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conversant beforehand with all the matters that come up for discussion and decision—clear and definite in his opinions, fair in his judgments, and tolerant of those who may differ from him. His tact also and his sympathetic nature make him an ideal Chairman of the General Council of the University, securing to a remarkable degree the smooth working of that complex and fluctuating body.

His influence with the students of the University and his power over them is exceptionally great, arising from the fact that he identifies himself with student interests and keeps in general touch with the students themselves, attracting them by his uniformly frank and cheerful nature, his accessibility, and his sympathy with the social side of

student life, as well as with student work and aspirations. He is the students' friend, and they know it.

A leading characteristic of the Principal is his power of making friends. His own distinctively social nature demands this, and a friendship formed by him lasts. He is an optimist, and optimism is infectious, and thereby life is made worth living.

This sketch would not be complete without a separate reference to the Principal's social qualities. These are altogether exceptional, for he is by his very nature 'one who loves his fellow-men,' and they adorn not only the gracious hospitality of his home, but also his public life. This makes him a very notable representative of the University on great occasions.

The Epistle to the Hebrews once more.

BY PROFESSOR J. VERNON BARTLET, D.D., MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD.

My friend Professor C. J. Cadoux has raised afresh, in the September number, the problem of the historical setting of the 'Epistle to Hebrews.' It is one that has long had attractions for me, and I have at various times during the last twenty years made attempts to solve it. Each time I have had to set aside one element or another in my theory which seemed no longer tenable; but each time I felt more assured that, while I was departing more and more from the traditional view as to the body of readers addressed and the occasion and date of this 'word of exhortation' (13²²), I was getting nearer to the full and exact truth of the matter; for each time the theory fitted more easily into a large complex of converging indications. In the hope, then, that I may be able to carry the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, and perhaps Professor Cadoux himself, somewhat nearer to the final solution than they have hitherto felt themselves to be, I take leave to sketch briefly the line of my approach and the point reached up to date. In so doing, I can shorten my story by mostly taking for granted the large area in which we are at one, and dwelling only on the matters as to which our results diverge,

Originally,¹ then, I envisaged the situation in terms of the conclusions reached by A. B. Bruce and Dr. Hort touching the 'pull' of ancestral

¹ *Expositor*, June 1902 and November 1903.

Judaism as at the root of the readers' tendency to 'drift away' or 'draw back' from living 'faith' in Jesus as 'the Christ,' under the pressure of a special menace of persecution. In their well-grounded resistance to the bias, then first developing, towards what Westcott rightly called the 'ingenious paradox' that the readers were Gentiles, those scholars were supported also by G. Milligan and A. S. Peake, in recent studies of the Epistle, though the two latter inclined to the newer view that they were a section of the Church in Rome. But I could not follow even Hort in holding that they were located in Jerusalem and Judæa. I tried, therefore, to find a suitable Jewish-Christian community living under the shadow of the impressive influence of the living forms of 'priesthood, sacrifices, ancient covenant, commonwealth' (Hort), yet in an Hellenistic, not a Hebrew environment; and sought it in Cæsarea, or rather in Judæo-Christian communities outside Judæa, 'of which Cæsarea may be taken as type,' at the critical season following on the martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother, in A.D. 61-62. As to authorship, I tried to follow the earliest tradition, to see if it would satisfy the conditions thus conceived; and this led me, like Dr. Cadoux, to examine 'the early and definite external evidence to the effect that the author was Barnabas.' But, after all, the earliest witness to such a tradition is Tertullian, some 150 years

after the Epistle was written; and it was purely a Western tradition,¹ and as such the less entitled to credence as of really historical value for a writing addressed to some circle in the East. Further, the reference to 'our brother Timothy,' at its close, did not suit very well the authorship of Barnabas, who had no known personal relations with this member of Paul's entourage from the date of his second missionary journey onwards.

These points tell against Barnabas as author. Further, I soon began to see that the references to priesthood and sacrifice were not in terms of the contemporary Temple at Jerusalem, but of the Mosaic Tabernacle as described in the Pentateuch. This removed any presumption in favour of a community such as Cæsarea, on account of propinquity to Jerusalem, rather than merely 'some community of the Dispersion in the East . . . with a Hellenistic type of Judaism' (A. B. Davidson, *Comm.* p. 18). But before these fresh considerations had told effectively on my thought, others had done so, and led to a modification of the above theory in the way of further definition of the first readers in relation to their immediate Christian environment.² Starting from the strange wording of the final salutation, 'Salute *all* your leaders and *all* the saints,' one asked, 'Why this reiterated emphasis on "all," unless a section only of the community is being addressed?' Westcott, in agreement with the patristic commentators, had observed that the special salutation of the leaders here enjoined 'implies that the letter was not addressed officially to the Church, but to some section of it.' Indeed, we may say that its author's aim was to bring a certain section or group into line with the views and practice of the local leaders (*ηγούμενοι*), and of that part of the Church which followed them loyally. Thus the readers originally in view were a special group of conservative Judæo-Christians, homogeneous not only in type of piety but also apparently in their other conditions (*e.g.* a culture fitting them to be 'teachers,' after so long a lapse of time, 5¹², and possessions, 6¹¹, 10^{22ff}; cf. 13^{5f}). Thus they were inclined to stand apart from the local body of 'the saints' and their leaders, especially

now that persecution was recurring; and in this connexion their non-committal or disloyal attitude as Christians, rooted in their lack of insight into the real meaning of true 'faith' in Jesus as the Christ, seems to have led some of them to absent themselves even from meeting together themselves for distinctively Christian fellowship (10²⁵). They were in fact the circle which felt to the greatest degree the influences making for worldly prudence and the line of least resistance at a time when 'faith,' as a positive and energetic loyalty to 'the living God' finally revealed in Jesus as His Messianic Son, was most called for by the crisis of the hour, which seems to have developed so suddenly as to force the writer to send his 'word of exhortation' before him from Italy, though he was himself shortly to sail; nay, he seems to be detained only until he can learn whether 'our brother Timothy' may not be able to join him (13^{19. 23}), after release from captivity. 'In a word, the circle of readers addressed in the high argument of this great appeal, was the social and intellectual aristocracy of the Jewish Christians' in the local body of Christians generally. 'The moral influence of their example would be enormous. . . . A body of natural leaders of opinion must be kept from "falling away," if any effort on the part of their distant friend and teacher can avail by any means. To this end he adds the cheering news that Timothy, a name probably loved and respected' among them, 'had just been acquitted of the charge which had brought Paul to death—so that their enemies were not all-powerful, after all.'

Such a view casts light also 'upon the lack of opening address to the Epistle as we have it.' 'Here two alternatives present themselves. The writing may never have had any such address, as distinct from a mere direction on the outside. But the more probable view is that there was once the usual address ending with *χαίρειν*, prefixed to the splendid opening, *Πολυμερῶς κ.τ.λ.* "To . . . and the church in his house, greeting," so it may have run. Such an address, *from its particular and restricted nature*,—so unlike the general character of the argument, which made the Epistle singularly fitted for far wider use than that originally contemplated,—would tend to fall away directly the work began to be copied for the benefit of others.' In its place the mere descriptive designation 'To Hebrews' (*i.e.* Jewish Christians, as distinct from Christians as such)

¹ Dr. Cadoux says that 'in one passage' Origen 'quotes He 13¹⁶ as a word of Barnabas.' But the *Tractatus* to which he here alludes are now known to be the work of Gregory of Elvira in Spain, in the latter part of the fourth century.

² *Expositor*, June 1905, pp. 431-440.

would naturally arise. . . . The point may be illustrated from the partly analogous, and partly contrasted, case of the Epistle to the Romans. For there is a good deal of evidence, going back as far as Origen, which shows that 'there were in circulation in ancient times a few copies of the Epistle from which all local references had been removed.'¹ Both Epistles became 'general' in form, as they were in substance. But whereas in the case of Romans there were from the first copies which preserved the original address, and a great church identified with the latter by its living tradition, in the 'Epistle of Hebrews' it was otherwise on our theory.

But thus far this theory was still conceived in terms of Cæsarea, as the sort of locality in which the special house-church was to be sought, and of Barnabas as author. Between 1905 and 1910, however, these two ill-grounded assumptions had, for reasons already indicated, fallen away,² and the solution which still seems to me to meet the case in all respects had worked itself out in my mind. This may be seen stated yet more recently and briefly in 'The Riddle of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' in the *Expositor* for 1913, i. 548-551. In substance the fresh features are as follows. The approach to the secret of the riddle is found in the reference to Timothy as having just been set at liberty, and as possibly soon to join the writer himself; and the links in the argument are these. Timothy, as Dr. Cadoux also argues, had become involved in Paul's case at its latest stage (cf. 2 Ti 4^{9d}). This fixes the date of his liberation as soon after the latter's death, which fell probably soon after the 'two whole years' of Ac 28³⁰, i.e. about spring or summer of A.D. 61 or 62. The judicial execution of the typical Christian missionary meant (as I believe) that his appeal from the charges brought against him, in which Jews of the Roman province of Asia took the lead (Ac 21²⁷, 2 Ti 4^{14f}); for Alexander the coppersmith of Ephesus as probably active against Paul before Nero's Appeal Court, cf. Ac 19³³), had failed, and Rome now seemed officially to treat Christianity as dangerous to law and order. This would produce a profound impression wherever the case was known, and nowhere so much as in the Roman 'Asia,' and Ephesus its capital, where Paul had lived and worked

up to within less than half a year of his arrest in Jerusalem. In Ephesus it would tend to create a sudden crisis,³ due especially to the handle thus given to Jewish enmity, and that particularly in the Christian circle nearest in standpoint to Jewish piety and farthest from the Pauline gospel, and so least ready to show its distinctive Christian colours—the full theoretic justification of which it but feebly realized. When news of the critical situation for Christian faith in this special group reached Italy, it would naturally occasion such a 'word of exhortation' as our 'Epistle to Hebrews,' if there was within the circle of Paul's fellow-workers there gathered a teacher of prophetic gifts adequate to rise to the new situation, and produce a fresh *apologia* for the finality of the gospel of Jesus as compared even with Judaism in its most authoritative form, that of the Mosaic ideal of religious access to God in the worship of the divinely enjoined Tabernacle service.

But who of Paul's associates known to us as connected with Ephesus was adequate to such a task? There is but one answer possible, Apollos, as described in Ac 18^{24ff}, 1 Co 1^{12-4⁸}. He, too, in contrast to Barnabas, meets the conditions of close association with Timothy, both being fellow-workers of Paul in Ephesus. That Apollos had been with Paul at an earlier stage in his captivity in Rome is shown from Tit 3¹³, where also he is referred to in such terms that it is natural to imagine him as on his way eastwards, *via* Crete, in order to get rebutting evidence against the local charges brought by 'Jews from Asia,' and presumably to return in due course with it.⁴ Thus we can easily picture him after Paul's death writing c. 61-62,⁵ say from Brindisi (note the salutations are from 'those of Italy,' not 'of Rome')—where he was awaiting Timothy after his release in Rome—this great 'word of exhortation' to a special group of wavering Jewish Christians in Ephesus, with whom he probably would have had personal relations, even as Timothy had had (cf. 1 Ti 1^{3ff} for the dangers of a Judaizing type of local Christianity in Ephesus).

³ Christians at Ephesus had also undergone, soon after they 'were enlightened' (10^{35ff}), a season of persecution, as we see from Ac 19 and 2 Co 1⁸⁻¹¹.

⁴ On the other hand, there is no known likelihood of Barnabas going to Rome.

⁵ Any affinity between Hebrews and 1 Peter, written c. A.D. 63, seems most easily explained by the latter's dependence on the former's fuller handling of the points in common; e.g. He 10²² and 1 P 1⁸.

¹ Sanday and Headlam, on Ro 1⁷.

² See art. 'Hebrews, Epistle to,' in the last edition of *Ency. Brit.*

Apollos satisfies all the 'Alexandrinism,' as a mode of thought, that marks the high argument, without any need of looking to Alexandria as the home of its first readers; and at the same time we are able thus to fit the Epistle into the context of a definite historic situation by aid of its precious closing personal references. This result seems valuable as 'linking up' certain data of the Apostolic Age which hitherto have had to be read out of relation to their historic relations and setting, and thereby to add appreciably to their coherence and significance. If this synthesis is really a recovery of the facts of history, then it will afford a fresh fixed centre of light and further inferences, some of which may help to fix or illuminate other points still in relative obscurity. Further, I have put my contribution into the form of the story of its genesis, by a process of gradual advance through elimination of false assumptions and bringing into reckoning

fresh considerations (present on the surface of the Epistle itself, yet not utilized in the right way by the constructive imagination), in order to suggest by an object-lesson how much room there still is for hope that the Apostolic Age will yield up many more of its secrets. For the written deposit of *real human life* does not lead students nowhere, or into wilds of mere guesswork, if only they keep their minds open to learn and unlearn, and follow confidently, step by step, whither all the indications taken together may by convergent testimony lead them. In the text of the New Testament there is, I am persuaded, none of the duplicity which deliberately covers up its tracks from the eye of later times. Similarly, the historian in his efforts to interpret the life-record of the Apostolic Age can do nothing in the long run against the truth, but only with and for it.

Literature.

FREEDOM OR NATURAL LAW.

Is there such a thing as moral freedom, or are we all under the tyranny of natural law? That is the question which Mr. B. M. Laing, Lecturer in Philosophy in the University of Sheffield, sets out to answer in his book, *A Study in Moral Problems* (Allen & Unwin; 10s. 6d. net). Others have set out to answer it before him, and of that he is well aware. But all the problems in philosophy, as in religion, that are not yet solved have to be discussed by every generation as it comes. And Mr. Laing believes that every generation ought to be able to do something towards solving those problems, even those that never will be finally disposed of.

In any case, this is the business of an ethical teacher at the present time. It is not the discussion of metaphysics; it is the inductive inquiry into the facts or fancies of the moral life. The War has set men on the solid ground of reality, or at least men think so. They want truths to live by, facts to stake their future on. And so Mr. Laing, himself an *M.C.*, sets out, with hope in his heart and a determined eyebrow, to find whether or not we are responsible for what we say and do.

He does not prove we are, but he makes it very probable. Clearly he has himself become convinced that 'God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'—a saying which is either silly or blasphemous if there is no freedom to will or to do. He does not prove it to those who have not the ear to hear. But to most of us his arguments are good enough. They at least make us feel about morality and the keeping of the law what Carlyle said about Margaret Fuller when he was told that she had decided to accept the Universe: 'Gad! she'd better.'

AN ARISTOCRAT.

Lord Ernest Hamilton, thirteenth child of the Duke of Abercorn, has written his reminiscences. The title, *Forty Years On* (Hodder & Stoughton; 15s. net), tells us at once that he was educated at Harrow. He gives the story of the making of the song. 'John Farmer had been at work on a new school song with which he was much in love. The moment the last new boy had been dismissed, he turned to the piano with an air of suppressed but ill-concealed excitement and said: "Now I've got something new for you which I want you to