, I began to have a glimmer of more Catholic views.



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