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HISTORY  
OF  
THE SACRED SCRIPTURES  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT

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## BOOK SECOND.

### HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### HISTORY OF THE CANON.

281. The Apostles and the first Christians in general continued to use the books of the Old Testament for the purpose of religious instruction. They did this not merely from custom, and so long as they had not formally separated themselves from the synagogue, but also because they found in these books the authentic confirmation of the faith which the discourses, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus had awakened and nourished in them. For precisely the same reason they came to be known and used from the very first among the Gentile Christians, since the preaching of the Apostles was based chiefly upon the predictions of the prophets, and upon the close and higher connection between the earlier revelations and the things which had come to pass in these last days.

On this whole book cf. my more detailed treatise : *Histoire du Canon des S. Écritures dans l'Église chrétienne* (*Nouvelle Revue*, Vols. VI., IX., X., 1860 ff.), also separately, Str. (1863), 2d ed. 1864.

With the above cf. § 30. Examples in proof from the Acts, all the Gospels, the Epistles of James, Peter, to the Hebrews, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and the Apocalypse ; also from Clement, Barnabas, and later writers. No difference of method of preaching in this respect can be shown, corresponding either with the different theological tendencies in the Apostolic Church or with the different elements of the churches. Even the Pauline school, notwithstanding its other declarations respecting the validity of the Law, was obliged to rest upon the Old Testament, see especially Gal. iii. 19 ff. ; this it could do entirely without danger to its fundamental principles, see § 505. Cf. also the expositors on 2 Tim. iii. 16.

Catalogues of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New (*πίναξ μαρτυριῶν*), sometimes also of the mere allusions, are found in many of the older editions of the text (*e. g.* in the larger editions of Stephens and most of the Elzevirs, § 404 f.) and versions, and still in the *N. T.* of Knapp and others ; also, separately, complete, in E. Leigh, *Critica s. N. T.*, Index III. ; L. D. Cramer, *Bibliologia N. T.* (L. 1819 ff., 4°), Pts. II.-IV. ; Bialloblotzky, *De legis mosaicæ abrogatione* (Gött. 1824, 4°), p. 162 ff. ; Doepke, *Hermeneutik der neutest. Schriftsteller* (L. 1829, 8°), pp. 189-288 ; R. Stier's *Bibl. Theologie*, p. 452 ff. ; E. Haupt, *Die Citate in den Evv.*, Colb. 1871. [Tables of these quotations, arranged in the order of the *N. T.* passages, in the Introductions of Horne and Davidson. A fuller table, embracing even verbal

allusions, arranged in the contrary order, but with reverse index, published separately, by Gough, 1855. C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the N. T.*, N. Y. 1884.]

That Jesus and the Apostles had, complete, the same collection of canonical writings of the Old Testament which we to-day possess as such, is possible and probable, but in our complete ignorance of the history of the Old Testament Canon cannot be made an absolute certainty (not even on the ground of Mt. xxiii. 35 ; Lk. xxiv. 44 ; cf. C. Iken, *De lege, prophetis, et psalmis*, Diss., I. 419 ; R. Teller, *Canon V. T. divinus et perfectus ex Luc. xxiv. 44*, 1747), and is rather a postulate of the theological system ; see De Gasparin, *Les écoles du doute* (§ 348), p. 256 ff. At all events, no theory of the Old Testament Canon is to be looked for in the Apostles according to which everything (now) found in the collection was theologically useful for the Gospel, and everything not found therein useless for the Church. Cf. on the former Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, etc., on the latter, §§ 169, 283, 293. But this very hesitation in the selection of material is to a certain extent in conflict with the conception of inspiration already current at that time, which alone gives the key to the otherwise inexplicable apostolic exegesis (§ 503 f.), and which properly should have led to the strictest separation of the canonical from the uncanonical. This contradiction has never been fully overcome by the Church and its theology.

282. Among the Jewish people acquaintance with the sacred writings was extended and kept up by means of regular public readings in the synagogues. It is highly probable that the Christians also maintained this custom in their assemblies, and doubtless in the established way. Yet we no longer know this certainly. In view of the scanty development of the forms of church life in the apostolic period, and the mostly practical, edificatory character of the writings which are the only sources for this division of the history, the lack of more definite knowledge need not surprise us.

Synagogue readings in the time of Jesus and the Apostles ; from the Law, Acts xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 15 ; from the prophets, Lk. iv. 16, Acts xiii. 27 ; from both divisions one after the other, Acts xiii. 15 ; see the expositors on these passages. The relation of these readings to the present division of the Old Testament into Parasha and Haphtara is unknown. Perhaps also the standing expression *ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται*, Mt. v. 17, and frequently, bears witness to this custom, which certainly agrees with the known division of the Hebrew books. For the details of the earlier history of these readings see Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden* (B. 1832), Introduction. Jewish tradition (cf. Joseph., *Cont. Apion.*, ii. 17) and uncritical Christendom refer them to Moses (Deut. xxxi.), but they are of post-exilic origin, like the synagogue itself, and have nothing to do even with the event related in 2 K. xxii. Cf. Neh. viii. and my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. chs. ii., iii.

Proper public readings in Christian Churches are only mentioned in 1 Tim. iv. 13. Yet, in view of the probably very limited private reading, the frequent quotations (§ 281) presuppose acquaintance with the Scriptures by means of public reading (cf. Acts viii. 28 ; xvii. 11 ; Gal. iv. 21, etc.). It is idle, however, to look for proof of this in Acts ii. 47, Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16. The *προφῆται* of the Apostolic Church were certainly not expounders of the Scriptures in the proper sense (Schmidt, *Einl.*, p. 4). With some certainty, however, the earlier custom may be inferred from the later (Justin, *Apol. I.*, 67, and later Church Fathers, also many lectionaries, § 384). Cf. Rheinwald, *Archäol.*, p. 274 and supplement ; Augusti, *Handb. der chr. Archäol.*,

II. 185 ff. ; Rettig, *De prælectionibus in eccl. chr.*, in the *Ephemer. Giss.*, III. 31 ; Aloys Sandbüchler, *Lasen die ersten Chr. die h. Schr.?* Salz. 1784.

283. With respect to the language, also, in which these readings from the Old Testament must have been, there was probably no difference between Christians and Jews in particular localities. To most the sacred writings were accessible and intelligible only in the Greek translation. Through this they gradually became acquainted with a greater number of books than Palestinian custom had fixed upon for church use. But how early or late these other books began to be used for edification in Christian churches cannot be ascertained, — all the less since we have no sufficient knowledge even of their authority among the Hellenistic Jews. It is only certain that the Apostles and their immediate followers, wherever it was necessary to adduce a scriptural proof, confined themselves entirely to the Hebrew canon.

With respect to the number of books belonging to the sacred collection, it appears certain that there was no special (more extensive) Alexandrian Canon (see Oehler, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, VII. 255) ; but there doubtless was a difference with respect to arrangement and the integrity of certain books (Daniel, Ezra, Esther, Jeremiah). Precisely in respect to these latter all certain knowledge is lacking for the earlier period.

Uncertain traces of acquaintance with the Apocrypha on the part of the Apostles : Olearius, *In Matth.*, p. 68 ff. ; C. Sonntag, *De allegatis apocr. in ev.*, Altd. 1716 ; Eichhorn, *Einkl. in die Apocryphen* (1795), *passim* ; Moulinié, *Notice sur les livres apocr. du V. T.* (Gen. 1828), *passim* ; E. Reuss, *De ll. V. T. apocryphis perperam plebi negatis* (Arg. 1829), p. 13 ; Döpke, *l. c.*, p. 206 ; Cramer, *l. c.*, II. 18 ; III. 5 ; cf. R. Stier, *Bibl. Dogmatik*, p. 519 ; idem, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Apocryphen zur h. S.* (*Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, 1828, No. 60) ; but especially in the work cited under § 349 ; Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1853, II. 335 ff. ; Storr, *In ep. Jacobi* (1783), *passim*. There is in the New Testament absolutely no proper quotation from them. And resemblances (*e. g.*, between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon) can be easily explained from the wide prevalence of the ideas. But in Clement, 1 Cor. iv., there is an express appeal to Judith (ch. xvii. Wisdom of Solomon ?). A use of the history is obvious from Hebr. xi. 34 ff. For the later history of the Greek Canon of the Old Testament see §§ 317, 319, 324.

Did the Apostles generally quote from the Hebrew text or from the Septuagint ? The question is differently answered and in almost all modern commentaries, under the particular passages. Most thoroughly discussed by Credner, *Beiträge*, Pt. II. ; Bleek, *Brief an die Hebräer*, I. 338–375 ; cf. Döpke, *l. c.*, p. 208 ff. ; J. Wiggers, *De interpretationis genere quo N. T. scriptores uti sunt* (Rost. 1837), p. 18 ff. ; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, II. 948 ff. ; R. Anger, *Ratio qua loci V. T. in evang. Matth. laudantur*, etc., L. 1861, p. I–III. ; A. F. Kautzsch, *De V. T. locis a Paulo ap. allegatis*, L. 1869. Among older writers we mention here H. Hody, *De bibl. textibus orig. et verss.*, Oxf. 1705, fol. p. 243 ff. More than one peculiar Scripture quotation in the New Testament, differing equally from the original text and from the Septuagint, suggests the idea of independent work in the early Church, but in the majority of cases the dependence on the LXX. is undeniable. Moreover it would have been difficult, outside of Palestine, to find many Christians

who would have been able to make a translation upon the spot for the benefit of the assembled church. [Cf. on this subject, Dav. M. Turpie, *The O. T. in the New*, Lond. 1868; E. Böhl, *Die A. T. Citate im N. T.*, Vienna, 1878, and his *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu und deren Zusammenhang mit der Septuaginta-Uebersetzung*, Vienna, 1873; Jas. Scott, *Principles of N. T. Quotation*, Edinb. 1875; Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*, N. Y. 1883, p. 23 f.]

The history of the ecclesiastical acceptance of the LXX. so far as it concerns the synagogue, is extremely obscure; see Zuz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 19; yet in all probability the conception of the inspiration of the LXX. springs from Judaism.

284. So long as Christian instruction was imparted essentially by means of oral tradition, — that is to say, until the middle of the second century, — there were no regular readings in the churches except perhaps those from the Old Testament. The epistles which individual churches had received from Apostles, since chiefly designed for the needs of the moment, after the public reading upon their reception, appear not to have been taken up again at definite intervals. The other apostolic writings, more general in their purpose, were circulated in the usual manner of that time, on account of their intrinsic value, and without doubt served in many places for private edification and instruction, but without being specially commended to the churches by public attestation. The knowledge of the connection of the presiding officers of the churches with the Apostles, by original appointment and regular succession, was as yet the simplest and the sufficient guaranty of doctrine.

Usage of the apostolic (pastoral) epistles: directed in the first instance to the presiding officer of the church, perhaps, also, delivered to particular especially intimate friends (hence the greetings with the formula *ἀσπασασθε*, the commissions, and passages like 1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16), and by these immediately imparted to the assembled church, and then put by for safe-keeping. Clement (*Ad Corr.* I., xlvi., *ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολήν*. . .) and Polycarp (*Ad Phil.*, iii., *εἰς ἃς ἐὰν [not ὅταν] ἐγκύπτῃτε δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομῆσθαι*) do not take a public reading of their epistles for granted, but desire it. Cf. in general Gieseler, *Entstehung der Epp.*, p. 156 ff.

As to the remaining writings, not only is all proof from the period under consideration of their use for regular public reading lacking, but almost all evidence of their existence. Cf. § 287. Even in Pliny's letter to Trajan (X. 97) there is nothing said of public readings. It is also natural that some writings should have come into circulation more slowly than others; this appears to have been the case with the books of Luke as compared with those of Matthew and Mark; certainly with the Epistle of James and the first of Peter, not to mention here others (of doubtful origin).

The authority of the bishops (or elders) already commended by the Apostles: 1 Cor. xvi. 15 f.; Phil. ii. 29; Col. i. 7; 1 Thess. v. 12; Clem. I., xlii.; Ignat., *Philad.*, vii.; *Magn.*, viii., xiii.

P. C. Dürr, *De antiq. fidei et morum regula*, Gött. 1781; D. Schenkel, *Ueber das urspr. Verh. d. Kirche z. Canon*, 1838; C. R. Köstlin, *Das Verh. zwischen apost. Tradition und Schrift in den ersten Jahrh.* (Tüb. Jahrb., 1850, I.).

285. The first Christians were in a measure prevented by their peculiar religious conceptions from according to any new books equal honor with those which had been handed down from father to son, and whose great age had won for them an inalienable right of precedence. The Holy Spirit, which once had rested only on a few prophets, had been imparted to all the chosen of Christ, and no one could or desired to claim for himself or any other disciple an exclusive inspiration. And that one among the Christian schools which by its doctrine of the Law seemed to derogate most from the ancient authority of the sacred writings of the people of God really established it, as the earlier form of revelation, in order to set over against it a new one, and so, free from the bonds of the letter, to recognize only a faith in, and service of, the spirit.

The Apostles themselves do not appeal to their own writings as authority (although they refer to them incidentally, 1 Cor. v. 9 ; 2 Cor. vii. 8, etc.), but to tradition and the Old Testament, even for the gospel history : 1 Cor. xi. 23 ; xv. 3-7 ; for the rest to their oral instruction. (Correct interpretation of *εὐαγγέλιόν μου*, Rom. ii. 16 ; xvi. 25 ; 2 Tim. ii. 8.) Reference to an apostolic writing as *γραφῆ* first occurs (not in 1 Tim. v. 18, over which there is controversy, § 92) in Barnabas, ch. iv., of a Gospel, in 2 Pet. iii. 16, of the Pauline writings, in both passages (quite isolated, moreover) either an evidence against the alleged author or of an extra-canonical quotation. (Weizsäcker, *Kritik des Barnabas-Briefs*, p. 34.) See also Clem., *Ep. II. ad Corr., passim* ; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, xii., in the Latin text.

All Christians have the Holy Spirit, *i. e.*, are inspired, from the same source and for the same purpose, and this constitutes the essence of Christianity : Jn. xiv. 16 ; xv. 26 ; xvi. 7-15 ; Acts ii. 14-21 ; iv. 31 ; viii. 15-17 ; x. 44 ; xi. 15-17 ; xv. 8, 28, etc. Rom. viii. 9, 14 ; 1 Cor. iii. 16 ; vi. 19 ; vii. 40 (*καὶ ὅσα*) ; xii. 3 ff. ; 2 Cor. i. 22 ; iii. 17, 18 ; Eph. iv. 30 ; 1 Thess. v. 19, 20 ; 1 Jn. iv. 2, etc. Clem., *Ad Cor. I.*, ii. 46 ; Barn., chs. ix., xvi., xix. ; Ignat., *Ad Philad.*, vii. ; Polye., ix. ; Hermas, *Shepherd*, II., *Mand.* 3. Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 1-91. The fact that these gifts of the Spirit were sometimes designed rather for the sanctification of the life and will, or to strengthen for action, and not always chiefly for the enlightenment of the understanding, does not alter the matter.

The criterion of inspiration is not apostolic writing, but the gift of the "proving of spirits" (naturally developed and guided by oral instruction). 1 Cor. xii. 10 ; 1 Thess. v. 21 ; 1 Jn. iv. 1. In the enumeration of charisms (Rom. xii. ; 1 Cor. xii.) there is no special gift of authorship.

For the Pauline theory cf. 2 Cor. iii. ; Rom. vii. 6, etc., and in general Nösselt, *Exercitt.*, p. 47 ff. ; Paulus, in Pott's *Sylloge*, III. 298 ff. ; A. Jahn, *Ad quosnam pertineat promissio Sp. S. sec. N. T.*, Bas. 1841 ; G. L. Leblois, *Sur l'inspiration des premiers Chrétiens*, Str. 1850 ; Witsius, *Miscell.*, p. 294 ff.

286. But aside from this dogmatic point of view, the churches must have received letters from the Apostles with the greatest interest and preserved them carefully, as precious memorials of former relations, the remembrance of which was ever dear to them. The Apostles themselves often gave their letters an encyclical character, which certainly would lead to the immediate multiplication of the copies ; neighboring churches

communicated to one another what they possessed; the frequent tours of the missionaries facilitated this exchange, and even private persons, with little pains and small cost, might have copies taken of books which came in their way.

On the possible methods of multiplication of encyclical letters see especially the modern introductions to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Cf. also Col. iv. 16; 2 Cor. i. 1; Gal. i. 2 (1 Pet. i. 1); Rev. i. 4.

What has been said of the missionaries is not to be understood as if they were agents of a modern Bible or Tract Society. Cf. Polyc., *Ad Philipp.*, xiii.; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 36, 37; v. 25, where examples of exchange of epistles between churches occur, and in the passage cited from Polycarp of such a sort that it must be inferred either that the churches did not yet possess all the apostolic epistles complete or that they used non-apostolic ones also for public reading. J. R. Kiesling, *De stabili primit. eccl. ope epp. communicatoriarum connubio*, L. 1744.

See Griesbach, *Hist. textus epp. paul.*, in his *Opp.*, II. 82.

287. Nevertheless the circulation of the apostolic writings progressed but slowly, and all through the first half of the second century, according to the extant evidence, the use made of them appears to have been still very limited. For doctrine as well as for the history tradition sufficed, and even where knowledge of the latter perhaps depended upon books these could not be directly appealed to as indisputable evidence. The epistles were regarded as the private property of those to whom they were written, or at least as of interest chiefly to them; for the rest they were used occasionally for rhetorical or homiletical purposes. Most of the quotations from them, in this period, are quotations of single sentences, without name, and a full century passed before any one thought of an argumentative appeal to them as authorities.

Early traces of the use of apostolic writings in our Canon (not in the Epistle of James, § 145, but doubtless) in the First Epistle of Peter, § 148; perhaps in the Epistle of Barnabas, § 234.

Papias (in Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39): οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης. Beside this, mention by name of only two Gospels (§§ 186, 187), and use (by name?) of 1 Peter and 1 John. A reference to the beginning of the Gospel of Luke is also to be found in the extant fragments. His historical notices sometimes contradict the canonical accounts (*e. g.*, the death of Judas). To him are also referred several testimonies of older Christians (*πρεσβύτεροι, veteres, seniores*) found in Irenæus, some of which agree with our texts, others vary therefrom. See Otto, in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1844, III.; cf. in general Rettberg, in the *Hall. Encykl.*, III. 11. It is at all events of importance for the history that no use of Pauline writings was to be discovered in him (the Chiliast).

Clem., *Ad Cor. I.*, xlvii.: ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν. Also reminiscences from the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Hebrews (chs. xxiv., xxxii.–xxxvi., etc.). Ignat., *Ad Eph.*, xii.: μνημονεῖται ὑμῶν. Also, without names or formulas of quotation, passages from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians and the Gospel of John (*Magn.*, x.; *Eph.*, xviii.; *Rom.*, iii., vii.; *Philad.*, i.; *Smyrn.*, vi., etc.). Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, iii., ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν; and silent use of Acts, Ro-

mans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy, 1 John, 1 Peter. (Quite differently 2 Pet. iii. 15, where the *ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν* necessarily refers to all Christians.) If isolated expressions could prove anything these reminiscences would certainly be more frequent, yet not always necessarily referring to our canonical text; see Hilgenfeld, *Apost. Väter*, p. 47, 103; Lübker, in *Niederer's Zeitschr.*, 1854, p. 610 ff. With respect to the preliminary critical questions regarding these latter writings we refer to the more general works on the Apostolic Fathers, and for the sake of brevity, to Herzog's *Encyclopädie*.

Extensive but uncritical collection of such passages in J. Usseus, *Hist. dogmatica controversiæ de scripturis et sacris vernaculis*, Lond. 1690; J. H. Barth, *De studio et amore vet. Chr. in S. S.*, Arg. 1713; G. G. Zeltner, *De more inter concionandum biblia s. evolventi*, Altd. 1728; F. Woken, *Historie des Bibelweissens der alten Christen*, L. 1726; A. J. Onymus, *Geschichte des Bibelweissens*, 1786; M. A. Paiva, *Utilité de la lecture des SS. écritures*, Str. 1828; A. Sandbüchler, *Lesen die ersten Christen die h. S.?* 1784; N. Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, (Works, I.-VI. ed. Kippis, 1788); P. Bonneton, *La Bible avec l'église*, Gen. 1849; D. Erdmann, *Das Bibellesen in der alten Kirche*, B. 1855 ff., 3 Pts.; E. v. Muralt, *Ein Gang durchs N. T. an der Hand der ältesten Kirchenlehrer*, Bern, 1867; on the contrary, especially Gieseler, *Entstehung der Evv.*, p. 149 ff.; Augusti, *Handbuch der christl. Archäologie*, II. 166 ff.; see also Bingham, *Antiq. eccl.*, Bk. XIV. ch. 3; C. J. Estlander, *De usu S. S. in eccl. cath. duobus primis secc.*, Hels. 1829.

Nor are references to gospel events and particular utterances of Jesus lacking in the Fathers mentioned, but they in part do not presuppose a written source and in part rather one no longer accessible to us. Cf. Barnabas, chs. iv., vii., xv. (§ 234); Clement, *Ad Cor. I.*, xiii., xlvi.; Ignat., *Ad Eph.*, xiv., xix.; *Ad Smyrn.*, i., iii.; *Ad Polyc.*, ii.; Polyc., *Ad Phil.*, ii., etc. Cf. also C. C. J. Bunsen, *Ignatius u. seine Zeit*, 1847, p. 157 ff. In general, J. H. Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T. hist. untersucht*, from the Dutch by C. Manchot, Brem. 1867.

288. The divisions between Jewish and Gentile Christians and their jealousy for their respective heads were also a hindrance, not to be overlooked, to the formation of a collection such as our present one. The parties, which had needed some time to come to full consciousness of the principles which separated them, were in the post-apostolic age in some respects still less inclined to be friendly than when the first preachers of the Gospel, now at rest, had attempted in vain to twine the bonds of one faith about the scattered members of the Church. Moreover the writings of these men were involved in many ways in the polemics of the day, to the one party as a stumbling-block, to the other as a refreshment of its convictions, and a long time must have passed before the voice of peace found a formula by which, upon middle ground, and by means of mutual concessions, an actually common, Catholic Church could be formed, giving up the more extreme views on both sides and gathering together for the common advantage what each party had inherited of apostolic literary treasure.

This is confirmed by the simple fact that, even in the limited older New Testament collection, writings of more Jewish-Christian tendency stand side

by side with Pauline and Johannan, and, what is no less significant, with those obviously of middle tendency. In the apostolic age there might be mediatory personalities, but not a party of that type. Cf. § 137 and especially Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche* (1850), 2d ed. 1857; Lipsius, *Die Zeit des Irenæus und die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche* (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, Pt. XXVIII., p. 241 ff.).

For the earlier period, however, there is unexceptionable evidence that the churches which stood by Jewish Christianity contented themselves with a single Gospel (a Greek or Hebrew Matthew; § 186) and would have nothing to do with Pauline preaching (Iren., i. 26; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 27); which, however, cannot be understood as meaning that they had gone out from a Church which already possessed and daily used all this and much more as a common treasure.

289. For all these reasons we cannot speak of any real necessity for a more or less complete collection of apostolic writings before the middle of the second century. Nor is there the slightest trace of any measures being taken by the Apostles or their immediate successors to provide all the churches with authentic copies of them. After the destruction of Jerusalem the Church had no longer a centre, and the task of preparing such collections was necessarily left to individual persons or places. It therefore required the coincidence of several powerful causes to bring about the first attempts of any importance.

Older treatises on the history of our Canon: J. Ens, *Bibliotheca s.*, Amst. 1710; J. Frick, *De cura ecclesiæ veteris circa canonem S. S.*, Ulm, 1728; C. E. Weissmann, *Juste ac pie rationes collect. canon. S. S.*, Tüb. 1737; J. P. Lufft, *De canone S. S.*, Arg. 1743; E. H. D. Stosch, *De cura vet. eccl. circa ll. ss. N. T.*, Frankf. a. V. 1749; repeated in his *Comm. hist. critica de ll. N. T. canone*, Frankf. a. V. 1755; D. Hering, *Abhh.*, p. 115 ff.; C. F. Schmid, *Hist. antiqua et vindicatio canonis*, L. 1775; cf. his *Krit. Unterss. über die Offenb. Joh.*, pp. 64–150; C. W. F. Walch, *Kritische Untersuchung vom Gebrauch der h. S. unter den alten Christen in den ersten 4 Jahrh.*, L. 1779; also J. Usserius, *Hist. controversiæ de scripturis vernaculis*, Lond. 1690; T. G. Hegelmaier, *Gesch. des Bibelverbots*, Ulm, 1783; J. M. Lobstein, *De vet. eccl. ll. ss. amore*, Giss. 1775. None of them sufficiently critical respecting the period now under consideration.

Since the time of Semler (§ 342): C. F. Weber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des newest. Kanons*, Tüb. 1791; H. Corrodi, *Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und christlichen Bibelkanons*, Halle, 1792, 2 Pts. Cf. also Mosheim, *Vindic. adv. Toland.*, p. 342 ff.; Mill, *Proleg. ad N. T.*; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, IX. and *passim*; Münscher, *Dogmengeschichte*, I. 256 ff.; Augusti, *Dogm. Einl.*, p. 178 ff.; Jachmann, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1842, II.; Oehler and Landerer, *Art. Kanon* in Herzog's *Encykl.*; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 1–91 (§ 285); idem, *Geschichte des newest. Kanons*, edited by G. Volkmar, B. 1860; A. Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon und die Kritik des N. T. in ihrer gesch. Ausbildung*, H. 1863. [Gaussen, *Le Canon des Saintes Écritures*, Laus. 1860, 2 vols.; tr. and abr. by Dr. E. N. Kirk, *The Canon of the Holy Scriptures Examined in the Light of History*, Boston, 1862; Bleek, *Einl. in d. N. T.*, B. 1862, pp. 631–678 (E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1870, 2 vols.); Westcott, *History of the Canon of the N. T.*, Cambr. 1855, 2d ed. enlarged and revised, Lond. 1866; "the best treatise on the subject in English." (Prof. Ezra Abbot.)] — The literature belonging under this head is also catalogued by Bertholdt, *Einl.*, I. 64 ff., and the older especially by Fabricius, *Syllab. apolog.*, p. 513.



Fable of a collection of apostolic writings prepared by John (Photinus, *Cod.*, 254; from a misunderstanding of which came what Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 24, Jerome, *Catal.*, ix., says with reference to the supposed supplementary purpose of his Gospel), still defended, after the example of older writers, by Augusti, *Dogm. Einl. in d. h. S.*, p. 205 ff.

Supposed traces of an already existing collection, in Ignat., *Ad Philad.*, v., *προσφυγῶν τῶ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας*, where the author is obviously speaking of the Apostles not as writers but as a particular body of disciples who had authoritatively founded the Church. Cf. also ch. ix. But especially ch. viii.: *ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι, εἰὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις (ἀρχαίοις ?) εἴρω, ἐν τῶ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεῦω*, which is not to be understood of archives containing apostolic writings, but of appeal to Old Testament prophecies, over against which the author sets his unconditional faith in Christ and the facts of the gospel as a firmer foundation. See Lessing, *Theol. Nachlass.*, pp. 73, 113, 185; D. Hering, on the passage, 1778; J. E. C. Schmidt, in his *Biblioth.*, III. 299; Gieseler, *l. c.*, p. 160 f.; Rettig, in *Ephem. Giss.*, III. 72; Schulthess, *Theol. Nachr.*, Jan. 1829; H. A. Niemeyer, in the *Oppos. Schrift*, New Series, I. 2; Nolte, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1857, IV. — J. Delitzsch, *De inspir. S. S. quid statuerint patres apostolici et apologetæ Sæc. II.*, L. 1872, p. 56 ff., asserts, if not a proper canonical collection, at least the equal canonical authority of the apostolic writings (*homologoumena*) and the Old Testament from the time of Barnabas, Iguatius, and Justin.

The later doubts concerning the genuineness of many writings (as well as the possibility of the circulation of several spurious ones) are not only inexplicable upon the assumption of an early fixing of the Canon, traced back even to apostolic authority, but absolutely fatal to it.

The older science even ventured to fix the year when the Canon was completed (Gospels, 99; Epistles, 110, Mill, *Proleg. ad N. T.*, § 193 ff.; before 107, O. Bouchet, *Époque de la réunion des homologoumènes*, Mont. 1863).

The history of the Canon is treated rather from a theological than a literary-historical point of view by G. J. Planck, *Einl. in die theol. Wiss.*, I. 413 ff.; Grimm, in the *Hall. Encykl.*, II. 19, p. 70 ff.; Tholuck, in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, 1850, No. 16 ff.; A. Daniel, *Theol. Controversen*, 1843.

290. Such causes, which gradually led the Church back to the authentic documents of the apostolic doctrine, were, first, the threatening spread of Gnosticism, next, the increasing flood of apocryphal writings, lastly, the instinctive perception of the insufficiency and weakness of every other foundation for instruction. But a long time passed before these causes could bring about their result, and as long as dogmatic tradition still had life enough to resist corruption, almost inevitable in this century of the most manifold commotions, it was not the books that formed the rule of faith but rather the books themselves were judged by the traditional rule.

These phenomena are not strange and abnormal, but the natural consequence of the course which the spread of the Gospel had taken. In many cases no other criterion of genuineness was known or desired. Examples are furnished, for this period, by the history of Jewish Christianity and Chiliasm in particular.

On the authority of the Holy Scriptures and their relation to the rule of faith in the Protestant and in the ancient Church: Three letters by C. H. Sack, C. I. Nitzsch, and F. Lücke, Bonn, 1827; J. L. Jacobi, *Die kirchliche Lehre von der Tradition und heil. Schr. in ihrer Entwicklung*, B. 1847, Pt. I.;

see also § 284. — For the Catholic view cf. especially J. H. Friedlieb, *Schrift, Tradition, und kirchliche Schriftauslegung*, . . . *nach den Zeugnissen der fünf ersten Jahrh.*, Br. 1854. — The utterances of the Ante-Nicene Church Fathers (the Apostles included) upon the authority of Scripture are collected by Routh, in the *Relig. ss.*, ed. 2, V. 335 ff.

291. It also followed from this that the choice of the apostolic writings which each individual teacher placed in the hands of his pupils was entirely free, inasmuch as neither custom nor any ecclesiastical authority had prescribed it. Thus Marcion had gathered a collection which has been erroneously regarded as the first attempt at a New Testament Canon. This heretic certainly proceeded upon no literary-historical principle in his task, but upon a purely subjective and dogmatic one. He allowed to the books themselves no divine authority at all, and consequently might permit himself to treat the text according to his pleasure. The collection therefore consisted by no means of all books which were accessible to him and known as apostolic, but simply of the single Gospel, and ten epistles of the single Apostle whom he accepted.

For proof as to the Catholic party, see § 294. For the literature on Marcion, § 246. A. Hahn, *De canone Marcionis antinomi*, Reg. 1824, Pts. I., II.; cf. Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.*, II. 224, ed. 2; Kirchofer, *Quellens.*, p. 357 ff. (§ 307).

Order of the books in his collection: Gospel of Christ, Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Laodiceans, Colossians, Philémon, Philippians (*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος*). This order, compared with that which afterward became usual, bears clear witness either to the critical acuteness of Marcion or to the correctness of a soon forgotten tradition, in any case to the fact that no other as yet had general currency.

The opinions of the Church Fathers respecting this collection are made up in accordance with later conceptions of the Canon; the views of those moderns who regard it as the first attempt at a Canon are at variance with the ideas of that age and school respecting the value of apostolic writings. But we may certainly infer from this oldest collection of which we have definite knowledge the gradually spreading custom of making use of apostolic writings.

292. It was in general the heretics of the second century who first felt the need of arranging their theological and philosophical ideas into systems and of supporting them by actual or alleged apostolic books. Since their speculations had not grown up upon ecclesiastical ground, and since the most noted among them had moreover an outspoken antipathy to the Old Testament revelations, which were made fundamental by their opponents, they turned by preference, in order to establish their views, to apostolic authorities, sometimes drawing over to their side, by means of partial use of their extant writings and more or less arbitrary exposition of the text, the authority of their honored names, but sometimes even misusing these names for the defense and commendation of their doctrines in

forged writings. Yet this very circumstance and the continual increase of the Apocrypha shows that the Church had not yet formed its Canon, to say nothing of having closed it. Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Heracleon, Tatian, and still others, knew, quoted, and even commented upon the writings of the Apostles before the Catholics thought of preparing an attested collection of them.

The relation of the Gnostic sects to the Old Testament may here, where the question is chiefly concerning the development of the Christian Canon, be fitly passed over. (Cf. L. D. Cramer, *Historia sententiarum de sacra ll. V. T. auctoritate ad Christianos spectante*, L. 1819, 2 Pts., 4<sup>o</sup>, p. 13 ff.) But it is just this relation which explains how they were led to the apostolic writings.

On the Gospels of these heretics see § 245. Owing to the absence of generally attested writings and the luxuriant growth of unwatched tradition they were as arbitrary as they were adapted to their purpose. The Epistles were rendered harmless by selection and exegesis; likewise John.

The expression of Irenæus respecting the Gnostics (*Adv. Hær.*, III. 12, p. 198, *scripturas quidem confitentur interpretationes vero convertunt*) or even that of Tertullian respecting Valentinus (*Præscr.*, ch. 38: *integrò instrumento uti videtur; ibid.*, ch. 17: *ista hæresis non recipit quasdam scripturas et si quas recipit . . . ad dispositionem sui instituti intervertit, et . . . non recipit integras*), or that of Hippolytus respecting Apelles (*Philos.*, p. 259: *τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ αἰρεῖται*) presupposes in an uncritical way a Church Canon, if not closed yet in process of formation, even in earlier times, and is contradicted by the fact that the Church Fathers themselves mention it as something noteworthy that this or that Gnostic used an apostolic book. Moreover, later witnesses were doubtless often inclined to trace back the doctrines and customs of still existing schools to their founders. So Eriphanius (*Hær.*, lvi.), of Bardesanes: *χρηται παλαιῶ τε καὶ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καὶ ἀποκρίφοις τισὶν ὡσαύτως*.

Basilides (Jerome, *Proœm. in Tit.*) rejected the Pastoral Epistles of Paul. On his other quotations see P. Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides am Ausgang d. ap. Zeitalters als erster Zeuge f. Alter u. Autorität N. T. Schriften bes. des Evang. Joh.* (from the Dutch), L. 1868; and upon it, C. E. Scharling, *Unters. über die gnostischen Citationen in den Philos.* (Danish), Copenh. 1868. His adherents (Clem., *Strom.*, I. 340) kept the festival of the baptism of Christ *προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσει*. Carpocrates (Iren., *Adv. Hær.*, I. 25, p. 104) is said to have used Matthew and Luke (?).

Valentinus (Iren., III. 11, 14, pp. 190, 202, etc.) had besides John, who in his school also was commented upon together with the other Gospels. His *Evangelium veritatis* shows by its name and the contrast suggested thereby what authority was accorded by him to the others. Also references to several Pauline epistles. Cf. § 245. G. Heinrici, *Die valent. Gnosis und d. h. Schriften*, B. 1871, p. 46 ff., 182 ff.

The material belonging here has been very much increased by the discovery of the so-called *Philosophoumena* (E. Miller, 1851) or Hippolytus' *Refutationes omnium heresium* (ed. L. Duncker, Gött. 1859), and the result has been to make the case for the age and early authority of the Gospels (even John) and the Pauline Epistles more favorable. Yet criticism regards it as a question yet open whether all the quotations found in this work really came directly from the oldest Gnostic writings. See on the Ophites, Bk. V. 7 ff.; on the school of Valentinus, Bk. VI.; on Basilides, Bk. VII. 25 ff.

Tatian (§ 199), *Orat. ad Græcos*, ed. C. Otto, Jena, 1851, has no express quotations, but here and there Johannean (ch. xiii., xix.) and Pauline (chs. xi., xvi.) phrases; also references to words of Jesus (from Matthew?). Similar things are mentioned in the ancient writers from his lost work, *Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σωτήρα καταρτισμοῦ* (On Christian perfection in the meaning of the Saviour), which in part even by its bad exegesis shows that the apostolic writings were already authorities. He rejected several Pauline Epistles but expressly not all (Jerome, *Proem. in Tit.*, cf. Clem., *Strom.*, III. 460). His immediate followers, the Severians (Euseb., *H. E.*, IV. 29) accepted the Prophets and Gospels, but rejected Paul and the Acts of the Apostles.

From all this confusion in the theological use of the apostolic books it is obvious that no definite ecclesiastical custom or rule was yet in existence. Cf. also Augusti, *Handbuch der christl. Archäol.*, II. 169 ff.; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 36 ff., and below, § 508; also § 245.

But on the other hand the circumstance that the Clementines, for example, in their polemic against Paul, do not mention him by name, shows how great his authority must already have been, even in the sphere where they could have influence.

293. Furthermore, in order to put aside, in the history of the collection of the Christian Scriptures, all current prejudices, it is fitting to make special mention of the extensive, undisturbed, and innocent use which the members of the Church in the second century might make of such books as afterward, upon the rise of more definite opinions of the exclusive value of the apostolic writings, were partly quietly laid aside, partly rejected with emphasis. It is sufficiently evident from this fact not only that no authoritative arrangement or selection had been yet made, but also that mere literary taste was as poor a judge of the true sources of knowledge as theological opinion.

At the head of the examples to be adduced here should certainly be placed (Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 8?) the Epistle of Jude, which uses apocryphal writings (vss. 9, 14) and even quotes them. Jn. vii. 38, 1 Cor. ii. 9, Ja. iv. 5, Lk. xi. 49 have also been cited (Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1853, II. 326 ff.), but with very doubtful propriety. More certainly, quotations occur from prophets unknown to us in Barnabas xii., xvi., Clem., 1 Cor. xxiii., from 4 Ezra (?) in Clem., 1 Cor. 1. The so-called 2d epistle of the same author appeals (ch. xii.) to a passage from the Gospel of the Egyptians. Justin (§ 294) quotes (*Cohort.*, xvi., xxxvii., xxxviii.; *Apol. I.*, xx., xlv.) the Sibyl and Hystaspes. Irenæus (IV. 20, p. 253; cf. Euseb., *H. E.*, V. 8) commends the Shepherd of Hermas as γραφή. All the Apocrypha mentioned and still others (Sermon and Apocalypse of Peter, Traditions of Matthias, Gospel of the Hebrews), together with Barnabas and Clement of Rome, are quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, I. 356; II. 375, 380, 410; III. 452 f., 465; V. 575; VI. 635 f., 678, etc.) as apostolic witnesses. Cf. the indices to his works, and Euseb., VI. 14. Tertullian, *De habitu mul.*, ch. iii., makes a long apology for the Book of Enoch. The Sibyls in particular (§ 274) were long regarded as inspired prophetesses. G. Besançon, *De l'usage que les Pères font des oracles sib.*, Mont. 1851.

294. Possibly the exegetical abuses of the Gnostics in part only confirmed the Catholic teachers still more in their exclusive dependence upon the dogmatic tradition of their Church,

and upon argument from the Old Testament. Yet they might also have the opposite effect, and lead them to busy themselves more earnestly with the writings of the Apostles. However that may have been, it is not until after the middle of the second century that direct appeals to them become more frequent, then chiefly to Gospels, but at first still with complete freedom in the choice of them. No witness of this period knows any collection of New Testament writings, even a provisional and incomplete one. Yet the regular public reading of certain books, especially Gospels, had doubtless begun at that time, as well as those Epistles which had been originally received by individual churches.

The first statement is confirmed, for example, by the method of Tertulian, cf. his utterances, *Præscr. hæc.*, ch. xiv. (§ 515).

Justin Martyr († 167) quotes by name (beside some Apocrypha, § 293) only the Apocalypse of John (*παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις ἐ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, ch. 81) and the Gospel of Peter (?). On the character of his gospel quotations see under § 199. So far as we are able to compare them with our texts, most of them point to Matthew; but he also expressly quotes some passages which are only found in Mark and Luke, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 103, 106, — the latter as from a pupil of the Apostles. He is silent as to Paul and the Gospel of John, save some very isolated allusions to them, or rather echoes of their diction. With respect to these, however (especially with respect to their theological contents), it might still be disputed whether they came from reading, or whether, if so, they would not prove that the author ascribed no very high authority to them. (Kirehhofer, *l. c.*, pp. 146, 184; Otto, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1841, II.; 1842, II.; 1843, I.; D. F. Zastraun, *De Justinī M. biblicis studiis*, Br. 1831; Volkmar, *Justin u. d. Evv.*, p. 12 ff.; H. D. T'jeenk Willink, *Justinus M. in zijne verhouding tot Paulus*, Zwoll. 1867.) His theory of inspiration extends only to the Old Testament and the Apocalypses, and his theological reasoning is founded upon the proof that the gospel facts attested by the "Memorabilia of the Apostles" are in perfect agreement with the Old Testament prophecies. (*Apol. I.*, 30, 53; *Tryph.*, 32.) An anti-Pauline tendency (e. g., *Tryph.*, 35) and a holding fast to the number twelve for the Apostles (*ibid.*, 42). First mention of the public reading of the Gospels in Sunday assemblies (*Apol. I.*, 67): τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. See Gieseler, *Entstehung der Evv.*, p. 142 ff. Inspiration of the Septuagint (*Apol. I.*, 61).

*Epistle to Diognetus*, c. 135 A. D. (usually placed with the works of Justin (in favor of which, after the example of several, though not without opposition, Otto, *De ep. ad Diogn.*, Jena, 1845), also in *Patrum apost. opp.*, ed. Hefele, 1842), quotes, in ch. 12, a passage from the Epistles to the Corinthians, and in ch. 11 finds the ideal of the church where φόβος νόμου ἔδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκειται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἴδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, in which certainly it is not the Epistles but tradition that is placed by the side of the written Gospels. Moreover, precisely these chapters are regarded by criticism as a later interpolation. In the genuine portions (chs. 5, 6, 9), there are echoes of apostolic words and thoughts (Paul, John, the Sermon on the Mount), but no quotations. Cf. also *Quartalschr.*, 1825, p. 444; C. D. a Grossheim, *De ep. ad Diogn.*, L. 1828; G. I. Suoeck, *Introd. in ep. ad Diogn.*, Leyd. 1861.

In *Hermas* (§ 275) traces of reading of the Synoptic Gospels, Paul, and

1 Peter. The *sicut scriptum est* occurs only with reference to an apocryphal writing. (I. vision 2, ch. 3.)

Hegesippus, about 160, brings the Gospel of the Hebrews to Rome, apparently without offense and with the consciousness of full community of faith, which was therefore at all events independent of an official canon, and appeals in general (Euseb., IV. 22) to the Law, the Prophets, and the Lord, not to apostolic writings. Cf. the following section. Schulthess, *Symb. crit.*, I.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 343; Weizsäcker, in Herzog's *Encykl.*; T. Jess, in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1865, I.

Melito of Sardis (c. 160) instructed himself and his brother Onesimus by the study of the Old Testament and Christological extracts made therefrom. On the New Testament Eusebius (*H. E.*, IV. 26) appears to have found nothing in his works except a writing on the Apocalypse of John, which was thus the first apostolic book made by a Catholic the subject of Christian discussion. — In his catalogue of the books of the Old Testament Esther is lacking and Nehemiah is included with Ezra; the Minor Prophets stand in the midst of the Major. Cf. F. Piper, *Melito (Studien)*, 1838, I. 54 ff.; *Corpus apologetarum*, ed. Otto, IX. 374 ff., 439.

A fragment of his contemporary, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, has been preserved (*Chron. pasch.*, p. 13, ed. Dindorf), in which, by appeal to gospel writings (John) the view is maintained, against those who held to the Synoptic account, that Jesus did not keep the Jewish Passover before his death.

Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170) informs the Romans (Euseb., *H. E.*, IV. 23) that at Corinth the epistles of Clement and Soter, their bishops, were read to his church on Sunday. Therefore no doubt those of Paul also? He complains of the corruption of his writings, and consoles himself by the fact that it had fared no better with the *κυριακαὶ γράφαλ* (the Gospels?) though *τοιαῦτα*.

Athenagoras († 177) appeals for evidence of the truth of the Gospel to the Old Testament, quotes once (*De resurrec.*, ch. 18, *Opp.*, Oxf. 1682, ed. Otto, 1857) the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and in his Apology some sentences from the Sermon on the Mount. Reminiscences from Romans, Galatians, 1 Timothy (*Legat.*, chs. 13, 16, 37); also apocryphal words of Jesus (*ibidem*, ch. 32).

The most frequent allusions, and giving evidence of a greater number of writings, are contained in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (of the year 177, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, V. 1): Epistles to the Romans, Philipians, both to Timothy, First of Peter, Acts of the Apostles, Gospel of John (ὁ κύριος) and Apocalypse, which last is expressly quoted as *γραφή*. May not Irenæus, the famous bishop of Lyons, have written this? — Cf. also the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, printed with the Apostolic Fathers, and Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV. 15.

295. As soon as the first impulse had been given, men learned to recognize the value of these memorials for Christian knowledge and Christian life more and more fully, and to prize them more and more highly. In particular, the necessity of finding new and stouter weapons against heresy led theologians more and more to the study of the doctrinal writings of the Apostles. Long since, too, custom and the wrangling of schools had brought their minds down and out of that unaffected enthusiasm which had once given them so much power in themselves. The intoxication of overstrained hopes had departed amid the pressure of an earnest and often gloomy present,

and those whose ardor was not wholly chilled by the awakening to sober reality were glad to refresh themselves by returning in thought to a happier time, which its increasing distance painted in colors ever more splendid. The farther the heavenly Jerusalem receded before the longing eyes of the Church, the more glorious to its remembrance became the earthly and whatever had once proceeded from it.

Hegesippus, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 32: μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθάρᾳ ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία . . . ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χόρος εἰλήθει τοῦ βίου τέλος . . . τῆνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβανεν ἡ σύστασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδοσκόλων ὑπάτης, κ. τ. λ. Admitting the facts to be as here represented, — and even this can be done only with limitations, — the causal relation of them is based upon a mistake very easily corrected from the New Testament itself, but which must naturally have contributed to this transformation of theological methods (cf. Jess, *l. c.*, p. 60 ff.).

And when in the consciousness of believers the Apostles had once gained a place by the side of the Prophets as bearers of the Spirit, it was but a step farther to ascribe to their writings a similar authority (Landerer, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, VII. 273 f.). Only the glory which soon surrounded both the men and the books was not always the reflection of the light shed by the latter, but mostly that of the once clear but now obscure twilight of tradition.

But beside this there came also, called forth by the reaction against the practice of the Gnostics (§ 292), a stricter adherence to tradition, appealing, to be sure, to the Apostles as the original authorities, but not exclusively and directly to their writings for its own authentication; cf. § 515. But these latter must, in the course of time, have been placed higher and higher by discerning minds, as they were distinguished more and more clearly in spirit, contents, and form, from the later literature.

296. It is furthermore to be expressly noted that the Church went to work in this portion of its dogmatic development in such a manner that the apostolic writings were placed higher and higher in authority and dignity, until they at last came to be on a level with those of the Old Testament. But this very movement may be recognized as in a twofold respect the result of the final formation of a Catholic Church, uniting in peace Jewish and Gentile Christians. For, in order that this might take place, not only must the living consciousness of the opposition between letter and spirit in general first be obscured, but also, in particular, the revelation of the Old Covenant must be regarded as formally complete and authoritative, which Paul and his contemporaries had denied.

According to the common conception, advocated especially by the Protestant theology, but running counter to all history, we must think the reverse, that if any exertion was necessary to attain the end, it must have been to maintain the Old Testament on a level with the New, which from the first had absolute authority. But even the antinomian Gnosis never contended in the name and in favor of a canon of the New Testament Scriptures. The Gospel was doubtless from the beginning placed above the Law, and Christ above Moses, but not the written preaching of the former above written

prophecy. Tertull., *De pudic.*, ch. xii. : *Nos in apostolis quoque veteris legis formam salutamus.*

The other important element in this development — the recognition by each of the two old parties of the writings of those Apostles who were preferred by the other — was then easily accomplished as the natural consequence of the foregoing. Refusal to enter into this union was a sign of heresy. Of a formal agreement to this effect, however (Augusti, *Handb. d. Archäol.*, II. 177), there is nowhere anything said.

297. This advance in the religious consciousness, by which the first Apostles were placed upon a level with the prophets, and their writings came to be regarded as products of a special inspiration, bestowed upon them alone, was completed toward the end of the second century. The earliest trace of such a coördination of the two classes of books and at the same time of an actual collection of apostolic writings is found in the so-called Second Epistle of Peter. Among the ecclesiastical writers, Theophilus of Antioch, and after him Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, may be regarded as the first and best known representatives of this new tendency, provided it be well understood that always and everywhere Scripture and tradition, regarded as equally authentic and thoroughly harmonious witnesses, constitute the common source of knowledge and rule of doctrine.

2 Pet. iii. 15 : Παῦλος . . . ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς . . . ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ δυσνοητά γινᾶ ἂ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς στρεβλοῦσιν ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς. . . A quotation which is all the more noteworthy here because it is only true in this abstract general sense.

Theophilus (c. 180), *Ad Autolyicum* (ed. Wolf, Hamb. 1724 ; ed. Otto, Jena, 1861), iii. 11 ff. : coördination, in theory and argumentation, of the prophetic and apostolic writings, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λελαληκέναι, in reality a narrowing of the New Testament principle, § 285 ; cf. also ii. 9, 33, 35. Quotations from Paul with the formula ὁ θεῖος λόγος and the like (iii. 14). First express appeal by a Catholic writer to the Gospel of John (ii. 22 : πάντες οἱ πνευματόφοροι ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης), beside Matthew and single Pauline Epistles ; according to Eusebius (*H. E.*, iv. 24) also the Apocalypse. Cf. C. Otto, *Gebrauch newest. Schriften bei Theoph. v. Ant.*, in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1859, IV.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons († 202), *Adv. Hær.* (§ 514), III. 1 : *evangelium quod tunc præconaverunt postea per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.* *Ibid.*, ch. 21, p. 216 : *Unus et idem Spiritus in prophetis præconavit adventum Domini, in senioribus (LXX.) bene interpretatus est et in apostolis annuntiavit plenitudinem temporum venisse*, which, to be sure, in an earlier writer, and in the lack of clear parallel passages, would not necessarily be referred to the apostolic writings. Gospel (N. T.) and Prophets (O. T.), are *universæ scripturæ*, II. 27. Truth (I. 8, p. 35) is ἡν προφῆται ἐκήρυξαν, ὁ κύριος ἐδίδαξεν, οἱ ἀπόστολοι παρέδωκαν. — For his conception of the rights of tradition, see, among other passages, III. 4, 1, 2 ; 24, 1 ; IV. 26, 5 ; 32, 1. Cf. in general, A. Kayser, *L'opinion d'Iren. sur le siècle apostolique*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, VI. 321 ; C. Graul, *Die chr. Kirche an der Schwelle des irenæischen Zeitalters*, 1860, p. 119 ff. ; Lipsius (§ 288).

Tertullian, presbyter at Carthage († c. 223). Old and New Testaments



(= *Scriptura* simply) furnish proof passages indiscriminately. Connection of Scripture with tradition; *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 5; *Si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio, id ab initio quod ab apostolis, pariter utique constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint, ad quam regulam Galatæ sint correcti, quid legant Philippenses, etc. De Præscr.*, ch. 36: *percurrere ecclesias apost. apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsententur, apud quas authentica literæ eorum recitantur, etc.*, cf. ch. 20 ff., ch. 37 f. These passages, the latter of which appears to know as yet no general public use of the Epistles, state the only valid ground of recognition for doctrine and Scripture alike. Cf. § 290. The fact that elsewhere in his writings Montanistic ideas break over the limits of a dogmatic conception of inspiration which confines it to the Apostles alone does not signify here,—the less since the latter is sufficiently attested and the former were already regarded as heretical. From the time of Tertullian even the idea of canonicity is attached more strictly to the names of the Apostles. Hence the Gospels of Luke and Mark are expressly referred to Peter and Paul. *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2, 5.

Clement of Alexandria († 217), *Strom.*, III., p. 455 (ed. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, fol.): *νόμος τε ὅμων καὶ προφήται σὺν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ εἰς μίαν συναγωγήν γινώσκιν.* V. 561: *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὁμοίως ταῖς προφήταις πᾶσι.* Cf. VI. 659, 676; VII. 757. All three sources together, *αἱ γραφαί*, IV. 475. And in view of the many quotations from the Epistles it is not to be doubted that by the *μακάριον εὐαγγέλιον* are to be understood the apostolic writings in general. The fact that Clement was more of a philosopher than a churchman does not prevent him from connecting Scripture and tradition (*Strom.*, VII. 762 f.), and making the latter the basis of his exegesis.

Important contemporaneous phenomenon of an increasing accuracy in quoting. Mention of regular public readings, probably also of the New Testament: Tertull., *Apol.*, ch. xxxix.: *cogimur ad literarum divinarum commemorationem si quid presentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere.* *De anima*, ch. ix.: *scripturæ leguntur, psalmi canuntur, adlocutiones proferuntur.* *Ad uxor.*, ii. 6. In the same author, *De præscr. hæret.*, ch. xli., also the office of reader (*lector*), together with the older church offices.

The separate quotations are introduced as utterances of the Holy Spirit. It must be expressly borne in mind in this connection that there is nowhere anything said of an abandonment of the LXX. in favor of the original Hebrew text. On the contrary the higher inspiration is claimed for the latter likewise. See above, Irenæus, and § 299.

298. Such a dogmatic revolution, however gradually and imperceptibly it may have come about, must have had important results for the literature itself, and must have caused a more active scrutiny and sifting of the collection of apostolic writings. Upon the latter point the decision was made, next to the doctrinal contents, upon the basis of the testimony of the oldest churches. Asia Minor was probably the cradle of the New Testament collection, unless one prefers to assume that it may have been attempted, as a necessity of the time, at different places at once. However that may be, at the end of the second century the churches of Asia Minor, Alexandria, and West Africa, of which the three famous writers last mentioned may be regarded as the spokesmen, appeared to be

agreed in the acceptance of our four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one of Peter, one of John, and the Revelation.

The reasons for a priority on the part of Asia Minor would be not so much the example of Marcion as the greater need on account of the greater power of opposing tendencies ; but especially the fact that most of the apostolic writings were written in or chiefly for Asia Minor.

Irenæus in a certain sense bears witness also for Western Europe, since although by birth an Asiatic, by official position he belongs to the Gallic Church. For Greece witnesses of this period are wanting. Palestine has already receded quite into the background, and probably had little or no part in the development of the Catholic Church and its canon of the Scriptures. With respect to Rome see § 310.

But how long before the end of the second century an actual collection, *i. e.*, a writing together of all these books, was undertaken and brought to completion must remain undecided.

The fact is to be especially emphasized that our four Gospels at this time already appear as a closed collection, clearly excluding all increase or diminution (Iren., III. 11, 8, τὸ τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον, with a purely scholastic justification or establishment of the number. Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, III. 465 ; Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 2 ff. ; Origen, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI. 14, and *Hom. 1 in Luc.*, *Opp.*, V. 87, L. ; Jerome, *Præf. ad Damas.*, etc.).

299. But this noteworthy agreement of several important and widely separated churches as to the origin and authority of a certain number of writings had no legal character whatever, and did not rest upon the decision of a council or other ecclesiastical power. There is not even a catalogue of the books regarded as divine to be found anywhere in these writers ; on the contrary the judgment and choice were so entirely free that individual taste frequently even mistook the fundamental principle, — that of regarding the writings of the immediate disciples of the Lord alone as inspired. When no indubitable tradition existed one might reject with disgust what another admired and praised, without the violation of any ecclesiastical ordinance on either side.

In Irenæus, beside the above-mentioned writings, quotations are found from the Second Epistle of John, which, however, appears as an integral part of the First, III. 16, 5. Cf. I. 16, 3 (also from the Shepherd, § 293). He is said also to have used the Epistle to the Hebrews, but not as a Pauline writing. (Stephanus Gobarus, in Photius, *Bibl. cod.*, 232). The First Epistle of Peter is little mentioned. Cf. in general on his canon the (incomplete) information in Eusebius, *H. E.*, V. 8, 26 ; Deyling, *Obs. misc.*, p. 10 ; Süsskind, in Flatt's *Magazin*, VI. 95 ff. ; Otto, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1844, III. ; A. Kayser (§ 297).

Tertullian's principle is to recognize only proper apostolic writings. But especially important is his method, in the treatment of particular dogmatic propositions, of going through the apostolic writings in their order, by which his silence respecting particular books becomes much more significant. Thus, *De resurr. carnis*, ch. xxxiii. ff., only the Gospels, Apocalypse, Acts, and Pauline Epistles are mentioned ; likewise *De pudicit.*, ch. vi. ff., where the writings of John stand at the end (Apocalypse and First Epistle), and over and

above (*ex redundantia*) Barnabas is also introduced, *i. e.*, our Epistle to the Hebrews, whom he does not adduce as authority, as he says, but still opposes to the *apocryphus pastor macchorum* (ch. xx.). Cf. also the enumeration, *De fuga in pers.*, ch. vi. ff. Beside these he knows the Epistle of Jude (but probably not yet in the collection), *De habitu mul.*, ch. iii. The First Epistle of Peter only occurs in the suspicious *Scorpiax adv. Gnost.*, ch. xii. ff.

Clement (on his quotations see Euseb., *H. E.*, VI. 13, 14) knows likewise the Epistle of Jude and the Second of John, also that of Paul to the Hebrews, which Luke is said to have translated into the Greek.

That he also treated as apostolic books James, 2 Peter, and 3 John, of which neither in him nor in the other two are any traces now to be found, may certainly be inferred from the account of Eusebius, here very superficial.

These theologians also quote the Apocrypha of the Old Testament as sacred, inspired books, both the separate writings, as the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach (Clem. IV. 515; V. 583; Tertull., *Adv. Valent.*, ii.; *Exhort. castit.* ii.), and the additions of the Greek recension to Daniel and Jeremiah (Iren., IV. 5, p. 232; V. 35, p. 335; Clem., *Pæd.*, II. 161).

300. This original collection, though it had no very fixed and definite bounds, was usually divided into two parts. The first, already closed, and regarded as in a certain sense superior, comprised the four Gospels, and was called simply the Gospel. The second, not yet closed, and more subordinate, contained the Acts and Epistles, and was called the Apostle. The division and names appear first in the writings of these three much mentioned authors and disappear perhaps a century later. Everything seems to indicate that the two divisions originally formed separate collections and arose independently of each other, as was the case also with the sacred books of the synagogue.

Τὰ εὐαγγελικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, Iren., *Adv. hæc.*, I. 3, p. 17; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος, Clem., *Strom.*, VII. 706; *instrumentum, evangelicum, apostolicum*, Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 2; idem, *De pudic.*, ch. xii.; *evangelium, apostolus*, idem, *De bapt.*, ch. xv.; *evangelicæ, apostolicæ literæ*, idem, *De præscr.*, ch. xxxvi.; *instrumentum Moysi, propheticum* (*Adv. Hermog.*, xix.; *De resurr. carnis*, xxxiii.); *instrumentum Ioannis, Pauli* (*De resurr. carnis*, xxxviii., xxxix.); *instrumentum actorum* (*Adv. Marc.*, V. 2). The latter designations are especially fitted to show the late union of the separate elements. Cf. also Griesbach, *Hist. textus epp. paulin.* (*Opp.*, II. 88).

Whether the division and names were borrowed from Marcion (Bertholdt, I. 105; Eichhorn, IV. 25; Schott, p. 552) may be very much doubted. On the contrary, the simplest designation points to a time when the second collection consisted of nothing but Pauline epistles. Hence ὁ ἀπόστολος, in the singular. Pseudo-Origen, *De recta in deum fide* (*Opp.*, xvi. 309, Lomm.): ἡμεῖς πλέον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου οὐ δεχόμεθα. On the expression *instrumentum*, cf. § 303.

That the first division was regarded as the more important is shown (1.) from the fact that it was earlier completed in the consciousness of the Church; (2.) from the fact that the Gospels were earlier used for public readings, cf. Justin's evidence, § 294, and the oldest *Lectionarium Romanum*; (3.) from the fact that εὐαγγέλιον was the earliest name for the complete writings of the New Testament. § 297.

301. In the second part of the collection, the Epistles of Paul were easily distinguished from those of the other Apostles, which, originally, had a less restricted destination and were therefore commonly called Catholic, *i. e.* general, epistles. This name might also be applied to some other epistles which came into the collection later, but it finally designated simply all that were not Pauline, without regard to the original sense of the word, and even in direct contradiction to it. This usage, as finally established wholly unscientific and false, is explained therefore from the simple fact that the increasing number of epistles admitted into the collection made necessary a division of them into two books.

The name *καθολικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ* has been differently explained. See in general, Schott, *Isag.*, p. 371 ff.; Suicer, *Theol. eccles.*, sub voce; W. C. L. Ziegler, *De sensu nominis epp. cath. earumque numero in vet. eccl.*, Rost. 1807; Mayerhoff, *Einkl. in die petrinischen Schriften*, p. 31; Lücke, in the *Studien*, 1836, III.

According to the oldest usage, the greater extension of the original circle of readers — destination to the Church in general — is always meant by the term. Thus the First Epistle of John is called the catholic epistle, to distinguish it from the other two (Dion. Alex., in Euseb., *H. E.*, VII. 25; Origen, *passim*); so the epistle of the convention of the Apostles in Acts xv. (Clement, *Strom.*, IV. 512); that of Barnabas (Origen, *Con. Cels.*, I. 63). In any case this designation arose at a time when the consciousness of the local destination of the other epistles was still lively. Cf. § 287. It does not occur in the Muratorian Canon (§ 310), where the remark is made that although it is true that Paul wrote especially to seven churches, *una tamen per omnem terræ orbem ecclesia diffusa esse denoscitur*, and his epistles are therefore for all Christians, *et Johannes in Apocalypsi licet septem ecclesiis scribat tamen omnibus dicit*. No further class of Catholic Epistles is here made.

In the widest sense the term occurs for the first time in Euseb., *H. E.*, II. 23; VI. 14. The two minor epistles of John, when they were attached as an appendix to the greater one, had no influence upon the designation of the collection. The Epistle to the Hebrews, in and of itself a catholic epistle, is never numbered with them, because it only came into the collection as Pauline. Leontius, *De sectis*, ch. ii. (6th cent.), still knows the original meaning: *καθολικαὶ ἐκλήθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν, ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα*. And this is repeated by (Ecumenius (10th cent.) *Prol. in ep. Jac.* A scholiast on the Epistle of James, in Contelier, *Præf. in Barnab.*, declares that this Epistle stands at the head of the collection, *ὅτι τῆς Πέτρου καθολικωτέρα ἐστὶ*, to judge from the subscription of the two.

The Catholic Epistles are not so-called because they were intended to be received by both Jewish and Gentile Christians (Augusti, *Handb.*, II. 178); nor because it was desired to designate them as apostolic in distinction from the disputed ones (Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, III. 559). In favor of the latter view could be adduced only the much later Latin usage according to which they are called *Epistolæ canonicæ*, first found (Pseudo-Jerome, *Prolog. in epp. can.*) in Cassiodorus, *Divin. lect.*, ch. viii. The use of *καθολικὸς* in the sense of orthodox is older, but is never applied specially to the Epistles here meant, but to the apostolic literature in general; cf. Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 3; and even to the non-apostolic, IV. 23. That Eusebius cannot have connected with this word the idea of general recognition (canonicity) is shown incon-

testably by II. 23, where several epistles are enumerated as Catholic but disputed.

302. The order of the Apostolic books, in a larger or professedly complete collection of them, was variously and very arbitrarily fixed. It depended in part upon chronological presuppositions, as in the case of the usual order of the four Gospels, in part was connected with the rank assigned to the authors, as is probably the case with the Gospels in the ancient Oriental manuscripts. Among the Epistles the Catholic stood first as the more general, and the Pauline were arranged according to the assumed rank of the churches and persons to whom they were directed. But much of this was quite unsettled and changeable until late in the Middle Ages.

For the sake of brevity many phenomena may be brought together here which belong in part to a much later time.

In the Latin Church (Codices and Versions, §§ 392, 453; cf. also Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 2), John stands directly after Matthew, Mark last. Ancient Greek codices in like manner place Luke at the end.

The order in Marcion's collection was doubtless based upon chronological presuppositions, § 291. Moderns conjecture a theological purpose in it, but probably incorrectly.

As to the arrangement according to the dignity of the author, the circumstance that James stands before Peter is probably to be explained rather from a mistake respecting the person of the author (§ 146), than from Jewish-Christian prejudice in favor of the famous president of the church at Jerusalem. Yet this order is not constant, either in manuscripts or editions. In the West Peter stands first.

The Epistle to the Hebrews strays like an interloper from one place to another. As a disputed addition it stands last in most manuscripts and editions; on the principle of the priority of churches over individuals, it is found between Thessalonians and Timothy in the oldest codices (*e. g.*, A, B, C, and others, according to Athanasius, *Ep. fest.*, Epiphanius, *Haer.*, xlii.), also in Lachmann and Muralt; also between Galatians and Ephesians according to a numbering of chapters in Cod. B; between Colossians and Thessalonians in Cassiod., *Div. lect.*, ch. xiv., etc.

One might be tempted to explain the order of the Pauline Epistles on the principle that they were arranged according to their proportionate length. (Laurent, in the *Studien*, 1864, III. 492.) The Epistles to the Thessalonians vary their position most. — The Catholic Epistles in the older oriental manuscripts are placed next the Acts. In the second century they did not yet form a closed collection at all.

The order in the Muratorian Canon (§ 310) appears to be wholly arbitrary: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans, Philemon, Titus, Timothy. — The Epistle to the Colossians stands before that to the Philippians in the Codex Claromontanus; after the Thessalonians in the Lyons Codex of the Catharic Version, etc.

How unsettled the order was in ancient times appears from the catalogues to be given below (§ 320 ff.); mostly, doubtless, for the reason that complete copies were rarities and a whole Bible consisted of many volumes, not numbered. It is therefore unnecessary to mention all that might be spoken of here. For interesting comparative tables see Volkmar, in the Appendix to Credner, *Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 390 ff.; cf. also Tischendorf's *Prole-*

*gomena* to the seventh edition of his *New Testament*, p. 71 ff. [*Prolegg.* to 8th ed. by Gregory and Abbot, 1883.]

The order in our modern versions is connected with the criticism of the Canon practiced by the Reformers (§ 334). The pre-Lutheran versions naturally retained the order of the Vulgate, the manuscripts of which, however, vary, placing the Pauline Epistles sometimes immediately after the Gospels and sometimes not until after the Catholic.

Modern editions of the Greek N. T. have in part held more strictly to the manuscripts and departed from the customary order. For details see the history of the printed text.

The order in the O. T. must likewise have been very indefinite in ancient times, since even later different catalogues vary from one another, and at the same time from our present edition of the original text and the LXX. (Mt. xxiii. 35 = Lk. xxiv. 44 appears to agree with the first.) So also Hebrew and Greek codices.

303. The coördination of the apostolic writings with the sacred books of the Hebrews led to the necessity of distinguishing the two by suitable names. The choice of these could not be difficult, for the writings themselves furnished them. They were forthwith distinguished as books of the Old and New Covenants, and were thereby at the same time brought into closer mutual relations. Soon, this name of covenant, or that of testament, which in reality arose from a false translation, became familiar through the ecclesiastical Latin, and from it was handed down to us, was transferred to the books themselves, by an easily intelligible abbreviation of the phrase. At the same time the applicability of the distinctive, sacred name of the Scriptures to both parts of the collection was practically declared.

At first people were satisfied with the natural distinctions of Law and Gospel, Prophets and Apostles (Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, III. 14; *Adv. Hermog.*, 45). The expressions thus often become so mixed that there arises apparently a threefold division; see the passages in Clement, § 297.

The idea of the covenant is expressed and carried out in many ways in the O. T., in the Law as well as in the Prophets, also with prophetic hints of a new covenant, Jer. xxxi. 32. Expressly taken up again by Christ (Mt. xxvi. 28, where the Vulgate translates *διαθήκη* by *testamentum*), and frequently used by the Apostles for illustration: 2 Cor. iii. 6 ff.; Gal. iv. 24; Hebr. viii. 8; ix. 15, etc. Hence τὰ βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς, τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, *libri veteris, novi testamenti* (*fœderis*); the first to a certain degree even in 2 Cor. iii. 14.

The abbreviated name (*novum testamentum*) first in Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.*, ch. xv.; in full, *totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti*, ch. xx.; *instrumentum, vel quod magis usui est dicere, testamentum*, idem, *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 1; cf. *De pudic.*, ch. i. It is evident that no fixed usage had yet been formed. The expression *instrumentum*, as a juridical term, includes the idea of legal validity. Ἡ καινὴ, ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη simply, in Origen, Περὶ ἀρχῶν, IV. 1 (I. 156), which words, however, are wanting in Rufinus' translation.

Lactant., *Instil.*, IV. 20; *Scriptura omnis in duo testamenta divisa est . . . Sed tamen diversa non sunt quia novum veteris adimpletio est et in utroque idem testator est Christus.*

Γραφή, γραφαί, *scriptura, scripturae*, applied to the New Testament, do not occur before Theophilus (§ 297). Cf. § 285.

304. The more the authority of the apostolic writings grew within the Catholic Church and became at the same time a means of establishing it more firmly, the less could dissenting parties escape the necessity of declaring themselves in some way respecting their relation to these writings and their collection. It is self-evident that the farther they departed from the centre of the general church faith the more divergent must also have become their judgment respecting the whole or particular portions of the sacred literature. While one party might be satisfied with gaining over to their side the text accepted by others by means of special interpretation, without altering its substance in any way, others were obliged to deny the genuineness or validity of the books which stood in their way. But many, recognizing in the appeal to apostolic witnesses only a theological method, and not the true and proper basis of Christian faith, carried on with increasing arbitrariness the business of fabricating spurious apostolic books. Nevertheless, inasmuch as at no time during the third century did the Catholic Church possess a fixed, definitely limited, and publicly and generally recognized catalogue of its collection of sacred writings, it is not probable that any heretical church had such a thing. The idea of the later so-called Canon was not yet clearly recognized, and in one party as well as another the opinions of the leaders might be derived partly from custom, and partly be still free.

For proofs, see §§ 241 ff., 291 f., 327, 508.

305. Both the above-mentioned facts are of great importance for our history, and explain many phenomena in the history of the Church. On the one hand the ever-increasing use of these designations of the apostolic books, unknown to the earlier writers, serves to show that a change in the customs and views of the Church respecting them had preceded, which in the nature of the case could not stop half-way, and could only find its conclusion in a full and dogmatically complete definition and selection. On the other hand, it is just as certain that up to this time there must have been a continual hesitation of judgment in details, which arose from the disagreements of tradition with the theory, and which, by its very inconvenience, must have at the same time rendered the more settled state desirable and finally brought it about. Now this hesitation, for obvious reasons, could result only in a gradual enrichment of the collection. In particular, the fact must be taken into account that the practical needs of the churches began to exert their influence upon the collection before dogmatic ideas, and that consequently the school was no longer able to be absolute master of this field.

Not only the names Scripture, Covenant, and Testament (§ 303), but even the designation of the books by the titles, Gospel, Apostle (§ 300), unmistakably presuppose dogmatic theories and views whose non-existence before follows from the non-occurrence of those terms.

306. For if we look about for the causes which chiefly and directly determined public judgment in this matter, we nowhere find, so far as historical evidence goes, any scholarly investigation, any sifting of the extant mass of writings, undertaken under ecclesiastical authority, or making any claim thereto. On the other hand, the greatest and most lasting influence upon the final formation of the Canon was exerted by custom, in the form in which it happened to have been developed by circumstances in the more important churches. The example of metropolitan churches, from which the copies must have been obtained in any case, was decisive within the whole range of its influence, and it was natural that between several central points of this kind there should be a mutual interchange for the supplementing of what was locally current, in so far, at least, as they were in friendly relations with one another, or were bound together by external bonds, as even by that of language. We ascribe much less importance to the influence of the private opinions of distinguished teachers, although our sources of knowledge of the latter are much richer than of the former.

The latter circumstance has usually not only and necessarily caused a greater space to be given to the enumeration of such private opinions, but also, involuntarily, a practical importance to be assigned to them which they never had. They are only evidences of the state of opinion in a limited sphere.

The circumstance may also be noted that in non-Greek countries, where the apostolic writings could only be known in translations, the idea of a closed collection found easier entrance, developed at once more firmly, and became in a certain measure official, because these writings came there already in this form and not singly. Hence the oldest catalogue of the canonical collection which we possess is a Latin one (§ 310). So also with Syria, § 308.

307. We collect in the following the knowledge which may be derived from the testimony of antiquity respecting the gradual fixing of the Christian Canon of Scripture, after a first move toward it had been made in the principal churches. It will appear that no history can be made out, but only a fragment of one. But the very fragmentariness of the information at our command will help to confirm the conviction that the final result was neither consciously aimed at from the beginning nor guided in its development by principles; that, on the contrary, circumstances, accidents, even taste, and above all custom, little concealed in its origin, brought about the choice. All the more is the fact to be recognized with thankfulness and wonder that the result as a whole holds its ground against



a stricter criticism, and there is nothing to be said against it if this feeling regards the result as another proof of a higher leading of the Church. Only it should not be forgotten that antiquity itself never made the formation of the Canon, in any conception of it at variance with history, the subject of a dogma.

There is even yet great confusion in the collections of such testimonies, partly from giving attention only to what is positively named, and not to traces of ignorance, partly from making no distinction between homiletic and dogmatic use.

Gerhard v. Maestricht (§ 407), *Canon S. S. secundum seriem sæculorum*, in the *Biblioth. Brem.*, VII. 1–56, very superficial. *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutest. Kanons bis auf Hieronymus*, ed. J. Kirchofer, Zür. 1842, uncritical in plan, and in apologetic interest. Cf. also Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, I.–IV.; Corrodi, *Beiträge*, XVII., 13 ff.; J. C. Orelli, *Selecta PP. capita ad εισηγητικὴν pertin.*, Tur. 1820 ff., Pts. I.–IV., uncompleted.

308. The earliest extension of that which we believe may be called, however improperly, the original collection, appears to have been made in Syria. At least the ancient translation which was probably prepared in the beginning of the third century for the national church of that country already contained the two Epistles of James and to the Hebrews. The acceptance of these is based expressly upon a favorable judgment respecting the apostolic dignity of their authors. The authority which this translation soon obtained gives to the collection contained in it a semi-official character. Besides, we may without hesitation assume that the Greek Christians of that region had preceded their Syrian brethren in the acceptance of the writings mentioned.

On the Syriac version, the Peshito, see §§ 326, 426 f. Its canon is made known both by the manuscripts and by patristic evidence (Cosmas, *De mundo*, Bk. VI., in Galland., XI. 535), and the knowledge of its extent was retained among Syrian scholars into the Middle Ages.

The conjecture of Hug (*Einkl.*, I. 356), that the Epistles still wanting (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) and the Apocalypse were originally present and were omitted after the fourth century, is a rash venture of mistaken apologetics, and stands all history on its head, since at that time these books had come to canonical authority in all Christendom, and the Church never retracted again what she had once sanctified in this way. Cf. also Güricke's *Beiträge*, p. 1.

The acceptance of the Epistle to the Hebrews, here and wherever it occurs in the following, presupposes its composition by Paul.

The acceptance of the Epistle of James appears, according to a title-page note exhibited by the manuscripts and printed in the earlier editions, to depend upon a misunderstanding, inasmuch as the three Catholic Epistles are ascribed to the three witnesses of Christ's transfiguration.

In the O. T. the Apocrypha do not belong to the original canon of the Peshito, but came into it later.

309. Unfortunately we possess no knowledge, to say nothing of an authentic record, of the collection which may have

been accepted at the same time in the Roman Church, which just then was beginning to attain predominant influence and authority in the West. The history of the circulation of the sacred writings will teach us, it is true, that there was already in existence at the close of the second century a Latin version of them, perhaps even several, but since not a single complete copy of it has been preserved and no information as to its extent is to be discovered, nothing remains for us but to collect, from the scanty quotations of some few Latin writers of the third century, proofs for the apostolic authority of particular books, without being justified by their silence as to others in forming an opposite opinion respecting them.

Cf. §§ 313, 448 ff.

310. This unfortunate lack may be partly supplied, with reference to the history of the Roman Canon, although it belongs perhaps rather to Africa than to Rome, by the famous fragment discovered and published by Muratori, and much discussed in modern times. This fragment of a list of sacred books certainly reaches back into the second century, since it betrays by many striking peculiarities in its opinions a time of greater independence; but the text of the copy which has come down to us is much corrupted and very defective, so that even to understand it at all many critical conjectures have appeared necessary. Moreover the attempts at restoration have sufficiently shown that in the interest of preconceived opinions it is easy, by the help of correction, to find in it what one desires. But with a more correct estimation of the language, and a more careful consideration of otherwise known facts of this history, the difficulties of the text are not insuperable, and the result rewards investigation by its peculiarity.

Muratori, *Antiqq. Italiae mediæ ævi*, III. 854; reprinted in Stosch, *De canone N. T.*, p. 181; Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, IV. 35; Guericke, *Einkl.*, p. 46; Kirchofer, *Quellensamml.*, p. I, and others; but especially in Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, 1847, p. 71 ff.; J. v. Gilse, *De antiq. ll. ss. catalogo*, etc., Amst. 1852; and Hilgenfeld, *Gesch. d. Kanons*, p. 40; the latter according to new collations. Cf. in general C. Wieseler, in the *Studien*, 1847, IV.; 1856, I.; F. T. Zimmermann (resp. C. L. G. Grossmann), *De canone ll. ss. a Muratorio rep.*, Jena, 1805; Olshausen, *Echtheit der Evang.*, p. 281 ff.; P. Böticher, *Versuch e. Wiederherstellung des Can. Mur.*, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1854, I.; S. P. Tregelles, *The earliest Catalogue of the Books of the N. T.*, 1857 (with facsimile); Nolte, *Ueber das Mur. Fragment*, in the *Quartalschr.*, 1860, II.; J. C. M. Laurent, in his *Neutest. Studien*, p. 197 ff.; C. E. Scharling, *Murator's Kanon*, Copenh. 1865 (Danish); A. D. Loman, in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Leyd. 1868, p. 471 (Dutch).

In the portion preserved are enumerated the Gospels of Luke and John, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, an Epistle of Jude and two of John, the Apocalypses of John and Peter, the latter, however, with mention of a dispute. There is wanting at the beginning at least Matthew and Mark, since

Luke is introduced as the third evangelist. The Epistles of James and Peter, as well as that to the Hebrews, are omitted. From the fact that the fragment, referring to Mark, begins with the words . . . *quibus interfuit*, the idea of a participation of Peter in the second Gospel has been conjectured here; but it is certainly hasty to infer further that the First Epistle of Peter may also have preceded. The Shepherd of Hermas is said to be read for private edification only, not publicly. The Epistles of Paul to the Laodiceans and Alexandrians are expressly rejected as heretical.

As a specimen we select only some lines which have a special interest for our history. On the Epistles of Paul, see §§ 301, 302.

. . . *Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt lucas obtine theophile comprindit quia sub presentia ejus singula gerebantur sicut et semote passionem petri evidenter declarat sed projectionem pauli ab urbe ad spaniam proficiscentis . . . fertur etiam ad laudecenses alia ad alexandrinus pauli nomine fincte ad heresem marcionis et alia plura quæ in catholica ecclesiam recipi non potest fel enim cum melle misceri non concurit epistola sane iude et superscriptio iohannis duas in catholica habentur et sapientia ab amicis salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta apocalypse etiam iohannis et petri tantum recipimus quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt. . . .*

In what is here said of the Acts, therefore, the meaning is that the death of Peter is related elsewhere (by Luke?), but (Credner reads *et* and refers to Rom. xv. 24) the journey of Paul to Spain is either omitted or something else. The former (by the conjecture: *semota declarant, i. e.*, other passages declare ??) would then refer to Jn. xxi. 18. Cf. E. Reuss, in the *Revue de Théol.*, II. 165. Von Gilse proposes *sicut semotum passionem . . . et projectionem*; which is said to signify: Luke declares that he has omitted both because he was not present. Bötticher: the omission (*semovere*) of the two events proves that Luke only narrated what he himself saw. Hilgenfeld reads *sed et projectionem* and finds the death of Peter and the journey of Paul *semote* (*πρόσωθεν*) hinted at in the abrupt close of the Acts.

It is the opinion of some scholars that the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be looked for in one of the two rejected ones. (On the Laodiceans see above, § 152; on the Alexandrians, Hug, I. 123; Münter, *Dogmengesch.*, I. 255; Wieseler, Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1854, p. 416; Guericke, p. 50, and many others.) But the latter supplies, contrary to the spirit of the text, after *ad heresem* . . . *refutandam*. Others have thought of the extant apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans, which, however, is hardly so old, or of the Epistle to the Ephesians, by a misunderstanding (Anger, *Laod.*, p. 26). Upon any of these suppositions the author would betray an indescribable superficiality or ignorance. More simply, V. Gilse reads: *Ad*, as the beginning of a new sentence: the Marcionites have still other Apocrypha (?). See in general Bleek, *Hebr.*, I. 43 ff., 122.—The fact is not to be overlooked that the Epistle to the Hebrews is also excluded, and that for the first time, by the statement: *Paulus, sequens prædecessoris sui Iohannis ordinem nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat* (referring to the seven letters in the Apocalypse, in connection with which it is to be noticed that the author is already far enough removed from the apostolic age to represent John as preceding Paul with his example!). Bunsen (*Hippolyt.*, I. 363) brings the Epistle, together with James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, into an assumed gap; just like the Wisdom of Solomon (*i. e.*, our Proverbs) it was written *in honorem Pauli ab amicis*.

The two Epistles of John are said by Credner to be the second and third, and *superscriptæ* (*sic*), simply bearing the name, though incorrectly. The first was earlier mentioned, in a quotation, in connection with the Gospel. This explanation is insufficient because the latter is not expressly true and did not render the special enumeration unnecessary, and because *superscriptæ* would thus be in contradiction with the rest of the text. Either the

author actually knew only one of the two minor Epistles or knew one of them only as an integral part of the larger. The Wisdom of Solomon, according to Credner to be connected with *ut*, is said to be a further example of canonized Pseudepigrapha (?). May the author, perhaps, have regarded it as a Christian book? Or is he speaking of the Proverbs (xxv. 1)? Or did the text originally contain also the Canon of the O. T., since in connection with Hermas the *completus numerus prophetarum* is mentioned? Bötticher assumes a large gap before *et Sapientia*. Wieseler connects it with the following: *Ut Sapientia*, thus making even the Apocalypse not by John himself, and yet received.

The Apocalypse of Peter, which is also mentioned as an Antilegomenon, Hug, *Einkl.*, I., transforms by means of ingenious manipulation of the text into the First Epistle of Peter, and finds added to it mention of doubt of the second. Guericke makes it apply to the first and refers the doubt to it. Both unnecessary and incorrect. Even Wieseler explains *Et Petri tantum*, and just as many (as of John, that is to say, two epistles and an Apocalypse) we accept of Peter!

The expression is also important: "To Timothy, Titus, and Philemon Paul wrote *pro affectu et dilectione, in honore tamen ecl. cath. in ordinatione ecclesiastice descepline sanctificate sunt*," where the last word must be understood not so much of a sort of official canonization as of the fact that these Epistles, though written to private persons, had obtained, by the foundations which they lay for church government, an importance for the whole church. With respect to the remaining Pauline Epistles also (which are enumerated in a very peculiar order, § 302, and with numbers), the author expressly remarks that notwithstanding their local addresses, they were written for the whole church. Cf. § 301.

Too much stress is certainly laid by Credner (*Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1857, III. p. 303) upon the circumstance that John *ex discipulis* is said to have written his Gospel according to a revelation made to Andrew *ex apostolis*, when he infers therefrom that John is said not to have been the Apostle.

The date of this fragment is shown by what is said of Hermas: *Nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma herma conscripsit sedente cathetra urbis Romae ecclesie Pio eps. fratre ejus*, which would be c. 156 A. D. and *nuperrime* would lead us at the latest to 180. The character of the selection of books is not opposed, and Muratori is certainly in error when he conjectures as the author the presbyter Caius (§ 313), who is said to have been an opponent of the Apocalypse and who probably had a better style. The assumption of moderns that it was translated from the Greek (Hug, *Einkl.*, P. Bötticher, Nolte, Hilgenfeld, *l. c.*) is a make-shift to justify violent alterations of the text, and little fits the play upon words *fel-mel*. Nor does it at all explain the problem of the unexampld corruption of the Latin text, even if a natural Greek original could be restored from it, which is not the case.

311. All the facts hitherto adduced for the history of our collection presuppose as yet no critical investigation, scarcely even a scientific view of the relative value of all the constituents. Origen was probably the first to adopt such a point of view, without being able to obtain definite and certain results. It has been assumed from an incidental statement that he distinguished three classes of books: genuine, whose apostolic origin appeared to him sufficiently proved; spurious, *i. e.* distinctly not apostolic, not necessarily, however, devoid of all value for the Church; and finally a middle class of such

as enjoyed no general recognition, or respecting which his own judgment had not yet been fully made up. But the distinction is more correctly referred to the value and ecclesiastical authority of the contents, so that a mixture of elements, or even a less degree of inspiration, would be presupposed in the third class. Yet in his practical application of Scripture he appears to have made little of this distinction, and his theology rose above all scrupulously accurate classification. With respect to the Old Testament he follows the Hebrew custom.

Sources: partly his own works, which however have only come down to us incomplete, or in untrustworthy Latin revision (ed. De la Rue, Par. 1733 ff., 4 vols. fol.; ed. Lommatzsch, L. 1831 ff., 25 vols. 8°; the Greek exegetical writings alone, ed. Huet, Par. 1679; Col. 1685, 2 vols. fol.), and partly Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI. 25. For literature on Origen see § 511.

*Comm. in Joh.*, Vol. XIV., on iv. 22: ἐξετάζοντες περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου (the Sermon of Peter) πότερον ποτε γνήσιον ἔστιν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν.

As γνήσια he reckons also the Apocalypse (purified of its offensive Chiliasm by his exegesis, § 511 ff.) and the Epistle to the Hebrews, in so far as it contains Pauline thought, since every judge must admit that the style betrays another author than Paul; τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν. In the *Ep. ad Afric.*, ch. ix., he distinguishes it from the φανερά βιβλία, but otherwise holds it in very high esteem and quotes it often, without the name of Paul.

Among the νόθοι doubtless belongs, among others, the Shepherd, a *Scriptura divinitus inspirata* (In *Ep. ad Rom.*, Bk. X. 31), φερομένη μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γραφὴ οὐ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ὁμολογουμένη εἶναι θεία (In *Matth.*, Vol. XIV. 21; cf. *De Princ.*, II. 1), unless it should be placed in the following class.

Among the μικτοί, according to Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI. 25, 2 Peter (ἔτροπος μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλείπειν ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ), 2 and 3 John (ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας); these epistles are nowhere mentioned in the Greek text of Origen; James (ἡ φερομένη, In *Johan.*, Vol. XIX. 6), Jude (εἰ πρόσσιτό τις, In *Matth.*, Vol. XVII. 30, and ἐπιστολὴ ὀλιγόστιχος μὲν πεπληρωμένη δὲ οὐρανοῦ χάριτος, *ibid.*, X. 17). The authors are brothers of Jesus, and are called Apostles only in the Latin texts.

The separation of such a third, middle class was the first step toward its advance into the first.

He professes everywhere to follow the ecclesiastical tradition (in *his omnibus nihil aliud probamus nisi quod ecclesia*, *Hom. I. in Luc.*). In view of this declaration it may surprise us that in *Hom. VII. in Jos.*, in his explanation of the trumpets of Jericho, the Apostles, together with all twenty-seven later canonized writings are represented as the stormers of the world and its philosophy. The passage is no longer extant in the original, it is true, but may properly be regarded as genuine, showing that then as well as now the pulpit and the teacher's chair might have different standards of canonicity. Cf. also *Hom. XIII. in Genes.*

In the O. T. he recognizes but twenty-two ἐνδιαθήκους βιβλους (Eusebius, VI. 25, and *Selecta in Psalmos*, *Opp.*, XI. 378, Lommatzsch); in order to make out the number of the Hebrew letters, while several are put together under one number, of the Apocrypha only the Epistle of Jeremiah is expressly introduced; Esther is placed at the end; Maccabees reckoned as an appendix, but the order in general is obviously of Greek origin. On the Apocrypha in general see his *Ep. ad Africanum* (*Opp.*, Vol. XVII.), from which it is clear that he also regards the books of Daniel and Esther in their

enlarged Greek recension as inspired ; nay here, as often elsewhere, he also quotes Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach, and Maccabees as *θεῖος λόγος*, *Scriptura* (e. g., *De princip.*, II. 1, 5 ; *Cont. Celsum*, III. 72 ; VIII. 50 ; Vol. VI. *In Joh.*, ch. xix. ; *In Matth. tract.*, 31 ; *Homil. in Lev. 1* ; *In Num. 18* ; *Philocal.*, ch. xxii., etc.). Hebrew tradition is not authoritative with him, but rather the usage of the Christian Church (*Ad Afric.*, ch. xiii. ; *l. c.*, p. 42).

How unsettled even yet is the idea of canonicity is shown by the use which Origen makes of Clement (Vol. VI., *In Joh.*, ch. xxxvi.), Barnabas (*Cont. Cels.*, I. 63), and especially Ilermas (§ 275). Even the Gospel of Peter and the Acts of Paul he does not reject unconditionally (*εἴ τις παραδέχεται*, *Hom. in Jer. XV.*, 4 ; Vol. XX. *In Joh.*, ch. xii., etc.).

312. In general no important change took place in the established collection even in the course of the third century. The Epistle to the Hebrews, however, gradually overcame the obstacles which had hitherto prevented its acceptance in the Oriental Church. The Epistles of James, Peter, Jude, and John, also, which thus far had been partially unknown or doubted, appear to have been circulated more and more widely, although the most distinguished church teachers make but little use of them. With respect to the Apocalypse alone was there developed a positively unfavorable sentiment, which is the more surprising since this book had formerly been accepted with so great approval.

In the Apostolic Constitutions the following are adduced as authorities for the period after Jesus' death (II. 55) : *ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκευὸς Παῦλος . . . σὺν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἑτέροις οὐ μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑπτὰ διακόνοις*. Regular public readings are appointed, V. 19 ; VIII. 5, etc., especially II. 57, from all the (canonical) books of the O. T., after which are to follow *αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμέτεραι . . . καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ συνεργοῦ ἡμῶν*, afterward the Gospels *ἃ ἐγὼ Ματθαῖος καὶ Ἰωάννης παρεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἃ οἱ συνεργοὶ Παύλου παρελήφθες κατέλειψαν ὑμῖν Λουκᾶς καὶ Μάρκος*. Of the other books nothing is said. In VI. 16 is a warning against forged, godless writings : *οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῆ ὑμᾶς προσέχειν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ*.

Nepos, Bishop of Arsinoë in Egypt (c. 240), wrote an *ἐλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν* to establish the literal chiliastic interpretation of the Apocalypse (Euseb., VII. 24). Against him :—

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen, is the author of a work *Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν*, of which a highly interesting portion is completely preserved (Euseb., VII. 25), and is noteworthy as the oldest extended attempt to form a judgment of an apostolic book upon internal evidence, part of which is valid. He conjectures another John than the evangelist as the author, namely, the Ephesian presbyter. A single epistle only (*ἡ ἐπιστολή*) is everywhere spoken of in the reasoning ; the second and third (*φερόμεναι*) are not considered at all. He quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as Pauline (Euseb., VI. 41) ; cf. P. J. Mönster, *De Dion. Alex. circa apoc. sententiā*, Hafn. 1826.

Other testimonies of this period for the same Epistle, especially from Egypt, are collected by Bleek, *Hebr.*, I. 132 ff. A synodal letter from Antioch (c. 264) quotes it as Pauline without comment (Mansi, I. 1038).

Methodius, Bishop in Lycia (c. 300 ?), wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, fragments of which are found in Andreas Cappad. (§ 527).

313. In the West similar phenomena present themselves, with an even smaller number of witnesses. The Apocalypse enjoyed the respect of the majority, so far, that is, as they held chiliastic views. The Epistle to the Hebrews, on the other hand, was much more generally excluded or doubted. In general, there is no lack of proof that here also the formation of the collection of sacred books was constantly dependent upon prevailing dogmatic conceptions. This was all the more true in the Latin Church, since the authority of tradition, in all things relating to doctrine much more oppressive and rigorous than in the Greek Church, had its effect upon the theology, and historical investigation was not only more difficult but also more dangerous.

Caius, presbyter at Rome about 220, did not recognize the Epistle to the Hebrews as Pauline (Euseb., VI. 20): *Decimam quartam que fertur ad Hebræos dicit ejus non esse; sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli ap. non habetur* (Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, 59). Eusebius says, however, only *παρὰ ῥωμαίων τισί*. He also asserts (III. 28) that Caius accused the heretic Cerinthus (§ 245) of having deceived the world *δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων*. The description of the work agrees with the Apocalypse of John. Eusebius, however, does not appear so to have understood it; still less Theodoret, *Hæc. fab.*, II. 3. A similar assertion is made of unknown opponents of the Apocalypse by Dionys. Alex. (Euseb., VII. 25). Cf. Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, p. 307.

Hippolytus (probably Novatian bishop of Portus Romanus, or some other place in the vicinity of Rome; see Gieseler, in the *Studien*, 1853, IV.; [Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 681]; died c. 258 as a Catholic martyr) rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews (Stephanus Gobarus, in Photius, *Cod.*, 232) and wrote a (lost) apology: *ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγ. καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως*; see *Opp.*, ed. Fabricius, 1716, fol. p. 38; Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, 61. He was a Chiliast, but was made use of also by later Origenists (Andreas, *Proleg. in Apoc.*). Cf. C. W. Haenell, *De Hippolyto ep.*, Gött. 1838; Seineke, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1842, III. — Modern criticism ascribes to him the lately discovered polemic work, on which see § 292. Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, I. 364 f.) thinks he has discovered in it a complete canon with the exception of 2 Peter. It would be more correct to say that not a single Antilegomenon is quoted and by no means all the Homologoumena.

The Novatian party in Italy and Africa (c. 250) refused readmission to lapsed members, and were able to support themselves in the practice by Heb. vi. 4, x. 26; cf. Ambrose, *De pœnit.*, II. 3; those of Arian views by Heb. iii. 2. Hence in these regions there was aversion to the Epistle (*Quia factum Christum dicit, non legitur. De pœnitentia propter Novatianos æque*: Philastr., *Hæres.*, 89), which, however, cannot have been previously attested there as Pauline. This the less since Novatian himself, in his extant writings (in Gallandi, *B. PP.*, III.), makes no use whatever of it.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage († 258), nowhere quotes any of the disputed epistles. On the chief constituents of the Canon he indulges in numeral mysticism: the four Gospels = the four rivers of Paradise (Ep. 73); Paul and John (Apocalypse called *Scriptura sacra*, Ep. 63) write to seven churches; *Sterilis septem peperit* (1 Sam. ii. 5); *septem filii, ecclesiæ sunt septem. Unde P. septem dona spiritus scripsit (ad septem ecclesias: De exhort. mart., ch. ii.) et Apoc. ecclesias septem ponit ut servetur septenarius numerus. (Adv. Jud., I. 20).* Beside these only 1 Peter and 1 John are quoted (Ep.

28 and frequently ; *Joannes in Epistola sua*). Tobit, Baruch, Maccabees, and Wisdom he also regards as inspired or at least quotes.

Victorinus, Bishop at Petavium in Pannonia (c. 300), enumerates over twenty passages of Scripture for the sacredness of the number seven, and among them the seven churches of Paul (*Fragm. de fabrica mundi*, in Cave, *Hist. lit.*, 1720, p. 95), after which *singularibus personis scripsit ne excederet modum septem ecclesiarum*. (Idem, *In Apoc.*, p. 570, ed. Paris, 1654.) The latter writing, as now extant, gives no evidence of the Chiliasm with which Jerome charges him (*De vir. ill.*, 18).

Lactantius, tutor of the princes at the court of Constantine, belongs as a Chiliast among the favorers of the Apocalypse. He nowhere mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 3 : "It would be wrong to conceal the fact that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, πρὸς τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἰσὺς μὴ Παύλου ὄσσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες;" cf. VI. 20. Even more distinctly Jerome, see note 1 under § 322.

It may also be observed here that in the Diocletian persecution, for the first time (apparently), the attention of the heathen authorities was directed to the sacred books of the Christians as an important part of the foundation of their religion and organization, and they were demanded, chiefly of the clergy (among whom, doubtless, they were almost exclusively to be found). (*Traditores.*) Walch, *Ketzergesch.*, Pt. IV. ; Lessing, *Theol. Nachlass.*, p. 93 ; A. Frick, *De traditoribus*, L. 1737. [Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 148 ff.]

314. Matters remained at this point until late in the fourth century. The historian Eusebius of Cæsarea could still appeal to no decisive authority, least of all form for himself settled views of the value of particular books, and the continual uncertainty of tradition, to which alone he still appealed, was communicated to his personal opinions. He attempted, so far as possible, from scattered statements of individual authors of earlier times, or from the usage of the churches so far as known to him, to determine the degree of apostolic authority which should be ascribed to each of the books accepted by the Church, but his knowledge was not sufficient in all cases to attain decisive results. Hence also modern scholars have not always been able to obtain from his statements a clear idea of the state of the collection at that time, in fact not even a trustworthy classification of the writings regarded in one place or another as apostolic. The most certain thing appears to be that, aside from some differences in use of language, Eusebius agrees on the whole with Origen.

Eusebius († 340) *Hist. eccl.*, III. 3, 31, 39, and especially 25. Cf. also VI. 13. High importance of his testimony because of its historic basis and tendency. There are some contradictions in his statements, which only show all the more clearly that no official decision was extant. We give below the substance of the principal passages, together with additions from others in brackets ; from which the following classification results :—

1. Βιβλία ὁμολογούμενα (ἐνδιδάσκα, ἀναμφίλεκτα, ἀναντίρρητα, generally recognized ; cf. Rettig, *De signif. τῶν ὁμολογουμένων*, *Ephem. Giss.*, III.) ; . . . τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτὺν οἷς ἔπεται ἡ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἁπ. γραφῆ· μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς [δεκατέσσαρας, ch.



iii. : ὅτι γε μὴν τινὲς ἠθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους . . . οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. VI. 14, ἀντιλεγόμενη] αἷς ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν [ch. xiii. : Πέτρου μία μόνη γνήσια . . . ἡ λεγομένη πρότερα ἀνωμολόγηται]· ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴ γε φανεῖται, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου.

2. Βιβλία ἀντιλεγόμενα, γινώριμα δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς (ch. xxxi. : ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς δεδημοσιευμένα, used for public reading) also νόθα :—

α. Ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου [II. 23 : νοθεύεται] καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα [VI. 14] ἦτε Πέτρου δευτέρα [III. 3 : οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκος, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανείσα] καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμοῦ μύου ἐκείνω.

β. Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ ὅ, τε λεγόμενος ποιμὴν [ch. iii., both spoken of as Antilegomena ; the latter expressly in some churches used as an indispensable catechism, ἀναγκαῖστατον οἷς δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγαγωγικῆς . . . δεδημοσιευμένων], καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή [both as Antilegomena, VI. 14], καὶ τῶν ἀποστ. αἰ λεγόμεναι διδασκαί· ἐτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἦν τινὲς ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. ἥδη δ' ἐν τούτοις (!) τινὲς τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίοις εὐαγγ. κατέλεξαν . . . ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἀν εἶη. (Also, IV. 13, the Epistle of Clement, which, however, is called ὁμολογουμένη in III. 16, 38, the latter on account of its origin, the former on account of its authority ; so also the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he personally (III. 38) regards as a translation made by Clement.)

3. Βιβλία ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προσφερόμενα. . . whose contents πλείστον ὕσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα . . . ὕθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποκα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ παρατηγέον [III. 31 : παντελῶς νόθα καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλότρια]. Beside, the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, Acts of Andrew, John [III. 3 simply : the Gospel, Acts, Apocalypse, and *Predicatio Petri* οὐκ ἐν καθολικοῖς].

From this it is evident (1.) that in the view of Eusebius there was no difference, or a very slight one, between 2 *a* and 2 *b*, so far as their ecclesiastical use was concerned, with which alone he concerns himself ; (2.) that Antilegomena and Notha are synonymous terms with him, inasmuch as he means to express by them at the most a literary-historical, not a dogmatic judgment. Scholars who have been unable to find themselves amid this wavering phraseology, and who doubtless have also caught the indecision of Eusebius (Hebrews, Apocalypse), have very diverse opinions of his so-called Canon. Cf. J. E. C. Schmidt, in Henke's *Mag.*, V. 451 ff. ; C. C. Flatt, in Flatt's *Mag.*, VIII. 227 ; VIII. 75 ; P. J. S. Vogel, *De canone eusebiano*, Erl. 1809 ff., 3 Pts. ; F. Lücke, *Ueber den Canon des Eusebius*, B. 1816 : Münscher, *Dogmengesch.*, I. 321 ff. ; in general Dähne, in the *Hall. Encykl.*, I. 39 ; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*, VI. 30.

When Eusebius received from Constantine the commission to prepare for the churches of Constantinople fifty copies of the sacred writings (*Vita Const.*, IV. 36), the selection of the books to be copied was expressly left to him (ὡν μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ [false reading καταλόγῳ] ἀναγκαῖαν εἶναι γινώσκεις), and therefore had not yet been officially fixed. On the value of Eusebius as a historian see the monographs of C. A. Kestner, Gött. 1816 ; J. T. L. Danz, J. 1815 ; J. Möller, in Stäudlin's *Archiv*, III. ; C. R. Jachmann, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, IX. 2 ; Stäudlin, *Gesch. d. Kirchengesch.*, p. 12 ff. ; Baur, *Gesch. der Kirchengesch.*, p. 9 ff.

315. Meanwhile the Church, as well as her most eminent leaders, came to see more and more clearly that she could not distinguish too carefully from all others writings upon which she placed so high a dogmatic value. This conviction, continually growing clearer and clearer, brought about a new designa-

tion of the different classes of books in question, and so a new advance in the history of the collection, which was completed soon after the middle of the fourth century; furthermore the separation of a special class of writings to which was assigned an inferior value, and which thus held an intermediate position between those which were wholly rejected and those which were authoritative in matters of faith. This conviction was also a principal reason, although gradual in its operation, why the hesitation of public opinion respecting particular books could not always be tolerated.

It cannot be emphasized too much that this theological conception of canonicity is later than the practical distinction, for church use, of genuine and better doctrinal and edificatory books. The expressions for the different classes of writings here considered, mentioned in the foregoing sections, refer to literary-historical and practical points of view; those now to be named belong to the school, not to the church, and soon lost their importance after the disappearance of the schools. The living understanding of their meaning was lost in the following centuries down to the time of the Reformation; the Middle Age speaks of the Canon from hearsay, and has more apocryphal matter, if not always in its Bible, at least in its instruction, than the earlier ages ever had. It should also be remembered that in relation to the O. T. the state of the case in the synagogue was after all the same, inasmuch as the specific dogmatico-polemic interest was rather subordinate.

316. Thus it became customary to call those books which were regarded as the purest sources of the knowledge of Christian truth canonical, meaning those that served as the rule of faith. The word canon, which properly and originally signified this rule itself, was afterward used for the collection or catalogue of books regarded as apostolic and inspired. A writing was therefore canonical when sufficiently authenticated tradition placed it in the number of those which were written by inspired Apostles and hence had decisive authority in matters of faith. Such a conception and definition, one would think, should have led very soon to the necessity of preparing a publicly authenticated catalogue of such writings, which should serve as a standard for theology. That this was nevertheless not done was due to the fact that in scientific and ecclesiastical practice the power of dogmatic tradition was greater than that of the written letter.

In the classic authors (Stephans, *Thes. ling. græc.*, ed. Paris) *κανὼν* appears originally to have been a measuring rod, figuratively any norm or rule, *e. g.*, in the sciences of mathematics and language, and even in ethics. Finally also, among the Alexandrian littérateurs, the whole number or body (not the catalogue) of authors regarded as models (classic).

In the N. T., Gal. vi. 16, rule, principle. Cf. Phil. iii. 16, where the reading is uncertain. — 2 Cor. x. 13 ff., standard, line of limitation, sphere of activity. Both significations in Clement, *Ad Cor. I.*, xli.

Ecclesiastical idea: (1.) Rule, standard, what *οὔτε πρόσθεσεν. οὔτε ἀφαιρέσιν δέχεται*, Chrysost., *Ad Phil.*, l. 1. Such a rule is found in tradition and in

Scripture, considered both in detail (Iren., III. 11, p. 188, *regula veritatis*, of the prologue of the Gospel of John) and as a whole: Clem., *Strom.*, VI. 676: κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συνῳδία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδόμενη διαθήκη. Origen, *De princ.*, IV. 9: the exposition of the inspired Scriptures is to be carried on in accordance with the κανὼν τῆς ἱ. Χρ. κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανοῦ ἐκκλησίας, the traditional rule of faith. Chrysost., *Hom. 58 in Genes.*, *Opp.*, IV. 566, places over against the κανὼν θέλας γραφῆς the οἰκεῖοι λογισμοί. Isid. Pelus., IV. ep. 114, τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰς θέλας φημι γραφὰς, κατοπττεύωμεν.

Accordingly βιβλία κανονικά, *libri regulares*, might properly be such as constitute or contain the rule.

(2.) Collection or catalogue of the books containing the rule: *Canon apost.*, 85, after the double catalogue: ταῦτα περὶ κανόνων διατετάχθω. Amphilochius (see § 320), at the close of his catalogue, vs. 319:—

... οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος  
κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

Hence βιβλία κανονιζόμενα οἱ κεκανονισμένα (i. e. παραδοθέντα πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι, Athanas., *Ep. fest.*, II. 38), also ἐνδιάθηκα, cf. Eusebius above, § 314. Isidor. Pelus., Ep. I. 369: οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων καὶ κεκανονισμένων βιβλίων δεῖ προτιμᾶν εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν. *Libri intra canonem conclusi*, Rufin., *In symbol.*, ch. xxxvii., p. 165, Oxford edition; Pseudo-Athanas., *Synopsis S. S.*, II. 96; the Sacred Scriptures have not an indefinite but a definite number of books: οὐκ ἀόριστα ἀλλ' ὄρισμένα καὶ κεκανονισμένα; in the ancient Latin translation: *certo canone comprehensos*. At all events this latter definition became the current one, and by the term canon there was always expressed the idea of a combination of several elements into a uniform whole, in which the dogmatic side is of course presupposed. The word does not occur in this sense until after Eusebius. (For in Origen it is only found at all in the translation.)

Oeder, *Conject.*, p. 446 f.; Augusti, *Handb. der Archäol.*, II. 176; H. Planck, *De signific. canonis in eccl. antiqua*, in Rosenmüller's *Sylloge*, I.; Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, Halle, 1847, pp. 1-68; F. C. Baur, *Ueber die Bedeutung des Worts κανὼν*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1858, I.

317. Since the custom of public readings in the churches was older than this strict distinction of canonical books, and the original selection of the writings to be read was not made in accordance with such a distinction, its introduction threatened to rob the churches of a means of edification which from long use they had learned to love. The old reading-books were therefore retained even when they were not canonical, though in this case ascribing no dogmatic authority to them. They formed, as it were, a second canon. Yet this finer distinction was naturally only a matter for the learned. The common people, to whom purely scientific and dogmatic interests were foreign, or who at least could be aroused upon such matters only by means of practical and tangible formulas and with the help of party passion, understood nothing of them. Their judgment of the value of any book was necessarily governed by the degree of impression which it was able to make upon them, and so must often have been wholly different from that of the men of the schools.

Cf. §§ 281 f., 294 f. — Βιβλία ἀναγνωσκόμενα, δευτεροκανονικά, *libri ecclesiastici*. Athanas., *l. c.*, ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἕξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ

παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἔρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον. Rufin., *Expos. in Synbol.*, ch. xxxvii.: *Sciendum quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt . . . quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesia voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem fidei confirmandam.*

Among these belong especially : —

(1.) The so-called Apocrypha of the O. T., especially the Wisdom of Solomon and of Sirach (Ecclesiastics), Judith, Tobit (Athanasius reckons Esther also here, § 320) ; but not the additions to Daniel, Ezra, Jeremiah, on which see the same section. — Jerome, *Pref. ad Sal.* : *Sicut Judith et Tobie et Maccabb. libros legit quidem ecclesia sed eos inter canonicas SS. non recipit, sic et hæc duo voll.* (Wisdom and Eccles.) *legit ad ædificationem plebis, sed non auctoritatem dogmatum confirmandam.* Cf. Rufin., *l. c.* ; Epiphanius (§ 320) : *αὐταὶ (Wisdom and Sirach) χρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται, διὸ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβώτῳ (bookcase) ἀνετέθησαν.* Cf. Pseudo-Athan., *Synops. SS.*

(2.) The disputed Epistles, where they did not yet pass as canonical (the Antilegomena). With some, therefore, the Apocalypse also (Cyril, *Catech.*, IV. 36 : τὰ λοιπὰ (not generally recognized) ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. Jerome, on Psalm cxlix. ; *Apocalypsis in ecclesiis legitur et recipitur, neque enim inter apocryphas SS. habetur sed inter ecclesiasticas.*)

(3.) Barnabas, Clement to the Corinthians (Euseb., III. 16, IV. 23), Hermas, and the Apostolic Constitutions (Athan., *l. c.* ; Euseb., *l. c.* ; Jerome, *Cat.*, 10 ; Rufin., *l. c.*, who adds the *Judicium Petri* also, and several Petrine Pseud-epigrapha.) Cf. Sozomen, VII. 19, and the appropriate sections of the First Book of this work. Also Acts of John, Thomas, the Clementines, etc. (Pseudo-Athan., *Syn. SS.* : *ἐξ ὧν μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα.*)

(4.) Homilies of eminent Fathers (Jerome, *Catal.*, 115), epistles of other churches and bishops (*κοινωνικὰ γράμματα, epistolæ communicatorie* ; cf. § 286 ; Eusebius, VII. 30), and histories of martyrs (*Legendæ* ; cf. Euseb., IV. 15 ; V. 4 ; *Concil. Carth. III.*, ch. xvii. : *Liceat legi passiones martyrum quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur*), mentioned especially frequently in Augustine. Cf. in general Bingham, *Orig. eccl.*, VI., p. 86 ff.

In general the Church was obliged to take under its protection every good, edificatory book, so long as it laid down the principle : ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἀναγινώσκειται ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε, Cyril of Jerus., *l. c.* ; cf. Isidor. Pelus., I., ep. 369.

318. A third and last class consisted of books which had found favor here and there among the churches or with individual Christians, but to which the judgment of the more sober and discerning church teachers denied not only all authority in matters of faith, but also all fitness for use in the churches. These were called apocryphal. This name has not only been explained in various ways, but it also actually had different significations in ancient times, which can be pointed out, but not brought into chronological order. According to the most common and best known usage, it means forged writings, those bearing false names, then also those of doubtful or heretical contents ; in many cases, however, both characteristics were found combined.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀπόκρυφος · συγκεκαλυμμένος, κρυπτός. Lk. xii. 2 ; cf. viii. 17 ; Mk. iv. 22 ; Col. ii. 3.

Apocryphal books are (1.) those of which tradition had no certain knowledge, *quorum origo non claruit patribus*, Augustine, *De civit. dei*, XV. 23. — Gloss on *De cr. Grat. dist. 16: sine certo autore*.

(2.) Such as contain mysteries. Clem., *Strom.*, I. 304, of writings of ancient sages or Gnostics. Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. de ordin.*, II. 44: John ἐν ἀποκρύφους δι' αἰνίγματος λέγει, of the Apocalypse. Just so Epiph., *Har.*, 51, p. 184, of the same; διὰ τὰ βαθῆς καὶ σκοτεινῶς εἰρημένα.

(3.) Such as contain things which are not fit for every one's ears, as the History of Susanna (Orig., *Ad Afric.*, ch. ix.), perhaps also Tobit and Judith (*ibid.*, ch. xiii.), or are pernicious, *quos in ecclesia legi noluerunt*, Rufin., *In Symb.*, l. c., therefore opposed to the δεδημοσιευμένοι (*publicati*). The latter is the sense where Apocrypha and public reading-books outside the canon are to be distinguished.

In *Iren.*, I. 20, p. 91, ἀπόκρυφα καὶ νόθα are heretical writings. Athanasius, *Ep. fest.*, after enumerating the reading-books and the canonical: καὶ ὁμοῦς κἀκεῖνων κανονισμένων καὶ τούτων ἀναγιγνωσκόμενων οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη, ἀλλὰ αἰρετικῶν ἔστιν ἐπίνοια . . . *Synops. SS.*, *Opp. Athan.*, II. 55: the Apocrypha are enumerated, although νόθα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, in order that one may know them (πρὸς εἶδησιν), and that they are ἀποκρυφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ἕξια. *Const. apost.*, VI. 16, ἀπόκρυφος is explained by φθοροποιός; in Cyril, *Catech.*, IV. 36, it is synonymous with both ψευδεπίγραφος and βλαβερός.

Origen, *Prol. in Cant.*: *Scripturæ appellantur apocryphæ pro eo quod multa in iis corrupta et contra fidem veram inveniuntur a majoribus tradita . . . Illud tamen palam est multa ab app. vel ab evang. exempla esse prolata et N. T. inserta quæ in his scripturis quas canonicas habemus nunquam legimus, in apocryphis tamen inveniuntur et evidenter ex ipsis ostenduntur assumpta*. Also as an interpretation in commenting on Mt. xxvii. 9: *Suspicio errorem . . . aut esse aliquam secretam Jeremice scripturam . . . sicut et Apostolus scripturas quasdam secretorum profert dicens (1 Cor. ii. 9); in nullo enim regulari libro hoc positum invenitur nisi in secretis Eliæ prophete; item quod ait (2 Tim. iii. 8) non invenitur in publicis SS. sed in libro secreto*. On the first passage he adds that in such bad apocryphal writings there was something true, which the apostles were enabled by the Holy Spirit to select.

319. The higher became the authority of the proper canonical books the more they were separated from all other literary productions and regarded as the abiding record of the most immediate revelation, the less could this middle class maintain itself as such in value and purpose. In particular those books which either by the custom of the churches or by the names which they bore were preserved from complete and strict rejection gradually passed into the highest class. Those, on the other hand, which lacked such protection or were acknowledgedly of post-apostolic origin were obliged to fall back into the rank of ordinary Christian writings and dared no longer lay claim to any ecclesiastical prerogative. The middle class entirely disappeared, and thenceforth everything was apocryphal which could not gain full entrance into the canon.

The Epistles of James and Jude won their places because proper brothers of Jesus were no longer acknowledged, whence both the authors were admitted into the list of the Apostles.

The Apocrypha of the O. T. (Tobit, Wisdom, Sirach) had commended themselves as ethical treatises, and on that account could not (in the West)

be allowed to drop out again. J. Dombre, *Hist. de la canonicité des livres apocr. de P. A. T.*, Gen. 1830; Schulthess, in *Theol. Annal.*, Aug. 1829.

On the canonicity of the book of Esther in the ancient church, see especially Serpilius, *Bibl. Scribenten*, V. 2, p. 166 ff.

Change of usage: Jerome, *Catal.*, 6; Barnabas composed *ep. ad edificandam ecclesiam que inter apocryphas legitur*.—Philastr., *De Hæres.*, ch. 88: *Scripturæ absconditæ, i. e. apocryphæ, etsi legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent*.—Jerome, *Prol. in Reges*, after enumerating the Hebrew books: *Quicquid extra hos est inter apocrypha ponendum. Ep. VII. ad Letam: Caveat omnia apocrypha, et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse quorum titulis prenotantur multaque his admixta vitiosa et grandis esse prudentiæ aurum querere in luto*. He evidently means not heretical, but uninspired, pseudepigraphic writings, essentially doubtless the so-called Apocrypha of the O. T.

The confusion that arose from this change of usage is exhibited in characteristic fashion in Isidor. Hispal., *Etym.*, VI. 2: *Apocrypha dicta i. e. secreta quia in dubium veniunt. Est enim occulta origo nec patet patribus ex quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissima successione pervenit. In iis apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est in iis canonica auctoritas, que recte a prudentibus judicantur non esse eorum credenda quibus adscribuntur. Nam multa sub nominibus prophetarum et apostolorum ab hereticis proferuntur*.

In the stichometry of Nicephorus (§ 328, cf. Contelier, *Patres apost.*, II. 2, p. 289) the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp, together with the Acts of Peter, Thomas, John, Hermas, etc., appear as Apocrypha, certainly with no regard to their doctrinal contents.

Cf. in general J. Trigland, *De appellatione libr. apocryphorum* (in his *Diss.*, p. 1 ff.); Gieseler, in the *Studien*, 1829, I. 141; Ullmann, *Kanonisch und Apokryphisch*, in his *Sammlung von Streitschriften gegen Strauss*, 1838, p. 181.

320. A direct result of this more accurate distinction are the catalogues of books which become more and more frequent in the theological writers of the Greek Church after the middle of the fourth century, and also more and more accordant in contents. All seven of the Catholic Epistles, having gradually become indispensable through the custom of public reading, finally found acceptance everywhere in the canon, and the individual voices which were still raised against the Second Epistle of Peter were overborne. The opposition to the Apocalypse was stronger and more frequent. With respect to the Old Testament this Church held to the Palestinian canon, accepting the Hebrew books in the Greek recension, of course, but using the rest only for reading. The rejection by some of the book of Esther was not because of the suspicious state of its text, but because of its offensive contents.

Athanasius Alex. († 372), *Ep. Festal.*, *Opp.*, II. 38 f.: In the O. T. twenty-two books, according to the number of the Hebrew letters, but with a different order and combination than in Origen; without mention of the Apocrypha (yet expressly *Ἱερεμίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Βαρούχ, θρηνοὶ, καὶ ἐπιστολὴ*), and without Esther; in the N. T. all twenty-seven books without comment. The circumstance that the author introduces his arrangement with an apology, as a venture (*πολιμή*), shows in itself only that no ecclesiastical ordinance had previously decided the matter, and that it had its difficulties.—The *Synopsis SS.*, falsely ascribed to him, has essentially the same, but by way of

supplement Esther is said to be canonical according to ancient tradition. The view of Credner (*Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, p. 127 ff.), that this synopsis is a recension, made in the tenth century, of a copy, defective at that, of the stichometry of Nicephorus, I can by no means adopt; on the contrary it appears to me clear from the order of the definitions, the uniform position of Esther, and the omission of Maccabees, that it is a recension of the canon in the *Ep. Festalis*. Its age therefore signifies little; only the attempted rescene of Esther and the sharper emphasis of the canonicity of the Apocalypse (δεχθεῖσα καὶ ἐγκριθεῖσα ὑπὸ πάλαι ἀγίων καὶ πνευματοφόρων πατέρων) show a somewhat later date. Only after the point at which the *Ep. Festalis* breaks off, at the enumeration of still other (σὺν ἐκεινοῖς) antilegomena and apocrypha, does its relationship with Nicephorus appear; nothing can be inferred from it as to priority. This appendix, moreover, betrays both in its classification and in its formulas a very obscure conception of canonicity, and probably gives only extracts from various sources, uncritically combined.

Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus († 390), brought the canon into a poem (*Carm.*, 33): O. T., twelve historical, five poetical and five prophetic books; the Apocrypha and Esther are not reckoned. In the N. T., Gospels, Acts, fourteen Epistles of Paul, and seven Catholic; πᾶσας ἔχεις, εἴ τι δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις. Yet he quotes the Apocalypse, *Opp.*, I. 516.

Amphilochius of Iconium (c. 380), *Iambi ad Seleucum* (*Opp. Gregor. Naz.*, II. 194), in which is a long catalogue in verse. At the close of the O. T. (without the Apocrypha), τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἑσθὴρ τινές.

From the N. T. we select the following:—

τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον  
οὐκ εἶδ' λέγοντες, γνησία γὰρ ἡ χάρις.  
. . . . καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν  
τινὲς μὲν ἔπτα φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας  
χρῆναι δέχεσθαι . . .  
τὴν δ' ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν  
τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δὲ γε  
νόθην λέγουσιν . . .

Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), *Catech.*, IV. p. 67, likewise finds only twenty-two books in the O. T. (expressly with Baruch), and in the N. T. omits the Apocalypse; also, *Catech.*, XV., treats the doctrine of Antichrist οὐκ ἐξ ἀποκρύφων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Δαυὶδ.

Eriphanus († 403), *Hæres.*, 76 (I. 941), cf. *De ponder. et mensur.*, ch. 23 (II. 180), finds in the O. T. twenty-seven books, which are also counted twenty-two by a strange numerical symbolism and in still stranger order: Pentateuch, Joshua, Job, Judges, Ruth, Psalms, Chronicles, Kings, Proverbs, the Prophets, Ezra I. and II., Esther.—The Lamentations form an appendix. At the close (of the twenty-seven books) of the O. T., Wisdom and Sirach also appear as θεῖαι γραφαί, but in *Hæres.*, 8 (I. 19), in another enumeration, as ἀμφίλεκτα. The Apostolic Constitutions also appear in *Hæres.*, 80, as θεῖος λόγος, in *Hæres.*, 70, as ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδόκιμοι.

Beside the unfavorable opinions just adduced with respect to the Apocalypse (Gregory, Cyril; cf. Chrysostom in the last note) and Esther (Athanasius, Gregory), there is still to be mentioned that of Didymus Alex. († 392) against 2 Peter, *Enarr. in epp. cath.*: *Non est ignorandum presentem epistolam esse falsatam quæ licet publicetur non tamen in canone est, where falsata, from its connection, signifies an antilegomenon (νοθεύεται) rather than a pseud-epigraphon. Cf. Lücke, *Quæst. Didym.*, I. 13.*

The school of Antioch (§ 518), with Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428) at its head, had very free views of the canon, and appears to have estimated the value of the particular books mostly according to their usefulness for the Church. Hence heterodox opinions on Chronicles, Ezra, and Canticles. Theodore is said to have rejected Job also, though probably only as a his-

tory ; so also all (?) the Catholic Epistles ; see Leontius of Byzantium, *Cont. Nestor. et Eutychn.*, III., in Canis., *Lect. antiq.*, I. 577, and below, § 328, Cosmas and Junilius. This school very likely also did not think much of the Apocalypse ; see Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, 337, 347 (2d ed. II. 642 ff.).

Chrysostom († 407) nowhere in his numerous homilies quotes the Apocalypse, and only three Catholic Epistles. So also in the *Synopsis SS.*, ascribed to him (*Opp.*, VI. 308 ff. Montf.), in which, in the O. T. the Apocrypha, but not the Apocalypse in the N. T., and expressly τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τρεῖς. This is identical with the ancient Syrian canon (§ 308). Cf. *Opp.*, VI. 430, in an anonymous homily, τὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην [Ἰωάννου] οἱ πατέρες ἀποκατονίζουσιν.

The so-called Apocrypha of the O. T. were properly only five (or six) ; Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach, and Maccabees. The rest belonged to the Greek (canonical) texts of Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah ; so especially always Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah. Quotations of the Fathers from these books are collected by Jahn, *Einkl.*, IV. 968 ff. The circumstance is also noteworthy that it is only for the O. T., not also for the New, that a total number is given and assigned a mystic significance.

From the time of Chrysostom the canonical collection is called simply τὰ βιβλία : *Homil. IX. in Coloss.* : Ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, καὶ κτᾶσθε βιβλία, φάρμακα τῆς ψυχῆς· εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον βούλεσθε τὴν γοῖν κανὴν κτήσασθε, τὸν ἀπόστολον [τῶν ἀποστόλων, Montf.] τὰς πράξεις, τὰ εὐαγγέλια ; and frequently, see Suicer, *Thes.*, *sub voce*.

321. The agreement of so many justly honored Church teachers and the power of custom finally decided forever the canonicity of the sacred books. The legal confirmation of this decision by the councils is of no importance for the history except that the first attempt at closing the canon in the Greek Church can be connected with a definite date. This date is given by the synod which convened at Laodicea about the year 360 or somewhat later, which forbade the public reading of any uncanonical books, and then proceeded to enumerate the canonical ones, omitting the Old Testament Apocrypha and the Apocalypse. True, the genuineness of this last article has been disputed ; yet it is at all events the oldest record of this kind, since another, differing in contents, found in the collection of the so-called Apostolic Canons, certainly did not possess at the beginning any public and general authority. Later generally current ordinances do not exist.

*Conc. Laodic.*, Can. 59 : ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμοὺς (church hymns of Christian origin) λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικά τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

Can. 60 has twenty-two books of the O. T. ; Esther stands between Ruth and Samuel, the Prophets last, Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle expressly with Jeremiah ; the question of the text of Daniel and Esther is then decided. In the N. T. the Catholic Epistles stand before the Pauline, that to the Hebrews between Thessalonians and Timothy.

Mansi, II. 574 ; L. T. Spittler, *Krit. Untersuch. des 60sten Laod. Kanons*, Brem. 1777 ; J. W. Bickell, in the *Studien*, 1830, III. ; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, VI. 249 f. ; Credner, *Gesch. des Kan.*, 219. [Westcott, *Hist. of N. T. Canon*, 2d ed. p. 384 ff. (against the genuineness of the canon).] The importance of the canon should not be overestimated, because it arose only



from a provincial synod. Even should it be spurious, the tone of the preceding would presuppose an official collection. The catalogue is in complete agreement with that of Cyril of Jerusalem.

Considerably richer, at the same time bearing witness to the imperfectness of criticism or to the uncertainty of tradition or theological principles, is the 85th Apostolic Canon: 'Ἐστω ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσµια καὶ ἅγια τῆς μὲν παλ. διαθήκης (Moses to Esther in the present order, then) Ἰουδῆθ (though not in all the manuscripts), Μακκαβαίων τρία, ἰώβ, ψαλτ., Σολομ. τρία, προφήται . . . ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορεῖσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ. Ἡμέτερα δὲ . . . (four Gospels, fourteen Epistles of Paul, two of Peter, three of John, James, Jude), Κλήμεντος ἐπ. δύο, καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὕκτω βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημένα, ἃς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεῖν ἐπὶ πάντων διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά: καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

322. In the same way, and only a few years later, the Latin Church arrived at the final establishment of its canon. The example of the Greeks, especially of Origen, had here also for some time prevented the acceptance of the five disputed Catholic Epistles, but there was soon earnest opposition only to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which was rejected by most of the Church leaders of this region of the second half of the fourth century. The influence of the oriental custom also showed itself with some in respect to the Old Testament Apocrypha, which were regarded as books for edification only. Most of the Latin Fathers, however, especially those of Africa, made little account of this distinction.

A smaller number of complete catalogues. Hilary of Pietavium († 368), *Prolog. in Psalm.*, agrees with Origen (even in respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, *De trinit.*, IV. 11), and reduces the O. T. to twenty-two books (the Hebrew letters), to which Judith and Tobit are added in order to represent the full number of the Greek alphabet. With Jeremiah the Epistle is expressly included. He quotes Wisdom and Sirach also as prophets, but never the five disputed Catholic Epistles.

Philastrus of Brixen († 387), *De hæres.*, ch. 88: *Statutum est ab apostolis et eorum successoribus non aliud legi in ecclesia debere catholica nisi legem et prophetas, et evangelia et actus app. et Pauli XIII. epp. et VII. alias que actibus app. conjunctæ sunt.* Yet in ch. 60 he accounts as a heretic him who rejects the Apocalypse, and in ch. 89 him who rejects the Epistle to the Hebrews. Evidently notes patched together from various sources. The Apocrypha of the O. T. are also here and there quoted as genuine prophetic books, after the custom of the West.

Rufinus, Presbyter at Aquileia († 410), *Expos. in Symbol.*, ch. 37: *Secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Sp. S. inspirata creduntur . . .* (the Hebrew canon) . . . *in his concluserunt numerum libr. V. T. Novi vero* (all twenty-seven books). *Hæc sunt que Patres intra canonem concluserunt et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt. Sciendum, etc.*; see § 317.

The very wide-spread aversion of the Latins to the Epistle to the Hebrews is often mentioned by Jerome (§ 323), see *In Isa.*, iii. 6: *latina consuetudo non recipit*; *In Matth.*, xxvi.: *multi latini dubitant*, etc. For a series of writers of the second half of the fourth century, of whom only a few ascribed the Epistle to the Apostle (beside the above also Ambrose), see Bleek, *Hebr.*, I. 183 ff. The famous commentary on the Pauline Epistles by Hilarius Diaconus (Ambrosiaster, § 519) did not take it up.

What Jerome, *Catal.*, 4 and 18, says of current doubts (*a plerisque*) respecting 2 and 3 John and Jude, doubtless refers rather to the Greeks.

323. The decisive result was brought about in the West by the two greatest lights of that division of the Church, the learned Jerome and the talented Augustine, both of whom, however, lacked a proper call to this particular work. The former brought to the criticism of the canon no courage, the latter no learning, and neither of them either principles or independence. The first, belonging to both Churches alike, extricated himself by commending to each the custom of the other, while the second was constrained to conceal his weakness behind the authority of a one-sidedly accepted tradition, whereby the very validity of Scripture itself was endangered. In consequence of so unscientific treatment there not only arose a canon richer than that of the East, but — a very characteristic point — a double one, the authors being equally orthodox, about which, after all decisions, there might still be dispute.

Jerome, *Ep. ad Paulin.* (*Opp.*, Frankf. III. 5, and all the older Latin Bibles), enumerates the books of the O. T. in the following order: Pentateuch, Job, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Prophets, Minor and Major, David, Solomon, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah. — *Prolog. galeat. in Reges*: twenty-two Hebrew letters and five finals, corresponding to twenty-two books of the O. T., of which five are doubled (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Jeremiah); the enumeration in many respects different, mostly in the Hebrew order, but Job before Psalms, Ruth with Judges; the books of Solomon together; Ezra and Esther last of all. . . . *Itaque Sap. Sal. et Jesu fil. Sirach et Judith et Tobias et Pastor non sunt in canone.* Cf. his *Præf. in libr. Sal.* (§ 317). *Præf. in Tob.: Librum Tob. Hebræi de catalago div. S. S. secantes . . . sed melius esse judico Phariseorum displicere iudicio et episcoporum jussionibus deservire.*

For the N. T. cf., beside *De viris illus.*, ch. i.–ix., *Ep. ad Paulin.*, p. 7: *Tangam et novum breviter Testamentum. Mathæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes quadriga Domini et verum cherubin.* (Cf. *Præf. in Evv., Ad Damas.*, and *Prœem. in Matth.*). . . . *Paulus ap. ad VII. ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur (non ejus creditur propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam, Catal., ch. v.; it is nevertheless explained by a translation from the Hebrew: hæretici integram repudiarunt, Prœem. in Tit.); Timotheum instruit ac Titum, Philemonem pro famulo deprecatur. . . . Actus App. (quorum) . . . scriptor Lucas medicus . . . Jacobus, Petrus, Joannes, Judas apostoli VII. epp. ediderunt (Jacobi ep. ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus editur asseritur licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem, Catal. ii.; Petri secunda a plerisque ejus negatur propter styli cum priore dissonantiam, Catal. i.; ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum esse interpretibus, Ep. ad Hedib., ch. xi. Joannes scripsit unam epistolam . . . reliquæ duæ Joannis Presbyteri asseruntur, Catal. ix., xviii. Judas . . . auctoritatem vetustate et usu meruit, Catal. iv.). . . . Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba. . . .*

*Ep. ad Dardan.* (III. 46): *Illud nostris (latinis) dicendum est hanc ep. que inscribitur ad Hebræos non solum ab eccl. Orientis sed ab omnibus retro eccl. græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli ap. suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur, et nihil interesse cujus sit cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam latinorum consuetudo non*

*recipit inter scripturas can. nec græcorum ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Joan. eadem libertate suscipiunt, et tamen nos utraque suscipimus nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem sed vet. scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes . . .* yet without full conviction apparently, cf. *Comm. in Tit.*, i., ii.; *In Ephes.*, ii.; *In Ez.*, xxviii., etc.: *si quis vult recipere, or: sive Pauli sive alterius esse putas, etc.; In Amos*, viii., *quicumque est ille qui scripsit. . . . In Jerem.*, xxxi., etc.

Since the often mentioned *plerique* cannot possibly mean so many lost writers, it is much more natural to assume that in the time of Jerome many churches still had no complete copies, because those books which had not yet become generally disseminated at the close of the second century had much greater difficulty in winning their way later.

Augustine, *De doct. chr.*, II. 8, distinguishes among the "divine" writings first the properly "canonical," then others with which the reading must not begin, because they require a larger exercise of judgment; then he says: *Divinarum SS. indagator . . . tenebit hunc modum in SS. canonicis ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis cath. præponat eis quas quedam non accipiunt, in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravesque accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quamquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto.* This certainly presupposes that the canon was not closed by common agreement, that its constituents had unequal value, and that this value depended not upon the character and origin of the books themselves but upon their circulation, as it happened to be greater or less!—Then a catalogue: *Quinque Moyseos. . . . Paralipomenon, as a continuous history; sunt alie tanquam ex diverso ordine (historiæ), quæ neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur, Job, Tobias, Esther, Judith, Macch. libri duo, Esdræ duo, . . . deinde Prophetæ, in quibus David unus libr. Psalmorum et Salomonis tres . . . nam illi duo libri, qui Sap. et Eccles. inscribuntur, de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur . . . qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt inter propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqui, etc., the minor and major prophets. His XLIV. libris V. T. terminatur auctoritas.* In the N. T. four Gospels, fourteen Epistles of Paul, Hebrews last, the Epistles of Peter, John, James, Jude (wanting in some editions, probably only from oversight), the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse.

*De peccat. merit.*, I. 27: *Ad Hebræos epistola quamquam nonnullis incerta sit (magis me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientalium quæ hanc quoque in canonicis habent) quanta testimonia contineat advertendum. — Expos. in ep. ad Rom.*, 11: *nonnulli eam in canonem SS. recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquomodo se habeat ista questio. . . .* Beside frequent quotations of the Epistle as Pauline, also undecided and ambiguous ones, Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews are introduced in *De Civit. Dei*, XVI. 32, as two witnesses (*sic intellectum est in Ep. ad Hebr.*), and quoted in *Adv. Julian.*, III. 85, *fidelis fidei prædicator qui scripsit epistolam.*

*Contra Gaudent.*, I. 31: *Hanc Scr. quæ appellatur Maccab. non habent Judæi . . . sed recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter si sobrie legatur vel audiat.* Cf. *De civit. Dei*, XVII. 20, on Wisdom and Sirach, XVIII. 26 on Judith, etc.

On Jerome and Augustine cf. also §§ 454, 517. On the canon of the latter, Clausen, *August.*, p. 40; Schneegans, *August.*, p. 28.

324. It was precisely the less critical view which attained legal authority at several assemblies which were held in the last decade of this century at Hippo and Carthage, under the personal leadership of Augustine. They likewise forbade the public reading of uncanonical writings, except the lives of

the martyrs, but included in the Old Testament all the Apocrypha or the so-called Greek canon, and in the New the Apocalypse and all the disputed epistles, with the proviso that the confirmation of this catalogue should be obtained from Rome. This was actually done some years later by Bishop Innocent, and a new assembly at Carthage only needed to change an equivocal expression in favor of the *Épistle to the Hebrews*. Finally there appeared a decretal ascribed to the Roman bishop Gelasius, which contained a complete catalogue of all the canonical books and the Apocrypha; with this all further discussions of the canon properly ceased or at least were decided in advance.

*Concil. Hippon.* (393? in Mansi, III. 924); its *Acta* are of doubtful genuineness, but the portion which concerns our subject (can. 36) is repeated word for word in the *Concil. Carthag. III.* (397, in Mansi, III. 891), can. 47: *Ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divin. SS. Sunt autem canonicæ SS.: Genesis . . . Psalterium, Salomonis libr. V. (Proph.). Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libr. II., Maccab. II. Novi autem Test. Evv. libr. IV., Acta ap. Pauli ap. epp. XIII. Ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri duæ, Joannis tres, Jacobi una, Jude una, Apocal. Joan. [ita ut de confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur]. Liceat etiam legi passiones, etc.* (see above, § 317).

Innocent I. (Bishop of Rome, A. D. 405), *Ep. ad. Exsuperium ep. Tolos.* (in Mansi, III. 1040): *Qui libri recipiantur in canone SS. S. brevis adnexus ostendit: Moysis libri V., Jos., Jud., Regg., Ruth, Prophetæ . . . Salomonis libri V., Psalt., Tob., Job, Esth., Judith, Maccab. libri II., Esdræ libri II., Paralip. libri II. Item N. T. Evv. libr. IV., Pauli epp. XIV., Johannis III., Petri II., Jacobi, Judæ, Act. ap. Apocalyps. Johannis. Cetera autem (here he mentions pseudepigrapha of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, James, and Matthias) non solum repudianda sed et damnanda noveris.*

*Concil. Carth. V.*, A. D. 419 (in Mansi, IV. 430), can. 29, repeats the earlier catalogue with the single alteration: *Epp. Pauli numero XIV. . . hoc etiam fratri Bonifacio urbis Romæ episcopo . . . pro confirmando isto canone innotescat quia et a Patribus ita accepimus in eccl. legendum.* This inquiry in Rome shows that no earlier decision was known, that the custom rested upon no solid basis, and that they had no knowledge of the Roman usage.

*Decretum Gelasii I.* (c. 495) *de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (in Gratian, Pt. I., Dist. 15, 3; Mansi, VIII. 146) consists, according to Credner's comprehensive investigation (*Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, pp. 149-290) of several parts of different date, of which that referring to our present subject is probably the latest. How little the decision, whether it be attributed to Gelasius or be regarded as later, did away with diversities of opinion, is evident from the many various readings in the numerous extant manuscripts. — The canon is thus divided: (1.) *Ordo V. T.*, including the historical books, Genesis to Chronicles, Psalms, three books of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiastics. But the two latter are wanting in some manuscripts. (2.) *Ordo prophetarum*, all sixteen, the major first, the minor in varying order in all the manuscripts. Jeremiah sometimes alone, sometimes with Lamentations, sometimes with Baruch. (3.) *Ordo historiarum*, in varying order: Job, Tobit, Judith, Ezra, Esther, Maccabees (sometimes but one book). (4.) *Ordo N. T.*, four Gospels, fourteen Epistles of Paul (in many manuscripts but thirteen) in an order different from ours, Hebrews last; Apocalypse of the Apostle John (wanting in some codices); Acts of the Apostles (very

often standing before Paul); finally *ep. canonicæ VII.*, Peter generally first; in some *Joannis ep. una, alterius Joannis presbyteri ep. II.*; always last, *Ep. Judæ Zelotis*. At the close (after the list of orthodox councils and Fathers) an *Index librorum prohibitorum (ab hæreticis s. schismaticis conscripta)*, among which the Gospel of Peter, The Shepherd, Apostolic Canons, Jesus and Alagar, and many writings at that time scarcely known in the West, by which the decretal shows its dependence upon earlier documents.

325. Thus the Christian Canon of Scripture was fixed in the two principal Churches at nearly the same time and in essential harmony, though not without disagreement in several particulars. The two Churches appear to have set about the task from different points of view. The Greek canon is evidently based upon the principle of accepting nothing which had not a well-grounded right to the high præminence of divine origin and apostolic authority; the Latin clearly expresses the thought of excluding nothing which had been sanctified by custom and approved by use. The one Church was eager to exclude, that it might not become too rich; the other took good care not to become too poor. The former sought to sift the sources of doctrine, the latter to increase the sources of edification; both indeed without sufficient aids, and therefore not in all respects successful in their undertaking, yet after all guided generally by a tolerably correct tact, and not to be either approved or condemned unqualifiedly by a more critical posterity.

The abolition of the middle class, thus completed, was a necessity that must certainly have been felt by the councils, if the mere reading books were not finally to supplant the canonical, and the latter fail of their purpose, face to face with religious uncertainty and confusion.

Up to the time of the Council of Trent no œcumenical assembly of the Church ever pronounced upon the canon; at least in respect to the Council of Florence, A. D. 1441 (§ 331), there is a dispute among the Catholics themselves upon this very point (Welte, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1839, p. 245), and much weight has been laid by one party upon the fact that there was given by the African councils and the subsequent papal decisions not an official canon of revelation, but a canon for the public readings in the churches, and at Trent the latter was simply raised to the dignity of the former. J. Martianay, *Traité du Canon*, Par. 1703.

Very significantly, Augustine (when Hilar. Arelat., *Ep. August.*, 226, charged him with having brought in testimony from the Wisdom of Solomon, — *testimonium non canonicum omittendum*), *De prædest.*, I. ch. 27 ff.: *Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sap. qui meruit in eccl. Christi de gradu lectorum (from the reader's stand) tam longa annositate recitari et ab omnibus . . . cum veneratione divine auctoritatis audiri.*

326. The other national Churches, which stood outside these two great centres of Christian development, were obliged in this matter, as in all others, to move according to the impulse communicated to them from these centres. Gaul and Spain especially were completely dependent upon Rome, and even knew the Scriptures only in the translations which came from

or were commended by Rome. Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Armenia, on the other hand, although much less closely connected hierarchically among themselves or with the chief seats of the Greek ecclesiastical power, and hence possessing their own editions of the Scriptures in the vernaculars, nevertheless first received the Bible from the hands of the Greeks. They generally have, therefore, in the Old Testament, the full richness of the Alexandrian Canon, but in the New, so far as we know, they sooner or later obtain the Apocalypse. Syria also, in the fourth century, already had the usual collection, if not her official canon, thus extended.

Peshito (§§ 308, 426). O. T. in a peculiar order: Pentateuch, Job, Joshua, Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Canticles, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel. — The so-called Karkaphentian recension (§ 427) places Job after Judges, the Psalms after Samuel, the writings of Solomon after the Prophets, then the book of the women (Ruth, Esther, Judith), last Sirach, Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, Gospels. — The Hexapla version naturally includes the Apocrypha also. Later Syriac versions give the missing books of the N. T. Ephrem († 378) uses all the twenty-seven books of our canon both in his Syriac and his Greek writings (Lengerke, *Ephr.*, p. 1). The printed Philoxenian version (§ 428), it is true, does not have the Apocalypse; but it is from a defective manuscript. The Epistle to the Hebrews stands last, without the name of Paul, which, however, is lacking in some other Epistles also. — Later, see § 329.

The Ethiopic canon (as it is described for us by Lindolf, *Hist. eth.*, III. 4, and *Comment. ad eandem*, p. 295) agrees in number and arrangement with the LXX., and in the N. T. is the same as our present Greek canon. But this arrangement cannot have been a fixed one and probably therefore had come under Roman influence. The use of apocryphal writings (Enoch, Esdras, Apocalypse of Isaiah, etc.), some of which are even found in manuscripts of the Bible, shows that the idea of the canon must have been long unsettled. The Ethiopic Church obtained through the so-called Apostolic Canons an official catalogue of the sacred books, but in several differing recensions, so that only the figures of the whole number of the books (81), but not their names, were constant (A. Dillmann, in Ewald's *Jahrb.*, V. 144; cf. Ewald, in Lassen's *Zeitschr.*, V. 164). These figures did not exclude a varying number in the O. T. and required the extension of the N. T. by the eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions or *Canones concil.* (the so-called *Synodi*).

The Armenian canon (according to printed editions) likewise follows the LXX., but places the three books of the Maccabees with the other historical books; has some transpositions in the Prophets, places the Epistle to the Hebrews before the Pastoral Epistles, and relegates Sirach, a second recension of Daniel, Manasseh, and 3 Corinthians, together with the account of the death of John, to an appendix after the N. T.

Cf. in general the appropriate sections of the Fourth Book. It may be observed in passing that both in the Syrian and in the Armenian Church, in the former in ancient times, in the latter in modern, an exegetical literature has attached itself to the Sacred Scriptures, of which, however, only the former has been partially known and studied in Protestant circles (§ 517), while the latter has scarcely appeared at all save in catalogues of books.

327. The investigation of the canons of religious parties

standing more or less apart from the Catholic Church properly belongs to the history of doctrines rather than here. Yet there is in reality but little to say, since the older sects, which had arisen before the closing of the canon, gradually disappeared from the stage, and the later ones did not depart from the Catholics in this point. The controversies with Arians, Novatians, and some others doubtless led to partisan judgments respecting one or another biblical book. The greatest divergence was in the case of the Manicheans, who, being dualists, were properly alien to Christianity. In their canon, however, the question was not so much of a selection of books as of far-reaching theological principles respecting the relation of Scripture and Spirit in general.

It has already been stated, in the sections referring to the subject in the First Book, that the Jewish Christians in Palestine, at least until into the fifth century, had their own sacred literature, the Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of Peter, Apocalypse of Peter, etc.

It is also to be remembered that the Arians (though not all, and not from the first, Bleek, *Hebr.*, I. 164 ff.) denied that the Epistle to the Hebrews was by Paul, and rejected it; cf. Theodoret, *In Hebr.*, beginning; idem (?), *Dial. de trin.*, p. 922, Hal. Of the Goths in particular and their Arianism, see, with reference to our question, Massmann, *Skeireins*, p. 65 ff., and the introduction to his edition of Ulfilas. It has not yet been discovered that Ulfilas (§ 444) translated the Epistle to the Hebrews; and the traces of its use by the author of the *Skeireins* are uncertain. Yet we know that Arians as well as Novatians found Scriptural proofs of their doctrines in it, § 313; cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.*, 69: φύσει αὐτὴν ἀναιροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου . . . τὸ δὲ ῥητὸν . . . κακῶς ἐκδέχονται, that is by false interpretation of ch. iii. 1, 2.

On the Alogi, who rejected the Johannean writings altogether, see Epiph., *Hær.*, 51 (I. 424).

We can only speak of a canon among the heretics in an improper sense, since as a rule they knew at the most only an apologetic use of Scripture, giving to apostolic utterances a significance favoring their interests; but not an official theological one, in the sense of building their dogmatics from the foundation upon a collection of sacred books.

What some (Kirchhofer, p. 508, and before him Gerhard of Maestricht, *l. c.*) adduce as a special canon of the Nestorians is properly the beginning of a *Bibliotheca Syriaca* (Ebedjesu, *Catal. Script.*, ed. A. Echellensis, Rome, 1650), in which some modern Jewish works stand between the Old and New Testaments, with which latter the enumeration of the Christian literature then begins. The O. T. has the canon of the LXX., although so arranged that the books of Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Daniel parvus (?), and Macabees stand at the end. See also Asseman, *Bibl. or.*, III. 1, p. 5 ff.

The Manicheans rejected the O. T. altogether (cf. § 330) and only accepted the New as an incomplete record of history and doctrine. Principal source, Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manich. l. XXXIII*. Cf. Lardner, *Credibility*, etc., II., p. 635 ff.; Münscher, *Dogmengesch.*, III. 93; Heilmann, *De auctoritate l. N. T. ap. Manichæos* (*Opp.*, I. 73); F. Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon, die Kritik, u. die Exegese der Manich.*, Bern, 1832; [Beansobre, *Hist. de Manich.*, I. 297 f.]; Kirchhofer, *Quellens.*, p. 434, and the church historians in general. See also Diestel, *Gesch. des A. T. in der chr. Kirche*, p. 113.

328. After the decisions of the councils no serious opposi-

tion to any part of the canonical collection could be thought of, — at least nothing of the kind could have counted upon any result during the whole period of the so-called Middle Age. On the one hand the matter was regarded as settled; on the other the historical and critical preparatory knowledge of the theologians was far too small for any of them to be able to take up such a question. Of the doubts formerly raised against particular books there remain only confused reminiscences, which soon vanish. Yet these books doubtless circulated much more slowly, and, especially with reference to the Old Testament Apocrypha, science, although so dependent upon the Church, never wholly yielded her prerogative to custom.

Euthalius (§ 377) still brings up the old grounds of doubt against the Epistle to the Hebrews in order to oppose it (in Zacagni, p. 669), and for the first time divided off the Catholic Epistles for the regular church readings.

Cosmas (*De mundo*, VII. p. 292, Montf.), c. 535 A. D., appeals boldly to Irenæus, Eusebius, Athanasius, the Syrian Church, and others, for support in rejecting all the Catholic Epistles: *Τὰς καθολικὰς ἀνέκαθεν ἡ ἐκκλησίαι ἀμφιβαλλομένας ἔχει καὶ . . . οὔτε εἰς αὐτῶν λόγον ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ' οἱ κανονίσαντες τὰς ἐρδιαθέτους βίβλους πάντες ὡς ἀμφιβόλους αὐτὰς ἔθηκαν . . . οὐ χρὴ τὸν τέλειον χριστιανὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφιβ. στηρίξεσθαι.* Which only shows the absence of any absolutely binding decision.

Leontius Byz. (c. 560), *De sectis*, ch. ii., has but twenty-two books in the O. T., without Esther.

In the Latin Church the more frequent use of the Epistle to the Hebrews does not begin until after 450, Bleek, *l. c.*, p. 320 ff.

Cassiodorus († 562), *De divin. lectt.*, ch. xii.–xiv., gives several catalogues, two complete, with the O. T. Apocrypha, from Augustine and the LXX. (from his own copy, it is doubtless to be understood), containing seventy-one and seventy books (the latter number on account of the accidental omission of Ephesians), for which types are found in the O. T.; a third one, from Jerome, of forty-nine books, without the Apocrypha, which he defends in similar manner, without pointing out the cause of the great difference. Ch. xi.: *Nunc videamus quemadmodum lex divina tribus generibus divisionum a diversis patribus fuerit intimata quam tamen veneratur et concorditer suscipit ecclesia.* Ch. xiv.: *Omnia tria genera divisionum non impugnare sed invicem se potius exponere videntur*, which is nonsense unless one remembers that here also the ecclesiastical and practical standpoint entirely displaces the theological. It is noteworthy that (ch. viii.) he had Chrysostom upon the Epistle to the Hebrews translated, because there was as yet no Latin commentary upon it in existence. On him see (§ 522) F. D. de Sainte-Marthe, *Vie de Cassiod.*, Par. 1695; Schröckh, XVI. 128; Stäudlin, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, III.; Lorentz, in the Hall. *Encykl.*, I. 21.

A wholly different division, probably from an ancient oriental (Antiochene?) document, in Junilius, *De partibus legis div.*, I., ch. 3–7 (in Africa, c. 550): (1.) historical books; Pentateuch to Kings, Gospels, Acts, *quibus adjungunt plures*: Chronicles, Job, Ezra, Judith, Esther, Maccabees; (2.) prophetic books: all sixteen, together with Psalms. Also the Apocalypse, *de quo apud orient. maxime dubitatum*; (3.) *libri proverbiales*: Proverbs and Sirach. *Adjungunt quidam Sap. et Cant.*; (4.) *libri simplicis doctrinae*: *Ecl. Pauli epp. XIV., Petri I., Joh. I., quibus adjungunt quam plurimi* the remain-



ing five epistles. At the close another division is made, into *libri perfectæ auctoritatis* (those from the first called canonical), *libri mediæ auctoritatis*, *quos adungi diximus a pluribus*, and *libri nullius auctoritatis, reliqui omnes*, according to an unintelligible statement also Canticles and Wisdom. Cf. Hoffmann, in the Hall. *Encykl.*, II. 29.

Anastasius Sinaita, Patriarch of Antioch († 599), holds strictly to the canon of Laodicea; sixty books, *i. e.* thirty-four in the O. T., without the Apocrypha, twenty-six in the N. T., without the Apocalypse.

Pope Gregory I. († 604) excuses himself for quoting a passage from Maccabees (*Mor. in Job*, Bk. xix., ch. 17) by saying that he brings forward *ex libris licet non canonicis sed tamen ad eccl. ædificationem editis testimonium*. The book of Tobit is quoted (x. 6) as *quidam justus*; the Wisdom of Solomon (v. 25; vi. 7; xix. 13) as *quidam sapiens* (yet elsewhere as *Scriptura* and Solomon). Of Paul it is said (xxxv. 25): *quamvis epp. XV. (Laodiceans?) scripserit sancta tamen ecclesia non amplius quam quatuordecim tenet*; that is to say 10 + 4, *i. e.* Law and Gospel!

Isidore of Seville († 636), *De offic.*, I. 12, and *Etym.*, VI. 2, also in the *Liber proemiorum in V. et N. T.*, at the beginning, in the O. T., places the Apocrypha, together with Esther, at the end (*quartus ordo. . . quibus auctoribus scripti sint minime constat*); and in the N. T., combines without comment the two contradictory statements of fourteen Epistles of Paul and seven churches to which he wrote. *Ad Hebræos ep. plerisque latinis incerta.* — But of all these books, the Apocrypha included, it is said: *hi sunt scriptores ss. ll. qui per Sp. S. loquentes ad eruditionem nostram et præceptu vivendi et credendi regulam conscripserunt*; and in his *Liber proem.*, at the beginning, he expressly reckons Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees among the *SS. canonicæ*; in *De offic.*, *l. c.*, it is said that Wisdom is rejected by the Jews from the canon on account of its testimony to Christ. He also mentions the older doubts respecting the Antilegomena.

An anonymous English writer, *De mirabil. SS. (Opp. August., XVI. ed. Bassan)*, II. 32, 34, refuses to accept the miracles of Bel and the Dragon and the Maccabees, *quod in auctoritate divine Scr. non habentur*.

*Concil. Tolet. IV.*, A. D. 633 (in Mansi, X. 624), can. 17, condemns those who reject the Apocalypse and will not preach upon it according to custom between Easter and Pentecost; *librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas et synodica præsulum rom. decreta Joannis Ev. esse perscribunt et inter divinos ll. recipiendum*. Probably in consequence of a Catholic reaction against the Arianism formerly prevalent among the Western Goths, and at the same time in the interest of the Latin Bible against the Gothic.

The council of Constantinople, A. D. 691 (*quinisexta, i. e.*, making enactments supplementary to the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils; or *Trullana*, from its place of meeting in the palace, see Mansi, XI. 939), can. 2, confirms the so-called Apostolic Canons, and, among other synodal decrees, those of Laodicea and Carthage; it does not therefore appear to have found it necessary to go into any more accurate definition of the canon, and perhaps did not even suspect that it was giving its sanction to contradictory judgments respecting the Scriptures.

John of Damascus († 754), *De fide orth.*, IV. 17, has a peculiar division of the O. T., into four pentateuchs: (1) *ἡ νομοθεσία*; (2) *τὰ γραφεῖα* (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles); (3) *αἱ στιχῆρεις βιβλοὶ* (Job, Psalms, the books of Solomon); (4) *ἡ προφητικῆ*. Besides, as an appendix, Ezra and Esther. — Wisdom and Sirach *ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλοὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται οὐδὲ ἐκείντο ἐν τῇ κιβώτῳ* (see Epiphanius, §§ 317, 320). In the N. T., he has all twenty-seven books and the Apostolic Canons.

The Council of Nicæa, A. D. 787, interdicts, among others, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, although it is *ἐν τισι βιβλοῖς ἐγκειμένη*. In other respects it confirms the canons of the *Concil. Trull.*

Charlemagne took pains to secure pure and correct manuscripts of the Bible; that he caused the canon itself to be regulated is not to be assumed. When the synod of Aachen, A. D. 789 (Baluzius, *Capitul. regg. franc.*, I. 221), appealed to that of Laodicea, this signified not the exclusion of the Apocrypha and the Apocalypse, but the maintenance of the fifty-ninth canon (§ 321). Pope Adrian I. had sent the king the epistle of Innocent to Exsuperius (§ 324) to inform him concerning the canon.

The stichometry which Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople († 828), adds to his Chronography still bears witness to the tenacity of ancient views. In the O. T. twenty-two books, including Baruch, but not Esther. The N. T. without the Apocalypse. As Antilegomena, beside those already mentioned, Susanna, Maccabees, Odæ, Solomon, Apocalypses of John and Peter, Barnabas, and the Gospel of the Hebrews. Finally also a great mass of proper Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments, on which see § 319. The same document is translated in Anastasius Bibliothecarius († c. 886), *Hist. eccl.*, p. 101. Cf. Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, p. 95 ff., and § 320. If, as is conjectured, this portion is of ancient origin, it is all the more remarkable that an orthodox church dignitary could have satisfied a later age with it.

Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence († 856), *De instit. cleric.*, II. 53, 54, has a complete canon of seventy-two books, and mentions the ancient doubts respecting the Antilegomena, all word for word from Isidore. In the *Prolog. ad Sap.* he says of the Apocrypha of the O. T., with respect to Jerome: *Hos moderno tempore inter SS. enumerat ecclesia legitque eos sicut ceteras canonicas.*

His contemporary, Haymo of Halberstadt († 853), *Hist. sacr.*, III. 3, still finds occasion to defend the Epistle to the Hebrews, from which nothing more can be inferred than that he had read the defense in earlier writings. We pass over many catalogues in writers of this and later periods as without interest for our history.

Notker Labeo of St. Gall († 912), *De viris ill.*, ch. iii., still says of the Apocrypha, Esther, and Chronicles: *Non pro auctoritate sed tantum pro memoria et admiratione habentur.*

The slower circulation of the books once disputed is shown also by the proportionally greater rarity of copies of the Apocalypse (§ 392), by the lack of stichometry in them (§ 377), and by the frequent omission of the Epistle to the Hebrews from among the Pauline Epistles (Cod. D has it by a later hand, or at least is derived from an original in which it was omitted; F has it only in Latin, G not at all; cf. § 302). The very fact that double as many manuscripts exist of the Gospels as of the Pauline Epistles themselves shows that no theological idea of the canon, but practical needs, shaped the Bible.

Other peculiarities in the manuscripts: Cod. A has two epistles of Clement in the N. T.; Cod. Sinaiticus includes Barnabas and Hermas; Cod. G gives at the close at least the superscription (not the text) of the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

A stichometry given by Coutelier (*Patr. apost.*, I., *Præf. ad Barn.*), has the following peculiar catalogue: Genesis — Chronicles, Psalms, five books of Solomon, sixteen prophets, three books of Maccabees, Judith, Ezra, Esther, Job, Tobit, Gospels of Matthew, John, Mark, Luke, Epistles of Paul to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Colossians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Peter, James, 1, 2, and 3 John, Jude, Barnabas, Apocalypse, Acts, Hermas, Acts of Paul, Apocalypse of Peter. Exactly the same, with the omission of Chronicles, is also found in the *Cod. Claromontanus*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 468. In this catalogue the omission of Philippians and Thessalonians is doubtless only a clerical error, the designation of the Epistles of Peter *ad Petrum* the result of thoughtlessness, the

mention of the Epistle of Barnabas before the Apocalypse and the Acts a proof of African origin, inasmuch as we are doubtless to understand by it the Epistle to the Hebrews (Tert., *De pudic.*, ch. xx.); the last three numbers, however, point back to a date before the end of the fourth century. The canon of the ancient *Cod. Amiatinus* (§ 456) comes very near to that of our present Bible (only somewhat differently arranged in the O. T.); see Kaulen, *Gesch. d. Vulgata*, p. 217.

The more strange these catalogues are, the more do they show the slight theological and practical interest which attached to the matter, and it would be very incorrect to infer from it a great degree of independent judgment; these free utterances only show that orthodoxy was not looked after so sharply in the matter of the canon as in other things. The scientific doubts in reality no longer existed, but each writer plumed himself upon his reading and failed to attain historical accuracy at all, e. g., Thomas Aquinas, *Prol. in Ep. ad Hebr.*: *Sciendum est quod ante Synodum Nicenam quidam dubitarunt an ista ep. esset Pauli.*

329. But one would be greatly mistaken if he should suppose that in this age, amid the manifold other discussions of the scholastic theology, questions of this kind were taken up at all thoroughly. Dogma no longer depended upon the word of Scripture, but the latter upon the traditionally accepted interpretation. But it is to be expressly emphasized in a history of the canon that through the actual and practical use of the Scriptures in that age the theological conception of the canon, which had never been the prevailing one, was completely lost. The historical content of the Bible, as it was laid down in the books or preached to the people, was so permeated through and through with apocryphal additions that the critical question as to the source, or the theological judgment as to the historical value, was evidently subordinate to the edificatory purpose and the domination of taste. In like manner patristic glosses were mingled with the text as of equal value, at least for use. The properly doctrinal writings of the Bible disappeared from the Church almost entirely.

On Bible matters during the Middle Age, historical and metrical Bibles, annotated Bibles, see below, §§ 461 ff., 522 ff. E. Reuss, *Fragmens littéraires et critiques sur l'hist. de la Bible française*, 1852 (in the *Strassb. Revue de Théol.*, IV. 1 ff.). Almost every manuscript of a mediæval translation or recension gives peculiar proof of the fact that the distinction between canonical and apocryphal had vanished. See especially Ott, in Simler's *Samml.*, I. 3, p. 713 ff.; E. Reuss, in the *Strassb. Beiträge*, VI.

Theological testimonies of this period respecting the canon: Petr. Cluniac. († 1156), *Ep. 2, Bk. I.*: *Restant post hos authenticos S. S. ll. sex non reticendi libri* (Wisdom, Sirach, Tobit, Judith, Maccabees) *qui etsi ad illam sublimem præcedentium dignitatem pervenire non potuerunt propter laudabilem tamen et pernecessariam doctrinam ab ecclesia suscipi meruerunt.*—Hugo a S. Victore († 1141), *Elucid. de S. S.*, ch. vi.: *Omnes ergo sunt numero XXII. Sunt præterea alii quidam libri . . . qui leguntur quidem sed non scribuntur in canone.* He counts the N. T. eight books (four Gospels, Acts, Paul, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse). The Church Fathers have equal rank with those books which *non scribuntur in canone tamen leguntur.*—Richard a S. Victore

(† 1170), *Except.*, II. 9, repeats the same. John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres († 1182), *Ep. 172 ad Henric. Comit.*, says with respect to the divergent catalogues in Cassiodorus: *Sed hoc credatur an alterum nullum affert salutis dispendium . . . Quia ergo de numero librorum diversas patr. sententias lego, cath. eccl. doctorem Hieronymum sequens . . . probatissimum XXII. literas hebr. et libros V. T. . . credo.* The Apocrypha (among which also belongs The Shepherd, which he admits he never saw) *quia fidem et religionem edificant pie admissi sunt.* In the N. T., also, for the sake of completeness, he speaks of former doubts; the following is characteristic: *Quindecima que ecclesie Laodicensium scribitur, licet (ut ait Hieronymus) ab omnibus explodatur, tamen ab apostolo scripta est.* A gloss in the *Decret. Gratiani* (Pt. I., dist. 19, ch. 6) gives respecting the books found in the canon the following noteworthy definition: *Potest esse quod omnes recipiantur, non tamen quod omnes eadem veneratione habeantur.* All these remarks betray, not at all a critical interest in the matter, but the absence of any practical one. The same may be said of the texts of the Byzantine canonists, first collected by Credner (*Gesch. des Kanons*, 251 ff.), who contented themselves with determining the authorities which should decide in matters relating to the Bible, and left it to the theologians to adjust them one to another, a task which the latter doubtless took good care not to attempt.

The doggerel verses which Hugo de S. Caro († 1263) gives in his *Postille, Pref. in Josuam*, return to the Hebrew order of the books so far as the metre permits:—

*Quinque libros Moysi Josue Judicum Samuelem  
Et Malachim; tres præcipuos bis sexque prophetas,  
Hebræus reliquis censet præcellere libris.  
Quinque vocat Legem, reliquos vult esse prophetas.  
Post hagiographa sunt Daniel David Esther et Esdras  
Job Paralipomenon et tres libri Salamonis.  
Lex vetus his libris perfecte tota tenetur.  
Restant Apocrypha Jesus Sapiaentia Pastor  
Et Macchabæorum libri Judith atque Tobias.  
Hi quia sunt dubii sub canone non numerantur,  
Sed quia vera canunt ecclesia suscipit illos.*

Nicolaus a Lyra († 1340), § 541, in his *Postille*, also distinguishes very definitely two classes, after Jerome, and says of the books of the second, *non sunt de canone sed per consuetudinem romanæ ecclesie leguntur*, or even: *Hic liber est apocryphus* (e. g., 3 and 4 Esdras). Yet they stand in the editions in the usual order according to the arrangement of the Vulgate. — Some other mediæval quotations from Latin writers are collected by Diestel, *l. l.*, p. 180 f.

In the orient his contemporary Nicephorus Callisti (*Hist. eccl.*, II. 45 f.), designates twenty-seven books in the N. T. as canonical, even of them formerly *ἐν ἀμφιβόλοις*, but now everywhere accepted. (Therefore also the Apocalypse.) *Νόθα καὶ παρέγγραπτα* are various Petrine writings, the Acts of Paul, The Shepherd, Barnabas, Apost. Constitutions, Gospel of the Hebrews, etc. But the tenacity of custom is shown by the circumstance that even in printed copies (e. g., in a Bulgarian N. T., Moscow, 1602; see Körner, in *Weller's Altes aus allen Th. der Gesch.*, II. 809) the Apocalypse appears separated from the rest of the N. T. and placed behind a stout barricade of four leaves.

Of the same age perhaps are catalogues preserved in Syrian writers, which present no further variation from the long completed canon (LXX.). A peculiar note is found in Greg. Barhebræus, *Nomocanon*, in Mai, *Collect. nova Scr.*, X. 53; Judith immediately follows Ruth; after the three books of Maccabees a book of James (read Job), Psalms, etc. In the N. T. the Acts at the end, after the Apost. Constitutions. In notes he quotes Athanasius

against the Apocrypha and Esther, Dionysius Alex. against the Apocalypse, Origen on Hebrews.

It is noteworthy that in the manuscripts of the Bible of the later Middle Age (even in the German and Romance), as well as in printed Bibles before the time of Luther, the small apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans frequently appears, sometimes after Galatians, sometimes after Colossians or Thessalonians. Several theologians, in order to get rid of it, repeat the strange expedient of Gregory the Great (§ 328), or give a similar one; see Fabricius, *Codex apocr.*, I. 865. In pre-Lutheran German editions, *e. g.*, Nürnberg, 1483 and others, in the Bohemian version, in the Worms Bible, 1529, in Eck, 1530, in Dietenberger, 1534, and in the Commentary of Le Fèvre d'Étaples (§ 543) it stands likewise with the rest. A Dresden codex of the Vulgate places Hermas between Psalms and Proverbs (Anger, in the *Deutsch. morgenl. Zeitschr.*, 1851, p. 105).

330. The idea of the canon was not brought to the consciousness of the Church again until the religious movement which began to make itself felt and to exert its influence upon science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It again became necessary to dispute with heretics from the Scriptures, — and with those who had already abandoned the church doctrine on this very point. Here and there the people began to get hold of the Bible, and in spite of all hindrances laid in the way, it could not be but that, as God's word, it should be more sharply separated from all additions and restored to its proper completeness and purity. The age brought certain books, as the Apocalypse with the fanatics, Canticles with the mystics, into prominence, and caused others to be less regarded; but the attempt of Protestants to prove that their views of the canon were already current among the Waldensians, and at a time when the latter were not yet in existence at all, is based upon error, if not upon fraud.

The Cathari (Albigenses, etc.), in southern France and upper Italy (see especially C. Schmidt, *Hist. des Cathares*, 1849, 2 vols.; idem, in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, I. 85 ff.; and the Church historians in general, especially Gieseler, II. 2; 4th ed. 552 ff., [Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, IV. 565 ff., Torrey's translation]), had literal translations of the N. T. at least, and partially rejected the Old: —

*Acta concil. Lumb.*, A. D. 1165, in Mansi, XXII. 159: *Responderunt coram omni multitudine quia non recipiebant legem Moysis neque prophetas neque psalmos nec V. T. nisi solummodo evangelia epp. Pauli et VII. canonicas epp. actusque app. et apocalypsin.* Petrus Monachus, in Duchesne, *Scriptt.*, V. 556: *Novum Test. benigno deo Vetus vero maligno attribuebant et illud omnino repudiabant preter quasdam auctoritates (quotations) quæ de Vet. Testam. Novo sunt insertæ quas ob Novi reverentiam recipere dignum aestimabant.* — Reimerius, *Summa de Catharis*, in Martene, *Thes.*, V. p. 1769: *item quod diabolus fuit auctor totius V. T. exceptis his libris: (Job, Psalms, the five books of Solomon, and sixteen prophets) quorum quosdam dicunt esse scriptos in cælo, illos scilicet qui fuerunt scripti ante destructionem Jerusalem quam dicunt fuisse cælestem;* p. 1772: *J. de Lugio (e. 1230) recipit totam biblicam sed putat eam scriptam in altero mundo.* Cf. also D'Argentré, *Collectio judic.*, I. 43 ff.; Moneta, *Summa adv. Cath.*, Rome, 1743, Bk. I. *passim*; *Disputatio inter catholicum et Paterinum hæreticum*, in Martene, V. 1703 ff. These witnessings are contradictory, probably the doctrinal opinions of the time also.

The only extant Catharic N. T. (§ 465) places the Apocalypse immediately after the Acts, Paul last, and after Colossians the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans. The Cathari had other Apocrypha besides a John (*Unsch. Nachr.*, 1734, p. 703; Thilo, *Codex*, p. 884), which Nazarius brought from Bulgaria to the Cathari of Concorezzo before 1200 A. D., and the *Visio Jesajæ*: Moneta, p. 218: *Dicunt prophetas bonos fuisse, aliquando autem omnes damnabant preter Isajam, cujus dicunt esse quendam libellum in quo habetur quod Sp. Isajæ raptus in corpore usque ad VII. cælum ductus est, in quo vidit et audivit quedam arcana quibus vehementissime imituntur.*

Of the canon of the Waldensians we have only to say here that the current opinion that they knew how carefully to separate the Apocrypha of the O. T. from the canonical books is based upon a creed said to have been composed in 1120, but certainly edited not earlier than 1532, possibly intentionally dated back by a later author, and is in point of fact false. The spuriousness of the document and its later origin are shown, among others, by J. J. Herzog, *De origine Waldens.*, Hal. 1848, p. 40, and in the *Revue de Théol.*, Str. 1850, I. 334; on the canon (in which, after the Hebrew manner, the two books of Samuel are separated from Kings, and precisely the same thing is meant by the Apocrypha as among Protestants: *Li libres apocryphes li qual non son pas recepu de li hebríos mas nos li legen, enaïna dis Hierone al prologe de li proverbi, per lenseignement del poble non pas per confermar lauthorita de las doctrinas ecclesiasticas*) see E. Reuss, *Revue de Théol.*, Str. 1850, II. 327. The language of this document is not that of the twelfth century but that of the sixteenth. Of the four copies of the Waldensian N. T. thus far known two contain also Wisdom and Sirach. Cf. § 465.

331. The fifteenth century, much as it was occupied with church affairs, brought no innovation in this particular question. Its efforts were directed toward more practical matters than the canon. Only a few theologians directed their attention to this subject, or more correctly speaking, ventured independent judgments on particular biblical books; but this was not until the spirit of the Reformation had already broken its fetters. Where that did not strike root such freedom could neither go very deep nor long continue. These doubts, whether from critical incompetence or from policy, were ascribed to Jerome, beyond whom historical investigation did not venture to penetrate. Moreover it should not be forgotten that that age had a mighty problem in the solution of which even the keenest criticism of the canon would not have aided it. And even this was an advance, that by means of the first printed editions of the Bible, especially the Latin and German, the conception of the canon as opposed to ordinary literature came again more clearly into the consciousness of the world as well as of the school.

Cf. below, § 468 ff.

Conformably to the Council of Florence, Eugene IV. published in 1441 a catalogue of the canonical books, which entirely agrees with the later Tridentine canon (§ 336; Harduinus, *Acta conc.*, IX. 1023), and this is properly the first official utterance of the Roman see upon this matter.

Alphons. Tostatus († 1455), *Pref. quæst. 1 in Scr.*: *Alii autem sunt libri qui ad S. S. pertinent qui in canone non sunt, sed quartum locum obtinent . . . hos*

*apocr. loco censent. Quanquam horum doctrina ad convincendum . . . minus idonea sit, et auctoritas non ita ut ceterorum solida, s. tamen Eccl. etsi prioribus minorem, eis tamen auctoritatem accomodat.* Dionys. Carthus. († 1471), *Prol. in Sir.*: *Liber iste non est de canone quanquam de ejus veritate non dubitatur.* — Thus is continually kept up the contradiction of separation in theory and mingling in practice, from which the Church could at last escape in scarcely any other way than it did at Trent.

J. L. Vives († 1540), *Ad Augustin. de civit. dei xvi. 22: Hieronymus, Originus, Augustinus et alii veterum de hoc (ep. ad Hebræos auctore) ambigunt; ante ætatem Hieronymi a Latinis ea epistola recepta non erat inter sacras.*

Tho. de Vio Cajetanus, Cardinal († 1534), *Proœm. ad Ep. ad Hebr.* (fol. 374, ed. Lyons, 1536): *De auctore hujus ep. certum est communem usum ecclesie et doctorum nominare Paulum, Hieronymus tamen . . . non audet affirmare, etc., etc.* *Et quoniam Hieronymum sortiti sumus regulam ne erremus in discretionem libb. can. (nam quos ille canonicos tradidit canonicos habemus, etc.) ideo dubio apud Hier. auctore ep. existente dubia quoque redditur ep. quoniam nisi sit Pauli non perspicuum est esse canonicam.* (Then follow internal evidences against Paul.) *Nos tamen loquentes ut plures Paulum auctorem nominabimus. Ibid., fol. 410, Proœm. in ep. Jacobi: Non est usquequaque certum an ep. hæc sit Jacobi fratris domini; dicente Hieronymo, etc.* (then internal evidences), *ex quibus minus certus redditur auctor.* — Fol. 454: similar statements respecting 2 and 3 John: *propterea ambo minoris auctoritatis sunt.* The same, word for word, of Jude, fol. 455. Only 2 Peter is defended against Jerome, because he finds in him in this case no tradition, but only a subjective judgment. Perhaps also because there was no possibility of supplanting the author named except by decisive rejection of the work from the first class. — On the Apocrypha of the O. T. he agrees entirely with Jerome, but *possunt dici canonici i. e. regulares, ad ædificationem fidelium.*

Erasmus, *Declar. ad censur. fac. theol. paris., Opp., IX. 864: Juxta sensum humanum nec credo ep. ad Hebr. esse Pauli aut Lucæ, nec secundam Petri esse Petri, nec Apocalypsin esse Joannis ap., . . .* yet he asks whether the Church regards not merely the contents of these books as canonical *an etiam receperit titulos.* *Id si est damno dubitationem meam . . . plus apud me valet expressum ecclesie judicium quam ullæ rationes humane.* *Idem, Supput. error. Beddæ, Opp., IX. 594: Scripsi semper fuisse dubitatum, non scripsi ab omnibus dubitatum . . . et ipse, ut ingenuè fatear, adhuc dubito, non de auctoritate, sed de auctore (ep. ad Hebr.), etc.* Also from internal evidence, cf. his *Annot. in N. T.*, at the close of each of the disputed books, also of the Apocalypse.

This desire for criticism, shy as it was, was soon checked. The Sorbonne declared (D'Argentré, *Collect. Judic.*, II. 52): *Jam non est fas Christiano de illis dubitare.* Concil. Senonense, A. D. 1528, decr. 4 (Harduin., IX. 1939): *In enumerandis canonicæ scr. libris qui præscriptum ecclesie usum non sequitur, Carthaginensæ conc. III. Innocentiæ et Gelasii decreta, et denique definitum a ss. patribus librorum catalogum respuit . . . is veluti schismaticus et hereseon omnium inventor . . . reprimatur.*

332. But this idea was suddenly brought by the Reformation into the foreground of theological discussion. In breaking with Rome and ecclesiastical tradition upon the doctrine which was recognized as the fundamental idea of the Gospel, the Bible was also declared to be independent of tradition, and its authority based, objectively, upon its origin, once for all established, and its divine inspiration; subjectively, simply upon the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the soul of the believer. So especially Calvin and his school; Luther more def-

initely and positively, placing at the foundation the doctrine of the grace of God in Christ, regarded as the norm and rule. According to this the Church had no need or right to select the books or to collect them. A view which at the first was in the most beautiful harmony with the whole spirit of the reform movement; but which at once proved itself insufficient when theology, with its cool and sober intelligence, took that movement under its discipline and protection.

The conception of the Lutheran reformers of Scripture as the rule of faith, though from the first moment of the movement everywhere clearly declared, was not expressly formulated in the confessions until late. *Form. Concord. Epit.*, p. 570: *Credimus . . . unicam regulam et normam secundum quam omnia dogmata omnesque doctores aestimari et judicari oporteat nullam omnino aliam esse quam prophetica et apostolica scripta V. et N. T. . . . Reliqua vero sive Patrum sive neotericorum scripta, quocumque veniant nomine (expressly also official creeds), sacris literis nequaquam sunt equiparanda sed universa illis ita subjicienda sunt ut alia ratione non recipiantur, nisi testium loco qui doceant quod etiam post apostolorum tempora . . . doctrina sincerior conservata sit.*

The same, and even earlier, among the Reformed, with decisive rejection of the claims of the Church as a higher, normative authority, *Conf. Helv. I.*, ch. 1: *Scriptura canonica, verbum Dei Sp. S. traditum et per prophetas apostolosque mundo propositum, omnium perfectissima et absolutissima philosophia, pietatem omnem, omnem vite rationem sola perfecte continet. Conf. Helv. II.*, ch. 1: *Credimus SS. canonicas ss. prophetarum et App. utriusque Test. ipsum verum esse verbum Dei et auctoritatem sufficientem ex semet ipsis non ex hominibus habere. . . . Et in hac Scr. s. habet ecclesia plenissime exposita quaecumque pertinent cum ad salvificam fidem tum ad vitam Deo piacentem recte informandam, etc. Conf. Gall.*, 5: *Credimus verbum his libris comprehensum ab uno Deo esse profectum, quo etiam uno, non autem hominibus, nititur ipsius auctoritas. Cumque hæc sit omnis veritatis summa, complectens quidquid ad cultum Dei et salutem nostram requiritur, neque hominibus, neque ipsis etiam angelis fas esse dicimus quidquam ei verbo adjicere vel detrudere vel in eo immutare. Cf. Conf. Scot.*, art. 18, 19; *Conf. Belg.*, art. 7; *Conf. tetrapol.*, art. 1; *Declar. Thorun.*, II. 1, etc. But especially, because earlier and authoritative, Calvin, *Inst.*, ch. i. § 21 ff.; later editions, Bk. I., ch. vii.; Zwingli, *Opp.*, ed. Schuler, I. 195 f. See also W. Museumus, *Loci Comm.*, Bas. 1560, p. 228; P. Vermilius, *Loci Comm.*, Cl. III., Bk. III., § 3: *Non est verum quod assumunt, scripturam habere auctoritatem ab ecclesia; eius enim firmitas a deo pendet, non ab hominibus, et prius est verbum, ac quidem firmum ac certum, quam ecclesia. Nam ecclesia per verbum vocata fuit, et Sp. dei agit in cordibus audientium verbum et illud legentium, ut agnoscerent non esse humanum sermonem sed prorsus divinum. A Spiritu itaque accessit auctoritas Dei, non ab ecclesia. Cf. Bk. VI.*, §§ 5, 8. P. Viret, *De vero verbi dei ministerio*, Bk. I., ch. v.

Yet this standpoint was still foreign to some circles: *Conf. Bohem.*, art. 1: *Docent scripturas ss. quæ in bibliis continentur, et a patribus recepte auctoritate canonice donate sunt, pro veris habendas, etc. Conf. Angl.*, art. 6: *Sacræ Scr. nomine eos canonicos V. et N. T. libros intelligimus de quorum auctoritate in ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.*

More extended attempts at a definition of canonicity are made only in some Reformed symbols: *Conf. Belg.*, 4: *Libri canonici sunt quibus nihil opponi potest (by which it is meant to express their absolute authority, not the grounds of it); ibidem*, 5: *Hosce libros solos pro canonicis recipimus. . . non tam quod ecclesia eos pro huiusmodi recipiat et approbet, quam in primis quod*



*Sp. S. in cordibus nostris testatur a Deo perfectos esse comprobationemque in se ipsis habeant. Conf. Gall., 4: Hosce libros agnoscimus esse canonicos . . . non tantum ex communi ecclesie consensu sed etiam multo magis ex testimonio et intrinseca Sp. S. persuasione ; quo suggerente docemur illos ab aliis ll. ecclesiasticis discernere. . .* The preference is here everywhere given to the dogmatic grounds of decision over the traditional ; true, only in theory, and that with reference to the inner testimony of the Spirit, in a way insufficient, even dangerous, for the safety and stability of the canon. But it is to be remembered that here, as often in the world, theory and practice did not always go together (§§ 333, 335).

Yet this danger was avoided, at least in the consciousness of theologians, by the principle of the *analogia fidei*, i. e., by the fact that the Reformation was based much less upon the formal principle of the authority of Scripture than upon the material principle of justification by faith, an article which not only in general constituted the rule of all doctrine and criticism, but also in particular decided questions of canonicity and soon those of interpretation as well. In the Reformed theology this is less evident because Calvin and his followers were less strict in the application of it to the particular books, (§ 335) ; Luther, on the contrary, carried it out to the extreme so very consistently that he in reality overthrew the old canon : Luther's *Vorrede zum N. T. : Summa, St. Johannis Evangelii und sein erste Ep., St. Paulus Epistel, sonderlich die zu den Röm. Gal. und Eph. und St. Peters erste Epistel, das sind die Bücher die dir Christum zeigen und alles leren das dir zu wissen nott und selig ist ob du schon kein ander Buch noch lere nymmer sehest noch hörest. — Vorrede auf Ep. Jacobi: Auch ist das der rechte prüffestein alle Bücher zu tadeln wenn man sihet ob sie Christum treiben oder nit . . . was Christum nicht leret, das ist nit apostolisch, wens gleich Petrus oder Paulus leret, widerumb was Christum predigt das ist apostolisch, wens gleich Judas Annas Pilatus oder Herodes thet.*

On the Protestant view of the relation of Scripture to faith see also the writings of Sack, etc., cited in § 290. Especially, however : H. J. Holtzmann, *Kanon und Tradition, ein Beitrag zur neuern Dogmengeschichte und Symbolik*, Ludw. 1859. For this and the following sections see especially my *Hist. du Canon*, ch. xvi. f.

333. For it should not be forgotten that the leaders in the great work of the Reformation properly entered into independent criticism of existing opinions only in those doctrines which were closely connected with the fundamental article of Protestantism, justification by faith. In other matters there was no thought even of a thorough investigation of tradition. In the Old Testament the Reformers went back to the Hebrew canon, principally, doubtless, because Christ and the Apostles gave no testimony to the books of the Greek appendix, although the judgment of the ancient Fathers may have been of some weight also. But although they denied to the so-called apocryphal books all dogmatic authority, they retained them as useful for edification, and all Protestant translations of the Bible contained them, though carefully separated from the other writings.

*Centur. Magd., I. 451, ed. Semler : Etsi numerus ll. authenticorum V. T. ab App. nominatim non est expressus, tamen haud obscure ex citationibus conjectari potest quod eos pro certis et probatis habuerint de quibus antiquitas judaica*

*nunquam dubitavit.* Then follows (also I. 29) a catalogue, in which, perhaps not without design, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and some other historical books are omitted.

Ecolampadius, *Ep. ad Valdenses*, A. D. 1530, in Scultet., *Annal. ev.*, II. 313 : . . . *Judith, Tob. Eccles. Bar. duos ultimos Esdre tres Maccab. duo capp. ultima Danielis non contemnimus, sed non divinam cum ceteris illis auctoritatem damus.*

*Conf. Helv. II., 1 : Interim nihil dissimulamus quosdam V. T. libros a veteribus nuncupatos esse apocryphos, ab aliis ecclesiasticos, utpote quos in eccl. legi voluerunt quidem, non tamen proferrī ad auctoritatem fidei confirmandam. Conf. Gall., 4 : Libri ecclesiastici. . . qui ut sint utiles, non sunt tamen ejusmodi ut ex iis constitui possit aliquis fidei articulus. Conf. Angl., 6 : Alios autem libros, ut ait Hieronymus, legū quidem ecclesia ad exempla vite et formandos mores, illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet* (then follows a catalogue of the O. T. Apocrypha). *Conf. Belg., 6 : Differentiam constituimus inter ll. ss. et apocryphos, qui sunt. . . (catalogue), quos quidem ecclesia legere et ex iis documenta de rebus cum ll. canon. consentientibus desumere potest. At nequaquam ea ipsorum vis et auctoritas est, ut ex ullo ipsorum testimonio aliquod dogma de fide certo constitui possit. Declar. Thorun., II. 1 : Libri illi qui non in hebræo V. T. canone sed tantum in græco textu habentur sunt apocryphi et divino canoni accenseri non debent, etsi utiliter ad adif. eccl. legi possunt. Conf. Vald. see § 330.*

In the editions the Apocrypha have a place by themselves from the first : *Dis sind die Bücher die bey den alten vnder bibl. Geschrift nit gezählt sind, auch bei den Ebreern nit gefunden* (Zür. 1529 ff.), to which is added, *jedoch bewerdet nützlich und in hohem Brauch* (Strassb. 1530) ; *Apocrypha das sind Bücher so nicht der h. S. gleich gehalten vnd doch nützlich vnd gut zu lesen sind* (Witt. 1534), etc. Among the French, on the contrary, longer notices, at first in the apologetic spirit, even defending their inspiration : *Puis donq que tous ont une mesme source et saine racine, pour une resecation qu'en ont faite les Juifs, ne laisse de les lire et en prendre doctrine et edification* (still in the edition of Lyons, 1551). On the contrary in the Geneva editions expressly : *Ces livres qu'on appelle apocryphes ont esté de tout temps discernés d'avec ceux qu'on tenoit sans difficulté estre de l'Escriture sainte. . . on les doit tenir pour escritures privées et non pas autentiques. . . il est vray qu'ils ne sont pas à mépriser. . . toutesfois c'est bien raison que ce qui nous a esté donné par le S. Esprit ait préminence sur ce qui est des hommes.* (Calvin, *Opp.*, IX. 823.) And since 1588 : *Ce ne sont pas livres divinement inspirés comme le reste des s. Escritures, mais qu'estans de particuliere declaration ils ne doivent point estre receus ou produits publiquement en l'Eglise comme pour servir de reigle aux articles de nostre foy. Toutefois on peut s'en servir en particulier pour en tirer instruction, etc.*

The progressive development of Protestant science in the direction of a strict orthodoxy naturally and necessarily widened the breach between these Apocrypha and the Bible. Voices were early raised against their acceptance, even with the above qualifications, especially in the Reformed Church ; yet the power of custom still conquered, even at Dordrecht, in 1618. See Schweizer, in Niedner's *Zeitschr.*, 1854, p. 645, and the last note under § 340. Their retention in the collection was certainly an inconsistency, but their exclusion also was evidently not accomplished upon the basis of the testimony of the Spirit, but in accordance with purely historical facts and reasons.

The Apocrypha are not the same in all editions, especially as respects Esdras and Maccabees ; the folio editions, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (especially the *Berleburger Bibel*) are the richest.

Controversy upon the subject with the Catholic Church : Chemnitz, *Examen conc. trid.*, I. 66 ff. (ed. 1707) ; J. Rainold, *Censura ll. apocr. V. T.*,

Oppenh. 1611 ; A. Hunnius, *Dica pontificiis scripta ob falsi crimen in SS.*, Vit. 1622 ; C. Kortholt, *De libris apocr. V. T.*, Rost. 1664 ; *Tractatus de canone S. S.*, Kil. 1669 ; G. Wernsdorf, *Quod. l. Sap. et Eccl. pro canonicis non sint habendi*, Vit. 1728 ; H. Benzel, *De ll. V. T. apocryphis*, Lund. 1733 ; cf. Baumgarten, *Polemik*, III. 65 ff. ; Augusti, *Ueber die Verschiedenheit der kirchlichen Grundsätze in Absicht auf Werth und Gebrauch der Apokryphen*, Bresl. 1816.

Catholic defenses, § 337.

[On the relation of the apocryphal books to the Canon, and their right to a secondary place in the Bible, see, on the purist side, Keerl, *Die Apokryphen des A. T.*, 1852, a prize essay ; also *Die Apokryphenfrage aufs Neue beleuchtet*, 1855 ; C. E. Stowe, *The Apocryphal Books of the O. T., and the Reasons for their Exclusion from the Canon*, in the *Bib. Sac.*, Apr. 1854 ; Horne's *Introduction*, I. On the other side, Stier, *Die Apokryphen*, 1853 ; *Letztes Wort über die Apokryphen*, 1855 ; especially Bleek, *Ueber die Stellung der Apok. des A. T. im christl. Kanon*, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1853, pp. 267-354.]

The O. T. in general (*vetus contrarium novo non est*, *Conf. Angl.*, 7. Cf. § 547) has no subordinate rank in the Protestant Church. (Only the Socinians depart essentially from this principle : *Utilis lectio V. T. non necessaria*, Socinus, *De autor. S. S.*, ch. 1.) For it is retained not on account of its historico-ecclesiastical and ethical contents, but on account of its theological, prophetic connection with the New Testament, and from this point of view forms an integral part of permanently valid revelation. Yet Luther develops the thought of *Jn. i. 17* greatly to the disparagement of Moses (*Deutsche Werke*, Erlangen, XLVII. 357).

334. With respect to the canon of the New Testament, the Reformers could exercise still greater liberty of judgment, since here there was no sacred biblical authority to settle the question outright. But while Luther himself, in bold reliance upon the inner power of the Gospel, ruled the letter in accordance with it, his pupils did not venture to follow him fully. The investigation of the canon as a wholly open question did not lie within the range of their scientific powers or of their theological interest or field of view ; that which was current passed as such with them also, and it is really to be wondered at that, as a whole, they went back of decisive tradition to that which admitted its own defectiveness, that is to say, to the Homologoumena of the fourth century. In this way, at first giving to the historical facts their due weight without reserve, soon however with less and less controversial energy, they came again, after a few decades, to precisely the position which their master, who dissented just at this point, had once abandoned as untenable.

Luther placed the Epistles to the Hebrews, of James and Jude, and the Revelation at the end of the N. T. (Preface : *Bisher haben wir die rechten gewissen Hauptbücher des N. T. gehabt, diese vier nachf. aber haben vor Zeyten ein ander Ansehn gehabt*), and distinguished them in the index of his editions by the type from the other twenty-three, which alone were figured there. He urged against the four last in part internal critical considerations and the weight of ancient opposition, but in part also dogmatic prejudices.

(Preface to Hebrews : *Sy hat einen harten knoten dass sie C. vi. und x. den sündern die buss versagt nach der Taufe ; James : Auffß erst sy stracks wider St. Paulon und alle ander geschriff den werken die gerechtigkeit gibt. . . auffß ander dass sy will Christenleut lehren und nicht einmal des leydens (etc.) Christi gedenkt. Dieser Iacobus thut nicht mehr denn treibet zu dem Gesetz. . . . Jude : Eine unnöthige Ep. unter die Hauptbücher zu rechnen die d. Glaubens Grund legen sollen. Revelation : Mein Geist kann sich in das Buch nicht schicken und ist mir die Ursach genug das ich sein nicht hoch achte dass Christus drinnen weiler geleret noch erkannt wird. . . .)* The preface to the Revelation is much modified in later editions, because meanwhile the Lutheran party had found in the book a useful weapon for controversial use. Cf. Corrodi, *Beiträge*, 17, 37. Luther's opinions are collected and commented on at length, but one-sidedly, in Krause's *Opp.*, p. 199 ff. (§ 580). Luther's prefaces should be sought for, by those who cannot gain access to a genuine ancient Bible, in Walch, Vol. XIV., or *Deutsche WW.*, Erlangen, LXIII., not in the superficial special editions mutilated by pious societies (e. g. Stuttg. 1841). Luther was perfectly conscious of the subjective character of his judgments and "*will niemanden wehren davon zu halten was ihm sein Geist gibt.*" Moreover he is always careful to lay stress upon whatever can be said in commendation (especially in respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews). Also similar objections to certain things in the O. T., especially in the Table Talks (*Deutsche WW.*, Erlangen, LXII. 128 ff.; also LXIII. 35 ff.). That Luther in his later years became more conservative in many things is well known; but on this point he made no real step backward. (M. Schwalb, *Luther, ses opinions religieuses pendant la première période de la réformation*, Str. 1866.)

Luther's critical views have since been abandoned (see especially § 339 f.), but all the editions of the German Bible are still based upon them and the Halle Orphanage (§ 406) has even remodeled the Greek canon in accordance with them.

With similar views followed Melancthon (in various passages of his apologetic works, but in a much milder and more cautious tone), Brentz (*Apol. confess. Wirtemb.*, p. 824, seven antilegomena), the *Centuries* (I. 452, seven antilegomena, of which Hebrews, James, and Jude are rejected); Flacius, *Clav. S. S.*, II. 1. p. 46 (has seven *libri dubii* in the N. T.); U. Regius, *Int. locc. comm.*, p. 42 (agrees with Luther).

A. Bodenstern, of Carlstadt, *De canon. scripturis*, Vit. 1520, 4° (printed in Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, pp. 291-412; also in a German abridgment, *Welche Bucher Biblisch seint*, Witt. 1520), follows a path altogether his own. His work was not only the first complete exposition of the Protestant principle of the Scriptures in opposition to the Catholic doctrine of tradition, but at the same time the first and almost the only attempt to determine the canonicity of the sacred books individually. Building upon Augustine and Jerome and a comparison of the two, but at the same time criticising Luther severely on account of his purely subjective judgment (*Si fas est vel parvum vel magnum facere quod placet, futurum erit auctoritates librorum e nostra pendere facultate*, p. 390, Credner), he divides the sacred writings into three orders: (1) *libri summæ dignitatis*: Pentateuch (though not written by Moses himself), and Gospels; (2) *libri secundæ dignitatis*: the Prophets so called by the Jews and the fifteen acknowledged epistles; (3) *libri tertie et infimæ auctoritatis et celebritatis*: the Jewish Hagiographa and seven antilegomena of the N. T. — Also, two classes among the O. T. Apocrypha: *Extra canonem, tamen agiographi*: Wisdom, Sirach, Tobit, Judith, Maccabees; to be altogether rejected: 3 and 4 Esdras, Baruch, Manasseh, Daniel. — E. Nied, *Essai sur la vie de C.*, Str. 1854.

335. In the schools which were under the influence of Cal-

vin the testimony of ancient history likewise had weight for a time and to a certain degree, though less lasting and less insisted upon. At the same time the conception of canonicity, especially with reference to the apostolic dignity of the writers, was considerably broadened, so that results of criticism, even when negative, were of less importance, and the comparison of the contents of Scripture with the principle of faith was carried through with a more discreet exercise of acumen. Yet the confessions of the English, French, and Dutch Protestants expressly accepted, in the New Testament, the complete canon of the Catholic Church, doubtless in order to avoid the appearance of desiring arbitrarily to narrow the ground upon which the structure of their own church was to be erected; while all the symbols of the Lutherans, as well as those of the Reformed in other countries, left the question of the canonicity of the individual writings undecided.

Even earlier, Ecolampadius, *l. c.* (§ 333): *In N. T. IV. evv. cum Actis app. et XIV. epp. P. et VII. cathol. una cum apocalypsi recipimus, tametsi apocalypsin cum ep. Jac. et Jud. et ultima Petri et duabus posterioribus Joannis non cum cæteris conferamus.* Similarly Bucer, *Enarr. in evv.*, fol. 20. Zwingli, *De clar. verbi dei*, p. 310: *Apocal. liber prorsus non sapit os et ingenium Joannis. Possum ergo testimonia citata si velim rejicere.* The same author declares (*Werke*, II. 1, p. 169): *Us Apocalypsi nemend wir kein Kundschaft an, denn es nit ein bibl. Buch ist.*

Calvin (in his Commentary) finds no fault with James and Jude; of Hebrews he says: *Ego ut Paulum auctorem agnoscam adduci nequeo;* of 2 Peter: *Sunt aliquot probabiles conjecturæ ex quibus colligere licet alterius esse potius quam Petri,* yet guards himself here and there against any inference unfavorable to the Epistle; he passes over 2 and 3 John and the Apocalypse in complete silence, though he often quotes the last in his Dogmatics as a canonical writing. He ascribes the Second Epistle of Peter to a pupil of the Apostle, and the order of the Catholic Epistles in his commentary is as follows: 1 Peter, 1 John, James, 2 Peter, Jude. He makes great use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but carefully distinguishes it from the Pauline Epistles (*Opp.*, II. 374, 866, 960, etc.). Only in his very earliest writings does he follow tradition (*Opp.*, I. 57; V. 180, 201).

W. Musculus (*Loci comment.*, p. 221): *Mecæ modestiæ non est ut de illis pronunciam, sintne eorum sub quorum nominibus extant, vel secus. Iudicia tamen veterum hoc efficiunt ut minus sim illis quam cæteris scripturis astrictus, licet haud facile quevis damnanda censeam quæ in illis leguntur.*

Conf. Belg. art. 4 has a complete catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testaments (containing fourteen epistles of Paul). Conf. Gall. art. 3 likewise, but the Epistle to the Hebrews separated from the Pauline Epistles and without the name of the author. Conf. Angl. art. 6 gives a list of the O. T. alone, and says *N. T. libros omnes ut vulgo recepti sunt recipimus.* All this simply shows that they did not find the fundamental principle of the Protestant faith anywhere endangered or encroached upon in these writings, as Luther thought.

Conf. Helv. II., ch. xi.: *Damnamus judaica somnia quod ante judicium diem aureum in terris sit futurum seculum et pii regna mundi occupaturi oppressis suis hostibus impiis.* How the canonicity of the Apocalypse consists with this is not explained, although it is elsewhere quoted. Exegesis helped over the difficulties.

In the Lutheran symbols the Revelation of John is quoted but once, not doctrinally, the Epistle of James sometimes by way of explanation, that to the Hebrews never as Pauline. The single *Confessio Wirtembergica* says, p. 540 : *Sacram scripturam vocamus eos canonicos libros V. et N. T. de quorum autoritate in eccl. nunquam dubitatum est* ; but even this excludes the Antilegomena, as is evident from the authentic declaration of Brentz (§ 334).

336. Perhaps the freer procedure of the Protestants in these investigations might have led Catholic theologians to imitate them, especially since they were really the first to set the example, and were apparently not so much hampered by the fundamental principle of their Church, had not the Council of Trent put an end to all discussion of the canon. This assembly, exactly after the manner of the Synod of Carthage, made church use the ground of decision as to canonicity, and anathematized those who would not accept as sacred all the books contained in the common Latin version, and in the same form and extent. The interest which they had in securing for this version equal rank with the original text may have been an additional motive for this decree, which moreover did not pass without opposition.

*Concil. Trident., Session IV. (Apr. 8th, 1546) : SS. synodus . . . omnes libros tam V. quam N. T. . . . nec non traditiones ipsas tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes . . . vel a Christo vel a Sp. S. dictatas et continua successione in ecclesia cath. conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.* Then follows the catalogue of the books as they stand in the ordinary editions of the Vulgate (Ezra but once, Tobit and Judith before Esther, Wisdom and Sirach after Canticles, Baruch with Jeremiah ; at the end of the O. T. only two books of Maccabees ; in the N. T. fourteen epistles of Paul, Hebrews last ; then the Catholic Epistles, among which Peter has the first place, James the third) : *Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in eccl. cath. legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . anathema sit.*

On the authority here accorded to the Vulgate in comparison with the original text, see § 481.

Even at the council opinions were divided in the deliberation on the question ; see Sarpi, *Hist. du Concil. de Trente* (Basle edition, 1738), I., 271 ff. Some desired a separation of the Homologoumena and Antilegomena ; others would place beside them a third class, consisting of the Apocrypha of the O. T. Still others wished simply a catalogue of all current books without dogmatic declaration. Sarpi himself blames the council for its decree. Cf. also Pallavicini, *Istoria del Conc. d. Trento*, Bk. VI., ch. 2.

337. Thus the decrees of Trent, for the Romish Church, with respect to the stability of the canon, put fetters upon science which it was never after able to throw off, scarcely to loosen. Moreover, in view of the peculiar method of establishing religious instruction in this Church, it is a question whether a change of views, if it had taken place, would ever have been able to extend itself outside the narrow field of learned research into the broader one of theological use. This

state of things has continued down to the present day. The history of the canon for this Church was closed at this time, unless perhaps one may wish to mention some isolated and as it were clandestine attempts, whose object was to restore, for the benefit of the Old Testament Apocrypha, the ancient class of deutero-canonical writings. Freer views, or fundamental doubts respecting other parts of the canon are from this time on properly heresies, and have probably only occurred where the strict conception of Catholicism had itself suffered from the influence of the spirit of the age.

Sixtus Senensis, *Biblioth. sancta*, 1566, Bk. I., p. 1, distinguishes the Scriptures into *libri canonici primi et secundi ordinis*; the latter, *ecclesiastici, deutero-canonicali, de quibus aliquando fuit inter catholicos sententia anceps*, namely, Esther, the usual O. T. Apocrypha, Mk. xvi. 9–20, Lk. xxii. 43, 44, Jn. viii. 1–11, and the seven Antilegomena of the N. T.; *alique ejusdem generis libri quos prisca patres tanquam apocryphos habuerunt . . . deinde apud omnes fideles recitari concesserunt ad populi instructionem . . . demum inter SS. irrefragabilis auctoritatis assumi voluerunt*. They are afterward described and defended individually, but separately from the first class. In a third uncanonical class he places Manasseh, passages in Esther, 3 and 4 Esdras, 3 and 4 Maccabees, Psalm cii. — (Books VII. and VIII. of the work enumerate the errors of others respecting the Scriptures.)

The same is repeated by Bellarmine, *De verbo Dei*, Bk. I.; Antonius a Matre Dei, *Preludia ad S. S. intell.*, 1670, p. 85; the Oratorian B. Lamy, *Appar. bibl.*, 1696, p. 334. The latter, however, clearly has a low opinion of the *libri deutero-canonicali*; the Tridentine decree did not make the separation *quod aliunde notum esse poterat viris doctis*.

Jahn also (*Einkl. ins A. T.*, 1802, I. 140 f., *Introd. in ll. V. F.*, p. 45) finds *discrimen librorum nequaquam esse sublatum* by the decrees of councils.

J. B. Glaire (*Introd. aux ll. de l'A. et du N. T.*, Paris, 1843, I. p. 79 ff.), repeats the division of Sixtus Senensis entire, with all its dogmatic consequences. See also Scholz, *Einkl.*, 1845, I. 263.

According to L. E. Du Pin (*Dissert. prélim.*, 1701, I. 1, § 6), no doubt can be longer maintained after the action at Trent, yet he himself emphasizes very strongly the conceivable doubts, and has no better answer to give to them than this: *Quoiqu' il ne se fasse plus de nouvelles révélations à l'Église, elle peut après bien du temps être plus assurée de la vérité d'un ouvrage qu'elle ne l'était auparavant*. — From that time on both the Protestant Church (§ 340) and the Catholic held pretty closely to the conclusion *deutero-canonicalis fuisse donec ecclesie judicio dubia sublata sint*. Cf. also M. Gerbert, *Princ. theol. exeg.*, p. 101.

It is not to be overlooked that neither to the patristic scholarship of the Benedictines nor to the critical acumen of R. Simon is the history of the canon a scientific or an attractive problem. This is only intelligible when it is remembered that the historic facts, which ought to have been tested by evidence and records, had already become an article of faith and been placed under the sanction of anathemas. Only very indirectly, by the investigation of the text, and especially by his methods, tolerably independent of theological theories, the latter prepared the way for later investigations of the history of the canon.

But that the fathers at Trent did not intend to countenance either the one or the other of those views which endangered the complete equality of all the books has been conclusively shown by B. Welte, *Ueber das Kirchliche Ansehen der deutero-canonicalen Bücher*, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1839, II. 224 ff. Cf.

(Jos. Barre), *Vindiciæ ll. deuteroanon. V. T.*, Paris, 1730; A. Vineenzi, *Sessio IV. concil. trident. vindicata*, Rome, 1842, 3 vols.; cf. also Bellarmín, *De verbo Dei*, Bk. I.

Ventures like the giving up of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Feilmoser, *Eint.*, p. 241; 2d ed. p. 359; Lutterbeck, *Neuest. Lehrb.*, II. 245, the latter of whom introduces the contents of the book without further remark as the teaching of Apollos) are among the greatest rarities in the Catholic Church. The last mentioned author, in particular, purposely enters upon this field from the point of view of Protestant investigation; but in general the studies of Catholic critics, however solid and independent they may be (§§ 21, 595), never attack the permanence of the canon. The so-called Old Catholic movement, however, appears to be attempting a revolution on this point (Sepp, *Kirchl. Reformwürfe beginnend mit der Revision des Bibelkanons*, Munich, 1870, in which even Jonah and Esther are questioned).

338. On the other hand the Tridentine decrees have prevailed even in the Orient. The Greek Church, though for centuries it had been languishing in deep spiritual poverty, still possessed, without knowing the value of the possession, the ancient canon, without the Apocrypha in the Old Testament. It was not until more enlightened priests, who had fallen under suspicion of heretical leanings toward Protestantism because of other teachings, had expressly emphasized this distinction that the defenders of the stricter faith found it convenient, in confessions of faith and decrees of synods, to place these books on a level with the rest, as if the danger could thus be more completely avoided. One after another, all the churches of the Greek ritual accepted these decrees. The people knew no more of the Bible in consequence; afterward, as before, it was an unknown book to them.

In the first half of the seventeenth century Metrophanes Kritopulos, afterward Patriarch of Alexandria (1625), and Kyrillos Lukaris (1629; died as Patriarch of Constantinople, 1638) published confessions of faith in which the ancient Laodicean canon was retained (though with the addition of the Apocalypse). See *Conf. Cyrilli*, ed. Kimmel, I. 40, Qu. 1. Metrophanes, II. 104, makes out, by peculiar reckoning, thirty-three sacred books, corresponding to the number of the years of Christ, and adds, after Gregory, John of Damascus, and other fathers, the other books which some receive beside; ἀποβλήτους μὲν οὐχ ἡγούμεθα . . . ὡς κανονικὰς δὲ καὶ αὐθεντικὰς οὐδέποτε ἀπεδέξατο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία.

After Lukaris had been condemned at Jassy, in 1642, under the Patriarch Parthenios, a confession was drawn up by a synod convened at Jerusalem under Dositheos, in 1672, in which Qu. 3 (Kimmel, I. 465) adds to the ancient canon: καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἄπερ ἀσυνέτως καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἶτ' οὖν ἐθελοκακοῦργως ἀπίστωρα κατωνόμασεν (ὁ Κύριλλος) . . . καὶ ταῦτα γνήσια τῆς γραφῆς μέρη κρίνομεν i. e. Wisdom, Judith, Tobit, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, Maccabees, Sirach.

The official Moscow edition of the *θεία γραφή* (1821, 4<sup>o</sup>) has all the Apocrypha, Ezra in two recensions, together with Nehemiah and four books of Maccabees at the close of the historical books, the Minor and Major Prophets before the seven poetical books, or books of wisdom.

With respect to the Antilegomena of the N. T. there was no further dis-



cussion after their use in Church for a thousand years. Leo Allatius († 1669), *De ll. eccl. gr.*, p. 36 (in Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*, V.): *Alio tempore de scripturis hisce disceptatum est, in eamque itum sententiam a plerisque, non esse eorum auctororum quos preferunt . . . attamen hisce temporibus, tanta est vis veritatis, fixum in græcorum animis mansit . . . epp. catholicas et Apocalypsin ipsam veram et genuinam esse Scr. et uti talem publice in officiis per totam Græciam quemadmodum et alias din. Scr. legunt.*

339. But in the Protestant Church also various circumstances soon interfered with the development and progress of a criticism more instinctive than scientific. True, the criterion of canonicity established by the Reformers was not abandoned theoretically, but, no longer flowing from the fountains of a fresh and living experience, and not being in accord with the everywhere prevalent dialectics, it was more and more supported by external evidence, and soon crowded entirely into the background. This external evidence, in the general weakness of historical study, naturally found its limit in the so-called testimonies of the ancient church; that is to say, in plain German [English] custom proved itself the stronger and won the day, as formerly at Hippo. The change came about more quickly in the Calvinistic theology, in the Lutheran more gradually, and by stages; the final result was the same in both.

Note the increasing fullness of the theoretical discussions of the Scriptures and the rapidly advancing fixation of doctrinal statements respecting them (chiefly to be sure, with controversial aim) in most treatises on dogmatics (after the style of M. Chemnitz, *Examen concil. tridentini*, *Loc. I.*), as well as in special works: Zanchi, *De S. S.* (*Opp.*, Gen. 1619, VIII.); J. Cameron, *Prælect. de verbo Dei* (*Opp.*, Gen. 1642); several essays by M. Amyraut, J. de la Place, and L. Cappelle, in the *Thes. Salmur.*, I., etc. Cf. in general my *Hist. du Canon*, ch. xvii.

We are chiefly interested in this connection by the distinction, which was becoming a stereotyped one, between *fides divina* and *fides humana* as applied to the Scriptures, the former being produced directly by the Holy Spirit, the latter being called forth by scientific evidence, internal and external; the former of course the more important, certain, and decisive; but in reality emphasized more for the sake of its dogmatic consequences than because of the natural pressure of direct faith, and hence mingled in many ways with dialectic subtleties (especially among the Reformed. Cf. C. E. Saigey, *Le Pajonisme*, in the *Revue*, XIV.); the latter treated by preference and with increasing fullness, until finally in Holland the Cartesian philosophy wholly crowded out the other element. Thus the former method came to be applied for the most part only to the Bible as a whole, while the canonicity of particular books (often, moreover, confounded with their authenticity) was established in the second way alone.

Hand in hand with this change in theological methods went the identification of the conceptions of Scripture and the Word of God, which was a complete departure from Luther. Originally distinct (*Apol.*, 267; *Smalc.*, 331, 333; *F. C.*, 670, 818), so much so, indeed, that while on the one hand everything in the Bible doubtless pertained to edification, but not everything to salvation, on the other genuine gospel preaching was also the word of God, the two gradually became synonymous (among the Reformed even in

the *Conf. Helv. II.*, art. 1); and the mere existence of the printed copies came to be regarded as proof of canonicity (Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la foi*, p. 38, ed. 1846: *Il suffit de prendre la bible en langues originaires et courir les titres des livres*).

Here belongs also the fact of the intensification of the conception of inspiration, which became more and more a mechanical one; and the classicism of the Greek style (§ 47), the absolute integrity of the text (*puritas fontium*, § 406), the antiquity of the square character, and finally even the inspiration of the accents in the N. T., and in the O. T. that of the punctuation marks (Voetius, *Probl. de S. S.*, in his *Dispp. sel.*, Utr. 1669, Pt. V. p. 4) and vowel points, being made articles of faith: *Formula consensus helv.*, 1675, Ch. i.: *Deus verbum suum non tantum scripto mandari curavit sed etiam pro scripto paterne vigilavit . . . so that ne apex quidem vel iota unicum ever was or will be lost.* Ch. ii.: *In specie hebraicus V. T. codex . . . tum quoad consonas tum quoad vocalia sive puncta. . . θεόπνευστος.* Ch. iii.: *eorum sententiam probare neutiquam possumus qui lectionem ex vers. . . ex sola ratione. . . ex collatis inter se edd. . . emendare religioni non ducunt atque ita fidei nostræ principium. . . in discrimen adducunt.*

Among the Reformed historical criticism is only practiced sporadically and is of no particular interest. Beza (§ 404) dwells only upon Hebrews and the Apocalypse, whose inspiration and canonicity he maintains; the latter possibly, judging from the style, written by Mark; as to the former, *sunt probabiles coniecturae ex quibus nec Pauli esse nec hebraice unquam fuisse scriptam apparet*; but this note is wanting in the later editions.

The course of things in the Lutheran Church is more interesting. Some few simply stand by Luther's views, especially on points which have nothing to do with scientific proof. So D. Wolder in his Polyglot, Hamb. 1596, in which, even in the N. T., *libri canonici and non canonici* are distinguished (the latter the Apocalypse, without name, Hebrews, *incerti auctoris*, James and Jude, *certorum auctorum*).—The *Strassburger Kirchenagende* of 1596, p. 6: *Dieweil aber beydes von alters hero und auch heutigestages nit geringer streit ist welches die wahre echte und unzweifelige Bücher seien. . . so erklären wir uns dahin dass wir desshalb gänzlich der Meynung seien wie Dr. M. Luther lehret. . . in N. T. aber die Ep. an die Ebräer wie auch Jacobi und Judä und die Off. Joh. nit so gewiss für Schriften d. App. können gehalten werden ob es sonst wohl gute und nützliche Bücher seynd welche wohl mögen in der Kirche gelesen werden, aber allein zur Aufbawung der Gemeinde, und nit streitige Artikel damit zu bekreffigen.*—The edition of 1670 omitted this passage. J. M. Lorentz, *De fictitia agendorum ecl. argent. circa ll. can. N. T. dissensione*, Arg. 1751.

The more learned theologians, however, went back to the ancient distinction of (seven) Antilegomena. Chemnitz, *Exam. conc. trid.*, Loc. I., Sect. 6, § 9 ff.: *Questio est an ea scripta, de quibus in antiquissima ecclesia dubitatum fuit, ideo quod testificationes primitivæ ecclesie de his non consentirent, presens ecclesia possit facere canonica? Pontificii hanc auctoritatem usurpant, sed manifestissimum est ecclesiam eam non habere; eadem enim ratione posset etiam vel canonicos ll. reüicere vel adulterinos canonicisare.*—Moreover the task of adducing the *testimonium ecclesie primitive* was rendered very easy by the help of Jn. xxi. 24 f.; 2 Thess. iii. 17; 2 Pet. iii. 15.

The Antilegomena meant precisely N. T. Apocrypha, and were regarded as invalid for the establishment of dogma: J. Schroeder, *Aphorismi e comp. theol.*, 1599, Disp. I., thes. 16; M. Hafenreffer, *Loci theol.*, 1603: *Hi apocryphi ll. quanquam in diiudicatione dogmatum auctoritatem non habent, quia tamen que ad edificationem et institutionem faciunt plurima continent, cum utilitate et fructu privatim legi et publice recitari possunt.* N. Selnecker, *Exam. ordin.*, 1584; L. Osiander, *Instit. th. chr.*, 1582, p. 37. The Wittenberg faculty, in their criticism of the Rakovian catechism (1619), charge the Socinians with having confused this distinction.

The next step in the adjustment was to place the Apocrypha of the N. T. far above those of the old. Hafenreffer, *l. c.*: *Si apocryphos ll. inter se conferimus illi qui in novo quam qui in vetere test. comprehenduntur maiorem habent auctoritatem.* C. Dietrich, *Instit. catech.*, 1613, p. 19: *Dubitatum fuit de autore non de doctrina; errant autem pontificii qui absolute parem auctoritatem cum canonicis habere dicunt.* B. Menzer, *De S. S.*, Disp. I., th. 25: *Libri Apocryphi primi ordinis s. ecclesiastici N. T. in nostris ecclesiis fere eandem obtinent cum canonicis auctoritatem.*—See further § 340.

340. The seventeenth century therefore took a step backward, to a certain extent necessarily. The distinction of deuterocanonical books in the New Testament disappeared almost altogether. Doubt concerning them became the more suspicious because of its having found refuge among the decried sect of the Arminians; and it finally became a natural duty to one's self to set himself to prove that no such doubt had ever really existed in the bosom of the evangelical church. Only with respect to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament did the Protestants never deny the principles of the Reformers; or, more properly, since these now formed the only subject of dispute between them and the Catholics in this special field, and consequently were most exposed to the fire of controversy, their boundless confusion of thought appeared most glaringly in the character of their judgments. With respect to the New Testament, only the twelve, together with Paul, could properly enjoy the prerogative of a special lordship over doctrine in the Church. Within their number, therefore, must the authors of all the books be sought, and the two apostolic men who had written Gospels were degraded to the rank of amanuenses of their teachers, and all to that of unconscious, unthinking tools of the Holy Spirit.

With respect to the Antilegomena, the simpler designation of *libri canonici primi et secundi ordinis*, *proto-* and *deutero-*canonici, was chiefly in favor; Gerhard, *l. c.*, I. 6; II. 186, and many after him; and this distinction referred directly to purely external and accidental considerations: Calovius, *Syst. locc. theol.*, 1655, I. 513: *Nonnulli ex orthodoxis ep. ad Hebræos, etc., deutero-canonicos ll. vocant, quod in ecclesia iis aliquando contradictum fuerit; qui tamen agnoscunt eosdem pro θεοπνεύματος habendos esse, etc.* Quenstedt, *Theol. did. pol.*, Ch. iv. p. 235: *Disceptatum fuit de his ll. non ab omnibus sed a paucis, non semper sed aliquando, non de divina eorum auctoritate sed de auctoribus secundariis. Sunt equalis auctoritatis, non autem equalis cognitionis apud homines.*

Finally it is questioned whether it is worth while or permissible to dwell upon these matters: A. Pfeiffer († 1698), *Critica s.*, p. 385: *Nonnulli ex orthodoxis Ep. ad Hebr., 2 Petri, 2, 3 Joh., Jac., Jud., Apoc. deutero-canonicos N. T. imo apocryphos vocarunt, non tamen eo animo ut illis canonicam in confirmandis fidei dogmatibus derogarent auctoritatem, sed ut aliqua ratione distinguerentur ab iis de quorum autore secundario et auctoritate nunquam esset dubitatum, unde tamen ab aliis commodius canonici secundi ordinis, sc. non habito respectu ad certitudinem auctoritatis, appellantur, quanquam nunc fortasse consultius sit ab omni distinctione abstinere.* So also, and very naively, J. A. Dietelmair, *Theol. Beitr.* (1769), I. 377: *Heutiges Tages könnten wir diesen Unterschied zur Noth*

entbehren. Weil er aber doch noch einigen Gebrauch hat und besorglicher Massen bald noch einen mehrern bekommen möchte (!) so ist fleissig zu erinnern dass die Zusätze proto-, deutero- nicht einen verschiedenen, Werth anzeigen sollen, sondern eine frühere oder spätere Aufnahme. Cf. also Buddeus, *Instit. dogm.*, p. 146; Prius, *Introd. in N. T.*, 1737, p. 37; Rumpæus, *Comm. crit. ad ll. N. T.*, 1757, p. 188; C. F. Schmid, *Hist. ant. canonis*, 1775, p. 56: *Impune et sine ulla impietatis nota licuit priscis ambigere vel etiam dubitare de ll. N. T. (not of the Old) quorum divina origo istis temporibus non dum satis nota esset . . . quod nunc post perspecta clarissima argumenta divine eorum originis, traditionem perpetuam eccl. constitutumque publicum eorum usum indulgeri nequit.*

The Reformed theologians either pass over the doubts respecting the N. T. Antilegomena in complete silence or touch upon them merely superficially, as a historical curiosity of no interest. Placeus, *Comp. theol., Opp.*, I. p. 666: *Dubitatum est quidem aliquando sed nulla justa causa fuit dubitandi.* Cf. Hottinger, *Quæst. th. centur.*, 1659, p. 178; Camero, *Prælect., l. c.*, p. 476; W. Whitaker, *Dispp. de S. S.*, 1590, *Controv. I.*, qu. I., ch. xvi.: *Si Lutherus aut qui eum secuti sunt aliter senserint aut scripserint de quibusdam libris N. T., ii pro se respondeant. Nihil ista res ad nos pertinet qui hac in re Lutherum nec sequimur nec defendimus.*

For the freer judgments of the Arminians respecting particular books see especially H. Grotius, in the *Annot.* (§ 562), and the New Testament of J. J. Wetstein (§ 409). Here belong also (J. Le Clerc), *Sentimens de quelques théol. de Hollande*, etc., Amst. 1685, a controversial writing against R. Simon very noted in its time; and (at least locally related) the critical results for the history of the canon in J. Basnage, *Hist. de l'Église*, 1699, over which a controversy arose. See *Unschuldige Nachr.*, 1704, p. 665.

With respect to the so-called Apocrypha of the O. T. the theologians devised all sorts of phrases to give scientific expression to the peculiar hesitation of the period of the Reformation. Hollaz: *In codice sunt, non in canone*; Gerhard: *Abconditi*, i. e. *originis occulte, non abscondendi*, i. e. *quasi non legendi* (also *canonici κατὰ τὴν, i. e. only relatively*); Prideaux distinguishes a *Canon fidei* and a *Canon morum*. Cf. Chemnitz, *l. c.*, § 20; Quenstedt, *Theol. did. pol.*, I. pp. 61, 235, etc. The grounds of rejection were linguistic (because not in Hebrew), historical (because not in the Synagogue); more and more, however, derived from the contents, and especially by the Reformed gathered with much bitterness and passionateness: *Falsa, superstitiosa, suspecta, mendacia, fabulosa, impia*. Chamier, *Panstrat. cath.*, Pt. I. Bk. V.; Altling, *Loci comm.*, 1646, p. 282; Du Moulin, *l. c.*, p. 34; A. Regis, *Exercc. de ll. can. et apocr.*, 1715; Heidegger, *Corpus theol.*, p. 37, etc. Also among the Lutherans, though more temperate in expression, Gerhard, *Loci*, ed. Cotta, II. 134 ff.

341. In proportion to the rigidness with which the power of tradition held the scientific investigation of the canon bound was the completeness and permanence of the reaction which finally broke these bonds. The skeptical spirit of the eighteenth century, after having first, on German soil also, passed through the phases of English superficiality and French frivolity, began here, partly as dogmatic rationalism, partly as historical criticism, a hard and determined battle with the traditional doctrines and opinions. This battle was a very unequal one, and ended in the complete overthrow of the old orthodoxy. For the theologians of the old school, in their loyal adherence to a system which they had not created, and the acquisition of which had been to them for the most part only a mechanical

task, without inner experience, came wholly unprepared into conflict with the resolute champions of a newly won faith, many of whom confronted them with a thorough knowledge of history, and the rest, concealing the weakness of their historical knowledge behind the boldness of their assertions, confused, if they did not confute, their opponents.

Spinoza's (§ 563) peculiar opinions as to the origin of the O. T., that it was not produced until the time of Ezra, and then according to a definite plan, had offended the ideas of the age in too many ways to make a lasting impression. But their refutation led to investigations which were useful in the first place to apologetics, but afterward to the opposition also.

Toland (*Anyntor*, 1699) declared the whole N. T. spurious on the basis of precarious arguments derived from the state of the text, the loss of the originals, and the personality of the authors.

W. Whiston (*Primitive New Testament*, 1745, and other writings), on the other hand, maintained that all the Apostolic Fathers, Hermas and the Epistle to Diognetus included, also 3 Corinthians and the Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, the Apostolic Constitutions, and an alleged Homily of Timothy (Justin?), were admitted into the canon.

Diderot (*Pensées phil.*, 1746, § 60) attacks the authority of a canon on account of its inconstancy in ancient times, the uncertainty of the text, etc. *Les premiers fondemens de la foi sont donc purement humains ; les choix entre les MSS., la restitution des passages, enfin la collection s'est faite par des règles de critique ; et je ne refuse point à ajouter à la divinité des livres sacrés un degré de foi proportionné à la certitude de ces règles.*

De la Serre (Pseudo-Burnet), *La vraie religion*, 1767, p. 37 : *Qui m'assure que les livres de l'Écriture ont été dictés par le S. Esprit ? Jésus ne nous les a pas laissés ; Mahomet au moins a fait l'Alcoran. . . . Parce qu'il se fera un renversement dans l'imagination de S. Paul, qu'il s'avisera de se convertir et d'écrire quatorze épîtres à diverses peuples . . . ou m'obligera de reconnaître ces livres comme la parole de Dieu et je passerai pour fou si je n'en crois rien. . . . La division des ll. de l'Écriture en protocanoniques et deuterocononiques ne fait-elle pas voir que c'est uniquement le caprice des hommes qui les a consacrés à leur gré . . . ? Dans l'espace de plusieurs siècles on n'aura regardé un livre que comme un ouvrage ordinaire et tout d'un coup, parce que ce livre contiendra un passage propre pour être cité contre de nouveaux hérétiques, on le canonisera ?*

As a rule, however, in Germany as well as elsewhere, the attack was made directly upon the contents of the Bible and not upon its external history, and it is mentioned simply as a symptom of the spirit of the age, and as at the same time a measure of the overstraining of the ancient principles which led to the reaction.

Edelmann (*Glaubensbek.*, 1746, p. 55): *Wer kann sich einbilden, dass Gott, da er die Confusion der Abschriften und die daraus entstehende Zänkereyen vorausgesehen, nicht viel eher die Originalien hätte erhalten als verbrennen lassen sollen, wenn er hätte haben wollen dass todte Buchstaben die beständige Regel des Lebens aller Menschen sein sollen ? P. 99: Das will die Sache gar nicht ausmachen dass die Parthey derjenigen die nur die bekannten vier Evv. canonisiret die andern alle ühern Hauffen verwirfft . . . denn das können die andern Partheyen die ihre Evv. vor ächt halten mit unsern vieren auch thun. — Cf. especially § 575.*

(G. L. Oeder) *Freie Unterss. über einige Bücher des A. T.*, 1756, with additions and notes by G. J. L. Vogel, H. 1771, 8° (against Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Ezekiel xl.-xlviii.) ; idem, *Christl. freie Unters. über d. sog. Offb. Joh.*, ed. Semler, H. 1769, 8°. Cf. Ernesti, *Neueste theol. Bibl.*, I. 687, II. 195 ; Michaelis, *Or. bibl.*, II. 1 ; Walch, *Neueste Rel.-Gesch.*, VII. 241 ; Schröckh, *Neuere K.-Gesch.*, VIII. 383.

G. E. Lessing († 1781) not only exerted a general and indirect influence (§ 571), as a thinker and writer, upon the revolution of ideas (see especially *Nathan* and *Die Entstehung des Menschengeschlechts*), but he had also, through his proper theological writings, a direct influence upon the historical and theological conception of the canon. He naturally took delight in criticism considered simply as a form of thought, and the practice of it was to him a higher thing than the obtaining of results. But although he was the embodiment of that Protestantism whose living principle is free investigation and which really first arose with him, yet he had no connection or sympathy with the current theology, whose bustle and talk appeared to him miserable bogging in comparison with the orthodox system. Only the inconsistencies of the Orthodox aroused his wrath (especially J. M. Göze, § 581). — Publication of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* (§ 575) and the controversial writings called out thereby. (Religion and history two separate realms; Christianity older than the Scriptures and independent of them; hence the reinstatement of tradition; distinction of letter and spirit; of Bible and faith; the internal truth, not the external attestation, decides the value of religious things, etc.) — *Theol. Nachlass.*, B. 1784, for the most part only fragments; p. 73: theses from the history of the Church (a short theory of the history of the canon; contents: the rule of faith existed before the Scriptures, and at the first the latter had no authority apart from the former); p. 107: the canon of all the N. T. writings took shape as it were at random, entirely without plan, through the zeal of individual members. Evil consequences: divided opinions respecting various epistles. The Revelation of John an evidence how aimlessly the canon was formed, etc. Cf. Danzel and Guhrauer, *Lessing's Leben und Werke*, 1850, 2 Pts.; Eytel, *Lessing als Theolog* (*Würtemb. Studien*, 1848, I.); C. Schwarz, *Lessing als Theolog*, H. 1854; F. Lichtenberger, *La théologie de Lessing*, Str. 1854; F. Smith, *Lessing as a Theologian* (*Theol. Review*, July, 1868). Cf. also the writings of Nitzsch and Lücke cited in § 290.

From a wholly different standpoint, and in close connection with novel views of inspiration, Swedenborg and his followers declare only the Gospels and the Apocalypse to be inspired and canonical. See the Catechism of the New Church.

342. Johann Salomo Semler was the first to undertake to improve upon the common conceptions of the canon. He gave to his criticism an essentially historical basis by commending and practicing the study of the ancient ecclesiastical literature, thus leading to a recognition of the gradual and fluctuating formation of our present collection. He was the first also to bring the history of the New Testament literature into close connection with the development of doctrine. But here he too was affected by the spirit of the age; for he maintained that the usefulness of the individual books, a matter often one-sidedly judged of, should decide as to their canonicity, theoretically, therefore, preferring the ancient Latin principle of a church canon to the Greek principle of a canon of faith. His work has been of lasting influence on both sides, and in spite of violent opposition, both at the first and afterward, is even yet of perceptible importance.

On Semler see above, § 18; but especially § 573, where also the literature respecting him is cited.

J. S. Semler, *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons*, Halle, 1771-75 (Pt. I., 2d ed., 1776) 4 Pts. 8°, in connection with which especially his theological letters, III. 81 ff. Cf. Ernesti, *Neueste theol. Bibl.*, II. 429; III. 451; Michaelis, *Bibl.*, III. 26; Walch and Schröckh, *ll. cc.* The replies he himself considers in part in extended answers, Pts. II.-IV.; the most voluminous was the *Gesch. des Kanons* of C. F. Schmid, § 289. Cf. also J. B. Sohm, *Lutheranorum novissima dissidia de canone*, Const. 1780.

The innovations of Semler concerned (1) the proof of numerous and important variations of the most ancient canon, or at least of individual witnesses, from the subsequent one; on this point, however, he did not go beyond purely negative criticism; (2) a peculiar definition of the idea of the canon, in which the dogmatic element, as *regula fidei*, was lost; (3) an attack upon the traditional idea of inspiration, likewise rather negatively sustained, and combined with a definite distinction between Scripture and the Word of God; (4) a criticism of the practical usefulness of particular books, and the estimation, on this basis, of their theological value; essentially negative, unfavorable to the Apocalypse, Canticles, and other books, especially of the O. T.; (5) the higher estimation of internal evidence in the investigation of genuineness; (6) the frequent application of the theory of accommodation in judging of dogmatic contents.

In view of the ill-arranged and cumbrous character of Semler's work, its influence would be inexplicable if its principles had not become popular through an academic activity of forty years, while many older views had become untenable, and if, at the same time, the more elegant learning of a Michaelis and the fresh living spirit of a Herder had not helped on the revolution. Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, IV. 518 ff., gives a thorough characterization of Semler in this regard.

The numerous apologetic writings were more particularly directed against the superficial deistic criticism, even after 1760; e. g., Lillenthal, *Gute Sache d. Offenb.*, Pt. XV.; W. Paley, *Evidences of Christianity*, I. The conservatively scientific work of J. F. Klenker, on the contrary, is written in the spirit of modern investigation: *Unters. der Gründe für die Echtheit der Urk. des Chr.*, 1793 ff., 5 Pts. incomplete.

343. The friends of the older views found themselves compelled to enter the field against their opponents and to contend with them with weapons of their choosing. There at once arose discussions, carried on more and more systematically, calmly, learnedly, and circumspectly, mostly upon individual books, of the Old Testament now as well as the New, and incidentally on the idea of the canon itself. These discussions still continue, and have lost none of their importance or their interest. As the method became more and more complicated, and the estimation of arguments more and more dependent on the subjective views of the critics, the more impossible was agreement. The rampant undergrowth of unfruitful hypotheses overspread and concealed the solid ground of history, and must be laboriously cleared away again; skepticism spread; acuteness and abuse of criticism bordered close on each other and caused the very principles of the latter to be suspected; and it was often true on both sides in such investigations that it was not so much the historical questions themselves as the theological ones lying behind them which assured to the controversy its importance and at the same time its endlessness.

To relate in detail the course of these discussions does not lie within the plan of this history. Moreover they have been introduced, so far as they have interest, at the appropriate points in our First Book. We only observe here that beside the ancient Antilegomena a great number of other books were now questioned; the Pastoral Epistles, since 1807, by Schleiermacher and Eichhorn; 2 Thessalonians by J. E. C. Schmidt, since the same time; the Gospel and Epistles of John since 1820 by Bretschneider, Matthew since 1824 by Schulz; Ephesians and Acts by De Wette, 1826; Colossians by Mayerhoff, 1838; Mark in 1836 by Credner, etc. All these investigations, however, even when mistaken in their immediate results, led more and more generally to the purely historical method of treating the subject.

In the O. T. should be first mentioned the investigations on the Pentateuch, which have changed the whole conception of the Hebrew literature, nay even of Israelitish history, especially since Vater; on Isaiah, Zechariah, the Psalms, Solomon, and all the historical books. It may be remarked in general that in both Testaments the didactic writings (Prophets and Epistles) have been shown to be comparatively the most genuine kernel of the biblical literature (in the purely literary-historical sense), *i. e.* the best attested and the earliest completed, and the historical books the later accession. Cf. § 171. [See the author's *Gesch. des A. T.*, 1883.]

344. Special mention is due here only to the completely altered view of the early history of Christianity and its literature advocated and established by Ferdinand Christian Baur and his followers of the Tübingen School. According to this view the peculiar doctrinal content of each writing gives the key to its origin; so that the idea of the development of the apostolic doctrine appears essentially complete before the investigation of the New Testament documents with respect to the time of their origin has properly begun. Now inasmuch as this system at the same time assumes a much more gradual progress of this development, on the one side in the direction of higher speculation, on the other toward the fusion of Jewish Christian and Pauline elements, than is usually assumed, a later date results for the origin of most of the books found in our present canon, the majority of which consequently fall in the post-apostolic period, and even in the second century. Thus the idea of a canon, even in the loosest sense, is reduced to small dimensions, and in a certain view of the case it even becomes doubtful whether the original thought of the Gospel is still recorded in writing at all.

The complete view of the Tübingen School respecting the early history of Christianity (Jesus included), or of the early Christian literature in particular, was for a long time nowhere consistently and pragmatically stated. The numerous writings of F. C. Baur and his pupils, E. Zeller, A. Schweigler, R. Köstlin, A. Hilgenfeld, and others, important for the elucidation of critical questions, some of them pioneer works, and all stimulating, have been cited and considered at the appropriate places in the First Book. Formerly the most comprehensive works were: Schweigler's *Nachap. Zeitalter*, Tüb. 1846, 2 Pts.; Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Ev. Joh.* (and of the N. T. writings in general), B. 1843; A. Ritschl (who has now, however, in essential points abandoned the views of Baur), *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche* (1st ed.), Bonn,



1850 ; cf. in general the *Tüb. theol. Jahrb.*, 1842-1857, by Baur and Zeller ; *Jenaer Zeitschr. für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, by Hilgenfeld, since 1858 ; Baur, *Die Tübinger Schule und ihre Stellung zur Gegenwart*, Tüb. 1859. We must now name as the principal work : Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1853 [E. tr. by A. Menzies, Lond. 1879, 2 vols.] ; more popular, G. Volkmar, *Die Religion Jesu in ihrer ersten Entwicklung*, L. 1857.

A. Kayser, *L'École de Baur (Revue de Théol., II. 257 ff.)* ; S. Berger, *Les origines de l'école de Tub. et ses principes*, Str. 1867.

In criticism : H. Böttger, *Baur's hist. Kritik in ihrer Consequenz*, Brg. 1840, 3 vols. ; W. O. Dietlein, *Das Urchristenthum*, Halle, 1845 ; Guerike, *Das Urchristenthum u. s. Anschauung durch Baur* (in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1846, IV.) ; G. L. Hahn, *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der neutestl. Kritik*, Br. 1848 ; H. W. J. Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des hist. Standpunktes für die Kritik der neutestl. Schriften*, Erl. 1845 ; the same, *Einige Worte über die Echtheit der neutestl. Schr.*, 1846 ; Frank, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1848, II. ; and numerous special essays, which see above in the proper place. G. Uhlhorn, *Die älteste Kirchengeschichte in ihrer neuesten Darstellung*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1857, III. ; 1858, II., III. ; C. Schwarz, *Zur Gesch. d. neuesten Theol.*, 1856, p. 153 ff.

The prevailing negative results of the criticism of Baur and his school are in themselves no proof of error, as apologetics has only too often represented it ; but the system has its weak points, in which it must be essentially changed or fall. We have already pointed out in this connection the studiously obscure reserve of judgment respecting Jesus ; the breach between him and Paul ; the altogether too harsh intensification of the opposition between the latter and the other Apostles ; the failure to recognize the germs of organization even in the earliest Jewish Christianity, and their power ; the assumption, never yet justified, of so very late a date for most of the N. T. writings ; the rashness of judgment by which the genuineness of many of them is denied, — often sacrificed rather to the logic of the system than to sufficient proof ; the character of the process of development as it is represented, which is throughout rather external and mechanical than internal and dynamic, etc. Not even in the light of the most recent discoveries, by which many things have been altered or modified, should we be able wholly to retract any of these criticisms. But the system will never be effectively combated when it is rejected in a lump.

345. The gain which has come to science from all these discussions ought not to be measured by the particular results which may have enjoyed a more general acceptance. These will be still less numerous in the future than now, and there is no prospect that the contest will ever wholly cease. But it must be taken into account that criticism has long since ceased to be the exclusive prerogative or weapon of a particular school, that many questions have become independent of dogmatics, and that the position of parties upon the ecclesiastical field does not always necessarily dictate in advance the decision in purely historical matters. This is a great step toward the discovery of the truth. The method is improved ; tradition, which formerly, in spite of its uncertainty, exercised the office of judge without limitation, contents itself with the more modest role of a witness, and where once a blind instinct was the guide, science now gives her light.

To enumerate points upon which controversy has been fought out and final results reached is not to our purpose, the less so since these would be precisely the least important things, and historical criticism ought never to regard itself as complete.

346. But the most profound change has taken place in the theological conception of the canon itself. While the older Protestant system was chiefly emphasizing in the definition of it the supernatural inspiration of the books, their inner inseparableness and direct relation to salvation, the modern historico-rational dogmatics was beginning to regard them only as documents or records, either of the Jewish and Christian religions in their ideal conception, or even for the time of their origin only. The Old Testament, once forming a whole with the New, as prophecy and fulfillment, sank to the position of a useful source of aid in the understanding of the New. Various attempts have been made in our day to overcome this point of view, and to reëstablish the theological method of treating the Scriptures as opposed to the purely historical. But many of them are timid or obscure, and much weakened, both by the fact that criticism has caused too many things to appear in a different light than formerly, and by the fact that theology itself, at least in Germany, has neither the ability nor the desire to restore the former idea of inspiration. Yet the desire will not always be lacking; indeed, even now the necessity is felt, with reference to the completeness and purity of the whole collection, of holding fast fundamentally to the traditional position, convinced that unless the vessel be kept inviolate the contents must be lost.

For illustrations, see the last twenty sections of our Fifth Book, and the chapter on the Scriptures in any compendium of dogmatics since 1790. We give a few examples.

Reinhard's *Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik*, 1799 : § 16 : *Fons a quo manare debet omnis religionis doctrina est S. S. in primis N. T.* ; § 21 ff., the authority of the O. T. depends for us on the testimony of Jesus and the Apostles ; *Novi Test. origo divina nititur testimonio autorum ipsorum* ; but the difference of opinion respecting the canonicity of particular books is of no moment ; § 28 : *Humana ratio examinare ll. ss. argumentum et legitime interpretationi præesse debet, sed in iis rebus quæ sunt a repugnantia liberæ et in ll. ss. manifeste tradite, autoritati divinæ obtemperare debet.*

Döderlein, *Instit. th. chr.* (1779), ed. 6, 1797 ; § 26 : Only the New Testament is *fons primarius* ; the O. T., reason, and tradition, are *fontes secundarii*, of decreasing value ; § 31 ff. : The canonical collection arose out of practical necessities ; the canon is a catalogue of church books, not everywhere the same, and nowhere officially fixed. But all the books authentic, none lost, their content not having, in all its elements, equal connection with the Christian religion.

Eckermann, *Compend. th. chr.*, 1792, p. 12 ff. : *Religionis revelatæ historia et doctrina continetur ll. ss. quæ partim a prophetis Israelitarum scripti a Judæis pro sinceris doctr. mos. fontibus habiti sunt, partim discipulos Christi vel horum amicos auctores habuerunt. . . quibus id egerunt Apostoli ut Christianis constan-*

*tiam pietatem et virtutem commendarent, singulis ea scribentes quæ lecturis, illo tempore præsertim, utilissima viderentur.*

Henke, *Institt. fidei chr.*, 1793, p. 8 ff. : *Hauriendi est solidior et purior doctr. chr. scientia ex ll. N. F., deinde, quia Jesus et App. librorum Judæis ss. commendarunt reverentiam. . . nec satis possunt priores illi intelligi nisi his probe simul tractatis, adhibenda est collectio V. F.* Both testaments have the same purpose, *ut documenta et præsidia rectæ Deum colendi et vitam instituendi rationis adessent, non tam omnīs ævi quam sui temporis et loci hominibus proximè inservitura*, but differ in that in the one Moses is the principal person, in the other Christ, etc. *Canonicos vocamus quos ecclesia publicæ lectioni destinavit, nec semper nec ubivis eosdem.*

Wegscheider, *Institt.* (1815), 8th ed. 1844, p. 162 : *Ex historia canonis non interna sed externa singg. partium auctoritas repeti et firmari potest. Nec tamen dubitari potest quin canone N. T. inprimis iis dictis quæ a J. C. ipso recte reperiuntur, relig. chr. veritatisque div. documenta antiquissima et fide dignissima contineantur.* Page 147 : the O. T., *secundarius fons*, in part contradictory of the New, in part expressly abrogated, yet serviceable *capita* (N. T.), *fidei paucis tantum commemorata argumentis idoneis apte illustrare.*

Hase, *Ev. Dogm.* (1826), 5th ed. 1860, § 24 : The Sacred Scriptures of the N. T., as the only historically trustworthy record of its first appearance, are the sole source of original Christianity. The Old Testament serves only as a historical foundation and for explanation. . . etc. (Possibility of error and contradiction in the history ; manifold development of the doctrine that that method is to be regarded as completely Christian which corresponds most perfectly to the religious idea.) § 28 : Everything Christian is not necessarily contained in the N. T., though everything is to be proved from the N. T.

Schleiermacher, *Christl. Glaube* (1820), 2d ed. 1831, II. 352 ff. Faith in Christ precedes faith in the Scriptures. The N. T. is the first member in the continuous series of all presentations of the Christian faith, and at the same time the standard for those that follow. The separate parts of the N. T. were given by the Holy Spirit, and the collection was formed under his guidance (these propositions, however, as well as that respecting authenticity, removed by development from the spirit of the older system). The O. T. owes its position in the Bible only to the quotations in the N. T. and to the arrangement of divine service after the model of the synagogue.

Twisten, *Dogm.*, 2d ed. 1829, I. 445 ff., founds canonicity chiefly upon the direct evidence of the Holy Spirit, by which a writing proves itself inspired, though without making the historical evidence a merely incidental matter.

Nitzsch, *System der christlichen Lehre*, 5th ed. 1844, § 42 : Faith in the Scriptures (not a faith in the letter, consequently not to be founded upon ecclesiastical tradition alone nor upon mechanical theories of inspiration) is the conviction that the Scriptures, by the same divine act and power to which we owe revelation and the preaching of the Apostles, have become an only, clear, and complete means of transmitting the word of God. It is based . . . upon the spiritual experience which we have both of the inner unity and of the distinction between the Scriptures and the word of God. The church distinguishes proto- and deuterocanonical Scriptures, therefore different kinds and degrees of inspiration, and it is only to the whole as such that the properties of infallibility, sufficiency, and completeness belong.

Grimm, *Institt. th. ev.* (1848), 1869, p. 98 : *Ex historica notione S. S. est complexio ll. quæ primitivos rel. et hist. hebr. et chr. fontes continent. E dogmatica notione antiquioribus probata verbum Dei immediato et miraculoso Sp. S. afflatu a prophetis et app. salutis humanæ causa literis consignatum. E dogmatica notione nostri ævi rationibus accommodata complexio ll. divinam de salute per Chr. hominibus consequenda institutionem continentium.*

Cf. in general, in order to appreciate the revolution in the theological con-

ception of the subject: Holtzmann, *Kanon und Tradition* (§ 332). — Recently, however, even on the strictly conservative side, not only has the necessity been recognized theoretically of respecting the rights of history in the decision of matters of an essentially historical character, but practical attempts have been made to give to the science of the Scriptures by this very means a firmer foundation than had been done from the almost *a priori* standpoint of the older theology: J. C. C. Hofmann (§ 590); but especially Kahnis, *Die lutherische Dogmatik*, L. 1861, I.; also his *Zeugniss von den Grundwahrheiten des Protestantismus gegen Hengstenberg*, L. 1862.

347. These discussions have not everywhere found an echo outside of Germany, partly simply because of the opposition which they have encountered, often without being understood. Calvinism, with less disposition to mysticism, cherishes a greater respect for the written word. The English Church, scarcely able to protect itself from the multitude of bigoted and fanatical sects, guards with scrupulous strictness its ancient double inheritance of a dry orthodoxy and rich livings. In a country where scholastic controversial questions are among the qualifications for power, and Protestant theologians from their professorial chairs and in tracts carry on a Catholicizing propaganda, criticism of the Scriptures must be regarded as deism even if it is not actually so. The recent efforts at critical investigation, much talked of even in foreign lands, like lightning in a dark night, which rather startles than illuminates, have shown not so much the nearness of the dawn as the depth of the darkness around. In Holland, the ancient home of genuine and sober-minded science, the same diverse tendencies have in our day manifested themselves as everywhere where theology has kept pace with the spiritual life of the people, and she is emulating, with equal power, and in both directions, the endeavor and the production of neighboring countries. In particular, that criticism which is least dependent upon tradition, and which gives the greatest space to doubt, has there found its able advocates. We hear less from the northern lands than formerly, but although there is a partial stand-still there, there are yet many appearances to make us regret that science no longer speaks a universal language. Young America, finally, the precocious heiress of the Old World, is too deep in the rut of positive and material production and enterprise to care to speculate with the unfruitful capital of science.

It is not merely the slight literary connection with those lands that prevents me from laying claim to greater completeness here; the matter has not been worked up before by those perhaps more skillful. Notices of English theological literature in German periodicals are in general very scanty; see Gabler's and Berthold's *Journals*; more recent, in the *Strassb. Revue, passim*. The number of comprehensive and scholarly works on the biblical literature that have appeared in recent times in England is not small, though patristic learning and apologetic and practical aims prevail: T. H. Horne,

*Introd. to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures*, 9th ed. 1846, 4 vols. [14th ed. 1877]; J. Townley, *History of the Sacred Writings*, 1821, 3 vols.; R. Haldane, *The Books of the Old and New Testaments*, 1838; J. M. McCulloch, *Literary Characteristics of the Holy Scriptures*, 1847; G. Hamilton, *Introd. to the Study of the Hebr. Scr.*, 1814; Horsley, *Biblical Criticism on the O. T.*, 4 vols. 1820; J. Cooke, *Inquiry into the Books of the N. T.*, 1821; S. Davidson, *Introd. to the N. T.*, 1848. Cf. also the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, by Kitto and Burgess, since 1848, which is by far the best index of the state of biblical science in England.

*Essays and Reviews*, Lond. 1861, 9th ed. Among them especially B. Jowett, *On the Interpretation of Scripture*. (Cf. Diestel, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1861, IV.) — *A Collection of Theological Essays*, from various authors, with an introduction by G. R. Noyes, Boston, 1856; *Essays and Reviews*, translated from the French by J. R. Beard, Lond. 1861; J. W. Coleuso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Lond. 1862 ff., 6 vols. 8°; *The Theological Review, a Journal of Religious Thought and Life*, Lond. since 1864 (quarterly).

On Holland see in general: H. J. Royaards, *De commutationis quam theologia in Nederlandia subit Sæc. XIX. via ac ratione*, Traj. 1850; Gelzer's *Monatsbl.*, June, 1861; Schenkel's *Küchl. Zeitschr.*, 1862, Heft 7; P. H. de Groot, *Die Gröninger Theologen* (German), Goth. 1863; H. Scharling, *Den nyere hollandske Theologie*, Kjöb. 1865; J. H. Scholten (at Leyden), *Herdenking mijner 25j. Amsbediening*, 1865; his *Hist. krit. Inleiding tot de Schr. des N. T.*, 2d ed., L. 1856; and many special writings cited above. A. Kuenen (also at Leyden), *Hist. krit. Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling v. d. BB. des O. Verbonds*, L. 1861 ff., 3 vols. (also French by A. Pierson, Par. 1866, Pt. I.). Cf. also: *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Amst. and Leyd. since 1867. Both are so-called special introductions. Cf. Scholten's *Leer der hervormde Kerk*, 4th ed., 1861, I. 76 ff. We obtain thence continually, if not always, the principal works, written in Dutch, yet numerous excellent monographs in Latin to which due attention is always paid here.

On Scandinavia, earlier, in particular the *Theol. Annalen* of Wachler, later the *Studien*, 1828, 1830, 1834, 1838, always at the close of the year; Beck, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1844, III. Since the Danish scholars have ceased to use the German language in their writings we hear little of them, and translations become a necessity and a deserved tribute. Many Latin treatises still come to us, which exhibit a kindred spirit and show that they are abreast of the age there. Among the living biblical scholars of Denmark the most distinguished is C. E. Scharling, of Copenhagen. The periodicals I do not know from my own observation.

348. French Protestantism, once the valiant champion of spiritual liberty, now but just recovering from long and harsh bondage, as yet regards with fear and distrust everything that might shake the traditions which have helped it to bear its chains and so become the dearer. Altogether unproductive with respect to science, at once hampered and split into factions by the arrangement of its church life, and still lacking courage and ability to regenerate itself from within, it hesitates between the influence of England and of Germany, the former of which works upon it with ecclesiastical and social activity, also with money and theories of freedom, the latter with ideas and books. Many find safety midway in adopting the ideas of the latter and the freedom of the former at the same time.

Recently an extreme doctrine of the character and inspiration of the Scriptures has met clear and decided opposition, which, in its connection with a positive theological conviction, has excited general attention and called out much scientific discussion.

Ed. Reuss, *Die wissenschaftliche Theologie unter den Protestanten in Frankreich* (in the *Studien*, 1844, I.); H. Kienlen, *Die gegenwärtige theol. Bewegung in der protest. Kirche franz. Zunge* (in the *Strassb. Beitr.*, VI.). Cf. C. Weizsäcker, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1861, I.; C. de Rémusat, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1862.

Earlier, more apologetic treatises on the history of the canon, in the Geneva school: J. E. Cellierier, *Essai d'une introduction critique au N. T.* (after Hug), 1823.

L. Gaussen (at Geneva, † 1863), *Théopneustie ou pleine inspiration des SS. Écritures*, P. 1840; a theory which was afterward modified by the author and those of his school, but which along with its harshness lost also its clearness.

E. Scherer (of Geneva, now at Versailles), *La critique et la foi, Deux lettres*, 1850, and various essays in the *Revue de théologie et de philosophie chrétienne*, published under the direction of T. Colani, Strassb., 1850–57, 15 vols.; *Nouvelle Revue*, 1858–62, 10 vols.; 3d series, 1863–69, 7 vols.

Controversial writings by J. J. Chenevière, A. de Gasparin, L. Bonnet, and others; J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, *L'Autorité des Écritures inspirées de Dieu*, Toul. 1850. The discussion on the conservative side almost exclusively dogmatic. The literary-historical apologetics (P. Jallagnier, *Authenticité du N. T.*, Toulouse, 1851; cf. his *Inspiration du N. T.*, P. 1851) has never felt able to defend the Antilogemena of the ancient church. The consciousness of this weakness has led to a theory of the canon (A. de Gasparin, *Les écoles du doute et l'école de la foi*, Gen. 1853; *La Bible défendue*, P. 1855), which, claiming to avoid the extreme of literalism, proceeding from an instinctive fear of the subjective element in religion and theology, lays down the principle of authority as the palladium of Christianity. It finds this principle, however, not at all in the creeds of the Church, but in the canon, and identifies inspiration, — of the Scriptures, not of the writers, — with the idea of infallibility, without entering into any psychological or theological explanation of it. Canonicity and inspiration, however, are not to be established either by the internal or external evidences of ordinary apologetics, and least of all by patristic testimony, but, as respects the O. T., simply by the positive declaration of Jesus, and as respects the New, by logical inference from its equality of rank with the former. This solution has been received by the opposite side as a victory for themselves, by those belonging to the school of the author as a piece of rashness bringing a severe penalty after it. In reality there only remains between such a view and the theology of the mosque the distinction of consistency. A magnificent attempt to depart from this path and to make history itself subservient to theory is now before us in L. Gaussen, *Le canon des s. Écritures au double point de vue de la science et de la foi*, Laus. 1860, 2 vols.; O. de Grenier-Fajal, *Date hist. de la formation du canon du N. T.*, Toul. 1867. — A (very hesitating) middle position is essayed by (Astier) M. Scherer, *ses disciples et ses adversaires par quelqu'un qui n'est ni l'un ni l'autre*, 1854; he has doubtless succeeded in founding a third party, but not in stating any positive doctrine. Here belong also the work of the same author, *Les deux théologies*, 1861, and an article by E. de Pressensé on Inspiration in the *Revue Chrétienne*, 1862. Of later date we may mention, on the conservative side, E. Arnaud, *Le Pentateuque mosaïque défendu contre les attaques de la critique négative*, P. 1865, and F. Bonifas (at Montauban),

*Essai sur l'unité de l'enseignement apostolique*, P. 1866 ff. On the other side, in the spirit of free historical criticism: E. Haag, *Théologie Biblique* (literary and religious history), Par. 1870.

How little the relation of the investigations of the canon to the objective contents of the Gospel is understood in the Catholic ranks is shown by an article (otherwise pertinent) by Edgar Quinet, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Dec. 1838, on D. F. Strauss, translated into German by G. Kleine, 1839. Also, *Exposé des discussions survenues à Genève entre les protestants sur l'autorité de l'Écr. S.*, by the Abbé de Baudry, 1852.

The separation of Strassburg from France has for the moment, it is true, deprived French Protestant science of a mighty power. But the impulse already given was powerful enough and its effects will continue. Besides, the spiritual separation may be only a transient one.

349. The Church herself has kept altogether aloof from these discussions carried on between the learned; though warnings have often been uttered in her name against the danger of them or protests made against their results. She would not have allowed herself to be driven to a change in the traditional canon even had the contention and investigation led to generally admitted results, which was not the case. As matters now stand, the external form of Scripture, in Germany at least, is no longer looked upon as a thing of equal importance with its contents, and custom decides respecting it much more than theological tenets. Experience showed this when the English Bible Society, carrying out strictly the Protestant principle of the canon, banished the Old Testament Apocrypha from the Bibles which it distributed. The rule found acceptance on the continent only so far as Anglican zeal and party spirit had influence. But when in our own days the so-called Inner Mission sees in this exclusion an appropriate means for the promotion of church life or for the diminution of human suffering, this only shows in a new way the spiritual poverty of pious provincialism, which will not recognize the fact that the disease of Joseph does not cleave to a paper.

*British and Foreign Bible Society, 22d Report, 1826, p. xviii.; 23d Report, 1827, p. xii. Société Biblique de Paris, 9e Rapport, 1828, pp. 7, 31; Allg. Kirchenzeitung, 1829, I. 216; Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes, 1827, p. 353. Cf. the writings of Moulinié and E. Reuss cited in § 283; also S. Nègre, Les apocryphes, faisaient-ils partie du canon, etc., Mont. 1834. Anglican orthodoxy thus came into conflict with its own liturgy, which recognizes the Apocrypha, and introduces readings from it.*

The executive committee of the Inner Mission in Baden, in 1851, set a price of eighty ducats on the head of the Apocrypha, that is to say, offered that amount for the best writings against them (see against this measure *Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, Aug. 23d, 1851; T. Colani, in the *Revue de Théol.*, Nov. 1851, p. 316). The writings of P. F. Keerl and E. Kluge were crowned as the most meritorious "witnesses," in 1852. Cf. J. U. Oschwald, *Die Apokryphen in der Bibel*, Z. 1853; Keerl, *Das Wort Gottes und die Apokryphen*, 1853, and numerous tracts. — Against them, Stier, *Die Apokryphen*,

1853; Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1853, II. ; *Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, July, 1853, etc.

350. Thus the history of the collection of the sacred writings of the Christians has witnessed the appearance and domination of different principles in two main periods, after that, during a preparatory time, the original lack of such a collection and the gradual rise of the need for it had come to be recognized. The first period shows, in the four stages of the origin, extension, closing, and preservation of the collection, the domination of the principle of tradition and custom in the practical connection of the facts, in connection with the subordinate importance assigned to the accompanying theological idea of the canon, which latter finally became almost wholly obscured. The second period begins, in the time of the Reformation, with an insistence upon this dogmatic conception, and at the same time an inclination to criticism in the application of it to particular books. After this principle had been carried to the extreme and its power exhausted, criticism became dominant and has finally been applied against the dogma itself, which is now again in controversy. Far from having finished her work, science seems scarcely to have done more than make a beginning. The importance of the collection for the faith and life of the Church constitutes the interest of the History of the Text.



## BOOK THIRD.

### HISTORY OF THE PRESERVATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

351. The original copies of the New Testament books, whether written by their authors with their own hands, or dictated to scribes, or, finally, copied by so-called calligraphers before publication, do not appear to have remained in existence long. On account of the poor quality of the paper, they must soon have become unfit for use and finally have been lost, even if they were not destroyed sooner by violence or neglect. It is certain that no ancient writer makes mention of them.

Cf. on the contents of this whole book : A. Kuenen, *Critices et hermeneutices ll. N. F. lineamenta*, Leyd. 1858; Tischendorf, Article *Bibeltext des N. T.*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

[Articles on Bible Text : Tischendorf and Von Gebhardt, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*, new ed., II. 400 ff., trans. and rev. by Dr. Ezra Abbot, for Schaff's *Relig. Encycl.*, 1882, I. 268 ff.; Westcott, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*, III. 2112 ff., Am. ed.; Fr. Gardiner, *The Principles of Textual Criticism*, in the *Bib. Sac.*, Apr. 1875, reprinted, revised, as an App. to his *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, Andover, 1876 and 1880; Ezra Abbot, in *Anglo-American Bible Revision*, Phila., 2d ed. 1879, p. 86 ff.; also in *The New Revision and its Study*, Phila. 1881, p. 5 ff.; reprinted in part in Dr. B. H. Kennedy's *Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the N. T.*, Lond. 1882, p. 91 ff.—The Revised Version of 1881 has called forth a large number of essays on the subject in English and American periodicals. Note especially the attacks of Dean Burgon in *Lond. Quar. Review*, Oct. 1881, Jan. and Apr. 1882; replies by W. Sanday, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec. 1881; Farrar, *Contemp. Rev.*, Mar. 1882; by an anonymous writer, in the *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan. 1882; B. B. Warfield, in the *Presb. Quar. Rev.*, Apr. 1882; by two members of the English N. T. Revision Company, in *The Revisers and the Greek Text of the N. T.*, Lond. 1882.]

[Works on Textual Criticism : J. S. Porter, *Principles of Textual Criticism*, Lond. 1848; S. Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, Edinb. and Lond. 1852, 2 vols. (2d vol. on the N. T.); S. P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek N. T., with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles*, Lond. 1854); by the same author, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N. T.*, Lond. 1860 (a separate reprint of the first part of Vol. IV. of Horne's *Introduction*, 10th ed., Lond. 1856; with *Additions and Postscript*, in 11th ed. 1860, 14th ed. 1877); F. H. A. Serivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, 1861, 3d ed. 1882; cf. also his *Six Lectures on the Text of the N. T.*, Lond. 1875; C. E. Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to the N. T.*, Oxf. 1872, 3d ed. 1880; Edw. C. Mitchell, *Critical*

*Handbook to the N. T.*, Lond. and Andover, 1880 (the part on Textual Criticism, pp. 67-143, rev. by Ezra Abbot); G. E. Merrill, *The Story of the Manuscripts*, 3d ed. Boston, 1881 (popular); Ph. Schaff, *A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, N. Y. 1883, chs. ii., v., vi.; and in general the *Prolegomena* to the critical editions.]

The value of the *Autographa*, ἀρχέτυπα, ιδιόχειρα, for the first Christians, must not be measured by the standard of our critical needs or our carefulness of records, least of all by our passion for bibliographical curiosities. In general, while there was such a wealth of the living word, men troubled themselves less about the written (§§ 30 ff., 284 ff.). Decreasing legibility and the circulation of more complete copies may also have caused them to be forgotten. The greatest interest on this point is with reference to the Pauline Epistles; cf. Griesbach, *Hist. textus epp. paulin., Opp.*, II. 58 ff.

The assistance of scribes (*notarii, amanuenses, ταχύγραφοι*), attested by the text itself (Rom. xvi. 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 21; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thess. iii. 17; in a different way Gal. vi. 11), has been denied from prejudice: F. Stosch, *De epp. App. idiographis*, Guelf. 1751, 8°; J. H. Pries, *De App. salva inspiratione amanuensium opera usis*, Rost. 1757; F. W. Roloff, *De tribus (!) Pauli nominibus ad Rom. xvi. 22*, Jen. 1731; N. T. Briegleb, *Tertius scriba Pauli*, Jen. 1754. If the epistles were not dictated they certainly were copied, before being sent, by other hands than the writer's. Cf. also § 76. Καλλίγραφοι were necessary for authors unacquainted with writing altogether, or at least with the Greek, and in general because of the method of book-making then prevalent, for general legibility. *Librarii, Correctores*, etc.

Supposed traces of autographs in Ignatius, *Ad Philad.*, viii. (ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, cf. § 289), and Tertullian, *De præscriptione hæc.*, ch. xxxvi. (*authentice literæ*); see J. E. I. Walch, *De App. litt. authent. a Tert. commemoratis*, Jen. 1753; Stosch, *De canone N. T.*, p. 52 ff.; Griesbach, *l. c.*, p. 66; Gabler, *Preface* to the same, p. 26, and all the Introductions.

Fables of the discovery of autographs of John at Ephesus in the fourth century, after *Chronic. pasch.*, p. 5, and Petrus Alex., *De paschate*, in Stosch, *l. c.*, p. 44; or in the foundations of the temple at Jerusalem, under Julian (Philostorg., VII. 14; Niceph. Callisti, X. 33); of Matthew in the grave of Barnabas in Cyprus, according to Theodorus Lector, in the fifth; or even still extant, as of Mark at Venice and Prague, cf. Dobrowsky, *Fragment. pragense ev. S. Marci vulgo autographi*, Prag, 1778.

Cf. in general J. F. Mayer, *Utrum autographa biblica hodie extant*, Hamb. 1692; B. G. Clauswitz, *De autographorum jactura rei chr. et innocia et utili*, Hal. 1743; E. L. Rathlef, *Hist. autographorum apost.*, Hann. 1752 (thinks they were not lost before the time of Diocletian); Knittel, *Ad Ulfilæ fragm.*, p. 122 ff.; Binterim, *De lingua orig. N. T.*, p. 9 ff. [Westcott, in *Smith's Dict.*, III. 2112 f.; Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 85 ff.].

352. Yet we can sketch a description of these original copies even now, partly from what is known of the books of the ancients in general, partly from the later copies which have come down to us, in the oldest of which the art of book-making is still in its infancy. According to these the Apostles must have written without spaces between words, without accents, without punctuation, and without division of the text into paragraphs. Superscriptions and names of authors were also lacking except where they formed an integral part of the text.

In all these points, therefore, criticism has free range and is bound by no authorities, but only by the rules of grammar and logic, and especially by the demands of convenience and custom.

Cf. on this and several later sections, B. de Montfaucon, *Palæographica græca*, P. 1708, fol.; A. Calmet, *Aus wcs für Materien die Bücher der Alten bestanden, und von den verschiedenen Arten zu schreiben*, *Bibl. Unterrs.*, I. 161, of the German translation; H. A. Erhard, *Diplom. Schriftkunde*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, I. 29.

[Other works on Diplomatics and Palæography: *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, Par. 1750-65, 6 vols. 4°; Bast, *Commentatio palæographica*, in App. to G. H. Schäfer's ed. of Gregorius Corinthus, *De Dialecticis*, L. 1811; Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, P. 1839, fol. II. (fine fac-similes); Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, Lond. 1843; Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur griech. Palæographie*, 2d ed. L. 1877, 4°, and 12 plates, fol.; idem, *Schrifttafeln zur Gesch. d. griech. Schrift u. zum Studium d. griech. Palæogr.*, B. 1876-77, 2 vols. fol.; idem, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 2d ed., L. 1875, 8°; Gardthausen, *Griechische Palæographie*, L. 1879, 8°. Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, pp. 88, 93 ff.; Westcott, in *Smith's Dict.*, III. p. 2112 ff.]

The invention of marks of punctuation is older, it is true, but their use did not reach beyond the schools of the grammarians.

353. The material used for writing in common life was the Egyptian paper, upon which the ink was spread with a reed pen. Parchment was not unknown, but was too costly for ordinary use. The text was written in columns, in a character not unlike that found on ancient monuments, the so-called lapidary style, but inclined toward somewhat more rounded forms. The written leaves were rolled together.

For a description of the process of making paper from the papyrus (*πάπυρος*, *Cyperus papyrus*, L.) see Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, XIII. 21-27. Cf. Fortia d'Urban, *Essai sur l'origine de l'écriture*, P. 1832; Krause, *Art. Papyrus*, in the *Hall. Encykl.*, III. 11.

Technical terms: *χάρτης*, *charta*; *μέλαν*, *atramentum*; *κάλαμος*, *calamus*; 2 Jn. 12; 3 Jn. 13. Hence *liber*, *βίβλος*.

Elsewhere occur also the wax tablet (*πινακίδιον*, Lk. i. 63) and parchment (*μεμβράναι*, 2 Tim. iv. 13).

354. Such was the original form of the apostolic writings. The progress of the art of writing, and the various attempts to facilitate the reading of the books, brought about a series of changes in this form, some of which have had a permanent influence upon the text itself, and have lasted after the invention of the art of printing. More ancient, however, and at the same time more numerous, more manifold, and more important, are those changes which directly affected the text and its different essential elements. The method in which, in early times, copies were multiplied, renders this phenomenon a perfectly natural one; the sacred writings but shared the fate of ancient literature in general.

The history of the text of the N. T. is treated specially in the *Prolegomena* to the critical editions of Wetstein, Scholz, Tischendorf [Wescott and Hort, 1881], etc. Yet their presentation of the subject is in many respects dependent upon a preconceived theory. So also with Griesbach, *Curæ in hist. textus epp. Pauli* (*Opp.*, II. 1-135). Cf. J. Croius, *Ss. et historicæ observationes in N. F.*, Gen. 1644, 4°; J. A. Osiander, *De originibus varr. lectt. N. T.*,

Tüb. 1739; J. Frick (§ 289), pp. 118–185; J. S. Semler, *Vorbereitung zur Hermeneutik*, III., IV.; his *Apparatus ad interpr. N. T.*, pp. 28–81. Popular: Tischendorf, *Haben wir den echten Schrifttext der Evv. und Apostel?* L. 1873.

355. The variations from the original text, or the so-called various readings, were liable to arise as long as the text was merely copied, and upon the whole no variety of them belongs exclusively or chiefly to any particular epoch, or precedes another in time. This is true whether they be considered as to their source, as due to accident, carelessness, or design; or as to their form, as additions, omissions, displacements, or transpositions; or finally as to their extent, as affecting letters, words, or whole sentences.

Different idea of a variant, according as one takes for the standard the assumed or critically obtained original text, or some historically given one; e. g., in Mt. viii. 28, Mk. v. 1, Lk. viii. 26, Γερασσηῶν and Γεργεσσηῶν are variants with reference to the original text, the latter and Γαδαρηῶν with reference to the Vulgate and witnesses agreeing with it; in the first passage Γερασσηῶν and Γαδαρηῶν are variants with reference to the received text, etc.

*Lectiones variae s. variantes; σφάλματα, errores; ἀλλοιώσεις, adulterationes.*

Origen, *In Matth.*, XV. (III. 671, Ruæus): Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ βιβλικῶν τινῶν γραφῶν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸλμης τινῶν μοχθηρῶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. (A criticism of this passage, which is certainly not altogether clear, is attempted by A. D. Loman, in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschr.*, 1873, p. 233.)

Cf. for the further fixing of the terminology, the articles *Integrität* and *Intepolationen*, by E. Reuss, in the *Hall. Encykl.*

F. A. Knittel, *Neue Gedanken von den Schreibfehlern in den HSS. des N. T.*, Brg. 1755.

356. Yet it may be asserted with tolerable certainty that the further back we go in the history of the text the more arbitrarily was it treated. Since originally copies of the writings of the Apostles were taken only for private use, and not at all for historico-dogmatic purposes, for which the oral teaching in the churches was sufficient, but rather for individual edification, it is conceivable that in this work one might neither strive after punctilious accuracy, nor scruple to undertake all sorts of alterations. Nay, if we consider that the authors themselves, or their amanuenses in dictation, may have made mistakes, and that the former, in revision, may have introduced improvements and additions, the question comes whether the text ever existed in complete purity at all, and in what sense.

That the authors may have offended against current rules with reference to orthography, placing of the augment, apostrophe, nu movable, etc., and that their copyists (like our proof-readers) may have corrected these errors, will not appear impossible to any one with our present insight into their linguistic knowledge.

Unhellenic expressions due to imperfect acquaintance with the correct usage, in so far as they can be shown to be the genuine readings (1 Thess.

ii. 8, *δμειρόμενοι*; Phil. ii. 30, *παραβουλευσάμενος*), may be reckoned in this class, unless one prefers to assume an otherwise unknown provincialism.

Other passages, whose genuineness is unquestioned, have excited suspicion as to whether they have been correctly placed by the copyists: *e. g.*, 1 Tim. v. 23; Rom. xvi. 25–27 (and many in the latter Epistle according to A. Gratz, *Interpolationen im B. an die Römer*, Ellw. 1814, p. 32 ff.). Cf. also § 111. Laurent, *Neutest. Studien*, p. 31 ff.

However they may have come into existence, variants meet us as soon as quotations from the apostolic writings occur at all in later authors; for we may infer from the concurrent testimony of still extant manuscripts that we have not here to do with mere errors of memory. So both in Catholic and heretical writers (§§ 287 ff., 508). Especially instructive in this connection are the discussions with Marcion (§ 246). Cf. also § 362. Even in Irenæus' time (*Adv. Hær.*, V. 10) attention was paid to better manuscripts (*σπουδαία καὶ ἀρχαία ἀντίγραφα*).

Yet not all the books of the N. T. were affected to the same extent by such changes. The writings of John (Gospel and Epistle) have unquestionably suffered least, the Synoptic Gospels more than the Pauline Epistles, but Luke somewhat less than the other two. The Catholic Epistles, but especially the Acts and the Apocalypse, have been corrupted most. The causes of these phenomena have doubtless been altogether different in each particular case. In general it may be said that more frequent use furnished more frequent occasion for alterations. They appear in the Synoptists more often as conformations, in the Acts as free editing and annotation. Among the Epistles, the higher importance which was ascribed to those of Paul may have given them an additional protection. The Apocalypse, which from the third century on fell into discredit in the theological world, was certainly studied the more eagerly in unlearned circles, as often happened afterward, and in consequence was circulated in more and more corrupt copies.

357. In the most ancient period, as soon, that is, as the writings of the Apostles began to be a subject of scholarly occupation, or at least were copied by members of the profession, the changes which crept into the text were doubtless, for the most part, such as were designed for its improvement. The intention was, that is, to transform it, partly in accordance with the rules of language, syntax, and euphony, where an unclassic style offended the ear of the scholar; partly in the interest of greater clearness, where a harsh expression or a foreign idiom occurred; partly also in the interest of a supposed historic truth which seemed not to consist with the text as it stood.

*Διορθώσεις*, in Origen, *l. c.*, to whom, moreover, we owe wholly unnecessary variants, *e. g.*, Jn. i. 28, *Βηθαβαράς*. For the complaint of Dion. of Corinth of such trifling (*βαδιουργήσαι*), see § 294. Euseb., *H. E.*, IV. 29, of Tatian: *τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμήσαι τινὰς αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτὸν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν*. Anxiety of Irenæus for the fate of his own writings (in Euseb., V. 20). How correctly many Church Fathers judged of the linguistic peculiarities of the N. T., see in Wetstein, *Libelli crit.*, p. 48 ff. *Ἀδιορθωτά ἀντίγραφα*, in Epiphani., *Ancor.*, ch. xxxi., are therefore genuine copies. Yet this word *διορθῶν* had elsewhere another natural sense. § 365, cf. also § 362.

Examples of grammatical corrections: Mk. ii. 15: *κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν οἱ κατακειμένοι αὐτῶν* instead of *ἐν τῷ κατ.*; vii. 17: *ρεσ. περὶ τῆς παραβολῆς* for *τὴν*

παρ. ; Mt. viii. 28 : ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ for ἐλθόντι ; v. 28 : rec. ἐπιθυμήσαι αὐτῆς for αὐτήν ; xv. 32 : rec. ἡμέρας τρεῖς for ἡμέραι ; Lk. viii. 33 : rec. εἰσῆλθεν instead of the plural, cf. vs. 31 ; Rev. ii. 20 : rec. τὴν λέγουσαν instead of the nominative ; Heb. iv. 15 : πεπειραμένον or πεπειρασμένον ; 1 Cor. x. 24 : ἕκαστος added ; Rom. ii. 17, ἰδὲ for εἰ δὲ . . . (yet see § 354).

The frequent change of the Greek orthography is also to be remembered in this connection ; and respecting this views prevail among the most recent critics (see Tischendorf, *Prolegomena* to edition VII. p. 43 ff.), which from lack of contemporaneous documents do not appear to be above all doubt ; at least it is more natural to suppose that later copyists followed local and temporal customs in this matter than that Luke and Paul used Egyptian provincial forms.

Exegetical explanations : Lk. i. 64 : καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ, add διηρθρώθη or ἐλύθη ; Mt. xii. 36 : ῥῆμα πονηρὸν instead of ἀργόν ; vii. 27 : προσῆρῆξαν or προσέκρουσαν or προσέπεσον ; vi. 1 : ἐλεημοσύνην for δικαιοσύνην ; Heb. iv. 2 : συγκεκραμένους or -ους ; Lk. v. 14 : ἵνα εἰς μαρτ. ἦ ὑμῖν τοῦτο ; 2 Cor. v. 3 : ἐκδυσάμενοι for ἐνδυσ. ; Gal. iii. 1 completed from v. 7 ; Lk. ix. 56 as an explanation of the likewise suspicious vs. 55 ; Ja. iii. 12 rec. ; Mt. xxv. 16, ἐκέρδησεν for ἐποίησεν ; Philem. 12, προσλάβου added.— Exegetical misunderstandings : Heb. x. 2 : ἐπεὶ ἂν ; xi. 4 : λαλεῖται ; Ja. ii. 18 : ἐκ for χωρίς. . . .

Historical criticism : Mt. xxvii. 9 : Ζαχαρίου ; vs. 44 wholly omitted ; Mk. ii. 26 : ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ omitted or Abimelech ; Jn. viii. 57 : τεσσαράκοντα ; vii. 8 : οὕτω instead of οὕκ ; Mt. i. 11, completion of the series of names ; x. 3 : δ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος added ; cf. § 170 ; Acts xiii. 33 : δευτέρῳ ; Lk. v. 7 : παρά τι added ; Mk. i. 2 : ἐν τοῖς προφηταῖς ; Mt. xxiv. 38 : πρὸ added.

Archæological learning : Mt. xxv. 1 : καὶ τῆς νύμφης added.

Alteration in accordance with ecclesiastical or biblical usage : Acts xx. 28 : ἐκκλησία θεοῦ or κυρίου ; xvi. 7 : Ἰησοῦ omitted ; Rom. i. 16 : Χριστοῦ added.

Freaks of fancy : Mk. iii. 31 : ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ instead of the reverse order ; Gal. ii. 9, Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος, the same. Perhaps, however, only blunders. Jn. vi. 11, introduction of the disciples.

358. Elsewhere, and especially in the historical books, the design was enrichment. On the one hand the greater richness of tradition invited to the supplementing of the gospel history as a whole, and on the other the comparison of written Gospels so similar to one another led to the attempt to bring them yet nearer together in expression as well as in the substance of the narrative itself. Related to these alterations are those whose design was to bring about a more accurate agreement between a passage and an Old Testament text quoted in it, when the latter was only incompletely or otherwise incorrectly recalled from memory.

Cf. in general § 238 ff. To the examples there adduced of traditional enrichment may be added, among others, Mt. v. 10 : Μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι· μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἔμεταίθηναι τὸ πῶν οὐ διωχθήσονται, which Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, IV. 490, calls μετατιθέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ; Mt. x. 8 : νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε added ; cf. xi. 5 ; Jn. viii. 59 : διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν κ. τ. λ. added as a miracle (Lk. iv. 30).

Examples of harmonistic conformation : Mt. xviii. 11 came from Lk. xix. 10 ; Mt. xxi. 44 from Lk. xx. 18 ; Lk. vii. 10 is in many witnesses repeated after Mt. viii. 13 ; Lk. iv. 8 adds ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου σατανᾶ from Mt. iv. 10 ; after Luke xi. 15 in some codices stands Mk. iii. 23 ; after Lk. v. 14 Cod.

D inserts Mk. i. 45 ; after Mt. xxvii. 49 not a few, even ancient, witnesses have the note from Jn. xix. 34. Lk. xi. 2 ff. is supplemented from Mt. vi. 9 ff. ; cf. Mt. xix. 17 and parallels ; Mk. xiv. 22 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24 ; Lk. xvii. 36 ; xxii. 47 ; cf. Jerome, *Præf. in Evv. ad Damas.* : *Magnus in nostris codd. error inolevit dum, quod in eadem re alius evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint addiderunt ; vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat ad ejus exemplar ceteros quoque existimaverit emendandos ; unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia et in Marco plura Lucæ atque Matthæi, rursus in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci . . . inveniantur.*

Similar phenomena in the Acts : ch. viii. 37 is an addition ; ix. 5, 6 and xxii. 8 are supplemented from xxvi. 14.

Examples of completed or corrected quotations are furnished both by editions and manuscripts. Mt. xii. 20 ; xv. 8 ; Lk. iv. 18, 19 ; Rom. iv. 18 ; ix. 28 ; xiii. 9 ; Hebr. ii. 7 ; xii. 20. Mt. xxvii. 35 is wholly interpolated from Jn. xix. 24.

359. Many readers, though refraining from so bold alterations in the text itself, yet committed the results of their studies, whether exegetical or critical, to the margin of their copies. For the novelty and peculiarity of the religious language of the Apostles continually aroused the more classically educated reader to seek and to give elucidations, a proceeding which stood connected in many ways with the early beginning of exegetical tradition ; and the most incidental comparison of several manuscripts brought to his knowledge variations in the text which he might write down. But this only deferred its further alteration. For sooner or later, in a new copy, these marginal notes came into the text itself as glosses, either with or without the original reading.

Mk. vii. 5 : *ἀνίπτοις* for *κοιναῖς* ; Rom. viii. 28 : *συνεργεῖ*, adds *ὁ θεός* ; 2 Cor. viii. 4 : addition at the end : *δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς* ; Mk. vii. 2 : *ἐμέψαντο* added ; Mt. x. 12 adds *λέγοντες εἰρήνη κ. τ. λ.* ; Acts vii. 48 adds *ναοῖς* ; Gal. iii. 1 ; Rom. viii. 1 ; 1 Thess. v. 8, 24 ; 1 Cor. v. 1. Cf. above, § 357, the examples of exegetical explanation.

Historical notes : Mk. vii. 8 ; Jn. vi. 22 : Acts i. 5 adds *καὶ ὁ μέλλετε λαμβάνειν ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς* ; vs. 12 adds ; *τοσοῦτον ὦν τὸ διάστημα ὅσον δυνατὸν Ἰουδαῖον περιπατήσαι ἐν σαββάτῳ* ; numerous additions in the Acts are preserved particularly in the Latin version ; also in Greek manuscripts and editions (*e. g.* viii. 37 ; x. 6 ; xvii. 21 ; xi. 21 ; xiv. 6, 10 ; xv. 29, 34 ; xxii. 12 ; xxiii. 25 ; xxiv. 6, 18 ; xxviii. 29, etc.). — To Jn. vi. 56 Cod. D adds : *καθὼς ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ*. In the same manuscript a longer addition which appears as a gloss to vs. 53.

In the interest of logical completeness or sharpness : Rom. xi. 6 : addition : *εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκ ἐστὶ χάρις κ. τ. λ.* ; Lk. ix. 55, the words of Jesus, at least the second half ; cf. § 357.

Again, a genuine portion of the text might be inserted at the wrong place, having been accidentally forgotten in copying, and written afterward in the margin. So the probable transposition of the verses Phil. i. 16 and 17. After 1 Cor. x. 28, vs. 26 is repeated. In the received text of Mt. xxiii. 13, 14, conformation and transposition from the margin are combined.

Early exegetical tradition : Iren. IV. 32 : *Scripturas diligenter legere apud eos qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteri apud quos est apostolica doctrina*. Cf. ch. xxvi.

On glosses see Jerome, *Ad Suniam et Fretelam*, III. Francof. p. 58 :

*Miror quomodo e latere annotationem nostram nescio quis temerarius scribendam in corpore putaverit quam nos pro eruditione legentis scripsimus.* Page 59: *Si quid pro studio ex latere additum est, non debet poni in corpore.* J. de Hase, *De glossematis N. T.* (Bibl. Brem., I. 687 ff.); Döderlein's *Bibl.*, II. 781; Corrodi, *Beiträge*, V. 1; C. C. Tittmann, *De glossis N. T. æstimandis et judicandis*, Witt. 1782; E. Wassenbergh, *De glossis N. T.* (in Valckenarius, *Scholia*, I); F. A. Bornemann, *De glossematis N. T. caute diducandis* (in his *Scholia ad Luc.*); E. Reuss, *Art. Glossen in Herzog's Encykl.*; L. Leblois, *Des additions légendaires, dogmatiques, et liturgiques faites au texte primitif du N. T.*, Par. 1869.

The Hebrew text of the O. T. in certain parts, but especially the Greek text of the LXX., is more distorted by glosses than that of the N. T.

360. A particular class of alterations by design would be those which might be undertaken to make the original text conform to a current version which had attained ecclesiastical authority. The more not only the uneducated readers of the Bible, but also the more learned priests, became accustomed to this version, the more naturally must any variation discovered have worked to the disadvantage of the original text. If it be remembered, moreover, that original text and version were often written together in parallel columns or otherwise, it is evident how near might lie the temptation to such liberties. That single examples of such alterations can be pointed out in Western manuscripts cannot be denied, but for suspecting them as a whole, as was formerly done by many critics, there seems to be no ground.

The *Codices latinizantes* were distinctly arraigned, after R. Simon, *Hist. du texte*, ch. 30 ff., by C. B. Michaelis, *De variis lect. N. T.*, § 80 ff., and Wetstein. They were defended, in particular, by Mill, Semler, and Griesbach, in various passages of their already cited works, and by Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, V. 235 ff.

In the West and in the Latin Church, where this operation must have been undertaken, there can scarcely be assumed, at any time or in any place, sufficient linguistic knowledge, or even sufficient interest, to carry it through as a whole. (Moreover, the force of most of the examples adduced is taken away by the fact that the suspicious readings are likewise found in distant and ancient oriental witnesses.) Only at a very late period did both these things exist, and even then were only able to produce isolated pieces of audacity, among which the most famous is the well-known verse 1 Jn. v. 7, springing from the Vulgate (here itself interpolated), over which for centuries there has been so "much ado about nothing." (R. Simon, *Texte*, ch. 18; Lüderwald, *Ueber 1 Jn. v. 7*, 1767; Semler, *Dogmat. Beweisstellen*, Pt. I.; F. A. Knittel, *Neue Kritiken*, 1785; Hezel's *Schriftforscher*, Pt. II.; Alter, in the *Repert.*, V., VIII.; H. Ware, *Two Letters on the Genuineness*, etc. Bost. 1820; C. E. Scharling, Copenh. 1861, and many earlier monographs. See in general Rosenmüller, *Handb. d. Lit.*, II. 246.) Perhaps also εἶρον, Mt. ii. 11, instead of εἶδον; Rom. i. 32, after ἐπιγινόντες the addition οὐκ ἐνόησαν (*non intellexerunt*, Vulg.), or a similar word.

It is something wholly different and altogether innocent when in Cod. D, Mt. iii. 16, Mk. i. 26, πνεῦμα (*spiritus*) is treated as masculine, or elsewhere Latin forms appear, as in Mt. x. 5, Σαμαριτανῶν, etc.

In general, the reverse case, the conformation of the Latin to the Greek, is much more frequent. (§ 482).



For noteworthy examples of how the long printed Greek text could still be altered to agree with Luther's version or the Vulgate, see below, §§ 404, 405.

361. Yet more dangerous to the text might have been the fact that in the earliest times it was not so much the Scripture as the apostolic tradition, which was more generally known and current, that usually decided in matters of faith. One might easily, in case of an actual or supposed contradiction between the two authorities, hit upon the thought of removing it by altering the Scripture in accordance with the accepted rule of faith. In fact evidence is not lacking that such attempts were made. Yet the still extant examples are to be characterized rather as exegetical guards erected by an anxious faith against heretical abuse of certain passages, than as proper dogmatic corruptions.

Mt. i. 18, *γέννησις* or *γένεσις*; *ibid.*, *πρὶν ἢ συναλεθεῖν αὐτοὺς* omitted; vs. 25 *πρωτότοκον* omitted; Lk. ii. 33, *ἰωσήφ* for *ὁ πατήρ*; all of which bear upon possible Ebionitic errors, or are intended to do away with all doubt respecting the virginity of the mother of Christ.

The following are intended to guard against different dogmatic misconceptions and objections: Mk. vii. 13, *τῇ παραδόσει, τῇ μαρᾷ* added; Jn. vii. 39, *οὕτω ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* or some other phrase added; Mk. xiii. 32, *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς* omitted; 1 Tim. i. 17, *μόνῳ θεῷ, σοφῷ* added; Lk. xix. 41 and xxii. 43, 44 omitted, and, as Epiph., *Ancor.*, 31, expressly observes, by the orthodox; 1 Cor. ix. 20, *μὴ ὦν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον* omitted.

In defense of apostolic honor and dignity: 1 Cor. xv. 10, *οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ, μόνος* added; Mt. v. 11, *ψευδόμενοι* added. Or prophetic: Jn. x. 8, *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* omitted. Perhaps also Mt. viii. 31, *ἐπίτρεψον*, etc., for *ἀποστείλον*.

1 Cor. vii. 3, *ὀφειλομένη εὐνοία* for *ὀφειλή*, is a euphemism, unless suggested by the ascetic spirit.

To conceal a divergence in moral principles: Mt. v. 22, *εἰκῆ* omitted or inserted; vs. 32, the last clause omitted.

Several of these corrections are properly exegetical opinions and almost belong in the category of § 357. Examples may also be derived from the notes to the next section of how, even in the copies of the Catholics, critically untenable but dogmatically useful readings were to be found. Schulthess, *Symbb. ad intern. crit. librorum canon.* (1833), II. 1 ff., brings a formal accusation of corruption against the orthodox. Cf. his *Theol. Nachr.*, 1829, II. 287.

362. But frequent mention is also made in the ancient writers of actual corruptions, perpetrated in dogmatic and polemic interests. At a time when the apostolic writings had become the supreme rule in matters of faith, when consequently the honor accorded them must have been the surest protection against such falsification, both parties, Catholics and heretics, reproached each other with the greatest bitterness for this kind of deception. Granting this reproach to be well-founded, it surely could have affected but a very few copies, which were quickly and easily discarded; but the examples adduced by the Church Fathers (for we do not possess the writings of

their opponents) depend mostly on exegetical misconceptions, and reveal only the ignorance of the accusers, here and there perhaps even the unfairness of the accusation.

The very passionateness of these accusations, their apparent attempt to make their impression by invective rather than by facts, excites a prejudice against them which is not done away by the contemptibleness of the charges. Thus the Valentinians are attacked by Irenæus (IV. 6) for a transposition of the clauses in Mt. xi. 27 which occurs also in Catholic Fathers; by Tertullian (*De carne Chr.*, ch. 19) for changing the singular in Jn. i. 13 into the plural, which is alone genuine. Ambrose (*De fide*, V. 7) charges the Arias with having foisted into Mk. xiii. 32 the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, which are undoubtedly genuine; also (*De Spir. S.*, III.), with the omission in Jn. iii. 6 of the addition of the Old Latin version: *quoniam Deus spiritus est*. Nestorius was taken to task for a variant in 1 Jn. iv. 3 which his opponent Cyril also has; cf. in general Griesbach, *Opp.*, II. 114 ff.; Schmidt, *Einkl.*, II. 35 ff.; Eichhorn, V. 120 ff.; Trechsel, *Kanon und Kritik der Manichäer*, p. 91 ff. [Westcott, in Smith's *Dict.*, III. 2113 f.; Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 173 f.]

Of the Artemonites Eusebius relates (*H. E.*, V. 28) from older sources: ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀφόβως ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας λέγοντες αὐτὰς διαρθρωκέαι, so that, indeed, the copies of Asclepiodotus, Theodotus, Apollonides, Hermophilus, were at variance among themselves. But of what kind this variation was, or wherein the διάρθρωσις consisted, we know nothing, and the confident assurance of the accuser that one need only compare these copies, requires the assumption of a previous critical examination on his part which, probably, no one will believe.

These accusations are directed most frequently and vehemently by Irenæus, I. 27, but especially by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, V., cf. § 246, and Epiphanius, *Hær.*, 42, against Marcion, of whose Gospel we have spoken above. His sins against the Epistles, according to these witnesses, are in part of similar character to those above (*e. g.*, in Gal. ii. 5 he read correctly οἷς οὐδὲ, which his opponent omitted; in 2 Cor. iv. 4 he correctly construed ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτον together, which Tertullian separated by a comma; in 1 Thess. ii. 15 he had, with several of our manuscripts, τοῦς ἰδίους προφήτας, etc.), and in part of no dogmatic importance whatever, in fact wholly accidental variants or clerical errors (*e. g.*, in 1 Cor. x. 19 *ιερόθυτον* instead of *εἶδωλον*; in Eph. ii. 15 *αὐτοῦ* wanting after *σαρκί*; v. 31, *πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα* omitted, etc.), so that even in cases where the appearance is really against Marcion, and where we should now by no means be able to undertake his defense, the accusation is highly suspicious, as in the case of the omission of *καὶ προφητῶν* in Eph. ii. 20, of Col. i. 15, 16, of Ἀδάμ and *ἄνθρωπος* in 1 Cor. xv. 45, and several similar cases. Yet it is to be assumed from the nature of the case that the accusation of willful alteration was not fabricated outright. Two points, however, should not be left unnoticed, first, that the conclusions which have been drawn from these declamations (Hahn, *Ev. Marc.*, § 246) rest in part upon exegetical misunderstandings, and that nothing is less certain than that he expunged from the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans all the portions passed over by his accusers in silence (yet see, *e. g.*, Tert., V. 14: *Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisit Scripture*, etc., according to which nothing would remain between Rom. viii. 11 and xi. 33 but x. 1-4); and, second, that Marcion's work of sifting, if it were such as represented, must have been a rather inconsistent piece of patchwork, and consequently have completely failed of its purpose. Cf. J. F. C. Löffler, *Marcionem Pauli epp. . . adulterasse dubitatur*, Traj. ad V. 1788; J. F. Schelling, *De Marcione paul. epp. emendatore*, Tüb. 1795; Ritschl, *Das Ev. Marcions*, p. 151 ff.; see also Mill, *Prolegg.*, § 289 ff. Most thorough of all, Hilgenfeld, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1855,

III. ; he admits alterations and omissions, but in part rather upon the ground of inference than of positive testimony.

Inasmuch as Epiphanius complains of much more numerous corruptions of the Epistles than Tertullian, it might be assumed that Marcion's pupils continued these methods.

The corruption of the Gospels by the Emperor Anastasius, related by Victor Tunnumensis in *Chron.* (*ad ann.* 506), is based upon a laughable misapprehension (cf. C. M. Pfaff, *De evv. sub Anastasio imp. non corruptis*, Tüb. 1717 ; Stosch, *De canone N. T.*, p. 298 ff.), and is inadmissible even in the form in which it is related by Liberatus Diaconus, *Breviar.* (in Galland. XII. 152), that the Patriarch Macedonius was deposed because he corrupted the Gospels (especially 1 Tim. iii. 16). Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1013 ff.

Similar accusations by the Latins, who clung to their bad translation, against the Greeks, and by the Fathers who were accustomed to the LXX. against the Jews.

Moreover, such corruption would only have been possible in a complete dogmatic revision of all the apostolic writings, and the accusations refer only to isolated passages. The same is true of what may be laid to the charge of a naive orthodoxy. Two codices insert in 1 Cor. viii. 6 *καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ*. On 1 Jn. v. 7 see § 360.

363. Finally, even the public use of the apostolic writings, otherwise so favorable to the preservation of the text, became the occasion of a new kind of corruption. The practice of reading particular portions in public and of writing these in a separate collection on this account led to the custom of appending all kinds of liturgical additions in order to make them better fitted for the purpose. Especially, since most of the passages were taken out of their connection, they had to be supplied with suitable introductory words, and at the close appear all sorts of formulas used in divine worship. These additions then found their way into the more complete copies.

Beginnings : Lk. ii. 41, *Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρία* for *οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ* ; vii. 31, the receptus adds *εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος*. Similarly, Jn. xiv. 1 ; Acts iii. 11: *τοῦ ἰαθέντος χολοῦ* for *αὐτοῦ*, etc. Numerous examples are collected by Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1055.

Of different kind : the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, Mt. vi. 13 : the completion of the sacramental words, 1 Cor. xi. 24 ; and especially the frequent *Ἀμήν*.

364. Other corruptions, which are evidently accidental and not intentional, are to be attributed rather to the carelessness of the copyists than to their often so ill-applied learning. In this class belong various errors of the eye, ear, memory, and judgment. In reading, similar letters, syllables, or words were interchanged, lines with similar beginning or end were overlooked ; in dictation, things of similar sound were wrongly apprehended ; in copying hastily, equivalent idioms and phrases were exchanged, or larger or smaller portions of sentences transposed, abbreviations wrongly resolved, and other similar, easily conceivable blunders made. This cause of the corruption of the text, if it has not been the greatest, has at least been longest in operation.

Errors of the eye : Rom. xii. 13 : *μνείαις* for *χρείαις*; Mt. xix. 19 : *ὡς ἐαυτὸν* for *ὡς σεαυτὸν*; Lk. vii. 21 : *ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν οὐ ἐχ. τὸ βλέπειν*; ix. 49 : *ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια* or *ἐκβ. τὰ δαιμόνια*; Acts x. 36 : *τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλε* for *τ. λογ. ὃν ἀπέστ.*; Mt. xi. 23 : *Καπερναοὺμ μὴ* for *Καπ. ἤ*; 1 Thess. ii. 7 : *ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι* for *ἐγεν. ἤπιοι*; Heb. ii. 9 : *χωρὶς* and *χάρτι*.

Homœoteuton : Mt. v. 19, the last clause omitted; Lk. vi. 21, the same; Mt. v. 4, 5 transposed, probably on account of a previous overlooking of the first clause; vss. 7, 8 the same; 2 Cor. vi. 5, *ἐν ἀποκαταστασίαις* omitted; Mt. x. 23, the first clause written double; 1 Cor. xv. 26 and 27, first half omitted.

Errors of the ear, especially on account of itacism : Rom. ii. 17 : *ἰδὲ* for *εἰ δέ*; Mt. xxvii. 60 : *κενῶ* for *καινῶ*; 1 Pet. ii. 3 : *Χριστὸς* for *χρηστὸς*; 1 Tim. v. 21 : *πρόσκλῃσιν* for *πρόσκλῃσιν*; Jam. iv. 13 : *ποιήσωμεν . . . ποιήσωμεν*; 1 Jn. iv. 2 : *γινώσκειται, -τε*; 2 Cor. iii. 1 : *εἰ μὴ* for *ἡ μὴ*; xii. 1 : *δεῖ* for *δὴ*; so *ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς* frequently interchanged.

Interchanges of synonyms : *κύριος* and *θεός*; *κύριος*, *Ἰησοῦς*, and *Χριστός*; *Ἰησοῦς* and *αὐτός*; *εἶπεν*, *ἔφη*, and *λέγει*; *μαθηταί* and *ἀπόστολοι*; *δὲ*, *καί*, and *οὐδ*; *διὰ* and *ὑπό*; *ἐκ* and *ἀπό*; *εἶτα* and *μετὰ ταῦτα*. — *Πύλη* and *θύρα*, Lk. xiii. 24, Acts iii. 2; *ῥα* and *ἡμέρα*, Lk. vii. 21 and frequently; *τελειώθησεται* and *τελειωθήσεται*, Lk. xviii. 31; *πέμψαντα* and *ἀποστείλαντα*, Jn. xiii. 20; *καταδικασθήσῃ* and *κατακριθήσῃ*, Mt. xii. 37; *παιδίον* and *παιδάριον*, xi. 16; *ῥῆμα* and *λόγος*, Rev. xvii. 17. Plural and singular, Mt. iii. 8; compounds and simples, or two different compounds; prepositions with different cases; modes and tenses; the article inserted and omitted; personal pronouns in the genitive and accusative likewise,—all these in numberless cases.

Transpositions, especially in enumerations : Mt. xv. 30, *χωλοὺς*, *τυφλοὺς*, *καφοὺς*, etc., in every possible order; Rom. i. 29; Gal. v. 20; 2 Cor. xi. 23; Rev. viii. 5; Lk. iii. 24 ff., the genealogy, in which some copies have the series of names in the strangest confusion (because of a change from lines into columns?); Heb. ii. 14, *αἵματος καὶ σαρκός*; Mt. xxv. 2, *μωραὶ* — *φρόνιμοι*. Or in the construction : Mt. xi. 16 : *καθημένοις ἐν ἀγοραῖς*; 1 Jn. i. 10 (also ii. 10, 19) *ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν*; 1 Cor. ix. 8 : *ἡ καὶ δ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει*; Eph. ii. 12 : *τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας* or *τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τῆς διαθήκης*. So also the separate clauses in 1 Cor. viii. 8; ix. 1; x. 19; xi. 11; xv. 39.

Wrongly resolved abbreviations : Rom. xii. 11 : *καιρῶ* or *κυρίῳ*; 1 Cor. ii. 1 : *μαρτύριον* or *μυστήριον*; according to some 1 Tim. iii. 16 : *ὄς* for *θεός*; Jn. xix. 14 : *ἕκτη* or *τρίτη* from numerous MSS.; perhaps Mt. xiv. 7 : *ὤμοσεν* instead of *ἀμολόγησεν*; Acts v. 34 : *ἀνθρώπους* instead of *ἀποστόλους*.

Wrongly divided words : Phil. i. 1 : *συνεπισκόποις* as one word; ii. 4 : *ἐκάστοις κοποῦντες*; Gal. i. 9 : *προεῖρηκα μὲν* separated.

Orthographic confusion, especially in unusual proper names, *e. g.* in the genealogies; Nazareth, Mt. iv. 13, written in four different ways, Genuesaret, xiv. 34, in nine.

1 Cor. vi. 20 : *δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν* — instead of *δὴ*, first *ἔρα*, then both together, and then in their place, according to sound, *ἔρατε, glorificate ergo et portate Deum* (Vulg.).

Displacements in the text have been explained by the loose connection of the separate leaves; Griesbach, *Opp.*, II. 62, on Rom. xvi. 25–27 (§ 356).

On the proportion of variants of this kind to those before specified, Wetstein gives his opinion as follows (*Libelli critici*, p. 27) : *Lectioes var. tantum non omnes studio et ingenio et conjecturae librorum debentur; quæ enim ex negligentia et incuria sunt ortæ vix centesimam earum partem constituunt*. So also Griesbach, *l. c.*, p. 105. But this seems a little exaggerated.

365. Inasmuch as these various causes worked on altogether unchecked, the dissimilarity of different copies must soon have increased so much that the greatest confusion arose, and no

two entirely accorded. Yet along with all this diversity there must also have arisen a certain similarity between those manuscripts which were connected by a sort of kinship, as compared with those which belonged to a circle altogether foreign. Several causes contributed to give the text, in regions where it was especially frequently copied, a local coloring, that is to say, a form peculiar to those regions. The method of the spread of Christianity, the dependence of many churches on one mother church, the reputation of a library, a copyist, or a manuscript, even the ruling taste, style, and usage, brought about, amid all the confusion, a greater homogeneity among the copies dependent upon one another.

Only the more accidental variants repeat themselves wholly independently of one another. The intentional ones the less, as they are in higher degree a result of subjective (critical or uncritical) reflection. Their repetition is the surest internal indication of dependence or relationship. (External indications, aiding one to orient himself more quickly, are the form of the characters, the color of the ornaments or initials, the subscriptions, etc.) A noteworthy example, among others, of such local differences of reading is 1 Cor. xv. 51, where the Constantinopolitan family has the text as now printed, the Alexandrian the reverse: Πάντες μὲν κοιμηθῆσόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα; the Occidental: πάντες μὲν ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα.

Newly-founded churches received the N. T. from the hands of their founders, consequently indirectly on the authority of the church which had sent them, and by which the whole province was cared for. To secure greater accuracy and critical integrity, the copies were often collated, after their completion, with specially valuable ancient MSS. (ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀντιβάλλειν), and this fact attested in a subscription. The collator introduced in the course of this process the necessary corrections (διορθώσεις, cf. § 357), and many of our extant MSS. have such corrections by a second hand (§ 392).

Here may also be mentioned what the ancient writers say of copies of Origen and Pierius, which were especially valued (Jerome, on Gal. iii. 1: *in exemplariis quibusdam Adamantii* the doubtful words are lacking; on Mt. xxiv. 36: *in græcis maxime Ad. et Pi. exx.*, the addition οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς is wanting. Cf. Eichhorn, IV. 250 ff.; Griesbach, *De codd. ev. Origenianis*, Opp., I.). Ernesti and Hug would find in them a proper critical recension of the text (§ 367). Also certain accounts of the library at Cæsaræa, where the works of Origen were preserved, and copies by Pamphilus, *qui multos codices præparabat et cum necessitas poposcisset volentibus largiretur* (Jerome, *Adv. Rufin.*, II. 9; *De scriptt. eccl.*, ch. 75; Euseb., *H. E.*, VI. 32). Subscription to Cod. H, Paul.: ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ, and several others. Cf. the subscription to the book of Esther in *Cod. Frid. August.* (properly *Sinaiticus*), in Tischendorf, *Cod. N. T. Sin.*, 1863, *Prolegg.*, p. 33.

Influence of the Alexandrian passion for classicism, or of a provincial dialect (e. g., Alexandrian: εἶπαν, ἔπασαν, ἐδίδοσαν, εἴχασαν, ἤλατε, συλλήμψη, etc.), upon the special form of the text, and the possibility of determining the origin of the extant MSS. thereby. The Occidental have more frequent scholia and glosses; the Egyptian more grammatical corrections.

366. In general, however, the greater stability in the form of the text begins with the period when more numerous copies

were made for the churches and for public use, in the preparation of which the best helps were sought, and which in turn served as the foundation of many other copies. Unfortunately, however, many churches were prepossessed in favor of old, often faulty copies, which had come down to them by inheritance, or of a yet more faulty version, and rejected with distrust all that did not agree with them; whereby not only was the danger of further corruption avoided, but also the necessary correction was prevented. Most of the variations of text, in any way remarkable, which have come down to us, and many which have disappeared from all the manuscripts now extant, were already in existence in the fourth century.

The ever closer union of the whole Catholic Church, as well as the increasing unalterableness of exegesis, may also have contributed their share to the gradual fixing of the text. Cf. Griesbach, *Opp.*, II. 128 ff. The same author asserts, p. 101 ff., that after the middle of the fifth century no important variants (except accidental ones) came into the text.

Story of the fifty church copies prepared by Eusebius for Constantine, *Vita Const.*, iv. 36; E. A. Frommann, *De codd. SS. jussu Const. M. ab Eusebio adornatis*, 1759 (*Opp.*, p. 303); Ernesti, *Bibl.*, II. 384.

Origen was afraid to undertake a critical work on the N. T.; at least he says, in the ancient translation of the passage quoted in § 355 (but not in the original), after having spoken of his critical works on the O. T.: *In exemplaribus autem N. T. hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi.* Jerome (*Pref. ad Evv.*) knows beforehand that he will be decried as a falsarius and sacrilegus on account of his revision of the Latin version. In the decree of Gelasius (§ 324) the critical efforts of Lucian and Hesychius are placed among the forged apocryphal works. *Evv. quæ falsavit Lucianus apocrypha. Evv. quæ falsavit Isicius (al. al.) apocrypha.* See § 367.

Examples of readings which, formerly of more or less wide occurrence, have almost or quite disappeared from the MSS.: Mt. xxvii. 53: *μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτῶν*, according to Glycas in all the MSS., now found almost alone in Oriental versions. — A scholium on Mk. xi. 11 mentions the addition, now altogether disappeared, *ἀναξίων ὄντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; Jerome mentions a long addition to Mk. xvi. 14 in the Latin and especially the Greek MSS., evidently apocryphal, which is now no longer to be found. In Heb. ii. 9 the general reading is now *χάριτι*; but until into the fifth century the Fathers hesitated and some read *χαρῆς*; see Tischendorf, *ad loc.* In Eph. i. 2 down to the time of Basilius *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* was lacking in the text; now only in Cod. B and Sin.; in 1 Jn. iv. 3 the Latin witnesses and the Greek writers (Socrates, VII. 32) read *δὲ λυεῖ Ἰησοῦν*, which is not now found in any MS.

367. In spite of this distrust, some men ventured to purify the text of the New Testament writings, so far as possible, from the errors which had crept into it, and to undertake with it a work which had already been attempted, as an imperative necessity, with the Greek text of the Old Testament. Thus arose, toward the close of the third century, at nearly the same time, two critical recensions of the New Testament, the one by the Egyptian bishop Hesychius, the other by the Antiochian presbyter Lucian. Of their sources, character, and critical principles, however, in the complete lack of all definite information and documents, we are in absolute ignorance.

Jerome, *Ad Damas., Præf. in Evv.*: *Prætermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio, quibus nec in toto V. T. post LXX. interpretes emendare quid licuit nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura antea translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt.* From the tone of this one might get the idea that these men had simply undertaken to expunge (apocryphal?) interpolations, or on the other hand to introduce them. In the latter sense, perhaps, is the decree of Gelasius to be understood (§ 366), though doubtless only from hearsay. Perhaps also Jerome, *De viris ill.*, ch. lxxvii.: *Lucianus vir disertissimus tantum in S. S. studio laboravit ut usque nunc quedam exemplaria S. S. luciana nuncupentur.*

Jerome, *Præf. ad Paralip.*: *Alexandria et Ægyptus in LXX. suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani exemplaria probat, medicæ inter has provinciæ palæstinos codd. legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis trifaria hac inter se varietate compugnat; cf. Ad Rufin., II. 26, p. 152, Frankf.* In all this the reference is to the O. T. alone.

Essay on these recensions (doubted by some, see Scholz, *Prolegg.*, I. 23; De Wette, II. § 39; Griesbach, *Meletem.*, II. 47 ff.) in Semler, *Ad Wetstenii libell. crit.*, p. 83 and *passim*; Hug, see below, § 412; Eichhorn, IV. 278–304; cf. also J. P. Nickes, *De V. T. codicum græcorum familiis*, Monast. 1853. Mill, *Prolegg.*, § 333, identifies this Lucian with Leucius, the fabricator of apocryphal writings (§ 261).

Erroneous opinion that Origen also made a recension of his own of the text of the N. T.; see Hug, *l. c.*; Dathe, *De Origine gramm. interpr. auctore*, p. 19 f., and § 365.

368. The fate of these recensions, and how far, even in their own lands, they may have found favor, is wholly unknown to us. That their circulation, in any case, could only have been slow and difficult is self-evident. The most probable view is that they never, at any time or in any place, enjoyed public favor, and that the learned, who probably were the only ones who adopted them, brought about their early disappearance along with their own. For since the unrevised text existed in many manuscripts along side of the revised, and doubtless most were unwilling to give it up, both on account of attachment to the old and of the material value of the books, they preferred to make more or less numerous corrections in them in accordance with the new recension, each accepting whatever, according to his own judgment, seemed useful or necessary. Thus many manuscripts may have come to contain a third, mixed text, exhibiting only partially the peculiarities of the recension from which it proceeded, and the attempt at purification became a source of new confusion.

The two recensions themselves may have become intermingled in the same way. Eichhorn, IV. 306–320, attempts to point out examples of such intermingling. But such textual reconstructions rest upon altogether insufficient grounds.

369. It is sufficiently evident from the foregoing that any strict separation of readings according to the locality of their origin and circulation, or according to the particular families to

which they may belong, is not only beset with the greatest difficulties, but is well-nigh impossible. In order to be able to do this we must first be able to arrange the existing critical witnesses themselves in like manner. True, it may be determined in advance, by means of the Church Fathers and Versions, in general, and in so far as accident does not lead astray, with what local text they must be classed. But as respects the former the fragmentary character of their quotations, and as respects the latter the indirectness of their evidence, in great part does away with this presumption. Besides, with the exception of a single class, the manuscripts of any one region are not numerous enough to yield trustworthy results by comparison. The oldest and most important are completely isolated as respects the place and time of their origin, and hence can only be classified with difficulty. Moreover, in view of the undeniable mixture of readings, no single witness can be regarded as a pure representative or type of any local text.

Hence the conflicting divisions and designations of scholars; see below, in the history of the modern editions. Even in the classification of witnesses they do not altogether agree, and the problem is still more complicated by the partial distinction (Hug, Eichhorn, and others) of an unrevised, revised, and mixed text.

370. Nothing remains for us, therefore, but to note the more frequent and at the same time peculiar and striking variations of text, and to pass over the great mass of the rest, which occur only here and there, or which, though occurring more frequently, are evidently purely accidental, — in a word, the less important ones. The comparison of the former may then, to a certain extent, reveal the closer or more distant relationship of the witnesses, and so give us an approximate, though never a perfect, insight into the quality of a particular form of the text, whose geographical home may even then be conjectured more easily from the known origin of particular manuscripts and the nativity of the Fathers and Versions agreeing with it. But a grouping in the large is all that will be possible; attempts at accuracy lead on the one side to arbitrariness, on the other to obscurity. We shall be obliged to content ourselves with the general distinction of Alexandrian, Constantinopolitan, and Occidental texts, and perhaps should regard even the use of these terms as in part only conventional.

The expression Occidental text is an inappropriate one, inasmuch as the West did not trouble itself about the Greek original. We may designate thereby peculiar readings of the Latin Versions and Fathers which occur also in certain ancient manuscripts, *e. g.*, D Gospels, D, E, F, G Paul. The sources of these readings, however, must have been closely related to those of the ancient Oriental text, since the Peshito, the Sahidic Version, Alexandrian codices, Clement, and Origen frequently agree with them.



A text which may be more definitely designated as Alexandrian is presented in the noteworthy agreement in certain peculiar readings of Athanasius, Cyril, and other Egyptian Fathers with the Memphitic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and in part also the Philoxenian Versions. To this belong B, C, L Gospels, E Acts, A, B, C, H Paul.

The Constantinopolitan text is found, in ancient times, in the Gothic and Slavic Versions, in the Fathers of this region from the fourth to the sixth century, and in E, F, G, H, S, V Gospels; in later times, in most of our cursive manuscripts. The circumstance that in the first quarter of the fourth century fifty Bibles came at once from Palestine to Constantinople at the imperial order (§ 366) would perhaps allow us to infer to a certain extent a dependence of the later Byzantine text on the Alexandrian.

The following collection of the most important variants from 1 Cor. xv. may serve for illustration:—

1. *ἑστήκατε* Alex. Const., *στήκετε* Occ. 2. *εἰ κατέχετε* Alex. Const., *ὑφέλετε κατέχειν* Occ. 5. *εἶτα* Const., *ἔπειτα* Alex., *μετὰ ταῦτα* Occ.; *δώδεκα* Const., *ἑνδεκα* Occ. and in part Alex. 6. *πλείους* Const., *πλείους* Alex. Occ.; *καὶ* is wanting in Alex. Occ. 10. Instead of *οὐ κενή* Occ. witnesses read *πρωχὴ οὐ*. 15. *εἶπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγγέρονται* is wanting in many Occ. and Alex. witnesses. 19. Alex. and Occ. place *ἐν Χριστῷ* before *ἠλπικότες*. 20. Const. adds *ἐγένετο* at the end. 23. Occ. adds *ἐλπίσαντες* at the end. 24. *παραδῶ* Const., the others *παραδιδῶ* . . . *δίδωσι* . . . *διδόσι*. 29. Const. has *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* twice, Alex. Occ. the second time *ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*. 31. *ὑμετέραν* Const. Occ., *ἡμετέραν* Alex.; after *καύχησιν* Alex. and Occ. in part insert *ἀδελφοί*. 33. *χρῆσθ'* Const.; everywhere else *χρηστά*. 36. *ἄφρων* Alex. Occ., *ἄφρον* Const. 39. Const. inserts *σάρξ* before *ἀνθρώπων*; before *κτηνῶν* Occ. omits it. 44. *εἰ ἔστι σῶμα ψ*. *ἔστι καὶ πν*. Alex. Occ., *ἔστι σῶμα ψ. καὶ ἔστι σ. πν*. Const. 47. Alex. Occ. lack *ὁ κύριος*, but the latter adds *ὁ οὐράνιος* at the end. 50. *κληρονομεῖ* Const. Alex., *κληρονομήσει* Occ. 51. Cf. § 365. 52. *ῥοπή* Occ., *ἀναστήσονται* Alex. Occ., *ἐγερθήσονται* Const., etc.

Similar tables in Scholz, I. p. xx.; Eichhorn, IV. 321, etc. [by B. B. Warfield, in Schaff's *Comp. to the Gk. Test.*, p. 222]. Only let it not be understood that all the witnesses of a family always agree.

371. After the conquests of the Arabs the text of the New Testament suffered but few new and noteworthy alterations. Egypt and Syria forgot the Greek language and no longer prepared manuscripts. In the West men either did not feel the need of them at all, or contented themselves with the few old copies which had been preserved from earlier times. In Greece, on the contrary, where alone the need of them was still felt, the ancient books were soon worn out and destroyed, and there remained only a great mass of later copies, with which, upon the revival of Greek studies, the west of Europe also was supplied, or which at least must often have been the sources of occidental copies. The ignorance and thoughtlessness of the later copyists, by which the strangest blunders were often introduced into the text, at the same time protected it from all intentional disfigurement.

Droll examples of such misconceptions: 2 Cor. viii. 4, Cod. Corsend. (3) at Vienna, has in the text: *ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται*; Mt. xxvi. 60, Cod. D has two different ancient marginal readings in the text at the same time, each simply with the introductory words and the addition *τὸ ἐξῆς*

(i. e. *etc.*), and from this, in the accompanying version, *sequentia*; cf. Griesbach, *Opp.*, II. 110; Scholz, *Prolegg.*, I. 14. — 1 Cor. xv. 5, Cod. E combines two different readings of its critically emended original, placed one over the other, *μετὰ ταῦτα [εἶτα] τοῖς δώδεκα [ἐνδέκα]*, in this manner: *μετὰ ταυεῖτα τοῖς δωενδέκα*; Heb. x. 33, the same MS. has in the same way, *νιδίζομενοθεατριζομενοι* (the first half is the various reading *ὀνειδιζόμενοι*); Heb. vii. 3, in the Complutensian Edition, after a MS., a portion of the table of contents of the chapter (*ἐν ᾧ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ προετιμήθη*) stands in the midst of the text.

An exhaustless source of easy corruption was the orthography, which had become unsettled because of Itacism, by which *η, ι, υ, οι, ει*, etc., were frequently interchanged. The oldest editions, especially Erasmus and the Complutensian, too often allowed these errors to stand.

372. Having now given an account in the foregoing of the vicissitudes through which the text itself has passed, and having pointed out the circumstances and conditions which contributed at the first to its increasing corruption, afterward to its sufficient preservation as to its main substance, it remains to say something more of the external form of the ancient manuscripts of the Bible. True, this department of the science, beyond all treated in this history, is not only altogether foreign to theology, but is no more closely connected with even a purely literary-historical conception of our subject than would be the case with any other book of antiquity; the matter might appropriately be left to the general history of literature or of human arts. Yet we are determined, partly by custom, still more by the direct relation of many externals to the form of the text itself or to the estimation of critical aids, to undertake the description of these matters also.

Strictly speaking, only what is to be said of the material and form of the books, and the characters in which they are written, is foreign to biblical science proper. On the contrary, the treatment of the text for the purpose of easier understanding (*Punctuation, Divisions, etc.*) is closely connected with the main subject.

373. The Egyptian paper, whose want of durability was an injury to the literature, early went out of use, and was replaced by several other materials. From the fourth century manuscripts of the Bible were multiplied upon prepared skins. But later, when parchment became so scarce that men began to erase the writing of ancient books in order to replace it by new, cotton paper fortunately came into use, the oldest traces of which reach back into the tenth century, and finally, in the thirteenth, the still used linen or rag paper.

It is related, for example (*Jerome, De vir. ill.*, ch. 113; *Ep. ad Marcell.*, III. 76), that the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, even in the century of its origin, had already become so dilapidated (*corrupta*) that the priests Acacius and Euzoios began to rewrite it upon skins.

Very few papyrus manuscripts (beside those of Herculaneum and those belonging to the Egyptian literature) are extant, of the Greek N. T. in particular none at all to my knowledge, since it has been shown that the Cod.

Cottonianus (Gospels I) in the British Museum consists of parchment, and not, as was believed from the time of Wetstein, of papyrus.

The order of Constantine for the making of parchment copies for the churches of Constantinople (§ 366) is well known. Beautiful manuscripts, finely written in golden letters upon thin parchment (*υμένων λεπτότης*), were articles of pious luxury even in the fourth century (Chrysostom, *Homil. 32 in Joh., Opp.*, VIII. 188). Jerome also (*Pref. in Joh.*) censures the passion for copying old books upon *membranas purpureas auro argenteoque*, instead of looking to the purity of the text.

All the ancient manuscripts of the Bible now extant are these *Codices membranacei, διφθέραι*.

*Codices rescripti, παλιψηστοί* (e. g. C, P, Q, Z) (the new writing sometimes between the lines of the old, sometimes crosswise), see Kopp, *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*, I. 185; Knittel, below, § 445; Tischendorf, *Codex Ephrem.*, see § 392.

*Charta bombycina, lintea*. — Our quill pens first came into use in the seventh century.

Cf. in general G. F. Wehrs, *Vom Papier, den vor der Erfindung desselben üblich gewesenen Schreibmassen*, etc., Halle, 1789.

374. Even earlier, perhaps, a change took place in the form of the books. The inconvenient rolls were exchanged for bundles of a certain number of leaves which were laid one upon another or folded together and then bound up into volumes. The single bundles or layers forming the volume were not necessarily equal in number of leaves, but in size were mostly like our present quarto and small folio, with a gradual tendency to grow smaller.

The layers were called, according to the number of double leaves, *τρισαῖ, terniones*, of twelve pages, *τετρασαῖ, quaterniones*, of sixteen pages (Euseb., *Vita Const.*, IV. 37); so also *quinterniones*, of twenty pages, etc.

*Τεῦχος, volumen*, the whole volume (hence, for example, *ἡ πεντάτευχος* sc. *βιβλος*, the  $\Psi\text{H}\text{H}\Gamma$  or five-parted (book of the Mosaic Law), cf. Joh. Damasc. above, § 328). Also *σωμάτιον* (Euseb., *l. c.*, 36).

375. On the other hand, the old characters and the custom of writing in columns were maintained for a long time. Yet the first gradually lost their stiffness and perpendicular lines, became inclined, and began to be connected together, until in the tenth century the cursive character became general, and uncials were used only for sumptuous copies. About this time also decorations, gilding, and illuminated initial letters came into use, and in proportion as the spirit and contents of the Scriptures became more alien to those whose chief business was copying, they gave the greater care to the external make-up of the copies.

*Literæ majusculæ (unciales), minusculæ.*

For fac-similes of the writing of various N. T. MSS. see (beside § 352) the different volumes of the larger edition of Matthæi (§ 413); Hug, in his *Einkl.*; Birch's *Gospels* (§ 417); Bianchini (§ 453), and many monographs on single codices (§ 392).

The oldest cursive manuscripts, so far as can be determined, date from

the years 890–900. The uncial MSS. G, H, M, S, U, X Gospels, E, F Paul, are thought to be later. Particularly in lectionaries the uncial character maintained itself longer.

The number of columns was not the same in all MSS.; *e. g.*, Cod. A has two columns on a page, Cod. B three, Cod. Sinaiticus four, while Cod. C has continuous lines.

The custom of large initials, colored and flourished, survived the beginning of printing, and reappears in the incunabula. Even when they were omitted the printers for a long time left spaces for them. — Abbreviations, *compendia scripture*, and ligatures came more and more into use, and the oldest printed editions are in this respect true fac-similes of the later MSS. The oldest abbreviations, of the most frequent names and words, which are found even in A, B, C, are simply combinations of the inflective ending with the initial letter, with a line drawn above:  $\overline{\Theta C}$ ,  $\overline{\Theta T}$ ,  $\overline{IC}$ ,  $\overline{IT}$ ,  $\overline{KC}$ ,  $\overline{KT}$ ,  $\overline{\Pi NA}$ ,  $\overline{\Pi NC}$ ,  $\overline{IC A}$ , for *θεος*, *θεοῦ*, *Ἰησοῦς*, *Ἰησοῦ*, *κύριος*, *κυρίου*, *πνεῦμα*, *πνεύματος*, *Ἰσραήλ*, and some few others. A stroke for N at the end of words also occurs early.

376. Aside from the general scarcity of books, reading was rendered difficult for the unpracticed by the total lack of all explanatory pointing. It was not until in the course of the ninth century, after isolated attempts in earlier times, that copyists generally introduced the breathings and accents into the copies of the New Testament. A still greater hindrance to the easy reading of the text was the custom of writing without breaks between the words. This gave occasion for many misunderstandings, and much theological wrangling. The evil was but poorly remedied by more frequent initial letters, and when punctuation was finally adopted science was no longer free and clear enough to get the full advantage of it.

The oldest application of the system of accentuation (§ 352) to the N. T. is in Cod. B (by the first hand?). Euthalius (§ 377) introduced it into his edition (*ἀναγνώσται κατὰ προσῳδίαν*, p. 409), but without winning general acceptance for it. Among the older MSS. D, E Paul, E, K, L, M Gospels also have accents and breathings; it is only with the cursive character that their introduction becomes more general. It appears to have taken place much earlier with the LXX., for Epiphanius (end of the fourth century) testifies to the use of *στίζειν κατὰ προσῳδίαν* in the Scriptures (*De pond. et mens.*, 2), and also mentions our still used accents, breathings, marks of quantity, critical marks, and even a mark of punctuation.

The Iota subscript (earlier sometimes, postscript) was introduced with the cursive character.

Examples of doubtful construction because of the lack of punctuation: Jn. i. 3:  $\delta$  γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, Epiph., *Anchor.*, 75;  $\delta$  γέγονεν. Ἐν αὐτῷ, Chrysostom, *ad loc.*; οὐδὲ ἐν. Ὁ γέγονεν, Clement and the Alexandrians; also the Macedonians. — 2 Cor. iv. 4:  $\delta$  θεος, τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, Tertul., *Adv. Marc.*, V. 11, Theodoret, *ad loc.*, against Marcion and moderns. — Rom. viii. 20: ἐπ' ἐλπίδι with the foregoing, Theodoret, *ad loc.* — 1 Cor. iii. 18: ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι with the foregoing by the same writer; with the following by Chrysostom; so μετὰ χαρᾶς, Col. i. 11, by the same writers. — Eph. i. 5, *in caritate* with the foregoing by Jerome and many others. The same uncertainty and arbitrariness from this cause still continues in numerous passages in the editions and in exegesis. By way of example we may refer to Jn. xiii. 30, where *ὅτε ἐξήλαθε* is sometimes connected in the editions with the foregoing

and sometimes (with and without *οὐν*) with the following ; 1 Cor. vii. 34, where the absence of an attested punctuation has introduced the greatest conceivable confusion into the text through transpositions and interpolated particles ; Gal. v. 1, where some of the editions begin the chapter with *Στήκετε οὐν*, connecting what precedes with the fourth ; 1 Tim. iii. 15, where the new sentence is begun sometimes with *στύλος*, sometimes not until *καὶ ὁμολογ.* ; Ja. v. 3, where the relation of *ὡς πῦρ* is doubtful. Cf. also in the editions and commentaries, Mk. ix. 23 ; Lk. xxi. 35 ; Rom. iii. 9 ; Heb. xii. 22 ; Ja. iv. 5, etc.

Hence there was doubtless in ancient times a reluctance to introduce a punctuation which might easily become suspicious, and in various other passages, where the interpretation had already been fixed by the Church, there was very early a traditional *διαστέλλειν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν* or *ὑποστίζειν* ; *e. g.*, Jn. i. 3 in A, D, according to the Alexandrian reading.

The technical grammatical terms (*e. g.*, *τελεία στιγμή*, Chrysostom, *Ad Joh. i. 3*) existed independently of the corresponding usage in writing.

For examples of variants caused by *scriptio continua* see § 364. — On the uncertainty springing from the absence of other marks *cf.*, for example, Acts xxvii. 13, where the printed editions have taken *Ἄσσον*, *Ἐσσον*, *ἤσσον*, *ἄσσον* sometimes as a proper name, sometimes as an adverb, and the more correct form has become generally prevalent only in modern times.

Codices of the N. T. of the period before stichometry ; A, B, C, Z, Lin.

377. Some of these inconveniences were removed by the Alexandrian deacon Euthalius, in his edition of the Acts and Epistles completed about the year 462, in which the text was divided into stichoi or lines, each line containing one clause. This method, which represented, as it were, a punctuation of ideas, met with approval, and was applied by others to the Gospels also. This stichometric writing, as it is called, was in use down to the eighth century. It may not have been, however, an invention of Euthalius, but only the application of an older custom to the text of the New Testament.

Stichometry was introduced into manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics (orators) in the fourth century. Jerome (*Pref. in Jes. : interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distingimus*) made use of it in his translation. It occurs in the O. T. (Masoretic text) in some poetic passages, simple in Deut. xxxii., more elaborate in Ex. xv., Judg. v. ; also in the ordinary printed editions.

In the Greek O. T. Origen had the poetical books likewise written *στιχηρῶς*, *στιχηδῶν*, *κατὰ στίχους* ; this remained the custom (Greg. Naz., *Carm.*, xxxiii., Amphilocheus, *Iambi ad Sel.*, and others, number *πέντε στιχηρὰς βίβλους*), and has been followed in several editions of the LXX. (also for Wisdom and Sirach). So in the Cod. Alex. and Vatic. and several Greek psalters ; also in MSS. and older editions of the Vulgate.

Euthalius, *Ep. Sulcensis actuum app. et epistolarum*, ed. Gr. and Lat., by L. A. Zaccagnius : (in *Collect. monum. vet. eccl.*, Rome, 1698, 4<sup>o</sup>, p. 403 ff.) *πρῶτον ἐγώ γε τὴν ἁποστολικὴν βίβλον στοιχιδῶν* (read *στιχηδῶν*) *ἀναγνούς τε καὶ γράψας . . .* ; p. 410 : *πρὸς εὐσημιον ἀνάγνωσιν . . .* Cf. Wetstein, *Prolegg.*, p. 195, ed. Semler (ed. 1730, p. 73 ff.) ; Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, IV. 3 ff. ; especially Mill, *Prolegg.*, 940 ff.

On the different meanings of *στίχος* (*versus*, *versiculus*) among the ancients (line, verse, clause), see especially Suicer, *sub voce* ; Ritschl, *Alex. Biblioth.*, p. 91. Jerome, *Proem. in l. xvi. ad Jes.*, calls the three verses which the Latin version interpolates in Ps. xiv. *octo versus*.

The stichoi were numbered and summed up at the end of each book, as was done in the Hebrew Bible also. Yet it is still a question whether these Euthalian stichoi are meant, or rather the older solid lines of conventional length; for this method was doubtless intended originally to serve the purposes of the book-seller, and to furnish the buyer, in correspondingly figured catalogues (*στιχομετρία*) a measure of the size of the works.

Stichometric Manuscripts: D Gospels, E Acts, D, E, H Paul. The last is a genuine Euthalian codex. This origin is not to be assumed for the others, and the stichometry is perhaps conditioned by the accompanying Latin translation.

Beside the stichoi, *ρήματα* are also mentioned, whose relation to the former is uncertain. — Cf. on the whole matter, E. Reuss, Art. *Stichometrie* in Herzog's *Encykl.* [*N. Y. Independent*, Feb. 14, 1884.]

378. In order to save costly space this method was given up again, and copyists contented themselves with marking the ends of the stichoi with points or other signs. This was the beginning of the punctuation of the text, which came in from the eighth to the tenth century, and for which various very simple signs were used, some of which had long been approved by grammarians. In connection with this came also the separation of the words. But it was not until the sixteenth century, after the invention of printing, that this system reached its present development, and first in some editions of the classics.

The question whether punctuation sprang out of stichometry or grew up beside it (Hupfeld, in the *Theol. Studien*, 1837, p. 859) has not the importance attributed to it, inasmuch as it is certain that the latter is not to be derived from the former, and that the former only works its way into the MSS. in later times and gradually.

Punctuation of the Alexandrian grammarians by means of three signs (*τελεία στιγμή, μέση στιγμή, ὑποστιγμή*; in Isid., *Orig.*, I. 19, *distinctio*, at the close of the *periodus, media distinctio*, for the colon or larger clause, *subdistinctio*, for the comma, or smaller clause) *i. e.*, a point at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of the line. So Cod. E Gospels.

Cod. L has crosses at the close. Earlier only single points at certain places, in A, B, C, D, Z also still smaller pauses and spaces.

Cod. K Gospels marks the end of the stichoi with points. F Paul separates all words by points; only later MSS. do this by simple spaces. G Paul also has many points to divide words, and larger letters at the beginning of the stichoi. Cf. in general Hug, *Einkl.*, I. § 45.

Our present punctuation, said to have been invented by the two Manutii at Venice, was not first introduced into the N. T. by Robt. Stephens, as was formerly said, but appears in the very first edition of Erasmus.

J. F. Mayer, *De notis biblicis veterum sensum S. S. indicantibus*, Hamb. s. a. (also in *Hist. vers. luth.*, p. 203); G. F. Rogall, *De auctoritate et antiquitate interpunctionis in N. T.*, Reg. 1734.

It is also to be noted as a peculiarity of ancient writing, that while the larger letters by which new divisions, larger or smaller, were designated, came to stand regularly at the beginning of the line, or rather before the justification, they were not necessarily the first letters in the sentences, but often some other, just as it happened after making the lines of equal length and avoiding spaces, even though they might stand in the middle of a word.

379. Different copies differed also in contents. Inasmuch as the New Testament canon grew up gradually out of several

separate collections, it is conceivable that in ancient times one manuscript would contain this part, another that, of the subsequent whole. Even later, when this gradual rise of the New Testament had been forgotten, the size of the writing and the thickness of the parchment usually caused its separation into several volumes, which naturally corresponded to the former partial collections. The very cost of manufacture, combined with the relative importance of the different portions of Scripture, contributed to make very many of the copies incomplete.

Inasmuch as on account of the low degree of education at that period, most of the copies bound in more volumes than one finally became defective, as still happens daily with so many printed books, most of our extant MSS. are only these partial collections, and contain either the Gospels alone, or the Acts with the Catholic Epistles, or the thirteen (fourteen) Pauline Epistles, or the Apocalypse. Of our uncial manuscripts (beside *Cod. Sinait.*, § 392) only three (A, B, C) have come down to us in a condition presupposing original completeness. Δ Gospels and G Paul one might be tempted to regard as fragments of one and the same copy. Even among the cursives there are not twenty complete (Scholz).

380. It is likewise certain that the oldest copies contained nothing but the Greek text. But the possessors, both learned and unlearned, doubtless began very early to write in the margin all sorts of emendations, explanations, and other annotations, which finally grew even to the extent of proper commentaries. How this led to the corruption of the text has already been pointed out. The exegetical need naturally increased with the distance of the apostolic age, and the decline of knowledge rendered a once current explanation of an obscure or controverted passage or rare expression more and more unalterable, especially if it could be supported by a famous name. Thus the note finally came to be as sacred as the text itself, and at a certain period the latter without the former was scarcely known or regarded as of any value.

*Codices puri, mixti.* — *Scholia, γλωσσάι*, cf. § 359. — Even the increasing scarcity of writing material may have led to more frequent annotation.

Examples of Codices with commentary, X, Y.

381. For church use in countries where Greek was not understood by the people, copies were written in which a translation into the language of the country was placed beside the original text in a separate column, or even inserted between the lines. The latter, however, may have been done rather for exegetical purposes. The former practice, more frequent in the Latin West, though sometimes found also in oriental countries, and not without analogy in the synagogue, was repeated in later times in a different way, as the ancient vernacular in these regions was obliged to give place to a new one.

*Codices bilingues* — *Codd. græco-latini*, with an interlinear translation, e. g.,

Δ Gospels, G Paul ; with the version in a separate column, D Gospels, E Acts, D, E, F Paul. — *Cod. græco-copt.*, T. — Coptic-Arabic MSS. and the like do not belong here. Cf. § 439.

382. Originally the text of each book went on without break from beginning to end and formed a whole, which might be broken up into its logical constituents by the understanding of course, but not by the eye. Attentive readers easily discovered the divisions furnished by the contents. This was especially true of the Gospels. In quoting or otherwise using the apostolic writings main divisions or sections could be referred to without need of any external designation of them. Meanwhile, however, church use, as well as the convenience of the reader, led gradually to actual divisions of various kinds, indicated in the manuscripts.

In this way is to be explained the occurrence of the word *περικοπή* in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, VII. 750), *κεφάλαιον* in Dionys. Alex. (Euseb., VII. 25), *capitulum* in Tertullian (*De uxor.*, II. 2 ; *De pudic.*, 16). The first and third speak also of the so easily separated divisions of the First Epistle to the Corinthians ; the other of the separate scenes of the Apocalypse. In Tertullian, *De carn. Chr.*, 19, *capitulum* seems to mean a single sentence. Similar examples from later authors, collected by Croisus, *Obs. in N. T.*, p. 22 ff. ; Snicer, *sub vocc.* *περικοπή* and *ἀνάγνωσις, ἀνάγνωσμα*.

Quite similar phenomena in the history of classic literature, but especially in the O. T. Cf. the expositors on Acts xiii. 33 and Rom. xi. 2. — Acts viii. 32, *περιοχή*.

It follows that the existing divisions have no value, either for criticism or for exegesis, but rather in the latter aspect must often be wholly set aside, or at least improved, as a result of labor often unequalled for and essentially at variance with the spirit of the original.

383. One of these methods of division of the text, important also for the history of worship, is that into church readings. It is naturally later than the custom of public reading from the apostolic writings, although in its beginnings it reaches back beyond the epoch of the complete closing of the canon. The edition of Euthalius, mentioned above, seems to have been the first to divide the text of the Epistles for this purpose, on a very simple system, according to the number of Sabbaths and feast-days in a year. Possibly it had already been done for the Gospels, so that at this time the whole New Testament may have been read in the course of a year.

Euthalius, *l. c.*, p. 529 : *τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσεων ἀκριβεστάτην τομὴν ἡμεῖς τεχνολογήσαντες ἀνακεφαλαιώσαμεθα*, in which he evidently ascribes the invention to himself only in a certain respect, perhaps not as a new arrangement in place of an earlier, but by the side of the earlier one (§ 294 ?) of the Gospels.

But it should also be considered that the method of division here spoken of, which certainly presupposes the closing of the canon (perhaps with the exception of the Apocalypse), hardly represents the most ancient custom of church readings, partly because in ancient times writings not now in the canon were included (§ 317), respecting which there was local freedom, and partly because we definitely know that certain books, especially of the O. T., were



publicly read at certain seasons of the year, in which cases, therefore, the relation of the contents of Scripture to church epochs was held in living recollection, and correctly, or at least an ancient custom was maintained; see quotations from Chrysostom for Constantinople, from Augustine for Africa, etc., in Bingham, XIV. 3, p. 63; Rheinwald, *Archäol.*, § 98. As the oldest trace of selected pericopes is quoted (correctly?) Chrysostom, *Hom. 53 in Joh.*, (*Opp.*, VIII. 342): "one who should read nothing at home, but should come to church, would in the course of a year hear much of the Scripture, οὐ γὰρ νῦν μὲν ταύτας αὔριον δὲ ἑτέρας ἀναγινώσκωμεν γραφὰς ἀλλ' αἰετὰς αὐτὰς καὶ διαπαντός."

Designations of the divisions: *περικοπαί, ἀναγνώσματα, ἀναγνώσεις, lectiones*. Similarly the Parasha of the Law among the Jews.

Euthalius had to provide for the fifty-three Sundays of the leap-year, Christmas, Ascension, and perhaps two feasts beside. Hence his division: Acts sixteen, James, 1 Peter and 1 John two each, the other four Catholic Epistles one each, Romans and 1 Corinthians five each, 2 Corinthians four, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians two each, 1 and 2 Thessalonians one each, Hebrews three, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus and Philemon one each; altogether fifty-seven.

Moreover the church custom was certainly different in the different patriarchates and dioceses. Traces are found of continuous readings, in early times for a few days of the week (Sundays, Sabbaths), later for the others also. The MSS. of the N. T., especially the proper lectionaries (§ 384), would doubtless still yield much spoil upon closer investigation, and at the same time, perhaps, make it possible to determine their own age more accurately in this way. But this matter belongs to ecclesiastical archæology.

384. Since, however, the number of the Christian feasts increased in inverse proportion to the time devoted to the public reading of the Scriptures, they were soon obliged to content themselves with a selection of shorter readings, which were then written together in separate books, called lectionaries. The more a considerable part of the Bible was withdrawn from the people by this custom, the more important a matter became the choice of portions. Hence we find that nearly every national church made its selection differently. The Latin Church was already using such lectionaries in the fifth century. The Greek Church did not obtain this gift until the eighth.

Names: *ἐκλογάδια, lectionaria, εὐαγγελιάρια, πρᾶξαπόστολοι*. This method of division has its analogue in the Haphtara or prophetic sections of the Jews.

The oldest known collections are ascribed to the Gauls, Claudius Mamercus of Vienna and Musæus of Massilia (middle of the fifth century). Gemadius, *De script. eccl.*, ch. lxxix., says of the latter: *Excerptis de SS. lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas*. Whether the *lectionarium gallicanum* discovered by Mabillon was connected with these works is uncertain. — Gregory the Great (end of sixth century) speaks of an order of public readings existing at Rome (*Pref. in homil. in Evv.*), which passed over into France through Charlemagne, afterward became general, and has been inherited in substance by the Lutheran Church. The collection ascribed to Jerome, known under the name of *Comes*, would be older than all, were its origin authenticated in any way (see Baluzius, *Capitul. regg. fr.*, II. 1309). A summary of them is given by Rheinwald, *Archäol.*, p. 442.

The Greek Church had its readings arranged in a peculiar way, yet so that the text seems to have been all read in the course of the year. The details

are given, though rather confusedly, by Leo Allatius, *De ll. ecclesiasticis græcorum*, printed in Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, V., p. 23 ff.

In complete manuscripts (as often in our ordinary German Bibles), the pericopes are designated in the margin with  $\alpha$  ( $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ ) and  $\tau$  ( $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ), or even by more complete titles, together with a recapitulation ( $\sigma\nu\nu\nu\nu\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ) at the beginning or end, and a list of feasts ( $\mu\eta\nu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ ). Cf. the smaller edition of Matthæi, I. 723 ff., III. 1 ff.; Scholz, at the end of both volumes of his edition, and *De menologiis duorum codd. parisi.*, Bonn, 1823.

Cf. in general Bingham, *Orig.*, XIV. 3; Augusti, *Handb.*, II. 232 ff.; J. A. Schmid, *De lectionariis occ. et or. eccl.*, Helmst. 1703; J. H. Thamer, *De origine et dignitate pericoparum*, Jena, 1716; J. B. Carpzov, *Sched. hist. de pericopis*, L. 1755; J. C. Harenberg, in *Bibl. hag.*, IV.; *Bibl. Brem. nov.*, II., III.; M. Rödiger, *Symbolæ ad ev. N. T.*, Hal. 1827; C. E. Caspari, *Sur les péricopes*, Str. 1833; C. C. L. Franke, in the *Hall. Encykl.*, III. 17; E. Ranke, *Das kirchl. Perikopensystem aus den ältesten Urkunden der röm. Liturgie dargestellt*, B. 1847; idem, Art. *Perikopen*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*; R. Bobertag, *Ev. Kirchenjahr*, 1853; H. C. Laatsman, *De N. T. pericopis eccles. earumque origine*, etc., Traj. 1858. In some of these writings the subject is brought down to our own times, which does not belong here, but in the history of worship.

385. Beside this church division a purely exegetical one was introduced, into sections, as they were called, which is as old as the other, but never obtained especial favor. The first occasion for it was the harmonistic treatment of the Gospels by Ammonius in the third century, which made necessary a breaking up of the text into numerous very small parts, in order to facilitate the finding and comparison of parallel passages. This arrangement was perfected by Eusebius. At the beginning of the fifth century some unknown church teacher divided the Pauline Epistles into chapters, which Euthalius noted in his edition and imitated in the remaining Epistles and the Acts.

The Ammonian-Eusebian division of the Gospels into 1,162 sections (this is the number given by Epiphanius, *Ancorat.*, 50, of which Matthew has 352, Mark 235, Luke 343, John 232; Suidas, however, *sub voc. τίτλος*, has different numbers), refers to ten canons or tables (which are printed in the older editions of the N. T., *e. g.*, Erasmus, 1519 ff., Stephens, 1550, and others, and now introduced by Tischendorf also), the first of which designates the sections common to all four Evangelists, in parallel columns, by their respective figures, the next three those found in but three Gospels, etc. These figures are then repeated in the margin of the text. Cf. Wetstein, *Prolegg.*, 183; Marsh, *Additions to Michaelis*, I. 469; Tischendorf, *Prolegg.* to Ed. VIII.

Euthalian chapters ( $\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ ) in connection with the table of contents attached to each book ( $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$  τῶν σοφωτάτων τιμῶν καὶ φιλοχρίστῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν πεπονημένη (in Zacagni, p. 528. Is Theodore of Mopsuestia meant?): Acts, 40; James, 6; 1 Peter, 8; 2 Peter, 4; 1 John, 7; 2 and 3 John, each 1; Jude, 4; Romans, 19; 1 Corinthians, 9; 2 Corinthians, 11; Galatians, 12; Ephesians, 10; Philippians, 7; Colossians, 10; 1 Thessalonians, 7; 2 Thessalonians, 6; Hebrews, 22; 1 Timothy, 18; 2 Timothy, 9; Titus, 6; Philemon, 2. Evidently not of equal length.

The Apocalypse was divided by Andrew of Cesarea in Cappadocia, in his Commentary, into 24  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$  and 72  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ . See Matthæi, *Ediitio minor*, *Apoc.*, p. 9 ff.

These numbers were never used in quotation.

C. F. Sinner, *De distinctionibus textus N. T. in capita versus*, etc., L. 1694.

Indices or tables of contents for chapters (ἐλεγχοί, etc.) are found even in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, I., in Aulus Gellius and Josephus, and the first speaks of a predecessor in this method.

Cod. B, *Vaticanus*, has an altogether peculiar chapter division, which has nothing in common either in the Gospels with Eusebius and Ammonius, or in the Epistles with Euthalius. The Epistles are treated as a single continuous book. — The details of the peculiar chapter divisions of the ancient oriental versions belong under the special history of these latter.

386. After the Gospels had obtained a similar division, perhaps in the sixth century, there was finally accomplished in the middle of the thirteenth a uniform, but unfortunately not better, work upon the whole Bible, which is usually ascribed to Cardinal Hugo, known by his monastic name of St. Carus. He is said to have undertaken it for the purpose of a Latin Concordance. The division seems almost to have had in view uniformity of length rather than the nature of the contents. In this respect it is sometimes too long, again too short, rarely fitting, even in the large, and often totally inappropriate and destructive of the sense. Yet custom has rendered it unalterable. These our present chapters came into the Greek copies in the fifteenth century, but are not found in all the older printed editions.

The *τίτλοι*, *breves*, of the Gospels, of whose date and origin nothing certain can be said (Matthew, 68 ; Mark, 48 ; Luke, 83 ; John, 18), are properly headings of columns, with a general summary (*brevarium*) prefixed, figures in the margin, and summation at the end (*capitulatio*, ἀνακεφαλαιώσις), in connection with which the κεφάλαια are often reckoned up also ; e. g., *Cod. L.* Under the same head, doubtless, belongs a numbering of the Epistles which was likewise in use in the Middle Ages, and in both languages : e. g., 1 Cor. 67 ; 2 Cor. 27, etc.

On Hugo, see also §§ 329, 529. Whether he was the first to undertake this work, or how far he undertook it alone, is uncertain. See Jahn, *Einl.*, I. 368.

The Greek MSS. which have his chapter numbers may have received them in the West, whither they had been brought in great numbers by fugitive Greeks.

Erasmus placed them in the margin of the Latin translation, but not in the Greek text, in all his editions, and beside them the older numbering ; but the latter only in the Gospels and some of the Epistles ; the Complutensian Polyglot, however, introduces them everywhere. The Aldine edition of 1518 and the Hagenau of 1521 have neither chapters nor even pauses. Stephens printed in his editions both the Greek and the Latin numbering. The oldest purely Greek editions which have the chapters are Basle and Strassburg, 1524. But two manual editions appeared at Paris as late as 1549 without chapters.

It should be remarked further that the chapter division has varied in many passages, and still does to some extent. Manuscripts (Latin, French, Romance) do not altogether agree, especially in Chronicles, Ezekiel, Malachi, Psalms, etc. An account is given of very strange variations by E. Reuss, in the *Revue de théol.*, IV., p. 6 ff.

The ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις, or Greek chapter index, is also found in older folio editions; Erasmus, 1519 ff., Stephens, 1550, Wechel, 1601, and in some smaller ones.

387. Finally, the smallest and latest division of the books of the New Testament, that into verses, is simply an imitation of a Jewish arrangement connected with the introduction of the system of accentuation into the Hebrew text. It is not altogether clear how it found its way thence to the Christians. It is only certain that it was first applied to the Latin Bible, like the chapter division. The Greek manuscripts do not have it, nor the older editions of the New Testament. It appears in printing about the middle of the sixteenth century, and has remained from that time on. Most editions divide the text into paragraphs according to it, although it is essentially absurd, often erroneous, and even at the best not necessary to the understanding, but rather a hindrance to it.

The verse division is certainly much more appropriate to the spirit of Hebrew speech, especially in poetry, though even here it is often erroneously applied, and in simple prose it unnecessarily breaks up the text. In the N. T. the Pauline Epistles, in particular, are often rendered unintelligible by this means (especially by the beginning of a new paragraph with each verse).

A method of division by means of letters, much used in older printing, preceding the verse division, is ascribed in its origin to Cardinal Hugo, who is said to have introduced it for the purpose of convenient reference for his Latin Concordance. Two other Dominicans, John of Derlington and Richard of Stavesby, then added the fragments of the text, and in this form the work was called by the head of the order at Paris the Concordance of St. James. In this the first seven letters of the alphabet, A-G, were placed in the margin at equal distances apart. About 1310 Conrad of Halberstadt (*De Merlia Civitate*, generally called *De Alemaniam*) improved this system by using for the shorter chapters of Hugo only four letters, A-D, and abbreviating the quotations from the text. This latter edition was printed about 1475 and frequently afterward (Quétif and Echard, *Scriptt. Ord. Præd.*, I., p. 203; Fabricius, *Bibl. lat. med. ætatis*, sub voce *Conradus*; Buddeus, *Isagoge*, ed. 1730, p. 1543; Riederer, *Nachrichten*, I. 3, p. 247). This division appears in Latin, German, and French Bibles, though not all, from 1491 on (*Biblia summata, distincta, utriusque Test. Concordantiis illustr.*, Bas., Froben, 8°), in the N. T. some years earlier. It disappears about 1550. Of Greek editions of the N. T. the Complutensian and the larger Stephens have it.

The verses (not to be confounded with the ancient *versus*, § 377) first occur in non-Hebrew printing, so far as I know, in the Vulgate printed by Robt. Stephens in 1548; in the Greek N. T. in his edition of 1551 (§ 402), numbered and paragraphed. But there are many later editions which do not have them; so the Froschauer, the Brylinger, the Leipzig editions of Vögelin and his successors, the Basle editions of Osten, the first Crispinus, *i. e.*, nearly all which may be reckoned of the Erasmian family, and some of the Stephanic. The paragraphing of the verses did not become prevalent until the period of the *textus receptus*, through Beza and the Elzevirs.

388. Among the external alterations of the text belong finally the inscriptions, that is to say, certain literary and his-

torical notes on the books, which were originally wanting, but gradually became almost integral parts of them. Among these we reckon first the titles, which evidently do not come from the authors, but which must naturally have been introduced into the copies as soon as several books were brought into one collection. They are based partly upon the contents, partly upon tradition, are mutually related, and in the course of time have become more and more extended.

The later introduction of the titles is evident (1) from the nature of the case ; *e. g.*, 'Ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη . . . ; (2) from their inappropriateness ; *e. g.*, πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, cf. Acts i. 1 ; (3) from the later usages in them ; *e. g.*, 'Ιωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου ; perhaps also πρὸς Ἑβραίους. Even the simple εὐαγγέλιον cannot be original (as De Wette, II., § 32, and others maintain, Chrysostom, *Hom. I. in Matth.*, cf. *Hom. I. in Rom.*, *Opp.*, VII. 4 ; IX. 429). For only with κατὰ Μαθ., etc., would it have the genuine ancient sense. (4) From the testimony of the ancient writers, *e. g.* Tertullian, *Cont. Marc.*, IV. 2, V. 11, 17, in the first passage of Luke, in the others of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Cf. D. Salthen, *De inscr. epp. paul.*, Reg. 1741.

On the Epistles to the Ephesians and Hebrews in particular, see §§ 121, 153.

Examples of expansion : Κατὰ Ματθαῖον, Cod. B ; Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθ., usually ; Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον, later ; Ἀρχεται τὸ . . . the latest.

Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους — πρὸς Ῥ. ἐπιστολὴ — πρὸς Ῥ. ἐπ. Παύλου — Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπ. Π. ἐπ. πρὸς Ῥ.

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, Cod. C. — Cod. 17 adds τοῦ θεολόγου. — Cod. B adds καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. — Ἀπ. τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπ. καὶ εὐαγγ. Ἰω. τοῦ θεολόγου, 37. — 30 adds ἐνδοξοτάτου παρθένου ἡγαπημένου ἐπιστηθίου. — 16 adds ἦν ἐν Πάτμῳ τῆ ἡσφ. ἠθεάσατο. — Ἰησοῦ Χρ. ἀποκ. δοθεῖσα τῷ θεολ. Ἰωάννῃ, 26.

389. Later, variable, and often erroneous besides, are the subscriptions which were added to each book. At first they simply repeated the title, but there was soon added to them information about the author, time and place of writing, and similar matters. We cannot say certainly how they finally obtained a fixed form, but they are evidently notes of ancient fathers, based partly on doubtful tradition, partly on still more doubtful exegesis, and are devoid of all historical value.

Their later origin appears (1) from their absence in the older MSS. ; (2) from the incorrectness of their statements ; *e. g.*, Mark : ἐγράφη Ῥωμαῖσι ἐν Ῥώμῃ ; Galatians : ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ; 1 Cor. : ἀπὸ Φιλίππων διὰ . . . Τιμοθέου ; (3) from later geographical designations : 1 Tim. Φρυγία πακατιανή ; Tit. : Νικόπολις τῆς Μακεδονίας ; (4) from the disagreement of different MSS. ; *e. g.*, Matthew : ἐξεδόθη ἐβραῖσιν, ἡρμηνεῦθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰακώβου ; others, ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ; John : ἐγράφη ἐν Πάτμῳ ; others, ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Π. ἐξορίας ἐπανήλθεν ; others, ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ ; others, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ, with which is connected in several codices, the very remarkable traditional note : μετὰ λβ' χρόνους τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως, which certainly cannot refer to Trajan, hardly to the Gospel, but may possibly to the Apocalypse, and so contain a trace of a correct explanation of the latter ; (5) from the addition of later ecclesiastical views : 2 Tim. and Tit. : . . . πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα. Cf. J. C. Hertzog, *De subscripti. ep. paul.*, L. 1703.

Examples of expansion · Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, A, C, D, al. — πρὸς Ῥ. ἐτελέσθη, G. —

. . . ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου Β. — 18 adds διὰ Φοίβης. — 80 adds διακόνου. — rec. adds τῆς ἐν Κεγχραῖς ἐκκλησίας.

Examples of exegetical conjectures: 2 Cor.: διὰ Τίτου καὶ Λουκᾶ from viii. 17 f.; 2 Tim.: ὅτε ἐκ δευτέρου παρέστη Παῦλος τῷ Καίσαρι Νέρωνι from iv. 16; Heb.: ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου from xiii. 23 f.; in the last case against the text.

The richest source of such introductory notes, though not the oldest, is the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis SS.* (§ 320). At the time of Euthalius (Zacagni, p. 546) these notes had become quite stereotyped as respects the Pauline Epistles, and are the same which have been preserved in our printed editions. They came into these through Erasmus (not through the Complutensian edition and its successors), have maintained themselves in science along with the *textus receptus*, and have been partly bracketed and partly rejected by modern criticism.

390. This is the state in which the text of the New Testament was when, in Germany and soon also in other Christian lands, books began to be printed. The circumstance that this art was discovered in the West, and for a long time only practiced there, was not favorable to the New Testament. No one here had any great desire to read it in the original tongue, and consequently more than half a century passed away before any one thought of preparing a printed Greek edition. Yet this delay brought no disadvantage, because neither then nor for a long time afterward was the learned world able to obtain the requisite aids for a restoration of the text, or to make proper use of them. The very persons who most of all should have done so, the proper Humanists, appear to have troubled themselves least of all about the Scriptures; and among the theologians at first scholastic customs, later practical necessities, were predominant.

On the printing of the Bible in Latin and modern languages, which preceded the original, see § 468 ff.

As bibliographical curiosities may be mentioned an Aldine edition of the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, 1504, in which the first six chapters of the Gospel of John are inserted in a very peculiar way (Adler, in the *Repertor.*, 18, p. 150); and earlier a Greek Psalter of 1486 (perhaps earlier?) in which, according to the custom of the Middle Ages, the Psalms of Zachariah and Mary (Lk. i., ii.) are found, among others. Otherwise no part of the N. T. was printed before 1514 (§ 399).

391. Antiquity had bequeathed to modern times three kinds of aids for the attainment of the end proposed, all of which, however, could not make up for the lack of the original documents. These are the manuscripts, the versions, and the quotations in other authors. The sum-total of all these sources and of the readings derived from them for the establishment of the text constitutes the critical apparatus. This has gained vastly, since the first attempts of the sixteenth century, not only in external richness, but especially also in internal sifting, and has now attained, in both these respects, such a degree of com-

pleteness that, in view of the fact that there is no longer prospect of new discoveries of importance, possible future progress of New Testament textual criticism is to be expected, not from the increase of this apparatus, but only from the following out of new principles in its use.

Catalogues of the extant (already used or still to be used) *Subsidia critica* are to be found in all important critical editions; the more recent more complete than the older; see the appropriate sections below. See also Semler, *Vorarbeitung zur Hermeneutik*, Pts. III., IV.; Beck, *Monogrammata herm.*, p. 42 ff.; R. Simon, *Diss. critique sur les principaux actes MSS.*; in his *Hist. des commentateurs*; also German, in the Halle *Sammlung*, I., II.; Eichhorn, *Eiul.*, V. 168-247.

392. The most direct, most satisfactory, and altogether most complete sources of knowledge are the manuscripts. Their age, as well as their accuracy and the quality of the original from which they have been derived, determines their relative value. Yet even the agreement of all these qualities can never have absolutely decisive weight in favor of the correctness or acceptance of a reading, since even the oldest of our manuscripts date from a time when the text had already suffered all the above mentioned kinds of corruption. Only a few manuscripts have been preserved from the middle centuries; those older than the seventh are wholly isolated, and most of both classes only in fragments. The greater number of those extant belong to the time of the Crusades, or are even later.

The age of the manuscript (to be determined on the basis of the characteristics mentioned in § 373 ff.) does not decide the age of the text contained in it. Late manuscripts may have been taken from very old ones, older ones from those immediately preceding them. The age of a text is only determined, with great difficulty and little certainty, from the comparison of many manuscripts, especially with reference to the place of their origin (§ 370).

Since Wetstein (§ 408) older methods have been given up and the extant codices have a uniform designation; *i. e.* (1) those written with uncials by the capital letters of the Roman alphabet, and after these by the differently formed letters of the Greek; (2) those written in cursive letters by Arabic numerals. In both, inconveniently, the series begins four times (according to § 379, note), so that a complete N. T. often has four different numbers, beside its library number; *e. g.*, *Codex regius* 47 (*i. e.* in the National Library at Paris) is No. 18 in the Gospels, No. 113 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, No. 132 in the Pauline Epistles, No. 51 in the Apocalypse. So also there are two series of Arabic numerals for the simple lectionaries with pericopes from the Gospels or Epistles.

The original reading of a codex (\*) is distinguished from an emendation introduced somewhat later, often by another hand (\*\*); *lectio a prima, a secunda manu* (§ 365).

The number of manuscripts now known, catalogued most completely by Scholz (*Prolegg.*, I., ch. 6; II., ch. 11) and Tischendorf (*Prolegg. ad Ed. VII.* [Now superseded by Ed. VIII., 1864-72, 2 vols., with a volume of *Prolegomena* by Gregory and Abbot, 1883]), amounts (exclusive of very small fragments) for the Gospels to 26 uncials, about 480 cursives, and about 180

lectionaries, for the Acts and Catholic Epistles 8 of the first and about 190 of the second class, for Paul 9 of the first and about 250 of the second, for the Apocalypse 3 of the first and about 90 of the second ; beside about 60 lectionaries with pericopes from the Epistles. This whole mass of about 1,300 numbers really reduces, however, on account of duplicate numbering, to perhaps 950, aside from the fact that many, and nearly all the more important are more or less defective. [Westcott and Hort, *Introduction and Appendix* to their *N. T. in Greek*, forming Vol. II., Lond. 1881, N. Y. 1882 ; Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 98 ff. ; the whole number of *distinct* uncial MSS. now known (1883) is 83.]

[I. Primary Uncials :—

[S. *Codex Sinaiticus* : formerly in the Convent of Mount Sinai, now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. A complete Greek Bible, with Barnabas and Hermas, the Acts after Paul, Hebrews before Timothy. Dates from the middle of the fourth century, written on fine parchment, in large uncials, 364½ leaves, 13½ inches wide by 14⅞ inches high, four columns to the page, 48 lines to the column. Discovered by Tischendorf, in February, 1859. See, for the story of its discovery, Tischendorf's *Reise in den Orient*, 1846 ; *Aus dem heil. Lande*, 1862, §§ 9, 10, 15, 25 ; *Notitia Codicis Sinaitici*, 1860, and the *Prolegomena* to his editions of the MS., 1862 and 1865 ; also his controversial pamphlets, *Die Anfechtungen der Sinaibibel*, 1863, and *Waffen der Finsterniss wider die Sinaibibel*, 1863 ; most fully, in his *Die Sinaibibel, ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe, und Erwerbung*, Leipz. 1871. See in general, on the MS., *Notitia ed. Codicis Sin.*, L. 1860, 4° ; Muralt, in the *Studien*, 1860, IV. ; Wieseler, *ibidem*, 1861, IV., 1864, III. ; Buttmann, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1864, IV., 1866, II. ; Hilgenfeld, *ibidem*, 1864, I., II. ; Dr. Ezra Abbot, *Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS.*, in the *Journal of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, X., 1872, pp. 189 ff., 602. — Printed at Leipzig, and published at St. Petersburg, at the expense of Alexander II., from type specially cast for the purpose, in four folio volumes. *Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. Auspicis augustissimis Imperatoris Alexandri II. ex tenebris protrahit in Europam transtulit ad iuvandas atque illustrandas sacras litteras edidit Constantinus Tischendorf*, Petropoli, 1862. Vol. I. contains the dedication to the Emperor, the *Prolegomena*, Notes on the corrections by later hands, and twenty-one fac-simile plates ; vols. II. and III. contain the LXX., and vol. IV. the N. T., the Epistle of Barnabas, and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas. — The N. T., together with Barnabas and the fragment of Hermas, was separately edited by Tischendorf in smaller type, L. 1863, 4°, in four columns ; also in ordinary type, continuous lines, L. 1865, 8°. — Tischendorf, *Conlatio critica cod. Sin. c. textu Elzevir.*, 1869 ; Scrivener, *Full Collation of the Sinaitic MS. with the Received Text of the New Testament*, Camb. 1864, 2d ed., 1867. — See Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Test.*, p. 103 ff. — A part of this MSS. (portions of the LXX.) had already been published as *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, 1846, fol.]

*A. Alexandrinus*, a Greek Bible with some gaps (especially in Matthew and 2 Corinthians), and two epistles of Clement (§ 235), presented by the Patriarch Cyril Lucar to Charles I. in 1628 ; in the British Museum at London ; without division of words or punctuation, with sections in the Gospels only, perhaps of the fifth century. The N. T., edited in fac-simile by C. G. Woide, 1786, fol. (Thence *Woidii notitiæ cod. Alex. cum omnibus var. lectt. recudi cur.* G. L. Spohn, L. 1788.) Improved edition with ordinary type (the gaps supplied without comment from the printed text of Stephens!), B. H. Cowper, Lond. 1860, 8° ; Monographs by C. Oudin (in his *Diss.*), J. A. Dietelmair, Halle, 1739 ; J. A. Oslander, Tüb. 1742 ; J. S. Semler, Tüb. 1759 ; F. A. Stroth, Tüb. 1771. Cf. also Grabe and Bretinger in their *Prolegg.* to the LXX. ; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, I. 362 ; II. 194 ; Michaelis, *N. Bibl.*, II. 1 ; Cramer, *Beiträge*, III. 101 ; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, V. 699. [A



beautiful photographic fac-simile edition issued by the Trustees of the British Museum, Lond. 1879.]

*B. Vaticanus* (No. 1209), a whole Bible, lost from Heb. ix. 14, so that the Pastoral Epistles and the Apocalypse are wanting; regarded as the oldest extant MS. of the N. T., placed by Tischendorf in the fourth century; without division of words or punctuation, in three columns; accents by a second hand. From this MS. most of the editions of the LXX. A fac-simile in Bianchini, I. 492, and by Tischendorf in the *Studien*, 1847, I., p. 129 ff. — Monographs by J. S. Hichtel, Jena, 1734; Oslander (above); A. F. Ruckersfelder (in Veltusen, *Sylogæ*, III., IV.); J. L. Hug, Freib. 1810. Cf. Michaelis, *Bibl.*, 23, 138; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, II. 373; III. 263; Gabler's *Journal*, II. 414; P. Buttmann, in the *Studien*, 1860, II.; C. Vercellone, Rome, 1860. — Of the N. T. we possess even yet only collations in part not wholly trustworthy, in part incomplete (especially Birch, § 417, Bentley, in the Appendix to Woide's *Alexandrinus*). The edition of A. Mai, Rome, 1858, 5 vols., 4°, is nothing less than diplomatically exact, but the different hands to be traced in the manuscript are not carefully distinguished, and all the gaps, even the very small ones, and those critically important, are supplied from other MSS. Thence the N. T. separately, Lond. and Leipzig. 1859, 8° (Title-page edition, N. Y. 1860); also, with a thorough criticism of the Roman edition, yet making much less claim to strict diplomatic accuracy, A. Kuenen and C. G. Cobet, Leyd. 1860. Cf. A. Buttmann, in the *Studien*, 1862, I., and in general Tischendorf, Ed. VII., I. 136 ff. [VIII., I.]; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, I. 381. Also an edition of the N. T. by Tischendorf, L. 1867, on which Taylor in the *Theol. Review*, 1867, p. 351. Tischendorf makes emendations in it even in the work of 1869 immediately to be mentioned. [A quasi fac-simile edition of the whole MS. by Vercellone († 1869), J. Cozza, and Gaetano Sergio, Rome, 1868–1881, in six vols. fol. The full title is as follows: *Bibliorum Sacrorum Grævus Codex Vaticanus auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone Sodalis Barnabite et Josephi Cozza Monachi Basiliani editus, Romæ, typis et impensis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*. The first four vols. contain the LXX., the fifth the N. T., the sixth prolegomena and commentaries by Canon Fabiani and J. Cozza. See Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 113 ff.]

*C. Ephræmi* (*Regius* 9), about 200 leaves of a whole Bible, the writing of which has been erased and written over again with Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian. Edited by Tischendorf, L. 1843, 2 vols. 4°. There is much more of the N. T. remaining than of the Old, but nothing complete. Of the fifth century, continuous lines, otherwise like A, and with later corrections. — Cf. Michaelis, *Bibl.*, IX. 142; Fleck, in the *Studien*, 1841, I. 126.

*D.* (Gospels, Acts.) *Cantabrigiensis*, presented by Beza to Cambridge in 1581. Gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin, with some gaps, partly supplied by a later hand, probably written in France. Of the sixth century. Fac-simile by T. Kipling, Cam. 1793, 2 vols. fol.; Semler, *Vindicie text.*, p. 15; D. Schulz, *De codice cant.*, Bresl. 1827. Cf. Bianchini, I. 481; Michaelis, *Bibl.*, III. 199; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, V. 704; Middleton in the appendix to his work *On the Greek Article*, Lond. 1808; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 452. [Edited, more accurately, by Dr. Scrivener, in common type, with Introduction and critical notes, Camb. 1864, 4°. See Schaff, *Companion*, p. 122 ff.]

[II. Secondary Uncials: —

*B. Vaticanus* (No. 2066), the Apocalypse alone, of the eighth century, printed in Tischendorf's *Monumenta sacr. ined.*, L. 1846, 4°, and again, separately, in 1869. [A few unimportant corrections to this latest edition by Cozza, in *Ad editionem Apoc. S. Johan. juxta vetustissimum codicem Basil. Vat. 2066 Lips. anno 1869 evulgatam animadversiones*, Rome, 1869.]

*D.* (Paul.) *Claramontanus* (*Regius* 107), formerly in the possession of Beza, who claimed to have obtained it from Clermont (Department Oise);

fourteen Pauline Epistles, yet see § 328; Greek and Latin, stichometric, with accents, without division of words, of the seventh century, with emendations by a different hand. Fac-simile edition by Tischendorf, L. 1852, 4°. [Cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.*, II. 31 ff.]

E. (Gospels.) *Basilienensis*, the Gospels, with some very small gaps in Luke; of the eighth century. A fac-simile as a specimen in Hug, *Einl.*, II.; G. A. Schmelzer, *De cod. basil.*, Gött. 1750. [Collated by Tischendorf and Müller, 1843, and by Tregelles, 1846.]

E. (Acts.) *Laudianus*; presented by Archbishop Laud of Canterbury to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Acts, Greek and Latin, of the sixth or seventh century, edited by T. Hearne, 1715, 8°. [Published by Tischendorf, in his *Monumenta Sacra*, IX. 1870.]

E. (Paul.) *Sangermanensis*, formerly at Paris (St. Germain-des-Prés), now at St. Petersburg. A copy of the already corrected *Claromontanus*, perhaps not earlier than the eleventh century, and by an unskillful hand. Cf. § 371. Michaelis, *Bibl.*, IX. 147. [Ninth or tenth century, Tischendorf.]

F. (Gospels.) *Boreelianus*, an outrageously neglected manuscript of the Gospels, which has become yet more defective during the last century; since a short time at Utrecht; ninth century; J. Heringa, *De cod. boreeliano*, Traj. 1843.

F. (Paul.) *Augiensis*, formerly in the convent of Reichenau on the Bodensee, now at Cambridge. Thirteen Epistles of Paul, Greek and Latin, stichometric, at the earliest of the ninth century, with some gaps. Cf. also § 328 and Tischendorf, *Anecdota ss.*, 1855, p. 209. Edition by F. H. Scrivener, Cambr. 1859.

[F<sup>a</sup>. Passages of Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epp. found copied on the margin of the Coislin Oetateuch in Paris. Beginning of seventh century. Printed by Tischendorf, in *Mon. sacr. ined.*, 1846.]

G. (Gospels.) *Harleianus*, ninth or tenth century; many gaps partly supplied by later hands; now in the British Museum; collated by Wetstein, Tischendorf, and Tregelles.

[G. (Acts.) Seventh century; contains ii. 45–iii. 8; now at St. Petersburg, where it was taken by Tischendorf in 1850.]

[G<sup>b</sup>. (Acts.) Fragments of chs. xvi., xvii., xviii.; ninth century or earlier; now called *Codex Vaticanus* 9671, formerly *Cryptoferratensis*. Edited by Cozza, 1877.]

G. (Paul.) *Boernerianus*, formerly in possession of C. F. Börner at Leipzig; now at Dresden. Thirteen Pauline Epistles (and the superscription of a fourteenth *πρὸς Λαυδακήσας*) with interlinear version and gaps, of the ninth century, probably from the same source as the *Augiensis*. Printed complete by C. F. Matthæi, 1791, 4°.

[H. (1.) For the Gospels, *Codex Seidelii*; tenth century; beginning at Mt. xv. 30, and defective in all the Gospels; now at Hamburg; collated by Tregelles, 1850, and examined by Tischendorf, 1854.]

[H. (2.) Acts, *Codex Mutinensis*; ninth century; lacks about seven chapters; now at Modena; carefully collated by Tischendorf, 1843, and Tregelles, 1845.]

H. (Paul.) *Coislinianus* (No. 202), from the former owner; now in the Parisian library, and some leaves of it (by theft?) at St. Petersburg. Fragments of the Pauline Epistles, of the sixth century, according to Tischendorf; cf. § 365. [Twelve leaves at Paris, two at St. Petersburg. These fourteen leaves edited by Montfaucon, 1715, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*. (Fragments of 1 Cor., Gal., 1 Tim., Tit., Hebr.) Two more at Moscow (parts of Heb. x.) edited in fac-simile by Sabas, *Specim. palæogr.*, Moscow, 1863. Four more, belonging to Abp. Porfiri and the Archimandrite Antony, cited by Tischendorf, Ed. VIII., on 2 Cor. iv. 4–6, Col. iii. 5–8, 1 Thess. ii. 9–13, iv. 6–10. More recently, nine new leaves discovered at Mt. Athos.

Their text, containing parts of 2 Cor. and Gal., published by Duchesne, in the *Archives des Missions scient. et lit.*, 3e série, III. p. 420 ff., P. 1876. Two more leaves, containing 1 Tim. vi. 9-13 and 2 Tim. ii. 1-9, have been found attached to a MS. in the Nat. Library at Turin, 1881.]

[I. (Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epp.) *Cod. Tischendorfianus II.*, at St. Petersburg. Twenty-eight palimpsest leaves, under Georgian writing, of seven different MSS. I<sup>1</sup>, of Jn. xi., xii., xv., xvi., xix. I<sup>2</sup>, 1 Cor. xv., xvi.; Tit. i.; Acts xviii. I<sup>3</sup>, Mt. xiv., xxiv., xxv., xxvi.; Mk. ix., xiv. I<sup>4</sup>, Mt. xvii.-xix.; Lk. xviii.; Jn. iv., v., xx. I<sup>5</sup>, Acts ii., xxvi. I<sup>6</sup>, Acts xiii. I<sup>7</sup>, Lk. vii., xxiv. I<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup> are of the fifth century; I<sup>4</sup>, <sup>7</sup> of the sixth; I<sup>5</sup>, <sup>6</sup> of the seventh. Published by Tischendorf, in his *Monumenta sacr. ined.*, I. 1855.

[I<sup>6</sup>. (Gospel of John), formerly N<sup>6</sup>.; beginning of fifth century; four palimpsest leaves in the British Museum, containing fragments of seventeen verses of Jn. xiii. and xvi. Deciphered by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and published by the former in *Mon. sacr. ined.*, II. 1857.]

K. (Gospels.) *Cyprius (Regius 63)*, the Gospels with a pointing in imitation of stichometry, etc., of the ninth century. Scholz, *De cod. Cyprio*, Heidelberg. 1820. [Collated by Tischendorf, 1842, and Tregelles, 1849 and 1850.]

K. (Pauline and Catholic Epistles.) At Moscow; all the Epistles of the N. T. with slight gaps; of the ninth century. [Collated by Matthæi.]

L. (*Regius 62.*) The Gospels with slight gaps; an exceptionally well-preserved manuscript, but written by an unskillful hand; perhaps of the eighth century; printed in full in Tischendorf's *Monumenta*, 1846. Also a facsimile in Hug, *Einl.*; Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, 9, 144.

[L. (2.) For the Acts, Pauline and Catholic Epistles, *Codex Angelicus* or *Passionei* (formerly G and J); ninth century; now in the Angelica Library at Rome; contains Acts vii. 10 to Heb. xiii. 10. Collated by Tischendorf, 1843, and Tregelles, 1845.]

M. (*Regius, 48.*) *Codex Campianus*, the Gospels complete; perhaps of the ninth century. [Copied and used by Tischendorf, 1849.]

M. (Paul.) *Codex Ruber*, fragments of the Epistles to the Corinthians [two leaves; 1 Cor. xv. 52-2 Cor. i. 15; 2 Cor. x. 13-xii. 5] at London, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews [Heb. i. 1-iv. 3; xii. 20-xiii. 25] at Hamburg, perhaps belonging together, of the ninth century. [Written in red.] Fac-simile in Tischendorf's *Anecdota ss.*, 1855, p. 175 ff. [Also, with a few corrections, 1861.]

[N. (1.) For the Gospels. *Codex Purpureus*, end of sixth century; written on thin purple vellum, in silver letters; four leaves in London, two in Vienna, six in the Vatican, and thirty-three in the monastery of St. John in Patmos. The readings from these thirty-three leaves, containing Mk. vi. 53-xv. 23, with some gaps, were used by Tischendorf, in the eighth edition of his N. T. Since published by Duchesne in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 3e sér., 1876.]

[N. (2.) Two leaves; ninth century; contains Gal. v. 12-vi. 4 and Heb. v. 8-vi. 10. Brought by Tischendorf to St. Petersburg.]

[O. John's Gospel, part of Jn. i. and xx. with scholia; at Moscow; eight leaves; ninth century; edited by Matthæi, 1785, and after him by Tregelles, *Cod. Zacynthius*, 1861, Appendix.]

[O. 2 Corinthians, 2 leaves, sixth century, containing 2 Cor. i. 20-ii. 12. Brought from the East to St. Petersburg by Tischendorf, in 1859.]

[O<sup>a</sup>, O<sup>b</sup>, (1), O<sup>c</sup>, O<sup>d</sup>, O<sup>e</sup>, O<sup>f</sup>. Psalters or other MSS. containing some or all of the hymns of Luke's Gospel. O<sup>a</sup> at Wolfenbüttel, edited by Tischendorf, *Anecd. sacr. et prof.*, 1855. O<sup>b</sup> at Oxford. O<sup>c</sup> at Verona, Greek text in Roman letters, edited by Bianchini, 1740. O<sup>d</sup> at Zürich, on purple vellum in silver letters, edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. ined.*, IV. O<sup>e</sup>

and O<sup>c</sup> at St. Gall and St. Petersburg, collated by Tischendorf. O<sup>o</sup> sixth century; O<sup>a</sup> seventh; O<sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup>, <sup>c</sup>, <sup>d</sup>, ninth.]

[O<sup>b</sup>. (2.) Sixth century; one leaf, containing, imperfectly, Eph. iv. 1-18; collated by Tischendorf at Moscow, 1868.]

[P. (1.) for the Gospels, *Codex Guelpherbytanus I.*, sixth century; a palimpsest with works of Isidore Hispal.; at Wolfenbüttel; containing portions of all the Gospels (518 verses); edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. ined.*, VI. 1869.]

[P. (2.) Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with some gaps, *Codex Porfirianus*, a palimpsest of the ninth century, in possession of Abp. Porfiri at St. Petersburg (now at Kiev); text particularly good in the Apocalypse; edited by Tischendorf, 1865 and 1869. Generally confirms A and C, but often stands against all the rest.]

[Q. (1.) For Luke and John, *Codex Guelpherbytanus II.*; fifth century; a palimpsest containing fragments (247 verses) of Luke and John; at Wolfenbüttel; edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. ined.*, III. 1860.]

[Q. (2.), *Porfirianus*, fifth century; papyrus fragments of 1 Cor. i. 17-20; vi. 13-18; vii. 3, 4, 10-14. Collated by Tischendorf.]

[R. (1.) *Codex Nitriensis*, sixth century; fragmentary palimpsest of Luke from a Coptic monastery of the Nitrian Desert; now in the British Museum. Collated by Tregelles, 1854, and edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. ined.*, I. 1855.]

[R. (2.). A palimpsest leaf of the seventh century, containing 2 Cor. xi. 1-9; in the convent of Grotta Ferrata, near Rome; published by Cozza, 1867.]

S. A complete manuscript of the Gospels, in the Vatican (No. 354), with the date 949. [Collated by Tischendorf for the eighth edition of his *N. T.*]

T. *Borgianus*, in the library of the Propaganda at Rome; fragments of Lk. xxii. xxiii., and Jn. vi.-viii., with an Upper Egyptian version; according to Tischendorf of the fifth century; see Michaelis, *Bibl.*, XVIII. 136; the fragments of John edited by A. A. Georgi, Rome, 1789, 4<sup>o</sup>. [Those of Luke first collated by B. H. Alford.]

[T<sup>wei</sup>. Fragments of Lk. xii. 15-xiii. 32, Jn. viii. 23-32, formerly owned by Woide; published by Ford, in his *App. Cod. Alex.*, 1799.]

[T<sup>o</sup>. Fragments of the first four chapters of John; sixth century; now at St. Petersburg.]

[T<sup>c</sup>. A fragment of Matthew (xiv. 19-xv. 8), resembling the above.]

[T<sup>d</sup>. Fragments of a Greek-Sahidic Evangelistary; seventh century; found by Tischendorf, 1866, in the Borgian Library at Rome. Contains Mt. xvi. 13-20; Mk. i. 3-8; xii. 35-37; Jn. xix. 23-27; xx. 30, 31.]

[T<sup>e</sup>. A small fragment of an Evangelistary, of about the sixth century, from Upper Egypt; now in the University Library, Cambridge, England; contains Mt. iii. 13-16. Readings given in the Postscript to Tregelles' *N. T.* p. 1070.]

U. *Nanianus*; at Venice, the Gospels, of the tenth century. [Collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles.]

V. At Moscow, the Gospels, of the ninth century; from Jn. vii. 39 by a later hand; probably the oldest of the many MSS. used by Matthæi. § 413.

[W<sup>a</sup>. Two leaves, containing fragments of Lk. ix., x. in the National Library at Paris; probably of the eighth century; edited by Tischendorf, in *Mon. sacr. ined.*, 1846.]

[W<sup>b</sup>. A palimpsest of fourteen leaves, found by Tischendorf at Naples, deciphered by him in 1866.]

[W<sup>c</sup>. three leaves, of the ninth century, containing Mk. ii. 8-16; Lk. i. 20-32, 64-79; now at St. Gall; edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. sacr. ined.*, III. 1860.]

[W<sup>d</sup>. Fragments of Mk. vii., viii., ix., of the ninth century, found in the

binding of a volume in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Readings remarkable.]

[*W<sup>c</sup>*. A fragment containing Jn. iv. 9-14, discovered in 1865 in the library of Christ Church College at Oxford. Closely resembles O, and is perhaps a part of the same MS.]

[*W<sup>f</sup>*. A palimpsest leaf of the ninth century, containing Mk. v. 16-40, discovered by Mr. Vansittart in Cod. 192 of the Acts.]

[*W<sup>g</sup>*. *Codex Sunderlandianus*, considerable palimpsest fragments of all four Gospels, perhaps of the ninth century, found in a *Meneum* belonging to the Sunderland Library; now in the British Museum. Deciphered by T. K. Abbott and J. P. Mahaffy.]

X. At Munich, fragments of the Gospels, with commentary, mostly from Chrysostom; ninth or tenth century. [Collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles.]

[*Y*. *Codex Barberini*, fragments from Jn. xvi.-xix., of the eighth century, in the library of the Prince Barberini at Rome; published by Tischendorf, in *Mon. sacr. ined.*, 1846.]

Z. At Dublin, fragments of Matthew from a very old (sixth century?) palimpsest, not wholly deciphered. Edited in fac-simile by J. Barrett, 1801, 4<sup>o</sup>; see Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, II. 584; Paulus, *Neues Repert.*, I. 192; supplement to Barrett's edition by S. P. Tregelles, Lond. 1863.

[Re-edited with great care by T. K. Abbott, Lond. 1880. See notice by Dr. Gregory in Schürer's *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, Leipz. 1881, col. 228 f.]

F. A manuscript of the Gospels brought by Tischendorf from the Orient; Matthew and John are very defective; of the ninth century; now in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Δ. At St. Gall; the Gospels with a single small gap, with a Latin interlinear version, similar in style to *G. Boernerianus*; ninth century. Published, in lithographed fac-simile, by H. C. M. Rettig, Zür. 1836, 4<sup>o</sup>; cf. *Theol. Studien*, 1829, III.; 1836, II.

[Θ<sup>a</sup>. For Matthew. *Codex Tischendorffianus I.*; seventh century; now in the Leipzig University Library; contains fragments of Mt. xiii., xiv., xv. Found by Tischendorf in the East in 1844; published in his *Mon. sacr. ined.*, 1846.]

[Θ<sup>b</sup>. Six leaves, of the sixth or seventh century; fragments of Mt. xxii. xxiii., and Mk. iv., v. Brought by Tischendorf to St. Petersburg in 1859.]

[Θ<sup>c</sup>. Two folio leaves, of the sixth century, containing Mt. xxi. 19-24 and Jn. xviii. 29-35. The first brought by Tischendorf, the second by Abp. Porfiri, to St. Petersburg.]

[Θ<sup>d</sup>. A fragment, of the eighth century, containing Lk. xi. 37-45. Brought to St. Petersburg by Tischendorf.]

[Θ<sup>e</sup>. A fragment, of the sixth century, containing Mt. xxvi. 2-4, 7-9.]

[Θ<sup>f</sup>. Fragments, of the sixth century, of Mt. xxvi., xxvii., and Mk. i., ii.]

[Θ<sup>g</sup>. A fragment, of the sixth century, containing Jn. vi. 13, 14, 22-24. Resembles O (2).]

[Θ<sup>h</sup>. Græco-Arabic fragments, of the ninth century, of Mt. xiv. and xxv.; together with Θ<sup>e</sup>, <sup>f</sup>, <sup>g</sup> in the collection of Abp. Porfiri.]

A. *Codex Tischendorffianus III.*; ninth century; brought by Tischendorf from the Orient; now at Oxford; contains Luke and John complete. [Collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles.]

[Ξ. *Codex Zacynthius*; a palimpsest of the eighth century, containing, with some gaps, Lk. i. 1-xi. 33; formerly at the island of Zante; presented in 1821 to the British and Foreign Bible Society at London; deciphered and published by Tregelles, 1861. Text very valuable, and surrounded by a commentary.]

[Π. *Codex Petropolitanus*, of the ninth century, brought by Tischendorf from Smyrna; containing the Gospels nearly complete, lacking but 77 verses. Collated by Tischendorf, 1864 and 1865.]

[Σ. *Codex Rossanensis*, discovered by Gebhardt and Harnack, in March, 1879, at Rossano, in Calabria. Beautifully written, in silver letters, on fine purple vellum, with the first three lines in both columns, at the beginning of each Gospel, in gold (very rare among Greek MSS.). Also ornamented with eighteen pictures in water colors, representing scenes in the gospel history. Consists of 188 leaves of two columns of twenty lines each, and contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Luke and John having been lost. Assigned by Gebhardt and Harnack to the sixth century. See *Evangeliorum Codex argenteus purpureus Rossanensis, literis argenteis sexto ut videtur sæculo scriptus picturisque ornatus*, by O. von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack, Leipz., 1880; contains fac-similes of portions of the text and outline sketches of the pictures.]

[A full list of published Uncial MSS., by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, in *Schaff, Companion*, p. 139.]

We cannot enumerate here the later MSS. and the numerous monographs relating to them; for examples of the more important see § 417.

It is to be expressly noted that the most of these ancient uncial MSS. have only been known, or at least used, since the seventeenth century, and many only very recently.

[III. Cursive manuscripts:—

[A few of the most valuable are:—

[1, for the Gospels: *Codex Basileensis*; tenth century; at Basle; known to Erasmus, but little used by him; collated by Wetstein, C. L. Roth, and Tregelles.]

[33, in the Gospels (13 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 17 in Paul), *Codex Colbertinus*; in the National Library at Paris; eleventh century; called the “queen of the cursives;” collated by Griesbach, and especially by Tregelles in 1850.]

[61, Acts and Catholic Epistles, *Codex Tischendorfianus*; in the British Museum; dated April 20, 1044. Collated by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Scrivener. According to Dr. Hort, Westcott and Hort’s *N. T. in Greek*, II. 154, “contains a very ancient text, often Alexandrian, rarely Western, with a trifling Syrian element, probably of late introduction.”]

[69, Gospels (31 Acts, 37 Paul), *Codex Leicestrensis*; eleventh century; collated by Tregelles, 1852, and Scrivener, 1855.]

[81, Gospels; at St. Petersburg; “the most valuable cursive for the preservation of Western readings in the Gospels.” (Dr. Hort, in Westcott and Hort’s *N. T.*, II. 154.)]

393. In age, some of the versions surpass the still extant Greek manuscripts of the original text; but they can of course give only indirect evidence, since in any case of doubt a retranslation into the Greek is necessary. This proceeding is of value chiefly in cases where the version strives after literalness, which is often done to the complete sacrifice of the laws of its own language, and with a slavish accommodation to the spirit and forms of Hellenism. On the other hand, however, not every variation is at once to be taken as evidence respecting the text, since not every translator always found in his own language the means of literal fidelity. In general, the testimony of a version can be of weight only so far as its peculiar readings are confirmed by Greek manuscripts, and in any case only after its own text has been established by previous criticism, and has been freed from the possible suspicion of subsequent alteration

in accordance with later copies of the original text. It need not be said that we speak here only of those versions which were made before the invention of printing.

This aid to criticism, also, was only gradually taken advantage of, and for a long time with very doubtful results. On the versions in question themselves, their date and extent, see our Fourth Book, and the literature there catalogued. Here only writings devoted exclusively to comparison of text.

The most accessible are the Latin, both the older (Itala) and the later (Vulgate). The first is found in the Græco-Latin codices mentioned in § 392, partly edited (*D Cantab.*, *D Clarom.*, *E Laud.*, *E Sangal.*, *G Bærner.*); also in *Codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Brizianus* (printed in Bianchini, *Evangeliarium quadruplex latinæ vers. antiquæ*, etc., Rome, 1749, 2 vols. fol.), and *Palatinus*, at Vienna (edited by Tischendorf, L. 1847, 4°), all of which contain simply the Gospels (with gaps), of the fourth to the sixth century. For other aids belonging under this head, see Sabatier and others (§ 450 ff.). A rich collection of variants is given by Mill, *Prolegg.*, §§ 377–605.

The Vulgate is not to be used from the printed manual editions, which do not give a critical text, but from MSS., the oldest of which (beside F and Δ, § 392) are *Codex Amiatinus* at Florence (edited by Tischendorf, 1854, 4° [also by Tregelles, in his edition of the Greek Test., with variations of the Clementine text. Dates from 541]), *Fuldensis, Toletanus, S. Emmerami* at Munich, of the sixth to the ninth century; especially also *Forojuliensis* [sixth century], which is preserved in portions at Venice, Prague, and Friuli, and printed complete in Bianchini, *Evang. quadruplex*, App. [See § 456.]

C. A. Breyther, *De vi quam verss. latinæ in crisin evv. habeant*, Merseb. 1824.

Among the Oriental versions, the two Syriac, the three Egyptian, the Ethiopic, and the Armenian are the most important, and they have in part been very accurately used. The Gothic also belongs in this category.

A. P. de Lagarde, *De N. T. ad verss. or. fidem emendando*, B. 1857; J. W. Reusch, *Syrus interpres cum fonte græco N. T. collatus*, L. 1741; G. B. Winer, *De usu verss. syr. N. T. critico caute instituendo*, Erl. 1823; Storr, *Ueber die philox. Uebers.*, in the *Repert.*, X.; Wichelhaus, *Peschito*, p. 236 ff. [See §§ 427 ff.] For the Coptic versions, see Michaelis, *Bibl.*, X. 198, XVII. 136; *Neue Bibl.*, VIII. 237; Wilkins, *Prolegg.* [§ 430]. — For the Ethiopic, Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1188 ff.; Bode's Latin edition of its Matthew, H. 1749 [§ 431]. — On the Armenian, Bredencamp, in Michaelis, *Neue Bibl.*, VII. 139; Alter, in Paulus, *Memor.*, VIII. 186 [§ 432]. — On the Gothic, Knittel, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, VII. 783 [§ 444 f.].

Of less value for criticism, because proportionately later, or not derived directly from the Greek, interpolated, or of uncertain origin, are the Georgian (see Alter, *Ueber georg. Literat.*, p. 26 [§ 433]), the Slavlic (*id.*, *ib.*, p. 170, and in the appendix to his *N. T.* [§§ 446, 447]), the Anglo-Saxon [§ 462], the Arabic [§§ 437, 438] and the Persian [§ 441].

394. The quotations of particular passages of the New Testament in the works of the Church Fathers, which are to be adduced as a third source, are in some respects, it is true, to be placed above the versions, on account of their high antiquity and immediateness, and may also do good service in determining the nativity of peculiar forms of the text; but they have also their drawbacks and deficiencies. In the first place, they are mostly only small fragments taken out of the Scriptures and applied to various uses in the later theological works;

then these uses did not always require strict adherence to the original words, but permitted quotation from memory simply, which is the case the oftener, the farther back we go. Hence the greatest and surest advantage comes from the exegetical works, which explain whole books in a comprehensive way. But in all cases it is necessary to take care to see whether the copyists or editors of patristic writings have not arbitrarily altered such quotations in order to make them correspond with the text familiar to them, or looked upon by them as authentic, so that they must be regarded no longer as fragments of very old manuscripts, now lost, but as copies of later worthless ones.

The number of Church Fathers available and already used is very great, but the advantage derived from them has been of importance in case of but few. The oldest Greek writer who is here to be considered on account of the great number of his quotations (since Justin cannot be used for this purpose, § 199) is Clement of Alexandria; the most important, from his date and as an exegete, Origen. (Griesbach, *Opp.*, I. 278; II. 37.) After him, as exegetes, come Chrysostom, Ephrem, Theodoret; later, Euthymius, Eucumenius, Theophylact; on the Apocalypse in particular, Andreas and Aretas; see on these Matthæi, preface to the tenth volume of his *N. T.*, and our Fifth Book [Rettig, *Die Zeugnisse des Andreas u. Aretas*, in the *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1831; Otto, *Des Patriarchen Gennadios Confession, nebst einem Excurs über Arethas' Zeitalter*, Vienna, 1864; article *Arethas*, in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Chr. Biography*, I. 154 f., and especially Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung der griech. Apologeten*, etc., L. 1882, p. 36 ff.]; among theologians, Athanasius, the two Cyrils, Epiphanius, and John of Damascus. More complete lists in the Prolegomena of the critical editions, especially Scholz and Tischendorf [Scrivener, p. 372 f.; Mitchell, *Handb.*, Tables XI. and XII.]; also Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, V. 134. Cf. in general J. S. Vater, *Obs. ad usum PP. græcorum in crisi N. T.*, Reg. 1810, Pt. I., II. Special: F. W. Edel, *Collatio critica locc. N. T. quæ in Actis conciliorum gr. IV. prim. secc. laudantur*, Arg. 1811; F. J. Arens (§ 247). [See on the value and use of patristic quotations Tregelles, in Horne's *Introduction*, 14th ed. Lond. 1877, IV. p. 329 ff.; Schaff, *Companion*, 164 ff.]

The possibility of getting any advantage from the critical studies of Marcion is, according to §§ 246, 362, problematical.

Latin writers bear witness for the most part only to their Latin text; yet even this in the first centuries is a very important help, and must by all means be taken advantage of, since Irenæus and Jerome were familiar with Greek manuscripts. Only from writers before the time of the latter (Terullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, the two Hilaries, Augustine) has criticism anything to gain for the Greek text.

C. I. Ansaldi, *De authenticis ss. apud Patres lectionibus*, Verona, 1747.

395. The completest possible solution of the problem of New Testament textual criticism depends partly upon the completeness of the apparatus and partly upon the right use of it. The history of the printed text, therefore, has to do equally with the attempts of scholars to obtain this apparatus, or the preliminary critical labors, and with the use of it, or the editions. Of the latter, as a critico-historical science, it has properly to notice only those which have given the text a new



form, in the consideration of which it directs its attention both to the aids and to the principles of the editors. The great mass of editions reprinted without change from others has for the most part only a bibliographical interest, yet taken as a whole presents a certain side of the development of the science itself, and is therefore not to be neglected in this connection.

Bibliographical catalogues (general) : J. Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra*, Par. 1709 ; ed. 2, 1723, 2 vols. fol. (on the present subject see I. 199 ff.) ; enlarged by C. F. Börner, L. 1709, 2 vols. 8° ; best of all, *Bibliotheca sacra . . . emendata, suppleta, continuata*, by A. G. Masch, Hal. 1781-90, 5 vols. 4° (uncompleted ; covers only the editions of the original text and the Oriental and Latin versions). Shorter catalogues : Calmet, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, III. ; Walch, *Biblioth. theol.*, IV. ; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, I. ; Meyer, *Gesch. der Schrifterklärung*, in the separate volumes ; T. F. Dibdin, *Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions*, etc., ed. 3, Lond. 1808, 2 vols. ; cf. also §§ 425, 460.

For the N. T. in particular, and with critical reference : the *Prolegg.* of Mill, § 1089 ff. ; Wetstein, ed. Semler, p. 309 ff. ; Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern* ; *Hallische Bibliothek* (§ 460), *passim* ; Matthæi, *N. T. ed. minor*, I. 679 ff. ; Griesbach, ed. 1796 ; his *Historia edd. N. T.*, in the *Mus. Hagan.*, II. 493 ff. ; Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, V. 248 ff. ; S. P. Tregelles, *A Prospectus of a New Edition of the Greek N. T.*, with an *Historical Account of the Printed Text*, 1848. — J. B. Reinhard, *De N. T. primis editoribus*, Vit. 1717 ; reaches to 1551. — E. Reuss, *Bibliotheca N. T. græci*, etc., Bruisw. 1872. [This work of Reuss supplemented and brought down to 1882 by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, and the list published in Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 497 ff.]

We distinguish (1.) Original editions, which are made from MSS. alone, *edd. principes*. (2.) New recensions, transformations of the text in accordance with MSS. and upon critical principles, with or without reference to former editions. (3.) Recognitions, editions changed in accordance with new principles without reference to new MSS. (4.) Editions compiled from several earlier ones, without new aids. (5.) Reprints. (6.) Title-page editions, both those repeated by the stereotype process and those which repeatedly put upon the market the first (and only) impression, brought down to the time simply by a new title page and a changed date.

396. It cannot be denied that the earliest editors of the New Testament had at least a superficial knowledge, if not of the corruption of the text, yet of the diversity of the manuscripts, and in so far also an idea of the task of criticism. Yet this science was still in its infancy, and even the practice which might have been obtained in working upon the classics was calculated to lead theologians astray in this new business, since it had a wholly different basis and was to be carried on by means of different aids. The power of custom, which in theological and ecclesiastical matters so often restricts progress, here also came in to hinder in many ways, and to make the good will and industry of scholars unfruitful. It was fully two hundred years before, from uncertain groping about, they arrived at a scientific method based upon definite principles, or at least ventured to say plainly what was clearly recognized.

With respect to the classics, on account of the much smaller number of MSS., the history of the text, which is the most indispensable element of criticism in the N. T., is in most cases wanting; not to speak of the two classes of helps which do not exist.

The literature of Biblical Criticism is catalogued by Rosenmüller, in his *Handb.*, I. 439 ff. II., 1 ff., [Schaff, *Companion*, p. 83 f.]

More general text-books of the theory and aids of Biblical Criticism are: Glasius, *Philologia sacra*, Bk. I., Jena, 1623 and freq.; last by G. L. Bauer, 1796 (the other portions of the work do not belong here); J. Clericus, *Ars critica* (on classical literature also), ed. 6, Leyd. 1778, 3 vols.; J. Heringa, *Begriff, Unentbehrlichkeit, und rechter Gebrauch der bibl. Kritik*, from the Dutch by M. J. H. Beckhaus, Offenb. 1804; Lölnis, *Grundzüge der bibl. Kritik* (in his *Hermeneutik*, pp. 233-428); Kuenen. [See the works cited under § 351.]

On the N. T. in particular see the Prolegomena to the editions of Walton, Curellæus, Fell, Mill, Gerhard v. Maestricht, Bengel, Griesbach, Scholz, and others. See the appropriate sections below.

Also, J. Saubert, *Prolegg. ad Matth.*, pp. 1-62; C. M. Pfaff, *De genuinis ll. N. T. lectionibus indagandis*, Amst. 1709; C. B. Michaelis, *De variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis et diiudicandis*, Hal. 1749; J. J. Wetstein, *Anim. et cautiones ad examen var. lectt. N. T. necessariorum*, in his *Libell. crit.*, ed. Semler, 1766. Also Semler's *Spicilegium*, p. 167 ff.; C. D. Beck, *Monogrammata hermen.*, pp. 22-125; J. M. A. Scholz, *De critica N. T. generatim*, Heid. 1820; F. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit bes. Beziehung auf das N. T.*, B. 1838; C. Tischendorf, in the *Studien*, 1842, II.; W. F. Rink, *ibid.*, 1846, II.

397. Among the obstacles which during this long period opposed the purification of the text, the small number of manuscripts accessible or made use of, and their slight age, was not the greatest. Scholars were unable to make the best choice from among those at hand, or were not accurate enough in their comparison, or contented themselves with estimating the value of readings according to the number of sources in which they were found. In consequence of the astonishing number of copies which appeared at the very beginning, in a long series of manual editions, mostly from one and the same recension, the idea grew up spontaneously very early that in the manuscripts also the text was tolerably uniform, and that any thorough revision of it was unnecessary and impertinent. The oriental versions were closed to most; the importance of the Church Fathers was scarcely suspected; but the greatest lack of all for the purification of the text was the indispensable knowledge of the process of its corruption. Moreover, a correct conception of the peculiar idiom in which the Apostles wrote could not arise in the midst of the humanistic tendency of the time, and the readings due to this cause were wrongly estimated in many ways.

To these may still be added: the arbitrariness, in defiance of all criticism, used in mingling the readings of existing editions; the negligence in describing the MSS. used, and in stating the sources of variants adopted; the lack of a fixed text according to which, to avoid confusion, all collations could be arranged; finally, the impossibility of a full survey of the apparatus.

398. The more these various causes operated, and as the deficiencies arising from them became more and more perceptible, the greater became the inclination to seek help over the difficulties of misunderstood passages, or through the chaos of variants, by conjectures, the acute application of which had already often been successful in the classics. Although this expedient is theoretically not to be condemned unconditionally, on account of the great gaps at the beginning of the series of critical witnesses, yet it was properly abandoned more and more as the supply of trustworthy aids increased, and its application was found to be as unnecessary in practical criticism as it was inadvisable for dogmatic reasons.

L. C. Valckenaer, *De s. N. F. crítica a literatoribus non exercenda*, Franeq. 1745; idem, *De critica emendatrice in ss. N. F. ll. non adhibenda*, Franeq. 1745; M. Weber, *De intempestiva lectionis emendandæ cura*, L. 1783; P. J. S. Vogel, *De conjecturæ usu in crisi N. T.*, Altd. 1795; cf. Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, 21, 159; Augusti, *Neue Blätter*, III. 316.

Collections: *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the N. T.*, collected from various authors, by W. Bowyer (1763), 4th ed., Lond. 1812, 4<sup>o</sup>.

That conjecture is a very ancient exegetical expedient is apparent from Tertullian (*Cont. Marc.*, V. 3), who strikes out the negative οὐδὲ in Gal. ii. 5: *intendamus sensui ipsi et apparebit vitatio scripturæ*. Yet he probably had the Latin text in his favor.

Many proposed emendations of the text *in locis dubiis et vexatis* have proved wholly unnecessary with a more advanced exegesis: *e. g.*, 1 Cor. i. 12: Κρίσπου for Χριστοῦ (Bowyer); xi. 10: ἐξιοῦσα (Toup); *ibid.*, ἀγελαίους (Gothofred); xv. 29: ἀπ' ἔργων νεκρῶν (Valckenaer); Acts vi. 9: Λιβυστινῶν (Beza); ii. 9: Ἰουδαίαν instead of Ἰουδαίαν (Erasmus); Lk. ii. 2: πρὸ τῆς (Boullier); Mt. xxvii. 9: Ζαχαρίου (Origen); Mk. ix. 49: πᾶσα πυρᾶ (Scaliger); 1 Cor. xv. 32: κατ' ἀνθρώπων (*idem*).

Others deserve no respect, being products of dogmatic prejudice: *e. g.*, Mt. xxviii. 19: βαπτίζοντες ff. to be stricken out (Teller); Lk. iii. 22: σωματικῶ εἶδει to be stricken out (Valckenaer); Jn. i. 1: θεοῦ ἦν ὁ λόγος (S. Crell), or θεὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ λόγος (Bahrdt); Rom. ix. 5: ὧν ὁ ἐπὶ (Schlichting).

In modern times Dutch philologists in particular (Valckenaer, *Opp.*, II. 229–324; Venema and Verschuir in the latter's *Opp.*, 358–443; Wassenbergh in Valckenaer's *Scholia*, II. 9–62; Toup and others), also some Germans (Fritzsche, Gersdorf, Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, V. 321, Schott, *Isag.*, 576, Hitzig in the *Zürcher Monatsschr.*, 1856, p. 63 ff.), have still regarded conjecture as necessary, *e. g.*, in Jn. xix. 19: ὀσώπω; Acts ii. 9, 10 to be stricken out; 2 Pet. i. 5: καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο; Gal. ii. 1: τεσσάρων; Heb. xi. 37: ἐπειράθησαν to be altered; perhaps Ja. iv. 6; 1 Cor. iv. 6. (Bornemann in the *Sächs. Studien*, I. 37). Lachmann (Pref., Vol. II., p. 6 ff.) gives a list of passages which might perhaps be aided by conjecture: *e. g.*, Mk. i. 2, 3 the quotation to be corrected; ix. 23: εἰ δύνη πιστώσαι; Lk. xiv. 5: ὅς ἢ βοῦς; Jn. viii. 44: ὁς ἂν καλῆ; 1 Cor. viii. 1: ὅτι οὐ πάντες, etc. See also the expositors on all the passages cited.

399. But notwithstanding all these perhaps unavoidable defects, we should not detract from the fame of those who took the first steps in this difficult way. This fame belongs to the Spanish scholars who, under the direction and according to the plan of Cardinal Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop

of Toledo, edited the great Complutensian Polyglot, in which for the first time the Greek New Testament was included. The text was derived from several manuscripts not further described, though doubtless mostly late, but does not seem to deserve the reproach afterward brought against it, of having been altered to agree with the Vulgate; nay, even in the light of modern criticism, it still bears comparison with any other recension of the period immediately subsequent. The famous work is still illustrious to-day, more on account of its rarity and monumental character than on account of the service it could render to science; but these qualities assure it immortality more than does their greater internal completeness the better of its successors.

On the Polyglot of Alcalà (Complutum) see in general W. E. Tenzel, *De bibliis polygl.*, Witt. 1686; Hottinger, *Bibliothecarius quadrip.*, p. 133 f.; Kortholdt, *De edd. S. S.*, p. 374 ff.; H. von der Hardt, *Memoria Ximenii*, Helmst. 1717; J. H. Stuss, *De natalitiis librorum*, Goth. 1742, Pt. I.; *Neue Beyträge v. alten u. neuen theol. Büchern*, 1755, III.; Walch, *Bibl. theol.*, IV. 167 ff.; S. Seemiller, *De bibliis Complutensibus*, Ingolst. 1785; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, III. 279 ff.; Hefele, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1844, II.; idem, *Der Card. Ximenes*, 1851, p. 113 ff.; Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1089; F. Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglotte des Card. Ximenes*, L. 1871. [Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, etc., pp. 1-19; Schaff, *Companion*, p. 232 ff.]

The printing of the work began with the N. T., edited by the coöperation of Demetrius Ducas of Crete, Antonius of Lebrixa (Nebrissensis), James Lopez de Stunica and Ferdinand Nuñez de Guzman. This forms the fifth volume, and is dated January 10, 1514. The whole was completed in 1517, but the edition was not sanctioned by the papal see until [March 22d] 1520 (6 vols. fol., with Hebrew text, LXX. and Vulgate). A very peculiar form of the letters in the N. T.; no breathings, a simple and peculiar system of accentuation, and the separate words numbered to point out their correspondence with the Latin translation.

The editors call their chief source a *codex venerandæ vetustatis*; but criticism has not yet succeeded in ascertaining whence it came nor whither it went. Formerly Cod. B was thought of. Possibly the note refers to the O. T. [Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, etc., p. 12 ff.]

Suspicion cast upon the N. T. on account of alleged Latinization (§ 360. The passage 1 Jn. v. 7 was doubtless taken from the Vulgate.) by Wetstein and Semler. Controversy on this point between J. M. Göze (*Vertheid. der Complut. Bibel*, 1765; *Ausführl. Vertheid.*, 1766; *Forts.*, etc., 1769) and Semler (*Genauere Unters.*, 1766; *Samml. über die Beweisstellen St. 2*). On the side of the latter, J. N. Kiefer, *Gerettete Vermuthungen über d. compl. N. T.*, 1770. Cf. Walch, *Neueste Rel.-Geschichte*, IV. 423 ff.; Wetstein, *Libelli*, p. 70.

The text of the Complutensian N. T. has only very recently been reprinted in its purity (§ 418). Yet the Plantine editions (§ 403), and those related to them, hold to it prevailingly. This disfavor is doubtless due in part to ecclesiastical separation, perhaps more yet to the costliness of the work. Of Complutensian readings which did not pass over into the Plantine editions and stand for the most part wholly isolated in ancient times, modern criticism has replaced many in the text; more have commended themselves at least to individual critics. Further see § 403. The printing is not accurate.

Especially noticeable are many clerical errors due to Itacism ; cf. § 371. Variants in the margin are only found in very few and important passages, *e. g.* Mt., vi. 13; 1 Jn. v. 7. Parallel passages are more frequent, and there is added a Greek lexicon and an explanation of the proper names.

400. Before this work was published, the enterprising Basle printer, John Froben, had had a separate edition of the New Testament prepared by the famous theologian and humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam. Without proper preliminary labor, rather a commercial enterprise than a scientific undertaking, it was hastily prepared, with very insufficient helps, and faultily printed. With more time and increasing care the editor corrected this latter fault in the four following editions, so far as it was within his power. The text itself, however, was not essentially altered, and the work is important only as the first and most influential, not because of its inner value. But what the gifted and learned author did besides, in his own field, assures him an enduring place of honor in the history of the interpretation of the Scriptures.

I. 1516, folio. The sources were two late Basle codices (Gospels 2, Acts, Epistles 2), which Erasmus corrected by the aid of two others (Gospels, Acts, Epistles 1, 3) and then sent to the press. For the Apocalypse he had only one MS. (Apoc. 1) borrowed of J. Renschlin, the last leaf of which had a gap, so that he had to retranslate some lines from the Vulgate. This MS., long supposed to be lost, has lately been rediscovered by Delitzsch. It places the certainly not very careful and scientific procedure of Erasmus in a yet more unfavorable light than it had usually been regarded before, for the whole N. T. (Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, L. 1861 f., 2 Hefte). On the title page stand *multi codices* and numerous Fathers, particularly Latin, to justify the alteration of the annexed translation (in comparison with the Vulgate). The text is extremely defectively printed, evidently according to an unorthographically written MS. ; here and there whole clauses and parts of verses are wanting. In this edition there is a preface of the printer afterward omitted.

II. 1519, folio. The proof-reading is considerably better, the text only very little altered, and, judged by the criticism of to-day, not improved. This edition also appeared before the publication of the Complutensian, and happens to agree with it somewhat less often than the first. It was the source of Luther's version.

III. 1522, folio. The Complutensian edition is still without noteworthy influence, and the few passages in which Erasmus now agrees with it, among them 1 Jn. v. 7, are drawn wholly independently from other sources. Otherwise only very few changes.

IV. 1527, folio. With a text of the Apocalypse altered in many points to agree with the Complutensian, and for the most part happily; otherwise few new readings.

V. 1535, folio. Printed from the foregoing almost entirely without change. The whole apparatus of the editor consisted finally of eight MSS. This edition has been twice repeated, 1539-41 and 1705, in the Basle and Leyden complete editions of Erasmus' works, though in the latter with the arbitrary introduction of some Stephanic readings.

The work is dedicated to Pope Leo X. All the editions have a classic Latin translation, the fourth the Vulgate also ; several other appendages be-

side, some of which, however, do not appear until the second edition (*ratio seu compendium veræ theol. ; paraclisis ad lectorem ; apologia ;* critical revision of the Vulgate); also exegetical : introductions of Theophylact to the Gospels, arguments of the editor to the Epistles, and a whole volume of notes, which, however, is now seldom found, and as an integral part of the volume containing the text. Cf. § 543. Variants are found in the margin of the Apocalypse from the third edition on. On the numbering see § 386.

The Erasmusian editions have a considerable number of readings which never appeared again in the following families of texts, very few of which have been favored by modern critics. The relative value of the first two recensions varies ; the Complutensian readings are better especially in the Apocalypse, partly also in the Gospels ; Erasmus more often has the advantage in the Epistles and Acts.

Characteristic signs of the whole Erasmusian family (original editions and reprints): Mk. xi. 26 is lacking ; xiii. 9 : ἀχθήσεσθε ; 2 Pet. i. 8 : ἀπράκτους ; Rev. ii. 13 : ἡμέραις ἐμαῖς. — No verse division.

For literary-historical references, also on the many contentions which arose because of the work, see Masch, p. 281 ff. ; Lork, *Eibeiigeschichte*, II. 25 ff. ; Matthæi, *N. T.*, XII. 220 ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 189 ; *Hall. Bibl.*, I. 379.

[Cf. on Erasmus the monographs of Müller, 1828, Drummond, 1873, Gilly, 1879, and the article *Erasmus*, by Stähelin, in Herzog's *Encycl.*, IV. 278–290, new ed. (abridged in Schaff's *Encycl.*, I. 753.)]

401. From these two original editions came the text of the New Testament as it was circulated down to the last quarter of the last century, and still is circulated, chiefly, to-day. During this whole period all critical activity consisted, and still does consist, in part, in a mere superficial improvement of the text first printed, by means of gradually increasing helps timidly used ; soon, indeed, in a mere mingling of the readings of different current editions, helps being completely neglected. In the period immediately following, however, people were content with reprints of the Erasmusian editions.

Editions of the Erasmusian family: I. From the first edition : the *N. T.* in the Greek Bible of the Aldine press at Venice, 1518, fol., with a dedication by Francis Asulanus to Erasmus. Without chapter divisions. By no means all the errors of Erasmus are corrected. Some new readings from an unknown source, of which most happen to agree with the Complutensian, several may possibly have been only happy corrections. The work is very rare. Delitzsch, *Handschriftl. Funde*, I. 62. — From this a *N. T.*, Venice, 1538, A. de Sabio.

II. From the second edition : Hagenau, T. Anshelm, by N. Gerbel, 1521, 4°, also without chapter divisions, formerly regarded as Luther's source, and famous from its supposed rarity. Few alterations. — Strassburg, W. Köpfel (Cephalæus), by J. Lonitzer, 1524. A faulty reprint of the foregoing with unimportant alterations. — Venice, 1533, A. de Sabio ; Paul only.

III. From the third edition : Basle, J. Bebel, by J. Ceporinus, with preface by Ecolampadius, 1524, 1531, 1535 ; has a small number of peculiar readings and corrections. Characteristic of this class : Rev. xviii. 7 : τοσοῦτον κέρσατε ; and together with II. : Acts xxi. 3 : ἀναφανέντος τῆς κύπρου. The Bebel editions differ extremely little from one another.

The first edition of Bebel repeated, Zürich, 1547, C. Froshauer ; the third, Basle, J. Walder, 1536 (miniature edition, with patristic additions) ;

the same, Basle, T. Plater, 1538, 1540, 1544 (copies dated 1543); the same, Basle, N. Brylinger, 1543; the same, Basle, H. Curio, 1545. Each of these editions has some unimportant peculiarities.

IV. From the fourth edition; Louvain, Rescius, 1531.

V. From the fifth edition: simply reprinted with scarcely any alterations worthy of mention, A. Osiander, *Ev. Harmonie*, Basle, 1537, 1561, fol., and *N. T.*, H. Froben, 1541, fol. — The latter also 1545, 4<sup>o</sup>, with some Bebel readings, and from this a second, N. Brylinger, 1548, and the *N. T.* in the Greek Bible of J. Herweg, 1545, fol. (Characteristic of this last class, Rev. xxii. 21, πάντων ἡμῶν.)

VI. From the same, but with the introduction of several Bebel and some peculiar readings (Characteristic of the class, 2 Pet. ii. 18: ὄντας.): the Græco-Latin editions of N. Brylinger, 1542, 1544, 1546, 1549, 1550, very similar to one another but very shabby. (For later editions, see § 403.) The earliest bilingual edition of this series (1541) is somewhat more closely related to the preceding class.

VII. The edition printed by Charlotte Guillard, Par. 1543 (by Jaques Toussaint, Professor at Paris?), is based upon that of Bebel, but introduces in the Apocalypse several improvements from the last Erasmian, and has beside a small number of wholly peculiar readings, some of which are found in the Complutensian or in Colines, from an unknown source. — Reprint, J. Dupuis, Par. 1549. Both editions give the names of various different booksellers on the title page, so that there are several kinds of copies; the first those of J. Roigny and J. Bogard, the second those of M. Fezandat, R. Gran Jon, H. and Dion. de Marnef.

402. Meanwhile some otherwise famous men of the sixteenth century were endeavoring, by comparison of new and more numerous manuscripts, to carry on the work of the purification of the text. It proceeded the more rapidly for a time because it was supposed that the necessary rules and skill were at hand from the critical study of the classics. In general, in every new work of this kind some former one was made the basis, and improvements were introduced sparingly. For the most part, also, it was learned printers who either undertook the work themselves, or selected and employed men of science for it. Among the first deserves to be mentioned, before all, Robert Stephens, who, unfortunately not with the highest degree of skill, availed himself of the treasures of the royal library at Paris, actively aided by his no less distinguished son Henry. His editions became of great importance for the period subsequent.

A. Recension of the Parisian printer S. de Colines (Colinæus), 1534 (*Ἐν Λευκερίᾳ*), shabby and rare, but especially distinguished by the adoption of many readings from ancient sources. It is based, as is clear from the Apocalypse, upon the third of Erasmus; it alters the text more frequently, and happily, according to the Complutensian (apparently), but very often, also (if not everywhere), according to MSS. (especially in the Epistles) where modern criticism in most cases agrees. Some alterations might seem arbitrary; at least this was the opinion of contemporaries.

B. Much less independent are the two recensions of Robt. Stephens (Stephanus), *imprimeur du roi* at Paris. The first, in two neat manual editions, known among bibliographers by the first words of the preface,

*O mirificam*, without particular indication of sources or their use. I. 1546, with a small but incomplete list of typographical errors. It follows Erasmus mostly, but adopts a considerable number of Complutensian readings. That which is new and peculiar to itself is unimportant. — II. 1549, said to be without typographical errors, because no list of them is affixed, only slightly different from the preceding.

C. The second Stephanic recension, down to the present day most frequently of all older editions used as a standard; first, III. Paris, 1550, fol. (*editio regia*), beautiful presswork; in the margin parallel passages and variants from the Complutensian and fifteen MSS., among which was Cod. L. It abandons many Complutensian readings and follows Erasmus instead. Almost nothing new. In the Epistles and Apocalypse Erasmus is retained almost unaltered. Ancient and modern chapter division, Eusebian Canons and numbering, patristic introductions to the separate books, etc. [Republished by F. H. Scrivener, Camb. 1859; new edition, 1877, with the variations of Beza (1565), Elzevir (1624), Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles.] IV. Geneva, 1551, 2 Pts., 16<sup>o</sup>; first edition with verse division; the rarest and least beautiful of the series, with Erasmus' translation and the Vulgate. The text of the preceding altered in but few places, but important as the immediate source of the *textus receptus*.

Cf. in general Mill, 1155 ff., 1220 ff.; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, I. 195; II. 5, 471; IV. 377; Semler, *Vorber.*, IV. 361; E. Reuss, Art. *Stephanus* in Herzog's *Encykl.*

Characteristic of the first Stephanic recension 2 Tim. iv. 13: *φελώνην*; of the second (Ed. III.) 1 Pet. iii. 11 omits *ἀγαθὸν ζητησάτω*; of the third (Ed. IV.) Col. i. 20 omits *δι' αὐτοῦ*.

On the alleged separate recension of Crispin, see the following section.

403. The slight results of the labors of the last named editors, though undertaken with great pains and much zeal, inasmuch as no attention whatever was paid to the first improved recension, and the second even took a step backward, leads us to suspect that science had at that time already arrived at the stage which she was able to reach with the means at hand, and which the age was able to bear. Indeed we might introduce even here the expression *Textus Receptus*, which is generally applied only to a later recension (if it is still to be used at all); for the text was not essentially altered from that already fixed upon until a much more modern and propitious age; observing, however, what has always been overlooked, that there was a double form of this text, as there was once a two-fold original edition, and that only ignorance or prejudice could have allowed the better of them to be so utterly forgotten in modern times.

A. The Stephanic Family, in which, according to § 402, with an Erasman basis, a number of Complutensian, and a smaller number of new Stephanic readings occur: —

First Class: The edition of 1546 repeated: Paris, 1549, printed by Prévôt for Birkmann or Haultin; handsome but inaccurate. — Paris, 1568 (Copies dated 1569), Robt. Stephens, the son. — Frankfurt, at Wechel's press, 1597, fol., with LXX.; reprinted, Venice, 1687, fol., N. Dulei (Γλυκίος). — Frankfurt, Wechel, 1600, small size. All these editions depart here and there from their original, and are independent of one another.



Second Class : Repetitions of the edition of 1550.

First Group: Basle, Oporin, 1552; Basle, Brylinger, 1553 and 1558 (Greek only); Frankfurt, Wechel, 1601, fol., with all the critical and exegetical additions of Stephens; London, Bill, 1622; Strassburg, Mülb, edited by J. H. Böcler, 1645. All these are independent of one another, and alter the Stephanic text either not at all, or in very few passages only. Böcler's second more, see § 406. Here belong also, according to their title-page, several modern, undated Cambridge editions which I have not seen; one of which has an English translation by J. Scholefield.

Second Group: (Crispinic Text) Geneva, 1553, with preface by the printer, J. C. Crispin; Greek titles, superscriptions of chapters, parallels, variants in the margin; differs from Stephens in several passages. This text repeated, with all its appendages: Zürich, Frosehauer, 1559 and 1566; Basle, Brylinger, 1563 (Greek only); Leipzig, Vögelin, 1563 (1564), 1595. The last three agree in some passages with the earlier editions of Brylinger. Characteristic of the group: Ju. i. 28,  $\beta\eta\theta\beta\alpha\rho\hat{\alpha}$ , or 1 Pet. iii. 7:  $\xi\omega\eta\varsigma$  (*sic*).

Third Group: The text of the third Stephens edition is also found in several later editions, which, on account of their other critical additions, we shall have to mention particularly below (§ 407 f.); Walton, Mill, Lirsch, and the editions dependent on them.

Third Class : Repetitions of the edition of 1551.

First Group: The second edition of Crispin, Geneva, 1564 (1565); Basle, Perna, 1570, fol., with the *Glossa Compendiaria* of Flacius (§ 548). Both of these editions with isolated alterations and independent of each other; the latter reprinted, Frankf., Beyer, 1659, fol.

Second Group: Wittenb., S. Selfisch, 1583 (? a title-page edition of it, Amst., Jeger, 1583), 1605 (Title-page ed. 1606), 1618, 1623. — Strassb., T. Riehl, the only undated edition of older times (before 1596). — *N. T. polyglott.*, ed. by D. Wolder, Hamb., Lucius, 1596, fol. — Giessen, Hampel, 1669 (Title-page edition, Frankf., Wüst, 1673; copies of both on large paper, 4°). — All these editions contain the same text, that of the fourth Stephens edition, with some alterations. Characteristic: Mk. iv. 21:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  and Rev. iii. 12:  $\lambda\alpha\phi$  at the same time. For a continuation of this series, see § 405. All these editions have Erasmus' translation, his arguments, a *Summa totius Scr.* and an *Index theol.*

B. The Erasmo-Stephanic family, in which, with an Erasmanian basis, a small number of Stephanic readings occur.

First Group: The later Brylinger family: Basle, 1553, 1556, 1558, 1562, 1564, 1566, 1571, 1577; Basle, Osten, 1588; Leipzig, Vögelin, 1563, 1565, 1570; Leipzig, Steinmann, 1578, 1582, 1588; Leipzig, Lauzenberger, 1591, 1594, 1599; Frankfurt, Palthen, 1596; all with Latin translation, without verse numbering, and line for line throughout like one another and those mentioned in § 401, VI. Also, Greek only, Basle, Brylinger, 1586, with verse division. Finally, Frankfurt, Endter, 1661. Characteristics: Mk. xvi. 8:  $\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , 2 Pet. ii. 18:  $\delta\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ . The number of Stephanic readings adopted increases in this series; the editions of 1562, 1563, 1566, and 1586 in particular are innovations in this respect.

Second Group: Lyons, De Tournes (Tornæsius), 1559; text of Guillard (§ 401, VII.), mingled with Stephanic readings. — Title-page edition, Lyons, Roussin, 1597.

Third Group: Basle, Barbier and Courteau, 1559 (1560); also Zürich, 1559, fol. reckoned by some as the first edition of Beza, because of the translation of Beza printed with it. The Stephanic text is sometimes altered according to Brylinger's.

Fourth Group: The text in the famous Commentary on the Gospels begun by M. Chemnitz, carried on by P. Leyser, and completed by J. Gerhard (§ 555), printed at first synoptically and afterward mingled with the text.

The older portions, printed in parts, 1593-1616, have a text nearly related to that of Brylinger. Frankfurt and Leipzig, by various printers, and freq. The portion written by Gerhard, in two divisions, of which the last appeared first, Jena, 1617 and 1626, is the Stephanic text almost unchanged. First and third parts, Geneva, Berjon, 1628, fol. Complete editions, Geneva, Chouet, 1645, fol.; Frankfurt, Hertel, 1652, fol.; Hamb. Hertel, 1704, fol. Several unknown to me are mentioned by Le Long and Fabricius.

C. The Plantine family, in which, with a Complutensian basis, there occurs a proportionately small number of Erasmo-Stephanic readings, and almost no others. The statement (Hefele, *Ximenes*, 134) that these are mere reprints of the Complutensian is erroneous.

First, in the Antwerp Polyglot, Vol. V., printed by C. Plantin, prepared by Bened. Arias Montanus (de la Sierra), 1571, fol., and therefrom, with slight variations, in the Parisian Polyglot (§ 407), 1630, fol. The Antwerp Polyglot contains, as Vol. VII., still another copy of the N. T., with the date 1572, and with the Vulgate, revised by the editor, printed between the lines. The latter has been the source of numerous reprints. It frequently varies from the first. The Polyglot has in its principal text critical signs for additions and omissions, which, however, are not retained in the reprints. Variants only in a few editions, and sparingly, in the margin. The *Themata verbalia* for school boys, in most, and the above interlinear version in many.

Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1573, 1574, 1583, all Greek only; 1584, Græco-Latin; the last only folio; Leyden, F. Rapheleng, 1591, 1601, 1612, 1613. Most of the Plantine editions are *forma minima*. — Paris, 1584, 4°, Prevôteau, with Syriae and Latin translation (also copies 1586, Le Bouc). The Gospels with commentary by Lucas of Brügge, 1606, fol.

Heidelberg, H. Commelin, 1599, fol., (Title-page edition, 1616) with the translation. The same edition, set in 8°, with the dates 1599, 1602, and Lyons, Vincent, 1599; Geneva, 1599; all one and the same title-page edition.

Geneva editions: Pierre de la Roviére, with the translation, (a) *sine loco*, 1609, fol., and *Aurel. Allobr.*, 8° (the same edition); (b) *Aurel. or Colon. Allobr.*, 1610-11; (c) *sine loco*, 1619, fol. and 8°; also *Aurel. Allobr.*, 1619, 1631, 8° (all the same edition); without the translation, (d) *Aurel. Allobr.*, 1609, *form. min.*; (e) *Colon. Allobr.*, 1619, 1620, 4°; also Geneva, 1620, 4° (differing in title page only); Jacob Stoer, *sine loco*, 1627; S. Crispin, *sine loco*, 1612, 1622. — From 1612 on still more Stephanic readings enter into this group.

The Plantine text has been repeated in later times: Leipzig, Kirchner, 1657, fol.; Vienna, Kaliwoda, 1740; Mayence, Varrentrapp (edited by H. Goldhagen), 1753; Lüttich, Kersten, 1839; and the Harmony of J. A. Rotermundt, Passau, Ambrosi, 1835.

The number of peculiar readings, nowhere else printed (agreeing with the Complutensian) is very great; as a characteristic (against the Complutensian) may serve Acts v. 24:  $\delta \tau \epsilon \acute{\alpha} \rho \chi \iota \epsilon \rho \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma$ .

404. But another more independent recension of this period remains to be noticed. The critical collections of the younger Stephens, which he had increased still more by his journeys, came into the hands of Theodore Beza, renowned for his part in the Reformation in France, who himself possessed several very old, formerly unknown manuscripts, and who even began to collate the Oriental versions. He issued a series of editions in which the original was accompanied by a translation of his own, in which, however, the Stephens text was but seldom

changed and not always happily. A man of affairs and of the Church, he lacked the necessary tact in the little matters of criticism, and doubtless also the courage to maintain what he saw to be better in opposition to custom. His translation often expresses a wholly different reading from the text standing by the side of it, and his notes, important as they are from a theological point of view, sufficiently show that it was already too late and yet much too early for the task that was here presented.

Beza himself, to whom his translation was of more importance than the criticism of the text, counted in the first edition, Latin alone, 1557 (the Greek N. T. of 1559, mentioned in § 403, appeared without Beza's coöperation), so that the first Græco-Latin edition, 1565, is called Ed. II.

[On the life and labors of Beza, see the works of La Faye, Gen. 1606, Schlosser, Heidelb. 1809, Baum, L. 1843 and 1851, and Heppé, Elberf. 1861; also the article *Beza* in Schaff-Herzog's *Encycl.*, I., 255 ff.]

The proper Bezan editions are partly large, partly small, the former folio, with the Vulgate and the new translation, a full commentary with index, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; the latter 8°, dedicated to the Prince of Condé, do not have the Vulgate (with the exception of the third), and instead of the commentary marginal notes, which, from the third on, are collected from Beza by Loiseleur Villier and J. Cherpont. These editions are not altogether alike as to text. Most of them do not state the place of printing (Geneva), and are often erroneously marked Paris in the catalogues of libraries and book-stores.

#### A. Gemine Bezan editions.

First Group: I. Principal edition (Geneva), H. Stephens, 1565, fol. Basis, Stephens IV. The changes made agree in part with the Complutensian or Erasmus, but are in part wholly new readings. By no means all of Beza's changes have been approved by modern critics. Repeated, Geneva, 1565, 1567, manual editions, and 1569, fol. with the Syriac text, without important difference. (Title-page edition of the last, Lyons, 1571.)

Second Group: The remaining large editions, for which Beza collated *Codd. D Cantabr.* and *D Clarom.* (§ 392), as well as the Peshito and Arabic versions; yet without arriving at more than a few improvements, which were afterward altogether neglected in criticism. II. Geneva, 1582, fol.; III. Geneva, 1589 (also copies dated 1588), fol. IV. Vignon, Geneva, 1598 (also copies without this name) fol. The last edition reprinted by Daniel, Cambridge, 1642, fol. The first in the *Libri hist. N. T.*, with commentary, by B. Walæus, Leyden, Wyngaerden, 1652, 4°. (Title-page edition, Ravestein, Amst. 1662); some readings, however, were adopted from the fourth.

It is to be observed also that Beza both tacitly, in the translation, and expressly, in the notes, commended many readings which he did not receive into his text. His choice in these cases is often happy; unfortunately no succeeding editor took the hint. No characteristic signs can be given for the genuine Bezan editions, since all the innovations of the first group have passed over into the Elzevir editions; yet we mention, by way of example, as introduced by Beza, the now altogether rejected readings: Rom. vii. 6, ἀποθανόντος; Rev. xi. 1 adds καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἰσθήκει; and the generally approved: Acts ix. 35, τὸν Σάρωνα; for the second group: 1 Cor. xv. 55, νίκος and κέντρον transposed; and, also now generally approved: Acts xvi. 7, πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ; Ja. ii. 18, χωρὶς.

#### B. Semi-Bezan editions:—

First Group: Editions of H. Stephens, Geneva, 1576, 1587, 1604, small

size, without translation. The first with the famous preface of the editor on the language of the N. T. (§ 47); the following with another upon the ancient chapter division. They have much in common with Beza and some peculiar readings, as if the two critics had used the same helps and had done their work partly in conjunction. The edition of 1587 reprinted by Vautrollier, London, with some readings from 1582.

Second Group: Later manual edition with Beza's preface and translation, Stephens (Geneva), 1580; Vignon, 1590, 1604, 1611. (Copies of the latter also by S. Crispin.) They have most of the peculiar readings of the first group.

Third Group: Slightly changed reprints of the edition of 1576: *Typogr. reg.*, London, 1592; Harsy, Lyons, 1599-1600, 2 vols., and by Harsy's widow, 1611; Stoer, Geneva, 1609, 1625; by various printers, London, 1653, 1664, 1672, 1674, with notes by C. Hoole; Emery, Paris, 1715 (the title-page states a wholly different source); and in the Commentary of J. Price, Flesher, London, 1660, fol.

Characteristic of this family (B.): Mt. i. 11 adds *ιακελυ*; Mt. ix. 18, *αρχων τρις*.

C. The strange edition of E. Lubinus, Pedanus, Rostock, 1614, 3 vols., with Latin and German interlinear translation, the order of the Greek words changed to correspond with the German in *usum tironum*, and the readings of the two classes just mentioned mingled. (Title-page editions, Hallerfeld, Rostock, 1617; Ferber, Rostock, 1626; Janson, Amst. 1614.)

405. Beza's work was the last feeble attempt for more than a century to improve the text by means of manuscripts and other ancient witnesses. His successors did no more than to make choice from among the existing printed readings, and thus arose at their hands a series of mixed editions, in whose preparation no preliminary critical researches whatever are to be supposed. The case was simplest and easiest where Stephens and Beza were mingled, — the latest, and among Protestants, by the displacement of the pure Erasmian, the most widely current, — since but a small number of passages came in question. The mingling of Stephanic and Plantine readings was a matter of greater extent, but also more rare. The most noteworthy point in all this is that notwithstanding the anxious clinging of theologians to the letter, which has been the greatest hindrance to criticism, no scientific conception of the inviolability of the attested text seems to have existed.

A. Stephano-Bezan family.

First Group: Werlin, Tübingen, prepared by M. Hafenreffer, 1618, 4°. Reprint of the third Stephens edition with the introduction of some few Brylinger and Bezan readings, from Beza's first edition, with statement of variants at the end of each chapter.

Second Group: Reprint of the fourth Stephens edition in the form given it by Selfsch (§ 403), with the introduction of a small number of readings from the first recension of Beza. First issued by Borhek, Wittenb., 1622, 4°, with the coöperation of E. Schmid, at the cost of Bishop Nicephorus of Thessalonica, with Greek title, intended for the Orient; then by Selfsch, Wittenb., 1635, with Erasmus' translation, tables of contents, *Index theol.*, and other additions; Wüst, Wittenb. 1661; Mevius, Frankf., 1653; Wüst, Frankf. 1674, 1686, 1693, 1700. Here also may be placed the edition, with

translation and commentary, of Erasmus Schmid, Nürnb., 1658, fol., which, however, departs somewhat more frequently from Stephens, and even has some new readings of its own. Characteristic, at least of most, Rev. ii. 5 : ἐν τράχει.

Third Group : Reprint of the fourth Stephens edition, with a few readings from Beza's first recension, and some peculiar ones, all of which, however, do not appear at the very first : E. Vignon (Geneva), 1574, 1584, 1587 ; J. Vignon, Geneva, 1615 ; Paul Stephens (Geneva), 1617 ; J. Crispin (Geneva), 1632 (Title-page edition J. De Tournes) ; D. Frere, London, 1648. As to external make-up these editions belong with the later Stephens editions, 1576 ff. (§ 404). They have variants in the margin and exegetical notes by Is. Casaubon. Characteristic : Acts vii. 48 omits *ῥαοῖς* and Jn. xviii. 1 τοῦ κεδρῶν at the same time. As to text alone the edition of J. de Tournes and J. de la Pierre (Geneva), 1632, belongs here.

Fourth Group : Blaeu, Amst. 1633 ; on the basis of Beza, 1589, readings from Robt. Stephens, II. 1549.

B. Stephano-Plantine family. Not related to one another.

(1.) Mylius, Cologne, 1592. Retains fully two thirds of all Plantine readings and replaces the rest by Stephanie ; also has a small number from Brylinger.

(2.) E. Hutter, Nürnb. 1599, fol., in twelve languages, and 1602, 4<sup>o</sup> (copies by Walschaert, Amst. 1615) in four. On the editor, see *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1716, p. 392. In this edition are Plantine and Stephanie readings in nearly equal numbers, beside some from Beza and others. The editor frequently introduces into the text manuscript glosses, nay even fancies of his own, or additions translated from the Vulgate, and orthodox Lutheran *Dicta probantia* fabricated by him with naive audacity, beside some real critical improvements.

(3.) J. de Tournes, Geneva, 1628 (copies *sine loco* and *Aurel. Allobr.*) ; also Geneva, 1628 (copies with 1629), the latter with Beza's translation and the French. In the former Plantine readings very largely prevailed, in the latter Stephanie.

In every one of these three (four) recensions the selection of Plantine and Stephanie readings is different.

406. The most famous and widely circulated of these mixed editions based chiefly upon Beza's recension is that which has made the name of the Elzevir family of Dutch printers a much mentioned one in the history of the text even to-day. They made the need of theologians of a fixed text the basis of a clever and successful business speculation, by announcing, without further comment, that their neat manual editions, which were distinguished for beauty and correctness, contained the text received by everybody, which soon became the actual fact, at least through large regions. In consequence the slight degree of harmless and irregular freedom which had been allowed in the criticism of readings almost entirely disappeared in the learned world. The petty literalism of the schools finally made variants a dangerous thing, forbade criticism, and the text just as it stood became a part of orthodoxy. Yet this fact, though undeniable, is not to be taken in the strictest sense.

*Edd. Elzevirianæ* ; famous also in classical literature and otherwise,

printed at Leyden and Amsterdam, mostly (the N. T. always) *in forma minima*. Leyden, 1624, 1633 (Preface: *textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum datus . . . formam περιφόρητον καὶ ἔωρον ἢ. ε. ἀλιγὴν τε παρὶτερ καὶ φιλήν*), 1641; Amst., 1656, 1662, 1670, 1678. Yet the third edition, on account of several peculiar readings, really ought not to be brought into this series at all (see Note 8).

[For a history of the Elzevir family and a list of their publications, see *Les Elzevier, Histoire et Annales typographiques*, by Alphonse Willems, Brussels and Paris, 1880, 2 vols.]

The text of the first edition, which is usually regarded to-day as the genuine and normal representation of the Textus Receptus, but in reality is so no more than many others, is by no means taken from the *Editio regia* of Robt. Stephens, from which it is said by Mill (*Prolegg.*, § 1307) to depart in but twelve passages, by Tischendorf (Éd. 1841, p. 62) in but 127, but from the first manual edition of Beza, 1565, from which it departs only in some few passages which were changed in accordance with Beza, 1580. The hand which gave the text this form is unknown to us (D. Heinsius or A. Thysius has been conjectured); the merit is not great, and the best work in it is that of the proof-reader.

The seven (not eight) original Elzevir editions vary among themselves in some passages (so that only IV., V., and VI. are precisely alike); hence the numerous reprints, aside from all other changes, also vary in these passages. Since two of these passages were evident errors (Rom. vii. 2, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, I.-III.; Rev. iii. 12, λαφ, I.-VI.), in view of the necessity of proof-reading for a careful revision, in this point alone, the number of altogether servile reprints is to be placed at only twenty. Many of these reprints, even in the wider sense, which differ also, perhaps, in size and other incidental matters, have misleading titles: *Ad probatissimos codices*, etc., or *Ex utraque regia editio*, which is said to mean Stephens, 1550, and the Antwerp Polyglot, from which latter they derive nothing whatever, but which was mentioned with the other on account of the Catholics.

Yet but few editions have been reprinted from the Elzevirs absolutely without change; most have in some passages favorite Stephanic readings, or at least have exchanged or improved the Elzevir variants. According to the extent of such changes we divide the whole mass into two classes.

First Class: Pure Elzevir editions, *i. e.*, unchanged reprints of one of the seven genuine Elzevirs.

(1.) Of the first: Wourdan, Amst. 1626, with Beza's version; Jannon, Sedan, 1628, the smallest in existence; Paris, in J. Morin's Greek Bible, 1628, fol., in copies with the names of different booksellers, C. Sonné, S. Chappelet, N. Buon, A. Estienne (Title-page edition, S. Piget, 1641); Wechel, Hanau, 1629 (New title, Ammon, Hamburg, 1655), with R. Stephens' preface.

(2.) To the third belongs, as to its text, Whittaker, London, 1633, which was printed by the Elzevirs, and whose peculiar readings passed over into Elzevir III. (Title-page edition, Elzevir, 1641, 8°; not to be confounded with the one mentioned in Note 1.)

(3.) To the seventh: Cagnolini, Padua, 1692; Orphanage, Halle, 1710, with a Modern Greek version by L. Kolctis. A series of similar bilingual editions published by English Bible Societies, Tilling, London (Chelsea), 1810 (1814), 1819 (1824). Later, see below. Also, Moscow, 1821, 4° (*Typogr. S. Synod.*), with LXX.

Second Class: Editions with very few changes, drawn from various sources.

First Group, the different editions independent of one another; Jansson, Amst. 1632, 1639; Royal press, Paris, 1642, fol., *édition de luxe* (Mazarine); Laur, Amst. 1647, with Beza's version; Leers, Rotterdam, 1654, 1658; Bodmer, Zürich, 1677, and with Beza, 1663, 1671; also 1708, of

which some copies without the version ; Molin, Lyons, 1674, with the Vulgate ; Winter, Abo, 1688 ; Hugueton, Amst. ; the *Harmony of the Gospels* of J. Le Clerc (§ 179), 1699 (copies with 1700), fol. ; Quillau, Paris, 1704 ; Brocas, Paris 1722 ; Seminary, Padua, 1725 ; Mayer, Jena, 1731, with commentary by C. Stock ; Collin, Streguäs, 1758 ; Watts, London, 1827 (often repeated from stereotype plates), with Modern Greek version ; so also Tilling, London, 1828 ; a *Harmony of the Synoptists*, Malta, 1838 ; one of the four Gospels by J. Strong, New York, 1854 ; title-page edition, 1859 ; N. T. by J. Jowett, Camb. 1843 (1847). (American title-page editions, Camb. 1847, 1851) ; Cologne, 1856 (title-page ed. 1861, 1866), neatly and cheaply reprinted from the preceding, the only Elzevir printed in Germany for almost a century, but at the expense of the English Bible Society, for the purpose of keeping the more recent recensions out of the hands of students. Also, with English versions, 1863, 1869, and with German, 1864.

Second Group : A special class is formed by the Leusden editions (J. Leusden, Prof. at Utrecht ; § 17), in which 1900 verses of the text, which contain all the words used in the N. T., are marked with asterisks, and of these those which occur but once and those which are found several times are designated by different signs. This much repeated trifling shows the taste of the age, which had changed criticism into Masoretic counting, and believed in the unchangeableness of the text. Here belong : Smytegelt, Utrecht, 1675 ; Boon, Amst. 1688 (also copies Van Someren ; also Smith, London) ; Wüst, Frankf. 1692 (copies with 1693), edited by R. Leusden ; Lipper, Lüneburg, 1693, with preface by J. Winkler and Luther's version ; Wetstein, Amst. 1698, 1701, 1717, 1740 ; also impressions of all (except 1701) with Arias' translation, and of the first with a Dutch version ; Luchtmans, Leyden, 1699 (New title-page, 1716, 1751, 1765, 1785) ; Leipzig, 1702, 1709, 1733, with preface by Rechenberg ; Reyher, Gotha, 1703 (New title-page, Hansch, 1710, 1712) ; Stössel, Chemnitz, with preface by C. F. Wilisch, 1717 ; two editions, one with Luther's, the other with S. Schmidt's Latin version ; new title-page of both, 1730 ; Voss, Leipzig, 1724, 1730, 1739 ; Voss, Berlin, 1750, 1757, 1774 ; also with Arias' version, Voss, Leipzig, 1722, 1727, 1737, 1745 ; Berlin, 1753, 1757, 1761, and with Luther, L. 1732 ; Wetstein and Nourse, Leyden and London, 1772 ; Wingrave, London, 1794, 1804 ; Bradford, Philadelphia, 1806 ; all these English and American editions Græco-Latin ; Collius, New York, 1824.

Third Group : Editions which, for critical purposes, printed the most current text together with a collection of variants : —

(1.) Elzevir, and later, Blæu, Amst. 1658, 1675, 1685, 1699, edited by E. de Courcelles (§ 407). Here also, as to the text, we place the edition Migeot, Mons, 1673, with French and Latin version (Sacy and Vulgate), and the edition of the Catholic Epistles with commentary by B. Carpov, Curt. Halle, 1790. The whole series may be recognized by the brackets (1 Jn. v. 7).

(2.) T. Sheldon, Oxford (by J. Fell ; § 407) ; thence Bennet, Oxf. 1703, fol., with Greek scholia, by J. Gregory, and König, Leipzig, 1697, 1702, the latter with preface by A. H. Franke. Here also belong, as to text : Smytegelt, Utrecht, 1675 (a different one from that already mentioned) ; Heiwichen, Leipzig, 1691 (also copies Lipper, Lüneburg) and 1697, with preface by Adam Rechenberg ; Jeffray, Cambridge, 1700 ; Reyher, Gotha, 1715, with the O. T. Apocrypha and a preface by E. S. Cyprian.

(3.) Wetstein, Amsterdam, 1711, 1735, edited by Gerhard v. Maestricht (§ 407) ; reprinted, Renger, Halle, 1730, with notes by C. Neudecker ; and without the variants, Orphanage, Halle, 1740, 1756, 1762, 1775 (the books in Luther's order, also copies with Luther's version) ; Mechel, Basle, by A. Birr, 1749 ; Thurneisen, Basle, 1825 ; Foulis, Glasgow, 1759, 4<sup>o</sup> ; Ruddiman, Edinb. 1750, 1771 ; University Press, Edinb. 1807 ; Wilson & Cadell, London, 1808 (stereotype editions, 1812, 1821, 1829, 1840), edited by W. W. Dakins.

A glance at the foregoing list of genuine Elzevir editions, scarcely twenty of which, not even all the Leusdens, are without variations from their original, shows, in the first place, that their number is not so overwhelming as is generally supposed; secondly, that the appellation *Textus Receptus* belongs to them neither in the sense of absolute unchangeableness nor in that of especial independence; finally also, that this text made its way into Lutheran circles much later than into the Reformed, and under the patronage of the Halle school (the Pietists, § 558). Yet the difference between the previously prevalent Stephanic and Stephano-Bezan text and the Elzevir is far too slight to lay weight upon. No notice was taken of the variants except in so far as the better known editions were distinguished thereby. Hence it was possible to assert that there were really no various readings, or only clerical errors, that no one should trouble himself about them, or that they served only as occasions for dangerous contention; see the prefaces of A. Birr, 1749, and of the edition of Stregniäs, 1758. For the way in which theological science settled the matter, see Moldenhawer, *Introd.*, p. 197: *Dantur quidem vv. ll. cum autem potissimum ex incuria scribarum ortum trahant, nulli articulo fidei fraudi sint, analogiam fidei non turbent, et vera lectio ope regularum herm. et crit. dignosci queat, minime textum corruptionis arguunt et permisit eas deos ne deesset hominibus occasio assidue scrutandi ll. ss.* So also Börner, *Isagoge*, p. 59. But the orthodox theory of criticism is expressed in the following (Leusden, *Philol. hebr. gr.*, p. 47): *Pleræque vv. ll. ex oscitantia scribarum irrepserunt, quæ studio Complutensium, Erasmi, Stephani, Bezae sunt restituta adeo ut (as if these agreed!) in hodiernis edis. quiescere possimus. . . . Non cuilibet concedenda est facultas eligendi lectionem, nam tum sensus eliceretur qualem aliquis judicat eligendum cum solius Sp. S. sit determinare quid ad S. S. pertineat.* And it is adduced as an example that 1 Ju. v. 7 ought not to be struck out, because a *dictum probans* would be lost.

R. Simon (*Hist. du V. T.*, p. 8); *Les catholiques, qui sont persuadés que leur religion ne dépend pas seulement du texte de l'Écriture, mais aussi de la tradition de l'Église, ne sont point scandalisés de voir que le malheur des temps et la négligence des copistes aient apporté des changements aux livres sacrés. Il n'y a que des protestants préoccupés ou ignorants qui puissent s'en scandaliser.* Hence the storm of opposition to L. Cappelle's *Critica s. V. T.*, which could only be printed under Catholic management (1650).

The wishes of Polyc. Leyser (*De noviter adornanda N. T. edit.*, L. 1723), whose voice was the only one heard upon critical matters at that time among the Lutherans, refer to externalities only, and show no suspicion of the true state of the case.

Third Class. Improperly so-called reprints of the Elzevir text, with more frequent changes (according to Stephens).

First Group: On the basis of the first Elzevir edition, with some non-Stephanic readings also: Buck, Cambr. 1632; repeated, Roger Daniel, Lond. 1652, 1653; Field, Cambr. 1665; Redmaine, Lond. 1674, 1705; Churchhill, London, 1701 (two editions); Knaplock, Lond. 1728; Tonson and Watts, Lond. 1714, 1728, 1730, 1756, edited by M. Maittaire; Rivington, Lond. 1775, 1786; Ewing, Dublin, 1746, 1775; Ekshaw, Dublin, 1794; Pickering, Lond. 1828, of the smallest conceivable size, with Lilliputian type.

Second Group: An edition with Modern Greek version by Maximus of Kallipoli, *sine loco* (Geneva?), 1638, 2 vols. 4°, ordered by the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, in which the text of Elzevir II. is altered by the aid of R. Stephens, 1546, and H. Stephens, 1587.

Third Group: In the three complete editions of the works of Coeccius (§ 557), Amst. 1675, Frankf. 1689, Amst. 1701, there is printed an almost complete N. T., in which Elzevir IV. is abandoned in many passages, at least in the Epistles.

Fourth Group: The second edition of Böcler, Städel, Str. 1660, abandoned by Stephens (§ 403) for Elzevir but seldom.



Fifth Group : Gleditsch, Leipzig, with preface by J. G. Pritz, tables of contents and variants, 1703, 1709, 1724, 1735 ; reprint of the first, Vulpius, Giessen, edited by J. H. Mai, 1705 ; also copies with Luther ; of the fourth, March, Leipzig, 1744, with a peculiar section division and tables of contents by C. Schöttgen ; repeated, Gampert, Breslau, 1765 ; Korn, Breslau, 1782, 1795. Less like the foregoing, Teubner, Wittenb. 1736, edited by C. S. Georgi, with but few variants *ne imperitiores turbentur* ; repeated, 1737, with Arias' version ; Normal School, Prague, ed. C. Fischer, 1777 ; Upsala, 1806-1817, 2 vols. Characteristic of most, 2 Cor. xi. 10, σφραγῆσεται.

Sixth Group : Lankisch, Leipzig, 1713, *N. T. quadrilingue* (Peshito, Vulgate, Luther), ed. C. Reineccius (new title-page, 1747), fol. ; thence a series of manual editions which agree line for line : Breitkopf, Leipz. 1725, 1733, 1742, 1753, 1766, 1783 ; reprinted, Orphanage, Züllichau, 1740, 4° (also copies with Luther) ; Helwing, Detmold, 1787. (Title-page edition, Bädecker, Duisburg, 1804.) Characteristic, Rom. xii. 11, κυρίῳ (καίρῳ).

Seventh Group : The text of Mill (§ 407), on account of the fame of the original edition, has been very often repeated with slight changes in England and America, and is even now more widely current there than the Elzevir : Editions by W. Bowyer, printer in London (later Nichols), 1715, 1728, 1743, 1760, 1770, 1777, 1787, 1816 (cf. §§ 398, 408 ; Lork, *l. c.*, II. 69) ; also Baskerville, Oxford, 1763, 4° and 8° ; Jos. Priestley's *Harmony of the Gospels*, London, 1777, 4° ; Clarendon Press, London, 1805 (a complete Greek Bible), 1808, 1813, 1819, 1828, 1830, 1836, 1844, and perhaps freq. — Thomas, Worcester (Mass.), 1800 ; Reeves, Lond. 1803 ; Bagster, London, 1813, 1825, 1829 (and freq., stereotyped), in 8°, 12°, 32° ; also *sine anno* and with English version ; Thomas, Boston, 1814 ; Booth, London, 1825, with commentary, 3 vols. — Parker, London, 1855, with notes by Webster and Wilkinson. — Parker, Oxford, with scholia by E. Burton, 1831, 1835, 1848, 1852, 1856 ; Univ. Press, Oxf., *Harmony of the Gospels*, by E. Greswell, 1834, and freq. ; Univ. Press, Oxf., with English version and critical apparatus by E. Cardwell, 1837, 2 vols. ; Rickerby, Lond., with scholia by W. Trollope, 1837 ; Pickering, London, with scholia, LXX., Josephus, and Philo, by E. W. Grinfield (*editio hellenistica*), 1843, 4 vols. ; Bagster, Lond. 1829, with variants and grammatical notes by W. Greenfield ; also Perkins, Phila. 1841, and freq. (stereotyped) ; also *sine anno* ; N. Y. 1847 (1859), with notes by J. A. Spencer. — The Am. Bible Union published with Mill's text, N. Y. 1854, 4°, a portion of the N. T. (Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse) as a specimen of a new English translation. Whether more since is unknown to me. [N. Y. 1860 ; the new version in full, N. Y. 1866.]

Eighth Group : Ruddiman, Edinb. 1740 ; Urie, Glasgow, 1750 ; Broughton, Oxf. 1742 ; Richardson, Lond., with notes by S. Hardy, 1768, 1778, 1820 (also copies without the notes, Allman, London, 1820).

Ninth Group : Royal Press, Turin, 1741 ; *Typogr. Semin.*, Padua, 1745, 1755, 1762 (twice), 1774, 1789, 1796, 1820 ; Bortoli, Venice, 1751. All shabby and defective ; change the Elzevir text frequently according to R. Stephens, 1546.

Tenth Group : Wallis, N. Y. 1808, ed. P. Wilson (repeated from stereotype plates, Hartford, 1822, 1825, 1829 ; Phila. 1829, 1833, 1838, 1858, and probably freq.). In this edition, on the contrary, the oldest Stephens text is in many passages altered according to Elzevir.

Fourth Class : The Elzevir text frequently changed according to the Planine editions : —

First Group : Cramoisy, Paris, 1632, fol., with commentary by J. Gordon.

Second Group : Longman, London, 1794, 1801, 1809.

407. Meanwhile the industry of the more unprejudiced scholars was applied the more zealously to the increase and

sifting of the critical apparatus. It was no disadvantage whatever that the prevailing prejudices hindered the more frequent transformations of the text, for they were yet always too hasty; it was thus possible to collect and store up, with more time and care, the treasures with which a freer century, in fresh power, might begin a more enduring work. The splendid and richly gotten-up Polyglots of Paris and London brought up again from their graves, as it were, the witnesses of the first centuries. The example invited imitation, and with the consciousness that they were working for the future, others carried on indefatigably the work begun, and soon pressed on from the business of collection to the threshold of theory. With the last of these works science departed from Great Britain through Holland to Germany, which has ever since been its home, and where for the first time it succeeded in bringing forth ripe fruit.

*Biblia hebraica samaritana chaldaica græca syriaca latina arabica*, And. Vitré, Paris, 1645, 10 vols. fol. max. Under the direction and mostly at the expense of Guy Michel Le Jay. The first volumes were published in 1629. The N. T. (Parts V. and VI.), 1630 and 1633. Cf. Le Long, *Diss. de bibl. polygl.*, printed in Masch, p. 350; Rosenmüller, *Lit.*, III. 314. On the text printed, see § 403.

*Biblia s. polyglotta*, etc., ed. Brian Walton († 1661). Cf. Ständlin, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, I. 2. [H. J. Todd, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Brian Walton, together with the Bishop's Vindication of the London Polyglott Bible*, Lond. 1821, 2 vols.] T. Roycroft, Lond. 1657, 6 vols. fol. The N. T. (New title-page, 1698) Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic. The Gospels also Persian. The more famous contributors, Edm. Castle (Castellus), Edw. Pococke, Sam. Clarke (Clericus), Th. Hyde, Dudley Loftus, and others, gave their attention not so much to the original Greek text as to the oriental versions. The above mentioned (§ 17) apparatus is in the first volume; Edm. Castle's *Lexicon heptaglotton* forms a seventh and eighth. The N. T. forms the fifth volume. The sixth contains, beside many critical collections on the versions, those on the Greek text also. The text is simply reprinted from the third Stephens edition of 1550, from which I have found only a few variations, of Plantine origin. Cf. in general E. Reuss, *Art. Polyglottenbibeln*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

E. de Courcelles, *N. T. editio nova in qua diligentius quam unquam antea var. lectt. ex MSS. et impr. codd. collectæ sunt*, Amst. 1658, 12° (§ 406). Condemned as heretical on account of the variants (1 Jn. v. 7 is bracketed), see Masch, p. 230; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, II. 32; *Handb.*, IV. 198; J. G. Möller, *Stephan. Curcell. in ed. N. T. socinians*, Rost. 1696. The text in all four editions is precisely alike, and is reprinted from Elzevir II. The preface gives an account of the earlier editions and declares very intelligently that, in the first place, it is not yet time to judge of readings but to collect and preserve them; and that the suppression of them is the real source of the increasing corruption.

J. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, *N. T. . . . acced. var. lectt. ex plus centum MSS. codd. et antiquis verss. collectæ*, Sheldon, Oxf. 1675, 8° (without the name of the editor). For the first time the Gothic and Coptic versions are also used. The text is likewise taken, essentially, from Elzevir II. (§ 403). Fell's preface is interesting for the history of criticism. Cf. Baumgarten, *l. c.*, 200.

J. Mill, Fell's pupil and spiritual heir: *N. T. gr. cum lectt. var. MSS. verss. edd. Patrum et in easdem notis . . . pramittitur dissertatio qua de ll. N. T. et canonis constitutione* (§ 23) *agitur et historia textus ad nostra usque tempora deducitur*, Sheldon, Oxf. 1707, fol. The fruit of the labors of thirty years, and throwing all previous works into the shade. He used, beside many new MSS., in particular the oriental versions, but unfortunately only in the Latin translations of the Polyglots. (Against him, C. A. Bode, *Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana*, Helmst. 1767.) The Prolegomena separately, with notes by D. Salthen, Reg. 1734. — Against Mill: D. Whitby, *Examen. var. lectt. J. Millii*, London, 1710, fol., Leyden, 1733, 8°. See also Clarke, *Ep. de ed. Milliana* (in Küster's ed. see below), and in general Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, IV. 204; *Unschuld. Nachr.*, 1710, p. 21; Lork, *Bibelgeschichte*, I. 429.

New revised edition: *Collectionem Mill. rec. meliori ordine disposuit et locupletavit* L. Küster, C. Fritsch, Amst. 1710, fol. (also copies Rotterdam, 1710; Gleditsch, Leipzig, 1723, 1746. The same (Dutch) print throughout, and Gleditsch is the publisher from the first.)

The text printed is the Stephens of 1550, from which neither editor departs except in very few passages, and these not always the same. Mill's edition is the last important critical work which has grown up on English soil, inasmuch as the later ones have been forgotten; it has maintained itself in high consideration there even down to the present time, so that through its fame the old Stephens text also has obtained a large measure of immortality. Cf. § 406. Only very recently has science again revived there.

Gerhard v. Mæstricht (*De Trajecto Mosce*), Syndic at Bremen, laid down in a *Specimen novæ ed.*, 1706, thirty-seven canons (afterward forty-three) for the estimation of variants, the first attempt at a theory of N. T. criticism. His editions (§ 406) have, beside the apparatus, the prefaces of Coureelles and Fell, his own Prolegomena, and critical notes at the close. On the title-page he signs himself with his initials only, G. D. T. M. Cf. Pfaff, § 396; Bengel, § 410; Baumgarten, *l. c.*, IV. 206.

408. Among the Germans who followed in the footsteps of these Britons we mention first John Jacob Wetstein, a preacher's son, of Basle. As to time, it is true, he had still other predecessors, but his work belongs in the line of those just mentioned. He had been obliged to leave his native land on account of suspicions of heresy, and had found a reception among the more liberal-minded Arminians at Amsterdam, after that, on journeys and in other ways, he had by unremitting diligence possessed himself of a vast amount of material. He would gladly have gone farther and made use of the results obtained by criticism for an actual and thorough revision of the text; but his bad reputation had followed him, and he too was obliged to sacrifice his convictions to the spirit of the age, and to content himself with designating the readings preferred as approved, because otherwise he would have found no press for his edition. But the review of these shows that his choice was both discreet and happy.

*N. T. gr. editionis receptæ cum lectt. var. codd. MSS. edd. verss. et patrum nec non commentario pleniorè ex scriptoribus hebr. gr. et lat . . . op. et stud.* J. J. W., Dommer, Amst. 1751 f., 2 vols., fol.

On his person and life (\* 1693, † 1754), see *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1738, p. 71; C. R. Hagenbach, *Wetstein der Kritiker und seine Gegner*, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*,

1839, p. 73; Böttger, *ibid.*, 1870, IV. — *Acta oder Handlungen betreffend Irrthümer und anstössige Lehren J. J. W.*, Basle, 1730; *Ordinis theologorum basil. declaratio de N. T. Wetsteniano*, 1757 (in the *Biblioth. Hagana*, II. 1.); J. C. Valk, *Observationes ad hanc declarationem*, 1757 (*Biblioth. Hag.*, III. 649); J. A. Ernesti, *Specimen castigationum in Wetst. N. T.*, L. 1754. — Kraft, *Bibl.*, VIII. 99; X. 99; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, II. 48; IV. 114.

The Prolegomena were printed anonymously at Amsterdam, 1730, 4<sup>o</sup>, then enlarged and put before the separate portions of the large edition, and in the appendix as *Animadvv. et cautiones ad examen var. lectt. necessariae*. The former edited separately, with notes and additions, by Semler, Halle, 1764. The latter, with other essays of the same author, under the title *Wetstenii libelli ad crisin et interpr. N. T.*, 1766. The new edition of the whole work announced by A. Lotze, Rotterdam, 1831, 4<sup>o</sup>, brought only the Prolegomena.

The text printed is the Elzevir of 1624, with the exception of a few Stephanic readings. Immediately under it (or, where a gloss was to be struck out, within it, by means of a dash) stand the variants which Wetstein unconditionally preferred. Doubtless it was something unheard of at that time, when the Lord's Prayer in Lk. xi. was curtailed, a whole pericope stricken out in Jn. viii.,  $\theta\epsilon\omega\delta$  set aside in Acts xx. 28,  $\delta$  read in 1 Tim. iii. 16, 1 Jn. v. 7 expunged, and the closing doxology of the Epistle to the Romans attached to the fourteenth chapter; not to speak of many glosses struck out, or of readings which had nowhere appeared since the Complutensian.

Wetstein won especial merit by a more accurate description of MSS. (§ 392), many of them but newly collated. He was also the first to investigate the Philoxenian version. Yet he did not attain to a clear view of the history of the text, and so of the principles of criticism. He had an inordinate prejudice against the Latin version and everything connected with it, and could not adopt the system of families put forward by Bengel while he was at work.

On the commentary, rich, but certainly not collected in an orthodox spirit, see § 563.

Here may be placed some of the editions prepared by the London printer W. Bowyer (not to be confounded with those mentioned in § 406), which profess to give the text according to Wetstein's marginal readings: Lond. 1763, 12<sup>o</sup>; 1783, 4<sup>o</sup>; 1812. This system, however, is not carried through completely; in particular, Bowyer often contents himself with brackets where Wetstein strikes out.

409. All these preliminary labors made the task of criticism lighter and more attractive, and it could not fail that some should at last conceive in earnest the thought of giving life and motion to the dead material, and of carrying through, by the aid of the variants collected, a new recension of the text. Here again it was the English who led the way, to the horror of all who clung to custom, but unfortunately too soon and ungraciously forgotten by those who came after them. Several even then hit upon the idea of interrogating the oldest witnesses alone, paying no attention to others. Some, however, continued their researches and the announcement of their results, and found, instead of sober judgment and due acknowledgment, only clamor and suspicion.

1. Cramoisy, Paris, 1707, fol. (Copies Martin, Paris, 1709); a Harmony of the Gospels by N. Toinard, thoroughly revised according to MSS., but chiefly according to the Vulgate.

2. E. Wells published, at Oxf. 1709–19, in 10 parts, 4<sup>o</sup>, a text actually revised according to MSS., slightly in the Gospels, much in the Epistles and Apocalypse, with English version and paraphrase, which, however, was little noticed.

3. Richard Bentley, the renowned critic of classical literature, promised a new recension of the Greek text and the Vulgate, and published a specimen in 1720. See *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1721, p. 612; Pritz, *Introd.*, ed. Hofmann, p. 414 ff.; Wetstein, *Prolegg.*, p. 392; Eichhorn, *Eint.*, V. 303; Tischendorf, *Prolegg.*, Ed. VII., p. 87 [VIII.]. Controversial writings by Conyers Middleton, 1721 ff. Cod. Alex. and the revised Vulgate were to be the foundation. The 22d chapter of the Revelation of John, printed as a specimen, departs from the Elzevir text in more than forty places, which are almost without exception so read by modern criticism. When Bentley, perhaps weary of the controversy going on, gave up the enterprise, gossip affirmed that he felt that he was not equal to it.

4. *N. T.*, Greek and English, Roberts, Lond. 1729, without accents, very handsomely printed, with some critical and theological notes. The unknown editor was named Mace (others, Macey). The judgment of contemporaries, taken in connection with the real state of the case, is very characteristic: Pritz, *Introd.*, p. 422: *Novæ in divinam religionem machinationes . . . temerario ausu in ss. ll. grassatur pro lubitu delens, mutans, etc.*; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, IV. 208: *Gehört zu den allerwichtigsten Unternehmungen welche von den Widersachern der Gottheit Christi und der Dreieinigkeit je versucht worden . . . geht in eigenmächtigen und willkürlichen Veränderungen des Textes weiter als je ein Herausgeber*; Masch, p. 328: *Textus ita mutatus est ut Arianorum hypothesi succurrat lectio*. Excursuses give contributions to the higher criticism of the Antilegomena (at that time unheard of). The text is changed in numerous passages, in which it frequently agrees with the Complutensian, more often still introduces wholly new readings, and not seldom brackets supposed glosses. It is also said in connection with Gal. iv. 25, "There is no manuscript so old as common sense." In the large majority of cases modern criticism agrees with him.

More boldly yet, and proceeding on the basis of very peculiar notions, W. Whiston (*Primitive N. T.*, 1745) proposed to restore the text of the historical books from *Cod. Cantab.*, that of Paul from *Cod. Clarom.*, the rest from *Cod. Alex.* The design was never carried out. Against him S. J. Baumgarten (resp. Semler), *Vindicie textus N. T. adv. W. Wh.*, Hal. 1750.

5. This idea was realized in the main in the edition of E. Harwood, Lond. 1776, which is to be regarded not so much as a new recension as a printed edition of some exclusively preferred MSS. Hence it gives almost line for line a text never before seen. From its results as well as from its sources the work could have little influence, and the simultaneous appearance of Griesbach's pressed it altogether into the background. Harwood often agrees with Lachmann, who proceeded upon similar but more rational principles.

410. Less boldly but with greater effect, the Swabian theologian, Johann Albrecht Bengel, took up the task of the revision of the text. He was the first among the Lutherans to venture in earnest upon the undertaking of giving the text a new form upon fixed principles, at the same time opening the way for further progress in the future. Although led to become a critic from dogmatic anxiety, he approached with prudence and unembarrassed by the power of custom a task which in his sphere was altogether new and looked upon with suspicion.

Science owes to him the fruitful idea of classifying the witnesses according to families, and the convenient method of arranging readings comprehensively according to their probable value. Both were opposed by the learned, and the results of them yet more violently by the ignorant, and his work appears to have had little influence outside the limits of his native country. The age still distrusted these things, and pietism and orthodoxy, otherwise so hostile, guarded with equal jealousy the letter of their New Testament Masora.

On Bengel and his N. T. see § 561 ; Burk, *Leben Bengels* [Stuttg. 1831], p. 197 ff. ; *Frühaufgelesene Früchte*, 1738, p. 159 ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, II. 42, 475 ; Hartmann, in Herzog's *Encykl.* [abridged in Schaff's *Rel. Encycl.*]. [Also Oskar Wächter, *Bengel's Lebensabriss*, 1865.]

*N. T. ita adornatum ut textus probatarum edd. medullam, margo var. lect. in suas classes distributarum delectum, apparatus subjunctus criseos s. compendium limam et fructum exhibeat*, Cotta, Tüb. 1734, 4°. To it belong (1) *Prodromus N. T. gr. recte cauteque adornandi*, 1725 ; (2) *Notitia N. T. recte cauteque adornati*, 1731 ; (3) *Tractatus de sinceritate N. T. tuenda*, 1750 ; (4) *Examen canonum Gerh. de Mastr.*, 1742 ; (5) several *Defensiones*, — all, together with still other matter, printed with the whole apparatus, Ed. II., ed. P. D. Burek, 1763, 4°.

He received no reading into the text which had not already occurred in some edition, except in the Apocalypse, which he permitted himself to alter according to MSS. Most of his changes are discreet and have been approved by modern critics. The apparatus discusses only the more important variants ; the margin of the text gives a selection of these, divided according to their value into five classes. The Latin versions, the *Cod. Alex.*, and the difficulty of the reading were decisive with him. The first class (*a*) included those readings preferred to the received text, the second (*β*) those probably better ; the other classes (*γ*, *δ*, *ε*) he placed after the printed text.

Opponents of Bengel : Wetstein, *Prolegg.*, ed. Semler, p. 398 ; C. B. Michaelis, see § 396 ; Semler, *Ad Wetstenii lib. crit.*, p. 167 ; Bode, see § 407 ; beside a great crowd of babblers.

Manual editions, with the critical notes in the margin, but without the apparatus : Faber, Stuttg. 1734 (1738) ; Berger, Tüb. 1753, 1762, 1776 ; Heerbrandt, Tüb. 1790. — The first gives the criticism of the larger edition unchanged. That of 1753, on the contrary, of which the last three are mere reprints, often changes the estimate of the readings given in the marginal notes. A reprint of the first recension by A. Büttig, Weidmann, L. 1737. — It is, moreover, to be observed that Bengel in his *Gnomon* (§ 561) often prefers different readings than in the editions. Hence his son, Ernst Bengel, added in that of 1776 and afterward a *Tabula quæ criseos Bengeliane diversas periodos exhibet*, in which all changes are noticed.

To the Bengelian recension belongs also an altogether peculiar edition by E. Stephan, Stein, Str. 1779, in which the books of the N. T. are arranged in chronological order ; the text of the Gospels is printed in the form of a harmony, the parallel passages being completely mixed, and extracts from the Epistles and from isagogies are interpolated in the Acts. So far as collation is still possible, the readings *α* and *β* of the later Bengelian recension are almost without exception received into the text, though very often only in brackets by the side of the older readings, or, where the question was of omission, only indicated by brackets ; but some passages are independently changed.

Bengel's text is also printed in the N. T. of Koppe (§ 580), in all its parts

and editions (1778–1828), with the single exception of the Epistles of James and to the Corinthians, by Pott, who in the later editions has followed Griesbach.

411. Yet the great revolution of thought in the last half of the last century could not be without influence in the realm of this science also. Criticism was not only permitted, but obliged, to come forward more freely with the undeniable results of the material that had been amassed. At length there appeared new recensions of the text, which aimed to shape it in accordance with higher critical theories, and which did not allow themselves to be restricted by the baseless right of the current readings. Here and there, however, method or inclination led to a moderate revision only. At the same time scholars went on increasing the knowledge of particular manuscripts, and enriching and arranging the collection of readings. Their labors tended directly to the advantage of those who were undertaking the more comprehensive work, and needed ready helps for it. From the time when the prejudice of the unimprovableness of the text was finally compelled to give way, and the usefulness and profit of such investigations was assured, the business of collection was taken up with a restless energy which often seemed to overestimate the importance of the subject.

J. S. Semler was here also the first to open the way for the new ideas and systems which had been quietly maturing : see his writings cited in § 409 f. ; especially also his *Vorbereitung zur theol. Hermeneutik*, Halle, 1760 ff. 4 Pts. ; in part also his *Paraphrasen* (§ 573). He seized upon Bengel's idea of families, and made out of it what he called, inappropriately, the system of recensions (Lucian and Egypt), which, though, it is true, with essential modification and much clearer definition, has ever since been one of the leading thoughts of N. T. criticism.

At the head of the modern collections undertaken for the enrichment of the apparatus, not contemplating a direct working out of the problem, stands the collation carried on at the expense of the Danish government by A. Birsch, J. G. C. Adler, and D. G. Moldenhauer, particularly at Rome, Florence, Vienna, in the Escorial ; by Adler for the Syriac versions also, the results of which were deposited in the following works. *Quatuor Ev. gr. c. var. a textu* (Stephens, 1550, or properly Mill) *lectionibus e codd. vatic.*, etc., Hafn. 1788, 4<sup>o</sup>, also copies in fol. This edition was damaged in a conflagration, and was not completed. Without text : *Varie lectiones ad textum Act. et Epp. e codd.*, etc., Hafn. 1798 ; *Apoc.*, 1800 ; *Evangg.*, 1801, 3 vols. 8<sup>o</sup> ; Adler, *Uebersicht bibl. kritischen Reise nach Rom*, Alt. 1783. On the Copenhagen MSS. in particular see C. G. Hensler, 1784. Cf. Michaelis, *N. Biblioth.*, VI. 104 ; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, II. 116.

F. C. Alter had the N. T. printed (1786 f. 2 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>) according to a Vienna cursive MS., correcting, as he says, only obvious faults, and added to the whole the readings from twenty-four other Vienna MSS. as well as the Slavic and Coptic versions, unfortunately not in summary form but separately from each source. His text is in very many passages the Complutensian. He very seldom agrees with other editions against Elzevir. Of his new readings he has many in common with Griesbach or Matthæi. The rest are almost entirely valueless. Cf. Delitzsch, *Handschriftl. Funde*, II. 23. — Monographs on various Vienna codices before this time : H. Trescho, 1773 ; A. C. Hwiid, 1785. Cf. Michaelis, *l. l.*, V. 122 ; Eichhorn, *l. l.*, 102.

On particular uncial MSS. see the monographs in § 392; on the more noted cursives: G. G. Pappelbaum, on three Berlin MSS., 1796, 1815, 1824; on the Ebner MSS. at Nuremberg, C. Schönleben, 1738, and Gabler, *Opp.*, I. 215; on the *Cod. Molshemensis* at Strassburg, Arendt, in the *Quartalschr.*, 1833, p. 246; on the *Cod. Montfortianus* at Dublin, Paulus, *Mem.*, VI., VIII.; on the Pressburg MS., Endlicher, in Rosenmüller's *Syll.*, IV.; on the *Cod. Seidelianus* at Frankfurt am O., Middeldorpf, *ibidem*, and in Rosenmüller's *Rep.*, II. 87; on the *Cod. Uffenbachianus* at Hamburg, Henke, 1800, and Gabler, *Opp.*, I. 197; and many others.

Other collections of variants, with and without theoretical and practical discussion: J. Dermout, *Collectanea critica in N. T.* (mostly from Dutch MSS.), Leyd. 1825; W. F. Rink, *Lucubratio critica in Act. et Epp.* (from Venetian MSS., with an attack upon the exclusive preference given to Alexandrian and Western witnesses), Basle, 1830; cf. the same writer, in the *Studien*, 1846, II.; J. G. Reiche, *Comm. criticus in N. T.*, I.—III. 1853 ff. 4°; idem, *Codd. paris. insigniorum nova descriptio*, Gött. 1847.

412. At the head of modern critics, in fame if not in time, stands Johann Jacob Griesbach, once professor at Jena. He carried out the idea of ancient recensions of the text, attempted to establish it historically and diplomatically, and built thereupon a system according to which the text relatively most widely circulated was given the preference; that is to say, that which was current in several places, in the East as well as in the West. He did not therefore neglect the rational estimation of particular readings, but stood by the Elzevir text so long as there were no decisive reasons against it. His own industry and new preliminary labors by his contemporaries placed at his disposal the richest apparatus that had ever yet been at the command of an editor, and nature gave him the ability to use it with skill. From him dates the favorable presumption respecting the Alexandrine-Occidental readings which still commends them to most critics, though in part for other reasons. His theory, it is true, has been outgrown, but his name will always be mentioned with respect, and while Germany will never forget him he is beginning to win a new home beyond her borders.

J. C. W. Augusti, *Ueber Griesbach's Verdienste*, Bresl. 1812; cf. Döring, *Deutsche Theol.*, I. 531; E. Reuss, in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*.

Editions. First Recension. I. *Libri N. T. historici*, Curt, Halle, 1774, 8°, Pt. I., II., containing the first three Gospels in harmonic form. — II. As a second part belonging to the foregoing, *Epistole N. T. et Apoc.*, Halle, 1775. — III. *Synopsis Evv. Matth. Marc. Luc.*, Halle, 1776 (only a title-page edition of the former Harmony). — IV. Second edition of the historical books, not in harmonic form, 1777 (in which likewise John and Acts only title-page edition), together with No. II., *N. T. gr. textum ad fidem codicum versionum Patrum rec. et lect. var. adj. J. J. G.*, 2 vols. 8°, also copies 4°. The preface treats of the necessity of a critical revision of the text (with reference to the synoptic arrangement of it), and gives a summary of the apparatus and of the rules of criticism. The variants are placed beneath the text. Cf. Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, IX. 44, X. 52; Ernesti, *Bibl.*, XIV. 33, 98.

Second Recension. V. Principal edition, Curt, Halle and London, 1796,



1806, 2 vols. 8°, also copies 4°; with very complete apparatus, especially from Birsch and Alter (§ 411), and important prolegomena on the history of the text, the plan of the new work, the theory of criticism, and the summary of helps. The changes introduced between the text and the apparatus are specially indicated. Cf. Haenlein's *Journal*, IX. 1; *Göttinger Bibl.*, IV. 509; Gabler, *Auserles. Liter.*, III. 27. Two beautiful reprints of this edition, London, Mackinlay, 1809, and Rivington, 1818. — VI. *Synopsis*, Ed. 2, 1797.

Third Recension. VII. Edition de luxe, Göschen, L. 1803-7, 4 vols. fol., on vellum paper, with engravings, but not altogether tasteful in type; with only a selection of variants, marked with signs indicating their value. — VIII. Manual edition, L. 1805, 8°, with short critical preface and a selection of variants marked with signs of their value. — IX. *Synopsis*, Ed. 3, Curt, L. 1809. — X. Ed. 4, 1822. — XI. Manual edition, Göschen, L. 1825, a repetition, in somewhat larger size, of VIII.

Fourth Recension. XII. *N. T.* Vol. I. a revised edition of V., improved in the critical annotations, but not in the text (a very few passages excepted), and enlarged by D. Schulz, Laue, Berlin, 1827, uncompleted. Cf. *Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, 1829, II. 481; Winer's *Journal*, IX. 65.

Here belong, beside the already mentioned *Diss. de codd. ev. origianis*, 1771, and *Curæ in hist. textus gr. Epp. paul.*, 1777 (both in Griesbach's *Opp.*), in particular: *Symbolæ criticae ad supplendas et corrigendas var. N. T. lectionum collectiones*, Halle, 1785, 1793, 2 vols., in which are full descriptions of many MSS.; also an uncompleted *Commentarius crit. in gr. N. T. textum*, covering only Matthew and Mark, first published in many separate programmes, afterward all together, 2 vols. 8°, 1798, 1811; including also *Meletemata de vetustis N. T. recensionibus*.

Griesbach took the Elzevir Textus Receptus for his basis, and altered it only where he thought he had decisive reasons for it, simply commending other good readings in the margin. His choice rested primarily upon the theory of recensions, but secondarily also upon the philological and exegetical estimation of the inner contents of the variants. He distinguished three recensions (by which he meant forms of the text): an Occidental, characterized by glosses; an Alexandrian, by grammatical corrections; and a Constantinopolitan, mingling the readings of the others. Only the second was a proper recension or scholarly revision of the text. The agreement of the first two he regarded as particularly important, often decisive. For the rational part of his criticism, see, beside the larger prolegomena, the preface to the manual, and Haenlein's *Journal*, IX. 8 ff.

The different recensions of Griesbach are distinguished from one another by the fact that the first more often puts two readings in the text, one over against the other, without deciding between them, while the second more often abandons the common text. The third, called the Leipzig recension, or simply the Griesbach text, the text most widely circulated by means of the manual editions, departs only a little more from the foregoing. But Griesbach's results are strikingly new only when we leave out of account his predecessors, Mace, Bengel, Wetstein, in whom by far the most of his changes are already found. His merit is not to be underrated, but doubtless much that would not be an honor to him has been forgotten through the indulgence of his contemporaries and successors. Also, much of what he only commended in the margin had already been so commended, or even received into the text.

In spite of the fact that this form of the text, taken as a whole, was so slightly and so discreetly altered (so that it is in reality absurd to attempt to characterize the previous text by a common name, as something radically different), Griesbach found the old school opposed to him. (J. Hartmann, *Monita c. mutal. text.*, etc., Rost. 1775.) But he briefly and convin-

ingly, and in Germany forever, silenced this opposition in the preface of 1775. His peculiar critical system, on the contrary, failed to give satisfaction; partly because of its historically doubtful assumptions; partly because of its too subjective basis; partly, and especially, because it was a mere after-improvement of a form of the text wholly unattested, which had arisen, so to speak, accidentally. See Bertholdt, *Einkl.*, I. 316 ff.; Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, IV. 260 ff.; Schulz, *Prolegomena* to his edition; Gabler, *Pref. ad opp. Griesbachii*, II. Griesbach's system was attacked most vehemently by C. F. Matthæi (§ 413) in the writing: *Ueber die sogen. Recensionen welche der Herr Abt Bengel, der Herr Dr. Semler und der Herr G. K. R. Griesbach in dem Texte des N. T. wollen entdeckt haben*, L. 1804. Yet Hug and Eichhorn, in particular, followed in their introductions the fundamental thought of the system of recensions, giving it a more definite form, and distinguishing an ancient common text (*κοινή έκδοσις*) and several actual scholarly recensions, etc. (§ 367 ff.). C. D. Beck also professes Griesbach's principles essentially in his text-book: *Monogrammata hermeneutices*, L. 1803.

The text of Griesbach is repeated in the editions of H. A. Schott (at Jena, † 1836) with Latin version and variants. I. Märker, L. 1805, an accurate reprint of the first recension; the readings of Griesbach indicated by special type in the text. II. Märker, L. 1811, reprint of the second recension, with rare variations. — III. Märker, L. 1825, the same recension, with more changes; among them also new readings. Repeated, P. J. Boeklin, Christianstadt, Norway, 1834. (For a so-called fourth edition of Schott, see § 413; cf. also Gabler's *Journal*, III. 159.) — A pseudo-Schott edition, L. 1809 (*i. e.*, Feichtinger, Linz); reprint of Schott's Latin version with Griesbach's third recension of 1805, and, like that, with Göschel's type. The same text repeated, Univ. Press, Camb., Mass. 1809; Hillard, Boston, 1825; Fowler, N. Y. 1865; a stereotype edition, Walton and Maberly, Lond. 1850, 1855, and freq., with the variants of Mill and Scholz. — *Synopsis Evv.*, ed. De Wette and Lücke, Reimer, Berlin, 1818, 4<sup>o</sup>; repeated, 1842; after Griesbach 1805; yet some readings of 1796 are preferred.

413. Griesbach's most violent opponent, Christian Friedrich Matthæi, of Moscow, hit upon an infinitely easier way. Possessing more than a hundred manuscripts which had not yet been collated, with the usual weakness of human vanity, he ascribed to these unbounded value, and hoped to restore the text from the collation of them, neglecting all other apparatus. All disfigurements of the text appeared to him to have arisen, to a greater or less extent, from the pressing into it of scholia and glosses, and he therefore proceeded to find the relatively purest text by excluding these. From the nativity of his sources it was natural that the text he obtained should be the later Constantinopolitan and little different from the Elzevir. The result in no way justified his passionate attacks upon his predecessors.

I. *N. T. ex cold. mosquensibus nunquam antea examinatis emendavit lect. var. animadv. criticas et scholia gr. inedita adj. C. F. Matthæi*, Hartknoch, Riga, 1782–1788, 12 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>; properly twelve separate title-pages, one for each book; Greek and Latin, the Vulgate, printed from a MSS., standing by the side of the text. The Catholic Epistles appeared first, the Gospels last. Various appendices from Greek MSS., tables of contents, superscriptions to the chapters, etc. Many fac-similes and descriptions of MSS. From

1785 Matthæi was rector of the Gymnasium at Meissen, from 1789 Prof. of Greek Literature at Wittenberg, from 1805 held the same position at Moscow. † 1811.

II. Greek only, with critical notes, Eusebian and Euthalian numbering, synaxaria, and indication of the readings in use in the Greek Church. Vol. I., Gospels, Wittenb. 1803; Vol. II., Acts and Catholic Epistles, Graun, Hof, 1804; Vol. III. Pauline Epistles and Apocalypse, Schumann, Ronneb. 1807, 8°.

He divided his MSS. into *Codices perpetui*, Lectionaries, and MSS. with scholia, etc., and found the purest text in the first. He paid little attention to versions and patristic quotations, but cherished a deep respect for the intelligence and industry with which the sacred text must have been selected and copied by Byzantine (and Russian?) archimandrites and monks.

The two editions differ in but very few passages. Where he abandons the common text he frequently agrees with the Complutensian, seldom with Erasmus. Wholly new readings are not very numerous, and by far the most of them occur in the Apocalypse; moreover, later critics have rejected them almost without exception. The gain from his labor consists, therefore, simply in the collation, and his invective against his predecessors (Ed. I., pref. to Matthew; Ed. II., Vol. I. p. 687 ff., etc., and § 412) was groundless. Cf. Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, XX. 106, XXI. 20; *N. Bibl.*, I. 207, II. 162; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, II. 303; Schmidt, *Bibl.*, VIII. 5.

The Elzevir text is altered according to Matthæi in many passages in the edition of T. Pharmakides, Angelides, Athens, 1842 ff., 7 vols. 8°, with the commentaries of Euthymius, Ecumenius, Andreas and Aretas (§§ 527, 531).

414. The works thus far mentioned, which were afterward followed by other similar and more extensive ones, had established two facts beyond controversy: in the first place, that the traditional text could no longer be retained without alteration unless science was to be of less service to the Scriptures than to the least of the other books of antiquity; and in the second place, that complete certainty of results was not attainable. Thence came and still comes, for some, the demand that the work be carried on, and for others, more numerous, but less courageous, the right to content themselves with a simple improvement in details, adopting the most certain of the results of their predecessors, and making them common property by means of neat and cheap school editions, without extensive critical apparatus, or with none at all. No doubt the decision in each particular case was based not so much upon a definite theory as upon an approximate judgment in accordance with principles easily comprehended, but also easily changing.

*N. T. gr. recognovit*, etc., G. C. Knapp († 1826, Prof. at Halle), Orphanage, Halle, 1797, 1813, 1824, 1829, 1840, each two parts, small 8°. The preface gives a short history of the text and a statement of the particular point of view of the editor. Beneath the text is a selection of variants and a running table of contents. The last four editions have, besides, a second preface and a collection of the conjectures of older critics. The last two editions were prefaced or edited after Knapp's death by J. C. Thilo and M. Rödiger. All five are identical, line for line, and are praised for their ex-

cellent punctuation, whether correctly or not is a question for the exegetes. See also Haenlein's *Journal*, XI. 508; Winer's *Journal*, VII. 501.

The editions of Knapp represent a twofold recension, in the first and second editions, for the last three were not further changed. In general it may be said that the Griesbach recension of 1796 is the basis, and that the departure from it consists chiefly in the fact that Knapp very often contented himself with simply inclosing in single or double brackets the numerous glosses which Griesbach had expunged. Yet he also adopted readings which Griesbach commended in the margin, but more often goes back to the Elzevir text, though more seldom in the second edition than in the first.

Simple reprints of Knapp's second recension: Valpy, Lond. 1824; Serig, L. 1828, edited by C. C. von Leutsch, printed by Fischer, with Arias' version (new title-page, without Leutsch's name, 1839); the printer has frequently changed the rhetorical, logical, and critical brackets (round and square). — Weidmann, L. 1832, edited by A. Göschen, with new Latin version, together with the readings of Griesbach and Lachmann. It makes no distinction between Knapp's two kinds of critical brackets. — Nauck, Berlin, 1837, with Luther and the two kinds of brackets. — Starr, N. Y., edited by R. B. Patton, 1835, 4°, with wide margin, on blue lines for use in public reading.

Freer revisions of Knapp's text (second recension): Tauchnitz, L., edited by J. A. H. Tittmann (Prof. at Leipzig, † 1831), 1820 (new title-page, 1828), 16°, and 1824 (1831), 8°, without distinction in the brackets. It not infrequently departs from Knapp, mostly returning to Elzevir, particularly by the erasure of brackets, or by the introduction of new ones holding a position intermediate between the two texts. Griesbach's readings are but seldom adopted. Some new ones occur, but worthless. This Tauchnitz edition was revised by A. Hahn (Prof. at Leipzig, afterward at Breslau, † 1863), with the addition of the readings of Griesbach and Knapp, as well as those of Scholz and Lachmann, which had appeared in the mean time; 1840, exceptionally finely printed. It retains perhaps half of Tittmann's changes, going back in other cases more frequently either to Elzevir or to Griesbach, but also taking some few readings from Lachmann. Repeated without change in 1841, small size, two columns, verses paragraphed. The first repeated in size and style, 1861, frequently changed in text, yet chiefly only by disappearance of the brackets, half by return to the receptus, half by erasure. — Tittmann's text is given almost unchanged in the edition of Anton Jaumann, Munich, 1832, 8° (new title-page, 1836). Hahn's is repeated in the edition prepared by E. Robinson, N. Y., often since 1842 (stereotype), also *sine anno*. By the same editor, a Harmony of the Gospels, Crocker, Boston, 1851, and freq. — Here belongs also the edition begun by J. E. R. Käuffer, Teubner, L. 1827, which, however, did not go beyond Matthew.

J. S. Vater (Prof. at Halle, † 1826) follows much more conservative tendencies in his edition, Gebauer, Halle, 1824, 8°. He often departs from Knapp, but mostly by erasing his brackets, or by introducing them where Knapp had stricken out glosses, or by expressing a less degree of doubt by the form of the signs. Yet in some passages the criticism is more severe than in Knapp, and portions of the text are bracketed which Knapp retained, but Griesbach had stricken out; some, indeed, which Lachmann and Tischendorf were the first to reclaim. By far the most of his new readings have remained peculiar to himself alone. See *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1824, II. 161, III. 453; Winer's *Journal*, II. 332. — Thence unchanged, the Gospels, Watts, Lond. 1824, 4°, with Vulgate and Peshito.

415. In more recent times, after various attempts, incomplete, but not unworthy of praise, several thorough recensions of the

text, upon principles altogether different, have been prepared. First to be mentioned, as the earliest, and in a certain sense aiding the maintenance of the traditional text, is that of Johann Martin Augustin Scholz. The author, Professor of Catholic Theology at Bonn, had himself increased the aids to criticism in extent, though not in real value, while on his journeys, especially in the Orient, and had conceived a certain preference for his new additions. Recognizing the distinction of families, yet in the simplest sense, without the addition of the system of recensions, he aimed to adhere to that family in which the text had been relatively least altered. Now he naturally found the greatest agreement among the witnesses of the Byzantine family, because their succession is more complete and unbroken, but also much later; hence he thought it was to be assumed that its text, having been favored by geographical circumstances, went back to the most ancient times. These principles, however, have not been accepted by all as sound.

1. The Commentary on the Gospels by H. E. G. Paulus (§ 576), Bohn, Lübeck, 1800 ff. 3 vols. 1804, 4 vols., contains the Griesbach text, but revised in many passages according to the original authorities, agreeing often with Harwood, Lachmann, and Tischendorf.

2. Similar, but wholly independent of the foregoing, the commentaries of C. F. A. Fritzsche (§ 592) on Matthew, 1826, Mark, 1830 (Fleischer, L.), and Romans, 1836 ff. (Gebauer, Halle). — Essentially the same text of the Gospels is repeated in the edition of F. A. A. Nabe, Köhler, L. 1831, with a new Latin version; in other portions it holds almost exclusively to Knapp, but attempts some unhappy emendations.

3. The text is revised more thoroughly still in F. Bleek's Commentary (§ 593) on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Dümmler, Berlin, 1836 f.

4. The Harmony of M. Rödiger, Grunert, Halle, 1829 and 1839, also professes to present Griesbach's text. Yet it not infrequently abandons it, and agrees in its changes mostly with Tischendorf, often also with Lachmann.

5. Yet more independent, and departing considerably more from Griesbach, the N. T. (with Commentary, § 592) of H. A. W. Meyer, Vandenhoeck, Gött. 1829, the text of which likewise approaches Lachmann and Tischendorf.

6. *N. T. gr. textum ad fidem testium criticorum rec. lectionum familias subjecit copias criticas add. J. M. A. Scholz*, Fleischer, L. 1830, 1836, 2 vols. 4° (printed by Andreae, Frankfurt). Between the text and the very rich catalogue of variants with references to authorities and manuscript nomenclature (affecting nearly 30,000 portions of the text) stand those readings which are most widely current in the families of witnesses, but to which others are here preferred.

The prolegomena, beside the matter otherwise customary, carry out the thought that there are two classes of witnesses, those agreeing with the Textus Receptus and those differing from it; the former of which he calls Oriental or Constantinopolitan, the latter Alexandrian and Occidental. Now since the latter differ much among themselves, while the Oriental agree, the Oriental should have the preference! The apparatus was rather externally increased by Scholz than internally sifted. His simplification of the system of families was really a result of prejudice. All that does not agree with

the numerous Byzantine MSS. is called Alexandrian, and is regarded as suspicious on account of the arbitrariness of grammarians, as if there were grammarians nowhere else, and the Alexandrian text could never have become mingled with the Constantinopolitan. Altogether unproved, also, is the connection of the Constantinopolitan text, which certainly was not the standard before the fourth century, with that of the early churches of Asia Minor, and upon the basis of contemporary testimony (§§ 366, 369) it might be altogether denied.

As respects the results of the operations based upon this theory, Scholz certainly departs often from Elzevir, but much more frequently from the so-called Alexandrian text, to which Griesbach gave the preference, and later critics still more. But inasmuch as Griesbach did not depart from the common text unless compelled to do so, the two recensions in reality resemble each other much more than would be expected upon principles so totally different. Of wholly peculiar readings, departing from Elzevir and Griesbach alike, Scholz has but few, but in many of them has Lachmann in his favor.

To this recension belong the following works by the editor († 1851): *Biblisches kritische Reise durch Frankreich, die Schweiz, Italien, Palästina und Archipelagus 1818-1821*, L. 1823; *Cura critica in Hist. textus evv.*, Pt. I., II., Heidelberg, 1820 (Pt. I. also under the title *De critica N. T. generatim*); *De virtutibus et vitis utriusque codicum familie*, L. 1845. For other writings of the same author see §§ 21, 383, 392.

Cf. Vater, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1824, I.; Schulthess, *Annalen*, 1826, II. 481-530; Gabler, preface to Griesbach's *Opp.*, II. p. 14; *Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, 1834, I. 306; Tischendorf, p. 417.

Scholz' text is simply reprinted, with English version added, and variants from Griesbach and older editors, Bagster, Lond., *sine anno* (§ 406); the variants in the margin. Title-page edition, Wiley, N. Y. 1859. The Greek text in Bagster's *English Hexapla*, 1844 (1860), 4°, is also from Scholz.

416. But the greatest departure from the text previously common was made by Carl Lachmann, Professor at Berlin, the first noted critic of the New Testament for more than a century who did not properly belong among professional theologians. Proceeding from the idea that it is impossible ever to recover the original text, because of the lack of contemporary witnesses, and that the weighing of readings according to critical rules is rather an apparent than a real aid, he believed that nothing remained for criticism to do but to restore the relatively oldest text which can be discovered by the aid of the extant documents. For this purpose there was need of but a very small number of manuscripts, but often also, when his chosen witnesses left him in the lurch, of bold decision. But no edition was better fitted than his, as compared with the common text, to place in clear light the indescribable arbitrariness with which the copyists must once have gone to work. This theory has found enthusiastic admirers, but naturally could not be accepted as the last word of science.

*N. T. gr. ex. rec. C. Lachmanni ed. stereot.*, Reimer, B. 1831 (new title-page, 1837, 1846, also copies without date); the text only, and at the end the variants of the *Textus Receptus*. — *N. T. gr. et lat. C. Lachmannus recen-*

suit, *Ph. Buttmannus græcæ lectionis auctoritates apposuit*, B. 1842-1850, 2 vols. Also, an account of his edition in the *Studien*, 1830, IV. 817-845.

[See his *Biography*, by Hertz, Berlin, 1851; the article *Bibeltext des N. T.*, by O. von Gebhardt, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, 2d ed., II. 425 ff. Also Tregelles, *Account*, etc., p. 99; Wescott and Hort, *Gr. Test.*, II. 13; Abbot, in Schaff's *Relig. Encycl.*, I. 275; Schaff, *Companion*, p. 254 ff.]

The purpose of Lachmann († 1851) was not to restore the true text, but the oldest accessible to us, in order, from this as a starting point (not from the bad common text, as all before him, even Griesbach, had done), to enter upon further investigations and improvements. He hoped first to discover the text as it was read in the time of Jerome, and made it up, for the East, mostly from A, B, C, also P, Q, T, Z for the Gospels, H for Paul, and from Origen; for the West, from D, G for Paul; for the Gospels from the oldest MSS. of the Itala; in general from Irenæus, Cyrian, Hilary of Pictaviu, Lucifer; and for the Apocalypse from Primasius. D Gospels and E Acts, as well as the Vulgate, are given but a secondary position. If both families agree, or some of the witnesses of one with all those of the other, the reading is decided; if they are divided on both sides it is uncertain, and one reading (which?) is placed in the text and the other in the margin. In the second edition the above-mentioned witnesses are always fully noted; nothing at all is said of Byzantine witnesses.

The idea of this work is correct; the aids, even for this purpose, wholly insufficient. The MSS. (of which the most important, B, C, were not at all accurately collated) are so defective that for considerable portions but a single witness remains (§ 392), for the Occidental family none at all but the Vulgate (*e. g.*, in the Catholic Epistles); but the text of the latter (§ 456) is itself still in a very bad state, notwithstanding Lachmann's pains to restore it critically.

The conscientiousness of the editor went so far as to admit into the text manifest clerical errors when they were sufficiently attested by ancient authorities. This should have prevented his imitators from ascribing to this text any other than the relative value which Lachmann's principles might naturally vindicate for it. With a more correct appreciation of the immediate design the criticism would have been more favorable and the praise due would not have been wrongly directed. See Rettig, in the *Studien*, 1832, IV.; C. F. A. Fritzsche, *De conformatione N. T. critica quam C. L. dedit*, Giessen, 1841; D. Schulz, *De aliquot locc. N. T. lectione*, Br. 1833. Also, *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1833, I. 409; 1834, I. 309; Tischendorf, in the *Jena Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, Apr. 1843, and in his edition of 1849, *Prolegg.*, p. 41; ed. of 1859, *Prolegg.*, p. 102 ff.; Wieseler, in the *Studien*, 1861, IV.

The criticism of Lachmann's collaborator, Ph. Buttmann, in the N. T. published by Teubner, L. 1856, is confined to still narrower limits. It is said to be based essentially upon the single *Cod. B*, and where this is defective upon *Cod. A*. The readings of G, L, T and Elzevir in the margin. The text thus obtained agrees mostly with Lachmann, or with Tischendorf. Other changes are rare; but what Lachmann simply bracketed is often erased. New edition, 1860 (1864, 1865). — By the same editor, Decker, B. 1862, an edition holding yet more strictly to the *Cod. Vatic.*; printed in uncials.

With the Lachmann family are also to be reckoned: the edition of V. Loch, Manz, Regensb., 1862, agreeing mostly with Buttmann, but often only bracketing glosses stricken out by him; that begun by Westcott and Hort, Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1870; the Harmony of H. Levin, Niedner, Wiesb., 1866; the critical edition of the Epistle to the Galatians by J. T. Vömel, 1865. Also the recension of the Acts on the basis of *Cod. D*, *Cantabr.*, by F. A. Bornemann, Grossenhain, 1848, may properly be mentioned here.

The N. T. of E. von Muralt, Meissner, Hamb., 1846, and, with complete

apparatus, 1848 (title-page edition, 1860), also professes allegiance to Lachmann's principles. It promises *integram varietatem ætatis apostolicæ*, and a text founded upon the versions of the second and third centuries, the Alexandrian MSS. of the fourth and fifth, the Græco-Latin MSS. of the sixth to the eighth, and a number of new St. Petersburg MSS., as well as the Slavic version. Here, evidently, some of the sources are overestimated as to age; the placing of *Cod. Vat.* at the foundation (and this holds true also of Lachmann and Buttman), in view of the generosity of the Roman librarian, who forbids the noting of variants (Muralt, in Reuter's *Rep.*, 1852, p. 7), and of the untrustworthy character of the older collations of this MS., cannot give absolute confidence, and the new collation of Russian treasures can bring no important gain. Cf. *Studien*, 1849, III. 735. The text is overloaded with signs of all kinds for the direct indication of the principal sources. It returns very frequently to Elzevir; in particular, and very suddenly, from the point at which *Cod. B* fails.

417. Lachmann's fundamental idea is also the ruling principle of the criticism of Constantine Tischendorf, the most indefatigable of our New Testament textual critics. For he also recognized no higher recommendation for a witness than its age, and had therefore little to do with the great mass of them and the common text that has come from them. But he would not forego his own judgment of readings, and simply keep record of what has happened to be preserved from ancient times. Moreover, he comprehended from the first the fact that the fewer witnesses one chooses to recognize as authoritative, the more certain must he be of them. And as at the beginning of his work he was still young enough to hope that the original text could yet be found, he was also bold enough not to be afraid of the immense labor of the necessary preparatory studies. He also unearthed rich treasures for this purpose both East and West, and made them accessible to the learned world; and if in the future any more definite results are to be obtained than he himself reached, it will be due to his toil.

I. *N. T. gr. textum ad fidem antiq. testium rec. brevem apparatus crit. c. var. lectt.* (of the principal recensions of modern times, together with Elzevir) *subjunxit comment. isagog. præmisit G. F. C. Tischendorf, Köhler, L. 1841, 16°.* Containing also the treatise *De recensionibus quas dicunt textus N. T. ratione potissimum habita Scholzii, L. 1840.* Cf. his essays in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1842, II.; 1844, II.; in the *Jena Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, Apr. 1843; and in Herzog's *Encykl.*, Art. *Bibeltext*, p. 181 ff. In the Prolegomena the variations between Elzevir I. and Stephens III., between Griesbach and Knapp, and between Matthæi and Griesbach are also summarily indicated. — See Rink, in the *Studien*, 1842, II.; D. Schulz, in the *Jena Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, June, 1842. — This first recension of Tischendorf departs farthest of all from the common text, even more than Lachmann, and many of its readings were afterward quietly retracted.

II. *N. T. gr. ad antiquos testes rec. lectionesque var. Elzevir. Stephan. Griesb. notavit C. Tischendorf, Firmin Didot, Paris, 1842, 12°.* The variants mentioned in the title stand together at the close. Verses paraphrased. The edition is dedicated to Guizot. This edition may be regarded as in the main a little changed repetition of the preceding.



III. *N. T. gr. et lat. Textum versionis vulgatæ latinæ in antiquis testibus V. S. V. Jager in consilium adhibito indagavit C. Tischendorf. Opus DD. Affre archiepiscopo paris. dicatum*, Par. 1842, large 8°; also 1842 (1847, 1851, 1859), 12°, without the version and the critical apparatus of the larger edition. (On the title-page of the two latest impressions Jager is shamelessly named as the real editor, and Tischendorf's Prolegomena are printed without his name.) The idea of restoring a Greek text which should give the original of the Vulgate is in itself an interesting one, but upon closer consideration merely preliminary, and in any case for a long time yet impracticable, and the attempt now under consideration is in many respects unsatisfactory. For (1) the Vulgate grew up from various sources, and is therefore itself an arbitrary mixed text; (2) its own text is in a sad state of neglect and highly uncertain; (3) the Clementine text, made the basis by Tischendorf, has no critical value whatever, and has perhaps itself been altered in accordance with the Greek; (4) the choice of Greek readings to constitute the new text is not made upon very fixed principles, and where the Latin is not decisive the other recension, afterward changed throughout by Tischendorf himself, is followed. Consequently, especially considering the complete silence respecting the authorities used in each case, nothing is gained for the main object, and it may be doubted whether "the Catholic theologians of France will now learn Greek more gladly and more easily." It is noteworthy how few peculiar readings result from this mode of procedure, while the agreement with the previous Tischendorf editions is exceedingly frequent.

IV. *N. T. gr. ad ant. testes rec. apparatus crit. multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit comm. isag. præmisit C. Tischendorf*, Winter, L. 1849, 8°. The preface gives an account of the travels of the editor (on which see especially § 392) and of his critical principles and aids. A rich catalogue of variants with references in the lower margin. Catholic Epistles before Paul. Second principal recension, returning very frequently to older readings, but giving up mostly those of Lachmann, not Tischendorf.

V. *N. T. gr. rec. C. Tischendorf*, stereot. ed., B. Tauchnitz, L. 1850, 8°, with a brief summary of the critical witnesses (*i. e.*, Uncial MSS. and versions) and Elzevir readings in the lower margin. Arrangement of books the same. The text, with two wholly isolated exceptions, is repeated from IV. (New title-page, 1862.)

*Synopsis evangelica ex quatuor evv. ordine chronologico* (with John also broken up) *rec. prætexto brevi comment. ill. (i. e., with a critical preface) ad ant. testes . . . rec. C. Tischendorf*, L. 1851, 8°, with the collection of variants as in IV. (This Harmony was repeated in 1854.) It gives the same text as V., except that it introduces the pericopes Mk. xvi. and Jn. viii. in brackets instead of omitting them altogether. The new edition of 1864 (1871) has a changed text.

VI. *N. T. gr. rec. inque usum acad. instruxit C. Tischendorf*. Really a trilingual edition, with Luther and the Latin (from it the Greek separately, 1855, 1857, 1861, 1864; Greek and Latin, 1858; Greek and German, 1864), Mendelssohn, L. 1854 (1865), with a small selection of variants and the Eusebian numbering in the Gospels. Usual order of the books. The same text, altered only in a few places (mostly with Lachmann).

VII. *N. T. gr. ad antiquos testes denuo rec. apparatus crit. omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isag. prætextuit C. Tischendorf*, Winter, L. 1856-1859, 2 vols., 8°. Third principal recension. Returns to a considerable extent to Elzevir and Griesbach, yet also brings out again many readings before given up from the edition of 1841, and lays claim to special merit (a very doubtful claim) in a completely altered, alleged original apostolic orthography and syntax, beside speaking more fully than ever before in the Prolegomena of the helps. An *editio minor* appeared simultaneously, which contains, under the same text, a selection, much too extensive for a manual, from the exceedingly rich apparatus of the other edition.

VIII. *Editio octava critica maior*, Giesecke and Devrient, L. 1864-1872, 2 vols. 8°. Fourth principal recension. Differs greatly from the preceding, and in such a way that the common readings adopted in VII. are almost all set aside again, and more frequently still those peculiar to Lachmann, or which appeared for the first time in I. and II., and were afterward abandoned, are introduced. Critical prolegomena are still lacking. [Tischendorf was prevented by a stroke of apoplexy, May 5, 1873, followed by paralysis and death, Dec. 7, 1874, from preparing the *Prolegomena* to his eighth edition. The work was entrusted in 1876 to Dr. Caspar René Gregory, an American scholar residing at Leipzig, with the aid of Dr. Ezra Abbot of Cambridge, Mass., and finished in 1883.]

[*Novum Testamentum Græce*, etc., *editio octava critica minor*, in one volume; the same text as the *major*, with the principal readings. The best manual edition is that by O. von Gebhardt, with the readings of Tregelles and Westcott and Hort: *Novum Test. Græce Recensionis Tischendorficæ ultimæ Textum cum Tregellesiano et Westcottio-Hortiano contulit et brevi adnotatione critica additisque locis parallelis illustravit O. de G.*, L. 1881; the same text with Luther's revised German version, L. 1881.]

The great diversity of Tischendorf's text in these four recensions (for Ed. III. is not to be considered here), to some extent even in the reprints which appeared between them, is to be attributed not so much to any defect in his theory of criticism as to the necessity of at once turning to account the vast accessions to the helps won by the editor himself. In the last stage of his work, Tischendorf probably had at his command more than twice as many witnesses of the first rank (according to his principles) as at the beginning of it. In view of this ever-increasing enrichment, perhaps a different method might have commended itself. A happy combination of Lachmann's idea and Tischendorf's richness would have given a firm basis for the future, whereas now, through the influence of subjective judgment, which is necessarily subject to change, the whole matter has come into a state of uncertainty, which the next period will no longer tolerate.

Special mention is due here to the diplomatic-critical preliminary labors of Tischendorf, some of which have already been referred to, in his splendid editions of single MSS. (§ 392), among which, in particular, *Ephrem, Claromontanus*, and *Sinaiticus*, and collections of documents: *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846; *Collectio nova*, 1855 ff. 5 vols.; *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855 (1860); also Latin (§§ 453, 456), and apocryphal (§ 243). Cf. in general J. E. Volbeding, *C. Tischendorf in s. 25jährigen schriftstellerischen Wirksamkeit*, L. 1862. [Dr. Abbot's article in the *Unitarian Review*, March, 1875; Dr. Gregory, in the *Bib. Sac.*, Jan. 1876; Dr. Von Gebhardt, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, new ed. 1878, II. 429 ff.; Schaff, *Companion*, p. 257 ff.]

None of Tischendorf's recensions have thus far been simply reproduced in other editions, except VII. in the *Evangelientafel* of M. H. Schulze, L. 1861.

418. But to arrive at any fixed and final result is precisely what German science, since the advent of these modern critical systems, has done even less than before. The selection of readings which each one may take, according to his taste, from the extant editions, and that with the guaranty marks of a competent firm, has become a greater task, — to the conscientious scholar a more difficult one, to the ordinary supplier of the market a welcome one, because so easily assuring the appearance of independence. Moreover, the mingling of elements is implied in growth. That in view of this confusion, destructive to exegesis, if not to theology, conservative minds often seek

and find the remedy in the old text unaltered should not surprise us. The comparison of all those who, in our times, have not been able to attach themselves unconditionally to any one leader will show very clearly how diverse are the principles and how little the attainment of the end depends upon the extent of the helps alone.

It is wholly unnecessary to make a distinction between Catholic and Protestant editions, since theologians and critics of the former Church have been able to advance this department of science in precisely the same way as some Protestants, or have shown no hesitation in appropriating to themselves what has been won in the other communion. No doubt for many Catholics the text approved by the Roman see (Complutensian and Erasmus), whose very diversity, however, is of itself a charter for critical research, may have a certain higher authority, but they do not appear to have attained to that deference for those older (and in many respects better) texts which is usual in Protestant countries and schools for the Elzevir. — For simple reprints of Elzevir, Mill, and other favorite forms of the so-called *Textus Receptus*, see above in the appropriate sections.

I. Editions independent of Tischendorf, and returning exclusively to older recensions, without regard to modern criticism :—

(1.) Fues, Tübingen, 1821, by P. A. Gratz (Prof. at Tübingen, afterward at Bonn), a simple and faithful reprint of the Complutensian text (even with the typographical errors), together with the Vulgate and the readings of Stephens, Griesbach, and Matthæi in the margin. The Apocalypse is also appended in full in Stephens' recension. — Repeated, Kupferberg, Mayence, 1827 (new title-page, 1851), but without the above critical additions, and in place of them a selection of variants from MSS., with indication of their relative critical value.

(2.) Fues, Tübingen, 1827, by Leander van Ess, with the Vulgate ; constructs a peculiar text from the Complutensian and Erasmus, as the two editions approved by Leo X. (with marginal readings from Stephens, Griesbach, and Matthæi). This text is a good one so far as it could be with these aids. Of course where the Complutensian and Erasmus agree there was nothing to change upon this principle. Cf. Gieseler, in the *Studien*, 1828, II. 405.

II. Editions which have come under the influence of various modern recensions :—

(1.) The Harmony of the Four Gospels by J. Gehringer, Fues, Tüb. 1842, 4°, has a mixed text, from the Complutensian, Elzevir, and Griesbach, the first two predominating ; it has also a very small number of readings from Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf.

(2.) On the basis of Knapp : the two editions prepared by C. G. W. Theile (Prof. at Leipzig, † 1854) for B. Tauchnitz, Leipzig, one Greek alone (first the Gospels only, 1842, then complete) 1844 (new title-page, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1856, 1858, 1865), and one with Luther, 1852 ; both with the readings of the best recensions and all sorts of other additions. They very often abandon Knapp, mostly for Lachmann (almost solely in passages where Tischendorf's first edition also agrees), elsewhere either for Elzevir or for new brackets. The two editions only differ in a few passages, in which the second usually goes back to Knapp or Elzevir. Reprinted from the second edition, with the Vulgate, without statement of sources, Tauchnitz, L. 1854 (1862).

(3.) A wholly different recension is exhibited in Theile's *N. T. polygl.*, (with Vulgate and Luther), Vellagen and Klasing, Bielef., 1846, which abandons Elzevir but very seldom, mostly in favor of Lachmann. There are also copies of a later date, 1849, 1854, and others, 1855 and 1858, with the

English version added. — This text repeated, Liesching, Stuttg. 1853, with Luther. (Bible Insitution.)

(4.) From Griesbach's recension of 1805 : the so-called fourth edition of Schott (§ 412), Barth, L. 1839, completed by L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, Prof. at Jena († 1843). But it often abandons Griesbach, altogether or at least by bracketing, mostly for Lachmann, seldom for Elzevir, sometimes for emendations peculiar to itself. The text in Schott's uncompleted Commentary on the Epistles (Thess., Gal., L. 1834) is made up in the same way. — From Schulz' edition of 1827 : the Harmony of R. Anger (Prof. at Leipzig), Gebhard and Reiland, L. 1852 (printed by Tauchnitz), frequently abandons Griesbach, very seldom for Elzevir or new readings, mostly for Lachmann and Tischendorf, at least by brackets.

(5.) Connected with Lachmann : the text of the Epistles commented upon by L. I. Rückert (§ 593 ; Eph., 1834 ; Cor., 1836 f., Köhler, L.). — The Harmony of the Four Gospels by J. H. Friedlieb (Prof. at Breslau), Aderholz, Bresl. 1847. Yet it differs in many places, merely indicating many of Lachmann's changes by brackets, or, on the other hand, doing away with Lachmann's brackets, partly by acceptance and partly by erasure ; in many cases, also, it goes back to older readings (mostly Griesbach's), and has some peculiar to itself. New revised edition, Manz, Regsb., 1869. — The N. T. of F. X. Reithmayr (Prof. at Munich), Weiss, Munich, 1847, with the Vulgate, takes for its basis in the Gospels Lachmann's first edition, in the rest the second, but in many cases indicates Lachmann's omissions and additions by brackets, and in others very frequently abandons him altogether, mostly for Griesbach ; among these cases in particular are many in which it coincides with the text constructed by Tischendorf after the Vulgate (which often agrees with Lachmann also). Complutensian readings and emendations peculiar to itself also occur.

419. Down to the time of Mill and Mace we had to mention more prominently in this portion of our history, in so far at least as the object was to give an account of the earnest and effective advancement of science, non-German names. From that time she sought a new fatherland, where for the first time she was truly at home, and has grown great. Yet she has not been altogether unknown in other lands. Theological prejudice and the spirit of the times and of the churches, directed toward practical life, have not only prevented a similar occupation in those countries themselves with such recondite matters as the Apparatus Criticus and variants, but they have also been willing to listen to but little of what the Germans have to say of them. Holland and Switzerland supply themselves mostly at the rich market of their neighbor. In the Catholic Church there is little demand for the Greek text. France is not altogether inactive, though of course without aid from the priests and without gain for the cause. The Reformed in that country prefer to obtain what they need from England. There, however, theology is still, in a measure, at the stage in which variants may endanger salvation. Yet some advance has been made toward a clearer understanding of the matter, and the standard writers of criticism have here and there obtained a blank space beneath the text. Were it enough to look sim-

ply at the number of editions and their neatness of form, England should doubtless stand at the head.

In this section I make no claim to completeness. The editions are nowhere all catalogued, and in the lack of regular intercourse in the book trade I know only what has happened to come into my own hands. Libraries contain almost nothing at all of what belongs here, and the only bibliographical catalogue known to me (W. T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual*, 1834, Vol. III., s. v. *Testament*) is already too old, superficial, and for scientific purposes altogether useless. We place in this section only those texts which were not to be mentioned above as mere repetitions of older recensions (§ 406; also §§ 403, 412, 414, 415).

In France no Greek N. T. had been printed since 1722, when J. B. Gail, Prof. of Greek Literature at Paris, had at least the Gospels printed for the Lyceums (the episcopal seminaries probably did not use even these), Delalain, Par. 1812, 1814, 1820, in the last the Acts also. *Je fus informé qu'il n'existait pas à Paris un seul exemplaire du N. T. Je mis aussitôt la main à l'œuvre. Non tam electus (truly! let one but read the prefaces and introductions) quam derelictus, malui me quam neminem.* The text, as the author does not say, is Griesbach's of 1805 with some few Elzevir readings. — From the same source, with somewhat more frequent changes, mostly from Elzevir, and in part with reference to the Vulgate, is the handsome N. T. of the Hellenist J. F. Boissonade, Lefèvre, Paris, printed by Eberart, 1824. Little changed from this, a series of school editions, mostly including only the historical books, and these singly, Delalain, P. 1827 and freq. Also entire, 1830: designed throughout only for boys, as those who alone needed it. — Belin, P., by E. Lefraue, *sine anno*. — Further examples of this class are unnecessary. — The Orientalist Brosset prepared for Didot, 1831 (new title-page, 1837), an edition which honorably acknowledges Griesbach, whose text is only changed in a few places, professedly according to the Georgian version (!), *i. e.*, according to Elzevir. For the editions of Tischendorf published by Didot, see § 417. — A handsome miniature edition, ed. Timothée and Darolles, Toulouse, 1840, is closely related to Boissonade.

A. Rilliet, of Geneva, applied the most recent critical principles, first, by way of example, in an edition of the Epistle to the Philippians, with commentary (G. Bérout, 1841), afterward in a complete French version.

From Italy I know but one edition, *Typog. Semin.*, Padua, 1820, which is only slightly different from those mentioned in § 406, yet not uninfluenced by Griesbach. Editions are now prepared in Venice for Jesuit schools, of which, however, only one, 1847 (Elzevir), is known to me, in which likewise Stephens and Elzevir readings are mingled. More frequent there are editions of beautiful lectionaries for public use, of which a splendidly gotten up copy, 1840, fol., lies before me. — Here may also be mentioned the Harmony of the Gospels by F. X. Patrizzi, Herder, Freib. 1853, 4°, with an Elzevir-Griesbach text.

From Holland I know but one edition, Luchtman, Leyd. 1809, by H. A. Aitton, in which Griesbach's text of 1805 is changed in the dogmatically important passages according to Elzevir, a critical proceeding for the reconciliation of faith and science well received, particularly in England. Substantially repeated in a series of Glasgow editions by various publishers, 1817, 1822, 1830, 1832, 1836 (and freq.); Hurst, Lond. 1834; Parker, Lond. 1838.

Switzerland has furnished but one edition, Bonnand, Geneva, 1813, by F. Gaillard (new title-page, Rusand, Lyons, 1821), which received perhaps about one half of Griesbach's readings into the Elzevir text.

Of Protestant countries England prints by far the most editions, mostly commercial enterprises and school editions devoid of all scientific value.

Beside the numerous editions with pure Elzevir or mixed Elzevir and Stephens text (§ 406), some peculiar recensions have also appeared there in modern times.

1. The Gospels, by Jos. White, Collingwood, Oxf. 1798, in which, upon the basis of Griesbach's criticism, approved additions are inserted in Origen's method, with asterisks, suspected glosses distinguished by means of daggers, other preferred variants placed in the margin of the common text.

2. Editions of Adam Dickinson and W. Dunean, Edinb. 1817 (1829, 1835, stereotyped, perhaps freq.). Text, Elzevir II. with single Griesbach readings and bracketing throughout of the glosses stricken out by Griesbach.

3. Editions of Ed. Valpy, *cum notis variorum*, Valpy, Lond. 1816, 1826, 1831, 1836, 1853, 3 vols. Bengel's text, improved by the introduction of Griesbach readings, mostly commended by Bengel himself in the margin. Wholly different from this, a frequently printed manual edition, Valpy, Lond. 1824.

4. Editions of S. T. Bloomfield: (1.) Larger, with fuller notes, for older students, Longman, Lond. 1832, 2 vols., 1836, 1839, and freq.; also reprinted, Perkins, Boston, 1837.—(2.) Smaller, with shorter scholia, for beginners, 5th ed., Lond. 1847, and freq. The text in the two is not precisely the same, but is substantially a mixture of Stephens and the Complutensian, chiefly on the authority of Scholz. Also independent but infelicitous attempts at emendation.

5. Edition with annotations by C. Wordsworth, Canon of Westminster, Livingston, Lond. 1857, 4 vols. 4°. A mixed text, from Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, but sparing the dogmatically important passages. A critical edition of the Apocalypse by W. Kelly, Lond. 1860, agrees still more frequently with the two last-named German critics.

6. On the basis of wholly independent criticism, which, however, substantially agrees in its principles with Lachmann, Tischendorf, Muralt, and Buttmann, the edition of S. P. Tregelles, of Plymouth, with rich apparatus (Bagster, Lond. 1857–1879, small 4°). Earlier, in 1844, the Apocalypse as a specimen. [The *Prolegomena*, with *Addenda* and *Corrigenda*, were compiled and edited in a supplementary volume by Dr. Hort and A. W. Streane, 1879. See, on the character of Tregelles as a critic, and his relation to Tischendorf, O. von Gebhardt, in his article *Bibeltext*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, new ed., II. 428 ff.; Westcott and Hort, *Gk. Test.*, II. 13; Dr. Hort's notice of Tischendorf and Tregelles in the *Journal of Philology*, March, 1858.]

7. Editions of H. Alford, Lond. 1849 ff. (4th ed., 1860); also reprinted, N. Y. 1859 ff. 4 vols., with commentary; critically very dependent and vacillating between the authority of the witnesses and subjective judgment. ["In the fifth edition he nearly rewrote the text and digest, chiefly on the basis of Tregelles and Tischendorf, and in the sixth (1868) he collated also the *Codex Sinaiticus*, and incorporated its readings." Schaff, *Companion*, p. 267.]

[8. Westcott and Hort: *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Camb. and Lond. 1881, 2 vols.; the first volume containing the text, the second the Introduction, 324 pages, and Appendix (Notes on Select Readings, 140 pages, Notes on Orthography, and Quotations from the O. T., which are distinguished by uncial type in the text, pp. 141–188). Both volumes republished, from duplicate English plates, N. Y., Harpers, 1881. — By the same firm, a convenient diglot edition, containing Westcott and Hort's Greek Text and the English Revised Version on opposite pages: *The Revised Greek-English New Testament*, N. Y. 1882. "The Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort presents the oldest and purest text which can be attained with the means of information at the command of the present generation." Schaff, *Companion*, p. 269.]

[9. F. H. A. Scrivener, Prebendary of Exeter, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version, together*

with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version, Camb. 1881. The readings adopted by the Revisers are at the foot of the page, and the displaced readings of the text are indicated by heavier type.]

[10. Dr. E. Palmer, Archdeacon of Oxford, Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The Greek Testament, with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version*, Oxf. 1881. Presents the Greek text of the Revisers, with the discarded readings of the *textus receptus* (Stephens, 1550) and of the version of 1811 in foot-notes.]

[The University presses of Oxford and Cambridge have also published *The Parallel New Testament, Greek and English*, containing the Authorized Version, the Revised Version, the Revised Greek Text, and the readings displaced by the Revisers, in parallel columns, with space for manuscript notes, Nov. 1882.]

In the above (§§ 399-419) all the editions are catalogued which I myself possess or have had opportunity to become acquainted with otherwise. My *Bibliotheca edd. N. T. gr.* contains in addition, in ch. 25, a small number which I have not been able to look into, and in ch. 26 some others about whose existence I am in doubt. Beside these, some may have appeared in recent years in England and America which are as yet unknown to me. These deficiencies are probably not of importance for the history of the text. [This list of Reuss supplemented and brought down to 1882 by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, and printed in Schaff, *Companion*, p. 497 ff. See also Prof. Hall's article, *The Greek Testament as published in America*, in the *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, Vol. XIII. 1882; also published separately, in pamphlet form, *Critical Bibliography of the Greek New Testament as published in America*, Phila. 1883.]

420. Thus the History of the Text has also divided itself into two periods, marked off by the nature of the subject, before which, representing the preparatory epoch, came the description of the autographs. The first period embraced the history of the written text, both as to its external form and its essential constitution. Here were to be traced the origin and propagation of a great number of alterations, some designed, others accidental, which have disfigured the text, from which the Church was unable to protect herself and to which she paid no attention. The second period embraced the history of the text since the invention of printing, an account of manifold attempts to restore it to its original purity. Although the conclusion of this history is that the end aimed at has not been reached and never will be, theology may comfort itself with the assurance that no truth indispensable or important to it is affected, and may go on making use of the abiding and uncorrupted contents of Scripture for the teaching and edification of the Church. This, which is its essential purpose, constitutes the interest of the History of the Versions.

## BOOK FOURTH.

### HISTORY OF THE DISSEMINATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS.

#### HISTORY OF THE VERSIONS.

421. The rapid spread of Christianity in the century of its origin was simply the work of the apostolic preaching and of the enthusiasm which this must have aroused among people impoverished in faith and longing for spiritual nourishment. Writing and books had no share in this most marvelous of all conquests. The method of instruction used by the messengers of the Christian faith made these things unnecessary, and from their character and immediate purpose they could only be of use where the new ideas had already taken root.

The latter fact held at that time of the O. T. as well as of the apostolic writings, and is still true without limitation of both. Cf. above, §§ 30 ff., 284 ff. It should never be forgotten in this connection that the mightiest impulse to the Gospel came at the beginning from a source which rendered all Scripture unnecessary, — from the eschatological expectations. (§ 36).

422. If the dissemination of the apostolic writings was not rapid even in the circles where they could be immediately understood, it must have been much less so without these circles. In point of fact, Christianity made its way into lands where the Greek language was not known, and these countries were able to accept and retain it without needing its written records; nay, even without knowing them. This was the case chiefly wherever the Semitic dialects were spoken, and in all parts of the Roman empire where the native languages had disappeared from the cities and fled to the villages and mountains.

Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.*, III. 4, p. 178, still speaks of many barbarous peoples upon whose hearts the faith of Christ had been written without paper and ink. Pantænus (Euseb., *H. E.*, V. 10) found among the Indians (in Yemen?) the Gospel of Matthew in the original, *i. e.*, certainly not a canonical text.

With respect to the state of things in Latin countries, cf. also § 49. The longer continuance of heathenism outside the cities (paganism) is not to be attributed to the lack of versions, but to the general conditions of religious culture, and to the custom of the Christian missionaries of beginning in the cities.

Critical doubts as to the completeness of certain of the oldest versions will be considered below.



423. Just as the more general dissemination of the New Testament books was accomplished only by the introduction of public church readings, so also the versions arose only in consequence of this custom becoming a necessity. And since the most immediate effect of this custom was the rise of the canon, it might be expected — an expectation which appears to be confirmed by the history — that the versions would not be concerned with single writings, but would have for their subject-matter more or less complete collections. The versions are not older than the canon, and since, at the time of the formation of the latter, the two collections, the Old Testament and the New, were placed on the same level, both theologically and ecclesiastically, it may be further said that the Christian versions of the Scriptures, as a rule, include both from the beginning.

Even of the O. T., aside from the Chaldee paraphrases, intended for Palestine and the Eastern schools, there were at the period indicated no other translations current than the Greek.

424. Partly in consequence of this custom, partly in consequence of the general state of popular education and religious instruction, it came about that all the ancient versions obtained a more or less official, ecclesiastical character, either immediately upon their preparation and by design, or by the power of circumstances. The people themselves in general became acquainted with the Scriptures only in the church, as formerly in the synagogue, and only so far as they were read to them publicly. The version gradually obtained the authority of the original, and the latter was finally forgotten, and often suspiciously placed below the version even by priests and persons of some learning.

That in the better times of the Church, especially the Greek, the laity also read the Bible privately, cannot be denied in view of the testimony of Chrysostom and others. Nevertheless, it may be maintained that this practice was not so general as a one-sided polemic interest represents it (L. van Ess, *Geschichte der Vulgata*, p. 6 ff. ; Ussher (§ 287) ; Walch, above, § 289), and that it was in any case an evanescent phenomenon. Moreover, this solidarity in the knowledge of the Bible was a means of preserving unity of faith. Cf. also § 287.

425. Considered from this ecclesiastical point of view, the history of the literature of these versions has an interest altogether different from that hitherto presented, when they were considered solely with reference to the needs of a laborious verbal criticism. As the faith bound Christendom together into one great people, so the languages which it was taught to speak divided this people into families, and with every new translation another member detached itself from the centre previously held fast, and in its farther progress went its own way. The language of the Romans had become the ecclesias-

tical as well as the political language of the whole West, and its remaining so was not the least cause of the stability and inner unity of the Latin Church. In the East, which indeed never grew into this unity, one province after another won for itself, together with the biblical books rendered into its own vernacular, a greater independence; unfortunately breaking thereby, in many cases, the last thread by means of which it might have drawn spiritual life and power from some more favored region.

Beside the ordinary introductory manuals, cf. (especially on the ancient versions) C. Kortholt, *De variis S. S. editionibus*, Kil. (1668) 1686; R. Simon, *Hist. des versions du N. T.*, Rott. 1690; Brian Walton, *Apparatus biblicus* (§ 17); Le Long (§ 395); J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, IV.; J. G. Hagemann, *Nachrichten v. d. fürnemsten Ueberss.*, Br. 1750; Walch, *Bibl. theol. selecta*, IV. 47 ff.; Semler, *Vorbereitung zur Hermeneutik*, II.; Michaelis, *Tractatio de variis lectionibus N. T.*, Hal. 1749; Rosenmüller, *Handb. der Liter. der bibl. Kritik*, II., III.; Gesenius, *Art. Bibelübersetzungen*, in the *Hall. Encycl.*; Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung* (§ 501) Löhns, *Herm.* (§ 595), p. 310 ff.; Grässe's *Literaturgesch.*, *passim*.

On the ancient Oriental versions cf. also especially Hottinger, *Bibl. orientalis*, Heidelb. 1658; idem, *De translationibus bibl. in ll. vernaculas*, Tig. 1662; H. Benzell, *De antiquis bibliorum verss.*, Lond. 1733; Du Contant de la Molette, *Essai sur l'écriture Sainte*, P. 1775.

In the course of this account the geographical point of view, in connection with those otherwise natural, must and will come into favorable consideration in the arrangement of the material.

426. Earliest of all the lands near the birthplace of Christianity, Syria possessed this sign and pledge of national Christian civilization. In its northern and eastern cities the vernacular had not given way before the Greek conquerors, and a native government made Edessa the centre of a Syriac Christian culture, though limited in extent. Certainly as early as the third century, perhaps even somewhat earlier, the Bible, the Old Testament according to the Hebrew text, was read here in the vernacular; pious ignorance even connected the Apostles and their helpers with the translation, and it became the foundation of a rich and long-flourishing theological literature.

Chronicles of Edessa, from the Syriac (in Assemanus, *Bibl. orient.*, I.), translated in Eichhorn's *Repert.*, I. 199 ff.; T. S. Bayer, *Historia osrhoëna et edessena*, St. Pet. 1734.

J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis clementino-vaticana*, Rome, 1719 ff. 4 vols. fol.; extracts in German by A. F. Pfeiffer, Erl. 1776, 2 Pts. Cf. J. F. Gaab, in the *Neue Repert.*, III. 358; A. G. Hoffmann, in Bertholdt's *Journal*, XIV. 225; G. Bickell, *Conspectus rei Syrorum lit.*, Monast. 1871.

Divergent opinions of the age and origin of the Syriac version among the earlier critics, *e. g.*, in the preface to Frost's edition; in Ridley (see below), p. 283 ff.; Michaelis, *Eiul.*, I. 392. Its high antiquity is shown by its canon, by its original text, by its circulation among all parties of the Syrian Church, by the early rise of a Syriac theological literature. But it surely does not

go back far beyond the beginning of the third century. The mention of a Syriac Gospel at the time of Hegesippus (Euseb., *H. E.*, IV. 22) refers rather to a particular writing than to a translation (§ 198). The Syrians claim that the O. T. was already translated in great part in the time of Solomon ; cf. Gabriel Sionita, *Præf. ad Psalmos*, 1625. The N. T. is ascribed to an apostle, Thaddæus, or Adæus.

Fragments of an ancient Syriac translation of the Gospels, found in a convent in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt, edited by W. Cureton, Lond. 1858, are regarded by Ewald (*Jahrb.*, IX. 70 ff.) as older than the Peshito. But upon this supposition there appears to be no explanation of the circumstance that late readings (glosses, emendations) occur in it, which would compel us to infer a long use of this translation, and not its speedy displacement by a better and more authentic one. Small additions to Cureton's text, from a Berlin MS., published by E. Rödiger, in the *Monatsbericht der Berl. Acad.*, July, 1872, and thence by W. Wright, London, 1872. C. Hermansen, *De cod. evv. syr. a W. Cureton edito*, Hafn. 1859.

427. The whole work is carried out, in all its parts, with the aid of happily chosen helps and upon fixed principles which aim at fidelity and clearness, even if it did not come from a single pen, which seems to be at least supposable for the New Testament. The Syrian divines, although infected like their Greek and Latin brethren with a mania for insipid allegorizing, named it reverently the Peshito, *i. e.*, the simple, sacrificing all display of mystic subtlety to the plain sense of the words. Notwithstanding its limited canon, it remained the common property of all the sects into which the Syrian Church soon divided, although polemic found in it here and there single readings which gave support to the quarrels of the schools.

On the canon of the Peshito see § 308. Various explanations of the name. For more than one translator of the N. T., among others, Michaelis, Hug, and Bertholdt.

That it was translated directly from the Greek text does not need to be proved from the retention of Greek words here and there (which, in view of the constitution of the Syriac language at that time, does not prove so much), nor from the interchange of them, since no other source is conceivable. A use by the translators of the so-called Itala (according to Bengel) is too remote. Nor can later alterations and interpolations (according to Griesbach) be pointed out with certainty.

Its critical and exegetical value : Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1237 ; F. E. Boysen, *Krit. Erläuterung des Textes des N. T. aus der syrischen Uebers.*, 1751 ff., with preface by J. B. Carpzov ; G. B. Winer, *De usu versionis syriacæ N. T. caute instituendo*, Erl., 1823 ; Reusch, *Syrus interpres cum fonte N. T. græco collatus*, L. 1741 ; M. Weber, *De usu vers. syr. N. T. hermeneutico*, L. 1778 ; J. D. Michaelis, *Curæ in vers. syr. Actuum apost.*, Gött. 1755 ; J. Perles, *Meletemata peschithomiana*, Vrat. 1859. — Griesbach estimated its critical value lightly, because he regarded it as having been often revised according to Greek MSS.

The distinction of Maronite and Nestorian MSS. concerns chiefly the character, orthography, division of chapters, and order of books ; whether peculiar readings of dogmatic significance are to be found in the latter is disputed, and doubtless rather assumed than proved.

Editions of the N. T. : by Moses v. Marden and A. v. Widmannstadt, Vienna, 1555, 2 vols. 4° (cf. Müller, *Symbola syr.*, p. 29 f. ; Hirt, *Or. Bibl.*,

II. 260 ; IV. 317 ; V. 25 ; and J. C. Beck, *Edd. principes N. T. syr.*, Basle, 1776) ; in the Antwerp Polyglot, 1571, and thence in the Paris, 1630, and the London, 1657 ; by M. Trost, Cöthen, 1622, 4° ; by A. Gutbier, Hamb. 1664, 8° (often repeated, with changes, see Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, III. 116) ; by J. Leusden and C. Schaaf, Leyd. 1709, 4° ; by the English Bible Society, Lond. 1816, 4°. Also a series of editions with Hebrew letters, and now and then single books as specimens. On its relative completeness, see the following section, and in general Le Long, I. 104 ; Masch, II. 1, p. 511 ; Hirt, *Or. Bibl.*, II. 493 and *passim* ; Schaaf's preface ; Bruus in Eichhorn's *Repert.*, XV., XVI. — An English translation by J. Murdock, N. Y. 1851.

For the sake of completeness, it may be said that in the O. T. the additions of the Greek Bible are appended and in many MSS. incorporated, and that in particular books, for example the Psalms, the influence of the Greek text may be clearly pointed out. Both of which facts show that one ecclesiastical province could not maintain a complete independence of the theological or liturgical customs prevalent in the rest.

Editions of the O. T. in the Paris and London Polyglots, in the latter with the Apocrypha ; best, by S. Lee, Lond. 1823, 4° ; the Pentateuch by G. W. Kirsch, L. 1787, 4° ; the Psalms by T. Erpenius, Leyd. 1625 ; G. Sionita, P. 1625 ; J. A. Dathe, Halle, 1768 ; the apocryphal books by P. A. de Lagarde, L. 1861. Many single portions in chrestomathies.

[Best European editions those of Lee, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Greenfield, published by Bagster, in the Polyglot and separately. Better still that of Dr. Justus Perkins, Urumiah, Persia, 1841, reprinted N. Y. 1874, by the Am. Bible Society, in Nestorian type. Schaaf's *Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale*, published as a companion volume to Schaaf and Leusden's edition, mentioned above, is a valuable aid to the student. (Schaff's *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 153 f.)]

Cf. in general, E. Rödiger, Art. *Peschito* in the Halle *Encykl.* On the O. T. : L. Hirzel (on the Pentateuch), 1825 ; G. L. Spohn (Isaiah), 1785 f. ; C. A. Credner (the Minor Prophets), 1827 ; J. A. Dathe (the Proverbs), 1764, and other critical monographs. On the N. T. : G. E. Voigt, *De versione syriaca*, Jena, 1670 ; J. C. Harenberg, *De antiqua versione syriaca (Bibl. Brem.)*, VII. 480 ; J. E. Gerhard, *Diss. ad N. T. syr.*, in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, II. 43 ; especially J. Wichelhaus, *De N. T. vers. syr. antiqua*, Halle, 1850.

What has been called the Karkaphentian version, at least so far as the extant MSS. are concerned, is nothing but a collection of readings and critical (even merely orthographic) notes on particular passages of the Peshito of the O. and N. T., though having a peculiar order of the books (Scholz, I. 521), or a recension confining itself to such matters ; cf. especially Wiseman, *Horæ syr.*, I. 147 ff. ; Martin, in the *Journal asiatique*, 1869, 6th series, Vol. XIV.

For textual criticism cf. also the essays of G. H. Bernstein in the *Deutsche Morgenl. Zeitschrift*, 1849, p. 385 ff., and several in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot ; and in general the editions provided with apparatus ; also M. H. Reinhard, *De vers. syr. N. T.*, Vit. 1728 ; L. G. Jahn, *Obs. in vers. N. T. syr.*, Vit. 1756.

428. The disputatious spirit of the later theologians could no longer be satisfied with a translation which, instead of striving after diplomatic accuracy in the rendering of words, attempted the part of an interpreter of the sense. Therefore a zealous monophysite bishop, Philoxenus of Hierapolis, had prepared by his chor-bishop Polycarp, soon after the beginning of the sixth century, a new translation of the New Testament, whose

superiority was to consist in precisely that literalness which was wanting in the older version. It seems not to have been designed, however, for use in the churches, as may be inferred from the critical additions and even from the extended canon. This Philoxenian version was brought to a still higher degree of scrupulous, literal, and consequently unidiomatic accuracy by a monk, Thomas of Heraclea, at Alexandria, in the year 616.

The four smaller Catholic Epistles edited by Edw. Pococke from an Oxford MS. Leyd. 1630, 4<sup>o</sup>, are said to belong to Polycarp's work; see Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, IV. 440; but others deny it. The rest was thought to be lost. Yet Bernstein (see below) believes he has discovered the Gospels in a Roman MS. (*Cod. angelicus*). To his work also belonged a Psalter after the genuine Christian mode, of which scarcely any trace has been preserved.

To the recension of Thomas (the so-called Harelean, from Heraclea) is said to belong the Apocalypse printed by L. de Dieu, Leyd. 1627, 4<sup>o</sup>, from a Leyden MS. See Eichhorn, *l. c.*, 458. Yet there is great difference of opinion on the matter. The editions of the Peshito have been supplemented by means of both these writings since their discovery.

The whole Harelean version, without the Apocalypse, was edited (from Oxford MSS.) by Jos. White, 1778–1803, 4 vols. 4<sup>o</sup>; the Gospel of John by G. H. Bernstein, L. 1853, 8<sup>o</sup> (from a Vatican MS.).

G. H. Bernstein, *De charklensi N. T. translatione syriaca*, Vrat. (1837), 2d ed. 1854; cf. Storr, in Eichhorn's *Repert.*, Pt. VII.; Michaelis, *Briefwechsel*, Pt. I.; idem, *Or. Bibl.*, XVII. 122; XVIII. 171; H. E. G. Paulus, *Catalogus MSS. quibus versio N. T. philoxeniana continetur*, Helmst. 1788. The older work of Polycarp Adler (*Verss. syr.*, p. 52) thinks is preserved in a Florentine MS.; Bernstein, on the contrary, points to a MS. in the *Bibliotheca angelica* at Rome.

Critical marks and marginal glosses in the MSS. of both (?) recensions, and disputed explanation of them. To judge from the purpose and aids of this translation, it is certainly more probable that the former refer to readings of Greek MSS. than to those of the Peshito, all the more since most of these readings can still be confirmed from our extant MSS. But the view that the signs actually passed over from a Greek MS. into the version falls to the ground with the hypothesis of a recension of the Greek text by Origen (§§ 365, 367).

429. In the southern part of Syria, in heavily afflicted Palestine, whose ill-advised churches had once rejected the noblest branch of the apostolic literature, the people, except so far as they spoke Greek, were long destitute of almost all means of Christian biblical edification in this form. We know only of a so-called Hebrew Gospel, which was different from the canonical. Later, perhaps shortly before the invasion of the Arabs, at least the really indispensable portions, the current church readings from the generally recognized Gospels, were translated into the degenerate Aramaic dialect of the country.

Version, language, and character were discovered by Adler in a single MS. at Rome. See Michaelis, *Or. Biblioth.*, XIX. 125; Adler's *Reise*, p. 119; a specimen in Adler's *Verss. syr.*, p. 147, and in Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, IV. 493; *Evangeliarium hieros. ex cod. vat. syr.*, ed. F. Miniscalchi, Verona, 1861, 4<sup>o</sup>.

We also mention here, in passing: (1.) the Syriac version of the LXX. prepared by Bishop Paul of Tela, 617, after the recension of Origen (the Hexapla); it seems not only to be related to the Harleian version of the N. T. chronologically, but to be akin to it in other respects also; nearly all the historical books are said to be lost (specimen from 2 Kings by J. G. Hasse, 1782; Judges and Ruth, ed. T. Roerdam, Havn. 1859); the other canonical books have been partially edited: Jeremiah and Ezekiel by M. Norberg, 1787; Daniel and the Psalms by C. Bugati, 1788 and 1820; the rest by H. Middeldorpf, 1835. Cf. Eichhorn's *Repert.*, III., VII.; C. a Lengerke, *De studio litt. syr.*, p. 14 ff. (2.) The revision undertaken about 704 by Bishop Jacob of Edessa, very probably on the basis of the foregoing, of which the Pentateuch and Daniel, according to later information some other books also (*Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, 1846, No. 204), have been preserved in MSS. Cf. Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, II. 270; VIII. 571; *Einkl. ins A. T.*, II. 156. (3.) Several others, partly problematical, information respecting which is collected in Michaelis, I. 434; Eichhorn, *Einkl. ins A. T.*, II. 214 ff.; *Zeitschr. der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1849, p. 397. On the fragments of the Syriac version of the Gospels discovered by Cureton, see above, § 426, and the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1858, p. 561.

On the Syriac versions in general, see A. Müller, *De syriacis utriusque Test. verss.*, in his *Symbb.*, p. 11 ff.; G. Ridley, *De syriacarum N. T. verss. indole et usu*, printed in Wetstein, *Libelli crit.*, pp. 247-339; G. C. Storr, *Obs. super N. T. versionibus syr.*, Stuttg. 1772; J. G. C. Adler, *N. T. versiones syriacæ . . . denuo examinate*, Hafn. 1789; with a supplement, 1790. [Tregelles, in *Smith's Dict.*, IV. pp. 3383 ff. Am. ed.; Davidson, *Art. Syriac Versions*, in *Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*]

430. Not much later than Syria, Egypt also, that other cradle of ancient culture, obtained a translation of the Bible of her own. After the downfall of the Ptolemies, and still more after the beginning of the Byzantine empire, although not without traces of the long bondage, the ancient language of the people rose again, and with it soon, though gradually, Christianity also rose to transient dominion. Retaining the Greek text, but at the same time providing for the instruction of the people, the Church read the sacred books to them in both languages, and in different dialects in the different provinces. But of this less splendid period of its history also only incomplete records have been preserved.

On the so-called Coptic language and literature (the name, variously interpreted, is most probably etymologically connected with *Αἴγυπτος*, and always signifies Christian Egypt in distinction from Pharaonic (*Chem*), Old Testament (*Mizraim*), Macedonian and classic in general (*Αἴγυπτος*), and modern Arabic (*Misr*); see E. Quatremère, *Recherches sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte*, p. 1808.

As to the age and origin of the Coptic versions of the Bible nothing certain has been ascertained. In the opinion of linguistic and historical scholars, two of them were, already in existence at the end of the third century. It is certain that in the following century the Greek language was almost unknown even among priests, still more among monks. And among the people, outside the cities, it probably never had been very well known.

The custom of public reading in two languages is attested by still extant Græco-Coptic MSS., beside other ways. For catalogue of MSS. see Engelbreth, in *Haenlein's Journal*, VI. 834; Zoëga, in the *Allg. Lit. Ztg.*, 1821, III. 561.

The Upper Egyptian or Thebaic, called, from the Arabic name of the province, the Sahidic, *i. e.*, Highland, is considered the oldest. It is translated from the Greek in the O. T. as well as in the New. Only fragments of either part have been discovered; of the N. T. very brief ones, from Matthew and John, by J. A. Mingarelli, Bol. 1785; from John, by A. A. Georgi, Rome, 1789 (§ 392); from the Epistles, by F. Münter, etc.; see his *Comm. de indole N. T. versionis sahidicæ*, Hafn. 1789. — C. G. Woide, in the Appendix to his edition of *Cod. Alex.* (Oxf. 1799, fol.), collects all that is extant, in some parts not inconsiderable.

Better known is the Lower Egyptian or Memphitic, which is for this reason often called simply the Coptic. It is from the same sources, but is said to be somewhat later, which may at least be easily inferred from natural causes. Of the O. T. the Pentateuch (Wilkins, 1731; [A. Fallet, *La Version Cophte du Pent.*, Par. 1854]; P. de Lagarde, 1867) and the Psalms have been completely edited, the latter more frequently, best by L. Ideler, B. 1837; M. G. Schwarze, L. 1843; the Prophets, by H. Tattam, Oxf. 1836 (minor), 1852 (major); Job, by H. Tattam, Lond. 1846; the N. T. entire by D. Wilkins, Oxf. 1716, 4<sup>o</sup> [also by H. Tattam, publ. by the Soc. for Prom. Christ. Knowledge, 1847–52]; the Gospels by M. G. Schwarze, L. 1846, 4<sup>o</sup>; Epistles and Acts by P. Bötticher, Halle, 1852. — Cf. E. Quatremère, *On the Coptic Prophets*, in the *Notices et Extraits*, VIII.; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 1.

Fragments are preserved of a third version, known by the name of the Bashmuric, whose home is disputed. Critics consider this designation, which points to the eastern mouths of the Nile, to be erroneous, and would assign it rather to the western oases. Fragments of the Pauline Epistles edited by W. F. Engelbreth, Hafn. 1811, 4<sup>o</sup>.

An unimportant theological literature, chiefly legendary and ascetic, is connected with the Coptic Bible. Cf. in general La Croze, *Thesaurus epistolicus, passim*, see the Index; Michaelis, *Briefwechsel*, III. 43 ff.; C. G. Woide, in Cramer's *Beiträge*, III.; Georgi, preface to his edition of John, see above; F. Münter, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, IV.; J. L. Hug, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. 37; Masch, II. 1, p. 182; also A. Kircher, *Prodromus coptus*, Rome, 1636; J. E. Gerhardt, *Eccl. coptica*, Jena, 1666; C. H. Tromler, *Abbildung der koptischen Kirche*, Jena, 1749; idem, *Bibliotheca coptica*, L. 1767. The *Travels of Wansleb*, Du Bernat, Pooecke, Scholz, and others. Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'hist. du Christianisme en Égypte*, P. 1832. [Tregelles, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV. p. 3375.]

431. Bold apostles had very early found their way beyond these two oriental mother-countries to more distant regions, where Hellenic culture had never penetrated. As early as the fourth century they carried the Gospel up the Nile to fabled Ethiopia, and soon gave to the newly founded Church all the sacred writings, which they perhaps did not adjust to the foreign speech without the aid of Egyptian interpretation. But, cut off from living intercourse with the rest of the Christian world, the preaching of the Gospel nowhere bore poorer fruit; and now, while new missionaries are going thither to do the work a second time, where in name it has been done for so long, the linguistic scholar is occupied in reading at home a mass of morbid excrescences of neglected Scripture brought thence.

The ancient Ethiopic language (Abyssinian, *i. e.*, of the land of Habesh), called by the natives Gheez, is connected with the South Arabian (Himyaritic), therefore in general with the Semitic family of languages; but it long since passed away as a living language, and has become split up into a multitude of more or less corrupt dialects.

Legends of the country refer the acquaintance of the people with revelation to the Queen of Sheba (1 K. x.) or to the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii.), more trustworthily to a missionary in the first half of the fourth century, Abba Salama, who is also said to have translated the Bible, and who is possibly one and the same person with the Frumentius mentioned by the Church Fathers. Cf. in general H. Ludolf, *Historia æthiopica*, Frankf. 1681, fol., III. 2; idem, *Commentarius ad historiam æthiopicam*, 1691, fol.; M. Veysièrre de la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Éthiopie et d'Arménie*, La Haye, 1739; J. C. Daunhauer, *De eccl. æthiopica*, Arg. 1664; J. G. Oertel, *Theologia Æthiopicum*, Vit. 1746; Gesenius, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. 116.

Opinions are divided as to the age and sources of this version. With respect to source, the question is between the Greek and the Coptic, though doubtless the former has more in its favor; and the date cannot be earlier than the mission of Frumentius, although it is conceivable that the Jews living there may have translated their sacred writings before that time. The now extant Ethiopic O. T. is of Christian origin. Cf. also B. Dorn, *De psalterio æthiopico*, L. 1825, p. 2 ff.

Of the O. T. the Psalms have been printed frequently: first at Rome, 1513; later by Ludolf, 1701, with and without Latin translation, also with the Canticles; the latter also separately; Ruth and some of the Minor Prophets (Joel, Jonah, Zephaniah, Malachi) by J. G. Nissel, 1656 ff.; the N. T., Rome, 1548, 2 vols. 4<sup>o</sup> (cf. *Bibl. Sacyana*, I. 720, p. 408), and in the London Polyglot (in which also the Psalms and Canticles), in both cases very defectively, but made more accessible by the more accurate Latin translation of C. A. Bode, Br. 1752 ff. 2 vols. — Better edition: London, 1827, 4<sup>o</sup> [by T. P. Platt, for the British and For. Bib. Soc.]; also the Gospels separately, in 1827, and the Psalms in 1815. Earlier, several Epistles (James, John, Jude, also Arabic) by Nissel, 1654. Catalogues of editions in Le Long, I. 127; Masch, II. 1, p. 140; Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, IV. 471; VIII. 473; *Nachr.*, VI. 6; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, III. 65, 142. The remaining portions of the O. T. are preserved in MS. in European libraries. — A beautiful edition of the O. T. was begun in 1854 by A. Dillmann, who also claims to be able to point out in the MSS. different recensions of the text, and even traces of new translations of certain portions.

On the pseudepigraphic literature of the Ethiopian Church, see above, § 326.

Cf. in general Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1188; Bode's preface to his *Æthiopische Fragmente des A. T.*, 1755; C. B. Michaelis, Preface to Bode's *Matthæus*; Bruce's *Travels*, I.; Isenberg's *Abyssinien*, *passim*; the *Travels of Combes, Gobat, Katte*, and others; Hottinger, *Bibl. orient.*, p. 318 ff. [Potken, Preface to the *Æthiopic Psalter*, Rome, 1513; T. P. Platt, *MS. Notes made in the Collation of Æthiopic MSS., and Private Letters sent to Tregelles*; L. A. Prevost, *MS. Collation of the Text of Platt with the Roman, and Translation of Variations, executed for Tregelles*; A. Dillmann, *Æthiopische Bibelübersetzung*, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*; Tregelles, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV. p. 3371.]

432. Syria sent her missionaries into all the countries along the Euphrates and Tigris. At the sources of these rivers, in Armenia, first arose the need of a translation which could be understood by the people, and their spiritual guides spared



no pains to furnish them with this treasure. Not contenting themselves with the Syriac text, they obtained a Greek Bible from the great church collection at Ephesus, young men were sent to Alexandria to acquire linguistic knowledge, and so finally, through several scholars, Mesrob at their head, who was obliged to invent the alphabet for it, and with the help of the Peshito, the Armenian Bible came into existence, in this case also the beginning of a native literature.

The source of our knowledge of this history (which in the native form is very legendary and obscure; see Petermann, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, Art. *Mesrob*) is Moses Chorenensis, who was himself concerned in the work: *Hist. arm.* (ed. W. and J. Whiston, Lond. 1736). Cf. La Croze, in the preceding section. J. E. Gerhard, *De statu Armeniæ ecclesiastico*, Jena, 1665. Several essays in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1835, I.; 1846, IV.; Neumann, *Geschichte der armen. Liter.*, p. 37 ff.; C. N. Pischon, in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, Dec. 1854.

As Mesrob's (Miesrob's) coadjutors are also mentioned the Patriarch Isaac, Joseph (Palnensis), and Eznak (Jo. Ekelensis). The date is carried back by some to the beginning of the fifth century. The O. T. is from the LXX.

Suspicion of alteration to accord with the Vulgate in the thirteenth century (on occasion of the union of the Armenian Church with the Latin), and in the first printed edition, prepared in Europe in 1666, proved by La Croze, *Thesaur. epist.*, III. 3, 69; II. 290; denied by R. Simon, *Hist. des versions*, p. 196 f.; Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, V. 76 ff. — Cf. in general A. Acoluthus, Preface to his edition of the Armenian Obadiah, 1680; Bredeneamp, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, IV. 623.

Catalogue of the earlier editions in Le Long, I. 136; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, III. 189, 377; *Nachr.*, IX. 189; Masch, II. 1, p. 169; Rosenmüller, III. 78, 153. Modern editions frequently at Venice (San Lazaro); see *Journal Asiat.*, III. 119; VII. 64; also St. Petersburg and Serampore, 1817. Cf. §§ 491, 495.

[Best edition by Zohrab, N. T., 1789; whole Bible, 1805, and again 1816; now published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. See Chas. Rieu, *MS. Collation of the Armenian Text of Zohrab, and Translation of the Various Readings, made for Tregelles*; Tregelles, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV., p. 3373.]

433. From Armenia Christianity pressed far up into the valleys of the Caucasus, and in the sixth century Georgia, the ancient Iberia, the chief province of that many-tongued land, received her own translation. Its earliest history has thus far remained unknown to European scholars, and its influence upon the mental development of this distant corner of the earth cannot as yet be estimated, since it is but very recently that war and tireless zeal in research have made this region again accessible.

Of the Georgian language and literature one may learn a little from F. C. Alter, *Ueber georg. Literatur*, Vienna, 1798; more from Brosset's essays in the *Journal Asiatique*, X. 351; *Nouveau Journal*, I. 434; II. 42.

The Georgian (in the vernacular, Grusinic) version of the Bible was printed at Moscow in 1743; rarely in Europe. It is acknowledged to have been altered or interpolated to accord with the Slavic. See Eichhorn, *Bibl.*,

I. 153 ; idem, *Asiatische Sprachkunde*, p. 341. In our times it has been circulated by the press of the St. Petersburg Bible Society, in two characters, the ecclesiastical and the civil.

434. Whether still other eastern countries obtained in this period, together with the Gospel, the means of hearing it publicly read in their own tongues, is unknown. The rhetorical effusions of Greek pulpit discourses cannot be accepted as historical evidence. And even if, here and there, in a dialect confined within comparatively narrow limits, the germ of a national intellectual development had been implanted in a translation of the Bible, it must soon have been stifled by the world-threatening inroad of the Arabic nationality, with which came in an epoch of important change for the subject of our history.

Chrysostom (c. 400), *Hom. I. in Joann.* : Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ μύρια ἕτερα ἔθνη εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβάλλοντες γλώτταν . . . ξμαθον. (Vol. VIII., p. 10, Montf.) Similarly, *Hom. 80 in Matth.* (Vol. VII., 767), though here not necessarily of written translation.

Much earlier still, Eusebius (in a fragment in Grabe, *Spicil. PP.*, II. 252), διὰ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς παντοία γλώττη ἑλληνικῆ τε καὶ βαρβάρῃ μεταβληθείσης εἰς ἐξάκουστον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι κ. τ. λ. Idem, *De laudibus Constant.*, ch. xvii. 5 : γραφὰς . . . καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης παντοία γλώσση βαρβάρων τε καὶ ἑλλήνων μεταβαλλομένας. . . .

Theodoret, *De nat. hom. serm. 5*, p. 555 . . . μετεβλήθη . . . εἰς πάσας τὰς γλώττας αἷς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη κέχρηται. Idem, *Græc. affect.*, p. 837 ff. : ἡ Ἑβραίων φωνὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων μετεβλήθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν εἰς πάσας τὰς γλώσσας αἷς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη κεχρημένα διατελεῖ. Anastasius Sinaita, *Homæg.*, ch. xxii. : ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τῶν οὐβ' (72, i. e., all) γλωσσῶν καὶ ἔθνῶν. Jerome, *In Ps. 86*. Other less definite assertions are quoted by Bianchini, *Prolegg. ad evang. quadrupl.*, I. 78 ; Bingham, *Origg. eccl.*, V. 91.

Even the Syrian and African versions owe their preservation not so much to native care as to European thirst for knowledge.

Altogether undeserving of mention (to despatch the whole matter in one word) are the strange conceits of later times, presented as history ; as for example an Armenian version by Chrysostom (Sixt. Senens., IV., p. 280), an Illyrian by Jerome (several writers, in Leusden, *Phil. hebr. mixt.*, p. 71), finally even a German, for which the Seythians mentioned in Col. iii. 11 are made to furnish language and surety (Ott and Breitingen, in Simler's *Sammlung von Urkunden*, I. 2, p. 365). Scarcely more worthy of notice is the reference of Epiphanius (*Hær.*, xxx. 3, I. 127) to a Hebrew version of John and Acts.

435. For soon after the first quarter of the seventh century occurred one of those revolutions not uncommon in the history of Asia, by which the aspect of a whole continent is changed. In this case, however, it was no ordinary national migration, no common expedition of conquest. A new faith was rising, with the rapidity of a hurricane, upon the ruins of a dead heathenism, and was overflowing also the distant Christian regions of the East, where, under the pressure of the most unholy political and theological confusion, all enthusiasm had become extinct,

and where the appropriate fruits of Christianity, civil order, intellectual and moral culture, and national wealth, had not yet been able to come to maturity. The Church fell once again under the domination of the enemies of the cross, and they, to her shame be it said, found themselves inwardly strong enough to tolerate her among them.

That Christianity suffered a serious and lasting defeat from Islam, and that not merely through the propagation of the latter by force of arms, cannot be denied. It is attested by a theological and national hatred which has endured for a thousand years. But to any one not of the Byzantine faith it seems a natural and necessary event. More shameful still is the fact that the just as undeniable decline of Islam is not the effect of a linguistically related Christian influence, and that the utter impotence and deep spiritual impoverishment of the Oriental Church is to be charged much more to the contemptible spirit of its former monastic scholasticism than to the scornful violence of the conquerors.

436. Many, beguiled or intimidated, turned to the new prophet; but all, as far as the sword of the Arab prevailed, were obliged gradually to change their ancestral tongues for the speech of the conqueror. The policy of the rulers, the poverty of the old idioms, already long felt, the fresh power and beauty of the new, combined to make this the most widely current language ever used as a medium of intercourse among men. The Syrian and Egyptian Christians forgot their mother tongues, and they soon became known only to the learned, finally were to be read only in the Bible, and were regarded as sacred, the vanishing inheritance of the priests.

Western Asia, as well as Europe, has seen its whole national civilization several times subjected to a complete revolution through foreign elements of superior power. But while much has been accomplished by science toward the clearer comprehension of the means and progress of the Hellenization of the Orient, much less has been done toward the knowledge of the gradual decline of Hellenism and the revival of oppressed nationalities on the Nile and Euphrates, and almost nothing at all toward the pragmatic history of the Arabicization of the Oriental peoples and Churches. Oriental historiography, and European so far as it depends upon it, is as yet scarcely anything more than an account of rulers and wars. Yet see J. v. Hammer, in the *Fundgrube des Orients*, I. 360; C. E. Oelsner, *Mohamed*, 1810; J. J. J. Döllinger, *Muhammed's Religion nach ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker*, 1838; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XIX. 327 ff.

The existing special works on Oriental Church History are not so much narrative as statistical in character, and have reference rather to modern conditions. Yet cf. J. H. Hottinger, *De statu christianorum et judeorum tempore orti Muhammedismi*, in his *Hist. or.*, p. 320 ff.; his *Archäologie*; Bingham, *Antiqq.*, III. 408 ff.

437. Hence it became necessary that Arabic versions of the Scriptures should be made, if the public reading was not to become a mere show, and this means of edification to be wholly cut off from the unlearned. Down to the time of Mohammed no such version had existed. True, there were many Chris-

tians scattered here and there over the whole peninsula, and in the south they even had a kingdom of their own for a time, though founded by the aid of foreign arms; but neither there nor anywhere else is the use of written records of Christianity mentioned; the question is rather whether the art of writing was known among the people at all; and as respects the Koran in particular, it betrays neither in thought nor expression any contact whatever with the New Testament, but in its biblical traditions only an acquaintance with later Jewish and Christian popular tradition and some altogether extra-ecclesiastical dogmatic misconceptions.

All that is supposable would be that the Jews may have translated the O. T. wholly or partially into Arabic before the time of Mohammed. But this cannot be proved from the Koran, and what we know of the writing of the Arabs at that period, together with the non-existence of Arabic synagogues, make it more than improbable. See in general S. H. Manger, *De fatis rel. chr. apud Arabes (Sylloge Schultens, II.)*. On Mohammed's acquaintance with Christianity, the modern critical works on him, especially Weil, *Leben Moh.*, 1843, and Gerock (§ 263).

For pre-Mohammedan versions, in particular of the N. T. : Hug, I. 422; Schott, p. 608; hesitatingly also Michaelis, I. 442. Against, Bertholdt, II. 649. Hammer (*Gemüdesaal moslim. Herrscher*, I. 57) takes it very ill in European scholars that they do not know that a cousin of Mohammed's first wife, Waraka ibn Naufal, a Christian and a priest, translated the Old and New Testaments from the Hebrew (!), — a story which he himself, doubtless, only learned from some modern Turkish writer. Cf. Weil, *Moh.*, pp. 47, 408. Most fully Sprenger, *Moh.*, I. 81 f., 124 ff., who is not averse from admitting earlier attempts at translation, which, however, were neither known to Mohammed nor used officially by any community of churches. Yet see Gildemeister, *De evv. arab.* (§ 438), p. 30; Nöldeke, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1858, p. 699.

The tradition (Lagarde, *Arab. Evv.*, p. xv.) that the Arabs themselves, in 640, invited the Patriarch John of Seville to translate the Gospels (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III. 2, p. 599), though unauthenticated, at least bears witness to the recollection that it had not been done before. Cf. also Gildemeister, *l. l.*, p. 44.

Cf. in general De Wette, Art. *Arab. Bibelüberss.*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, I. 5. Many points in this portion of the literary history are still obscure, or too hastily regarded as decided on the strength of single authorities. [See Juynboll's description of an Arabic MS. at Franeker, in *Letterkundige Bydragen*, Leyd. 1838; Wiseman, *On the Miracles of the N. T.*, in his *Essays*, I. p. 172 ff.; Tregelles, in *Smith's Dict.*, IV. p. 3372.]

438. The case was different after the conquest of those lands in which the two principal forms of monotheism thus far extant had longest had a home and an organized establishment. Here Jews and Christians, overtaken by the same loss of nationality, had a like ecclesiastical need, and vied with each other in the work. There is nothing said of a national work, of an undertaking watched over by the Church or committed to it by the ruling powers. According to the place of their origin the different attempts differed in extent, sources, and

aids. Few asked for the Greek text. The ancient version of the country was to most the immediate and most valued source, the true original. And since practical life accustomed itself to the new order of things more quickly than the sluggish learning, the old character must often be used for the new language.

Of the N. T. there has been printed :—

(1.) The Gospels, in various recensions (Rome, 1590, fol., in two editions, with and without Latin translation; *Bibl. Sacyana*, I. 879, p. 410; in the *N. T. Arab.*, ed. Erpenius, Leyd. 1616, 4<sup>o</sup>; in the Paris and London Polyglots; after a Vienna MS. by P. de Lagarde, L. 1864), from the original text. G. C. Storr, *De ev. arabicis*, Tüb. 1775. From the same original some derive the version of the other books printed in the Polyglots. (Hug.)

(2.) The other books, in Erpenius, from the Peshito so far as it extends. From the same source Eichhorn derives the text in the Polyglots. J. D. Michaelis, *Arabica versio Actuum erpeniana filia syriaca* (in the work cited in § 427); O. G. Tychsen, in the *Repert.*, X. 95.

(3.) The Apocalypse in Erpenius is said to have come from the Coptic. For a specimen of an Arabic version of the Pauline Epistles, from the same source, see Hug, I. 418.

For a fuller account of the editions see, in particular, Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, 1811, p. 339 ff.; Masch, II. 1, p. 103; also Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, III. 283; VI. 8; *Handb.*, V. 283; II. 294.—The earliest printed portion of the Arabic Bible was the Epistle to the Galatians, ed. Rutger Spey, Heid. 1583, with wooden types. See Hirt, *Orient. Bibl.*, I. 1; W. C. J. Chrystander, *De primo scripto arab. in Germ. excuso*, H. 1749. Other small specimens were: the Epistle of Jude, ed. Kirsten, Breslau, 1611 (Hirt, *l. c.*, III. 40); Epistle to Titus, Leyd. 1612; Epistles of John, Leyden and Paris, 1630; Epistle of James, Vit. 1694; Epistle to the Romans, Leyd. 1615. Cf. also § 431. For later editions see § 491.

There is still much in manuscript, and in part scarcely known or investigated, in various libraries, especially English, and the store has been considerably increased, particularly in recent times. There is much yet to be done in this field. J. Gildemeister, *De ev. in arabicum e simplici syriaca translatis*, Bonn, 1865.

As respects the O. T., we have nothing to do here with the many Jewish (and Samaritan) versions, especially of the Pentateuch, most of which are unprinted. That there were also Christian versions appears certain. H. E. G. Paulus, *Specimina VII. verss. Pent. arab. nondum editarum*, Jena, 1789; cf. in general, Schnurrer, *De pent. arab. polyglotto*, Tüb. 1780; Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, XVI., 62; O. G. Tychsen, in the *Repert.*, XI.; F. T. Riuk, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, III. 665; J. A. Theiner, *De Cod. pent.*, Vratisl. 1822. The Pentateuch edited by Erpenius, Leyd. 1622, 4<sup>o</sup>, is of Jewish origin. The other portions printed in the Polyglots are of Christian origin, and the translation goes back mostly to the Hexapla text, Job, Chronicles, and some of the historical books to the Syriac. Inasmuch as certain passages are said to be translated directly from the Hebrew, may we not perhaps think of a Christian revision of a Jewish translation? See E. Rödiger, *De orig. et indole arab. ll. V. T. hist. interpretationis*, Halle (1824), 1829. Versions of the Psalms are especially numerous, several of which have been edited, *e. g.*, Rome, 1614, 4<sup>o</sup>; *sine loco*, 1725, 8<sup>o</sup>; cf. § 439; Stark, *Psalm.*, I. 314; Döderlein, in the *Repert.*, II., IV.; Hirt, *Bibl.*, IV. 291; Alter, in the *Memor.*, V. 197. Cf. also the Introduction to *Bruchstücke einer Uebers. des Hiob*, by Wolf v. Baudissin, L. 1870.

Most of the portions printed appear to belong to later centuries, as is

natural. There is much matter belonging under this head still lying in manuscript in libraries, and the investigation is by no means to be regarded as closed.

Tradition of an Arabic version from the Latin by John of Seville in the eighth century; see Le Long, I. 112.

439. Under such circumstances, in order both to satisfy custom and to gain the purpose of the Church, the public reading very naturally came to be done in both languages, a custom probably reaching back into gray antiquity. For this purpose the two texts were written side by side, a practice which became a never failing source of emendations and interpolations, which made the extant copies much more unlike one another than they doubtless originally were. This usage appears most frequently in Egypt and among the Samaritans, the latter of whom, as Jews, do not belong in this history. Thus we recognize in this circumstance a new confirmation of the fact often exemplified in history, that there subsists between religion and language a bond hard to be loosed, and that even where the latter begins to give way, the former still stretches out her protecting hand over a declining nationality.

Oldest trace of double public reading, Neh. viii. 8. On the other hand 1 Cor. xiv. 27 can be brought into comparison only provided that by *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* a speaking in foreign languages must be understood. Further, see R. Simon, *Hist. des versions*, p. 6; Niebuhr, *Arabien*, p. 86.

Coptic-Arabic MSS. and even printed editions were still thought necessary in the eighteenth century (Psalter, Rome, 1744); but to-day the former language seems to have totally disappeared, even as a mere liturgical form. Yet the English Bible Society still prints editions in both languages. § 491.

440. On the other hand, it may be conjectured that the wide spread of the Arabic language bore the knowledge of the Christian Bible far beyond its former limits. True, perhaps not so often directly, as if Christian missions were favored by the rise of the Arabic empire; but rather by the Koran itself, which in many passages bears witness to the glory of Jesus, and carried the name of the Messiah into regions where it had never yet been heard. By this means the theologians of Islam first had their attention drawn to him, and, striving after thoroughness in their scholastic learning, took some pains to learn more of him. Popular legends attached themselves to him as to other biblical personages noticed by the Koran, and the Christian faith was not a thing so entirely foreign to the Mohammedan people, even where there had as yet been no close contact with any one who himself confessed it.

On the utterances of the Koran and of the Mohammedan theology respecting biblical personages, see, beside the principal work of Gerock (§ 263), G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845. Also *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1830, I.; Stäudlin's *Mag.*, I. 216; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum?* Bonn, 1833; Chudius, *Mohammed's Religion*, p. 433 ff. and in general the works mentioned in § 263.

441. Much later, when there had long been nothing left of the Arabian power but the deep-rooted religious heritage and the wavering shadow of a fallen royal house, and the swelling streams of younger peoples had begun to name the histories of Western and Central Asia after themselves, the fortunes of the Bible were also interwoven with the great changes of the nations. At the very time when mental stupor seems to have weighed heaviest upon Europe, the Mohammedan East had risen to its highest point in science and civilization, and the Modern Persian nation, in youthful strength, had created a language of its own, and with it a flourishing literature. This movement was not without influence upon the Church of Christ. Believers in the western provinces of Persia had thus far been content with the Syriac Bible, and their youth were instructed in Christian dogmatics at Edessa. But now they obtained their religious books in the language of the country, translating partly from the text better known to them, partly from the original.

Many portions of the O. T. have also been translated into Modern Persian by the Jews; see especially S. Munk, in Cahen's Hebrew-French Bible, IX. 134 ff.; E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *De vers. Pentateuchi persica*, L. 1813; C. D. Hassler, *Ueber eine pers. Uebers. der salom. Schriften* (in the *Studien*, 1829, II., etc.). Some of them are tolerably recent; of the N. T. only the Gospels are printed, in two recensions or translations: (1) from the Syriac, in the London Polyglot, with critical notes by Th. Gravius; Latin therefrom, with a literary-historical preface, by C. A. Bode, Helmst. 1751; (2) said to be from the original text, by A. Whelock, Oxf. 1652 fol.; but the text is changed from the former. Cf. also Mill, *Prolegg.*, 1369.

In the last century the celebrated Nadir Shah is said to have caused both the Jewish Law and the Christian Gospels to be translated into Persian (the latter by the Jesuits Duhan and Desvignes); see Abd-el-Kerim's *Pilgrimages*, French edition by Langlès, p. 89; Dorn, in the *Halle Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1848, II. 464.

442. Out of all connection with these great revolutions stands that which Christianity and the Bible experienced in the southernmost outpost of their extent in that day, in Ethiopia, although the events of Asia may have repeated themselves there upon a smaller scale. Not far from the fourteenth century a single conquering tribe impressed its laws and language upon the country. And so grew up, under similar conditions, out of the old Ethiopic the new Amharic version. But scarcely more than the name is known in Europe, and in the country itself it was either of so little use or so soon lost that even the missionary zeal of modern times has not been able to support it.

Fragment in the library at Giessen, see Schmidt, *Bibl. für Kritik und Exegese*, I. 307. But whether it belonged to a complete N. T., and whether the translation was made by natives from the Ethiopic or by modern mis-

sionaries or their pupils, would be hard to say. On the linguistic conditions of the country, see Ludolf, *Hist. ath.*, I. 15 ; Wahl, *Gesch. der morgenl. Spr.*, p. 501 ff.

Bruce (*Travels*) gives a specimen of seven alleged Abyssinian translations of the Bible (Cant. i. 1-6), among which are the Gheez (Ethiopic usually so-called) and Amharic, and asserts that he obtained the whole book of Canticles in this form from extant church versions made by native priests. This sounds more than fabulous, and has not been confirmed, so far as I know, by later travelers.

443. Turning from the East to the North, we enter a field upon which, inasmuch as its boundaries are not sharply marked off by nature, the Greek and Latin Churches have often contended, in a certain sense, even in the little sphere with which we are now engaged. Moreover, Christianity here came into contact with so much intellectual and physical barbarism that its spread was but slow, and the roving character of the masses, toward whom it directed itself, may have been another reason why it did not so often find occasion to express itself in the written word. Nor is it to be forgotten that at the time when the northern peoples were converted, from the Saxon expeditions of Charlemagne down to those of the German lords, the Bible had receded quite into the background in the Church, and in preaching to the heathen was generally subordinated to more effectual means. We find but three translations of the Bible for northern peoples in the whole period, and these separated by long intervals.

Of these three we leave one, the Anglo-Saxon, aside for the present, partly because it is indirect, being derived from the Latin, partly because it has more the character of the versions of the second period, and therefore must be placed in close connection with them.

444. First of all the German tribes, the Goths, after their armed migration, had entered the Roman Empire, and there won, beside the possession of lands and the prospect of the inheritance of the Cæsars, Christian blessings and hopes. They were settled upon the lower Danube when their bishop, Ulfilas (so at least the relators of his history express the foreign name), after the middle of the fourth century, translated the Scriptures for them from the Greek, and invented the necessary alphabet. Whether he himself completed the work is unknown, — nay even, whether it ever was completed ; it is certain that it afterward accompanied the people on their march to the westward, and there was unable to escape the influence of the Latin lectionaries. The Gothic nationality has perished, but its Bible, a precious discovery of modern times, has become the indispensable starting point for German science in the history of the German language.

The meagre and contradictory information of ancient writers (Soerates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Jornandes) respecting Ulfilas (also Vulfila, Wöl-



fel?) are collected and estimated in the critical editions (§ 445), and in part in the following monographs : G. F. Heupel, *De Ulfila seu versione evv. gothica*, Vit. 1693 ; J. Esberg, *Ulfilas Gothorum episcopus*, Holm. 1700 ; J. G. Wachter, *De lingua cod. argentei*, with notes by J. Ihre, all printed together in J. Ihre, *Scripta versionem ulfanam et l. mesogothicam illustrantia, emendata, aucta*, ed. A. F. Büsching, B. 1773.

J. H. Stuss, *De versione evv. gothica*, Gotha, 1733 ; C. Schöttgen, *De antiquissimis l. germanicæ monumentis gothico-theoticis*, Stargard, 1733, together with Heupel's essay and the editor's comments thereon, printed in J. Oelrichs' *Germania Literata*, I., II.

In particular : *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila ; Bruchstücke aus dem vierten Jahrh.*, edited by G. Waitz, Hann. 1840. Cf. J. Massmann, in his edition of the *Skeireins* (Gothic Commentary on John, Munich, 1834), p. 91 ff. and in general the Prolegomena in the editions. S. Davidson, in the *Theological Review*, Apr. 1869. Cf. especially also A. Rassmann, *Art. Gothische Literatur*, in the Halle *Encykl.* The character has points of similarity and relationship on the one side with the Greek, on the other also with the Runic. [W. Bessel, *Das Leben des Ulfilas, u. die Bekehrung der Gothen zum Christenthum*, Gött. 1860 ; W. Krafft, *Art. Ulfila*, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* ; cf. his *Die Anfänge d. christl. Kirche bei d. germ. Völkern*, 1854, I. ; Tregelles, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV. p. 3377 ; *Edinb. Review*, Oct. 1877.]

Of the Acts, Epistle to the Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse nothing has thus far been discovered, of the O. T. only a few leaves from Ezra and Nehemiah. The statement of ancient writers that Ulfilas did not translate the books of the Kings because they have too much to say of wars sounds like a fable. Traces of the Pentateuch and Psalms have been pointed out in the *Skeireins*. The Arianism of the Goths had no influence upon the version. G. L. Krafft, *De fontibus Ulfilæ arianismi*, Bonn, 1860.

On the statement that the Gothic version was derived from the Greek text, but afterward changed in accordance with the Itala, see E. Bernhardt *Krit. Unterss. über die goth. Bibelübers.*, Meis. 1864, Elberf. 1868, 2 Pts.

445. After the memory of this work had been lost even to scholars for centuries, it suddenly appeared again at the end of the Thirty Years' War, and a considerable fragment of it fell by accident into the hands of the very people which claims a close historical relationship with these old Goths, just as many a valuable portion of the German territory itself came into the possession of the proper vindicators of its freedom. Even the subsequent history of the book is strange enough. The treasure has happily been increased in more recent times by further discoveries in Germany and Italy, and until the Spanish libraries are thoroughly searched the hope of further enrichment should not be given up, unless, perchance, the separation of the Western Goths from the Eastern was greater in ancient times than has hitherto been supposed.

I. *Codex argenteus* (from the silver binding), carried away by the Swedes from Prague, brought (*sic*) from Stockholm by a Dutch scholar (Is. Voss), bought back, now at Upsala ; contains the four Gospels, with considerable gaps, increased in modern times (now 187 leaves of the original 330), on purple parchment, with silver letters. Editions by F. Junius, Dortr. 1665, 2 vols. 4° ; G. Stiernhjelm, Stockh. 1671, 4° ; E. Lye, Oxf. 1750, fol., all with philological apparatus. New edition by A. Upstrom, Ups. 1854, 4° ; Mat-

thew only, by J. A. Schmeller, Stuttg. 1827. — Also J. Gordon, *Anim. critica in vers. goth.* (in Büsching's *Sammlung*) ; Knittel, *Krit. Bemerkk.*, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, VII. 783 ; Schmidt's *Bibl.*, II. 378. The MS. probably originated in Italy, in the fifth or sixth century. It has the Euthalian divisions. It must have come to Prague in the sixteenth century (and not in the Thirty Years' War) from the monastery Werden an der Ruhr, where several scholars saw it at that time and even took away specimens of it. Recently the *Cod. argent.* has been reproduced photographically.

II. Fragments of the Epistle to the Romans, discovered by F. A. Knittel, in a palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel (*Codex Carolinus*). Announcement in a programme (1758) ; edition (with other biblical fragments, § 392), Br. 1763, 4°, and with notes by J. Ihre, Ups. 1763. — Complete edition of what was known at that time, with Introduction, Glossary, and Grammar, by F. C. Fulda and J. C. Zahn, Weissenf. 1805, 4°.

III. Fragments of all the Pauline Epistles, indeed with comparatively slight gaps, some additions to the text of the Gospels, and a few fragments of Ezra and Nehemiah, discovered by A. Mai and C. O. Castiglione in the *Bibliotheca ambrosiana* at Milan, in palimpsests ; edited in separate parts, 1819, 1829, 1834, 1835, 1839. That first discovered also by J. C. Orelli, Zürich, 1822. — Complete critical edition of all that is extant, by H. C. von der Gabelentz and J. Löbe, with philological apparatus, Altenb. 1836–46, 3 vols. 4° ; J. F. Massmann, Stuttg. 1857, 8° [E. Bernhardt, Halle, 1875, the Gothic accompanied by the Greek, with full critical notes]. Manual editions by I. Gangengigl, Passau, 1848 and freq. F. L. Stamm, Paderb. 1858. [7th ed. by M. Heyne, with grammar and lexicon, Paderb. 1878.] — Critical collection for the improvement of the text, in A. Upström's *Fragmenta gothica*, Ups. 1861.

[*The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns, with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, by J. Bosworth, assisted by Geo. Waring, 2d ed. Lond. 1874, with a fac-simile of the *Codex Argenteus* ; *Ulfilas : Evangelium Marci grammatisch erläutert*, by R. Müller and H. Höpfe, Berlin, 1881, not accurate ; W. W. Skeats, *The Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic*, with grammar, notes, and glossary, Oxf. 1882, excellent.]

446. Five hundred years after the time of Ulfilas, two Greek missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, came to Moravia, to the Slavs, and brought them together with the message of salvation a written alphabet and the Bible. Thus the ancient legends, with various embellishments, and after them Western European scholars, unskilled in the language. But there is much in the records that is obscure and contradictory, and we are not competent to judge in the matter. Modern Slavic scholars say that Cyril, previously called Constantine, began about 860 to convert the Bulgarians, and that he was soon called to Moravia for the same purpose. The language which he had learned to use would have been the Servo-Bulgarian dialect, and could have been related only in a general way to the West-Slavic. The character which he adapted to it is still known as the Cyrillic, but is no longer in common use.

Yet even this is somewhat doubtful, inasmuch as two ancient alphabets among different Slavic tribes contend for the honor of having first served the Church, the Glagolitic, among the Slovenes in Croatia and toward the

coast regions, and the Cyrillie, among the Servians and Russians. Cf. Miklosich, Art. *Glagolitsch*, in the *Halle Encykl.*

J. P. Kohl, *Introd. et rem lit. Slavorum*, Alt. 1729; J. Dobrowsky, *Slowanka. Zur Kenntniss der slaw. Literatur*, Prag, 1814; idem, *Cyrill und Method, der Slaven Apostel*, Prag, 1823.

447. How much he really translated is uncertain, since the extant manuscripts of the biblical work ascribed to him date centuries after his time. It may very probably have been at first the usual church readings, since it is added that he also translated the rest of the books necessary for divine service and instituted worship throughout in the language of the people. Yet other traditions speak of the complete Gospels, of the Epistles, the Psalter, and even of the whole Old Testament. The latter, however, can by no means be proved from the extant documents, and of the New Testament the Apocalypse was certainly lacking. For the rest, this ancient, so-called ecclesiastical Slavic version, whether prepared by one hand or several, in the course of a long period, is still the inheritance of several nationalities, in particular of the Russians, and although long since unintelligible to the people, is regarded as sacred from its very age, and is in a manner the symbol of the original national unity of the widely spread stock.

Cf. especially Eichhorn, *Eibl.*, V. 104; Hug, I. 492; Dobrowsky, in Michaelis, *Neue Bibl.*, VII. 155, and in Griesbach's *N. T.*, I. 127; II. 32; La Croze, *Epp.*, III. 200; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, I. 481; III. 477; Henderson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 67 ff., in which is an extensive catalogue of modern editions; Matthæi, *De vers. slavica Apocalypseos*, in his edition of the *N. T.*, XII. 343.

It was from the first and to an especial degree the lot of the Slavic Christians and churches to be drawn hither and thither and divided by the rivalry of Roman and Greek influence. The former showed itself hostile to everything which could favor a national development (notoriously in the time of Huss). Pope John VIII. (Letter to Duke Swätopluk of Moravia; Baronius, *Ad ann 880*) forbade the reading of the mass in Slavic and gave command that *propter majorem honorificentiam evangelium latine legatur, postmodum slav. l. translatum annuncietur*. In the tenth century the Slavic service seems to have ceased there. Gregory VII. (*Epp.*, VII. 15, *Ann. 1080*) expressly forbids the use of the non-Latin Bible. See Hegelmaier, *Geschichte des Bibelverbots*, p. 101 ff.

The Old Slavic version came to Russia, with Christianity, about the year 988; but it suffered many changes there both in language and text; the printed editions generally give its latest form. It is disputed whether, upon the subsequent subjection of the West-Slavic Church to the Roman see, the translation was obliged also to become the victim of the Latin text.

The oldest known MS. of the Slavic version is the so-called Ostromir Evangelistary, written about 1056 for the Knäs Ostromir of Novgorod, in Cyrillie characters. Edited by Wostokoff, St. Pet. 1843. According to some, the famous MS. of the Gospels at Rheims, which was used to administer the oath at the coronation of the French kings (*Texte du Sacre*), the language of which was not known until modern times, is very nearly as old. Editions by Silvestre, P. 1843; by Hanka, Prag, 1846.

First edition of the Gospels, 1512; of the Bible, Ostrog, 1581. — The N.

T. revised according to the Greek, Wilna, 1623, and freq. — A new recension, undertaken by order of Peter the Great, did not appear until 1751. — There are also later editions in which it is printed synoptically with the Modern Russian version. (§ 490.)

448. For the history of Christianity in general and in particular for the history of the circulation of the Bible, what was done in the West is of by far the most importance, and to this we now turn our attention. Here the conditions were altogether peculiar. From the Adriatic to the ocean, and from Mt. Atlas to the North Sea, at the time when the Gospel made its way thither, every one who wished to be or become anything spoke Latin. The ancient vernacular languages had disappeared altogether from the cities, all the more because these in many cases contained a ruling population composed of military colonies and other accessions from Italy. Even in the country they were obliged to retreat and took refuge in the mountains and in the most western and remote corners. To the learned, and to whole cities in southern Italy, the Greek was still familiar. When, therefore, the writings of the Apostles began to be known in wider circles, many in this region still understood the original text, or there were men who were able to interpret it upon the spot.

Cf. the notes on §§ 49 and 457. — The conceits of Catholic Apologists (Serarius, Bianchini, Sabatier, and others), of a Latin version of the Bible by an Apostle, in particular by Paul, in the time of Nero, may fitly be passed over in silence; yet they have been surpassed by Protestants, who could not conceive even the most ancient mission without the Bible at once made accessible to the people. Cf. § 434.

449. But in Spain, Gaul, and Africa, where the knowledge of Greek was rare or wholly wanting, large churches probably did not arise very long before the middle of the second century; there was therefore no necessity of having a translation for public reading in assemblies before that time; aside from the fact that the practice of public reading is itself probably of later origin in the West. But at the end of this century there is certainly a current Latin version spoken of, though where it may have arisen is a question which can no longer be answered. The exceedingly bad language of all the portions extant points to remote provinces or a low grade of society. There is nothing impossible in the supposition, considering the lack of hierarchical unity at that time, that there were from the first several Latin versions; though perhaps Africa has the best claim to the honor of the first work.

In the lack of contemporary testimony there is much room here for conjecture. The oldest ecclesiastical writer of the West, Tertullian, speaks of a current Latin version, which he contrasts with the Greek text (*authenticus*); *De monogam.*, ch. xi.

It is conceivable, though wholly improbable, that the Jews had already

undertaken a translation (Is. Voss, *De oracc. Sibyll.*, ch. xiii.); that here and there single books may have been translated, and in this way a complete work may have arisen gradually (Mill, *Prolegg.*, § 511, and others). Our conception of the origin of the ancient versions ought not to be dominated by reference to the possible needs of private edification, which in non-Hellenic communities probably only came in as a consequence of a public and ecclesiastical custom. But to suppose public reading in Latin to have been introduced before 150 is inadmissible, since it had probably only just begun even in Greek at that time. That the Apostle Peter had the liturgy performed at Rome in Latin is doubtless an idea of Pope Innocent I. (Mausi, III. 1028), but it is not history. The Roman bishops of the earliest period have Greek names almost without exception.

Cf. on the whole subject, beside the Introductions, P. Pithæus, *De latinis bibliorum interpretibus*, in the *Critici ss.*, VI. ; J F Lebrét, *De usu vers. lat. in eccl. chr.*, Tüb. 1786 ; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, IX. 116 ff. ; G. Riegler, *Krit. Geschichte der Vulgata*, Sulzb. 1820 ; Leander van Ess, *Pragmatische Geschichte der Vulgata*, Tüb. 1824 ; O. F. Fritzsche, Art. *Vulgata*, in Herzog's *Encykl.* ; F. Kaulen, *Gesch. der Vulgata*, Mayence, 1868. [H. Rösch, *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen im christl. Afrika zur Zeit des Augustinus*, in the *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1867, p. 606 ff. ; L. Diestel, *Gesch. d. A. T. in der christl. Kirche*, Jena, 1869, p. 94 ff. ; L. Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus u. die Itala des Augustinus*, Munich, 1879 ; Abbot, in Mitchell's *Critical Handbook*, 1880, p. 133 ff. ; O. F. Fritzsche, Art. *Lat. Bibelübersetzungen*, in the new edition of Herzog's *Encykl.*, VIII. 1881, p. 433 ff. ; Westcott, Art. *Vulgata*, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV. p. 3451 ff. ; Westcott and Hort, *Gk. Test.*, II. p. 78 ff. ; Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 144 ff.]

450. Yet this view of an original plurality of Latin versions cannot be firmly established historically, from lack of sufficient evidence from the following period. For the existing evidence, consisting properly only of occasional quotations of isolated passages of Scripture for theological purposes, and in comparatively few authors, never rises to the value of literary-historical information. It is only certain that in the second half of the fourth century there was general complaint of the great diversity of the copies, among which no one could any longer find his way, while at the same time the knowledge of Greek was becoming more and more rare. But as to the cause of this diversity opinions were divided. Some, holding to the appearance, referred it to an actual, original plurality of independent works ; others, noticing also the signs of relationship, explained it from later disfigurements. None thoroughly investigated the matter.

Augustine, *De doct. chr.*, ii. 11 : *Qui scripturas ex hebræa lingua in græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo* (therefore more than seventy, infers Michaelis, I. 471 !). *Ut enim cuiquam primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque lingue habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari*, etc. ; in the following pages repeatedly : *interpretum numerositas, infinita varietas, plures interpretes*. Other passages are collected by Van Ess, p. 10 ff. In and of themselves they might be understood to refer to arbitrary alterations made in an already existing Latin version to accord with the Greek, and would not necessarily refer to new and complete works ; and so they are conceived, e. g., by Reusch, *Tüb.*

*Quartalschr.*, 1862, II., especially with reference to the passage *Contra Faustum*, xi. 2 : *Si de fide ex. questio verteretur, vel ex aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina connevit nostra dubitatio diiudicaretur, vel si ibi quoque codices variarent plures paucioribus aut vetustiores recentioribus praeferrentur, et si adhuc esset incerta varietas procedens lingua, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur*, which, however, is by no means decisive, since here the texts are set over against one another in threefold antithesis, with respect to language, with respect to age and number of witnesses, and with respect to country. Cf. § 452.

On the contrary, Jerome, *Præf. in ev. ad Damasum* : *Si latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondebunt : quibus ? tot sunt enim exemplaria pene quod codices. Si autem veritas est quaerenda de pluribus, cur non ad graecam originem revertentes, ea quae vel a vitiosis interpretibus male reddita, vel a praesumptoribus imperitis emendata perversius, vel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata corrigamus ?* Here *exemplaria* evidently means recensions, forms of the text, and Jerome cannot mean to say that there were as many different versions as MSS. *Præf. in Josuam* : *apud latinos tot ex. quot codices et unusquisque pro suo arbitrio vel addidit vel subtraxit quod ei visum est.* Cf. several other passages (collected in Van Ess, *l. c.*), in which this diversity is represented not as something original, but as a *vitiositas, vitium, corruptio, depravatio*, etc., which is partly charged upon the copyists alone.

Thus there is everywhere the same fundamental diversity of view, one speaks of a *copia interpretum*, another of a *varietas exemplarium*, which is often overlooked. If, in the lack of other witnesses, we were obliged to give one of these two the preference, the choice could not be a hard one. The same diversity of views still exists : Michaelis, Jahn, Riegler, Van Ess, De Wette, and many others, agree with Augustine ; the editors of the Itala, Semler, Wetstein, Eichhorn, etc., hold to Jerome. Yet the more coherent portions of Latin texts of ancient date come to light, the more the scale inclines in favor of the view of a plurality of independent works.

451. Notwithstanding all this uncertainty of judgment as to the facts of the case, it was customary, even in antiquity, to speak of one Latin version. This came about partly unconsciously, in contrast with the original text, partly because of its being inferred respecting that which was used in public reading from the idea of the unity of the Church. Many also may have had in mind chiefly only that recension which they generally used. A critical comparison of many copies we ought not to expect in the West at that time. Then it is more than probable that in process of time most of the new copies prepared were taken from such as had gained a certain authority by ecclesiastical use, so that here, as in the case of the original Greek text, a local coloring must have resulted. Nevertheless, all these phenomena do not suffice to decide the points in question.

The expression *communis, vulgata editio* (Greek *κοινή ἔκδοσις*), which occurs frequently in Jerome, and even in later writers (Van Ess, p. 24 ff.), always denotes the LXX. in distinction from the Hebrew text, perhaps also from the Hexapla recension. Over against it, when speaking of any particular passage or reading, stood the formula *latinus interpres, latini codices*, still more frequently *in latino*, and the knowledge that there were several versions probably came to most only with the fame of the subsequent work of Jerome,

which was a *nova translatio* by the side of the *vetus, i. e.*, the pre-Jeromic, which, whatever may have been its origin, all the more certainly became, in the thought of theologians, a single one, when there came to be another whose origin the whole world knew, which could be distinguished from it by the most unlearned.

452. To this ancient confusion modern times have the merit of having added another element. There has been discovered, in that author who has so much to say of the alleged manifold Latin versions, a name for one of them, of very doubtful authority, which, if genuine and correct, allows the assumption of similar names for the others. For the name *Versio Itala*, if accepted, must evidently both decide in favor of the original plurality of versions, and fix the nativity of the one preferred by Augustine. It is noteworthy that even those scholars use this name who would designate by it the single translation whose existence they recognize. But on the other hand many defenders of the opposite opinion have used the same name for each and every remnant of the Old Latin Bible, which nevertheless possibly, and according to them probably, are of different origin, and of which perhaps not a single one belonged to that Itala which the Bishop of Hippo had in mind!

Augustine, *De doctr. chr.*, ii. 15: *In ipsis interpretationibus itala cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.*

*Itala* is not a proper name, and can only be contrasted with an *Africana*, etc., and designate a version which arose in Italy, or was contained in the copies of Italian churches. It is certainly noteworthy (1) that neither Augustine nor any one else uses the name farther; (2) that he has so unusual a form, instead of *Italica*, as, for example, even Bianchini thought it necessary to emend it; (3) that any one in Augustine's time should still have been in doubt about the choice of an official text, and should have preferred a foreign one to a domestic. Hence the conjecture that the text is corrupt, and that perhaps *usitata* (Potter) is to be read. (Bentley's conjecture, *illa . . . que* is inapt.) Nevertheless, upon Augustine's view of the plurality of versions, it is not remote to conceive a local distinction of copies. See Lachmann's Preface to the first part of his larger edition of the N. T.

The following period seems to have had an even less clear conception of the state of the case, since, for example, Isidorus Hispal., *Etym.*, VI. 5, refers the above phrase of Augustine without further comment to the translation of Jerome. Cf. § 455. I formerly expressed the conjecture (which even Fritzsche, *l. c.*, p. 429, does not exactly reject) that Augustine may have meant by his *Itala* the Hexapla edition of Jerome (§ 454). Cf. Augustine, *Ep.* 28, II., p. 61, Bass.

453. In this state of the case a judgment respecting the character and value of the extant portions of the pre-Jeromic version is very precarious, and to a certain extent inadmissible. It will always be safest if every such judgment is limited to the particular fragment or manuscript in hand, since the question whether several or all of them belong together will always be a doubtful one. Yet so much as this may be said in general, that in these ancient attempts at translation a degree of liter-

alness prevails which violates in many ways the well-known genius of the Latin language, but which in its unclassic excrescences and numerous solecisms perhaps indicates not so much an extra-Italian nativity as a sphere of origin removed from higher and metropolitan culture, and so indirectly a somewhat later date. Besides, they doubtless grew up in part from a badly confused text, and in part were further corrupted.

Of the O. T. only a few books have been preserved complete (in particular the Psalms, Esther, and several Apocrypha), of others only fragments. Of the N. T., on the contrary, nearly all can be gathered together, partly from Latin, partly from Græco-Latin (§ 392) codices. Of the latter the most celebrated are, for the Gospels, *D*; for the Acts, *D, E*; for the Pauline Epistles, *D, E, G*. Of the former, for the most part only MSS. of the Gospels are known or important: *Codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Brizianus, Bobbiensis* (from the monastery of Bobbio, now at Turin), *Corbeiensis, Colbertinus*, at Paris, *Rhedigerianus*, at Breslau, and two at Vienna. See on these the monographs of Martianay, Ruggieri, Garbelli, Bianchini, in the latter's edition of the Gospels, to be mentioned below. Cf. idem, *Vindicicæ can. ss.*, Rome, 1740, fol.; J. E. Scheibel, *Codex Rhedigerianus*, Br. 1763; D. Schulz, *De cod. rhedigeriano*, Br. 1814; and the Prolegomena of the editions.

Editions: (Masch, II. 3, p. 6 ff.; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, III. 173; Riegler, *l. c.*, p. 41 f.; Eichhorn, IV. 373) *Bibliorum SS. latinæ versiones antiquæ seu vetus Itala cett. quæcumque reperiri potuerunt*, ed. P. Sabatier, Rheims, 1743, 3 vols., fol., ed. 2, 1749; *Evangeliarum quadruplex latinæ vers. ant. s. veteris italicæ*, ed. Jos. Bianchini, Rome, 1749, 2 vols., fol. (the text synoptic, from *Vercell.*, *Veron.*, *Brix.*, *Corb.*) with many fac-similes of ancient MSS.; *Cod. Vercellensis* separately, by J. A. Iriens, Mail. 1748, 4°; *Evangelium palatinum ineditum s. reliquæ textus ev. lat. antehieron. versionis ex cod. palatino (Vindobon.)*, ed. C. Tischendorf, 1847, 4°. Also the Gospel of Matthew (and Epistle of James), ed. Martianay, from the *Cod. Corb.*, P. 1695, 12°; Mark and Luke from a Vienna MS. by Alter, in the *N. Repert.*, III., and in the *Memorab.*, VII.; the Gospels from the *Cod. Rhediger.*, by F. Haase, Bresl. 1865 f.; the Acts from *Cod. Laud.*, by Hwiid, in the work cited in § 417; Matthew and Mark from *Cod. Bobb.*, by Fleck, in his *Anecdota*, together with fragments from the O. T.; Leviticus and Numbers from a *Cod. Ashburnham.*, Lond. 1868, fol.; fragments from the Prophets by Münter, from a Würzburg MS., Hafn. 1819; by E. Ranke, many fragments from the covers of ancient MSS. of Fulda, Darmst. and Stuttg. 1856, 1858; *Curiensia fragmenta ev. Luc.*, Mb. 1872; others in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, III.; especially his *Würzburger Palimpseste*, with fragments from the Pentateuch and Prophets, Vienna, 1871, 4°; smaller fragments from Ezekiel and Proverbs, by A. Vogel, from Austrian MSS., 1868. [Matthæi, *Codex Boernerianus*, Mis. 1791; Tischendorf, *Codex Claromontanus*, 1852; Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*, Camb. 1859; *Codex Bezae*, Camb. 1864; Ziegler, *Itala-fragmente*, Marb. 1876; Belsheim, *Codex Aureus* (Gospels; text mixed, largely Vulgate), Christiania, 1878; *Die Apostelgesch. u. die Offenb. Johannis in einer alten lat. Uebersetzung aus dem Gigas Librorum*, Christiania, 1879; Ulysse Robert, *Codex Lugdunensis* (Pentateuch), P. 1881]

Also: H. Rönseh, *Das N. T. Tertullians aus s. Schriften zusammengestellt*, L. 1871. — In Semler's *Paraphrasen* also (§ 573) there is a specimen of pre-Jeromic versions. — For editions of the Psalms, see § 454. For other editions of particular MSS., § 392. Other fragments are mentioned by Fritzsche, *l. c.*, p. 431 f.; Reusch, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1872, III.

The writings of the older Latin Church Fathers naturally constitute an almost inexhaustible mine of fragments of pre-Jeromic versions, from which



the already rich collection of Sabatier might still be increased; but in the use of his collection mistakes have been made in more than one respect, from the fact that even Jerome's own works have been used for it, and no attention whatever has been paid to the geographical relations of the witnesses.

It cannot be proved from the bad Latin alone that the version must have had its origin outside of Italy; for in that case it would still be inconceivable that it should have been read there without revision and improvement. Moreover the MSS. named indicate plainly to the most recent critics different recensions, which they call the Italian and the African, beside which, however, mixed texts are also assumed. Cf. also Semler, *Obs. ad hist. latinarum recensionum N. T.*, in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 583 ff.

Philological studies on the Old Latin version have been published by H. Rönisch, *Das Sprachidiom der Itala und Vulgata*, Marb. 1869 [2d ed., revised, 1875], and in several articles in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1869, III.; 1870, I.; 1871, IV. Cf. also Kaulen, p. 131 ff.

454. This corruption and uncertainty of the copies at last became so great that the Church was compelled to turn her attention to the matter seriously. And at just the right time the Roman Bishop Damasus turned with the important commission to the last Church teacher of the West who had linguistic knowledge, industry, and leisure enough not to be altogether unequal to it. Jerome undertook the task, as thankless as it was difficult, and devoted twenty years to it. But often timidly expunging only the grossest errors, often hastily letting it stand when approximately correct, he brought the work to no thoroughly satisfactory result, and therefore soon determined to make a translation of his own from the original text, of which, however, only the Old Testament was completed, and for which, although it was his best work, he received only abuse and persecution.

Jerome began about 382 with the N. T.: *Novum Testamentum græcæ fidei reddidi* (*Catal. Scr. eccl.*, 135), and describes the work as great and perilous. *Præf. in Ev. ad Damasum: Novum opus me facere cogis ex veteri ut post ex. SS. toto orbe dispersa quasi arbiter sedeam et, quia inter se variant, quæ sint illa quæ cum græca consentiant veritate decernam. Pius labor sed periculosa præsumtio. . . . Quis enim doctus pariter et indoctus, cum in manus volumen assumerit et a saliva quam semel imbibit viderit discrepare quod lectitat, non statim erumpat in vocem me falsarium, me clamitans esse sacrilegum qui audeam in vet. ll. aliquid mutare, addere, corrigere. . . ?* This prospect made him shrink; he chose *codices qui non ita multum a lectionis latine consuetudine discrepant*; and *ita calamo temperavimus ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerunt.*

Then he revised the Psalms, first after the common Alexandrian text (*cursum — and so ne nimia novitate lectoris studium terreremus*), afterward according to the Hexapla, with the critical marks of Origen (see *Prol. 2 in Ps.*; *Ep. ad Suniam et Fretelam de emend. Ps.*; *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, ii. 24). Both recensions are still extant, the former known as the *Psalterium Romanum* and the latter as the *Psalterium Gallicanum*; both frequently printed, e. g., *Psalterium quincuplex dom. gall. hebr. (i. e., translated directly) vetus (i. e., according to the Itala) conciliatum*, ed. J. Faber Stapulensis, P. 1513, fol. Cf. Stark, *Davidis carmina*, I. 254.

He went on with the latter work ; but it is uncertain whether it was completed (*In Tit.*, ch. iii. : *Nobis curæ fuit omnes V. T. libros quos Adamantius (Origen) in hexapla digesserat . . . ex ipsis authenticis emendare*) or only extended over Job, the books of Solomon, and Chronicles, of which he speaks, *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, l. c., and to which special prefaces have been preserved. Yet this recension may have been lost, over which he seems to be mourning in *Ep. 94 ad Augustin.* : *pleraque prioris laboris fraude amisimus*. Only Job has been printed. Strabo seems to know a translation of Jeremiah from the Greek (§ 455). For the rest, nothing is more certain than that Jerome in his Commentaries on the O. T. abandons the extant Latin text in numberless instances. Cf. *Prol. ad Salom.*

Finally, he applied himself to a new translation from the original text (a gigantic undertaking for that time), with his own knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish aid, yet throughout more dependent on the LXX. than he is willing to acknowledge ; he complains very naively (*Comm. III. in Gal.*) : *omnem sermonis latini elegantiam et venustatem stridor hebraicæ lectionis sordidavit*, etc. The N. T. was not translated at all, nor the Apocrypha.

On the attacks which Jerome had to suffer because of his work see *Rufini invective in Hieron. libri II.* ; *Hieronymi apologia adv. Rufinum libri III.* ; his correspondence with Augustine, extracts from which in Van Ess, p. 110 ff. Cf. also the letter *Ad Pammachium*.

The genuine (?) work of Jerome in all its forms under the title : *S. Hieronymi divina bibliotheca antehac inedita complectens translationes latinas V. et N. T. cum ex ebraicis tum e græcis fontibus derivata*, etc., forms the first volume of the Benedictine edition of his *Opera*, ed. Martianay, P. 1693, 5 vols., fol. The very interesting *Prologi* to the separate books are found in all the older Latin editions of the Bible.

Cf. in general : L. Engelstoft, *Hieronymus Stridonensis interpres criticus exegeta*, etc., Hafn. 1797 ; D. v. Coelln, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. 8 ; Ondin, *Scriptt. eccl.*, I. 789 ff. ; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XI. ; O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus*, Gotha, 1865, p. 99 f., 179 f., 207 f., 342 f. ; A. J. Binterim, *De curis philol. Hieron. in N. T.*, in his *Propempticum de lingua N. T.*, 1822, p. 113 ; Petitdidier, *Diss.*, p. 81 ; Morin, *Exercitt. bibl.*, p. 181 ff. ; J. Hasæus, *Vindicie vulg. interpr.* (in the *Bibl. Brem.*, IV.) ; Semler, Preface to the German translation of R. Simon, III. ; Calmet, *Bibl. Unterss.*, V. 240 ; Fleck, *Disq. generatis de vers. vulg.*, before his edition of the Vulgate. — On the relation of Jerome's translation to the so-called *Itala*, cf. Bianchini, *Vindicie canon. SS.*, Rome, 1740, and against him J. C. Mittenzwey, *Diss. antiblanchiniana*, L. 1760. Cf. also §§ 323, 517.

455. Only gradually did the work of the learned and anxiously orthodox monk of Bethlehem make its way against the jealously opposing spirit of the age. Rome could only foster and cherish it in silence, not yet authoritatively introduce it, and even Gregory the Great, to whom it owes its final adoption, only introduced it by strategy, and did not accomplish his object directly by means of a decretal. Notwithstanding the partially hostile relations of the old and new Bible, which continued for centuries, there could not fail to be a mingling of the two texts, since custom and personal inclination vied with clearer insight in inviting to arbitrary changes on both sides. When at last the new edition became the common one, a prerogative which has clung to it as a proper name, it was no longer what it was at first.

Evidence for the gradual adoption of Jerome's version collected by Hody, III. 2; L. van Ess, p. 134 ff.; Fritzsche, *l. c.*, p. 435 ff. It shows that in quotations, commentaries, etc., sometimes it and sometimes the old version was used, probably as each writer was accustomed or had opportunity. Explicit judgments are rare. Yet the few that occur are in favor of the *emendatior translatio ex hebræo*; the learning of Jerome inspired respect, and the farther down in time, the greater became the cloud about his head. But Gregory the Great († 604) still writes, *Præf. in Job. : Novam translationem edissero sed ut comprobationis causa exigit nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo ut quia sedes apostolica cui præsideo utraque utitur*. From Isidor. Pelus., *Offic.*, I. 12 : *Hieronymi editione generaliter omnes ecclesie utuntur*, one might perhaps infer at least a general adoption in Spain. In other countries traces of the old version are still found late in the Middle Ages, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, among whom the new scarcely found entrance at all. Cf. § 462.

It should not be considered strange that the different texts became mingled; many a one might honestly correct his old Bible from the new, or introduce into his new one readings from the old familiar one (§ 368). Most were doubtless wholly ignorant of the fact that Jerome had edited two wholly different Bibles, and these two texts might likewise be mingled. Bede, *De temp. rat.*, ch. lxxvi., speaks already, beside these, of an *ex utriusque codd. commixtum opus*; and Walafrid Strabo, *Præf. in Jerem.*, warns *ne quisquam alterum ex altero velit emendare*.

A classification of writers into those who use the *Itala* and those who use Jerome is attempted by Kaulen, p. 193 ff., but is very difficult from the state of their text. Even among exegetes the matter is not certain. The same author, p. 199, points out a peculiar combination of the two translations in the liturgies.

456. Since neither industry nor intellectual power was able to protect the sacred books in the form once given them, and yet the Church had enjoined this precise form, it remained the endless task of the Middle Ages to keep in check by continual correction a confusion which no one could longer overcome. Temporal and ecclesiastical princes undertook it; individual scholars applied their powers to it; the work was handed down through whole societies. The multitude of helpers interfered with the result, party jealousy was involved, and unity and order reigned in the text, as in the Church, only in appearance and name.

Cassiodorus, *De instit. div. litt.*, in the preface, gives a full account of his labors on the text; they really related, however, not so much to the restoration of authentic readings as to correct punctuation and orthography.

It was not until the time of Charlemagne that a beginning was made with the criticism of the text. — at the command and with the cooperation of the emperor himself, in particular with the assistance of Alcuin. Preface to the *Homiliarium P. Diaconi : Jampridem universos V. et N. T. libros libroriorum imperitia depravatos examussim correximus. Capitul. regg. franc.*, VI. 227: *Præcipimus ut in ecclesiis libri canonici veraces habeantur*. The correction of MSS. seems to have been a favorite occupation of the emperor in his old age, though it was not done (Theganus, *Annal.*, in Duchesne, *Script.*, II. 277) *cum græcis et syris*, but simply by the aid of older MSS.

Several other similar works were undertaken in the Middle Ages, indeed new ones were continually needed: in the eleventh century by Lanfranc,

Archbishop of Canterbury, in the twelfth by Stephen, Abbot of Citeaux, and the Roman Cardinal Nicolai.

From the thirteenth century begin the *Correctoria biblica (biblicæ)*, i. e. collections of variants in the margin, or separately, emendations from MSS. or quotations, also from the original text, elements of a Christian Masora, by the Dominicans (Hugo a S. Caro), by the Sorbonne at Paris, by Minorites (by Carthusians?), who were in consequence decried and attacked by one another, and doubtless often did make bad work (Roger Bacon, *Ep. ad Clement IV.*, in Van Ess, p. 151). There is printed of them only: *Correctorium biblicæ cum quarundam difficilium locutionum luculenta interpretatione*, by the Dominican Magdalius Jacobus of Gouda, Col. 1508, the contents of which, however, are much more exegetical than critical. On the author see J. H. a Seelen, *Meditt. exeg.*, I. 605. On the *Correctoria* in general, see Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, V. 233; A. Dressel, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1865, II.; Kaulen, p. 244 ff.

It would be well if some one would undertake the task of sifting the critical apparatus for the Vulgate and classifying it by families; thus far critics have only spoken at random of Aleuic MSS., etc. The oldest and most important MSS. of Jerome's version are, for the N. T.: *Cod. Amiatinus*, at Florence, the whole N. T., edited by Tischendorf, 1854 [also by Tregelles, in his edition of the Gk. Test., with the variations of the Clementine text]; the variants previously by Fleck, in his own edition of the Vulgate, 1840; *Cod. Fuldensis* and *Cod. Toletanus*, likewise the whole N. T.; the former has the Gospels in the form of a harmony. (Ed. E. Ranke, Marb. 1868.) The Gospels alone, *Cod. S. Emmerami*, at Munich, *Cod. Forojuliensis*, partly at Venice and partly at Prague, printed in Bianchini (cf. § 351); and the Latin version in *Cod. Δ* (§ 392) at St. Gall. On particular important MSS. see Hug, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, 1828, II.; Harenberg, in the *Bibl. Hag.*, I. 201; C. L. Bauer, in the *Repert.*, XVII.; Fleck, *Reise*, II. 1, p. 153; S. Seemiller, *De cod. Ingolst.*, 1784; C. Sanftl, *De cod. S. Emmerami*, 1786; Kaulen, p. 216 ff.

457. Yet the Vulgate remained the church version of the whole West. What had once been founded in political conditions, ecclesiastical policy still retained, even when for a long time, outside the ecclesiastical realm, new nationalities were arising and gradually growing strong in each country, and forming for themselves new languages of their own, before which the Latin was soon forgotten. In the countries where the Celtic and Iberian stocks were in the majority, and consequently in Italy itself, they were properly only different dialects of the old Roman speech which were taking the place of the Latin, and this fact, together with others, may, at least to the view of scholars, have prevented the need of a new translation of the Bible from becoming a vital one so soon. In Africa, Roman and Christian culture were soon lost together. And the German nationality in the North, though thoroughly averse from the Roman genius, ripened to higher civilization but slowly.

The farther we go back in time, the more closely connected is the history of language and civilization with that of the Bible. For precisely this reason we must confine ourselves to more general hints. The utter impotence of the Celtic civilization against the Roman is clear from the unrestrained

advance of the Latin language, even after the migration of the people. Its transformation took place very slowly, and would have hindered rather than helped great literary works, like a translation of the Bible, during the next succeeding centuries, even had the forms of worship, which were becoming more and more stereotyped, and the special tendencies of the religious spirit, made them a necessity.

458. At the close of this period, therefore, we find in existence a not inconsiderable number of versions of the Bible in the principal languages of the Christian world. And yet it cannot be said that the Scriptures were very widely spread among the people. Not to speak of the fact that in many countries the language in which alone they were accessible was no longer understood, even where this hindrance did not exist, they served in but very slight degree, through their public reading, the purpose of a meagre religious instruction. God's word had become dear. Yet we would not forget that, as modern civilization in general began with Christianity, so in the case of most of the peoples thus far mentioned their national literature began with these versions, which, indeed, were frequently obliged first to create the alphabet itself.

We take our stand, for this retrospect, in the flourishing period of the Carolingians and Abbasides. In the West the Latin was just becoming, instead of a *lingua rustica*, a new vernacular, in its original form a language of scholars, the Latin Bible a closed book, and the German mind was preparing to open it again. In the East the world was divided between the conquering Arabic and the vanishing Greek tongues; the Syriac and the Coptic soon became silent; the Ethiopic and Armenian do not come into consideration because of their remoteness; but here as well as in the West the advantage of possessing the Bible in the language of the people was lost through the wretched state of political and ecclesiastical affairs.

459. Nevertheless the barbarism which weighed upon all classes of society, and the apathy of those who should have kept it in check, could not prevent the need of better spiritual nourishment from being felt everywhere. While the East, groaning under the rod of foreign domination, or under the more miserable yoke of a timid and pitiful native rule, was seeing the seeds of its future choked by all kinds of despotism, the West was painfully passing through its period of transformation. But at its close it found itself renewed and in possession of a vigor such as it never had had in the noblest days of antiquity. The history of the versions of the Bible is one of the measures of this happy change.

J. W. Janus, *Barbaries mediæ ævi in contemptu SS. conspicua*, Vit. 1721.

In the Protestant ideas of the suppression by the clergy of the reading of the Bible in the Middle Ages, which were used in and in part arose from controversy, there is much that is exaggerated. They doubtless studied the Scriptures themselves, in their way; they withheld them from the people, partly because the means of circulating them were actually wanting, partly because, according to the ideas of the time, they would certainly not have

been able to understand them. But the accompanying of this withholding by legal penalties for transgression, and the addition to the discouragement of formal prohibition, even the most skillful Catholic apologetics (R. Simon, *N. T. verss.*, ch. i., ii. ; *Now. rem.*, II. ch. xxii. ff. ; Binterim, *De lingua N. T.*, pp. 9-145 ; *Freib. Zeitschr.*, 1842, VII. p. 3 ff. ; Welte, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1848, I., and others) will never be able to justify. Cf. in general T. G. Hegelmaier, *De libero Scr. usu plebi chr. diu denegato*, Tüb. 1783 ; his *Gesch. des Bibelverbots*, Ulm, 1783 ; Rivet, *Isag.*, p. 183 ff. ; Ussher, § 460 ; Herzog, Art. *Bibellesen*, in his *Theol. Encykl.* ; D. Erdman, *Bibelmoth und Bibelverbot in der Kirche des Mittelalters*, B. 1858.

In this portion of the history, as in many other relations, the Middle Ages (sixth to fifteenth centuries) may be divided into two periods, the middle of the twelfth century forming the point of division between them. From that point on the mental (ecclesiastical, religious, literary, political) movement of the Western European peoples and their striving after emancipation can be clearly recognized.

460. We enter here a new field, richer than that just left in phenomena and events, and of more general interest. It was not the liturgical necessity which called forth these phenomena, but at first the dark longing of individuals for edification, a thirst for the long-missed fountain ; afterward the mighty spirit of the century, which sought a weapon to dislodge the hierarchy from its stronghold ; finally the holy zeal of all Christendom, which, with the same weapon, but no longer violently, goes on its peace-bringing expedition of conquest around the world. Thus, in three periods, and in ever-widening spheres, runs the history of the modern versions of the Bible, endlessly varied as to source, value, and acceptance.

Beside the works cited in §§ 395, 425, cf. also James Ussher, *Hist.*, etc. (§ 289) ; P. H. Schuler, *Geschichte der populären Schrifterklärung unter den Christen*, Tüb. 1787, 2 vols. ; Meyer's *Gesch. der Schrifterklärung*, *passim* ; Rosenmüller's *Handb. der Liter.*, Pt. IV.

Very much may be learned, also, from the catalogues of various collections of Bibles, *e. g.*, that of Brunswick, by Ludolf O. Knoch, 1752, and fuller, Hamm. 1749 ff. 10 Pts. ; the Wernigerode, 1766 ; the Duke of Würtemberg's, formerly Lork's, by J. G. C. Adler, 1787 ; the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society ; and those of private individuals : J. G. Palm, 1735 ; J. M. Göze, 1777 ; Josias Lork (*Bibelgeschichte*, I., II., 1779 f.) ; Duke of Sussex, 1827 ; as well as from catalogues of anetions, *e. g.*, by S. J. Baumgarten, J. S. Mörl, J. J. Griesbach, J. A. Nösselt, especially F. Münter, J. D. Kieffer, Silv. de Sacy, etc. Baumgarten has also, with the help of others (*e. g.*, of Semler) edited two works on his own library (*Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibliothek*, 1748 ff., 8 Pts., and *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, 1752 ff., 12 Pts.), in which are many valuable notes for the history of the Bible. Much in the following account I draw from my own collection of Bibles, as was the case in great part with the foregoing. [*The Bible of Every Land*, Bagster, Lond. 1848.]

461. One thing more should be noticed by way of preface. In the period which we are now about to traverse we shall be unable to confine ourselves to the history of that method of circulating the Scriptures which makes a strict adherence to

the text its law in rendering into another language. It will appear, on the other hand, that the first attempts at this work almost invariably disregarded this law, and often even preferred the metrical style, because originally designed not for the needs of the learned, but for the edification of the people, which it was thought could more easily be effected by greater freedom. Nevertheless, this history should make it a rule, in its further course, and as soon as the idea of the canon has again come into force, to confine itself to those phenomena which have regard to this idea, passing over those which aim to give to the people Christian ideas in biblical dress but in uncanonical form. The nature of the subject and its development justifies this distinction and demands it.

The distinction is just as imperative here as in the beginning of our First Book ; so that only those can disapprove our plan who still treat the history of the N. T. as if the collection existed before its components. In the Middle Ages the idea of the canon practically did not exist at all (§ 329), and the first requisite was to bring some knowledge of a biblical kind to the people in their own language. This was naturally done, not immediately by complete and accurate Bibles, but by such adaptations as, in extent and form, could commend themselves to them.

Here belong (1.) Rhyme-Bibles, historical in contents, as a matter of course, from Genesis and other historical books of the O. T. as well as from the Gospels; (2.) Historical Bibles, following the text (of the Vulgate) now closely, now more freely, in part extracting, in part embellishing with apocryphal additions, in part supplementing from ancient profane history, which as to mass of material constituted but the smaller part of what was known of antiquity. Ed. Reuss, Art. *Historienbibel*, in Herzog's *Encykl.* (3.) Annotated Bibles ; inasmuch as much of Scripture was unintelligible to the people without interpretation, for the time the patristic glosses were themselves Sacred Scripture. (4.) Psalms ; the book of the Bible which was first and oftenest literally translated ; with it, in the form of an appendix, usually a number of *Cantica* from the O. and N. T., on which more particularly see *Strassb. Beitr.*, VI. 66 ; *Revue*, Febr. 1857.

Translations of the most recent period, made after the introduction of an accredited church version, properly belong in the Fifth Book, as having an exegetical end in view, and yet can only be entitled to mention there from their intrinsic value. Yet it has been borne in mind that many of them have been intended to improve the church versions or to displace them, and so they have in part found their place in the history of these latter.

462. To the Germanic mind and language belongs the credit of having taken the first step toward a better state of things. We do not refer to the Goths, whose independent development in the West was soon arrested and brought to nothing. In fact, their German Bible was a fruit of Byzantine life, and not a graft upon the Roman tree. But another people of German speech actually and consciously broke through the papal restriction of language, and that in the very land which to-day still claims to be a home of ecclesiastical freedom. These were the Anglo-Saxons settled in Britain, whose monks

and missionaries were engaged for several centuries in introducing in wider circles also, in the primeval forests of the Rhine and the Weser, the Gospel, civilization, and agriculture. After the eighth century several attempts at translation were made among them, of which fragments are still extant; but unfortunately here also the pressing in of Roman speech and culture soon destroyed the tender germs of a new ecclesiastical life and made them unfruitful.

Legend of the peasant Cædmon (Bede, *Hist.*, IV. 24), who was made a poet by revelation, and is said to have put the whole biblical history into verse. There is extant of it only the beginning (Genesis) and small fragments of the Gospels and of the end of things, in a diffuse paraphrasing style, not altogether like that of the *Heliand*, which has been regarded as a fragment of it (§ 463). *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scripture, in Anglo-Saxon, with an English Translation and Notes*, by B. Thorpe, London, 1832. Cf. also H. Leo's *Angelsächs. Sprachproben*, Halle, 1838; *Cædmon's bibl. Dichtungen*, by C. W. Bouterweck, Elb. 1849, 2 vols.; *Cædmon's Schöpfung und Abfall der Engel*, translated by J. P. E. Greverus, Oldenb. 1852.

Proper translations, in part also mere historical adaptations (from the Jeronic Latin text?), of the eighth century and later, are ascribed, by tradition, to Bede, Aethelstan, Aeldred, Aelfric, even to King Aelfred. Printed: portions of the Gospels, by Th. Marshall, 1665, with the original edition of Ulfilas (§ 445); *Heptateuchus, liber Job et evang. Nicodemi anglo-saxonicæ, historiæ Judith fragm. dano-saxonicæ*, ed. E. Thwaites, Oxf. 1698; the Gospels by B. Thorpe, 1842; the Psalms (partly metrical), the same, 1835; also 1640 by J. Spelman. [Jos. Bosworth, *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, 2d ed. Lond. 1874.] There is more still in MS. at London and Oxford, but of importance only for the philologist. Special mention is due the version of the Gospels restored by C. W. Bouterweck from interlinear glosses in the Northumbrian dialect of the twelfth century in the so-called Codex of St. Cudbert at Oxford, Gütersloh, 1857. [Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Version of the Gospels, published at the University Press, Cambridge, England: *St. Matthew*, ed. Kemble and Hardwick, 1858; *St. Mark*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 1871; *St. Luke*, by the same, 1874; *St. John*, by the same, 1878. "The standard edition." (Schaff)]

Cf. in general Ussher, *Hist. controv.*, pp. 102 ff., 349 ff., 465; Alter, in the *Memorab.*, VI. 190; VIII. 194; Pfannkuche, in the *Götting. Bibl.*, III. 609; Ed. Dietrich, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1855, IV. 495 ff.

463. Not until a century later did the German mother country also begin to take hold of the matter. What some writers of the Middle Ages say, and modern writers have repeated without proof, of German Bibles which Charlemagne or his son Louis are said to have caused to be prepared, is based upon a misunderstanding. The real beginning of this work was made by sacred poetry, at the period when the glory of the Carolingians was already beginning to wane, with the life of Christ the Saviour, which was told according to the Gospels, but not without embellishment, and interspersed with edifying remarks. It was afterward treated in prose also, after the



model of a Latin harmony. Most attractive next to this were the beautiful narratives of the Old Testament, the mysteries of the Canticles, and especially the book of the Psalms, which met as nothing else could do the wants of the spirit unsatisfied by the world. The oldest of these works originated in the upper and middle valley of the Rhine, but the language and faith of the northern lowlands is not unrepresented.

The legend of German translations by and for Charlemagne arises in the sixteenth century, at once obtains a definite form (Hrabanus, Haymo, and Walafrid, 807; cf. Flacius, *Pref. ad Otfried.*; Ussher, *De script. vernac.*, p. 109 ff.), and is variously embellished; but it is wholly unknown to the contemporary historians, and is based upon misunderstanding of the commendations by the emperor, directed to the clergy, of the study of the Bible (in the Vulgate); see Baluzius, *Capitul.*, II. 202, 237, and the contemporaneous (*Conc. Turon.*, 813, *Can. 2, 17*, in Mansi, XIV. 85) command to translate (impromptu) the homilies read into the language of the people. See further my *Fragmens litt. et crit. relatifs à l'hist. de la Bible Française.* (*Revue*, II. 1 ff.)

For Louis the Pious there has really no evidence been found except a passage in Flacius Illyr., *Catal. testium veritatis*, ed. 1562, p. 93, entitled *Prefatio in librum antiquum lingua saxonica scriptum*, whose origin is unknown, whose contents is a strange mixture of the legend of Cædmon with the description of the poem of Otfried, and which declares that a Saxon poet at the command of the emperor rendered the whole Bible into verse. The usual view now is (Schmeller, *Heliand*, II. 14, and others) that the reference is to the *Heliand*, but that this is only a fragment of a larger work. For my reasons to the contrary, see *l. c.*, p. 11 ff.

In the ninth century belong: a rhymed Harmony of the Gospels, in High German, interspersed with mystical reflections, now known under the name of *Krist*, by Otfried of Weissenburg, in lower Alsace, about 860. Editions by M. Flacius, 1571, 8°; also in J. Schilter's *Thes. antiqq. teuton.* (Ulm, 1727, 3 vols. fol.), I.; best by E. G. Graff, Kön. 1831, 4°; also with Introduction and other additions by J. Kelle, Regensb. 1856; *Bonner Bruchstücke von Otfried*, ed. H. Hoffmann, 1821; rendered into New High German by G. Rapp, Stuttg. 1858. See Oberlin, *Alsatia literata*, I. 17 ff.; G. C. Dætrius, *Otfriedus monachus evv. interpres*, Helmst. 1717; Schmidt's *Bibl.*, I. 431; Lechler, in the *Studien*, 1849, I., II.; F. T. Horning, *Conjectures sur la Vie d'Otfr. de W.*, Str. 1833; Lachmann, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, III. 7; D. v. Stade, *Spec. lectionum francicarum ex Otfr.*, Stad. 1708.

*Heliand*, a Low Saxon Harmony of the Gospels, whose author is unknown, and whose date cannot be determined with certainty, in alliterative verse, and breathing a spirit of warlike chivalry rather than of monastic quiet. Edition by J. A. Schmeller, Munich, 1830, with glossary, 1840, 2 vols. 4°; by J. R. Köne, with translation, Münster, 1855; New High German by C. L. Kannegiesser, B. 1847; by C. W. Grein (alliterative) Rint. (1854), 1869; by G. Rapp, Stuttg. 1856; by C. Simrock, Ellb. 1856; F. E. Eusfelder, *Études sur le Héliand*, Str. 1853; H. Middendorf, *Ueber die Zeit der Abfassung des Heliand*, Münster, 1862 (about 820); E. Windisch, *Der Heliand und s. Quellen*, L. 1868; Grein, *Die Quellen des Heliand*, Cassel, 1869.

Fragments of a very old translation of Matthew, from a MS. of the monastery Monsee, in the Vienna library, edited by S. Endlicher and H. Hoffmann, 1834; by J. F. Maassmann, 1841. It is carried back by some into the eighth century, yet doubtless only because of the rough forms of speech, which may be dialectic.

A translation of the Gospel Harmony falsely ascribed to Tatian, which

Victor of Capua, in the sixth century, rendered from the Greek (of Ammonius ?) ; in prose. Editions by J. P. Palthen, Greifsw. 1706, 4° ; also in Schilter, II. ; by J. A. Schmeller (first partially, 1827), Vienna, 1841, 4° ; cf. Hess, *Bibliothek der h. Gesch.*, II. 543.

In the tenth century belongs the translation of the Psalms by Notker Labo, Abbot of St. Gall (980), in Schilter, I. There are in existence, however, several versions, by unknown authors, independent of one another, named, after the MSS., the Triers, the Windberg, edited together, but not complete, by E. G. Graff, *Deutsche Interlinearversionen der Psalmen*, Quedl. 1839. Low German Psalms of the Carolingian period, by F. H. v. d. Hagen, Br. 1818 ; Low Saxon Psalters, see also J. H. a Seelen, *Meditt. exeg.*, II. 517 ; Göze, *Merkw. Bibeln*, II. 179.

By Williram (Willeram) of Ebersberg in Bavaria (c. 1080) a Latin and a German paraphrase of the Canticles, the latter in prose. Editions by P. Merula, Leyd. 1598 ; by M. Freher, Worms, 1631 ; by J. G. Scherz, in Schilter's *Thes.*, I. ; by H. Hoffmann, Br. 1827. In the last two are to be found several smaller fragments, the Lord's Prayer, etc. ; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, IV. 283. Williram's translation is the basis of the mystic exposition of the Canticles by the Abbesses Rilind and Herrat at S. Odilia in Alsaee (12th cent.). Edition by J. Haupt, Vienna, 1864.

To the same period belongs the metrical version of Genesis and a part of Exodus, edited by H. Hoffmann, in the second part of his *Fundgruben* (a more complete and somewhat later recension of this work edited from the Milstatt MS. by J. Diemer, Vienna, 1862) ; to the thirteenth century, finally, the *Chronicles* of Rudolf v. Hohenems, essentially a Rhyme-Bible, which is preserved in various recensions and numerous MSS., but printed from one of the worst (the historical books of the O. T., etc., edited by G. Schütze, Hamb. 1779, 2 vols. 4°) ; see A. F. C. Vilmar, *Die Weltchronik des R. v. Ems*, Marb. 1839 ; Massmann, *Die Kaiserchronik*, III. 54.

In the same period and later Psalters multiply, of which many are still preserved in MS. and differ from those afterward printed ; e. g., one in the former Strassburg Library, and one in my own collection (*Strassb. Beiträge*, VI. 54 ff.).

Cf. in general J. B. Ott, *Bericht von deutschen Ueberss. der h. S. vor der Reform.*, 1710 ; with additions by Breitingen in Simmler's *Samml.*, I. 359 ff. ; Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalpoesie*, Pt. I. ; R. v. Raumer, *Die Einwirkung des Christenth. auf die althochdeutsche Sprache*, Stuttg. 1845 ; Grässe, *Literaturgesch.*, III. 285.

464. As soon as the language had become accustomed to the subject, and inclination had grown with exercise, it could not fail that a more complete German Bible should come into existence. But when and by whom we know not. It may be presumed that such undertakings were not numerous ; but at least two classes, wholly unlike each other, must be distinguished, — the Historical Bibles, enriched with various apocryphal additions, and the faithful translation of the Vulgate. The former class left out the purely didactic and prophetic elements of Scripture, and was doubtless better fitted for the edification of the people of that time, but with an advancing theological consciousness must have gone out of use as insufficient and misleading. The latter, existing perhaps in but one original edition, might, as it spread, change and improve in idiom according to time and place. It certainly reaches back

to the beginning of the fourteenth century. While it was finding its way to the people and being copied for rich burghers by skillful scholars, it does not seem to have been fostered in monasteries. Remains of it are among the rarest of literary treasures.

Accounts are given of various MSS. of a Historical Bible, all of which, however, appear to be defective, by J. F. Mayer, *Diss. Hamburg.*, VII., IX., and in the appendix to his history of Luther's version; Weller, *Altes aus allen Theilen der Geschichte*, II. 627; Riederer, *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten-, und Büchergeschichte*, II. 7; J. M. Göze, *Verzeichniss* of his collection of rare Bibles, II. 156 ff.; Merzdorf, *Biblioth. Unterhh.*, Old. 1850, p. 110; H. Palm, *Eine mittelhochdeutsche Historienbibel* (in his own possession), Bresl. 1867.

I have instituted a thorough comparison of the earlier known copies (the most complete is in my own possession) in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, VI., where the existence of three distinct works of the kind is shown, one of which is only an adaptation of Comestor (§ 533), the second rather a Chronicle, but the third, found in a great number of MSS. in various German dialects (cf. Massmann, *l. c.*), is an Old German Historical Bible, grown up in part from German poetical adaptations. Among these latter belong also the beautiful Minnelieder, first made known by D. G. S. (Schöber), Augsb. 1752; afterward, Herder, in his *Hohe Lied*, and *Bartholmä*, Nürnberg. 1827. The idea that this Historical Bible is nothing but a resolution into prose of a rhymed German original is to be rejected altogether. Whole books and long passages are translated literally from the Vulgate.

This work and its various recensions have been discussed most thoroughly and fully by Th. Merzdorf, who has edited in full two texts, with variants: *Die deutschen Historienbibeln des Mittelalters nach 40 HSS.*, Tüb. 1870, 2 vols. (without the N. T., which is usually lacking).

Accounts of various MSS. of the second class, that is to say, of the German translation of the Vulgate, are given by Lambecius, *Biblioth. Vindob.*, II.; J. F. Mayer, *Diss. Hamb.*; Weller, *l. c.*, II. 241; Ott, in *Simmler's Samml.*, I. 2, 3, pp. 386, 713; Hottinger, *Bibl. quadrip.*, p. 146; J. Reiske, *De verss. germ. ante Lutherum*, 1697; D. G. Schöber, *Bericht von alten deutschen geschriebenen Bibeln*, Schleiz, 1763; J. Nast, *Liter. Nachricht von der hochdeutschen Bibelübers. welche vor mehr als 500 Jahren in den Klöstern Deutschlands üblich war* (?), Stuttg. 1779; J. Kehrein, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübers. vor Luther*, Stuttg. 1851; T. Fritz, *Comm. in Ps. civ.*, Arg. 1821, p. 84; J. H. a. Seelen, *Meditt. exeg.*, II. 517-598; C. Schöttgen, *Nachricht von einem alten deutschen MS. der Sprichw. u. des Prediger Sal.*, Dr. 1746; Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, V. 174; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XXI. 259. — Single specimens also given in *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1717, p. 908, 1718, pp. 18, 171, 725. — There are but few whole Bibles extant; most of the MSS. contain only single books, particularly Gospels and the Psalms. Riederer, *l. c.*, III. 9, describes a MS. of the Pauline Epistles.

Of the name of one or several authors we have no certain knowledge. A MS. of the Gospels in the Leipzig University Library, in the Middle (Franco-Thuringian) Dialect, proceeds from a monk Matthias of Beheim (1343), at Halle a. d. Saale, who has often been regarded as the translator; the text is perhaps somewhat older than the year given, but already has the chapter division of Cardinal Hugo; edited, with philological apparatus, by R. Bechstein, L. 1867. The other names which occur in MSS., Nic. Brakmut of Girsperg (near Rappoltsweier), in the Zürich MS. of 1472 described in Simmler, and Joh. Lichtenstern, of Munich, are those of copyists. The most celebrated copy is at Vienna, in three parchment folios, beautifully adorned with pictures, written in 1378 for King Wenzel.

Low Saxon translations existed independently of the High German. G. W. Lorsche, *Beschreibung zweier niedersächsischen Bibel-HSS.*, in his *Archiv*, II. 55-238; *Die vier Bücher der Könige, aus einer oldenburger HS.*, edited by Merzdorf, 1857.

465. It would almost seem as if even greater activity should have been developed in France, spurred on not less by the opposition of the spiritual potentates than by the encouragement of the princes. Unfortunately the history is still more involved in obscurity, partly from the unfavorable character of the earlier periods, in consequence of which many documents have been destroyed, partly from the indolence of the present, in consequence of which those still extant remain unused. The beginning of the work can no longer be determined; yet it appears to be in some way connected with the religious movement at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. In theory never absolutely forbidden, but in reality never favored and often suppressed, the popular Bible became here for the first time a party issue against the Church. General mention is made of translations of the Waldenses and Albigenses, but not all that is still extant in manuscript in Southern French dialects can be referred to these with complete certainty. This department of the science has thus far waited in vain for a skilled linguist who should be at the same time well versed in the history of the Church and interested in the history of the Bible.

Altogether unsatisfactory, and little based upon independent investigations is the history of the French Bible of ancient times in R. Simon's *Hist. du V. T.*, p. 331; *Disquiss. crit.*, p. 196; *Hist. des versions*, p. 317; and *Nouv. Obs.*, p. 142; (Lallouette) *Histoire des traductions françaises*, P. 1692 (a controversial pamphlet); Le Long, *Bibl. sacra*, I. 325; Lebeuf, *Recherches sur les anc. trad. en l. française*, in the *Mém. de l'Académie*, XVII.; *Hist. litt. de France*, VII. 53 ff.; IX. 149; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, IV. 332; Archinard, *Notice sur les premières versions en langue vulgaire*, Gen. 1839; E. Pétafel, *La Bible en France*, P. 1864. As bibliographical catalogues may serve: Paulin, Paris, *Catalogue des MSS. fr. de la Bibliothèque du roi*, 7 vols. (which, however, nowhere goes into the text), and in particular Leroux de Lincy, in the Prolegomena to his edition of the books of the Kings (§ 466). — Cf. my *Fragmens*, etc. (§ 463), in the *Strassb. Revue*, II., IV., V., VI., XIV., as well as my article *Romanische Bibelüberss.*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

With what is said in § 330 cf. the *Acta concil. Tolos.*, 1229 (Mansi, XXIII. 197), Can. xiv.: *Prohibemus etiam ne libros V. T. aut N. laici permittantur habere nisi forte Psalterium vel breviarium pro divinis officiis aut horas b. V. Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translato arcissime inhibemus.* More strictly still the Synods of Tarragona, 1234, and Béziers, 1246. Unfortunately these prohibitions are the only absolutely certain thing we know of Romance versions of the Bible of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Their sources, their extent, their age, their history, their relations to one another, are involved in deep obscurity. No influence of the Greek text is probable; they were doubtless paraphrases in various dialects, including Northern French.

In the first place, the Romance N. T. which Fleck (*Reise*, II. 1, p. 90) dis-

covered in the library of the *Acad. des Arts* at Lyons (cf. Gieseler, II. 2, ed. 4, p. 561, and especially Cunitz, in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, IV.) is certainly to be regarded as a Catharic production (not Piedmontese-Waldensian), particularly from the ritual supplement, and is free from any trace of heresy in the text.

The common assertions that there were Romance versions of the Bible long before Waldo (Füsslin, I. 339; Hegelmair, *Geschichte des Bibeilverbots*, p. 123; Monastier, *Hist. des Vaudois*, I. 105; Muston, and most of the older historians of the Waldensians) are certainly true, at the most, only when (and hardly even then) one generalizes the term completely away from the Waldensians properly so called. As respects these, I have shown that their oldest records, as the *Nobla leycon*, are acquainted with biblical history not from Scripture, but from tradition; not to speak of the fact that these records do not go back beyond the thirteenth century, according to later investigations perhaps not even so far.

The tradition of the translation of the Bible by Peter Waldo (more correctly Waldes, *i. e.*, son of Waldo, as the ancient witnesses call him) reduces, upon careful consideration of the most ancient evidence (Gualter. de Mapes, *De nugis curialium*, in Ussher, *De chr. eccl. success.*, 1682, p. 112; Steph. de Borbone, *De VII. donis Sp. S.*, in D'Argenté, I. 87; Pseudo-Reinerius, *Summa*, ch. 5; Yvonet, *De hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*, in Marten, *Thes. anecd.*, V., 1777), to this, that Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, *non multum literatus*, had translated for his own instruction, by a certain grammarian, Stephen of Ansa (*var. lect.*, Emsa, Evisa), the Gospels, *aliquot (multos) alios libros biblicæ et auctoritates sanctorum (Patrum)*, which a priest, Bernhard of Ydros, afterward copied from his dictation. Whether there was thus formed a *textus cum glossa, or sententiæ per titulos congregatæ, i. e.*, a collection of *dicta probantia*, the evidence does not agree.

It is still conceivable that the more complete copies which were certainly soon in the hands of the Waldenses were not a new translation, but came from the Albigenes, being adapted everywhere to the dialect of the locality. Such are already known to Innocent III., 1199 (*Epist.*, ed. Baluz., ii. 141, 142, I. 432 ff.), in the diocese of Metz: *evangelia, epp. Pauli, psalterium, moralia, Job, et plures alios libros in gallico sermone*, though only by hearsay. But it is ridiculous to carry back the four still extant Waldensian MSS. of the N. T. (at Zürich, Grenoble, Dublin, and Paris, Cod. 8086), some of which certainly were not written until the sixteenth century, and the last of which probably does not belong here at all, into the twelfth century, and to explain their peculiar (*i. e.*, non-Clementine) readings as the results of Waldo's learned collations: W. St. Gilly, *The Roman Version of the Gospel of St. John, with an introductory History of the Version anciently in use among the old Waldenses*, Lond. 1848; cf. in general Ed. Reuss, *Les traductions vaudoises et cathares*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, II. 321; V. 321; VI. 65. It is there shown that the text of the Zürich MS. came from an Erasmusian edition; that not in the Lyons MS. (Catharic), but probably in the Dublin and Zürich MSS. (Waldensian), traces, though very slight, of Catharic theology can be recognized; finally that in these MSS. two radically different translations are contained, the latter of which exists in two recensions. The MSS. of Grenoble and Paris have not yet been investigated. So long as these versions are not printed it may be of value that Herzog has copied the Dublin MS. in full and deposited it in the Berlin library. I have myself copied many portions from the Lyons and Zürich MSS., and have made a complete collation of both with the Vulgate. The passage recently printed from Cod. 8086 (in a *Berliner philol. Zeitschr.* (?), known to me only from an isolated extract): *Lo libre de Ester la reyna*, is not in the Waldensian dialect.

The Canticles, with a mystic commentary, in a Waldensian translation, after a Geneva MS., with variants from a Dublin, published by J. J. Herzog in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1861, IV.

466. And yet such a one could not but be richly rewarded for his labor, so manifold and unknown are the treasures still extant. Every province took part in the work of translation; consequently linguistic monuments of all regions and of several centuries are to be found among them. Poetical adaptations of the biblical material alternate with others in prose; free paraphrases of the historical portions, also mingled with additions, with literal translations. Among the latter belong in particular a noteworthy series of Psalters. History names several kings, St. Louis and Charles the Wise in particular, who are said to have caused the Scriptures to be translated, but science as yet has no means of coming to a clear conclusion; we have several names, but nothing certain. There was very widely spread in France at the end of the Middle Ages a work which in its historical portions, after the scholastic model, mingled with the pure word of Scripture many impure additions.

In the judgment of the French bibliographers, the extant translations of the Psalms reach back into the eleventh century; but great obscurity still hangs over this question, as over most of those here to be raised. The number of MSS. of all kinds (Rhyme-Bibles, Historical Bibles, translations proper, with and without glosses) is greater in France, and they have been less used, than anywhere else. Purely traditional and devoid of all further foundation is what is related of translations for St. Louis (1250), by Jean du Vignier (1340), Jean de Sy (1350), Jean Vandetar (1372); for Charles V. (1380), by Raoul de Prailles (Praelles, Presle); by Nic. Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, etc. These data can never be of any significance until a scholar has studied the MSS., instead of being content to confine his attention to miniatures and other external matters.

More fully known thus far are a translation of the four books of the Kings, said to be of the twelfth century, in a Northern French dialect, published by Leroux de Liney, 1841, 4<sup>o</sup>, and a (now destroyed) MS. of the library of Strassburg, containing, in a similar but later dialect, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, with extracts from the *Glossa ordinaria* and *interlinearis* (§ 529), and the remaining historical books of the O. T., together with the Psalms, without these, described by me in the *Revue*, IV. 1. The Psalter at least is saved by my copy. An old French Psalter, in prose, from an Oxford MS., and a metrical one, from a Parisian MS., were edited by Francisque Michel, Oxf. 1860. H. Breymann, *Introd. aux deux livres des Machabées*, trad. fr. du 13<sup>me</sup> siècle, Gött. 1868.

Nearly all the extant MSS. contain a somewhat free, but in the main faithful translation of the Historical Bible (*Historia scholastica*, *Histoire escolastre*) prepared about 1170 by the Parisian chancellor Petrus Comestor (§ 533), with a scholastic, not a mystic, commentary; this translation was by a certain Canon, Guars des Moulins, of Picardy, 1294; see my full discussion of it in the *Strassb. Revue*, XIV. 1857. It is there shown that Guars added nothing to Comestor's Latin text but a sketch of the history of Job, the Proverbs, and possibly the remaining Solomonic books, at least Wisdom and Sirach. In the place of the Maccabean history of Comestor he inserted a more faithful translation of the Vulgate. In general, however, he introduced into the text of the *Historia scholastica* the authentic text of the Vulgate, which is wholly lacking in Comestor. Whether he also adopted the

Acts of the latter is still uncertain. Psalms, Prophets, Epistles, were certainly wanting, but in the course of the fourteenth century were added to the work of Comestor-Guiars in a simple, unannotated, literal translation. The MSS. vary in the different position of these additions, and also in their number. For some have a complete Job and the four Gospels (instead of the earlier annotated harmony of Guiars). Of the Apocalypse the different MSS. contain various recensions, with and without glosses. This investigation is based for the present upon three MSS. at Geneva, one at Paris, and a splendid one at Jenua, which stands particularly near to the original work of Guiars. As to the origin and date of the additions to Guiars, nothing can thus far be made out except that they certainly do not belong to his work. For the rest my work is nothing less than conclusive. For the carrying out of the investigation see § 468.

The so-called translation of Guil. Le Menand is only an adaptation of the *Life of Jesus* by the Carthusian Ludolf of Saxony.

467. Most of the other countries of New Roman Europe also followed this movement. But history has everywhere forgotten much that was praiseworthy or given only doubtful accounts of it. Spain and Poland received the Bible at the hands of their kings, so tradition says, — surely a royal gift. England and Bohemia obtained it amid the throes of an ecclesiastical upheaval, in the one case the first sign of an awakening among the people, in the other consecrated also by the fiery test of martyrdom. Other information is less definite or unauthentic. The records of this first period have in many places perished, or have only in scanty measure been made accessible by printing and criticism to the investigator and collector. Of the spread and use of all these works nothing can be ascertained, and the Church historian learns even less from them for his purposes than the mere bibliophile.

Traces of translations of the Bible into various Spanish dialects have been previously pointed out, but little that is certain ; cf. R. Simon, *Hist. des versions*, p. 493 ; Gilly, *Romaunt Version*, p. 70. If James I., of Arragon, about 1233, prohibited the Bible in the common language (Martene, VII. 123 : *statuitur ne aliquis libros V. vel N. T. in romancio habeat, et si quis habeat intra octo dies . . . tradat eos episcopo comburendos*), this agrees very well with the state of things in Southern France (§ 465). Nothing so old seems yet to have been found in Spanish libraries. There is in the royal library at Paris (Cod. 6831-33, 3 vols. fol.) a manuscript Bible said to be in the Catalonian dialect (which Muston and Gilly reckon among the Waldensian monuments, failing to notice the difference in language), and an incomplete O. T. different from it ; neither of them have yet been closely examined, but they are certainly older than the fifteenth century ; cf. J. M. Guardia, in the *Revue de l'instr. publique*, Apr. 1860. Alphonso X., of Castile, is said to have had the Bible translated about 1260. It is more certain that the Carthusian General, Bonif. Ferrer († 1417), was the author of a translation of the Bible, of which Guardia still points out two MSS. ; cf. § 468. F. Perez Bayer also speaks of fragments of two MSS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century in his possession, but without giving any further information as to their origin and relationship. (A *Notizia de biblia del siglo XV. en la casa del duque de Alba*, Madr. 1847, gives an account of a Jewish translation of the O. T. by Rabbi Mose Arrajél.)

A Polish Bible translated for Hedwig, Queen of Vladislaus IV., 1390, of which, however, only the Psalter now exists, or perhaps ever did exist. Published by Dunin (and Kopitar), 1834. Grässe, *Literaturgesch.*, V. 485, refers to another ancient Psalter, and to a fragment of the O. T., of 1455.

English, by J. Trevisa, 1357 (?); J. Wicliffe, 1380; J. Purvey, 1396 or 1420. Ussher, *l. c.*, p. 156 ff. But are these different works? Under Wicliffe's name (as the more celebrated?) an Old English version of the N. T. was printed in 1721 by J. Lewis, and in 1810 by H. H. Baber, with a historical introduction; also in Bagster's *English Hexapla* (§ 475), and again, Lond. 1847, with the statement *Now first printed from a contemporary MS.*; two versions printed in parallel columns, by J. Wicliffe and his followers, by Jos. Forshall and F. Madden, Oxf. 1850. — A monk, Rich. Rolle († 1349), of Hampole, is named as translator of the Psalms. Cf. also A. J. de Ruever-Groneman, *Diatr. in J. Wicliffi vitam et scripta*, Traj. 1837, p. 252 ff.; idem, in the *Godgel. Bydragen*, 1863.

Tradition of an Italian Bible by Jac. de Voragine, Bishop of Genoa († 1298), Sixtus Senensis, *Bibl. sancta*, IV. Others in MS. according to Le Long, I. 353; especially Lami, *De erud. app.* (1738), p. 308 ff., who points out forty MSS. in Florentine libraries alone which contain portions simply of the N. T. in Italian, and are said to reach back into the fourteenth century.

Bohemia: a Gospel of John of the tenth century (?). Schaffarik and Palacky, *Böhm. Denkmäler*, 1840; Psalter of 1396; Gospels in the time of Huss. The whole Bible from 1410 on, in several partially defective copies at Dresden, Lentmeritz, Prague, Olmütz, and other places, and in various recensions. See J. Dobrowsky, *Slovanka*, II.; the same author, on the first text of the Bohemian version of the Bible, in the *Neue Abhh. der b. Ges.*, III., and other writings; fuller discussion in Grässe, *l. c.*; Durich (§ 477).

Tradition of a Magyar Bible, 1456, by Lad. Bathori; see Wallaszky, *Resp. lit. hung.*, p. 75.

Ussher, *l. c.*, p. 195, speaks of portions of the Bible in Dutch; see the following section. The oldest belonging under this head is doubtless the Rhyme-Bible (*Rymbybel*) of Jac. v. Maerlandt (fourteenth century); beside this the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Gospels, and N. T. Several MSS. are described in the *Catal. d. Bibl. van de Maatschappy d. nederl. Letterkunde*, Leyd. 1829, p. 1 ff.; Le Long, *Boekzaal d. nederd. Bybels*, p. 155 ff.

A Danish translation of some of the historical books of the O. T. (Genesis to Ruth), written about 1470, published by Ch. Molbech, Copenh.; see Jac. Grimm, in the *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1831, 96.

468. Meanwhile the second half of the fifteenth century had begun, the epoch with which in the history of the European world, and hence of all mankind, the modern era begins. Religious and ecclesiastical movements were being born amid a terrible desolation of moral and social life. The discovery of the art of printing and an increasing preference for the popular languages accompanied them, the former the mightiest instrument of restoration, the latter the most significant symptom of maturity. But the nations, stricken in war, political affairs, and trade, were still unable to make use of their opportunity. The eyes of many were turned toward the just discovered New World as to the still unseen promised land. The next period was almost altogether unfruitful for biblical work, though full of restless expectation, and another gene-



ration passed away before the spell was dissolved and the Scriptures became a popular book.

That Ferrer's translation (§ 467) was printed at Valencia in 1478 appears to be beyond doubt; the undertaking is ascribed to a Dominican monk, Jac. Borrell, and a German printer. But Conrad Gesner (*Partitiones theol.*, 1549, fol. 15) speaks of the destruction of the edition. The last four leaves of a copy are said to have been found in the archives of Valencia in the year 1645. The *Bibliothèque Mazarine* at Paris possesses a Psalter (reprinted from this ?), *s. a. et l.*, 4<sup>o</sup> (Gothic). Cf. Ussher, *l. c.*, p. 175; Grässe, *Lit. Gesch.*, V. 484; Guardia, *l. c.* (§ 467); Jos. Rodriguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, 1781; J. L. Villanueva, *De la leccion de la sagrada escr. en l. vulgares*; and Valera's preface to his version (§ 476).

Italian translation by Nic. Malherbi (Malermi), a Venetian Benedictine, Ven. 1471; see Fabricius, *Historia Biblioth.*, I. 23. Ebert mentions a second wholly different Bible of the same year and place. The first is a Historical Bible.

Bohemian Bible, Prague, 1488; Venice, 1506, and freq.

A Dutch Bible, at Delft, 1477, and Gouda, 1479. According to Ebert the former contained only the O. T., without the Psalms. The Psalms, Delft, 1480, and freq.; see *Catalogus d. Bibl. v. d. Maatschappy d. nederl. Letterkunde te Leide*, 1829, p. 73 ff.

All these editions are among the greatest rarities, even in rich libraries; there are probably few copies in private hands, if any at all. The same is true also of the French block Bibles, of which three principal classes are to be distinguished (see my essay cited in § 466):—

I. The N. T. complete (Paul immediately after the Gospels), without date (1478 ?), printed at Lyons, by Barth. Buyer, fol. Two editions of it exist, differing also in text. One is printed in columns, the other in continuous lines. In the subscription are mentioned, as editors, not as translators, two Augustinian monks, Julien Macho and Peter Farget. There is a copy of the first edition in the Leipzig City Council Library; several at Paris. The translation is the same as that found in the additions to Guiars, by no means the work of Guiars himself, as we still possess it in the Gospels at Jena. It is found unaltered in the following work.

II. The complete Bible, *i. e.*, the work of Guiars (§ 466), completed by an unknown hand, was first printed for Charles VIII. about 1487, Paris, by Verard, 2 vols., fol., and afterward repeated perhaps twelve times, partly at Paris, partly at Lyons, until 1545. The *editio princeps* was edited by the king's confessor, J. de Rely. Several of these editions are not preserved even in Paris, in particular the three which I myself possess, two Lyons editions, 1518 and 1521, fol., and a third from which title-page and subscription are gone. I have given the accurate nomenclature, so far as it was possible, *l. c.*, p. 148 ff. The text consists, as has been said, of a partly narrative, everywhere annotated adaptation of the historical books of the O. T., of an annotated Apocalypse, and of a plain translation of the Vulgate in all the rest. The work was called *La grant Bible* in distinction from IV.

III. Single portions: the books of Solomon, together with Wisdom and Sirach, 1482; Psalter, about the same time; Apocalypse, 1502; Pauline Epistles, annotated, 1507.

IV. *La Bible pour les simples gens* was the title of a shorter adaptation of the histories of the O. T., of which I have described five undated editions from Parisian copies, *l. c.*, p. 153.

469. Germany alone, the mother of the new art, immediately and industriously put it to the service of the good cause. And although the seventeen editions of her old translation of the

Bible were due solely to the enterprising commercial spirit of the printers, yet their rapid succession, if not the present scarcity of copies, bears witness plainly to the desire of the people. True, we no longer speak of their inner value, and it often seems scarcely conceivable to the reader how the harsh literal imitation of a Latin work itself so full of errors could have been intelligible at all even to contemporaries. They have now fallen to the rank of typographical curiosities, and the names of the printing establishments at Mayence, Strassburg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg have become more famous than those of the pious translators; but even so they remain a noble monument of how the German nation was quietly preparing for the inspiration of power.

Before 1477 five undated editions, in a High German dialect verging to some extent toward the Swiss; the oldest and rarest of them, though in disputed order, were printed at Mayence and Strassburg (according to the usual opinion), the fifth at Augsburg (G. Zainer), with a statement of the place. Yet bibliographers themselves are not agreed as to the places of printing; according to Ebert Augsburg and Nuremberg are to be supposed instead of Mayence, and Strassburg should have the first place (1466, Eggesteyn and Mentelin).

From 1477 to Luther seven at Augsburg (1477 *bis*, 1480, 1487, 1490, 1507, 1518), by various printers, one at Nuremberg, 1483, Anton. Koburger, typographically the finest (Osc. Hase, *Die Koburger Bibel. zu Nürnberg.*, L. 1869), and one at Strassburg, 1485; all in folio of larger or smaller size, usually in two volumes. From the fifth edition on copies are tolerably frequent but almost always defective or damaged.

Beside these complete Bibles there also belong here an edition of the pericopes of the Gospels and Epistles and a series of editions of the Psalms, the oldest of which, with German notes, was printed in 1477, fol.; afterward with the Vulgate, especially in Strassburg, in small size. Three Low German Bibles, Cologne, 1480; Lübeck, 1494; Halberstadt, 1522, all rare, particularly the first. J. Niesert, *Nachricht über die erste zu Coelln gedruckte niederd. Bibel*, 1825.

On the relationship of all these editions to one another, and to the works mentioned in § 464, the last word has not yet been said. Unfortunately, it has thus far been bibliographers and collectors of curiosities who have taken hold of the matter rather than textual critics.

See Nast, *Nachr. v. d. sechs ersten deutschen Bibelausgg.*, 1767; cf. § 464. G. W. Panzer, *Geschichte der Nürnberger Ausgg. der Bibel*, N. 1778; idem, *Augsburger Ausgg.*, N. 1780, and other bibliographical writings of the same author; J. M. Göze, *Versuch einer Historie der gedruckten niedersächsischen Bibeln*, 1775; J. D. Michaelis, *Beschreibung einiger altheutschen Bibelüberss. vor Luther's Zeit (Syntagma comment., I.)*; Meyer, *Geschichte der Schriftenkl.*, I. 250 ff. Earlier notices in J. F. Mayer, *Geschichte der luther. Ueberss.*, p. 181; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, III. 283; VII. 387; *Nachr.*, I. 97; VI. 95; VII. 1. — G. Steigenberger, *Ueber die zwei älteste gedr. d. Bibeln zu München*, 1787. Cf. also Zapf, *Bibliogr. Nachr.*, Augsb. 1800; J. B. Riederer, *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten-, und Bücher-Geschichte*, Altd. 1764 f., I. 1; C. C. Am Ende, *Von deutschen Psaltern*, in Riederer's *Abhh.*, 1768, 2 and 4.

Here may be mentioned also the eloquent wish of Erasmus (*Pref. in Paraph. Euv.*) for the circulation of the Bible among the people. Unfounded tradition of a German version by him: J. H. Stuss, *De Erasmi vers. N. T. germanica*, Gotha, 1742; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1742, p. 711; 1744, p. 942.

470. But these old Bibles were at once forgotten when Martin Luther published at Wittenberg, in September, 1522, his New Testament, the fruit of his leisure at Wartburg. The time was ripe for a work to which several were addressing themselves at the same time, but which only one brought to a happy issue. All eyes were fixed upon its progress, and the separate portions of the Old Testament rapidly followed, while the press was scarcely able by repeated and often improved editions to satisfy the demand. Finally, after the first complete Bible had appeared, in 1534, and seven years later had undergone, with the learned coöperation of several friends, a thorough revision, the last form given it by its author came to be regarded as a part of the creed, and as the norm according to which controversy as to suspected alterations must be decided.

The more accurate bibliographers enumerate various single passages (*e. g.*, the penitential Psalms) which Luther had published in German before, mostly in sermons and other tractates of ulterior contents. Worthy of note are the exceedingly rare German translations of some books which are peers of Luther in age, but in age alone: *Euangelium Johannis des gotlichen Cantzlers*, . . . d. Nic. Krumpach (Pastor of Querfurt), L. 1522, 4<sup>o</sup>. (*Unsch. Nachr.*, 1732, p. 688); in the same year, by the same author, *Czwo Epp. des Fürsten der zwelff botten S. peters*, . . . (and likewise the three Pastoral Epistles). — *Euangelia der vier Euangelisten auff das clärlichest verdeutschit*, Augsb. 1522, 4 Pts., 16<sup>o</sup>, in which the John is by Krumpach, the rest (?) by J. Lang, Augustinian Prior at Erfurt. — *Der psalter des Königs und propheten Davids*, by Öttmar Nachtgal, Augsb. 1524, 4<sup>o</sup> (annotated); cf. *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1721, p. 544. — *Psalter des königlichen propheten D. geteutschit*, by Casp. Amman, Augsb. 1523, 12<sup>o</sup>; Psalms from the Latin of Joh. Campensis, Augsb. 1536; see Panzer, *Augsb. Bibeln*, p. 57; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 384; *Biblioth. Scheibelliana*, p. 9; Riederer, *Nachr.*, I. 2, 3, 4; II. 6; the same author also points out an edition of the Gospels, L. 1522, and two versions of Mark and Luke.

Literary history of Luther's version (altogether complete only down to 1581): J. F. Mayer, *Hist. vers. germ. . . . Lutheri*, Hamb. s. a., 4<sup>o</sup>; J. M. Krafft, *Emendanda* (to the foregoing), Slesv. 1705; idem, *Nachricht von der ersten Bibelausg. Luther's*, Alt. 1735; G. G. Zeltner, *Kurzgef. Historie der gedr. Bibelversion L.*, Nürnberg. 1727; J. C. Bertram, *Entdeckungen in d. deutschen Bibelgesch.* (Abhh., I., II.); C. G. Giese, *Nachrichten v. d. Bibelübers. Luther's*, edited by J. B. Riederer, Alt. 1771; J. G. Palm, *Hist. der Bibelübers. Lutheri bis 1534*, edited by J. M. Göze, Halle, 1772. Also Göze's *Neue Entdeckungen, und Vergleichung der Originalausgg.*, etc., L. 1777; G. W. Panzer, *Vollst. Gesch. der deutschen Bibelübers. Luthers bis 1581*, 2d ed. Nürnberg. 1791; H. E. Bindseil, *Verzeichniss der Originalausgg.*, etc., Halle, 1841, 4<sup>o</sup>. For the oldest editions, Riederer's *Nachr.*, III. 10. Popular works: S. G. C. Küster, B. 1823; C. A. Weideman, L. 1834; C. W. Krafft, Strassb. 1835; H. Schott, L. 1835. [Art. *German Versions*, in Kitto's *Cyclop.*]

Summary of the original editions (Wittenberg, Melchior Lotther and his sons) according to Panzer. I. Before the appearance of the whole Bible: N. T., seventeen editions in at least three recensions; the Pentateuch (1523), seven editions; the other historical books (1524), four editions; the poetical books (1524), three editions; the Psalms separately, six editions; finally

single prophets and apocryphal books. Almost without exception in folio. J. G. Lachmann, *De Lutheri prima versione V. T. per partes*, Br. 1758. II. Complete edition of the Bible, 1534, 2 vols. fol., and four times afterward; also the N. T. separately four times and the Psalms twice. III. Revised edition, with the coöperation of Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Creutziger, and Aurogallus, 1541, 2 vols. fol., and down to the time of Luther's death four times more. The last, of 1545, was regarded afterward, and until the time of the pietistic controversies, as the unchangeable standard edition. But before that time, IV. 1546-1580, the whole Bible thirty-six times, the N. T. seven, and the Psalms three, said to be changed (especially in the Epistles) according to Luther's posthumous papers, but opposed by the stricter orthodoxy until the Elector Augustus commanded a return to the text of 1545 (*Unsch. Nachr.*, 1723, p. 182; J. C. Bertram, in the Appendix to the German edition of R. Simon, III. 259). For the reprints, see § 472. — For many other notes belonging under this head see *Unsch. Nachr.*, especially 1727, p. 183; 1732, p. 519. C. Mönckeberg, *Beitr. zur Herstellung des Textes der luther. Bibelübers.*, Hamb. 1855.

The division of verses was not introduced until after Luther's death.

A critical diplomatic reprint of the last edition of Luther, 1545, with all the variants occurring in former editions and in Luther's other writings, was published by H. E. Bindseil and H. A. Niemeyer, 1845 ff., 7 vols. 8°; see *Allg. Literaturzeitung*, 1848, II. 537.

471. Luther's Bible not only became the firmest support of the Reformation and the noblest monument of his own fame, but it is a national German work. He had few aids in attaining his ideal beside his own genius and faith. Linguistic science was yet in its infancy; the extant expositors of Scripture were unsatisfactory; the old versions were almost more misleading; and new principles must first be gained and tested. But the master, full of self-confidence, dared to place himself above his predecessors. Although many faults in details have since been pointed out in it, yet for its time his Bible was a miracle of science. Its language, happily rising out of Old German harshness, the best that Luther wrote, and surpassed by none of his contemporaries, sounded like a prophecy of a golden age of literature, and in manly vigor and anointing of the Holy Spirit it has ever remained a model unapproached.

The exegetical helps at the command of Luther were the LXX., the Vulgate, some of the Latin Fathers, especially Jerome (against whom, unfortunately, he was prejudiced), the first very imperfect Hebrew text-books; for the N. T. no preparatory philological work except Erasmus. For it was from his text (1519), and not from Gerbel's edition (1521), as was formerly thought, that he made his translation. Controversial writings upon this point by P. A. Boysen, 1723; T. Eckhard, 1723; J. G. Palm, 1735; J. F. Eckhard, 1762; cf. Lilienthal's *Exeg. Bibl.*, p. 400; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1722, p. 1090; 1724, p. 893.

See J. A. Götz, *Ueberblick über Luther's Vorschule, Meisterschaft, und Reife*, Nürnberg. 1824; G. W. Hopf, *Würdigung der luth. Bibelverdeutschung mit Rücksicht auf ältere und neuere Ueberss.*, Nürnberg. 1847; Panzer, *Gesch. der kathol. Uebers.*, p. 29. Alleged discovery of a German translation of the N. T. by Erasmus, which Luther may have copied; see § 469.

The character of Luther's version is not punctiliously literal, but free,

having regard to the genius of the German language ; it is noteworthy that it was precisely this, its best quality, which, though it did not in the least limit its continued usefulness, was the first to be criticised by the narrowness of theologians (§ 483). Cf. on this matter, in particular, Luther's letter to Wenzel Link, *Vom Dolmetschen und Fürbitte der Heiligen*, 1530, reprinted in Götz, p. 128 ff. (*Werke*, Erlangen ed., LXV. 102); W. A. Teller, *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der deutschen Sprache in Luther's Bibelübers.*, B. 1794; D. v. Stade, *Erkl. der deutschen Wörter*, etc., Brem. 1724; J. G. Weller's *Gedanken*, p. 137 ff.; Ph. Marheineke, *Ueber den relig. Werth der Bibelübers. Luther's*, B. 1815; J. F. Wetzel, *Die Sprache Luther's in seiner Bibelübers.*, Stuttg. 1859; E. Opitz, *Die Sprache Luther's*, H. 1869.

To Luther's version belong also his prefaces to the separate books, which for a long time were inserted in the editions; afterward omitted, first in the manual editions, in part, doubtless, because of their critical faults. (§ 334.) There are no chapter headings in the old and genuine Lutheran Bibles. It may be mentioned, as a point worthy of particular notice, that in not a single Lutheran edition of the Bible until long after the death of the Reformer is the sentence 1 Jn. v. 7 to be found. See Palm, *Codd. Lutheri*, p. 123 ff.; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1711, p. 156; 1733, p. 179.

472. As upon a long awaited watchword, those everywhere who were prepared for the great innovations in the Church seized upon Luther's version. True, it did not lead the way to the Reformation, but the Reformation could not have gone on without it. It was printed everywhere in Germany. The Swiss did not wait until it was completed, but hastily supplied what was still lacking and adapted the rest to their dialect. In other places also, in consequence of being obliged to wait so long for the completion of the Wittenberg edition, plans were made for obtaining the Scriptures in full. A still more complete paraphrase awaited it in the northern regions of Germany, into the lowland languages. It had already penetrated, along with the new doctrine, to the remaining branches of the Germanic stock, to Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. Later, it reached distant Iceland, all the countries on the Baltic Sea, even Lapland, wherever the need that was felt of reading the Bible was greater than the ability to translate it anew from the original text.

According to Panzer, Luther's Bible was reprinted in Germany, down to 1580, thirty-eight times, beside the N. T. seventy-two times, not counting separate portions of the O. T.; mostly at Angsburg, Basle, Frankfurt on the Main, Nuremberg, and Strassburg, also at Colmar and Hagenau; in many styles, also in small size; among them also an edition of the N. T. on parchment, Angsb. 1535, 2 vols. 12°; an account of it by J. H. v. Seelen, Lüb. 1747; Panzer, p. 336. An approximate summary of later editions is given by Waleh, *Bibl. Theol.*, IV. 86 ff. Particular points are discussed by J. M. Krafft, *Prodromus hist. vers. germ. bibl.*, Hamb. 1714; *Forts.*, 1716.

The first four Zürich editions (1524, 1527, and 1530 twice) contain, beside the older portions of Luther, a translation of the Prophets and Apocrypha peculiar to them, by Conr. Pellicanus, Leo Judä, Theod. Bibliander, and others; from 1531 on also a new translation of the poetical books; see Panzer, p. 260; Breitingen, *Von den Züricher Ausgg. der Bibel*, in Simmler's

*Samml.*, II. 381; J. C. Nüscheler, in Lork's *Bibelgeschichte*, I. 212. No classical German written language at that time existed, and the Basle reprints of Luther are provided with small glossaries for the Saxon dialect.

Other so-called combination Bibles are that of Worms, 1529 (G. G. Zeltner, *Nachr. v. d. Wormser Bibel*, Altd. 1734), and a series of editions, Strassburg and Durlach, by W. Köpfel, 1530 ff., the text of which was made up partly from the Zürich edition, partly also from the translation of the Prophets by the Anabaptists L. Hetzer and J. Denk, Worms, 1527, Augsb. 1528 and freq.; on which see Baumgarten, *Handb.*, VIII. 285, 308; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1711, p. 763.

I have in my possession a complete German Bible, bound at Strassburg in 1542, consisting of the Wittenberg *editio princeps* of Luther's O. T., Pts. 1-3; Hetzer's Prophets (Hagenau, 1528), the Apocrypha of Zürich (Strassb. 1530), and a Strassburg reprint of the N. T. of 1525, both by Knobloch, fol.

Here also may be placed the Lutheran N. T. revised by Jac. Beringer, chancellor at Speyer (Strassb. 1526, fol.), in which the Gospels are worked into a harmony; see Riederer, *Nachr.*, IV. 14.

Preceding Luther in time: Ruth, by Böschentayn, 1525; Malachi, by Hetzer, 1526; Hosea, by Capito, 1527, and similar small attempts. See Riederer's *Nachr.*, II. 80 ff.

Low German (indigenous) Lutheran Bibles by J. Hoddersen, since 1533, at Lübeck, Hamburg, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, frequently; see Göze, above, § 469; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, III. 1; VI. 98; VII. 390.

Danish N. T. 1524, Bible 1550. Found also in Hutter's Polyglot.

Swedish N. T. 1526, Bible 1541, by Or. and Lor. Petri, and Lor. Anderson.

Icelandic N. T. 1540, Bible 1554, by Gudbrand Thorlacius, Bishop of Holum. Cf. L. Harboe, in Lork's *Bibelgesch.*, I. 399; Lork, *ibidem*, II. 203 ff.

Dutch N. T. 1526, Antw. by Jac. v. Liesvelt, from whom these oldest Dutch Bibles are called Liesvelts. See Riederer's *Nachr.*, II. 137. — For the Dutch Lutherans A. Vischer, in 1648, translated Luther's Bible anew; it is still used in this form.

It need not be remarked that all these versions were reprinted until displaced by more modern and better ones (§ 485).

The oldest of these hastily made translations, whose authors are unknown to us, were doubtless in the first instance speculations of booksellers who had correctly judged the temper of the time. For further literary references, see § 485.

473. At about the same time, or even earlier than Germany, France also obtained a Bible, the first strictly literally translated, at first likewise in parts, finally complete. But it did not come from the pen of a Luther. Indeed, we scarcely know whether we ought to call Jaques Le Fèvre's work the first-fruits of the Protestant movement. The French Reformed have at least never recognized it. Nameless, homeless, hiding from priestly zeal, winning no fame for its author, and scarcely promoting the cause, it lived an uncertain life, and soon fled to a foreign land, under the protection of the German emperor.

On Jac. Faber Stapulensis, *i. e.*, of Etaples near Boulogne, a man well-versed and active in philosophy and literature, who was very accessible to the ideas of the Reformation († 1537) and also has merit as an exegete

(§§ 454, 543), see C. H. Graf, *Essai sur la vie et les écrits de J. L. d'E.*, Strassb. 1842; enlarged in Niedner's *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 1852, I., II. Cf. also J. W. Baum, *Origines evangelii in Gallia restaurati*, Arg. 1838; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 377; Or. Douen, *Société biblique de Paris*, p. 1 ff.; H. de Sabatier-Plantier, *J. Le Fèvre d'Étaples d'après de nouveaux documents*, P. 1870.

There appeared from him, anonymously, the Gospels, Paris, Sim. de Colines, 1523 and 1524, in three editions; the second part of the N. T., 1523, 1525, and Antw. 1526; complete N. T., Paris, 1525; the Psalms, P. 1525. On account of the persecutions which he but narrowly escaped (the legislature prohibited the translation in 1525) he brought out the continuation of his work at Antwerp, Martin Lempereur, O. T., 1528, 4 Pts. 8°; whole Bible, 1530, etc. (§ 480), fol. There the clergy showed themselves less hostile. Le Fèvre's authorship in the O. T. depends more upon presumption than upon proof. His name is nowhere mentioned in the complete work. The Paris editions are among the greatest rarities. I have a N. T., Basle, 1525. May this have been the real place of printing? No literary-critical investigation of this version has yet been made.

474. It was not until 1535, though still early, that the friends of the Reformation movement, who were gradually organizing themselves into churches, obtained a French Protestant Bible; and Switzerland had to be its birthplace. The author was a cousin of Calvin, Peter Robert, surnamed Olivetan, endowed with good will and a considerable knowledge of Hebrew, but not enough for the exegetical skill of his distinguished relative, so that his work could not dispense with speedy and thorough revision. This was given it, in part repeatedly, first by the practiced hand of the Geneva Reformer himself, afterward by his successors. Seldom printed in France, oftener in foreign lands, this Bible, not so much like a child neglected at the birth as like one more and more corrupted in the bringing up, has bequeathed to succeeding generations the sense of its defects and the endless task of correcting them; it has become the only Church edition, yet the Church has never been able to bring its text into a fixed state; and in its numberless transformations and improvements it has always lagged behind the language and behind science.

The Bible of Pierre Robert (of Noyon in Picardy; Olivetanus is, I suspect, an assumed literary name) was printed in 1535, fol., in the village of Serrières, near Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, by his countryman Pierre de Wingle, and at the expense of the Waldenses, as it is stated, although these people at that time spoke and wrote Romance. This original edition of the French Protestant Bible now only exists in a few copies in public libraries. Cf. Léger, *Hist. des Vaudois*, p. 165; Monastier, *Hist. des Vaudois*, I. 211; Douen, *l. c.*, p. 32 ff. — As to the sources and value of this work, which in the Apocrypha repeats the Antwerp Polyglot, in the N. T. is dependent upon Erasmus, and only in the O. T. is prepared from the original text with really praiseworthy diligence and independent scholarship, although with the aid of S. Pagninus (§§ 481, 551), see my extended discussion in the *Strassb. Revue*, 1865 ff., 3d series, III., IV., V. It is there shown, also, that the reprints of separate portions which appeared in 1538 f. under the pseudonym Belisem de Belimacom (*i. e.*, Nameless of Nowhere) are also by Olivetan.

Likewise very rare, or rather altogether undiscoverable (in my opinion even questionable) is the series of reprints: Geneva, 1540; Lyons, 1541. — First hasty revision by Calvin: Geneva, 1545, and frequently in both cities. — More thorough revision, Geneva, 1551, with new translation of the Psalms by L. Budé, and new Apocrypha by Beza. From that time on the editions in both cities (nowhere else) very frequent.

For the continuation of the history of this Bible see § 486.

A controversy arose over the Geneva version between Catholics and Protestants in the first half of the seventeenth century. The literature is to be found together in Le Long, II. 1038. The best known and most extensive documents are that of the Jesuit P. Cotton, *Genève plagiaire*, 1618, and the *Défense* of the Geneva Professor B. Turretin, 1619.

475. Changeful, like the history of Protestantism itself in England, has also been that of the English Bible. The whims of a despot, the close connection of Church and State, the sudden change of religious policy with the person of the ruler, and the internal divisions of the Reformed party, prevented this work from coming so soon to vigorous success. Many attempted it. The first forfeited his life in consequence; several were obliged to seek a home for it in foreign lands. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth, when with the restoration of civil order the feeling of independence and the sense of freedom became domesticated in the nation, that the national Church received from the hands of her royal mistress an edition in the language of the people, prepared by her bishops in common.

J. Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible and N. T. into English*, 2d ed. Lond. 1739; *Continued to the present time*, 1818; Newcome, *Historical View of English Biblical Translations*, Dubl. 1792; A. C. Ducarel, *A List of Various Editions*, etc., Lond. 1778; H. Cotton, *List of Editions*, etc., Oxf. (1821) 1852 [by the same author, *Rhenes and Doway, An attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures*, Oxf. 1855]; Anderson, *The Annals of the English Bible*, Lond. 1845, 2 vols. [new ed. revised, 1862; Am. ed. by Dr. S. I. Prime, abridged, N. Y. 1849, 1 vol.]; L. Wilson, *Account of Editions*, etc., 1845; Mrs. H. C. Conant, *The Popular History of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, N. Y. 1856. [A new edition, revised by Dr. T. J. Conant, N. Y. 1881 (continued to the publication of the Revised N. T.)]. B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, Lond. 1868 [2d ed. 1872]; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, VII. 95 ff.; Bellamy, Preface to his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. [Add John Stoughton, *Our English Bible*, London (Religious Tract Society), undated, c. 1878; W. F. Moulton, *History of the English Bible*, Lond. 1878; John Eadie, *The English Bible*, Lond. 1876; J. I. Mombert, *A Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, N. Y. and Lond. 1883; cf. the same author's article on *English Bible Versions*, in Schaff's *Relig. Encycl.*, I. p. 731 ff.; Henry Stevens, *The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition MDCCLXXVII.*, etc., Lond. 1878; also the introduction, by S. P. Tregelles, to Bagster's *English Hexapla*, cited below.]

First N. T. by W. Tyndale, 1526, of which but one complete and one defective copy exist. Printed in all twelve times, in two editions, always in Holland. The author was burned in 1536 in Belgium.



None of the following pre-Jacobite (§ 485) translations and editions of the whole Bible are longer to be had on the continent, and must be very rare even in England : —

(Zürich) 1535, fol., by Miles Coverdale and others ; (Lond.) 1537, fol. by Tho. Mathew (*i. e.*, J. Roger) ; Lond. 1539, by Rich. Taverner. In the same year one approved by King Henry VIII., Lond. 1549 and freq., by Edm. Becke.

Geneva, 1560 (the N. T. earlier), and afterward frequently in England, by the Puritans (M. Coverdale, W. Whittingham, Ant. Gilbie, and others) ; usually called the Breeches Bible, from the expression used in Gen. iii. 7. Repeatedly revised in England : 1561, by Th. Cranmer, 1576, by Lor. Tomson.

Lond. 1568 and freq. ; the first official Church version in England, under the direction of Archbishop Parker of Canterbury, by a number of bishops (Bishops' Bible, also Leda Bible, from a wood-cut from profane history).

Some of these rare recensions have been recently reprinted ; particularly happy is the thought of the enterprising printer, S. Bagster, to print together, in parallel columns, the translations of Wicliffe, Tyndale, Geneva, Cranmer, as well as the Catholic and Royal still to be mentioned (*The English Hexapla*, Lond. 1821, 4<sup>o</sup>). Also, by the same publisher, 1836, a fac-simile edition of Tyndale's first N. T., with a biographical introduction. Similar editions of the oldest and almost lost printed versions, by F. Fry (Tyndale, Bristol, 1862 ; the others, from 1539 on, Lond. 1865, fol.). [*New Testament. Tyndale's First Edition, supposed to have been Printed at Worms by Peter Schöffler in 1526 ; a Fac-Simile on Vellum, Illumined, Reprinted from the Copy in the Baptist College, Bristol.* With an introduction by Francis Fry, 1862 ; by the same editor, *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the N. T., Tyndale's Version in English, with numerous Readings, Comparisons of Texts, and Historical Notices, the Notes in full of the Edition of 1534, etc.*, Lond. 1878, 4<sup>o</sup> ; illustrated with seventy-three plates, titles, colophons, pages, capitals (Am. Bible Society) ; *The First Printed English N. T. Translated by Wm. Tyndale. Photolithographed from the Unique Fragment now in the Grenville Collection, British Museum*, edited by Edw. Arber, Lond. 1871. The photolithographed text contains the prologue, a list of the books of the N. T., a wood-cut, and the Gospel of Matthew from ch. i. to xxii. 12, with marginal notes.]

476. That the Reformation did not penetrate into Italy and Spain is known from history. The elements of it which existed there were speedily suppressed, and a strict watch was kept against infection from without. The degree of evil and corruption had indeed become so great that a reaction might be expected, but indifferentism contributed more, almost, than either interest, wickedness, or superstition, to strangle it at the birth. Doubtless zealous men, Spanish fugitives in the Netherlands, Italians in Switzerland and France, took pains to make translations of the Scriptures, but these either did not find their way into their native country at all, or no longer found there soil prepared for them, or expositors, without whom they would not have been intelligible to the masses ; and although some of them were fitted for a wider circle of influence, they were permitted to comfort only the authors themselves and their unfortunate companions in exile.

The Italian and Spanish versions of the first half of the sixteenth century, like the French of Le Fèvre, may be reckoned among Catholic versions, inasmuch as their authors did not formally separate themselves from the Romish Church, and probably intended no act of opposition to it.

The N. T. in Italian, by A. Bruccioli, Ven. 1530; the whole Bible, 1532, fol.; afterward and frequently, until the end of the century, at Geneva and Lyons; also in Hutter's Polyglot. By Massimo Teofilo, Ex-Benedictine, Lyons, 1551, revised by Ph. Rusticius (?), Geneva, 1560; by N. des Gallars and Beza, Geneva, 1562, together with the O. T. of Bruccioli.

A new and especially valuable translation of the Bible, by G. Diodati, Geneva, 1607, 4°, which has maintained itself in use beside all later ones down to the present time; a new recension of it, by G. D. Müller, L. 1743 and freq. Later editions have all appeared in Germany: N. T. by Ferromontano, L. 1702; *i. e.*, C. H. Freiesleben, 2d ed. Altd. 1711; Della Lega and Ravizza, Erl. 1711; M. D'Erberg (whole Bible), Nor. 1711, fol.; J. G. Glück (Gliechio), L. 1743.

Cf. in general Le Long, I. 353; Rosenmüller, IV. 302; R. Simon, *Hist. vers.*, 483; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, II. 99; V. 95; *Nachr.*, III. 189.

The N. T. in Spanish, by Fr. de Enzinas (Dryander), Antw. 1543 (now again circulated by the London Bible Society); by J. Perez, Ven. 1556. The Bible, by Cassiodoro Reina (Basle), 1569, 4°; also in Hutter's Polyglot; revised by Cypr. de Valera, Amst. 1602, fol., from which the N. T. separately, Amst. 1625. There are also Spanish Bibles (O. T.) by Jews, printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Ferrara and Amsterdam.

Cf. Fabricius, *Historia bibl.*, I. 13; Le Long, I. 361; Rosenmüller, IV. 268; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, II. 483; Riederer's *Nachr. zur Kirchengesch.*, II. 145; IV. 265. Letters of Dryander and Reina referring to the subject were published by Ed. Böhmer in a Strassburg Holiday Programme, 1872.

The Portuguese version of J. Ferreira D'Almeida (N. T., Amst. 1712; afterward at Tranquebar and Batavia, now by the London Bible Society; the O. T. printed in separate numbers since 1719 in the East Indies) belongs from its place of printing in the same category. See Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, II. 293; *Handb.*, II. 487.

477. The Slavic peoples were more fortunate at first, at least those of them living more to the west. Bohemia, already long prepared for the Reformation, exchanged her old Hussite Bible for a new one, based upon better aids. Even in Poland, the land of anarchy and license, many were affected by the religious movement of the century, and all the opposing tendencies of the time existed together there almost in peace, at least more peacefully than anywhere else in Christendom. Each of them sought a firm basis for itself in a translation of the Bible of its own. There was a Lutheran, a Reformed, and a Unitarian, and several of them were repeatedly revised or replaced by new attempts.

P. T. Carpov, *Notitia vers. polonicae et bohemicæ*, Rost. 1757; J. T. Elsner, *De edd. cod. s. bohemicis* (*Mus. Hag.*, IV.); idem, *Versuch einer böhmischen Bibelgesch.*, Halle, 1765; Fort Durich, *De slavo-bohemica cod. s. versione*, Prague, 1777; Baumgarten, *Handb.*, I. 474; II. 1; *Nachr.*, IV. 290.

A new translation was prepared by the Bohemian Brethren under the

guidance of Luc. Helitz, a baptized Jew, N. Alberti, G. Vetter, and others, and printed in 1579 ff. 6 vols. 4°, at Kralitz in Moravia, in the castle of Baron J. Zerotin. It has been used by the Slavs of Hungary down to our own time. Revised edition by D. Krmann and M. Bel, Halle, 1722; afterward at Brieg, 1745; Halle, 1766; Pressburg, 1787, and freq.; in modern recensions by Elsner, M. Justitoris, G. Palkowitz.

Another, Prague, 1769, 3 vols. fol.

J. S. Dütschke, *De translationibus s. cod. in l. polonicam* (*Bibl. Hag.*, IV. 299); Sylv. Ringeltaube, *Nachricht von polnischen Bibeln*, Danz. 1744.

Unitarian versions, at the expense of a Prince of Radzivil, Brzesc, 1563; by Simon of Buduy, Czasl. 1572; N. T. by M. Czechowicz, 1577; by Val. Smalcus, 1620.

Reformed, by P. Paliurius, Danzig, 1632. (Danzig, 1606, a N. T.; previously the Reformed had used the Brzesc Bible.) Repeated, Amst. 1660, and freq.

Lutheran N. T. by J. Selucianus, 1551. The Reformed (Danzig) Bible was also used by the Lutherans, who printed it, Halle, 1726, Kön. 1738, and freq. Polish Bibles and New Testaments are now many of them printed at Berlin, Leipzig, Posen, St. Petersburg, and Moscow.

478. Thus the work of reform everywhere brought with it work upon the Scriptures, designed for the immediate instruction and edification of the people, and thousands of copies found their way into the hovels. Even the Catholic party, where it was unable to control this beginning, was obliged to follow the example set, with however bad grace it may often have addressed itself to the task, in order not to leave to its opponents alone the mighty weapon which, now that a thirst for biblical knowledge was once aroused, was invincible. The circulation of these Catholic Bibles depended upon a variety of circumstances, and outside of Germany was inconsiderable. Within the period which we now have under consideration, at least, we find in Italy, England, Holland, and Poland, only such works as deserve mention not on account of their influence, but simply for the sake of literary-historical completeness.

In or at least for England there was printed at Rheims, in 1582, a Catholic version of the N. T. by W. Allen (afterward Archbishop of Mecheln), which is still in use, known as the Rhemish Version. (Riederer, *Nachr.*, I. 389). Stereotype edition, Dublin, 1829. The Bible printed at Douay in 1609 and afterward in England itself is in its second part not an altogether new work.

Italian versions of the N. T., by S. Marmochini, 1538, by the Dominican Zacaria, Ven. 1542, have become exceedingly rare.

Dutch N. T., Delft, 1524 (Riederer, I. 123); Bible, Antw. 1534, fol.; by N. van Wingham, 1548. — Flemish version, by Louvain theologians, 1598; the latter still printed (*e. g.*, Brussels, 1846).

Polish, by the Minorite Hier. Leopoltanus, 1536 and freq.; but especially that by the Jesuit Jac. Wuyk (otherwise Wicc, Wuyek), Cracow, 1599, fol. still reprinted at the present day.

Bohemian Bible, Prague, 1549, and freq.

479. The Catholic press was most active and least niggardly toward the people in Germany, where at the same time with Luther's Bible more than one version appeared from the other side to be set over against it. Not only as a controversial measure but also to help the sale of their versions, the reproach of unfaithfulness was ordinarily made against the work of Luther, and their own declared to be the only genuine. This charge appears hardly justified, since it must be acknowledged that the Catholic translators made use of Luther's work, and that their alterations in his text were mostly insignificant, based upon the text of the Vulgate, and in a linguistic point of view fell notably short of their model. None of them maintained themselves in use beyond the sixteenth century.

G. W. Panzer, *Versuch einer kurzen Gesch. der röm. kath. deutschen Bibelüberss.*, Nürnberg. 1781. For the literature of the controversial writings directed against Luther's Bible, see Walch, *Bibl. Theol.*, IV. 99.

The oldest work belonging here would be the N. T. of Jac. Beringer, which, however, was prepared in a spirit favorable to the Reformation (§ 472). Hostile to it: the N. T. of H. Emser, L. 1527 and freq., is Luther's revised according to the Vulgate; repeated in the Bible of J. Dietenberger, Mayence, 1534 and freq., which was gotten up in the same way, and in that of J. Eck, Ingolst. 1537 and freq., in which the O. T. was translated anew from the Vulgate. Some portions were transferred outright from Protestant editions, as the Apocrypha from the Zürich version.

As a specimen of Catholic polemics the following may serve in place of many others: J. Th. A. Berghauer, *Βιβλιομαχία, d. i. biblischer Feldzug und Musterung vieler (also post-Lutheran) jämmerlich verfälschten Bibeln*, etc., Ober-Ammergau, 1746, 4°.

480. In France the circulation of the Bible among the Catholics progressed more slowly, because there it was carried on even among the Reformed almost wholly from without. In the country itself there was printed only the Bible of Guyars des Moulins and his continuators, in part poorly and scholastically annotated. The work of Le Fèvre no longer belonged to its native country, and in Belgium was reconciled to the Church by the learning and diligence of the Louvain theologians. A native attempt by a member of the Paris theological school, that chief protectress of the purity of the faith, brought its author endless trouble and the people no good. Down to the time of the Bourbons the cause of the Church was generally fought with other weapons than those of the Scriptures.

On the editions of Guyars, see § 468.

The oldest French Bibles containing the text alone, literally translated, are those printed at Antwerp by Martin Lempereur, 1530, 1534, 1541, fol. (*La Sainte Bible en francoys translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de S. Hierome*, etc., without any statement as to its authorship; cf. § 473). The N. T. frequently separately, by various printers, or at least for various

publishers. So far as I am acquainted with the different editions of this series, they vary considerably in text and in the additions in the margin.

It was subjected to a revision which, if not official, at least greatly improved its circulation, by the Louvain theologians, N. de Leuze and others, 1550, and in this form, with many revisions (P. de Besse, 1608, P. Frizon, 1621, F. Véron, 1647), but on the whole with little variation in the different recensions, it continued for a full century to be the real French Catholic version. The numerous editions were all printed at Antwerp, Paris, Rouen, or Lyons.

Cf. Le Long, I. 329, 336 : R. Simon, *Versions*, p. 339 ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VII. 192 ; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1735, p. 567.

For the history of the Bible of René Bénévoist (P. 1566, fol. ; the N. T. frequently in the above-mentioned four cities), see Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, IV. 353.

481. The Catholic Church as such did not trouble herself with undertakings of this kind, which were always designed only to meet special needs. Holding unswervingly to her traditions, and recognizing therein the secret of her strength, she was and continued to be the Latin Church, and allowed no Bible to be appropriate for church use, or valid as the rule of faith, but her time-honored Vulgate, which was at the same time a world-wide sign of her unity. But when the repeated reprints of it immediately after the discovery of printing brought to light clearly for the first time the lamentable state of its text, and many mistaken attempts at improvement, varying in design and aids, had begun to threaten it with a yet greater danger, there came to the Church the imperative task of purifying and fixing it, in order that there might be no more dispute on questions of genuineness and text. The fact that the Catholic Church stood by the version, instead of going back to the original, is to be explained from her point of view, which was rather practical than dogmatic, as before in her arrangement of the Canon, and should least of all be objected to by Protestants, who soon even outdid their opponents in this respect.

No book was more frequently printed in the period immediately after the discovery of printing than the Latin Bible — more than one hundred times down to 1520. See the larger bibliographical works, especially Masch, II., Pt. 3. The date and place of the oldest edition are still disputed. The older opinion declares for Mayence, 1462, by Fust and Schöffer (by whom certainly the oldest dated Psalter, 1457 ; see Schelhorn, in Riederer's *Abhh.*, p. 1). Others go back to Gutenberg, 1450. It is certain that several undated editions form the beginning. (See Seemiller, *De edit. moguntina bibl. a. 1462*, Ingolst. 1785.) The oldest editions besides are of Strassburg, Cologne, Basle. None out of Germany before 1471. Cf. also Meyer, *Gesch. der Schrifterkl.*, I. 186 ff. Some of the oldest editions are also described by Zapf, *l. c.*, § 469. I have in my own possession an undated edition, printed with very uneven type, which shows at the close (by a later hand) the date 1460. But this is doubtless an error, and the copy probably belongs to the so-called Bämle edition, and should be imprinted Eggesteyn, Strassburg, 1466–68. See

Ebert, *Nachr.*, 2278 ; J. F. Lichtenberger, *Éclaircissements sur la Bible latine dite de Baemler*, in the *Mag. Encycl.*, 1806.

The printers naturally made use of the next best MS., or of an older edition. The variation of text arising therefrom is very great, but has never been thoroughly investigated. The editions are classified by bibliographers simply by external characteristics, as dated or undated, or by certain additions, *e. g.*, the subscription in verse : *Fontibus ex grecis hebreorum quoque libris*, etc., from which Van Ess, p. 171, understands a recension from the original text, whereas it is in reality nothing but a printers' puff (occurring in many editions since 1479) ; also a glossary of the biblical proper names, concordances or parallel passages, finally the marginal numbering (§ 386), by which the chapters are divided into sections by means of letters, for convenience of reference, which appears from about 1480 on in the N. T., and was finally introduced into the O. T. also by Froben, Basle, 1491, and from that time passed over into the Bibles in other languages, down to the time of verse division.

The first critical care bestowed upon the text was by the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot (§ 399), who placed it between the LXX. and the Hebrew, as the Roman Church, representing Jesus, stands between the Synagogue and the Greek Church, which represent the two robbers. (*Prolegomena*.)

In the period immediately following scholars ventured (the Dominican Santes Pagninus, see Leusden, *Philol. hebr.*, p. 409, Baumgarten, *Hal. Bibl.*, I. 187, Cardinal Cajetanus, Bishop Augustinus Steuchus, 1528 ff.) to pass over the Vulgate and give to the public Latin versions of the Bible or of particular portions of it *secundum hebr. veritatem*, etc. ; a fact which is to be explained from the very perplexity of the schools at so confused a text.

The improvements of Robt. Stephens (N. T. 1523, Bible 1528 and freq. ; an especially fine edition, 1540, fol., 1545, in two columns, with the Zürich Latin version) were not allowed to pass so easily, because they were dogmatically suspicious, and attempted, doubtless not without design, silently to substitute the new for the old.

Another improved Vulgate, likewise from the original text, was published by the Benedictine Isid. Clarius, Ven. 1542.

On this stage of the history of the Vulgate, cf. in general Kaulen, *l. c.*, p. 318 ff.

482. This task the fathers of the Council of Trent recognized as a duty of the Church, after giving to the work itself the honor and dignity of sole authority. The theologians of the University of Louvain immediately took up the matter ; but their work, having been undertaken upon their own responsibility, seemed to lack the proper warrant. The Popes themselves appointed a committee for the preparation of a standard edition ; but it accomplished nothing, and Sixtus V., energetic and impatient, at last took hold of the matter himself, and did in a short time what ought to have been the work of a whole life. His successor, Clement VIII., was induced to suppress the Sixtine Bible, and to replace it by one supposed to be better, which has since that time remained unchanged, and still drags along its defects, to Catholic criticism a sacred thing, not to be meddled with, and to Protestant a far too uninviting field.

*Concil. Trident., Sess. IV. (April 8, 1546): SS. Synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesie si ex omnibus latinis edd. quæ circumferuntur ss. ll. quænam pro authentica habenda sit innotescat, statuit et declarat ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat . . . decrevit et statuit ut posthac SS. potissimum vero hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur.*

As to the sense and bearing of this decree (which was only adopted in the Council itself after much discussion; see the extracts from Sarpi, Palavicini, and others, in Van Ess, p. 188 ff.), there has been much controversy and misunderstanding down to the present day, both within and without the Romish Church; see Van Ess, p. 401 ff.; idem, *Pragmatica doctorum cath. tridentini conc. Vulgatum decreti sensum testamentum historia*, 1816; R. Simon, *V. T.*, p. 264; Calovius, *Crit. s.*, p. 269 ff.; Sixt. Amama, *Antibarbarus bibl.*, Bk. I.; C. J. Herber, *De vers. vulg. ex decreto trid. authentica*, Br. 1815; Alzog, *Syst. cathol. explic. SS.*, p. 5 ff.; Welte, in the *Quartalschr.*, 1845, I., III.; Winer, *Compar. Darstell.*, p. 39. The defenders of the Council and liberal theologians assert that it only intended to give the Vulgate the preference over later versions; its opponents and the stricter theologians that it designed to set aside the original text. The chief design was probably to set up the current Church version as an authentic exposition of the original text, in order to guard so far as possible against arbitrary interpretation of Scripture. Cf. also the *Regulæ indic. ll. prohibitorum*, 1564, approved by Pius IV., in which the reading of the Bible in heretical versions and in the vernacular languages is strictly forbidden (§ 499).

Edition of the Louvain theologians (Jo. Hentenius), 1547, fol. and freq.; last, N. T., Cologne, 1592; not approved.

*Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita*, Rome, 1590, 3 vols. fol., with the bull (like the edition itself, suppressed) *Æternus ille*, which forbids any future alteration. Only a few copies of this edition have been preserved, in larger libraries, since immediately after the Pope's death (August, 1590), it was withdrawn. This measure has been variously explained. Van Ess is of the opinion (p. 263 ff.) that Jesuitical intrigues were at the bottom of it (by Cardinal Bellarmine, who was afterward editor of the Clementine edition, 1592). Kaulen (p. 444 ff.) finds the cause substantially in the uncritical haste of the Pope, and his ridiculous method of expunging errors discovered. But the undeniable fact that the Clementine text, of the N. T. at least, in numerous passages follows the printed original text against the Latin MSS., while the Sixtine, on the contrary, is more true to that of the Vulgate as authenticated by MSS., might give at least some support to still another explanation. An exceedingly inconvenient weakness was thereby covered. True, so long as the textual criticism of the Vulgate is not more thorough than it is at present, this must remain a mere conjecture. But it is to my mind a very striking fact that the Waldensian and Catharic versions, as a rule, agree with Sixtus against Clement, *i. e.*, that in former times the Sixtine readings were the more widely current; it would be worth while to follow up this clue and see if the source of the Clementine recension could not be discovered. For a convenient summary of the two recensions see Lucas Brugensis, *Rom. correctionis loca insigniora*, Antw. 1603 (also in the *Biblia Maxima* (§ 552), XVIII.); cf. also *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1749, p. 311. [See Westcott's Art. *Vulgata*, in Smith's *Dict.*, IV. 3467 ff.]

The Protestants have naturally taken delight in this piece of infallibility: Th. James, *Bellum papale s. concordia discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII.*, Lond. 1600. The papal apologists assert that Sixtus himself discovered so many "typographical errors" that he was only prevented by his death from undertaking the new revision himself.

The numberless editions of the Latin Bible since 1592 (although even the next two, 1593 and 1598, vary here and there, and an *Index locc. corrigendorum* is generally inserted in the latter), being mere repetitions of the Clementine text, have no interest for us. They are completely catalogued in Masch down to 1780; since that time nowhere. For manual use the edition of L. van Ess, Tüb. 1822, 3 vols. 8°, may be recommended, which has the Sixtine readings in the margin. According to Welte (*Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1855, I. 159) the Plantine editions (Antw. 1603 ff.), and their reprints, which were most widely current outside of Italy, did not remain altogether faithful to the Roman standard editions, but allowed themselves here and there to be led astray by Lucas Brugensis.

Even to-day, after an interval of almost three hundred years, there is as yet scarcely any prospect of a work upon the text of the Vulgate corresponding to the demands of modern science. Yet even the Catholic theology itself seems not to be unaware of the need of such a work. At least a vast collection has been begun by the Barnabite Car. Vercellone at Rome: *Varie lectiones vulg. lat. bibliorum editionis*, Vol. I., Pentateuch, Rome, 1860, 4°; Vol. II., Pt. I., Historical Books, 1862. [Pt. II. 1864; unfinished, but a very important work.]

483. When the Reformation had everywhere come to its conclusion and men began to consider more calmly the work of the early zeal, the development of the modern languages, which had awakened to more vigorous life, as well as the progress in the knowledge of the Scriptures, soon made the defects of the current versions felt, and there was nowhere any lack of new works or revisions, or at least emendations. Luther's work alone no irreverent criticism was permitted to touch, not because it was really incapable of improvement, but in consequence of that strict and tenacious adherence to old customs which generally distinguished the Lutheran Church above all her sisters. But it is only fair to say that his opponents often regarded as faults what are really his excellences, and that no one of them was able to produce anything that even approached him, to say nothing of anything better.

The version begun by J. Saubert, in 1665, under the commission of Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg (printed as far as 1 Sam. xvii.), has become a bibliographical curiosity; it was attacked even before it was published, and immediately suppressed in the following year, after the Duke's death; see H. Conring, *Ep. gratul. ad duces*, etc., Helmst. 1666; Waleh, *Bibl. Theol.*, IV. 114; Zeltner, *De novis verss.*, p. 125; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VIII. 300; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1720, p. 800; 1722, p. 710.

Not until the end of the seventeenth century was the correctness and sufficiency of Luther's version really called in question, and then by the Pietists, for whom it was too free (§ 558 f.); A. H. Franke, *Obss. biblicæ oder Anmerk. über einige Oerter h. S. darinnen die teutsche Uebers. des sel. Luther gegen den Originaltext gehalten*, etc., H. 1695, especially pp. 236-572. (M. Beck, *Versio Lutheri a censura Frankii vindicata*, Ulm, 1700.) Later: H. S. Reimarus, *Anim. crit. ad vers. Lutheri*, printed from the MS. in Rosenmüller's *Syll.*, III.; J. V. Zehner, *Probe einer Verbesserung der deutschen Bibelübers.*, 1750.

Against this criticism and the series of new translations which began soon after: G. G. Zeltner, *De novis bibl. germ. verss. non temere vulgandis*, Altd.



(1707) ; J. Fecht, *De controv. recent. c. vers. luth.*, 1709 ; F. A. Hallbauer, *Anim. theol. in licentiam novas germ. s. cod. versiones condendi*, Jena, 1742 ; J. G. Stöpel, *Memoria translationis Luth.*, L. 1735 ; C. S. Georgi, *De versione L. omnium optima*, Witt. 1737 ; F. A. Augusti, *Vertheidigung der Version Luth.*, 1750.

But meanwhile the (very modest) attempts at improvement went on without interruption, more, indeed, as they had begun immediately after Luther's death, without thorough exegetical criticism. We may mention here the projects or editions of J. Weller, Chief Court Preacher at Dresden, Prett, pastor at Naumburg, Nic. Haas, of Bautzen, Ch. Reineccius of Leipzig, Bernhard in Stendal, Sartorius and Hedinger in Würtemberg, especially Dieckmann, Superintendent at Stade (1703) ; also Canstein's establishment (§ 484) ; Pfaff's Polyglot, 1729, in which the emendations were placed beneath the text ; finally J. M. Göze (a careful collation of the original editions of Luther's version), an uncompleted revision.

484. Luther's version was also the first to win the deserved honor of being cheaply and abundantly circulated among the people by piety and commercial enterprise combined. Its inner worth was such that it would not have needed this aid in order to put aside all competition. However much in after times the Church was tossed to and fro on the troubled sea of opinions, Luther's Bible was still in the school and home, and was always the anchor that led it back again to solid ground. The other religious bodies which spoke German also made use of it, and their attempts to escape from this influence or to do away with this sign of intellectual impotence often only revealed the more clearly its truth.

C. H. v. Canstein, a friend of A. H. Franke († 1719) first conceived the idea of making the Bible cheap by printing it from standing type, and founded for this purpose, in 1710, at Halle (Orphanage), the still existing Bible House (afterward named after him), which has circulated millions of copies, in more than six hundred editions, in various styles and sizes, at exceedingly low prices, and which has also exerted some influence on the form of the text. See Canstein's *Umständl. Nachricht*, etc., Halle (1714) ; Lilienthal, *Exeg. Bibl.*, p. 80 ; Lork, *Bibelgesch.*, II. 476 ; A. H. Niemeyer, *Geschichte der canstein. Bibelanstalt*, Halle, 1827 ; Osw. Bertram, *Gesch. der canst. Bibelanstalt*, Halle, 1863.

Beside the Lutheran, there were prepared in or for Germany Reformed translations, by David Pareus, 1579 ; by J. Piscator, 1602 ; the latter frequently printed ; the N. T. by Amandus Polanus of Polansdorf, 1603 ; also a Socinian, by J. Crell, 1630, and one said to be Arminian, at least suspected of it, by Jer. Felbinger, 1660. See Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, II. 195 ; Lilienthal, *l. c.*, 101.

485. In all other Protestant lands the temporal and spiritual authorities applied themselves to the business of revision with beautiful harmony. There were to be translations not only better, but authenticated and, so to speak, guaranteed by the Church. The important work was for the most part not entrusted to single men, but a selection was made of the most learned, and to them was given the honorable commission, here by kings or princes, there by synods or colleges. For it

is only youthful enthusiasm that throws itself, in the spirit of childhood, into the arms of a single leader; a more mature and sober age, distrustful, scarcely follows several. And so arose in the course of the seventeenth century the still current versions of the non-German Evangelical national Churches, some of them more, others less changed from that time on.

Switzerland obtained in 1665 a wholly new translation, made at Zürich, upon which J. H. Hottinger, C. Suicer, P. Füsslin, and others were engaged. (A new edition, revised in language, 1772. See Grimm's *Stromata*, II. 94.) J. J. Breitingen's *Nachrichten von dem Collegio biblico zu Zürich*, in Simmler's *Samml.*, I. 3; II. 1.

England was obliged to change once more when the theologian-king James I. brought out, in 1611, his Royal Version, upon which forty-seven scholars, divided into six colleges, had been engaged for seven years. These colleges, which had divided the Bible amongst them, three for the O. T., two for the N. T., one for the Apocrypha, worked two each at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. No names renowned in science are found among them. For details see Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, VII. 102, and the general works cited in § 475. As an exegetical work this Bible is praiseworthy for its time, though its diction now sounds very antiquated. [On the origin and history of King James' Version see Plumptre's *Art. Version, Authorized*, in Smith's *Dict.*, to which is appended a very full bibliography by Dr. Abbot; also Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, N. Y. 1883, p. 299 ff. — Editions: *The editio princeps*, 1611: *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament and the New; Newly Translated out of the Originall Tongues; and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciall Commandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1611.* Fol. Many copies omit the line *Appointed to be read in Churches* in the special title to the New Testament, and some even in the general title to the whole work. — Oxford reprint, 1833: the folio edition of 1611 reprinted from an Oxford copy, page for page, in quasi fac-simile. Contains the Dedication, Preface, and a list of variations between the editions of 1611 and 1613. — The best critical edition of King James' Version is that of Dr. Scrivener: *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorized English Version, with the text revised by a collation of its early and other principal editions, the use of the italic type made uniform, the marginal references remodelled, and a critical introduction prefixed by the Rev. F. H. A. Scrivener, etc.*, Camb. 1873, 4°; with modern spelling. — The standard edition of the Am. Bible Society is the imperial octavo of 1882, based upon the Society's final revision of 1860.]

In Holland attempts were early made to replace the Lutheran version by a direct one. Thus there appeared in 1556 the N. T. of J. Uitenhoven, in 1562 the whole Bible, little altered in the O. T.; in 1587 the Bible of P. Hackius, mostly after the Geneva version. In the year 1618 the Synod of Dordrecht ordered the preparation of a new church version, and appointed for the work a commission of twenty-two members (among whom, for the O. T. Jan Bogermann, for the N. T. Ant. Walæus did the most). The work was published in 1637 under public authority (State Bible). See Leusden, *Philol. hebr. gr.*, Diss. IX.; *Philol. hebr. mixtus*, Diss. X., XI.; Is. le Long, *Boekzaal der nederduytsche Bybels*, Amst. 1732, 2d ed. 1764, 4° (beginning with Adam and Eve); Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, V. 1; *Nachr.*, IV. 471 ff.; Fabricius, *Hist. biblioth.*, I. 36; Nie. Hinlopen, *Hist. van d. nederl. Overzettinge des Bybels*, Leyd. 1777.

The Remonstrants obtained, in 1680, a translation of their own, by Ch. Hartsoecker.

The Danish version is a work completed in 1607 by P. J. Resenius, revised in 1647 by J. Svaning. See Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, VI. 1; *Nachr.*, VI. 289.

The Icelandic received its permanent form from Thorlacius Sculonius, 1644; see Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 283. It is now printed, like the other church versions, also by the London Bible Society.

The Swedish version was improved in various ways by J. Rudbeck and J. Lenæus, 1618; by Erich Beuzel, 1703. It was not until the time of Gustavus III. (1774 ff.) that an official revision took place (at first as a *Professorsättning*), in which all learned Sweden had a part, but which resulted rather paraphrastically. J. A. Schinmeyer, *Vollständige Geschichte der schwedischen Bibelübers.*, 1777 ff., 4 Pts. 4<sup>o</sup>; Michaelis, *Bibl.*, X. 140.

486. Of all the lands where the Reformation had taken root, in France alone no national version had come into existence. But nowhere else had the adherents of the purified Gospel been obliged to fight so ceaseless and from generation to generation unsuccessful a battle for their freedom of conscience and existence as a Church. At the time of the bloom of the Protestant theology in France the Geneva version had already so grown into the life of the people that a new one was not to be thought of. When the French language was going through its so-called classical development, in the sunshine of a hostile court, the old uncorrupted Bible language was doubly dear to the hunted Huguenots, a solace in distress and death. In later times other French speaking countries have undertaken many changes in the current version; these have proceeded partly from individual Swiss and Walloon preachers, and in part have been the periodical fruit of that training which the Geneva clergy had received as a legacy from the great reformer.

The first thorough revision of the Olivetano-Calvinistic Bible by the *Vénérable Compagnie* at Geneva, under the guidance of C. B. Bertram, 1588. Other similar revisions, 1693, 1712, 1726, 1805, and of the N. T. 1835, by the same clerical body, the last two much modernized. Also by individual clergymen: J. Diodati, Geneva, 1644; S. Desmarests, Amst. 1669, fol. (very beautifully gotten up); D. Martin, Utrecht, N. T., 1696, Bible, 1707 (P. Roques, Basle, 1744, is substantially the same recension); J. F. Osterwald, Neuchatel, 1744; the last a much more thorough revision. (L. Junod, J. F. Osterwald, Neuch. 1863.)

Between the time of the religious wars and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes several Protestant Bibles were printed in France, as before, most frequently at Lyons, also at Caens, Paris, La Rochelle, Saumur, Sedan, Charenton, Quéville, Niort; most of them, however, in Basle, in French Switzerland, and in Holland; some also, for refugees, in Halle and other German cities. From 1685 on all were, of course, printed without the country. No more were printed in the country itself until the Bible Society (1824). There is no satisfactory history of the French version in existence.

For the criticism of this and the Catholic versions mentioned in § 488, cf. O. Douen, in the *Strassb. Revue*, 3d series, VI.

487. It was properly through these versions alone, projected and approved by the Churches, or at least commended by general public use, that the circulation of the Scriptures among

the people was accomplished, in the countries named. The other works which might be compared with them, by individual divines and scholars, which did not have the advantage of such commendation, belong, as has already been said, not to the history of the circulation, but to that of the interpretation of the Scriptures. In the Protestant countries of Europe more remote from us, however, down to the second half of the last century, but few of these were produced of which any knowledge has come down to us. Frenchmen in Holland and Germany produced some better known ones, some of them of good and some of evil reputation. In the German language the attempts were much more numerous. But they either fell upon the time of the deepest depression of the language and of taste, or bore the stamp of a religious prejudice which was sickly and even subversive of the word, and those of the most honorable intent were distinguished still more by their dullness and insipidity than by their exegetical fidelity.

The brave but unfortunate Savoyard Seb. Chastillon (Castalio, Castellio), prominent in the history of the Swiss Reformation, who also prepared a beautiful Latin version, often printed even down to modern times, published in 1555, Basle, 2 vols. fol., a French version, in which he attempted to conform the Bible to the genius of the French language, and the latter to his own. He singularly failed in both respects, although the attempt deserved neither the classic scorn of H. Stephens nor the dogmatic criticisms of the Calvinistic zealots. This Bible is one of the greatest rarities. There was a copy at Strassburg. Cf. J. C. Füsslin, *S. Castellio's Leben*, 1775; also *Bibl. Hag.*, III.; C. R. Brenner, *Essai sur S. Chatillon*, Str. 1853; Hagenbach, in Herzog's *Encykl.*; Jac. Mähly, *Castellio*, Basle, 1862.

Translation of the N. T. by J. Le Clerc, Amst. 1703, suspected of Arminianism; the Bible of C. Le Cène (1697), published after his death, at Amsterdam, 1742, 2 vols. fol., charged with much worse heresies; cf. Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, VII. 15; *Ünsch. Nachr.*, 1702, p. 258; *Frühaufgel. Früchte*, 1738, p. 167. The best and most celebrated is the N. T. of Is. de Beausobre and Jac. Lenfant, Amst. 1718, 2 vols. 4°, with exegetical additions, afterward frequently printed in manual editions in various places (also with Luther, Basle, 1746).—An exceedingly rare version of the Gospels and Romans, by J. G. Stuber, pastor in the Steinthal, 1783 ff.

German translations (Lutheran) by C. E. Triller, 1703; J. H. Reiz, 1712; J. J. Junkherrott, 1732, a ludicrous monstrosity of literalness and word-stickling; C. A. Heumann, 1748; J. A. Bengel, 1753; J. D. Michaelis, 1769 ff. (§ 567); J. G. Sillig, 1778 f.; G. F. Seiler, 1783, and freq.; J. J. Stolz, 1795, and freq. For still others (Moldenhawer, Rullmann, Bolten, Thiess, Zerrenner, Hezel) see the History of Exegesis.

Especially famous, but from very different causes: the so-called Berleburg Bible (a translation not wholly new, by J. F. Haug and others), 1726, 8 vols. fol., for the reverently meditative exposition accompanying it; the translation of the N. T. by N. L. v. Zinzendorf, who ventured upon the undertaking of rendering the "coarse speech of the journeymen of Nazareth" into the pedantic style of the German nobility of his time (Büdingen, 1739), and by his combination of naive devoutness with triviality caused the wrath of the orthodox to overflow: J. H. Benner, *Tirocinium zinzendorfanum*, Giss. 1742; Hallbauer (§ 483); T. a Veritate, *Das zinzend. Bibelärgerniss*, Hild.

1740; idem, *Nähere Beleuchtung*, etc., 1741. On the other side, P. Müller, *De tentamine*, etc., 1743. Cf. on both works § 559.

Also, the so-called Wertheim Bible, i. e., *Die göttl. Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus*, Pt. I., *Die Gesetze der Israelen*, Werth. 1735, 4° (by Joh. Lor. Schmidt), proscribed and confiscated at the time, but even now very common. J. N. Sinnhold, *Hist. Nachricht von der wertheimer Bibel*, Erf. 1737; E. F. Neubauer, *Primitiv Giss.*, p. 61 ff.; a collection of [34] writings for and against the Wertheim Bible, 1738. This collection, however, is not complete. Cf. also Walch, *Misc.*, p. 159 ff.; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1737, 1738, in the Index; Ed. Reuss, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

Finally the translation of the N. T. by the notorious C. F. Bahrdr (§ 575).

Of the Reformed (Swiss) we mention of this period Sim. Grynæus, Basle, 1776; Vögelin, Zürich, 1781.

In England also several new translations (or rather attempts at translations in different exegetical works) came into existence in the course of the last century: Humphrey Prideaux, see *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1722, p. 85; 1723, p. 1072; J. Lookup, see *Frühaufgel. Früchte*, 1740, p. 173; Ph. Doddridge (§ 569); Ed. Harwood, 1768; J. Worsley, 1770; by an anonymous author (Mace), a suspected Greek-English edition, 1729; see § 409 and Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, IV. 208. [See the historical works cited under § 475.]

A Swedish translation by J. A. Tingstadt, 1783 ff., in separate parts (Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, X. 516), was probably never completed.

The Danish version of the N. T. by Hoeg Guldberg, 1794. See Eichhorn, IX. 581; Hänlein's *Journal*, V. 127.

In Holland various new versions of the N. T. appeared, of which, however, little was known outside the country: C. Cats, 1701, accused of Socinianism (*Unsch. Nachr.*, 1718, p. 111); Ysbrand van Hamelsveld, 1789, 2 vols.; J. H. van der Palm, 1818 (*Theol. Annal.*, 1822, p. 773); G. Vissering, a Mennonite preacher, Amst. 1854, and freq.

488. Beside all these works undertaken in Protestant temper and purpose, by which, in connection with the common aids of the printing-press and trade, the Bible was circulated among the people more than ever before, the contemporaneous endeavors of Catholics should not be forgotten. The latter, giving up their former hatred and antagonism, began to interest themselves in the matter more for its own sake, and to realize that the principles and the entire structure of the Church must be made to conform to the imperative demand of the time. Yet this took place only where they were in living contact with Protestants, and where science was equally developed in both circles,—hence more especially in France and Germany. In both these countries versions multiplied, and with them the number of readers; in the former favored mostly by the movements of Jansenism, that Roman Lutheranism; in the latter especially as an early fruit of the Josephine spirit. Moreover, these Catholic versions are more important than the last mentioned Protestant ones, because they made their way among the people more.

Germany: The version of the convert Caspar Ulenberg, Cologne, 1630 and freq., became, to a certain extent, a national version, displacing the earlier ones (§ 479); in later recensions by the Mayence Jesuits, 1661; by

Th. Aq. Ehrhard, a Benedictine of Wessobrunn, 1722; by the Benedictines of Ettenheim-Münster (D. G. Cartier) 1751, with and without the Vulgate, in beautiful folio editions.

Later versions by C. Salzmänn, Lux. 1770; M. A. Wittola, Vienna, 1775; Ign. Weitenauer, Augsb. 1777 ff., with Vulgate, 14 vols.; J. Fleischütz, Fuld. 1778; F. Rosalino, Vienna, 1781; C. Fischer, Prague, 1784 and freq.; H. Braun, Vienna, 1786 and freq.; Jos. Lauber, 1786; S. Mutschelle, Munich, 1789; B. Weyl, Mayence, 1789; J. G. Krach, Augsb. 1790; D. von Brentano, Kempt. 1790; Anon., Vienna, 1792; J. Babor, 1805, mostly only the N. T. See also Werner's *Geschichte der kath. Theol.*, p. 272 f.

France: Versions by Claude Deville, 1613; Jaq. Corbin, a parliamentary lawyer, 1643; Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin, 1649 and freq.; the Oratorian Denys Amelotte, 1666 and freq.; Ch. Huré, 1702; Domin. Bouhours, a Jesuit, 1703 and freq.; all of the N. T. only. The Abbé de Marolles also began, in 1671, a version of the O. T., but it was suppressed; some copies of it, however, have been preserved, extending to Lev. xxiii. (Ebert).

Special attention was aroused by the (anonymous) version of the N. T. by R. Simon, Trévoux, 1702. It was accused of Socinianism by Bossuet, and condemned by Cardinal de Noailles. See *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1705, *passim*; Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, VI. 381; Graf, in the *Strassb. Beitr.*, I. 229. There were cancels printed for the most offensive pages, which in my copy are only bound in. The author did not venture to come out with the O. T. at all. Cf. Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, X. 471. The N. T. translated into English by W. Webster, 1730.

Jansenist version, in various recensions and variously known (*Version de Port Royal*, *Version de Mons*, etc.) by Ant. and Isaac Louis Lemaitre de Sacy, Ant. Arnauld, P. Nicole, and other teachers at Port Royal (see Reuchlin, *Gesch. von Port Royal*, Hamb. 1839 f.), whose respective parts in the different editions are not well known, though Is. L. Lemaitre is regarded as the principal author. First printed, the N. T., Mons (*i. e.*, Amsterdam), 1667 (afterward the O. T. also), and very frequently in the Netherlands; still the most widely current French Catholic version; often printed in foreign countries (*e. g.*, Lausanne, 1776), and in more recent times at Paris (1816 ff., freq.): *selon l'édition vulgate* (also with the Vulgate) *avec les différences du grec*; with and without notes on the *sens littéral* and the *sens spirituel* (§ 562). In consequence of this last feature, as well as of the French text itself, there arose long disputes, of which the history of the Church has much to say (under the reigns of Clement IX., Innocent XI., Clement XI.), and which became a leading matter during the last years of the reign of the aged Louis XIV., naturally rather as a pretext than a real cause. Arnauld, *Defense de la Version de Mons*, Col. 1668; *Nouvelle Defense*, 1682. Among the bitterest enemies of the Jansenists, next to the Jesuits, was R. Simon (*Verss.*, p. 396 ff.; *Nouvelles obs.* almost entire). Cf. in general Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, IV. 359 ff.

During the eighteenth century some other versions came into existence: by Augustin Calmet, in his great exegetical work, 1707 (§ 552); by Nic. Legross, anonymously, Cologne, 1739; afterward often with his name, also at Paris; by Mesenguy, P. 1764; by Valart, 1789.

England: Version by Corn. Nary, 1719, and especially by Alex. Geddes, 1786 ff.; see Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, I. 694; II. 459; III. 719.

Netherlands: Jansenist version by And. v. d. Schuuren, 1698 and freq.; another by Aeg. de Wit, 1717; the date of a Flemish version by P. Buys, which is now printed by the London Bible Society (also Brussels, 1865 and freq.), is unknown to me.

Italy: Version by Ant. Martini, Archb. of Florence († 1808), approved by the Roman See, Turin, 1776, now circulated by the London Bible Society,

N. T. 1813 and freq., Bible, 1821. The Catholic editions (Florence, Milan, Turin, Prato) have most of them the Vulgate and exegetical additions. The English Propaganda also circulates the version of Diodati (*e. g.*, Rome, 1849). — Translation from Lemaitre de Sacy, Naples, 1766.

Spain : Version by Ph. Scio de San Miguel, Madrid, 1794, with Vulgate and Commentary, 19 vols., also (the new text) by the London Bible Society, 1828; N. T. by Fel. de Torres Amat, Bishop of Astorga, likewise, 1837.

Portugal : Version by Ant. Pereira de Figueiredo, Lisbon, 1784 ff., with Commentary. (The text circulated by the London Bible Society.)

Bohemia : Prague, 1677.

489. We have had in mind in the foregoing chiefly the greater nations of Europe, who stood at the head of all intellectual progress. But the versions intended for them were by no means the only ones brought into existence during this period by the ever-increasing zeal for the spread of the word of God. No corner of Christendom was forgotten, no dialect in which anything in this direction still remained to be done for the knowledge of the Gospel. Thus the Bible was carried even to those vanished nationalities whose history is celebrated and whose former freedom and glory now live only in the language of remote valleys, or to those others which have never been able on their barren steppes to attain independent power and fame. Not all these peoples belong to the Protestant confessions, but it has been mostly Protestants who have felt called upon to give them the Scriptures in their own language.

We have first to mention under this head a number of Christian societies, formed in England in the last century, for the purpose, among other things, of circulating the Bible among the people as a means of religious instruction. The earliest was the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698; most of them are still in existence. They have printed, however, only for the kingdom, English and Gaelic, the latter in various dialects.

Celtic languages : Versions into Welsh, by W. Morgan and Rich. Davies, since 1567; into Irish (Gaidheilg), by J. Kern, about 1600; into West British (for the Isle of Man, Manx), by J. Phillips, about 1620; into Scottish (Gaelic, Albannaich); into the Armorican-Cymric (Bas-Breton), by Legonidec; the last by and for Catholics. (Angoulême, 1827, Brest, 1847, 1863, St. Briens, 1866, and freq.) Through the Bible Societies the editions have become very numerous in this century. See also Th. Llewellyn, *An Account of British or Welsh Versions and editions of the Bible*, Lond. 1768. It is unnecessary to enumerate later editions.

Basque language : By J. de Licarrague, since 1571, printed at La Rochelle and Bayonne (1828). A specimen in the *Königsb. Archiv*, II. 277. — Specimen of a new version, the Sermon on the Mount, in Greek and Basque, Toul. 1831. In the Biscayan dialect (Esecuara), Luke, Madr. 1838. — These works belong both in origin and use to the Catholic Church, but are now circulated by the London Bible Society.

Rhæto-Romance dialects in the Grisons : By Jac. Biffrun, since 1560; J. Gritti, 1640; J. A. Vulpio and others, 1674; Luc. Gabriel, 1718; frequently printed, especially in Chur, down to very recent times, in two dialects. See *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1731, p. 611; Weller, *Altes*, II. 819; Adelung, *Mithr.*, II. 603. That the number of these versions may yet be increased, as in general in any

region where a universal national written language cannot be formed, appears from specimens (the parable of the Prodigal Son) of six different Rhetian and eight Italian dialects which are spoken in Switzerland alone, in Stalder, *Landessprachen der Schweiz*, Aarau, 1819. (The same author also has fifteen Swiss-French dialects; while Coquebert de Montbret, *Melanges sur les patois de France*, P. 1831, gives the same parable in about one hundred dialects.) The Psalms were printed at Aix, in 1702, in Provençal. The Gospel of John in the present dialect of Upper Languedoc, Toulouse, 1820. A N. T. in the Catalan dialect, Lond. 1832 and freq.

Scandinavo-German dialects seem not to have been added to the list until very recently, § 496.

Slavic dialects (for the principal languages, see §§ 477, 490) : Wendish Bible (Sorabic), in the Upper Lusatian dialect, by Michael Frenzel, 1670 ; in the Lower Lusatian, by Gottlieb Fabricius, 1709 ; later, in the former, by several, 1728 (Coleri, *Auserles. Bibl.*, IV. 40), by J. G. Kühn, 1742, printed at Bautzen. See Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, III. 471 ; IV. 283. — Croatian, by Georg Kobila and Primus Truber, 1553, first and more frequently printed in Tübingen (see Jäger, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, II. 1 ; VI. 2). — Windish (according to Ebert Vandal!), *i. e.*, in the critical dialect, by G. Dalmatin, Witt. 1584 ; Baumgarten, *l. c.*, IX. 95. — Lithuanian, first by J. Breteke, 1590 (not printed), afterward by S. B. Chylinsky, 1660, in London ; in the country itself not until 1701, the N. T. ; in 1735 the Bible, by several, under the lead of J. J. Quandt ; Lork, I. 454 ; Adelung, II. 706 ; Tetsch, *Curländ. Kirchengesch.*, III. 92 ; and especially L. J. Rhesa, *Gesch. der lith. Bibel*, 1815. — Lettish, by J. Fischer, Riga, N. T. 1685, Bible 1689 ; revised 1739 ; also Riga, 1794 and freq. Baumgarten, *l. c.*, IV. 302 ; IX. 1 ; Tetsch, *l. c.*, III. 110. — In the Dalmatian dialect (Ragusa), by Kassich, the pericopes, Rome, 1641.

Finnish languages : For Finland proper by M. Agricola, Bishop of Abo, the N. T., Stockh. 1548 ; afterward separate portions of the O. T. by E. Petri and M. Stodius, Stockh. 1642, since also at Abo (Turus), and more recently at St. Petersburg ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, VI. 286 ; Henderson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 6 ff. — In various Lapland dialects by J. J. v. Tornea, 1648 ; by O. S. Graan, 1669. — For Esthonia, the N. T. in the Reval and Dorpat dialects, by Göseken and Fischer, since 1685 at Reval (Tallinas) ; Lork, II. 567 ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, IV. 305 ; IX. 381. New translation of the Bible by Hell and Gützlaff, 1739 ; see Tetsch, *Curländ. Kirchengesch.*, III. 86.

Magyar (Hungarian) versions in greater number (see P. Wallasky, *Consp. reip. lit. in Hungaria*, Posen, 1785) ; Lutheran : Pauline Epistles by B. Komjathi, Cracow, 1531 ; N. T. by J. Sylvester, Szigeth, 1541, and freq. ; by G. Barany, Lauban, 1754 ; by And. Torkos, Vit. 1736. Reformed : N. T. by Th. Felegyhazi, Debr. 1586. The Bible by C. Karoli, Vis. 1589, 2 vols. fol., is the most widely current version ; revised by Alb. Molnar, Hanau, 1608, and freq., and still printed. Another by G. Csipkes of Comorn, Leyd. 1719. Catholic : N. T. (or only the Gospels ?) by G. Pesti, Vienna, 1536 ; the Bible by G. Kaldy, Vienna, 1626. See also Riederer, *Nachr. zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten-, und Büchergeschichte*, II. 5.

There are also to be mentioned a Wallachian N. T., Belgrade, 1648, Bible, Bucharest, 1688, in Cyrillic character, by the Metropolitan Theodosius (see Henderson, *l. c.*, p. 249 ; Weller, *Altes*, II. 819), which has recently been published again in St. Petersburg ; and a translation into the Maltese language (an Arabic patois), whose age and origin are unknown to me ; Gospels and Acts, London, 1829, earlier separate.

490. We mention finally those peoples on the extreme borders of Europe whose languages retained possession of the country, but became transformed in course of time, and which



from other causes also were not drawn into the current of progress along with other nations. In the case of the Russians and Greeks the Bible was adapted to this transformation at a time when there was as yet no sign of the power of the one or of the resurrection of the other. But it should be distinctly borne in mind that it was by no means the purpose of the Orthodox Greek Church to introduce into these countries a properly new translation of the Bible, at the same time officially recognized and popular. Its forms of worship did not require this, or rather could not suffer it, and other use of the Scriptures was often repressed and always very limited.

Confessio Dosithei (*Synod. Hieros.*, see above, § 338 ; ed. Kimmel, I. 455)  
 Qu. 1 : Should the Scriptures be read κοινῶς παρὰ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν ?  
 Ans. : Οὐ . . . ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μόνων τῶν μετὰ τῆς προεούσης ἐρευνῆς τοῖς βάθεσιν ἐγκυπτόντων τοῦ πνεύματος. . . . Τοῖς δὲ μὴ γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ ἀδιαφόρως ἢ μόνον κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκλαμβάνουσιν ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, διὰ τῆς πείρας τὴν βλαβὴν ἐγνωκυία, οὐ θεμιτὴν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐντέλλεται ὥστε . . . ἐπιτεράφθαι μὲν ἀκούειν . . . ἀναγιώσκειν δὲ ἕνια τῆς γρ. μέρη καὶ μάλιστα τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἀπηγόρευται.

Cyril Lucar had formerly (1629) given the opposite answer, *Confess.*,  
 Qu. 1 : Ὡς τὸ ἀκούειν τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς γρ. οὐδεὶ τῶν χρ. ἀπηγόρευται οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναγιώσκειν.

A modern Greek version of the N. T. by Maximos of Kallipoli appeared in 1638 (Geneva or Leyden ?), 2 vols. 4°, with the original text, like most of the subsequent editions, very beautifully printed. Another, by the monk Seraphim of Mitylene, Lond. 1703, and freq., also Halle, 1710. J. H. Calenberg (§§ 491, 493) had printed at Halle, 1746, single books (Luke, Acts, several Epistles) as tracts for the missionaries. All the editions under Protestant influence. Later editions, Chelsea (London), 1810, and freq. It was not until the present century that the Patriarch permitted the reading of the N. T. in the vernacular, so that editions could also be printed in St. Petersburg (1817).

The N. T. of Colleti (Ven. 1708, fol.), on the other hand, is of Catholic origin. The Jews had prepared translations much earlier ; some of them even printed in Hebrew characters and in Constantinople itself.

Cf. in general Masch, II. 2, p. 324 ; J. M. Lange, *De vers. græco-barbara N. T.*, Altd. 1707 ; Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, III. 474.

There are several national Russian versions. The oldest by Fr. Skorina, Prague, 1519, of which it is said there is but one copy in existence, which contains only the historical books of the O. T. (Ebert). By Ernst Glück, 1698 (? cf. Tetsch, *Curländ. Kirchengesch.*, III. 48). It is unknown to me whether the copies printed from time to time at Leipzig (*e. g.*, 1838) contain a later version. At the command of the Emperor Alexander I. an official version of the N. T. was prepared by the ecclesiastical academy at St. Petersburg, under the direction of the Archimandrite Philaret, which was printed together with the Old Slavonic text and circulated by the Bible Society of that city. It appeared in parts. The preface to the Gospels (1819) is also signed by the Metropolitans Michael of Novgorod and Seraphim of Moscow ; in 1820 there had already been printed the fourth edition of the Gospels, the second of the Acts, beside the first of the Catholic Epistles, Romans, and Corinthians ; the rest followed later ; but the work was scarcely completed when the Society was obliged to dissolve. See in general Henderson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 103 ff.

491. But aside from Europe, which had been more or less moulded by Christianity, even the more remote portions of the earth were not neglected. First of all, the Christian peoples of the Orient, to whom the art of printing had not yet found its way, were to be provided for from the West. In the accomplishment of this task the already existing versions were not always adhered to. The Armenians founded literary institutions in Europe for themselves; the Georgians were directed to Russia; the Christians in the Levant, mostly of Arabic speech, although their ecclesiastical language, or at least ecclesiastical character, was in some cases still Syriac or Coptic, found in Rome a not altogether disinterested patroness, who was the first to prosecute foreign missions systematically and on a large scale, intent chiefly, to be sure, that as there was but one shepherd, so there should be but one fold for the flock of Christ.

Cf. §§ 432, 433. — The Propaganda (*Congregatio cardinalium et prelatorum de fide catholica propaganda*) established by Gregory XV. at Rome, in 1622, first and chiefly for the purpose of uniting the Oriental Christians to the Latin Church, yet not without merit and influence as respects foreign missions. A college was connected with it in 1627 by Urban VIII., which, notwithstanding all its peculiarities and the narrowness of its tendencies, is even yet the grandest missionary and philological institution in existence.

In the Arabic language, beside several catechisms and similar writings, the Bible also was printed, in a version made or revised from the Vulgate by Sergius Risius, 1671, 3 vols. fol. A later one by Raph. Tuki, 1752, 4<sup>o</sup>, was not completed. See Schelling, in the *Repert.*, X. 154; Aurivill., *Diss.*, p. 308; Michaelis, *Or. Bibl.*, XII. 12; XVI. 99; XVIII. 179; XX. 131; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, V. 65. — The N. T., 1703, 2 vols. fol. Syriac and Arabic, the latter in Syriac characters (Carshuni).

In Syria itself repeated editions in both languages were published at various places (Aleppo, Chosroë, and others) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (mostly, however, only what was liturgically necessary, the Psalms and Gospels).

Modern Arabic versions have been made or aided by Protestants also: N. T. by Sal. Negri, Lond. 1727, 4<sup>o</sup>; J. H. Callenberg, of Halle († 1760), a man exceedingly active in missionary matters (Hartmann's *Tyichsen*, I. 17 ff.), caused to be printed, from 1730 to 1750, among other things (§§ 492, 493), single books of the N. T. (Matthew, Acts, Romans, Hebrews) in Arabic. Cf. his *Nachr. von einem Versuch die Muhammed. zur Erkenntniss Christi zu leiten*, H. 1739 ff. The English Bible Society circulates the version of Risius, Lond. 1820, and freq.; see *Allg. Literaturzeitung*, 1832, I. 46. By a Würtemberg missionary, Schlienz, at Malta, beside many educational and religious works, some portions of the Bible (Proverbs, Peter) were published in 1834 ff. Recently, an Arabic version for missionary purposes was begun by S. Lee, of Cambridge (Eng.), and carried on by Jarrett.

Beside these, the Bible or N. T. has been printed, 1824 ff., at the Royal Press, Paris, for the English Bible Society, in both Syriac and Arabic, the latter in both Arabic and Syriac characters, partly each text by itself, partly two by two, in parallel columns, under the direction of Silv. de Sacy; also in Syriac with the peculiar character of the so-called Chaldean Christians or Nestorians in Kurdistan.

Arabic N. T. ; new translation by Nath. Sabat, Calc. 1816, and freq.

Coptic-Arabic N. T., Gospels and Psalter, Lond. 1826 ff. Cf. § 439.

The facts respecting the state of the Christians in the Orient which should be borne in mind here may be found in the ancient and modern books of travel, *e. g.*, Rauwolf, Troilo, Dandini, Mariti, Volney, Niebuhr, Scholz, and others. C. Ritter, *Ein Blick auf Palästina und seine christl. Bevölkerung*, 1852 ; Kunstmann, in the *Quartalschr.*, 1845, I.

492. The broadest field for this kind of Christian activity was opened in those boundless regions into which the message of salvation had never yet penetrated effectively. The time of mistaken and barbarous attempts to convert by force had passed by, and Europe began to send forth messengers of peace by all the avenues which the spirit of trade, that soul of a more mature national life, had opened, but had also already adorned and disfigured with the signs of its good and evil thoughts and customs. Catholics and Protestants, governments and individuals, religious societies and commercial corporations, vied with one another in the great work of missions, with disproportionate and slow results, it is true, yet never without some gain to humanity in the end. Frequently, especially on the Protestant side, a new version of the Bible was the means of working, or the standard by which Christianity announced its occupancy on a foreign shore.

For detailed accounts of the missionary organizations themselves (Propaganda, Jesuits, Portuguese — Danes, Halle, Moravian Brethren, Methodists, Baptists, etc.) we must refer to the manuals of Church History.

The Hungarian nobleman J. Ungnad von Sonneck was engaged upon a Turkish version (1565) ; but it was never completed, or at least never printed. The Polish renegade Alb. Bobowsky (Ali Bey) actually translated the Bible into Turkish in 1653 ; his work was never printed, but was afterward made the basis of Kieffer's (Zenker, *Bibl. Or.*, p. 209 ; Le Long, I. 135). Turkish N. T. by W. Seaman, Oxf. 1666, at the expense of a trading company (Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, V. 471 ; Ernesti, *Theol. Bibl.*, V. 383). Single portions also printed by Callenberg, about 1735.

Greenlandic version by P. Egede, 1744. Frequently printed at Copenhagen, now also in London. Thies, *Handb.*, II. 511.

For India various institutions have been at work : —

(1.) Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, B. Ziegenbalg, J. E. Grundler, and B. Schulze, since 1714, in the Tamil language ; Bible, N. T., and separate portions, often printed. *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1726, p. 511 ; 1734, p. 274 ; Masch, II. 197 ; Eichhorn, *Asiat. Sprachkunde*, 210 ; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, IX. 283 ff. Schulze left behind him a Telugu version also.

(2.) The Callenberg Institution : The whole N. T. in separate portions, also the Psalms since 1749, in the Hindustani language, after the translation of the above-mentioned B. Schulze. See Masch, II. 202 ; Callenberg, *Nachricht von Herausgebung des N. T. in hindust. Sprachen* (*i. e.*, into various Indian dialects), Halle, 1758.

(3.) The Dutch East-India Company had the Gospels (translated by W. Konyon) printed in the Singhalese language (Ceylon), Colombo, 1739 ; N. T. 1772. Cf. Eichhorn, *Asiat. Sprachkunde*, p. 267 ff.

(4.) The Dutch East-India Company, in the Malayan language, for the Sunda Islands, by D. Brower, Just. Heurn, Corn. Ruyl ; single books since

1629, the N. T. 1668, at Amsterdam, the Bible 1731, Amst., with Roman characters; 1758, at Batavia, with Arabic. See Callenberg, *Von Bekehrung der Muhammedaner*, II. 1 ff.; Baumgarten, *Nachr.*, IV. 388; Masch, II. 193; Adelung, *Mithrid.*, I. 104; IV. 43.

Chinese version of the liturgically necessary portions of the Bible, the Psalms and the pericopes, by Jesuits (L. Buglio and Emm. Dias), about 1676. Matthew and John, in the dialect of the island of Formosa, by the Dutchman Dan. Gravius, in 1661. (Masch, p. 211 ff.)

John Elliott translated the Bible into the language of the aborigines of Virginia, Cambridge, Mass., 1661. See *Bibl. Brem. nov.*, II. 199, 577; *Symb. hag.*, II. 541; Adelung, *Mithrid.*, III. 3, 379.

Creole N. T., *i. e.*, in the jargon spoken by the negroes in the former Dutch colonies in America, printed at Copenhagen, 1781; Barby, 1802; Bautzen, 1865 and freq., in various translations. Also the Psalms, 1784, 1865. See Lork, *Bibelgeschichte*, I. 458; Adelung, II. 252.

493. Israel was not the last people to whom the Christian duty was fulfilled. The New Testament was carried to them in the sacred dress of the language of their prophets, as well as in the ragged coat of the jargon of their peddlers. But while individuals were zealously striving, by the Scriptures and preaching, to bring the light of the Gospel to bear upon this unhappy people, the shortsightedness of governments and the brutal hatred of the people persisted in denying them the rights of men and citizens, and to the narrow-minded superstition of theologians is due no small share of the blame for the fact that all these endeavors have thus far failed of the desired results.

Hebrew versions of the N. T. begin even in the time of the Reformation (see in general, Wolf, *Bibl. hebr.*, II. 416; IV. 155; Masch, II., ch. 1; Carpzov, *Crit. s.*, 749 ff.). Gospel of Matthew by Seb. Münster, Basle, 1537, fol., and freq., also with the Epistles to the Hebrews; at first doubtless only as a retranslation into the supposed original language. Also by J. Quinquaboreus, Par. 1551; by J. Mercier, P. 1555; Mark and Luke, by Walt. Herbst and F. Petri, Witt. 1574 f.; the four Gospels by J. Clajus, L. 1610; and from the Vulgate by J. B. Jonas, for the Propaganda, Rome, 1668, fol.; the Epistle to the Hebrews, by F. A. Christian, L. 1676 and freq. The whole N. T., Lond. 1661, and by Elias Hutter in his Polyglot editions (§ 401); single books also at the Callenberg Institution, 1734 ff.

In our own day several new Hebrew versions, mostly by converted Jews, some of the N. T. (Lond. 1817, large 8°; 1840, 16°), some of single books (*e. g.*, Luke, Berl. 1851; Romans, by Delitzsch, 1870), have been prepared and circulated, some with Hebrew commentary.

Of Jewish versions, or rather paraphrases, *i. e.*, editions with a text in a modern language but in Rabbinical characters, spelled also more or less in accordance with common Jewish pronunciation, and with Hebrew words scattered through, there are several, though only in Germany, or for German speaking Jews. The O. T. has also been published in this manner by Jews; see Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, I. 1287; Carpzov, *Crit. s.*, p. 757; and in the *Biblia Pentapla* (*i. e.*, the Scriptures in a fivefold translation (Luther, Piscator, Ulenberg, Jewish, and Dutch), and hence accused of heresy (Bern, *Entdeckung des Greuelwesens*, etc., Hamb. 1710), 1710, 3 vols. 4°). The N. T. by J. Herzuge, Cracow, 1540, fol.; Luke, John, Acts, Romans, and Hebrews, by Elias Schade, Str. 1592; Luther's N. T. by Chr. Moller, 1700; the

N. T. by J. H. Reiz, in the *Biblia Pentapla*, by Müller and Frommann, partly a free paraphrase, for the Callenberg Institution, 1736, 3 vols. 16°. In recent times, especially from London (1820 ff.), frequent editions of the N. T., the Psalms, the five books of Moses, have gone out in this way. Cf. also Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, III. 95 ; V. 377.

It is only recently that the N. T. has been printed for the Jews, in Hebrew characters, also in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in the patois of the Polish and Spanish Jews. — The book of Genesis in the Tartar dialect of the Crimea, for the Caraites living there, is of Jewish origin. So also the Modern Greek-Jewish Bible ; Wolf, *l. c.*, IV. 1219.

494. Since the beginning of the present century this means of propagating the Christian faith, on account of its great importance, has become to many the immediate end in itself, and has been prosecuted with an outlay of energy in comparison with which former endeavors are thrown into the shade. Here begins the history of the Bible Societies, which have set themselves the task of multiplying the written word of God by the aid of liberal contributions to such an extent as to make it accessible to every one, even the poorest and most distant. This work, begun in England, has spread over the whole earth, into fields of labor already innumerable, partly independent of one another, partly not, and exists in all countries of Protestant and Greek confession. It has increased the number of editions of the old translations indefinitely, and the number of these is itself far surpassed by that of those newly prepared.

Sources, the Annual Reports of the Bible Societies, among which by far the most important — although, like all the others, overloaded with pious bombast — are the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, since 1805. [Among American Societies, the American Bible Society is the most important : see its Annual Reports ; also those of the Am. Bible Union (Baptist).]

A. H. Niemeyer, Art. *Bibelgesellschaften*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, I. 10 [Art. *Bible Societies*, in *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th ed.] ; C. Schöll, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, II. ; Bernstein, in *Stäudlin's Archiv*, II. 1 ; (J. S. Vater) *De studio quo nostra cetate id actum est ut remotissimis populis verbum dei τῆ ἰδιᾶ διαλέκτῳ pateat*, Reg. 1816 ; J. Owen, *History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the Br. and For. Bible Soc.*, Lond. 1816, 2 vols., afterward a 3d vol., 1820 ; H. Marsh, *History of the Translations, etc.*, Lond. 1812 ; Thomson and Orme, *Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures*, Perth, 1815 ; W. P. Strickland, *History of the American Bible Society*, N. Y. 1849 ; (J. G. Schöner) *Nachr. von der russischen Bibelgesellschaft.*, Nürnberg. 1818 ; *Magazin für Missions- und Bibelgesellschaft.*, Basle, 1816 ff. ; G. de Félice, *Essai sur l'esprit et le but de l'Institution Biblique*, P. 1824 ; Or. Douen, *Hist. de la Société Biblique de Paris*, 1868. — If all these emphasize the religio-practical side of the work in a manner most pleasing to the reader, there meets him in C. S. Dudley's *Analysis of the System of the Bible Society* (Lond. 1821, 600 pages !) the mechanical-bureaucratic and truly English part of the execution, with a most offensive display of forms and figures.

495. Several of these Bible Societies, having vast pecuniary resources at their command, are at work for lands which

are still unoccupied by the Gospel. Through them the bold words of the preacher of Byzantium have almost come true, — the nations by thousands read the Bible in their own languages. Of many a new translation, at least, not even the name of the language in which it is composed was before known in Europe, and it is frequently the case even yet, as of old, that the arts of reading and writing must be brought to a distant forgotten or neglected tribe before they can use the Bible that is presented to them. It is to be hoped that the divine germ on which depends the success of the great harvest, though in the most imperfect envelope, may everywhere take root; for that much unripe fruit has been poured forth into the world from the cornucopia of Christian love no one will deny but he who in his joy at the end overlooks the defectiveness of the means, or is even inclined to measure the kingdom of God by human standards.

It is difficult to make the enumeration of the versions under this head complete, not to speak of the editions, for the reason that every year brings several new ones into existence, and by no means all the regions of the earth have yet been provided for; and it is impossible to keep abreast of the times everywhere by means of the book-trade or even the journals.

The most noted centres are St. Petersburg for Northern and Central Asia, the Caucasus and Russia; New York and Philadelphia for America and Oceania; Amsterdam for the Sunda Islands; Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, for India and the neighboring countries, among which should also be mentioned the very active missionary institution at Serampore; but above all, London, which has supported all the others with money, and whose field is the whole earth. We necessarily confine ourselves to a brief summary. [This summary may be filled out and brought down to the present time by means of the late reports and catalogues of the Bible Societies.]

Turkish language: A series of new versions; the Bible by J. D. Kieffer, P. 1819 ff.; the N. T. by E. Henderson, Lond. 1825; edition with Armenian characters, and with Greek, St. Petersburg. 1819. A Turkish N. T. was also printed at Dresden, 1813.

Modern Armenian N. T. by J. Zohrab, P. 1825 (also in parallel columns with the Ancient), and in the dialect of Ararat. — Armenian edition of the St. Petersburg Bible Society. — Edition by E. Riggs, Smyrna, 1853.

Persian versions of the N. T. (also some portions of the Old) by H. Colebrooke, Calc. 1805; H. Martyn, Calc., Lond., and St. Petersburg, since 1815 freq. (see *Allg. Lit. Zeit.*, 1825, III. 353; *Life of Henry Martyn*); also Astrachan, 1818. The O. T. by Robinson, Lond., 3 vols.; the Bible, by W. Glen, Lond. 1856.

The N. T. and the Pentateuch in the language of the Afghans (Pushtu), Serampore, 1818; Bible, Herf. 1863. The Gospels in the language of the Beluchis.

Most numerous of all are the works of missionaries in and for India, and it is to be hoped they are of more value as translations than as specimens of the arts of printing and paper-making in that region. (*Memoirs of the Translations of the S. S. into the Languages of India*, Lond. 1820; *Specimens of Editions of the S. S. printed at Serampore*, 1818; *Brief View of Baptist Missions and Translations*, Lond. 1815.) They begin almost with the century, but have been vastly increased, especially since 1818. Printed mostly at

Serampore ; also at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Frederiksnagor, Colombo, etc., as well as at London. Few complete Bibles as yet ; mostly the N. T. and portions of the O. T. ; in some cases only single books of the N. T.

Beside the Sanskrit, the ancient sacred language, and the widely current Mohammedan language of India, the Hindustani (Urdu), in several translations, among which one by Henry Martyn, there are now editions in the following languages :—

Northern India : In Bengali (in several translations, also in Roman letters), in the Maghada dialect of the province of Bahâr, in the Uriya of the province of Orissa, in the proper Hindu language (Hindui, or Hindi) in two characters, and in its dialects Baghelkundi, Kanoj, Braj, Koshala.

Central India and the region of the Indus : In the dialects of Udeipur, Marwar, Jeipur, Baikaur, Battanir, Malwa (Ujein), Harrot, Sindli, Multan, Punjab (Sikhs), Kashmir, Jombu.

Himalaya districts : Nipal, Palpa, Kumaon, Garwhal.

Southern India (Madras) : In the Telinga or Telugn, Canarese, Malayalin, and Tulu languages, and some other Dravidian dialects, all in Malabar and Mysore. Here also belongs the Tamil version which was revised by Fabricius and Rhenius (Madras, 1827 and freq., 4 vols.).

Western India (Bombay) : In the dialects of Gujerat, Cutch, Konkan, and in the Mahrathi language.

Ceylon : Singhalese (Colombo, 1819, 3 vols. 4°), Indo-Portuguese, for the descendants of colonists, and Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists.

Farther India : In the languages of Assam, Burmah, Siam, Manipur, and Khassu.

For the Sunda countries, in the Malayan language, beside older revised versions (by Wilmet, Bible, Harlem, 1824, with Arabic letters, for the Malay peninsula, and N. T., Lond. 1818, with Roman letters, for the Moluccas), new ones exist in the dialect of Batavia, in the Javanese, N. T., Hague, fol. (see *Allg. Lit. Zeit.*, 1847, I. 790), in the Dyak language of Borneo, and in the language of the island of Macassar, Amst. 1852 ff.

Chinese translations by Morrison and Milne, Mal. 1813 ff., in 21 parts ; by Marshman, Seramp. 1815 ff., gotten up in the style of the country. Other works have been begun, also by Gützlaff. See *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, I. 94. The Gospels, in Roman letters, in the dialect of Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo, 1853. A Japanese version has been begun (Luke printed from wood at Hongkong in 1856) ; likewise one for the Lu-chu Islands.

For Central Asia, or Tatory in the broadest sense : Translations in Manchu (O. T. and Matthew, 9 vols. 4°) ; N. T. in the Mongol language, both Eastern, or Buriat dialect and Western or Kalmuck, St. Petersburg. 1815 ff., by J. J. v. Schmidt ; O. T. in Selenginsk, 1830, by R. Yuille ; in the language of the Orenburg, Karass, and Nogai Tatars, and in that of the Bucharei, Astrachan, 1818 ff. ; a translation for the Caucasian Tatars. See also the *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1850, p. 143. Tibetan.

Africa : Account of a first attempt in the Berber language of North Africa (1833) given in Lassen's *Zeitschr.*, VI. 245. The countries on the Upper Nile (*Journ. Asiat.*, I. 61 ; *Fundgruben der Or.*, III. 268) have been provided for by a new Amharic version of the Bible, prepared by a native, Pell Platt (Lond. 1824 ff., in parts). Single portions only are thus far printed in the languages of the Bullom, Mandingo, Grebo, Acera, Atye, and Yoruba Negroes of Western Africa, by A. W. Hansou, J. C. Taylor, and others ; in the Haussa language of Central Africa, by J. F. Schön ; also in the Suahili, Kikamba, Galla, and Kinika languages in the East, and a complete Madagascar Bible (Lond. 1855). Here and there, also, German missionaries are at work, and some of the editions come from Basle and Tübingen. British missionaries (Robt. Moffat and others) in the Cape countries have begun translations which are already far advanced and some

of them completed, in the Sechuana, Sesuto, Zulu, and Namaqua languages, which have been printed since 1837 in Grahamstown and Capetown. (Namaqua N. T. also Berlin, 1866.) There is now also a complete Bible in the Kaffir language, Umkangizo, 1857 f.

North America : Eskimo Bible for Labrador, begun since 1813 (London); N. T. 1840, Pentateuch, Psalms, 1830 ff. For the Mohawk, Chippewa, Delaware, Seneca, Cherokee, Sioux, Cree, Chickasaw, and Choctaw Indians there has been printed, in some cases the N. T., in others (for the beginning of their Christian instruction) the Gospel of John. See also *Allg. Lit. Zeit.*, 1847, No. 209. More recently the O. T. also has been taken up, e. g., Joshua for the Choctaws, N. Y. 1852; Isaiah for the Mohawks, 1839.

South America and the Antilles : Several translations, some of them but just begun, in the negro dialects of the English and Dutch colonies, especially of Guiana, Curaçao, etc. For the aborigines there is as yet, so far as I know, nothing in existence but a Luke in Mexican (Lond. 1833) and in the Aymara language of Bolivia (Kapf, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, IX. 2). Yet there appear in catalogues names of languages which are unknown to me, and which possibly belong here. — Mayan (Yucatan).

Oceania and Polynesia : Completed, or at least far advanced translations in the languages of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii, Gospels, 1828), Tahiti (N. T., Pahiā, 1840; Bible, by Nott, Davies, and others, Lond. 1847), the Rarotongas (N. T., Lond. 1841; Bible, 1851 f.), the Marquesas, the Tongas (N. T., 1852, Bible, 1862), New Zealand (Maori N. T., Ranana, *i. e.*, London, 1844; O. T., 1845 ff.), the Samoan or Navigator's Islands, the Fijis (N. T., 1853, Bible, 1858), and many others. On the continent of Australia for the aborigines (Narrinyeri).

What all these for the most part very quickly made translations have accomplished with respect to linguistic correctness and in aid of a comprehension of the Scriptures by the natives, or what, considering the relation of apostolic doctrine and methods to the raw linguistic material of uncivilized races, they could accomplish, will be for a later century to decide. For example, there has already arisen dispute and division among the translators and societies at work for China over the bare possibility of correctly rendering the idea of God (*Journal of Sacred Lit.*, VI. 411). Even before there had been genuinely classic but little edifying scenes between European philologists (Henderson and Kieffer, over the latter's Turkish N. T., 1824 f.), doubtless not altogether due to professional jealousy. Cf. also the judgment of H. v. d. Gabelentz (*Lassen's Zeitschr.*, II. 237), upon the work done in Russia, and Neumann's (*Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1849, 352) on the Chinese; as well as what the Brahmin Ram Mohan Roy acknowledges of his own work in Bengali. (*N. Journal Asiat.*, II. 37.) W. Hoffmann, *Die christl. Literatur als Werkzeug der Mission*, B. 1855. It is therefore unnecessary to note the (often unknown) names of the translators, whose well-meant but necessarily imperfect work will sooner or later be displaced by better. — In Eastern India it has already come to the stage that the missionaries no longer intend to learn the language of the country, but prefer to train a body of native teachers in an English education, by whom a fit translation shall then be made. Graul's *Reise*, V. 277.

496. These societies have been much more important and beneficial in Europe itself, particularly in those regions where a Christian conviction, already existing and long since spread among the people, gives the natural key to the otherwise closed book. Here it was not only easier to find a skilled hand for the preparation of a new version into any of the provincial



dialects; it is also a more immediate and greater blessing to bring the Bible within reach of even the poorest. And this end can be attained the more certainly the smaller the field of labor for which the society has been formed. Here and there, it is true, human prejudices and sectarian interests have been combined with this labor of love. The Bible organizations have not been untouched by dogmatic quarrels and confessional division; the distribution of the Word of God often borders very closely on waste, and through excess of zeal pearls are sometimes thrown before swine; in English and French hands, particularly, it has often sunk to the level of a mere means of anti-Romish propaganda.

To enumerate the countless editions of older European versions which have proceeded from the Bible Societies would be beyond our power and space. They have been sufficiently noticed in the foregoing sections. The number of wholly new versions for European peoples is not very great; several which were not really national, official works may have been worked over or revised, particularly within the immediate sphere of British activity. Yet we pass no judgment upon this matter. The Russian Bible Society (established in 1812) was obliged after a few years to fight against political difficulties, and in 1826 was dissolved, after that, beside a national edition in two languages (Ecclesiastical Slavic and Russian), it had published the Bible in twenty-seven languages, fourteen of which had never before been used for that purpose. A Protestant society, however, has taken its place, which confines its activity at present to non-Christian peoples, and to the non-Russian languages, at the same time naturally caring for those of its own faith. For details see the latest report of Frommann and Dalton, 1863. E. Henderson, *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia*, 1826.

New translations into dialects which had them before: Armorican (Bas-Breton), Modern Greek (Pentateuch and Joshua, Lond. 1833), Russian.

Dialects which had not before been provided for: Scandinavian: that of the Faro Islands. Finnish: those of the Norwegian Laplanders, Karelian, Mordvinian, Tscheremissian, Sirenian, Tschuwassian. Slavic: Samogitian, Serbian (by Wuk Stephanowicz Karadsehicz, N. T., B. 1857, and freq., Bible, Belgrade, 1868), Bulgarian (together with the Old Slavic, N. Y. 1867; Psalms, Constant. 1866). Romance: Catalan, Piedmontese, Vaudois. Albanian (printed together with the Modern Greek, in Corfu, 1827), in several dialects; Moldavian; Illyrian, Budimu, 1831, 6 vols.

The editions of the Bible for the blind should also be mentioned, especially in the Würtemberg Blind Asylum, now complete in sixty-three parts.

497. Particularly important for our history is the fundamental principle common to all these societies, to circulate none but the current Church version, where such a one exists. This principle, judicious as it is in itself considered, nevertheless has the disadvantage of hindering, if it does not render impossible, the improvement of those versions, which is founded in the spirit of Protestantism, and is ever more pressingly demanded by science. It is no doubt always difficult to define correctly and clearly the limits of such an undertaking, and especially so to choose the persons to whom the Church shall

commit the perilous work; but it certainly must and will be ventured upon finally, and perhaps first of all where the need is proportionately less, but where religious conviction is less rigid in its forms. Attempts have already been made, and were it not for the love of peace they would by this time have been to a great extent successful, in spite of the clamor of narrow and petty criticism.

In Germany I know of no Bible Society which has printed any other than Luther's version, and indeed most of the editions, so far as is known to me, are still based, even in the subordinate matters of orthography, punctuation, and the headings of the chapters, upon the widely current Canstein editions; down to the time of these, single phrases had been quietly replaced by more modern ones. The same is true of the exceedingly numerous private editions prepared by booksellers. Yet the principle of going back strictly to the last edition of Luther, 1545, has already been applied in many (but by no means in all) of the editions circulated by Bible Societies (Württemberg, Bavaria, Hamburg-Altona), but in view of the undeniable change in the language, both in diction and syntax, can only be carried out to the disadvantage of the reader and with no gain to the cause. Cf. Mönkeberg, in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, March, 1855.

The Strassburg Bible Society, in 1828, had a N. T. stereotyped with improvements in the margin. A similar edition of the O. T. was abandoned, although several times talked of, on account of decided opposition; C. W. Krafft, *Darf Luther's Bibel durch Bibelgesellschaften revidirt werden?* Str. 1846; C. H. Bögner, *Gesch. der Bibelgesellschaft. zu Strassburg*, 1866. — The Frankfort Bible Society supported or favored the circulation of Meyer's revision (§ 498), but did not meet with approval.

Preparations for a revision of Luther's version, perhaps to be undertaken under ecclesiastical sanction (in which, however, *ne quid nimis* was to be the ruling principle), in C. Mönkeberg and C. Frommann, *Vorschläge zur Revision*, etc., Halle, 1861 f. [Now completed, whole Bible, 1884.] But more seriously in Switzerland, by a commission appointed in 1860 by the Church Conference, under Antistes S. Preiswerk, of Basle, which has already published specimens.

The Paris Bible Society, before it split from dogmatic causes, printed only the recensions of Martin and Osterwald (now only the latter, an altogether unsatisfactory version both scientifically and linguistically), but not the more modern Genevan versions, which are in disrepute on the Orthodox side. Before its establishment a beautiful edition of Sacy's N. T. had been printed by generous contributions (1816, and freq.), but it has never been officially used in the liturgy, and since that time this, like every other Catholic version, has become an apple of discord between Bible Societies of stricter and laxer practice. (B. Pozzy, *La Bible et la version de L. Sacy*, 1858.) In the year 1834, with English money (*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*), preparations were begun in Paris for a new version; after much labor (most of it, however, Penelopine, because the changes must at the same time be conservative) there was ready for the press in 1842 a N. T. in large 4°, also in smaller form, afterward also the O. T.; but it has not really been put into circulation even yet. A fuller but very unsatisfactory account of this miscarriage is given in the *Espérance* of November 4, 1859. A Lausanne society published in 1839 (3d improved edition, 1859) a N. T. of its own; French clergymen of Switzerland are at work on the O. T., of which the Psalms appeared in 1854, since then the Pentateuch also. This work prides itself upon the greatest possible literalness. L. Burnier, *La version de Lausanne*, 1866, together with other writings. — One of the three Paris Bible Societies now prints later versions also.

The Bible Society of Copenhagen made no objection to endorsing a revision made by the first theologian of the country. Münter, *De nova vers. vernaculæ recognitione*, 1817. On a new translation see A. Michelsen, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1869, I. On a Swedish version, G. L. Plitt, *ibidem*, 1865, IV.

There was published in America, by a New York Society (American Bible Union), in 1854, as a specimen of a revised version of the N. T., a quarto volume (2 Peter to the Apocalypse) with text and painfully minute vindication of details [N. T. published, N. Y., 1860; whole Bible, 1866]. In England an Anglo-Biblical Institute has been formed for the purpose of revising the translation of the Bible (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, V. 248). Recently, on both sides of the ocean in common, mostly under episcopal co-operation, and with great apparatus of committees and regulations, a revision of the official version is being prepared, respecting which Ph. Schaff, of New York, has published several notices. The ruling principle is still: *to introduce as few alterations as possible*. [The New Testament published May 17, 1881, by the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, England, under the title: *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated out of the Greek: being the Version set forth A. D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A. D. 1881*. The text is divided into paragraphs, the chapter and verse numbers being placed in the margin. With an appendix containing the readings preferred by the American Committee, recorded at their desire. Numerous reprints in America, some exact, others incorporating the American Appendix into the text. The Old Testament is expected to appear during the current year (1884). The literature relating to the Revision is very great; see especially A. Roberts, *Companion to the Revised Version of the New Testament*, Lond. 1881; with a supplement by Ph. Schaff, Chairman of the Am. Committee of Revision, N. Y. 1881; *The New Revision and its Study*, by Drs. Abbot, Riddle, Dwight, Thayer, Kendrick, and Crosby, members of the Am. Revision Committee, Phila. 1881 (reprinted from *The Sunday-School Times*); B. H. Kennedy, *Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the N. T.*, Lond. 1882; W. A. Osborne, *The Revised Version of the New Testament, A Critical Commentary with Notes upon the Text*, Lond. 1882; (Dean Burgon) Three articles on *New Testament Revision* in the *London Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1881, Jan. and Feb. 1882; a most severe and unsparing attack upon the Revision; in reply: *The Revisers and the Greek Text of the New Testament*. By Two Members of the New Testament Company (Bishop Ellicott and Archdeacon Palmer), Lond. 1882; Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, N. Y. 1883, 2d ed. rev. and enlarged, 1884, p. 371 ff., where a good bibliography may be found. *Documentary History of the American Committee on Revision, Prepared by Order of the American Committee*. To be published after the completion of the work (N. Y. 1884). A valuable contribution to the history of the English Committee in the *London Times*, May 20, 1881.]

498. Meanwhile individuals are exercising their powers on the work. In most Protestant countries several attempts of the kind have been made, partly by those whose aim has been simply to improve the existing version, partly by those who have worked independently. There has also been much scientific discussion as to the conditions and principles of such an undertaking. True, even the best version cannot and ought not to be applied to public use so long as it is commended only by its inner value and not by the order and authority of the Church; but let this value be recognized by unprejudiced in-

telligence, competent science, and sound taste, and theologians would gradually accustom themselves to the use of the new form in their own instruction, and this would be the beginning of an ecclesiastical change. But there is little prospect of such a change during our century, as little in Germany as in England.

Germany : *Einige Gedanken über die Versuche neuer Ueberss. bes. des N. T.*, in Cramer's *Beiträge*, I. ; C. F. Aichinger, *Vorschläge die deutsche Bibel betreffend*, 1774 ; J. M. Faber, *De emendanda versione Lutheri*, Erf. 1778 ; Schulthess, *Die Unveränderlichkeit der luther. Bibel*, in his *Forschungen*, II. 232 ; J. Pfeiffer, *Vorschlag Luther's N. T. möglichst zu berichtigen*, B. 1817 ; R. Stier, *Altes und neues in deutscher Bibel*, Basle, 1828, and several later writings of the same author ; Grashof, *Die luther. Bibelübers. und die Bedürfnisse unserer Zeit*, 1835 ; Rück- und *Vorblick auf Luther's Bibel*, Straub. 1835 ; Heim, *Ueber Einführung einer berichtigten deutschen Bibelübers.*, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, X. 2 ; C. Ströbel, *Ueber die Revision der luth. Bibel* (*Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1862, III.) ; Delitzsch, *ibidem*, 1863, I. ; *Gutachten d. theol. Facul. zu Rostock*, Schwerin, 1863 ; Dörner, *Ueber einheitliche Textgestaltung und Verbesserung der luth. Uebers.*, 1868.

Revised Lutheran texts : by J. F. v. Meyer, Senator of the city of Frankfurt, 1819, 5th ed. 1851, 3 vols. 8°, highly commended and little improved ; E. C. Kraus, Tüb. 1830. More thorough, R. Stier, 2d ed., Bielef. 1859.

New versions of the present century : C. F. Preiss, 1811 ; C. J. Schäfer, 1816 ; (Richter and Pleissner) Zwickau, 1830 ; E. G. A. Böckel, 1832 ; J. K. W. Alt, 1837 ; C. v. d. Heydt, 1852 ; all the N. T. only. — The whole Bible, by Augusti and De Wette, Heidelb. 1809–1814, 6 vols. ; but especially in a later revision by De Wette alone, 1831, and freq. — *Protestanten Bibel*, N. T., published by P. W. Schmidt and F. von Holtzendorff, with the coöperation of several, L. 1872.

In France a new Protestant version is scarcely possible from the lack of freedom of speech, to say nothing of that of thought, although there are certain now living who lack not so much the desire and the need as the ability. The translators, starting with the idea that they must work directly for the great public (because there are unfortunately but few "studying" theologians), prescribe for themselves at the outset the law that no changes are to be made where dogma would be affected, but that elsewhere a literalness is to be observed which tortures the language unconscionably. Cf. Ed. Reuss, in the *Strassb. Revue*, X. 172 ; *Nouv. Revue*, I. 1. — N. T. by E. Arnaud, 1858, 1865 ; A. Rilliet, Geneva, 1858 (after Lachmann's text, with critical notes) ; for the sect of the Darbyites, N. T., Vevey, 1859 ; for the Swedenborgians, N. T. by Le Boys des Gays and Harlé, St. Amand, 1862. — Prophets and Psalms by Perret-Gentil, Neuchatel, 1852 ; the remaining books of the O. T. by the same, 1861. The poetical books of the O. T. by L. Vivien, and many single attempts in the *Strassb. Revue*. There has just appeared (1872), under the auspices of the *Vénérable Compagnie*, of Geneva, a new version of the N. T. by H. Oltramare, and they have in press the O. T. by L. Segond (by the latter a selection of separate portions, 1864 ; Isaiah, 1866). A society of Paris clergymen has begun a version appearing in parts, 1864 ff.

Recently a violent controversy has begun in journals, essays, and conferences over the question of the revision of the French Bible (*La version d' Osterwald et les Soc. bibliques*, 1862 ; *La question biblique en 1862*, etc.), which thus far only shows more clearly the impossibility of such a thing upon a common ecclesiastical basis. See also Em. Cadiot, *Essai sur les conditions d' une traduction populaire de la bible en Franç.*, Str. 1868. The book

of Petavel, mentioned in § 465, is rather critical than historical ; likewise O. Douen, § 486.

In England, since the middle of the last century, many voices have been raised in favor of a revision of the church version. See Thiess, *Handb. der theolog. Literatur*, I. 223 ; Ersch, *Repertorium*, 1785-1800, I. 184 f., II. 146 f., III. 123 ; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, VIII. 980. But such a revision is even more needful for other than church purposes, which will just as little be able to bring it about. In recent times the question has been taken up again. J. Beard, *A Revised English Bible the Want of the Church and the Demand of the Age*, Lond. 1857 ; (S. Davidson) in the *Theological Review*, 1866, p. 188. Single books have often been translated by exegetes without reference to church use. [Scholefield, *Hints for an Improved Translation of the N. T.*, 1832 ; Trench, *The Authorized Version of the N. T. in Connection with some Recent Proposals for its Revision*, rev. ed., Lond. 1859 ; Ellicott, *Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the N. T.*, Lond. 1870 ; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the N. T.*, 2d ed., Lond. 1871 ; all three essays, in an authorized American edition, in one volume, with introduction by Ph. Schaff, N. Y., 1873 ; Selwyn, *Notes on the Revision of the Authorized Version*, Lond. 1856 ; F. Iliff, *Plea for the Revisal of the Bible Translation of 1611*, Lond. 1857 ; *Plea for a New Eng. Version of the Scriptures*, by a Licentiate of the Church of Scotland, Lond. 1864 ; Alford, *How to Study the N. T.*, Lond. 1865-68, 3 vols., contains numerous corrections of the Authorized Version ; A. Dewes, *Plea for translating the Scriptures*, Lond. 1866 ; articles in the *New Englander*, Feb. and May, 1859 ; *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1863 ; *Contemp. Rev.*, June, 1866, Feb. 1870 ; *British Quar. Rev.*, Jan. 1870. Article *Version, Authorized*, by E. H. Plumptre, in *Smith's Dict.*, IV. pp. 34, 38 ff., to which is appended a full bibliography by Prof. Abbot ; Schaff, *Companion to the Gk. Test.*, p. 371 ff.]

499. With all its numerous associations for the purpose of supplying the spiritual and physical needs of the people, the Catholic Church has no Bible Societies. Indeed its prominent men have often expressed themselves with bitter severity respecting the Protestant societies, and in such terms that their opponents have been able to find in their words fully as much enmity against the Bible itself as against the scarcely concealed views of those who were engaged in circulating it. And yet it would be an error to suppose that this Church has done nothing at all for this purpose. Many Catholic clergymen of high rank have, even in our own century, prepared translations of their own ; oftener still have institutions been founded to put copies into the hands of the people in larger numbers. This has been the case particularly in regions where the two Churches are obliged to live together as neighbors, and, we would fain believe, not simply from necessity. Nevertheless the old charge remains true, that the greater the distance from the birthplace of the Reformation the less is the Bible used as a means of religious training among Catholic people.

Pius VII. declares to the Archbishop of Gnesen, June 28, 1816, and to the Archbishop of Mohilew, Sept. 4th, that the circulation of the Bible by the Protestants is a shameful undertaking, the Bible Societies a pest (See Hase,

*Kirchengesch.*, 6th ed., 574; Wald, *Decreta quibus socc. bibl. a P. R. damnantur*, Reg. 1818; Wachler, *Theolog. Nachr.*, 1817, p. 237). Encyclical letters of the same sentiment by Leo XII., May 5, 1824; Pius VIII., May 24, 1829; Gregory XVI., May 8, 1844 (*Inter precipuas machinationes*, see *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1844, p. 696); Pius IX., Nov. 9, 1846, Dec. 8, 1849. — The forbidding of the laity to read the Bible without oversight and official explanation (*ut biblia vulgari sermone edita non aliis permittentur nisi quibus illorum lectio ad fidei atque pietatis augmentum profutura judicaretur*, Regg. *Indic.*, III., IV., 1564) has for its pretext the obscurity of the Scriptures and their manifold corruption *imprudencia vel fraude*, but is really and consistently based upon the Catholic principle of the hierarchy and of tradition, and so did not need to be supported by the taunt that the Bible men (*socii, sectarii biblici*) give the Scriptures even to the stupid heathen rabble (*absurdissimum et inauditum!*). After such declarations, more favorable views on the part of Catholic theologians (L. v. Ess, F. Oberthür) must of necessity be rare, or would not be permitted to be expressed.

Most recent Catholic versions in Germany by C. and Leander van Ess; the N. T. 1807 and freq.; afterward the Old also, at first in parts. The last-named is the principal translator, a former Benedictine, for a time agent of the British Bible Society, and suspected by the Roman Curia; his N. T. is still printed and circulated by that Society. Catholic polemic against Van Ess: *Warnung*, etc., Str. 1819; M. Molkenbuh, 1817; Kistemaker, *Ueber Matth. xxiv.* (in the Preface); also, B. M. Schnappinger, 1807; Widemann, 1809; Gossner, Munich, 1815, and freq.; J. H. Kistemaker, 1825; J. M. A. Scholz, 1828 ff. N. T. by a pastor of the diocese of Trier, Cobl. 1837. Several of them, on account of the commentaries accompanying them, are mentioned in the history of exegesis. The one now most widely current in Germany is by J. F. Allioli, 1836, and freq. The British Bible Society also circulates the version in Kistemaker's N. T. (more frequently printed in Germany), and Gossner's.

In France, Sacy's version is still by far the most in favor, though probably not so much because of its Jansenism as because of its style. A N. T. by É. Genonde, 1821. By the same author also single books of the O. T. with commentary, and the whole with the Vulgate, 1821. The version of the Gospels by Lamennais, 1846, beautiful in style, is intended to serve politico-social purposes by its annotations. See Éd. Reuss, in the *Jena Allg. Lit. Zeit.*, Oct. 1848. We pass over many translations of single books. — While the light of the Bible is studiously withdrawn from the people, the *ignis fatuus* which fell from heaven (§§ 258, 266) is spread by the press with episcopal countenance.

Most of the editions of Italian, Spanish, and Dutch Bibles of Catholic origin which are known to me, probably still others also, are to be credited to Protestant Bible Societies (§§ 476, 488), especially to the British and Foreign Bible Society, but also to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which has recently had prepared new translations, or at least revisions, for Catholic countries (Spain, Poland, Ireland, France). A new English version by Challoner appeared in N. Y. in 1854.

The circulation of the Bible in the southern countries of Europe, and the religious or industrial means of accomplishing it, sometimes form interesting episodes in the history of worship (Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, 1843), or even in political history (*Die Familie Madiai in Florenz*, 1852 ff.).

A N. T. for the then so-called New Catholics, by A. M. Müller, B. 1845.

500. Thus the History of the Versions has likewise divided itself into two periods, the conditions and phenomena of the

ancient church here considered constituting in a certain way the preparatory epoch. During the first period the sacred collection remained almost exclusively a church book, partly because there were no convenient means of circulating it, partly because the people did not possess the requisite preparatory Christian training to profit by self-instruction, and finally, because the language of the Bible presented to them an insuperable obstacle. The second period shows how, from weak beginnings, the Bible became more and more a popular book. The History of the Versions became at the same time a history of their actual circulation, especially through the aid first of the spirit of the Reformation, and afterward through missionary activity. The increasing influence which the Scriptures in this way obtained over the Christian training of the people constitutes the interest of the History of Exegesis.

## BOOK FIFTH.

### HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL USE OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### HISTORY OF EXEGESIS.

501. Even during the apostolic age the writings whose history we have thus far been engaged in recounting were made use of in various ways for the edification and instruction of Christians. They found in them partly the instruction itself which they needed, partly and more commonly the confirmation of the oral preaching by which the faith had been taught them. But this use, an incidental and directly practical one, was the only one, and remained so for a considerable time in the generations immediately following the Apostles. In a word, down to the middle of the second century, no theological and scientific use of these books had been made. Before this time, therefore, we cannot speak of any exegesis of the New Testament.

Justification of the title. The fortunes of Exegesis have always been closely connected with those of Theology.

Distinction between a History of Hermeneutics and a History of Exegesis. Necessity and interest of the combination of the two. Limitations in the presentation of the literary phenomena. Difficulty in the grouping of individuals.

Preliminary works. More general: Sixtus Senensis, *Biblioth. sancta* (§ 16), Bk. IV.; R. Simon, *Hist. crit. du V. T.*, III.; idem, *Hist. des principaux commentateurs du N. T.*, 1693; S. Deyling, *De recta interpr. ratione*, L. 1721; J. H. Callenberg, *De scepticismo exeg.*, pp. 54-182; P. H. Schuler, *Gesch. der populären Schrifterkl.*, Stuttgart. 1787, 2 Pts.; S. F. N. Morus, *Acroases super hermeneutica N. T.* (1797, 2 vols.), II., and Eichstädt's preface to it; F. Lücke, *Grundriss der newest. Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte*, Gött. 1817; H. N. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des N. T.*, translated from the Danish (L. 1841), pp. 77-337; S. Lutz, *Hermeneutik*, p. 101 ff. Cf. the well-known works on the history of ecclesiastical literature by L. E. Du Pin, W. Cave, R. Ceillier, C. Oudin, and others, the hermeneutic manuals of J. A. Ernesti on the N. T. [*Institutio interpretis N. T.*, 5th ed., 1809, E. tr. by Terrot, 1843], of J. S. Semler, G. L. Bauer, G. W. Meyer, J. H. Pareau [*Principles of Interpretation*, E. tr. by Forbes, Edinb. 1840, 2 vols.], on the O. T., etc. Schröckh's *Kirchengesch.*, passim; Eichhorn, *Asiat. Sprachkunde*, p. 538 ff.; Baumgarten, *Comm. on the Pentateuch*, Introd.; Landerer, *Art. Hermeneutik in Herzog's Encykl.*, especially p. 797 ff.; L. Diestel, *Gesch. des A. T. in der chr. Kirche*, Jena, 1869. [Add the hermeneutical works of Immer, *Herm. d. N. T.*, Wittenb. 1873, E. tr. by Newman, Andover, 1877;



J. P. Lange, *Grundriss d. bibl. Hermeneutik*, Heidelb. 1878; F. X. Reithmayr (R. C.), *Lehrbuch d. bibl. Hermeneutik*, Kempten, 1874; J. C. C. v. Hofmann, *Hermeneutik*, Nördl. 1880. Also L. Wogue, *Hist. de la Bible et de l'exegèse biblique jusqu' à nos jours*, P. 1881. Arts. *Hermeneutics*, by Prof. Salmond, in *Encycl. Brit.*, and in Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopædia*.]

On particular periods. Ancient: D. Whitby, *De SS. Scripturarum interpretatione secundum patrum commentarios*, Lond. 1714; C. W. Flügge, *Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, 1796, 3 Pts.; J. G. Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpretationis ll. ss. in ecclesia chr.*, L. 1795-1812, 5 vols. (first in a series of academic programmes); F. Vogl, *Die h. S. und ihre Interpretation durch die h. Väter*, Angsb. 1836.

Mediæval: J. B. Bossuet, *Einl. in die Gesch. der Welt und Religion*, continued by J. A. Cramer, V. 2; VI.

Modern: G. W. Meyer, *Gesch. der Schriffterkl. seit die Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, Gött. 1802 ff., 5 Pts.

Bibliographical notices are collected in Le Long, *Bibl. s.*, II.; J. F. Mayer, *Bibl. biblica*, L. 1709, continued by C. Arndt, Rost. 1713, uncompleted; A. Calmet, *Dictionaire de la Bible* (P. 1722 ff., and freq.) ; in the Appendix under the title *Bibliothèque biblique*, also in Latin (German by Glöckner, L. 1751 ff., 4 vols., Vol. IV.) ; J. F. Buddeus, *Isagoge in theologiam* (1729), ch. viii.; G. J. Schwindel, *Biblioth. exeg.*, Frankf. 1734; M. Lilienthal, *Biblich exegetische Bibliothek*, Kön. 1740; idem, *Biblischer Archivarius der h. S.*, Kön. 1745 f., 2 vols., 4<sup>o</sup>; J. J. C. Freiesleben, *Prodromus hist. lit. SS. imprimis N. T. interpretum*, L. 1758; J. G. Waleh, *Bibliotheca theol. selecta*, IV. (1765), and in many more general bibliographical works, especially Grässe's *Literaturgesch.*, II. 1072 ff., III. 243 ff., V. 455 ff. Catalogues of the works specially belonging under this head may be found in J. F. Mayer, *l. c.*, pp. 1-46; Pfaff, *Hist. theol. lit.*, I. 140 ff.; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, I. 37 ff.

502. Nevertheless Christian exegesis is as old as Christianity itself. For although there was no methodical study of the apostolic writings, learned Christians occupied themselves in the theological exposition of the Old Testament, the only collection of sacred books at that time generally accredited. They had in this the example of the Apostles, who had shown how in the sacred records of the earlier revelations of God the prophecy and confirmation of the later might be found. The exegetical argumentation was naturally carried on under the same principles and in the same way which had been followed in the schools of the Rabbins and in the instruction of the people in the synagogues. The first Christians had their exegesis, as they did their Scriptures, in common with the Jews.

J. C. B. Döpke, *Hermeneutik der neutest. Schriftsteller*, L. 1829; A. T. Hartmann, *Die Verbindung des A. T. mit dem N.*, Hamb. 1831, pp. 425-699; Redepenning, *Comm. in vatic. mess.*, Pt. III., 1845.

Cf. above, § 281 ff.

503. But exegesis was not everywhere uniform in its tendency among the Jews. In Palestine, except in so far as it was used to supplement legal provisions, it served chiefly to gratify that vehement longing with which minds were turning to the future, and hence had taken on a peculiar divinatory

character. It traced in the text of Scripture, as it were in a hieroglyph of many significations, signs of the great future, and thus formed the unsteady, unsubstantial bridge which bound together the remembrances and the expectations of the people over the present abyss of despair and torpor.

Examples (though not from contemporary sources) in the Targams, in the Talmud, and in numberless writings of the Rabbins. Ancient examples of Jewish exposition for eschatological purposes: Mt. ii. 5; xvii. 10; xxii. 42; Jn. vii. 27, 42, cf. i. 46, etc.

Distinction of the verbal signification פשוט (the body, גופא), from the hidden meaning, כוד, רמז, דרשה (the soul, נשמתא). Hence the expressions פדררש for a mystic commentary, פדרשן for an exegete. (דרש, to seek, to investigate in the Scriptures, then to treat learnedly of them, in the N. T., ζητεῖν, συζητεῖν.) The cabalistic operations of Gematria (exegesis by reckoning up the numerical value of the separate letters), Temura (by substitution of letters from differently arranged alphabets), Notarikon (by the resolution of words into the initial letters of others, etc.), bear about the same relation to Scripture that magic does to Nature. The high antiquity of such proceedings cannot be denied in view of such passages as Rev. xiii. 18 (cf. Jerome and other expositors on Jer. xxv. 26; Targum and LXX. on Jer. li. 1), although our knowledge of them depends almost entirely upon much later facts and authorities.

W. Schickard, *Bechinath Happeruschim*, i. e., *Examen comment. rabbin. in Mosen*, Tüb. 1521; S. Glass, *Philolog. s.*, p. 57, ed. Bauer; Ph. D'Acquin, *Veterum rabbinorum in exponendo Pentateucho modi tredecim* (Creuius, *Opp.*, IV.); Is. Pels, *De allegoriis talmudico-rabbinicis*, Frankf. 1707; A. J. v. d. Hardt, *De Judeorum statuto sensum S. inflectendi*, Helmst. 1728; idem, *De sophismatibus Judeorum in probandis suis constitutionibus*, Helmst. 1728; idem, *De Midrasch symbolica commentandi ratione*, Helmst. 1729; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, I. 453-493; Wähner, *Antiqq. hebr.*, I. 341-530; E. A. Frommann, *De erroribus qui in interpr. V. T. a Judæis manarunt*, Cob. 1763; letters on exegesis, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, V. 203 ff.; H. S. Hirschfeld, *Der Geist der talmudischen Auslegung der Bibel*, Berl. 1840, 2 vols.; Döpke, *l. c.*, p. 88 ff., 164 ff.; B. Welte, *Geist und Werth der alrabbinischen Schriftauslegung* (Tüb. *Quartalschr.*, 1842, I.). Cf. also the literature under § 539.

504. Very different, especially in aim, was exegesis among the Hellenists, particularly at Alexandria. If in the motherland the letter of the law had become ossified in the life of the people, here the attempt of the schools was to volatilize it and resolve it into a form altogether new and foreign. Greek philosophy, and the most ingenious form of it, least of all akin to the positive, intelligently ethical tendency of Hebraism, was to be naturalized in it, and a new exegetical art, that of turning history into parable and transforming the dry Levitical Law into blooming metaphysics, was necessary in order to adjust the heaven-wide difference, and to conceal the already inwardly complete apostasy. This art itself, however, like the philosophy to which it was subservient, was an exotic.

Definition of the idea of allegorical exposition as "an interpretation whereby, without sufficient reason, an expression is treated as figurative, and consequently improperly explained;" Klausen, *Hermeneutik*, p. 87.

Allegorical interpretation of Greek poets by Plato (*Repub.*, II., p. 377, etc.), the Stoics, especially Chrysippus (Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, I. 15; II. 24 f.), the Neo-Platonists, especially Porphyry. Cf. Pseudo-Clement, *Homil.*, VI., *Recogn.*, X. 30 ff.; Eichhorn in his *Bibliothek*, V. 222 f.; Kreuzer, *Symbolik*, I., ch. vi.

Allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures among the Alexandrian Jews with an apologetic aim, in support of Hebrew ideas and institutions against the Greeks, but much more in support of neological speculation against the traditional Levitical-realistic Judaism. So Aristobulus, c. 175 B. C. (Eichhorn, *l. c.*, V. 253 ff.; L. C. Valkenaer, *De Aristobulo Judæo*, Leyd. 1806), the Therapeutæ (Philo, *De vita contempl.*, ch. iii., x.), and above all Philo, the contemporary of Jesus. (*Opp.*, ed. Mangey, Lond. 1742, 2 vols., fol.; ed. Pfeiffer, Str. and Erl. 1785 ff. incomplete; ed. Richter, L. 1828, 8 vols., 12°; cf. H. Planck, *De principiis et causis interpretationis philonianaæ allegoricæ*, Gött. 1806; C. G. L. Grossmann, *De theologicæ Philonis fontibus et auctoritate*, L. 1829; F. J. Biet, *Quid in interpr. S. S. alleg. Philo a græcis sumpserit*, St. Cloud, 1854; and in general the histories of the Alexandrian religious philosophy by Dähne (1834), Gfrörer (1831), and others.) — Distinction of ψυχικοί and πνευματικοί, exoteric and esoteric teaching; ἡ βῆτη ζήγγησις, ἡ τροπικῆ, συμβολικῆ, ἡ δι' ὑπονοῶν, διὰ συμβόλων, etc.

Cf. in general H. Olshausen, *Ueber tiefern Schriftsinn*, 1824, pp. 16–44; *De iis qui ante Philonem S. S. allegorice interpretati sunt*, Reg. 1814; J. B. Carpov, in his Commentary on Romans and Hebrews; Z. Frankel, *Ueber paläst. und alex. Schriftforschung*, Br. 1854.

It is not to be understood from this presentation of the matter that the two methods just described were always strictly separated by geographical lines. On the contrary, in consequence of the flourishing commercial relations between the nations, there was early an interchange of ideas, and in particular the new foreign element soon began to exert its seductive power upon Hebraism, and rendered the more service to the theosophic tendencies of the Aramaean Jews from the fact that their fathers had already made use of the same means for different purposes.

Similar, but wholly independent studies among Mohammedan theosophists.

505. In both directions the Apostles were the pupils of their century. They had in common with the one tendency the principal subject of their exegetical endeavors, the doctrine of the Messianic salvation and kingdom, from the other they often borrowed its method. Their standpoint, however, was different, inasmuch as, being in possession of new and more complete revelations, their aim now was to trace them back and find them again in the ancient prophets. Their predecessors had worked out by means of their exegesis an unknown greatness; their attempt was to prove this working out by the help of the solution of the great problem already obtained in another way. The former, with difficulty and misgiving, had fashioned the clearness of the future out of the obscurities of the past; they, with ease and certainty, saw the Old Covenant in the mirror of the New, and as its prototype.

The Apostles were moreover perfectly conscious of this more advantageous standpoint; Lk. xxiv. 6-8; Jn. ii. 17, 22; xii. 16; xx. 9; especially 2 Cor. iii. 13 ff.

It is certain that the Apostles, especially the Palestinians, frequently and effectively used the Jewish literal exegesis in support of the Messianic theology, and there is no doubt that by their *ἔως πληρωθῆ* direct prophecies are meant; although the irrelevancy of the connection, a capital defect in the Rabbinical exegesis, and an indisputable fact in the apostolic, has led moderns to different views of its purpose. Cf. Mt. ii. 15, 18; iii. 3; iv. 15; viii. 17; xxi. 5; xxvii. 35; Acts i. 20, and many others. Such dogmatic explanations are even attached to single words, Mt. ii. 23; Heb. ii. 13.

That we are not here to think of a theoretically recognized double sense, or of any of the typologizing significations at present in favor, is shown incontestibly by such passages as 1 Cor. ix. 9; Acts ii. 29; xiii. 36; Gal. iii. 16, and the quotations in Heb. i.

Beside this simpler exposition there is also to be found in the Apostles a higher, reminding one of the Alexandrian. The fundamental thought of it is the idea of typology (*τύπος*, Rom. v. 14; *παραβολή*, Heb. ix. 9; *σικιά τῶν αελλόντων* opposed to *σῶμα* (*Χριστοῦ*, the real, the intended, the final), Col. ii. 17; Heb. viii. 5; *μυστήριον*, Eph. v. 32; *πνευματικῶς*, Rev. xi. 8), and *τελειότης* is made to consist in the understanding of it, Heb. v. 14; vi. 1; cf. 1 Cor. ii. and iii. Further examples, Jn. i. 29; iii. 14; vi. 48 ff.; 1 Cor. v. 7; x. 4; Eph. v. 30; Mt. xii. 40; Heb. iv. 7, 9. In the same way may also be explained passages like Jn. xix. 37, Acts xiii. 47, and others, and in general all references to O. T. events. *Ἀλληγορία*, Gal. iv. 24, may also be placed under this head, unless one prefers to regard it as referring to a purely spiritualizing (Philonic-Origenistic) treatment of history. Cf. Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, II. 154 ff.

In many passages this manner of applying Scripture seems to be interwoven unconsciously with the Christian linguistic usage; Acts vii. 51; Rom. ii. 29; xii. 1; 1 Cor. v. 8; 1 Pet. i. 2; 1 Jn. ii. 27. Here belongs also the symbolism of names in the Apocalypse, ii. 14, 20; xvii. 5.

Cf. Bleck, *Ueber die dogmatische Benutzung alttestamentlicher Aussprüche im N. T.* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1835, II. 441 ff.); idem, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, II. 94 ff.; De Wette, *Ueber die symbolisch typische Lehrart im Br. an die Hebräer* (*Berliner theol. Zeitschr.*, III. 1 ff.); Tholuck, *Das A. T. im Neuen*, an appendix to his commentary on the same Epistle; R. Stier, *Beiträge zur bibl. Theol.*, p. 452 ff. For polemic literature see below, § 584 ff. G. Röpe, *De V. T. locorum allegatione in apostolorum libris*, Halle, 1827; R. Nagel, *Char. der Auffassung des A. T. im Neuen*, Halle, 1850.

From the Christian standpoint, and in view of their respective objects, purposes, and methods of procedure, the superiority of the apostolic hermeneutics to the Jewish, especially the Alexandrian, cannot be disputed. Nor, as soon as Christianity and Judaism are recognized as different stages of development of the same revelation, can there be any debate as to the justness of its fundamental principle, although there may doubtless be difference of opinion as to the limits of its application and the degree to which the Apostles were conscious of the grounds of their exposition. With reference to the latter point, it is very clear that in the Pauline school the necessity was felt of doing away with the Law as a wall of separation (Eph. ii. 14), a task related to the Alexandrian. C. Buob, in the *Strassb. Revue*, II. 103; E. Scherer, *ibidem*, IX. 65; Diestel, p. 41 ff.

No definite consciousness of the diversity of the two methods can be pointed out in the N. T. On the contrary, such assertions as Acts iii. 24, Jn. v. 46, Lk. xxiv. 27, 44, imply the complete coördination or interchange of the two.

Cf. in general *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 293 ff., II. 110 ff. (3d ed., I. 408 ; II. 85.) If in the course of this history somewhat less attention is paid to the O. T., this is chiefly because the relation of Christian science to it really affects but a single doctrine.

506. At first the Christians did not go beyond the point of view of their inspired teachers. Indeed, as they were inferior to them in general intellectually, so they did not even rise to a clear and worthy conception of the connection of the divine revelations. It is not so much to be attributed to want of acquaintance with the language and history that the Christian exposition of the Old Testament became chiefly a straining after types, as insipid as it was insatiable, as it is to the enticing ease of this study, as soon as, subjected to no scientific rules, it has become mere ingenuity. Moreover, it rendered very good service in the controversy with Judaism, as well as in silencing the various opponents of the Old Testament, and yielded the richest spoil for purposes of edification. These ruling interests excluded all other treatment of these books.

Indeed this method must be acknowledged to be scientifically consistent, if the identity (not merely the analogy) of all revelation is asserted; from which assertion there follows further the complete passivity of the prophets, their own non-understanding of their prophecies, the necessity of a confirmation of the Gospel history by the O. T., the complete resolution of the latter into types (*σύμβολα*) or moral allegories (*παραβολαί*), and the need of a peculiar and higher illumination of the expositor.

Illustrations and examples in Barnabas (§ 234), Clement (§ 235), but especially in Justin Martyr († 167), who may be regarded as the theorist of these preparatory epochs. (*Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1742, fol.; ed. J. C. T. Otto, Jena, 1842 ff., 3 vols. 8°.) See especially *Dial. c. Tryph.*, chs. xlii., lxviii., xcii., pp. 261, 294, 319. — Ch. cxix., p. 346: It would be impossible to understand the Scriptures *εἰ μὴ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν χάριν τοῦ νοῆσαι*. *Cohort. ad gent.*, ch. viii.: Prophecy is a gift of God, not a thing of human endeavor; the mind remains passive over against *τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργεία, ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατιδὸν πλήκτρον ὡσπερ ὄργανον κithάρας τινὸς ἢ λύρας τοῖς δικαίοις ἀνδράσι χρώμενον τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ἀποκαλύψῃ γνώσιν*. Monographs on him (mostly dogmatico-historical) by C. Otto, Jena, 1841; T. Abanzit, Mont. 1846; A. Kayser, Str. 1850; E. Scherer, in the *Strassb. Revue*, XII.

507. No further preparations had been made when, after the middle of the second century, the apostolic writings also were brought into the realm of theological discussions, so that from this time on both portions of the Scripture had the same history in this respect as well, except in so far as their mutual relation determined differently the laws of exposition in details. The fact has already been mentioned, and repeatedly, that at that time ecclesiastical tradition had attained ruling authority; it is therefore to be expected that its influence would be felt in exegesis. And so there was added to this striving after a supposed deeper understanding by arbitrary interpretation of the assumedly figurative language of the Bible a second principle,

fundamentally just as correct, in application equally dangerous and misleading, that of the analogy of the faith, *i. e.*, the necessity of a harmony between the results of exegesis and the contents of dogmatic tradition. These two principles, now separated, now combined, were the guiding stars of Christian interpretation of the Scriptures all through the period of its childhood; its most flourishing period falls within the next three centuries.

It is noteworthy that the more the rule of faith obtains supreme and undisputed authority, the more extravagant and unrestrained becomes allegory, as if its orthodoxy gave sufficient warrant for its practice.

It is evident from this that in the next period, and in ancient times generally, we cannot speak so much of different hermeneutical systems, mutually exclusive of one another, as of prevailing tendencies and methods. Yet some isolated exceptions will appear in the course of the presentation.

The greater or less learning of the individual expositors is of little or no importance, since the end sought was mostly not so much the objective understanding of the Scriptures as dialectical, rhetorical, or ethical profit. Moreover the example and authority of predecessors, combined with a certain exegetical tradition as to the apostolic usage of language running parallel with the dogmatic (§ 359), was a valued aid as a sort of preliminary knowledge.

C. J. Estlander, *De usu S. S. in eccl. cath. duobus primis p. C. seculis*, Helsingf. 1829.

508. It was in the first instance the philosophic tendency, which had taken possession of many minds which had been drawn to Christianity in different ways, that led to a scientific treatment of the Scriptures, also of the New Testament. And here the so-called heretics set the example for the teachers who stood in closer connection with the Apostolic Church. The necessity of seeking for their peculiar doctrines a support which should secure to them a place within the Church, with whose tradition they found themselves at many points in conflict, drove them to the writings of the Apostles, and to such an interpretation of them as would bring them into harmony with their systems or oppose in advance a refutation of these systems by means of them. In general, the very nature of a so-called Gnosis or deeper knowledge of religious truths implied that, as the great interpreter of all riddles, it would be more inclined to lean upon writings still unknown to many or kept secret, than upon the simple faith which the unlearned members of the Church could obtain from the nearer and more generally accessible sources.

The last remark is still confirmed wherever a religious mysticism seizes upon the more obscure books chiefly, while the "simple" stand by the more plain.

Iren., *Adv. Hæc.*, III. 12: *reliqui* (beside Marcion, § 246) *scripturas quidem confitentur interpretationes vero convertunt*. Tertull., *Prescr.*, xxxviii.: *Alius [Marcion] manu scripturas, alius [Valentinus] sensus expositione intervertit*.

. . . *Marcion palam machæra non stilo usus est. . . Valentinus peperçit quoniam non ad materiam Scripturas sed materiam ad Scripturas excogitavit et tamen plus abstulit et plus adjecit auferens proprietates singulorum verborum et adjiciens dispositiones non comparantium rerum.* Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV. 29: The Severians χρώται εὐαγγελίοις ἰδίως ἐρμηνεύοντες τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νοήματα γραφῶν. Epiphanius, *Hæres. indic.*, *Opp.*, I. 396: The Montanists κέχρηται παλαιᾷ καὶ νεῇ διαθήκῃ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἰδίων μεταποιούμενοι. Inasmuch as the allegorical method of interpretation had for its essential aim the explaining away of the Jewish element in Christianity, Marcion, to whom even the Jewish form was repugnant, cannot have made use of it.

Examples of Gnostic interpretations are collected by Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.*, I., *passim*), Origen (*Comm. in Johann. ev.*), and others, and from them by Grabe, *Spicil. PP.*, II. 43, 62, 83 ff.; R. Simon, *Hist. des commentateurs*, p. 25 ff.; Baur, *Chr. Gnosis*, p. 234 ff. Now, in particular, the so-called *Philosophoumena* (§ 292) should be compared.

Special mention is made of Basilides' twenty-four books ἐξηγητικά εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (his own Gospel? § 245. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, IV. 506; Euseb., *H. E.*, IV. 7) and of Heracleon's commentary on Luke (Clem., *ib.*, 502) and John (Origen, *l. c.*, *passim*). Other fragments are found in the ἐπιτομαὶ ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους and ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν ἐκλογαί, ascribed to Clement. (Also in Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, V. 134.) Cf. J. G. V. Engelhardt, *De excerptis ex Theodoto et doctr. orient.*, etc., Erl. 1830; and Stieren's *Irenæus*, I. 899 ff.

The Valentinian Ptolemæus points out divine, Mosaic, and traditional elements in the Law, and distinguishes in the first class those portions which Jesus came to fulfill, Mt. v. 17, Rom. vii. 12, those which are abrogated because mingled with error, Mt. v. 38, Eph. ii. 15, finally typical and symbolical portions, ὁ μετέθεκεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀπὸ αἰσθήτου καὶ φαινομένου ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ ἄδρατον, the ritual law, 1 Cor. v. 7. (*Ep. ad Floram*, in Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxxiii.; Grabe, *Spicil. PP.*, II. 68; A. Stieren, *De Ptolemæi Ep. ad Floram*, Jena, 1813.) Doubt about the genuineness.

With still less difficulty the heretical asceticism found in certain utterances of Jesus and the Apostles scriptural warrant for its ideas of celibacy, etc. Cf. the fragments of Tatian, above, § 292.

509. Similar needs and attempts gave rise to analogous phenomena in the bosom of the Church itself. The faith which had been received in popular dress must be worked out scientifically and adjusted to the results of a speculation which had grown up upon a different basis. The consciousness of superior mental power in individuals who had received another inspiration beside that of moral regeneration led to the delusion of a special prerogative for a completely subjective treatment of the sacred books. From this point to the pretense of a special illumination for the understanding of the Scriptures, perhaps even to the belief in it, was but a step farther. In this sense, the so-called mystic exposition was used in the Greek Church even before the close of the second century, although mostly as yet without definite theoretical rules.

Distinction between πίστις and γνώσις (Clem., *Strom.*, VII. 732: ἡ μὲν πίστις σύντομος ἐστὶ τῶν κατεπειγόντων γνώσις, ἡ γνώσις δὲ ἀπόδειξις τῶν διὰ πίστει παρελημμένων διὰ τῆς κυριακῆς διδασκαλίας ἐποικοδομούμενη τῇ πίστει), and the twofold interpretation founded thereon, according to the letter for ordinary

Christians, and according to the hidden meaning for the more perfect (*γνωστικοί*).

The expression mystic interpretation refers to the biblical idea of *μυστήριον* (*ἡ θεοῦ σοφία ἢ ἀποκεκρυμμένη, ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν . . . ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, 1 Cor. ii. 7 ff.*). *Μυστήριόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ πᾶσι γινώριμον ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς θεωρουμένοις (θαβρουμένοις)*, Theodoret, on Rom. xi. 25.

510. It certainly was based upon the apostolic model, and and in so far was only a further application of the hints which were contained in the isolated examples of the New Testament use of Scripture. But what it really promoted and developed was partly the stricter idea of inspiration which would no longer tolerate the verbal sense of many biblical narratives and statements, partly, and more yet, the extreme spiritualizing tendency of the more noted theologians of the Greek Church. Unsatisfied as philosophers with the insipidity of Judaism, and yet confined as scriptural scholars to its narrow forms, they came to have a contempt for the letter and for the simple history, whether of the heroes and fathers of Israel or of the human appearance of Jesus. Only the authority of ecclesiastical tradition was not to be compromised. The literary centre of this school was Alexandria, where human philosophy was able to maintain its ancient prerogative by the side of Christianity.

J. A. Dietelmaier, *Veterum in schola alex. doctorum series*, Altd. 1746; J. G. Michaelis, *De scholæ alexandrinæ catechetica origine progressu et doctoribus* (*Symbb. litt. Brem.*, I. 195 ff.); J. W. Feuerlin, *De ratione docendi theologiam in schola alex.*, Gött. 1756; J. F. Hilscher, *De schola alex.*, L. 1776; H. E. F. Guericke, *De schola que Alexandriæ floruit catechetica*, Halle, 1824 f., 2 vols. (especially II. 50 ff.). Here belong also the investigations respecting the Platonism of the Church Fathers, formerly vigorously carried on, upon which cf. Niedner's *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.*, 1861, III.

J. S. Semler, *De myst. interpr. studio ab ægypt. PP. repet.*, 1760; J. F. Lebreton, *De origg. et principiis alleg. ss. ll. interpr.*, Tüb. 1795; G. L. Bauer, *Hist. interprétationis mysticæ V. T.* (in his *Hermen. V. T.*, p. 29 ff.); J. A. Ernesti, *Narratio critica de interpr. prophetiarum messian. in ecclesia chr.*, L. 1769; M. Baumgarten, *Commentar zum A. T.*, Pt. I., Introduction.

It is incorrect to begin the series of N. T. exegetes of the Catholic Church with Theophilus of Antioch († 180); see §§ 297, 513. Nor, probably, did Pantæmus, the first head of the school of Alexandria, change the methods of using Scripture before in favor.

T. Flav. Clemens Alex. († 217; *Opp.*, ed. Sylburg, Col. 1688 fol. (according to which edition he is here cited); ed. Potter, Oxf. 1715, 2 vols., fol.) makes frequent use of the N. T. as well as of the Old according to the following expressly stated principles: *Πᾶσα γραφή ὡς ἐν παραβολῇ εἰρημένη (Strom., V. 575). Οὔτε ἡ προφητεία οὔτε ὁ σωτὴρ ἀπλῶς . . . τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια ἀπεφθέξατο ἀλλ' ἐν παραβολαῖς. . . Ἐπικρύπτονται τὸν νοῦν αἱ γραφαὶ ἵνα ζητητικοὶ ὑπάρχωμεν . . . Τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἐκ πίστεως εἰς γῶσιν ἐγκρίτοις τηρούμενα τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια παραβολαῖς ἐγκαλύπτεται κ. τ. λ. (VI. 676 ff.)*. In the passage I. 355: *Τετραχῶς ἡμῖν ἐκληπτέον τοῦ νόμου τὴν βούλησιν ἢ ὡς σημεῖον ἐμφανίονσαν, ἢ ὡς ἐντολὴν κυρούσαν ἢ θεσπίουσαν ὡς προφητεῖαν*, if one holds to the simple



literal sense, there lie already the fundamental principles of the Origenistic theory and of the mediæval schematic treatment.

His lost work, Ἰποτυώσεις, in eight books, may have been devoted to more special biblical studies, although the remark of Eusebius (*H. E.*, VI. 14), that it contained a short διήγησις of the whole Scriptures, points rather to a mere incidental historico-theological summary than to a proper commentary. Cf. also my *Hist. du Canon*, p. 95.

Cf. in general J. G. Walch, *De Clemente Alex. ejusque erroribus* (*Misc. ss.*, pp. 510-574); C. F. Kling, in the *Studien*, 1841, IV.

511. Now came a man who won for these hermeneutical principles, long instinctively followed, a considerable authority, not only by combining them into a system and attempting to establish them scientifically, but also by a long series of independent exegetical works, in which he for the first time practically applied them to their full extent. Origen became the standard of scriptural exegesis in the whole ancient Church, partly because he was the first, and because example seems at that time to have had even greater influence than usual, and partly because he was really exceedingly brilliant according to the taste of his century, which admired even the caprices of an uncontrolled imagination as flashes of a higher wisdom. Gifted with a versatile mind, of broad and varied training, he knew how to present his thoughts, now in a form adapted to the larger circle, now in a method current among the thinking classes, and he did not neglect, in the ethico-philosophical exposition which he followed by preference, the sober historical explanation of the text.

We have preserved, partly in the original, partly in ἐκλογαί, partly in Latin translation (probably not very accurate), especially by Rufinus and Jerome, works upon most of the books of the O. T. and Commentaries on Matthew, Luke, John, and the Epistle to the Romans. Also the collection of extracts arranged by Basil and Gregory, *Philocalia*, ed. Tarin, P. 1619, 4<sup>o</sup>. (For editions of his works, see § 311.) His theory is given fully and systematically in his work Περὶ ἀρχῶν, IV. 1 ff.

The works of Origen are called τόμοι (among the Latins *Commentarii*), δμῖλαι (*sermones, tractatus*), σημειώσεις, παρεμβολαί (*scholia, annotationes, a genus commaticum*, so to speak); with respect to the latter form scholars are not agreed.

From a critical point of view much of what is extant is not altogether above suspicion.

J. A. Dathe (præs. J. A. Ernesti), *De Origene interpretationis grammaticæ auctore*, L. 1756; C. R. Hagenbach, *Obs. circa Origenis methodum interpr. S. S.*, Basle, 1823; J. J. Boehinger, *De Origenis allegorica S. S. interpretatione*, Arg. 1829 ff., 3 Pts.; cf. L. Röhrich, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur Origene*, Geneva, 1835; E. R. Redepenning, *Origenes*, 1841, 1846, 2 vols.; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, IV. 29-145. [Neander, Schaff, *Church Histories*]; Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, III. 1-156; R. Simon, *Hist. des comment.*, p. 37 ff.; Huet, *Origeniana* (in his edition cited in § 311), Bk. II. ch. 2. Older writings are catalogued in Walch, *Bibl. patr.*, pp. 37, 465, ed. Danz. Cf. in general, Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, V. 247 ff.; Oudin, *Scriptt. eccl.*, I. 231 ff.; Von Cölln, in the Halle *Encykl.*, III. 5. [E. tr. of Origen's writings in the

Ante-Nicene Library, Edinb. 1869-1872, 2 vols. ; see Art. *Origen*, in Schaff-Herzog.]

512. He regarded the Scriptures as a living organism, like the human, the three elements or constituents of which are likewise different in value and purpose. In the literal or verbal meaning, which he compared to the body, he found, or probably even looked for, all sorts of offenses and folly, as a sign, intentionally inserted, that the reader must rise above it to the view of divinely pure truth. This he found first in the moral sense, which, like the soul, everywhere permeates the word of Scripture and so gives life to itself and to all Christendom. Higher yet, as the spirit above the lower powers, stands the mystic sense, which is hidden from the Jews and from most believers, and includes the mysteries of the New Covenant, both those already revealed and those only to be revealed in the future life. Thus Origen was continually pointing out the analogies between the visible and the invisible world, and merging the historical in the ideal.

The historical, literal sense, τὸ ῥητόν, τὸ σωματικόν, ἡ πρόχειρος ἐκδοχή, ἡ λέξις, ἡ ψιλλὴ ἱστορία, on account of actual or supposed anthropomorphisms, contradictions, immoralities, and absurdities, frequently altogether denied, and in any case little valued. Where it can be retained, useful for the simple (οἱ ἀπλοῦστεροι.)

The moral sense, ἡ τροπολογία, not a mere moral application, but an ethico-mystical treatment, for the more advanced (οἱ ἐπὶ πόσον ἀναβεβηκότες).

The mystic sense, τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ἡ ἀλληγορία, ἡ ἀναγωγή, the reference to the New Covenant and the kingdom of God (discernible only by the τέλειος) ; in Origen as yet without separation between this world and the next in the hermeneutical theory. Otherwise called διάνοια, πνευματικὴ διήγησις, νόημα, θεωρία. On the disputed meaning of the last word, see Morus, *Herm.*, II. 210 ; Von Lengerke, *Ephrem Syrus*, p. 143 f., and in general Suicer, in the *Thes. eccl.*, sub voce.

Relation of this exegesis to Origen's philosophical system of the analogies between the visible and the invisible world. There was no danger of looking for or of finding too much in the Scriptures in view of the exhaustless stores of superhuman wisdom deposited in them.

For the rest, the Alexandrians, like others, appealed to ecclesiastical tradition, which existed, however, to their minds, in the common consciousness of the Church, in an inherited Gnosis, rather than in definite formulas or any external authority.

513. Origen enjoyed, even during his lifetime, particularly on account of his marvelous learning, a wide-spread fame, and became the exegetical oracle of the Church. Even the Latins, little inclined to speculation, could not escape his influence. And when afterward his orthodoxy was first doubted and then denied by a stricter age, his method had long since become the common property of theologians, and had nothing to fear from this adverse judgment of its author. It was further recommended, notwithstanding the decline of freedom in religious

thought, and aside from the prevailing taste, especially by the fact that it gave easy help over actual difficulties in interpretation, and that far from exhausting its subject, it permitted any one not altogether unendowed with brains to pluck continually new flowers from the garden of allegory.

Perhaps it was precisely the increasing restriction of free thought in theological matters that was one of the principal reasons why struggling minds threw themselves into allegory, where a field of untrammelled activity was still open to them.

Among the admirers and imitators of Origen may be reckoned : —

In the third century, Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus (§ 312), † 250 ; Dionysius of Alexandria, Pierius, a presbyter of the same city, Theognostus *ὁ ἐξηγητής*, president of the school there (see Eusebius, *H. E.*, VII. 25, 32) ; Methodius of Tyre, who, however, did not agree with Origen dogmatically (Photius, *Cod.*, 234) ; Pamphilus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of New Cæsarea, † 265 (*Panegyricus in Origenem*, ed. Bengel, 1722), cf. J. S. Weickhmann, *De schola Origenis sacra ex Gregorio Thaumaturgo*, Vit. 1744. Of none of these, however, are any proper exegetical writings preserved.

In the fourth century, Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian, † 340 (Commentary on the Psalms and Isaiah, in Montfaucon, *Coll. nova PP. gr.*, p. 1706, I., II., beside writings on biblical chronology and geography, which, however, scarcely show any need of returning to the historic interpretation) ; Hilary of Pictavium, † 368 (Commentary on the Psalms and Matthew, *Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1693, fol.) ; Tyrranius Rufinus, presbyter at Aquileia, † 410 (translation of many homilies of Origen on the O. T. and of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans).

In the fifth century (?) Pseudo-Theophilus (Bishop of Antioch in the second century), *Libri IV. allegiarum in IV. evangelia*, in Latin. An incomplete work on Matthew, in Latin, among the works of Chrysostom.

514. But philosophizing was not the business or the need of all. There were also more positive minds who either, sick of the ever questioning wisdom of the world, in order to gain more solid ground had taken refuge in the bosom of the Church, or, with genuine Roman conceptions of civil law and household order, heartily hated all caprice, particularly in still more important matters. For them the Church was not to be made an academy ; what the Portico at Athens never attained, the hall of Solomon was to give them, a certainty of faith, inviolable either by external criticism or by inner doubt. But for this there must first be obtained a basis which should have its authority in itself, independent of human wit, and which could at the same time serve as a bulwark against every invasion of error. In place of philosophic speculation came the dogmatic principle.

Q. Septim. Florens Tertullianus, presbyter at Carthage († 223) ; died a heretic ; father of the Latin orthodoxy and ecclesiastical language, a born lawyer, of eccentric mind and harsh disposition, an ascetic and a wit ; with affected rhetoric presenting Christianity from the point of view of its contrariety to reason. *Opp.*, ed. Semler, Halle, 1770 f., 6 vols. 8° ; ed. F. Oehler, L. 1852 f., 2 vols. 8°. [Migne, Par. 1844 ; E. tr. in Ante-Nicene Library, Edinb. 4 vols.]

Irenæus, an Asiatic and Bishop of Lyons († 202), a pious, zealous, and narrow man. His work "Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως is in great part only preserved in Latin. Editions by Massuet, P. 1710, fol., by Stieren, L. 1849 ff., 2 vols. 8°. In both a series of literary and historico-dogmatic appendices. [Also Harvey, Camb. 1857, 2 vols.; E. tr. in Antenicene Library, Edinb. 1869, 2 vols.]

These two (cf. § 297 ff.) stand at the head of the first anti-Gnostic, then in general anti-philosophic tendency. Cf. J. G. Rosenmüller, *De theologiæ chr. origine* (L. 1786), p. 75 ff.; idem, *Hist. interpr.*, II; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, III. 208 f., 389 f.; IX. 87 f.; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, I. 620; Semler, *Antiquitates herm. ex Tertulliano*, Hal. 1765; A. Stieren, *Art. Irenæus*, in the *Encycl.*, II. 23; idem, *De Iren. operis fontibus indole et doctrina*, 1836. [A. Hauck, *Tertullian's Leben u. Schriften*, Erl. 1877.]

515. This principle was the authority of tradition. The danger to the faith of the Church which might possibly grow out of the current method of Scripture interpretation was very early apprehended. Even before the time of Origen, in opposition to the Gnostics, individuals, especially in the West, had warned against the capriciousness of the allegorical method. They sometimes went so far in this polemic that they seemed to wish to give over altogether the use of Scripture in theology, declaring the rule of faith, as handed down in the Church, and especially as preserved in the original apostolic churches, to be fully sufficient to decide all disputes. Yet they really meant by this simply that interpretation has its warrant, if not its standard, in the common faith of the church. By this means the need of stability, which the prevalence of allegorical exposition had endangered, seemed sufficiently met, and protected by this wall from error on their own part or that of others, dogmatic theologians could now without fear indulge in the irresistible impulse to mystic interpretation.

In any case the authority appealed to is a concrete one, whether a baptismal confession or other sanctioned formula, or in general the doctrine handed down by direct apostolic succession of teachers, especially in particular churches (*propter potiorem principalitatem*, Tertull.), by which a sort of legal prescription was obtained against heretics — especially developed by Tertullian, in the book *De præscriptionibus adv. hereticos* (A. Crès, *Les idées de Tert. sur la tradition eccl.*, Str. 1855). Cf. Iren., III. 24, 1: *Ubi ecclesia ibi et spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia . . . cujus non participant omnes qui non currunt ad ecclesiam*. IV. 26, 5: *Discere oportet veritatem apud quos est ea quæ est ab apostolis ecclesiæ successio*. Cf. III. 1, 2; 4, 2. Tertull., *Præscr.*, xxxvi.; *Cont. Marc.*, IV. 5. — Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, I.

Exegesis was not thus freed from allegory; indeed this, as well as every other mode of proof, was doubtless used to establish the church doctrine. The question of the absolute subordination of exegesis to the *regula fidei* has been discussed among moderns since Lessing (§ 289); cf. Sack, Nietzsche, and Lücke, three letters on the authority of the Scriptures and their relation to the rule of faith in the Protestant and in the ancient church, Bonn, 1827. Pieces of declamation like the following are not historical evidence, it is true (*fides tua te salvum facit, non exercitatio scripturarum; fides in regula posita est habens salutem in observatione legis; exercitatio in curiositate consistit habens*

*gloriam solam de peritice studio. . . Nihil proficit congressio scriptt. nisi ut aut stomachi quis inecat everisionem aut cerebri.* Tert., *Præscr.*, ch. xiv. f.), yet they reveal a tendency which could not possibly lead to a criticism of tradition by Scripture. Just as little is the freedom of exegesis secured by the right, denied to the heretics, of appealing to the latter. (Id., *ibid.*, ch. xvi.—xix.) *Ergo non ad SS. provocandum est nec in his constituendum certamen quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est. — Sunt enim multa verba in scripturis divinis quæ possunt trahi ad eum sensum quem sibi unusquisque sponte presumpsit . . . ideo oportet ab eo intelligentiam discere scripturarum qui eam a majoribus secundum veritatem sibi traditam servat, etc.* *Recognit.*, X. 42.

That practice developed in this direction is undeniable. In controverting heretics, the Scriptures, which they "mutilated and wrested," could be of little use. (Iren., III. 2 ; Tertull., *l. c.*) Although it was attempted, appeal was made by preference to ecclesiastical testimony. Vincent of Lerinum († 450), *Commonit.*, I. 2 : *Necesse est, propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut prophetice et apostolice interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensus normam dirigatur.* *Ibid.*, ch. iii. : *Tenendum quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*

The Gnostics, it is true, also appealed, to establish what they could not justify by their exegesis, to an esoteric apostolic teaching. (1 Tim. vi. 20 ; 2 Tim. i. 14 ; ii. 2. Tert., *Præscr.*, ch. xxv.) But the Catholics denied that any such teaching existing outside their own well-known tradition (Iren., III. 3, 1).

516. Then came a period in which the Church, free from external enemies, had leisure and opportunity, and hence also the desire, to give her doctrines a more definite and scientific form, in which consequently all other interests became subordinate to the dogmatic. In proportion as the church doctrine became more defined beyond the word of Scripture, and logic became the more useful instrument of theology, exegesis was obliged to come into greater and often admitted dependence upon dogmatics. This is especially manifest in works upon dogmatics, whether with or without reference to the controversies of the day. The allegorical method might be used or rejected according to individual conviction.

The latter fact is most clearly illustrated by the exegesis of the Andians (Epiphani., *Hæc.*, LXX. ; Theodoret, *H. E.*, IV. 10 ; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, VI. 214 f.), which from literalness became grossly anthropomorphic ; and in the controversies on eschatology, especially the resurrection of the flesh, on which point the Chiliasts (*e. g.*, Nepos, "Ἐλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν?") and most of the Latins opposed the more spiritual interpretation of the Alexandrians. Among the opponents of allegory belong also the authors of the Apostolic Constitutions, which in the hierarchical interest held fast to the literal interpretation of the Levitical enactments (Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, I. 117 ff.), and the Clementine Homilies, to which it might signify the disparagement of the O. T., and to which, therefore, precisely that was welcome which was abhorrent to Origen.

It may be shown, for the rest, that decision by appeal to the concrete authority of the Church, as a body hierarchically organized for this purpose, was adhered to more strictly in the West. In the Greek Church, on the other hand, Scripture and tradition remained rather in the relation of equally immediate sources of knowledge, for the reason, among others, that the philosophic spirit was not so completely dead, and one could assume and dis-

cover their agreement without feeling obliged, for the sake of greater certainty and clearness, to set up the latter as the indispensable interpreter of the former. The current doctrines of offenses to be removed by allegorical interpretation, and of the validity of the Law only thus to be rescued, were the common possession of both churches.

It may be confidently asserted that the great dogmatic theologians of that period had no definite hermeneutic theory. Their good sense in conflict with prejudice and the taste of the age groped about in search of a middle way between the *παχύτεροι τὴν διάνοιαν* (the literal expositors) and the *ἄγαν θεωρητικοί* (the allegorizers), Greg. Naz., *Hom. XLII*. They opposed the former because they surrendered striking *dicta probantia*, and called them Judaizers, and the latter as abettors of heresy. The true sources of knowledge are *ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἀπλότης τῆς πίστεως* (Basil, *Cont. Eunom.*, I., *init.*), but the history is abhorrent *εἰ ἐπὶ ψιλῶν σταίμεν τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ βίου παρέχεται ἡμῖν τὰ ὑποδείγματα* (Greg. Nys., *Proem. in Cant.*), and the Law completely *ἀνωφελὴς εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς* (Cyril, *De adorat. in Sp.*, I. 13). Cf. H. Weiss, *Die grossen Kappadocier Basilus, Gregor v. Naz. und Gregor v. Nyssa als Exegeten*, Braunsb. 1872.

Cf. in general the dogmatic and controversial writings of Cyprian of Carthage († 258. *Opp.*, ed. Baluze, P. 1726, fol.), Athanasius of Alexandria († 371. *Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1698, 3 vols., fol.), Basil of Cæsarea († 379. *Opp.*, ed. Garnier, P. 1721, 3 vols., fol.), Gregory of Nazianzus († 391. *Opp.*, ed. Toll., Ven. 1753, 2 vols., fol. [the Benedictine ed., Par. 1778–1840 is the best]), Gregory of Nyssa († 394. *Opp.*, ed. Fronton le Duc, P. 1638, 3 vols., fol.), Cyril of Alexandria († 444. *Opp.*, ed. Aubert, P. 1638, 7 vols., fol.), Isidore of Pelusium († 449. *Opp.*, P. 1638, fol.), and many others; also the following section, as well as the monographs of Ullmann, *Greg. v. Nazianz d. Theolog.*, Darmst. 1825 [E. tr. by G. F. Coxe, 1857; Benoît, *St. Grégoire de Naz.*, Par. 1877]; Niemeyer, on Isidore, 1825; Klose, on Basil, 1835; Rupp, *Gregors d. B. v. Nyssa Leben u. Meinungen*, L. 1834; Rettberg, on Cyprian, 1831, etc.

517. Both methods, the dogmatic and the allegorical, existed side by side, and in consequence a peculiar confusion came into works devoted to the interpretation of Scripture. While many gave the mystic explanation almost in jest, and what had been with Origen a spiritual necessity descended to imitative subtlety, others attempted to lay down new theories respecting the use of the allegorical interpretation, partly by recognizing the hidden sense only in certain passages, the literal everywhere, partly by aiming to limit caprice by a standing, as it were lexical, signification of the different figures, partly by subjecting to the allegorical treatment only those passages not immediately applicable for dogmatic and ethical purposes, partly, finally, by striving to estimate properly the continual typical relationship between the Old and New Testaments. There was no lack of excellent directions for biblical interpretation; unfortunately those who gave them were the first to violate them.

The middle way sought, between bald literalness, which was despised, and allegorical fantasticalness, which was distrusted, failed of being found because interpreters could not free themselves from the principle of a manifold sense, and because a Christian theological meaning for every word

was regarded as a postulate of the idea of Sacred Scripture. All rules by which they attempted to guide themselves were themselves arbitrary, and had so little inner necessity that in practice they always went without rules, in order not to appear devoid of spirituality.

Ephrem Syrus, president of a theological school at Edessa († 378. *Opp. syr. gr. et lat.*, ed. Assemani, Rome, 1732, 6 vols., fol. [A Latin translation by Caillau, Par. 1835, 8 vols., forming a part of the *Patres Selecti*]; cf. Cæs. a Lengerke, *De Ephremi Syri arte hermeneutica*, Reg. (1828) 1831; Gaab, in Paulus, *Mem.*, I. 65, II. 136; Is. Götz, *Vie et ouvrages d' Ephrem*, Gen. 1843; P. Picard, *Recherches sur S. Ephrem*, Mont. 1866; D. Gerson, *Die Comment. des E. im Verhältn. zur jüdischen Exegese*, in Frankel's *Zeitschr.*, 1868), the first Syrian exegete known to us, whose commentaries, covering the greater part of the O. T., are yet said to have come down to us only in an abridged form. Cf. a Syriac biography of him in Uhlemann's *Syriac Grammar*, in Hasse's and Grimm's *Chrestomathies*; in general, Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, V. 319; Oudin, *Scriptt.*, I. 493; Rödiger, in the Halle *Encykl.*, I. 35.

Of Athanasius (§ 516) there is extant a commentary on the Psalms, ed. Antonelli, Rome, 1746, fol.

Didymus of Alexandria († 392), of whose exegetical writings only one has been preserved, on the Catholic Epistles, in Latin. Jerome, *De viris ill.*, ch. cix. Text in Gallandi, *Bibl. PP.*, VI., also separately, Col. 1531; F. Lücke, *Questiones et vindiciae didymianæ*, Gött. 1829 f., 4 Pts.; Guerike, *Schol. Alex.*, II. 83 ff.; Fabric., *Bibl. gr.*, VIII. 351; Von Cölln, in the Halle *Encykl.*, I. 24.

Ambrose, first a soldier, afterward Bishop of Milan (*de tribunalibus ad sacerdotium raptus docere nos cæpi quod ipse non didici*, *De Officiis*, I. 1. † 398), wrote on the Gospel of Luke (*in verbis ludens in sententiis dormitans*, Jerome, *Prolog. in homil. Origen. in Luc.*), and many smaller works on the O. T., *Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1686, 2 vols., fol. [Bannard, *Hist. de St. Ambroise*, Par. 1871; Ebert, *Gesch. d. Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, L. 1874, vol. I. p. 135 ff.]

Sophronius Eus. Hieronymus [Jerome] (§§ 323, 454), monk at Jerusalem, etc. († 420), a tireless copyist and compiler, who made theological authorship his business from the first, much praised by later writers, but by no one more than by himself; learned as were none of his contemporaries, especially in the sciences auxiliary to exegesis, but neither intellectually strong, independent, nor courageous. He has excellent preparatory knowledge, a hearty contempt for unfamed expositors, and blames Origen (whom he admired and translated) because *liberis allegoricæ spatiis evagatus ingenium suum facit ecclesie sacramenta* (*Comm. in Jesaj.*, V., *prol.*), but knows himself that *singula scripture verba singula sacramenta sunt* (*Ad Ps. xci.*), and therefore desires to rise from the *turpitude literæ ad decorem intelligentie spiritalis* (*Ad Amos ii.*). His hesitation, now for, now against Origen, is not to be referred to a divergence in exegetical principles, but to dogmatic caution. Commentaries, especially on the Prophets and the N. T., *Opp.*, ed. Tribbechovius, Frankf. 1688, 12 vols. fol.; ed. Martianay, P. 1693 ff., 5 vols., fol.; ed. Valarsi, Verona, 1734 ff., 11 vols. 4<sup>o</sup> [Migne, Par. 1845]; J. W. Baum, *Hieronimi vita*, Arg. 1835; J. Clericus, *Questiones Hieronymianæ*, Amst. 1719; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XI.; Von Cölln, in the Halle *Encykl.* For other writings see § 454. [A. Thierry, *St. Jérôme*, P. 1867, 2 vols., 3d ed. 1876; Cutts, *St. Jerome*, Lond. 1877.]

Aurelius Augustinus, Bishop of Hippo († 430), *Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1679 ff. 11 vols. fol.; reprinted, Basle, 1797 ff., 18 vols. 4<sup>o</sup> [also P. 1836-1839, 11 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>, and by Migne, P. 1841, 10 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>, 2d ed. 1863, 11 vols.; most important works translated in the *Augustinian Library*, Edinb. 1872-1876, 15 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>; his *Confessions* translated in the *Library of the Fathers*, Oxf. 1839-1855, 12 vols. 8<sup>o</sup>]. In this edition, vols. III.-V., in various forms, writings on Genesis, Psalms, Job, the Gospels, the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians

and the first of John, and many *Sermones* on particular passages. Cf. H. N. Clausen, *Aur. August. S. S. interpres*, B. 1827; C. F. Schneegans, *Appréciation de St. Aug. d'après ses travaux sur l'héréméutique*, Str. 1848. [Archib. Trench, *Essay on the Merits of Augustine as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture*, prefixed to his *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the Writings of St. Augustine*, Lond. 1850.] His exegetical system, the rational part of which is still worth consideration, and which demanded philological, critical, and historical knowledge in which he himself was wholly deficient, is laid down in the work *De doctrina christiana*, IV. Yet (III. 2) in case of the slightest uncertainty, even in external matters, e. g., *quomodo distinguendum aut pronunciantum, consularur regula fidei*; and (III. 14) *quidquid in sermone divino neque ad morum honestatem neque ad fidei veritatem referri potest figurate dictum est*. His attempts to interpret *ad literam* led him, in this respect also to a certain degree the standard-bearer of much later centuries, to scholastic methods and subtleties. On the whole, his exegesis was the great man's weak point. See in general Ginzel, *Der Geist des Augustinus*, *Quartalschr.*, 1848, IV. ; 1849, I. ; H. A. Naville, *S. Augustin*, Gen. 1872.

The "seven rules" of Trychonius (*Liber de VII. regulis*, Ven. 1772, and freq., *Bibl. max. PP.*, VI. ; cf. Augustine, *De doctr. chr.*, III. 30 ; Semler, *De regulis Trych.*, Hal. 1756 ; Flügel, *Gesch. der theol. Wissensch.*, II. 249) are not a hermeneutical theory, but remarks upon various classes of passages which present special difficulties to the expositor, without value or connection. Eucherius Lugd. (beginning of fifth century), *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentie*, Rome, 1564, is only a collection of desultory allegorical studies in the form of a vocabulary. In his *Opp.*, Basle, 1530, fol., there are also commentaries on Genesis and the four books of the Kings.

In Cyril's works (see the preceding section) are commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and John. Others on Matthew, Luke, etc., fragmentary, in Mai, *Scriptt. vet. collectio nova*, VIII., X.

On account of the great influence which he exerted during the Middle Ages, we may also mention here Pope Gregory I, the Great, about two centuries later (*Opp.*, ed. Bened., P. 1705, 4 vols., fol. Ven. 1768, 17 vols. 4°), whose exegetical works on Ezekiel, the Gospels, 1 Samuel, Canticles, but especially *Moralium in l. Job. ll. XXXV.* (often separately, e. g., Basle, 1496, fol.) were the great model of mystic exposition for the subsequent period : *in voluminibus Gregorii quanta mysteria sacramentorum aperiantur nemo sapiens explicare valebit etiamsi omnes artus ejus vertantur in linguas*, Isid. Hisp., *De eccles. scr.*, ch. xxvii.

518. Over against all the tendencies and methods described in the foregoing, there came in toward the end of this period, in the second half of the fourth century, another, which proceeded from the theological school at Antioch, at that time just in its prime, and which we may call the historic. A happy providence had brought together at this place a series of thinking men, who took delight in critical investigations and had an open eye for history, and who combined with a certain striving after freedom from the fetters of the authoritative faith a hearty aversion from the fantastic extravagances of the allegorizers. Exegesis, their favorite pursuit, they carried on upon the basis of philological science, and with a stricter regard to the chronological relations of the sacred writers. As theologians they did not deny the deep-rooted connection between the Old and New Testaments, and will-



ingly adhered to the apostolic principle of typical references, regarding them, however, as a result of religious reflection, not of the historico-critical study of the text.

F. Münter, *De schola antiochena*, 1811, German in Stäudlin's *Archiv*, Pt. I. ; Rosenmüller, III. 246 ff. ; Lengerke, *Ephrem*, p. 59 ff. ; H. Hergenröther, *Die antioch. Schule und ihre Bedeutung auf exeget. Gebiete*, Würzb. 1866 ; H. Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der ant. Schule auf exeget. Gebiete*, Weissb. 1866. [Diessel, *Geschichte d. A. T. in d. christl. Kirche*, Jena, 1869, p. 126 ff.]

The most famous of them are : Eusebius of Emisa († 360) (Jerome, *De viris ill.*, ch. xci.), who first followed historical principles in the classification of actual Messianic prophecies.

Diodore of Tarsus († 394), ψιλῶ τῷ γράμματι προσέχων, τὰς θεωρίας ἐκτροπέμενος (Socrates, VI. 3 ; cf. Sozomen, VIII. 2). Suidas edited his writings, among them a hermeneutical work on the difference between ἀλληγορία and θεωρία, the latter of which, in the sense of theological exposition of Scripture, he appears to have commended. Fragments of his exegetical writings in Greek and Latin *Catena*. Cf. Semisch, in Herzog's *Encycl.*

Theodore of Heraclea, Titus of Bostra, Dorotheus, Lucian, Ibas of Edessa († 457), finally Cosmas, in the sixth century.

Above all, Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia († 429), δ ἐξηγητής. See F. L. Sieffert, *Theodorus Mopsuestenus, V. T. sobrie interpretandi vindex*, Reg. 1827 ; O. F. Fritzsche, *De Theodori M. commentariis in Psalmos et ll. N. T.*, Hal. 1836 ; idem, *De vita et scriptis Th. M.*, Hal. 1836 ; R. E. Klener, *Symbolæ litt. ad Theod. M. pertinentes*, Gött. 1836 ; W. C. H. toe Water, *De Theodoro prophetarum interprete*, Amst. 1837. Cf. Socrates and Sozomen, *ll. cc.* ; Theodoret, *H. E.*, V. 40 ; Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, IX. 153 ; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XV. 190 ff. [Kihn, *Theod. und Junilius als Exegeten*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1880 ; W. Möller, in Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopædia*, Art. *Theodore of Mopsuestia*.] Printed, *Opp.*, ed. A. F. V. a Wegnern, B. 1834. Vol. I. contains a commentary on the Minor Prophets, which alone is preserved complete. Commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, Job, the rest of the Prophets, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Gospels, and Paul, have been lost. Fragments : *Commentariorum in N. T.*, ed. Fritzsche, Tur. 1847 [A. Mai, in *Script. vet. nov. Coll.*, VI., Rome, 1832, and *Nov. patr. bibl.*, VII., Rome, 1854] ; *Fragmenta syriaca e codd. nitriaciis*, ed. Ed. Sachau, L. 1869 (on Genesis). Others in Münter, *Fragmenta PP. græcorum*, 1788, and in the *Catena*. There is quoted also a work *De allegoria et historia contra Originem ll. V.* J. L. Jacobi (*Berl. Zeitschr.*, Aug. 1854) also ascribes to him a commentary on the smaller epistles of Paul, preserved in Latin (which D. Pitra published in part in the *Spicil. Solesmense*, I. 1852, as by Hilary of Pietavium) and has published the rest in a series of Dutch programmes, 1855 ff. [H. B. Swete, *Theod. episc. Mopsuesteni in epp. B. Pauli commentarii ; the Latin Version with the Greek Fragments*, Camb. 1880–1882, 2 vols.]

The Antiochians were perhaps anticipated by Julius Africanus, presbyter at Nicopolis in Palestine († 232), of whom two critical fragments on the genealogy of Jesus (Euseb., *H. E.*, I. 7) and the History of Susanna (Origen, *Opp.*, I. 10, Ruæus) have been preserved. Cf. Rosenmüller, III. 157.

The attempt of the older Protestant polemics (Hody, *De textibus orig.*, III. 1) to prove a preference on the part of the Church Fathers in general for the original text over the Greek translation is based upon delusion and misconception.

519. The most celebrated of them, advancing beyond this point of view, attempted to meet especially the needs of the

larger circle of readers, but first of all those of his own hearers, and aimed at a practical exposition. In extended rhetorical discourses or homilies he set forth the verbal meaning with constant attention to the course of thought, and connected therewith, in harmony with the form which he had chosen, the religious and moral observations which were founded directly in the text. Dogmatic and polemic digressions were not necessarily excluded, but were never made the principal thing, and the more or less frequently inserted allegorical additions appear rather as rhetorical ornament and deference to custom than as something necessary to the expositor. Certainly the Christian people of ancient times never anywhere enjoyed richer instruction from the word of Scripture than when it came to them in this way from the golden mouth of a preacher genuinely accomplished in the Bible.

John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople († 407) (*Opp.*, ed. Bern. de Montfaucon, P. 1718 ff., 13 vols., fol., and freq. [reëdited, P. 1835-1840]). His works contain, beside many single ones on passages of the O. T., homilies on the whole N. T., Mark, Luke, and the Catholic Epistles excepted. Cf. Montfaucon's *Vita Chrysost.*, in the thirteenth volume of his edition; Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, VII. 553; Oudin, I. 687 ff.; Ranke, in the *Halle Encycl.*, I. 21; Neander, *Der heilige Chrysostomus und die Kirche seiner Zeit.*, B. 1827, 3d ed. 1848, 2 vols. [E. tr. of 1st vol. by J. C. Stapleton, Lond. 1838]; R. Simon, p. 147; Rosenmüller, III. 265; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, X., especially p. 436 ff.; G. W. Meyer, *De Chrysost. ll. ss. interprete*, Nor. 1806, Pt. II., Erl. 1815; C. Datt, *S. Jean Chrys. comme prédicateur*, Str. 1837; J. Pettersson, *Chrysostomus homileta*, Lund. 1833. [Rivière, *Chrysostom comme prédicateur*, Str. 1845; Lutz, *Chrysostomus*, Tüb. 1846; Perthes, *Life of Chrysostom*, Boston, 1854; W. A. W. Stephens, *Life and Times of Chrysostom*, Lond. 1872, 2d ed. 1880; C. Burk, Art. *Chrysostom*, in Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*]

The necessity, more instinctive than scientific, of not giving loose rein to allegory, leads him to the theory (just now much in favor) of prophecy entering into the Scriptures piecemeal. On Ps. xlvi.: Τὰ μὲν ὡς εἰρηται ἐκληπτέον, τὰ δὲ ἀπεναντίας τοῖς κειμένοις, τὰ δὲ κατὰ διπλὴν ἐκδοχὴν, τὰ τε αἰσθητὰ (the actual history) νοοῦντες, καὶ τὰ νοητὰ (the typical reference) ἐκδεχόμενοι. On Ps. cix.: Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως προφητείας τρόπος ἐστίν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν προοίμια εἰς ἕτερον τὰ δὲ λειψόμενα εἰς ἄλλον λεγόμενά ἐστι. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προφητείας εἶδος μεταξὺ διακόπτειν καὶ ἱστορίαν τινα ἐμβάλλειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεξελθεῖν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα.

520. This happy combination of sober historic spirit with sound practical sense under more favorable circumstances must have had the most salutary influence upon the progress of biblical study and upon the relation of the Scriptures to theological science in general. And all the more since the distinction between learned and popular exegesis at that time was not so great as it usually is in our day. True, custom, training, prejudice, and often also the desire of literary fame, prevented a strict and exclusive adherence to the better principles, but the way had been discovered, and could be followed until it should lead to complete freedom from all restraints hostile to

sound science. Single commentaries of rich brevity and sound sense already made it evident that the problem had been attacked, and gave assurance of the good will to solve it.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria († 450). *Opp.*, ed. J. L. Schulze and J. A. Nösselt, Halle, 1769 ff., 10 vols. [Migne, Par. 1859–1860, 5 vols.] Commentaries and scattered notes on the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Prophets, several historical books of the O. T., still much mingled with allegory. We mention this exegete here on account of his excellent commentary on the Pauline Epistles. Cf. R. Simon, p. 314; Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, VII. 430; Oudin, *Scriptt.*, I. 1051; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XVIII. 355; Rosenmüller, IV. 35; J. F. Richter, *De Theodoro epp. paul. interprete*, L. 1822; E. Binder, *Études sur Théodoret*, Gen. 1844. In the Halle edition, Vol. I., J. L. Schulze, *De vita et scriptis Theod.*, and Vol. X., Garnier, *Diss. de hist. et ll. Theod.* [Roos, *De Theodoro Clementis et Eusebii compilatore*, Halle, 1883; A. Bertram, *Theodoretii episcopi Cyrensis, doctrina christologica*, Hildesh. 1883.]

Here may be placed also the commentary on the Pauline Epistles printed among the works of Ambrose (also separately, Col. 1530), which some have ascribed to the Roman deacon Hilarius (c. 380); but see on the contrary Herzog, in his *Encyklopädie*, Art. *Ambrosiaster*; it will probably have to remain under this conventional name. To the same Hilarius is also ascribed the *Questiones in V. et N. T.* preserved under the name of Augustine.

521. Unfortunately this tendency was able neither to win general approval nor to maintain itself long in the Church. Not only did it oppose itself in vain to the taste of the time, which scornfully taunted it with the insipidness and triviality of its exegetical results, it also in many cases came into conflict with traditional dogmatic notions. In the West it found no acceptance except with here and there one, and perhaps among the decried Pelagians, and even in the East it was soon looked upon with suspicion by the stricter theologians, along with the orthodoxy of its advocates. Its inability to win its way, even when advocated by gifted minds, foreboded the decline of science. After flourishing for a short century this school had no more pupils, and a century later still a pigmy generation pronounced the anathema upon those which were already almost forgotten.

The Antiochians gave special offense by preferring the Hebrew text to the LXX., regarding Canticles as an erotic poem, saying little of the *πνευματικὴ διήγησις*, even practicing only a *humilis et demissa interpretatio* (i. e., historico-literal), and by diminishing the number of proper Messianic prophecies, especially in the Psalms (Ernesti, *Opp. theol.*, ed. 2, p. 445). Doubtless also because they paid no homage to the imitators of Origen, that is to say, to the great mass of exegetes; Leont. Byz., *De sectis* (see § 320): *Hic scelestus (Theodorus) in omni prava interpretatione SS. labores sanctorum doctorum qui in iis laborarunt nunquam irridere et illudere desinebat*. Whoever disparages the exegetes easily seems to them a blasphemer of the word of God. *Experto credite*.

Theodore, Theodoret, and some others, were condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 533 (at the same time with Origen, their opponent); their exegesis, however, was not the only cause.

Of Pelagius, the celebrated British monk and opponent of Augustine († 420), there is extant a commentary on the Pauline Epistles (*Opp. Hieron.*, ed. Mart. V. ; ed. Vall. XI.). The present text, though certainly still Pelagian here and there, probably went through purifying hands in ancient times. Cassiod., *De div. lectt.*, ch. viii.: *Epistolam ad Rom. qua potui curiositate purgavi, reliquas vobis emendandas reliqui.*

His follower Julian, Bishop of Eclanum, in Apulia, also busied himself with scriptural interpretation ; considerable fragments are preserved in Augustine's incomplete work, *Cont. Jul.* Cf. Rosenmüller, III. 557 ff.

522. Even before the Church in this sentence had condemned her own science, the source had dried up whence it might have been still further enriched. And here we enter upon a new stage of this history. Through a series of troubled centuries, during which the genius of Christianity was preparing its blessings for mankind by a quieter way than that of literature, there was no longer any thought of independent and original production, either in the domain of theology in general, or in that of exegesis in particular. Ruled by the desire, now become a necessity, of being regarded as orthodox, and soon no longer having any encouragement from the common people, only a few still took the trouble, by drawing from the riches of the Fathers, to make themselves familiar with the Bible, and Scripture interpretation was engaged in rather as a kind of mental practice than for scientific purposes.

Here properly comes Jerome, with his only too faithfully followed example. Whether it be learning or polymathy, reading or mental poverty, he makes no secret of the fact that his exegetical writings are mostly others' work, to which he himself has only given the form, at the most bestowing upon the dogmatic coloring a greater degree of prudence. He was to the Latin Church as an exegete what Cicero, whom he likes to quote, was to the Romans of his day as a philosopher, a porter and herald of Greek science. *Adv. Rufin.*, I. (*Opp.*, II. 137): *Commentariū quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt . . . multorum sententias replicant et dicunt; hunc locum quidam sic edisserunt alii sic interpretantur . . . ut prudens lector, quum diversas explanationes legerit, judicet quid verius sit, etc.* Procœm. in Gal.: *Legi hæc omnia (Greek commentaries) et in mente mea plurima coacervans accito notario vel mea vel aliena dictavi, etc.* Procœm. in Eph. . . . *ut studiosus lector agnoscat hoc opus vel alienum esse vel nostrum.*

Cassiodorus (§ 328), *De institut. divin. litt.*, gives the list of the Fathers to be used, which showed a strong tendency in the course of the centuries not to increase, as with our modern writers of catenæ and compilers, but to diminish. Cf. § 526. Notker Balbulus, Bishop of Lüttich († 912), *De interpretibus SS.*, or *De viris ill.* (in Pezsius, *Thesaur.*, I., and Gallandi, *Bibl.*, XIII.), ch. iv.: *In Matthæo Hieronymus tibi sufficiat, in Marco pedissequo Matthæi Beda pedissequus Hieronymi.* From the same spirit springs the verse: *Si Augustinus adest sufficit ipse tibi.*

523. The latter would not have been a bad thing in itself if readers and teachers had been guided by sensible rules. But never did caprice and fancy trifle with the Scriptures more wantonly. The people either no longer obtained anything at all from them, or only the remains of a science altogether igno-

rant of its own aim or method. The historical foundation of the doctrinal portions of the Bible was corrupted throughout by apocryphal additions, and was regarded as edifying solely on account of these; the purely didactic portions were wholly neglected and unknown to the congregations; and as in general only in and for the cloisters could anything like Christian theology exist, so what was called, in distinction from these, the world, could neither exert any influence upon these matters, nor understand anything of them. It was not yet necessary to forbid the reading of Bible at a time when barbarism still needed severe mental discipline before it could outstrip the clergy in Christian knowledge, and when Christianity was in the way of becoming a monastic order, provided such had been its destiny.

Cf. §§ 329, 459 ff. — The interesting specimens of mediæval pulpit eloquence which have been published in modern times belong to a later period (twelfth and following centuries), and, moreover, are mostly of the mystic tendency, which we are by no means to think of as the most prevalent. We speak of a mystic tendency here, however, in the sense of § 535.

524. Through this whole period, therefore, there is nothing to be said of different schools in the history of exegesis. We have to do only with different methods of repeating, in ever new form, the results of earlier ages. The business was carried on almost as if the understanding of the Scriptures were a long lost miraculous gift. Naturally also, there is no progress to be recognized in the science, so that it would be of any advantage to hold strictly to the chronological order. The methods of procedure described in the following are in part contemporaneous. Only in case the design were to write a proper literary history would it be necessary to observe the order, inasmuch as every expositor, often even a comparatively insignificant one, might serve his successor as a source, and the latest and nearest were sometimes the very first to be used.

There is something in its way touching in the fact that each commentator, venerated, used, copied from, and looked up to as an oracle by succeeding generations, had as a rule begun, in complete mental poverty, by placing himself in the same relation to his predecessors. So it was in reality the oldest Latin Fathers whose exegetical works were extant, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome (through the last, but mostly unknown to them, Origen), beside Gregory and Isidore, whose ideas or conceits were continually being brought out again, often under new names. For whoever should take the trouble to prepare an exegetical concordance for that period would probably find again in those writers the most of what, from the ninth century on, was borrowed more directly and easily from Hrabanus, Alcuin, Bede, and others.

525. A convenient framework was offered by the principle, which had gradually become fixed, of the fourfold sense of Scripture. This principle, which had gained an authority

which no one dared or desired to attack, and which could only be limited by still greater extravagance, was at the same time the tyrant of science and the last asylum of mental freedom. At a time when he who loved peace and quiet did better to study the Fathers than the Scriptures, and when it had to be commanded by the temporal power that the clergy should understand the Lord's Prayer, the natural impulse of the human mind to action, in the realm of religious knowledge at least, could still be satisfied by the practice of allegorical trifling. Hence it everywhere came into the Church again wherever the fetters of intellectual restraint tended to become too oppressive; everywhere, also, it was immediately abandoned, as the poorest kind of liberty, as soon as a better was to be had.

Gregory the Great still holds to the Origenistic canon of a threefold sense: *Pref. in Job.: Sciendum est quod quedam historica expositione transcurrimus et per allegoriam quedam typica investigatione perscrutamur, quedam per sola moralitatis instrumenta discutimus, nonnulla autem per cuncta simul sollicitius exquirentes tripliciter indagamus. Primum fundamentum historie ponimus, deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus, ad extremum per moralitatis gratiam adificium colore vestimus.*

But Eucherius (§ 517) already mentions the classification of a fourfold sense, and this view gradually obtained general recognition. A distinction was made in the so-called mystical sense between the reference to redemption as it had already appeared (*sensus allegoricus* in the narrower meaning) and that to future matters and revelations (*sensus anagogicus*). By many ingenious, fanciful, and absurd comparisons, figures, and arguments, exegetes sought to prove the necessity and naturalness of the number four, and to explain their meaning. Well-known is the mnemonic verse: —

*Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,  
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*

The methods described in the following run into one another in many points, and no strict classification of the different commentaries upon this basis is possible.

526. The difficulty of procuring the ancient books, together with disinclination to the labor of reading them, led to the practice of placing them in the hands of the priests and monks, who had become poorer in intellect than in worldly goods, by means of extracts. Abbots and bishops were able in this way to win favor with their subordinates. Also, much which to the earlier writers had been a necessary preliminary labor, or to which they had first been obliged to give toilsome attention, was now regarded as sufficiently vouched for by their names, and could be presented in shorter and more categorical form. Examples of this method of procedure occur even in the early Greek Church. It was practiced throughout the Middle Ages upon certain especially favored Fathers, particularly not in the form of proper commentaries, abridged, but in that of exegetical anthologies adapted from the complete works of a great church light.

Cassiodorus, on the Psalms, also *Complexiones in Epp. Acta et Apoc.* (ed. Maffei, Flor. 1721), principally from Augustine. From the same source, though with the aid of some others, even of Pelagius, came the commentary of Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum († c. 550), on the Pauline Epistles, Col. 1538 and freq. A collection of extracts from the writings of Augustine, upon the Pauline Epistles, is to be found in the works of Bede (§ 527); in the judgment of scholars, however, it does not belong to him, but to Florus Magister, principal of the cathedral school at Lyons (9th cent.): *In apostolum quæcumque in opp. S. Aug. exposita inveni cuncta per ordinem in unum colligens transcribere curavi*. I have, in MS., a similar work under the name of Bede on Galatians — Hebrews (*appellatur liber florum ex merito suæ pulcritudinis*). An epitome of Augustine's work on the Psalms was written (c. 450) by Prosper Aquitanus (*Opp.*, P. 1711).

From the works of Gregory, scattered *Explanationes in obsc. loca utriusque test.* were collected by Paterius, Bishop of Bresscia, in the seventh century, and by the monk Alulf, of Tournay, in the eleventh, his *Gregoriale s. expositio V. et N. T.* Both in *Opp. Greg.*, IV. Odo of Clugny (10th cent.) epitomized his *Moralia in Job.*; P. 1617.

Of John of Damascus († 754. *Opp.*, ed. Le Quien, P. 1712, 2 vols., fol.) there are extant *ἐκλογαὶ* from Chrysostom on the Pauline Epistles. [F. J. H. Grundlehner, *Joh. Damascenus*, Utrecht, 1876; Jos. Langen, *Joh. v. Damascus*, Gotha, 1879; J. H. Lupton, *St. John of Damascus*, Lond. 1882.]

527. But such works more usually proceeded by the method of proper compilation. That is to say, several writers were drawn from at the same time, one being made the basis, and the gaps being covered, as it were, by the aid of others, sometimes without bringing them into accord. This proceeding arose from the same causes as that already described, and had for its object to collect the scattered treasures of science into one place. True, the study of the ancient literature was thereby made dispensable, and so one more means of education withdrawn from the already declining taste and energy of the time. The value of such works is naturally determined by the choice of sources from which they were drawn; but this often depended upon chance and opportunity, and can hardly be taken as the measure of the merit of the author.

Examples, the better known among many: Andreas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, on the Apocalypse (c. 500), ed. Sylburg, 1596 and freq.; afterward epitomized, when it is not known, by a certain Aretas, and often printed with Cæumenius (§ 531). On Aretas see Delitzsch, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1863, I. [Rettig, *Die Zeugnisse des Andreas und Arethas*, in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1831, p. 734 ff.; Prof. Dickson, Art. *Arethas*, in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Chr. Biography*, I. The Greek text of Arethas is presented most fully by Cramer, in his *Catene Græc. Patrum in N. T.*, Oxf. 1840.] In the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza, on a great part of the O. T., of which only Kings and Chronicles have been printed, in Greek, ed. J. Meurs, Leyd. 1620; the preceding books in Latin, ed. C. Clauser, Tig. 1555. J. C. G. Ernesti, *De Procopii G. comm. ineditis*, L. 1785. Olympiodorus of Alexandria, c. 650, on Ecclesiastes, Job, and Jeremiah, printed in *Catene* and larger collections.

Isidore of Seville († 636), *Allegor. S. S. V. et N. T.*; *Questiones de V. et N. T.*, and several other works. *Opp.*, ed. Areval, Rome, 1797 ff., 7 vols. 4°. [Reprinted in Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.*, LXXXI.—LXXXIII.]

Beda Venerabilis († 735), an Anglo-Saxon monk, on many books of the O. T. and the entire N. T.: *Scripturi maxime que in PP. exemplis invenimus hinc inde collecta ponere curabimus sed et nonnulla propria ubi opportunum videbitur interponemus* (Prol. in Marc.). He introduced the custom seldom observed by copyists of noting the source in the margin. *Opp.*, Col. 1688, 8 vols. fol. [Giles, London, 1843, 12 vols. 8°; *Patrol. Cours.*, Par. 1850, XC.-XCV.; historical works, Stevenson, 1838.] H. Gehle, *De Bedæ Ven. vita et scriptis*, Leyd. 1838; A. Sahler, *Essai sur Bède le Vénérable*, Str. 1830; Weiss, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, XVIII. 295. [K. Werner, *Beda d. Ehrwürdige*, Vienna, 1875.]

Claudius of Turin and Sedulius, a Scotchman, at the beginning of the ninth century, on Paul and other books; of the first only Galatians preserved (*epistolam ex tractatibus bb. Aug. et Hieron. permixtis procuravi ordinare sententiis*). See *Bibl. PP. max.*, VI., XIV. Atto of Vercelli († 960), on the same, mostly from Jerome. *Opp.*, Verc. 1768. So also Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1089), *Opp.*, D'Achéry, P. 1646.

Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople († 890), was also a learned, judicious, and industrious compiler, who, though he left no exegetical works, investigated many biblical questions in separate essays (*Questiones*, the so-called *Amphilochia*, see Hergenröther, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1858, II.), mostly after ancient fathers, and rather in the scholastic than in the mystic style.

528. Particularly active in this direction was the century in which Charlemagne sowed the seeds of a new intellectual life, or rather roused a new literary activity, for which, however, he could furnish neither the material nor the means. He certainly wished to benefit his age, and had a general idea of what was lacking in it and himself; he patronized and elevated those who had a tinge of knowledge, and bade others imitate them. But laws do not create an intellectual want, and the tree which he planted had no root. He himself was too much distracted by worldly cares, and his lifetime came at the very beginning of the development of hierarchical domination and feudalism, which at first only paralyzed all the forces and hopes of society, and were not to call out a reaction till long after. Besides, he had no successor, who, like himself, stood in advance of his century.

Alcuin († 804), the leader of the Carolingian century, on Genesis, Psalms, Canticles, John, and some of the Epistles (*Opp.*, ed. Froben, Ratisb. 1777, 2 vols., fol.). *Magis Patrum sensibus utens et verbis, quam meæ quidpiam præsumptioni committens, cautissimo stylo providens ne quid contrarium SS. Patrum sensibus ponerem* (*Prolog. ad Gislam*). Cf. Lorentz, *Leben Alcuins*, 1829 [translated into English by Slee]; Niemeyer, in the *Halle Encykl.*, I. 2; C. L. Tuefferd, *Essai sur Alc.*, Str. 1830. [Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, 2d ed. P. 1863; K. Werner, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*, Paderb. 1876; A. Ebert, *Allg. Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, L. 1880, II., p. 12 ff.]

Paulus Warnefried, a deacon at Aquileia; an explanation of the ordinary pericopes (a *Postilla* in the ancient sense, i. e., *post illa textus verba legendum*), a compilation ordered by the emperor himself. A similar *Postilla* by Smaragdus of Verdun († 820), Arg. 1536.

Haymo of Halberstadt († 853), on the Psalms, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Canticles, and Apocalypse, Col. 1529 ff., separately.

Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence († 856), is said to have been



the first to comment upon the whole Bible (on Walafrid see the following section); but in his *Opp.*, ed. Colvener, Col. 1627, 6 vols., fol. [reprinted in Migne, vols. CVII.-CXII.], the O. T. is not printed entire, and of the N. T. only Matthew and Paul; in part from Greek sources, but from more numerous Latin ones, *quorum lectioni intentus in schedulis ea mandare curavi quæ ab iis exposita sunt vel ipsis eorum syllabis vel certe meis brevianti causa sermonibus (Prolog. ad Matth.)*. Also *Allegorice in univ. SS.*, an alphabetical index of significant figurative expressions. [Kunstmann, *Hrabanus Maurus*, Mayence, 1841; Spingler, *Rabanus Maur.*, Ratisb. 1856.]

Two works on Matthew, noteworthy for that time, by the monks of Corvey, Paschasius Radbert († 865) and especially Christianus Druthmar (c. 870), the latter philologically learned himself, but revealing by his scholia the ignorance of his readers even more than his own learning; ed. Wimpfeling, Arg. 1514. By the former (*Opp.*, ed. Sirmoud, P. 1618) also upon the Lamentations and Psalm xlv.

Engelmann (Angelomus) of Luxeuil, c. 855, on Genesis, Samuel and Kings, and Canticles, Col. 1530 ff., separately. Remigius of Auxerre, c. 880, on the Psalms, Minor Prophets, and Paul, the latter formerly ascribed to others, even to Haymo; Col. 1539, and in various larger collections.

See in general J. C. Rittelmayer, *De l'interprétation de l'Écriture S. pendant le 9e siècle*, Str. 1832; Bähr, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur im karolingischen Zeitalter*, Carlsr. 1840.

529. Inasmuch as these endeavors had not proceeded from an actual need, they quickly tired and gave place to an indolence yet more stolid. The interpretations were soon still more abridged and either placed in the margin of the text, or at the end of the smaller divisions, in the form of scholia, from which their lack of coherence and comprehensiveness is manifest. Literal, moral, and mystical interpretations are placed side by side, under the proper rubrics. It is in this way that the tendency of science to abridge and to be content with second hand knowledge is most clearly evident. From the margin the glosses strayed between the lines, in wild confusion and full of contradictions. For even this miserable harvest of exegetical learning was raked together on foreign fields.

*Glossæ extrinsece, marginales; intrinsicæ, interlineares.* *Postillæ* in the later sense. If we consider the thing, without regard to the name, the method of glossing in distinction from that of commenting was much more prevalent. Cf. my article *Glossen*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

The two most famous works to be mentioned here are those known under the names *Glossa ordinaria* and *Glossa interlinearis* in particular; the former by Walafrid the Squint-Eyed (Strabus, Strabo), Abbot of Reichenau († 849), (and others?), gathered from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, and Hrabanus, with anonymous glosses, doubtless by the compiler himself, without exclusive tendency, the chief source for the following centuries, called by Peter Lombard simply *Auctoritas* (Ed. Reuss, Art. *Strabo*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*); the other by Anselm of Laon († 1117), very brief and defective, and altogether unscientific. The two were afterward written together (§ 466), finally also printed together, with the text, *s. a. et l.* (c. 1480?), 4 vols., fol., and often afterward with Lyra (§ 541). There are several other exegetical works by this Anselm printed in the works of Anselm of Canterbury.

Other glosses by Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris († 1164) [F. Protois, *Pierre Lombard*, Par. 1881], on the Psalms, on the basis of Anselm, and *Collectanea* on Paul, P. 1535, 1541, separately; but especially Hugo a S. Caro (§§ 329, 386), *Postille in universa biblia sec. quadruplicem sensum*, Ven. 1487, 6 vols., fol., and freq. His concordance, which was often revised and reprinted long afterward, may also be mentioned here, as a work in aid of exegesis. See on it C. Meier, in the Halle *Encykl.*, II. 11.

530. We should not fail to note the fact that many of these glosses, especially in later times, were of a purely linguistic character. In the West the knowledge of the Latin language, which had been the exclusive language of religious science, was lost more and more, and when one observes how trivial the marginal notes begin to be from a grammatical point of view, it may be inferred from this, in connection with the absence of any other than the Latin text, that any proper use of the Bible, even among the clergy, can only have existed to an exceedingly small extent. The Greeks also wrote philological scholia in their copies, mostly extracts from older commentaries; we are accustomed to rank them higher than the others because they are not so useless to us. They also formed separate collections of them, in alphabetical order, and studied the secular writers for the same purpose; these then became the not altogether valueless beginnings of Greek lexicography.

For Greek Scholia on the N. T. see the editions of Gregory (§ 407) and Matthæi (§ 413).

Collections of notes (*γλωσσήματα*), mostly grammatical and historical, on particular difficult expressions (*γλώσσαι*) or proper names in the Bible and in profane writers, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, by lexicographers, Hesychius of Alexandria, Suidas, Phavorinus, J. Zonaras, and grammarians, Thomas Magister, George of Trapezus, Manuel Chrysoloras, and many others. From these the *Glossæ sacræ* edited separately: *Glossarium gr. in N. T.*, ed. Alberti, Leyd. 1735; *Hesychii glossæ ss.*, ed. Valckenauer (*Opp.*, I. 173 ff.); ed. J. C. G. Ernesti, L. 1785; *Suidæ et Phavorini gl. ss.*, ed. Ernesti, L. 1786; J. F. Schleusner, *Auctarium obs. in Suidam et Hesychium*, 1809 ff., Pts. I–IV.; *Zonaræ gl. ss. specimen*, ed. F. W. Sturz, 1818 f., I., II.; a glossary on Paul, ed. Matthæi, Moseow, 1774.

Cf. Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, IV. 540; J. A. Ernesti, *De vero usu et indole glossariorum gr.*, L. 1742; J. C. Harenberg, in *Bibl. Brem. nov.*, V. 289, VI. 278; J. C. G. Ernesti, *De glossis ss. Hesychii*, 1782; idem, *De Suidæ usu ad crisin et interpr. ll. ss.*, 1785; Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, IV. 356. [S. Berger, *De glossariis et compendiis exegeticis quibusdam mediæ ævi*, Par. 1879.]

531. In the Greek monasteries the custom more and more prevailed, which indeed had not been unexampled even earlier, of placing the notes of various expositors on a particular passage side by side, unaltered and in summary form, so that they formed, as it were, a continuous chain of connected links of interpretation. Such works make scarcely any claim to merit of their own, and are to be judged solely according to the extent of their sources, among which may be some lost

to us, or according to their particular point of view, if they have one. This kind of writing certainly betokens a low ebb of science; yet several who occupied themselves in it deserve honor for their wise choice. This last endeavor, however, was too weak to win for the study of the Bible a place in theology which it had not been able to maintain in a stronger century.

*Catene Patrum*, σείραι τῶν πατέρων, συλλογαί, συναγωγὰ ἐξηγήσεων, ἐπιτομαὶ ἐρμηνειῶν. Cf. Th. Ittig, *De catenis et bibliothecis Patrum*, L. 1707; Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, VII.; Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 1422; Le Moyne, *Varia sacra, prolegomena*, p. 53; J. F. S. Augustin (præs. J. A. Nösselt), *De catenis PP. græcorum in N. T.*, Hal. 1762; Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, IV. 263 ff.; Fritzsche, *Art. Exeg. Sammlungen*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

Relative extent and value of them. The authors mostly unknown, the text in a doubtful state; many still unprinted. Summary in Walch, *Bibl. theol.*, IV. 388, and *Bibl. patr.*, ed. Danz, p. 247; Grässe, *Literaturgesch.*, III. 253. The name (of later origin) has been applied by some to similar works from Procopius and Primasius down.

Passing over mere translations, we mention (Nicephori) Σείρα, etc., compiled from fifty-one writers, on the Octateuch and the books of the Kings, L. 1772 ff., 2 vols. fol.; Nicetæ *Cat. PP. gr. in Jobum*, ed. P. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.; *Expositio PP. gr. in Psalmos*, ed. Cordier, Antw. 1643, 3 vols. fol. On the N. T. there are printed: two on Matthew, ed. P. Poussin, Toul. 1646, 2 vols. fol.; one on Mark, by the same, Rome, 1673, fol.; Victoris Antioch. et aliorum *Cat. in Marcum*, ed. Matthæi, Moscow, 1775, 2 vols. 8°; *Catene* on Luke and John, ed. B. Cordier, Antw. 1628, 1630, fol., the first only in Latin. A series of Greek *Catene* on the whole N. T., ed. J. A. Cramer, Oxf. 1838 ff., 8 vols. 8°.

Among these *Catene* are also reckoned, but improperly, the collections founded chiefly on Chrysostom and prepared in his spirit by Œcumenius of Tricca in Thessaly (10th cent.? Von Cölln, in the *Encykl.*, III. 2) on the Acts and Epistles (ed. Morel, P. 1631, 2 vols. fol.), by Theophylact, Bishop in Bulgaria, on the greater part of the N. T. (*Gospels*, P. 1631; *Paul*, Lond. 1636; *Opp.*, Ven. 1754, 4 vols. fol.), and by the Constantinopolitan monk Euthymius Zigabenus on the Gospels (ed. Matthæi, L. 1792, 4 vols. 8°), the last two in the twelfth century; by Euthymius also on the Psalms. Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, VII. 460. — Euthymius, Œcumenius, and Arethas (§ 527) are printed together in the edition of the text of Theoklitos Pharmakides, referred to in § 413.

532. The methods in which we have seen that the would-be learned study of the Bible was carried on thus sufficiently confirm the well-known fact that in the Middle Ages all theological knowledge had become a matter of tradition, and no free intellectual activity or independent progress was longer to be thought of. This state of things was due as much to the course which mental training had taken, and to the way in which on the one side worldliness and brutality and on the other mysticism and asceticism divided between them the control of the clergy, as to the pressure from above to which alone it is usually charged. Discussion of dogma had become altogether unnecessary, hence also discussion from the Scriptures; and study of them directly for the people because the lan-

guage closed them to the people. There remained, therefore, nothing whatever save mental gymnastics in the monkish taste of the time.

It has already been related under the History of the Canon, § 330, how it was not until the heretical reaction of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that a proper dogmatico-scientific use of the Scriptures began to come in again, and even then, in the ruling Church, only so far as it was externally necessary for controversial purposes. Exegetical works in this sense we have none to bring forward, but the Acts of the Inquisition and various historical and controversial writings of the age of the Cathari, and continuing from that time, show that practical life to a certain extent revived even this side of the use of the Bible earlier than did science.

533. The rise of scholasticism, which brought a more vigorous life into literature in general, also brought about, externally considered, a greater fruitfulness in the field of Scripture interpretation. Yet upon closer examination it is much less than one might have expected of a theology so highly wrought. The starting point of this science was something wholly different from the study of the Bible. For anything belonging to history or which must be historically apprehended, the men of the schools had no susceptibility. They were far too thoroughly the slaves of formalism and logic to find in the rich material of the sacred books much more than an opportunity for the extension of their systems, or the garnishing of their dead and empty categories. As the Church had put Moses and Christ on a level, so it was their attempt to reconcile both with Aristotle by putting upon each the dress of the other. The doctrine they obtained from the Church; but their philosophy they managed so well that they can now maintain it as a free possession of their own.

The most eminent exegetes among the scholastics, properly so-called, or at least those most influential in their time, are: Ruprecht of Deutz († 1135), on the Minor Prophets, Canticles, John, Apocalypse, and other works, especially *De trinitate et operibus ejus*, an exegetico-dialectic work on the greater part of the Bible (*Opp.*, Mog. 1631, 3 vols. fol.); Peter Abelard († 1142), on the Epistle to the Romans (*Opp.*, P. 1616); John of Salisbury († 1182), on Paul, Amst. 1646; Thomas Aquinas († 1274), on Job, Psalms, Prophets, especially the afterward so-called *Catena aurea in Evv.*, and an exposition of the Pauline Epistles (*Opp.*, P. 1636 ff., 23 vols. fol.); Albert the Great, Bishop of Regensburg († 1280), on the Prophets, Gospels, Apocalypse, and the so-called *Mariale*, i. e. on the pericope of the Annunciation of Mary, in 230 scholastic *Questiones*. (*Opp.*, ed. Jammy, Lyons, 1651, 21 vols. fol.) [See Hörtel, *Thom. von Aquino u. seine Zeit*, Augsb. 1846; Hampden, *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, Lond. 1848; Cicognani, *Sulla vita di S. Tomasso*, 1874, E. tr., *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, Lond. 1882; W. T. Townsend, *The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages*, Lond. 1882.]

Among the scholastic treatises on the Bible should also be reckoned the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor (le Mangeur), priest at Troyes, afterward chancellor at Paris († 1179), properly a Historical Bible with most wretched profane history interwoven, for the schools, and with appendices consisting of more or less extensive philosophico-exegetical excursuses and glosses. Frequently printed from 1473 on. Cf. § 466.

534. In general, the peculiar character which science took on under the hands of these renowned schools is to be recognized in their exegetical works but rarely and with limitations. True, some attempted to apply their well-known dialectic method to exposition, but inasmuch as exegesis, even by these theologians, was only exceptionally taken up in the service of dogmatics, they had no interest in working out in an accurate and thorough way the relation between Scripture and philosophy. Generally speaking, indeed, where scholasticism was able to give itself up freely to its scientific bent, although proceeding from a positive basis, it did not attempt to fix even this, and its occupation with the Bible was mostly only an incidental matter inviting to trifling, in which the sacred text furnished not so much the subject as the opportunity for disputation.

The manifold sense of Scripture was a datum; scholasticism had not to prove this principle, but to vindicate it logically and then to follow it, as its predecessors had done: Alexander Ales., *Summa*, Pt. I. qu. 1, membr. 4, art. 2 ff.: *Hic modus est in S. S. ut sit unicus sensus literæ multiplex vero in mysterio . . . Quatuor sunt sensus S. S. . . . cum veritas prima trina sit et una, modus scientiæ veritatis primæ est trinus in uno; unus literalis triplex spiritualis, anagogicus ad Patrem, allegoricus ad Filium, tropologicus ad Sp. S.* — Thom. Aquin., *Summa*, Pt. I. qu. 1, art. 10: *Auctor S. S. est Deus in cujus potestate est ut non solum voces ad significandum accommodet, sed etiam res ipsas, et ideo, cum in omnibus scientiis voces significant res, hoc habet proprium ista scientia, quod ipse res signate per vocem etiam significant aliquid. Illa ergo prima significatio, qua voces significant res, pertinet ad primum sensum qui est . . . literalis; illa vero qua res significantur per voces iterum res alias significant dicitur sensus spiritualis, etc.*

The scholastico-dogmatic discussions (*collationes*), which may be regarded as the peculiar characteristic of the school, usually appear as external appendices to the customary extracts, which often do not go beyond glosses. Lack of system (*e. g.*, in the determination of the dogmatic character of the separate portions, epistles, sections) and classification prevails to a greater or less extent in the expositions. The meaning of Scripture, from bold dialectic hairsplitting, became inexhaustible (according to Bonaventura, beside the senses already named, the symbolic, hyperbolic, and synecdochical); but notwithstanding all the ecstasy over its depth (see Bonaventura, *Princip. S. S.*: *Est ejus inattingibilis altitudo propter auctoritatem inviolabilem, inexhaustibilis plenitudo propter profunditatem imperscrutabilem, infallibilis certitudo propter processum irrefellibilem, impretiabilis valetudo propter fructum inestimabilem, incontaminabilis pulcritudo propter puritatem impermixtibilem, etc.*), extraordinarily little that was new or of genuine worth was brought to light from the mine.

See in general A. Tholuck, *De Thoma Aq. et Abælardo S. S. interpretibus*, Hal. 1842; E. C. W. Elster, *De mediæ ævi theologia exegetica*, Gött. 1855; Jul. Soury, *Des études hébraïques et exégétiques au moyen âge*, P. 1867.

535. The two otherwise opposed parties of the age, the scholastics and the mystics, met upon this field. With both the proper theological use of the Scriptures had to a greater or less extent disappeared; they had received their exegetical principles by like inheritance, and not merely had their exegesis come

to them from dogmatics, as elsewhere in Christendom, but both alike from tradition. In all this, therefore, there was no cause for the appearance of the opposition existing between them on other points. The one party could exercise its wits in interpretations precisely like those to which the other was perhaps drawn rather by its cast of mind, and the subtle, captious method of the former was also the most natural form of thought to the latter when they were willing to allow the intellect to speak.

The number of exegetical writings having a definitively practical purpose (mostly tropological, now called moral) increases especially from the twelfth century on; but there are but few famous names to be mentioned, and these known mostly for very different causes than their exegetical labors. *E. g.*, Guibert of Nogent, tropologies on some of the Prophets and Genesis; Bernhard of Clairvaux (1140), especially for his eighty-six *Sermones* on the Song of Solomon; Hugo of St. Victor († 1141), on the greater part of the Bible [Best edition of his works, Rouen, 1648, 3 vols. See Liebner, *Hugo von St. Victor*, 1832.]; Richard of St. Victor († 1173), on the Psalms, Canticles, and the temples of Moses, Solomon, and Ezekiel [Best edition of his works, Rouen, 1650. See J. G. v. Engelhardt, *Richard von St. Victor*, Erl. 1838.]; Honorius of Autun, on all the poetical books of the O. T.; Radulf of Flavigny (c. 1130), on Leviticus; Hervé of Mans, on Isaiah and Paul, the latter formerly ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury, Col. 1533; Zacharias of Goldborough (Chrysopolitanus), on the harmony of the Gospels, all in the twelfth century; also Cardinal Bonaventura († 1274), on the Psalms, Ezekiel, Canticles, Luke, John, Apocalypse (*Opp.*, Rome, 1588, 8 vols. fol., *Suppl.*, Trid. 1772, 3 vols. fol.), etc. [A. Hollenberg, *Studien zu Bonaventura*, Berl. 1862.]

Of the great mass of exegetes of the fourteenth century, most of whose works have wholly disappeared, we mention also Vitalis a Furno (du Four), *Speculum morale totius S. S.*, Lyons, 1513; Peter Berchorius (le Bercheur), Prior at St. Eloi, near Paris († 1362), *Reductorium morale super tota biblia*, and *Dictionarium morale bibl.*, *Opp.*, Col. 1684, 3 vols. fol.; Robt. Holcott, *Moralitates historiarum*, Ven. 1505, and the Commentaries on the Psalms, frequently printed in the early days of the art, by Peter of Herental, Michael Angrianus, Joh. de Turrecremata, and Jac. Perez de Valentia; some of these of the fifteenth century.

536. Yet the general tendency of the mystic school was not wholly without influence upon the interpretation of Scripture. This influence manifested itself in the choice of subjects, in the preference for certain lines of thought, in the frequency of particular figures. Among the mystics the so-called moral element in the meaning of Scripture was most prominent; by which is meant, however, not a pithy, vigorous, and practical application for the purpose of renewing the heart and quickening the conscience, but a trifling and lifeless, often even thoughtless, contemplation of the states of the soul before and after regeneration. Every text was in reality equally available for this purpose; but the Old Testament especially invited to it, particularly in portions where purely historical material offered free play to the imagination. No book has been

treated in this way so many times as the Song of Solomon, because in a purely external asceticism intellectual revelry amid voluptuous imagery is gladly indulged in as a substitute for the forbidden bodily pleasures.

Cf. Cramer, Continuation of Bossuet's *Weltgeschichte*, VI. 101 ff.; Ed. Cunitz, *Hist. critique de l'interprétation du cantique des cantiques*, Str. 1834; F. Uhlemann, *De varia Cantici interpr. ratione*, B. 1839.

Aside from the Canticles, whose interpreters are innumerable, the Psalms in particular were treated for purposes of edification, not only with more reason, but also more happily.

The prophetic exegesis of the Abbot Joachim, of Floris in Calabria († 1202), is peculiar. He expounded the apocalyptic prophecies as such, and with the strictness of a reformer, against the corruption of the world and the Church (Ven. 1519, and freq.; see Hahn, in the *Studien*, 1849, II. 401), while the numerous other commentaries on the Revelation of John were all of the mystic-contemplative sort.

537. And yet, if we consider the spirit of the time, it is precisely in this mystic treatment of Scripture that the Middle Age expressed its last and most Christian thought. True, the custodians of the word had lost the real character of the Bible, as connected history, law, and gospel, and the veil of Moses lay heavy and thick over their eyes; but they still lived in glad faith in the richness of an inexhaustible revelation, and read continually from out the motley manifoldness of its figures the earnest exhortation to separateness from the world. The body in sackcloth, the heart with the saints, and the gaze on the cross, they found the way of recovery from the longest and most anxious birth-throes which the human race, so far as its history is known, has ever undergone. And if the light of the Spirit only came to them through the painted windows of their cloisters, half-quenched and distorted withal, it did not dazzle an unprepared eye, but threw a gentle gleam upon the dark walls of the cell, which concealed the nobler life of the century and with it the hope of the future.

The exegetical literature of the Middle Age is worthy to have an anthology gathered from it in a more friendly spirit than it has been done, for example, by Rosenmüller, or could be done by earlier writers. Only one must not go to it with the question, what has it accomplished for a real historico-didactic understanding of Scripture, if he would appreciate its true value. History and dogmatics, in their relation to the Bible, ought to be subject to a sound hermeneutics; edification does not depend upon hermeneutics, but upon the Christian principles and ideas which the reader brings with him, and may be all the more legitimate an element of the whole exposition inasmuch as more can avail themselves of it.

538. Such were the exegetical treasures which the monastic labors of the Middle Age had gathered, rather for immediate edification than for the purposes of a scientific understanding and a theological use of the Scriptures. The time was drawing near when new political and ecclesiastical arrangements

were to change the social and intellectual life of Europe. On one side and another the day began to dawn for science. But she awoke gradually, as from a heavy sleep; nowhere more so than in the field we are now considering. If it were important here to mention the more remote causes which combined to produce this remarkable resurrection, we might refer to many facts otherwise well-known in history; but we content ourselves with those which are more closely connected with religious science. The active intercourse with the Orient, the freer life of the universities beside the gloomy existence of the cloisters, the ecclesiastical confusion, itself a fruit of awakening consciousness, the growing power of the state as opposed to the Church, the fear that the people, now coming to their majority, and infected with the spirit of freedom, might slip away altogether from the guidance of the priesthood, all this contributed to introduce a more active life into the schools.

In a much less degree we might take account (1) of the more frequent exegetical lectures at the universities and in the monasteries, which, however, did not pass beyond the ordinary mystic and scholastic horizon; (2) the founding of chairs for the Oriental languages, decreed at Vienne in 1311, the design of which was simply a more effective missionary activity; (3) the return of some from Aristotle to Plato, which did not take place until the very close of this period, and had very little influence upon exegesis. § 543.

539. But long before these and other causes had been able to produce any noteworthy effect upon Christian study of the Scriptures, the Jews had set a good example altogether without these incitements. They also had had their wintry middle age, — shorter, to be sure, but no less deadening intellectually; they also, and more directly than the Christians, felt themselves drawn within the sphere of the intellectual movement of that people which had for a long time been the only one to preserve the flowers of civilization which it had threatened to destroy. They obtained from this source, beside much else, a delight in linguistic science, and hastened to apply it, in manifold ways, to the books the letter and law of which had always been alike sacred to them, while the Christians had often forgotten both. First in Spain, afterward also in the countries adjacent, in which the science of the Orient had taken refuge, they applied themselves with an intelligent and not unfruitful industry to their sacred writings, and wrote, beside many allegorical and scholastic commentaries in which they also made the spirit of the Bible tributary to their own and that of the time, more than one linguistically and historically sound, which may even yet be read with profit.

Inasmuch as the literary history of the Jewish exegesis of the Middle Age does not come within our field, and mention is only made of it here for the honor due to it, and because even in the fourteenth century it was be-



ginning to exert a salutary influence on the Christian, we confine ourselves to the names most justly renowned among the properly grammatico-historical expositors.

R. Abraham Aben Ezra of Toledo († 1167) [Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, VI. pp. 198 ff., 440 ff.] and R. Solomon Isaac (Yarchi, Rashi) of Troyes († 1170) [Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums*; Bloch, *Lebensgesch. d. Salomo Jizchaki*, 1840], both on the whole O. T. The latter, however, among the Jews themselves the favorite exegete to the present day, is a devotee of a thoroughly Jewish scholasticism. R. David Kimchi of Narbonne († 1190) on the Prophets and Hagiographa; [his work on Zechariah translated by McCaul, Lond. 1837; see Art. *Kimchi*, in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed. XIV.] Don Isaac Abravanel (Abarbenel) of Lisbon († 1405) [Ersch and Gruber, *Encykl.*; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, VIII. p. 334, IX. p. 6.] on the Pentateuch, former and latter Prophets. Printed together in the so-called Rabbinical Bibles, *e. g.*, ed. Buxtorf, Basle, 1618, 3 vols., fol.; often separately; also in Latin.

There is also found among the Jews of this period halachistic (canonistic), philosophic (especially cabalistic, zealously studied by the scholars of the Renaissance), and allegorical exegesis (Midrash, Rabboth). See in general § 503, and also Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, V. 210 ff.; Augusti, Preface to Haymann's German translation of Rashi's *Genesis*; Leusden, *Phil. hebr. mixtus*, p. 110 ff.; Surenhusius, *Βίβλος καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 1–88; R. Simon, *V. T.*, III. chs. v.–vii.; Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 1433 ff.; Schwarzauer, in Fürst's *Orient*, III., IV. *passim*; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Auslegung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols. Many essays in Fürst's *Orient*, and in the *Zeitschriften* of Geiger, Frankel, Grätz, etc.

540. In the Christian Church the first thing to attract our attention is the fact that, as the period of the Reformation approaches, the activity in the field of exegesis diminishes rather than increases. As in the beginning it was the Church that brought the Scriptures into existence, so it was the Reformation that brought into existence the true study of the Scriptures, and not the reverse. The century preceding was obliged to direct its forces upon a different plan, as it were in the prelude to the mighty battle. On the eve of great revolutions a mysterious impulse directs the eyes of the chosen leaders of the movement, small and great, to the mightier motives of the world and of men. Moreover, upon the thus-far trodden highways of theology there were too many hindrances to improvement. Scholars had to contend not only with the clergy, in so far as they were disposed to oppose free progress, and with the power of indolence among the profession, but especially with the insufficiency of their own means.

This appeared most strikingly in the period between the invention of printing and the Reformation, during which scarcely anything new or worthy of mention was written upon the Bible, and the presses were set in motion almost exclusively for ancient works. The latter fact alone shows sufficiently the power of inherited ideas. It was only by the dissemination of the classics that the art of printing directly helped on the revolution of things. In the realm of the Church it did not place itself at the disposal of the new ideas until they had already come to maturity.

541. In the West, of which alone we shall speak from this

point, the forms and tendencies of exegetical works became more varied. But the better attempts were still very rare and looked upon with suspicion, and by the side of them, much more numerous, apparently also more successful, were the patchwork compilations of the old style, some of them giving lamentable evidence of the neglect and poverty of the literary culture of the time. While on the one hand there appears the surprising progress of improving the Latin Bible from the Rabbin and of allowing to the literal sense the highest value, on the other the ecclesiastical power asserts all the more decidedly its right and intention to fix this sense by its own authority; endless scholastic and mystic talk expanding into monstrous commentaries crushes science beneath the burden of its own helplessness; and the first beginnings of dogmatically and morally reforming exegesis border in time upon works which are only too bulky, not too trivial, to pass for the originals of our modern *pontes asinorum*.

The first trace of the application of science in new ways is found in the famous work of Nicolas of Lyra, a Franciscan monk of Normandy († 1340): *Postillæ perpetuæ s. commentaria brevia in universa biblia*. In advance of his predecessors in the O. T., through the influence of the Jews (Siegfried, *Raschi's Einfluss auf Nic. v. Lyra*, in *Merx' Archiv*, I. 428) (on which account he has often been regarded as a convert; see against this view M. H. Reinhard, *Pentateuch diss.*, p. 147), he inclined more to the historical sense (Prol. 1: *Habet iste liber hoc speciale quod una litera continet plures sensus. . . .* Prol. 2: *Omnes tamen præsupponunt sensum literalem tanquam fundamentum; unde sicut ædificium declinans a fundamento disponitur ad ruinam, ita expositio mystica discrepans a sensu literali reputanda est indecens et inepta*), and propounded the theory of a twofold literal sense, whereby proper typology, especially prophetic, was again recognized. First edition, Rome, 1471, 5 vols., fol., and very freq.; last, Antw. 1634, 6 vols. In some editions is found the *Glossa ordinaria*, in most polemical *Additiones* by Paulus of Burgos (Prol.: *Sensus literalis non debet dici ille qui repugnat ecclesie autoritati quantumcumque sit conformis significationi literæ*) and *Replicæ defensivæ* by the Franciscan Matthias Doring (15th cent.); see Masch, II. 3, p. 357 ff.; R. Simon, *V. T.*, p. 414; *Commentateurs*, p. 477; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1720, pp. 229, 549.

The higher appreciation of the literal sense was still very repugnant to the ecclesiastical authority, and could win its way only gradually. See especially J. Charlier de Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris († 1429), *Propositiones de sensu lit. S. S.* (*Opp.*, ed. Du Pin, Antw. 1706, Vol. I. p. 1), Prop. 3: *Sensus literalis iudicandus est prout ecclesia a Sp. S. inspirata determinavit et non ad cuiuslibet arbitrium*. [Lécuy, *Essai sur la Vie de Gerson*, Par. 1835, 2 vols.; C. Schmidt, *Essai sur Gerson*, Str. 1839; Schwab, *Joh. Gerson*, Würzb. 1858; H. Jadart, *Jean Gerson, recherches sur son origine, son village natal, et sa famille*, Rheims, 1882.]

The latest exegetes of the old school before the dawn of the period of the Renaissance proper, and likewise the most read, are Alphonsus Tostatus, Bishop of Avila († 1455), *Opp.*, Ven. 1728, 27 vols., fol., seven of them on Matthew alone, and the Carthusian Dionysius of Rickel (*Doctor ecstasticus*, † 1471), *Opp.*, Col. 1533, 12 vols., fol., also much of it in separate portions, and in German translation of the same period. (§ 331).

The first examples of dogmatically and ethically reforming exegesis are found in Wiclif (of whom, however, nothing properly exegetical is printed)

and in John Huss (Narrative of the Passion, Corinthians, Catholic Epistles); see *Hist. et monumenta J. Hussii*, Nor. 1714 f., II. [See, on Wiclif, Robt. Vaughan, Lond. 1828, 2 vols., 2d ed. 1831; new edition under title *John de Wycliffe, a Monograph*, 1853; C. W. Le Bas, 1833; G. V. Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation*, L. 1873, 2 vols.; E. tr. of Vol. I. with important additional notes, by Principal Lorimer, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, Lond. 1878, 2 vols., in 1 vol. 1881; this work supersedes all others. See also R. S. Storrs, *John Wycliffe and the first English Bible*, N. Y. 1880; Burrows, *Wiclif's Place in History*, Lond. 1882. On Hus, biographies by Friedrich, Regensb. 1862; Krummel, Darmst. 1863; Gillet, *Life and Times of John Huss*, Boston, 1861, 2 vols., 3d ed. 1870; Wratislaw, *John Hus*, Lond. 1882.]

On the lowest step scientifically stood the author and readers of the famous *Mammothrectus* (*corrupte dictus, quum vero nomine dicatur mammothreptus, avice alumnus*, Erasm., *Colloq.*, p. 561; this name is from Augustine, on Ps. xxx., where the printed text, p. 1, is unmeaning: *Quia morem gerit pedagogi qui gressus dirigit parvulorum mammothrectus* (μαμμόθρεπτος?) poterit appellari) by the Minorite J. Marchesini of Reggio, c. 1450 (according to Grässe, V. 202, c. 1300), a *Vade mecum* on the Bible and spiritual duties *ad modum Min-Ellii*, designed for the *ruditas pauperum clericorum*, and chiefly of grammatico-lexical contents; *nuper cum in hunc codicem incidissem minimum abfuit quin risu dissilirem* (Erasm., l. c.). Twenty editions from 1470 on. See M. G. Christgau, *De mammothrecto*, Frankf. a V. 1740; Merzdorf, *Biblioth. Unterhalt.*, Old. 1850; Baumgarten, *Hall. Bibl.*, VI. 293.

542. But here must be mentioned another circumstance, of an altogether peculiar kind, which contributed, though not directly, yet perhaps more, and more lastingly, than any other, to the happy transformation of things. This is the knowledge of the Greek language and the study of the classics in general, which since the middle of the fifteenth century had been spreading more and more in Western Europe, especially in Italy and the countries of the Rhine. For it not only gave theologians the opportunity to replace the only text of the New Testament hitherto accessible by a more authentic one, an advantage they learned to make use of but slowly, but what is more, it educated their taste, gave to the philological and literary instinct natural to many fresh and free nourishment, and aroused in them again a consciousness of the true conditions of correct Scripture interpretation. Nor were the Greeks the only ones to come; their presence reminded of the other ancient and likewise forgotten guests, the Romans, and the new art and zeal of the printers, who were themselves not the least important patrons of science, put them into every one's hands.

The first fruit in this field was the *Annotationes in latinam N. T. interpr. ex collatione gr. exemplarium* of Laurentius Valla († 1457, as Canon at Rome), critical and exegetical notes on particular passages of the Vulgate, without interest as respects theological contents, ed. Erasmus, P. 1505, fol. Also under the title *De collatione N. T.*, ed. J. Revius, Amst. 1630, and in the *Critici ss.* Cf. J. Wildschut, *De L. Vallæ vita et scriptis*, Leyd. 1831.

The writings of Piens de Mirandula on the creation and of Marsilius Ficinus on the Epistle to the Romans belong not so much to the philological as to the philosophical reactionary tendency of the century.

543. How mighty an influence this new element exerted upon the minds of the awakening learned world may be most readily seen partly from the skeptical aversion with respect to the mediæval ecclesiastical science into which many allowed themselves to be led by it, partly from the controversies between the Humanists and their opponents, which, like fever symptoms, accompanied the great change in the mental atmosphere. The opponents of the movement saw, almost sooner than its friends, whither it would lead. And there was really great danger for the hitherto ruling power in the fact that men were no longer disposed to ascertain what the Bible might and ought to have said from the decisions of the Church and by the aid of their own wit, but to find out, by means of simple rules of language, what it actually did say. There could not fail to be an immediate reflex influence upon theology. This change was already completed by the generation preceding the Reformation. But the Reformation itself could not proceed from those who saw the highest attainment of the new spirit in the sphere of literary culture, and who lacked both the courage to attain greater results and the insight to see that taste and science alone could not make the world better.

Jaques Le Fèvre d'Étaples (§ 473), a new Latin version of the Pauline Epistles, with commentary, P. 1513, fol. ; commentary on the Gospels, P. 1522, fol. ; on the Catholic Epistles, Basle, 1527 ; all frequently. His exegesis is still uncertain, embroiling him with the clergy and Erasmus alike. [Graf, *Essai sur la vie et les écrits de Lefèvre d'Étaples*, Str. 1842, and an extended biography in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1852, I. and II.]

Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis (of Lebrixa in Spain, † 1522), *Quinquagena s. L. locc. S. S. explanatio*, in the *Critici Sacri*, VIII.

Tho. de Vio, Cardinal and Bishop of Gaeta (Cajetanus ; † 1534), on the N. T., without the Apocalypse ; separately : Gospels, Epistles, etc., *ad sensum liberalem accomodata*, with free views (§ 331), and independent of the Fathers. *Opp.*, Lugd. 1639 f.

Desid. Erasmus, of Rotterdam († 1536), a new Latin version of the N. T., in his editions (and often reprinted, § 400 ff.), together with notes (*Annotationes* ; also in the *Critici sacri* and separately) and a defense in advance *contra morosos ac indoctos*, the manifesto of science against the bondage of custom. Independent of this, his *Paraphrases (liberius quoddam perpetui commentarii genus nom commutatis personis)*, first separately, frequently together, e. g., Leyd. 1706, fol. ; last ed. by Augustin, B. 1778, 3 vols. 8°, with literary introduction by J. A. Nösselt. The paraphrastic form, in itself inept, was nevertheless for that time, which had forgotten how to look for the connection of thought in the Scriptures, an inestimable boon, *hiantia committere, abrupta mollire, confusa digerere, involuta evolvere, nodosa explicare, obscuris lucem addere, hebraismum romana civitate donare, . . . et ita temperare παράφρασιν ne fiat παραφρόνησις h. e. sic aliter dicere ut non dicas alia (Ep. dedic. ad Card. Grimanium, before the Pauline Epistles)*. See in general Burigny, *Vie d'Erasmus*, P. 1757, 2 vols. ; H. A. Erhard, in the Halle *Encykl.* ; Kerker, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1859, IV. ; G. L. Plitt, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1866, III. [See, on Erasmus, Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, Lond., 2d ed. 1869 ; Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, Lond. 1873, 2 vols. ; Pennington, *Life of Erasmus*, Lond. 1875 ; A. Horawitz, *Erasmiana*, Vienna, I. 1878, II. 1880.]

For criticisms upon these works and controversy over them see R. Simon, *l. c.*, p. 521, and in general A. Müller, *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Hamb. 1828, and especially Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*, P. 1757; German, with additions, by H. P. C. Henke, Halle, 1782, 2 Pts., II. 533 f.; H. A. Erhard in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, I. 36.

Contemporaneous attacks upon the monks, their language, studies, and doctrines; Reuchlin, Hutten. Introduction of the study of the Hebrew language. E. T. Mayerhoff, *J. Reuchlin und seine Zeit*, B. 1830; Schurrer, *Biog. Nachr. von Lehrern d. hebr. Sprache zu Tübingen*, 1792; L. Geiger, *Das Studium d. hebr. Sprache in Deutschland im 16ten Jahrh.*, Br. 1870; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, Vol. XXX.

544. These deeper needs found eloquent spokesmen in the men to whom posterity has given the name of the Reformers. Their design — it is important to recognize this even for the purposes of our history — did not extend to a thorough and unprejudiced revision of Christian doctrine according to the Scriptures. On this matter they acknowledged themselves to be in accord with the Catholic Church in many important points. Their attempt was rather to purify it from practical corruptions and liturgical or disciplinary abuses. Their fundamental religious principle had already been expressed by Augustine. It was not introduced into theology for the first time as a new discovery, but it was to be exegetically established as a Christian inheritance. In general, however, both in matters of faith and of church constitution, the word was a return to the Apostles.

The common idea, that the Reformation was undertaken in the interest of free investigation ("*libre examen*"), is only true with great limitations, and in the modern sense such a thing as criticism of the Bible on the basis of reason, or in opposition to the contents of the church faith, was neither theoretically recognized nor practically tolerated by the Reformers. When they desire investigation it is always with the conviction that it will and must — and that from the Scriptures and not in any other way — establish precisely that which was already the substance of a perfected opposition to the traditional, never with the secondary thought that it is only by continual investigation in the future that the truth is to be found or brought nearer. The History of the Canon has already sufficiently shown (§§ 332, 334) that the material principle of theology, the objective contents of the Gospel, was from the beginning the absolute standard of all doctrine, even of the Scriptures themselves. (Cf. Diestel, *l. c.*, p. 231 ff.)

545. Over against the decrees of the Church was set as a standard the sole authority of the Bible, and in consequence to the Bible itself was ascribed the highest right of decision in all cases of disputed interpretation. This point of view compelled theologians not only to maintain in its full strictness the principle, never given up in theory, of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, but also to ascribe and vindicate to the word of God in its written form a series of properties which had until then been denied to it, in particular its independent clearness and sufficient completeness for all that man had need to

know. Thus it came about that in the points of immediate controversy the correct interpretation was very closely connected with the dogmatic interests of the new church, and in general that the Bible, by the very principle of the Reformation itself, was raised to the position of the direct object of theological study. But this special dogmatic interest of itself gave to the Scripture interpretation of the Reformers a certain one-sidedness. It was essentially dogmatic, even where it may be called practical, and from this time on we may speak again of what during the Middle Ages did not exist at all, or at least in but slight degree, — a proper theological use of the Scriptures.

It is not to be forgotten in this connection that the doctrines which the Reformation made most prominent — those of anthropology and soteriology — naturally combined most intimately, as in Paul himself, the dogmatic and ethical elements of the Gospel. And the fact that, so far as the purely metaphysical dogmas were concerned, the Reformers stood by the formulas of the great church councils of the fourth to the sixth centuries, shows most clearly that the Reformation had its basis and source not in philosophic attempts but in religious needs and impulses.

Equally important in this history is the other circumstance, otherwise wholly external, that from the first the exposition of the Scriptures was carried on by the Reformed theologians prevailing in the vernacular languages, not only in the pulpits more frequently, thoroughly, and impressively, but also in books.

Here should be mentioned, from dogmatics, the article of the *Affectiones S.S.*; among which especially the *inspiratio* (even of the letter, *Sp. S. auctor principalis*), the *perspicuitas* (at least *finalis, i. e.*, of everything necessary for salvation), and the *sufficiens* (*auctoritas normativa et judicialis*) in opposition to tradition. For the appropriate passages of the symbols see § 332.

546. But even the appeal to the Scriptures in pronounced opposition to the authority of ecclesiastical tradition, which necessarily made the study of the Bible at once the first of all sacred sciences, was only in principle wholly correct, and in reality did not win freedom of investigation. For the mass of scholastic conceptions which were retained without question in the traditional form was so overwhelmingly great and concerned points so essential, especially in the doctrines of God and Christ, that the system, richly blessed with inviolable articles of faith, became fixed while as yet the regenerated art of exegesis had but just begun to try its wings. This art was still in its infancy when a rule of faith laid down in the confessions and afterward more and more sharply set forth took it under its motherly care and discipline. This has continued to be the case everywhere much longer than necessary. True exegesis was made subject to the standard of the true faith.

If what has just been said sounds like criticism it is to be observed that it necessarily follows from the point of view of the principles of exegesis, which certainly is satisfied only in so far as purely Biblical Theology is sepa-

rated from scholastic (see my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 1 ff.). The principles of a subjective or scholastic dogmatic theology ought never to be the historian's standard of judgment respecting the progress of scriptural theology. And in the present case such a proceeding would be as thankless as it would be unfair.

Form. Conc., Art. 2, p. 655 f., Rbg. : *Hominem . . . ita corruptum esse ut in rebus spiritualibus, quæ ad conversionem et salutem nostram spectant, natura cæcus sit, et verbum Dei prædicatum neque intelligat neque intelligere possit . . . donec virtute Sp. S. . . . ex mera gratia, sine omni sua coöperatione convertatur, etc.* It follows logically from this (Melanchthon, *Loci*, p. 369), *interpretatio est donum piorum.*

Conf. Helv., 1536, Art. 2 : *S. S. interpretatio ex ipsa sola petenda est ut ipsa interpres sit sui caritatis fideique regula moderante.* Conf. Helv., 1566, ch. 2 : *Illam duntaxat S. S. interpretationem pro orthodoxa et genuina agnoscimus quæ ex ipsis est petita Scripturis (ex ingenio ejus lingue in qua sunt scriptæ secundum circumstantias item expensæ et pro ratione locorum similium plurium et clariorum expositæ) cum regula fidei et caritatis congruit et ad gloriam dei hominumque salutem eximie facit.* Conf. Scot., Art. 18 : (*Scripturæ*) *interpretationem neque ad privatam neque ad publicam aliquam personam pertinere confitemur neque ad ecclesiam aliquam . . . sed jus et auctoritatem hanc esse solius Sp. dei per quem S. S. literis sunt mandatæ, etc.* Declar. Thorun., p. 415, Aug.

Matth. Flacius, of Jena († 1575), the first among Protestants to form a hermeneutic theory (*Clavis S. S.*, Basle, 1567, 2 vols. fol., and freq.), Tract. I., reg. 3 : *Sp. S. est auctor simul et explicator scripturæ.* Reg. 9 : *Cum convertimur ad Christum tunc tollitur velamen de nostro corde et etiam de ipsa Ser. non solum quia illuminamur spirituali luce sed etiam quia scopum et argumentum totius S. S. tenemus nempe ipsum Dominum Jesum cum sua passione et beneficiis.* Reg. 17 : *Omnis intellectus ac expositio S. S. sit analogia fidei*, with an attempt at an enumeration of the fundamental articles of the faith prefixed. His rules are nothing but a late abstract from the existing common practice. The best proof of the relation stated between exegesis and dogmatics is afforded by the controversies over the Lord's Supper. Cf. Gust. Frank, *De Matth. Flacii in ll. ss. meritis*, L., s. a. [See, on Flacius, W. Preger, *Matth. Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit*, Erl. 1859-1861.]

547. What had been begun by the slowly extending classical culture was completed by the rapidly growing polemic interests, and the empty and trifling allegorical method went out of use almost before its untenableness was clearly recognized scientifically. And it is to be acknowledged with thankfulness and respect that much was accomplished in this period for grammatical exposition with astonishingly scanty aids. But although the manifold sense of Scripture was protested against, the historical did not in consequence always come into honor, and particularly in the Old Testament, the explanation of which was to be sought in the New, the allegorical interpretation was often regarded as the only acceptable one. Thus the grammatical interpretation, in name at least, was the controlling exegetical principle, and boasted of its victory over what was called the glittering jugglery of the sophists and scholastic theologians; but wherever it threatened dogmatics with impoverishment it also was sacrificed.

Luther's violent invective against the "foolery" [Affenspiel] of the spiritual signification (*Opp.*, Halle, XXII, 1982) expresses religious repugnance to the monastic learning which had been beaten into his head; Melanethon's quiet discussions (*De rhetorica ll.*, III., Basle, 1519; *Elementa rhetorices*, Vit. 1536), logical insight. But neither of them, any more than their successors, had a clear idea of the allegorical interpretation, which they at the same time combated and practiced.

The necessity of discovering Messianic references everywhere dominated exegesis. Flacius, *l. c.*, p. 7: *Finis legis est Christus; ille solus est illa margarita aut thesaurus quem si in hoc agro domini invenimus bene sumus negotiati.* Luther, on Gen. xvi.: *Grammatica non debet regere res sed servire rebus.* Cf. his preface to Canticles. In this book particularly, as well as in the Psalms and the Revelation of John, the literal sense failed to receive due attention, but most of all in the generally accepted special Messianic prophecies. On the contrary, where the fundamental questions of dogmatics were not prominent, especially with Luther himself, it was a sober and unprejudiced exegetical judgment, and not at all prejudice against them, to find in prophets and disciples "beside gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble;" see Bretschneider, *Luther an unsere Zeit*, 1317; J. F. Krause, *Opusc.*, p. 199 ff., in which, quite one-sidedly, of course, Luther is made the prototype of the modern "rational" exegetes.

Typology was properly recognized only in relation to the Mosaic institutions and Hebrew history, but even without these limits custom was often stronger than rule. Cf. the whole section *De multiplici sensu* in Flacius, *l. c.*, p. 49 ff., where the case is foreseen in which *sensus grammaticus pugnat cum sana doctrina vel adversatur bonis moribus*; may even in which *verba grammaticae sumpta nullam videntur adferre utilitatem vel si aliqua apparet longe tamen proveniret uberior ibi interpretatio allegorica adjuverentur.*

On page 63 he thus summarizes the whole theory: Its design is a grammatico-theological exposition, — obtaining by the former the understanding of the words and their connection, by the latter that of the meaning or purpose and the dogmatic use to be made of a passage; and thus, with unmistakable side-glances, sets up a new *quadruplex intelligentia* in place of the old.

548. It naturally follows from the foregoing that the method of the Reformed exegesis must also be different from that before followed. The discussion of the relation of particular passages to the theological system as a whole came into the foreground, and the individual taste of the expositor either rested content with the grammatical demonstration of this relation, or made use of the opportunity to treat all sorts of theological doctrines in dogmatic and practical essays. With respect to the first it is to be said with pride that the influence of humanistic pursuits made itself felt continually, and formed an offset to the growing scholastic tendency; with respect to the second it is to be remarked that between pulpit and professorial chair or text-book scarcely any distinction was to be perceived. Men had not yet come to the conviction that church and school had so very different needs. With respect to form, it is also characteristic that the Reformers, being unfriendly to tradition from principle, did not look for their exegetical basis in patristic quotations; and although they were under a strange delusion in imagining, as they did, that they had based their theology directly upon



the preaching of the Apostles, ignoring the work of fourteen centuries, even this delusion was not without value for interpretation.

In no other period of this history does the dogmatic, controversial, and homiletic literature belong so closely and accurately under the head of exegesis as in this period of the Reformation. But we must here confine ourselves, so far as the literature is concerned, to the proper commentators. Among the Lutherans in the sixteenth century the best known were: —

Martin Luther († 1546), *Werke*, ed. Walch (Halle, 1740 ff., 24 vols. 4°), Vols. I.—IX. Vastly better, the still incomplete edition of Irmischer and others, Erl. 1826 ff., *Deutsche Werke*, 68 vols. 8°; *Opera latina*, Vols. I.—XXXIII.; twenty-six of the latter, twenty of the former, exegetical in contents. In form, however, they are not throughout proper commentaries, in consequence of their very prominent dogmatico-practical aim. (Genesis, Psalms, Galatians, etc.) See H. v. d. Hardt, *Nervosus Lutheri in S. S. commentarius*, Helmst. 1708; J. F. Krause, *Opp.*, p. 242. The Latin version of the Bible (properly only the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, and N. T.), printed at Wittenberg, 1529, fol., whose true author is still unknown, was formerly ascribed to him; see Maseh, II, 3, p. 325; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1736, p. 746; 1737, p. 630; Fritzsche, in Herzog's *Encyklop.*, XVII. 440. Monographs by L. C. Bloss, 1717; C. F. Krafft, 1742; J. H. Schuster, 1750; J. G. Walter, 1752; J. C. Bertram, in the German edition of R. Simon, III. 575 ff. — In general it may be said that Luther was the restorer of Bible study not in form, but in spirit. Cf. J. G. Pfeiffer, *De revocato in acad. chr. per L. studio bibl.*, J. 1740; A. M. Runge, *De L. ss. ll. interprete*, Vit. 1770; L. T. Gerold, *Luther considéré comme exégète*, Str. 1866; Jul. Soury, *Hist. de la préparation exégétique de Luther*, P. 1871. [A few of the later biographies of Luther are: J. Köstlin, *Martin Luther's Leben u. Schriften*, Elberf. 1875, 2 vols., abridged, in one vol., Leipz. 1882; Tulloch, in his *Leaders of the Reformation*; Plitt and Petersen, L. 1883. His *Commentary on the First Twenty-two Psalms* translated into English, Lond. 1826, 2 vols.; *On Galatians*, Lond. 1838; *The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, N. Y. 1859.]

Ph. Melancthon († 1560), *Opera*, Wittenb. 1601, 4 vols. fol.; more complete edition, Bretschneider and Bindseil, Halle, 1834 ff., 28 vols. 4°. On Matthew and several Epistles, separately (Romans, ed. T. Nickel, 1861), more in the form of scholia, and with moderate use of dogmatics. It is well-known that his famous *Loci* grew out of exegetical studies upon the Epistle to the Romans. See G. T. Strobel, *Melancthon's Verdienste um die h. Schr.*, Altd. 1773; W. Thilo, *Melancthon im Dienste an h. S.*, Berl. 1860; F. Galle, *Charakteristik Mel. als Theologen*, H. 1845. [Biographies by Lederhose, Heidelb. 1847, E. tr. by Krotel, Phila. 1855; Planck, *Præceptor Germanie*, 1860; C. Schmidt, Elberf. 1861.] C. Cruciger, on John and Romans, Vit. 1540 f. separately; J. Bugenhagen († 1558), Psalms, Acts of the Apostles, Pauline Epistles, separately, since 1524; Justus Jonas († 1555) Acts, Nür. 1524. All together at Wittenberg.

J. Brentz, of Stuttgart († 1570), almost all the books of the O. and N. T., separately. *Opp.*, Tüb. 1575 ff., 8 vols. fol. [Biography by Hartmann and Jäger, Hamb. 1840—1842, 2 vols., and by Julius Hartmann, in *Väter d. luth. Kirche*, VI., Elberf. 1862.] Victorin Strigel, of Leipzig († 1569), Scholia (*Hypomnemata*) on the Bible (N. T., L. 1565), in the interest of his peculiar views. See J. C. T. Otto, *De V. Strigelio liberioris mentis in eccl. luth. vindice*, Jena, 1843; Matth. Flacius (§ 546), *Glossa compendiarum in N. T.*, Bas. 1570, fol., with antisnergistic polemic. Joachim Camerarius, of Leipzig († 1574), *Notatio figurarum sermonis*, on the whole N. T., 1572, 2 vols. 4°, simply grammatical. Cf. A. W. Ernesti, *De Ich. Camerario*, L. 1774.

Nic. Hemming, on the Epistles (L. 1572), suspected of Cryptocalvinism.

549. Almost identical as they were in spirit and tendency, as opposed to the Catholic positions, the two sister Reformed churches, however much a mistaken and passionate zeal might separate them, could not but have closely-related principles respecting the interpretation and use of Scripture. Yet there are also noteworthy differences between them. It is possible that the movement which took its rise from Zwingli, if it had been permitted to follow out its first impulse, might have led to a more independent science; but even the stricter Calvinism deserves the credit of having allowed dogmatic prejudice to have less influence upon exegesis than Lutheranism. This is probably essentially due to the fact that there was no organic connection between the Reformed national churches while in the process of formation, and consequently no solidarity between their teachers. While in the other case the exegesis and the theology in general proceeded from one place and almost from one man, and this unity was more and more guarded with a zealous and suspicious pedantry, here the different spirit of the peoples, the languages, and the schools was able to develop with considerable more freedom.

Not the least effective for the freer development of exegetical science among the Reformed was, at first, the example of Calvin himself, beyond all question the greatest exegete of the century, afterward the more comprehensive philological and archæological studies of the Dutch, English, and French.

F. Lambert of Avignon († 1530), on the four books of the Kings, Minor Prophets, Canticles, Luke, Acts, and Apocalypse, separately, mostly at Strassburg, 1525 ff., with leaning toward Zwingli's views. See J. W. Baum, *Franz Lambert*, Str. 1840. [Other biographies, F. St. Stieve, Bresl. 1867 (Latin); L. Ruffet, Par. 1873 (French).]

U. Zwingli († 1531), on Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Gospels, and some of the Epistles (*Opp.*, Tig. 1545, 4 vols. fol.; ed. Schuler and Schulthess, 1828 ff., 8 (10) vols. 8°). [Biographies by J. J. Hottinger, Zür. 1841, E. tr. Harrisburg, 1856; R. Christoffel, Elberf. 1857, E. tr. Edinb. 1858; J. C. Mörkofer, L. 1867-1869, 2 Pts.; G. A. Hoff, Par. 1882; Usteri, *Zwingli*, Zür. 1883.] J. Oecolampadius, at Basle († 1531), on the Prophets, Matthew, John, Romans, Hebrews, 1526 ff., separately. [Herzog, *Das Leben Oecolampadis u. d. Reformation d. Kirche zu Basel*, Bas. 1843, 2 vols., and in Schaff-Herzog *Encyclop.*; Hagenbach, *Oecolampads Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften*, Elberf. 1859.] M. Butzer (Bucer, Aretius Felinus, † 1551) at Strassburg, Gospels and several Epistles, Str. 1527 ff., Bas. 1562, fol. W. F. Capito (Köpfel), at Strassburg († 1541), *Dictata* on Genesis, Prophets, Matthew, etc., 1525 ff., separately. See J. W. Baum, *Capito u. Butzer*, Elb. 1860; J. C. Hoffet, *Esquisse biogr. sur Capiton*, Str. 1850. Conr. Pellicanus (Kürschner, of Ruffach, † 1556) at Zürich, on the greater part of the Bible. (*Opp.*, Tig. 1532 ff., 7 vols. fol.) In conjunction with Leo Juda, Th. Bibliander, and others, author of the Zürich Latin version of the Bible of 1543. Cf. § 472. F. Bresch, *Esquisse biogr. sur C. Pell.*, Str. 1870.

John Calvin († 1564), *Opera*, Amst. 1671, 9 vols. fol.; more complete edition, Baum, Cnuitz, and Reuss, Br. 1863 ff., 4°, still incomplete [to 1882,

23 vols.]. Commentaries on the N. T., except the Apocalypse, and the more important books of the O. T. Pentateuch, Psalms, Prophets, 1539 ff., separately; of many of his commentaries there are also contemporaneous French editions. New manual edition, N. T., Genesis, and Psalms, Halle and Berlin, 11 vols. 8°, 1831 ff.; French, N. T., 1854, 4 vols. [E. tr. of Calvin's works by the Calvin Translation Society, Edinb. 1842-53, 52 vols.] Cf. beside his biographers, Tholuck, *Die Verdienste Calvin's als Ausleger der h. Schr.*, in his *Vermischte Schriften*, Pt. II.; Ed. Reuss, *Calvin considéré comme exégète* (*Revue*, VI. 223); D. G. Escher, *De Calvino ll. N. T. historicum interprete*, Traj. 1840; A. Vesson, *Calvin exégète*, Mont. 1855. [T. H. Dyer, *Life of Calvin*, Lond. 1849; F. Bungener, *Calvin*, Par. 1862, E. tr. Edinb. 1863; E. Stähelin, *Johannes Calvin*, Elberf. 1863, 2 vols.; F. W. Kamp-schulte, *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche u. sein Staat in Genf*, L. 1869, I. (unfinished); Th. McCrie, *The Early Years of John Calvin*, Lond. 1880; A. Roget, *L'Église et l'état à Genève de vivant Calvin*, Gen. 1877.]

H. Bullinger († 1575), at Zürich, on the whole N. T., Tig. 1554, fol., before separately. [Biographies by C. Pestalozzi, 1858; R. Christoffel, 1875. See also G. R. Zimmermann, *Die züricher Kirche und ihrer Antistes*, Zür. 1877.] W. Musculus, at Berne († 1563), on Genesis, Matthew, John, and Paul, Bas. 1548 ff., separately. By some reckoned among the Lutherans. [Biography by C. W. Spieker, Frankf. am O. 1858.]

Seb. Chastillon († 1563), at Basle, a Latin version (1551), which gave offense by its affected classic elegance (yet very often reprinted down into the eighteenth century), with notes. Cf. § 487. Augn. Marlorat, at Paris († 1562), *N. T. catholica expositio ecclesiastica*, P. 1561 f. (also Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah), a Protestant catena. See C. D. Kromayer, *Étude sur A. Marlorat*, Str. 1851. Theod. de Bèze († 1605), Latin version and notes in his edition of the N. T. (§ 403). See J. W. Baum, Th. Beza, L. 1843 ff., Pts. I., II. [unfinished, extending only to 1563; H. Heppé, *Theodor Beza, Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften*, Elberf. 1861].

550. But a particular circumstance came in to cause a very wide practical divergence between the two churches in their interpretation of Scripture. The Reformed theologians kept their eyes open to the historically given point of view of the biblical writers, especially in the interpretation of the Old Testament, and did not attempt, like the Lutherans, to extort the gospel doctrines directly from the letter at all costs. But for this very reason, in order not to allow these doctrines to suffer, they had less antipathy toward the allegorical interpretation, and in particular brought the typical application of the history, doctrine, and laws of Israel increasingly into favor, so that finally this often prevailed over everything else. The Swiss and Germans were long occupied almost solely in this field; the Dutch, English, and French did not fall back into line until later, nowhere without some peculiar character and some gain for science.

Calvin and his followers were not least obnoxious to the Lutherans on account of their freer treatment of many current proof passages, especially Messianic, *e. g.*, in the Psalms, which were chiefly historically interpreted, and in any case typically or only partially or by accommodation referred to Christ; see Aeg. Hunnius, *Calvinus judaizans*, Vit. 1593, and several other subsequent controversial writings (against him, D. Pareus, at Heidelberg;

for fuller account see Buddens, *Isag.*, 1062) ; R. Montacutius, *Origg. eccl.*, I. 310 : *Calvinus tela manibus athletarum pro divinitate Christi expositionibus suis excutere non injuria interdum dicitur.* J. F. Mayer, *Bibl. bibl.*, 1709, p. 85. Waleh, *Bibl. theol.*, IV. 413, still says without comment : *C. oracula de trinitate et messia ad mentem Jud. et Socin. exposuit.*

551. In the Catholic Church Scripture interpretation made no progress in the time of the Reformation in the direction of Erasmus ; indeed, his tendency was essentially foreign from it and must necessarily have led it to a freedom unknown even in the Protestant ranks. The power of circumstances and the exigencies of controversy naturally brought into use methods similar to those current among the dissenting parties. The manifold sense of Scripture, out of respect for the Fathers, was not expressly denied, indeed was even commended, but was much more rarely actually sought for and studied, and in course of time came to coincide with the Calvinistic typology. The Catholic theory, which claimed for the Church the possession of the Holy Spirit, the only authoritative interpreter, apparently imposed much stricter limitations upon the knowledge of the individual than the Protestant. But in reality there was no difference in this respect. There was really freedom only in those points, constantly growing fewer, upon which no orthodoxy had been formed, among the Catholics, consequently, even in very essential matters. The exegetes themselves, during this and the following period, cannot be classified by methods and principles, but simply by their confessions.

The Catholic expositors are at least as numerous as their opponents, but have little that is peculiar, and are still very much dependent upon their predecessors. Looser ideas of inspiration, particularly among the Jesuits, made up to them whatever of liberty was taken away by ecclesiastical authority. They really ran less risk of being branded as heretics by their fellows than the Protestant expositors.

The mediæval theory of mystical interpretation (Santes Pagninus, Dominican at Lucca, *Isagogæ ad mysticos S. S. sensus ll. XVIII.*, Col. 1540, fol. ; Sixtus Senensis, *Bibl. s.*, III.) was unavailable for controversial purposes, and from lack of leisure was very little practiced. Pagninus' Latin version of the O. T. (§ 481), founded upon a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language, was much used by Protestants also (§ 474).

During the age of the Reformation proper there were but very few Catholic exegetes who accomplished anything to carry their names down to posterity ; among them the Parisian theologians, J. Gagney, scholia on the N. T. (P. 1539 and freq.), after Œcumenius ; J. Arboreus, on Solomon, the Gospels, Paul, together, P. 1551, 2 vols. fol. ; C. d'Espence, on the Pastoral Epistles, P. 1561, with anti-Romish excursions on discipline ; C. Guilliand, *Collationes* on John, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, P. 1543 f. ; but especially F. Vatablus (Watebled or Gastebled, † 1547), scholarly notes on the O. T., valued even by Protestants, and received into the *Critici sacri* (§ 567). [See on Vatablus Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*, sub voce.] Likewise the notes which Isid. Clarius, Benedictine at Brescia († 1555), appended to his revised Latin version (§ 481).

Among the Franciscans the following were prominent, among others : Jo. Ferus, on the historical books of the O. T., Matthew, John, the Catholic Epistles, 1536 ff. ; F. Titelmann, paraphrastic *Elucidationes* on the poetic books of the O. T. and most of the New, 1532 ff., both frequently reprinted ; Nic. Zeger, of Louvain, *Scholia in N. T.*, Col. 1553.

Against Cajetanus wrote Ambr. Catharinus (i. e., Lancelot Polit), on the Epistles, Rome, 1546 and freq. ; Dom. de Soto, on the Romans, Antw. 1550. On the same Epistle, Jac. Sadolet, Cardinal and Bishop of Carpentras, Lyons, 1535, with anti-Augustinian polemic.

552. The decrees of the Council of Trent introduced no change, either for the better or for the worse, into Catholic exegesis. This assembly held fast on this point, as on all others, to the principles already long in force, and introduced no new limitations, although it in many ways reaffirmed the existing ones. But what accomplished as much for the unanimity of Catholic theologians as any decrees could do, was the necessity of standing together and defending themselves by united power against an opponent to whom too little attention had been paid at the first. The growing discord between the Protestant ecclesiastical parties commended this union still more, and polemic centred about the taunt that the heretics, having forsaken the only sure guide, were now following their own *ignis fatuus*. Unfortunately there came a time when the battle was fought with other weapons than those of the mind, and when even the war of words had little biblical basis. Science languished in both camps, and it is not easy to say whether the sword or scholasticism did it the more injury.

*Concil. trident.*, Sess. IV. (§ 482) . . . *decernit ut nemo suæ prudentiæ inimicus in rebus fidei et morum . . . S. S. ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione ss. SS., aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum, ipsam S. S. interpretari audeat.* . . .

This decree forms the basis of all subsequent Catholic hermeneutics ; R. Bellarminus, Cardinal and Jesuit († 1621), *De verbo Dei ll. IV.* (*Opp.*, Col. 1620, l.) ; Jac. Gretser (Jesuit at Ingolstadt, † 1624), *Unde scis hunc vel illum esse sincerum et legitimum S. sensum?* (*Opp.*, Ratisb. 1736, VIII.) ; J. Martianay, French Benedictine († 1717), *Traité méthodique ou manière d'expliquer l'Écriture*, P. 1704, and *Méthode sacrée pour expliquer l'Écr.*, P. 1716 ; Augn. Calmet, Benedictine and Abbot at Senones in the Vosges († 1757), *Bibliothèque sacrée*, P. 1722, in the Introduction ; M. Gerbert, Benedictine at St. Blas in the Black Forest, *Principia theol. exegetice*, 1757. The mystic sense is always maintained, as useful, however, not for argument, but for edification, possibly even as undesigned.

Most was done in the field of exegesis by the Jesuits, whose works, often reprinted, cast all others into the shade during the seventeenth century ; among them the Portuguese Emm. Sa († 1596), short *Notationes in totam S. S.*, Antw. 1598 ; before, separately, *Scholia in Evv.* ; the Spaniard J. Maldonato († 1583), on the Psalms, Solomon, and the Major Prophets, at first separately, together, P. 1643 ; but especially *Comm. in IV. evv.*, Pont à Mousson, 1596, 2 vols. fol., and very freq. ; also Mayence, 1840 ff. ; [see I. M. Prat, *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris au XVI. siècle*, Paris, 1856 ; Schaff-

Herzog, Art. *Maldonatus*]; Alph. Salmero († 1597), *Commentaria ad hist. evangelicam*, Madr. 1597 ff., 16 vols. fol., the last five of which extend over the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse; J. Mariana († 1624), *Scholia brevia in V. et N. T.*, Madr. 1619 [see Schaff-Herzog]; Ant. de Escobar y Mendoza († 1669), *V. et N. T. liter. et moral. comm. illustr.*, Lyons, 1652, 9 vols. fol.; [see Schaff-Herzog]; the Lorrainer N. Serarius († 1609), on the Pentateuch, the historical books of the O. T., and the Catholic Epistles; the Dutchman W. Est († 1613), a valuable exposition of the Epistles in the Augustinian spirit, Douay, 1614, fol., and very freq., also Mayence, 1841 ff.; F. Lucas de Brügge († 1629), on the Gospels, Antw. 1606; Jac. Tirinus († 1636), on the whole Bible, Antw. 1632, and very freq., with and without text, 2 or 3 vols., fol.; Cornelius von Stein (a Lapide, † 1637), a diffuse compilation on the whole Bible, except Job and Psalms, from 1614 on separately, together Antw. 1664, 10 vols. fol. and freq., full of allegories and legends (see G. H. Götz, *De Corn. a Lapide commentariis*, L. 1699); the Italian J. St. Menochius († 1655), *Brevis expositio sensus lit. totius Scr. ex optimis auctoribus collecta*, Col. 1630, 3 vols. fol.

The most important (especially Lyra, Sa, Tirinus, Est, Menochius, Gagney) collected in J. de la Haye, *Biblia magna*, P. 1643, 5 vols. fol.; *Biblia maxima*, P. 1660, 19 vols. fol.

The best-known in the first half of the eighteenth century are the Jesuits J. Hardouin († 1729), *Comm. in N. T.*, Hag. 1741, fol., and Is. J. Berruyer, *Hist. du peuple de Dieu*, P. 1728, 13 vols., and freq., the former paradoxical (§ 49), the latter venturesome and offensive. But particularly the above-mentioned Dom. Calmet's *Comm. littéral sur la bible*, P. 1707 ff., 23 vols. 4°, or 1724 ff., 8 vols. fol., also in Latin, with many excursions, also separately collected; the latter in German: *C. bibl. Untersuchungen*, with notes, by J. L. von Mosheim, Brem. 1744, 6 vols. 8° (Fangé, *Vie du R. P. Dom. Calmet*, Sen. 1763.)

See in general C. Werner, *Geschichte der kath. Theol. seit dem Trienter Concil*, Mün. 1866, a work, however, which is not very full upon the biblical sciences.

553. For into the Protestant party also, scarcely as yet moved in this direction, there had been penetrating since the end of the sixteenth century an irresistible demand for stability. The followers of the Reformers thought they could confine and control by formulas and official seals a revolution in the realm of mind whose original force none measured, whose final goal none perceived. In the Lutheran Church the stagnation came in, and victoriously, with the Formula of Concord; in the Reformed, somewhat later, with the decrees of Dort, but as the decision of a controversy between freedom and slavery in the realm of Scripture interpretation. The more outspoken teachers declared the work, completed, and contented themselves for a long time with giving to their already established dogmas the necessary scientific form with the aid of a by-gone dialectics. This form was unquestionably, in its way, a strong, complete, and thoroughly thought out one, but it more and more stifled all warmth of life, estranged the schools from life, and sealed the Bible from the people anew.

In judging of this preliminary result of the Reformation, one should certainly disabuse himself of the idea that it was a departure from its natural

path, or a reaction. The Reformation had been carried on from the beginning, with and without the aid of its promoters, in the sphere of ecclesiastical and political, and consequently of social matters; its confessions were not individual manifestations of the theological mind but records of vast new organisms, and thus dogmatic theology itself became an element in public social life, and a much more living one than it ever had been in the Catholic Church. The individual might reflect upon what was officially laid down; there was no neutral ground at his disposal.

The best known theorists are: W. Frantz, at Wittenberg († 1628), *Tractatus theol. de interpr. maxime legitima*, 1619; claiming to be purely grammatical exposition, in reality mostly anti-Calvinistic polemic; J. Gerhard, at Jena († 1637), *Loci theol.*, 1622, 9 vols. fol., ed. Cotta, Tiib. 1762 ff., 20 vols. 4°; also a special essay, *De legitima S. S. interpr.*, Jena, 1610; [E. R. Fischer, *Vita J. Gerhardi*, Gotha, 1723]; Sal. Glass, at Jena († 1656), *Philologia sacra*, 1623, and freq. (also 1776-1796, by Dathe and Bauer, *his temporibus accommodata*), contains, beside the hermenutics, a grammar, rhetoric, and logic of the Scriptures, and maintains a *sensus duplex, literalis et mysticus*, the former *prior natura et ordine*, the latter *prior dignitate*, comprehending allegories, types, and parables; J. C. Danhauer, at Strassburg († 1666), *Idea boni interpretis et malitiosi calumniatoris*, 1642 (in which the Bible goes to school to Aristotle), and *Hermeneutica sacra*, 1654; A. Pfeiffer, at Lübeck († 1698), *Hermeneutica sacra*, 1684, and *Thesaurus hermen.*, 1704; J. Olearius, *Elementa herm. s.*, L. 1699; A. E. Mirus, *Fragen aus der Herm. sacra*, Dr. 1712.

The best known among the Reformed is A. Rivet, at Leyden († 1651), *Isagoge ad S. S.* (§ 17), ch. xiv. ff.

554. Theological exegesis, which had done so noble service while it was used to defend the fundamental thought of the Reformation against Catholicism, now, when it concerned itself with scholastic subtleties, sank to the level of a mere acquisition of dogmatic proof-texts. These were taken up like legal documents, according to number, value, and order; their application was a cardinal point of doctrine, and it was of importance to increase their force by obtaining a similar reference from as many other passages as possible. The number of passages thus officially explained continually grew greater. For the jewel of the symbolic faith was jealously guarded, and the interpretation which served it became more unchangeable than even its Elzevir text. The appeal to an inner witness of the Holy Spirit as a guaranty of its truth sounds like a grim irony. There was even a Lutheran patristic set up, and whatever Doctor Martin had written, his Bible at the head, in which he had found room for improvement to the time of his death, became an inviolable rule and relic.

G. J. Plank, *Gesch. der protest. Theologie von der Concordienformel bis in die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Gött., 1831; A. Tholuck, *Der Geist der luther. Theologen Wittenbergs im siebzehnten Jahrh.*, Hamb. 1852; I. A. Dorner, *Gesch. der prot. Theol.*, M. 1867, p. 421 ff.; Gust. Frank, *Gesch. der prot. Theol.* (1862 ff.), II.

While some sought to make the list of *dicta probantia* complete, others set themselves to deduce the whole system from some few, so that each biblical

author discovered some *locus* for himself, and set it forth with all his scholastic apparatus. The most celebrated piece of work of this kind is Seb. Schmidt's (at Strassburg, † 1696) *Collegium biblicum prius* (O. T.) *et posterius* (N. T.), Arg. 1671, and freq., 2 vols. 4°. The O. T. in his view was as relevant as the New.

Conversely, attempts were made to discover the whole system in each individual author: J. H. Majus (at Giessen, † 1719), *Theologia jeremiana*, 1696; Abr. Hinckelmann (at Hamburg, † 1695), *Jobi theologia evangelica*, 1687; J. G. Dorsch (at Strassburg and Rostock; † 1659), *Synopsis theol. Zacharianæ*, 1637; B. Bebel, at Strassburg, *Theologia Danielis*; *Joannis Bapt. ex Matth. iii. 2*; *Joannea ex Ev. xx. 31*, 1683 f.; G. H. Götze (at Lübeck, † 1728), *Theologia Elisabethæ ex Luc. i. 41 sqq.*, 1706; F. Woken, *Epitome theol. ex ep. ad Titum collecta*, L. 1727, and many others. Also (V. E. Löscher) *Entwurf einer vollst. Jesus-Theologie* (supposed to mean Theology of Jesus); *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1711-1713, *passim*; J. Deutschmann, at Wittenberg († 1706), *Theologia primi theologi Adami vere lutherani*, Vit. 1689.

On the changes which have taken place in the conception of inspiration cf. Tholuck, *l. c.*, p. 253 ff. — Luther's current name *Megalander*.

555. Practical exegesis consisted not so much in arriving by scientific methods at the meaning of dogmatically applicable passages, as in handling skillfully, upon their occurrence, the customary polemic, in knowing where to find an effective text against Papist or Calvinist, or in knowing how, when something of the kind was found by one's opponent, to parry the thrust by exegetical fencing. The polemic was petty, underhanded, and spiritless. With increasing strictness in the idea of inspiration, which was finally extended to the vowel-points and accents, was combined one-sided overestimation of philological knowledge; with the growing weakness of the historic sight an astonishing uncertainty in the conceptions of allegory and typology. Restraint corrupted taste also; overawed science sought for itself a field that was still neutral, which was scarcely to be found any longer, and treated insignificant matters with the ridiculous apparatus of a pedantic learning.

The better known names out of a great number are, among the Lutherans: M. Chemnitz, at Brunswick († 1586) [C. G. H. Leutz, *Dr. Martin Chemnitz*, Gotha, 1866; H. Hachfeld, *Martin Chemnitz*, L. 1867], a Harmony of the Gospels, with commentary and controversial excursuses, continued by P. Leyser, at Dresden († 1610), by whom also an *Analysis theol. et scholastica* on Galatians (L. 1616), and completed by J. Gerhard (§ 553); at first in parts; together, Gen. 1645, fol., and freq. (cf. § 403). By the last and others a series of works on separate Epistles in "porismatic" manner (summarizing didactic results), Jena, 1641 ff.

Nic. Selnekker, at Leipzig († 1592), on Genesis, Psalms, Prophets, and Paul, separately, with *loci communes*. Dav. Chytraeus, at Rostock († 1600), on the historical books of the O. T., some of the Prophets, Matthew, the Pastoral Epistles, Romans, and the Apocalypse, *Opp. exeg.*, Vit. 1590, 2 vols., fol.; Aeg. Hunnius, at Wittenberg († 1603), began a commentary on the whole N. T., of which, however, only Matthew, John, Paul, and 1 John were completed; edited, together with D. Arenarius on the Acts and J. Winckelmann's Mark, Luke, James, Peter, and Apocalypse, and completed by J. H. Feustking under the title *Thesaurus evangelicus . . . apostolicus*, Vit. 1706, 2 vols. fol.



F. Balduin, at Wittenberg († 1627), among others, on the Pauline Epistles, at first separately, together 1644, and freq., *in quo multipliciter commonefactiones e textu eruuntur tum variis quest. controversis fundamenta sanæ doctrine monstrantur*; Erasmus Schmid, at Wittenberg († 1637), *Opus sacrum*, translation and notes on the N. T., Nor. 1638, fol.; J. G. Dorsch (§ 554), Commentary on the Gospels and several Epistles with *Hypomnemata apodictico-analytico-exegetica*; G. Olearius, at Halle († 1715), *Biblia-theoretico-practica*, 1676; M. Geier, at Leipzig and Dresden († 1680), Commentary on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel.

Abr. Calovius, at Wittenberg († 1688), *Biblia illustrata*, a controversial catena (mostly against Grotius), the sum of Lutheran biblical science, Frankf. 1672, 4 vols. fol.; Seb. Schmidt (§ 554), on Genesis, the historical books of the O. T., Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, John, some Epistles, etc., separately; Latin Bible (1696, and freq.) in which, by means of brief inserted parentheses, the orthodox interpretation is naively and concisely summed up. An interesting *Judicium* of the Strassburg faculty upon the work is to be found in Clodius' edition, 1740.

The Bible annotated at the command of Duke Ernst of Saxony by certain sound theologians (among them J. Gerhard, S. Maior, M. Dilherr, S. Glass, and others of Jena), Nürnberg. 1641, fol., and freq., the so-called Weimar Bible, had almost official authority; rather popular than scholarly. T. Dassov, *De s. codicis interpretibus vinariensibus*, Vit. 1694; J. W. Schneider, *De bibl. vinar. memoria seculari*, Jena, 1741; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1704, p. 398; 1708, p. 103; 1714, p. 553; 1744, p. 411.

Among less strictly orthodox contemporaries, G. Calixtus, at Helmstedt († 1656), notwithstanding his importance in the field of theology, is unimportant as a commentator (*Scholæ propheticae*, Acts, Romans, Corinthians, etc., mostly posthumous university lectures). See E. Henke, *G. Calixtus u. seine Zeit*, Halle, 1853, I. 261.

Especially characteristic is the literature of the academic dissertations, the large majority of which belong here, inasmuch as they are occupied with scholastic dogmatics as applied to some one passage of Scripture. The writers most often chose those passages which, actually or apparently, were opposed to the system, and attempted to explain them. This method maintained itself here much longer than in larger works; in some universities, e. g., Tübingen and Strassburg, till long after the middle of the eighteenth century. They also occupied themselves, in the most insipid way, with the minutiae of Biblical Archæology (§ 565).

We mention comparatively few of the Reformed here because most of them will appear in other groups farther on; among dogmatic expositors belong J. Piscator, at Herborn († 1625), on the whole Bible, separately, 1601 ff., together, 1643, 4 vols. fol.; see Steubing, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1841, IV.; D. Tossanus (Toussaint), at Hanau († 1629), on the N. T. 1604; D. Pareus, at Heidelberg († 1622), many books of the O. and N. T.; *Opp.*, Frankf. 1628; M. Amyraut, at Saumur († 1664), on Psalms, John, Acts, Epistles; see C. E. Saigey, *M. Amyraut*, Str. 1849, and in the *Strassb. Revue*, V. 178; also A. Schweizer in Herzog's *Encycl.*; F. Gomarus, at Leyden († 1641), on the Gospels, etc.; *Opp.*, Amst. 1644, 3 vols. fol.; J. H. Heidegger, at Zürich († 1697), *Exercit. biblicæ*, etc.

H. A. Roëll, at Utrecht († 1718), on Ephesians and Colossians, 1715, peculiar on account of the influence of the Cartesian philosophy upon his exegesis. F. A. Lampe, at Utrecht and Bremen († 1729), on John, 1724, 3 vols. 4<sup>o</sup>, with a leaning toward pietism, notwithstanding a disagreeably analytic form.

556. Exegesis was thus everywhere under the same abject servitude to the scholastic dogmatics. But nowhere did the

arbitrariness of scholasticism appear more glaringly than among that party which had most completely broken away from all connection with traditional Christianity, — the Socinians. Even they were unwilling to do without the testimony of the Bible to their theological system. They asserted the necessity of agreement between Scripture and reason, but practiced exegesis in a one-sided manner, so as to force the Scriptures to support doctrines propounded almost independently of them. The farther these doctrines departed in essential particulars from the apostolic preaching, the more audaciously they perverted the Word. Their exegesis often appears like the result of incomprehensible blindness or uncandid trickery, but it should not be forgotten that that of the Orthodox was only saved by their adherence to the traditional faith of the Church, not by the truth of its fundamental principles, from equally surprising, if not equally harsh, procedure.

This party has nowhere propounded any hermeneutical theory. In general, it acknowledges the Protestant principle of the simple grammatical sense of Scripture, but at the same time holds a looser view of inspiration, is very free with tropes, and paves the way for the theory of accommodation by a complete disregard of the O. T. (Diestel, *Die soc. Anschauung v. A. T. in ihrer gesch. u. theol. Bedeutung*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1862, IV., and in his better known work, *Das A. T. in der Kirche*, p. 387 ff., 534 ff.

The works (mostly exegetical) of the leaders of the party are collected in the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum quos unitarios vocant*, Amst. 1656 ff., 8 vols. fol. This work contains: Faustus Socinus, of Siena († 1604), *De S. S. auctoritate*, and essays on several dogmatically important passages, especially of John [see Schaff-Herzog, Art. *Socinus*]; J. Crell, of Franken († 1633), on most of the books of the N. T.; J. Schlichting, of Bucowicz in Poland († 1661), on John and the Epistles; and J. L. v. Wolzogen, of Austria († 1661), on the Gospels. — Also: C. Sand († 1680), *Interpp. paradoxa IV. evang.*, Amst. 1669; S. Przipcow († 1670), on the Epp., Amst. 1692 f.; D. Brenius, short scholia on the Bible, Amst. 1664 f.; S. Crell (Artemonius, † 1747), on several important passages of John.

C. E. Weismann, *Rabbulismi exegetici partis socin. insigniora specimina*, Tüb. 1731; F. W. Dresde, *De fallaci F. Socini ll. ss. interpretandi ratione*, Vit. 1790; Flatt's *Mag.*, XV. 112 ff.; H. Amphoux, *Essai sur la doctrine socinienne*, Str. 1850.

The same or a closely related form of doctrine was still defended by certain English exegetes late in the following century; e. g., J. Taylor, *Romans*, Lond. 1745; A. Sykes, *Hebrews*, Lond. 1755.

557. Meanwhile the dry scholasticism of the orthodox exposition of Scripture led certain individuals to attempt, without opposing themselves to the Church, to give it a greater and almost poetic fruitfulness. The school of the Cocceians, which flourished after the middle of the seventeenth century in Holland, had propounded a system of the theology of the covenants, according to which the revelations of God in history were connected with one another by a kind of evolution. To make this out exegesis was called upon, thus recognizing

again, finally, the distinction between the forms of faith and life of the Old and New Testaments, although with the use of an extravagant typology. The search was not so much for a plurality as for a fullness of meaning in Scripture, that the increasing richness of the Word might keep pace with the requirements of their view of history, which was developed in a countless series of figures. A vast amount of learning was expended upon an idea which was no doubt interesting, but which got farther and farther from the truth as it attempted to go into details.

J. Cocceius (Koch), of Bremen, Professor at Leyden († 1669, see Gesenius, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, I. 18 [also Schaff-Herzog]), placed the three covenants of God with men, the patriarchal, the legal, and the gospel, in a typical relation to one another; so also the Bible to Church History, to which he not only applied the periods of development which had been discovered by others before him in the Apocalypse, but also referred, as types, other Old and New Testament narratives; all without prejudice to the Calvinistic orthodoxy, yet in reality much more favorable to a biblical than to the scholastic treatment of theology. *Summa theologie a S. S. repetita*, Opp., VII.; *Summa doctr. de federe et testamento Dei*, *ibid.* His hermeneutic was in many respects more rational and biblical than that of his contemporaries and opponents. But the method as it was understood and applied, especially by his followers, cannot be characterized better than by the sentence by which it is comprehended in the table of contents to his works, which, were it not for its place, might be regarded as an epigram; *verba S. S. significant id omne quod possunt*. Cf. *Summa theol.*, ch. vi., xlvi. 13. *Opp.*, Amst. 1675, and freq., 10 vols. fol. [3d ed., *auctior et emendatio*, 1701]. They contain commentaries on most of the books of the Bible. A. v. d. Flier, *De J. Cocceio anti-scholastico*, Traj. 1859.

His principles maintained themselves in the universities of Holland, with varying fortune, carried to excess, naturally, by his followers, into the eighteenth century, with many good philologists and still more minds of smaller calibre. Elsewhere little response. (Schulthess, *Theol. Nachr.*, 1826, III. 388.) Typological treatment of the Hebrew antiquities.

For polemic for and against see Schröckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Ref.*, VIII. 544 ff.; Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, IV. 8 f.; Waleh, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 1033; Werenfels, *Opp.*, II. 328; V. Alberti, *Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus Belgio molesti*, L. 1678; (Joncourt) *Entretiens sur les différentes méthodes d'expliquer l'écriture*, Amst. 1707; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1708, p. 305; 1709, p. 345.

The more scholarly of the Cocceians, and hence still useful, are Campegius Vitringa, at Franeker († 1722), on Isaiah, Zechariah, Epistles, Apocalypse, and *Obs. ss.*, which contains, VI. 479, his hermeneutical theory (on him T. de Hase, in the *Bibl. Brem.*, VI.); J. Braun, at Groningen († 1709), especially on the Epistle to the Hebrews; S. van Til, at Leyden († 1713), on Matthew and some of the Epistles. Also H. Deusing, *Allegorie hist. evang.*, 1711 (he develops modern history from any pericope of the Gospels at pleasure; cf. T. de Hase, in the *Bibl. Brem.*, V.); A. Driessen, *De principis et legibus theologie emblematicæ allegoricæ typicæ et propheticæ*, Traj. 1717; J. d'Outrein, J. Marek, F. Burmann, N. Gürtler, J. v. d. Waeyen, H. Witse, and others, most of them in smaller treatises rather than in larger works. The *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, 1719 ff., 8 vols., contains many contributions and literary notices which belong here. For a summary of the results of this school, see Pfaff, *Hist. litt. theol.*, I. 94 ff.; Diestel, *l. c.*, p. 527 ff., also in the *Jahrb. der Theol.*, 1865, II.

558. In the Lutheran party also, though somewhat later, there came a noteworthy, but much more healthful reaction against scholastic dogmatism. Following the example of Spener, the so-called Pietists attempted to make the Bible again subserve practical Christianity and the edification of the people, as the Reformers had originally designed. They made small account of the aids of secular science. They strove after the possession of spiritual gifts, and in humility awaited from the enlightenment of the inner vision the knowledge which they intended to use for the benefit of the people. Their interpretation of Scripture was not so much an aid to science as a devotional exercise, begun and ended with prayer. Maintaining the full doctrine of strict orthodoxy respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures, and making it yet stricter where possible by a more strenuous honoring of the letter, they delighted to search its mystical and typical depths, and sought the emphases of the divine meaning hidden in the smallest phrases, — the one sect of all time which has found its highest happiness in the consciousness of being the fewest in number and the poorest in spirit.

*Collegia biblica*: the University of Halle; see A. H. Niemeyer, *Die Universität Halle nach ihrem Einfluss auf gelehrte und praktische Theologie*, H. 1817; W. Hossbach, *Spener und seine Zeit*, 2d ed. 1853; J. Rathgeber, *Spener et le reveil religieux*, P. 1868; H. Schmid, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, Nördl. 1863; [Heppe, 1879; Ritschl, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, 1880]; A. Tholuck, *Gesch. des Rationalismus*, 1865, I.

Ph. J. Spener, a native of Alsace, preacher at Frankfort, Dresden, and Berlin († 1705), *Consil.*, I. 331: *Indignius mihi videtur si quis eo ipso symbolicis libris nostris contradixisse et perfidie reus esse arguatur quod in explicatione dicti alicujus nonnihil ab eo sensu deflecteret qui in aliquo illorum deprehenditur. Bedenken*, III. 478: "We blame the Papists for making the authority of the Scriptures dependent *ab auctoritate ecclesie*. May the Lord graciously forbid that we too should depart from our *principium* of the Holy Scriptures and allow nothing of them to be valid except what is to be found, *iisdem verbis*, in our *libri symbolici*, — still more that we should not interpret the creeds by the Scriptures but the Scriptures by the creeds, and thus set up genuine Popery in the midst of our Church." [See, on Spener, Walch, *Streitigkeiten innerhalb der luth. Kirche*, I., II., IV., V.; Von Canstein, *Lebensbeschreibung Spener's*, 1740; Steinmetz, in his edition of Spener's minor works, 1746; Hossbach, *Leben Spener's*, 1827, 3d ed. 1861; Knapp, *Leben u. Charakter einiger frommen Männer des vorigen Jahrhunderts*, 1829; Thilo, *Spener als Katechet*, 1841; Wildenhahn, *Life of Spener*, translated by G. A. Wenzel, Phila. 1881.]

The theorists of the school (J. J. Breithaupt at Halle († 1732) [G. A. Francke, *Das gesegnete Gedächtniss des seligen Breithaupt*, Halle, 1736], *Institutio hermeneutico-homiletica*, Kiel, 1685; A. H. Franke, at Halle († 1727), *Manductio ad lectionem S. S.*, H. 1693; *Prælectiones hermeneuticæ*, 1717; *Instit. rationem tradens S. S. in suam ædific. legendi*, 1723; *De emphasibus Scr.*, 1698; J. Lange, at Halle († 1744), *Hermeneutica sacra*, 1733; J. J. Rambach, at Giessen († 1735) [Biography by Dan. Büttner, L. 1737; Th. Hansen, *Die Familie Rambach*, Gotha, 1875], *De idoneo S. S. interprete*, 1720; *Instit. hermeneuticæ*, J. 1723; *Erläuterungen* thereof, Giessen, 1738, 2 vols. 4°;

*Exercit. herm.*, Jena, 1728) lay great stress upon the piety of the expositor (passing over in silence his doctrinal soundness according to the creeds) and upon his ability to place himself in religious accord with the biblical author, with express recognition *diversitatis styli satis multiplicis*, which is to be derived not from the Holy Spirit *immediate*, but chiefly a *subjecto*. Hence also a special hermeneutics, particularly for the different authors of the N. T. The end of the interpretation of Scripture is the glorifying of God by the edification of one's self and others. Historical, grammatical and analytical study leads only to the shell; while the dogmatic, the porismatic, *i. e.* the drawing of inferences for doctrine, reproof, spiritual training, and comfort, and the practical, *i. e.* prayer and sighing, lead to the kernel.

Rambach forms the middle term between the proper (Halle) Pietists and the legitimate heirs of the scholastic theology; to him adhere those who attempt to reconcile the two tendencies. § 567.

559. And yet this sect has done biblical science essential service. No doubt the literalism of the system of emphases demanded an unchangeable text, and prevented criticism, and the perfectly justified impatience at the display of philological learning in the pulpit, at the petty disputation and medley of quotations, led to the opposite extreme. But the need of edification, everywhere present, caused them and others to see, little by little, the insignificance of purely scholastic dogmatizing, and thus dulled the edge of controversy. The unessential, over which, for the most part, the parties and churches had been contending thus far, was recognized as such, and a basis found for peace. Finally, the entering into the mental habit of the sacred writers recommended by this school also aided the still very defective exegesis. One recognized the necessity of distinguishing the peculiar coloring of their preaching, and so without knowing or intending it, was led to a more reasonable theory of inspiration.

Of Spener explanations of some epistles, *e. g.*, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 John, have been printed separately since 1697, some reprinted recently, "in which, beside the literal meaning, the doctrines and practical lessons to be derived therefrom are set forth." P. A. Fischer, *Spener exégète*, Str. 1862.

One may best learn the peculiar character of the pietistic exegesis from the lectures of Paul Anton, of Halle († 1730), printed after the author's death, on the Gospels, Acts, Romans, and Pastoral Epistles, 1737 ff., 23 vols. 8°. (J. H. Callenberg, *Vita P. Antonii*, 1741.) Less spiritual, and hence petty and dull in his dismemberments, emphases, types, and practical applications, J. Lange, *Mosaïches, biblisch-historisches, davidisch-salomonisches, prophetisches, evangelisches, apostolisches, apocalyptisches Licht und Recht*, Halle, 1729 ff., 7 vols. fol. There are also lectures by J. J. Rambach upon several epistles, published after his death. J. H. Michaelis, at Halle († 1738), *Hebr. Bibel mit Randbemerkungen*, also separately, *Uberiores annot. in hagiographa*, 1720, 3 vols. 4°, to which C. B. Michaelis and Rambach contributed.

Similar methods were followed by mystics of other shades: (J. H. Horch), *Mystische und profetische Bibel . . . nebst Erklärung der Sinnbilder und Weissagungen*, Marb. 1712. Cf. J. Schepp, in the *Bibl. Hag.*, I. 357. The Berleburg Bible (§ 487) purported to give "together with some explanation of the literal sense, and of the principal types and prophecies of

Christ and his kingdom, at the same time . . . an interpretation which reveals the inner state of the spiritual life." The authors (probably several), unknown and not altogether in accord, combine with the general tendencies of Pietism theosophico-chilastic ideas, and take issue upon occasion with the church doctrines; cf. Weizsäcker, in Herzog's *Encykl.* Zinzendorf and the Herrnhuters [Moravians] accomplished little for biblical interpretation, even in their own sense of the term, because with them the formal principle of the Protestant theology (the authority of the Scriptures) was forced altogether into the background by the one-sidedly apprehended material principle (the blood of Christ). Mystical expositions of the Canticles appeared in great numbers about the middle of the century, mostly by anonymous authors, therefore not by theologians of the schools.

560. The rise of Pietism and its reassertion of the right of the people to the Bible was at first opposed by orthodoxy with all the scorn of outraged privilege, and all the obstinacy of a conviction which owed the treasure of what it believed it knew and knew it believed not to isolated endeavors but to the united and consistently applied power of several generations. But since the discussion related rather to the form of instruction than to the contents of the faith, the controversy necessarily brought about the removal of the differences, and the scholastic learning of the one party was quite susceptible of being reconciled with the more practical bent of the other. Spener's school, though unwittingly, prepared the way for the approximation of Lutheranism and Calvinism, and in general threw purely theoretical differences into the background.

Against the Pietists wrote V. E. Löscher, at Dresden († 1749), *Breviarium theol. exegetice*, 1719 (an earlier edition, Rost. 1715, he disowned; see *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1715, p. 545), and under his management the famous journal *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, under various titles (*Altes und Neues; Fortges. Sammlung v. Altem und Neuem; Frühaufgelesene Früchte*) 1701-50; Löscher's *Leben*, by Engelhardt, Stuttg. 1856; M. Chladni (Chladenius, † 1725), at Wittenberg, *Institt. exegetice*, 1725; J. L. Fröreisen, at Strassburg († 1761), *Judicia de iis qui seculo presente studio exegetico profuerunt aut nocuerunt*, 1754. Of more general contents, like the last, are also the "*Seuffzer*" on the exegetical study of this period, in the above mentioned journal, 1702, p. 216.

The successors of the older Halle Pietists combined with the hearty piety of their predecessors a much greater learning. They preached peace (C. B. Michaelis, *De studio partium a S. S. interpretatione removendo*, 1729), and inclined more either to historical (Jena: J. F. Buddeus, † 1729; J. G. Walch, † 1775; see his *Leben*, 1777) or to philosophical studies, § 570. — J. L. Reckenberger, at Apolda, *Nexus canonum herm. naturalis*, Vit. 1757; C. T. Seidel, at Helmstedt, *Anweisung zur Erklärung der h. S.*, Halle, 1759. But those Pietists who went on in the beaten track of contempt of the world, one-sidedly exaggerating the Halle spirit, soon had nothing more to say in science. Many good orthodox theologians in the first half of the eighteenth century allowed themselves to be so far affected by the new spirit as to abandon their bitter and uncandid polemic, and in particular to give to their exegetical works a character favoring facts rather than opinions (J. Olearius, at Leipzig, † 1713; J. H. Mai, at Giessen, † 1719; S. Deyling, at Leipzig, † 1755, and others, the rest still less important). Here also cf. the general works on the History of Theology cited in §§ 554, 558.

561. Worthy of especial mention in this connection, as a peculiar outgrowth of the pietistic tendency, is the delight in apocalyptic exegesis. Proceeding essentially from the hope of a millennial kingdom in the near future, which was naturally regarded as the peculiar prerogative of the small body of the elect saints, it came from the outset into conflict with strict Lutheranism, which had declared such hopes to be superstition, and, in view of the strong approval which it found in all German-speaking countries and soon also outside, may have contributed not a little to the weakening of the scholastic theology and its influence. It delighted in strange computations, and built castles in the air amid the confusion and wretchedness of matters as they really were. The Bible and human history certainly came nearer together in this way, but unfortunately it was only in the fancies of a dreamy prophecy, which led the way to the New Jerusalem hard by the insane asylum, if not into it.

The history of the exposition of the Apocalypse is given most fully by Lücke, in his *Einleitung*. — The orthodox Protestant exegesis found in it essentially an anti-papal section of Church History, and so interpreted it that the millennial kingdom was in the past. In the eighteenth century this system was still almost universally defended by the Reformed, Dutch, Swiss, and English; among the last it prevails even to the present day. — The more famous names among the Lutherans are: D. Chytræus, 1571; G. Nigrinus, 1575; M. Hoë, 1671; C. A. Löseke, 1731. Among the Reformed: H. Bullinger, 1557; T. Brightman, 1612; J. Napier, 1615; J. Le Buy, 1651; J. Marck, 1699; C. Vitringa, 1720; Crinsoz, 1729, etc.

But in the second half of the seventeenth century some began to look for the millennial kingdom in the future, and in the immediate, definitely calculable future. *Apocalypsis reserata*, Elbing, 1654; C. Heumisch, *Ob der jüngste Tag 1670 zu erwarten*, Nürnberg; his *Hauptschlüssel*, etc., 1698; Van Helmont, *Seder Olam*, 1693; the great Isaac Newton (in the English Polyglot, Pt. XIX.); J. W. Petersen, *Die Wahrheit des Reichs Christi*, 1693; J. E. Petersen, *Anleitung zum Verständniß der Offenb. Joh.*, 1696; their *Verklärte Offenb. Joh.*, 1706; R. Fleming, *Schlüssel zur Offenb. Joh.*, 1701; M. Kromayer, 1708; J. C. Seitz, 1721; H. Fitzner, 1735; and many others.

While the above-mentioned, being regarded as disreputable fanatics, could gain little countenance for their view, it at once gained the ascendancy, and, being enthusiastically accepted, brought the Apocalypse into the very foreground of biblical study, through J. A. Bengel (§ 410), prelate at Stuttgart († 1752), a man distinguished equally for piety and learning: *Erklärte Offenb. Joh. oder vielmehr Jesu Christi*, Stuttg. 1740, and freq., down to the present time; his sixty *Erbauliche Reden über die Offenb. Joh.*, 1747, and freq., which also contain noteworthy political prophecies, which history seemed more than once on the point of justifying. His system (Burk, *Leben Bengels*, 1831, p. 263 ff.) was reproduced in numberless writings, modified, commented upon, versified, and has its believers to the present day (§ 584). His best known followers down to the time of the Revolution were: J. G. Böhmer, J. J. Zehender, S. B. Fehr, Wille, J. H. Tönnien, J. C. Lucas, W. B. Christiani, G. F. Chimonius, C. A. Crusius, C. G. Berger, G. F. Fein, M. F. Roos, C. G. Thube, E. Bengel (son), etc.

That with Bengel himself this tendency (though by no means an incident-

tal matter) did not disturb the sound basis of his exegesis is evident from his *Gnomon N. T. in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas profunditas concinnitas salubritas sensuum celestium indicatur*, Tüb. 1742, and freq., 2 vols. 4°. The apologetico-hermeneutic preface, as well as the concise, fruitful execution of the work, retains the spirit of the Halle school and gives it a more tasteful dress.

562. Even in the bosom of Catholicism a similar struggle arose. The movement which started with the Jansenists, in opposition to the spirit of the Church, which was languishing in external, formal worship and work-righteousness, found nourishment and support in the Bible, which held up the most faithful mirror to their quiet self-examination. Their interpretation of Scripture was as hearty and warm as that of their opponents was intellectual and cold. Kindred in spirit to the German Pietists, they shared with them the fate of being attacked by a school proud of its supremacy and knowledge, but without the consolation of having won, at the cost of their undeserved obloquy and persecution, the final redemption of theology. Yet this movement, in consequence of its Catholic origin and monastic, celibate asceticism, was much more closely allied than the pietistic to the mediæval mysticism, and led to errors which in the bosom of the Protestant Church could not so easily arise. Moreover they maintained a half-way position on the main issue, and defended what they hazarded and won not so much with clear courage of conscience as by verbal artifices and evasions which would have been more worthy of their opponents.

But a very much greater difference between the two schools is manifest in the way in which their spirit expresses itself in language. The French Jansenists lived and wrote in the golden age of the national literature, and were some of them among the classical writers of their fatherland; the Pietists, like their bitterest opponents, were the sons of the period of the German civil war, their language an unwieldy and motley mixture of rude German and scholastic Latin, with which was soon mingled a mass of foreign idioms also.

For the literature on Jansenism see Winer, *Handb.*, 3d ed., I. 650 f. Cf. § 488. [H. Renchlin, *Geschichte v. Port Royal, der Kampf des reform. u. des jesuitischen Katholicismus unter Ludwig XIII. u. XIV.*, 1839-44, 2 vols.; Schill, *Die Constitution Unigenitus*, Freib. 1876; Bouvier, *La vérité sur les Arnaulds, complétée avec l'aide de leur correspondance inédite*, 1877, 2 vols.; A. Vandenpeereboom, *Cornelius Jansenius, septième évêque d'Ypres, sa mort, son testament, ses épitaphes*, Bruges, 1882; Chas. Beard, *Port Royal*, Lond. 1861 (the best English history of the Jansenist controversy)].

Corn. Jansen, Bishop of Ypres († 1638), dogmatic writings (*Augustinus*) and posthumous commentaries on the Pentateuch, Psalms, the books of Solomon, and especially the Gospels (*Tetrateuchus*), Louvain, 1639 ff., separately, and freq.

The use of Scripture first acquired the practical and ascetic tendency which resulted from the master's theological views among the French. A. Godeau, Bishop of Vence († 1672), *Paraphrases des épîtres*, P. 1651, 6 vols.; Pasquier Quesnel († 1719), *Le N. T. avec des réflexions morales sur chaque*



*verset pour en rendre la lecture plus utile et la méditation plus aisée*, P. 1687, and freq., 8 vols., German by J. A. Granlich, Frankf. 1718. [E. tr., *The N. T., with moral reflections upon every verse*, Lond. 1719-25, 4 vols.; another, of a part of the work, *The Four Gospels, with a commentary and reflections, both spiritual and moral; translated, and the Popish errors expunged, by a Presbyter of the Church of England*, Bath, 1790, 2 vols.; new ed., revised by H. A. Boardman, N. Y. 1867, 2 vols.] (*Unsch. Nachr.*, 1713, p. 819; 1715, p. 254 ff.) Similarly, the whole Bible, by Le Maistre de Saey, Du Fossé, Beaubrun, and others, P. 1672, 32 vols., and freq.; A. Arnauld († 1694), on the Acts.

Far beyond the limits observed by the above went the restless and eccentric Quietist, Joh. Maria Bovières de la Mothe-Guyon († 1717), *La Ste. Bible avec des explications et réflexions qui regardent la vie intérieure*, Amst. 1713, 20 vols.

563. Equally removed from disputatious dogmatism and self-satisfied mysticism, and too sober for either, stood the Arminians. Originally bound together by their opposition to the too great severity of the Calvinistic system, their theology necessarily assumed from the outset a less strict character, and their interpretation of the Scriptures, so far as the party interests permitted it, maintained a more independent position with respect to the church faith. Perhaps, indeed, they showed too great indifference toward the proper theological contents of the Bible. They cultivated with especial felicity the hitherto so much neglected historical element in interpretation. Some of them also brought classically trained taste to the work. But suspected as they were by all their opponents, although these were so at variance among themselves, their example could not at once have its effect.

They were honorable enough to admit that no special enlightenment of the Holy Spirit had been bestowed upon them, and hence that none was necessary; and they failed, for this very reason, to see a great many things which their opponents were accustomed to discover. As theological exegetes they have made little sensation. Sim. Episcopius, at Amsterdam († 1643), on certain dogmatically important passages of the N. T., *Opp.*, 1650-65, 2 vols., fol. [Life by Ph. Limborch, in Dutch, afterward translated into Latin, 1701; Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, N. Y. 1837]; Ph. v. Limborch, Amsterdam († 1712), on the Acts, Romans, and Hebrews, Rotterd. 1711, fol. [A. des Armorie van der Hoeven, *De J. Clerico et P. a Limborch*, Amst. 1845]; C. Hartsoecker, on the Gospels, Amst. 1688 ff., separately.

Rather for their philological and historical learning and application of it: Hugo Grotius (De Groot, † 1645), of Delft, jurist, statesman, and theologian, *Opp. theol.*, Bas. 1732, 4 vols. fol., containing *Annotations* on the whole Bible, with copious comparison of the classics, and little regard for the favorite exegetical ideas of the time. New editions, *Ann. in V. T.*, ed. G. J. L. Vogel, Halle, 1775, 3 vols. 4°; *Ann. in N. T.*, ed. C. E. a Windheim, Erl. 1755, 2 vols. 4°; together, Grön. 1834, 9 vols. 8°. They are to be found also in the *Bibl. illustr.* of Calovius (§ 555), mostly hostile to them, and in the *Critici sacri* (§ 567). Cf. C. Segaar, *Or. d. H. Grotio N. T. interprete*, Traj. 1785; Wachler's *Theol. Nachr.*, 1813, p. 207; Burigny, *Vie de Grotius*, P. 1752, 2 vols.; Diestel, p. 430. [Luden, *Hugo Grotius nach s. Schicksalen u. Schriften dargestellt*, B. 1806; Butler, *Life of Hugo Grotius*, L. 1826; Motley, *John of Barneveld*, N. Y. 1874, II. ch. xxii.]

J. Le Clerc (Clericus, † 1736), at Amsterdam, Latin translation and paraphrase of the O. T., with philological commentary and excursions, Amst. 1693-1731 (also Tüb. 1733 uncompleted), 5 vols. fol. Also his translation of the paraphrase and notes of H. Hammond on the N. T. (Lond. 1653, and freq.) from the English into Latin, with many additions, Amst. 1698, fol., and freq., *De optimo genere interpretum S. S.* (prefixed to Genesis). Cf. Pfaff, *Vita J. Clerici* (in the Tübingen edition of the Commentary). Escher, in the Halle *Encykl.*, I. 18.

On Wetstein's *Collectanea* from the classics and Rabbins see § 409; *De interpretatione N. T.*, in *Wetst. libelli*, ed. Semler, p. 110 ff.; H. G. Glöckner, *Interpretandi ratio a J. J. Wetstenio adhibita examinata*, L. 1754.

564. All these parties in common, even the last-mentioned not excepted, however diverse the results at which they arrived, tacitly recognized the faith of their respective churches as their guide in the exposition of the Scriptures. This fact may be regarded as the peculiar characteristic of the period from the close of the Reformation to the rise of the critical schools. Not that it was greatly different before or after; but it was more clearly recognized and more honorably admitted in this middle period. There was no room for an opposite procedure. And when philosophy, by the mouth of her most gifted exponent in that period, and his followers, demanded for herself the supreme voice in matters of interpretation, such a demand could neither find a response nor leave behind a school in the science, except as the latter renounced all connection with the Church, and after all in reality but changed her master.

(B. Spinoza) *Tractatus theologico-politicus continens diss. aliquot quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi . . . salva pietate et reip. pace posse concedi*, etc., Hamb. 1670, 4°. [E. tr. 2d ed., Lond. 1868.] A definite denial of the authority of theology over reason, based upon the view that the Scriptures teach nothing but simple faith in God and obedience to Him, and that consequently philosophy needs not come into contact with it at all. Chs. vii., xiv., xv. [H. Ginsberg, *Leben und Charakterbild Baruch Spinoza's*, L. 1876; R. Willis, *Benedict de Spinoza*, Lond. 1870; F. Pollock, *Spinoza, his Life and Philosophy*, Lond. 1880; James Martineau, *Spinoza*, Lond. and N. Y. 1882, 2d ed. 1883. Editions of Spinoza's works by Paulus, Jena, 1802-3, Gröner, Stuttg. 1830, Bruder, L. 1843-46, and by J. Vloten and J. P. N. Land, Hague 1882 ff., superseding all others. Spinoza's works were translated into German by B. Auerbach, Stuttg. 1840, 5 vols., and into French by Saisset, Par. 1842, 2d ed. 1861.]

(L. Meyer, a Dutch physician) *Philosophia Scripturæ interpres, exercitatio paradoxa*, 1666, ed. Semler, 1776; cf. Rosenmüller, *Handb.*, IV. 54. Here reason does not appear as judge of a book with which it has nothing to do, but is commissioned to find everywhere in the Scriptures, considered as the word of God, truths agreeable to itself.

Cf. L. Wolzogen, *De scripturarum interprete ad exercitorem paradoxum*, Utr. 1663; G. B. Bilfinger, *De Spinosæ methodo explicandi S. S.*, Jena, 1739.

565. While the dogmatists were thus making a monopoly of the interpretation of the Scriptures, and rendering the occupation either a very dangerous or a very mechanical one, there

was also a considerable number of learned men who, from timidity or fancy, amused themselves with the shell of this study, and either did not care to seek for the kernel, or were unable to find it. Some of them devoted themselves with painstaking industry to the investigation of the sacred languages, compared the classics passage by passage, studied the Semitic dialects, examined the Oriental versions, and, as usual, thought from each newly-discovered or more thoroughly investigated source to solve at once all the problems of the science. Out of the vast masses of scattered notes grew lexicons, grammars, and other philological helps, and although they did not get along without quarreling even in this field, yet there was less at stake than in the theological battles, and the work could be carried on with greater calmness, and consequently with greater results.

In view of the special purpose of this division of our work we may omit the fuller description of the literature in this and the following section. Cf. Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, L. 1815; Meyer, *Gesch. der Schriftklärung*, III., 1 ff., IV., 1 ff.; Wiener, *N. T. Grammar*, Introduction; and above, § 44 ff.

From the end of the sixteenth century on Hollanders, Frenchmen, and Englishmen wrote *Observationes* of a purely philological nature upon isolated passages, especially of the N. T., mostly upon the basis of their reading in the Greek classics, some also in the Oriental languages and the Rabbins. The most famous, most of whose works are printed together in the *Critici sacri* (§ 567), are: J. v. d. Driesche (Drusius, † 1612), at Franeker; L. de Dieu († 1642), at Leyden; J. Cappel († 1624), at Sedan; L. Cappel, his brother († 1658), at Saumur (see on the latter M. Nicolas in the *Strassb. Revue*, VIII. 257); I. Casaubon († 1614), at Geneva and London; J. Scaliger († 1609), at Leyden; D. Heinsius († 1655), at Leyden; E. Leigh and J. Doughtey († 1671), at London; L. Bos (1717), at Franeker; much later, J. Elsner, Reformed preacher at Berlin († 1750); J. Alberti at Leyden († 1762); E. Palairat at London († 1765), and many others.

In the hands of the Lutherans this study soon became petty pedantry, attempts being made to explain the Greek language of the N. T. by comparison with some single author and thus set aside the Hebraisms so odious to orthodoxy: G. Raphelius, at Lüneburg, 1715 ff., from Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, and Arrian; C. H. Lange, 1732, from Dionysius Halicarnassus and Lucian; C. F. Münthe, 1755, from Diodorus; J. H. v. Seelen, 1719 ff., from Plutarch and Hesiod; G. W. Kirchmaier, 1732, from Polybius; J. C. Messerschmid, from Cebes (in the *Bibl. Brem.*, IV.); T. Eckhard, 1733, from Aristophanes; C. Porschberger, 1744, from Theocritus; G. R. Salehlin, 1745, from Pindar; D. Peucer, 1752, from Callimachus; C. L. Bauer, 1773, from Thucydides; C. G. Haymann, 1772, from Apollodorus; D. C. Grimm, 1776, from Diodorus; an unknown author in the *Bibl. Brem. nov.*, V., from Artemidorus; H. Scholtz, *Johanna ex Theocrito*, 1735, etc.

A peculiar school was founded by the Orientalist A. Schultens († 1750), at Leyden, who attempted to transform the whole lexicon and exegesis of the O. T. with the aid of the Arabic (*Job*, *Proverbs*, etc.). Cf. J. H. Verschuur, *De interpr. V. T. gramm. hoc seculo ad perfect.educta, Diss.*, p. 185; Diestel, § 450; F. Mühlau, in the *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.*, 1870, I.

566. Others chose for the subject of their activity the sacred

people and their history. Instead of religious instruction, they sought in the Bible hints respecting the life and manners of the Hebrews. Travelers brought them trustworthy information of the celebrated land and its character. They did not even spare the pains to search the otherwise so little attractive books of the Jews for reminiscences of the conditions of the ancient period. The religious and civil order was restored as it had been established by Moses and administered by David; animals and plants were catalogued and determined; their dwellings, clothing, and food were described to the smallest detail, and Israel's whole domestic life, more complete, orderly, and cleanly than it perhaps ever was in reality, arose like a ghost called up from the region of the dead, — a monument of astonishing, often undigested, learning, but a still unexhausted mine for a generation to which a more remunerative task has fallen.

The following may serve as a small selection of the more famous names : —

For Archæology as a whole : Ben. Arias Montanus (de la Sierra, † 1598); P. Cunaeus, at Leyden († 1617); M. Leydekker, at Utrecht († 1721); A. G. Wähler, at Göttingen († 1762).

For Chronology : J. Scaliger; Denys Petau, a Jesuit at Paris († 1652); J. Ussher (Usserius, † 1655), Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland; A. des Vignoles, at Berlin († 1744).

For History : F. Spanheim, at Leyden († 1701); J. F. Buddeus (§ 560); H. Prideaux, at Norwich († 1724).

For Geography : S. Bochart, at Caen († 1667); H. Reland, at Utrecht († 1718); Vitringa (§ 557).

For Natural History : Bochart; J. J. Scheuchzer, at Zürich († 1733); O. Celsius, at Upsala († 1756).

For Antiquities proper : Th. Goodwin, at Oxford († 1643); J. G. Carpov, at Leipzig († 1767); C. Iken, at Bremen († 1753). Religious : J. Spencer, at Cambridge († 1693); J. Lund, at Tundern, in Schleswig († 1686); H. Reland, Drusius, Vitringa, J. Braun (§ 557); H. Witse, at Leyden († 1708); J. Trigland, at Leyden († 1706); Th. Dassov, at Wittenberg and Kiel († 1721). Political and civil : J. Selden, at London († 1654); W. Schickard, at Tübingen († 1635), etc.

Such materials were applied directly to the exegesis of the N. T., among others, by J. Lightfoot, at Cambridge († 1675), *Opp.*, 1686 ff., 3 vols. fol.; C. Schöttgen, at Dresden († 1751), *Horæ hebr. et talm.*, 1733; J. A. Danz, at Jena († 1727), etc.

The often disturbing theological presuppositions, the insufficient observation of nature at that time, the grotesque trifling of many, especially those not mentioned here, cannot outweigh the considerable and hardly won merits of the rest. Most of those mentioned are Reformed, scarcely any Catholics.

A more detailed statement of titles of books (which may be found in the manuals of Hebrew Archæology, also in Diestel, § 458 ff.), and a continuation of the catalogue for the later period of the biblical literature is not in place here. It was the purpose to name those who prepared the way for giving the theological use of the Scriptures a new direction, not historical investigators as such. Cf. also G. F. Gudius, *De Jurisconsultorum meritis in S. S.*, L. 1729; J. H. a Seelen, *De medicorum meritis in S. S.* (*Medit.*, II., 699).

567. Perhaps, without suspecting it, these patient hod-carriers of the science were preparing the material for a firmer building than that which the scholasticism of the seventeenth century had too hastily declared complete. True, their works have many of them been forgotten, but their more useful results have in a hundred ways become the common property of many. While dogmatic interests still had their influence, and through the pietistic controversies were even obtaining a new power, the passion for historical collection, coupled with a milder judgment of those of different views, was already beginning, and that outside of Germany, to have its effect in the field of Scripture interpretation. There came, in a sphere by no means narrow, a time of stagnation, the precursor of a greater revolution, and those who were least touched by the spirit of prophecy turned their attention to the past.

Such collections were : *Critici sacri sive clariss. virorum . . . in biblia annot. et tractatus*, collected by J. Pearson and others, Lond. 1660, 9 vols. fol., as a supplement to the London Polyglot ; contains only Reformed and Catholic expositors, because all confessional polemic, without which the Lutherans could not write on the Bible at all, was designed to be avoided in the work. Reprinted and enlarged at (Amsterdam and) Frankfort, 1695, 9 vols. fol., ed. N. Gütler.

*Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. S. interpretum*, Lond. 1669 and freq.; last at Frankf. 1712, 5 vols. fol., by Matth. Poole (Polus); contains the former critics and numerous others, among them Lutherans, no longer printed complete and consecutively, but worked in together in extract, verse by verse, with the names in the margin.

The so-called English Polyglot, a commentary which first appeared at the Hague, 1742 ff., in French and Dutch, made up from distinguished English exegetes, with a somewhat more decided emphasis on the dogmatic element, though not on the confessional, immediately translated into German by R. Teller, at Leipzig, J. A. Dietelmair at Altdorf, and J. Brucker at Augsburg. L. 1749-70, 19 vols. 4°.

C. Starke's *Synopsis bibliothecæ exegeticæ, oder kurzgefasster Auszug, etc.*, L. 1733 ff., 8 vols. 4°, although its ultimate design is to pay homage to the spirit of Pietism, collects industriously and without polemic a great number of now forgotten interpreters of all churches and schools.

Here also we may reckon J. C. Wolf at Hamburg († 1739), *Curæ philol. et crit. in N. T.*, Bas. 1741, 5 vols. 4°.

568. So arose, from quiet beginnings, yet amid violent but senseless wrangling, a historical tendency in the study of the Bible, which from decade to decade bore riper fruit. The results in knowledge which were thereby won we account of less value ; we rate higher the coming to maturity of many fruitful ideas, and the dying out of bygone forms of the science caused thereby. The doctrine of the supernatural inspiration of Scripture underwent a modification at first imperceptible, but rich in results for hermeneutics. The incoming of anti-biblical latitudinarianism demanded other weapons than the

battered and rusty ones from the armory of scholastic orthodoxy, and the clamor of the stragglers of the old school was lost in the urgent call to new and more important battles.

The new historical tendency, still outwardly orthodox, but inwardly altogether at variance with the ecclesiastical system, is represented in its theory by J. A. Turretin (at Geneva, † 1737), *De S. S. interpretandæ methodo*, Utr. 1728, printed without his consent, and disowned; (*Restit. et auxil. W. A. Teller*, 1776) against inner illumination, the passion for emphases, and the analogy of the faith, and besides the first attempt at a Special Hermeneutics (p. 371: *Est animus in ea quibus scribebant tempora et loca transferendus et videndum quænam in eorum qui tum vivebant animo oriri poterint ideæ. . . Animus vacuus ad Scr. legendam afferendus, instar tabule ræscæ*, etc.). Also posthumous University lectures on Romans and Thessalonians, 1739 ff.; *Cogitationes et dissertationes*, Gen. 1737, 3 vols. 4°; *Opp. theol.*, Leov. 1774, 3 vols. 4°. F. Schaller, *Essai sur Turr.*, Colm. 1861 [E. de Bude, *François et J. Alphonse Turretini*, Laus. 1880, 2 vols.]. His contemporary and countryman, S. Werenfels, at Basle († 1740. *Opp.*, 1782, 3 vols.), was more prudent and cautious: *Lectiones hermeneuticæ; De scopo interpretis*; although he indulged in hearty sarcasm on the methods of the dogmatists: Epigr. 60: *Hic liber est in quo sua quærit dogmata quisque, invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua*.

Here are to be classified, above all, the exegetical writings of the archæologists named in § 566, except so far as they belong to the Cocceians, and their sympathizers among the Reformed; e. g., B. Walæus, *Ueber die histor. Bücher des N. T.*, 1652.

I. de Beausobre (§ 487), at Berlin († 1738), *Remarques hist. crit. et phil. sur le N. T.*, La Haye, 1742 (also containing his life); J. L. v. Mosheim, at Göttingen († 1755), the celebrated church historian (see Lücke, *Narratio de J. L. Mosheim*, 1837), on John, Corinthians, Pastoral Epistles, printed mostly after his death; C. A. Heumann, at Göttingen (1765), who honorably sacrificed his position to his lapse from strict Lutheranism, but would only make it known to the world in his will; *Erkl. des N. T.*, 1750, 12 Pts., uncompleted; *De exegesi historica* (in his *Nova syll.*, I).

J. D. Michaelis (§ 18), who did not succeed, notwithstanding his best efforts, in remaining orthodox, because his learning became too broad and he too proud of it; *Deutsche Uebers. des A. T. mit Anmerk. für Ungelehrte*, 1769 ff., 13 vols. 4°; *N. T.*, 1790 ff., 6 vols. 4°; writings on Hebrew Antiquities; paraphrases and commentaries on the Epistles, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, etc.; *Orient. u. exeget. Bibliothek*, 1771–91, 33 vols., and many smaller writings, mostly on biblical subjects; cf. also § 18. Autobiography, with notes and additions by Schulz, Heyne, and Hassencamp, 1793; cf. Eichelhorn's *Bibl.*, III. 827; Ewald, *Jahrb.*, 1848, p. 26. Against Michaelis, from the one side (§ 581), J. Tobler, *Anmerk. zur Ehre der Bibel*, 1771 ff., 8 vols.; from the other (§ 575), C. F. Bahrdt, *Kritiken über Michaelis Bibelübers.*, 1773. — In the spirit of Michaelis, rather indifferent and cautious than orthodox, many others treated the special questions in the literary history of the Bible (mostly O. T.).

Contemporaneously there arose also the still very immature idea of a Biblical Theology: A. F. Büsching (the Polyhistor at St. Petersburg and Berlin († 1793), see his Autobiography, 1789), *Epitome theol. chr. e solis ss. ll. concinnate et ab omnibus rebus et verbis scholasticis purgate*, 1756; C. A. Döderlein, *Von den hohen Vorzügen der bibl. Theol. vor d. scholastischen*, 1758.

Equally noteworthy is the growing silence of polemic, even against the Catholic Church, especially in relation to all matters closely connected with the theology of the Scriptures. Cf. § 595. How among the Protestants

themselves Orthodoxy was forced into a purely defensive position, see § 581 f. — During the middle third of the eighteenth century the number of able and intelligent theologians at the German Universities was extraordinarily small, and the more distinguished (perhaps Baumgarten and Pfaff excepted) shone only as historians. An important sign of the revolution of the theological spirit of the age, the new University of Göttingen, which soon became prominent, gave the key-note for the primacy of historical learning in theology also.

569. Hand in hand with the gradual wearing away of dogmatic rigor in exegesis went a similar change in method. The practical design of exposition, combined with the empty verbosity of the current style of writing, brought into existence a flood of paraphrases, in which scientific precision and the energy of the biblical speech were both alike wanting. Their great number was not an accidental phenomenon. It showed that the time of purely polemic treatment of the Scriptures was past, and that men desired to let the Apostles speak for themselves. Moreover they were altogether sincere in this desire, and did not take note that in this paraphrastic form the Apostles in reality often spoke but very little.

Paraphrasing, which had already been in favor earlier, a reaction against formal learning and philological word-sifting, came into vogue first in England, after the beginning of the eighteenth century: S. Clarke, Gospels, 1701; J. Locke, several Pauline Epistles, 1709; J. Peirce, the same, 1733; G. Benson, all the Epistles, 1734; Th. Pyle, Epistles and Acts, 1725; Ph. Doddridge, *The Family Expositor*, on the whole N. T., etc. Most of these were frequently reprinted and transplanted to German soil, where at that time the English literature was attentively followed and imitated. The spirit and contents of these works and those like them was very various, sometimes analytic of the thought, sometimes rather edificatory and diffuse, sometimes even abusing the form to the introduction of peculiar views. For the last cf. among others the N. T. translated "according to the sense" of the original, by Tim. Philadelphus (Kayser), 1733, 4 vols.

570. The Wolfian philosophy, which many had embraced in the want of a better substitute for the former scholasticism, had accustomed theologians, before they suspected in it any danger to orthodoxy, to consider religious matters from the point of view of their reasonableness, and invited to their mathematical demonstration. Thus there came into exegesis a fashion of hairsplitting analysis and dreary tabulation which repelled the spirit without helping the intellect. But this dialectic tendency did not strike root, any more than the opposite, which blended philosophy and mysticism. Grammar and archæology were already more important elements in exegetical activity than dogmatics. For typology the age was altogether too sober and poor in imagination, and what was taught theoretically concerning it resembles an unwilling retreat, and soon ended in its lying down to die.

Upon Wolfian methods proceeded (beside many dogmatic theologians, see

Schröckh, *N. Kirchengesch.*, VIII. 26) C. Wolle, at Leipzig († 1761), *Hermeneutica N. T. certissimis defecate philosophiæ principis corroborata*, 1736 (for the first time the N. T. specially); combining this method with a liking for historical research and pietistic reminiscences, S. J. Baumgarten, at Halle († 1757), *Unterricht von Auslegung der h. S.*, 1742 and freq.; *Ausführlicher Vortrag der Hermeneutik*, 1769; *Auslegung der evang. u. epist. Perikopen des Joh., Paulus, Jac.*, separately, 1750 ff., the exegesis analyzed and figured out to insipidity. J. H. Benner, at Giessen, *Sylloge thesium herm.*, 1753. — H. van Alphen, at Utrecht, *Specimina analytica in epp. Pauli*, Traj. 1742, is perfectly empty, petty analysis. — The decided Wolfians busied themselves only with dogmatics, not with exegesis (a fact to be kept in mind). Cf. Tholuck, *Gesch. des Rationalismus*, § 119 ff.

C. A. Crusius, at Leipzig († 1775), *Hypomnemata ad theol. prophetica*, 1764 ff., 3 vols.; a Messianic exposition of the O. T. based upon philosophical views, but presenting only one side of his system, which was designed to commend the orthodox faith to the reason without estranging it from the spiritual nature. Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Crusius als Schriftausleger*, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1844, IV., and *Gesch. der prophet. Theol.*, p. 1 ff.

J. G. Töllner, at Frankfort a. d. O. († 1774), *Grundriss einer erwiesenen Hermeneutik der h. S.*, 1765; *Göttl. Eingebung der h. S.*, 1771, attempted, both in the writings mentioned and in his dogmatic works, to set forth at the outset, by the aid of reason, certain formulas respecting the orthodox faith, so that Orthodoxy should find in reason its justification. Cf. Ernesti, *Bibl.*, XII. 31; Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Moral*, p. 763.

C. G. Hofmann, at Wittenberg († 1774), *Institt. theol. exegetica*, 1754. Equally averse from dialectics and from tyomania, he in theory limited the use of reason, and in effect looked for salvation from linguistic knowledge, psychology, and method. He had made his first appearance as an opponent of the Pietists and Herrnhuters [Moravians].

The first to return again to typological matters was C. M. Pfaff, at Tübingen († 1760), a herald of peace in the Protestant Church, *De theologie typica recta conformatione*, 1723; J. A. Cramer, at Kiel († 1788), denied it dogmatic importance, and made it subservient to simple edification (*Psalmen*, IV. 129 ff.); J. D. Michaelis (§ 568), *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelahrtheit*, 1753, haggled over the material and aim of the science, and, himself thoroughly devoid of taste, feared to offend against taste by Cocceian excess. J. W. Rau, at Erlangen († 1807), *Freimüthige Unterss. über die Typologie*, 1784, attempted to show its baselessness. In general, however, the ideas respecting the so-called deeper sense of Scripture were obscure, and the principles contradictory in statement, even on the orthodox side. Cf. also Benson, *Paraphr.*, I. 1; C. E. Weismann, *Pro sensu spirituali V. T.*, Tüb. 1735; G. L. Oeder, *Conject.*, p. 511 ff.

571. After the theological principles of former times had thus lost their energy, and simultaneously a manifold intellectual life, independent of religious ideas, in part, indeed, opposed to them, had sprung up among the German people, the time necessarily came at last when the new should try its young strength in creation and transformation in this particular field also. True, no authority was longer recognized save that of the mind, but custom, and, yet more, the German genius itself, maintained the authority of the Bible, notwithstanding the attacks of an extreme but wholly impotent party. Exegesis continued to be a science of the new period, but went



over, simply changing her mistress, from the service of the Church to that of the school, and became, without will of her own, an accessory in the most opposite endeavors. But the fact that the Church no longer had the power to expel formally elements which were alien and dangerous to her was at once a sign of the revolution which had taken place, and a pledge of her universal destiny.

The revolution concerned chiefly the distinction between revelation and the origin of the Scriptures, Old and New Testament, religion and theology.

J. O. Thiess, *Eint. in die neuere Geschichte der Religion, Kirche, u. theol. Wissenschaft*, Schlesw. 1797; J. A. H. Tittmann, *Pragmat. Gesch. der Theol. u. Religion in d. prot. Kirche in d. zweiten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrh.*, B. 1805; C. W. Flügge, *Hist. krit. Darstellung des bisherigen Einflusses der kantischen Philosophie auf die wissenschaftliche u. praktische Theol.*, Hann. 1796 f., 2 Pts.; A. Tholuck, *Abriss einer Gesch. der Umwälzung welche seit 1750 auf dem Gebiete der Theol. in Deutschland stattgefunden* (*Verm. Schriften*, II. 1 ff.); C. F. A. Kahnis, *Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrh.*, L. 1854; A. Saintes, *Hist. critique du rationalisme*, P. 1843.

J. C. L. Gieseler, *Rückblick auf die theol. u. kirchl. Richtungen u. Entwicklungen der letzten fünfzig Jahre*, Gött. 1837; A. Neander, *Das verflossene halbe Jahrh.*, etc., in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, 1850, I. ff.; F. C. Baur, *Kirchen-gesch. des 19ten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1862, p. 99 ff.

H. J. Rose, *The State of Protestantism in Germany*, 2d ed. 1829, which also contains a series of essays of similar contents by P. A. Stapfer, from the *Archives du Christianisme*, 1824 ff.; O. T. Dobbin, *German Rationalism in its Early Indications*, in *Kitto's Journal of Sacr. Lit.*, I.; his *Influence of Modern Philosophy on Christianity*, *ibidem*, II.; E. Dewar, *German Protestantism*, Oxf. 1844.

572. But this revolution did not come about, like so many others, through the sudden and overwhelming victory of a principle sharply opposed to that hitherto in force. Revolutions in the realm of mind do not so take place. The change goes forward gradually, and is all the more lasting for that reason. Thus we find on the threshold of this period a school of men who were accessible to the new ideas, without allowing themselves to be carried away by them. At their head stood Johann August Ernesti, and their activity began at Leipzig. Rather philologists than theologians, and the former understood in the sense of classical culture and purity, they brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures rather taste and conscientiousness than spiritual depth and philosophical views. Much admired in their time as the antipodes of the artificial style that was departing, they have long since ceased to satisfy our age with their rhetorical superficiality. Fresh and bold in the beginning of their glory, and falling in with the opinions in vogue, having no theological formula on their standard, they were soon outstripped, and, almost more neutral than conservative, not only had no claim to enduring influence, but

were obliged to look on while their weapons, according to the usual course of things, were made use of by a more violent party.

J. A. Ernesti, at Leipzig († 1781), *Institutio interpretis N. T.*, L. 1761, 5th ed. 1809 [E. tr. by Terrot, in the *Biblical Cabinet*, Edinb. 1834]; *Neue theol. Bibliothek*, 1760–1779; *Diss. pro grammatica interpr. ll. ss.*, 1749; *De vanitate philosophantium in interpr. ll. ss.*, 1750; *De difficultate interpr. gramm.*, 1755; other works in his *Opp. phil. et theol.* His *Anmerk. zum N. T.*, 1786, and *Lectiones in Ep. ad Hebr.*, 1795, are University lectures printed from notes after his death. (Cf. W. A. Teller, *Ernesti's Verdienste um Theologie u. Religion*, L. 1783; Semler, *Zusätze zu Teller*, Halle, 1783; B. F. Schmieder, *Ernestiana*, 1782; J. v. Voorst, *De Ernestio optimo post Grotium duce interpr. N. T.*, Leyd. 1804; Eckstein, in the Halle *Encykl.*, I. 37.) — For his vague and imperfect views on inspiration, see the *Bibl.*, III. 469. It is characteristic of him that he throughout regards hermeneutics as the highest department of theology, and makes the philological element in it more prominent than all others.

S. F. N. Morus, at Leipzig († 1792), *Super Hermeneutica N. T. acroases acad.*, L. 1797 f., 2 vols.; *Dissert. theol.*, 1798, 2 vols. University lectures on Luke, John, the Acts, and most of the Epistles, edited after his death by different persons, and of varying value, according to the source. J. G. C. Höpfer, *Leben und Verdienste S. F. N. Mori*, 1793.

J. A. Dathe, at Leipzig († 1791), a Latin version of the O. T., 1773 ff. and freq., 6 vols. with notes; *Opuscula*, 1796. *Elogium Dathi*, L. 1791. J. F. Fischer, at Leipzig († 1799), the grammarian and lexicographer of the school. J. C. Döderlein, at Jena († 1792), its systematic theologian, exegetical treatment of Isaiah and the poetical books of the O. T.; *Theol. Bibl.*, 1780–91; *Theol. Journal*, 1792. See Ammon, in Hänlein's *Journal*, I. 1.

J. G. Rosenmüller, at Erlangen and Leipzig († 1815), *Scholia in N. T.*, Nürnberg, 6th ed. 1831. See J. C. Dolz, *Leben J. G. Rosenmüller's*, 1816. E. F. C. Rosenmüller (son of the former, † 1835), at Leipzig, *Scholia in V. T.*, 1788–1835, 24 vols., 3d ed. partially completed, to Samuel-Esther. Extract from it (vols. I.–XVII.), 6 vols. 1828 ff.; archaeological writings; *Exeget. Handb. für die bibl. Beweisstellen*, 1795, uncompleted.

Springing from the Ernestian school, but going beyond them in dogmatic liberalism: J. A. Nösselt, at Halle († 1807), *Anweisung zur Bildung angehender Theologen*; Pt. II.: *Von der exeget. Theologie*, 1786, and freq.; *Opuscula ad interpr. S. S.*, 1785 f., 2 vols.; *Exercit. ad S. S. interpr.*, 1803 (cf. Niemeyer, *Leben Nösselt's*, 1809; Gabler, *Journal für auserlesene Lit.*, V. 70); and C. G. Kühnöl, at Leipzig and Giessen († 1841), *De subtilitate interpretationum gramm. commendante*, 1783; *Einiges über Stücke des A. T. (Hosea, Psalms, Messianic prophecies, 1792–99)*, but especially *Comm. in ll. N. T. historicos*, 1807 ff., 4 vols., 4th ed. 1843, and *Ep. ad Hebr.*, 1831. The former is philologically untrustworthy and theologically unsteady, the latter certainly more thorough but already behind the times.

Strongly of the opposite tendency, C. C. Tittmann († 1820), at Wittenberg and Dresden, *Opuscula*, 1803; *Comm. on John*, 1816 (at first separate programmes, 1786 ff.). The preface is a hermeneutical confession of faith, not without polemic. — F. S. Winterberg, *De interpr. unica*, etc., in Velthusen's *Sylloge*, IV.

573. The magical word which, however gradually and hesitatingly, was to bring about the final emancipation of the theology of the Scriptures from the yoke of tradition, was spoken by a man whom nature had made neither for a party

leader nor for a prophet. This man was Johann Salomo Semler. A thorough Pietist, a man of books from the school up, he was drawn rather by the current of the time than by the power of genius, rather by instinct than consciously, to the head of a movement which he was too weak to lead, and whose future course he had not the ability to foresee. At heart inclined reverently to preserve that which was venerable, he led the most deadly attack against all tradition. Absorbed in the endless contention of the moment, he arrived at no definite position for the future. His tireless and unsystematic learning gave him no leisure, as his unwieldy knowledge gave him no means, of causing a new structure to rise from the ruins of the old. If his thoughts have descended to his posterity as principles, it is due not to his intellect but to their intrinsic truth, and it is only because the later generation did not misunderstand them, as he did, that it remembered his name.

On Semler see §§ 18, 342, 411. Autobiography, H. 1781 f., 2 vols. Eichhorn, *Leben Semler's*, in his *Bibl.*, Pt. V.; Nösselt, *Narratio de S. ejusque meritis in interpr. S. S.*, in his paraphrase of the First Epistle of John; cf. Niemeyer's *Leben Nösselt's*, II. 194 ff.; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, II. 39 ff.; H. Schmid, *Theologie Semler's*, Nördl. 1858.

Individuals are never creators, but only symptoms of revolutions. Without desiring to depreciate the importance of Semler, it should not be forgotten that he did not open a new path for his age, but simply attempted to formulate the critical ideas which were everywhere coming into view, and to create for them a more solid basis. Turretin had said more than he began with a generation before him (§ 568); the apparently growing uncertainty of the text (§ 407 ff.) had given the death-blow to the belief in verbal inspiration, and to the method of emphases, at a time when both were still in their glory; more gifted minds, such as Lessing (§ 341), had uttered as a revelation what Semler only arrived at by laborious investigation and clumsy demonstration; and the latter became the famous man that he was chiefly because the theologians everywhere else, and particularly in his own neighborhood, had failed to keep up with the intellectual development of the nation. For his own opinion of his relation to his predecessors and contemporaries with respect to Biblical Theology see his Life, II. 121.

His writings belonging under this head: *Vorbereitung zur theol. Hermeneutik*, 1760 ff., 4 vols.; *De mysticarum interpr. studio hodie parum utili*, 1760; *Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem*, 1767; . . . *V. T.*, 1773; *Neuer Versuch die Auslegung und Anwendung des N. T. zu befördern*, 1786; paraphrases and notes on John, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Catholic Epistles, 1769 ff., separately. Dogmatic, historical, and apologetic writings. Editions of earlier works of kindred character, with prefaces, notes, additions (R. Simon, Wetstein, etc.).

Startled by the vagaries of younger contemporaries (§ 575) he shrank back at last from his work, and almost came to doubt his science altogether. See *Semler's letzte Aeusserungen über religiöse Gegenstände*, etc., 1791, in three different editions simultaneously by A. H. Niemeyer, F. A. Wolf, and J. O. Thieß. *Semler's letztes Glaubensbekenntniss*, ed. C. G. Schütz, Kön. 1792.

574. This truth, which was by no means so clearly and consciously expressed by Semler as we are accustomed to express

it to-day, was based upon the historical point of view from which he considered the Scriptures, as something which had come into existence in time, and which was not to be comprehended from the stand-point of our own times and ways of thinking. But his perception of this was only partial. He heralded the discovery that the Church doctrine had been developed from the apostolic teaching gradually and not without admixture of foreign elements; but his unphilosophical judgment was as unable to comprehend the spirit of this development as was his rule of the sound human reason to understand the original gospel of Christ. Amid the multitude and dust of his books his heart failed to find expression; the moral element of faith began to be separated from the religious and spiritual under pretext of purifying the latter; everything going beyond this was regarded as conscious or unconscious accommodation to Jewish ideas. It was to be the task of the historical exegesis to prove this, but the rule which was to guide the expositor, in the place of the ecclesiastical analogy of the faith, he could naturally find only in himself.

With this view of the church doctrine, not so much theoretically as actually, the departure from the dogmatics of the Reformers was completed. The history of doctrines, an almost new science, became the centre of theological investigations, but its own sight was perverted because of its starting-point. Semler recognized, indeed, the different tendencies in the apostolic age and church, but he estimated them very superficially, and notwithstanding his own varied inner experiences could not transport himself into the realm of thought of the primitive period. See his *Leben*, by Eichhorn, p. 59 ff.

The thought which unites the theology of Semler with that of his like-minded contemporaries, pupils, and followers exhausts itself in the reduction of Christianity to a new doctrine, whose aim is the happiness of mankind through virtue. The distinction, beyond this, consists in the subjective religious and moral constitution of the individual theologians or philosophers. Moreover Christ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον καθὼς ἠδύναντο ἀκοεῖν, Mk. iv. 33. *Itaque satis patet librorum N. T. interpretationem esse præcipue historicam atque describere illius temporis res gestas, studia, instituta Christianis eo tempore colligendis et confirmandis aptissima quæ non omnino ad nos traduci cumcta possunt, etc.* *Instit. brevior. ad liberal. erud. theol.*, 1765, p. 52 f.

Semler left behind him no peculiar school, but those to be mentioned in the next following sections, all, to a greater or less extent, learned from him, made use of him, or built upon him more broadly.

575. While these new views, supported by a learning already mighty, even in its imperfection, were winning their way in Germany, which had long been prepared for them, English and French writers had begun, in shallow unbelief and with an ignorance which despised all history, to ridicule all biblical knowledge. And so it could not fail that in Germany also, where Science, by her earnest investigation, was shaking with mighty hand the decayed structure of the sixteenth century, the unbidden spirits of disorder should press

in to help. Yet they were neither so numerous nor so dangerous as their foreign models. At the first, however violent or contemptuous they might be, their source was seldom hatred of the divine in itself, or a jealous misunderstanding of it. In their too hasty demolition, they decried, in the name of the Illumination, the Christianity of the Church as priestcraft, and with cynical insolence brought forward its own records as witnesses against it. They talked of the Bible in the common, vulgar tone, and allowed themselves to speak in an intoxication of conceit of the enjoyment of the tree of knowledge, and without shame at their own nakedness.

Retrospect of the history of Deism and Naturalism in England and France; cf. § 341. G. V. Lechler, *Geschichte des englischen Deismus*, Stuttg. 1841; Winer, *Theol. Lit.*, 3d ed., I. 377 ff. Here cf. by way of example, Th. Woolston († 1733), *Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour*, 6th ed. 1729, the gospel history as an allegory; see Rosenmüller, *Hist. int.*, I. 248; (Voltaire) *La Bible enfin expliquée par plusieurs aumôniers de S. M. le roi de Prusse*, Gen. 1776; (Von Holbach) *Histoire critique de J. C.* (1770?) with the motto: "Ecce homo. Pudet me generis humani cujus mentes et aures talia ferre potuerunt. Augustine."

Related, explaining the gospel history as an astronomical symbol: (C. E. Wünsch) *Horus, oder astrognost. Endurtheil über die Offenb. Joh., die mess. Weissagungen und über Jesum und seine Jünger*, 1783; Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cultes*, P. 1795, 3 vols. 4°, containing, III. 185: *Examen d'un ouvrage phrygien contenant la doctrine apocal. du soleil équinoxial du printemps sous le symbole de l'agneau*. Warmed over again by the Jew F. Nork in many writings, 1835 ff.

Against Christianity as the absolute religion, with attacks upon the moral character of its founder: H. S. Reimarus († 1765) and the Wolfenbüttel Fragments (in Lessing's *Beiträge*, III., IV., 1774, and later separately), a complete text of which not until 1851 f., in Niedner's *Zeitschr.* (unfinished). D. F. Strauss, *H. S. Reimarus*, L. 1862.

The opposite tendency, reduction of Christian theology to a system of ethics, philanthropy, Jesuit hunting: F. Nicolai, bookseller in Berlin, and his *Allg. deutsche Bibliothek*, 1765-1807; C. T. Damm, at Berlin († 1774), *Uebers. des N. T.*, 1764 ff., 3 vols. 4°; C. F. Bahrdt (son of J. F. Bahrdt, § 581), a theological adventurer, not without gifts; see his *Selbstbiographie*, 1790, 4 vols.; D. Pott, *Leben Bahrdt's*, 1790, unfinished († 1792); *Glaubensbekenntnis*, 1779; *Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston*, Halle, 1782, 6 vols.; *Ausführung des Plans und Zwecks Jesu*, B. 1783, 12 vols.; *Analyt. Erkl. der Epp.*, 1787, 3 vols.; earlier, exegetical monographs on the O. T. He is more widely known by his translation of the N. T., *Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes in Erzählungen und Briefen*, Riga, 1773, 3d ed., B. 1783; an exquisite satire upon it (printed anonymously, Giessen, 1774) in Goethe's works. His O. T. under the title *Die kleine Bibel*, 1780, is not a translation but a poetical pot-pourri, and professes to give the cream of Hebrew history and literature. J. M. Göze, *Beweis dass die Bahrdt'sche Uebers. eine vorsätzliche Verfälschung*, etc., Hamb. 1773. See in general Gehren, in the Halle *Encykl.*, I. 7. (C. Venturini, preacher in Brunswick) *Natürliche Geschichte der grossen Propheten von Nazareth*, 1800; *Geschichte des Urchristenthums*, 1807; together, 6 vols. Writings of C. v. Langsdorff, of Heidelberg, 1827 ff.

E. F. C. Oertel, at Anspach, Gospel and Epistle of John, 1795; Ep. to the Romans, 1793; "translated free from Hebraisms and philosophically tested for the restoration of the pure Christianity of reason."

576. The phenomena just described, however, remained only isolated, and there separated themselves from the freer thinking theologians a school of rationalists, who set themselves at work in scientific ways and methods to combat the old system. Exegesis was one of their principal weapons for defense and even for attack. A so-called psychological interpretation procured anew for the gospel accounts the right to a place in the natural order of things, though often, it must be confessed, simply replacing the miraculous by the extravagant; a so-called historical, made the prophets to predict what was past; finally, a so-called notiological, otherwise and less pretentiously called that of the sound human reason, brought the Apostles themselves into the number of the Rationalists. For the most worthless part of Semler's legacy had been the first to be appropriated. Since faith was lost, men comforted themselves with the assumption that it had never existed; and it was the fate of this rationalism, which counted among its disciples men otherwise worthy of honor, never to be able to get out of the rôle of negation, and to carry this lack of power, or lack of skill, as one may choose to call it, with them from dogmatics into exegesis.

In general the rationalistic tendency of that period obtained a mighty impulse both from Semler and from Kant (§ 577), but it was neither a product of the latter's philosophy nor an heir of the spirit of historical investigation of the former, who had left so much to do and to test, most of all in that which he had himself already tested and done. Rationalism had no inclination whatever toward historical views of things, on the contrary a peculiar necessity for theorizing, in which, however, it got scarcely farther than clearing the ground, seldom to laying new foundations and building upon them. Its appeal to the Bible proceeded from self-deception, if not from something worse. It had no aspiration after the ideal. For the so-called higher criticism there was neither preparatory knowledge nor acuteness sufficient; in material things there was some good subordinate work done. Yet fairness demands that we should not forget that this reduction of the biblical history and teaching to general laws of experience and thought was to the minds of most a defense of them against malicious attacks, or at least a safeguard against unfavorable judgments, and that notwithstanding all its inner weakness it was strong enough to avert a greater danger. Cf. (J. F. Röhr) *Briefe über den Rationalismus*, Zeitz, 1813.

W. A. Teller (son of R. Teller, § 567; † 1804), at Helmstädt and Berlin, *Wörterbuch des N. T. zur Erklärung der christl. Lehre*, 1772 and freq., ethicizing in contents; dogmatic writings; additions to Turretin, § 568; *Ueber die neuere Schriftauslegung*, 1801. (See Tholuck, in Herzog's *Encykl.*) [F. Nicolai, *Gedächtnisschrift auf Teller*, 1807.]

H. E. G. Paulus, at Jena and Heidelberg († 1851), beside many smaller writings, also dogmatic and philosophical, very unimportant, upon the O. T., in particular, *Philolog. krit. u. histor. Commentar über das N. T.*, 1800 ff., Pts. I.-IV. (Gospels); *Exeget. Handbuch über die drei ersten Eev.*, 1830, 3 vols.; *Leben Jesu*, 1828; Epp. of John, 1829; Galatians and Romans, 1831; Hebr., 1833; *Ueber biblische Theologie*, in the *Oppos. Schrift.*, 1829, II.; *Skizzen aus meinem Leben*, 1839. C. A. v. Reichlin-Meldegg, *Paulus und seine Zeit*, Stuttgart. 1853, 2 vols.

J. O. Thiess, at Kiel († 1810), *Das N. T. oder die heil. Bücher der Christen neu übersetzt mit einer durchaus anwendbaren Erklärung*, 1794 ff., Pts. I.-IV.; *Neuer krit. Commentar über das N. T.*, 1804, Pts. I., II.; *Selbstbiographie*, 1801 f. J. C. R. Eckermann, at Kiel († 1836), *Erklärung aller dunkeln Stellen des N. T.* (a paraphrase), 1806 ff., 3 vols.; *Theol. Beiträge*, 1790 ff., 6 vols.

*Exeget. Handb. des A. T.* (by Höpfner or Nachtigal?), 1797 ff., 8 vols., unfinished; (F. L. Röper) *Exeget. Handb. des N. T.*, 1788 ff., 19 vols., frequently printed; (G. C. Horst, J. L. W. Scherer, L. C. Rullmann, and other Hessian clergymen) *Bibelcommentar zum Handgebrauch für Prediger und Laien nach den jetzigen Interpretationsgrundsätzen*, 1799 ff., 7 vols.; *Der Schriftforscher, zur Belebung eines gründlichen Bibelstudiums und Verbreitung der reinen verschönernden Religion*, by J. L. W. Scherer († 1825), 1803-1805; his *Weihungen der Propheten*, 1804; *Weissagungen des N. T.*, 1803; James, 1799, and others. J. J. Stolz, at Bremen († 1821), *Erläuterungen zum N. T.*, 1796 f., 6 vols. W. C. Thurn, *Reine Uebers. der Bergrede Jesu nach den Grundsätzen der praktischen Vernunft*, 1799. C. G. Hensler, at Kiel († 1812), writings on the O. T. and some of the Epistles.

H. Corrodi, at Zürich († 1793), and others, *Beiträge zur Beförderung des vernünftigen Denkens in der Religion*, 1780-1794. (On him see Maurer, in the *Beiträge*, Heft 19.) W. F. Hezel, at Giessen and Dorpat († 1824), *Schriftforscher*, 1790 ff.; *Bibel mit Anmerk.*, 1781 ff., 10 vols.; *Canticles*, John, Hebrews, Psalms, and other books; *Geist der Philos. u. Sprache der alten Welt*, 1795. H. P. C. Henke († 1809), at Helmstädt; see § 579; *Opuscula*, 1802, and his *Leben* by Bollmann and Wolff, 1816. J. A. Bolten, at Altona († 1807), the N. T., 1792 ff., 6 vols., under several special titles. J. F. C. Löffler, at Berlin, Frankf. a. d. O., and Gotha († 1816), *Kleine Schriften*, 1817, 3 vols.

J. Schulthess, at Zürich († 1836), *Exeget. theol. Forschungen*, 1815 ff., 8 vols.; *Theol. Annalen u. Nachrichten*, 1826-1831; J. V. Henneberg, pastor in Gotha († 1831), commentaries on the narrative of the passion, Matthew, etc., 1829 ff.; G. F. Dinter († 1831), at Königsberg, *Schullehrerbibel*, 1824 and freq., which aroused much controversy; see *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1825, III., 633; Fuhrmann's *Handb.*, 1836, p. 157.

Collections of explanations of miracles, 1800 ff., mostly by unknown authors. — The dogmatic and ethical writings were properly philosophical treatises or systems set with a selection of favorable biblical quotations. Just so the beginnings of a biblical theology which were made at that time, *i. e.*, the first attempts to construct the Pauline system, Ritter, Leun, Cludius, Böhme, see § 59. By the last (at Altenburg, † 1840) also: *Religion Jesu*, 1825; *Religion der Apostel*, 1829; commentary on Romans, 1806; on Hebrews, 1825; and a "Neue" *Theorie der Auslegungskunst* (in Scherer's *Schriftforscher*, II. 1), which naively admits that exegesis arrives objectively only at probabilities, and consequently must be completed by subjective philosophic methods.

577. Partly to satisfy its sense of consistency, but partly also mistaking its vocation, the philosophy which prevailed at the end of the last century attempted to render the Bible, to which, so far as its dogmatic and historical contents were concerned, it was perfectly indifferent, more fruitful by means of a peculiar exegesis. Proceeding from the postulates of the practical reason, and relying on the saying of the Apostle, that all Scripture inspired by God is profitable for instruction and improvement, it demanded from every letter of a written revelation a meaning in harmony with the laws discovered by itself

and pointing directly to them. Whether Kant's design was in this ethical exposition to bring into favor a modernized allegorical interpretation, or whether he confounded the interpretation of Scripture with its application, is a question upon which there are differing opinions. Certain it is that the proposed hermeneutical rule found no favor even with the rationalists, who were already traveling another road, and was wrecked by the spiritless use made of it in practice. This attempt to rear a new structure on the ruins of the old was also a failure.

Immanuel Kant, at Königsberg († 1804), *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, 1793 [E. tr. *Religion within the Boundary of Pure Reason*, Edinb. 1838]. Kinship of the principle with the old tropology, for which the critical philosophy was too unpoetical and poor in imagination. — It is unnecessary to discuss here its further relations to theology (§ 571). [See, on Kant's religious views: Pünjer, *Die Religionslehre Kants*, Jena, 1874; P. Bridel, *La Philosophie de la Religion de Kant*, Laus. 1876. Biography: J. H. W. Stueckenberg, *A Life of Kant*, Lond. 1882. See also Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*, Art. *Kant*.]

The great number of those who took pains to controvert Kant's hermeneutical rule is remarkable, since the most of them had already unconsciously made use of it (in a sense, at least), and were constantly practicing it: J. G. Rosenmüller, *Methodol.*, p. 67 ff.; his *Histor. interpr.*, I. 250; Nösselt, *Animadv. in sensum S. S. morealem*, 1795; Eckermann's *Beiträge*, III. 3, IV.; Paulus and Ammon, in Hänlein's *Journal*, VIII. 749, IX. 143; A. C. Stauss, *Utrum philosophica Kantii Scr. interpr. admitti possit?* Vit. 1795; Schmidt, in his *Bibl.*, I. 588; (C. W. Hebenstreit) *Obs. ad morealem interpr. S. S.*, 1796; various essays in Henke's *Mag.*, II. 623, V. 261, VI. 140; *N. Mag.*, I. 377; Stäudlin's *Beiträge*, V. 336; Augusti's *Neue Blätter*, I. 3, p. 63; *Monatsschrift*, III. 109; Bauer, *Hermeneutica V. T.*, p. 45; Meyer, *Hermeneutik des A. T.*, II. 631; H. Planck, *Interpr. philon.*, p. 68; Hahn, in the *Studien*, 1830, II. 301; G. N. Molin, *De morali*, etc., Abo, 1805.

In accord with him, an anonymous writer in Hänlein's *Journal*, III. 461; another in Augusti's *Neue Blätter*, III. 1, p. 42. C. W. Penzenkuffer, in Henke's *Mag.*, III. 379; his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Stellen über das πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, 1796. — His contemporaries were evidently too thoroughly possessed by the conviction of the possibility of explaining the biblical miracles naturally to be inclined to accept the spiritualizing hermeneutics. Cf. in general Flügge (§ 571), I. 98 ff.

Closely related in results, though of very different origin: F. H. C. Lainsky, at Bacharach († 1836), *Die Offenb. des Lichts im Freudenworte der vier Evangelisten*, 1836, 2 vols.

In J. G. Fichte's *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, 1806 [translated by W. Smith, in *Popular Writings of J. G. Fichte*, Lond. 1847-1849, 2 vols., new ed. 1871], the attempt was made incidentally (p. 170 ff.), and without necessity in the system, to draw Jesus and John into the interest of transcendental idealism, but neither theology nor the public took any notice of it. See V. F. Baur, *Verhältniss der wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Theolog.*, p. 171. [O. Pfeleiderer, *Johann Gotlieb Fichte*, Stuttg. 1877; F. Zimmern, *J. G. Fichte's Religions-Philosophie*, B. 1878; R. Adamson, *Fichte*, Edinb. and Lond. 1881.]

578. Before the critical philosophy had fairly exhausted its powers in extracting everywhere, after its fashion, the prac-



tical good from the shell of the letter, æsthetic taste, in the freshness of youth, had freed itself from the fetters of the schools, and had made for itself a path which the systematizers and the men of science could not follow. It was Johann Gottfried Herder, more poet than theologian, but for that reason only the more lovely, who understood how to open this door of the sanctuary, the longest closed. How much he gave up of the old faith, or accepted of the new, may be difficult to say; but, notwithstanding all the uncertainty of his results, all the looseness of his method, all the defects of his historical and linguistic knowledge, he was, in consequence of his religious fervor and pure imagination, his warm feeling for nature and his fiery eloquence, the best apologist in the sense of his time. His interpretations may all be improved upon now, but the delight and the inspiration which they caused live on indestructible in the soul. His mind, in which manifest earnestness was united with dreamy enthusiasm to combine the best in opposite ways of thinking, could find admirers but no disciples.

If it were necessary to seek a predecessor for Herder, we should think, before all, of Klopstock, the author of the *Messiah*, whose theology was still firm externally, but internally no longer had any real stability.

J. G. Herder, at Weimar († 1803), *Theol. Werke*, 12 vols., freq.; including, among other things: *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*, 1774; *Briefe Jacobi und Judä*, 1775; *Lieder der Liebe, die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande*, 1778; *Maran Atha, das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn* (Revelation of John), 1779; *Briefe das Studium der Theologie betreffend*, 1780, 2 vols.; *Vom Geiste der Hebr. Poesie*, 1782, 2 vols.; *Vom Erlöser der Menschen nach den drei ersten Evv.*, 1796; *Vom Gottes Sohn der Welt Heiland nach Joh.*, 1797.

Herder's *Leben*, by C. L. Ring, Carlsru. 1832; cf. Döring, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. 6; L. G. Kopp, *Étude sur H. considéré comme theologien*, Str. 1852. His influence has been felt more and longer in the treatment of the O. T. J. E. Dibbits, *Herder als Theolog inz. als verklaarder v. d. Bybel*, Utr. 1863; A. Werner, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1871, III. [Caroline Herder (his wife), *Erinnerungen an Herder*; E. Herder (his son), *Lebensbild*. A new edition of Herder's works appeared in Berlin, 1877 ff., 32 vols.]

J. G. Eichhorn (§ 19), *Comment. in Apocalypsin*, 1791; *Job*, 1800; *Prophets*, 1816, 3 vols. His writings, full of philological criticism and erudition, place him rather among the men of the following section. See especially his *Vorschläge zur Hermeneutik*, in the *Bibliothek*, IV. 330.

It is remarkable that from these two coryphæi sprang two opposite interpretations of the Apocalypse, at variance to a certain degree with their respective literary ideals, both alike erroneous, and each defended by numerous disciples, — a falsely historical one from Herder (and so still, among others, F. J. Züllig, 1834; J. G. Tinius, 1839; A. Frantz, 1838), and a falsely idealized one from Eichhorn (F. W. Hagen, 1796; *Exeget. Handb.*, 1802; F. H. Lindemann, 1816; F. A. L. Matthæi, 1828; E. F. C. Oertel, 1835).

Here also belong C. W. Justi, at Marburg († 1846. E. Henke, *Memoria Justii*), *Nationalgesänge der Hebr.*, 1803, 3 vols.; *Blumen althebräischer Dicht-*

*kunst*, 1809, 2 vols. ; *Sionitische Harfenklänge*, 1829 ; Joel, Amos, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, 1792 ff., 5 vols. ; Job, 1840. F. W. C. Umbreit, at Heidelberg († 1860. See Ullmann and Riehm, in the *Studien*, 1862, III.), *Kohélet*, 1818, 1820, 1849, three different works ; Canticles, 1823, 1839 ; Job, 1824, and freq. ; Proverbs, 1826 ; Prophets, 1841 ff., 4 vols., and many essays in the *Studien und Kritiken*, with a well-defined tendency to blend the element of religious edification with the poetical.

579. From these various tendencies, in part antagonistic, in part shading off one into another, and all alike weak from a common uncertainty of principles, there finally struggled forth a hermeneutical principle which claimed the supremacy, and for a long time actually maintained it almost without opposition ; the principle of the grammatico-historical interpretation. As for all literature, so also for the understanding of the sacred writings, there was demanded a thorough linguistic knowledge and an acquaintance with the horizon of the writer in religious and archæological respects, which was to be obtained from historical study. In comparison with recent practices this demand was a very moderate one, and no party either could or would longer deny it. The question was not whether it should be regarded as established, but whether it should be regarded as sufficient.

C. A. G. Keil, at Leipzig († 1818), *De historica ll. ss. interpretatione ejusque necessitate*, 1788 ; *Lehrbuch der Hermeneutik des N. T. nach Grundsätzen der gramm.-histor. Interpretation*, 1810 ; *Vertheidigung der gramm.-hist. Interpretation*, in his *Analekten*, I. 1 ; *Opuscula*, 1821, 2 vols. J. J. Griesbach (§ 412), *Vorlesungen über die Hermeneutik des N. T.*, 1815. C. D. Beck (at Leipzig ; † 1832), *Monogrammata hermeneutices*, 1803. G. W. Meyer (§ 59 ; at Göttingen and Erlangen ; † 1816), *Hermeneutik des A. T.*, 1799, 2 vols. J. G. Gabler (son), *De hist. ll. N. T. interpretationis indole*, 1823. J. E. R. Käufler (at Dresden), *Regeln zum Verständniss der h. S.*, in the *Sächs. Studien*, I. 1. G. Seyffarth, in Bertholdt's *Journal*, XV. 113.

W. N. Freudentheil, *De codice s. more in reliquis antiquis libris solenni ingenue interpretando*, Chemn. 1791 ; J. Asboth, *De interpr. cod. s. ad communia interpretandi principia revocata*, Gött. 1791.

S. G. Bretschneider (at Wittenberg and Gotha ; † 1848), *Histor. dogmatische Auslegung des N. T.*, 1806, in which what might be called the Jewish analogy of the faith was given the place which the older hermeneutics had given to the Christian.

Among periodicals in which this point of view was in the main advocated, though in some cases with a stronger leaning toward rationalism (§ 576), may be mentioned (beside the well-known *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, published at Jena, 1785-1803, at Halle, 1804-1849, in its theological articles) the *Theolog. Journal* (*Neue, Neueste, Kritische*, etc.) edited under changing titles by Hünlein, Ammon, and Paulus, 1793-1798 ; by Gabler, 1798-1811 ; by Ammon and Bertholdt, 1813-1823 ; by Winer and Engelhardt, 1824-1829. — *Annalen der theolog. Literatur*, by Hassencamp, afterward by Wachler, 1789-1823 ; *Göttingische Bibliothek*, by Schlessner and Stäudlin, 1795-1801. — *Magazin* (afterward *Museum*) für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese u. Kirchengeschichte, by Henke, 1794-1806. — Augusti's *Theol. Blätter*, 1796-1800 ; *Theol. Monatschrift*, 1801-2. — *Analekten für das Studium der exeget. u. systemat. Theologie*, by Keil and Tschirner, 1813-1822. — Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. mor-*

*genl. Literatur*, 1777-1786; his *Allg. Bibl. der bibl. Literatur*, 1787-1801; *Neues Repertorium*, by Paulus, 1790-1791; his *Memorabilien für Religionsgeschichte u. Bibelstudium*, 1791-1796, and many smaller collections.

580. For aside from the fact that the hermeneutical formula propounded had no point of contact whatever with either the religious needs of the church or the scientific needs of the school, the management of it gave room for doubt whether an impartial apprehension of the historical point of view was possible on the part of such expositors, since their exegesis was too closely connected with their already completed theological system. In reality it was chiefly a rationalism in philological matters not always conscientious, in historical questions not always unprejudiced, and either thrusting religious things into the background or emptying them of their meaning, which adopted this formula. It thought too much about the Jews and knew too little of Christ. Yet in the first part of our century it had been so thoroughly transfused into the flesh and blood of the Protestant theology of Germany that it in part did not recognize, and in part has outlived, the victory of the systems coming after it. And the way was prepared for this victory by its own principle, which for the most part it so poorly followed, of objective interpretation; it likewise dug the grave of its explanations of the miracles by the hypothesis of myths.

J. B. Koppe, at Göttingen († 1791), *Novum Testamentum perpetua annotatione illustratum*, 1778-1826, most of it in several editions, but unfinished. By the founders only a few epistles; continuations and improvements by J. H. Heinrichs, at Burgdorf, D. J. Pott, at Göttingen († 1833), T. C. Tychsen, at Göttingen († 1834), and others. There are lacking the four Gospels, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, 2 Peter, John, and Jude. — S. G. Lange, at Jena and Rostock († 1823), *Joh. Schriften*, 1795 ff., 3 vols.

J. F. Schleusner, at Göttingen and Wittenberg († 1831), *Lexicon in N. T.*, 1792, and freq., the exegetical manual of the half-taught scholars of that time. Cf. my article in Herzog's *Encykl.*

C. F. Ammon, at Erlangen, Göttingen, and Dresden († 1847); his dogmatic and polemic writings belong in part to the opposite camp, while the exegetical and historical maintain a tolerably decided rationalism; the latter belong to the beginning and end of his literary career, the former to the middle. *Bibl. Theol.*, 1792, 3 vols.; *Leben Jesu*, 1842 ff., 3 vols.; *Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion*, 1833 f., 4 vols.; *Opuscula*, 1793; *Nova Opp.*, 1803.

G. P. C. Kaiser, at Erlangen († 1850), *Die bibl. Theologie, oder Judaismus und Christianismus nach der gramm.-hist. Interpretations-methode und nach einer freimüthigen Stellung in die kritisch vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religionen und in die universale Religion*, Erl. 1813 f., 3 vols. (The third volume confesses a conversion of the author to supernaturalism; cf. § 583.)

G. L. Bauer, at Altdorf and Heidelberg († 1806), *Theol. des A. T.*, 1796; additions thereto, 1801; *Dicta classica V. T.*, 1798; *Moral des A. T.*, 1803, 2 vols.; *Biblische Theol. des N. T.*, 1800, 4 vols.; *Moral des N. T.*, 1804, 2 vols.; *Breviarium theol. bibl.*, 1803; *Entwurf einer Hermeneutik des A. u. N. T.*, 1799; *Hermeneutica V. T.*, 1797; *Kleine Propheten*, 1786; *Scholia in V. T.* (begun by J. C. F. Schultz), 10 vols., 1783 ff., unfinished; introductory critical writings on the O. T., *Geschichte des hebr. Staats*, 1800, 2 vols.

J. A. L. Wegscheider, at Halle († 1849), as a systematic theologian the standard-bearer of rationalism: *Institutiones th. dogm.*, 1815, 8th ed. 1844; *Einl. ins Ev. Joh.*, 1806; 1 Timothy, 1810. D. Schulz, at Breslau († 1854), Hebr., 1818.

H. A. Schott, at Jena († 1835), Gal. and Thess., 1834; *In Jesu sermones de reditu*, 1820; *Opuscula*, 1817, 2 vols. (His *Leben*, by Danz, 1836, and by A. G. Hoffmann, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, VI. 2.)

In place of the explanations of the miracles (§ 576) the idea of the myth begins to come in, at first applied only to the early beginnings of the history: F. W. J. Schelling, *Antiquissimi de origine malorum philosophematis explic.*, 1792; idem, *Ueber Mythen, Sagen, und Philosopheme der ältesten Welt*, in Paulus' *Memor.*, V. J. G. Eichhorn's *Urgeschichte* (*Repert.*, IV.) edited by J. P. Gabler, at Jena († 1826; cf. the *Jenaer Opp.-Schr.*, X.), with introduction and notes, 1790 ff., 3 vols. P. Buttman, various essays in the *Berl. Monatsschr.*, 1804 f. G. L. Bauer, *Hebr. Mythologie des A. u. N. T. mit Parallelen aus der Mythologie anderer Völker*, 1802. De Wette (§ 587), *Kritik der israelit. Geschichte*, 1805.

It was certainly a very remarkable delusion, however, to persuade one's self (or others) that he was still thinking and writing about the Bible precisely as Luther did: J. F. Krause, *Utrum theologi rec. qui S. S. interpretationem ad rationem revocant a Lutheri mente defecerint?* Reg. 1817.

581. Weak in their means and little satisfactory in their results as most of the endeavors just described appear to us to-day, in their own time their advance was resistless, and their dazzling brilliancy overwhelming. Not the least cause of their victory was the fact that the spirit had departed from among the defenders of the old ideas. To the frivolous tribe of free thinkers, and to sound historical criticism as well, there was opposed an apologetics which was biting out its last teeth on the shell and never tasted the kernel; to the most empty-headed Illumination nonsense and at the same time to a deeply ethical, world-conquering philosophy, a dogmatics into whose shrunken corpse even the mightiest of the watchmen of Zion could no longer infuse the breath of life. The men of tradition disappeared from one university after another and gave place to the disciples of progress. The theological revolution was finished before the political had begun. The few who here and there remained retained their place in literature by concession and indecision.

The separate features of this picture may be gathered from the critical journals of conservative tendency since the middle of the last century (F. W. Kraft and others, *Nachr. von neuen Büchern*, and *Neue theol. Bibliothek*, 1741-1759; E. A. Bertling and others, *Danziger Berichte*, etc., 1764-1781; J. A. Hermes and H. M. A. Craner, *Allg. Bibliothek der theol. Lit.*, 1784-1787), which at first were startled at isolated heterodox phenomena, but did not regard it as yet of pressing importance to combat them, afterward took up the unequal battle with the feeling of insufficient knowledge, finally contented themselves with a confession of the church doctrine for themselves, but otherwise allowed each one to hold his faith in peace; also from the writings of the apologists, among whom T. C. Lilienthal (*Gute Sache der göttl. Offenb.*, 1750-1782, 17 vols.) is the most complete and the most old-fashioned,

the opponent of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist the most learned but not always candid, J. M. Göze, of Hamburg († 1786), the fairest and the readest, still living to-day by the fame of his opponent (G. R. Röpe, *J. M. Göze, eine Rettung*, Hamb. 1860; against him, A. Boden, *Lessing und Göze*, L. 1862), J. F. Klenker, at Kiel († 1827), the most prudent and pious (cf. § 20. *Bibl. Sympathien oder Betrachtungen über die Euv.*, 1820, unfinished; cf. H. Ratjen, *J. F. Kleuker*, Gött. 1842); also some others toward the close of the century, already indebted in many ways to the new ideas; see the following section.

The Society for the Defense of Christianity, founded in 1785, at Hague, has called forth down to the present day many well-meant, even learned writings in the realm of biblical knowledge, without staying the course of things, in more recent times without even opposing it. The Prussian religious edict of 1788 had to be repealed after a few years, after having given conclusive proof that the secular arm can neither check the power of the spirit if it is strong, nor help it if it is weak.

The conservative interpreters and exegetes of this period, as a school no longer at war with the Pietists since the end of Löseher's journals (§ 560), contended against neology in the sweat of their face, more to ease their consciences than because it could be of much use, frequently coarsely, more often ready to make concessions, or in a gloomy and perplexed spirit, and little understanding the times: I. E. Pfeiffer, at Erlangen († 1787), *Institutiones hermen.*, 1771; J. B. Carpzov, at Helmstädt († 1803), *De interprete grammatico*, 1750; *Primæ lineæ hermen.*, 1790; *Comm. on Hebr., Rom., Cath. Epp.*, since 1750; J. F. Bahrdt and J. F. Barseher, at Leipzig, G. T. Zachariæ, at Göttingen and Kiel († 1777), *Bibl. Theol.*, 1771, 4 vols.; *Epp.*, 6 vols.; *Einl. in die Auslegungskunst*, 1778; G. Less, at Göttingen († 1797), *Regeln der Auslegung für das A. T.* (in his *Vermischte Schriften*, 1781); F. L. Schwarz, *De Socinianismo recentt. interpr.*, L. 1784. For later writers, see the following section.

582. Firmest of all amid the ruins of the old orthodox system stood a small body of theologians who had the courage to defy the storm and to remain true to the doctrines of their predecessors. This was the older Tübingen school. To save the sinking ship they threw overboard, it is true, a good part of her ballast, but now the old theory of inspiration, which was the hold of their last anchor, the belief in supernatural revelation, began to give way; and the hostile forces began to sport with the unsteady craft. Nowhere had they made more concessions than in the disputed points of exegetical theology; but to no one's satisfaction, and least of all to their own strengthening. In the firm and reverent conviction of the inseparable connection of their dogmatics with the contents of the Scriptures, and either unequal to speculation or distrusting it, they made the science a systematic collection of biblical passages, and enjoyed the reputation of sincerity combined with limited mental power, at a time when the latter was often overestimated and the former was rare.

With respect to grammatical arbitrariness they had no ground for reproaching their opponents, and with reference to prophecies, types, and dogmatic proof-texts they were for the most part as uncertain exegetically

as they were unsettled theoretically between tradition and concession. Content to have proved that a passage might have the traditional orthodox sense, they were often too little concerned to prove that it must have it. Cf. Strauss, *Streitschriften* (§ 591), Heft 1, 1837; Winer, Preface to his *N. T. Grammar*; E. Reuss, in the *Halle Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1841, III. 167. [See, on the older Tübingen School, Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*, III., p. 2398.]

J. F. Reuss († 1777; see an *Ehrendenkmal* of him, Tüb. 1777), controversial writings against Semler and the theory of accommodation; G. C. Storr († 1805), *De sensu historico*, 1778; Ep. to the Hebr., 1789; *Opp. ad interpr. S. S.*, 1796, 3 vols., containing among other things notes on the Gospels and minor epistles; *Doctrinæ chr. pars theoretica e ss. ll. repetita*, 1793 and freq.

J. F. Flatt († 1821), *Vorless. über die paul. Epp.*, 1825 ff.; *Opusc. acad.*, 1826; E. G. Bengel (grandson of J. A. Bengel; † 1826), *Opusc. acad.*, 1834; see *Denkw. zur Erinnerung*, etc., 1826; *Archiv*, VIII. 723; J. C. F. Stuedel († 1838; see on him *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, I.), *Ueber die Behandlung der Sprache der h. S. als einer Sprache des h. G.*, 1822; *Blicke in die älteste Offenb.*, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1835, I., II.; *Ueber Auslegung der Propheten*, *ibid.*, 1834, I.; *Ueber das Ev. Joh.*, *ibid.*, 1835, I.; *Ueber Inspiration der App.*, *ibid.*, 1832, II., III.; exegetical dissertations on many single doctrines in the same magazine; *Theol. des A. T.*, 1840. J. E. Osiander, on Corinthians, 1847, 1858.

Flatt and Süsskind, *Magazin für christl. Dogmatik u. Moral*, 1796–1812. Bengel, *Archiv für die Theol.*, 1815–1826. Stuedel, *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theol.*, 1828–1840, into which, however, the altogether dissimilar element of the new (Baur) Tübingen school soon found its way to a considerable extent, § 344. *Studien der Würtemb. Geistlichkeit*, edited by C. B. Kläiber, afterward by C. H. Stirm, 1827–1848.

Outside of Württemberg also, but much more isolated, there appeared about the middle of the century many other theologians who as respects their spirit might be placed here, although less active in the particular field of Biblical science, and differing among themselves according as the spirit of dogmatic reasonableness or of popular edification was the more prominent. F. V. Reinhard, at Wittenberg and Dresden († 1812), systematic theologian and pulpit orator, *Opp. academica*, 1808, 2 vols.; *Geständnisse*, 1810; Reinhard's *Leben*, by Pölitz, 1813.

G. C. Knapp, at Halle († 1825; see Niemeyer's *Epicedien* to his *Andenken*), *Scripta varii argumenti*, 1805, 2 vols.; *Biblische Glaubenslehre* (written 1797), 1840. M. Weber, at Wittenberg and Halle († 1833), many exegetical treatises.

G. F. Seiler, at Erlangen († 1807), *De vaticiniis*, etc., 1783 ff.; *Opuscula*, 1793; *Weissagung u. Erfüllung in der h. S.*, 1794; *Hermeneutik*, 1800; *Gemeinnützige Betrachtungen der neuesten Schriften*, etc., 1776–1800; *Theol.-kritische Betrachtungen*, etc., 1779–1786; F. H. C. Schwarz, at Heidelberg († 1837), *Jahrb. der Theol.*, 1824–1827.

J. J. Hess, at Zürich († 1828), *Ueber die beste Art die h. S. zu studiren in Betracht der gegenwärtigen Lage des Christenthums*, 1778; *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 1776 ff., 12 vols.; *Bibliothek der h. Geschichte*, 1791, 2 vols.; *Vom Reiche Gottes*, 1774; *Geschichte Jesu*, 1768 and freq.; *Geschichte der Apostel*, 1788 and freq.

Against the rationalistic explanations of the miracles in particular: W. T. Lang, in Flatt's *Mag.*, IX., X., XI. H. L. Heubner, *Miracc. interpr. gr. hist.*, Witt. 1807. C. G. Ungerer, *Essai critique sur l'interpr. naturelle des mir.*, Str. 1842. J. H. Pareau, *De mythica s. cod. interpretatione*, Traj. 1824.

583. Yet they were not the only ones who set themselves against the prevailing tendency. From without their ranks

also, and from various sides, came voices which gave loud warning of the danger that must come from an apprehension of the contents of the Scriptures which aimed to be purely historical, and had no religious interest in them. The proof of this danger was not difficult to find in the instinctive tendency of the age to bring down Christianity into the sphere of a doubtful popularity, whereby the character of its founder and his Apostles was easily set in a wrong light, and the latter with fancied impartiality were placed upon the same level with their contemporaries. In opposition to this tendency the originality of the teaching of Jesus and of the Christian idea was more sharply emphasized, and the historical exposition, that is to say, that which was commonly so called, was attacked as in itself alone insufficient to fathom its full meaning. This opposition, in part still dependent upon the philosophy of the age, and rather recoiling from the consequences which naturally developed from the system of their opponents than contending with them in respect to the fundamental principles of all interpretation, gave rise to several mediating attempts, which dignified themselves with various unhappily chosen names, but were connected in general by their common apologetic coloring.

C. F. Stäudlin, at Göttingen († 1826), *De interpr. hist. ll. N. T. non umice vera*, 1807; *Ueber die blos histor. Auslegung der Bücher des N. T.*, in *Berthold's Journal*, I. 4, II. 1, 2. Himself a rationalist by gradual conversion, he had a faint idea of the necessity of a spiritual contact between the interpreter and the author, and called this the philosophical interpretation. See his *Selbstbiographie*, edited by J. T. Hensen, 1826. Similarly, J. G. I. Berger, at Göttingen († 1803), in his *Versuch einer moral. Einl. ins N. T.* (1797 ff., 4 vols.), Preface to the second part.

Very timidly wheeling into line, C. V. Hauff, at Cannstatt († 1832), *Briefe über den Werth schriftlicher Religionsurkunden und das Studium derselben*, Stuttg. 1809 ff., 3 vols.

C. W. Stein (*Ueber den Begriff und obersten Grundsatz der histor. Interpr. des N. T.*, L. 1815) places regard to the intellectual and moral character of Jesus and the Apostles by the side of the other hermeneutical rules as a guide.

C. L. W. Stark, at Jena († 1818), *Beiträge zur Hermeneutik*, 1817 f., I., II.: "The interpreter must be pervaded by the same sense of the nearness of God and of a direct elevation of his mental powers by the inspiration of God, as were Jesus and the Apostles."

G. G. P. Kaiser (§ 580), *System der neutest. Hermeneutik*, Erl. 1817.

F. H. Germar, at Augustenburg (*Die panharmonische Interpretation der h. S.*, L. 1821; *Beitrag zur allgem. Hermeneutik und deren Anwendung auf die Theologie*, Alt. 1828; *Die Mängel der sogen. gramn.-hist. eigentlich aber der Takt-Interpretation*, H. 1834; *Kritik der modernen Exegese*, in the *Journal für Prediger*, XCV.), demands the thorough harmony of the meaning discovered in Scripture, in so far as it is to be regarded as a revelation of God, with the utterances of Christ and "with all else which is true and certain."

Formulas so hesitating and indefinite forced no concessions from rationalism, either in theory or practice. Schulthess, *Vergleichung zwischen gram-*

*matischer, historischer, und panharmonischer Interpretation*, in his *Theol. Nachr.*, 1829, III. 335 ff. An anonymous writer in *Winer's Journal*, IV. 333 ff. reduces the content of the formula, in accordance with the conception of the sacredness and inspiration of Scripture, to the canon that the exegetical result to be obtained must be worthy of God and befitting the destiny of man, that is, must correspond to the generally accepted laws of thought and action.

For the estimation of the endeavors described here and in § 579, cf. also J. D. Schulze, in Augusti's *Monatsschr.*, I. 334; Hartmann, *Verbindung des A. u. N. T.*, p. 700 ff.; Baumgarten-Crusius, in the *Jenaer Opp.-Schrift*, I. 1 ff.; Olshausen, in the *Studien*, 1829, IV.; Lücke, in the *Studien*, 1830, II.; Hahn, *ibidem*; Tholuck, *Liter. Anzeiger*, 1833, No. 22 f., 1836, No. 15 ff.; Billroth, Preface to Corinthians; Matthies, Preface to Ephesians.

584. Wholly independent of these movements of the theological spirit of the age, almost as much removed from the old ideas as they were inaccessible to the new, the Mystics attempted in more than one way to find in the Scriptures the key to and warrant for a future which they, full either of fear or of disgust for the world and its state, busied themselves with describing and living beforehand. Some expected improvement from a mighty stroke of the Lord, and listened anxiously and impatiently to the din of the great events of the time, to the tumultuous downfall of states and churches, as to the precursors of the near consummation. The Apocalypse was the central point of their biblical studies, and their bewildering extravagance is perhaps the best psychological commentary on the enigmatical book. The Suabian prophet gave them his arithmetic, the modern Babel the Antichrist; experience might contradict his reckoning, but could not weaken faith in his rule. Others set to work themselves, in calm devoutness, to found the new Jerusalem, and resolved the book which predicts it, as well as all the rest of the sacred books, into allegories, in a way which bears witness at once to their purity of heart and to their dimness of understanding.

The effects of Bengel's apocalyptic ideas had never really died out (§ 561); but with the increasing importance of the political events of 1789 ff. they put forth a great number of new blossoms, especially in southwestern Germany, Alsace and Switzerland included. The scholar has no conception, from the little of it which comes to his notice, of the mass of this literature, which is still daily increasing; the people are overwhelmed with it. The best known names are: M. F. Semler, 1794; H. P. Anshminck, 1796; J. H. Jung-Stilling, 1799 († 1817); G. L. Hurter, 1800; J. G. Klein, Str. 1802; J. J. Hess, of Zürich, 1809; R. Salzmann, Str. 1810; H. G. Oberlin (son), 1813; C. Armbruster, 1814; W. F. Gerken, 1814; C. F. Leutwein, 1821; A. F. Rühle v. Lilienstern, 1824; J. L. F. Weigenmaier, 1827; F. Sander, 1829; E. Bahmnaier, 1830; J. F. v. Meyer, of Frankfurt, 1833; E. F. Höpfner, 1833; J. G. Tinius, 1836 f.; F. Bannholzer, 1837; F. Lencke, 1839; C. Albrecht, 1840, beside numberless anonymous writers.

In France and England also apocalyptic studies were carried on very diligently, but rather in the older orthodox antipapal direction. But recent times and extravagance (Darby) do homage to the arithmetical faith there



also ; F. de Rougemont, Neuch. 1866 ; B. W. Newton, Lond. 1844 ; more seldom Catholicism (J. A. Boost, Darust. 1835 ; J. L. Vaisse, P. 1852). Yet the literature is but slightly known to me.

Emmanuel Swedenborg (of Stockholm ; † 1772) and his followers also make much of the Revelation of John, but the book is rather the point of departure of their dogmatic formulas than the subject of their exegesis. Of his writings the following belong chiefly here : *Arcana celestia in Genes. et Exod.*, Lond. 1749 ff., 8 vols. 4° ; *De nova Hierosolyma*, 1758. To the philosophers of his time a curiosity, to the critics of our own an enigma, it was not until our own days that this remarkable man, whose head harbored a strange mixture of rationalism and whimsicality, attained authority and influence, especially in Württemberg, France, and America. (See C. Haug, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, XIV.) Oegger, *Dictionnaire de la langue de la nature* (P. 1831), a Swedenborgian hermeneutics in lexical form. L. Hofacker, *Die Joh. Offenb.*, 1839. Cf. J. Hamberger, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

585. In spite of all these attempts to turn the course of affairs into a different channel, or perhaps precisely because in these the weakness of the older views made itself more clearly manifest, the new, on the surface of the science, attained more and more undisputed supremacy. The spirit of the age, the opposition to which had itself destroyed its right to be by its concessions, had arrived at a turning-point, a point where more serious questions than those of learning arose before it, which it was neither prepared to solve nor bold enough to undertake. But in the depths, and unsuspected, another current had already grown strong, and the opportunity to bring it to the surface was not long in coming. In the train of the political restoration of Germany and Europe came the religious and theological also. Rationalism, which had already begun to regard itself as the sole occupant of the field, many thought even without Christianity, was astonished to see the opponents it had supposed conquered enter the lists anew, and, after a hard-fought battle, without having given up a single weapon, to see the certificate of death displayed over its living body. Its downfall was like a legal trial and condemnation rather than a defeat in battle.

The details of this subject, thus far the most important in the history of the nineteenth century, belong to Church History. Here it may suffice, in order to furnish the motive of the particulars given in the following sections, to call attention to the fact that the restoration in question did not proceed from a single starting-point nor have a single direction, which fact, together with the other that it was only gradually that the new divergences of science came to consciousness and took hold upon life, shows how little this movement obtained its real vitality as a trust-gift of tradition from the orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, which was dead of *marasmus senilis*. This also enables us to comprehend the process of clarification, which has already begun to separate its constituents.

Cf. beside the above-mentioned writings on the modern period in general : C. Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theol.*, 1856, 3d ed. 1864 ; F. Nippold, *Handb. der neuesten Kirchengesch.*, Elberf. 1867 ; F. C. Baur, *Kirchengesch. des 19ten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1862.

586. The reaction addressed itself now rather to the restoration of the theory of dogmatics, again to the strengthening of the religious and church life and the consciousness of communion, and according as the one element or the other predominated its relations without became more cold and repellent or more generous and winning, within firmer or looser. But amid all the diversity a common character may be everywhere detected in the principles of exegesis. It was to become again theological. The necessity was maintained with emphasis of going beyond the ordinary historical point of view, because the New Testament writers, notwithstanding all conceivable connection with their time, were yet the bearers of a new spirit, which was itself above that time and raised them above it. It was demanded, therefore, the demand being stated in manifold forms, that the interpreter should enter into this spirit, have a sympathy for the contents of the Scriptures recognized as a divine revelation, but especially that exegesis should be governed by the idea of the Church, and by a religious interest in the realization of that idea.

This appears at least to have been the point of departure of the "theological" hermeneutics, but it was not long an adequate formula for all the tendencies to be described in the following. The hermeneutical principle was not essentially modified, it is true (compared with that accepted during the period of rationalism), but its relation to the traditional ecclesiastical dogmatics changed from school to school, from decade to decade, continually advancing toward a stricter conception of doctrine. The distinction between the Church as it appears in history and its ideal, and the concession that science should rule the former, was not handed down to the second generation. Men soon began to claim for what they comprehended and dispensed the predicate of completeness, and called their exegesis the biblical, the faithful, the spiritual, each denying legitimacy to others.

With the return to the faith of the fathers came also a return to their writings. While the rationalists had quoted nothing but their own sound reason, even among themselves, the commentaries were now overloaded with extracts from Reformers and Church Fathers, like *catenæ*, and the custom became so contagious that to-day almost every exegete copies all his predecessors (by preference with exclamation points), and the latest commentary as a rule renders all earlier ones unnecessary.

Cf. Köllner's Preface to his *Comm. on Romans*; Theile, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encykl.*, Art. *Interpres* (II. 19).

587. At the head of this movement, in time as in spirit, stood Friedrich Schleiermacher. Although not out of sympathy with the critical endeavors of the century, and even paving the way for them, he found within himself a yet deeper need, and a yet stronger power, to satisfy the claims of the spiritual nature. He pointed to the religious feeling as the source of faith and the bond of union in the Church, and showed that the devout uplifting of the individual is sustained by that of the whole and takes its rise in it. A powerful dialectic fortified

this fundamental thought and made it the central point of a theology complete on all sides, before whose intellectual consistency exegesis was obliged to bow, notwithstanding the completeness of a system of hermeneutics which was designed to protect it. His pupils and friends divided, some following rather the impulse of the heart and of faith, others the necessity of thought and investigation. Yet the former left the desire for investigation untraumated to every one, and the latter did not forget the final goal of all science of God and the Scriptures; but all sought the one thing instead of wrangling over subordinate points, and tried to find amid the dissonances of the letter the higher harmony of all revelation.

D. E. F. Schleiermacher, at Berlin († 1834), *Darstellung des theol. Studiums*, 1811 and freq.; *Glaubenslehre*, 1821 and freq.; *Leben Jesu*, 1864. Among writings belonging particularly under this head, the collected works (1834 ff.) were to contain his exegetical lectures beside, but they have not appeared; a doubtful specimen in the *Studien*, 1832, III.; *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das N. T.*, 1838 (cf. §§ 19, 128, 184). Characteristic aversion from the O. T. See on him Lücke, in the *Studien*, 1834, IV.; Sack, *ibid.*, 1835, IV.; Rienäcker, *ibid.*, 1848, I.; G. Baur, *ibid.*, 1859, III., IV.; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Schleiermacher's Denkungsart und Verdienst*, 1834; P. Goy, in the *Strassburg Revue*, 3me Série, IV., V.; Nippold, *Neueste Kirchengesch.*, 213 ff. Schleiermacher's *Briefwechsel*, 1858 ff. 4 vols. [translated, in part, by Frederica Rowan, Lond. 1860, 2 vols. See also W. Dilthey, *Leben Schleiermacher's*, B. 1867].

C. G. F. Lücke, at Bonn and Göttingen († 1855), *Grundriss der neuest. Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte*, 1817; *Commentar zu den johann. Schriften*, 1820 ff. and freq., Pts. I.—IV. [twice revised and reprinted, 1840 and 1856; partly translated into English, 1837]. J. G. Rätze, *Die höchsten Principien der Schriffterklärung*, 1824. L. Usteri, at Berne († 1833), *Paulin. Lehrbegriff* (§ 59), in the first three editions. J. L. S. Lutz, at Berne († 1844; see C. B. Hundeshagen, *Lutz, ein Charakterbild*), *Bibl. Hermeneutik*, 1849; *Bibl. Dogmatik*, 1847. The two works taken together are a liberal-minded attempt to reconcile faith and science, church and school.

A. Neander, at Berlin († 1850), *Ap.-Gesch.* (§ 31) [E. tr. *Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, Lond. 1851; also N. Y.]; *Paulus und Jacobus*, 1840; commentaries on particular epistles, from lectures. See Scherer, in the *Strassb. Revue*, I. 213; Kling and Hagenbach, in the *Studien*, 1851, II., III.; C. Ullmann, *ibid.*, 1857, I.; O. Krabbe, *Charakteristik Neander's*, 1852 [J. L. Jacobi, *Erinnerungen an August Neander*, Halle, 1882]. Commentaries by F. H. Rheinwald, at Bonn and Berlin († 1844), on Philippians; L. Pelt, at Kiel, on Thessalonians; *Beitrag zur Hermeneutik*, in the *Kiel Mittheilungen*, I. 4; J. E. Huther, at Schwerin, on Colossians, Pastoral Epistles, etc., in Meyer's *N. T.* (§ 592). C. Frommann, at Jena and St. Petersburg, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, 1839.

L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, at Jena († 1843), *Bibl. Theol.*, 1828; *Opuscula*, 1836; *Evang. Joh.*, 1843. Also, but very meagre, posthumous university lectures on the Synoptists and some epistles. (See Eichstädt, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1844, I.; Von Cölln, in the *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1829, I. 161.)

W. M. L. De Wette, at Berlin and Basle († 1849), *Bibl. Dogmatik*, 1813, and freq.; *Opuscula*, 1830; *Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handb. zum N. T.*, 1835 ff. (the posthumous editions mostly of a different and even wholly antagonistic spirit); *Psalmen*, 1811, and freq. Cf. also §§ 19, 498, 505, 580. See on

him the special essays of Schenkel, 1849; Hagenbach, 1850; Lücke, in the *Studien*, 1850, III.; Colani, in the *Strassb. Revue*, I. 87; E. Reuss, in the *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, Nov. 1849 [Wiegand, *W. M. L. De Wette*, Erf. 1877; R. Stähelin, *W. M. L. De Wette nach seiner theolog. Wirksamkeit u. Bedeutung geschildert*, Bas. 1880].—W. Benecke, at Heidelberg († 1837), on Romans, 1834.

Here also may be placed, in accordance with its general tendency, the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1828 ff., under the management of C. Ullmann and F. W. C. Umbreit (§ 578), of Heidelberg, in which, however, beside those mentioned in this section and those in sympathy with them, many of those under §§ 589 and 593 have had part. Continued by others essentially in a freely conservative spirit.

588. It could not but be that a theology which, notwithstanding its thoroughly Christian tone, yet gave so great influence to the inner voice of the individual, would fail to satisfy those who sought before all things a fixed and immovable foundation, and were unwilling to go again through the experiences of recent times. They could obtain this foundation only by a reckless revival of the past, a positive ecclesiastical system of faith. And although science must of course work on upon her own structure, it must be established, in order to stand firm, upon Bible, confession, and church order, as upon three harmoniously arranged pillars. A positive word easily gains adherents, and the sons of the rationalists returned with as much alacrity to the standard of orthodoxy as their fathers had marshaled themselves under the banner of rational Christianity. True, everything did not become as it was before, nor did exegesis, which could not reject the new in the lump, but must build better defenses for the old. Precisely upon this point, passing over all which does not concern our special history, grave differences have already broken out again in this very circle, which, as always, the age will suffer to exhaust themselves according to their degree of strength, in order afterward to reconcile them by the higher adjustment of new forms of thought.

Inasmuch as the theological and ecclesiastical questions which have called out noteworthy differences among the defenders of orthodoxy in our times only gradually came into prominence, and the position of parties was thereby changed in many ways, the grouping (§§ 588–590) is very difficult, and in succeeding years will become unsatisfactory, if it is not so already. Since, however, we are here considering neither Old Lutheranism nor Unionism with or without separate confession, but exegesis, in its relation to theology in general, particular names may perhaps be differently grouped than in practical life. All those to be mentioned here and many of like opinions were united at their first appearance, and doubtless still are, by a common opposition to rationalism and a decided leaning upon the symbolic doctrine as the basis of their theology. For the rest I remark that the literary information in the notes from this point on will doubtless seem to the experienced reader more fragmentary than heretofore, partly because it is inadmissible to attempt to assign to contemporaries their final places, partly

also, and especially, because the mass of material at hand is much too great. The more names I should mention, the more unjust might seem my judgment of those not mentioned.

E. W. Hengstenberg, at Berlin († 1869), apologetico-critical writings on the Pentateuch, Daniel, Zechariah, etc., 1831 ff. [E. tr. on Daniel and Zechariah, T. & T. Clark, 1858]; Psalms, 1842 ff., 4 vols. [E. tr. Edinb. 1844–1848]; Ecclesiastes, 1859 [E. tr. Phila. 1860]; Apocalypse, 1849; Gospel of John, 1861, 3 vols. *Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, since 1827. Cf. Scherer, *Hengstenberg considéré comme exégète du N. T.*, in the *Revue de Théol.*, II. 65. [Bachmann, *Hengstenberg nach s. Leben u. Wirken*, Gütersloh, 1876–1879, 2 vols.] See also the following section.

A. Tholuck, at Halle, on Romans, 1824 [4th ed. 1842; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1848]; John, 1827 [7th ed. 1857; E. tr. by C. P. Krauth, Phila. 1859]; Sermon on the Mount, 1833 [3d ed. 1844; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1860, new ed. 1869]; Hebrews, 1836 [3d ed. 1850; E. tr. Edinb. 1852]; all frequently reprinted. Psalms, 1843 [E. tr. by J. I. Mombert, 1859]. *Lit. Anzeiger*, 1830–1849; *Vermischte Schriften*, 1839, 2 vols. Cf. § 589.

H. A. C. Hävernick, at Geneva and Königsberg († 1846), see § 20. Commentary on Ezekiel, 1843; Daniel, 1838; *Theol. des A. T.*, 1848. A. Hahn, at Leipzig and Breslau († 1863), *Für und wider die gangbaren hermeneutischen Principien*, in the *Studien*, 1830, II. A. L. C. Heydenreich, at Herborn († 1858), on 1 Cor., 1825; Pastoral Epp., 1827. J. C. W. Augusti (§ 579), in his latest writings: *Dogm. Einl. in die h. S.*, 1832. G. A. Harless, at Erlangen, Leipzig, Dresden, Munich, on Ephesians, 1833. W. Böhmer, at Breslau, on Colossians, 1835. C. F. Bähr, at Carlsruhe, on Colossians, 1833; *Symbolik des mos. Cultus*, 1837, 2 vols. C. W. Wiedendorf, *De homine S. S. interprete*, 1835. Berlin *Repertorium der theol. Literatur*, edited by H. Reuter (formerly by Rheinwald) since 1833; without definite party tendency, and with the coöperation of the pupils of Neander.

Of specifically Lutheran, anti-unionistic tendency: *Zeitschrift für luther. Theologie*, by H. E. F. Güricke, at Halle (see § 20), and A. G. Rudelbach, at Gluckau († 1862), containing, 1840 ff., essays by the latter on Inspiration. F. Delitzsch, at Rostock, Erlangen, Leipzig, on Genesis, 1852, and freq.; Canticles, 1851; Habakkuk, 1843; Psalms, 1859; *Geschichte der prophet. Theol. seit Crusius*, 1845. C. P. Caspari, now at Christiania, on Isaiah, Micah, Obadiah. J. H. Kurtz, at Mitau and Dorpat, on Genesis; a history of Israel; *Symbolik des mos. Cultus*, etc. C. F. Keil, at Dorpat (cf. § 20), on Chronicles, 1833; Kings, 1846; Joshua, 1847. The same, in connection with Delitzsch, a commentary, nearly complete, on the whole O. T., 1861 ff. [E. tr. of Keil and Delitzsch on the O. T., complete in 27 vols., T. & T. Clark]. W. Neumann, on Jeremiah, 1856. T. Kliefoth, at Schwerin, on Ezekiel, 1864; Daniel, 1869. In N. T. exegesis, exclusive of minor essays: F. A. Philippi, at Rostock, on Romans [E. tr. from 3d ed., T. & T. Clark, 1879, 2 vols.]. C. E. Luthardt, at Erlangen and Leipzig, on John [E. tr. from 2d ed. by Gregory, T. & T. Clark, 1879, 3 vols.]. Delitzsch, on Hebrews [E. tr. Edinb. 1868, 2 vols.], T. Schott, at Erlangen, on Romans, Peter, and Jude, 1861, 1863.

Among Reformed theologians: W. Steiger, at Geneva († 1836), on 1 Peter, 1832; Colossians, 1835. J. H. A. Ebrard, at Zürich, Erlangen, Speyer, on Hebrews, 1851; *Dogmatik*, 1852; on the Apocalypse, 1853.

589. The deepest wounds which the grammatico-historical criticism had inflicted upon the system were with respect to the Old Testament and its relations to the New. While the Gospel, especially as set forth by Paul and John, easily protected itself against rationalistic mutilation, the apostolic church doctrine of this relation, in whatever way it might be

conceived, seemed no longer reconcilable with the results of historical study. Here, accordingly, was the field in which a wholly new apologetics must be attempted, and in which, with the same purpose of reconciling faith and science, the defenders of orthodox principles went different ways at first. Some held fast to the traditional idea of a special miraculous illumination of the prophetic vision respecting the things of the future, maintaining the Lutheran dogma in its strictness with the arts of an adroit but precarious exegesis. Others, leaning more or less toward Calvinistic ideas, had recourse to a less strict conception of inspiration and prophecy. Still others plunged into extravagant typological discussions, from which came finally the theory of the deeper sense of Scripture, heralded as the richest discovery of modern hermeneutics, but in reality a reminiscence of the oldest and most childish.

Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A. T. und Commentar über die mess. Weissagungen* (1829) 1853, 3 vols. [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1854-58]. Hävernick, *Einl. ins A. T.*, I. 142. A. E. Weiss, *Examen des citations de l'A. T.*, Str. 1841.

Tholuck, *Das A. T. im Neuen*, App. to Commentary on Hebrews, 1836; *Ueber Inspiration*, in the Berlin *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1850. Roos, *Wissenschaftl. und kirchl. Standpunkt für die Erklärung der mess. Psalmen*, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1848, II.

Cf. on the matter itself and the divergence of the two tendencies: Umbreit, in the *Studien*, 1828, II., 1830, I.; Stüdel, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1830, II.; Fritzsche, in the *Predigerjournal*, Pt. 76; Augusti, *Dogm. Einl.*, p. 218 ff.; Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1835, II., and on Heb. i. 5 ff.; J. H. Dangler, *Examen des citations messianiques*, Str. 1851.

J. A. Kanne, at Erlangen († 1824), *Christus im A. T.*, 1818, 2 vols. (a monument of Babylonian confusion of tongues); F. G. Lisco, *Das Ceremonialgesetz des A. T. und seine Erfüllung im Neuen*, 1842; J. H. Kurtz, *Das mos. Opfer*, 1842. In homiletic form especially G. Menken, F. W. and G. D. Krummacher, and others. Cf. E. Reuss, *Die neueste Typologie*, in the *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1844, I. 145.

H. Olshausen, at Königsberg and Erlangen († 1839), *Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn*, 1824; *Die bibl. Schriftauslegung*, 1825; *Biblicher Commentar über das N. T.*, 1830 ff., Pts. I.-IV., since continued by others [translated for Clark's For. Theol. Library, 1847-1849, 4 vols., and revised by Prof. A. C. Kendrick, N. Y. 1856-1858, 6 vols.]; *Opuscula*, 1834. R. Stier, pastor in Westphalia, afterward in Saxony († 1862), *Andeutungen für gläubiges Schriftverständnis*, 1824 ff., 4 vols., the separate volumes under different titles; *Siebenzig Psalmen*, 1834; *Die Stufen und das Ziel der Bibelauslegung* (in Tholuck's *Anzeiger*, 1836, No. 57); more recently several works for the practical exposition of the N. T. [See his *Leben*, by his sons, Wittenb. 1868, 2d ed. 1871.]—In both of them decided polemic against Hengstenberg; recognition of the results of historical exegesis; *ὑπόνοια*. Against them Stüdel, in Bengel's *Archiv*, VII. 403, VIII. 483. Hengstenberg, *E. Kirchenzeitung*, March, 1832, and against him Olshausen in the April number.

A peculiar symptom of this last phase of interpretation, however inconsistent with its principle, is the inclination to explain the miracles (an explanation rather mystical than natural) by referring them either to magnetic powers, or to accelerated natural processes, or to unusual states of

soul. Cf. beside Olshausen on the Gospels, and others, J. P. Lange, at Zürich and Bonn, *Leben Jesu*, 1844 ff., 5 vols. [E. tr. Edinb. 1864, 6 vols.]

590. Over against all these attempts to solve the great problem of the relation of the two revelations, which either did violence to the letter and to the understanding, or appeared dangerous from their very consistency, another has more recently been placed, which perhaps should be recognized by both speculative philosophy and believing theology as their legitimate child. Prophecy and fulfillment are no longer to be brought into harmony by precarious and desperate verbal jugglery, but from the higher standpoint of a broad outlook over the whole of history. The history of mankind is the revelation of Christ in the world; every separate event, even without the sphere of the people of God, points to him, either as a type of his person and life, or as a progressive establishment of communion between God and man, or as a continued hint of the future goal of this progress. The New Testament in its historical form is only the normative centre and point of rest in the great unfolding of the prophecies which preceded it and are given in it. Upon this theory, it is true, in order to orient theology by history, history is first made theology, and in the carrying out of the rich thought there is still very much patchwork to be found, but it is certainly a step forward, and therefore itself a prophecy which cannot fail of fulfillment.

The idea itself is in germ older. It is hinted at on the one side by Crusius (§ 570) and on the other by the Hegelian philosophy (Billroth, § 591), not to speak of other accordances; see especially Delitzsch, *Gesch. der prophet. Theologie* (§ 588), p. 177 ff.

Still nearer, J. T. Beck, at Basle and Tübingen, *Ueber messianische Weissagung als geschichtl. Problem und pneumatische Schriftauslegung*, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1831, III.; *Versuch einer pneumatisch-hermeneut. Entwicklung von Röm. ix.*, 1833; *Propädeutische Entwicklung der christl. Lehrwissenschaft*, 1838, at the beginning.

Principal work: J. C. C. Hofmann, at Rostock and Erlangen, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im A. u. N. T.*, 1841 f., 2 vols.; *Der Schriftbeweis*, 1852; *Die h. Schrift N. T. zusammenhängend untersucht*, 1862 ff. [down to 1878, all the Epistles, except those of John, and the Gospel of Luke, 14 vols.]. Professing the same principles, M. Baumgarten, at Kiel and Rostock, *Theol. Commentar zum A. T.*, 1843, 2 vols. (Pentateuch); in later essays also Delitzsch. Also C. A. Auferlen, *Dan. u. Apoc.*, 1854.

Cf. Hengstenberg, *E. Kirchenzeitung*, June, 1843; E. Reuss, in the *Halle Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1847, I. 193. — Critical review of all modern theories of the relation of the Old and New Testaments and of prophecy and quotation, by A. Kayser, in the *Strassb. Revue*, VII., VIII. M. Hartmann, *Les prophéties messianiques et leurs interprètes modernes*, Str. 1857. A. Hirschgartner, *Examen des citations*, etc., Geneva, 1858.

If the former rationalistic exposition was characterized by its shallow insipidity, the present constructive exegesis, on the other hand, oftentimes falls into the habit and tone of an unhealthy exuberance and an affected profundity which are opposed, no less than the former, to historical truth, to

the spirit of the Bible, and to sound taste. Cf. Hupfeld, *Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie u. Schrifterklärung*, in the *Berlin Zeitschr. für christl. Wissenschaft*, Aug. 1861. Diestel, p. 698 ff.

Standing alone and likely to remain so, G. M. Redslob, at Hamburg (*Apocalypsis, Blätter für pneum. Christenthum und myst. Schrifterklärung*, L. 1859; *Die Evv. als geheime kanonische Gesetzgebung in Form von Denkw. aus dem Leben Jesu*, 1869), who sets aside the traditional history and puts in its place one not miraculous certainly, but all the more mysterious.

591. Whether this historico-philosophical theory is the final word of a strict and positive theology, or the first of a more mild and conciliatory one, must soon be decided. It is certainly better fitted to set the Church at rest than that which the speculative philosophy of our day has offered, in its own name, partly as the correct interpretation of the faith of the Bible, partly as a substitute for it. At first, when it began to occupy itself with the doctrinal writings of the Apostles, it clearly recognized the distinction between its own theology and the religious idea, as it was concerned in the founding of the Church, yet declared openly that it proposed to itself the task of pointing out the inner connection between the two, and of changing and elevating the form of thought of the Apostles, considered as something subjective, of which they themselves were not yet fully conscious, into the form of the idea. But afterward, when it took up the gospel history with the same design, it melted away under its hands, a splendid mirage over a vast desert, and as it were in childish anger over a broken plaything and over the vehement rebuke called out, it became disgusted with its occupation, and rejoiced thereafter only in the work of destruction.

The Hegelian theory of the interpretation of Scripture is briefly developed by W. Vatke, at Berlin, in a review in the *Berl. Jahrb.*, Nov. 1830; cf. his *Religion des A. T.*, 1835; by G. C. R. Matthæi, at Göttingen († 1872), *Neue Auslegung der Bibel*, 1831, and *Ev. Joh.*, 1837 (earlier, *Religionsglaube der Apost.*, 1826, 2 vols.), but less concisely; more clearly by G. Billroth, at Leipzig († 1835), in the preface to his commentary on Corinthians, 1833. Here belong also Bruno Bauer's (at Berlin) earlier writings: *Religion des A. T.*, 1838; *Zeitschr. für speculative Theologie*, 1836 f.; L. Usteri's *Entwicklung des paulin. Lehrbegriffs* (§ 587), from the fourth edition on; C. S. Matthies, at Greifswald († 1856), commentaries on Gal., Eph., Phil., 1833 f.; *Propädeutik der newest. Theol.*, 1836, p. 176 ff. Yet in these exegetical works the application of the principle is everywhere sober, little destructive, and often only to be read between the lines.

It may serve for the consolation of the uninitiated to say that for the direct, devout understanding of the Scriptures, by which the religious life is nourished, and for which the Apostles originally wrote, such theological exposition is in no way necessary. For the rest, just as biblical and symbolical expressions could be made to serve in the mass as a dress for the ideas of this philosophy, so, conversely, many of these ideas passed over into the flesh and blood of orthodoxy; and not orthodoxy but rationalism of the old stamp was its most violent opponent.



The second phase was opened by D. F. Strauss, then at Tübingen, *Leben Jesu*, 1835 f., 2 vols., and freq. (see especially the concluding treatise) [E. tr. by George Eliot, Lond. 1846, 3 vols., N. Y. 1850], his *Glaubenslehre*, 1840, and the critical works of Bruno Bauer on the Gospels, 1840 ff., 4 vols.; *Theol. Erklärung der Evv.*, 1852; *Kritik der paulin. Briefe*, 1852. The mythical treatment of the gospel history (upon which the school itself delivered an opinion, see J. Schaller, in Bauer's *Zeitschr.*, III.) was in reality what gave to the old rationalistic treatment its death-blow, which it felt so heavily that it never spoke again. Explanations of miracles, which seem to be a necessity of the human reason, were henceforth a substitute for orthodox exegesis (§ 589). Apologetics soon felt, in contest with this criticism (Steudel, Klaiber, W. Hoffmann, Osiander, — Tholuck, Harless, Sack, Ebrard, Neander, J. Müller, — Ullman, Kern, Theile, W. Grimm, — Hug, Mack, Kuhn, and many others), or at least caused others to feel, the necessity of a transformation of itself and together therewith of theological and exegetical science in general. Strauss, *Streitschriften für Vertheidigung des Lebens Jesu und zur Charakteristik der gegenwärtigen Theologie*, 1833, 3 Pts.

592. The reconstructive theology has won notable and enduring victories in the field of doctrine and church affairs. It has also commended to biblical research a becoming modesty and aided it to come to self-consciousness. Yet it would seem as if, in this time of ferment and transformation, the systems, weakened by their very number, were destined to attain authority the less as they claim it the more exclusively. For while the theorists of thought and faith cannot unite their convictions and their exegesis closely enough, other expositors strive to dispossess themselves of all dogmatic interest and to treat the content of Scripture simply as something historically given, as to whose theological value no opinion from them, as purely historical investigators, is either fitting or should be demanded. Several of them have undertaken the unpleasant but thankworthy task of subjecting to a new test, upon more rational principles than had before been followed, the whole philological basis of exegesis, and of bringing sacred philology up to the level to which profane had attained. It is a sign of the times that controversy can be carried on now over rules of syntax with equal vehemence and in relation to the same passages over which our fathers were concerned for the salvation of their souls.

For the purely philological works of this tendency and school (mostly by Saxon scholars and all in either mental or traditional connection with Ernesti) on the N. T. see above, § 47. The following are exegetical: G. B. Winer, at Erlangen and Leipzig, on Galatians, 1821 and freq.; his *Exeget. Studien*, 1827, with contributions from several. F. A. Bornemann, at Meissen († 1850), on Luke, 1830. C. F. A. Fritzsche, at Rostock and Giessen († 1847), on Matth., Mark, 1826, 2 vols., Romans, 1836 ff., 3 vols., 2 Cor. 1825; *Opusc. acad.*, with contributions by C. F. Fritzsche, the father, at Halle († 1851), and O. F. Fritzsche, the brother, at Zürich, 1838. C. G. W. Theile, at Leipzig († 1854), on James, 1833. (The latter originally published as Pt. XVIII. of a colossal commentary on the N. T. of which a preliminary notice was is-

sued in 1829, and which was designed to render all previous exegetical literature unnecessary.)

H. A. W. Meyer, at Hoya, afterward at Hannover († 1873), *Das N. T. mit Uebers. und Commentar*, Gött. 1832 f. In the later volumes, in the succeeding editions (extending, in part, to the fifth [to the sixth of Matthew, by himself, of Mark and Luke by B. Weiss]), and particularly in the continuations by other hands, written in a more theological and positive spirit. [E. tr. of the whole Commentary, except Revelation, Edinb. 1873-1882, 20 vols. A biographical sketch, by his son, will be found prefixed to the first volume on Matthew.]

The controversial writings of C. F. A. Fritzsche and others against Tholuck's commentaries (Romans, 1831; Hebrews, 1840); against De Wette, *Allg. Lit. Zeitung.*, 1837, II. 377, are characteristic, elevating grammar and syntax to the throne of all science, indifferent to everything else, and in the well-known tone of "humanistic" urbanity.

Of essentially philological spirit is also the *Hermeneutik des N. T.* of C. G. Wilke, at Dresden († 1856), 1843, 2 vols.; *Rhetorik des N. T.*, 1843; the works seek their peculiarity not in a scholastic principle, but in their (minutely accurate) schematic method and in abstract formulas; introducing besides as a doctrinal guide a new kind of *analogia fidei*, "Pauline Messianism." The author afterward became a Catholic.

That work just as effective and even more so has been carried on at the same time in the O. T., and with great results, needs no reminder save the fame of Gesenius and Ewald and their pupils. But to give details of it is out of place in a history of the theological use of the Scriptures. In so far as the works of the writers just mentioned, as well as those of Hitzig, Bertheau, Fuch, Knobel, Thenius, J. Olshausen, Dillmann, and others, especially in the (now completed) *Exeget. Handb. des A. T.*, are occupied essentially with the exaltation of historical facts and the establishment of historical views, they belong in the category of the exegetes of the following section.

593. Many others, on the contrary, who felt neither call nor desire to maintain a purely external relation to the text, made its essential contents the subject of their exegetical studies, and endeavored, making freedom from prejudice the first hermeneutical rule, to keep themselves equally removed from rationalistic mutilation of dogma and ecclesiastical zeal therefor. The latter endeavor was to most probably not a difficult one, and with some might go almost to the length of a studied indifference; but that they succeeded in the first better than their predecessors at the beginning of the century is certainly shown by the fact that a change has come about in the relation of the philosophic spirit of the age to the Bible. The doctrinal writings of these latter are worthy monuments of the former period, protected by the historic sense from the perversions of the current theological taste; but the essential coldness of the enlightened of this age is almost a more hazardous sign for the future of the dogmatic use of Scripture than was the vulgar heat of the enlighteners in the preceding.

The number of those to be mentioned here (cf. the preceding and the following sections) seemed at the first likely to become considerable; for the present, however, it is at a standstill, though the work is not yet finished. It

is noteworthy that thus far it is the (Pauline) Epistles which have been chosen by preference for treatment from this standpoint, which is precisely the field in which the dogmatizing exegetes had already done effective work (§ 587 ff.). Doubtless also the complete and clear theology of Paul particularly invited to objective treatment. Nor have the Johannean writings been neglected by this school. On the other hand, all the world, even the youth, feels the need of a commentary such as there should be on the Synoptic Gospels.

L. I. Rückert, at Zittau and Jena († 1871), on Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., 1831 ff.; *Magazin für Exegese*, 1838; *Christl. Philosophie*, 1825, 2 vols. Dogmatic works, both more general (*Theologie*, 1851) and more special (on the Supper, the Church). J. G. Reiche, at Göttingen († 1863), on Rom., 1833. E. Köhler, at Göttingen and Giessen, on the same Ep., 1834. F. C. Meier, at Giessen († 1841), on Eph., 1834. F. Bleek, at Bonn, on Hebrews, 1828, Gospels, 1862, Col. and Eph., 1865. F. H. Kern, at Tübingen († 1842), on James, 1838, and many others. — D. v. Cölln, at Breslau († 1833), *Bibl. Theol.*, 1836, 2 vols. H. Hupfeld, at Halle († 1866), on the Psalms, 1855 ff. C. H. Graf, at Meissen († 1869), on Jeremiah, 1862, and those mentioned in the last note under the preceding section. W. Grimm, at Jena, and O. F. Fritzsche, at Zürich, on the O. T. Apocrypha, 1851 ff. H. Ewald, on Paul, 1857; Johannean writings, 1861, 2 vols.; Hebr., James, 1870; *Sieben Sendschreiben* (the remaining ones, regarded as spurious), 1871.

For criticism of this tendency see Tholuck's *Liter. Anzeiger*, 1833, No. 22 f.; Billroth and Matthies (§ 591), in the prefaces to Corinthians and Ephesians.

C. B. Hundeshagen, *Das Princip der freien Schriftforschung im Verhältnisse zur Kirche und zu den Symbolen*, Darmst. 1852.

594. However that may be, this purely historical investigation of the Scriptures is certainly still a Protestant science. And if it has become the highest point of view of the philosophical theology to recognize the revelations of God to mankind in their large connection and in their development, it is a further task of the historical theology, which it cannot refuse, to comprehend the human side of this development, the advancing perception in the bearers of revelation, no longer merely in its isolated phenomena, but as a whole, at once natural and guided by Providence. Toward both these ends thus far only attempts have been made, and the first steps taken, still stumbling and uncertain; it will be a long time yet before the two parallel pathways are built and can be combined into one highway of theology. Until then we should rejoice at every advance, discreetly use and pardon even the mistakes, and go on, each in the path which lies before him; it has been wisely arranged that the direction shall always turn finally toward the goal.

Since the revolution (§ 571 ff.) many theories have been put forth respecting Biblical Theology, its conception, scope, method, and value, in all the theological encyclopedias, in the introductions to all important works, and in special writings: J. P. Gabler, *De justo discrimine th. bibl. et dogm.*, 1787; C. C. E. Schmid, *De th. bibl.*, 1788; C. W. Stein, in the *Analekten*, 1816, I.; A. G. F. Schirmer, *Die bibl. Dogmatik in ihrem Verhalten zum Ganzen der Theologie*; Gesenius, *Art. Bibl. Dogmatik*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.*, I. 10; Fleck, in the *Predigerjournal*, Vol. LXXXVI.; Schmid, in the *Tüb.*

*Zeitschr.*, 1838, IV. ; Schenkel, in the *Studien*, 1852, I. — Most of the practical attempts thus far, however, bear strongly the impress of the schools, and therefore have been classified in the appropriate sections above.

A. Immer, *Hermeneutik des N. T.*, Wittb. 1873.

The Hegelian philosophy, notwithstanding its subjectivity, gave a mighty impulse to the historical way of looking at things, and in estimating its influence one must not allow himself to be guided altogether by the immediate results of its application (§ 591). It has not always made claim to furnish the material of history also, as it were ; where it has given leading ideas for the finding of the spirit lying within history, certainly not all the discoveries made have been precarious or illusory (§ 344) ; and it will have an influence even where no direct mental contact with it as a system has taken place, as has been the case with the Kantian philosophy also. Even the highest mountains of error are finally leveled, but not a grain of truth is lost.

We must also mention here the growing literature on the life of Jesus (cf. § 581). It certainly can as yet make no claim to the credit of having solved the problem ; perhaps, indeed, the best works show most clearly of all that it is insoluble ; yet the literature shows in general that the science understands the demands which are properly put upon it, and no longer seeks to be rid of them so easily as formerly.

595. The German Catholics have been protected, by their more circumscribed position, from many of the vagaries of the Protestant exegesis. But these limitations have not prevented them from taking part in the scientific movement of the century. True, the still infallible church holds them under her jealous guardianship, yet she prevents no one from appropriating the attainments and methods of the advanced age, and bringing honor to herself by his knowledge and the application of it. The fluctuations of the schools in the field of Biblical Theology are naturally much less prominent, and in particular are not so much magnified by controversy as among us ; yet science has not been wholly untouched by the spirit of the age even here. Outside of Germany, however, there is properly nothing to be said of Catholic Biblical Theology. Where the Romish clergy has no opposing Church set over against it, it seems to be sunk in the mental indolence of eternal peace ; but elsewhere, where conflict calls it out, it at least does not draw its strength from learned investigations.

Toward the close of the last century the spirit of liberalism and independence aroused or cherished by Joseph II. manifested itself also in the hermeneutical and exegetical labors of many Catholics, partly by neglect of the theological and specifically confessional lines of argument, and adoption of the standpoint of Ernesti, partly even in quiet participation in the illuminative (rationalistic) tendencies of the time. The relation between Protestant and Catholic theologians during this period, and even somewhat later, was a friendly one ; books were dedicated back and forth, official congratulations were written by faculties on the occasion of festivals in the other party, Catholic essays might seek publication in Protestant journals, and Catholic seminary students heard exegesis under Protestant professors by the authority of a Catholic government (Reichlin-Meldegge's *Paulus*, I. 374).

S. Seemiller, at Ingolstadt († 1798), *Instit. ad interpr. S. S.*, 1779. J. J.

Monsperger, at Vienna, *Instit. herm. V. T.*, 1781. C. Fischer, at Prague, († 1791), *Instit. herm. in N. T.*, 1788; cf. § 488. A. Arigler, at Vienna, *Hermeneutica biblica generalis*, 1813. F. G. Mayer, at Linz, *Instit. interpretis s.*, 1789, and philological treatment of Matthew, John, and some Epistles.

J. Jahn (§ 21), *Encheiridion hermeneuticæ generalis*, 1812, and freq.; exegetical works on the O. T., for which he was ecclesiastically tried and in accordance with the spirit of that time mildly censured. *Nachträge* to his theological works, 1821. Against him and his school: *De necessitate incautos præveniendi adv. artem nonnullorum professorum hermeneuticæ qui sub respectu interpr. novarum S. S. naturalismum evulgare ac revelationis ideam delere conantur*, Rome, 1818. (J. Tumpacher), *Vindicicæ J. Jahn*, L. 1822; Werner, p. 273.

J. B. de Rossi, at Parma († 1809), celebrated as a Hebraist, O. T. critic, and authority in Jewish literature: *Sinopsi della Ermeneutica sacra*, 1819 (*Memorie storiche sul Dr. de Rossi*, Parma, 1809).

The one who went farthest over into the rationalistic ranks was M. Wecklein, *Liberalior V. T. interpr.*, 1806, who, after Wetstein, made the Greek and Roman classics the best aids of exegesis, not for the language but for the religious ideas of the O. T. Against him J. H. Kistemaker (see below), *De nova exegesi*, etc., 1806.

*Die h. Schr. A. T.*, edited (with translation and commentary) by D. v. Brentano, at Kempten († 1797), continued by T. A. Dereser, at Strassburg, Freiburg, and Breslau († 1817), 1797 ff. Later editions, also N. T. (1828, 4 vols.), edited by J. M. A. Scholz (§ 21), in a stricter spirit. B. M. Schnappinger, at Freiburg († 1832), *Commentar zum N. T.*, 1797, 4 vols. P. A. Gratz, at Tübingen and Bonn, on Matth., 1821. More for practical edification: C. Schwarzl, at Freiburg († 1809), *Uebers. u. Auslegung des N. T.*, Ulm, 1802 ff., 6 vols. (only the Gospels).

With more definite reference to the Catholic principle, *analogia fidei* and ecclesiastical tradition, yet in the application of it often very discreet, and giving wider scope to the philological basis of interpretation: *Theoria hermeneuticæ s.*, Dill. 1811. S. Hayd, at Freiburg, *Introd. herm. in N. T.*, 1777. J. B. Gerhauser († 1825; § 21), in the second part of his *Bibl. Hermeneutik*. J. M. A. Löhnis, at Giessen, *Grundzüge der bibl. Hermeneutik und Kritik*, 1839.—For proof that the decree of the Council of Trent (§ 552), as a purely disciplinary matter, did not greatly restrict freedom, and for the conception of interpretation as a “diplomatist” working in the interest of the Church, see p. 151. Cf. also Glaire, § 21. M. Arneht, *Die Unterschiede zwischen der blos rationellen und der katholischen Schriftauslegung*, Linz, 1816. J. H. Kistemaker, at Münster († 1834), on some Psalms, Canticles; Gospels, Acts, Epistles. A. Maier (§ 21), in many parts free, fresh, and independent. Also commentaries on John, Romans, and Hebrews.

Strictly Catholic, with decided emphasis on the confessional standpoint in the field of Biblical Theology: J. Alzog, at Posen and Freiburg, *Explicatio catholicorum systematis de interpr. S. S.*, Münster, 1835. C. Unterkircher, at Trent, *Hermeneutica biblica generalis*, Innsbr. 1834, p. 256: the Scriptures the *norma dogmatis* only in so far as the *magisterium ecclesie* entrusted with the care of doctrine has so established it. J. Ranolder, at Fünfkirchen, *Herm. bibl. principia rationalia, chr. et catholica*, 1838. V. Reichel, at Königgrätz, *Introd. in herm. bibl.*, W. 1839. A. Schmitter, *Grundlinien der bibl. Hermeneutik*, Reg. 1844: the Church and the Fathers stand above other means of interpretation as supernatural. G. J. B. Güntner, *Herm. biblica generalis*, Prague, 1848, and freq. H. Klee, at Bonn and Munich († 1840), on John, Romans, Hebrews, 1829 ff. L. Reinke, at Münster, and B. Welte, at Tübingen, works on the O. T. F. Windischmann, on Galatians, 1843. M. J. Mack, on the Pastoral Epistles, 1835.

The journals which have contributed most to the scholarly and theologi-

cal discussion of the Scriptures are : J. L. Hug's (§ 21), *Zeitschr. für die Geistlichkeit des Erzb.*, Freiburg, 1828-1834. *Neue Zeitschr. für Theol.* (by the Professors at Freiburg), 1839-1848. *Theol. Quartalschr.* (by the Professors at Tübingen), since 1819. The first, especially in its earlier years, laid little stress upon the specifically Catholic element. On Hug in particular see Maier, in the *Freiburg Zeitschr.*, 1846, I. ; Werner, p. 527.

In the Catholic manuals of hermeneutics of all shades there is a constant chapter *De sensu multiplici*, in which there is either undertaken a brief reduction of it to allegory, parable, religious symbolism, and apostolic typology, or at least the patristic methods are explained in their principle, and commended, perhaps with cautions : N. Le Gros, *Tr. de S. S. sensu multiplici*, Vind. 1780. L. A. Hassler, *Sendschreiben des buchstäblichen an seine Brüder den allegorischen und moralischen Bibelsinn*, with the motto : *Solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum*, — in his *Exeget. Andeutungen*, 1821.

596. A retrospect of the events in the realm of Biblical Theology during the last eighty years, whether one regard them as necessary phases of development or as lamentable errors, shows that Germany has attained an unquestioned supremacy over all other countries in this field of thought and knowledge. This supremacy is certainly not due to any particular party, but is the natural result of the free movement of all parties, whose manifold and intricate conflicts have been the source of endless transformations for themselves, and of continual refreshment for science. Doubtless, also, among the more cultivated peoples, the Germans until recently had the most leisure to spend in learned pursuits of this kind. The writer of the History of Exegesis might pass over the works of other countries without detriment to its value, since they follow scarcely any path not previously trodden by one of the schools already described, and for the most part seem to have taken up the role of imitation intentionally.

England, France, and Holland, the Reformed churches in general, in the seventeenth century stood without dispute far in advance of the German Lutherans in all historical and philological knowledge. Why have they since remained stationary or retrograded ? In France the fact is explained simply by the civil extinction of Protestantism ; the prevailing political and commercial activity may have contributed elsewhere ; the boldness of naturalism doubtless in many cases deterred theology from taking advantage of its learning for the benefit of dogmatics ; but may it not be that while, on the one hand, the spiritual element which dwells indestructibly in Lutheranism finally broke through the limitations of the intellect, and continued to do so, on the other the absence of this element and the strict doctrinal and ecclesiastical discipline just as natural to Calvinism, which more and more precluded, in particular, a human and natural treatment of the written word, made these limitations more and more rigid from generation to generation ? Lack of movement leads to death. But recent decades have begun to bring an improvement.

Moreover, we scarcely hear anything of what is accomplished in this field elsewhere, and are able to judge of the whole only from single examples. Since the actual or imagined necessity of reading or translating foreign exegetical writings has ceased in Germany, the book-trade no longer brings them to us regularly. Cf. § 347 f.

597. In general, however, it may be said of the Biblical Theology of the non-German Protestant countries that it occupies a conservative standpoint, and even when it contends against opponents, finds them only in the scholastic field, or at least knows them only at a distance and by hearsay. England and Holland still furnish the most contributions; the latter in more learned form, and representing the studies of the schools; the former rather applied to life and designed for the use of the pulpit. Accurate philological research is honored in both places, but in the former often introduced as a foreign commodity and always used simply as a means, in the latter, on the contrary, indigenous, but often itself apparently the final aim of the work. Denmark we might almost count in with Germany, as we have done with Switzerland. Her best results are immediately translated. The farther north, which is illuminated by stars of the first magnitude in so many sciences, is enveloped in darkness with respect to ours.

What has been said of England is true also of North America. If a mere list of titles would suffice it might be made out from English catalogues, which show that the (external) richness is very great.

The larger works extant belong mostly in the field of practical theology in consequence of their popular historical (*e. g.*, J. Bellamy, O. T., 1818) or even edificatory (*e. g.*, Matthew Henry and Th. Scott, N. T.; A. Barnes, Isaiah, Job, N. T., 1832; J. B. Sumner, Gospels, 1834) treatment of the text; among the smaller ones are some with philological annotations (*e. g.*, E. Valpy, N. T., 1816, and freq.; S. T. Bloomfield, N. T., 1836, and freq.; W. Trollope, N. T., 1837; E. Cardwell, N. T., 1837; H. Robinson, Acts, 1824), others with scholarly comments (*e. g.*, S. Lee, Job, 1837; G. Holden, Proverbs, 1819; Moses Stuart, Romans, 1833; Hebrews, 1827), and some of a special dogmatic and controversial character (R. Haldane, Romans, 1816). Many others are mentioned above. Especially characteristic, in view of the complete lack of freedom in practice and utter dependence upon tradition, is the painful accuracy in the regulation of method and in the theory of hermeneutics, *e. g.*, in Horne's *Introduction*, II. (§ 347). A commentary on Romans by J. W. Colenso (§ 347), 1861. A great work undertaken by several writers under official patronage: *The Speaker's Bible* has recently begun to appear; see the *Studien*, 1872, IV. [Edited by Canon Cook; O. T., 6 vols., completed in 1876; N. T., 4 vols., 1881, London, Murray.]

Of the older Dutch exegetes it may be asserted with truth that they are disciples of Ernesti, perhaps of somewhat more steadfast orthodoxy, so far as doctrine comes into view with them at all; certainly less prejudiced in favor of the confessional theology than the English, and freer in distinguishing it from the biblical. A. des Amorie v. d. Hoeven, *Oratio de germano theologo ss. ll. interprete*, Delft, 1828; J. H. Pareau, *Institutio interpretis V. T.*, Traj. 1822; L. G. Pareau, *Hermeneutica cod. s.*, Grön. 1846. More recently this has changed, and the activity in this field has become very varied, but more and more inaccessible to foreigners. — Of the extended and theologically important commentaries unfortunately but few are thoroughly known to me; a great number written in Dutch are to be found in the catalogues. Latin writings on shorter books (Taco Roorda, at Gröningen, on Jeremiah; Juynboll, at Leyden, on Amos; T. A. Clarisse, at Leyden, on the Psalms of De-

grees ; J. H. v. d. Palm, at Leyden, on Ecclesiastes ; L. C. Valckenaer, lectures on various books of the N. T. ; W. A. v. Hengel, annotations on the same and on Romans and Philippians ; E. A. Borger, on Galatians ; J. v. Voorst, on Matthew ; and many others), but especially numerous academic monographs of considerable extent upon special questions and single chapters, frequently reach us ; many of these have been cited above in their appropriate places.

H. M. Clausen's (at Copenhagen) *Hermeneutik des N. T.* (German, 1841) is in great part historical in contents, hesitating in its theory, in style and method Germar's (§ 583). The theological parties are very sharply opposed there.

598. In France, after a long night, it seems to be about to dawn. True, the Protestant people there were never without the Bible, and it has been commended to them by their teachers with sufficient urgency and richly expounded for consolation and edification. But of a scientific theological study and use of it there was for a long time nothing to say, and exegesis and its related sciences were in Geneva a subordinate matter, in Montauban unknown. Occasional translations from the German and English scarcely found readers, or repelled them altogether by their foreign spirit. Yet these and the first independent works of younger theologians were sacrificed to a hope which did not wholly fail of its reward. The academic instruction has been improved. A new generation is preparing itself to combine happily zeal for science with zeal for the Church ; it may some day bring to the older workers at a distance welcome aid for the common task. Until then it is double joy to see the newly planted garden, however slowly, grow green and thrive, if one has himself handled the spade.

The literature is as yet easily surveyed ; cf. § 348. For dogmatics and ethics, so far as the theological use of the Scriptures is concerned, little has yet been done. The foundation of the first has been laid by E. Scherer, *Prolegomènes à la dogmatique de l'Église réf.*, 1843 ; but it has thus far been carried out (by J. J. Chenevière, at Geneva († 1871), *Essais de Théol.*, 1830 ff. ; *Dogmatique*, 1840, and A. Coquerel, at Paris, *Le christianisme expérimental*, 1847 ; *Christologie*, 1857) only in a spirit which does not bring it within the scope of our history.

Exegetical studies (Introduction, Hermeneutics, Archæology, and Interpretation) obtained their impulse from Geneva, through J. E. Cellierier († 1862), cf. § 20. (*Manuel d'herméneutique biblique*, 1852 ; *Ep. de Jaques*, 1850 ; *Esprit de la législ. mosaïque*, after Michaelis ; apologetic writings.) They were in the spirit of Ernesti and the Dutch scholars, adding to the grammatical principle of interpretation the theological and apologetic as its necessary complement. M. Nicolas (now at Montauban), *Essai d'herméneutique*, 1838, after Cellierier and Twisten. A. Sardinoux (now at the same place), on Galatians, 1837 ; A. Rilliet, at Geneva, on Philippians, 1841 ; H. Ultramare, at Geneva, on Romans, 1843, with an introductory hermeneutic theory, on which see *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1846, I. 865 ; E. Arnaud, at Bordeaux and Crest, § 498, on Jude, 1851, *Comm. sur le N. T.*, 1863, 4 vols., popular ; L. Thomas, at Geneva, on 1 John, 1849 ; E. de Pressensé, at Paris, *Hist. des trois premiers siècles*, 1858 ff., 5 vols. [E. tr. by Annie Harwood,



*The Early Days of Christianity*, Lond. and N. Y. 1870 ff., 4 vols.] ; all under the influence of German science. Also a translation of Neander's *Ap. Gesch.* by F. Fontanès, of Nîmes, and of his practical commentary on several epistles. More decidedly in the spirit of historical criticism, exegetical essays in the *Strassb. Revue*, by J. Steeg, A. Réville, and others.

In contrast with this school, in strict Calvinistic or ultra-conservative spirit, translations from the English, at Paris and Toulouse (Hodge and Haldane on Romans, Henry and Scott on Psalms, the latter on Matthew, Acts, Romans); from the German, especially at Neufchatel (Olshausen, *Tieferer Schriftsinn*, and portions of his commentary; Schröder, on Genesis). A collection of scholia: S. Descombaz, *Guide biblique*, 1856, 3 vols.

Not much that is new and original has thus far appeared from this country: J. H. Grand-Pierre, *Essais sur le Pentateuque*, 1844, a solution of knotty points, after the fashion of Lillenthal or Michaelis. Monneron, on Corinthians, 1851, is a paraphrase. F. Godet, of Neufchatel, on John, 1864 [2d ed. 1877; E. tr. in 3 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1877; 3d ed. of the original, 1881]; Luke, 1871 [E. tr., T. & T. Clark, 1875]; *Études bibliques sur l'A. T.*, 1873. A. de Mestral, of Lausanne, on Genesis, 1863. (Astié, at Lausanne) on John, 1863. A. Monod, on Ephesians, 1867. F. de Rougemont, on Ecclesiastes, 1844. H. Lutteroth, at Paris, a still unfinished commentary on Matthew, 1860 ff. Several works on the Psalms by C. Bruston, 1865, 1873, especially distinguished by bold criticism of the text. Important articles in the theological supplement of the *Revue Chrétienne* and of the Paris *Revue de théologie* begun in 1870. On the other hand a new edition of Calvin's commentary on the N. T. in the old French translation, P. 1855, 4 vols. 8°.

In advance of the time there came from Strassburg scholarly exegetical works on the O. T.: J. G. Dahler († 1832), on Jeremiah, 1825; J. D. F. Burger († 1845), on Zechariah, 1841. Numerous academic occasional writings have been introduced in their appropriate place. As to how far dogmatics and criticism are considered in them, cf. § 348. In more recent times only H. W. Kienlen, on the Apocalypse, 1870.

On the Catholic side there is nothing of importance to mention here (cf. § 499), for the works of E. Renan (Job, 1859; Canticles, 1860; *Vie de Jésus*, 1863, 13th ed. 1867; *Les Apôtres*, 1866; *St. Paul*, 1869; *L'Antechrist*, 1873) are wholly outside this sphere. Numerous other attempts at translation, especially of the poetic books of the O. T., without exegetical value.

599. But until the fruits of the greater work which has been committed by God to the human mind, and upon which biblical scholars have already long been engaged, with painful labor and noble art, have come to maturity, let the lesser, easier, and more immediately remunerative still be commended to every Christian. It is the duty of science to see difficulties, the office of reason to cherish doubt, the prerogative of the understanding never to be satisfied with what it has; the more the subject with which they have to do contains elements which do not spring from earth, the less is there an end of questioning and discussion. But that is not the fault of the Bible. It gives to every one, and has always given, that which he can always use and should first of all seek, consolation, instruction, discipline, and hope. The unlearned multitude have obtained more good from it than the learned schools, because, following the hermeneutics of nature, they do not at-

tempt to enjoy it all at once. For that is beyond human power. For every day its care; for every time its text; there are texts for all times. The devout heart finds it out from amid the mass, and with its meaning consoles itself for the rest. Of such it is said, "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed!"

In this book, with a few unavoidable departures, the author has held fast to the design of recounting the history of the scientific theological use of the Scriptures. He has avoided bringing in the practical and popular use of them, beside many other reasons, chiefly because he is not sufficiently familiar with its history. This may be a defect; but it may be doubted whether such a history could be written without continually running back into the other. There are manuals of popular hermeneutics, there are practical commentaries in great numbers, with and without these ambiguous names; it would be easy to show that they likewise uphold the tenets of their particular schools. I would gladly see the material relating to the subject worked up into a history of the progress, not of Christianity toward the universal religion, but of mankind toward the Church. But who shall write it?

Nevertheless, amid the clamorous confusion of the present, and the tumult of party wrangling, daily growing wilder, in which those standing in the closest relations to one another are in the bitterest controversy over things which even scholars scarcely understand, and to which the multitude is altogether indifferent, it is a consoling fact that more and more are coming to the conviction, and expressing it, that religious science, like the Church, is not for theologians alone, and that if the school is to be a help to Christianity and the Church, it must allow the Church a more active part in the work than this cloister learning and Puseyism among us does or admits. In this respect Germany must see to it that she is not outstripped again. (E. Reuss, *L'Église et l'École*, 1854.)

In place of all others we mention here but one book, very recent and least of all conscious of the goal hinted at in it, the *Bibelwerk* of C. C. J. Bunsen, 1858 ff., a sign of the times, but also a pledge for the future.

600. Thus the history of the theological use of the Scriptures shows that the Church for but a short time received the will of her Lord and the teaching of his disciples through brief and simple instruction, and that Christian theologians have been laboring for seventeen hundred years since to fix by learning and speculation the meaning of certain pages which were written for the unlearned and simple-minded. True, there were always preachers whose childlike souls perceived what the intellect of the scholar never saw, and struck the note which the Apostles had struck; but their number was small, their fame and influence never the greatest. The loudest word in the science of the Scriptures has always been spoken by those who have thought that the truth could be discovered and established by the rules and definitions of scholastic philosophy. In a first period they lost themselves in the vast labyrinths of allegory, decking the Word with the motley tinsel of their conceits; in the second they allowed themselves to be bound in the shackles of the systems, and crushed the life out of it with the iron con-

sistency of their logic. Their laws, mostly designed to make exegesis responsible for the caprices of dogmatics, her mistress, stand side by side unreconciled to-day; the clearest passages are differently explained; the hermeneutic formula able to unite all voices is not yet found, and the impossibility of finding it, which is becoming more and more evident, is an earnest warning uttered by history to those who forget that they should be servants, not of the letter which killeth, but of the spirit which maketh alive.



# INDEX.

(THE FIGURES REFER TO SECTIONS.)

- Abbreviations, 375.  
 Abdias, 268.  
 Abelard, Peter, 533.  
 Abgar, 266.  
 Abraham Aben Ezra, 539.  
 Abравanel, 539.  
 Accents, in MSS., 376.  
 Accidental Alterations, 364 ff.  
 Acts, Apocryphal, 267 f.  
   Gnostic, 261.  
   of Peter, 253 ff.  
   of Pilate, 258.  
   of the Apostles, 202 ff.  
 Additions to the N. T. Books, 238 ff.  
   to the Gospels, 238 ff.  
   to Mark's Gospel, 240.  
   to Fourth Gospel, 239.  
 Æthiopic Canon, 326.  
 Afghan Version, 495.  
 African Versions, 495.  
 Aitton, H. A., 419.  
 Albanian Version, 496.  
 Alberti, J., 565.  
 Albert of Regensburg, 533.  
 Albigenses, 330, 465.  
 Albrecht, C., 584.  
 Alcuin, 456, 528.  
 Alexandrian Ales., 534.  
 Alexandrian Exegesis, 504, 509 ff.  
   Philosophy, Relation to Christian-  
   ity, 25.  
   School, 510.  
   Text, 370.  
   Version (LXX.), 45, 283.  
 Alford, H., 419.  
 Allegorical Interpretation, 504, 506 ff.  
 Allogi, 327.  
 Alphen, H. van, 570.  
 Alphonsus To-tatus, 331, 541.  
 Alterations, Accidental, 364 ff.  
   Designed, 357 ff.  
   Dogmatic, 361 f.  
 Alter, F. C., 411.  
 Alulf of Tournay, 526.  
 Alzog, J., 595.  
 Amanuenses, 76, 351.  
 Ambrose, 362, 517.  
 Ambrosiaster, 520.  
 Amharic Version, 442.  
 Ammon, C. F., 577, 580.  
 Ammonius, 385.  
 Amphiloehius, 316, 320.  
 Amyraut, M., 555.  
 Anastasius, 328, 362.  
 Andreas and Arethas, 527.  
 Angelonus, 528.  
 Anglican Confession, 332, 333.  
 Anglo-Saxon Version, 462.  
 Angrianus, Michael, 535.  
 Anschmink, H. P., 584.  
 Anselm of Laon, 529.  
 Antilegomena, 314, 317.  
 Antioch, 57.  
 Antiochian School, 320, 518.  
 Antonius Nebrissensis, 543.  
 Anton, Paul, 559.  
 Antwerp Polyglot, 403.  
 Apelles, 245, 292.  
 Apocalypse, of John, 156 ff.  
   of Peter, 310.  
 Apocalypses, Apocryphal, 274.  
   Gnostic, 262.  
 Apocalyptic Exegesis, 561, 584.  
 Apocrypha, Extra-biblical, 293.  
   Meaning of the term, 318.  
   of the N. T., 243.  
   of the O. T., 317, 319, 333, 349.  
   of the O. T. quoted in N. T., 283.  
 Apocryphal Apocalypses, 274.  
   Gospels, 262 ff.  
   Legends in the Koran, 263.  
 Apollinaris, 294.  
 Apollos, 153.  
 Apostles, 1, 28 ff.  
 Apostles' Creed, 279.  
 Apostolic Canons, 278.  
   Church, 31 ff., 37.  
   Constitutions, 277, 312, 317.  
   Didaskalia, 277.  
   Fathers, 287 ff.  
   Preaching, 36, 50 ff.  
   Theology, 29, 32.  
 Apostolos, 300.  
 Apparatus Criticus, 391.  
 Aquinum, Thomas of, 533 f.  
 Arabic Conquest, 371.  
   Versions, 437 ff., 491.  
 Aramaisms, 46.  
 Arboreus, J., 551.  
 Archæology, Biblical, 566.  
 Arcularius, D., 555.  
 Arians, 327, 362.  
 Arigler, A., 595.  
 Armbruster, C., 584.

- Armenian Canon, 326.  
     Versions, 432, 491, 495.  
 Arminians, 340, 563.  
 Armerican Version, 489.  
 Arnaud, E., 348, 598.  
 Arnauld, A., 562.  
 Arneth, M., 595.  
 Artemonites, 362.  
 Asboth, J., 579.  
 Astić, 598.  
 Athanasius, 320, 516, 517.  
 Athenagoras, 294.  
 Atto of Verceil, 527.  
 Auberlen, C. A., 590.  
 Augusti, J. C. W., 588.  
 Augustine, 323, 325, 450, 452, 517.  
 Autographs, 351.  
  
 Bahnmeier, E., 584.  
 Bähr, C. F., 588.  
 Bahrdt, C. F., 487, 568, 575.  
 Bahrdt, J. F., 581.  
 Balduin, F., 555.  
 Banholzer, F., 584.  
 Bardesanes, 292.  
 Barnabas, 56, 64.  
     Epistle of, 234, 287, 293, 317.  
     Gospel of, 263.  
 Barnes, A., 597.  
 Bashmucic Version, 430.  
 Basil, 516.  
 Basilides, 245, 292, 508.  
 Basque Version, 489.  
 Baudry, Abbé de, 348.  
 Bauer, Br., 591.  
 Bauer, C. L., 565.  
 Bauer, G. L., 577, 580.  
 Baumgarten, M., 590.  
 Baumgarten, S. J., 409, 570.  
 Baumgarten-Crusius, 587.  
 Baur, F. C., 19, 23, 344.  
 Baur, V. F., 577.  
 Beaubrun, 562.  
 Beausobre, Is. de, 568.  
 Bebel, B., 554.  
     Editions, 401.  
 Beck, C. D., 579.  
 Beck, J. T., 590.  
 Bede, 527.  
 Bellamy, J., 597.  
 Bellarmine, R., 337, 552.  
 Belgic Confession, 332, 333, 335.  
 Benecke, W., 587.  
 Bengel, E., 561.  
 Bengel, E. G., 582.  
 Bengel, J. A., 410, 561.  
 Benner, J. H., 570.  
 Benson, G., 569.  
 Bentley, R., 409.  
 Berchorius, Petrus, 535.  
 Berger, C. G., 561.  
 Berger, J. G. I., 583.  
 Berleburg Bible, 487, 559.  
 Bernard of Clairvaux, 535.  
 Berruyer, I. J., 552.  
 Beza, 404, 549.  
 Bezan Editions, 404.  
 Bible Societies, 349, 494 ff.  
 Bible Text, Articles on, 351.  
  
 Biblical Philology, 565.  
     Theology, 594.  
 Bibliotheca Bremensis, 557.  
 Bilingual Manuscripts, 381.  
 Billroth, G., 590, 591.  
 Birch, A., 411.  
 Biscayan Version, 489.  
 Bishops, 37.  
 Bishops' Bible, 475.  
 Bleek, F., 593.  
 Bloomfield, S. T., 419, 597.  
 Bochart, S., 566.  
 Bodenstein, A., 334.  
 Bohemian Confession, 332.  
     Versions, 467 f., 477 f., 488.  
 Böhme, 576.  
 Böhmer, J. G., 561.  
 Böhmer, W., 588.  
 Boissonnade, J. F., 419.  
 Bolten, J. A., 576.  
 Bonaventura, 534, 535.  
 Bonifas, F., 348.  
 Boost, J. A., 584.  
 Borger, E. A., 597.  
 Bornemann, F. A., 592.  
 Bos, L., 565.  
 Braun, J., 557, 566.  
 Breathings in Manuscripts, 376.  
 Breeches Bible, 475.  
 Breithaupt, J. J., 558.  
 Brenius, D., 556.  
 Brentano, Dom. v., 595.  
 Brentz, J., 548.  
 Bretschneider, S. G., 579.  
 Breviary, 386.  
 Brightman, Th., 561.  
 Brosset, 419.  
 Brothers of Jesus, 56.  
 Bruston, C., 598.  
 Brylinger Family (Editions), 403.  
 Bucer (Butzer), 549.  
 Buddens, J. F., 560, 566.  
 Bugenhagen, J., 548.  
 Bullinger, H., 549, 561.  
 Bunsen, C. C. J., 599.  
 Burger, J. D. F., 598.  
 Burgos, Paulus of, 541.  
 Burmann, F., 557.  
 Burscher, J. F., 581.  
 Büsching, A. F., 568.  
 Buttman, Ph., 416, 580.  
 Butzer, M. (Bucer), 549.  
  
 Cædmon, 462.  
 Cæsarea, Epistles (of Paul) from, 114.  
     Library of, 365.  
 Caius, 313.  
 Cajetan, Cardinal, 331, 543.  
 Calixtus, G., 555.  
 Callenberg, J. H., 491 ff.  
 Calligraphers, 351.  
 Calmet, A., 552.  
 Calov, A., 340, 555.  
 Calvin, J., 333, 335, 474, 549 f.  
 Calvinistic Exegesis, 549 f.  
 Camerarius, J., 548.  
 Canon, 316, 346.  
     History of the, 281 ff.  
     in the Middle Ages, 329 ff.

- Canon of Marcion, 291.  
   of the Latin Church, 322.  
   of the Reformers, 332 ff.
- Canonical Books, 316.
- Canons, Apostolic, 278, 321.
- Canstein, 484.
- Canticles, 536.
- Capito, W. F., 549.
- Cappelle, J., 565.
- Cappelle, L., 565.
- Carcaphentian Version (Syriac), 427.
- Cardwell, E., 597.
- Carlstadt, A., 334.
- Carpocrates, 245, 292.
- Carpoz, J. B., 581.
- Carpoz, J. G., 566.
- Carthaginian Councils, 324.
- Casaubon, I., 565.
- Caspari, C. P., 588.
- Cassiodorus, 328, 456, 522, 526.
- Castalio, S., 487, 549.
- Catalan Version, 496.
- Catenæ, 531.
- Cathari, 330, 465.
- Catharinus, A., 551.
- Catholic Church, 288, 296.
   Criticism, 21.
   Epistles, 142 ff., 301.
   Exegesis, 551 f., 595.
   Pseudepigrapha, 264 ff.
   Versions, 478 ff., 488, 499.
- Cellerier, J. E., 598.
- Celsius, O., 566.
- Celtic Versions, 489.
- Central Asiatic Versions, 495.
- Centuries, Magdeburg, 333.
- Cerinthus, 245.
- Chapters, 386.
- Charlemagne, 328, 456, 463, 528.
- Chastillon, S., 487, 549.
- Chemnitz, M., 339, 555.
- Chenevière, J. J., 598.
- Childhood, Gospels of the, 265.
- Chimonius, G. F., 561.
- Chinese Versions, 492, 495.
- Chladni, M., 560.
- Christiani, W. B., 561.
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, 530.
- Chrysostom, 320, 434, 519.
- Church, Catholic, 288, 296.
   Fathers, Exegesis of, 509 ff.
   Fathers, Quotations in (Canon), 294.
   Fathers, Quotations in (Criticism), 394.
   Government, Apostolic, 37, 130.
- Chytræus, D., 555.
- Circulation of the N. T., 284 f.
- Citations, 294, 394.
- Clarius, Isid., 551.
- Clarke, S., 569.
- Clarisse, T. A., 597.
- Classics, Study of, 542.
- Claudius of Turin, 527.
- Clausen, H. N., 597.
- Clement of Alexandria, 293, 297 f., 509, 510.
   of Rome, 1st Ep. to Cor., 235, 287, 293, 317.
   of Rome, 2d Ep. to Cor., 273.
- Clementines, 254 ff., 292.
- Clementine Vulgate, 482.
- Clerc, J. le (Clericus), 563.
- Cocceius, J., 557.
- Codices, 352 f., 372 f., 392.
   Bilingues, 381.
   Latinizantes, 360.
   Rescripti, 373.
- Colenso, J. W., 347, 597.
- Colines S. de (Colinaeus), 402.
- Cölln, D. von, 593.
- Colossians, Epistle to, 118 ff.
- Comestor, Petrus, 466, 533.
- Companions of Paul, 68.
- Compilation, 527.
- Complutensian Polyglot, 399.
- Confessio Anglicana, 332, 333.
   Belgica, 332, 333, 335.
   Bohemiana, 332.
   Dosithei, 338, 490.
   Gallica, 332, 333.
   Helvetica, I., 332, 546.
   Helvetica, II., 332, 333, 335, 546.
   Scottica, 546.
   Wirtembergica, 335.
- Conformation of the Text of the Gospels, 358.
- Conjectures (Criticism), 398.
- Conservative Criticism, 398.
- Constantinople, Council of, 328.
- Constantinopolitan Text, 370.
- Constitutions, Apostolic, 277, 312.
- Coptic Versions, 430, 491.
- Coquerel, A., 598.
- Corinth, 93.
   Church of, 93.
- Corinthians, Epistles to, 93 ff.
   Third Ep. to, 272.
- Corrections, 357.
- Correctoria Biblica, 456.
- Corrodi, H., 570.
- Cosmas, 328.
- Council of Carthage, 324.
   Constantinople, 328.
   Florence, 325.
   Hippo, 324.
   Jerusalem, 65.
   Laodicea, 321.
   Nicæa, 328.
   Trent, 336, 482, 552.
- Courcelles, E. de (Curcellæus), 407.
- Cramer, J. A., 570.
- Credner, C. A., 19.
- Crell, J., 556.
- Crell, S., 556.
- Creolese Version, 492.
- Crinsoz, 561.
- Crispin, J., 403.
- Critical Apparatus, 391.
- Critici Sacri, 565, 567.
- Croatian Version, 489.
- Cruciger, C., 548.
- Crusius, C. A., 570, 590.
- Cunnæus, P., 566.
- Cursive Character, 375.
- Cyprian, 313, 516.
- Cyril, 446.
- Cyrillic Character, 446.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, 320, 516, 517.
- Cyril Lucar, 338, 490.

- Dahler, J. G., 598.  
 Dalmatian Version, 489.  
 Danish Versions, 467, 472, 485, 487, 497.  
 Damm, C. T., 575.  
 Dannhauer, J. C., 553.  
 Danz, J. A., 572.  
 Darby, 584.  
 Dassov, T., 555, 566.  
 Dathe, J. A., 572.  
 Declaratio Thorun., 333, 546.  
 Decretum Gelasii, 324.  
 De Dieu, L., 565.  
 Deism, 575.  
 Delitzsch, F., 588.  
 Dereser, T. A., 595.  
 De Rossi, J. B., 595.  
 De Sacy, Le Maistre, 562.  
 Descombaz, S., 598.  
 Designed Alterations, 357 ff.  
 De Soto, Dom., 551.  
 D'Espence, C., 551.  
 Deusing, H., 567.  
 Deutero-canonical Books, 317.  
 Deutschmann, J., 554.  
 De Wette, W. M. L., 19, 580, 587.  
 Deyling, S., 560.  
 Dickinson, A., 419.  
 Dicta ἀγραφα, 167.  
     Probantia, 554.  
 Didaskalia, Apostolic, 277.  
 Diderot, 341.  
 Didymus, 320, 517.  
 Dietelmair, J. A., 340.  
 Dietrich, C., 339.  
 Dieu, L. de, 565.  
 Dilherr, M., 555.  
 Dinter, G. F., 576.  
 Diodore of Tarsus, 518.  
 Diognetus, Epistle to, 294.  
 Dionysius Carthus., 331.  
     of Alexandria, 312, 513.  
     of Corinth, 294.  
     of Rickel, 541.  
 Διορθώσεις, 357.  
 Diplomatics, Works on, 352.  
 Disciples of Jesus, 28 ff.  
 Discourses of the Apostles, 50 ff.  
 Doddridge, Ph., 569.  
 Döderlein, C. A., 346, 568.  
 Döderlein, J. C., 572.  
 Dogmatic Alterations, 361 f.  
 Doring, Matthias, 541.  
 Dorsch, J. G., 554, 555.  
 Doughtey, J., 565.  
 D'Outreïn, J., 557.  
 Driessen, A., 557.  
 Drusius, 565, 566.  
 Druthmar, Christianus, 528.  
 Du Fossé, 562.  
 Du Moulin, 339.  
 Duncan, W., 419.  
 Du Pin, L. E., 337.  
 Dupuis, 575.  
 Dutch Versions, 467 f., 472, 478, 485, 487.  
 Early Church, Composition, 53.  
     Churches, Organization, 37.  
     Eschatological Ideas, 26.  
     Gospels, 186 ff.  
 East Indian Versions, 492, 495.  
 Ebrard, J. H. A., 588, 591.  
 Ecclesiastici Libri, 317.  
 Eckermann, J. C. R., 346, 576, 577.  
 Eckhard, T., 565.  
 Edelman, 341.  
 Editions of the Greek Text, 395 ff.  
 Egyptians, Gospel of, 245.  
 Egyptian Versions, 430.  
 Eichhorn, J. G., 19, 578, 580.  
 Elders, 37.  
 Elsner, J., 565.  
 Elzevirs, 406.  
 Engelmann, 528.  
 English Bible Societies, 349.  
     Polyglot, 567.  
     Theology, 347, 597.  
     Versions, 467, 475, 478, 485, 487 f.,  
     497 f.  
 Ephesians, Epistle to, 118 ff.  
 Ephesus, Residence of Paul at, 87.  
 Ephrem Syrus, 517.  
 Epiphanius, 320, 508.  
 Episcopius, S., 563.  
 Epistles, Catholic, 141 ff.  
     Forged, 140.  
     of the Cæsarean Imprisonment, 114 ff.  
     Pauline, 73 ff.  
 Erasman Editions, 401.  
 Erasmo-Stephanic Family (Editions), 403.  
 Erasmus, 331, 400, 469, 543.  
 Ernesti, J. A., 572.  
 Errors of the Ear, 364.  
     of the Eye, 364.  
 Espence, C. d', 551.  
 Essenism, Relation to Christianity, 25.  
 Ess, L. van, 418.  
 Esther, Book of, 319.  
 Esthonian Version, 489.  
 Est, W., 552.  
 Ethiopic Canon, 326.  
     Versions, 431.  
 Eucherius, 517, 525.  
 Eugene IV., 331.  
 Eusebius, 313 f., 385, 434, 513.  
 Euthalius, 328, 377, 383, 385.  
 Ewald, H., 593.  
 Exegesis, Alexandrian, 504.  
     Apocalyptic, 561.  
     Calvini-tic, 549 f.  
     Catholic, 551.  
     History of, 501 ff.  
     of the Apostles, 505.  
     of the Jews, 503 f., 539.  
     of the Reformers, 544 ff.  
 Exposition of the O. T., 502.  
 Extracts, 526.  
 Ezra, R. Abr. Aben, of Toledo, 539.  
 Faber Stapulensis, J. (Le Fèvre), 473, 480,  
     543.  
 Fathers, Quotations in, 294, 394.  
 Fehr, S. B., 561.  
 Fein, G. F., 561.  
 Felix, 113.  
 Fell, J., 407.  
 Ferus, J., 551.  
 Fichte, J. G., 577.  
 Ficinus, Marsilius, 542.



- Finnish Version, 489.  
 Fischer, C., 595.  
 Fitzner, H., 561.  
 Flacius, M., 546, 547, 548.  
 Flatt, J. F., 582.  
 Fleck, 594.  
 Fleming, Robt., 561.  
 Flemish Version, 488.  
 Florence, Council of, 325.  
 Florus Magister, 526.  
 Forgeries, 361 f.  
 Formula Concordiæ, 332, 546.  
     Consensus Helv., 339.  
 Fossé, Du, 562.  
 Franke, A. H., 558.  
 Frantz, A., 578.  
 Frantz, W., 553.  
 Freethinkers, 341.  
 French Exegesis, 598.  
     Theology, 348.  
     Versions, 465 f., 468, 473 f., 480, 486,  
     488, 497 ff.  
 Freudentheil, W. N., 579.  
 Friedlieb, J. H., 418.  
 Fritzsche, C. F., 592.  
 Fritzsche, C. F. A., 592.  
 Fritzsche, O. F., 592, 593.  
 Froben, John, 400.  
 Frommann, C., 587.  
 Fröreisen, J. L., 560.  
  
 Gabler, J. G., 579.  
 Gabler, J. P., 580, 594.  
 Gaelic Version, 489.  
 Gagney, J., 551.  
 Gaillard, F., 419.  
 Gail, J. B., 419.  
 Galatian Churches, 83 f.  
 Galatians, Epistle to, 83 ff.  
 Gallic Confession, 332.  
 Gasparin, A. de, 348.  
 Gausson, L., 348.  
 Gehringer, J., 418.  
 Geier, M., 555.  
 Gelasii Decretum, 324.  
 Genevan Versions, 474, 486.  
 George of Trapezus, 530.  
 Georgian Version, 433, 491.  
 Gerbert, M., 552.  
 Gerhard, J., 334, 339, 553, 555.  
 Gerhard v. Maestricht, 407.  
 Gerhauser, J. B., 595.  
 Gerken, W. F., 584.  
 German Versions, 463 ff., 469 ff., 472, 479,  
     483, 487, 488, 497 ff.  
 Germar, F. H., 583.  
 Gerson, 541.  
 Gesenius, 594.  
 Glagolitic Character, 446.  
 Glaire, J. B., 337.  
 Glass, S., 553, 555.  
 Glosses, 359, 529.  
 Glossographers, 530.  
 Gnosis, 72, 115 f., 129.  
 Gnostic Acts, 261.  
     Apocalypses, 262.  
     Canon, 291 f.  
     Gospels, 245 f., 262.  
 Gnosticism, 72, 244, 290, 508.  
  
 Godeau, A., 562.  
 Godet, F., 598.  
 Gomar, F., 555.  
 Goodwin, Th., 566.  
 Gospel of Barnabas, 263.  
     of John, 213 ff.  
     of John, Additions to, 239.  
     of Luke, 201 ff.  
     of Marcion, 246.  
     of Mark, 187, 189 f.  
     of Mark, Additions to, 240.  
     of Nicodemus, 259.  
     of Peter, 199.  
     of the Hebrews, 198.  
 Gospels, 171 ff., 178.  
     Apocryphal, 262 ff.  
     Gnostic, 245 f., 262.  
     of the Childhood, 265.  
     Synoptic, 179 ff.  
 Gothic Version, 444 f.  
 Götze, G. H., 554.  
 Göze, J. M., 575, 581.  
 Graf, C. H., 593.  
 Grammatical Interpretation, 547.  
 Grammatico-Historical Interpretation, 579.  
 Grandpierre, J. H., 598.  
 Γραφή, 285, 303.  
 Gratz, P. A., 418, 595.  
 Greek Church, Canon of, 338.  
     Versions by, 490.  
 Gregory Barhebraeus, 329.  
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 320, 516.  
     of Nyssa, 516.  
 Gregory Thaumaturgus, 513.  
 Gregory the Great, 328, 455, 517, 525.  
 Gregory VII., 447.  
 Gregory XVI., 499.  
 Greenlandic Version, 492.  
 Grenier-Fajal, O. de, 348.  
 Gretser, J., 552.  
 Griesbach, J. J., 412, 579.  
 Grimm, D. C., 565.  
 Grimm, W., 346, 591, 593.  
 Gros, N. le, 595.  
 Grotius, H., 563.  
 Grusinic Version (Georgian), 433, 491.  
 Guibert of Nogent, 535.  
 Guillaud, C., 551.  
 Güntner, G. J. B., 595.  
 Gürke, H. E. F., 588.  
 Gürtler, N., 557.  
 Guyars des Moulins, 466, 468.  
 Guyon, Madame, 560.  
  
 Haag, F., 348.  
 Hafenreffer, M., 339.  
 Hagen, F. W., 578.  
 Hahn, A., 414, 577, 588.  
 Haldane, R., 597.  
 Harclean Version (Syriac), 428.  
 Hardouin, J., 552.  
 Harless, G. A., 588, 591.  
 Harmonies of the Gospels, 179.  
 Harmonistic Conformation, 358.  
 Hartmann, M., 590.  
 Hartsoecker, C., 563.  
 Harwood, E., 409.  
 Hase, 346.  
 Hassler, L. A., 595.

- Hauff, C. V., 583.  
 Hävernicks, H. A. C., 588, 589.  
 Haymann, C. G., 565.  
 Haymo of Halberstadt, 328, 528.  
 Hebenstreit, C. W., 577.  
 Hebraisms, 46.  
 Hebrew Archaeology, 566.  
 Hebrews, Epistle to, 151 ff., 302, 308, 312 f.,  
     322, 328.  
     Gospel of, 198.  
 Hebrew Versions, 493.  
 Hegel, 590, 591, 594.  
 Hegesippus, 294 f.  
 Heidegger, J. H., 555.  
 Heinrichs, J. H., 580.  
 Heinsius, D., 565.  
 Heliand, 463.  
 Hellenism, 41, 44 ff., 504.  
 Hellenistic Greek, 42 ff.  
 Helmont, Van, 561.  
 Helvetic Confession, I., 332, 546.  
 Helvetic Confession, II., 332, 333, 335, 546.  
 Hemming, N., 548.  
 Hengel, W. A. van, 597.  
 Hengstenberg, E. W., 588 ff.  
 Henke, E., 578.  
 Henke, H. P. C., 346, 576.  
 Henneberg, J. V., 576.  
 Henry, Matthew, 597.  
 Hensler, C. G., 576.  
 Heracleon, 508.  
 Herder, J. G., 578.  
 Herental, Peter of, 535.  
 Heretics, 291 f.  
 Hermas, 275, 294, 317.  
 Ἐρημηνεύσις, 49.  
 Hervé of Mans, 535.  
 Hess, J. J., 582, 584.  
 Hesychius, 366, 367, 530.  
 Hetzer, L., 472.  
 Heubner, H. L., 582.  
 Heumann, C. A., 568.  
 Heunisch, C., 561.  
 Heydenreich, A. L. C., 588.  
 Hezel, W. F., 576.  
 Hilary of Pictavium, 322.  
 Hinckelmann, A., 554.  
 Hindu Versions, 492, 495.  
 Hindustani Version, 492.  
 Hippo, Council of, 324.  
 Hippolytus, 292, 313, 513.  
 Hirschgartner, A., 590.  
 Historical Bibles, 461, 464 f.  
     Exegesis, 518 ff.  
     Literature, 163 ff.  
 History of Exegesis, 501 ff.  
     of the Canon, 281 ff.  
     of the Literature, 24 ff.  
     of the Text, 351 ff.  
     of the Versions, 421 ff.  
 Hoë, M., 561.  
 Hoeven, Van d., 597.  
 Hofacker, L., 584.  
 Hoffmann, W., 591.  
 Hofmann, C. G., 570.  
 Hofmann, J. C. C., 346, 590.  
 Holbach, Von, 575.  
 Holcott, Robert, 535.  
 Holden, G., 597.  
 Homilies, Clementine, 254 ff.  
 Homocoteleuton, 364.  
 Homologoumena, 314.  
 Höpfner, E. F., 584.  
 Horch, J. H., 559.  
 Horne, T. H., 347, 597.  
 Horst, G. C., 576.  
 Hrabanus Maurus, 328, 528.  
 Hug, J. L., 21, 367, 412, 591, 595.  
 Hugo of St. Caro, 329, 386, 529.  
 Hugo of St. Victor, 329, 535.  
 Humanists, 390, 543.  
 Hundeshagen, C. B., 593.  
 Hunnius, A., 555.  
 Hupfeld, H., 590, 593.  
 Hurter, G. L., 584.  
 Huss, John, 541.  
 Huther, J. E., 587.  
 Hutter, E., 405.  
 Hymns, 162.  
 Hystaspes, 274.  
 Icelandic Versions, 472, 485.  
 Ignatius, 287, 289.  
 Iken, C., 566.  
 Illumination, The, 575.  
 Illyrian Version, 496.  
 Immer, A., 594.  
 Indian Versions, East, 492, 495.  
 Indian Versions, N. American, 495.  
 Inner Mission, 349.  
 Innocent I., 324.  
 Innocent III., 465.  
 Inscriptions, 388.  
 Inspiration, 285.  
 Instrumentum, 300, 303.  
 Interchanges of Synonyms, 364.  
 Irenæus, 292, 293, 297 ff., 359, 362, 422, 508,  
     514 f.  
 Irish Version, 489.  
 Isaac, R. Solomon, 539.  
 Isidore of Pelusium, 516.  
 Isidore of Seville, 319, 328, 452, 455, 517,  
     527.  
 Islam, Rise of, 435 f.  
 Itacism, 363, 371.  
 Itala, 452.  
 Italian Versions, 467 f., 476, 478, 488.  
 Jahn, J., 595.  
 Jallaguier, P., 348.  
 James, 56.  
     Epistle of, 143 ff., 308, 312, 319.  
     King, Version, 485.  
     Protévangelium of, 265.  
 Jansenists, 562.  
 Jansenist Versions, 488.  
 Jerome, 319, 323, 358, 359, 365, 367, 450,  
     454, 517, 522.  
 Jerusalem, Council of, 65.  
     Version (Syriac), 429.  
 Jesaïæ Visio, 274.  
 Jesuits, 552.  
 Jesus Christ, 24 ff.  
     Method of Teaching, 27.  
 Jewish Christian Gospels, 197 ff.  
     Christian Literature, 252 ff.  
     Christianity, 52 f.  
     Exegesis, 503, 539.

- Jewish Versions, 493.  
 Jews in the Middle Ages, 539.  
 Joachim of Floris, 536.  
 John, Apocalypse of, 156 ff.  
   Disciples of, 222.  
   Epistles of, 227 ff., 312.  
   Gospel of, 213 ff.  
   Gospel of, Additions to, 239.  
   of Damascus, 328, 526.  
   of Salisbury, 329, 533.  
   the Apostle, 161, 226.  
   the Presbyter, 161.  
 John VIII., 447.  
 Jonas, Justus, 548.  
 Judaism, 70.  
 Jude, Epistle of, 233, 312, 319.  
 Julian of Eclanum, 521.  
 Julius Africanus, 518.  
 Jung-Stilling, J. H., 584.  
 Junilius, 323.  
 Justi, C. W., 578.  
 Justin Martyr, 293, 294, 506.  
   Gospels of, 199.  
 Juynboll, 597.  
 Kahnis, 346.  
 Kaiser, G. P. C., 580, 583.  
 Kanne, J. A., 589.  
 Kant, Imm., 576, 577.  
 Karkaphentian Version, 427.  
 Käuffer, J. E. R., 579.  
 Kayser, A., 590.  
 Keil, C. A. G., 579.  
 Keil, C. F., 588.  
 Kern, F. H., 591, 593.  
 Kienlen, H. W., 598.  
 Kimchi, R. David, 539.  
 King James' Version (English), 485.  
 Kirchmaier, G. W., 565.  
 Kistemaker, J. H., 595.  
 Klaiber, 591.  
 Klee, H., 595.  
 Klein, J. G., 584.  
 Kleuker, J. F., 580.  
 Kliefoth, Th., 588.  
 Knapp, G. C., 414, 582.  
 Κουρῆ, 42 f.  
 Köllner, E., 593.  
 Koppe, J. B., 410, 580.  
 Koran, 440.  
   Apocryphal Legends in, 263.  
 Krause, J. F., 580.  
 Krist, 463.  
 Kromayer, M., 561.  
 Krummacher, F. W., 589.  
 Krummacher, G. D., 589.  
 Kuhn, 591.  
 Kühnöl, C. G., 572.  
 Kurtz, J. H., 588, 589.  
 Kyrillos Lukaris, 338.  
 Lachmann, C., 416.  
 Lactantius, 303, 313.  
 Lambert, F., 549.  
 Lampe, F. A., 555.  
 Lanfranc, 527.  
 Lang, W. T., 582.  
 Lange, C. H., 565.  
 Lange, J., 558.  
 Lange, J. P., 589.  
 Lange, S. G., 580.  
 Langsdorff, C. C. v., 575.  
 Language of the Apostles, 40 ff.  
 Laodicea, Council of, 321.  
 Laodicean Canon, 321.  
 Laodiceans, Epistle to, 271, 329.  
 Laplandic Version, 489.  
 Lasinsky, F. H. C., 577.  
 Latin Canon, 322 ff.  
 Latin Versions, 449 ff.  
 Latinisms, 44.  
 Laurentius Valla, 542.  
 Le Buy, J., 561.  
 Le Clerc, J. (Clericus), 563.  
 Lectionaries, 384.  
 Lee, S., 597.  
 Le Fèvre, J., 473, 480, 543.  
 Le Gros, N., 595.  
 Leigh, E., 565.  
 Lencke, F., 584.  
 Lentulus, 259.  
 Leo Allatius, 338.  
 Leo XII., 499.  
 Leontius of Byzantium, 320, 328.  
 Less, G., 581.  
 Lessing, G. E., 341, 573.  
 Lettish Version, 489.  
 Leusden, J., 406.  
 Leutwein, C. F., 584.  
 Leydekker, W., 566.  
 Leyser, P., 555.  
 Ligatures, 375.  
 Lightfoot, J., 566.  
 Lilienthal, T. C., 581.  
 Limborch, Ph. v., 563.  
 Lindemann, F. H., 578.  
 Lisco, F. G., 589.  
 Literature, History of the, 24 ff.  
 Lithuanian Version, 489.  
 Liturgical Additions, 362.  
 Liturgies, Apostolic, 276.  
 Local Coloring, 365.  
 Loch, V., 416.  
 Locke, John, 569.  
 Löffler, J. F. C., 576.  
 Löhnis, J. M. A., 595.  
 Lombard, Peter, 529.  
 London Polyglot, 407.  
 Löscher, V. E., 554, 560.  
 Löseke, C. A., 561.  
 Low-German Versions, 472.  
 Lucar, 338.  
 Lucas, F., 552.  
 Lucas, J. C., 561.  
 Lucian, 366, 367.  
 Lücke, C. G. F., 587.  
 Luke, 201 ff., 211.  
   Gospel of, 201 ff.  
 Lund, J., 566.  
 Lusitanian Versions, 489.  
 Luthardt, C. E., 588.  
 Luther, 332, 333, 334, 470 f., 483, 547 f.  
 Lutheran Theologians, 553 f., 567 f., 588.  
 Lutteroth, H., 593.  
 Lutz, J. L. S., 587.  
 Lyra, Nicolas of, 329, 541.  
 Mace, 409.

- Mack, 591, 595.  
 Maastricht, Gerhard of, 407.  
 Maier, A., 595.  
 Magdeburg Centuries, 333.  
 Magister, Thomas, 530.  
 Magyar Versions, 467, 489.  
 Mai, J. H., 560.  
 Major, S., 555.  
 Majus, J. H., 554.  
 Malay Versions, 492, 495.  
 Maldonado, J., 552.  
 Maltese Version, 489.  
 Mammotrectus, 541.  
 Manichæans, 327.  
 Manuscripts, Character in which written, 375.  
     Description, 392.  
     Form, 374.  
     Material, 373.  
     Punctuation, 376 ff.  
 Manx Version, 489.  
 Marchesini, J., 541.  
 Marcion, 246, 362, 508.  
 Marcion's Canon, 291.  
 Marek, J., 557, 561.  
 Mariana, J., 552.  
 Mark, Gospel of, 187, 189 ff.  
 Mark, Gospel of, Additions to, 240.  
 Marlorat, A., 549.  
 Marsilius Ficinus, 542.  
 Martianay, J., 552.  
 Martin, D., 486.  
 Masch, 409.  
 Matthæi, C. F., 413.  
 Matthæi, F. A. L., 578.  
 Matthæi, G. C. R., 590.  
 Matthew, Gospel of, 186, 191 ff.  
 Matthies, C. S., 591.  
 Mayer, F. G., 595.  
 Mediaeval Exegesis, 522 ff.  
 Meier, F. C., 593.  
 Melancthon, Ph., 334, 547 f.  
 Melito, 294.  
 Memphitic Version, 430.  
 Mendæans, 222.  
 Mendoza, A. de Escobar y, 552.  
 Menken, G., 589.  
 Menochius, J. St., 552.  
 Menzer, D., 339.  
 Mesrob, 432.  
 Messerschmid, J. C., 565.  
 Messianic Expectations, 29, 52, 155.  
 Mestral, A. de, 598.  
 Methodicus, 446.  
 Methodius, 312, 513.  
 Method of Jesus' Teaching, 27.  
 Metrophanes Kritopoulos, 338.  
 Meyer, G. W., 577, 579.  
 Meyer, H. A. W., 592.  
 Meyer, J. F. v., 584.  
 Meyer, L., 564.  
 Michaelis, C. B., 559, 560.  
 Michaelis, J. D., 18, 568, 570.  
 Michaelis, J. H., 559.  
 Middle High-German Versions, 464, 469.  
 Mill, J., 407.  
 Mirandula, Picus de, 542.  
 Mirus, A. E., 553.  
 Missions, Ancient, 35.  
     Missions, Modern, 492.  
     Mixed Editions, 405.  
     Modern Greek Versions, 490.  
     Modern Versions, 460 ff.  
     Mohammedanism, 435 f.  
     Moldavian Version, 496.  
     Moldenhawer, 406.  
     Molin, G. N., 577.  
     Monneron, 598.  
     Monod, A., 598.  
     Monsperger, J. J., 595.  
     Montanus, B. A., 566.  
     Morus, S. F. N., 572.  
     Moses of Chorene, 432.  
     Mosheim, J. L. von, 568.  
     Mothe-Guyon, J. M. Bouviers de la, 562.  
     Müller, J., 591.  
     Münthe, C. F., 565.  
     Muralt, E. von, 416.  
     Muratorian Canon, 302, 310.  
     Musculus, W. F., 335, 549.  
     Mystical Exposition, 509 ff.  
     Mystics, 535 f., 584.  
     Myths, 580, 591.  
  
 Nadir Shah, 441.  
 Napier, J., 561.  
 Neander, A., 587, 591.  
 Nepos, 312.  
 Nestorians, 327, 362, 427.  
 Neumann, W., 588.  
 New Testament Pseudepigrapha, 247 ff.  
 Newton, B. W., 584.  
 Newton, Isaac, 561.  
 Nicæa, Council of, 328.  
 Nicephorus Callisti, 329.  
 Nicephorus of Constantinople, 319, 328, 531.  
 Nicetas, 531.  
 Nicodemus, Gospel of, 259.  
 Nicolai, F., 575.  
 Nicolas, M., 598.  
 Nicolas of Lyra, 329, 541.  
 Nigrinus, G., 561.  
 Nitzsch, 346.  
 Noachian Precepts, 66.  
 Nork, F., 575.  
 Nösselt, J. A., 572, 577.  
 Nôta, 311, 314.  
 Notker Labeo, 328, 463.  
 Novatians, 313, 327.  
  
 Oberlin, H. G., 584.  
 Observationes Philologicæ, 565.  
 Occidental Text, 370.  
 Oeolampadius, J., 333, 335, 549.  
 Oecumenius, 531.  
 Odo of Clugny, 526.  
 Oegger, 584.  
 Old Catholic Movement, 337.  
 Old High-German Versions, 463.  
 Old Testament, 281 f.  
 Olearius, G., 555.  
 Olearius, J., 553, 560.  
 Olivetan, Pierre Robert, 474.  
 Olshausen, H., 589.  
 Oltramare, H., 598.  
 Olympiodorus, 527.  
 Ophites, 292.

- Order of the N. T. Books, 302.  
 Oriental Versions, 426 ff.  
 Origen, 311, 318, 365, 366, 367, 511 ff.  
 Oertel, E. F. C., 578.  
 Osiander, J. E., 582, 591.  
 Osterwald, J. F., 486.  
 Otfried, 463.  
 Outrein, J. d', 557.
- Palæography, 352 f., 372 ff.  
 Palairot, E., 565.  
 Palestinian Language, 40.  
 Palimpsests, 373.  
 Palm, J. H. van der, 597.  
 Palmer, E., 419.  
 Pamphilus, 365, 513.  
 Pantænus, 422, 510.  
 Papias, 175, 186, 187, 287.  
 Papyrus, 353, 373.  
 Pareau, J. H., 582, 597.  
 Pareau, L. G., 597.  
 Pareus, D., 555.  
 Paris Polyglot, 407.  
 Pastoral Épistles, 88 ff., 126 ff.  
 Paterius of Brescia, 526.  
 Patres Apostolici, 285 ff.  
 Patriarchs, Twelve, 257.  
 Patristic Exegesis, 509 ff.  
 Patrizzi, F. X., 419.  
 Paul, Death, 134 f.  
   Epistles, 73 ff.  
   Imprisonment, 112 ff.  
   Journeys, 78 ff.  
   Journey to Rome, 125.  
   Last Days, 134.  
   Life, 58 ff.  
   Pseudepigrapha, 267, 271.  
   Pupils, 68.  
   Residence at Ephesus, 87.  
   Results of his Teaching, 135.  
   Theology, 59 ff.
- Paulus Diaconus, 528.  
 Paulus, H. E. G., 576, 577.  
 Paulus of Burgos, 541.  
 Peirce, J., 569.  
 Pelagius, 521.  
 Pellicanus, C., 549.  
 Pelt, L., 587.  
 Penzenkuffer, C. W., 577.  
 Perez, J., of Valencia, 535.  
 Pericopes, 382 ff.  
 Persian Versions, 441, 495.  
 Peshito, 303, 326, 427.  
 Petau, D., 566.  
 Peter, 55, 149.  
   Acts of, 253 ff.  
   Apocalypse of, 253.  
   First Epistle, 147 ff.  
   Gospel of, 177, 199.  
   Κήρυγμα, 253.
- Peter of Clugny, 329.  
 Peter of Herental, 535.  
 Petersen, J. E., 561.  
 Petersen, J. W., 561.  
 Petrus Monachus, 330.  
 Peucer, D., 565.  
 Pfaff, C. M., 570.  
 Pfeiffer, A., 340, 553.  
 Pfeiffer, I. E., 581.
- Pharisaism, Relation to Christianity, 25.  
 Pharmakides, Theoklitos, 531.  
 Phavorinus, 530.  
 Philadelphus, T., 569.  
 Philastrius, 322.  
 Philemon, Epistle to, 124.  
 Philippi, F. A., 588.  
 Philippians, Epistle to, 131 ff.  
 Philology, Biblical, 565.  
 Philology, N. T., 47, 592.  
 Philoxenian Version (Syriac), 428.  
 Photius of Constantinople, 527.  
 Picus de Mirandula, 542.  
 Piedmontese Version, 496.  
 Pierius, 365, 513.  
 Pietists, 558 f., 562.  
 Pilati Acta, 258 f.  
 Pin, L. E. du, 337.  
 Piscator, J., 555.  
 Pius VII., 499.  
 Pius VIII., 499.  
 Pius IX., 499.  
 Placæus, 340.  
 Plauck, H., 577.  
 Plantine Family (Editions), 403.  
 Poetry, Early Christian, 162.  
 Polish Versions, 467, 477 f.  
 Polycarp, 287.  
 Polyglot, Antwerp, 403.  
   Complutensian, 399.  
   London, 407.  
   Paris, 407.
- Polynesian Versions, 495.  
 Poole, M., 567.  
 Porschberger, C., 565.  
 Port Royal Version (French), 483.  
 Portuguese Versions, 476, 488.  
 Postillæ, 523 f.  
 Pott, D., 575.  
 Pott, D. J., 580.  
 Prædicatio Petri, 253.  
 Preaching of Jesus, 26.  
   of the Gospel, 36 ff.
- Pre-Jeromic Latin Versions, 453.  
 Presbyters, 37.  
 Pressensé, E. de, 598.  
 Prideaux, H., 566.  
 Pritz, 409.  
 Procopius of Gaza, 527.  
 Propaganda, 491.  
 Prophecies, 589 ff.  
 Prophets, 37.  
 Proselytes, 41, 66.  
 Prosper Aquitanus, 526.  
 Protevangelia, 173, 181, 183.  
 Proto-Mark, 187.  
 Proto-Matthew, 186.  
 Przipcow, S., 556.  
 Pseudepigrapha of the N. T., 247 ff., 293.  
 Pseudo-Clementines, 254 ff.  
 Ptolemæus, 245, 508.  
 Public Readings, 282 ff.  
 Pupils of Paul, 68.  
 Purists, 47.  
 Pyle, Th., 569.
- Quaternions, 374.  
 Quenstedt, 340.  
 Quesnel, P., 562.

- Quinet, E., 348.  
 Quotations, 294, 394.  
 Rabanus Maurus, 328, 528.  
 Rabbinical Exegesis, 503.  
 Radbert, Paschasius, 528.  
 Radulf of Flavigny, 535.  
 Rambach, J. J., 558, 559.  
 Ranolder, J., 595.  
 Raphaelus, G., 565.  
 Rashi, 539.  
 Rationalism, 576, 579 f.  
 Rätze, J. G., 587.  
 Rau, J. W., 570.  
 Readings, Public, 281 ff.  
 Recensions, 365 f.  
 Reckenberger, J. L., 560.  
 Recognitions (Clementine), 254 f.  
 Redslob, G. M., 590.  
 Reformers, Canon of, 332 ff.  
     Exegesis of, 544 ff.  
 Reiche, J. G., 593.  
 Reichel, V., 595.  
 Reimar, H. S., 575.  
 Reimerius, 330.  
 Reinhard, F. V., 346, 582.  
 Reinke, L., 595.  
 Reithmayr, F. X., 418.  
 Reland, H., 566.  
 Remigius of Auxerre, 528.  
 Renaissance, 540 f.  
 Renan, E., 598.  
 Restoration, 585.  
 Reuss, J. F., 582.  
 Revelation of John, 156 ff.  
 Réville, A., 598.  
 Revival of Learning, 538 ff.  
 Rhæto-Romance Versions, 489.  
 Rheinwald, F. H., 587.  
 Rhemish Version (English), 478.  
 Rhyme-Bibles, 461.  
 Richard of St. Victor, 329, 535.  
 Rilliet, A., 419, 598.  
 Robinson, H., 597.  
 Roëll, H. A., 555.  
 Roman Canon, 309.  
     Church, 106.  
     Imprisonment (of Paul), 125 ff.  
 Romans, Epistle to, 107 ff.  
 Rome, Condition of, in Apostolic Age, 106.  
 Roorda, T., 597.  
 Roos, M. F., 561, 589.  
 Röper, F. L., 576.  
 Rosenmüller, E. F. C., 572.  
 Rosenmüller, J. G., 572, 577.  
 Rossi, J. B. de, 595.  
 Rougemont, F. de, 584, 598.  
 Royal Version (English), 485.  
 Rückert, L. I., 593.  
 Rudelbach, A. G., 588.  
 Rufinus, 322, 513.  
 Rühle von Lilienstern, A. F., 584.  
 Rullman, L. C., 576.  
 Ruprecht of Deutz, 533.  
 Russian Versions, 490, 496.  
 Sa, E., 552.  
 Sack, 591.  
 Sacy, Le Maistre de, 488, 562.  
 Sadduceism, Relation to Christianity, 25.  
 Sadolet, J., 551.  
 Sahidic Version, 430.  
 Salchlin, G. R., 565.  
 Salisbury, John of, 329, 533.  
 Salmero, A., 552.  
 Salzmann, R., 584.  
 Sand, C., 556.  
 Sander, F., 584.  
 Sardinoux, A., 598.  
 Scaliger, J., 565, 566.  
 Scandinavian Theology, 347.  
 Schaller, J., 591.  
 Schelling, F. W. J., 580.  
 Schenkel, 594.  
 Scherer, E., 348, 598.  
 Scherer, J. L. W., 576.  
 Scheuchzer, J. J., 566.  
 Schickard, W., 566.  
 Schirmer, A. G. F., 594.  
 Schleiermacher, 346, 587.  
 Schleusner, J. F., 580.  
 Schlichting, J., 556.  
 Schmid, C. E. E., 555, 594.  
 Schmid, C. F., 340.  
 Schmidt, S., 554, 555, 577.  
 Schmitter, A., 595.  
 Schnappinger, B. M., 595.  
 Schneider, J. W., 555.  
 Scholasticism, 533 f.  
 Scholia, 380, 530.  
 Scholtz, H., 565.  
 Scholz, J. M. A., 415.  
 Schott, H. A., 412, 418, 580.  
 Schott, Th., 588.  
 Schöttgen, C., 566.  
 Schultens, A., 565.  
 Schulthess, J., 576.  
 Schulz, D., 580.  
 Schwarz, F. H. C., 582.  
 Schwarz, F. L., 581.  
 Schwarzel, C., 595.  
 Scott, Th., 597.  
 Scribes, 351.  
 Scrivener, F. H. A., 419.  
 Sedulius, 527.  
 Seelen, J. H. a, 565.  
 Seemiller, S., 595.  
 Seidel, C. T., 560.  
 Seiler, G. F., 582.  
 Seitz, J. C., 561.  
 Selden, J., 566.  
 Selnecker, N., 555.  
 Semi-Bezan Editions, 404.  
 Semler, J. S., 18, 342, 411, 573 f., 576.  
 Semler, M. F., 584.  
 Seneca, Correspondence of Paul and, 273.  
 Septuagint, 45, 283.  
 Serarius, N., 552.  
 Serre, De la, 341.  
 Shepherd of Hermas, 275, 294.  
 Sibylline Oracles, 274.  
 Simon, R., 16, 406, 488.  
 Simon the Sorcerer, 71, 72.  
 Singhalese Version, 492.  
 Sixtine Vulgate, 482.  
 Sixtus Senensis, 16, 337.  
 Slavic Versions, 446 f., 477, 488.  
 Socinians, 556.

- Sorbonne, 331.  
 Spanheim, F., 566.  
 Spanish Versions, 467 f., 476, 489.  
 Speaker's Bible, The, 597.  
 Spencer, J., 566.  
 Spener, P. J., 558 f.  
 Spinoza, B., 23, 341, 564.  
 Stark, C. L. W., 583.  
 Starke, C., 567.  
 Stäudlin, C. F., 583.  
 Stauss, A. C., 577.  
 St. Caro, Hugo of, 329, 529.  
 Steeg, J., 598.  
 Steiger, W., 588.  
 Stein, Corn. von (a Lapide), 552.  
 Stein, C. W., 583.  
 Stephan, E., 410.  
 Stephanic Family, 403.  
 Stephano-Bezan Family, 405.  
 Stephano-Plantine Family, 405.  
 Stephen, 33 ff.  
 Stephens, Henry, 402 f.  
 Stephens, Robert, 387, 402.  
 Steudel, J. C. F., 582, 589, 591.  
 Stichometry, 377.  
 Stier, R., 589.  
 St. Louis, 463.  
 Stolz, J. J., 576.  
 Storr, G. C., 582.  
 Strabo, Walafrid, 529.  
 Strauss, D. F., 591.  
 Strigel, V., 548.  
 Stuart, Moses, 597.  
 Study of the Classics, 542.  
 St. Victor, Hugo of, 329, 535.  
 St. Victor, Richard of, 329, 535.  
 Subscriptions, 389.  
 Subsidia Critica, 391.  
 Suidas, 530.  
 Sumner, J. B., 597.  
 Superscriptions, 388.  
 Swedenborg, Em., 341, 584.  
 Swedish Versions, 472, 485, 487.  
 Swiss Versions, 472, 485.  
 Symbolum Apostolicum, 279.  
 Synagogue Readings, 282.  
 Συναγωγή, 384.  
 Synod of Jerusalem, 65.  
 Synoptic Gospels, 179 ff.  
 Syriac Canon, 308.  
     Versions, 426 ff., 491.  
 Syro-Chaldaic Dialect, 40.  
  
 Tamil Version, 492.  
 Tatar Versions, 495.  
 Tatian, 199, 292, 463.  
 Teller, W. A., 576.  
 Tertullian, 293, 297 ff., 303, 362, 514 f.  
 Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 257.  
 Testamentum, 303.  
 Text, History of, 351 ff.  
 Textual Criticism, 395 ff.  
     Works on, 351, 395.  
 Textus Receptus, 403 ff.  
 Thebaic Version, 430.  
 Theile, C. G. W., 418, 591, 592.  
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 320, 518, 521.  
 Theodoret, 434, 509, 520 f.  
 Theognostus, 513.  
 Theological Exegesis, 586.  
 Theophilus of Antioch, 297 f.  
 Theophylact, 531.  
 Thessalonians, Epistle to, 79 ff.  
 Thiess, J. O., 576.  
 Tholuck, A., 588 f., 591.  
 Thomas Aquinas, 533.  
 Thomas, L., 598.  
 Thomas Magister, 530.  
 Thube, C. G., 561.  
 Thurn, W. C., 576.  
 Til, S. van, 557.  
 Timothy, First Epistle to, 90 ff.  
     Second Epistle to, 126 ff.  
 Tinius, J. G., 578, 584.  
 Tirinus, J., 552.  
 Tischendorf, C., 392, 417.  
 Titelmann, F., 551.  
 Titles, 388.  
 Τίτλος, 386.  
 Tittmann, C. C., 572.  
 Tittmann, J. A. H., 414.  
 Titus, Epistle to, 88 ff.  
 Tobler, J., 568.  
 Toinard, N., 409.  
 Toland, 341.  
 Tollner, J. G., 570.  
 Tongues, Gift of, 97.  
 Tönnien, J. H., 561.  
 Tossanus, D., 555.  
 Tradition, 242, 515.  
     Gospel, 163 ff.  
 Traditores, 313.  
 Translations, 421 ff.  
     (Criticism), 393.  
 Transpositions, 364.  
 Tregelles, S. P., 419.  
 Trent, Council of, 336, 482, 552.  
 Trigland, J., 566.  
 Trollope, W., 597.  
 Tryehonius, 517.  
 Tübingen School, Earlier, 582.  
     Later, 19, 344.  
 Turkish Versions, 492, 495.  
 Turrecremata, Joh. de, 535.  
 Turretin, J. A., 568, 573.  
 Twesten, 346.  
 Tychsen, T. C., 580.  
 Typology, 505, 550, 570, 589.  
  
 Ulfilas, 444.  
 Ullmann, C., 587, 591.  
 Umbreit, F. W. C., 578, 587.  
 Uncials, 375.  
 Ungerer, C. G., 582.  
 Unterkircher, C., 595.  
 Ussher, J., 566.  
 Usteri, L., 587, 591.  
  
 Vaisse, J. L., 584.  
 Valckenaer, L. C., 597.  
 Valentinus, 245, 292, 362.  
 Valla, Laurentius, 542.  
 Valpy, E., 419, 597.  
 Van Alphen, H., 570.  
 Van der Hoeven, 597.  
 Van der Palm, 597.  
 Van Ess, L., 418.  
 Van Helmont, 561.

- Van Hengel, W. A., 597.  
 Van Til, S., 557.  
 Van Voorst, J., 597.  
 Variants, 355 ff.  
 Vatablus, F., 551.  
 Vater, J. S., 414.  
 Vatke, W., 591.  
 Venturini, C., 575.  
 Vermilius, P., 332.  
 Verses, 387.  
 Versions (Criticism), 393.  
   Afghan, 495.  
   African Dialects, 495.  
   Albanian, 496.  
   Amharic, 442.  
   Anglo-Saxon, 462.  
   Arabic, 437 ff., 491.  
   Armenian, 432, 491, 495.  
   Armorican, 489, 496.  
   Asiatic Dialects, Central, 495.  
   Bashmuric, 430.  
   Basque, 489.  
   Biscayan, 489.  
   Bohemian, 467, 468, 477, 478, 488.  
   Catalan, 496.  
   Catholic, 478 ff., 488, 499.  
   Celtic, 489.  
   Central Asiatic Dialects, 495.  
   Chinese, 492, 495.  
   Coptic, 430, 491.  
   Creolese, 492.  
   Croatian, 489.  
   Dalmatian, 489.  
   Danish, 467, 472, 485, 487, 497.  
   Dutch, 467, 468, 472, 478, 485, 487.  
   East Indian Languages, 492, 495.  
   Egyptian, 430.  
   English, 467, 475, 478, 485, 487, 488, 497, 498.  
   Esthonian, 489.  
   Ethiopic, 431.  
   Finnish, 489, 496.  
   Flemish, 488.  
   French, 465 f., 468, 473 f., 480, 486, 488, 497, 498, 499.  
   Gaelic, 489.  
   German, 463 f., 469, 472, 479, 483, 487, 488, 497, 498, 499.  
   German, Luther, 470 ff., 483 f.  
   Georgian, 433, 491.  
   Gothic, 444 f.  
   Greenlandic, 492.  
   Harclean (Syriac), 428.  
   Hebrew, 493.  
   Hindustani, 492.  
   History of, 421 ff.  
   Icelandic, 472, 485.  
   Illyrian, 496.  
   Irish, 489.  
   Itala (Latin), 452.  
   Italian, 467, 468, 476, 478, 488.  
   Jansenist, 488.  
   Jerusalem (Syriac), 429.  
   Karkaphentian (Syriac), 427.  
   Laplandic, 489, 496.  
   Latin, 449 ff.  
   Latin, Itala, 452.  
   Latin, Pre-Jeromic, 453.  
   Latin, Vulgate, 454 ff., 481 f.
- Versions, Lettish, 489.  
   Lithuanian, 489.  
   Low German, 472.  
   Lusitanian, 489.  
   Magyar, 467, 489.  
   Malayan, 492.  
   Maltese, 489.  
   Manx, 489.  
   Memphitic, 430.  
   Modern, 460 ff.  
   Modern Greek, 490, 496.  
   Moldavian, 496.  
   North American Dialects, 495.  
   Oriental, 426 ff.  
   Persian, 441, 495.  
   Peshito (Syriac), 308, 326, 427.  
   Philoxenian (Syriac), 428.  
   Piedmontese, 496.  
   Polish, 467, 477, 478.  
   Polynesian Dialects, 495.  
   Portuguese, 476, 483.  
   Pre-Jeromic Latin, 453.  
   Rhæto-Romance, 489.  
   Russian, 490, 496.  
   Sahidic, 430.  
   Singhalese, 492.  
   Slavic, 446 f., 477, 489, 496.  
   South American Dialects, 495.  
   Spanish, 467 f., 476, 488.  
   Swedish, 472, 485, 487.  
   Swiss, 472, 485.  
   Syriac, 426 ff., 491.  
   Syriac, Harclean, 428.  
   Syriac, Jerusalem, 429.  
   Syriac, Karkaphentian, 427.  
   Syriac, Peshito, 308, 326, 427.  
   Syriac, Philoxenian, 428.  
   Tamil, 492.  
   Tatar, 495.  
   Thebaic, 430.  
   Turkish, 492, 495.  
   Vulgate, 454 ff., 481 f.  
   Vulgate, Clementine, 482.  
   Vulgate, Sixtine, 482.  
   Waldensian, 465, 496.  
   Wallachian, 489.  
   Welsh, 489.  
   Wendish, 489.  
   Windish, 489.
- Victor of Antioch, 531.  
 Victorinus, 313.  
 Vignoles, A. des, 566.  
 Vincent of Lerinum, 515.  
 Visitation, Tours of, 38.  
 Vitalis a Furno, 535.  
 Vitringa, C., 557, 561, 566.  
 Vives, L., 331.  
 Voltaire, 575.  
 Von Cölln, D., 593.  
 Von Holbach, 575.  
 Voorst, J. van, 597.  
 Vulgate, 454 ff., 481 f.
- Waeyen, J. v. d., 557.  
 Wähner, A. G., 566.  
 Walaus, B., 568.  
 Walafrid Strabus (Strabo), 529.  
 Welch, J. G., 560.  
 Waldenses, 330, 465.



- Waldensian Version, 465, 496.  
 Wallachian Version, 489.  
 Walton, Brian, 17, 407.  
 Warnefried, Paulus, 528.  
 Wecklein, M., 595.  
 Wegscheider, A., 346, 580.  
 Weigenmeyer, J. L. F., 584.  
 Weiss, A. E., 589.  
 Wells, E., 409.  
 Welsh Version, 489.  
 Wendish Version, 489.  
 Werenfels, S., 568.  
 Wertheim Bible, 487.  
 Westcott and Hort, 419.  
 Wetstein, J. J., 408, 563.  
 Whiston, W., 341, 409.  
 Whitaker, W., 340.  
 White, Jos., 419.  
 Wielif, J., 467, 541.  
 Wiedenfeld, C. W., 588.  
 Wilke, C. G., 592.  
 Wille, 561.  
 Williram, 463.  
 Winkelmann, J., 555.  
 Windischmann, F., 595.  
 Windish Version, 489.  
 Winer, G. B., 47, 592.  
 Winterberg, F. S., 572.  
 Witse, H., 557, 566.  
 Woken, F., 554.  
 Wolfenbüttel Fragments, 575.  
 Wolfian Philosophy, 570.  
 Wolf, J. C., 567.  
 Wolle, C., 570.  
 Wollzogen, J. L. v., 556.  
 Woolston, Th., 575.  
 Wordsworth, C., 419.  
 Wünsch, C. E., 575.  
 Württemberg Confession, 335.  
 Ximenes, Cardinal, 399.  
 Yarchi, 539.  
 Zabians, 222.  
 Zachariæ, G. T., 581.  
 Zacharias of Goldborough, 535.  
 Zeger, N., 551.  
 Zehender, J. J., 561.  
 Zigabenus, Euthymius, 531.  
 Zinzendorf, 487, 559.  
 Zonaras, J., 530.  
 Züllig, F. J., 578.  
 Zürich Version, 472, 485.  
 Zwingli, 335, 549.



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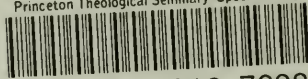






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