

A Review of Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament*
from a Premillennial Dispensational Perspective

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The Importance of Hengstenberg's *Christology*

Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802-1869) composed and published his influential four-volume *Christology of the Old Testament* (*Christologie des Alten Testaments*, 1828-1835) near the start of his very influential career in Germany as an orthodox and confessional Lutheran. The work was translated into English and published at Edinburgh, 1854-1858. His *Christology* has gone through many English reprints, and has been influential through its combating of rationalism.¹

If evangelicals are to "stand on the shoulders of giants" to promote the faith with greater clarity and insight, it is necessary to benefit from godly scholars who have preceded us. In 2001, John Sailhamer published a thought-provoking article regarding "The Messiah and the Hebrew Bible."² Although Sailhamer described well his proposed "Messianic" approach to the Old Testament, he spoke rather summarily of Hengstenberg, without documenting details from his *Christology*. The purpose of this paper is to encourage evangelicals to rediscover the contributions of earlier men like Hengstenberg. A book is without influence unless it is read.

Survey of Hengstenberg's Life

Headed toward a theological career, Hengstenberg studied philology, philosophy, Old Testament exegesis, Arabic, and church history. Entering The University of Bonn in 1819, Hengstenberg attended the lectures of G. G. Freytag for Oriental languages and of J. K. L. Gieseler for church history. At Bonn, Hengstenberg was a hard-working student and an active member in the *Burschenschaft* (a student association which promoted a renewed Christian German State).

In 1825, Hengstenberg went to the University of Berlin as a privat-docent. The following year he received a baccalaureate in theology, with a thesis defending Protestant doctrine against rationalism. Also in 1826 he became professor extraordinarius in theology. At Berlin he associated with Friedrich August Tholuck (1799-1877), Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789 - 1850), Friedrich (Frederick) Strauss (court preacher and professor of Practical Theology), and Ludwig Friedrich Franz Thieremin (1780-1846). Hengstenberg associated himself with a growing movement to promote orthodox Lutheranism, and he remained in Berlin to achieve his life-task.

In 1827, Hengstenberg became editor of *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (the *Evangelical Church Gazette*) through which he wielded deep influence on the popular religious life of his day. In autumn of 1828, he became professor ordinarius at Berlin, and in 1829 he became doctor of theology. Early in his career, Hengstenberg published *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (1829-1835), and throughout his life he remained consistent to the evangelical positions taken in

¹ A Google search for Hengstenberg and Christology resulted in 43,300 hits on 7/9/10.

² *JETS*, 44/1 (March 2001), 5-23.

his *Christology*. In 1930, he wrote in *EKZ* that "a uniform creed must be the cornerstone of the church ... and clergymen who reject the dogmas of the Protestant faith are free to exercise their freedom of teaching only outside the church."³ Hengstenberg strongly believed in a State Church, and sought to use government as a tool to strengthen commitment to the Lutheran Orthodoxy of the Augsburg Confession.

In 1834, a royal decree defined the Prussian State Church as a confederation in which theological parties were to show mutual moderation and civility. At first, Hengstenberg seemed open to fellowship with and support of all who sought a restoration of genuine Christianity. But he gradually became disillusioned with Pietism, Methodism, and lower church movements, and finally he came to favor a Lutheran State Church for Germany, a goal which he found unachievable in practice.

In 1848, the Prussian State appointed a rationalistic Minister of Public Worship (the Count of Schwerin), and he organized a synodical system of government for the Church (down to the parish level), and so the people had authority more than the Creed. The Prussian Church was in this way consolidated by synods rather than by doctrine. Hengstenberg warned that the Lutherans might one day need to secede and return to a strictly Lutheran Church Polity. Hengstenberg also opposed anti-Lutheran influences in the Evangelical Alliance, and he eventually withdrew in 1859. His life testifies to the futility of seeking to maintain doctrinal purity within a State Church organization.

Most English-speaking Protestants know little of Hengstenberg. His religious life was a series of struggles toward doctrinal purity, from his Lutheran perspective. But his greatest contribution came through his conservative writings which defended supernatural Christianity against the rationalism of his day. And through his writing, he being dead yet speaketh.

Strengths of Hengstenberg's *Christology*

Commitment to Scholarship. Hengstenberg showed facility in using primary sources from languages other than German. His quotes flow freely into Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, and English. For many students of today, a glossing translation of other languages might be needed to follow the flow of thought. But Hengstenberg sought to quote accurately and interpret carefully the views of those with whom he was interacting, both rationalist and Jewish scholars.

Commitment to Biblical Truth. Hengstenberg traced through the Old Testament prophecies regarding Christ following a Septuagint / Protestant / English canonical order. He began with the Pentateuch, and then considered passages from the historical and poetic books, before he traced through the Prophets (Hosea through Malachi, inserting Major Prophets where chronologically appropriate).⁴ His thorough work on passages related to the Messiah make these sections worthwhile for commentary study as well as for theological study.

Defending literal interpretation, Hengstenberg argued that an allegorical interpretation of

³ "Erklärung über meine Teilnahme an der Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung und die Gründe mich von derselben loszusagen" in *EKZ*, 1830, p. 209, emphasis in the original; cited by Robert M. Bigler, in *The Politics of German Protestantism: The Rise of the Protestant Church Elite in Prussia, 1815 - 1848*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 172.

⁴ Hengstenberg skipped only Nahum and Habakkuk.

the Fall (Genesis 3) is impossible (1) because the account occurs in a historical book connected with what precedes and what follows, (2) because the punishment announced to Adam and Eve actually exists, (3) because the context gives no hint that the author was writing an allegory, (4) because later New Testament passages take the Fall as "real historical fact," e.g., II Cor. 11:3, II Tim. 2:13-14, Rom. 5:12, and (5) because the allegorical interpreters show "embarrassment, ambiguity, and arbitrariness" when they propose to show the truths intended by the allegory.⁵

Also, Hengstenberg identified and opposed rationalistic presuppositions in interpretation. When discussing "The Twig of Jesse" in Isaiah 11 and 12, he named several rationalistic commentators of his day: Eichhorn, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer, and Ewald.⁶

Gesenius has said: "Features such as those in vers. 4 and 5 exclude any other than a political Messiah, and King of the Israelitish state,"⁷ and *Hitzig*: "A political Messiah whose attributes, especially those assigned to him vers. 3 and 4,⁸ are not applicable to Jesus."⁹

Commenting on the inability of Rationalists to understand that the Messiah was to be both Savior and King, Hengstenberg noted:

The distinction between the "political Messiah" of the prophecy before us, and "Jesus of Nazareth" -- a distinction got up by Rationalism, rests chiefly upon the fact that Rationalism knows Christ as the *Son of Man* only, and is entirely ignorant of His true eternal Kingdom. Hence a prophecy which, except for the intimation, in ver. 1,¹⁰ of His lowliness at first, refers altogether to the glorified Christ, could not but appear as inapplicable [to Jesus of Nazareth].¹¹

⁵ E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*. Vol. 1 of 2. Reprint. (Florida: Mac Donald Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 4.

⁶ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 456.

⁷ Isaiah 11:4-5 But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. 5 And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.

⁸ Isaiah 11:3-4 And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears: 4 But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

⁹ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 456.

¹⁰ Isaiah 11:1 And there shall come forth a rod out of the **stem** of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his **roots**:

¹¹ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 458. Furthermore, on p. 458, Hengstenberg comments: "As is commonly the case in Messianic prophecies, so here, too, no attention is paid to the development of Christ's Kingdom in time. Everything, therefore, is fulfilled only as to its

Commitment to Detailed Exegesis. Hengstenberg's *Christology* is filled with carefully reasoned expositions of passages, studying the Old Testament directly and interacting with opposing positions. He also shows a willingness to modify his views upon further study.

For example, in Daniel 9:24 "to anoint a most holy (or holy of holies)" Hengstenberg understood in his first edition as referring to the church of the New Testament.¹² But in his revised edition he understands the anointing to be the Holy Spirit coming upon Jesus of Nazareth, commencing with his baptism (Acts 10:38), "continuing through the entire period of Christ's work on earth," and on through "the outpouring of the Spirit ... The church is anointed along with Christ its Head."¹³ [However, Hengstenberg never considered the possibility of the anointing being a literal anointing of a literal Kingdom (Millennial) Temple at the Second Advent of Christ to earth.¹⁴]

Recognition of the Flow of History. Hengstenberg sought to trace the progressive unfolding of Messianic Predictions in Genesis, from the first vague mention (3:15), through a general promise to Noah and Shem, to the detailed prediction of Jacob (Genesis 49) that the Person of Messiah would come through Judah's line, and His scepter would ultimately rule "over all the nations of the whole earth."¹⁵

In developing "The Promise to the Patriarchs," Hengstenberg wrote:

A great epoch is, in Genesis, ushered in with the history of the time of the Patriarchs. *Luther* says: "This is the third age in which holy Scripture begins the history of the Church with a new family." In a befitting manner, the representation is opened in Gen. xii. 1-3 by an account of the first revelation of God, given to Abraham at Haran, in which the way is opened up for all that follows, and in which the dispensations of God are brought before us in a rapid survey. Abraham is to forsake every thing, and then God will give him every thing.¹⁶

Hengstenberg argued for a future world-wide dominion of the Messiah from the mention of the "nations" in Genesis 49:10:

That by the *nations* are not meant either the Canaanites in particular, or the tribes of Israel, but the nations in general, appears, partly, from the connexion [sic] with what

beginning; and the complete fulfillment stands out for that future in which, after the fulness of the Gentiles has been brought in, and the apostate Israel has been converted, the consequences of the fall shall, in the outward nature also be removed."

¹² Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 826, footnote 1.

¹³ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, pp. 828-829.

¹⁴ It is not just Ezekiel that speaks of a Kingdom Temple, but Isaiah 56:7 speaks of nations offering sacrifices at the Temple and its Altar, and Isaiah 60:7 speaks of Israel offering sacrifices on God's Altar, by which God will glorify the House of His Glory.

¹⁵ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, pp. 2-3.

¹⁶ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, pp. 27-28.

precedes – those who now willingly obey are evidently the enemies spoken of in ver. 8,9; -- and, partly, from the reference to the earlier promises of Genesis, all of whom refer to nations in general.¹⁷

Hengstenberg believed that the Mosaic Law had been given to Israel "to prepare effectually the way for the Messiah, by laying the theocratic institutions on a firm foundation, and by establishing the law which is intended to produce the knowledge of sin, and to settle discipline, by means of which the image of God was to be impressed on the whole national life."¹⁸

Nevertheless, the people of Israel followed a pattern of sin, until first the Northern Kingdom of Israel, and then the Southern Kingdom of Judah, were taken in judgment. Before the Babylonian Captivity, Jeremiah predicted a New Covenant which declared anew God's love for Israel:

*They, in wicked ingratitude, have broken the former covenant, have shaken off the obligations which God's former mercies imposed upon them. God too – so it might be expected – ought now to annul the old covenant, and for ever withdraw from them the old mercies. But instead of doing so, He grants the new covenant, the greater mercy. He anew takes in marriage apostate Israel, and in such a manner that now the bond of love becomes firm and indestructible.*¹⁹

Human history will one day climax with a literal Kingdom era. Commenting on Haggai, Hengstenberg writes, "At the same time, it must be observed that this prophecy, like every other in which peace is announced as a characteristic of the Messianic era, will receive a literal fulfillment at last in the kingdom of glory, on 'the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.'"²⁰

In his eschatological remarks related to the Song of Solomon, Hengstenberg almost sounds like a pre-tribulational premillennialist:

His [Messiah's] coming shall be preceded by severe afflictions, represented under the emblems of the scorching heat of the sun, of winter, of rain, of dark nights, and of the desert. Connected with this coming is the reception of the heathen nations into His kingdom, and this, through the medium of the old Covenant-people.²¹

Weaknesses of Hengstenberg's *Christology*

Presuppositional Blinders. For example, in discussing the meaning of קָטַץ to cut

¹⁷ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 46.

¹⁸ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

¹⁹ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 706.

²⁰ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 952.

²¹ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 1, p. 112.

off,²² Hengstenberg described the meaning in such a way that he assumes Israel and the church are the same: "An abbreviated period is one shortened as much as possible, that the patience of the waiting church of God might not be exhausted. But there is no ground whatever for rendering ךתק either shortening or hastening."²³ In the midst of his detailed interpretation of Daniel 9, Hengstenberg suddenly indicated that he believes the waiting Israel is "the waiting church of God"!

Belief that all redeemed people of all ages form one Church of God is often assumed. Regarding the Vision of "The Candlestick and Two Olive Trees" in Zechariah 4, Hengstenberg wrote:

If, then, the oil is the Spirit, so far as he dwells in the church, the olive trees can only be the Spirit regarded in his transcendental existence. -- The candlestick also is quite as well defined a symbol as the oil. As the vehicle of the Spirit of God, it can only denote the community, the people of the covenant, the Church.... That the candlestick is composed of the purest metal, namely gold, is a sign of the glory of the Church of God.²⁴

Confounding Proverbial Truth with Prophetic Prediction.

There is a moral element explicit or presumed in most prophecy. At times, Hengstenberg removed the "specifics" of a predictive prophecy and turned the prophecy into a proverbial principle that can be seen at various times in human history, allowing for multiple fulfillments.²⁵

Hengstenberg tolerated some allegorical interpretation when he argued that the laws of Moses relating to purification were symbolical. The rites were symbolic, especially for the cleansing of a leper. "There is no arbitrary transfer of the physical to the spiritual in this case, but an exposition of a ceremony which originally referred to spiritual things. Ezekiel does not promise something new [in the "New Covenant" cleansing of Ezekiel 36:25-28], but takes a promise already existing in in the law and announces its complete fulfillment."²⁶

Problems in handling Daniel 9 chronology.

When did the Seventy Sevens of Years begin? Hengstenberg believes that the "going forth of the decree" (Dan. 9:23) is a reference to a divine decree, not to a decree of an earthly Persian king:

The "going forth of the word" [from God] is itself an invisible event. But the effects come within the limits of the visible, and to this we necessarily turn, to see whether it is possible, by chronological calculations, made after the fulfillment, to

²² Daniel 9:24 Seventy weeks are determined (ךתק) upon thy people and upon thy holy city.... The reference in context must be to Daniel's people Israel and to Jerusalem the city.

²³ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 811.

²⁴ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 985.

²⁵ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 982.

²⁶ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 772.

convince ourselves of the truth of the prophecy. We must look to the effects, to learn when the "going forth of the word" took place. If the command of God was really issued, that which was commanded must have actually occurred. Hence the going forth of the word, with reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, must be assigned to that period of history, at which the work was first taken in hand with vigour and success. As the covenant people were then subject to the Persian king, we naturally expect to find an echo of the word of God in the edict of a Persian monarch. And thus we come very near the exposition we have rejected, in which the passage is regarded as containing a *direct* allusion to such an edict.²⁷

Hengstenberg's reasoning made it impossible for a reader to understand a "chronological" prophecy before its fulfillment. However in New Testament times, there were people in Jerusalem who understood prophecy and looked forward to a near coming of Messianic Salvation to Israel (as Simeon, Luke 2:25-35; Anna, Luke 2:36-38, and the Wise Men's visit, Matthew 2:1-12).

Hengstenberg also errs in confusing events which occur **between** the end of the 69th Week and the beginning of the 70th Week, with those occurring within the future 70th Week. Hengstenberg puts his understanding as follows:

The entire period is subdivided into three shorter ones of seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. The termination of the first is indicated by the completion of the work of rebuilding the city; that of the second by the appearance of an anointed one, a prince; and that of the third by the completion of the covenant with the many for whom the blessings of salvation pointed out in ver. 24 as connected with the termination of the entire period are ultimately destined. The last period is again subdivided into two halves. Whilst the confirmation of the covenant occupies the whole from beginning to end; the cessation of the sacrifice and meat-offering, and the death of the anointed one, on which it rests, both take place in the middle of this period.²⁸

But notice the precise wording of Scripture for comparison: Daniel 9:26-27

26 And **after** threescore and two weeks shall Messiah [Christ] be cut off, but not for himself: and the **people of the prince** [Roman, because his people destroy Jerusalem and the Temple] that shall come **shall destroy the city and the sanctuary**; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. 27 And **he** [the nearest antecedent is the prince whose people destroyed Jerusalem before the start of the 70th Week] **shall confirm the covenant with many for one week** [which act begins the 70th Week]: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

Notice that two events come between the end of the 62-Week division of the 70 Weeks, and the start of the 70th Week. During this interval, Messiah is cut off and the City and the Temple are destroyed by the people of the prince that shall come (which prince will begin the 70th Week by his "for one week" covenant.) The one who causes "sacrifice and oblation to

²⁷ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 830.

²⁸ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 805.

cease" is not the Messiah Christ who appeared at the end of the 7 + 62 Weeks, but rather the eschatological prince, whose people had previously destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple in A.D. 70. Because of Hengstenberg's failure to see the natural division of the passage, he stumbles in dealing with the chronology of the 70th Week. He cannot envision a break between Week 69 and Week 70:

Exactly seventy weeks in all are to elapse; and how can any one imagine, that there is an interval between the sixty-nine and the one, when these together make up the seventy? But the most fatal objection to this theory lies in the impossibility of discovering, in the week supposed to be alluded to, that which was really its distinguishing characteristic, namely the confirmation of the covenant.²⁹

Hengstenberg erroneously believed that the covenant confirmed by the coming Roman prince of Daniel 9:27 was to be understood as a covenant made by Jesus Christ. As a result, either the years of the last half of the 70th Week are not literal years, or the coming Kingdom is not viewed as literal and earthly.

Concluding Evaluation

Hengstenberg's *Christology* reflects a classic Lutheran focus on finding Christ in every Bible Book. His defense of supernaturalism in miracles and prophecy makes his scholarship conservative. Even though he approaches Scripture from a non-dispensational and non-Baptist way, his scholarship is worth reading and reflection.

Appendix: Chronology of Major Works and Activities by Hengstenberg

- 1815 The *Burschenschaft*, an association of students was founded to oppose carousing and dueling habits, to promote earnest devotion to study, and to reconstruct the Christian basis for the old German empire.
- 1817 A Prussian royal decree created a "union" church between German Calvinists and Lutherans. The Evangelical or Protestant State Church of Prussia resulted from this forced union of the Lutherans and Calvinists.
- 1817 On October 18, 500 *Burschenschaft* students honored the 300-year old German Reformation by celebrating at the same Church where Luther had posted his 95 theses.
- 1819 Entered the newly-founded (1818) University of Bonn.
- 1823 Arabic studies in an edition of the *Moallakah of Amru'l'Kais* (Bonn), one of the pre-Islamic Arabic Poems.
- 1824 A German translation of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle (Bonn).
- 1824 Went to University of Berlin (founded 1810) as Privat-docent.

²⁹ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, Vol. 2, p. 854.

- 1825 *Ueber d. Verhältniss d. innern Wortes zum äussern.*
- 1826 *Ueber Mysticismus Pietismus und Separatismus.*
- 1827 Became editor of the Evangelical Church Gazette (*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*), founded that year, to stand for an uncompromising Lutheran confessional orthodoxy, and to combat rationalism in all forms.
- 1828-1835 *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (Berlin) was produced in four volumes. An English translation was published at Edinburgh, 1854-58. Many have been produced since then, and full English translations are available online.
- 1830 Hengstenberg attacked [through an anonymous *EKZ* article (by Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach)] Wilhelm Gesenius and Julius Wegscheider with charges of infidelity and profanity. The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* sought to have the State drive Gesenius and Wegscheider (two chief rationalists at Halle) from their positions. "Evangelical" Neander and Steudel (of Tübingen) protested Hengstenberg's harshness in this attack.
- 1831 *Beitrage zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (Berlin). English translation *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1847).
- 1832 *Ueber den Tag des Herrn* (Berlin). English translation *The Lord's Day* (Edinburgh, 1853).
- 1840 Hengstenberg renounced Pietism in the preface to the *Church Gazette*, which he no longer saw as a positive development from the Reformation (1517).
- 1841 *Die Bucher Moses und Aegypten.* English translation *Egypt and the Books of Moses* (Edinburgh, 1843).
- 1842 *Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen* (Berlin). *The Story of Balaam and His Way*, translated with his *Dissertations on Daniel and Zechariah*.
- 1842-1847 *Kommentar über die Psalmen* (Berlin) was produced in four volumes. A three volume English translation of his *Commentary on the Psalms* was produced in Edinburgh (1845-1848).
- 1846 The National Evangelical Church, General Synod, meeting in Berlin proposed a confession written by Karl Immanuel Nitzsch that consisted of vague Biblical texts into which Lutherans and Reformed people could read whatever views they favored. Hengstenberg strongly objected to this "Robber Synod," as he called it. [*The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 5, p. 644.]
- 1847 *Genuineness of the Pentateuch.*
- 1848 *Genuineness of Daniel and Integrity of Zechariah.*
- 1849-1851 *Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes*, 2 vols. (Berlin). English translation *The Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1851-52).
- 1853 *Das Hohelied Salomonis ausgelegt* (Berlin), "The Song of Songs belonging to Solomon."

- 1854 Published a minor paper on "Freemasonry."
- 1856 Published a minor paper on "Duelling."
- 1857 "The Relation between the Jews and the Christian Church" (originally appeared in *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, and afterwards were printed in separate form. 2nd ed., 1859).
- 1858 *Prediger Salomo* (Berlin), with an English translation appearing as *Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes, to which are appended Treatises on the Song of Solomon, the Book of Job, the Prophet Isaiah, the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture, the Jews and the Christian Church* (Edinburgh, 1860).
- 1859 *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift* (Berlin). *The Offerings of the Holy Scripture*.
- 1861-1864 *Evangelium des heiligen Johannes* (Berlin). English translation *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* (Edinburgh, 1905).
- 1867-1868 *Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiela* (Berlin), with an English translation *The Prophecies of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh, 1869).
- 1869 Hengstenberg died at Berlin on May 28, age 66.
- 1869-1871 *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde*, 2 vols. (Berlin), posthumous. English translation, *History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1871-1872).
- 1870 *Das Buch Hiob erläutert*, posthumous.