

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

LECTURES BY

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BEFORE THE JUNIOR CLASS,

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

COLLATED FROM PHONOGRAPHIC NOTES BY W. J. FRAZER.

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SYNOPSIS OF LECTURES
ON
NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

FOR THE JUNIOR CLASS.

Books. Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T. Tregelles' History of the Printed Text. Horne's Introduction. Bissell's Historic Origin of the Bible. Scrivener's Six Lectures. Milligan and Robert's Lectures. Hammond's N. T. Criticism. Green's Critical Notes on the N. T. An Article in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, by B. F. Westcott. Bleek's Introduction.

The Text is the *ipsissima verba*; Criticism its ascertainment. The necessity for the study is in the existing variations.

Autographs.—Unfounded traditions about parts of the N. T. Early lost, because the Fathers do not appeal to them. The Archaia referred to by Ignatius an example of the Jewish Church. The *Litteræ Authenticæ* of Tertullian refers to a pure text. Their loss is accounted for, by the fulness of oral teaching, by early multiplication of copies, because originals were not autographs. See Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Thess., Gal. 6: 11; perishable material of the MSS. No N. T. Papyrus extant. See 11 J. verse 12. Library at Cæsarea perishing after 100 years. All extant papyrus MSS. have been preserved in tombs and Herculaneum, &c. Persecution also destroyed them. Traditores. Hence no copies of the first three centuries preserved.

Sources of Corruption.—Various readings. Scrivener says 120,000 enumerated. From 1600 to 2000 where the true reading is doubtful. Origen's Classification of Sources of Corruption. Intentional and Unintentional.

Tregelles, Substitutions, Additions, Omissions. *Hammond*, *Unconscious*, three subdivisions: *Conscious*, five subdivisions. *Scrivener*, twenty classes. Intentional, to correct orthography, remove harsh expressions, or historical, or exegetical difficulties, to harmonize parallel passages. Doctrinal alterations charged by early Fathers, not substantiated. See Mt. 19: 17; John 1: 18; Acts 16: 7, 20, 28. Liturgical alterations, Lk. 2: 41; Acts 3: 11; 8: 37 and doxology to the Lord's prayer.

Unintentional Senses. Eye. See 1 Tim. 3: 16; 2 Cor. 2: 3; Mk. 4: 22. Ear. Early copies made by dictation. Confusion of vowel sounds. *Memory*, Substitution of Synonymes and from parallel passages. *Judgment*, resolution of Abbreviations, or separation of words. Reception of Glosses. Give examples.

Distribution of errors. Best text, John—next, Paul—next Synoptical Gospels. Next Catholic Epistles. Last, Acts and Apocalypse.

Means of Recovering True Text. Manuscripts. Quotations. Versions. Conjecture. Conjecture not required in N. T. Criticism because of the choice among readings.

Manuscripts. Scrivener counts about 2000. Tischendorf says, about 20 from 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, and 30 from 7th, 8th, and 9th. Greek literature does not possess one-tenth the number.

Uncials, in Gospels. Tischendorf says 40. Scrivener 56—6 entire, 4 nearly so, 10 large portions. Scrivener= 623 Cursives.

Acts. Tischendorf 10. Scrivener Acts and Catholic Epistles 14, 4 entire, 4 large portions. Scrivener 232 Cursives.

• *Catholic Epistles*, 6. 5 entire.

Pauline Epistles, 15. 2 nearly entire. 7 large portions. Scrivener 283 Cursives.

Apocalypse, 5. 3 entire. 1 nearly so. Scrivener 105 cursives.

4th Century.	α B.
5th	“ A. C. Q. T.
6th	“ D P R Z—E ₂ D ₂ H ₂
7th	“ θ and fragments
8th	“ E L A ≡ β ₂
9th	“ F K M T J ₁ H ₂ G ₂ F ₂ L ₂ K ₂ M ₂
10th	“ G H S V E ₃

Codices Mixti, Codices Puri, Bilingues, Græco-latini, Latinizantes.

The *antiquity* of a MS. is a principal element of its authority, because copying multiplies errors.

1. The *Material*. The oldest extant MSS. are on parchment. Ancient use 2 Tim. 4: 13. On account of expense papyrus was principally used. Vellum and Parchment. Oldest MSS. on this white Vellum. Later discoloured and coarse Parchment. Some purplish, some natural hue.

Palimpsests. Writing erased and new superimposed. Codex C. and the Nitriensis. Restorations by chemicals. The pen for papyrus was the Calamus. For parchment the stylus needle point for measuring. Ink without metallic base and faded. Cotton paper begins 10th century. Some fragments of New Testament on paper of 9th. Linen paper 14th century.

2. *Character*. Uncial from uncial. In N. T. MSS. cur- sive writing not found until the 7th and not common till the 10th, when illumination occurs and dates are given.

Shape of letters the surest criterion. Oldest agree in shape with stone inscriptions and ancient papyrus. See Scrivener. Upright square uncials older than nar- row, oblong, or leaning. The simpler the older.

3. *Divisions of the text*. Oldest MSS. without division words, pointing, accent, breathings, iota subscript, iota adscript, in papyri and inscriptions, obsolete about Christian era, rare in Sinaitic. Breathings and accent in A. perhaps prima manu, inserted 7th or 8th century in older MSS. by correctors. Ancient interpunction only used by the grammarians. Oldest N. T. MSS. have a point on level with top of letters. Stichoi were introduced by Euthalius, deacon in Alexandria, A. D. 458—490, a clause to be read together. Found earlier in Ps. and Is.

Some FF mentions earlier existence in parts of N. T. The Stichoi next written so as to fill out lines solid, noting separation by a point. Uncial writing ceased 10th century. Complete system of pointing, &c., after printing. Euthalius also gives name to division of text into reading lessons marked by A and T. Also to division of Acts and Epistles similar to titloi of gospels. B has marginal notations of sections older than Euthalius. In gospels titloi are found ascribed by name to Tatian the harmonist.

Lectionaries, Evangelistories, Praxapostolaries.

Ammonian sections made by Ammonius of Alexandria A. D. 220 adopted by Eusebius—giving reference by means of numbers to parallel passages in the gospels. Connected with them are the Eusebian Canons, ten in number, giving a list of the parallels. Under the number of the Ammonian divisions 1165 in all, is put in coloured ink, a reference to the Eusebian canon appended to the MSS. and by reference to this the numbers of the parallels in the other gospels are found.

Our chapters were made by Cardinal Hugo A. D. 1262 for a concordance to Vulgate. Not adopted in Eusebius' text till 15th century. Appears in some late MSS. Not used in Eastern church.

Verses found in no MSS., made by Robert Stephens of Paris while on a journey, and first printed in his Geneva Ed. 1551. Beza's Ed. 1565 first incorporated them into text.

Great influence of these divisions, but entirely without authority. Superscriptions and subscriptions usually not original.

For comparative table of these ancient divisions with modern chapters and verses see Scrivener, page 63.

4. Columns on page. Earliest MSS. on papyrus rolls, made of strips 4 or 5 inches long and fastened at the side, requiring columnar arrangement. When book form adopted, this preserved to resemble the rolls. Sinaitic unique in having 4, B=3. A few MSS. large folio, next small folio or quarto, some octavo and even smaller.

5. *The Text*.—A recent copy may contain an old text. Readings which are known to be old by comparison with quotations in old Fathers is evidence of antiquity.

6. Corrections to which a date can be assigned from the MS. to be older.

CODEX ALEXANDRINUS. A. British Museum—Whole of N. T. and LXX. except Matt. XXV—5. Jno. VI. 50—VIII. 52. 2 Cor. IV—XII. With only extant copy of Clement of Rome to Corinthians—Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons complete—No divisions in Acts and Epistles. These facts indicate 5th Century. Important because oldest which has a text varying from *κ.* B.—When agreeing with them therefore important. Editions by Wade 1786—Cowper 1857.

VATICANUS—B. Rome—O. and N. T. except Tim., Tit., Philemon, Heb. IX. 14 to end—Apocalypse later—No capitals or chapters or Eusebian divisions—character points to 4th Century. Mai's edition. Tischendorf's visit and edition—Vercillonis.—Tendency to abbreviate.

EPHRAEMI. C. Paris. Rescript—N. T. removed 12th Century for works of Ephrem Syrus. Parts of LXX. and fragments of N. T. about two-thirds of the whole. Interpunction—Ammonian divisions—5th Century. One column—Edited by Tisch.

BEZAE. D. Cambridge—Presented by Beza 1581—Gospels and Acts with Latin Vulgate. Strange readings—e. g. Acts VIII. 24. 1 Cor. VI. 4.

SINAITICUS *κ.* St. Petersburg, Discovered by Tischendorf in Monastery on Mt. Sinai.—O. and N. T. with Barnabas and Pastor. Four columns on page. Paul's Epis. before Acts and Heb. after 2 Thess. Eusebian divisions by corrector. Tisch. says older than B. Scr. and Treg. about the same. See Ezra Abbott on age of *κ.* B.

REGIUS. L. of Gospels. Paris—8th Century. Resembles B.

Nitriensis—R. Palimpsest of part of Luke.

SANGALLENSIS. J. Monastery of St. Gall. Switzerland, Resembles G. of Paul's Epistles.

MSS. OF ACTS.

Laudianus. E. Presented by Archbp. Laud to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Acts only—Date 6th or 7th Century. First MS. for Acts VIII. 37.

PAUL'S EPISTLES.

CLAROMONTANUS. D. Gospel and Acts. D=Bezae. Found at Cler Mont by Beza. 5th or 6th Century.

SANGERMANENSIS. E. Abbey of St. Germain de Prez. 10th Century. Copy of preceding.

AUGIENSIS. F. Angia Dive—Island in Lake Constance—9th Century.

BOERNERIANUS. G. Belonged to Prof. Boener—Leipsic. Mr. Hert says F. is a transcript of G. Also part of J.

APOCALYPSE.

Contained in κ and C. B. of Apocalypse—Not Vaticanus. Treg. calls Q. 8th Century.

P. PORPHYRIANUS—Acts, Epistles and Apocrypha. Of cursives—33 Gospels—13 Acts—17 Pauls. Like B. D. L. 69 Gospels, 31 Acts, 37 Paul, 14 Apoc.

Leicestrensis—Note. These MSS. are enumerated to guide the student to seek a full description of them and to examine fac similes of such as are contained in the Library.

Second Source of Text. Quotations. Often older than MSS.—yet no reading to be adopted from them alone. They witness reading of MS. from which made; also the locality of it. Latin Fathers important for Vulgate—Greek direct for Greek Text. Drawbacks in using them—MSS. of the Fathers never so old as of Gk. Text—No standard text.

Form altered in copying Fathers. Same Fathers quote differently. Lowest value controversial writers—next devotional. Exegetical authors most valuable in quotations.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM is the comparison of the Greek MS. with the MSS. of Quotations and Versions.

Third Source of Text—Versions. See *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*. Some older than MSS., must be ancient. And immediate. Illustrations in Acts XIII. 18. Bentley's work on Vulgate—and report as to comparison Gk. MSS.—MSS. not so old as Gk., but an independent line of testimony.

Critical—Exegetical—Philological uses—connections with history of church—Eastern divisions, Western unity.

PESHITO—Syriac. 2nd Century, some say 1st. Edessa in Mesopotamia—Text revised—Canon lacks II. P., II., III. Jno., Jude and Rev. Oldest MS. 6th Century. Oldest edition 1555.

CURETONIAN SYRIAC. MS. brought from Nitrian desert in 1847—of large portions of Gospels. Named from the discoverer and editor—Canon Cureton. Ascribed to 5th Century but believed to contain older text than Peshito.

PHILOXENIANA OR HARCLEAN. Made in 6th Century by Bp. Polycarp for Bp. Philoxenus of Maberg. Revised 100 years later by Thomas Van Haskel, Monk of Alexandria. Readings of two old Gk. MSS. in margin.

JERUSALEM SYRIAC. Southern Palestine. Single MS. 11th Century.

Egyptian Versions.

By end of 2nd Century. Native MSS. numerous in Upper Egypt or Thebais. Large community of Monophysites at times of Mohammedan invasion. Koptie still continued to be ecclesiastical language. The SAHIDIC i. e. Hill Country, of upper Egypt. Large fragments extant. Name Koptie commonly given to the MEMPHITIC of Lower Egypt. MSS. belong to the 10th Century. Date not certainly ascertained—probably end of 2nd or 3rd Century.

AETHIOPIC V. Frumentius. 4th Century founded Christianity in Abyssinian. Language now corrupted. Ehez not spoken, but used in church service. The Amharist, made by missionaries in what is now the popular language, since 14th century.

Armenian. Syriac used till 5th Century. Alphabet made by Messop, and Version afterwards revised.

Georgian. About 6th Century.

Arabic Versions. No national church. Versions required by remnants of churches when language superseded. One in Spain in 8th Century.

Persian Versions. Early they used Peshito. Mohammedan life revived language and literature and Peshito translated.

Latin Versions. Greek familiar throughout empire. Tertullian speaks of a Latin Vers. already in use. Augustine seems to refer to multiplicity of such transla-

tions. Extant MSS. of ante-Jerome Latin exhibit many variations, but at the same time indicate an Ammonian origin. Name *Itala*, as used by Augustine, thought by some to refer it to Italy. But is agreed to have originated in Mts. of Africa, by conformity of its language quotations of Latin Fathers. Cited a, b, c, &c.

Principal MSS.

- (a) Vercellensis at Vercelli, 4th Century.
- (b) Veronensis at Verona 4th or 5th Century.
- (c) Colbert at " 11th "
- (e) Palatinus at Vienna 4th or 5th "
- (f) Brixianus at Brescia 6th "

ff, ff², Corbienses. Abbey of Corbey Picardy—very ancient, 32 in all Scr. a b c=primitive African form, opening with D. and Curetonian. Others, perhaps *Itala* of Augustine, an Italian recension of this. Gospels edited by Tisch. 1847.

The Vulgate. The old Latin revised by Jerome with comparison of Gk. MSS. O. T. trans. directly from Hebrew. Altho' favoured at Rome, not introduced 'till Gregory the Great, and then not enforced. During this period text much corrupted. Printing made it necessary to have a standard. Council of Trent 1546. Sixtine Edition 1590. Recalled for errors. In 1592 Clementine Ed.

MSS. of Vulgate more numerous than of any other book. Bentley, Lachmann, Tregelles, Vercellone, laboured on this text. Treg. cites only six. Tisch. more but of minor interest. Most important is Amiatinus (am.) at Florence, named from Cistucian Monastery at Monte' Amiatino in Tuscany. Whole Bible written by the Abbot Servandus 541. Basis of Latin text. Treg.'s N. T. Fuldensis—Fu or Fuld. Same age, from Abbey of Fulda in Hesse Cassel. Harleian 7th Century.

Northern Versions.

Gothic 4th Century. Gospels, part of Epistles and of O. T. extant. Made by Ulfilas, Bp. who made alphabet for it. Language died out about 9th Century. Codex Argentinus found by Arnold Mercator, in service of Landgrave of Hesse. Other portions by Cardinal Mai in Italy. Philological interest. See Müller's Lectures.

Slavonic 9th Century.

Afterward Reformation translations, and Bible Societies. See Reuss's list.

The Printed Text.

Three stages—*Editio Princeps*—The *Textus Receptus*. Critical Editions. Vulgate preceded Gk. printing. First portions of Gk. Test. printed were Luke I. 42—56 and 68—80. Appended to an edition of the Psalms from the Septuagint, Venice 1486. Next, six chapters of John, appended to Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, Venice 1504. First independently published fourteen verses of first chapter of John. Tübingen, 1514.

First edition printed was volume V. Complutensian Polyglot, Complutum or Alcalá in Spain—by Cardinal Ximenes. Finished January, 1514, but publication delayed till 1520. Supposed connection with MS. in Vatican, especially B., gave it weight. Now proved erroneous idea, and the editions based on MSS. not older than tenth century. Alterations in favor of Vulgate changed, disputed by Scr.

Three series of five editions each, in transmission of common text. Many others published, but these in line of transmission.

Erasmus, 1516, based on a few MSS. now in Basle, folio with Latin version. Charged with altering text and conforming to Vulgate. Probably no proof of proposed alteration. Very hastily executed, but under circumstances admirably. From his 2nd, 1519, Luther's translation was made; 3rd, 1522, admitted 1 John, v, 7, 8, after controversy and under protest; 4th and 5th, Edin. 1527, 1535. For all only eight MSS. employed, twenty impressions, and of the first two alone 3300 copies.

Stephen's editions. Paris. First two small, 12 MSS., known as *Mirifica* from opening words of preface. Founded on Complutensian. 3rd edition is thus important one, known as the *Regia* 1550, based on 5th Erasmus, and standard of common text in English, folio, with readings of 15 MSS. 4th Geneva, first to introduce verses. 5th 1569, after his death by his son.

Beza's Editions, published at intervals from 1559 to 1598. The former date given wrong in Tregelles and often elsewhere. Introduced comparison of Eastern versions, and some old MSS., D. of gospels, and D. of Paul's epistles. Founded on Stephen's Regia. Last important effort after text for a century.

The immediate method of introduction of Ammonian text was by the Elzevirs of Leyden—1624 small edition of Gk. text, like their classics. And in 1633 an edition with verses separated, founded on the Regia, altered in a few cases after Beza. *Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum, &c.* The Elzevir text has been the standard on the continent and the Stephens in England. Tisch. enumerates 150 differences between two. Scr., 287. The text of Erasmus, based on few and late MSS., is thus far the basis of common text.

CRITICAL EDITIONS AND PRINCIPLES.

Walton's Polyglott, London 1657. Walton afterwards Bishop Chester 6 vols., folio. 5th N. T. with five oriental versions. Text Regia—Alexandrian MS. collated with 16 others under Archbishop Usher. Reading of Velez.

John Fell, Bishop, Oxford 1675, 800 with 18 new MSS.

John Mill 1707 Oxford, after 30 years labor. With full critical apparatus 30,000 different readings. Led to alarm and discussion. Charged that violated inspiration. Whitby's review of Mill insists on the common text.

Bentley. Master Trinity College, Cambridge, 1699. Allayed this fear. Proposals and materials for an edition which was never published. Labors in restoring text of Vulgate, and establishment of Greek text by comparison.

Bengel. Contemporary with Bentley 1687—1752. Published 4to. Tübingen 1734. Two advances—formation of the rule that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier, and the recognition of similarity in the variations of MSS. proving a common

origin. Two families, African and Asiatic, and proposed MSS. should count not numerically but by families. His text is the first which professedly departed from the receptus. First to quote both sides. Great advance scientifically.

Wetstein 1693—1754, opponent of Bengel theologically as well as in criticism. Charged ancient MSS. with alterations after the Latin. Most numerous authorities appealed to, give Elzevir text. His edition valuable depository of classical, Patristic, and Rabbinical illustrations. Augmented materials of criticism.

Griesbach. The founder of modern criticism. Professor in Halle—pupil of Lemler and Ernesti 1745—1812. Carried out Bengel's idea of classifications, subdividing the Africans, making them families, Western, Alexandrian, Constantinopolitan. These contain recensions of the text. The Occidental was the oldest, used in Italy and North Africa, greatly corrupted, contained in D., old Latin and Vulgate versions and Latin Fathers. The Alexandrian, made beginning 3d century, being an attempted revision of the former, found in Origen, A B C L of gospels and Egyptian version. Constantinopolitan about 4th century, from a combination of the two former, comprising $\frac{1}{2}$ of old MSS. Union of two recensions decisive. If two older decisive the modern became umpire. Application of the principle favored oldest text. Principles. (1) No readings to be adopted without support of some ancient testimony. (2) In themselves, the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer. (3) The most difficult, harsh and unusual is to be preferred to the simple one. (4) The orthodox reading is suspicious. This theory of recensions was applied with different conclusions by other critics, e. g., Hug, Eichhorn, and is believed not to be historically proved, and has given place to a different conception of the grouping of MSS.

Matthæi, Classical Professor, Moscow, published an edition at Riga, 1782, based on 70 MSS. brought from Mt. Athos, with 30 others, all of them of Latin family.

Scholz. R. C. Dean of Theology at Bonn. Much copied in England, because advocating the authority of later MSS. gave him a conservative position towards the common text. Travelled and collected. List of MSS. double Griesbach's. Adopted complicated recension theory. Afterward fell back on simple division into Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan. But gave chief weight to Constantinopolitan on the ground that they agreed among themselves. Edition quarto 2 vols 1830-36. Unreliable and full of errors. In answer to his principle it is said, 1st, that modern MSS. differ among themselves as much as they do from the older. Scrivener, who upholds the later text, puts it on different ground, claiming individual authority for later MSS. as independent witnesses of older which are lost. Claims that later proof has swept away forever the idea of a standard Constantinopolitan text. 2nd, Admitting the fact, it may be otherwise accounted for, by intentional assimilation of copies. 3d, The testimony of comparative criticism. At close of his life Scholz declared himself ready to adopt marginal readings of his first edition into the text, which he has noted as Alexandrian.

LACHMANN—Small 12 mo. 1831. Edited in 2 vols. 1842-1850. First to regard the text as question of evidence alone, and ancient evidence. Admitted for the gospels only A B C and fragments P Q T L; Acts D E, and Paul D E H, Latin V and Fathers. He restored text of Ante-Jerome Latin and compared. Proposed to give text of 4th century, on principle that attempt to go beyond it would cause more errors than it would remove. He distinguished between the duty of the editor and the exegete. Great value of Lachmann's services. Difficulties are the too narrow range of authorities, and the wrong problem presented.

TISCHENDORF—1st edition in 1841, 2nd in Leipsic, 1849, with Prolegomena. 7th edition most complete Prolegomena. 8th complete except Prolegomena. Died December, 1874. Endeavors to form a text upon ancient evidence alone, and appeals to all sources. PRINCIPLES. 1st. Reading peculiar to one ancient document is suspicious, and one which seems to have originated

in the revision of a learned man. 2nd, Readings however supported, are to be rejected when they appear to have originated in errors of copyists. 3d, In parallel passages readings are preferred which are not in precise accordance. 4th, In various readings, that is to be adopted which appears to have given occasion to the rest and best accounted for their origin.

True statement of Bengel's principles. Difficulty with his statements is, it regards only intentional errors—and leads to extremes. 5th, Regard is to be had to style of N. T. Greek and of the individual author. Tischendorf is criticized for ignorance of oriental languages, quoting from inaccurate Latin translations; for changing his opinions, e. g., Edition 8th differs from 7th in 3369 places; for giving undue weight to α and making α B. together stronger than all the other testimony.

TREGELLES. — 1854. History of the printed text. 1856, rewrote Introduction to Textual Criticism in Horne's Introduction. History N. T. issued in parts from 1857–1872. Paralyzed in 1861, died 1875, while the Apocalypse was incomplete and no Prolegomena. Proposed to give evidence only which he had personally inspected. Result like Lachmann, to confine to very oldest witnesses. Attention to V V and Fathers. Give selection of evidence.

WESCOTT AND HORT.—Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, in hand for 20 years, not published. Intended to furnish most careful weighing of evidence.

SCRIVENER.—Introduction to criticism. Small and practically valuable edition, showing by heavy type the various readings adopted by several authorities—but without the evidence and without his own judgment. Stands alone in advocating independent value of later MSS. and in allowing greater force to internal evidence.

Good texts for students are Knapp-Halle 1797. Tittman on Knapp, 1820. Hahn on Tittman, 1840. Bagster's students' N. T. in large print.

No text finally settled by agreement of critics. Others may be discovered. Text of versions not settled. Much to be done in editing text of various Fathers. Results negative, but all the more valuable for that.

RECAPITULATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PRESENT STATE OF
THE CONTROVERSY.

Of the three depositions of the text V V and quotations are a secondary evidence to MSS.

Among MSS. the oldest are probably the purest—but in every question their testimony must be supported by external evidence of V V and quotations. A few cursives bear the same test.

What is to decide where these ancient authorities differ? Here the two schools divide. The school of Lachmann, so called, appeal alone to the comparative criticism. Scrivener appeals to modern MSS. and internal evidence.

Much weight is given by all to the principle of grouping. Not Griesbach's idea of recensions. But recognizing similarities in certain groups, on the principle of variety of evidence, the wider the range of testimony, the more different in internal character and the more separated in geographical position the stronger the inference. Scrivener says B the best; B C the strongest combination. A B C very strong. Opposed statement of canons of external evidence.

Scrivener.—1. The text cannot safely be derived from any one set of authorities, but must be the result of an estimate and comparison of them all.

2. Where there is a real agreement of MSS. up to the 6th century in the Gospels and the 9th in Acts, the testimony of later MSS. and V V must be regarded with suspicion, unless upheld by strong internal evidence.

3. Where the oldest MSS disagree, the testimony of later uncials and cursives is of importance as witnesses for older MSS. than those now extant.

4. The highest value belongs to readings from remote and independent sources, and those least alike in character.

Contrasted with Tregelles's statement. 1. He proposes (in his Printed Text) to give a text on the oldest authorities, so as to present as far as possible that commonly received in the 4th century. 2. In cases in which we have certain proofs which carry us still nearer the Apostolic age to use the data so afforded. 3d. In cases

where the oldest documents agree in certain error, to state the reading so supported, but not to follow it, and to give the ground on which another reading is preferred. 4th. In matters altogether doubtful, to state distinctly the conflicting evidence, and then approximate a true text.

Tregelles calls both exegetical judgment, and modern MSS. conjecture. The principle seems to differ more than the results. It is a matter of evidence. In majority of cases all agree. And there is growing agreement in the majority of doubtful cases.

The following are examples of some of the more important changes proposed. Students may collect the evidence in each case from the books at his command, and apply the principles above stated. Matt. xvi. 9-20; Lk. xxiv. 57; Matt. vi. 12, 13; John v. 3, 4; John vii. 53; viii. 11; John i. 18; John iii. 13; Acts viii. 23; Acts xx. 28; I. John v. 7, 8; I. Tim. iii. 16; I. Pet. iii. 15; I. John iv. 2, 3.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Books. Westcott's History. Eadie's History. 1876. —Lightfoot. Ellicott and Trench on revision, republished with Introduction by Dr. Schaff.

Earlier Translations. In 8th century: Psalms in Anglo Saxon. St. John by Bede. In 9th century 10 comdts. and fragments by Alfred. In 10th the Gospel and O. T. Books. In 14th century three versions of the Baltic. Wyckliffe in 1356—finished N. T. in 1380, and whole Bible in 1384. Revised by J. Penney, 1388—widely circulated till printing.

Wm. Tyndall born 1484. Hamburg 1524 published Mtt. and Mk. In Cologne finished N. T. in 4to. But escaped to Worms and issued an 8vo. to elude the authorities. These reached England 1526. Proscribed by Henry VIII. By 1530, 6 editions introduced into England, 15,000 copies, of which less than half a dozen remain. Pentateuch in 1530. In 1534 Jonah, and afterwards "Epistles from the O. T." Second revised edition 1534. 1536 first edition published in England, year of Tyndall's death. Westcott's collations showing internal history of the translation. Mistakes of Hallam and Froude. Proved independence of Tyndall. Shew also how much remained in A. V. e. g. $\frac{9}{10}$ I. John $\frac{5}{6}$ Eph. Style and vocabulary.

Coverdale. 1534 convocation of Canterbury prayed the king for a translation. Coverdale appointed. Froude's mistake corrected. Basis N. T. Tyndale, and Pent. Other parts O. T. Zurich Bible 1524. Payninus, Luther and Vulg. Polished the translation, and restored Ecclesiastical terms. Psalms in Eng. Prayer Book, 1st edition 1534. 2d 1537. Free circulation.

Matthews. Posthumous translation by Tyndall from Joshua to II. Chron. in hands of John Rogers, composite edition from Tyndale, using Coverdale for rest of O. T. and N. T. Tyndale last edition. Sanctioned by Henry, though identical with that before proscribed. Basis for subsequent.

The Great Bible. Objection to doctrinal prologue and margin in Matthews. Edited by Coverdale. Copy to be set up in every church. Bible readers. Six editions in 1540. 1541—Basedan. Revision of Matthews with Minister, and in N. T. by Erasmus.

Reaction. 1543 reading prohibited. 1547 Henry died. Under Edward in six years 13 editions Bible, and 35 of N. T. Persecutions under Mary 1553-1557.

Geneva Bible. Refugees in Geneva 1556 issued Bible Founded O. T. on Great Bible. Corrected by Beza, Leo Judes, Pellican, Payninus. N. T. text Tyndale directly—emended by Beza. Small 4to.—in Roman letters, and verses separated. Copious notes. Continued Bible of England for $\frac{3}{4}$ century. Slowly yielding to A. V.

The Bishop's Bible. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign there were therefore two Bibles in use, in the church and among the people, the great Bible and the Genevan. Hence a new attempt at uniformity. Eight Bishops employed under Archbp. Barker. Published in 1568, 2d Ed. 1572. Authorized to be used in churches, but never supplanted the Genevan. So that at the close of Elizabeth's reign there were still two Bibles.

The Authorized Version. James I. personally promoted the work. Nearly 50 scholars appointed, divided into six companies, two in Westminster, two in Oxford, two in Cambridge. Bishop's Bible the text. Preface by Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bp. Gloucester. Printed 1611 by Barker. But standard text in Cambridge Ed.

of 1638. Did not displace the Genevan in popular use till the middle of the century. Called authorized, and was so practically, altho' no evidence of any decree to that effect either by church or state. Much improvement over previous translations based on the Bishop's, with use of Genevan, Rhemes and Douay, Tremellius, Beza and earlier Latin Versions. $\frac{7}{8}$ said to be due to Tyndale.

Illustrations of need of revision from Trench, Elliott and Lightfoot.

LECTURES.

CHAPTER I.

Authorities on the subject are :

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| 8 vo. | { | Tregelles's History of the Printed Text. |
| | { | Scrivener's Introduction to the Study of the N. T. |
| 12 mo. | { | Bissell's Historic Origin of the Bible. |
| | { | Scrivener's Six Lectures. |
| | { | Milligan and Roberts' Lectures. |
| 16 mo. | { | Hammond's N. T. Criticism. |
| | { | Smith's Dict. art. "New Test." Wescott. |

There are four subjects which properly belong to this department, two of which Dr. Alexander treats in outline—the Canon and Philology. This leaves for us The Text and Textual Criticism; and I must confine myself to things of immediate practical use to you. By text is meant the *ipsissima verba*. Criticism is that science which establishes the *ipsissima verba*. The term criticism has a wide application. Technically it is applied to the words, not the meaning of the words. There is a prejudice that criticism tends to infidelity; on the contrary investigation builds a firm foundation for faith. The question is, what has God done? not what ought he to have done? There is an inconsistency in the matter; those most thoroughly attached to the doctrine of inspiration are most conservative; they ought to be in the fore front. The more thorough the investigation the more grounds for believing we have the very words. What are we to say of verbal inspiration when the church cannot agree as to the words of the text? Thorough investigation tends to do away with difficulties. Serious difficulties exist only in very few points. It is a matter of wonder that the church can agree upon as many as it does. The result of investigation is to bring about agreement.

There is not an inaccessible and recondite study, but only so in some respects. We have not the manuscripts, it is true, but modern science gives us them, and we must judge upon them. The first question is, What can be said about the original copies of the N. Testament as they came from the hands of the apostles? can any satisfactory explanation be given of their loss? The gospel of Mark, it is stated, was written at Rome, but we have no trustworthy evidence of it; in the 5th century the autograph of Matthew was said to have been found; also that of St. John at Ephesus. These statements are unsupported by proof. None of the fathers knew anything of autographs or originals; they never referred any dispute to any authoritative standard. This fact shows they had none. Certain exceptions to this statement have been drawn from Ignatius of Antioch, who says, "Some will not believe unless they see the *Archia*;" but he meant either the O. T. or examples of the early church. So Tertullian speaks of "*litteras authenticas*," referring to copies read in the churches; but he only contrasts Greek texts with defective translations. If then, no trace of originals is found, how are we to account for their loss?

I. These writings did not hold so exclusive a place in the estimation of the early Christians as in our times. They had better opportunities for oral instruction. The gospel was oral; questions were referred to the apostles for adjudication. So long as the immediate scholars of the apostles lived they were the personal resort. So the book did not come to be the standard for a long time. Therefore the importance of it was not realized, and during this time the fatal lapse occurred.

II. Copies were early made for distribution, and read in the churches. The originals were worn out and lost sight of, and the necessity for an authentic standard was only felt after it was too late.

III. The originals were probably not written in autographs, but by clerks. Gal. 6 : 11.

IV. The great expense of parchment and poverty of the early Christians make it probable that these were written and copied on Egyptian paper, or papyrus, which wore out rapidly. But a single specimen has come to us.

John alludes to this 2 John, 12. Jerome speaks of an effort to restore the Bible of Cæsarea less than a century after its collection.

V. The persecution of the early Christians extended to their books. The "*traditores*" saved themselves by giving up their books.

The earliest N. T. manuscripts belong to the period of Constantine. Fifty copies were made on fine parchment. The oldest copies which are preserved differ from one another. Some of these variations are not unimportant. In many cases there are 2, 3 or 4 alternatives. Scrivener enumerates not less than 120,000. The vast majority of this number relate to the order of the words in a sentence; some, to the change of a letter or two—something which scarcely affects the meaning at all. About 1600–2000 are enumerated where there is doubt upon the true reading—including minor cases. In the vast majority of cases the true reading may be established by consent of scholars.

The O. T. has great advantage in this matter, as its text was protected by uniform tradition. It was the business of the scribes to get the exact fac-simile. The N. T. manuscripts are older than those of the O. T. Variations are of course corruptions. The classification of the sources of corruption still in vogue is due to Origen, that of intentional and unintentional errors. Tregelles has substitutions, additions and omissions. Hammond has 8 divisions reducible to conscious and unconscious. Scrivener makes 20 classes by breaking up some of the matter into detail. Origen's division is good as anybody's and is respectable for its age.

Intentional. Among the causes of intentional errors are, 1. Supposed corrections in orthography; altering words to save Hebraisms; to solve historical difficulties. Only a few manuscripts have escaped change. Examples: Mark 13: 23 has an additional zeugma. Matt. 27: 9. This is not in Jeremiah but Zachariah; the explanation of the passage in Zachariah is based on one in Jeremiah, and Matthew quotes the latter.

2. The next source of intentional error is the attempt to harmonize the different gospels with the epistles. So also in quotations from the O. T.

3. Alteration was with doctrinal intent, either in support of orthodox views or opposing them. The alterations in support of heresy, however, are not important. Not many in support of doctrines elsewhere taught. Ex. I. John v, 7, 8. The charges against heretics are on minor points, and relate rather to the history of the canon as a whole. While it is true that most corruptions arose from copying, yet any intentional alteration to introduce a new doctrine would be absolutely impossible. If copies had been bought up and large numbers altered, such things might have been done. Examples of errors; Matt. xix. 17, cited by Scrivener, has two readings; one of the most prominent is John 1. 18, "only begotten Son," or "the only begotten God," which has a very gnostic sound; Acts xvi. 7; Acts xx. 28.

4. Liturgical alterations, dividing portions for reading in the churches, as lectionaries. Passages were thus separated from their context; in some cases the introductory words would be harsh and needed others to explain them; then continuous manuscripts copied from them. e. g. Luke ii. 41, *Mary* was inserted as the subject; Acts iii. 11. The most important is the doxology of the Lord's prayer, which according to the best authority, is not written in the text. Acts viii. 37; the whole verse is considered spurious by the best authorities. Probably a form of confession common in baptismal service. This whole class arose from a desire to improve the text.

Unintentional. These comprise, 1. errors of the senses; 2. errors of memory; 3. errors of judgment. 1. Errors of the eye consisted in dropping or transposing letters, repeating or catching the wrong word. These manuscripts were written without division of words and all in capital letters. Suppose a newspaper to be written in this manner. The old uncial letters were very similar in some cases. e. g. I. Tim. iii. 16; "God was manifest in the flesh" is liable to be read, "he was manifest in the flesh;" Mark iv. 22.

2. Errors of the ear. No doubt many MSS. were originally composed from dictation, and hence arose frequent errors.

3. Errors of the memory. Copyists writing either by eye or ear must hold the words in the memory, under the liability to substitute for some word its synonym; especially prepositions and particles might easily be interchanged. The great mass of the errors arises from this. Also, quoting a familiar verse, he might substitute a parallel for it.

4. Errors of judgment without bad intention. (a) A large number arose from using abbreviations, e. g. I. Tim. iv. 3. The oldest and best manuscripts have frequent abbreviations. (b) Division of words, e. g. Philippians i. 1. The identical letters may be differently divided. (c) Another source of errors of judgment was marginal annotations or explanations. These crept into the text at times.

Though there are numerous variations, there is no reading which materially affects the integrity of the book or the doctrine; important texts are altered, but enough remains to fix the sense in every case. Thorough inquiry increases the evidence for the truth. That this is not the case with regard to profane authors is shown by Prof. Morton. This proves the hand of God in the preservation of his work. Criticism satisfactorily answers the question as to what the words of the N. T. are. These corrections are not equally distributed among the books; the best text is the writings of John, next Paul, next the first three gospels, next the catholic epistles. Acts and Apocalypse are the worst text. The latter is accounted for by the discredit it once suffered, but we are not certain concerning the Acts.

CHAPTER II.

MEANS OF RECOVERY OF THE TRUE TEXT.

There are four sources, 1. manuscripts, 2. quotations from the ancient fathers, 3. versions or translations, 4. conjectures. These last must be resorted to even in the O. Testament. Not so necessary in the N. T. Reasoning from the context, which has an important place in the classics, is not needed where there is choice of reading.

I. Manuscripts are the fundamental source. No reading is to be accepted which is not based on MS. authority as the primary basis. The earliest Greek MSS. belong to the 4th century; quotations go back to the apostolic fathers at the beginning of the 1st century; versions were made in the latter part of the second. Of course MSS. are the main dependence. Scrivener numbers 1800—2000 MSS. Their number has doubled since this lecture was written. Of those only about 30 contain the complete N. T. About 20 date from the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, 30 from the 7th, 8th and 9th; these are the very old MSS. The mass is more recent. Greek literature does not afford one-tenth of the manuscripts that the N. T. does. Tischendorf makes 40 *uncials*; Scrivener gives 623 *cursives* (later MSS.) For Acts and the catholic epistles there are 10 old MSS. and 14 *cursives*; for the Pauline epistles 15 *uncials*, 1 almost entire, 7 with large portions, 283 *cursives*; Apocalypse, 5 *uncials*, 105 *cursives*—much less than the other books; Gospels, three or four times as many as Acts and the Cath. Epistles. Some MSS. are *bilingual*, being written in Greek and Latin.

While the O. T. MSS. are nearly all of equal authority, those of the N. T. are of individual authority, and therefore widely differ in value; the O. T. has the advantage of more uniformity, the N. T. the advantage of age in the MSS. No O. T. MS. is older than the 6th—perhaps the 9th century, while several of the N. T. date from the 4th.

The antiquity of a manuscript is an element of importance. Other things being equal, the older the better. Yet this is not absolutely so. The determination of the age is one of the prime objects. The

1st. Criterion is the material on which it is written. The oldest are on parchment. On account of the expense of the parchment, the early Christians used Egyptian paper down to the time of Constantine the Great, when MSS. came to us in the best shape. Parchment is of two kinds, that made from the skin of young calves; the earliest were on this though it was rough, e. g. Charta Pergamena of the king of Pergamus, 150

B. C. But the oldest N. T. MS. the Sinaitic, is on vellum of the finest antelope. The Vatican and the Alexandrian are on beautiful vellum. They vary in color; there are some purple dyed fragments of the 6th century which only the microscope can distinguish from paper. Manuscripts were frequently erased by the monks to get paper for their purposes, but the erasure was never perfect, and they were written either across the lines or between the lines. Some of the oldest are *palimpsests*. Attempts have been made to restore the original inscription by chemical process, erasing the new with prussiate of potash. Ancient ink had no metallic base, hence it turned red and faded. The pen was a reed if the material was papyrus, but the impression on the parchment MSS. shows that the stylus was used for them. Punctures show that needle points were used for measuring columns and lines. Besides these, paper was manufactured in the 9th century as appears from some copies still extant at St. Petersburg. Those on linen paper were subsequent to the 13th century.

2nd. A more accurate method of determining antiquity is by the character in which they are written. The uncial letter is the oldest. The N. T. cursive writing does not appear until the 7th century, and in the 10th it supersedes the uncial, at which time illuminated MSS. came into use, and from which time they usually bear date. Now of those prior to the 9th century: the shape of the uncial letter gives one of the simplest and surest clues to the age. (Comparison with ancient inscriptions on stone, coins, papyri of Herculaneum.) At first the letters were slightly rounded and elegant; later, angular and turreted. (See Scrivener's larger work.) Only two principles need to be remembered; first, the upright uncial is more ancient than the oblong and leaning; second, the simpler the style the older the probable date.

3d. The divisions in the text. The ancient MSS. were written without division, pointing, accents or breathings; the *iota* subscript or ad-crypt had become obsolete, but it came in again with the cursives. Some say the breathings and accents were found in the Alexandrian MSS. at first hand, but the oldest are without addition

to the letters. Criticism has the right to discover what are the letters. There is evidence of punctuation and perhaps of accents having been known to the ancients, but they were not popular. The first break was made by Euthalius of Alexandria in the 5th century; he divided the text of Acts and the Epistles into lines consisting of a clause or so many words as could be pronounced together. This was a great relief to the reader. Many copies thus made, but few are now extant. But this method occasioned a waste of space, you see; so they began to write continuously and to separate these *στίχοι* by points. Gradually other points came into use, but the text was not punctuated as we have it until after the invention of printing. This same Euthalius first divided into paragraphs with marginal divisions, so that the whole could be read in a year. The Vatican MS., however, has divisions which are said to be older than those of Euthalius.

In the Gospels a division into chapters is ascribed to the 2nd century, but the oldest MSS. do not have them. More important, however, are the sections made A. D. 220 by Ammonius, adopted and revised by Eusebius; they belong only to the Gospels, and were used for the sake of harmony. They were marked by numbers referring to parallel passages. In addition to these there are the Eusebian Canons of the Gospels, ten in number, referring to the same but giving a list of parallel passages; 1165 of these passages in the Gospels—usually put in colored ink. There were other divisions known to the fathers, but they are not uniform.

Cardinal Hugo, making a concordance of the Latin Vulgate in 1262, had to make divisions into chapters in the Vulgate. These were not adopted till the 15th century. Hence come our divisions. Division into verses is entirely modern, first appearing in the edition of Robert Stephens at Geneva in 1551. This is said to have been made while on a journey from Paris to Lyons. Though they are of no exegetical importance, they have had a wonderful influence upon us, and we always picture the Bible under this form.

The superscriptions or titles of the books do not belong to the MSS., but were evidently caused from the additions in different MSS. Paul would not mark an epistle I., till he had written a second. The subscriptions are also later; in some cases erroneous. Nothing but the letters of the Greek text are of binding authority. (See Scrivener.)

4th. The number of columns on a page. The most ancient in the form of rolls are now lost, in which the writing was in parallel columns. When the volume was adopted this columnar arrangement was naturally preserved, especially on a large page. A few MSS. are in large folio; most of them, however, are small, some even 8 vo. The sheets of papyrus were 4 or 5 inches long, and fastened together at the side to make a roll. The Sinaitic MS. has 4, the Vatican 3 columns.

5th. The text. The antiquity of the MSS. and the antiquity of the text are not necessarily the same thing. We may have a copy of a copy. There are other criteria besides the age of the MSS.; a distinction is to be made between the age of the MSS. and additions made at 2nd, 3d, 4th and even 5th and 6th hand. These emendations to which nearly all have been subjected are known by the difference in the ink and the hand. Tischendorf says the *Codex Sinaiticus* has gone through 6 hands. Now a MS. must be older than its corrections.

List of MSS. :

Ⲙ. Sinaitic	GOSPELS	PAUL'S EPIS.
A. Alexandrian	L. Regius	D. Claromontanus
B. Vatican	R. Nitriensis	E. Sangermanensis
C. Ephraemi	J. Sangallensis	F. Augiensis
D. Cambridge	ACTS, CATH. EPIS.	G. Boernesianus
	E. Laudianus	APOCALYPSE
		Ⲙ, C
		B
CURSIVES.		Porphyrianus
33 of Gospels, 13 Acts, 17 Paul		
69 " " 31 " 37		
Apoc. 14.		

The same letters do not always refer to the same MSS.; the uncials are known by capital letters, cursives by figures, versions by small letters.

The *Codex Alexandrinus* was given by Cyril Lycaris to Charles I. in 1628, and was placed in the British Museum at its founding in 1753. It contains the whole N. T. except a few passages: begins with Matt. xxv. 6, and wants part of three chapters in John, viz.: vii. 50—vii. 52; lacks these leaves of being complete in both Old and New T. It contains also the epistles of Clement of Rome. Four quarto volumes about 13 inches high; large initial letters in colored inks. It is the earliest MS. with Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons complete; and is written in beautiful upright letters without division of words. It is generally believed to have been copied in Alexandria earlier than the 5th century. It has independent value because it differs from the Vatican and the Sinaitic MS. The style of writing and letters is the first aid in determining the age. The Eusebian canons indicate A. D. 458. The best judges place it early in the 5th century. Of course where it agrees with α or B the evidence is peculiarly strong; the combination of α with the oldest is the highest authority. The ink is worn away in many places, and it is never touched except for good purpose. In proof of its Egyptian origin are the ornamental baskets of fruits appended. These MSS. are edited in Greek, the errors copied, and thus the whole is given to scholars.

B. *Codex Vaticanus* gives the O. T. with certain breaks and the N. T. with several exceptions, which are added in a different hand and at a more recent time. It is on delicate thin vellum, quarto shape, three columns to the page. It wants the capitals that are frequent in the Alexandrian. The Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons are wanting. In many places it is retraced and retouched by a hand in the 8th century. The character points to the 4th century. Even the small letters crowded in at the end of the line indicate the 4th century. A few accents are inserted by a second hand. Dates from about the close of the 2nd century. It has been jealously guarded by the Pope. In the 18th century some collations of its readings were made, but they were extremely inaccurate. No access to its was permitted for a hundred years. During the French Revo-

lution it was in Paris for a while. In 1843 Tischendorf was allowed to examine it for 6 hours; in '45 Tregelles was allowed to see it but not to transcribe any part of it. In 1866, after Tischendorf's discovery of the Sinaitic, the Pope being delighted, allowed him for a while to see this manuscript. But Tischendorf was caught copying 16 pages of it, and he was limited to 3 hours a day for two weeks to consult certain passages without pencil or paper, with two witnesses to interrupt him. The excuse they made was that they wanted to edit the MS. themselves. Part of it has been published, but the Romans do not understand it, and their work is not of much value. Quite lately access to it has been obtained and Tischendorf based his edition upon it. The difficulty is to determine what are the readings and what are the re-touchings. There is difference of opinion as to its value; it is remarkable for its omission of words; some scribes add, some drop; where the tendency is to omit its reading is more probable. This text standing alone is the strongest, and with α constitutes the best authority.

C. Codex Ephraemi is a rescript palimpsest which once belonged to the Medici family. It contains parts of the Septuagint, and the whole of the N. T. is represented in a fragmentary way—altogether $\frac{2}{3}$ N. T. given. It has the interpunction, Ammonian sections—is now in Paris—and belongs to the 5th century. Chemical restoration was tried on it in 1834, but it was injured by the process. It has capitals like the Alexandrian, but the vellum is not so fine. It has had three corrections, C*, C** and C***, from the 6th—9th centuries.

D. Codex Bezae is at the library of Cambridge—Gospels and Acts—with stichoi. It was found by Beza. It is the oldest version presenting large letters after a pause in the middle of the lines, showing a tendency to capitals. It has had 8 or 9 correctors, and is celebrated for its various readings; in 600 places in the book of Acts it differs from the others; e. g. Act viii. 24 has, "Simon Magus ceased not to shed bitter tears;" Luke vi. 4, "he beheld a certain man working on the Sabbath," is introduced as the words of Christ; "Blessed art thou if thou knowest what thou doest, and cursed if

not." It dates probably from the 6th century. Many important MSS. lie hidden in the convents of Europe. (See Tischendorf's Travels in the East.)

Ⲙ. Codex Sinaiticus. In 1844 Tischendorf visited the convent of St. Catharine on Mt. Sinai and found an ancient copy of the Septuagint, but the monks would not give it up. He made another visit in 1859 but could not find the copy; when about to leave the Superior presented him another MS. This Tischendorf pronounced the very oldest Greek MS. It is on antelope skin and is now in the library at St. Petersburg. Two editions have been made, one very expensive, having 50 or 60 facsimile pages, plates and types being cut to produce them. It characteristically agrees with the Vatican MS., often with A. The letters are slightly rounded, in the same style as the papyri MSS., no capitals, no breathings, many pages not even diacritically pointed. It has 4 columns on a page, the Vatican, 3. Hebrews is incorporated with the Epistles but comes after 2nd Thessalonians, indicating that it was made before the common order was fixed. It gives the Greek text of the epistle of Barnabas, furnishing evidence to the canon not found elsewhere. The text indicates a very early date; it has the Eusebian divisions introduced by a second hand; Barnabas and Pastor are admitted which were condemned 364. Scrivener and Tregelles say there is no use in drawing a distinction between the Vatican and Ⲙ, they are so nearly of the same age.

L. (Gospels) Regius is a quarto in the Paris library—published by Tisch. in 1846. It is one of the principal MSS.—has breathings, apostrophe, capitals and titles, resembles B and Origen's quotations, and abounds in Alexandrianisms.

R. (Gospels) Nitriensis was brought to England from a convent in the Nitrian desert north of Cairo. It is a Palimpsest. In the same volume are bound 4,000 lines of the Iliad.

Δ (Gospels) Sangallensis was named from St. Gall in Switzerland where it was made about the 9th century; it is complete except a few verses of John. Resembles G. of Paul's Epis.

E. (Acts and Cath. Epis.) Laudianus, presented by Archbishop Laud in 1636, is the most remarkable of this class. It is a Latinized version of the 6th or 7th century; interesting because used by venerable Bede. This is the first manuscript witness to prove baptism by Philip in Acts.

D. (Paul's Epis.) Claromontanus, the most important of Paul's Epis., was found at Clermont, and is inferior to κ , A, B, and C. It is on vellum—edited by Tischendorf in Paris, 1852. It was found by Beza; stolen sheets were sold to the Earl of Oxford, but were restored when the theft was discovered. It was *stichoi* added in the 5th or 6th century. These were first applied in 458. It has initial letters and the African type of Old Latin.

E. (Paul's Epis.) Sangermanensis was found in an abbey near Paris and removed to St. Petersburg at the beginning of the present century. Believed to be a remarkable copy of the preceding—has no independent value.

F. (Paul's Epis.) Augiensis is named from Augia, a convent on an island in Lake Constance. Latin and Greek—9th century.

G. (Paul's Epis.) Boernerianus is named from a German professor at Leipsic. This exactly resembles J of the Gospels, and by some is believed to be part of the same MS.

THE CURSIVES are often collated from old MSS., and may have almost the authority of an uncial, as they may be transcribed from an old uncial.

II. QUOTATIONS. The quotations of the early fathers are prior to the 4th century and older than the MSS. themselves. Besides we have early versions older than the MSS. Here, then, is a means of checking and comparing not known in other departments of criticism. Yet all this comparison is secondary to the reading of the MS. itself in authority. It is a canon of criticism that no reading is to be absolutely adopted without MS. authority. Quotations bear testimony in two ways: 1. They witness the reading of MSS. now lost. 2. Perhaps their chief value is to furnish the mode of determining and classifying MSS. Of course there is a great

difference between writers. The Latin fathers are secondary to the Latin version. The Greeks quote their own language, the Latin fathers, the Vulgate. The antiquity has much to do with the authority. If every MS. had been burned we could recover the whole N. T. from the quotations—the thing has been done—an edition thus acquired has actually been printed. Not so exactly with the O. T. There are certain drawbacks in quotation: 1. There exists no standard text: each quotation is only a witness from the MS. or family of MSS. with which the writer was familiar. 2. The form of the quotation itself has been in many cases itself altered in the transmission of the quotation. The copyist of a father would try to make him conform to another. They have not been so carefully preserved as the N. T. text, and some of the writings are only fragmentary. 3. The same writer often quotes the same text differently—quotes from the MS. he happens to be using at the time. 4. The MSS. which bring to us the quotations of the fathers are none of them as old as the N. T. MSS. themselves. The Greek N. T. MSS. have the advantage in antiquity. No MS. of a father has come down to us as old as the 4th century. Therefore they are secondary. 5. Distinctions between the classes of writings; the lowest authority is given to the controversial writers. To make prominent a single point the father might not make an accurate and complete quotation. The second rank belongs to devotional writers; as their purpose did not require accuracy they quote from memory. The third class consists of the exegetical writers. Here accuracy is to be expected. The oldest father of this description and the most copious by far is Origen. The leading critics of the time have devoted themselves to the accuracy of the text of each father, and there is a century of work to be done in the establishment of the text of these fathers. N. T. criticism is a new science really, the work has only begun. (See Tregelles.)

III. VERSIONS OR TRANSLATIONS. Two obvious rules cut off a large number of versions. 1. They must be immediate. 2. They must be ancient. By immediate is meant that they are derived directly from the Greek

text. This vastly reduces the number of versions available; only 4 of the O. T. are considered valuable. They must be ancient; this cuts off all after the 6th century. The version must be older than the Masoretic text. A version determines the text of the original. (Scrivener's 6th Lecture) The Syriac version, the oldest, was made in the 2nd century. The chief service of Bently was the restoration of the Latin Vulgate; by restoring it he proved its conformity to the oldest Greek text in a multitude of cases.

Further, this evidence from versions is not seriously impaired by the fact that their MSS. are none of them old as the Greek text. They are an independent line of witnesses. The Greek Testament has come down to us from quotations, versions, manuscripts; thus the text of the N. T. is better than that of any other book.

Versions have three uses: 1. Their critical use, which has been already alluded to; 2. Their exegetical use you can easily imagine; they are of immense importance; they give not only the opinion of an individual, but they give the decision of the whole branch of the church which used the version,—the Peshito, the opinion of the Syriac church, the Vulgate of the Latin,—forming the basis of doctrine. 3. Their philological value. They are the basis of comparing languages the literary monuments of which are extremely scarce. With regard to their exegetical value. In private use of the Bible, *reading it in languages other than your own is one of the most valuable habits.* All eminent scholars do so. We are so familiar with the English words that the ear is hardened to them. The freshness only comes out when reading in another language; each new idiom brings the text home to the mind in fresh power and suggests much. *No commentary after a grammar and a dictionary is so suggestive as a revision.* Have a polyglot Bible on your table; thus the habit of reading in all these languages is easily established.

The history of these versions is a very interesting chapter in early church history. They were made to supply the wants of the churches already established. Greek was so generally spoken, especially in the cities, that wherever a man could read he could read Greek.

The demand for translations was not immediate and they were only in the hands of scholars; the Greek language was sufficient at first for the established church. Very soon, however, translations were required, and this accounts for the antiquity of those versions which became the standards. Thus the translation of the Bible may be taken as a record of the history of each church. There was a marked difference between the church of the East and that of the West in this respect. In the west the wide use of the Latin made one translation enough, which became a strong bond of union between the Latin portions of the church. Western unity is expressed in the Latin Bible. In the east, on the other hand, many versions arose, and each one became a centre of a separate existence.

1. The Syriac Peshito. The name means *simple*, denoting the character of the translation. It is a pure, simple rendering of the Greek. The date is in dispute; church scholars put it at the end of the 2nd century or beginning of the 3d. It was made at Odessa, which was for many years the chief seat of oriental learning, and especially celebrated for its theological school. In the middle of the 5th century they took part in the Nestorian controversy. The Peshito covers the O. T. as well as the N. T., and is immediate in both (See Smith's Dict. ;) the translation is very exact, adopting some Greek expressions and Latin forms. Ephraim wrote a commentary on it in the 4th century. The canon of the Peshito is of great importance, and its value is enhanced by the fact that it is a translation of the old books; it lacks only II. Peter, II. and III. John and Jude, the four minor catholic epistles, and probably Revelation; also I. John v. 7, and the account of the woman taken in adultery. Its oldest MS. dates from the 6th century; it was not known in Europe till 1552. This is the great Syriac version.

2. The Curatonian is another Syriac version which was brought from the Nitrian desert in 1847. It is named from the publisher of the MS.; it is not a church version and hence not authoritative; it is assigned to the 5th century, and agrees mainly with D. Contains

Matt., Mark, Luke and John except 4 verses which have been lost.

3. Another version known for a good deal longer time is the Harelean of the 6th century—508—for a Monophysite bishop named Philoxiana—by Polycarp; revised 100 years after by Bishop Harcla. The translation is slavishly literal. The translators had the aid of two valuable Greek MSS., which are not extant, and preserved the various readings on the margin.

4. The version in the Aramaic Syriac belongs to the southern part of Palestine, and was made shortly before the Mohammedan invasion. Not much use was made of it; the Septuagint was used in parts of Palestine instead of the Hebrew, the Greek had become so popular. It is the only MS. of the 11th century made immediately from the Greek.

5. Egyptian versions are secondary in rank. Christianity arose in Egypt with the decay of Greek influence, after the fall of the Ptolomies or Greek kings. Where the Greeks were not so numerous Christianity effected a foothold among the natives; by the second century there was an important church, and by the third it had become very numerous. It is remarkable that the country which translated the O. T. into the Greek, should, a few centuries later, need a translation out of the Greek into the vernacular. The word Coptic is of unknown derivation—some suppose it to be a corruption of *Aiguptos*. At the Mohammedan Invasion there were 30,000 Christian families using this language of the Monophysite sect. There are two dialects of the Coptic, and each had a translation; the Thebaic is fragmentary; the Memphitic is the dialect of Lower Egypt. Very few of these MSS. are older than the 10th century. They are both regarded as good collateral authority for the 2d and 3d centuries. The Memphitic favors *σ* and *B*; the other the Latin. Fragments of a 3d Coptic were found in eastern Egypt.

6. Following the progress of Christianity, the Ethiopic versions are next. The N. T. is probably immediate in this dialect. The language has long since ceased to be spoken; it is related to the Arabic. A

literature is still written in it, and the Bible to this day is read in it, though the people do not understand it. This is in Abyssinia. An important version in criticism was the church version of that region—probably of the 4th century.

7. The Armenian version. Armenia was the first country where the aristocracy as well as the people embraced Christianity. The date of the version is 411. Though Arian, the church used the language to the beginning of the 5th century, when a new alphabet was invented. This is immediate from the N. T.

8. The Georgian version dates from about the 6th century. "Syrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, and the thousand other nations have learned the Gospel in their own language."—Chrysostom. "At that time the Gospel had penetrated all nations."—Eusebius.

9. At the beginning of the 7th century the churches gave way to Mohammedanism. Syria and Egypt lost their mother tongue, which gave place to the rich and flexible language of the stronger race. Most of them have Arabic translations. In other cases versions were made for churches already established; one was made in Spain in the 8th century.

10. Persian version. Mohammedan energy gave rise to a flourishing literature in Persia while the other nations were at their lowest ebb. In this revival of literature the church participated, however, and translations were made—not all immediate—some from the Peshito.

The Fathers mention other versions but they are now lost.

LATIN OR WESTERN VERSIONS.

The Vulgate is not the first, but the whole history of the ante-Vulgate versions is now unknown. When the church was first growing in the west a version was much needed. The Greek was assiduously cultivated, but at the same time a vernacular version was needed. Tertullian, in the 2d century, refers to one already extant. Augustine says, "In the early ages any one who possessed a Greek MS. felt qualified to become an interpreter." Jerome says there were "almost as many copies

as MSS." This is the first information we have of the existence of more than one of these Latin versions. Examination proves them to have had a common origin. They are in character literal, rude, and appear to be the work of half-educated men. Some of the vindicators of the Vulgate claim that that translation was made by an apostle. These versions were brought to the use of the church by Lachmann, who is still considered high authority. The best and most used of these is the Itala. But what does this mean? Augustine says, "Among the translations made it is said the Itala is to be preferred." The name is uncertain; Augustine writes from north Africa; this name occurs only in this one place, and seems to designate one among many. Bentley suggested that Itala should be *illa*, that one; others say he referred to the Vulgate; but the common opinion is that he had in view a distinct version, so called because made in Italy.

Latin Versions—

- a. Vercellensis, 4th century, at Vercelli.
- b. Veronensis, 4th or 5th century, at Verona.
- c. Colbert, 15th century, at ———.
- e. Palatinus, 4th or 5th century, at Vienna.
- ff. ff. ?. Corbiensis, at the Abbey of Corbey.

Thirty-two in all.

Vulgate MSS.—Am. Amiatinus—Florence, A. D. ⁶²¹541.

fu or ful. Fuldensis, Abbey of Fulda, A. D. 541.

harl, Harleian, ———, 7th century.

These are of the first order of antiquity, as they are older than the oldest Greek MSS., and so are to be classed with the Syriac. A, b, etc., are of the primitive African form. Some others represent the Italian recensions. These were first introduced by Lachmann. In the second half of the 4th century we have in Jerome better evidence. He had exhausted the resources of knowledge in the school of the west; he then went east and was a monk at Bethlehem 20 years. He began the N. T. 323 A. D.; his work was very independent and substantially new; the O. T. he translated *de novo* from

the Hebrew. But there was a prejudice against innovation, and the version could not be introduced as exclusive until the time of Gregory the Great, 600 A. D., 200 years after its production, when it was forced on the church; even then it did not entirely supersede the other. For 200 years the effort of the church was to reconcile the prejudice against it; to show that they were substantially the same two were often written in the same MS.

It was a difficult task to restore the original; before the invention of printing attempts were made to secure a uniform text; the most remarkable were the labors of Alcuin in the time of Charlemagne, and Lanfranc, of Canterbury, 1089 A. D. The invention of printing aggravated the evil. The Vulgate was the first book printed. In 1546 the Council of Trent issued the famous decree that the Vulgate should be used for all church purposes. The practical effect has been to place the version side by side with the original, and really to make it supersede the original. No two editions of the Vulgate were exactly alike. In 1590 Pope Sixtus V. prepared an edition, and in a bull commanded it to be used as the true text. Before 200 copies were issued it was found to be full of mistakes, when it was recalled and destroyed. The Papal infallibility was preserved by referring all mistakes to the printer. The MSS. of the Vulgate exceed all others in number, not excepting the Greek Testament. Bentley, the great English scholar, made the restoration of the V. the work of his life. Since his day are Lachmann and Tregelles. The great V. MS. is the Amiatinus; it contains almost perfect the whole Bible; it has been published entire by Tischendorf. Tregelles cites only 6 MSS. of the V.; Tischendorf many more. Editions of the Vulgate are cheap and convenient.

NORTHERN VERSIONS.

The Gothic, made by Ulfilas, in the middle of the 4th century, contains the Gospels, parts of the Epistles, parts of the O. T., as now extant. Ulfilas' parents were of Cappadocia, and were carried off by the Goths. They

became teachers of Christianity ; by the end of the 4th century a church was established at Constantinople, and Ulfilas became their bishop. He invented an alphabet, and translated the Bible for them. The language died out about the 9th century. At the end of the 16th the MS. was found. This is of high philological interest, as it is the only ancient monument of the family of languages which it represents—the Germanic. It throws light on the formation of our own language.

The Slavonic people received their religion from the Greeks in the 9th century.

The history of the Bible is the history of civilization, of the church, of language. By the middle of the 15th century there were Bibles translated in France, Italy, England and Germany.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

An effort to procure the pure Greek text was made after the art of printing had taken some start. The first editions of the N. T. are not really critical editions. There were three stages in the publication. 1st. The *editio princeps* was usually taken from a single MS.; 2d. the formation of the *textus receptus*; 3d. the truly critical stage founded on the materials already gathered. It gives the authorities and exhibits the evidence for each reading. The first portions of the Greek Testament ever printed were the songs of Mary and Zacharias. Luke i. 42-56—at Venice 1486; next the first six chapters of the gospel of John in 1504 were appended to the tomes of Gregory Nazienzis. The first portion independently published was the first 14 verses of John, in Tübingen. The first complete edition was that which forms the fifth volume of the great Complutensian Polyglot of Spain, so named from the place where it was printed. It was prepared under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes, confessor of Isabella. This polyglot was to commemorate the birth of Chas. V.; 600 copies were printed at a cost of 50,000 ducats, Jan. 1514, just the date of the early struggles of Luther. Owing to de-

lay in receiving sanction it was not published till 1520. The printers claimed to have had MSS. loaned from the Vatican Library. All the ancient MSS. of Ximenes are now at Madrid. As to those lent from the Vatican by Pope Leo X, it is shown that Leo did not become Pope till March, 1513, while the Complutensian text was finished in 1514; three-fourths of a year is not enough time for the work. The text also agrees with modern MSS., subsequent to the 10th century, rather than with the ancient. Its authority is further impaired, because it alters the text in many places to correspond with the Vulgate.

Owing to the delay in publishing the polyglot, the edition of Erasmus anticipated it by four years; hence the dispute arose as to which was the *princeps*. The work of Erasmus was very hastily done, and was founded on a small number of MSS.; some of them were altered in favor of the Vulgate. The one old MS. which he had bothered him so that he threw it aside. In one instance six solid verses were translated out of the Vulgate. Consequently there are numerous errors in our common text. The first of these editions was published in 1516. A very fine copy of it is one of the treasures of our library. The second edition, 1519, is that from which Luther's translation was made. The third admits a passage in John about the three witnesses, concerning which Erasmus had a controversy with one of the editors of the Comp. Polyglot, the history of which is interesting. He was attacked by the Romanists for altering the Vulgate (I John, v, 7, 8) for, following the MS. authorities, he omitted the interpolated words. Yielding to the pressure, Erasmus at last consented to insert it, provided it could be shown in any MS. Of course one was brought him. This whole MS., which was made for the purpose, is now at Trinity College, Dublin. *These words are not genuine.* Such was the demand for the Greek text that 3300 copies of the first edition were sold. In 1527 a fourth edition was issued, and afterwards a fifth in 1535. He had only 8 MSS., and the best was rejected because it disagreed with the others and was troublesome.

But what is the foundation of our common Greek text? A second series of the 5th edition was published by Robert Stephens and his son Henry at Paris, in the time of Francis I. and Henry II. The 3d Stephens is the important one to fix in the memory; it was founded on the Erasmian, and published in 1550. In England it is quoted to this day as the English common text. This is the folio Regia. This was the first attempt at giving various readings. In the 4th edition, prepared at Genoa the next year, the division into verses appeared for the first time. In 1552 Robert Stephens moved to Genoa, where he professed Protestant opinions. The number of distinct editions published about this time was great; 5 editions of Erasmus, 5 of Stephens, 5 of Beza. The date of Beza is commonly given as 1555, but the true date is 1559-1598. Beza first brought to the aid of criticism eastern MSS. His text is founded on the Regia of Stephens. He differs often where he has no authority and does not better it. His work is colored by theological bias. Beza's attempt was the last for a century, until the new impulse of the rise of modern criticism.

No important advance has been made on the Stephens folio. The editions of the Elzevirs have become famous for their beauty and accuracy. In 1624 they published a 24 mo. Φ . T., and again in 1693, an edition in which they separated the paragraphs into verses. This edition is their best, and is founded on the Regia. The editor was little more than a proof-reader. Tischendorf gives 150 variations between this one and the Stephens edition. The *textus receptus* is thus founded on the Regia. This text of Erasmus, really the basis of the common text, was drawn from but eight MSS.! So small is its authority, and so founded on the authority of man, that we are often compelled to use our best judgment as to the true reading.

CRITICAL EDITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM.

The common text held undisputed possession of the field for nearly a century. There was an advantage in this when information was scarce. In the latter part of

the 17th century a systematic effort was made to recover the true text. The honor of beginning this belongs to England. There were four important steps: 1. The London Polyglot, by Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester, in 1657, the time of Cromwell—in 6 folio volumes. The text is 3d Stephens, the standard in England. The 6th volume presents the various readings; the 5th has the N. T., with five oriental versions. This Polyglot perpetuated critical deceit to a certain extent, as it adopted a reading of a Spanish marquis which is found to have been translated from the Vulgate back to the Greek. In 1658 an Amsterdam edition was published. 2. In 1675, John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, published an elegant octavo edition founded on the text of the previous editions, with 18 new MSS. 3. The third step was the edition of John Mill, 1707, at Oxford. Bishop Fell entrusted all his critical material to the young scholar, who labored 30 years and completed the work just a fortnight before his death. Several critics have died thus. Mill was the first to make regular use of versions and patristic citations. The chief value of this edition was the impulse it gave to the subsequent; it was the standard in England for 100 years. Though he did not alter the common text, but gave the different readings in the margin, so many variations caused great alarm. Whitby wrote a review of Mill's edition condemning it, and urging the worth of the common text, and use was made of this by an infidel writer to show that no authority was due the MSS. This argument was answered in the 4th step. Bentley (1652-1742), showed that if these readings existed before discovery, discovery did not alter the facts; if religion was true before it was true afterwards; that there were advantages in these variations—for without them we would be bound to a single MS., with all its mistakes. The fact of variety is an advantage, for by comparison we may arrive at a conclusion. He declares that if half the number of MSS. had been compared with half the care for any profane writer the number of variations would have been much greater. The leading idea of Bentley was the fundamental idea of comparison, viz.: the older

rather than the more numerous MSS.; comparative criticism is the great authority; the old form is the original one, because when we get the oldest form of the Latin text and the Syriac it agrees with the oldest MSS. Bentley first called attention to this. He says: "Taking 2000 errors out of the Pope's Vulgate and as many out of the common text, I can set out an edition of each without using any book under 900 years old!" Bentley died in 1742, leaving his work incomplete. Mr. Scrivener, on the other hand, says he did not complete it because he knew he was wrong. This, however, is not the case.

BENDEL, 1687-1752. Bengel was scholarly, pious and orthodox. He published a quarto in 1744. His merit consisted in two things: 1. The clear recognition and statement of the rule that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier. The others of course, had acted on this principle, but it had not been formulated. 2. He was the first to observe the similarity in the variations of a great number of MSS., and see that it was possible to classify. He recognized the great divisions of African and Asiatic—the first being the more ancient and authoritative. He was the first also to quote both sides. He had wonderful scholarly insight. The mistake that he made was that of adopting the arbitrary rule of admitting readings that had not been found in any previous edition, except in the Apocalypse, where the foundation for the text was so slight.

His opponent was VETSTEIN, who denied any such thing as family likeness in MSS. He was obliged to flee to Amsterdam on account of his lapse from orthodoxy. His edition of 1751, Amsterdam, is still of value to scholars, though his opinions were doubtless warped. He charged the most ancient MSS. with being changed. His edition was the first to use the common notation of MSS. by letters and numbers. (A fine copy is in the library.)

MODERN CRITICISM begins with GRIESBACH (1745-1812), of Hesse-Darmstadt, a professor at Halle. The materials of criticism had greatly increased, and to them order and system were applied. Griesbach was entirely

free from prejudice in his labors, and he had great activity in theological learning. Thirty years ago he was quoted just as Tischendorf is at the present day. He made accurate collections of the readings of Origen; he differed from Vetstien, and agreed with Bentley in dividing the MSS. into African and Asiatic, but he carried the division farther, making of the African two classes, viz: Western, or Alexandrian, and Constantinopolitan. These classes he calls *recensions*, his idea being that they arose from attempt at different times and at different places to get a true text. He considered the Occidental Recension the oldest, but corrupted by glosses and alterations. It is the text of Codex D, of Cambridge, the Vulgate, the Itala, and the Latin Fathers. The Alexandrian was an attempt to revise the former, he thinks. The standard of this is found in Origen, and A, B and C. The Constantinopolitan Recension he believed to be a combination of the other two; it arose about the 4th century. This comprises 19-20 of the whole mass of MSS. and extant materials. MSS. testify, therefore, by families, and the greatest weight is given to the Alexandrian. The union of any two of these is sufficient proof of a reading; if the two oldest, however, disagree, then the place of the Const. was to mediate between them. Griesbach was a conservative thinker; his somewhat artificial principle really led him right, and his classification proved of immense service for a long time. His editions were issued in 1775 and 1806; in the interval much new material was gathered. Some of his rules are still used, viz:

1. No reading to be accepted without support of ancient testimony.
2. The shorter rather than the longer.
3. The more difficult rather than the easier.
4. That which is a clear proof of orthodox doctrine is usually suspicious.

SCHOLZ, a reformed Roman Catholic, was at one time much copied in England. His influence was due partly to his activity, partly to his giving authority to the modern MSS. He brought in 118 cursives, but collated only 13. His work is now-a-days regarded as

superficial and full of blunders; nobody takes his authority. With him the schools began to divide. He was a reactionist, giving the greater weight to the more numerous MSS. Scholz urged the objection that the ancient MSS. differ among themselves. To this we may answer—

1. That the fact is disputed. Scrivener insists that this objection is a ground of their authority; their very difference proves that they are independent testimonies. 2. Modern texts are not true simply because they agree, for they might be multiplied copies of the same standard. The history of the Vulgate illustrates the point, the modern manuscripts agreeing in over 2000 instances where they agree in differing from the older or established Vulgate text. 3. Where the mass of later cursive MSS. differ from the ancient, comparative criticism is the great appeal, comparing with the ancient Greek all the other sources of versions, quotations, etc. This was Bentley's principle, but he had not the material; and this is the principle of modern critics. The further we go the nearer we approach the very words of the inspired text. Scholz was superficial and unreliable: so all his work had to be done over again.

LACHMANN holds a high place in modern criticism. First edition, 1831, the next in 1842 (second volume, 1850). This edition is of lasting value. He was accurate in collation, so that what he says we may take as matter of fact. He was the first to form a text upon evidence alone irrespective of the common text. Ancient authority is the great corner-stone of the school of Lachmann. He adheres to the ancient sources of evidence, no matter to what that evidence leads. The question commonly asked was, Is there any necessity for departing from the common reading? "This," says Lachmann, "was the question with Griesbach. With me it is, Is there any necessity for departing from the most ancient authorities?" His MSS. were A, B and C, with 4 fragments from the 4th to the 9th century. Great credit is due him for the development of materials from the ante-Jerome authorities. What was the actual text in the 4th century? was the question with him; he al-

lowed himself no choice of those older than the 4th century, the oldest, he thinks, that we can obtain with certainty of value. This seems like a very formal and absurd principle, and so it is practically. To relieve the difficulty where he was led into error by this, he draws the distinction closely between the recension and the subsequent emendation. The objections to Lachmann are: 1. The narrow range of authorities he allows. The only version which he adopts is the old Latin. 2. The rigidity with which he adheres to his principle, even accepting acknowledged error. 3. The problem which he presents himself is not really the true problem, viz: What is the text of the 4th century? We want to know what is the true text itself. Yet his is a very important contribution. His critical judgment was wonderfully accurate.

TISCHENDORF published his first edition in 1841. Three editions in Paris; then a second Leipsic edition in 1849. The seventh edition was for a time the most complete. He has later commentaries since 1860, the time of the discovery of the Sinaitic MS., and his 8th and last edition was finished just before his death in December, 1874. (He died from paralysis.) He was the great authority of his day, and as good as any in our own time; he did more than any other one man, perhaps; and although his judgment is not always the best, and his temper was bad, his accuracy is acknowledged.

His principle is to found the text on the most ancient evidence; to discover what the inspired authors actually wrote the most adequate evidence is the ancient Greek MSS. He has a wider range than Lachmann, and the bases of his criticism are much wider than Lachmann's. His principles are as follows:

I. That a reading peculiar to one document is suspicious, especially if there is any evidence that it has originated in an idiosyncrasy or peculiar judgment of some author.

II. Readings, however plausible, if errors of copyists, are to be rejected.

III. In case of parallel passages, those testimonies are preferable in which precise verbal concordance does not occur. The temptation of copyists is to assimilate.

IV. The great canon. This is the rule formulated by Bengel, viz: In various readings that must be adopted which accounts for other readings, that which appears to have given occasions for them. After the adherence to ancient MSS., this is the most valuable canon of criticism. Bengel's form of this is open to objection. It would appear that the errors were intentional; but this is not the chief source of corruptions. "Nonsense is always more difficult than sense," says Dr. Alexander. Sometimes the rule would not work. These objections do not lie against the rule as announced by Tischendorf. Amid a group of readings there must always be one that will account for the others, and this, according to the rules of common sense, is the true one. But testimony is superior to all rules.

V. He appeals to the difference of style of the N. T. authors and the character of the N. T. Greek. He adheres to those readings which best accord with the N. T. Greek. The common text contains fewer Alexandrian peculiarities than the original text perhaps; these were removed in copying. Various criticisms have been urged against this position. Bishop Ellicott in his introduction to some commentaries testifies by his personal knowledge of certain languages that Tischendorf was not acquainted with those languages. Another is the difference of his editions. His 8th edition quotes most against himself, reversing his judgment. Scrivener says his 8th edition differs from his 7th in more than 3000 places. One must always be on his guard in quoting Tischendorf. He says he was always learning; nevertheless this throws doubt upon his judgment. Another objection was that after the discovery of the Sinaitic MS. he was so carried away with it that he would allow its readings to overweigh other readings. This was true often, but often it was not true; in many cases he decides against A and B. Still Tischendorf is perhaps quoted more than any one else.

TREGELLES, in 1856, re-wrote that part of Horne's Introduction which relates to the N. T. He, too, was paralyzed, and died in 1875 while working on Revelation, just as Tischendorf had died. He agrees, in the main with the latter. His peculiarities are two: 1. That he started with the impossible notion of giving no evidence at second hand. As a matter of course he would begin with the most important monuments; by the restriction of time his attention would be confined to a very few; the result is that his readings are peculiarly like Lachmann's. But this was not a matter of principle with him. 2. Another peculiarity is that which makes it valuable to the student; instead of being full of everything, Tregelles selects few readings and does not burden his book with matter of only secondary importance. Another feature of his edition is the special attention paid to the readings of versions under the Fathers, Origen's great depository.

WESTCOTT AND HORT's edition has been in course of preparation for 25 years, and is still withheld as it is expected to be a standard. It is to give the result of the most careful weighing and judicial examination of evidence.

SCRIVENER is now the greatest living authority. He arose from poverty and became an English clergyman and a great writer. He is somewhat opposed to Lachmann; advocates the modern authorities, and gives more and more weight to internal evidence. His Six Lectures on Introduction to Modern Criticism is a most readable book.

As the result of the whole matter, critics are divided into two schools, one preferring the ancient MSS., the other the modern. There is no standard text; yet far the most important portions of the N. T. are fixed. The MSS. of the ancient classics are not many; the more popular of the fathers have fared somewhat better, yet there is only one copy of Clement; the best copy of Irenaeus is one of the 10th century. There are above 1000 MSS. of the Greek N. T., and others are being continually brought to light. When we consider how recent is the rise of criticism, and how much is being done, we

can refute the objection that its results are negative; the very best result we could ask is that the Bible be left as it is, with a mass of evidence collected to prove its authority and authenticity. We can already say that the greater part of the N. T. never can be discredited on evidence.

Recapitulation of the Principles of Criticism. We have, in the first place, three depositories of the text, manuscripts, versions and quotations. 2nd. Among the whole number of MSS. the oldest is most likely to contain the purest text, being nearest to the source. 3d. But this character must not be taken for granted, but supported by actual external evidence; if, in multitudes of cases, examination shows that they are supported by collateral testimony, their superiority is established. 4th. A very few of the cursives, as 33 and 69 Tregelles, bear this test. 5th. If the oldest MSS. had agreed entirely there would have been no difficulty. But, even in the first century after the apostles the text had been largely altered, as we know by the various ways in which it is quoted. 6th. What shall decide where authorities differ? The school of Lachmann, including nearly all the modern critics, Tischendorf, Wescott, Hort and nearly all the commentators, say that where the oldest MSS. differ, the appeal must be to versions which are older than the MSS. themselves; and that the combination of a few MSS. must be held as conclusive. 7th. More and more weight is given in our day to the principle of grouping as announced by Bengel and carried to extremes by Scholz. Evidence is more important when it accumulates from different quarters on the same point. MSS. may agree in style, elegance, tendency to paraphrase, etc. This grouping is not a return to Griesbach's idea of recension, which was that the three families of MSS. were the result of an effort to publish and amend the text at three different times. The principle of grouping does not recognize any such thing. If two MSS. characteristically differ, they are evidence of independent traditions of the text; now where such agree the evidence is very strong. 8th. Very often the evidence is so balanced that nobody can make up his mind; then the

appeal is to the principles of internal evidence, i. e., to the rules laid down by Tischendorf. Here again, there is great difference between the schools; Tregelles gives less weight to these than Tischendorf; on the other hand, Scrivener attaches great importance to them and divides them up into about twenty. His reasons are: 1st. That these rules are too narrow, that they exclude evidence. 2nd. He objects that the agreement of the oldest uncials among themselves is not so great as might be supposed. 3d. When they agree the appeal ought to be made not only to ancient but to modern MSS. He says that the cursives are evidence of MSS. now lost. 4th. His special appeal is to the judgment on internal evidence. Now just there you will see an objection to this method of appeal to modern authorities; that it may be true for the interpreter or the exegete, but what we want of a critic is to confine himself to existing evidence, pure, clear and unbiased by any sense of meaning. We do not want the critic to go upon analogy of faith.

SCRIVENER'S CANONS are reducible to the following:

I. The text is not to be derived from any one set of authorities, but by comparison of all sources.

II. When real agreement exists between the old MSS. up to the 6th century, and the new up to the 9th, they are in all probability correct, but there is a possibility of the old being wrong and the modern correct.

III. Where the oldest MSS. disagree the testimony of later uncials and cursives is important.

IV. The highest value is to be given to readings coming from remote independent sources. So α and B are not so strong as A and B. He considers B the highest authority, and B and C the best combination, because they differ; thus when they combine the evidence is conclusive.

TREGELLES, on the other hand, holds:

I. The best authority is that of the oldest MSS. and versions, so as to present as far as possible the text received in the 4th century.

II. If we have proof which carries us nearer the apostolic age, use the data.

III. In cases in which the oldest documents agree in manifest error, state it but give the grounds for a better reading.

IV. In matters altogether doubtful give the best readings, but do not try to settle the difficulty.

V. He gives authority to the readings of all the cursives and uncials.

The two schools differ first on ancient authority, and secondly, on the part left to judgment, or internal evidence. The result after all is not so great; where the ancient testimony from all quarters is concordant all would receive it. Criticism's chief value has been the accumulation of evidence for the great portion of the N. T. where there is no difference. If criticism had done no more than that we still would owe it much for its overwhelming testimony. What better can we ask? For instance, the first verses of the 1st chapter of the Gospel of John do not differ in the several versions. Again, as this is a question of evidence, common-sense minds will agree after a time. In the last twenty years there has been a wonderful growth in enlightenment and agreement, and yet the day when the last word is to be said as to the ancient text has not come. The lifetime of a few individuals is not enough to accomplish all.

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCIPAL PASSAGES IN DISPUTE.

Mark xvi, 9-20,	John iii, 13,
Luke xxiv, 51,	Acts vii, 37,
Matt. vi, 12, 13,	Acts xx, 28,
John v, 3, 4,	1 John v, 7, 8,
John vii, 53-viii, 11,	1 Timothy iii, 16,
John i, 18,	1 Peter iii, 15,
	1 John iv, 2, 3.

I. The most extended passage in dispute is the last twelve verses of Mark. These verses are omitted in κ and B. L. substitutes a shorter passage. About 25 cursives omit them. The Ammonian sections stop with

the 8th verse. Of versions, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, and one old Latin omit them. The last fact is not so conclusive, because many of the best Latin MSS. are defective. Eusebius evidently does not accept them, and Jerome speaks of many Greek MSS. which omit them. This is pretty strong ancient testimony. On the other hand, in their favor is the great mass of the remainder of the evidence, A, C, D, all the rest of the nuncials, and the great mass of the cursives; among the versions, the Peshito, the Vulgate and some old Latin; of the fathers, Irenaens, Hippolytus and the later fathers generally. So there is an amount of very ancient evidence on each side.

Now what are we to do? In the first place the appeal is to internal evidence. The argument of those who reject is this: 1st, That in these 12 verses there is a good deal of phraseology out of analogy with the rest of the gospel; and this is of two sorts, negative and positive. Negatively, many of the peculiarities of Mark's language do not occur here; and, positively, many expressions occur here which he never uses elsewhere, e. g., "the first day of the week" where we would expect "Sabbath;" "ὁ κύριος" is used absolutely for Christ here and nowhere else in the Gospel. Those who accept the passage slight these and say such things often occur, and that in closing he naturally employs terms he had not used before. The argument from style is among the most precarious of all arguments. On the other hand, the internal evidence is favorable. 1st. The motive for the omission of the passage is apparent, viz., to throw away difficulties. But this is a poor principle. 2nd. The Gospel terminates most abruptly without these verses. 3d. The very difficulties which they present show that they could not have been added later than the apostolic age. Scrivener is for the passage, Tischendorf against it, and intermediate between them are most critics.

The conclusion is, 1st, they probably did not come from the same hand; and 2nd, they are added and accepted by the apostolic church. Not by Mark, yet canonical.

II. Luke xxiv, 51. A, B, several cursives, one old Latin, and an extant passage from Augustine omit these words. Only in the close of Mark and in these words of Luke have we any account of the ascension; it is given by Luke in Acts, but not elsewhere in the Gospels. Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott and Hort retain these words on the authority of all the rest of the MSS.

III. Matt. vi, 12, 13. In the 12th verse the aorist "forgave" is substituted on the authority of A, B, C, Origen, Basil, Gregory Naz. Several uncials give the common text. Dr. Schaff suggests "as we have forgiven." More important is the omission of the doxology in the 13th verse. All the oldest uncials, five cursives, the old Latin, the Vulgate versions, the Greek fathers, Origen, Gregory and all the Latin fathers omit these words. On the other hand, in favor of the passage are the later uncials and the mass of the cursives; also the Syriac, Ethiopian, Armenian and Gothic versions. The probable way of accounting for its reception by the 4th century documents, is that it was a traditional way of closing prayer perhaps derived from the custom of the apostles, perhaps of Christ himself. But in criticism it has no place in Matthew; the great majority agree that the doxology of the Lord's prayer does not belong to the Bible.

IV. John v, 3, 4. Against the last clause of the 3d verse are A, B, C, L, later uncials, a good many cursives, and some versions. For it are the Peshito, many Latin MSS., &c. Tertullian clearly refers to it. The 4th verse is omitted by B, C, D, and a few other cursive MSS. A, L, Tertullian, the Peshito, and by degrees the later MSS. accept it. But the old authorities constantly mark it as suspicious. The internal evidence is quite against it, for, 1st. The whole text of the verse is exceedingly varied. 2nd. It contains unusual expressions. 3d. It has no analogy with the miracles. A standing miracle, a miraculous pool is quite out of analogy with any Scriptural facts. 4th. It originated as a marginal scholium, made perhaps to account for the difficulty. Critics almost universally consent to the erasing of this verse. Some one suggests that it was inserted by the

apostle himself, but that is the purest guess. The usual feeling of orthodox exegetes is that this passage is better lost than saved, because the evidence is so strong against it.

V. John vii, 53—viii, 11—is wanting in many of the oldest MSS. A and C are somewhat defective here. In many it is marked doubtful; it is omitted in the Peshito, etc.; it is found in the Vulgate, and is mentioned by Jerome and Augustine. The internal difficulty is that those MSS., which give it, vary more in this passage than in any other N. T. passage; it also differs in style from John's writings, containing many words not elsewhere found in John. All these considerations taken together produce the impression that this never came from the pen of John. Tertullian and others, writing on what should bring this in omit it, and it does not appear in any MSS. earlier than the 4th century. On true critical principles, therefore, it must be rejected. But we do not want to lose this story; it may be true, though not canonical. The later MSS. accept it, and Eusebius contains such a tradition; but it is almost universally given up as non-canonical.

VI. We will now consider a few passages of theological importance. John i, 18. Instead of *ὁ υἱὸς* of the common text, B, C, L, 33, etc., support *θεός*. This reading may almost be called general among the fathers. The reading of the common text is found in A and the MSS. generally. Here is a troublesome case; the oldest authorities support *θεός*, the widest spread support *ὁ υἱὸς*. For *θεός* on strict critical principles are many of the modern critics. Tischendorf here inconsistently allows his exegetical judgment to bias his decision; he prefers *ὁ υἱὸς*. The prevalent belief among German scholars is that *θεός* is the true reading. It seems very hard to believe—"the only begotten God."

VII. John iii, 13. "No man hath ascended up to heaven." This is omitted in A, B, L, and 33. Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, *et al.*, reject it; Scrivener glories over retaining it. The verse is genuine and important.

VIII. Acts viii, 37. Philip and the eunuch. This verse is opposed to the combination of all lines of evi-

dence. It occurs in one uncial, a few cursives, some old Latin and the Vulgate versions, and is quoted by several Latin fathers. It has the very slenderest testimony.

IX. Acts xx, 28. "The church of God," etc. This is a very good case of balanced external evidence, and of the application of the principles of internal evidence. Some favor $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, some $\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$. Ancient testimony excludes the double reading, although it is in the mass of the later cursives, and it is rejected in the common text. Now, which reading best accounts for the other? "Church of God" is the more difficult; and it would account for "Church of the Lord." On the other hand, opposed to the principle of internal evidence is the fact that $\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ is strongly in analogy with the style of Scripture. We do not read of the blood of God. Here is a case where critics cannot agree. Good judgment says $\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$.

X. I John, v, 7, 8, is now universally rejected. The scanty evidence in its favor is all Latin, and even that not earlier than the 4th century. Scrivener thinks it is a gloss which arose in North Africa. There has been a great theological fight over this, but nowadays it is conceded that the doctrine of the Trinity rests on other foundations.

XI. I Tim. iii, 16. For $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ there are various readings, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and $\delta\grave{o}$. This illustrates two principles. All the oldest testimony is for a *relative* rather than $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. Many MSS., the Slavonic version and the later Greek fathers favor $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. Thus the mass of early testimony is for a relative. Now, is it $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ or $\delta\grave{o}$? The testimony of the early Greek witnesses is mostly for the masculine; and when we take into consideration that $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ is the harder reading, that $\delta\grave{o}$ would be more likely to arise out of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, than the converse, and that the reading $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ best accounts for the existence of both the other readings, we conclude that $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ is the true reading.

XII. I Peter, iii, 15. The question here is whether we are to read "God" or "Christ." For "God" we have only authorities after the 9th century; while for the reading "Christ" we have the most preponderating evidence. The apostle is quoting from Isaiah viii, 13,

which is a strong proof from Peter that Christ is God. On such points the LXX. is at variance with both the N. T. and the Hebrew text.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

[See an admirable sketch by B. F. Westcott on the External and Internal History of the Bible; and Dr. Eadie—1878—a larger and fuller history of the Bible, giving more internal comparisons.]

Westcott's book is the first attempt to exhibit the internal history of the version, by showing by comparison the dependence of each step on the preceding step. He devotes his strength chiefly to the internal examination of the various transactions, showing by actual comparison what they contain of previous labor, how much of continental work, how much of Luther, how much of the Swiss Bible, etc. The term growth is appropriate to our Bible; it is acknowledged by English-speaking scholars that our version is the best—and it is the work, not of individuals, but of the church. It gathered into itself the whole scholarship of the times—of the continent, as well as of England. The fact that it took “England a century to do what Luther did alone,” accounts for its excellence. The history of the Bible is the history of the church. It sprung from the simple, practical purpose of giving the people the Word as the means of their spiritual life. Its history is associated singularly with the martyrdom of its defenders. Tyndale was strangled; Calvin was persecuted, and Cranmer, who left us the English Psalter, was blessed with a death of triumphant agony.

During the darkest period of the Romish corruptions, as early as the 8th century, the Psalms had been translated into Anglo-Saxon, and Bede had translated the Gospel of John, completing the last sentence on the day of his death. In the 9th century Alfred translated the ten commandments; in the 10th, the Gospels, and several books of the O. T. were translated; and after the Norman invasion a fragmentary translation of the N. T. and Psalms was continued.

In the 14th century the struggle for life began. Three translations of the Psalter were made in the early part of that century. All these MSS. were prior to the art of printing. In 1356 Wickliffe finished the N. T., and in 1384 the whole Bible, making his version from the Vulgate. Being in many particulars unsatisfactory, it was revised in 1388 by John Purvey—still from the Vulgate. This Bible was widely circulated among all classes. Both versions were frequently copied, many of them of small size for convenient carriage, and some of those copies are still extant. They were driven out of circulation into the libraries. To these facts we owe the evidence of contemporaneous literature, Chaucer, and the whole class of English authors; the MSS. have been preserved, though many printed editions have passed away.

But we have to do with the printed Bible chiefly. Before the end of the 15th century the Bible had been printed in Spanish, French, Dutch and Bohemian. The fame of Erasmus as a teacher of Greek drew Tyndale to Cambridge—1509–24. Tyndale was born in 1484, and educated at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1520 he returned to his native Gloucestershire, where he filled the office of private tutor and chaplain in a family of rank. In controversy with a Romish priest he said that if God spared his life he would, ere many years, “cause the boy that driveth the plow to know more of the Scriptures than the priest.” Tyndale devoted himself to this work. In his openness and rashness he reminds us of his namesake. He came to London for aid, and happened to preach before a London alderman who was attracted by him, gave him shelter, and supported him for a year; for which goodness he was at length thrown into the Tower. After a while Tyndale retired to Hamburg on the continent. In 1524 he published the Gospels; passing on to Colossians, he finished the whole N. T., and proceeded to finish a fine quarto edition, when the Dutch scholars heard of it. He escaped with his prepared sheets to Worms, where he commenced a small octavo. Both editions reached England in 1526, and were immediately proscribed by Henry VIII. The translation

was attacked as monstrous and unscholarly, and burned. By 1530 six editions had been introduced. Of 15,000 there remained of the first edition only a fragment; of the second, one copy and a fragment; of all the rest only two or three copies, so great was the persecution it received. But Tyndale, on the continent, was still manufacturing more. In 1530 he completed the Pentateuch, and in '34 the book of Jonah. In 1536 a revised edition of the N. T., on which he had begun labor, was finished. A copy which belonged to Anne Boleyn is still extant. In 1536 the first edition was published in England, the year of Tyndale's death. While in prison he revised the N. T. for another edition, a few copies of which remain.

Tyndale was heroic, humane, a true genius, and a man of fine scholarship. His single purpose of making the Bible plain to the people renders his work permanent; it is to-day no exaggeration to say that our Bible is substantially Tyndale's. This point is clearly made out by Westcott in his exhibition of the internal history of Tyndale's Bible and those that succeed it. The important part of Westcott's work is the collation. Marsh states that Tyndale's Bible is a revision of Wickliffe's; but this is a natural mistake to make; and, again, the enemies of Tyndale had a motive in depreciating his work. Thomas More said it was simply a reproduction of Luther's Bible. There is conclusive proof to the contrary, however. 1. Tyndale never went to Wittenberg at all. 2. It is true that his Bible was published after Luther's, but he had long before consecrated himself to the work. 3. Tyndale's own statement was that he was not helped by any one. 4. He had the necessary skill, for this is evinced by his scholarly notes. 5. Westcott compares Tyndale's Bible with the Vulgate, Luther and the original Greek, and shows that it was direct from the Greek. 6. As to its dependence on Wickliffe, the slightest comparison shows there was no such dependence. The aid of most service to Tyndale was the Latin translation of Erasmus. Tyndale had been educated under Erasmus chiefly. It is perfectly clear from internal comparison that this Latin translation was of more assistance to him than any other; but, after all, it was

used as we would use another version, or a commentary, merely for assistance. Still the charge of Tyndale's dependence upon Luther has a certain color, while the originality of his translation is clearly proved. Passages of Tyndale's preface are avowedly taken from Luther, so with the prologues, etc.

A brief examination of Tyndale's version will show how much of our Bible he furnishes. Westcott estimates numerically that in the Epistle of I John $\frac{9}{10}$ are Tyndale; of Ephesians, $\frac{5}{6}$; but these are high figures. More than this, from first to last Tyndale's style and interpretation are retained. The originality of our version, its appeal to the universal feeling of English speaking people everywhere, is largely due to the characteristics of Tyndale's mind. He establishes a standard of Biblical translation; his spirit animates the whole. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not *literal*, and by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanency. His Bible has had a conservative effect on the English, and has enriched our language and thoughts forever with characteristics of the *Socratic* mind.

Next is Coverdale's Bible. In 1534 a convocation of Canterbury under Crammer, prayed the king that the Bible might be translated for the people; Coverdale was appointed for this work under the patronage of Sir Thomas More and Cromwell. The best of Coverdale is no doubt chiefly Tyndale, although he used several other versions; he introduces changes upon Tyndale from these and other sources. He makes no pretense to going back to the original text; his work was only a contribution to the future version of the English nation. Coverdale had great taste, nevertheless, and contributed many of the happiest expressions to our Bible, as well as better arrangement and general smoothness of version. He also restored to the English version the ecclesiastical terms which Tyndale had removed in translation—terms which, if translated, must be translated for every sect. Where they cover common grounds, the translation is Tyndale as amended by Coverdale. He retained the psalter and liturgy unchanged. His first

edition was printed in 1635, and dedicated to the king. It was never formally authorized, nor was the second, but through the influence of Cromwell the opposition to it was removed.

The next, Matthew's Bible, has a curious history. Tyndale had left a translation extending from Joshua to II Chronicles. With this and Tyndale's Pentateuch, Coverdale's remaining books of the O. T., and Tyndale's N. T., Matthew made a composite Bible. Tyndale's 1535 edition was the basis of his N. T. He made no attempt at revision. Some suppose that "Matthew" was a pseudonym. The importance of Matthew's Bible may be due to its being the first authorized by the crown. Cranmer was influential in this. Henry sanctioned it, though he knew that it was substantially the very same Bible he had previously condemned. This became the basis of all subsequent versions until our own, 75 years later.

The fourth on the list was the Great Bible. As Matthew's Bible was found to contain doubtful passages, Cromwell decided on a revision. The work was begun in Paris, but afterwards transferred to London, where it was carried through by Cranmer and Cromwell. This is the Great Bible of which we read such graphic accounts of crowds collecting around the readers. A copy was placed in every church. There were six editions, 1610-41. Owing to the disgrace of Cromwell and his execution, the last two bear the names of Tunstal and Heath; Tunstal, who now comes to put his name on the finished edition, although he had so persecuted Tyndale. Again, Westcott shows Coverdale's revision of the N. T., and that they relied on the Latin version chiefly for the O. T. In the N. T. the revision was aided by Erasmus. In I John there are 71 variations from Tyndale; 43 of them are from Coverdale, 17 from the Vulgate, and the rest are from other sources. The original basis remains substantially.

A period of reaction came, and in 1543 private reading of the Scriptures was prohibited. There was a great destruction of Bibles. Of the copies which escaped many have the title pages torn out. In 1547 Henry died.

With the accession of Henry VI. came a reaction the other way. During his reign of six years 13 editions of the Bible and 35 of the N. T. were issued, and private reading was enjoined. During Mary's reign, of course, there was no English edition issued. Cranmer and Rodgers were martyred; Coverdale and others escaped to the continent. But in 1557 the refugees put forth the N. T., and in 1560 the Bible, which became the household edition. This persecution did much to further the work.

The Bible prepared by the English refugees in Geneva, is the Genevan Bible. In 1557 the brother-in-law of Calvin published the N. T., and in 1560 the whole Bible was dedicated to the Queen. The foundation of this version was the Great Bible corrected by the labor of Swiss theological students—Beza especially. At the same time in which the work was going on in Geneva, Calvin was revising the French Bible. The N. T. of the Genevan Bible was simply that of Tyndale amended by the labors of Beza and his coadjutors. This Bible had a curious history; it was a small quarto; it was the first to use the Roman letter, and the first in which the verses were separated in printing, as had been done in the Greek of Stephens' edition. It was furnished with copious notes, and was carefully edited by fine scholars. It continued to be the household Bible for a quarter of a century.

THE BISHOP'S BIBLE. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign there were two rival Bibles. That of Geneva was practically *the* Bible, but the Great Bible was the one authorized by the church. The former was very much the better; it contained the marginal, doctrinal notes of the Reformation. But these notes were objectional to the ecclesiastics; so eight bishops, of whom Archbishop Parker was the principal, were employed to popularize their Bible and remove the evident errors. This was done with great fidelity, and in 1568 the Bishop's Bible was published; and in 1572 the second edition, which became the basis of our Bible. It was authorized to be used in the churches, every cathedral and every church was to have one if possible. Yet 16 years after it had

not entirely superseded the Great Bible. No edition of the latter was printed after 1569. The Bishop's Bible never supplanted the Genevan in the use of the people, so at the end of Elizabeth's reign as at the beginning, there were still two rival Bibles.

KING JAMES' BIBLE. Shortly after the accession of James I a conference set on foot the final revision, of which the king's literary tastes made him a promoter. The king proposed to pay for the labor of revision by church preferment and not from the treasury; he afterwards wanted collections to be taken from the different churches for the purpose of remunerating the revisers, but they were never paid and the whole work was done gratuitously. About 50 scholars were employed; these were separated into six companies, and the several books divided between them. This parcelling out of the work caused some of the difficulties with which we now have to contend. Two of these companies sat at Westminster, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge. The Bishop's Bible was to be the text. Each part of the work was to pass under review of the whole committee. After three year's labor the Bible was printed in 1611 by Richard Barker. It was nearly 50 years after the issue of the authorized version that the Genevan Bible was finally displaced, in the troubles during which the throne was perverted, and the Genevan Bible, which was acceptable to the dominant party, was nevertheless exchanged for the authorized version—though the Genevan had been the household Bible of that very party for three-quarters of a century. The term *authorized version* is uniformly applied to King James' version of 1611, although there is no evidence that it was ever publicly sanctioned. It gained currency by the influence of church and state combined, and by its own merits. It borrowed the title "authorized." It is not generally known that many improvements, chiefly in language, were adopted from the Catholic version into that of King James. Beza and the Genevan Bible were useful in interpretation. Cases are rare in which the authorized version goes back of an earlier English Bible. Considerable progress had by this time been made in scholarship; e. g., in Isaiah LIII

there is scarcely a verse which does not exhibit skill and accuracy of the revisers. As the edition of 1611 contained many errors of the press, that of 1638 has been adopted by the Bible societies ever since. The Cambridge edition of 1638, then, is the best standard edition of the English Bible. So our Bible is the work, not of one man but of the church, and of a century. Looking back we may satisfy ourselves that the substance and the spirit are Tyndale's, revised and corrected by the scholarship of a century. Seven-eighths of Tyndale's version we still have.

CHAPTER VI.

REASONS FOR REVISION.

[See *Trench, Ellicott^A and Lightfoot.*]

This matter of revision is based on two considerations, the text and the translation. I have said all I have to say on the text. The real necessity for correcting the translation exists where doctrine is affected. Now, there are no cases where the doctrine of Scripture is affected as to its authority, but the doctrine of a particular clause may be. If we were to cut out any disputed point it would not affect the doctrine of the Bible. The charge that the Bible translation as we have it was made to favor Calvinistic doctrine is unfair.

The translation of Romans v, 15, 17, 18, 19, Bentley says, opens the way for mistakes. Upon the true translation of this passage Universalism bases itself to a great extent. That drops the article in each case, "the many," "the one," etc. Now, commentators agree that "the many" are antitheses to "the one." Sentence of death was passed upon all men, for all men sin; the grace of Jesus Christ hath abounded unto "the many." So again in the 18th verse, "the many" shall be made righteous. This passage teaches Universalism when pushed to the extreme. Words actually were dropped out to free it from this difficulty; but this is tampering with inspiration. The difficulty is to be guarded against by exegesis, 1. from the teaching of the Gospels, and 2. by limiting

the universal terms by the idea of the context. If many are dead, that implies that all are not. Universalism on one side and limited atonement on the other. The passage is easier in the Greek than in the English.

I Cor. xi, 29, is a fruitful source of superstitious fear at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The word probably never means *damnation*, though so translated six times. The condemnation is limited to the specific sin of unworthily partaking; he condemns himself because he discerns not the Lord's body. This removes a difficulty which has been an injury to our Bible.

Hebrews x, 38. Now the just shall live by faith; but if *any man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. "Any man" is supplied, whereas the obvious construction makes *δίζαιος* the subject. This seemed to Coverdale, Cranmer and Tyndale to imply that the just might apostatize. Three considerations favor a strict rendering: 1. The verse is quoted from the LXX, and the quotation inverts the clauses to avoid the mistake. 2. Analogy favors it; e. g., Heb. vi, where the possibility of falling from grace is discussed. 3. Strict grammatical principles; where the grammatical construction is perfect we have no right to supply a subject. The change was made here for doctrinal purpose.

Acts ii, 47. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved. The participle is not the future passive. The charge is made that our translators altered the text for the sake of the doctrine of predestination. We cannot translate that into English, but have to paraphrase it. A great deal has been made of this passage. The last two passages are relied upon as proof of Calvinistic bias against Arminianism, but there is no evidence of it in either of them.

Coloss. ii, 15. The term "spoiled" is peculiarly unfortunate here, for English readers seeing the word twice would suppose it to mean the same in both cases. The word so translated here means *to strip off from one's self*, having always the force of the middle. Having divested himself of these before mentioned principalities and powers, etc. The omission of the article is also unwarrantable.

John x, 16. Here is an unintentional mistranslation of fold instead of flock, spoiling the strong alliteration at the end of the verse. He means to say there shall be one flock of many folds. Bishop Ellicott's bitter zeal is uncalled-for; he insinuates that some have inserted errors to suit their ideas of orthodoxy. Calvinism did not base itself on the English version of the Bible.

Matthew xxiii, 2+ contains printers' mistakes. So Matt. x, 4. Acts ii, 3, should read distributed, not *cloven*. I Thess. v. 22. Abstain from appearance of evil. The Genevan Bible has "all kinds of evil." Ephesians iv, 18. Because of the blindness of their hearts. "Blindness" should be "hardness." All such errors will be removed in revision.

Minor Inaccuracies. Care should be taken against loss of idiom. For instance, the genitive of quality is often translated by an adjective; e. g., "the children of disobedience" is stronger than "disobedient children." The moods and tenses are to be carefully noted. The prepositions have been translated with a looseness for which there is no excuse; *ἐν* has suffered especially. So with the particles *ἀλλά*, *δέ* and *καί*. So with the article, e. g., "Whosoever marrieth her that is divorced," etc. The Greek has no "her that is." We have no right to introduce so limiting a word. "The love of money is the root of all evil." Paul does not say that; he says it is a root of all evil. In the 4th ch. of Romans the same word is translated "counted," "reckoned," "imputed." "These shall go into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life *eternal*." This is an example of obscuring parallels by different translations of the same word.

The idea of this revision is not to change everything at once. The version must bear the test of time. Probably a generation will pass away before it will recommend itself as to supersede the familiar vernacular. The generation of ministers to which you belong will be very busy in the matter.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CANON.

The several parts of the N. T. were composed by 8 different persons in the space of about 50 years. Now

how were they brought together? Our sources of information are very few. The earliest references are to the separate books rather than to the N. T. as a whole. In support of its early collection we may notice, 1. The reverence of the early church for the written word. Their possession of the O. T. made the idea of a collection of books familiar to them, and prepared them to accept the N. T. 2. The separate writings of the N. T. itself contain few intimations of the new collection, yet they claim the authority of the Word of God. That claim is implied where it is not explicitly made. I. Tim., iv. 1; II Thess., iii, 6; Rev., xxii, 19; I Thess., v, 37 Coloss., iv. 16, contains the first intimation we have in the N. T. itself of a collection of the canon. The whole character of the writing proves them to have been intended for permanent and universal use. II. Peter, iii, 16, is the first distinct application of the term Scripture to the N. T. writings. This is also the only reference to a collection of Paul's epistles. 3. Controversy with the heretics made it imperative to settle the canon. The gradual collection afforded, also, opportunity for apocryphal writings. 4. The persecutions they suffered.

The history of the formation of the canon is commonly divided into three periods:

1. The period of the Apostolic Fathers or contemporaries of the Apostles, from the first writing to 120 A. D., about 70 years.

II. The period of the Apologists, 120-170 A. D. At the close of this period is the Peshito.

III. From 170 A. D. to the close of the 4th century, the period of Formal Catalogues of the various Fathers.

There are three kinds of evidence given by the Apostolic Fathers. 1. They presuppose the canonical Scriptures; the literature of that period—the first three-quarters 2d century—cannot be accounted for unless there did exist such a book as the N. T. This is largely ignored by the Rationalists. They say that, 2. The father must quote the *ipsissima verba*; they make a great deal of the fact that we have only three express quotations, viz: one by Clement of Rome; one by Ignatius of Smyrna, and one by Polycarp of Smyrna. 3. We

have (a) quotations of the very words of Scriptures, and (b) coincidences of language and thought not amounting to direct quotation. The Rationalists say that these quotations are very informal, and not preceded by the formula—"it is written." But we find by reading them that they are quoted as authority, as final appeal. Allusions are thus made to all the N. T. books except Jude, II Peter and II and III John.

Conclusion—All this argues in favor of a collection. If a writer in one part of the church quotes three or four N. T. books, and another writer the same and others, each must have had access to a canon more or less complete.

II. The period of the apologists extending from 120-170, is mostly lost to us except as fragments have been preserved in Eusebius. The principal bearing of the testimony of this period is upon the Gospels. The epistles, especially those of Paul, have a more ancient authentication, as the disputes on doctrinal points, which gave rise to the epistles, would naturally bring them into attention first, for the facts of Gospel history were already known, having been conveyed by oral teaching. In the second period, which is one of the greatest obscurity, we find the first recognition of the Gospels by name¹

Among the persons who date about this time, and whose lives you ought to read, is Papias, of Hierapolis in Phrygia, said by some to have been a disciple of John, but by others to have associated with the elder John of Ephesus. He lived until the middle of the 2d century. He speaks of the Gospel of Matthew, and references are found to I John, I Peter, and the Apocalypse; a testimony which is disputed because he does not refer to the epistles of Paul, some supposing that the school of John passed into the school of Paul. But reason for this omission can be shown in the purpose of Papias to collect material from those who had seen or heard Christ.

Almost the foremost name is that of Justin Martyr, the great apologist of 146 A. D., of Flavia Neapolis, near the ancient Shechem. Of his numerous writings only two apologies and a dialogue are undisputed. The

name under which he refers to the Gospels is disputed—"Memorials of the Apostles." By the account which he gives it is believed that he can refer to our four Gospels, and to these only. Writings "composed," he says, "in part by the Apostles, in part by their companions, called Gospels, and admitted by the church generally." Besides the Gospels he refers by name to only the Apocalypse. In the course of his controversy he evinces clear acquaintance with several of Paul's epistles.

Hermus, Irenaeus, etc., I will at present defer.

In addition to these is the testimony borne by heretics. For the most part they do not disavow the authority of the canon, at least not the idea of canonicity. They refer to the books and quote them; when the doctrine does not suit them they claim that they are not apostolic, and have made books to suit themselves out of canon; but that does not interfere with the testimony as to what were the books of the church. This is a strong corroboration of the truth of canon. Among the names familiar are the Gnostics; 125 A. D., Basilides; 140 A. D., Marcion. The first to begin a list of the canon was a Gentile Gnostic, who made a new canon for himself, but all the while gave evidence of what was the canon of the church.

The N. T. books do not always appear in the same order. The four Gospels occur in the order we have in a large number of the MSS. and the Fathers. Some of the MSS. of Beza put John second to Matthew; some give great weight of authority to Acts; in the Sinaitic, Acts follows Paul—a natural change, for in division for readings the Acts belongs with the epistles, and might be put either first or last; in another one the Acts appears after the Apocalypse. Of the epistles of Paul and the seven Catholic epistles, Eusebius puts Paul first; so the Latin church follow him. The weight of ancient MSS. authority puts the Catholic epistles first; the Sin. MSS. gives our order, and this is the oldest confirmation of the Eusebian arrangement we have. The order of the epistles of Paul among themselves varies less in the MSS. than in the fathers; A, B, and C put Hebrews immediately after Thessalonians and are followed by Ath-

anasius and the Council of Laodicea; doubts have existed as to its Pauline origin, but this seems to ascribe it to Paul. What has been the reason for the order of the Pauline epistles among themselves does not satisfactorily appear, for no discovered principle of classification governs it. The order of length is suggested; or that the fundamental epistle comes first, etc., but there is no principle that will go through all the facts. They were certainly not arranged in chronological order. The Catholic epistles are arranged almost uniformly as in the received text. Now this variety is precisely what we should expect from the manner in which the canon was collected. It confirms the belief that there was no authorized edition in the lifetime of the Apostle Paul.

CHAPTER VII.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS.

[See Westcott's Introduction to the Gospels, 5th edition, and Why Four Gospels, by Dr. Gregory, of Wooster, Ohio.]

TITLES. The titles of the Gospels, though found in the oldest MSS., are probably not genuine. This is expressly stated by some of the fathers, e. g., Chrysostom says: "Moses wrote five books, and nowhere affixed his name, nor did Matthew, Mark, Luke or John." There was little need of them in collecting the canons. In other books the titles vary, but in the Gospels they are always uniform. It is extremely probable that the inspired writers themselves gave them the name of Gospels. *Ευαγγέλιον* is applied by Chrysostom to history; it means, literally, "good tidings," and is used in the Odyssey for the messenger who brings good news; in the plural it means thank offerings; the Sept. first gives it as good news. In the N. T. it signifies; 1. Good news of salvation, or of Christ's appearance; 2. History of his saving truth; but in the N. T. the word is not applied to the books but to the subject matter contained. In the titles, however, prefixed to the books, it is used evidently in this sense. "The Gospel according to Matthew," implies the existence of other Gospels. Irenaeus calls it the Fourfold Gospel.

Turning to the GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, the first question is, Who is the author? The title has its value though not a part of the inspired text. A very ancient and uniform tradition ascribes it to Matthew, the authorship being no less uniformly established than the canonicity. Of the personal history of Matthew little is known; he himself mentions only his call to the ministry, and Luke gives an account of the feast given by him in honor of the Saviour. He was first called Levi, but he afterwards took a Christian name. In Mark ii, 14, his father's name, Alpheus, is given, from which some suppose that Matthew was cousin to our Lord; but this is otherwise entirely without foundation. His calling was that of a publican, a tax-gatherer, an occupation despised by the Jews. A religious feeling was associated with the payment of taxes to a foreign power, and for this reason a Jew who collected such taxes was regarded with contempt. Scarcely from a reputable walk in life was the first evangelist selected. One reason suggested for the choice of Matthew is his proficiency in keeping accounts, etc.

Let us consider some internal facts. Personal humility is characteristic of Matthew; he only refers to his previous occupation; "Matthew, the publican," occurs only in Matthew, others did not put that forward against him. Luke says he left all for Christ, sacrificed a position leading to wealth. Matthew does not mention that. He has an occasion to give an account of the reception given in his house to our Saviour, but he mentions the fact without giving the name; he gives prominence to the low esteem in which publicans were held in the expression, "publicans and harlots." Further he shows peculiar sympathy with that aspect of our Lord's character and work, humiliation. The special characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew is that he is more deeply impressed with the sacerdotal than the prophetic or kingly character of the Messiah.

[See an old book now gone out of print, by a Dutch Theologian, DaCosta, on the comparison of the Gospels; it has to be taken with a grain of salt sometimes, but the general outline is correct.]

Nothing at all is said of Matthew in the book of Acts, except that his name is given in the list of Apostles. Traditional notices are numerous but discordant; Irenaeus and Eusebius say that he preached the Gospel first to the Hebrews. Clement, of Alexandria, states that he remained in Palestine 15 years after the ascension of our Lord; a different tradition takes him to Ethiopia. Nothing can be confidently stated about him except that it is probable his ministry was exercised chiefly among the Jews in Palestine itself. All those traditions which relate to facts occurring in Palestine are less satisfactory than other forms of the tradition, because of the political troubles in that country. 60-70 A. D., was the time of the death of the greater portion of the Apostles, the time of the composition of the Gospels, of the Jewish war, etc. The Alexandrian tradition goes up solid and true as far as we can trace it. The best tradition is from Irenaeus, Polycarp, *et al.*, grouping around John.

The LANGUAGE in which Matthew wrote originally. It is the common ancient testimony that Matthew first wrote in Hebrew, but at last in the vernacular of Palestine. This opinion is commonly held. Skeptical criticism finds in this opportunity for their theory of the Gospel. Matthew, according to the testimony of antiquity, wrote a Hebrew Gospel; the Gospel we have is therefore not the original Matthew; therefore we are at liberty to judge as to what is original in our Greek Matthew and what is to be rejected. The theory of the gradual formation of the Gospels is largely supported by this idea, that there was a primitive apostolic nucleus written by Mark *et al.* So Davidson, for instance, follows the skeptical criticism, making our canon formed 169 A. D., thus giving time for the growth of myths and legends which are to be separated from the Gospels. The opinion, however, that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew is held by those who adhere to the authority of the Greek Matthew, by the supposition that the Greek is a translation by an inspired man. But the point is just this; the whole argument for its canonicity relates to it in its Greek form; so the question of the original lan-

guage does not necessarily affect it. In brief, the argument for a Hebrew original derives its chief support in ancient testimony from Papias, Irenaeus and Origen, all representing that he wrote first in Hebrew. Papias says that Matthew made a collection of the *λόγια* of our Lord; now, what does he mean by *λόγια*? One says, our Gospels; another, that he refers to the "words" of Christ. The latter is the opinion of the skeptical critics, as Schleiermacher, *et al.* On the other hand it is said that *λόγια* means "oracles," which came afterwards to be largely synonymous for the Gospels. It is commonly held, however, that Jerome makes the distinct statement that Matthew wrote first in Hebrew. Jerome was a monk in Bethlehem, where he had every opportunity to know. Jerome found a Hebrew Gospel upon which he bases his statement. It is commonly held, according to Tischendorf, for instance, that this was a mistake of Jerome's, arising from his finding a Hebrew version made from our Matthew, and not the Greek Matthew from it. Among the successors of the primitive church there were two sects, the Nazarines and the Ebionites, each of which framed a Hebrew Gospel based upon the original Gospel. Now, Jerome coming upon the Hebrew Gospel, might naturally suppose he had discovered the original form of the Gospel; and this mistake was the subject of the report of Papias. And later in his life he speaks less confidently about it. It is further inferred by comparison of the quotation that Jerome makes from the Hebrew Matthew, to which nothing corresponds in the canon of the original, that it was one of the sectarian, non-canonical gospels. This illustrates the ancient testimony at least.

The text of Matthew stands on precisely the same footing as that of the other Gospels. Anyone can recognize the difference between reading a translation and reading the original. The former bears the impress of the latter. This appears chiefly in quotations from the O. T., which, if from the Hebrew, would naturally follow the Septuagint; the translator would naturally use for his translation the Septuagint. But instead of this the O. T. was quoted freely as the words happened to come

into the memory, sometimes from the Sept., sometimes from the Hebrew, sometimes altered considerably.

Finally, the Greek language was so generally understood in Palestine, so universal a medium of communication, as to render a Hebrew Gospel unnecessary. The sum of the whole matter, to all intents and purposes, is that the Greek Gospel is the original; there is no trace of the Hebrew left if any ever existed.

DATE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW. I feel, in entering upon this subject, as if I were going to sea, it is so interminable. I can only sketch for you a few of the salient facts which may be some incitement and somewhat of a guide to your own reading. The authority of the Gospels depends upon their proved date; the church theory of the canon is based upon their apostolic authority. It is a skeptical assertion that there is no historical proof of the Gospels, in the form we now have, until late in the 2d century; upon that the battle is waged step by step; everything you will find disputed somewhere. But, by way of beginning, I can satisfy an unprejudiced mind. It is the almost uniform testimony of antiquity that Matthew was written in the 1st century; one party says 8 years after the ascension, another 15, and some fix the date at 38 A. D. Internal grounds in Matthew would give a period somewhat remote from the ascension of our Lord. e. g., xxvii ch., 8 vs.: "Wherefore that field was called the Field of Blood, unto this day," implies considerable lapse of time after the crucifixion; xxviii ch., 15 vs.: "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day." The xxiv ch., on the other hand, in which the destruction of Jerusalem is predicted, shows it was written before that event, that is, before the year 70 A. D., and in all probability before the breaking out of the Jewish war in 66 A. D. The absence of allusions in the epistles of Paul to written Gospels, seems to show that the Gospels were not written prior to them.

The testimony of the fathers consists simply of quotations. We do not find statements distinct and positive as desirable, but frequent references to them prove that at the time they wrote the Gospels were already

canonical, and that tradition had come down to them unbroken from apostolic days. The position of Papias is of importance in reference to the Gospels in general. There is some doubt about Papias; Irenaeus says he was a scholar of John and a disciple of Polycarp. A little confusion has arisen between the Apostle John in Ephesus and John the elder. Some deny, as Dr. Schaff, that there was a John the elder; others say there were two, the elder contemporaneous with the Apostle, and that Papias belonged to that apostolic circle with Polycarp, and hands down to us the immediate Asian tradition in which Polycarp was the successor of John. The writings of Eusebius preserve part of the book of Papias, "The oracles of our Lord." Now, what does that mean? A collection of the discourses of Christ and a new gospel of his own? If it does, there is no proof in that fact of the prior existence of Matthew. But if he wrote an exposition of the previously existing Gospel, then the book of Papias is evidence that the Gospel was written before his day. This has occasioned considerable dispute. Modern critics say it was an attempt to write a new collection of the discourses of Christ from reports by witnesses whom he knew. Apologetic criticism holds the other ground, that he means interpretation of the previously existing Gospel. For

I. A later writer, having the book before him, classed Papias among the exegetes; describes that book as an exegesis. II. The passage of Papias, "I will not scruple to insert new matter I have received by word of mouth from the elder," implies that his book was based upon a gospel in his hand. This theory agrees well with the extant fragments preserved in Eusebius.

Now if this book of Papias implies the existence of gospels before his day, what gospels were they? First, he refers to Matthew and Mark. But, says the other side, there is no proof in this that the gospels given by name as canonical, are in the original form; what Papias refers to is the previous Hebrew Matthew, a shorter affair containing very little that is in our Matthew. This is answered in several ways; partly, because by the contemporaries and successors, as Irenaeus and Tertullian,

from all parts of the church, the number four is applied to the Gospels. There are four Gospels already in the very first testimony we have concerning him, and that number is not incidentally mentioned, but is descanted upon and discussed.

But what has become of them? The skeptical theory is that the canonical Gospel grew up by accretion, and that myths, traditional tales and legends were mixed with them. Now, what has become of these earlier, primitive Gospels? what accounts for their suddenly giving place for our four canonical Gospels as we have them? The theory is without proof, for all questions will be abundantly satisfied if we apply to our Greek Gospels. There are two points in the testimony of Papias. One is that in his description of the Gospel of Matthew, he distinctly says that Matthew wrote the *λογία* of Christ. The argument for that I have stated before; skeptical criticisms say that *λογία* means discourses different from our Gospels. But it means "oracles," not discourses. And in the description Papias gives he makes a quotation from this Gospel which is justified by all the Greek MSS. The testimony of Papias is sufficiently satisfactory.

Let us come down to Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, 130-200 A. D. He went from the east to the west. His testimony proves not only that the gospels were generally accepted in his time, but that they were ancient. Now, he was a disciple of Polycarp, and Polycarp of John and other contemporaries. The question arises again whether St. John is meant or the elder John. But even with that uncertainty the evidence is not invalidated, for if it comes from the elder it comes from the apostolic circle of which John was the centre. A passage in Irenaeus is always enough for me: "When I was yet a child I saw thee in Polycarp's house, where thou art distinguished in court. I can more distinctly recollect things which happened then than others more recent. I can recall Polycarp's appearance, the style of his address, frequent references to Saint John and the others who had seen our Lord, and how he used to repeat from memory their discourses which he had heard from them of His miracles and works. There

was in all that he said a *strict agrcement wih the Scriptures.*” Now what could be desired in the way of testimony clearer or more accurate? Irenaeus hears Polycarp only one remove from the apostles. If we suppose Irenaeus compared what Polycarp said to our canonical gospels, which were the Scriptures in his day, then we have what is required. This is confirmed when Irenaeus gives over 400 quotations of the gospels, which are justified by comparison with our canonical gospels. In the face of facts like that what is the use of theory? especially, when we combine Papias, Irenaeus and Tertullian of North Africa? Tertullian, writing in the second century, argues from the testimony of the apostolic church that what was true for the apostolic church is true for us; just our modern basis. He makes 700 quotations, all of which we find justified in our Greek gospel. About 170 A. D. two Harmonies of the Gospels appear, one described by Eusebius, another by Jerome. Ignatius, Bishop of Ephesus, in letters written on his way to Rome quotes our gospels. So does Polycarp. The testimony of Justin Martyr is another hot dispute. He died about 166. He wrote two apologies, the first A. D. 139, or as some say, 138, and the second 161. Justin uses the three synoptical gospels, quoting largely from Matthew. In the earliest of these writings he says these memorials are read after the Prophets every Lord’s-day in the assemblies of Christians.

Now the opposing criticism says that these quotations from a gospel literature do not prove that they were taken from our three synoptical gospels. I. Because he does not use the formula of quotation. There is an important point; that the heathen authors do not introduce quotations by saying “The Scripture says.” They make a distinction between quoting the O. T. and the gospel literature which they do not call Scripture. This may have four special answers. 1. It was natural from the way in which the N. T. canon grew up that there should be a distinction between it and the O. T. Scriptures. The term Scriptures was familiar as pertaining to the O. T. Christianity was based on the prophecy of the Scriptures, still it was thought that the title should be especially

applied to the O. T. 2. Justin, in the works in which he makes these quotations is writing to the heathen ; writing apologies in which one of the greatest sources of proof is the agreement of the facts of the N. T. with the O. T. Scriptures. 3. The point made by later apologists is very important, viz., that we find that after it is admitted that our four gospels have become canonical, this same usage obtains among the fathers 2-300 years later. If there was any inference from the earlier there ought to be from the later. The objection proves too much. That is enough to invalidate it. 4. Justin himself quotes the O. T. Scriptures constantly in the same way as he does the New ; frequently quotes passages of the O. T. without referring to their source, just as he does with the N. T. That is, he puts them on the same level as to authority. The objection is thoroughly met I think.

II. The opposing criticism says that from all these quotations we cannot prove that they are from our Gospels, but only that they and our gospels were taken from the same original source, a floating mass of evangelical materials out of which our Gospels were formed. The cardinal points in answer to this theory are: 1. As early as the latter half of the 2d century, of all these preëxisting forms of evangelical material, four only existed, and these were universally accepted by the church. How do you account for it that out of all this material the church settled down on these four ? What had become of the rest ? The truth is that this skeptical theory is built on conjecture and perversion of facts. So far as history knows there is no proof of a preëxisting form. 2. Four must have existed as far back as Irenæus, and there was only one person between him and John. Irenæus argues that there must be four and no more ; this implies that there always had been four. 3. Now as to these " Memorials of the Apostles." The skeptic says we cannot prove that this is a reference to the canonical Gospels. But notice that Irenæus says that their authors were *apostles and their companions*, and that these " memorials " were read in the churches after the Prophets every Lord's-day. The skeptics cannot get over this by saying that Justin did not write them, or

that the text is spurious, which is their last resort. 4. If these fathers quoted from a previous mass of growing material and not from the Gospels, we would find in the quotations trace of those mythical accretions, and a good deal that is not in the canon. The quotations of Justin agree clean and clear with the canonical Gospels, and this it is the merest effrontery to deny. True, they are not verbally correct; but neither are the quotations of the fathers after the canon is settled. Besides Justin quotes the O. T. freely.

Another point is that he refers to facts and sayings of Christ not in our Gospels. But what does this amount to? Why, that there are a few references to traditional sayings not found in the Gospels, but in the later fathers; very few and unimportant. Not one of these extra-canonical statements is referred by him to the "memorials of the apostles," *ἁπομνημόνευματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*.

[See Westcott, Prof. Fisher of Yale, and Lightfoot's articles in the Cotemporary.]

Another point has received recent investigation. The skeptics make this argument which you will see to be forcible. Most of these fathers are preserved only in fragments in Eusebius; the motive of Eusebius was to preserve ancient testimony for the canon. Now, say the skeptics, if it had been true that these men had quoted the Gospels, Eusebius would ~~not~~ have tried to preserve their testimony. But if ever an argument has been exploded this has been. For, I. Eusebius distinctly states that he proposes to give testimony for acknowledged books only when the writer has something new to say, some anecdote to relate about them. He never proposes to himself to exhaust quotations for acknowledged books from the early fathers. For the "antilegomena," however, he wants to show proof, because they were not universally received. II. Most fortunately we have complete writings extant that were in the hands of Eusebius, and we find that he treats them in precisely the same way. For instance, Clement of Rome quotes the Gospels and the Epistles freely; Eusebius quotes Clement only on Hebrews; his silence proves, therefore, that Clement knew none of our canonical books except

the Epistle to the Hebrews. Ignatius quotes John, Peter, etc. Eusebius never says a word about this except in reference to the saying of Christ to Peter after the resurrection to feel his hands and feet. Polycarp quotes Acts, Epistles of Paul, etc., but Eusebius refers only to his quotation from I Peter. From Justin Martyr Eusebius quotes only the Apocalypse. Irenaeus enumerates 13 Epistles of Paul, and refers to Acts and Luke. Eusebius knows nothing of him according to the skeptical argument.

I shall not take time to go through the testimony of heretics or the heathen writers. Some of it is very strong, especially that which goes up to the first century—some taking us up to the very lifetime of the Apostles themselves. Of course the date of these writings is in dispute in skeptical argument. I would simply refer to Barnabas, who writes an epistle analogous to the Hebrews. For a long time this epistle existed only in a corrupt Latin version, in which occurs the sentence: "Let us take care that we be not of them of whom it is written that many are called and few chosen." This has been the subject of a great deal of discussion. Critics put this Barnabas in the second decade of the 2d century; Tischendorf puts him in the last decade of the 1st century, thus linking his testimony to that of John. The importance of his quotation is in the formula with which it is introduced, viz: "It is written." Skeptics for a long time said this was not original, but the work of a later hand, out of analogy, etc. When the original Greek of this was discovered with the Sinaitic MS., it was considered quite a triumph. That happened before Strauss died, and it is worth while to repeat what he said about it: "That the quotation was not from Matthew but from the 4th book of Esdras—'Many are born but few saved.'" This is the way Strauss satisfied himself.

Leaving this I wish to call your attention to a little book of Tischendorf's—When Were Our Gospels Written? This was prepared as a contribution for the Evangelical Alliance of the continent not many years ago, and afterwards enlarged. It was considered so impor-

tant a controversial document, that it was immediately taken up by the tract societies and translated into every language of the continent. It was also taken up by the London and American Tract society, and widely distributed. It was hotly attacked by the critics. In the main it is truthful, and certainly most earnest and scholarly. When you come across reading men whose minds are disturbed on this question, you could give them no better tract on the subject.

CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS OF THE GOSPELS.

The four Gospels not only differ, but seem to be inconsistent with one another. Now a rational harmony must reconcile them, and also account for their differences; must show that these differences did not arise from accident, but that each Gospel has a purpose of its own, and presents the subject from a peculiar point of view with a certain definite design. It accounts for arrangement, and for the omission of various details characterizing the method of presentation. If we find that the deviations are not merely accidental, such as might come from various witnesses, but all of the same kind; that each Gospel rigidly adheres to a purpose; then we have a much higher view of these differences, and see that they may not only be accounted for, but that they are the very highest confirmation of testimony. Now, if I can give you just even the germinal idea of the specific character of the several Gospels it will be a gain. There are certain prejudices of which it is necessary to divest the mind; we have to contend with your familiar knowledge of them, knowledge derived from the practice of reading extracts, short passages at different times. I wonder how many of you ever read one of them through at a sitting, or in a day or a week, to see what it is designed for. Now, undoubtedly, the same vague impression would follow an analogous use of any composition whatever; take a political paper and use it as you do the Gospel, and the result would be the same. More than that, it requires an effort to overcome the habit and arouse the mind for a new position. Unless some

such effort is made carefully and conscientiously, the very statement that the Gospels have different designs appears strange and improbable.

Keeping in mind the fact that no one of the Gospels proposes to give a complete history, our first business is to see what governs each one in the selection of materials from the general mass. It has been recognized from the time of the fathers down, that Matthew's grand idea was to show the evidence that the man Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of prophecy and the Saviour looked for under the old dispensation. After the church was established, it remained many years struggling in Syria before it began to call in the heathen. It first labored in Palestine, then at Damascus and Antioch. Now with the Jews of course the first effort was to overcome the prejudice against the Messiah, to recognize in the suffering Lord the Messiah of prophecy. That is the purpose of Peter's writings, and it distinguishes them from others in the N. T. And this Gospel of Matthew belongs to the same stage of the church with the writings of Peter and James, and is addressed to the same class of minds. This is recognized by all writers from the earliest times. "Matthew's effort is not to narrate, but to demonstrate the Messiahship of Jesus, by showing the correspondence of his life with the prophecy and types of the O. T.," says Dr. Alexander. According to this view his object was not to give a detailed biography of Christ or a history of his ministry, nor, on the other hand, to enter into a formal argumentative proof of his Messiahship, in a systematic, theological way; but by combining the two characters of argument and narrative, to write his life with the design of showing the fulfillment of O. T. prophecy. Matthew therefore selects circumstances which correspond with the O. T. types and prophecy, and omits a vast amount of other things. You can carry this through Matthew page by page and verse by verse; the more you read the more you will see this design. In stating a particular fact in the life of Christ, he will state just so much as will bring out that point. So his Gospel is an historical argument. This is familiarly illustrated by

the argument of an advocate in a court dealing with a mass of testimony; the witnesses have been heard, and the counsel of the opposite sides sum up. They have the same historical material, yet how entirely different in the selection and grouping of details is the one argument from that of the opposing counsel.

If you look in Matthew, then, for the kind of proof given in the Epistles to the Romans, you are disappointed of course. Nevertheless, his design is clearly kept in view; he proceeds in the narrative style, in a simple, easy, story-telling way, uniformly recurring to the same plan. I believe it will strike any one with surprise, as he goes on to study, to see into what minute particulars the evidence of this design can be traced.

I. Matthew is distinguished from the others in quoting the prophecy of the O. T. far more than any other evangelist. Whenever opportunity occurs he gives the direct quotation in language that cannot be mistaken. More of our Saviour's quotations from the O. T. are preserved in Matthew than in the other evangelists. The amount of these quotations is a great deal larger than you would suppose without examination; I have forgotten the figures, but a very considerable portion is thus occupied.

II. His principle of arrangement being topical rather than chronological, he groups miracles and parables that are alike in character, tracing the same aspect of Christ's work. The topical style of writing history, rather than the chronological, is a striking feature of Matthew's Gospel, though the chronological order is not necessarily disregarded. But events are grouped by their kind rather than by their position. For instance, we do not find a miracle until the 8th chapter, and then we find two chapters full of nothing but miracles; no parable is reached until the 13th chapter, where there is one of the largest groups in the Gospels. Of course these groups must be broken up if we arrange them in chronological order.

III. When he records an event given in the other gospels he goes less into detail, giving a narrative of the occurrence in outline. A constant characteristic of Matthew is the generic plural.

IV. It follows from this design that he presents the official or Messianic aspect of Christ's work and person. Of course he is the same Christ in all the four, as to his humiliation and personal character, but Matthew makes his official characteristics most prominent. Now, what were these? They are the three great offices of the O. T. economy—those of prophet, priest and king. Christ is promised in prophetic passages under each of these characters. But how does Matthew show the fulfilment in his Gospel? He preserves long discourses of Christ, giving fuller illustration of his teaching than any of the other Gospels except John. So the spiritual kingship is constantly impressed on this Gospel; e. g., the Sermon on the Mount, the parables illustrative of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc. So of the humiliation; Matthew's report of the words rather than the deeds.

In Matthew the narrative is only one-fourth of the whole. (In Mark it is one-half, in Luke one-third.) It is a remarkable fact that he occupies more space to record discourse than narrative. Narrative covering considerable time may be compressed, but discourse of the same length of time would occupy much more space in the record.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK. The name which tradition ascribes to this author is of Roman origin. It occurs four times in Acts, three times in Paul, and once in Peter; the common opinion is that they all refer to the same Mark. Besides this, however, he had the Jewish name, John. He is first mentioned in Acts xii, 12, where the name of his mother is given; next he appears as the assistant of Paul on his first missionary journey. Paul refuses his company on the second journey, but they are afterwards reconciled. Coloss. iv, 10, "Sister's son to Barnabas," by usage may mean cousin as well as nephew. II Tim., i, v. I mention these because the constant testimony of the ancient church is that Mark composed his Gospel from Peter's personal recollections. I Peter, v, 13. Papias calls Mark an interpreter of Peter. Irenaeus confirms this; so do Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Origen, and the fathers generally. Now this agrees with one of the internal

characteristics of his Gospel. In several cases Peter is introduced by name, where the other Gospels give no name. Mark i, 16, 29; xi, 21. Another coincidence between Mark and Peter, is, that they set the same limits to the public ministry of Christ. It has been very generally believed in the church and among modern scholars, that Mark was under the influence of Peter, and that the primary intention of his Gospel was to impress the Gentiles, and especially the Romans, with the idea of the Messiah, as Matthew did the Jews. This opinion is based partly on statements of the Fathers, and is very much confirmed by the omission by Mark of those elements which had a special interest for the Jews, as genealogies, references to prophecy, etc. This is also confirmed by his stopping for explanations when Jewish customs are alluded to, even when they were most familiar. Mark vii, 2-4; xii, 18; xiii, 3; xiv, 12; xv, 6, 42. And further, by his use of certain Latin phrases and Latin words, even where there was a suitable Greek equivalent. Mark xii, 42; vi, 27; xv, 39; xii, 14. Most of these are Roman words, though some have Greek equivalents.

This view that his Gospel was intended for the Romans falls in with the general conception of the four Gospels, viz: Matthew for the Jews; Mark for the Romans; Luke for the Grecian world, and John ecumenical. DaCosta says these Roman characteristics are to be differently accounted for; that the author himself is a Roman; that there were two Marks, and the friend of Paul was not the friend of Peter. This goes with the old tradition based upon these Latin phrases, that the Gospel was originally written in the Latin language, an opinion contained in a statement at the end of the Peshito, as well as in some Greek MSS. But the evidence for this is entirely insufficient. Some exegetes take his first sentence as a statement of his purpose to prove that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, by presenting his divine power in a way to impress those ignorant of the O. T. This he does by such a representation of his words and acts as would attract in public places and among promiscuous readers. Whether this exegesis be

true or not, the general characteristic of the Gospel is true. With regard to Mark Dr. Alexander says: "He gives a connected narrative of the public ministry of Christ, displaying by examples the character and method of his work." This differs from Matthew's design in that he does not argue from O. T. correspondences. His purpose is illustrated by three or four particulars. Intending to show the divine origin of Christ, he dwells chiefly upon his acts and therefore shortens his narrative. Secondly, he gives very few narratives not found in the other Gospels (there are only five in Mark which are not in Matthew, and only two not in the other Gospels.) From these grounds of brevity and coincidence with the others, the opinion obtained that Mark was only a compilation of Matthew and Luke. That this is erroneous is clearly exhibited. Thirdly, while he gives the narrative in fewer words, he always adds something to make it graphic and vivid. This dramatic element is the chief characteristic of Mark. Several times the words of Christ are given in the Aramaic. While the others recording the Temptation, say Christ was in the desert, Mark says he was in the desert "with the wild beasts;" at the calling of the fishermen disciples, he says they left their fathers "with their hired servants," presenting a better idea of their social position. Quite commonly the gesture and look of Christ is described, giving us an idea of his personal presence and method. In case of the man with the withered hand he says: "He looked around on them with anger."

He differs often in giving more emphatic words; e. g., speaking of the baptism he says, the heavens *splid.* This feature of his gospel can only be appreciated by careful examination. This brief, dramatic character falls in well with the ascription of this gospel to Peter's influence—that of a practical, ardent, impetuous man, able to reproduce vividly that which made a deep impression on his own mind. Others go still further and say that Mark was like Peter. Certainly, all that we read of Mark would be characteristic of Peter; he starts with Paul on his first missionary journey; Paul appears to be subordinate to Barnabas,

for so far his work is in its incipiency; just as soon as Paul's Gentile church begins to arise, and the Gentiles are admitted without circumcision, Mark revolts and leaves them, and Paul refuses afterwards to take him with him. This is exactly like Peter, hasty, yet easily reconciled.

I have already said the narrative occupies half of Mark; there is no Sermon on the Mount, and but four parables are given. There is nothing purely biographical, as he treats only of the public ministry of Christ. Matthew, then, sets forth his official work, and Mark demonstrates, more especially to the Gentile world, the divinity of the man Jesus.

LUKE. The style of Luke shows that it was intended, probably, for the Greek-speaking world. It more nearly approaches the common dialect—this is especially true in Acts. The Acts differ from the Gospel, for the narrative in the gospel is confined to Jewish scenery and Jewish conversation; in Acts the subject is freer. The latter contains some beautiful illustrations of style, not specially classical, but rhetorical; e. g., the discourse of Paul, as given by Luke is a marvellous specimen of rhetorical composition. The discourse is so brief that obviously it is the inspired account of what Paul said, and not his *ipsissima verba*.

The characteristic of this Gospel is not quite so easy to present without longer illustration, though it is just as marked as that of the others. It is described as presenting the idea of the universality of the Gospel, supplementary to Mark. It is not restricted, as Matthew, to the Jews, nor as Mark, to the Gentiles, by description of acts of divine power: but it is the aspect of Christ as the world's Saviour, Jesus, the God-man—the Saviour of all-men. Thus incidents are selected to lay stress on his adaptation to the wants of humanity and his human sympathy. Hence the frequent mention of our Lord's engaging in prayer, the highest proof of his humanity. Mark presents Christ as the wonder-worker; Luke, the man having a superhuman sympathy. In accordance with this design is the fact that he comes nearer to biography than any other. His narrative begins early, and contains much the others omit. We may notice five

particulars: 1. At an early period it was felt in the church that the first two Gospels were incomplete as histories. 2. A sense of that deficiency had stirred up many to supply it. 3. The source of materials was current in the form of oral tradition. 4. Luke himself had the amplest opportunities. 5. His specific purpose was to reproduce the oral history and establish the church upon sure grounds.

One point of view will tend to enlighten the mind, when we remember his connection with Paul. He was one of Paul's closest attendants, and the author of the history of the work of the Apostles. Paul passes from those characteristics which belong to the Jewish nation, and opens the Gospel to all nations. It is natural, therefore, that Luke is the man in writing the life of Christ, to present that aspect of Jesus which corresponds with Paul's views. The great controversy of Paul's early ministry was with the Judaizers; his great doctrines were wrought out chiefly in the course of that controversy; as, tracing the character of men before God, showing that all are saved by faith, and, therefore, all are on the same footing. As Paul probably had Luke under his eye in the composition of this Gospel, undoubtedly the Gospel of Luke would contain characteristics of Paul's mind; more especially as Luke was the author of the history of Paul's work. Matthew, in giving the genealogy of Christ, goes back to Abraham, but Luke contemplates him as a man and as the Son of God. Luther says Luke would make Christ common to all men. Luke ii, 32; vii, 2-10; xvii, 12. Matthew's parables are all of the Kingdom of Heaven; Luke's set forth the personal relations between God and believers and men generally; e. g., the Good Samaritan; the Lost Sheep; the Lost Piece of Money; the Prodigal Son, etc. The comparatively historic character of Luke is stated in the preface. Corresponding with this fact is the coincidence of Luke with general history.

The subject of the Gospel of John is too wide for us to enter upon at present. I would advise you to read *Westcott's Introduction to the Gospels*, and Gregory's *Why Four Gospels*.