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entirely unnoticed, how much has been left unsaid. The Apocalypse I have too rashly set before me for another effort. The first Epistle I had meant to treat as a letter introductory to the Gospel, scarcely intelligible when treated apart from this. But I must be content if I have in any way indicated the place of the Eagle among the four living creatures, whose office it is to look ever inward upon the glory and eternally to proclaim the holiness of the "Lord God Almighty, which is, and which was, and which is to come." C. H. WALLER.

## ART. V.—SOME MESSIANIC PROPHECIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—"SHILOH."

## [Second Paper.]

HAVING considered already the rendering given in the text of Gen viv 10 "Until GUIL text of Gen. xlix. 10, "Until Shiloh come," and having shown that it both lacks ancient support and is philologically untenable, I turn now to the renderings given in the margin of the Revised Version. And here it may be well to invert the order of these renderings as they stand in the margin, and to take first those of the LXX. and other Ancient Versions. They all, with whatever variations of interpretation, read shelloh, not Shiloh, and they supposed this to be a compound word, a combination of the old form of the relative with the dative of the personal pronoun, and equivalent to quod ei (or qua ei) or cui; but then, of course, they were obliged to supply something to make a sentence. Accordingly, they either made the relative the subject of the verb, "until that which is his (or, the things which are his) come;" or keeping a personal subject for the verb, they completed the relative sentence by introducing another subject, "until he come whose it is," or, "for whom it is reserved," referring the pronoun "it," perhaps, to the general notion of "dominion" contained in the previous part of the verse; for it is obvious that "donec veniat cui," "until he come whose," is a sentence without feet, a sentence that hangs in the air.

The majority of the ancient interpreters assume a personal subject for the verb. Thus, for instance, Onkelos paraphrases "until the Messiah come, whose is the kingdom;" Onkelos read "until he come whose it is," and expanded "he" into "the Messiah," and "it" into "the kingdom." The Peshitta Syriac also has "until he come whose it is," where the *feminine* pronoun "it" is left without anything to which it can refer; but this is interpreted by Aphraates, who quotes it, to mean "the kingdom" —" until he come whose is the kingdom." So in some copies of the LXX.: 'Till he come for whom it (*i.e.* the kingdom) is reserved" (φ ἀπόχειται). So Justin cites the words (Apol., i. 32), supplying shortly after rò βασίλειον. So in other of the Fathers: "cui repositum est" (Iren., iv. 23); "is (or ille) cui," etc. (Orig., i. 48; viii. 291; xxi. 411.)

These interpretations probably rested on a passage in Ezekiel (xxi. 32), which had been supposed to refer to Jacob's Blessing. Ezekiel is foretelling the overthrow of the Davidic dynasty because of the sins of Zedekiah. He hears the voice of the Lord God saying, "Remove the diadem and take off the crown;" he hears the sentence of destruction, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more," but combines with it the Messianic hope, "until he come whose is the right; and I will give it him." But this passage in Ezekiel contains what the Shiloh passage in Genesis does not-a subject in the relative clause. It has the word "right"-"whose is the right;" whereas the other has not the word "kingdom," which is absolutely necessary in order to justify the ancient view. All these Ancient Versions turn upon the grammatical impossibility of taking the relative *shelloh* ("whose") by itself as if it were equivalent to "whose it is." The subject in the relative clause, whether "it," or "right," or "kingdom," or whatever it is, must be expressed, it cannot be understood.<sup>1</sup>

This difficulty, no doubt, is avoided by the rendering of the LXX. and Theodotion, "Until the things which are reserved for him ( $\tau \dot{\alpha} \, \dot{\alpha} \sigma \sigma x \epsilon i (\mu \epsilon \nu \alpha \, \dot{\omega} \tau \tilde{\omega}) \, \text{come}$ ," or, as a few MSS. read, "that which is reserved." But then the reference of the pronoun in the next clause, "And to him shall the obedience of the peoples be," is left very obscure, and the parallelism so carefully preserved throughout this prophetic Blessing is destroyed. It is plain—and this at least was felt by the majority of the ancient interpreters—that the subject of the verb "come" in the first clause must be the person who is referred to in the pronoun "to him" in the second.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>"It" might refer to "the sceptre" or "ruler's staff," and this may have been intended by the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega_{\mathcal{L}}$  and  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\theta_{\mathcal{L}}$  or  $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\nu$  of the Clementine Homilies (3, 49); but then the pronoun (**N**), must have been expressed in the Hebrew.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Dr. Driver, after a very elaborate and careful review of the whole history of the exegesis, comes to the conclusion that *shelloh* must contain the subject of the verb, but thinks (assuming the soundness of the text) it may mean either "that which is his" or "he that is his." The last would satisfy the condition for which I am contending as to the subject of the sentence; but "he that is his" (Judah's) would be an extremely obscure description of the Messiah, and moreover I should doubt whether such a rendering were grammatically possible. It is true

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But it is fatal to all these interpretations alike that they cannot be reconciled, except by the most arbitrary methods. with the fulfilment of the prophecy. Whatever meaning we attach to "the sceptre" and "the ruler's staff"-whether we understand these of the tribal sceptre or of the kingly power -or whether, with Delitzsch, we suppose the former word to denote, not the sceptre of the king, but the staff or bâton of command-the sign of military prowess and leadership in war rather than the sign of royal authority-still the fact remains that long before Christ came, Judah had lost not only royal dignity, but political independence. Judah had long been under a foreign yoke. The royal family had sunk to its lowest ebb; and Christ was not born in a palace nor lapped in purple, but first saw the light in the outhouse of an inn, was wrapped in a peasant's swaddling-clothes, and "cast to His first rest among brute cattle."

This failure of the prediction, on the received interpretation of the passage, has not met with all the attention it deserves. Yet surely it ought to occupy the foremost place in our investigation. We are looking at a passage admitted to be Messianic. In what sense is it Messianic? When and how was it fulfilled? Is it too much to say that an interpretation must be wrong which conspicuously fails when the touch-stone of fulfilment is applied to it?

The Fathers, indeed, escaped the difficulty by taking the "until" in a non-natural sense. They explained the prophecy as foretelling that Judah would no longer hold the sceptre of dominion, but would be subject to a foreign yoke when the Messiah came.<sup>1</sup> But this is to do violence to the plainest rules of language. Judah's supremacy is to continue up to a certain time or event; it does not necessarily cease then; it may continue under different conditions and in a different form

<sup>1</sup>See Justin's Apol., i. 32; Clement. Hom., 3, 49.

that in 2 Kings vi. 11 we find mi mishshellanu, "which of us," but shellanu there is not the subject, and seems to mean rather "that which belongs to us," i.e., "our body," or "our court," than "those who belong to us." However, granting this rendering to be possible, it is, as I have said, obscure; and the difficulty as to the fulfilment of the prediction still remains.

(see the use of "until" in chap. xxviii. 15; Psa. cx. r, cxii. 8; Matt. v. 18); but unless we are prepared to contend that the ordinary use of language is different in the Bible from what we find elsewhere, to say that "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah *until* the Messiah comes" cannot possibly mean that for some time before the Messiah comes, "having the obedience of the nations," Judah shall have lost his preeminence. Bishop Wordsworth, indeed, in his note on the passage says:

We need not enter on an inquiry whether the royal authority was preserved in Judah after the Captivity by reason of the return of the tribe of Judah from exile. This question has been discussed by many... The opinion of a large and respectable number of Christian interpreters is expressed by Origen (Hom. 17), who says," Constat usque ad nativitatem Christi non defecisse principes ex tribu Judæ usque ad Herodem regem qui secundum historiæ fidem quam Josephus scribit (Antiq., xiv. 2) alienigena fuisse et per ambitionem in regnum Judæorum dicitur irrepsisse." But the determination of this question is of minor importance. It can hardly be doubted that for some time the exercise of the royal power in the tribe of Judah was suspended. But the question is-Has the sceptre ever been taken away from Judah? No, assuredly not. The prophecy of Jacob is an answer to the thought of future generations. They may have deemed that the sceptre was departing from Judah; it often seemed as if it actually had departed from Judah; but God's promise by Jacob is that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until Shiloh came : and much less should it depart then. No, it would then strike new root, and be established for ever in Judah by the coming of Christ."

No one will question the bishop's transparent honesty and sincerity of conviction, but with the greatest respect for him, and with the fullest acknowledgment of his learning and scholarship, I cannot think that the interpretation which he puts upon the "until" of the prophecy is such as anyone would dream of putting upon it, except in support of a preconceived theory. So far from agreeing with him that "we need not enter upon an inquiry whether the royal authority was preserved in Judah after the Captivity," or that "the determination of this question is of minor importance," I think it is a capital question, and that the whole hinge of the interpretation turns upon it; I maintain that we are bound to enter upon it, and that when we do enter upon it, we find as a plain matter of history that the sceptre did depart from Judah long before the Messiah came. And the obvious sense of the passage, if we retain the rendering, I repeat, is that the royal dignity and power of Judah shall continue till Shiloh comes, not that it should be "suspended" for centuries before he came, only to be revived in a spiritual and wholly different sense in his person.

We must then, it seems to me, abandon both these interpretations, both the comparatively modern one, "Until Shiloh come," and the ancient one, "Until the things which are reserved for him come," or (as varied in other Greek and Latin texts) "Until he come for whom it is reserved."

In the presence of the confessed difficulties of these interpretations, several others have been proposed, none of which, however, has been able to secure a large number of suffrages. Thus it has been proposed to render" The sceptre shall not depart, etc., so long as one goeth to Shiloh (sc. to worship);" or, "Until tranquillity come;" or, "Until he come to tranquillity;" or, "Until he come to Shiloh." Of these interpretations the last has found a place in the margin of the Revised Version, and deserves therefore, on that account, some consideration. It has been adopted and defended by scholars so widely different as Dillmann and Delitzsch, and is at least free from all objections on grammatical or philological grounds. Indeed, grammatically, this is beyond all question the easiest and most obvious; the construction is a common one; there is an exact, almost verbal, parallel to it in 1 Sam. iv. 12, and everywhere else where the word Shiloh occurs in the Old Testament, whether with or without the plena scriptio, it is the name of the well-known place where the Tabernacle was first set up in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim. But how does this harmonize with the history? "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until he (Judah) come to Shiloh (in the tribe of Ephraim), having the obedience of the peoples." Did Judah hold the supremacy here spoken of till the tribes were gathered together at the central sanctuary in Shiloh after their occupation of Canaan? And was their gathering there an epoch of sufficient importance to form the subject of the prophecy? To both these questions Delitzsch replies in the affirmative; and I cannot do better than give his argument. He points out, first of all, that the tribe of Judah did unquestionably hold a certain pre-eminence among the tribes until their settlement in Canaan. Thus, for instance, it was numerically the largest of the tribes on both occasions when the census was taken (Num. i., xxvi.); it held the first place in the encampment in the wilderness (Num. ii. 3-29); it led the way in every march (Num. x. 14); it went up first to battle (Jud. i. 2; xx. 18); it received first, and before all the other tribes, its share of the land when the division was made at Gilgal (Josh. xv.).

And, next, he also observes that "the coming to Shiloh was a most important event in the history of the nation." Shiloh was in the very heart of the land (Ritter, *Geog.* xvi. 631-634). There the sanctuary was set up, and there it long remained.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah*, Vol. II., p. 193) lays stress on the use of the verb  $\dot{a}\pi\sigma\kappa\epsiloni\sigma\theta a$  by the Greek translators, as an indication that something has dropped out of the Hebrew text, which he ingeniously endeavours to restore by conjectural emendation.

There the tribes were solemnly assembled by Joshua on the subjugation of the land. There the final division of the territory was made. The event was a pledge and a partial fulfilment of the prophecy which connected with it "the obedience of the peoples." The history records it thus: "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled at Shiloh and set up the tent of meeting there: and the land was subdued before them."

It will be observed that on this interpretation the word "sceptre" denotes not the sceptre of royalty, but the tribal sceptre; and, further, that the Messianic scope of the passage depends entirely on the second clause, which speaks of "the obedience of the peoples." The word "sceptre" is certainly one of somewhat wide meaning, for it denotes the staff of military command in Jud. v. 14; and it is even used of the shepherd's staff in Ps. xxiii. 4, and that the submission of the heathen nations is an essential part of the Messianic hope is evident from such Psalms as ii., xviii., lxxii., etc., and from many parts of the Prophets. I see, then, no valid objection, either on grammatical or on exegetical grounds, to this interpretation.

On the other hand, it must be confessed it is somewhat poor. The horizon is limited, and the difficulty of connecting the prophecy that foretells such great things for Judah with a gathering-place in the rival tribe of Ephraim, if not insuperable, is certainly serious. I am inclined, therefore, to think that those interpreters are right who would take Shiloh, not as the name of a place, but as a name denoting "rest" or "tranquillity." This only involves a change of the vowels, not of the consonants, if indeed even that is necessary; for there is nothing in the form of Shiloh to prevent our taking it as an abstract noun denoting "rest." (For the construction see Is. lvii. 2). The passage would then run thus: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until he come to rest, having the obedience of the nations." Judah is then the subject here, as he is throughout the whole of the vaticination which concerns itself with his fate. He is the object of his brethren's praise; his hand is on the neck of his enemies; his father's sons bow down before him. He is a lion's whelp which, after having devoured the prey, goes up to his mountain fastness. There he crouches in security : who shall dare to provoke his wrath? He shall be the ruler among his brethren; he shall exercise supremacy among them till he come to his place of rest, having the obedience not only of his own brethren, but of the nations around who shall submit themselves to him. There, in that rest, he shall bind his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine; his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.

When, it may be asked, was the prophecy fulfilled ? Clearly in the reign of Solomon primarily. Till then Judah had been the leading tribe, both before and after the settlement in the land. In David's time Judah became the sovereign tribe. Under Solomon it attained to rest. And the Messianic idea is here bound up with the tribe as elsewhere with the nation. All that pertains to the tribe pertains to it as culminating in the Messiah, just as all that pertains to the nation pertains to it as finding its highest expression in the Messiah. Hence, as St. Matthew sees a fulfilment of Hosea's words, "Out of Egypt have I called my son (Israel the nation)" in an event in our Lord's life, so the Messianic vision of rest and peace and submission of the nations finds its foreshadowing in the destinies of the tribe out of which "our Lord sprang."

.It may be urged that the view which I have here advocated lacks ancient support. I admit that it does, but so does any view which is consistent with the received Hebrew text. And, moreover, in the second clause of this verse, both the ancient renderings have now by universal consent been abandoned. The LXX. have xai airòs mposòoxía idvav, and Aquila xai aira σύστημα λαῶν, whence the "gathering" of our A.V. But the rendering "obedience" is now recognised by all scholars as the only one that is tenable. It may be well, perhaps, to give the rendering of the whole verse as it is presented by the LXX. and Theodotion : our exteriver accur is 'Iouda rai hyouperog έχ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἄν ἕλθη τὰ ἀποχείμενα αὐτῷ, χαὶ αὐτὸς προσδοχία idvav. Not one single clause of this can be admitted to be an accurate rendering of our present Hebrew text, and the like may be said of other great Messianic passages, as, e.g., of Job xix. 25, etc.; Isa. ix. 1-7 [Heb. viii. 23; ix. 6]. On the other hand, the rendering I have adopted has the conspicuous merit of bringing prediction and fulfilment into harmony.

One word more in defence of the Revised Version, so much and so unjustly abused. Let me entreat the readers of these pages not to be alarmed if they find renderings adopted or suggested, in the Revised Version, even of important passages, with which they are not familiar, as if the mere suggestion of such variations were likely, more particularly in the great Messianic prophecies, to inspire doubt or to subvert faith. Nothing is so likely to inspire doubt as the attempt to conceal facts. The first plain and solemn duty of every interpreter is to ascertain the facts, and then fearlessly to speak the truth. This was the duty so nobly asserted for us at the Reformation by the great masters of exegesis, who boldly threw off the

voke of traditional interpretation and dared to read Scripture for themselves with purged eyes, in the light of God, and with humble yet fearless trust in the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The Church would indeed be poor, her heritage would indeed be barren and hungry, she would be faithless to God and to herself, if she could presume to take no step without leaning on the crutches of human tradition. It is quite true that she will not scorn the great lights of the past, or trample under foot their learning as if it were a vile thing. It is folly as well as arrogance to do this. But it is not faith, it is want of faith, to accept blindly the rendering of any one, or any number of Ancient Fathers who knew little perhaps of Greek and who certainly knew nothing of Hebrew, as if their opinion were final and ought not to be gainsaid. If God has given us new light and more light, it is at our peril that we shut our eyes to it, preferring to grope in the darkness. Children of the light, let us walk in the light, and follow the light whithersoever the light shall lead us.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

## ART. VI.—THE AGITATION AGAINST TITHE.

MANY of the readers of this Magazine have doubtless noted with concern the program of the the program of the transformer of the with concern the progress of what the Times describes as "a wholesale strike against tithes throughout North Wales." The Welsh clergy, as a class, are but ill-provided with private means, and pathetic accounts have been given of incumbents reduced to the direst straits of poverty through their sole source of support having been suddenly cut off. Collectors of rates and taxes are not generally credited with overstrained feelings of sentimentality, but the overseer of the parish of Caerwys, in summoning the rector for the non-payment of the poor-rates on rent-charge that he was unable to collect, admitted that it was "a very hard case," and the bench of magistrates fully concurred in this opinion. The example set by successful wrong-doing is quickly followed, and there are indications of the agitation spreading over a wider area. English Churchmen, therefore, will do well to give their serious attention to this subject, and are in duty bound to extend their sympathy and support to their suffering and oppressed brethren. A committee has, indeed, already been formed, chiefly through the energy of Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., for the protection of the interests of tithe-owners in Wales, to which liberal subscriptions have been offered by the four Welsh bishops, the Duke of Westminster, and others, and the object of this paper is mainly to show how this committee, and others who are like-