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The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel

AND OTHER

CRITICAL ESSAYS

*SELECTED FROM THE PUBLISHED PAPERS
OF THE LATE*

EZRA ABBOT

BOSTON

GEO. H. ELLIS, 141 FRANKLIN STREET

1888

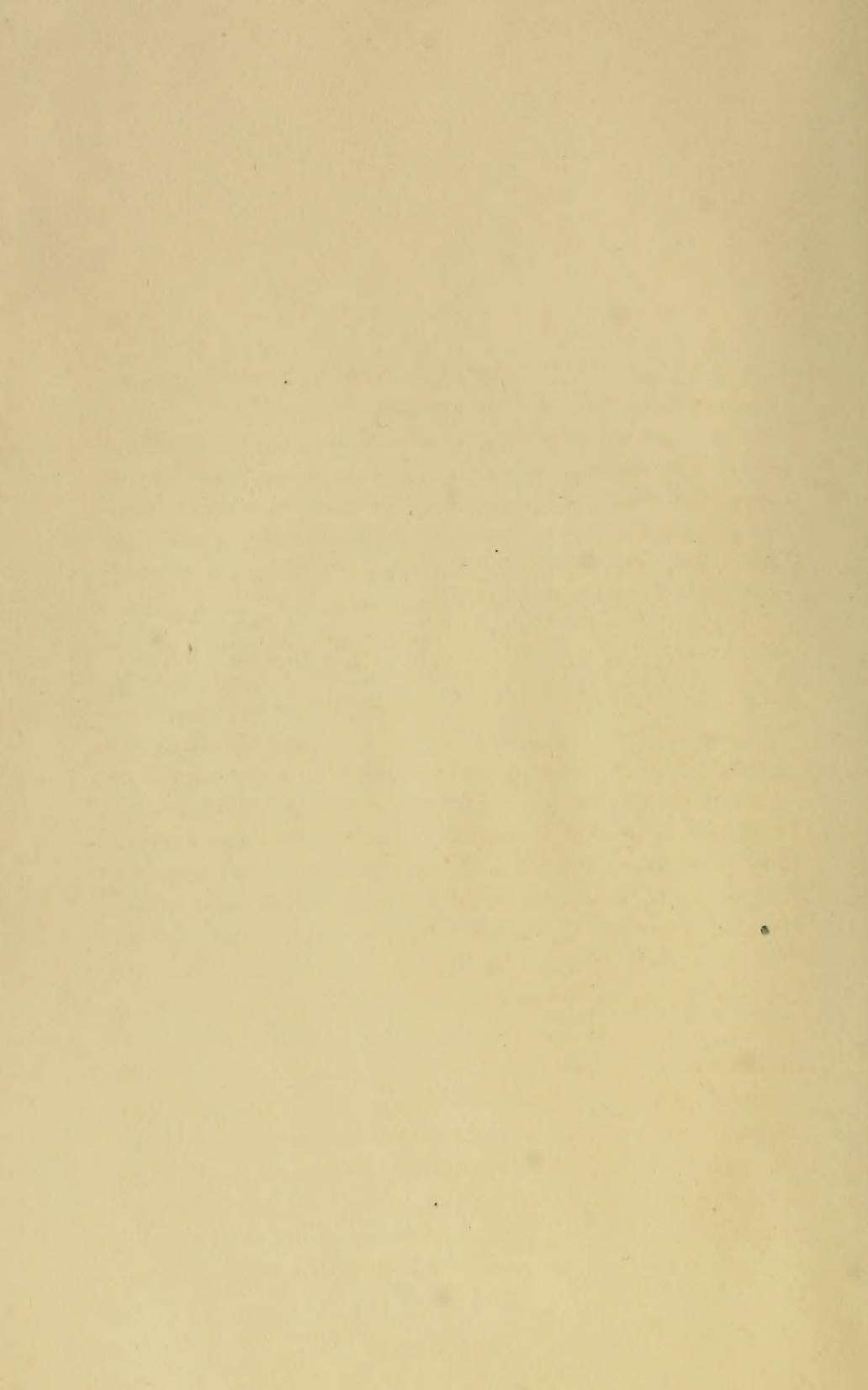
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1888.

EZRA ABBOT, eldest child of Ezra and Phebe (Abbot) Abbot, was born in Jackson, Waldo County, Maine, April 28, 1819; was fitted for college at Phillips (Exeter) Academy; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1840, and received its degree of A.M. in 1843; removed to Cambridge in 1847; after some time spent in teaching, in pursuing private studies, and in rendering service in the libraries of Harvard College and the Boston Athenæum, was appointed in 1856 Assistant Librarian of Harvard College; and in 1872 Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School.

He was elected in 1852 a member of the American Oriental Society, and from 1853 its Recording Secretary; in 1861, a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; in 1871 appointed University Lecturer on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament; in the same year chosen a member of the New Testament Company for the revision of our English Bible. He was also a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, and of the Harvard Biblical Club.

In 1861, he received from Harvard College the honorary degree of A.M.; in 1869 that of LL.D. from Yale College, and the same from Bowdoin College in 1878; in 1872 from Harvard College that of S.T.D.; and he was tendered the degree of D.D. by the University of Edinburgh at its recent tercentenary, but passed away before the date of the celebration.

He died at his home in Cambridge at 5.30 P.M., on Friday, March 21, 1884.



PREFACE.

THE present volume is issued in compliance with suggestions coming from both sides of the Atlantic. Several of the essays it contains appeared originally in publications not easily accessible, yet embody results of the highest value to students of the New Testament, whether in its textual or its historical aspects. Some of them will be found to have received from the author, since their first appearance, not a few minute perfecting touches, characteristic of his punctilious and vigilant scholarship. In reading them, it is important to note the date of composition (given at the beginning of each), since it has not been found practicable always to mention such supplementary or qualifying facts as the progress of time has brought. Indeed, by far the larger portion of the present volume was printed nearly two years ago; and its publication has been delayed by causes over which the editor has had little control. The chief infelicitous result of the delay, however, appears in the fact that one or two additions — made somewhat inconsistently, it must be confessed — have come in their turn to need supplementing (see, for example, p. 166, note). All the editor's annotations have been carefully distinguished from the work of the author by being enclosed in square brackets; but it should be observed that matter thus enclosed in the midst of quotations or translations is from the pen of Dr. Abbot himself.

Besides the elaborate discussions of debatable textual questions, which render the volume indispensable to the professional student, room has been found for a few of those papers in which Dr. Abbot addresses general readers in a style alike lucid, attractive, and authoritative. But, after all, to those privileged to know the variety and extent of his learning, the retentiveness and accuracy

of his memory, the penetration and fairness of his judgment, this volume will seem but an inadequate and fragmentary memorial.

The compass and special character of the essay upon the Fourth Gospel have made the editor glad to avail himself of the separate index to that part of the book courteously placed at his disposal by Professor Huidekoper, of Meadville. This index, accordingly, is not incorporated with that at the end of the volume.

In conclusion, special thanks are due, and are here publicly given, to the several editors or proprietors of the publications in which the essays were first printed, for the kind permission to reproduce them in their present form.

J. H. THAYER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,
July, 1888.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE FIRST ESSAY.

THE following essay was read, in part, before the "Ministers' Institute," at its public meeting last October, in Providence, R.I. In considering the external evidences of the genuineness of the Gospel ascribed to John, it was out of the question, under the circumstances, to undertake anything more than the discussion of a few important points; and even these could not be properly treated within the time allowed.

In revising the paper for the *Unitarian Review* (February, March, June, 1880), and, with additions and corrections, for the volume of "Institute Essays," I have greatly enlarged some parts of it, particularly that relating to the evidence that the Fourth Gospel was used by Justin Martyr. The consideration of his quotations and of the hypotheses connected with them has given occasion to the long Notes appended to the essay, in which will be found the results of some original investigation. But the circumstances under which the essay is printed have compelled me to treat other parts of the evidence for the genuineness of this Gospel less thoroughly than I wished, and on certain points to content myself with mere references. It has also been necessary to give in a translation many quotations which scholars would have preferred to see in the original; but the translation has been made as literal as the English idiom would permit, and precise references to the passages cited are always given for the benefit of the critical student.

E. A.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., May 21, 1880.

I.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL: EXTERNAL EVIDENCES.

THE problem of the Fourth Gospel—that is, the question of its authorship and historical value—requires for its complete solution a consideration of many collateral questions which are still in debate. Until these are gradually disposed of by thorough investigation and discussion, we can hardly hope for a general agreement on the main question at issue. Such an agreement among scholars certainly does not at present exist. Since the “epoch-making” essay (to borrow a favorite phrase of the Germans) of Ferdinand Christian Baur, in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1844, there has indeed been much shifting of ground on the part of the opponents of the genuineness of the Gospel; but among scholars of equal learning and ability, as Hilgenfeld, Keim, Scholten, Hausrath, Renan, on the one hand, and Godet, Beyschlag, Luthardt, Weiss, Lightfoot, on the other, opinions are yet divided, with a tendency, at least in Germany, toward the denial of its genuineness. Still, some of these collateral questions of which I have spoken seem to be approaching a settlement. I may notice first one of the most important, the question whether the relation of the Apostle John to Jewish Christianity was not such that it is impossible to suppose the Fourth Gospel to have proceeded from him, even at a late period of his life. This is a fundamental postulate of the theory of the Tübingen School, in regard to

the opposition of Paul to the three great Apostles, Peter, James, and John. The Apostle John, they say, wrote the Apocalypse, the most Jewish of all the books of the New Testament; but he could not have written the anti-Judaic Gospel. Recognizing most fully the great service which Baur and his followers have rendered to the history of primitive Christianity by their bold and searching investigations, I think it may be said that there is a wide-spread and deepening conviction among fair-minded scholars that the theory of the Tübingen School, in the form in which it has been presented by the coryphæi of the party, as Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, is an extreme view, resting largely on a false interpretation of many passages of the New Testament, and a false view of many early Christian writings. Matthew Arnold's protest against the excessive "vigour and rigour" of the Tübingen theories brings a good deal of plain English common-sense to bear on the subject, and exposes well some of the extravagances of Baur and others.* Still more weight is to be attached to the emphatic dissent of such an able and thoroughly independent scholar as Dr. James Donaldson, the author of the *Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine*, a work unhappily unfinished. But very significant is the remarkable article of Keim on the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, in his latest work, *Aus dem Urchristenthum* ("Studies in the History of Early Christianity"), published in 1878, a short time before his lamented death. In this able essay, he demolishes the foundation of the Tübingen theory, vindicating in the main the historical character of the account in the Acts, and exposing the misinterpretation of the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, on which Baur and his followers found their view of the absolute contradiction between the Acts and the Epistle. Holtzmann, Lipsius, Pfeleiderer, and especially Weizsäcker had already gone far in modifying the extreme view of Baur; but this essay of Keim's is a re-examination of the whole question with reference to all the recent discussions. The still later work of Schenkel,

* See his *God and the Bible*, Preface, and chaps. v., vi.

published during the present year (1879), *Das Christusbild der Apostel und der nachapostolischen Zeit* ("The Picture of Christ presented by the Apostles and by the Post-Apostolic Time"), is another conspicuous example of the same reaction. Schenkel remarks in the Preface to this volume:—

Having never been able to convince myself of the sheer opposition between Petrinism and Paulinism, it has also never been possible for me to get a credible conception of a reconciliation effected by means of a literature sailing between the contending parties under false colors. In respect to the Acts of the Apostles, in particular, I have been led in part to different results from those represented by the modern critical school. I have been forced to the conviction that it is a far more trustworthy source of information than is commonly allowed on the part of the modern criticism; that older documents worthy of credit, besides the well-known *We*-source, are contained in it; and that the Paulinist who composed it has not intentionally distorted (*entstellt*) the facts, but only placed them in the light in which they appeared to him and must have appeared to him from the time and circumstances under which he wrote. He has not, in my opinion, artificially brought upon the stage either a Paulinized Peter, or a Petrinized Paul, in order to mislead his readers, but has portrayed the two apostles just as he actually conceived of them on the basis of his incomplete information. (Preface, pp. x., xi.)

It would be hard to find two writers more thoroughly independent, whatever else may be said of them, than Keim and Schenkel. Considering their well-known position, they will hardly be stigmatized as "apologists" in the contemptuous sense in which that term is used by some recent writers, who seem to imagine that they display their freedom from partisan bias by giving their opponents bad names. On this subject of the one-sidedness of the Tübingen School, I might also refer to the very valuable remarks of Professor Fisher in his recent work on *The Beginnings of Christianity*, and in his earlier volume on *The Supernatural Origin of Christianity*. One of the ablest discussions of the question will also be found in the Essay on "St. Paul and the Three," appended to the commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, by Professor Lightfoot, now Bishop of Durham, a scholar who has no superior among the Germans in breadth of learning and thoroughness of research. The dissertation of Professor

Jowett on "St. Paul and the Twelve," though not very definite in its conclusions, likewise deserves perusal.*

In regard to this collateral question, then, I conceive that decided progress has been made in a direction favorable to the possibility (to put it mildly) of the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel. We do not know anything concerning the theological position of the Apostle John, which justifies us in assuming that twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem he could not have written such a work.

Another of these collateral questions, on which a vast amount has been written, and on which very confident and very untenable assertions have been made, may now, I believe, be regarded as set at rest, so far as concerns our present subject, the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. I refer to the history of the Paschal controversies of the second century. The thorough discussion of this subject by Schürer, formerly Professor Extraordinarius at Leipzig, and now Professor at Giessen, the editor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and author of the excellent *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, has clearly shown, I believe, that no argument against the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel can be drawn from the entangled history of these controversies. His essay, in which the whole previous literature of the subject is carefully reviewed, and all the original sources critically examined, was published in Latin at Leipzig in 1869 under the title *De Controversiis Paschalibus secundo post Christum natum Sacculo exortis*, and afterwards in a German translation in Kahnis's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* for 1870, pp. 182-284. There is, according to him, absolutely *no* evidence that the Apostle John celebrated Easter with the Quartodecimans on the 14th of Nisan in commemoration, as is so often assumed, of the day of the *Lord's Supper*. The choice of the day had no reference

* In his work on *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans*, 2d ed. (London, 1859), i. 417-477; reprinted in a less complete form from the first edition in Noyes's *Theol. Essays* (1856), p. 357 ff. The very judicious remarks of Mr. Norton in the *Christian Examiner* for May, 1829, vol. vi. p. 200ff., are still worth reading. See the valuable article of Dr. Wilbald Grimm, "Der Apostelconvent," in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1830, pp. 405-432; also, Dr. H. H. Wendt's *Neubearbeitung* of Meyer's *Kommentar* on the Acts, 5^e Aufl., Göttingen, 1880. See also Reuss, *Hist. apostolique* (1876), and *Les Épitres pauliniennes* (1878), in his *La Bible, trad. nouvelle*, etc. Contra, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr.*, 1879, p. 100 ff.; 1880, p. 1 ff.

to that event, nor on the other hand, as Weitzel and Steitz maintain, to the supposed day of Christ's death, but was determined by the fact that the 14th was the day of the Jewish Passover, for which the Christian festival was substituted. The celebration was Christian, but the *day* adopted by John and the Christians of Asia Minor generally was the *day* of the Jewish Passover, the 14th of Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall, while the Western Christians generally, without regard to the day of the month, celebrated Easter on Sunday, in commemoration of the day of the resurrection. This is the view essentially of Lücke, Gieseler, Bleek, De Wette, Hase, and Riggenbach, with differences on subordinate points; but Schürer has made the case clearer than any other writer. Schürer is remarkable among German scholars for a calm, judicial spirit, and for thoroughness of investigation; and his judgment in this matter is the more worthy of regard, as he does not receive the Gospel of John as genuine. A good exposition of the subject, founded on Schürer's discussion, may be found in Luthardt's work on the *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, of which an English translation has been published, with an Appendix by Dr. Gregory of Leipzig, giving the literature of the whole controversy on the authorship of the Gospel far more completely than it has ever before been presented.

Another point may be mentioned, as to which there has come to be a general agreement; namely, that the very late date assigned to the Gospel by Baur and Schwegler, namely, somewhere between the years 160 and 170 A.D., cannot be maintained. Zeller and Scholten retreat to 150; Hilgenfeld, who is at last constrained to admit its use by Justin Martyr, goes back to between 130 and 140; Renan now says 125 or 130; Keim in the first volume of his *History of Jesus of Nazara* placed it with great confidence between the years 110 and 115, or more loosely, A.D. 100-117.* The fatal consequences of such an admission as that were, however, soon perceived; and in the last volume of his *History*

* *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, i. 155, comp. 146 (Eng. trans. i. 211, comp. 199).

of *Jesus*, and in the last edition of his abridgment of that work, he goes back to the year 130.* Schenkel assigns it to A.D. 115-120. †

This enforced shifting of the date of the Gospel to the earlier part of the second century (which I may remark incidentally is fatal to the theory that its author borrowed from Justin Mátyr instead of Justin from John) at once presents very serious difficulties on the supposition of the spuriousness of the Gospel. It is the uniform tradition, supported by great weight of testimony, that the Evangelist John lived to a very advanced age, spending the latter portion of his life in Asia Minor, and dying there in the reign of Trajan, not far from A.D. 100. How could a spurious Gospel of a character so peculiar, so different from the earlier Synoptic Gospels, so utterly unhistorical as it is affirmed to be, gain currency as the work of the Apostle both among Christians and the Gnostic heretics, if it originated only twenty-five or thirty years after his death, when so many who must have known whether he wrote such a work or not were still living?

The feeling of this difficulty seems to have revived the theory, put forward, to be sure, as long ago as 1840 by a very wild German writer, Lützelberger, but which Baur and Strauss deemed unworthy of notice, that the Apostle John was never in Asia Minor at all. This view has recently found strenuous advocates in Keim, Scholten, and others, though it is rejected and, I believe, fully refuted by critics of the same school, as Hilgenfeld. The historical evidence against it seems to me decisive; and to attempt to support it, as Scholten does, by purely arbitrary conjectures, such as the denial of the genuineness of the letter of Irenæus to Florinus, can only give one the impression that the writer has a desperate cause. ‡

* *Geschichte Jesu . . . für weitere Kreise*, 3^e Bearbeitung, 2^e Aufl. (1875), p. 40.

† *Das Charakterbild Jesu*, 4^e Aufl. (1873), p. 370.

‡ See Hilgenfeld, *Hist. Krit. Einleitung in d. N. T.* (1875), p. 394 ff.; Bleek, *Einl. in d. N. T.*, 3^e Aufl. (1875), p. 167 ff., with Mangold's note; Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (1877), p. 327 ff. Compare Renan, *L'Antechrist*, p. 557 ff.

Thus far we have noticed a few points connected with the controversy about the authorship of the Fourth Gospel in respect to which some progress may seem to have been made since the time of Baur. Others will be remarked upon incidentally, as we proceed. But to survey the whole field of discussion in an hour's discourse is impossible. To treat the question of the historical evidence with any thoroughness would require a volume; to discuss the internal character of the Gospel in its bearings on the question of its genuineness and historical value would require a much larger one. All therefore which I shall now attempt will be to consider some points of the historical evidence for the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, as follows:—

1. The general reception of the Four Gospels as genuine among Christians in the last quarter of the second century.
2. The inclusion of the Fourth Gospel in the Apostolical Memoirs of Christ appealed to by Justin Martyr.
3. Its use by the various Gnostic sects.
4. The attestation appended to the book itself.

I. I BEGIN with the statement, which cannot be questioned, that our present four Gospels, and no others, were received by the great body of Christians as genuine and sacred books during the last quarter of the second century. This appears most clearly from the writings of Irenæus, born not far from A.D. 125–130,* whose youth was spent in Asia Minor, and who became Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, A.D. 178; of Clement, the head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria about the year 190, who had travelled in Greece, Italy, Syria, and Palestine, seeking religious instruction; and of Tertullian, in North Africa, who flourished toward the close of the century. The four Gospels are found in the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament, the Peshito, made in the second century, the authority of which has the more weight as it omits the Second and Third Epistles of John, Second Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse, books whose authorship was disputed in the early Church. Their existence in the Old Latin version also

* About A. D. 115, according to Zahn in Herzog, 2d ed., vii. 135 sq.; see Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iii. 253.

attests their currency in North Africa, where that version originated some time in the second century. They appear, moreover, in the Muratorian Canon, written probably about A.D. 170, the oldest list of canonical books which has come down to us.

Mr. Norton in his work on the *Genuineness of the Gospels* argues with great force that, when we take into consideration the peculiar character of the Gospels, and the character and circumstances of the community by which they were received, the fact of their universal reception at this period admits of no reasonable explanation except on the supposition that they are genuine. I do not here contend for so broad an inference: I only maintain that this fact proves that our four Gospels could not have originated at this period, but must have been in existence long before; and that some very powerful influence must have been at work to effect their universal reception. I shall not recapitulate Mr. Norton's arguments; but I would call attention to one point on which he justly lays great stress, though it is often overlooked; namely, that the main evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels is of an altogether different kind from that which can be adduced for the genuineness of any classical work. It is not the testimony of a few eminent Christian writers to their private opinion, but it is the evidence which they afford of the belief of the whole body of Christians; and this, not in respect to ordinary books, whose titles they might easily take on trust, but respecting books in which they were most deeply interested; books which were the very foundation of that faith which separated them from the world around them, exposed them to hatred, scorn, and persecution, and often demanded the sacrifice of life itself.

I would add that the greater the differences between the Gospels, real or apparent, the more difficult it must have been for them to gain this universal reception, except on the supposition that they had been handed down from the beginning as genuine. This remark applies particularly to the Fourth Gospel when compared with the first three.

The remains of Christian literature in the first three quar-

ters of the second century are scanty, and are of such a character that, assuming the genuineness of the Gospels, we have really no reason to expect more definite references to their writers, and more numerous quotations from or allusions to them than we actually do find or seem to find. A few letters, as the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, now made complete by the discovery of a new MS. and of a Syriac version of it; the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, now complete in the original; the short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, and the Epistles (of very doubtful genuineness) attributed to Ignatius; an allegorical work, *the Shepherd* of Hermas, which nowhere quotes either the Old Testament or the New; a curious romance, the *Clementine Homilies*; and the writings of the Christian Apologists, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Hermias, who, in addressing heathens, could not be expected to talk about Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which would be to them names without significance,—these few documents constitute nearly all the literature of the period. As we should not expect the Gospels to be quoted by name in the writings of the Apologists, though we do find John expressly mentioned by Theophilus, so in such a discussion as that of Justin Martyr with Trypho the Jew, Justin could not cite in direct proof of his doctrines works the authority of which the Jew would not recognize, though he might use them, as he does, in attestation of historic facts which he regarded as fulfilling prophecies of the Old Testament.

The author of *Supernatural Religion*, in discussing the evidence of the use of our present Gospels in the first three quarters of the second century, proceeds on two assumptions: one, that in the first half of this century vast numbers of spurious Gospels and other writings bearing the names of Apostles and their followers were in circulation in the early Church; and the other, that we have a right to expect great accuracy of quotation from the Christian Fathers, especially when they introduce the words of Christ with such a formula as “he said” or “he taught.” Now this last assumption admits of being thoroughly tested, and it

contradicts the most unquestionable facts. Instead of such accuracy of quotation as is assumed as the basis of his argument, it is beyond all dispute that the Fathers often quote very loosely, from memory, abridging, transposing, paraphrasing, amplifying, substituting synonymous words or equivalent expressions, combining different passages together, and occasionally mingling their own inferences with their citations. In regard to the first assumption, a careful sifting of the evidence will show, I believe, that there is really no *proof* that in the time of Justin Martyr (with the possible exception of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which in its primitive form may have been the Hebrew original from which our present Greek Gospel ascribed to Matthew was mainly derived) there was a single work, bearing the title of a Gospel, which as a *history of Christ's ministry* came into competition with our present four Gospels, or which took the place among Christians which our Gospels certainly held in the last quarter of the second century. Much confusion has arisen from the fact that the term "Gospel" was in ancient times applied to speculative works which gave the writer's view of the Gospel, *i.e.*, of the doctrine of Christ, or among the Gnostics, which set forth their *gnosis*; *e.g.*, among the followers of Basilides, Hippolytus tells us, "the Gospel" is *ἡ τῶν ὑπερκosμίων γνώσις*, "the knowledge of supermundane things" (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 27). Again, the apocryphal Gospels of the Nativity and the Infancy, or such works as the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus, describing the descent of Christ into Hades, have given popular currency to the idea that there were floating about in the middle of the second century a great number of Gospels, rival histories of Christ's ministry; which these apocryphal Gospels, however, are not and do not pretend to be. Other sources of confusion, as the blunders of writers like Epiphanius, I pass over. To enter into a discussion and elucidation of this subject here is of course impossible: I will only recommend the reading of Mr. Norton's full examination of it in the third volume of his *Genuineness of the Gospels*, which needs, to be sure, a little supplementing, but the main positions of which I believe to be impregnable.

Resting on these untenable assumptions, the author of *Supernatural Religion* subjects this early fragmentary literature to a minute examination, and explains away what seem to be quotations from or references to our present Gospels in these different works as borrowed from some of the multitudinous Gospels which he assumes to have been current among the early Christians, especially if these quotations and references do not present a perfect verbal correspondence with our present Gospels, as is the case with the great majority of them. Even if the correspondence is verbally exact, this proves nothing, in his view; for the quotations of the words of Jesus might be borrowed from other current Gospels which resembled ours as much as Matthew, Mark, and Luke resemble each other. But, if the verbal agreement is *not* exact, we have in his judgment a strong proof that the quotations are derived from some apocryphal book. So he comes to the conclusion that there is no certain trace of the existence of our present Gospels for about one hundred and fifty years after the death of Christ; *i.e.*, we will say, till about A.D. 180.

But here a question naturally arises: How is it, if no trace of their existence is previously discoverable, that our four Gospels are suddenly found toward the end of the second century to be received as sacred books throughout the whole Christian world? His reply is, "It is totally unnecessary for me to account for this."* He stops his investigation of the subject just at the point where we have solid facts, not conjectures, to build upon. When he comes out of the twilight into the full blaze of day, he shuts his eyes, and refuses to see anything. Such a procedure cannot be satisfactory to a sincere inquirer after the truth. The fallacy of this mode of reasoning is so well illustrated by Mr. Norton, that I must quote a few sentences. He says:—

About the end of the second century the Gospels were revered as sacred books by a community dispersed over the world, composed of men of different nations and languages. There were, to say the least, sixty thousand copies of them in existence; † they were read in the

* *Supernatural Religion*, 6th edition (1875), and 7th edition (1879), vol. i. p. ix. (Preface.)

† See Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., i. 45-54.

churches of Christians; they were continually quoted, and appealed to, as of the highest authority; their reputation was as well established among believers from one end of the Christian community to the other, as it is at the present day among Christians in any country. But it is asserted that before that period we find no trace of their existence; and it is, therefore, inferred that they were not in common use, and but little known, even if extant in their present form. This reasoning is of the same kind as if one were to say that the first mention of Egyptian Thebes is in the time of Homer. He, indeed, describes it as a city which poured a hundred armies from its hundred gates; but his is the first mention of it, and therefore we have no reason to suppose that, before his time, it was a place of any considerable note.*

As regards the general reception of the four Gospels in the last quarter of the second century, however, a slight qualification is to be made. Some time in the latter half of the second century, the genuineness of the Gospel of John was denied by a few eccentric individuals (we have no ground for supposing that they formed a sect), whom Epiphanius (*Hær.* li., comp. liv.) calls *Alogi* (*ἄλογοι*), a nickname which has the double meaning of "deniers of the doctrine of the Logos," and "men without reason." They are probably the same persons as those of whom Irenæus speaks in one passage (*Hær.* iii. 11. § 9), but to whom he gives no name. But the fact that their difficulty with the Gospel was a doctrinal one, and that they appealed to no tradition in favor of their view; that they denied the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse likewise, and absurdly ascribed both books to Cerinthus, who, unless all our information about him is false, could not possibly have written the Fourth Gospel, shows that they were persons of no critical judgment. Zeller admits (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 645) that their opposition does not prove that the Gospel was not generally regarded in their time as of Apostolic origin. The fact that they ascribed the Fourth Gospel to Cerinthus, a heretic of the first century, contemporary with the Apostle John, shows that they could not pretend that this Gospel was a recent work.

Further, while the Gnostics generally agreed with the

* *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, second edition, vol. i. pp. 195, 196.

Catholic Christians in receiving the four Gospels, and especially the Gospel of John, which the Valentinians, as Irenæus tells us, used *plenissime* (*Hær.* iii. 11. § 7), the Marcionites are an exception. They did not, however, question the genuineness of the Gospels, but regarded their authors as under the influence of Jewish prejudices. Marcion therefore rejected all but Luke, the Pauline Gospel, and cut out from this whatever he deemed objectionable. We may note here, incidentally, that the author of *Supernatural Religion*, in the first six editions of his work, contended, in opposition to the strongest evidence, that Marcion's Gospel, instead of being, as all ancient testimony represents it, a mutilated Luke, was the earlier, original Gospel, of which Luke's was a later amplification. This theory was started by Semler, that *varium, mutabile et mirabile capitulum*, as he is called by a German writer (*Matthæi, N.T. Gr.*, i. 687); and after having been adopted by Eichhorn and many German critics was so thoroughly refuted by Hilgenfeld in 1850, and especially by Volkmar in 1852, that it was abandoned by the most eminent of its former supporters, as Ritschl, Zeller, and partially by Baur. But individuals differ widely in their power of resisting evidence opposed to their prejudices, and the author of *Supernatural Religion* has few equals in this capacity. We may therefore feel that something in these interminable discussions is settled, when we note the fact that *he* has at last surrendered. His conversion is due to Dr. Sanday, who in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* (June, 1875, p. 855, ff.), reproduced in substance in his work on *The Gospels in the Second Century*, introduced the linguistic argument, showing that the very numerous and remarkable peculiarities of language and style which characterize the parts of Luke which Marcion retained are found so fully and completely in those which he rejected as to render diversity of authorship utterly incredible.

But to return to our first point,—the unquestioned reception of our present Gospels throughout the Christian world in the last quarter of the second century, and that, I add, without the least trace of any previous controversy on the

subject, with the insignificant exception of the Alogi whom I have mentioned. This fact has a most important bearing on the next question in order; namely, whether the Apostolical Memoirs to which Justin Martyr appeals about the middle of the second century were or were not our four Gospels. To discuss this question fully would require a volume. All that I propose now is to place the subject in the light of acknowledged facts, and to illustrate the falsity of the premises from which the author of *Supernatural Religion* reasons.

II. THE writings of Justin consist of two Apologies or Defences of Christians and Christianity addressed to the Roman Emperor and Senate, the first written most probably about the year 146 or 147 (though many place it in the year 138),* and a Dialogue in defence of Christianity with Trypho the Jew, written somewhat later (*Dial.* c. 120, comp. *Apol.* i. c. 26).†

In these writings, addressed, it is to be observed, to unbelievers, he quotes, not in proof of doctrines, but as authority for his account of the teaching of Christ and the facts in his life, certain works of which he commonly speaks as the "Memoirs" or "Memorabilia" of Christ, using the Greek word, Ἀπομνημονεύματα, with which we are familiar as the designation of the Memorabilia of Socrates by Xenophon. Of these books he commonly speaks as the "Memoirs by the Apostles," using this expression eight times; ‡ four times he calls them "the Memoirs" simply; || once, "Memoirs made by the Apostles which are called Gospels" (*Apol.* i. 66); once, when he cites a passage apparently from the Gospel of Luke, "Memoirs composed by the Apostles of Christ and their companions,"—literally, "those who followed with them" (*Dial.* c. 103); once again (*Dial.* c. 106), when he speaks of our Saviour as changing the name of Peter, and of his giving to James and John the name Boanerges, a fact only mentioned

* So Waddington, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, t. xxvi., pt. i., p. 264 ff.; Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, col. 14, and Caspari, as there referred to; [*Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii., vol. i. p. 462].

† See Engelhardt, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers* (1878), p. 71 ff.; Renan, *L'Eglise chrétienne* (1879), p. 367, n. 4.

‡ *Apol.* i. 67; *Dial.* cc. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106 bis: τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων (τῶν ἀποστ. α ὁ τ ο ὦ. sc. Χριστοῦ, 5 times).

|| *Dial.* cc. 105 ter, 107.

so far as we know in the Gospel of Mark, he designates as his authority "Peter's Memoirs," which, supposing him to have used our Gospels, is readily explained by the fact that Peter was regarded by the ancients as furnishing the materials for the Gospel of Mark, his travelling companion and interpreter.* Once more, Justin speaks in the plural of "those who have written Memoirs (*οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες*) of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom (*οἷς*) we believe" (*Apol.* i. 33); and, again, "the Apostles wrote" so and so, referring to an incident mentioned in all four of the Gospels (*Dial.* c. 88).

But the most important fact mentioned in Justin's writings respecting these Memoirs, which he describes as "composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions," appears in his account of Christian worship, in the sixty-seventh chapter of his First Apology. "On the day called Sunday," he says, "all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the Memoirs by the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time permits. When the reader has finished, the president admonishes and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." It appears, then, that, at the time when he wrote, these books, whatever they were, on which he relied for his knowledge of Christ's teaching and life, were held in at least as high reverence as the writings of the Prophets, were read in the churches just as our Gospels were in the last quarter of the second century, and formed the basis of the hortatory discourse that followed. The writings of the Prophets might alternate with them in this use; but Justin mentions the Memoirs first.

These "Memoirs," then, were well-known books, distin-

* I adopt with most scholars (*versus* Semisch and Grimm) the construction which refers the *αὐτοῦ* in this passage not to Christ, but to Peter, in accordance with the use of the genitive after *ἀπομνημονεύματα* everywhere else in Justin. (See a note on the question in the *Christian Examiner* for July, 1854, lvi. 128 f.) For the statement in the text, see Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5: *Licet et Marcus quod edidit [evangelium] Petri affirmetur, cujus interpretes Marcus. Jerome, De Vir. ill. c. 1: Sed et Evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor ejus [sc. Petri] et interpretes fuit, hujus dicitur. Comp. ibid. c. 8, and Ep. 120 (al. 150) ad Hedib. c. 11. See also Papias, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39; Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 1, § 1 (ap. Euseb. v. 8); 10, § 6; Clement of Alexandria ap. Euseb. ii. 15; vi. 14; Origen ap. Euseb. vi. 25; and the striking passage of Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* iii. 3, pp. 120^d-122^a, quoted by Lardner, *Works* iv. 91 ff. (Lond. 1829).*

guished from others as the authoritative source of instruction concerning the doctrine and life of Christ.

There is one other coincidence between the language which Justin uses in describing these books and that which we find in the generation following. The four Gospels as a collection might indifferently be called, and were indifferently cited as, "the Gospels" or "the Gospel." We find this use of the expression "the Gospel" in Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, the Apostolical Constitutions, Tertullian, and later writers generally.* Now Justin represents Trypho as saying, "I know that your precepts in what is called the Gospel (*ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ*) are so wonderful and great as to cause a suspicion that no one may be able to observe them." (*Dial.* c. 10.) In another place, he quotes, apparently, Matt. xi. 27 (comp. Luke x. 22) as being "written in the Gospel."† No plausible explanation can be given of this language except that which recognizes in it the same usage that we constantly find in later Christian writers. The books which in one place Justin calls "Gospels," books composed by Apostles and their companions, were in reference to what gave them their distinctive value *one*. They were the record of the Gospel of Christ in different forms. No *one* of our present Gospels, if these were in circulation in the time of Justin, and certainly no *one* of that great number of Gospels which

* See Justin or Pseudo-Justin, *De Res.* c. 10.—Ignat. or Pseudo-Ignat. *Ad Philad.* cc. 5, 8; *Smyrn.* cc. 5(?), 7.—Pseudo-Clem. 2 *Ep. ad Cor.* c. 8.—Theophil. iii. 14.—Iren. *Hær.* i. 7. § 4; 8. § 4; 20. § 2; 27. § 2. ii. 22. § 5; 26. § 2. iii. 5. § 1; 9. § 2; 10. §§ 2, 6; 11. §§ 8 (τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), 9; 16. § 5. iv. 20. §§ 6, 9; 32. § 1; 34. § 1.—Clem. Al. *Pæd.* i. c. 5, pp. 104, 105, *bis* ed. Potter; c. 9, pp. 143, 145 *bis*, 148. ii. 1, p. 169; c. 10, p. 235; c. 12, p. 246. *Strom.* ii. 16, p. 467. iii. 6, p. 537; c. 11, p. 544. iv. 1, p. 564; c. 4, p. 570. v. 5, p. 664. vi. 6, p. 764; c. 11, p. 784 *bis*; c. 14, p. 797. vii. 3, p. 836. *Ecl. proph.* cc. 50, 57.—Origen, *Cont. Cels.* i. 51. ii. 13, 24, 27, 34, 36, 37, 61, 63 (Opp. I. 367, 398, 409, 411, 415, 416 *bis*, 433, 434 ed. Delarue). *In Joan.* tom. i. §§ 4, 5. v. § 4. (Opp. IV. 4, 93.) Pseudo-Orig. *Dial. de recta in Deum fide*, sect. 1 (Opp. I. 807).—Hippol. *Noët.* c. 6.—Const. Ap. i. 1, 2 *bis*, 5, 6. ii. 1 *bis*, 5 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 8, 13, 16, 17, 35, 39. iii. 7. v. 14. vi. 23 *bis*, 28. vii. 24.—Tertull. *Cast.* c. 4. *Pudic.* c. 2. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 7. *Hermog.* c. 20. *Resurr.* c. 27. *Prax.* cc. 20, 21.—PLURAL, Muratorian Canon (also the sing.).—Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* iii. 12, τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων.—Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 6. p. 582. Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vii. 38, p. 259, τῶν δὲ εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, and later writers everywhere.—Plural used where the passage quoted is found in only one of the Gospels, Basilides ap. Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vii. 22, 27.—Const. Ap. ii. 53.—Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procat.* c. 3; *Cat.* ii. 4; x. 1; xvi. 16.—Theodoret, *Quæst. in Num.* c. xix. q. 35, Migne lxxx. 385; *In Ps.* xlv. 16, M. lxxx. 1197; *In 1 Thess.* v. 15, M. lxxxii. 649, and so often.

† On this important passage see Note A at the end of this essay.

the writer of *Supernatural Religion* imagines to have been current at that period, could have been so distinguished from the rest as to be called "the Gospel."

It has been maintained by the author of *Supernatural Religion* and others that Justin's description of the Gospels as "Memoirs composed by the Apostles and those who followed with them" (to render the Greek verbally) cannot apply to works composed by two Apostles and two companions of Apostles: "the Apostles" must mean all the Apostles, "the collective body of the Apostles." (*S. R.* i. 291.) Well, if it must, then the connected expression, "those that followed with them" (τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων), where the definite article is used in just the same way in Greek, must mean "all those that followed with them." We have, then, a truly marvellous book, if we take the view of *Supernatural Religion* that the "Memoirs" of Justin was a single work; a Gospel, namely, composed by "the collective body of the Apostles" and the collective body of those who accompanied them. If the "Memoirs" consist of several different books thus composed, the marvel is not lessened. Now Justin is not responsible for this absurdity. The simple fact is that the definite article in Greek in this case distinguishes the two classes to which the writers of the Gospels belonged.*

To state in full detail and with precision all the features of the problem presented by Justin's quotations, and his references to facts in the life of Christ, is here, of course, impossible. But what is the obvious aspect of the case?

It will not be disputed that there is a very close correspondence between the history of Christ sketched by Justin, embracing numerous details, and that found in our Gospels: the few statements not authorized by them, such as that Christ was born in a cave, that the Magi came from Arabia, that Christ as a carpenter made ploughs and yokes,

*For illustrations of this use of the article, see Norton's *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1st ed. (1837), vol. i. p. 190, note. Comp. 1 Thess. ii. 14 and Jude 17, where it would be idle to suppose that the writer means that all the Apostles had given the particular warning referred to. See also Origen, *Cont. Cels.* i. 51, p. 367, μετὰ τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰησοῦ μαθητῶν ἱστορίαν; and ii. 13, παραπλήσια τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γραφεῖσιν. Add *Cont. Cels.* ii. 16 init. See, further Note B at the end of this essay.

present little or no objection to the supposition that they were his main authority. These details may be easily explained as founded on oral tradition, or as examples of that substitution of *inferences* from facts for the facts themselves, which we find in so many ancient and modern writers, and observe in every-day life.* Again, there is a substantial correspondence between the teaching of Christ as reported by Justin and that found in the Gospels. Only one or two sayings are ascribed to Christ by Justin which are not contained in the Gospels, and these may naturally be referred, like others which we find in writers who received our four Gospels as alone authoritative, to oral tradition, or may have been taken from some writing or writings now lost which contained such traditions.† That Justin actually used all our present Gospels is admitted by Hilgenfeld and Keim. But that they were not his main authority is argued chiefly from the want of exact verbal correspondence between his citations of the words of Christ and the language of our Gospels, where the meaning is essentially the same. The untenableness of this argument has been demonstrated, I conceive, by Norton, Semisch, Westcott, and Sanday, *versus* Hilgenfeld and *Supernatural Religion*. Its weakness is illustrated in a Note at the end of this essay, and will be further illustrated presently by the full discussion of a passage of special interest and importance. Justin nowhere expressly

* Several of Justin's additions in the way of detail seem to have proceeded from his *assumption* of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies, or what he regarded as such. See Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus* (1848), p. 377 ff.; Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien* (1866), p. 124 f.; Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, p. 162, 4th ed. (1875), and Dr. E. A. Abbott, art. *Gospels* in the ninth ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (p. 817), who remarks: "Justin never quotes any rival Gospel, nor alleges any words or facts which make it probable he used a rival Gospel; such non-canonical sayings and facts as he mentions are readily explicable as the results of lapse of memory, general looseness and inaccuracy, extending to the use of the Old as well as the New Testament, and the desire to adapt the facts of the New Scriptures to the prophecies of the Old." (p. 818).

† See Westcott, "On the Apocryphal Traditions of the Lord's Words and Works," appended to his *Intrad. to the Study of the Gospels*, 5th ed. (1875), pp. 453-461, and the little volume of J. T. Dodd, *Sayings ascribed to our Lord by the Fathers*, etc., Oxford, 1874. Compare Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., i. 220 ff. The stress which the author of *Supernatural Religion* lays on the word πάντα in the passage (*Apol.* i. 33) where Justin speaks of "those who have written memoirs of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ" shows an extraordinary disregard of the common use of such expressions. It is enough to compare, as Westcott does, *Acts* i. 1. For illustrations from Justin (*Apol.* ii. 6; i. 45; *Dial.* cc. 44, 121) see Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten* u. s. w., p. 404 f.

quotes the "Memoirs" for anything which is not substantially found in our Gospels; and there is nothing in his deviations from exact correspondence with them, as regards matters of fact, or the report of the words of Christ, which may not be abundantly paralleled in the writings of the Christian Fathers who used our four Gospels as alone authoritative.

With this view of the state of the case, and of the character of the books used and described by Justin though without naming their authors, let us now consider the bearing of the indisputable fact (with which the author of *Supernatural Religion* thinks he has no concern) of the general reception of our four Gospels as genuine in the last quarter of the second century. As I cannot state the argument more clearly or more forcibly than it has been done by Mr. Norton, I borrow his language. Mr. Norton says:—

The manner in which Justin speaks of the character and authority of the books to which he appeals, of their reception among Christians, and of the use which was made of them, proves these books to have been the Gospels. They carried with them the authority of the Apostles. They were those writings from which he and other Christians derived their knowledge of the history and doctrines of Christ. They were relied upon by him as primary and decisive evidence in his explanations of the character of Christianity. They were regarded as sacred books. They were read in the assemblies of Christians on the Lord's day, in connection with the Prophets of the Old Testament. Let us now consider the manner in which the Gospels were regarded by the contemporaries of Justin. Irenæus was in the vigor of life before Justin's death; and the same was true of very many thousands of Christians living when Irenæus wrote. But he tells us that the four Gospels are the four pillars of the Church, the foundation of Christian faith, written by those who had first orally preached the Gospel, by two Apostles and two companions of Apostles. It is incredible that Irenæus and Justin should have spoken of different books. We cannot suppose that writings, such as the Memoirs of which Justin speaks, believed to be the works of Apostles and companions of Apostles, read in Christian Churches, and received as sacred books, of the highest authority, should, immediately after he wrote, have fallen into neglect and oblivion, and been superseded by another set of books. The strong sentiment of their value could not so silently, and so unaccountably, have changed into entire disregard, and have been transferred to other writings. The copies of them spread over the world could not so suddenly and mysteriously have disappeared,

that no subsequent trace of their existence should be clearly discoverable. When, therefore, we find Irenæus, the contemporary of Justin, ascribing to the four Gospels the same character, the same authority, and the same authors, as are ascribed by Justin to the Memoirs quoted by him, which were called Gospels, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Memoirs of Justin were the Gospels of Irenæus.*

It may be objected to Mr. Norton's argument, that "many writings which have been excluded from the canon were publicly read in the churches, until very long after Justin's day." (*S.R.* i. 294.) The author of *Supernatural Religion* mentions particularly the Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians, the Epistle of Soter, the Bishop of Rome, to the Corinthians, the "Pastor" or "Shepherd" of Hermas, and the Apocalypse of Peter. To these may be added the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas.

To give the objection any force, the argument must run thus: The writings above named were at one time generally regarded by Christians as sacred books, of the highest authority and importance, and placed at least on a level with the writings of the prophets of the Old Testament. They were afterwards excluded from the canon: therefore a similar change might take place among Christians in their estimate of the writings which Justin has described under the name of "Memoirs by the Apostles." In the course of thirty years, a different set of books might silently supersede them in the whole Christian world.

The premises are false. There is no proof that any one of these writings was ever regarded as possessing the same authority and value as Justin's "Memoirs," or anything like it. From the very nature of the case, books received as authentic records of the life and teaching of CHRIST must have had an importance which could belong to no others. On the character of the teaching and the facts of the life of Christ as recorded in the "Memoirs," Justin's whole argument rests. Whether he regarded the Apostolic writings as "inspired" or not, he unquestionably regarded CHRIST as inspired, or rather as the divine, inspiring Logos (*Apol.* i.

* *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. i. pp. 237-239.

33, 36; ii. 10); and his teaching as "the new law," universal, everlasting, which superseded "the old covenant." (See *Dial.* cc. 11, 12, etc.) The books that contained this were to the Christians of Justin's time the very foundation of their faith.

As to the works mentioned by *Supernatural Religion*, not only is there no evidence that any one of them ever held a place in the Christian Church to be compared for a moment with that of the Gospels, but there is abundant evidence to the contrary. They were read in some churches for a time as edifying books,—the Epistle of Clement of Rome "in very many churches" according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 16),*—and a part of them were regarded by a few Christian writers as having apostolic or semi-apostolic authority, or as divinely inspired. One of the most definite statements about them is that of Dionysius of Corinth (*cir.* A.D. 175–180), who, in a letter to the church at Rome (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23), tells us that the Epistle of Soter (d. 176?) to the Christians at Corinth was read in their church for edification or "admonition" (*νοθευεισθαι* is the word used) on a certain Sunday, and would continue to be so read from time to time, as the Epistle of Clement had been. This shows how far the occasional public reading of such a writing in the church was from implying its canonical authority.—Clement of Alexandria repeatedly quotes the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas as the work of "Barnabas the Apostle," but criticises and condemns one of his interpretations (*Strom.* ii. 15, p. 464), and in another place, as Mr. Norton remarks, rejects a fiction found in the work (*Pæd.* ii. 10, p. 220, ff.).—"The Shepherd" of Hermas in its *form* claims to be a divine vision; its allegorical character suited the taste of many; and the Muratorian Canon (*cir.* A.D. 170) says that it ought to be read in the churches, but not as belonging to the writings of the prophets or apostles. (See Credner, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanon*, p. 165.) This was the general view of those who did not reject it as altogether apocryphal. It appears in the Sinaitic MS. as an appendix to the New Testament.—The Apocalypse of Peter appears to have imposed upon some

*Comp. esp. Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, p. 272 ff.

as the work of the Apostle. The Muratorian Canon says, "Some among us are unwilling that it should be read in the church." It seems to have been received as genuine by Clement of Alexandria (*Ecl. proph.* cc. 41, 48, 49) and Methodius (*Conv.* ii. 6). Besides these, the principal writers who speak of it are Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3. § 2; 25. § 4; vi. 14. § 1), who rejects it as uncanonical or spurious, Jerome (*De Vir. ill.* c. 1), who puts it among apocryphal writings, and Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 19), who mentions that, though rejected by the ancients as spurious, it was read once a year in some churches of Palestine.*

It appears sufficiently from what has been said that there is nothing in the limited ecclesiastical use of these books, or in the over-estimate of their authority and value by some individuals, to detract from the force of Mr. Norton's argument. *Supernatural Religion* here confounds things that differ very widely.†

At this stage of the argument, we are entitled, I think, to come to the examination of the apparent use of the Gospel of John by Justin Martyr with a strong presumption in favor of the view that this apparent use is real. In other words, there is a very strong presumption that the "Memoirs" used by Justin and called by him "Gospels" and collectively "the Gospel," and described as "composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions," were actually our present Gospels, composed by two Apostles and two companions of Apostles. This presumption is, I believe, greatly strengthened by the evidence of the use of the Fourth Gospel by writers between the time of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and also by the evidences of its use before the time of Justin by the Gnostic sects. But, leaving those topics for the present, we will consider the direct evidence of its use by Justin.

The first passage noticed will be examined pretty thoroughly: both because the discussion of it will serve to illustrate the false reasoning of the author of *Supernatural Relig-*

* See, on this book, Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra canonem receptum* (1866), iv. 74, ff.

† On this whole subject, see Semisch, *Die apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyr. Justinus*, p. 61, ff.

ion and other writers respecting the quotations of Justin Martyr which agree in substance with passages in our Gospels while differing in the form of expression; and because it is of special importance in its bearing on the question whether Justin made use of the Fourth Gospel, and seems to me, when carefully examined, to be in itself almost decisive.

The passage is that in which Justin gives an account of Christian baptism, in the sixty-first chapter of his First Apology. Those who are ready to make a Christian profession, he says, "are brought by us to a place where there is water, and in the manner of being born again [*or* regenerated] in which we ourselves also were born again, they are born again; for in the name of the Father of the universe and sovereign God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the bath in the water. For Christ also said, Except ye be born again, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven (*Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*). But that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into the wombs of those who brought them forth is manifest to all."

The passage in the Gospel of John of which this reminds us is found in chap. iii. 3-5: "Jesus answered and said to him [Nicodemus], Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God (*Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*). Nicodemus saith to him, How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born? Jesus answered, Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (*Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*). Compare verse 7, "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born anew" (*δεῖ ἡμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*); and Matt. xviii. 3, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be changed, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven" (*οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*).

I have rendered the Greek as literally as possible; but it

should be observed that the word translated "anew," ἀνωθεν, might also be rendered "from above." This point will be considered hereafter.

Notwithstanding the want of verbal correspondence, I believe that we have here in Justin a free quotation from the Gospel of John, modified a little by a reminiscence of Matt. xviii. 3.

The first thing that strikes us in Justin's quotation is the fact that the remark with which it concludes, introduced by Justin as if it were a grave observation of his own, is simply silly in the connection in which it stands. In John, on the other hand, where it is not to be understood as a serious question, it admits, as we shall see, of a natural explanation as the language of Nicodemus. This shows, as everything else shows, the weakness (to use no stronger term) of Volkmar's hypothesis, that John has here borrowed from Justin, not Justin from John. The observation affords also, by its very remarkable peculiarity, strong evidence that Justin derived it, together with the declaration which accompanies it, from the Fourth Gospel.

It will be well, before proceeding to our immediate task, to consider the meaning of the passage in John, and what the real difficulty of Nicodemus was. He could not have been perplexed by the figurative use of the expression "to be born anew": that phraseology was familiar to the Jews to denote the change which took place in a Gentile when he became a proselyte to Judaism.* But the unqualified language of our Saviour, expressing a universal necessity, implied that even the Jewish Pharisee, with all his pride of sanctity and superior knowledge, must experience a radical change, like that which a Gentile proselyte to Judaism underwent, before he could enjoy the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom. This was what amazed Nicodemus. Pretending therefore to take the words in their literal meaning, he asks, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter," etc. He imposes an absurd and ridiculous sense on the

* See Lightfoot and Wetstein, or T. Robinson or Wünsche, on John iii. 3 or 5.

words, to lead Jesus to explain himself further.* Thus viewed, the question is to some purpose in John; while the language in Justin, as a serious proposition, is idle, and betrays its non-originality.

The great difference in the form of expression between Justin's citation and the Gospel of John is urged as decisive against the supposition that he has here used this Gospel. It is observed further that all the deviations of Justin from the language of the Fourth Gospel are also found in a quotation of the words of Christ in the Clementine Homilies; and hence it has been argued that Justin and the writer of the Clementines quoted from the same apocryphal Gospel, perhaps the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Gospel according to Peter. In the Clementine Homilies (xi. 26), the quotation runs as follows: "For thus the prophet swore unto us, saying, Verily I say unto you, except ye be born again by living water into the name of Father, Son, Holy Spirit, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." But it will be seen at once that the author of the Clementines differs as widely from Justin as Justin from the Fourth Gospel, and that there is no plausibility in the supposition that he and Justin quoted from the same apocryphal book. The quotation in the Clementines is probably only a free combination of the language in John iii. 3-5 with Matt. xxviii. 19, modified somewhat in form by the influence of Matt. xviii. 3.† Such combinations of different passages, and such quotations of the words of Christ according to the sense rather than the letter, are not uncommon in the Fathers. Or, the Clementines may have used Justin.‡

I now propose to show in detail that the differences in form between Justin's quotation and the phraseology of the Fourth Gospel, marked as they are, all admit of an easy and natural explanation on the supposition that he really borrowed from it, and that they are paralleled by similar variations in the

* See Norton, *A New Trans. of the Gospels, with Notes*, vol. ii. p. 507.

† On the quotations from the Gospel of John as well as from the other Gospels in the Clementine Homilies, see Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 288-295; comp. pp. 161-187. See also Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, pp. 282-288; and comp. pp. 150-156.

‡ So Bleek, *Beiträge*, p. 221; Anger, *Synopsis*, p. 273; De Wette, *Eiul.* § 67e, note g. Comp. Keim, *Urchrist.*, p. 225, note, who asserts, in general, that Justin Martyr is "besonders benutzt" by the author of the Clementine Homilies.

quotations of the same passage by Christian writers who used our four Gospels as their exclusive authority. If this is made clear, the fallacy of the assumption on which the author of *Supernatural Religion* reasons in his remarks on this passage, and throughout his discussion of Justin's quotations, will be apparent. He has argued on an assumption of verbal accuracy in the quotations of the Christian Fathers which is baseless, and which there were peculiar reasons for not expecting from Justin in such works as his Apologies.*

Let us take up the differences point by point:—

1. The solemn introduction, "Verily, verily I say unto thee," is omitted. But this would be very naturally omitted: (1) because it is of no importance for the sense; and (2) because the Hebrew words used, 'Αμὴν ἀμὴν, would be unintelligible to the Roman Emperor, without a particular explanation (compare *Apol.* i. 65). (3) It is usually omitted by Christian writers in quoting the passage: so, for example, by the DOCETIST in HIPPOLYTUS (*Ref. Hær.* viii. 10, p. 267), IRE-NÆUS (*Frag.* 35, ed. Stieren, 33 Harvey), ORIGEN, in a Latin version (*In Ex. Hom.* v. 1, *Opp.* ii. 144, ed. Delarue; *In Ep. ad Rom.* lib. v. c. 8, *Opp.* iv. 560), the APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS (vi. 15), EUSEBIUS twice (*In Isa.* i. 16, 17, and iii. 1, 2; *Migne* xxiv. 96, 109), ATHANASIUS (*De Incarn.* c. 14, *Opp.* i. 59, ed. Montf.), CYRIL OF JERUSALEM twice (*Cat.* iii. 4; xvii. 11), BASIL THE GREAT (*Adv. Eunom.* lib. v. *Opp.* i. 308 (437), ed. Benedict.), PSEUDO-BASIL three times (*De Bapt.* i. 2. §§ 2, 6; ii. 1. § 1; *Opp.* ii. 630 (896), 633 (899), 653 (925)), GREGORY NYSSEN (*De Christi Bapt.* *Opp.* iii. 369), EPHRAEM SYRUS (*De Pœnit.* *Opp.* iii. 183), MACARIUS ÆGYP-

*On the whole subject of Justin Martyr's quotations, I would refer to the admirably clear, forcible, and accurate statement of the case in Norton's *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. i. pp. 200-239, and Addit. Note E, pp. ccxiv.-ccxxxviii. His account is less detailed than that of Semisch, Hilgenfeld, and *Supernatural Religion*, but is thoroughly trustworthy. On one point there may be a doubt: Mr. Norton says that "Justin twice gives the words, *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee*, as those uttered at our Saviour's baptism; and in one place says expressly that the words were found in the Memoirs by the Apostles." This last statement seems to me incorrect. The quotations referred to will be found in *Dial. c. Tryph.* cc. 88, 103; but in neither case does Justin say, according to the grammatical construction of his language, that the words in question were found in the Memoirs, though it is probable that they were. (See below, p. 101 f.) The discussion of Justin's quotations by Prof. Westcott and Dr. Sanday in the works referred to in note † on the preceding page is also valuable, especially in reference to the early variations in the text of the Gospels.

TIUS (*Hom.* xxx. 3), CHRYSOSTOM (*De consubst.* vii. 3, Opp. i. 505 (618), ed. Montf.; *In Gen. Serm.* vii. 5, Opp. iv. 681 (789), and elsewhere repeatedly), THEODORET (*Quæst. in Num.* 35, Migne lxxx. 385), BASIL OF SELEUCIA (*Orat.* xxviii. 3, Migne lxxxv. 321), and a host of other writers, both Greek and Latin,—I could name *forty*, if necessary.

2. The change of the indefinite *we*, in the singular, to the second person plural: "Except *a man* be born anew" to "Except *ye* be born anew." This also is unimportant. This is shown, and the origin of the change is partially explained (1) by the fact, not usually noticed, that it is made *by the speaker himself in the Gospel*, in professedly repeating in the seventh verse the words used in the third; the indefinite singular involving, and being equivalent to, the plural. Verse 7 reads: "Marvel not that I *said* unto thee, *Ye* must be born anew." (2) The second person plural would also be suggested by the similar passage in Matt. xviii. 3, "Except *ye* be changed and become as little children, *ye* shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Nothing was more natural than that in a quotation from memory the language of these two kindred passages should be somewhat mixed; and such a confusion of similar passages is frequent in the writings of the Fathers. This affords an easy explanation also of Justin's substituting, in agreement with Matthew, "shall in no wise enter" for "cannot enter," and "kingdom of heaven" for "kingdom of God." The two passages of John and Matthew are actually mixed together in a somewhat similar way in a free quotation by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, a writer who unquestionably used our Gospels alone as authoritative,—*"the four Gospels, which,"* as he says, *"have been handed down to us"* (*Strom.* iii. 13, p. 553).* (3) This declaration of Christ would often be quoted in the early Christian preaching, in reference to the importance of baptism; and the second person plural would thus be natu-

* Clement (*Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. 9, p. 69) blends Matt. xviii. 3 and John iii. 3 as follows: "Except ye again become as little children, and be born again (*ἀναγεννηθῆτε*), as the Scripture saith, ye will in no wise receive him who is truly your Father, and will in no wise ever enter into the kingdom of heaven."

rally substituted for the indefinite singular, to give greater directness to the exhortation. So in the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (xi. 26), and in both forms of the CLEMENTINE EPITOME (c. 18, pp. 16, 134, ed. Dressel, Lips. 1859). (4) That this change of number and person does not imply the use of an apocryphal Gospel is further shown by the fact that it is made twice in quoting the passage by Jeremy Taylor, who in a third quotation also substitutes the plural for the singular in a somewhat different way.* (See below, p. 42.)

3. The change of *ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆν ἄνωθεν*, verse 3 (or *γεννηθῆν* merely, verse 5), "Except a man be born anew," or "over again," into *ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε*, "Except ye be born again," or "regenerated"; in other words, the substitution of *ἀναγενῆσθαι* for *γενῆσθαι ἄνωθεν*, or for the simple verb in verse 5, presents no real difficulty, though much has been made of it. (1) It is said that *γενῆσθαι ἄνωθεν* cannot mean "to be born *anew*," but must mean "to be born *from above*." But we have the clearest philological evidence that *ἄνωθεν* has the meaning of "anew," "over again," as well as "from above." In the only passage in a classical author where the precise phrase, *γενῆσθαι ἄνωθεν*, has been pointed out, namely, Artemidorus on Dreams, i. 13, ed. Reiff (al. 14), it cannot possibly have any other meaning. Meyer, who rejects this sense, has fallen into a strange mistake about the passage in Artemidorus, showing that he cannot have looked at it. Meaning "from above" or "from the top" (Matt. xxvii. 51), then "from the beginning" (Luke i. 3), *ἄνωθεν* is used, with *πάνω* to strengthen

* Professor James Drummond well remarks: "How easily such a change might be made, when verbal accuracy was not studied, is instructively shewn in Theophylact's paraphrase [I translate the Greek]: 'But I say unto thee, that both thou and every other man whatsoever, unless having been born from above [*or* anew] and of God, ye receive the true faith [*lit.* the worthy opinion] concerning me, are outside of the kingdom.'" Chrysostom (also cited by Prof. Drummond) observes that Christ's words are equivalent to *ἐὰν σὺ μὴ γεννηθῆν κ.τ.λ.*, "Except thou be born," etc., but are put in the indefinite form in order to make the discourse less offensive. Photius, in quoting John iii. 5, substitutes *ὑμῖν* for *σοί*. (See below, p. 36.) I gladly take this opportunity to call attention to the valuable article by Prof. Drummond in the *Theological Review* for October, 1875, vol. vii. pp. 471-488, "On the alleged Quotation from the Fourth Gospel relating to the New Birth, in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. c. 61." He has treated the question with the ability, candor, and cautious accuracy of statement which distinguish his writings generally. For the quotation given above, see p. 476 of the *Review*. I am indebted to him for several valuable suggestions; but, to prevent misapprehension as to the extent of this indebtedness, I may be permitted to refer to my note on the subject in the American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 1433, published in 1869, six years before the appearance of Prof. Drummond's article.

it, to signify "again from the beginning," "all over again" (Gal. iv. 9, where see the passages from Galen and Hippocrates cited by Wetstein, and Wisd. of Sol. xix. 6, where see Grimm's note), like *πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου* or *δευτέρου* (Matt. xxvi. 42, John xxi. 16), and in the classics *πάλιν αἰ*, *πάλιν αὐθις*, *πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς*. Thus it gets the meaning "anew," "over again"; see the passages cited by McClellan in his note on John iii. 3.* (2) *ἄνωθεν* was here understood as meaning "again" by the translators of many of the ancient versions; namely, the Old Latin, "denuo," the Vulgate, Coptic, Peshito Syriac (*Sup. Rel.*, 6th edit., is mistaken about this), Æthiopic, Georgian (see Malan's *The Gospel according to St. John*, etc.). (3) The Christian Fathers who prefer the other interpretation, as Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theophylact, recognize the fact that the word may have either meaning. The ambiguity is also noticed by Chrysostom. (4) *Ἀναγεννάσθαι* was the common word in Christian literature to describe the change referred to. So already in 1 Pet. i. 3, 23; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 2; and see the context in Justin. (5) This meaning best suits the connection. Verse 4 represents it as so understood by Nicodemus: "Can he enter a second time," etc. The fact that John has used the word *ἄνωθεν* in two other passages in a totally different connection (viz. iii. 31, xix. 11) in the sense of "from above" is of little weight. He has nowhere else used it in reference to the new birth to denote that it is a birth from above: to express that idea, he has used a differ-

*The passages are: Joseph. *Ant.* i. 18, § 3; Socrates in Stobæus, *Flor.* cxvii. 41, iv. 135 Meineke; Harpocration, *Lex.* s. v. ἀναδικάσασθαι; Pseudo-Basil, *De Bapt.* i. 2. § 7; Can. Apost. 46, al. 47, al. 39; to which add Origen, *In Joan.* tom. xx. c. 12, Opp. iv. 322, who gives the legends found in the Acts of Paul: *ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυρωθῆναι* = "iterum crucifigi." I have verified McClellan's references (*The N.T.* etc. vol. i. p. 284, Lond. 1875), and given them in a form in which they may be more easily found.

Though many of the best commentators take *ἄνωθεν* here in the sense of "from above," as Bengel, Lücke, De Wette, Meyer, Clausen, and so the lexicographers Wahl, Bretschneider, Robinson, the rendering "anew" is supported by Chrysostom, Nonnus, Euthymius, Budæus, Henry Stephen (*Thees.* s. v.), Luther, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Wetstein, Kypke, Krebs, Knapp (*Scripta var.* Arg. i. 188, ed. 2da), Kuinoel, Credner (*Beiträge*, i. 253), Olshausen, Tholuck, Neander, Norton, Noyes, Alford, Ewald, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Luthardt, Weiss, Godet, Farrar, Watkins, Westcott, and the recent lexicographers, Grimm and Cremer. The word is not to be understood as merely equivalent to "again," "a second time," but implies an entire change. Compare the use of *εἰς τέλος* in the sense of "completely," and the Ep. of Barnabas, c. 16, § 8 (cited by Bretschneider): "Having received the forgiveness of our sins, and having placed our hope in the Name, we became new men, created again from the beginning" (*πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς*).

ent expression, γεννηθῆναι ἐκ θεοῦ or ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, "to be born [or begotten] of God," which occurs once in the Gospel (i. 13) and nine times in the First Epistle, so that the presumption is that, if he had wished to convey that meaning here, he would have used here also that unambiguous expression.

But what is decisive as to the main point is the fact that Justin's word ἀναγεννηθῆναι is actually substituted for γεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν in verse 3, or for the simple γεννηθῆναι in verse 5, by a large number of Christian writers who unquestionably quote from John; so, besides the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (xi. 26) and the CLEMENTINE EPITOME in both forms (c. 18), to which exception has been taken with no sufficient reason, IRENÆUS (Frag. 35, ed. Stieren, i. 846), EUSEBIUS (*In Isa.* i. 16, 17; Migne xxiv. 96), ATHANASIUS (*De Incarn.* c. 14), BASIL (*Adv. Eunom.* lib. v. Opp. i. 308 (437)), EPHRAEM SYRUS (*De Pœnit.* Opp. iii. 183 (ἀναγεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν)), CHRYSOSTOM (*In I Ep. ad Cor.* xv. 29, Opp. x. 378 (440)),* CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (*In Joan.* iii. 5, ἐξαγεννηθῆναι δὲ ὕδατος κ.τ.λ., so Pusey's critical ed., vol. i. p. 219; Aubert has γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδ.) ; PROCOPIUS GAZÆUS, *Comm. in Is.* i. 20 (Migne lxxxvii. 1849^a b): εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; PHOTIUS, *Ad Amphilocho.* Q. 49 (al. 48) (Migne ci. 369^c): ὁ σωτὴρ . . . ἔλεγεν· Ἄμην, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πνεύματος, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; and so, probably, ANASTASIUS SINAITA preserved in a Latin version (*Anagog. Contemp. in Hexaëm.* lib. iv., Migne lxxxix. 906, *regeneratus*; contra, col. 870, *genitus*, 916, *generatus*), and HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM in a Latin version (*In Levit.* xx. 9, Migne xciii. 1044, *regeneratus*; but col. 974, *renatus*). In the Old Latin version or versions and the Vulgate, the MSS. are divided in John iii. 3 between *natus* and *renatus*, and so in verse 4, 2d clause, between *nasci* and *renasci*; but in verse 5 *renatus fuerit* is the unquestionable reading of the Latin versions, presupposing, apparently, ἀναγεννηθῆναι in the Greek. (See Tischendorf's 8th critical edition of the Greek Test. *in loc.*) The Latin Fathers, with the exception of Tertullian and Cyprian, who have both readings, and of the author *De Rebaptismate* (c. 3), in quoting the passage, almost invariably have *renatus*.

* Comp. CHRYSOSTOM, *De Sacerdot.* iii. 5, Opp. i. 385^e (450), cited by Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, 5th ed., 1881, p. xxx., note 1, § 3.

We occasionally find *ἀναγεννηθῆναι*, "to be born again," for *γεννηθῆναι*, "to be born," in the first clause of verse 4; so EPHRAEM SYRUS (*De Pœnit.* Opp. iii. 183), and CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (*Glaph. in Exod.* lib. iii., Opp. i. a. 341).

From all that has been said, it will be seen that the use of *ἀναγεννηθῆτε* here by Justin is easily explained. Whether *ἀνωθεν* in John really means "from above" or "anew" is of little importance in its bearing on our question: there can be no doubt that Justin *may* have understood it in the latter sense; and, even if he did not, the use of the term *ἀναγεννᾶσθαι* here was very natural, as is shown by the way in which the passage is quoted by Irenæus, Eusebius, and many other writers.

4. The next variation, the change of "cannot see" or "enter into" (*οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν* or *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς*, *Lat.* non potest videre, or intrare or introire in) into "shall not" or "shall in no wise see" or "enter into" (*οὐ μὴ ἰδῆ*, once *ἰδοι*, or *οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ* or *εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς*, twice *οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς*, *Lat.* non videbit, or intrabit or introibit in), is both so natural (comp. Matt. xviii. 3) and so trivial as hardly to deserve mention. It is perhaps enough to say that I have noted *seventy-one* examples of it in the quotations of this passage by *forty-four* different writers among the Greek and Latin Fathers. It is to be observed that in most of the quotations of the passage by the Fathers, verses 3 and 5 are mixed in different ways, as might be expected.

5. The change of "kingdom of God" into "kingdom of heaven" is perfectly natural, as they are synonymous expressions, and as the phrase "kingdom of heaven" is used in the passage of Matthew already referred to, the language of which was likely to be more or less confounded in recollection with that of this passage in John. The change is actually made in several Greek MSS. in the 5th verse of John, including the Sinaitic, and is even received by Tischendorf into the text, though, I believe, on insufficient grounds. But a great number of Christian writers in quoting from John make just the same change; so the DOCETIST in HIPPOLYTUS (*Ref. Hær.* viii. 10, p. 267), the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (xi. 26), the RECOGNITIONS (i. 69; vi. 9), the CLEMENTINE EPITOME (c. 18) in both forms, IRENÆUS (Frag. 35, ed. Stieren), ORIGEN in a Latin version twice (*Opp.* iii. 948; iv. 483), the APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS (vi. 15). EUSEBIUS

twice (*In Isa.* i. 16, 17; iii. 1, 2; Migne xxiv. 96, 109), PSEUD-ATHANASIUS (*Quest. ad Antioch.* 101, Opp. ii. 291), EPHRAEM SYRUS (*De Panit.* Opp. iii. 183), CHRYSOSTOM five or six times (*Opp.* iv. 681 (789); viii. 143^d (165), 144^d (165), 144^b (166)), THEODORET (*Quest. in Num.* 35, Migne lxxx. 385), BASIL OF SELEUCIA (*Orat.* xxviii. 3), PROCOPIUS, PHTIUS, ANASTASIUS SINAITA in a Latin version three times (Migne lxxxix. 870, 906, 916), HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM in a Latin version twice (Migne xciii. 974, 1044), THEODORUS ABUCARA (*Opuscc.* c. 17, Migne xcvi. 1541), TERTULLIAN (*De Bapt.* c. 13), ANON. *De Rebaptismate* (c. 3), PHILASTRIUS (*Hær.* 120 and 148, ed. Oehler), CHROMATIUS (*In Matt.* iii. 14, Migne xx. 329), JEROME twice (*Ep.* 69, al. 83, and *In Isa.* i. 16; Migne xxii. 660, xxv. 35), AUGUSTINE seven times (*Opp.* ii. 1360, 1361; v. 1745; vi. 327; vii. 528; ix. 630; x. 207, ed. Bened. 2da), and a host of other Latin Fathers.

It should be observed that many of the writers whom I have cited *combine* three or four of these variations from John. It may be well to give, further, some additional illustrations of the freedom with which this passage is sometimes quoted and combined with others. One example has already been given from Clement of Alexandria. (See No. 2.) TERTULLIAN (*De Bapt.* 12) quotes it thus: "The Lord says, Except a man shall be born of water, he *hath not life*,"—*Nisi natus ex aqua quis erit, non habet vitam.* Similarly ODO CLUNIACENSIS (*Mor. in Job.* iii. 4, Migne cxxxiii. 135): "Veritas autem dicit, Nisi quis *renatus* fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu *sancto*, non *habet vitam æternam.*" ANASTASIUS SINAITA, as preserved in a Latin version (*Anagog. Contempl. in Hexaëm.* lib. v., Migne lxxxix. 916), quotes the passage as follows: "dicens, Nisi quis fuerit generatus ex aqua et Spiritu *qui fertur super aquam*, non *intrabit in regnum cælorum.*" The APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS (vi. 15) as edited by Cotelier and Ueltzen read: "For the Lord saith, Except a man be *baptized* with (βαπτισθῆ ἐξ) water and the Spirit, he *shall in no wise* enter into the kingdom of *heaven.*" Here, indeed, Lagarde, with two MSS., edits γεννηθῆ for βαπτισθῆ, but the more difficult reading may well be genuine. Compare EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS (*Panopl.* pars ii. tit. 23, Adv. Bogomilos, c. 16, in the Latin version in Max. Bibl. Patrum, xix.

224), “Nisi quis *baptizatus* fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu *sancto*, non *intrabit in regnum Dei*,” and see Jeremy Taylor, as quoted below. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA gives as the words of Christ (εἶπεν δέ), “Ye must be born of water” (*De Trin.* ii. 12, p. 250, Migne xxxix. 672). It will be seen that all these examples purport to be express quotations.

My principal object in this long discussion has been to show how false is the assumption on which the author of *Supernatural Religion* proceeds in his treatment of Justin's quotations, and those of other early Christian writers. But the fallacy of his procedure may, perhaps, be made more striking by some illustrations of the way in which the very passage of John which we have been considering is quoted by a modern English writer. I have noted nine quotations of the passage by Jeremy Taylor, who is not generally supposed to have used many apocryphal Gospels. All of these differ from the common English version, and only two of them are alike. They exemplify *all* the peculiarities of variation from the common text upon which the writers of the Tübingen school and others have laid such stress as proving that Justin cannot have here quoted John. I will number these quotations, with a reference to the volume and page in which they occur in Heber's edition of Jeremy Taylor's Works, London, 1828, 15 vols. 8vo, giving also such specifications as may enable one to find the passages in any other edition of his complete Works; and, without copying them all in full, will state their peculiarities. No. 1. Life of Christ, Part I. Sect. IX. Disc. VI. Of Baptism, part i. § 12. Heber, vol. ii. p. 240.—No. 2. *Ibid.* Disc. VI. Of baptizing Infants, part ii. § 26. Heber, ii. 288.—No. 3. *Ibid.* § 32. Heber, ii. 292.—No. 4. Liberty of Prophesying, Sect. XVIII. § 7. Heber, viii. 153.—No. 5. *Ibid.* Ad 7. Heber, viii. 190.—No. 6. *Ibid.* Ad 18. Heber, viii. 191.—No. 7. *Ibid.* Ad 18. Heber, viii. 193.—No. 8. Disc. of Confirm. Sect. I. Heber, xi. 238.—No. 9. *Ibid.* Heber, xi. 244.

We may notice the following points:—

1. He has “unless” for “except,” uniformly. This is a trifling variation; but, reasoning after the fashion of *Super-*

natural Religion, we should say that this uniformity of variation could not be referred to accident, but proved that he quoted from a different text from that of the authorized version.

2. He has "kingdom of *heaven*" for "kingdom of *God*" six times; viz., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

3. "*Heaven*" simply for "kingdom of *God*" once; No. 6.

4. "*Shall not enter*" for "*cannot enter*" four times; Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8; comp. also No. 6.

5. The second person plural, *ye*, for the third person singular, twice; Nos. 3, 7.

6. "*Baptized with water*" for "*born of water*" once; No. 7.

7. "*Born again by water*" for "*born of water*" once; No. 6.

8. "*Both of water and the Spirit*" for "*of water and of the Spirit*" once; No. 9.

9. "*Of*" is *omitted* before "*the Spirit*" six times; Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

10. "*Holy*" is *inserted* before "*Spirit*" twice; Nos. 1, 8.

No. 1 reads, for example, "*Unless a man be born of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"

Supernatural Religion insists that, when Justin uses such an expression as "Christ said," we may expect a verbally accurate quotation.* Now nothing is more certain than that the Christian Fathers frequently use such a formula when they mean to give merely the substance of what Christ said, and not the exact words; but let us apply our author's principle to Jeremy Taylor. No. 3 of his quotations reads thus:

"Therefore our Lord hath defined it, *Unless ye be born of water and the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"

No. 6 reads, "Though Christ said, *None but those that are born again by water and the Spirit shall enter into heaven.*"

No. 7 reads, "For Christ never said, *Unless ye be baptized*

* "Justin, in giving the words of Jesus, clearly professed to make an exact quotation."—*Supernatural Religion*, ii. 309, 7th ed.

with fire and the Spirit, *ye shall not* enter into the kingdom of heaven, but of water and the Spirit he *did say it.*"

I will add one quotation from the Book of Common Prayer, which certainly must be quoting from another apocryphal Gospel, different from those used by Jeremy Taylor (he evidently had several), inasmuch as it professes to give the very words of Christ, and gives them *twice* in precisely the same form:—

"Our Saviour Christ saith, *None can* enter into the kingdom of God except he be *regenerate and* born *anew* of water and of the *Holy Ghost.*" (*Public Baptism of Infants, and Baptism of those of Riper Years.*)

It has been shown, I trust, that in this quotation of the language of Christ respecting regeneration the verbal differences between Justin and John are not such as to render it improbable that the former borrowed from the latter. The variations of phraseology are easily accounted for, and are matched by similar variations in writers who unquestionably used the Gospel of John.

The positive reasons for believing that Justin derived his quotation from this source are, (1) the fact that in no other report of the teaching of Christ except that of John do we find this figure of the new birth; (2) the insistence in both Justin and John on the necessity of the new birth to an entrance into the kingdom of heaven; (3) its mention in both in connection with baptism; (4) and last and most important of all, the fact that Justin's remark on the impossibility of a second natural birth is such a platitude in the form in which he presents it, that we cannot regard it as original. We can only explain its introduction by supposing that the language of Christ which he quotes was strongly associated in his memory with the question of Nicodemus as recorded by John.* Other evidences of the use of the Fourth Gospel by Justin are the following:—

(a) While Justin's conceptions in regard to the Logos were undoubtedly greatly affected by Philo and the Alexandrian

* Engelhardt in his recent work on Justin observes: "This remark sets aside all doubt of the reference to the fourth Gospel."—*Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers*, Erlangen, 1878.

philosophy, the doctrine of the *incarnation* of the Logos was utterly foreign to that philosophy, and could only have been derived, it would seem, from the Gospel of John.* He accordingly speaks very often in language similar to that of John (i. 14) of the Logos as “made flesh,”† or as “having become man.”‡ That in the last phrase he should prefer the term “man” to the Hebraistic “flesh” can excite no surprise. With reference to the deity of the Logos and his instrumental agency in creation, compare also especially *Apol.* ii. 6, “through him God created all things” (δι’ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτίσθαι), *Dial.* c. 56, and *Apol.* i. 63, with John i. 1–3. Since the Fathers who immediately followed Justin, as Theophilus, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, unquestionably founded their doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos on the Gospel of John, the presumption is that Justin did the same. He professes to hold his view, in which he owns that some Chris-

p. 350. Weizsäcker is equally strong.—*Untersuchungen über die evang. Geschichte*, Gotha, 1864, pp. 228, 229.

Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, in the very interesting article *Gospels* in vol. x. of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, objects that Justin cannot have quoted the Fourth Gospel here, because “he is arguing for baptism by water,” and “it is inconceivable that . . . he should not only quote inaccurately, but omit the very words [John iii. 5] that were best adapted to support his argument.” (p. 821.) But Justin is not addressing an “argument” to the Roman Emperor and Senate for the necessity of baptism by water, but simply giving an account of Christian rites and Christian worship. And it is not the mere rite of baptism by water as such, but the necessity of the new birth through repentance and a voluntary change of life on the part of him who dedicates himself to God by this rite, on which Justin lays the main stress,—“the baptism of the soul from wrath and covetousness, envy and hatred.” (Comp. *Dial.* cc. 13, 14, 18.) Moreover, the simple word ἀναγεννηθῆτε, as he uses it in the immediate context, and as it was often used, includes the idea of baptism. This fact alone answers the objection. A perusal of the chapter in which Justin treats the subject (*Apol.* i. 61) will show that it was not at all necessary to his purpose in quoting the words of Christ to introduce the ἐξ ὕδατος. It would almost seem as if Dr. Abbott must have been thinking of the Clementine Homilies (xi. 24–27; xiii. 21), where excessive importance is attached to the mere element of water.

* See Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies* (Edin. 1880), p. 115. See Philo, *De Prof.* c. 19, prol. i. p. 561, ed. M.

† *σαρκοποιηθεὶς*; e.g., *Apol.* c. 32, ὁ λόγος, ὃς τίνα τρόπον σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἀνθρώπος γέγονεν. So c. 66 bis; *Dial.* cc. 45, 84, 87, 100. Comp. *Dial.* cc. 48 (“was born a man of like nature with us, having flesh”), 70 (“became embodied”).

‡ ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος; *Apol.* i. cc. 5 (“the Logos himself who took form and became man”), 23 bis, 32, 42, 50, 53, 63 bis; *Apol.* ii. c. 13; *Dial.* cc. 48, 57, 64, 67, 68 bis, 76, 85, 100, 101, 125 bis. I have availed myself in this and the preceding note of the references given by Professor Drummond in his article “Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel,” in the *Theol. Review* for April and July, 1877; see vol. xiv., p. 172. To this valuable essay I am much indebted, and shall have occasion to refer to it repeatedly. Professor Drummond compares at length Justin’s doctrine of the Logos with that of the proem to the Fourth Gospel, and decides rightly, I think, that the statement of the former “is, beyond all question, in a more developed form” than that of the latter. In John it is important to observe that λόγος is used with a meaning derived from the sense of “word” rather than “reason,” as in Philo and Justin. The subject is too large to be entered upon here.

tians do not agree with him, "because we have been commanded by Christ himself not to follow the doctrines of men, but those which were proclaimed by the blessed prophets and *taught by HIM.*" (*Dial.* c. 48.) Now, as Canon Westcott observes, "the Synoptists do not anywhere declare Christ's pre-existence."* And where could Justin suppose himself to have found this doctrine taught by Christ except in the Fourth Gospel? Compare *Apol.* i. 46: "That Christ is the first-born of God, being the Logos [the divine Reason] of which every race of men have been partakers [comp. John i. 4, 5, 9], we *have been taught* and have declared before. And those who have lived according to Reason are Christians, even though they were deemed atheists; as, for example, Socrates and Heraclitus and those like them among the Greeks."

(b) But more may be said. In one place (*Dial.* c. 105) Justin, according to the natural construction of his language and the course of his argument, appears to refer to the "Memoirs" as the source from which he and other Christians had learnt that Christ as the Logos was the "only-begotten" Son of God, a title applied to him by John alone among the New Testament writers; see John i. 14, 18; iii. 16, 18. The passage reads, "For that he was the only-begotten of the Father of the universe, having been begotten by him in a peculiar manner as his Logos and Power, and having afterwards become man through the virgin, as we have learned from the Memoirs, I showed before." It is *possible* that the clause, "as we have learned from the Memoirs," refers not to the main proposition of the sentence, but only to the fact of the birth from a virgin; but the context as well as the natural construction leads to a different view, as Professor Drummond has ably shown in the article in the *Theological Review* (xiv. 178-182) already referred to in a note. He observes:—

"The passage is part of a very long comparison, which Justin institutes between the twenty-second Psalm and the recorded events of

*"Intro. to the Gospel of St. John," in *The Holy Bible . . . with . . . Commentary*, etc., ed. by F. C. Cook, *N. T.* vol. ii. (1880), p. lxxxiv.

Christ's life. For the purposes of this comparison he refers to or quotes "the Gospel" once, and "the Memoirs" ten times, and further refers to the latter three times in the observations which immediately follow. . . . They are appealed to here because they furnish the successive steps of the proof by which the Psalm is shown to be prophetic."

In this case the words in the Psalm (xxii. 20, 21) which have to be illustrated are, "Deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten [Justin perhaps read "*thy* only-begotten"] from the power of the dog. Save me from the mouth of the lion, and my humiliation from the horns of unicorns." "These words," Justin remarks, "are again in a similar manner a teaching and prophecy of the things that belonged to him [τῶν ὄντων αὐτῶ] and that were going to happen. For that he was the only-begotten," etc., as quoted above. Professor Drummond well observes:—

"There is here no ground of comparison whatever except in the word *μονογενής* ["only-begotten"]. . . . It is evident that Justin understood this as referring to Christ; and accordingly he places the same word emphatically at the beginning of the sentence in which he proves the reference of this part of the Psalm to Jesus. For the same reason he refers not only to events, but to τὰ ὄντα αὐτῶ ["the things that belonged to him"]. These are taken up first in the nature and title of *μονογενής*, which immediately suggests *λόγος* and *δύναμις* ["Logos" and "power"], while the events are introduced and discussed afterwards. The allusion here to the birth through the virgin has nothing to do with the quotation from the Old Testament, and is probably introduced simply to show how Christ, although the only-begotten Logos, was nevertheless a man. If the argument were,—These words allude to Christ, because the Memoirs tell us that he was born from a virgin,—it would be utterly incoherent. If it were,—These words allude to Christ, because the Memoirs say that he was the only-begotten,—it would be perfectly valid from Justin's point of view. It would not, however, be suitable for a Jew, for whom the fact that Christ was *μονογενής*, not being an historical event, had to rest upon other authority; and therefore Justin changing his usual form, says that he had already explained to him a doctrine which the Christians learned from the Memoirs. It appears to me, then, most probable, that the peculiar Johannine title *μονογενής* existed in the Gospels used by Justin.*

In what follows, Prof. Drummond answers Thoma's ob-

* Justin also designates Christ as "the only-begotten Son" in a fragment of his work against Marcion, preserved by Irenæus, *Hæc.* iv. 6. §2. Comp. Justin, *Apol.* i. c. 23; ii. c. 6. *Dial.* c. 48.

jections* to this view of the passage, correcting some mis-translations. In the expression, "as I showed before," the reference may be, not to c. 100, but to c. 61 and similar passages, where it is argued that the Logos was "begotten by God before all creatures," which implies a unique generation.

(c) In the Dialogue with Trypho (c. 88), Justin cites as the words of John the Baptist: "I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying"; οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος. This declaration, "I am not the Christ," and this application to himself of the language of Isaiah, are attributed to the Baptist only in the Gospel of John (i. 20, 23; comp. iii. 28). Hilgenfeld recognizes here the use of this Gospel.

(d) Justin says of the Jews, "They are justly upbraided . . . by Christ himself as knowing neither the Father nor the Son" (*Apol.* i. 63). Comp. John viii. 19, "Ye neither know me nor my Father"; and xvi. 3, "They have not known the Father nor me." It is true that Justin quotes in this connection Matt. xi. 27; but his language seems to be influenced by the passages in John above cited, in which alone the Jews are directly addressed.

(e) Justin says that "Christ healed those who were blind from their birth," τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς πηρούς (*Dial.* c. 49; comp. *Apol.* i. 22, ἐκ γενετῆς πονηρούς, where several editors, though not Otto, would substitute πηρούς by conjecture). There seems to be a reference here to John ix. 1, where we have τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς, the phrase ἐκ γενετῆς, "from birth," being peculiar to John among the Evangelists, and πηρός being a common synonyme of τυφλός; comp. the Apostolical Constitutions v. 7. § 17, where we have ὁ ἐκ γενετῆς πηρός in a clear reference

* In Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.*, 1875, xviii. 55 ff. For other discussions of this passage, one may see Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten* u.s.w., p. 188 f.; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen* u.s.w., p. 300 f. (*versus* Semisch); Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse f. d. Ev. Johannis*, Basel, 1866, p. 163 f.; Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* p. 32, 4e Aufl. But Professor Drummond's treatment of the question is the most thorough.

Grimm (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1851, p. 687 ff.) agrees with Semisch that it is "in the highest degree arbitrary" to refer Justin's expression, "as we have learned from the Memoirs," merely to the participial clause which mentions the birth from a virgin; but like Thoma, who agrees with him that the reference is to the designation "only-begotten," he thinks that Justin has in mind merely the confession of Peter (Matt. xvi. 16), referred to in *Dial.* c. 100. This rests on the false assumption that Justin can only be referring back to c. 100, and makes him argue that "the Son" merely is equivalent to "the only-begotten Son"

to this passage of John, and the Clementine Homilies xix. 22, where *περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ* occurs also in a similar reference.* John is the only Evangelist who mentions the healing of any congenital infirmity.

(f) The exact coincidence between Justin (*Apol.* i. 52; comp. *Dial.* cc. 14 (quoted as from *Hosea*), 32, 64, 118) and John (xix. 37) in citing Zechariah xii. 10 in a form different from the Septuagint, *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, "they shall look on him whom they pierced," instead of *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἄνθ' ὃν κατορχήσαντο*, is remarkable, and not sufficiently explained by supposing both to have borrowed from Rev. i. 7, "every eye shall see him, and they who pierced him." Much stress has been laid on this coincidence by Semisch (p. 200 ff.) and Tischendorf (p. 34); but it is possible, if not rather probable, that Justin and John have independently followed a reading of the Septuagint which had already attained currency in the first century as a correction of the text in conformity with the Hebrew.†

(g) Compare *Apol.* i. 13 (cited by Prof. Drummond, p. 323), "Jesus Christ who became our teacher of these things and *was born to this end* (*εἰς τοῦτο γεννηθέντα*), who was crucified under Pontius Pilate," with Christ's answer to Pilate (John xviii. 37), "To this end have I been born, *εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι*, . . . that I might bear witness to the truth."

(h) Justin says (*Dial.* c. 56, p. 276 D), "I affirm that he never did or spake any thing but what he that made the world, above whom there is no other God, willed that he should both do and speak"; ‡ comp. John viii. 28, 29: "As

*The context in Justin, as Otto justly remarks, proves that *πηρούς* must here signify "blind," not "maimed"; comp. the quotation from Isa. xxxv. 5, which precedes, and the "causing this one to see," which follows. Keim's exclamation—"not a blind man at all!"—would have been spared, if he had attended to this. (See his *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, i. 139, note; i. 189, Eng. trans.)

† See Credner, *Beiträge* u.s.w., ii. 293 ff. See further on this quotation, p. 66, *infra*.

‡ Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to the Study of the N.T.*, London, 1868, ii. 376) translates the last clause, "intended that he should do and to associate with" (sic). Though the meaning "to converse with," and then "to speak," "to say," is not assigned to *ὁμιλεῖν* in Liddell and Scott, or Rost and Palm's edition of Passow, Justin in the very next sentence uses *λαλεῖν* as an equivalent substitute, and this meaning is common in the later Greek. See Sophocles, *Greek Lex.* s.v. *ὁμιλέω*. Of Dr. Davidson's translation I must confess my inability to make either grammar or sense.

the Father taught me, I speak these things; and . . . I always do the things that please him"; also John iv. 34; v. 19, 30; vii. 16; xii. 49, 50. In the language of Trypho which immediately follows (p. 277 A), "We do not suppose that you represent him to have *said* or done or *spoken* anything contrary to the will of the Creator of the universe," we are particularly reminded of John xii. 49, — "The Father who sent me hath himself given me a commandment, what I should *say* and what I should *speak*."

(i) Referring to a passage of the Old Testament as signifying that Christ "was to rise from the dead on the third day after his crucifixion," Justin subjoins (*Dial.* c. 100), "which he received from his Father," or more literally, "which [thing] he has, having received it from his Father," ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβὼν ἐχει. A reference here to John x. 18 seems probable, where Jesus says respecting his life, "I have authority (ἐξουσίαν) to lay it down, and I have authority to receive it again (πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν); this charge I received from my Father" (ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου).

(k) Justin says, "We were taught that the bread and wine were the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." (*Apol.* i. c. 66.) This use of the term "flesh" instead of "body" in describing the bread of the Eucharist suggests John vi. 51-56.

(l) Professor Drummond notes that Justin, like John (iii. 14, 15), regards the elevation of the brazen serpent in the wilderness as typical of the crucifixion (*Apol.* i. c. 60; *Dial.* cc. 91, 94, 131), and in speaking of it says that it denoted "salvation to those who flee for refuge to him who sent his crucified Son into the world" (*Dial.* c. 91).* "Now this idea of God's sending his Son into the world occurs in the same connection in John iii. 17, and strange as it may appear, it is an idea which in the New Testament is peculiar to John." Prof. Drummond further observes that "in the four instances in which John speaks of Christ as being sent into the world, he prefers ἀποστέλλω, so that Justin's phrase is

*Or, as it is expressed in *Dial.* c. 94, "salvation to those *who believe in him* who was to die through this sign, the cross," which comes nearer to John iii. 15.

not entirely coincident with the Johannine. But the use of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omega$ ["to send"] itself is curious. Except by John, it is applied to Christ in the New Testament only twice, whereas John uses it [thus] twenty-five times. Justin's language, therefore, in the thought which it expresses, in the selection of words, and in its connection, is closely related to John's, and has no other parallel in the New Testament." (*Theol. Rev.* xiv. 324.) Compare also *Dial.* c. 140, "according to the will of the Father who sent him," etc., and *Dial.* c. 17, "the only blameless and righteous Light sent from God to men." (Prof. Drummond seems to have overlooked *Gal.* iv. 4.)

(m) Lücke, Otto, Semisch, Keim, Mangold, and Drummond are disposed to find a reminiscence of John i. 13 in Justin's language where, after quoting from Genesis xlix. 11, he says, "since his blood was not begotten of human seed, but by the will of God" (*Dial.* c. 63; comp. the similar language *Apol.* i. 32; *Dial.* cc. 54, "by the power of God"; 76). They suppose that Justin referred John i. 13 to Christ, following an early reading of the passage, namely, $\acute{o}\varsigma \dots \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta$, "who *was* born" [or "begotten"] instead of "who *were* born." We find this reading in Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 16. § 2; 19. § 2), Tertullian (*De Carne Christi* cc. 19, 24), Ambrose once, Augustine once, also in Codex Veronensis (b) of the Old Latin, and some other authorities. Tertullian indeed boldly charges the Valentinians with corrupting the text by changing the singular to the plural. Rönisch, whom no one will call an "apologist," remarks, "The citation of these words . . . certainly belongs to the proofs that Justin Martyr knew the Gospel of John."* I have noticed this, in deference to these authorities, but am not confident that there is any reference in Justin's language to John i. 13.

(n) Justin says (*Dial.* c. 88), "The *Apostles* have written" that at the baptism of Jesus "as he came up from the water the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon him." The descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove is mentioned by the Apostles Matthew and John (*Matt.* iii. 16; *John.* i. 32, 33). This is

* *Das neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipz. 1871, p. 654.

the only place in which Justin uses the expression "the Apostles have written."

(o) Justin says (*Dial.* c. 103) that Pilate sent Jesus to Herod *bound*. The binding is not mentioned by Luke; but if Justin used the Gospel of John, the mistake is easily explained through a confusion in memory of Luke xxiii. 7 with John xviii. 24 (comp. ver. 12); and this seems the most natural explanation; see however Matt. xxvii. 2; Mark xv. 1. Examples of such a confusion of different passages repeatedly occur in Justin's quotations from the Old Testament, as also of his citing the Old Testament for facts which it does not contain.*

(p) The remark of Justin that the Jews dared to call Jesus a magician (comp. Matt. ix. 34; xii. 24) and a *deceiver of the people* (ῥωπλανοῖ) reminds one strongly of John vii. 12; see however also Matt. xxvii. 63. — "Through his stripes," says Justin (*Dial.* c. 17), "there is healing to those who through him come to the Father," which suggests John xiv. 6, "No man cometh to the Father but through me"; but the reference is uncertain; comp. Eph. ii. 18, and Heb. vii. 25 with the similar expression in *Dial.* c. 43. — So also it is not clear that in the προσκυνῶμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες (*Apol.* i. 6) there is any allusion to John iv. 24. † — I pass over sundry passages where Bindemann, Otto, Semisch, Thoma, Drummond and others have found resemblances more or less striking between the language of Justin and

*See, for example, *Apol.* i. 44, where the words in Deut. xxx. 15, 19, are represented as addressed to *Adam* (comp. Gen. ii. 16, 17); and *Apol.* i. 60, where Justin refers to Num. xxi. 8, 9 for various particulars found only in his own imagination. The extraordinary looseness with which he quotes Plato here (as elsewhere) may also be noted (see the *Timæus* c. 12, p. 36 B, C). On Justin's quotations from the Old Testament, which are largely marked by the same characteristics as his quotations from the Gospels, see Credner, *Beiträge* u. s. w., vol. ii. (1838); Norton, *Genuineness* etc., i. 213 ff., and *Addit. Notes*, p. ccxviii. ff., 2d ed., 1846 (1st ed. 1837); Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten* u. s. w. (1848), p. 239 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen* (1850), p. 46 ff.; Westcott, *Canon*, p. 121 ff., 172 ff., 4th ed. (1875); Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century* (1876), pp. 40 ff., 111 ff.

† Grimm, however, finds here "an unmistakable reminiscence" of John iv. 24. He thinks Justin used λόγῳ for πνεύματι and τιμῶντες for προσκυνῶντες because πνεῦμα and προσκυνῶμεν immediately precede. (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1851, p. 691.) But λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ seem to mean simply, "in accordance with reason and truth"; comp. *Apol.* i. 63, cited by Otto, also c. 13, μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν.

John, leaving them to the not very tender mercies of Zeller * and Hilgenfeld. †

(*q*) Justin's vindication of Christians for not keeping the Jewish Sabbath on the ground that "God has carried on the same administration of the universe during that day as during all others" (*Dial.* c. 29, comp. c. 23) is, as Mr. Norton observes, "a thought so remarkable, that there can be little doubt that he borrowed it from what was said by our Saviour when the Jews were enraged at his having performed a miracle on the Sabbath:—'My Father has been working hitherto as I am working.'" — His argument also against the observance of the Jewish Sabbath from the fact that circumcision was permitted on that day may (*Dial.* c. 27) have been borrowed from John vii. 22, 23.

(*r*) I will notice particularly only one more passage, in which Professor Drummond proposes an original and very plausible explanation of a difficulty. In the larger Apology (c. 35), as he observes, the following words are quoted from Isaiah (lviii. 2), *αἰτοῦσι με νῦν κρίσιν*, "they now ask of me judgment"; and in evidence that this prophecy was fulfilled in Christ, Justin asserts, "they mocked him, and set him on the judgment-seat (*ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος*), and said, Judge for us." This proceeding is nowhere recorded in our Gospels, but in John xix. 13 we read, "Pilate therefore brought Jesus out, and sat on the judgment-seat" (*καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος*). But the words just quoted in the Greek, the correspondence of which with those of Justin will be noticed, admit in themselves the rendering, "and set him on the judgment-seat"; ‡ and what was more natural, as Prof. Drummond remarks, than that Justin, in his eagerness to find a fulfilment of the prophecy, should take them in this sense? "He might then add the statement that the people said *κρίνον ἡμῖν* ['judge for us'] as an obvious inference from the fact of Christ's having been placed on the tribunal, just as in an earlier chapter (c. 32) he appends to the synoptic account the circum-

* *Die äusseren Zeugnisse . . . des vierten Evang.*, in the *Theol. Jahrbücher* (Tübingen) 1845, p. 600 ff.

† *Kritische Untersuchungen* u.s.w., p. 302 f.

‡ Dr. Hort has pointed out to me that Justin uses the word transitively in *Dial.* 32, *καθίζοντα γνῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ*, comp. Eph. i. 20, though in the New Testament it is commonly intransitive. See also its use with reference to *judges*, I. Cor. vi. 4.

stance that the ass on which Christ rode into Jerusalem was bound to a vine, in order to bring the event into connection with Genesis xlix. 11." (*Theol. Review*, xiv. 328.)

These evidences of Justin's use of the Gospel of John are strengthened somewhat by an indication, which has been generally overlooked, of his use of the First Epistle of John. In 1 John iii. 1 we read, according to the text now adopted by the best critics, as Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort, "Behold what love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called children of God; and we are so"; ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν, καὶ ἴσμεν. This addition to the common text, καὶ ἴσμεν, "and we are," is supported by a great preponderance of external evidence. Compare now Justin (*Dial.* c. 123): "We are both called true children of God, and we are so"; καὶ θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἴσμεν. The coincidence seems too remarkable to be accidental. Hilgenfeld takes the same view (*Einleit. in d. N. T.*, p. 69), and so Ewald (*Die johan. Schriften*, ii. 395, Anm. 4).

It also deserves to be considered that, as Justin wrote a work "Against all Heresies" (*Apol.* i. 26), among which he certainly included those of Valentinus and Basilides (*Dial.* c. 35; cf. Tertull. *Adv. Valentinianos*, c. 5), he could hardly have been ignorant of a book which, according to Irenæus, the Valentinians used *plenissime*, and to which the Basilidians and apparently Basilides himself also appealed (Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vii. 22, 27). Credner recognizes the weight of this argument.* It can only be met by maintaining what is altogether improbable, that merely the *later* Valentinians and Basilidians made use of the Gospel,—a point which we shall examine hereafter.

In judging of the indications of Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel, the passages cited in addition to those which relate to his Logos doctrine will strike different persons differently. There will be few, however, I think, who will not feel that the one first discussed (that relating to the new birth) is in itself almost a decisive proof of such a use, and that the one relating to John the Baptist (*c*) is also strong. In regard to

* *Geschichte des neutest. Kanon* (1860), p. 15 f.; comp. pp. 9, 12.

not a few others, while the *possibility* of accidental agreement must be conceded, the probability is decidedly against this, and the accumulated probabilities form an argument of no little weight. It is not then, I believe, too much to say, that the strong presumption from the universal reception of our four Gospels as sacred books in the time of Irenæus that Justin's "Memoirs of Christ composed by Apostles and their companions" were the same books, is decidedly confirmed by these evidences of his use of the Fourth Gospel. We will next consider the further confirmation of this fact afforded by writers who flourished between the time of Justin and Irenæus, and then notice some objections to the view which has been presented.

The most weighty testimony is that of Tatian, the Assyrian, a disciple of Justin. His literary activity may be placed at about A.D. 155-170 (Lightfoot). In his "Address to the Greeks" he repeatedly quotes the Fourth Gospel, though without naming the author, in one case using the expression (*τὸ εἰρημένον*) which is several times employed in the New Testament (*e.g.* Acts ii. 16; Rom. iv. 18) in introducing a quotation from the Scriptures; see his *Orat. ad Græc.* c. 13, "And this then is that which hath been said, The darkness comprehendeth [*or* overcometh] not the light" (John i. 5); see also c. 19 (John i. 3); c. 4 (John iv. 24).^{*} Still more important is the fact that he composed a Harmony of our Four Gospels which he called the *Diatessaron* (*i.e.* "the Gospel made out of Four"). This fact is attested by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 29),[†] Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlvi. 1), who, however, writes from hearsay, and Theodoret, who in his work on Heresies (*Hær. Fab.* i. 20) says that he found more than two hundred copies of the book held in esteem in his diocese, and substituted for it copies of our Four Gospels.

^{*} Even Zeller does not dispute that Tatian quotes the Fourth Gospel, and ascribed it to the Apostle John. (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1847, p. 158.) Cf. Volkmar, *Ursprung*, u.s.w., p. 35.

[†] An expression used by Eusebius (*οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως*, literally, "I know not how") has been misunderstood by many as implying that he had not seen the work; but Lightfoot has shown conclusively that this inference is wholly unwarranted. It only implies that the plan of the work seemed strange to him. See *Contemporary Review* for May, 1877, p. 1136, where Lightfoot cites 26 examples of this use of the phrase from the work of Origen against Celsus.

He tells us that Tatian, who is supposed to have prepared the Harmony after he became a Gnostic Encratite, had "cut away the genealogies and such other passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh." But notwithstanding this mutilation, the work seems to have been very popular in the orthodox churches of Syria as a convenient compendium. The celebrated Syrian Father, Ephraem, the deacon of Edessa, who died A.D. 373, wrote a commentary on it, according to Dionysius Bar-Salibi, who flourished in the last part of the twelfth century. Bar-Salibi was well acquainted with the work, citing it in his own Commentary on the Gospels, and distinguishing it from the Diatessaron of Ammonius, and from a later work by Elias Salamensis, also called Aphthonius. He mentions that it began with John i. 1 — "In the beginning was the Word." (See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 158 ff.) Besides Ephraem, Aphraates, an earlier Syrian Father (A.D. 337) appears to have used it (*Hom.* i. p. 13 ed. Wright); and in the *Doctrine of Addai*, an apocryphal Syriac work, written probably not far from the middle of the third century, which purports to give an account of the early history of Christianity at Edessa, the people are represented as coming together "to the prayers of the service, and to [the reading of] the Old Testament and the New of the Diatessaron."* The *Doctrine of Addai* does not name the author of the *Diatessaron* thus read; but the facts already mentioned make the presumption strong that it was Tatian's. A scholion on Cod. 72 of the Gospels cites "Tatian's Gospel" for a remarkable reading of Matt. xxvii. 49 found in many ancient MSS.; and

*In Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Lond. 1864) the text, published from a MS. in the British Museum, is here corrupt, reading *Ditonron*, a word without meaning; comp. Pratten's *Syriac Documents* (1871), p. 25, note, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xx. Cureton conjectured that the true reading was *Diatessaron* (see his note, p. 158), and his conjecture is confirmed by the St. Petersburg MS. published by Dr. George Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai*, London, 1876; see his note, p. 34 f. Cureton's Syriac text (p. 15), as well as his translation (p. 15), reads *Ditonron*, not *Ditornon*, as Lightfoot, Pratten, and Phillips erroneously state, being misled by a misprint in Cureton's note. Phillips gives the reading correctly in the note to his Syriac text (p. 36). Moesinger, in the work described below, is also misled, spelling the word *Diathurnun* (Præf. p. iv). The difference between *Ditonron* and *Diatessaron* in the Syriac is very slight, affecting only a single letter.

it is also cited for a peculiar reading of Luke vii. 42.* So far the evidence is clear, consistent, and conclusive; but on the ground of a confusion between Tatian's Harmony and that of Ammonius on the part of a Syrian writer of the thirteenth century (Gregorius Abulpharagius or Bar-Hebræus), and of the two *persons* by a still later writer, Ebed-Jesu, both of which confusions can be traced to a misunderstanding of the language of Bar-Salibi, and for other reasons equally weak, † the fact that Tatian's work was a Harmony of our Four Gospels has been questioned by some German critics, and of course by *Supernatural Religion*. But the whole subject has been so thoroughly discussed and its obscurities so well cleared up by Bishop Lightfoot, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1877, that the question may be regarded as settled. ‡ Lightfoot's view is confirmed by the recent publication of Ephraem's Commentary on the

* See Tischendorf, *N.T. Gr.* ed. 8va, on Matt. xxvii. 49, and Scholz, *N.T. Gr.*, vol. i., p. cxlix., and p. 243, note x.

† Such as that Victor of Capua (A.D. 545) says that it was called *Diapente* (i.e., "made out of five"). But this is clearly a slip of the pen of Victor himself, or a mistake of some scribe; for, as Hilgenfeld (*Einleit.* p. 79, note) and Lightfoot remark, Victor is simply reporting Eusebius's account of it, and not only does Eusebius say that Tatian called it the *Diatessaron*, but Victor himself has just described it as "*unum ex quatuor.*" The strange mistake, for it can be nothing else, may possibly be accounted for by the fact that *Diatessaron* and *Diapente* being both musical terms (cf. *Plut. Quæst. Conviv.* iii. 9, § 1; *De Mus.* c. 22, 23; *Macrob. in Somn. Scip.* i. 6, §§ 43, 44; ii. 1, §§ 15-25; *Vitruv.* v. 4, §§ 7, 8; *Martian. Capella*, ix., §§ 950 ff; *Censorinus*, x. 6; *Philo, De Opif. Mundi*, c. 15, and Müller's note, p. 214 ff), one might naturally recall the other, and lead to an unconscious substitution on the part of the author or of some absent-minded copyist. Such slips of the pen, or *heterographies*, are not uncommon. To take examples from two books which I have just been using: Zacagni, *Collectanea Mon. Vet.* p. 536, note 5, says "Anno Christi quingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo" when he means "quadringentesimo"; Charteris, *Canonicity* (Edin. 1880), p. xlv., note, no. 4, says "Eusebius" for "Papias," and, in quoting Lardner (*ibid.* p. 42, note 1, end), substitutes "New Testament" for "Old Testament". Under no circumstances can any inference about the composition of the work be drawn from this *Diapente*, for Victor derives his information from Eusebius, and not only do all the Greek MSS. in the passage referred to read *Diatessaron*, but this reading is confirmed by the very ancient, probably contemporary, Syriac version of Eusebius, preserved in a MS. of the sixth century, and by the Latin version of Rufinus, made a century and a half before Victor wrote. (See Lightfoot, p. 1143.) The mistake ascribed to the Syriac lexicographer Bar-Bahlul is proved to be due to an interpolator. (See Lightfoot, p. 1139, note.) The statement of Epiphanius, the most untrustworthy and blundering of the Fathers, that "it is called by some the Gospel according to the Hebrews" (*Har.* xlv. 1), if it had any foundation beyond a mere guess of the writer, may have originated from the omission of the genealogies, which were omitted also in one form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*Epiph. Har.* xxx. 13, 14). The supposition that it was that Gospel contradicts all our information about the two works except the circumstance just mentioned; and that it had additions from that Gospel is a conjecture for which we have not a particle of evidence. (See Lightfoot, p. 1141; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.* ii. 714.)

‡ To Lightfoot's article I am much indebted. The other writers who treat of the subject most fully are Credner, *Beiträge*, u.s.w., i. 437-451, who has thrown more darkness upon it than anybody else; Daniel, *Tatianus der Apologet* (Halle, 1837), pp. 87-111, who has refuted Credner's arguments; Semisch, *Tatian: Diatessaron*, Vratisl. 1856; Hilgenfeld, *Einleit. in d. N.T.* (1875), pp. 75-79; *Supernatural Religion*, vol. ii., pp. 148-159, 7th ed.; and E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* (London, 1879), p. 16 f., and pp. 126-133, who does not appear to have seen Lightfoot's article, but exposes independently many of the errors and fallacies of *Supernatural Religion*. See also Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, iii. 292 ff.

Diatessaron, to which I have already had occasion to refer.* This exists only in an Armenian version of the Syriac, made, it is supposed, in the fifth century. The Armenian text was published in the second volume of the collected Works of St. Ephraem in Armenian, printed at Venice in 1836 (4 vols. 8vo); but Aucher's Latin translation of the Commentary, revised and edited by G. Moesinger, who compared it with another Armenian manuscript, first appeared at Venice in 1876, and the work has hitherto been almost unnoticed by scholars.† It should be observed that Ephraem's commentary is only on select passages of the Harmony, unless the work which has come down to us is merely an abridgment. But there seems to be no ground for questioning the genuineness of the work ascribed to Ephraem; and little or no ground for doubting that the Harmony on which he is commenting is Tatian's, in accordance with the account of Dionysius Bar-Salibi.‡ It agrees with what we know of Tatian's in omitting the genealogies and in beginning with the first verse of the Gospel of John. Further, the character of the text, so far as we can judge of it from a translation of a translation, is such as to lend confirmation to the view that it is Tatian's. It presents some very ancient various readings which accord remarkably with those of Justin Martyr and other early writers, and with the Curetonian Syriac where it differs from the later Peshito. ||

* See Note A, no. 4.

† The volume is entitled: *Evangelii concordantis Expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro. In Latinum translata a R. P. Joanne Baptista Aucher Mechitarista cujus Versionem emendavit, Adnotationibus illustravit et edidit Dr. Georgius Moesinger. Venetiis, Libraria PP. Mechitaristarum in Monasterio S. Lazari. 1876. 8vo. pp. xii., 292.* Lipsius, art. *Gospels, Apocryphal*, in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, vol. ii. (London, 1880), p. 713, is not even aware that the Armenian translation has been published.

‡ See Moesinger, *ubi supra*, Præf. p. ii. ff.

|| We find, for example, the very ancient punctuation or construction which ends the sentence in John i. 3 with οὐδὲ ἓν, "not even one thing," connecting ὃ γέγονεν with ver. 4. (See Moesinger's edition, p. 5.) This accords with the citation of the passage by Tatian (*Orat. ad Græc.* c. 19). In Matt. i. 25, we read "sancte (or in sanctitate) habitabat cum ea" (Moesinger, pp. 23, 25, 26); so the Curetonian Syriac. In Matt. viii. 10 (p. 74), it reads, "Non in aliquo in Israël tantam fidem inveni," with Cod. Vaticanus (B), several of the best cursives, the MSS. a gr. k q of the Old Latin, the Curetonian Syriac, Sahidic, Coptic, and Æthiopic versions, the Harklean Syriac in the margin, Augustine once, and the "*Opus Imperfectum*" on Matt. In Matt. xi. 27 (Moesinger, pp. 117, 216), it agrees with Justin, the Clementine Homilies, and the Gnostics in Irenæus, in the transposition of the clauses relating to the Father and the Son. (See

We may regard it then, I conceive, as an established fact that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was a Harmony of our four Gospels. So difficult and laborious a work would hardly have been undertaken, except to meet a want which had been widely felt. It implies that the four books used were recognized by those for whom it was intended as authoritative, and as possessing equal authority. Can we then believe that Tatian's Harmony represented a different set of books from the "Memoirs called Gospels" of his master Justin, which were read at the meetings for public worship in churches all over the Christian world as the authentic records of the life and teaching of Christ, the production of Apostles and their companions? Does not Tatian's unquestionable use of the Gospel of John in particular confirm the strong presumption from other facts that this Gospel was included in the "Memoirs" used by his master and by Christians generally twenty years before?

This presumption receives further confirmation from other testimonies to the existence and use of the Fourth Gospel between the time of Justin Martyr and Irenæus.

The treatise or fragment *On the Resurrection*, which Otto with many others ascribes to Justin, if not genuine, probably belongs to this period. In c. 1 we read, "The Logos of God, who was [*or* became] his Son, came to us clothed in flesh, revealing both himself and the Father, giving to us in himself the resurrection from the dead and the eternal life which follows." The allusions here to John i. 1, 14; xiv. 9; xi. 25, 26, seem unmistakable. So in c. 9, "He permitted them to handle him, and showed in his hands the marks of the nails," we have a reference to John xx. 25, 27, as well as to Luke xxiv. 39.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (*cir.* A.D. 165), in a fragment from

Note A, under no. 4.) In Matt. xix. 17, the text is given in Ephraem's commentary in different forms, but it seems to be, substantially, "Unus tantum est bonus, Pater (*or* Deus Pater) qui in cælis" (Moesinger, pp. 169, 170, 173); similarly, Justin Martyr once (*Dial.* c. 101), the Naassenes in Hippolytus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 7, p. 102), the Marcosians in Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 20. § 2), and the Clementine Homilies (xviii. 1, 3); see, for the numerous variations of reading here, Tischendorf's *N. T. Gr.* ed. Sva, *in loc.* Notice also the reading of John vii. 8 ("*Non* ascendo," Moesinger, p. 167); John iii. 13, quoted without the last clause of *text. recept.* (pp. 187, 189, comp. 168); John x. 8 (*ante me*, p. 200); Luke xxii. 44 ("et factus est sudor ejus ut guttæ sanguinis," p. 235; comp. Justin, *Dial.* c. 103).

his work on the Incarnation preserved by Anastasius Sinaita, speaks of Christ as "giving proof to us of his deity by signs [wrought] in the three years after his baptism, and of his humanity in the thirty years before his baptism." * This assignment of a duration of three years to his ministry must have been founded on the Gospel of John, which mentions three Passovers (ii. 13; vi. 4; xi. 55) besides the "feast of the Jews" referred to in John v. 1.

Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia (*cir.* A.D. 166), in a treatise on the Paschal Festival, refers to the apparent difference between John and the Synoptic Gospels as to the time of the death of Jesus. Apollinaris, relying on the Gospel of John, held that it was on the day on which the paschal lamb was killed, the 14th of Nisan; his opponents, appealing to the Gospel of Matthew, maintained that it was on the day following. Both Gospels were evidently received as authoritative by both parties. † He also refers in the same work to the piercing of the side of Jesus and the effusion of water and blood, mentioned only by John (xix. 34). ‡

The Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to those of Asia and Phrygia, giving an account of their persecutions (A.D. 177), quotes the following as the words of the Lord: "There shall come a time in which whosoever killeth you shall think that he is offering a religious service to God," *λατρείαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ*. The expression in the last clause is the same which is inadequately rendered in the common version "doeth God service" (John xvi. 2). || The use of the word *παράκλητος* a little before in the Epistle, "having the

* See Anast. Sinait. *Hodeg. or Viæ Dux*, c. 13, in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxix. col. 229, or Melito, Frag. vi. in Otto, *Corp. Apol. Christ.*, vol. ix. (1872), p. 416.

† *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. i., pp. 13, 14, ed. Dindorf; Apollinaris in Routh's *Rel. sacræ*, ed. alt. (1846), i. 160; or Otto, *Corp. Apol. Christ.*, ix. 486 f.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 14, ed. Dindorf; Routh, *ibid.* p. 161; Otto, *ubi supra*. For a full view of the evidence of Melito and Apollinaris, and of the considerations which give it weight, see Lightfoot's article, "The Later School of St. John," in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1876, xxvii. 471 ff.

|| The letter is preserved in large part by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. cc. 1-4. It may be consulted conveniently in Routh, *Rel. sacræ*, i. 295 ff., ed. alt. For the quotation, see *Epist.* c. 4; Routh, p. 300; Euseb. v. i. § 15.

Paraclete within him," also suggests the Gospel of John; comp. John xiv. 16, 17.*

Athenagoras the Athenian (cir. A.D. 176), in his *Plea for Christians* addressed to M. Aurelius and Commodus, speaking of "the Logos of God the Father," says that "through him all things were made" (*δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο*), the Father and the Son being one; and the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son"; language which seems evidently founded on John i. 3; x. 30, 38; xiv. 10, 11; xvii. 21, 22.†

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch A.D. 169–181, in his work in defence of Christianity addressed to Autolycus (A.D. 180), says, "The Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the Spirit, among whom John says, 'In the beginning was the word [*or* Logos], and the Word was with God.'" He proceeds to quote John i. 3.‡

The Muratorian Canon (cir. A.D. 170), as has already been mentioned, ascribes the Gospel to the Apostle John, and gives an account of the circumstances under which it was written, fabulous doubtless in some of its details, but having probably a basis of truth. ||

Celsus, the celebrated heathen adversary of Christianity (A.D. 178, Keim), professedly founds his statements concerning the history of Christ on "the writings of his disciples";** and his accounts are manifestly based on our four Gospels,††

* *Epist.* c. 3; Routh, p. 298; Euseb. v. 1. § 10. In the same section we have other expressions apparently borrowed from John xv. 13 and 1 John iii. 16. See, further, Lightfoot's article, "The Churches of Gaul," in the *Contemp. Review* for August, 1876, xxviii. 405 ff. An English translation of the Fragments of Melito and Apollinaris, and of the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, will be found appended to vol. ii. of Lactantius, in vol. xxii. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library.

† *Suppl. pro Christ.* c. 10, p. 46, ed. Otto.

‡ *Ad Autol.* ii. 22, pp. 118–120, ed. Otto.

|| See on this subject Lightfoot in the *Contemp. Review* for October, 1875, xxvi. 835 ff.; Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible*, p. 248 (Eng. ed.); and Westcott, "Intro. to the Gospel of St. John," in *The Holy Bible . . . with . . . Commentary*, etc., ed. by F. C. Cook, *N. T.*, vol. ii. p. xxxv.; also his *Canon of the N. T.*, 5th ed., p. 214 ff.

** Origen, *Cels.* ii. 13, 74; comp. 32, 53. He quotes these writings as possessing among Christians unquestioned authority: "We need," says he, "no other witness; for you fall upon your own swords" (ii. 74).

†† See fully in Lardner, *Testimonies of Ancient Heathens*, ch. xviii., *Works*, vii. 210–278; Kirchofer, *Quellensammlung zur Gesch. des neutest. Canons* (1844), pp. 330–349; Keim, *Celsus' Wahres Wort* (1873), pp. 223–230. Comp. Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, i. 142 ff.; E. A. Abbott, art. *Gospels*, in the *Encyc. Britannica*, 9th ed., x. 818.

though he does not name their authors. He refers to several circumstances peculiar to the narrative of John, as the blood which flowed from the body of Jesus at his crucifixion,* and the fact that Christ "after his death arose, and showed the marks of his punishment, and how his hands had been pierced." † He says that "some relate that one, and some that two angels came to the sepulchre, to announce that Jesus was risen." ‡ Matthew and Mark speak of but one angel, Luke and John mention two. He says that the Jews "challenged Jesus *in the temple* to produce some clear proof that he was the Son of God." || He appears also to allude to the cry of Jesus, "I thirst," recorded only by John.** Referring to a declaration of Jesus, he satirically exclaims, "O Light and Truth!" designations of Christ characteristic of John's Gospel. †† He says that Jesus "after rising from the dead showed himself secretly to one woman only, and to his boon companions." ‡‡ Here the first part of the statement seems to refer to John's account of the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene.

The heretical writings of this period clearly recognize the Fourth Gospel. Notwithstanding several apparent quotations or allusions, it was formerly maintained that the author of the Clementine Homilies could not possibly have used this Gospel, it being in such opposition to his opinions. But since the discovery of the Codex Ottobonianus, containing the missing portion of the book (first published by Dressel in his edition of the Homilies in 1853), there has been a change of view. That portion contains so clear a quotation of John ix. 1-3 (*Hom.* xix. 22) that Hilgenfeld has handsomely retracted his denial; ||| and, though Scholten and *Supernatu-*

*Origen, *Cels.* ii. 36, also i. 66; comp. John xix. 34.

†Origen, *Cels.* ii. 55, 59; John xx. 25, 27.

‡Origen, *Cels.* v. 52, 56; John xx. 12; comp. Luke xxiv. 4, 23.

||Origen, *Cels.* i. 67; John ii. 18; comp. x. 23, 24. (Matt. xxi. 23.)

**Origen, *Cels.* ii. 37; John xix. 28.

††Origen, *Cels.* ii. 49; John viii. 12; ix. 5; xii. 46; xiv. 6.

‡‡Origen, *Cels.* ii. 70; John xx. 14-18. Compare, however, the Addition to Mark, xvi. 9.

||| *Einleit. in d. N.T.*, p. 43 f., note; comp. Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible*, p. 277
Volkmar also recognizes the use of the Fourth Gospel here, but only as "an unapostolic *novum*"

ral Religion still resist the evidence, there can be little doubt about the final verdict of impartial criticism. Besides this passage and that about the new birth,* the Gospel of John seems to be used twice in *Hom.* iii. 52, once in a free quotation: "I am the gate of life; he that entereth in through me entereth into life, for there is no other teaching that can save" (comp. John x. 9, 10); and again, "My sheep hear my voice" (comp. John x. 27).

More important, and beyond any dispute, is the evidence of the use of the Fourth Gospel as the work of the Apostle John by the Gnostics of this period. Ptolemy, the disciple of Valentinus, in his Epistle to Flora, preserved by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxiii. 3), quotes John i. 3 as what "the Apostle says"; † and, in the exposition of the Ptolemæo-Valentinian system given by Irenæus, a long passage is quoted from Ptolemy or one of his school in which he is represented as saying that "John, the disciple of the Lord, supposes a certain Beginning," etc., citing and commenting on John i. 1-5, 14, 18, in support of the Valentinian doctrine of the Ogdoad. ‡ The Valentinians, indeed, as we are told by Irenæus elsewhere, used the Gospel of John most abundantly (*Hær.* iii. 11. § 7). Heracleon, another disciple of Valentinus, wrote a commentary on it, large extracts from which are preserved by Origen. || The book commonly cited as *Excerpta Theodoti* or *Doctrina Orientalis*, a compilation (with criticisms) from the writings of Theodotus and other Gnostics of the second century, ascribed to Clement of Alexandria and

(*Ursprung uns. Evv.*, 1866, p. 62 f., 134 f.). The question is well treated by Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 293 ff. It is to be observed that the incident of "the man blind from his birth" is introduced in the Homilies (xix. 22) as it is in the Apostolical Constitutions (v. 7. § 17) with the use of the definite article, as something well-known to the readers of the book. How does this happen, if the writer is taking it from "an unapostolic *novum*"? Drummond and Sanday have properly called attention to this use of the article.

* *Hom.* xi. 26; see above, pp. 29, 31.

† I follow the text of Dindorf in his edition of Epiphanius, vol. ii., pp. 199, 200, who reads τὰ τε πάντα for ἅτε πάντα and γεγονέναι οὐδέν for γέγονεν οὐδέν.

‡ *Iren. Hær.* i. 8. § 5. The old Latin version of Irenæus, which is often more trustworthy than the Greek as preserved by Epiphanius, ends the section referred to with the words: *Et Ptolemæus quidem ita*. For the Greek, generally, see Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxi. 27, in Dindorf's edition, which gives the best text.

|| These are collected in Grabe's *Spicilegium SS. Patrum*, etc., ii. 85-117, 237, ed. alt. (1714), and in Stieren's *Irenæus*, i. 938-971.

commonly printed with his works, contains many extracts from one or more writers of the Valentinian school, in which the Gospel of John is quoted and commented upon as the work of the Apostle. (See particularly cc. 6-8, also 3, 9, 13, 17-19, 26, 41, 45, 61, 62, 65, 73.)

The literature of the third quarter of the second century is fragmentary, but we have seen that it attests the use of the Fourth Gospel in the most widely separated regions of the Christian world, and by parties diametrically opposed in sentiment. The fact that this Gospel was used by those to whose opinions it was or seemed to be adverse—by the author of the Clementine Homilies, by Quartodecimans and their opponents, and especially by the Gnostics, who were obliged to wrest its language so violently to accommodate it to their systems—shows that to have won such a reception at that time it must have come down from an earlier period with commanding authority. Its use in Tatian's Diatessaron also makes this evident. It must have belonged to those "Memoirs" to which Justin appealed fifteen or twenty years before, and which were recognized by the Christians generally of his day as the authentic sources of information respecting the life and teaching of Christ. The particular evidence we have been examining, limited as it is by the scantiness of the literature, strengthens the general conclusion before drawn from the universal reception of our four Gospels in the time of Irenæus, and from the direct indications of the use of the Fourth Gospel by Justin. The evidence that this Gospel was one of his "Memoirs" is thus cumulative, and, unless it is countervailed by some very strong objections, must be regarded as decisive. Let us then consider the main objections which have been urged against this conclusion.

The first is that, according to *Supernatural Religion*, "The description which Justin gives of the manner of the teaching of Jesus excludes the idea that he knew the Fourth Gospel. 'Brief and concise were the sentences uttered by him: for he was no Sophist, but his word was the power of God.'

No one could for a moment assert that this applies to the long and artificial discourses of the Fourth Gospel."*

Here we may observe, in the first place, that Justin's Greek is not quite accurately translated. † The word rendered "sentences" is without the article; and Prof. Drummond translates the clause more correctly, "Brief and concise sayings have proceeded from him," remarking that "Justin is describing not the universal, but only the prevailing and prominent character of his teaching." ‡ And it is not a description of the teaching in the Fourth Gospel in particular, but a general statement, not inconsistent with the fact that the character of the discourses in the Fourth Gospel is in some respects peculiar. But, as to "brief and concise sayings" of Jesus, Professor Drummond, in glancing over the first thirteen chapters of John, finds no less than fifty-three to which this description would apply. He observes that "the book contains in reality very little connected argumentation; and even the longest discourses consist rather of successive pearls of thought strung on a thread of association than of consecutive discussion and proof." || But it may be greatly doubted whether Justin means here by *βραχείς λόγοι*, as Tayler supposes, simply "short, aphoristic maxims." The reference to the Sophists, that is, rhetoricians, leads one rather to suppose that Justin is contrasting the *λόγοι*, "discourses," of Christ in general with the long, artificial, argumentative, and rhetorical *λόγοι* of the Sophists among his earlier or later contemporaries, such as Dion Chrysostomus, Herodes Atticus, Polemo and Aristides, whom Philostratus describes in his biographies. As for brevity, the discourses in the Fourth Gospel are generally short: the longest continuous discourse there recorded

* *Sup. Rel.*, ii. 314; similarly J. J. Tayler, *An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel* (1867), p. 64; Davidson, *Introd. to the Study of the N. T.* (1868), ii. 386, and many others.

† *Απολ.* i. 14: *βραχείς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγονάσιν*. It may be thought, perhaps, that *οἱ* has dropped out after *σύντομοι*, which might easily have happened. But, even if the article had been used, the argument would be worthless. Such general propositions are seldom to be taken without qualification.

‡ *Theol. Review*, July, 1877, xiv. 330.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 330, 331.

would hardly occupy five minutes in the reading. The Sermon on the Mount as given by Matthew is much longer than any unbroken discourse in John. But what characterizes the teaching of Christ in the Gospels, as Justin intimates, is the divine authority and spiritual power with which he speaks; and this is not less striking in the Fourth Gospel than in the Synoptists. (Comp. Matt. vii. 29; Luke iv. 32; John vii. 26, 46.)

A more plausible objection is this. If Justin knew and used the Fourth Gospel at all, why has he not used it more? Why has he never appealed to it in proof of his doctrine of the Logos and of the pre-existence of Christ? He has expressly quoted but one saying of Christ recorded in it, and one of John the Baptist, and has referred to but one incident peculiar to it, unless we adopt the view of Professor Drummond respecting his reference to John xix. 13. (See above, p. 52.) His account of Christ's life and teaching corresponds substantially with that given in the Synoptic Gospels, which he follows (so it is affirmed) where they differ, or seem to differ, from John. Albrecht Thoma, in an article in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, comes to the conclusion, after a minute examination of the subject, that Justin "knows and uses almost every chapter of the Logos-Gospel, and in part very fully." But such considerations as I have mentioned convince him, notwithstanding, that he did not regard it as apostolic, or historically authentic. He finds Justin's relation to the Apostle Paul very similar. Justin shows himself well acquainted with Paul's writings, he often follows him in his citations from the Old Testament where they differ from the Septuagint, he borrows largely his thoughts and illustrations and language, but never quotes him expressly and by name; and so Mr. Thoma thinks he cannot have regarded him as an Apostle.*

This argument forgets the nature of Justin's writings. Were he addressing a Christian community in defence of his

* See the article, "Justins literarisches Verhältniss zu Paulus und zum Johannes-Evangelium," in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1875, xviii. 383 ff., 490 ff. The quotation in the text is from p. 553.

doctrine of the pre-existence and subordinate deity of Christ in opposition to the Ebionites, these objections would be valid. But he was writing for unbelievers. In his Apologies addressed to the Emperor and Senate and people of Rome, he cannot quote the Christian writings in *direct* proof of the truth of Christian doctrines, and makes no attempt to do so. In giving the account which he does of the teaching of Christ, he draws mainly from the Sermon on the Mount, and in his sketch of the Gospel history follows mainly the guidance of Matthew, though also using Luke, and in two or three instances Mark. That is exactly what was to be expected. Justin's chief argument is derived from the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies, and in this he naturally follows the Gospel of Matthew, which is distinguished from the others by its reference to them. Where Matthew's citations differ from the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament, Justin often appears to borrow from Matthew rather than from the Septuagint.* The discourses of Christ as they are given in the Synoptic Gospels were obviously much better fitted for his purpose of presenting to heathens a general view of Christ's teaching than those in the Gospel of John. Similar remarks apply to the Dialogue with Trypho the Jew. Here Dr. Davidson thinks it strange that Justin should not have quoted the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, and such a passage as "Before Abraham was, I am," in proof of Christ's divinity and pre-existence.† But the Jew with whom Justin was arguing would not have accepted an assertion of John or a declaration of Christ as a proof of its truth. So in the case of Paul's writings. Paul was not so popular among the Jews that his name would recommend the arguments or illustrations which Justin borrows from him; still less could Justin quote his Epistles in proof of doctrine in a discussion with a Jew, or in a defence of Christianity addressed to heathens.

* See Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten* u.s.w., pp. 110-120; examples are also given by Norton, *Genuineness*, etc., vol. i. Addit. Notes, pp. ccxx., ccxxii., ccxxxii. f.

† Davidson's *Introd. to the Study of the N. T.* (1868), ii. 385. Compare Volkmar, *Ueber Justin den Märtyrer* u.s.w. (Zürich, 1853), p. 20 f.; *Ursprung uns. Evang.* (1866), p. 107 f. Thoma, *ubi supra*, p. 556.

The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by an indisputable fact. Justin certainly believed that the Apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse; *Supernatural Religion* (i. 295) thinks that this was the only book of the New Testament which he regarded as "inspired"; Thoma (p. 563, note 1) even supposes that it was read in the churches in Justin's time together with the "Memoirs" and the Prophets of the Old Testament. How, then, does it happen that he has not a single quotation from this book, which calls Christ "the Word [Logos] of God" (Rev. xix. 13), "the beginning of the creation of God" (iii. 14), "the first and the last and the living one" (i. 17, comp. ii. 8), "the searcher of the reins and hearts" (ii. 23), and, apparently (though according to Alford and Westcott not really), "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end" (xxii. 13)? In speaking of the different opinions among Christians about the resurrection, Justin once refers to the book as agreeing with the prophets in predicting the Millennium, and mentions the name of the author (*Dial.* c. 81; the passage will be cited below); but, as I have said, he nowhere *quotes* this work, which he regarded as inspired, apostolic, prophetic, though it contains so much which might seem to favor his view of the person of Christ. Were it not for that almost accidental reference to it, it might be plausibly argued that he was ignorant of its existence. In one place in the Dialogue with Trypho (c. 18), Justin half apologizes for subjoining "some brief sayings" of the Saviour to the words of the Prophets, on the ground that Trypho had acknowledged that he had read the precepts of Christ "in the so-called Gospel" (*Dial.* c. 10). But he does not introduce them there as arguments.

It should be observed, further, that the course pursued by Justin in abstaining from quoting the Gospels in proof of doctrines, and in not mentioning the Evangelists by name, in writings addressed to unbelievers, is simply that which was followed, with slight exceptions, by a long line of Christian Apologists from his time down to that of Eusebius.*

* See Norton, *Gen. of the Gospels*, i. 218 ff.; Westcott, *Canon of the N.T.*, p. 116 ff.; E. S. Foulkes, art. *Fathers*, in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, ii. 456 f.

It may still be said that this applies only to quotations made in proof of *doctrines*. It may be asked, and there is some force in the question, Why has not Justin used John as he has used the Synoptic Gospels, as an authority for historical facts, for facts which he supposed to be predicted in the Old Testament? To take one example which has been urged: Justin has quoted from the Old Testament, in precisely the same form as John (differing from the established text of the Septuagint), the words, "They shall look on me whom they pierced":* but instead of referring to the incident which led John to quote it,—the thrusting of a spear into our Saviour's side by a Roman soldier,—he seems to apply it to the crucifixion generally. How could he do this, if he accepted the Gospel of John? †

This case presents little difficulty. The verbs in the quotation, it will be observed, are in the plural. If Justin regarded the prophecy as including the act of the Roman soldier, he could not have restricted it to that: he must have regarded the language of the Old Testament as referring also to the piercing of the hands and the feet of Jesus on the part of the soldiers who nailed him to the cross. It is not strange, therefore, that he should quote the passage without referring to the particular act mentioned by John. He applies the prophecy, moreover, to the Jews, who *caused* the death of Jesus, and not to the Roman soldiers, who were the immediate agents in the crucifixion. ‡

But there is a stronger case than this. Justin, who speaks of Christ as "the passover" or paschal lamb, symbolizing the deliverance of Christian believers from death, "as the blood of the passover saved those who were in Egypt" (*Dial.* c. 111, comp. 40), has not noticed the fact recorded by John alone, that the legs of Christ were not broken by the Roman soldiers at the crucifixion. This the Evangelist regards as a fulfilment of the scripture, "A bone of him shall not be

* Zech. xii. 10; John xix. 37; Justin, *Apol.* i. 52. See above, p. 48.

† Thoma, pp. 542 f., 556; comp. Engelhardt, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers* (1878), p. 350.

‡ *Apol.* i. 52; *Dial.* cc. 14, 32, 64, 118; comp. *Dial.* cc. 85, 93, etc.; Acts ii. 23; x. 39.

broken"; and this quotation is commonly referred to the direction respecting the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 46; Num. ix. 12). How, it may be asked, could Justin, with his fondness for types, have neglected such a fulfilment as this, when the Evangelist had already pointed it out? This argument is plausible, and has some weight. Let us consider it.

In the first place, I must venture to doubt whether there is any reference to the paschal lamb in John xix. 36. The Evangelist says nothing whatever to indicate such a reference, though some explanation would seem to be needed of the transformation of a precept into a prediction. The language of Ps. xxxiv. 20 (Sept. xxxiii. 21) corresponds more closely with the citation; and, considering the free way in which passages of the Old Testament are applied in the New, the fact that in the connection in which the words stand in the Psalm protection of life is referred to does not seem a very serious objection to the supposition that the Evangelist had this passage in mind. He may well have regarded the part of the Psalm which he quotes as fulfilled in the case of "Jesus Christ the righteous" in the incident which he records, and the preceding verse as fulfilled in the resurrection. And some eminent scholars take this view of his meaning; so, *e.g.*, Grotius, Wetstein, Bishop Kidder, Hammond, Whitby, Brückner, Bäumlein, Weiss,* others, as Lenfant and Le Clerc, leave the matter doubtful; and some, as Vitringa and Bengel, suppose the Evangelist to have had both passages in mind. But, waiving this question, I would say, once for all, that very little importance is to be attached to this sort of *a priori* reasoning. We may be surprised that Justin should not have been led by the Fourth Gospel to find here a fulfilment of prophecy of some sort, and to use it in his argument; but a hundred cases equally surprising might be cited of the neglect of a writer to use an argument or to recognize a fact which we should have confidently expected that he would use or recognize. To take the first that lies at hand. I have before me the work of Dr. Sanday,

* *Bibl. Theol. des N.T.*, 3^e Aufl. (1880), p. 638; comp. his *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff* (1862), p. 114, note. So R. H. Hutton, *Essays, Theol. and Literary*, 2d ed. (1880), i. 195.

The Gospels in the Second Century, a learned, elaborate, and valuable treatise in reply to *Supernatural Religion*. He adduces from all sources the evidence of the use of the Gospels by writers who flourished in the period from Clement of Rome to Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, including those whose references to the Gospel are very slight and doubtful, or of whom mere fragments remain. Appended to the work is a chronological and analytical table of these authors. But, on looking it over, we find no mention of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch A.D. 169–181; and Dr. Sanday has nowhere presented the testimony of this writer, though we have from him an elaborate “Apology” or defence of Christianity in three books, in which he quotes several passages from the Gospel of Matthew with the introduction, “The evangelic voice teaches” so and so, or “the Gospel says,”* and though, as we have seen, he quotes the Gospel of John (ch. i. 1, 3), naming the Evangelist, and describing him as one moved by the Spirit of God (see above, p. 58). He is in fact the earliest writer who does thus expressly quote the Fourth Gospel as the work of John. Now suppose Dr. Sanday was a Father of the third or fourth century who had composed a treatise with the purpose of collecting the evidences of the use of the Gospels by early Christian writers. What would the author of *Supernatural Religion* say to the facts in this case? Would he not argue that Sandæus could not possibly have been acquainted with this work of Theophilus, and that the pretended “Apology” was probably spurious? And, if he found in Sandæus (p. 303) a single apparent allusion to that writer, would he not maintain that this must be an interpolation? — Or to take another example. Sandæus is examining the question about Justin Martyr’s use of the Gospels, and observes that “he says emphatically that all the children (πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας) in Bethlehem were slain, without mentioning the limitation of age given in St. Matthew” (p. 106; comp. Justin, *Dial.* c. 78). Now in our present texts of Justin there is another

* *Ad Autol.* lib. iii. cc. 13, 14, ed. Otto; comp. Matt. v. 28, 44, 46; vi. 3.

reference to the slaughter of the innocents, in which Herod is represented as "destroying all the children born in Bethlehem at that time." * But here *Supernatural Religion* might argue, It is certain that this qualifying phrase could not have been in the copy used by Sandæus, who takes no notice of the passage, though his aim is to meet the objections to the genuineness of our Gospels. Is it not clear that the words were interpolated by some one who wished to bring Justin into harmony with Matthew? Would Justin be so inconsistent with himself as that addition would make him?

A multitude of questions may be asked, to which no particular answer can be given, in reference to the use which Justin and writers in all ages have made of our Gospels. We cannot say why he has quoted this saying of Jesus and not that, or referred to this incident in the history and not that; why, for example, in his account of Christ's teaching in his First Apology, he makes no allusion to any of the parables which form so remarkable a feature of it, and quotes from them in but one place in his Dialogue with Trypho (*Dial. c. 125*). We can only say that he had to stop somewhere; † that he has used the Gospels much more freely than any other of the many Christian Apologists whose writings have come down to us from his day to that of Lactantius and Eusebius; that his selection of the sayings of Christ seems on the whole judicious and natural, though many pearls of great price are missing; that the historical incidents by which he supports his special argument from the fulfilment of prophecy are for the most part what might be expected; and that it was natural that in general he should follow the Synoptic Gospels rather than that of John. ‡ But one needs only to try experiments on particular works by almost any writer to find that great caution is required in drawing inferences from what he has *not* done.

* *Dial. c. 103*: ἀνελόntonτος πάντας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ γεννηθέντας παῖδας.

† *Comp. Apol. i. 53*: "Here we conclude, though we have many other prophecies to produce."

‡ See on this point Meyer, *Komm. über d. Ev. Joh.*, 5^e Aufl. (1869), p. 8 f., note (Eng. trans., p. 8 f., note 3); comp. Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über d. evang. Geschichte*, p. 229.

As to the case before us, Justin may not have thought of the incident peculiar to the Fourth Gospel, or he may have considered, and very reasonably too, that an argument for the typical character of the paschal lamb founded on the direction given in the Pentateuch about the bones, or an argument *assuming* the Messianic reference of the passage in the Psalms, was not well adapted to convince unbelievers. Perhaps he had urged this argument in the actual dialogue with Trypho, and had encountered objections to its validity which he did not find it easy to answer. This may seem more probable than the supposition of forgetfulness. But will you say that such a failure of memory as has been suggested is incredible? Let us compare a case. One of the most distinguished scholars of this country, in an article published in the *American Biblical Repository*, remarks, in the course of an elaborate argument:—

The particulars inserted or omitted by different Evangelists vary exceedingly from each other, some inserting what others omit, and some narrating at length what others briefly touch. *E.g.*, compare the history of the temptation by Mark, and even by Matthew and Luke: and where is the history of the *transfiguration* to be found, except in Matthew?*

Could anything be *a priori* more incredible than that an eminent Biblical scholar, who when this was written had held the office of Professor of Sacred Literature in the Andover Theological Seminary for nearly thirty years, should have forgotten that both Mark and Luke have given full accounts of the transfiguration, the latter especially mentioning a number of important particulars not found in Matthew?† If Professor Stuart was occasionally guilty of oversights,—as who is not?—he certainly had a clearer head and a better memory than Justin Martyr, who in quoting and referring to the Old Testament makes not a few extraordinary mistakes.‡

I admit that some weight should be allowed to the argu-

* *American Biblical Repository*, October, 1838, xii. 341.

† Compare Mark ix. 2-8 and Luke ix. 28-36 with Matt. xvii. 1-8.

‡ See the references already given, p. 49, note*; also *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, by John [Kaye], Bishop of Lincoln, 3d ed. (1853), pp. 139 f. 148; comp. p. 129 f.

ment we have been examining, so far as reference to the history in the Gospel of John is concerned; but it does not seem to me that much importance should be attached to it. The tradition in the Synoptic Gospels represents without doubt the substance of the apostolic preaching; it was earlier committed to writing than that contained in the Fourth Gospel; the incidents of the threefold narrative were more familiar; and the discourses, especially, as has already been remarked, were far better fitted for illustrating the general character of Christ's teaching than those of the Fourth Gospel. It would have been very strange, therefore, if in such works as those of Justin the Synoptic Gospels had not been mainly used.

Engelhardt, the most recent writer on Justin, is impressed by the facts which Thoma presents respecting Justin's relation to John, but comes to a different conclusion. He thinks Justin could never have made the use of John's Gospel which he has done, if he had not regarded it as genuine. It purports to be a work of the beloved disciple. The conjecture that by "the disciple whom Jesus loved" Andrew was intended (Lützelberger), or Nathanael (Spaeth), or a personified ideal conception (Scholten), was reserved for the sagacity of critics of the nineteenth century: there is no trace that in Christian antiquity this title ever suggested any one but John. The Gospel must have been received as his work, or rejected as fictitious. Engelhardt believes that Justin received it, and included it in his "Memoirs"; but he conjectures that with it there was commonly read in the churches and used by Justin a Harmony of the first three Gospels, or at least of Matthew and Luke, while the Fourth Gospel, not yet incorporated into the Harmony, stood in the background.* I do not feel the need of this hypothesis; but it may deserve consideration.

It is objected further that Justin's statements repeatedly contradict the Fourth Gospel, and that he cannot therefore have regarded it as apostolic or authentic. For example, he follows the Synoptic Gospels, so Hilgenfeld and David-

* See Engelhardt, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers*, pp. 345-352.

son and *Supernatural Religion* affirm, in placing, in opposition to John, the death of Christ on the 15th of Nisan, the day after the paschal lamb was killed.

The argument that Justin cannot have accepted the Gospel of John because he has followed the Synoptists in respect to the day of Christ's death hardly needs an answer. If the discrepancy referred to, whether real or not, did not prevent the whole Christian world from accepting John and the Synoptic Gospels alike in the last quarter of the second century, it need not have hindered Justin from doing so at an earlier date. But it is far from certain that Hilgenfeld and Davidson have correctly interpreted the language of Justin: "It is written that you seized him on the day of the passover, and in like manner crucified him at [*or during*] the passover (*ἐν τῇ πάσχα*)." * Meyer understands this as placing the death of Jesus on the day of the passover; † Otto in an elaborate note on the passage in his *third* edition of Justin's Works maintains the same view; ‡ Thoma regards the language as ambiguous. || I will not undertake to pronounce an opinion upon so difficult a question, as the objection is futile on any supposition.

Again, *Supernatural Religion* asserts that "Justin contradicts the Fourth Gospel, in limiting the work of Jesus to one year." (*S. R.* ii. 313.) Dr. Davidson makes the same statement; ** but neither he nor *S. R.* adduces any proof of it. I know of no passage in Justin which affirms or implies this limitation. But, if such a passage should be found, the argument against Justin's reception of the Fourth Gospel would

* *Dial.* c. 111. See Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche* (1860), pp. 205-209; Davidson, *Introd. to the Study of the N.T.* (1863), ii. 384; *Sup. Rel.*, ii. 313; comp. Wieseler, *Beiträge* (1869), p. 240.—Note here the use of *γέγραπται*.

† *Komment. üb. d. Ev. des Joh.*, 5^e Aufl. p. 24 f. (Eng. trans. i. 24 f.) Steitz, who formerly agreed with Hilgenfeld, afterwards adopted the view of Meyer; see the art. *Pascha* in Herzog's *Real-Encyk. f. Prot. u. Kirche*, xi. 151, note *.

‡ *Iustini . . . Martyris Opera*, tom. i. pars ii., éd. tert. (1877), p. 395 f. Otto cites *Dial.* c. 99, where the agony in Gethsemane is referred to as taking place "on the day on which Jesus was to be crucified," as showing that Justin followed the Jewish reckoning of the day from sunset to sunset. Davidson takes no notice of this. If Meyer and Otto are right, we have here a strong argument for Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel.

|| *Ubi supra*, p. 535 f.

** *Introd. to the Study of the N.T.*, ii. 387.

be worthless. The opinion that Christ's ministry lasted but one year, or little more, was held by many in the early Church who received the Gospel of John without question. It was maintained by the Basilidians, the Valentinians, and the author of the Clementine Homilies, by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Julius Africanus, Pseudo-Cyprian, Archelaus, Lactantius, Ephraem Syrus apparently, Philastrius, Gaudentius, Q. Julius Hilarianus, Augustine apparently, Evagrius the presbyter, and others among the Fathers, and has been held by modern scholars, as Bentley, Mann, Priestley (*Harmony*), Lant Carpenter (*Harmony*), and Henry Browne (*Ordo Sæclorum*).^{*} The Fathers were much influenced by their interpretation of Isa. lxi. 2, — "to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," — quoted in Luke iv. 19. It is true that John vi. 4 is against this view; but its defenders find means, satisfactory to themselves, of getting over the difficulty.

Other objections urged by Dr. Davidson and *Supernatural Religion* seem to me too weak to need an answer. I will, however, notice one which is brought forward with great confidence by Thoma, who says "Justin directly contradicts the Fourth Gospel" (p. 556), and after him by F. C. J. van Goens, who introduces it with the words *enfin et surtout*.†

^{*} The Basilidians, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 408.—Valentinians, see Iren. *Hær.* i. 3. (al. 5), § 3; ii. 20. (al. 36), § 1; 22. (al. 38-40), §§ 1-6.—Clem. Hom. xvii. 19.—Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 407; vi. 11, p. 783, l. 40; comp. v. 6, p. 668; vii. 17, p. 898.—Tertull. *Adv. Jud.* c. 8; *Marc.* i. 15 (but here are different readings).—Origen, *De Princip.* iv. 5, Opp. i. 160; *In Levit. Hom.* ix. c. 5, Opp. ii. 239; *In Luc. Hom.* xxxii., Opp. iii. 970; contra, *In Matt. Comm. Ser.*, c. 40, Opp. iii. 859, "fere tres annos"; comp. *Cels.* ii. 12, Opp. i. 397, οὐδὲ τρία ἔτη.—Jul. Africanus *Chron.* frag. l. ap. Routh, *Roll. Sacra*, ii. 301 f., ed. alt.—Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Pascha Comp.* (A. D. 243), c. 22.—Archelai et Manetis Disp., c. 34.—Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 10. (*De Morte Persec.* c. 2.)—Ephraem, *Serm.* xiii. *in Nat. Dom.*, Opp. Syr. ii. 432.—Philastr. *Hær.* 106.—Gaudent. *Serm.* iii., Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xx. 865.—Hilarianus, *De Mundi Dur.* (A. D. 397) c. 16; *De Die Pasche*, c. 15; Migne, xiii. 1104, 1114, or Gallandi, *Bibl. Patr.* viii. 238, 748.—Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 54, Opp. vii. 866; *Ad Hesych. Epist.* 199 (al. 80), § 20, Opp. ii. 1122; contra, *De Doct. Christ.* ii. 42 (al. 28), Opp. iii. 66.—Evagrius presbyter (*civ.* A. D. 423), *Alterc. inter Theoph. Christ. et Sin. Jud.*, Migne xx. 1176, or Gallandi, ix. 254.—So also the author of the treatise *De Promissis et Prædictionibus Dei* (published with the works of Prosper Aquitanus), pars i. c. 7; pars v. c. 2; Migne, li. 739 c, 855 b.—Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum* (Corrections and Additions), also cites Cyril of Alexandria, *In Isa.* xxxii. 10, Opp. ii. 446 d e, but this rests on a false inference; see, contra, Cyril, *In Isa.* xxix. 1, Opp. ii. 408 b. Besides the works of Nicholas Mann, *De veris Annis Jesu Christi natali et emortuali*, Lond. 1752, p. 158 ff., Greswell, *Dissertations*, etc., i. 438 ff., 2d ed. (1837), and Henry Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, Lond. 1844, p. 80 ff., one may consult especially F. X. Patritius (*i.e.* Patrizi), *De Evangelisti* (Friburg. Brigov. 1853), lib. iii., diss. xix., p. 171 ff.

† *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne, 1878, xi. 92 f.

Justin speaks of Christ as "keeping silence and refusing any longer to make any answer to any one before Pilate, as has been declared in the Memoirs by the Apostles" (*Dial.* c. 102). M. van Goens remarks, "No one who had ever read the Fourth Gospel could speak in this way." What does M. van Goens think of Tertullian, who says,* "Velut agnus coram tondente se sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum. Hic enim *Pilato interrogante nihil locutus est*"? If Justin had even said that Christ made no answer when Pilate questioned him, this would be sufficiently explained by John xix. 9, to which Tertullian perhaps refers. But the expressions "no longer" and "before Pilate" lead rather to the supposition that Justin refers to Matt. xxvii. 11-14 and Mark xv. 2-5 (οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, "he no longer made any answer"), which certainly there is nothing in John to contradict.

Finally, the author of *Supernatural Religion* urges, generally, that in citing the Old Testament Justin, according to Semisch's count, refers to the author by name or by book one hundred and ninety-seven times, and omits to do this only one hundred and seventeen times. On the other hand, in referring to the words of Christ or the facts of Christian history for which he relied on the "Memoirs," he never cites the book (*S. R.* regards the "Memoirs" as one book) by the name of the author, except in a single instance, where he refers to "Peter's Memoirs" (*Dial.* c. 106).† "The inference," he says, "must not only be that he attached small importance to the Memoirs, but was actually ignorant of the author's name" (*S. R.* i. 297). That Justin attached small importance to the "Memoirs by the Apostles" on which he professedly relied for the teaching and life of Christ, and this, as *S. R.* contends, to the exclusion of oral tradition (*S. R.* i. 298), is an "inference" and a proposition which would surprise us in almost any other writer. The inference, moreover, that Justin "was actually ignorant of the author's name," when in one instance, according to *S. R.*,

* *Adv. Jud.* c. 13, Opp. ii. 737, ed. Oehler.

† See above, p. 22 f.

“he indicates Peter” as the author (*S. R.* i. 285), and when, as *S. R.* maintains, “the Gospel according to Peter,” or “the Gospel according to the Hebrews” (which he represents as substantially the same work), was in all probability the source from which the numerous quotations in his works differing from our Gospels are taken,* is another specimen of singular logic. So much for generalities. But a particular objection to the conclusion that the Gospel of John was one of Justin’s “Memoirs” is founded on the fact that he has never quoted or referred to it under the name of the author, though he has named the Apostle John as the author of the Apocalypse. (*S. R.* i. 298.) Great stress is laid on this contrast by many writers.

Let us see to what these objections amount. In the first place, the *way* in which Justin has mentioned John as the author of the Apocalypse is in itself enough to explain why he should not have named him in citing the “Memoirs.” In his Dialogue with Trypho, after having quoted prophecies of the Old Testament in proof of his doctrine of the Millennium, — a doctrine in which he confesses some Christians did not agree with him, — he wishes to state that his belief is supported by a Christian writing which he regards as inspired and prophetic. He accordingly refers to the work as follows: “And afterwards also a certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in a revelation made by him prophesied that the believers in our Christ should spend a thousand years in Jerusalem,” etc. (*Dial.* c. 81.) The Apostle John was certainly as well known outside of the Christian body as any other of the Evangelists; but we see that he is here introduced to Trypho as a stranger. Still more would he and the other Evangelists be strangers to the Roman Emperor and Senate, to whom the Apologies were addressed. That Justin, under such circumstances should quote the Evangelists by name, assigning this saying or incident to “the Gospel according to Matthew,” that to “Luke,” and the other to “the Gospel according to John,”

* *Supernatural Religion*, i. 321; comp. pp. 312, 323, 332, 398, 416, 418-427; ii. 311, 7th ed.

as if he were addressing a Christian community familiar with the books, would have been preposterous. Justin has *described* the books in his First Apology as Memoirs of Christ, resting on the authority of the Apostles, and received by the Christians of his time as authentic records. That was all that his purpose required: the names of four unknown persons would have added no weight to his citations. In the Dialogue, he is even more specific in his description of the "Memoirs" than in the Apology. But to suppose that he would quote them as he quotes the books of the Old Testament with which Trypho was familiar is to ignore all the proprieties and congruities of the case.

This view is confirmed and the whole argument of *Supernatural Religion* is nullified by the fact that the general practice of Christian Apologists down to the time of Eusebius corresponds with that of Justin, as we have before had occasion to remark. (See above, p. 67.) It may be added that, while in writings addressed to Christian readers by the earlier Fathers the Old Testament is often, or usually, cited with reference to the author or book, the cases are comparatively very rare in which the Evangelists are named. For example, Clement of Alexandria, according to Semisch, quotes the Old Testament writers or books far oftener than otherwise by name, while in his very numerous citations from the Gospels he names John but three times, Matthew twice, Luke twice, and Mark once; in the countless citations of the Gospels in the Apostolical Constitutions, the Evangelists are never named; and so in the numerous quotations of the Gospels in Cyprian's writings, with the exception of a single treatise (the *Testimonia* or *Ad Quirinum*), the names of the Evangelists are never mentioned. But it cannot be necessary to expose further the utter futility of this objection, which has so often been inconsiderately urged.*

In this view of the objections to the supposition that Justin used the Gospel of John and included it in his

* See Semisch, *Die apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten*, u. s. w., p. 84 ff.; and compare Norton, *Genuineness*, etc., i. 205 ff., 2d ed.

"Memoirs," I have either cited them in the precise language of their authors, or have endeavored to state them in their most plausible form. When fairly examined, only one of them appears to have weight, and that not much. I refer to the objection that, if Justin used the Fourth Gospel at all, we should expect him to have used it more. It seems to me, therefore, that there is nothing of importance to countervail the very strong presumption from different lines of evidence that the "Memoirs" of Justin Martyr, "composed by Apostles and their companions," were our four Gospels.

A word should perhaps be added in reference to the view of Dr. E. A. Abbott, in the valuable article *Gospels* contributed to the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. He holds that Justin's "Memoirs" included the first three Gospels, and these only. These alone were received by the Christian community of his time as the authentic records of the life and teaching of Christ. If so, how can we explain the fact that a pretended Gospel so different in character from these, and so inconsistent with them as it is supposed to be, should have found universal acceptance in the next generation on the part of Christians of the most opposite opinions, without trace of controversy, with the slight exception of the Alogi previously mentioned?*

I have not attempted in the present paper a thorough discussion of Justin Martyr's quotations, but only to illustrate by some decisive examples the false assumptions on which the reasoning of *Supernatural Religion* is founded. In a full treatment of the subject, it would be necessary to consider the question of Justin's use of apocryphal Gospels, and in particular the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" and the "Gospel according to Peter," which figure so prominently in what calls itself "criticism" (*die Kritik*) as the pretended source of Justin's quotations. This subject has already been

* See above, p. 20. The work of Hippolytus, of which we know only the title found on the cathedra of his statue at Rome, "On [or "In defence of" (*ὕπὲρ*)] the Gospel according to John and the Apocalypse," may have been written in answer to their objections. See Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, 2d ed. (1854), i. 460. On the Alogi see also Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über d. evang. Geschichte*, p. 226 f., note.

referred to;* but it is impossible to treat it here in detail. In respect to "the Gospel according to the Hebrews" I will give in a Note some quotations from the article *Gospels, Apocryphal*, by Professor R. A. Lipsius, of Jena, in the second volume of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, published in the present year, with extracts from other recent writers, which will sufficiently show how groundless is the supposition that Justin's quotations were mainly derived from this Gospel. † Lipsius certainly will not be suspected of any "apologetic" tendency. Credner's hypothesis that the "Gospel according to Peter," which he regards as the Gospel used by the Jewish Christians generally, and strangely identifies with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, was the chief source of Justin's quotations, was thoroughly refuted by Mr. Norton as long ago as the year 1834 in the *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*, and afterwards in a Note to the first edition of his work on the Genuineness of the Gospels. ‡ It is exposed on every side to overwhelming objections, and has hardly a shadow of evidence to support it. Almost our whole knowledge of this Gospel is derived from the account of it by Serapion, bishop of Antioch near the end of the second century (A.D. 191-213), who is the first writer by whom it is mentioned. || He "found it for the most part in accordance with the right doctrine of the Saviour," but containing passages favoring the opinions of the Docetæ, by whom it was used. According to Origen, it represented the "brethren" of Jesus as sons of Joseph by a former wife.** It was evidently a book of very little note. Though it plays a conspicuous part in the speculations of modern German scholars and of *Supernatural Religion* about

* See above, p. 17 f.

† See Note C, at the end of this essay.

‡ *Select Journal*, etc. (Boston), April, 1834, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 234-242; *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. (1837), Addit. Notes, pp. ccxxii.-cclv. See also Bindemann, who discusses ably the whole question about Justin Martyr's Gospels, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1842, pp. 355-482; Semisch, *Die apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten* u. s. w., pp. 43-59; on the other side, Credner, *Beiträge* u. s. w., vol. i. (1832); Mayerhoff, *Hist.-crit. Einleitung in die petrinischen Schriften* (1835), p. 234 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen* u. s. w., p. 259 ff.

|| Serapion's account of it is preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 12.

** Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* t. x. § 17, Opp. iii. 462 f.

the origin of the Gospels and the quotations of Justin Martyr, *not a single fragment of it has come down to us*. This *nominis umbra* has therefore proved wonderfully convenient for those who have had occasion, in support of their hypotheses, "to draw unlimited cheques," as Lightfoot somewhere expresses it, "on the bank of the unknown." Mr. Norton has shown, by an acute analysis of Serapion's account of it, that in all probability it was not an historical, but a doctrinal work.* Lipsius remarks: "The statement of Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* ii. 2) that the Nazarenes had made use of this Gospel rested probably on a misunderstanding. The passage moreover in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 106) in which some have thought to find mention of the *Memorials of Peter* is very doubtful. . . . Herewith fall to the ground all those hypotheses which make the *Gospel of Peter* into an original work made use of by Justin Martyr, nigh related to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*; and either the Jewish Christian basis of our canonical St. Mark [so Hilgenfeld], or, at any rate, the Gospel of the Gnosticizing Ebionites" [Volkmar]. † To this I would only add that almost the only fact of which we are directly informed respecting the contents of the so-called "Gospel of Peter" is that it favored the opinions of the Docetæ, to which Justin Martyr, who wrote a book against the Marcionites (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 11. § 8), was diametrically opposed.

Glancing back now over the ground we have traversed, we find (1) that the general reception of our four Gospels as sacred books throughout the Christian world in the time of Irenæus makes it almost certain that the "Memoirs called Gospels," "composed by Apostles and their companions," which were used by his early contemporary Justin Martyr, and were read in the Christian churches of his day as the authoritative records of Christ's life and teaching, were the same books; (2) that this presumption is confirmed by the actual use which Justin has made of all our Gospels, though

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. iii. (1848), pp. 255-260; abridged edition (1867), pp. 362-366.

† Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, ii. 712.

he has mainly followed, as was natural, the Gospel of Matthew, and his *direct* citations from the Gospel of John, and references to it, are few; (3) that it is still further strengthened, in respect to the Gospel of John, by the evidences of its use between the time of Justin and that of Irenæus, both by the Catholic Christians and the Gnostics, and especially by its inclusion in Tatian's *Diatessaron*; (4) that, of the two principal assumptions on which the counter-argument is founded, one is demonstrably false and the other baseless; and (5) that the particular objections to the view that Justin included the Gospel of John in his "Memoirs" are of very little weight. We are authorized then, I believe, to regard it as in the highest degree probable, if not morally certain, that in the time of Justin Martyr the Fourth Gospel was generally received as the work of the Apostle John.

III. WE pass now to our third point, the use of the Fourth Gospel by the various Gnostic sects. The length to which the preceding discussion has extended makes it necessary to treat this part of the subject in a very summary manner.

The Gnostic sects with which we are concerned became conspicuous in the second quarter of the second century, under the reigns of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161). The most prominent among them were those founded by Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides. To these may be added the Ophites or Naassenes.

Marcion has already been referred to.* He prepared a Gospel for his followers by striking from the Gospel of Luke what was inconsistent with his system, and treated in a similar manner ten of the Epistles of Paul. He rejected the other Gospels, not on the ground that they were spurious, but because he believed their authors were under the influence of Jewish prejudices.† In proof of this, he appealed to the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians on which Baur

* See above, p. 21.

† See Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 12. § 12.

and his school lay so much stress. "Marcion," says Tertullian, "having got the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, who reproves even the Apostles themselves for not walking straight, according to the truth of the Gospel, . . . endeavors to destroy the reputation of those Gospels which are truly such, and are published under the name of Apostles, or also of apostolic men, in order that he may give to his own the credit which he takes away from them." * In another place, Tertullian says, addressing Marcion: "If you had not rejected some and corrupted others of the Scriptures which contradict your opinion, the Gospel of John would have confuted you." † Again: "Of those historians whom we possess, it appears that Marcion *selected* Luke for his mutilations." ‡ The fact that Marcion placed his rejection of the Gospels on this ground, that the Apostles were but imperfectly enlightened, shows that he could not question their apostolic authorship. || His reference to the Epistle to the Galatians indicates also that the "pillar-apostles" (Gal. ii. 9), Peter and John, were particularly in his mind. Peter, it will be remembered, was regarded as having sanctioned the Gospel of Mark. (See above, p. 23.)

It has been asserted by many modern critics, as Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Scholten, Davidson, and others, that, if Marcion had been acquainted with the Gospel of John, he would have chosen that, rather than Luke, for expurgation, on account of its marked anti-Judaic character. But a careful comparison of John's Gospel with Marcion's doctrines will show that it contradicts them in so many places and so

* *Adv. Marc.* iv. 3. *Comp. Præscr.* cc. 22-24. See also Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., iii. 206 ff., 303 ff.; or abridged edition, pp. 332 ff., 392 ff.

† *De Carne Christi*, c. 3.

‡ *Adv. Marc.* iv. 2. "Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse quem cæderet." On account of the use of *videtur* here, Dr. Davidson, following some German critics, says, "Even in speaking about Marcion's treatment of Luke, Tertullian puts it forth as a conjecture." (*Introd. to the Study of the N. T.*, ii. 305.) A *conjecture*, when Tertullian has devoted a whole book to the refutation of Marcion from those passages of Luke which he retained! The context and all the facts of the case show that no doubt can possibly have been intended; and Tertullian often uses *videri*, not in the sense of "to seem," but of "to be seen," "to be apparent." See *Apol.* c. 19; *De Orat.* c. 21; *Adv. Prax.* cc. 26, 29; *Adv. Jud.* c. 5, from Isa. i. 12; and *De Præscr.* c. 38, which has likewise been misinterpreted.

|| Apelles, the disciple of Marcion, appears to have used the Fourth Gospel as an authority for facts; see Hippol. *Ref. Hæc.* vii. 38, p. 260, l. 20; *comp. John* xx. 25, 27. Hippolytus say: τῶν δὲ εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ αἰρεῖται. *Comp. Origen, Eß. ad charos suos* in Rufinus, *Liber de adulteratione librorum Origenis*, appended to Origen, Opp. iv. 52^d, ed Delarue.

absolutely that it would have been utterly unsuitable for his purpose.*

The theosophic or speculative Gnostics, as the Ophites, Valentinians, and Basilidians, found more in John which, by ingenious interpretation, they could use in support of their systems.†

It is moreover to be observed, in regard to the Marcionites, as Mr. Norton remarks, "that their having recourse to the mutilation of Luke's Gospel shows that no other history of Christ's ministry existed more favorable to their doctrines; that, in the first half of the second century, when Marcion lived, there was no Gnostic Gospel in being to which he could appeal."‡

We come now to Valentinus. It has already appeared that the later Valentinians, represented by Ptolemy, Heracleon, and the *Excerpta Theodoti*, received the Gospel of John without question. || The presumption is therefore obviously very strong that it was so received by the founder of the sect.** That this was so is the representation of Tertullian. He contrasts the course pursued by Marcion and Valentinus. "One man," he says, "perverts the Scriptures with his hand, another by his exposition of their meaning. For, if it appears that Valentinus uses the entire document,—*si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur*,—he has yet done violence to the truth more artfully than Marcion." For Marcion, he goes on to say, openly used the knife, not the pen; Valentinus has spared the Scriptures, but explains them away, or thrusts false meanings into them.††

* See on this point Bleek, *Einl. in d. N. T.*, 3d ed. (1875), p. 158, ff., with Mangold's note, who remarks that "it was simply impossible for Marcion to choose the fourth Gospel" for this purpose; also Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über d. evang. Geschichte* (1864), p. 230, ff.; Luthardt, *Die johan. Ursprung des vierten Ev.* (1874), p. 92, or Eng. trans., p. 108 f.; Godet, *Comm. sur l'évangile de St. Jean*, 2d ed., tom. i. (1876), p. 270 f., or Eng. trans., i. 222 f.

† On the use of the N.T. by the Valentinians, see particularly G. Heinrici, *Die valentinianische Gnosis und die Heilige Schrift*, Berlin, 1871.

‡ *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., iii. 304; abridged ed., p. 392 f.

|| See above, p. 62 f.

** On this point, see Norton, *Genuineness*, etc., 2d ed., iii. 321 f.; abridged ed., p. 403 f.

†† Tertullian, *Præscr.* c. 38. On the use of the word *videtur*, see above, p. 83, note †. The context shows that no doubt is intended. If, however, the word should be taken in the sense

The testimony of Tertullian is apparently confirmed by Hippolytus, who, in a professed account of the doctrines of Valentinus (*Ref. Hær.* vi. 21-37, or 16-32, Eng. trans.; comp. the introduction, § 3), says: "All the prophets, therefore, and the Law spoke from the Demiurgus, a foolish God, he says, [and spoke] as fools, knowing nothing. Therefore, says he, the Saviour says, 'All who have come before me are thieves and robbers' (John x. 8); and the Apostle, 'The mystery which was not made known to former generations'" (Eph. iii. 4, 5). Here, however, it is urged that Hippolytus, in his account of Valentinus, mixes up references to Valentinus and his followers in such a manner that we cannot be sure that, in the use of the *φησί*, "he says," he is not quoting from some one of his school, and not the master. A full exhibition of the facts and discussion of the question cannot be given here. I believe there is a strong presumption that Hippolytus *is* quoting from a work of Valentinus:* the regular exposition of the opinions of his disciples, Secundus, Ptolemy, and Heracleon, does not begin till afterwards, in c. 38, or c. 33 of the English translation; but it is true that, in the present text, *φησί* is used vaguely toward the end of c. 35, where the opinions of the Italian and Oriental schools are distinguished in reference to a certain point. I therefore do not press this quotation as *direct* proof of the use of the Fourth Gospel by Valentinus himself.

Next to Marcion and Valentinus, the most eminent among the founders of early Gnostic sects was Basilides, of Alexandria. He flourished about A.D. 125. In the Homilies on Luke generally ascribed to Origen, though some have questioned their genuineness, we are told, in an account of apocryphal Gospels, that "Basilides had the audacity to write a Gospel according to Basilides." † Ambrose and Jerome copy this account in the prefaces to their re-

of "seems," the contrast must be between the ostensible use of the Scriptures by Valentinus and his virtual rejection of them by imposing upon them a sense contrary to their teaching. Comp. Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 12. § 12: "scripturas quidem confitentes, interpretationes vero convertunt." So *Hær.* i. 3. § 6; iii. 14. § 4.

* See esp. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 266, note 1; p. 269, note 1.

† So the Greek: Origen, *Hom.* i. in *Luc.*, Opp. iii 932, note; the Latin in Jerome's translation reads, "Ausus fuit et Basilides scribere evangelium, et suo illud nomine titulare."

spective commentaries on Luke and Matthew; but there is no other notice of such a Gospel, or evidence of its existence, in all Christian antiquity, so far as is known. The work referred to could not have been a history of Christ's ministry, set up by Basilides and his followers in opposition to the Gospels received by the catholic Christians. In that case, we should certainly have heard of it from those who wrote in opposition to his heresy; but he and his followers are, on the contrary, represented as appealing to our Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John;* and Hippolytus states expressly that the Basilidian account of all things concerning the Saviour subsequent to the birth of Jesus agreed with that given "in the Gospels." † The origin of the error is easily explained: a work in which Basilides set forth his view of the Gospel, *i.e.* of the teaching of Christ, might naturally be spoken of as "the Gospel according to Basilides." ‡ We have an account of such a work. Agrippa Castor, a contemporary of Basilides, and who, according to Eusebius, wrote a very able refutation of him, tells us that Basilides "composed twenty-four books on the Gospel," εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. || Clement of Alexandria, who is one of our principal authorities for his opinions, cites his Ἐξηγητικά, "Expositions," or "Interpretations," quoting a long passage from "the twenty-third book."** In the "Dispute between Archelaus and Manes," the "thirteenth treatise" of Basilides is cited, containing an explanation of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. †† I agree with Dr. Hort in thinking it exceedingly probable that the work of Basilides which Hippolytus cites so often in his account of his opinions is the same which is quoted by Clement and Archelaus, and mentioned by Agrippa Castor. †‡ Lipsius remarks:—

* Besides the work of Hippolytus, to be further noticed, see the passages from Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius in Kirchofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 415 f.

† *Ref. Hær.* c. 27, or c. 16, Eng. trans.

‡ On this use of the term "Gospel," see Norton, *Genuineness*, etc., iii. 224 ff., or abridged edition, p. 343 f.

|| Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 7. §§ 6, 7.

** *Strom.* iv. 12, p. 599 f.

†† *Archelai et Manetis Disputatio*, c. 55, in Routh, *Rel. sacræ*, ed. alt., v. 197.

‡‡ See the art. *Basilides* in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, vol. i. (1877), p. 271.

In any case, the work must have been an exposition of some Gospel by whose authority Basilides endeavored to establish his Gnostic doctrine. And it is anyhow most unlikely that he would have written a commentary on a Gospel of his own composition. Of our canonical Gospels, those of Matthew, Luke, and John, were used in his school; and from the fragments just referred to we may reasonably conclude that it was the Gospel of Luke on which he wrote his commentary.*

On this it may be observed, that the phrase of Agrippa Castor, "twenty-four books on *the* Gospel," excludes the idea that any particular Gospel, like that of Luke, could be intended. Such a Gospel would have been named or otherwise defined. The expression τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, if it refers to any book, must signify, in accordance with that use of the term which has before been illustrated,† "the Gospels" collectively. It is so understood by Norton,‡ Tischendorf, Luthardt, Godet, and others. It would not in itself necessarily denote precisely our *four* Gospels, though their use by Justin Martyr, and the fact that Luke and John are commented on by Basilides, and Matthew apparently referred to by him, would make it probable that they were meant.

There is, however, another sense of the word "Gospel" as used by Basilides,—namely, "the knowledge (*gnosis*) of supermundane things" (Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vii. 27); and "the Gospel" in this sense plays a prominent part in his system as set forth by Hippolytus. The "twenty-four books on the Gospel" mentioned by Agrippa Castor, the "Expositions" or "Interpretations" of Clement, may perhaps have related to "the Gospel" in this sense. We cannot therefore, I think, argue confidently from this title that Basilides wrote a Commentary on our Four Gospels, though it naturally suggests this. It is evident, at any rate, that he supported his *gnosis* by far-fetched interpretations of the sayings of Christ as recorded in our Gospels; and that the supposition that he had a Gospel of his own composition, in the sense of a history of Christ's life and teaching, has not only no positive support of any strength, but is on various

* See the art. *Gospels* in the work just cited, ii. 715. Comp. Hilgenfeld, *Einkl.* p. 47.

† See above, p. 24.

‡ See Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., iii. 235-239, or abridged edition, p. 351 ff.

accounts utterly improbable. That he used an apocryphal Gospel *not* of his own composition is a supposition for which there is not a particle of evidence of any kind whatever.

I have spoken of Basilides as quoting the Gospel of John in the citations from him by Hippolytus. The passages are the following: "And this, he says, is what is said in the Gospels: 'The true light, which enlighteneth every man, was coming into the world.'" (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 22, or c. 10, Eng. trans.) The words quoted agree exactly with John i. 9 in the Greek, though I have adopted a different construction from that of the common version in translating. Again, "And that each thing, he says, has its own seasons, the Saviour is a sufficient witness, when he says, 'My hour is not yet come.'" (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 27, al. 15; John ii. 4.)

Here two objections are raised: first, that we cannot infer from the *φησί*, "he says," that Hippolytus is quoting from a treatise by Basilides himself; and, secondly, that the system of Basilides as set forth by Hippolytus represents a later development of the original scheme,—in other words, that he is quoting the writings and describing the opinions of the disciples of the school, and not of its founder.

To analyze the account of Hippolytus and give the reasons for taking a different view would require an article by itself, and cannot be undertaken here. But on the first point I will quote a writer who will not be suspected of an "apologetic" tendency, Matthew Arnold. He says:—

It is true that the author of the *Philosophumena* [another name for the "Refutation of all Heresies" commonly ascribed to Hippolytus] sometimes mixes up the opinions of the master of a school with those of his followers, so that it is difficult to distinguish between them. But, if we take all doubtful cases of the kind and compare them with our present case, we shall find that it is not one of them. It is not true that here, where the name of Basileides has come just before, and where no mention of his son or of his disciples has intervened since, there is any such ambiguity as is found in other cases. It is not true that the author of the *Philosophumena* wields the *subjectless he says* in the random manner alleged, with no other formula for quotation both from the master and from the followers. In general, he uses the formula *according to them* (*κατ' αὐτοίς*) when he quotes from the school, and the formula *he says* (*φησὶ*) when he gives the dicta of the master. And

in this particular case he manifestly quotes the dicta of Basileides, and no one who had not a theory to serve would ever dream of doubting it. Basileides, therefore, about the year 125 of our era, had before him the Fourth Gospel.*

On the second point, the view that Hippolytus as contrasted with Irenæus has given an account of the system of Basilides himself is the prevailing one among scholars: it is held, for example, by Jacobi, Bunsen, Baur, Hase, Uhlhorn, Möller, Mansel, Pressensé, and Dr. Hort. The principal representative of the opposite opinion is Hilgenfeld, with whom agree Lipsius, Volkmar, and Scholten.† Dr. Hort has discussed the matter very ably and fairly in his article *Basilides* in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; and, so far as I can judge, his conclusions are sound.

In view of all the evidence, then, I think we have good reason for believing that the Gospel of John was one of a collection of Gospels, probably embracing our four, which Basilides and his followers received as authoritative about the year 125.

The first heretics described by Hippolytus are the Oriental Gnostics,—the Ophites, or Naassenes, and the Peratæ, a kindred sect. They are generally regarded as the earliest Gnostics. Hippolytus cites from their writings numerous quotations from the Gospel of John.‡ But it is the view of many scholars that Hippolytus is really describing the opinions and quoting the writings of the later representatives of these sects.|| Not having investigated this point sufficiently, I shall argue only from what is undisputed.

Were I undertaking a full discussion of the external evidences of John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel, it would be necessary to consider here some questions about Papias,

* Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible* (1875), p. 268 f., Eng. ed. See, to the same effect, Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen* u. s. w., p. 232 ff. Compare Dr. Hort, art. *Basilides* in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, i. 271, and Westcott, *Canon of the N.T.*, 4th ed., p. 288. On the other side, see Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse* u. s. w. (1867), p. 65 f.; *Sup. Rel.*, ii. 51, 7th ed., and the writers there cited.

† The two most recent discussions are that by Jacobi, in Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876-77, i. 481-544, and, on the other side, by Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1878, xxi. 228-250, where the literature of the subject is given pretty fully. Moeller, in a brief notice of the two articles (Brieger's *Zeitschrift*, 1877-78, ii. 422), adheres to his former view, *versus* Hilgenfeld.

‡ *Ref. Hær.* v. 7-9 (Naassenes), 12, 16, 17 (Peratæ).

|| See Lipsius in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1863, p. 410 f.; 1854, p. 37 f.

and his use of the First Epistle of John, as reported by Eusebius; also the apparent reference to the First Epistle of John by Polycarp, and his relation to Irenæus; and, further, to notice the Ignatian Epistles, the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," and the Epistle to Diognetus. On the first two subjects, and on "The Silence of Eusebius," connected with the former, I would refer to the very able articles of Professor (now Bishop) Lightfoot in the *Contemporary Review*.* As to the Ignatian Epistles, their genuineness in any form is questionable, to say nothing of the state of the text, though the shorter Epistles may belong, in substance, to the middle of the second century; the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" are interpolated, and need a thoroughly critical edition; and the date of the Epistle to Diognetus is uncertain. In any event, I do not think the references to the Gospel of John in these writings are of great importance.

But to return to our proper subject. The use of the Gospel of John by the Gnostic sects, in the second century, affords a strong, it may seem decisive, argument for its genuineness. However ingeniously they might pervert its meaning, it is obvious to every intelligent reader that this Gospel is, in reality, diametrically opposed to the essential principles of Gnosticism. The Christian Fathers, in their contests with the Gnostics, found it an armory of weapons. Such being the case, let us suppose it to have been forged about the middle of the second century, in the heat of the Gnostic controversy. It was thus a book which the founders of the Gnostic sects, who flourished ten, twenty, or thirty years before, had never heard of. How is it possible, then, to explain the fact that their followers should have not only received it, but have received it, so far as appears, without question or discussion? It must have been received by the

* *Contemporary Review*, January, 1875, xxv. 169 ff., "The Silence of Eusebius"; May, 1875, p. 827 ff., "Polycarp of Smyrna"; August and October, 1875, xxvi. 377 ff., 828 ff., "Papias of Hierapolis." On "the silence of Eusebius," see also Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, 4th ed., p. 229 f. With Lightfoot's article in the *Contemp. Review* for February, 1875, "The Ignatian Epistles," should be compared the Preface to *Supernatural Religion*, in the sixth and later editions of that work.

founders of these sects from the beginning; and we have no reason to distrust the testimony of Hippolytus to what is under these circumstances so probable, and is attested by other evidence. But, if received by the founders of these sects, it must have been received at the same time by the catholic Christians. They would not, at a later period, have taken the spurious work from the heretics with whom they were in controversy. It was then generally received, both by Gnostics and their opponents, between the years 120 and 130. What follows? It follows that the Gnostics of that date received it because they could not help it. They would not have admitted the authority of a book which could be reconciled with their doctrines only by the most forced interpretation, if they could have destroyed its authority by denying its genuineness. Its genuineness could then be easily ascertained. Ephesus was one of the principal cities of the Eastern world, the centre of extensive commerce, the metropolis of Asia Minor. Hundreds, if not thousands, of people were living who had known the Apostle John. The question whether he, the beloved disciple, had committed to writing his recollections of his Master's life and teaching, was one of the greatest interest. The fact of the reception of the Fourth Gospel as his work at so early a date, by parties so violently opposed to each other, proves that the evidence of its genuineness was decisive. This argument is further confirmed by the use of the Gospel by the opposing parties in the later Montanistic controversy, and in the disputes about the time of celebrating Easter.

IV. THE last external evidence which I shall adduce in favor of the genuineness of the Gospel of John is of a very early date, being attached to the Gospel itself, and found in all the copies which have come down to us, whether in the original or in ancient versions. I refer to what is now numbered as the twenty-fifth verse, with the last half of the twenty-fourth, of the concluding chapter of the Gospel. The last three verses of the chapter read thus: "Hence

this report spread among the brethren, that that disciple was not to die; yet Jesus did not say to him that he would not die; but, If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to thee? This is the disciple that testifieth concerning these things, and wrote these things." Here, I suppose, the author of the Gospel ended. The addition follows: "And *we* know that *his* testimony is true. And there are many other things that Jesus did, which, if they should be severally written, *I* do not think that the world itself would contain the books written."

In the words "And *we* know that *his* testimony is true," we manifestly have either a real or a forged attestation to the truth and genuineness of the Gospel. Suppose the Gospel written by an anonymous forger of the middle of the second century: what possible credit could he suppose would be given to it by an anonymous attestation like this? A forger with such a purpose would have named his pretended authority, and have represented the attestation as formally and solemnly given. The attestation, as it stands, clearly presupposes that the author (or authors) of it was known to those who first received the copy of the Gospel containing it.

What view, then, are we to take of it? The following supposition, which I give in the words of Mr. Norton, affords an easy and natural explanation, and, so far as I can see, the only plausible explanation of the phenomena. Mr. Norton says:—

According to ancient accounts, St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, over the church in which city he presided during the latter part of his long life. It is not improbable that, before his death, its circulation had been confined to the members of that church. Hence copies of it would be afterwards obtained; and the copy provided for transcription was, we may suppose, accompanied by the strong attestation which we now find, given by the church, or the elders of the church, to their full faith in the accounts which it contained, and by the concluding remark, made by the writer of this attestation in his own person.*

The style of this addition, it is further to be observed,

*Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. i., Addit. Notes, p. xciv. f.

differs from that of the writer of the Gospel. It was probably first written a little separate from the text, and afterwards became incorporated with it by a natural mistake of transcribers. According to Tischendorf, the last verse of this Gospel in the Codex Sinaiticus is written in a different hand from the preceding, though by a contemporary scribe. He accordingly rejects it as not having belonged to the Gospel as it was originally written. Tregelles does not agree with him on the palæographical question.

The passage we have been considering suggests various questions and remarks, but cannot be further treated here. I will only refer to the recent commentaries of Godet and Westcott, and end abruptly the present discussion, which has already extended to a far greater length than was originally intended.

Note A. (See 'p. 24.)

ON THE QUOTATIONS OF *MATT. xi. 27* (*comp. LUKE x. 22*) IN THE WRITINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. 100*) quotes the following as "written in the Gospel": "All things have been delivered (*παράδοται*) to me by the Father; and no one *knoweth* (*γινώσκει*) the Father save the Son, neither [knoweth any one] the Son save the Father, and they to whomsoever the Son may reveal him" (*οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ*). In the *Apology* (c. 63) he quotes the passage twice, thus: "No one *knew* (or "hath known," *ἔγνων*) the Father save the Son, neither [knoweth any one] the Son save the Father, and they to whomsoever the Son may reveal him"; the order of the words, however, varying in the last clause, in which *ὁ υἱὸς* stands once after *ἀποκαλύψῃ*.

It is unnecessary to quote the corresponding passages in our Gospels in full, as the reader can readily turn to them. The variations of Justin are, (1) the use of the perfect (*παράδοται*), "have been delivered," instead of the aorist (*παρεδόθη*), strictly, "were delivered," though our idiom often requires the aorist to be translated by the perfect; (2) "*the* Father" for "*my* Father" (omitting *μου*); (3) the use, in two out of three instances, of the aorist *ἔγνων*, "knew," or "hath known," instead of the present *γινώσκει* (this is the word used by Luke; Matthew has *ἐπιγινώσκει*); (4) the transposition of the two principal clauses; (5) the omission of *τις ἐπιγινώσκει*, "knoweth any one," in the second clause, if we compare Matthew, or the substitution of "the Father" and "the Son" for "who the Father is" and "who the Son is," if we compare Luke; (6) the use of the plural (*οἷς ἂν*), "*they* to whomsoever," instead of the singular (*ᾧ ἂν*), "*he* to whomsoever"; and (7) the substitution of "may reveal" (*ἀποκαλύψῃ*) for "may will to reveal" (*βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι*).

The author of *Supernatural Religion* devotes more than ten pages to this pas-

sage (vol. i. pp. 401-412, 7th ed.), which he regards as of great importance, and insists, on the ground of these variations, that Justin could not have taken it from our Gospels. To follow him step by step would be tedious. His fundamental error is the assertion that "the peculiar form of the quotation in Justin" (here he refers especially to the variations numbered 3 and 4, above) "occurred in what came to be considered heretical Gospels, and constituted the basis of important Gnostic doctrines" (p. 403). Again, "Here we have the exact quotation twice made by Justin, with the *ἔγρα* and the same order, set forth as the reading of the Gospels of the Marcosians and other sects, and the highest testimony to their system" (pp. 406, 407). Yet again, "Irenæus states with equal distinctness that Gospels used by Gnostic sects had the reading of Justin" (p. 411). Now Irenæus nowhere states any such thing. Irenæus nowhere speaks, nor does any other ancient writer, of a Gospel of the Marcosians. If this sect had set up a Gospel (*i.e.*, a history of Christ's ministry) of its own, in opposition to the Four Gospels received by the whole Christian Church in the time of Irenæus, we should have had unequivocal evidence of the fact. The denunciations of Marcion for mutilating the Gospel of Luke show how such a work would have been treated. Irenæus is indignant that the Valentinians should give to "a recent work of their own composition" the name of "The Gospel of the Truth" or "The True Gospel" (*Her.* iii. 11. § 9); but this was in all probability a doctrinal or speculative, not an historical work.* The Valentinians received our four Gospels without controversy, and argued from them in support of their doctrines as best they could. (See Irenæus, *Her.* i. cc. 7, 8, for numerous examples of their arguments from the Gospels; and compare iii. 11. § 7; 12. § 12; and Tertull. *Præscr.* c. 38.)

Correcting this fundamental error of the author of *Supernatural Religion*, the facts which he himself states respecting the various forms in which this passage is quoted by writers who unquestionably used our four Gospels as their sole or main authority, are sufficient to show the groundlessness of his conclusion. But for the sake of illustrating the freedom of the Christian Fathers in quotation, and the falsity of the premises on which this writer reasons, I will exhibit the facts somewhat more fully than they have been presented elsewhere, though the quotations of this passage have been elaborately discussed by Credner,† Semisch,‡ Hilgenfeld,|| Volckmar,** and Westcott.†† Of these discussions those by Semisch and Volckmar are particularly valuable.

I will now notice all the variations of Justin from the text of our Gospels in this passage (see above), comparing them with those found in other writers. The two most important (Nos. 3 and 4) will be examined last.

1. *παράδοδοι* for *παρεδόθη* is wholly unimportant. It is found in Luke x. 22

* See Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, iii. 227 f.; Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, 4th ed., p. 297 f.; Lipsius, art. *Gospels, Apocryphal*, in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, vol. ii. (1880), p. 717.

† *Beiträge zur Einl. in die biblischen Schriften* (1832), i. pp. 248-251.

‡ *Die apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyr. Justinus* (1848), pp. 364-370.

|| *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's*, u. s. w. (1850), pp. 201-206.

** *Das Evang. Marcions* (1852), pp. 75-80. I follow the title in spelling "Volckmar."

†† *Canon of the N. T.*, 4th ed. (1875), pp. 133-135. See also Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 132, 133, and chaps. ii., iv., vi.

in the uncial MSS. K and Π, the cursives 60, 253, p^{scr}, w^{scr}, three of Colbert's MSS. (see Wetstein *in loc.* and his Prolegom. p. 48), and in HIPPLYTUS (*Noët.* c. 6), not heretofore noticed.

2. "The Father" for "my Father," *μου* being omitted, is equally trivial; so in the Sinaitic MS. and the cursive 71 in Matthew, and in Luke the Codex Bezae (D), with some of the best MSS. of the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, and other authorities (see Tischendorf), also HIPPLYTUS as above.

5. The omission of *τις ἐπιγινώσκει* or its equivalent in the second clause is found in the citation of the MARCOSIANS in Irenæus (i. 20. § 3), other Gnostics in Irenæus (iv. 6. § 1), and in IRENÆUS himself three times (ii. 6. § 1; iv. 6. §§ 3, 7, but not § 1). It occurs twice in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Ped.* i. 9, p. 150 ed. Potter; *Strom.* i. 28, p. 425), once in ORIGEN (*Cels.* vi. 17, p. 643), once in ATHANASIAS (*Orat. cont. Arian.* iii. c. 46, p. 596), 6 times in EPIPHANIAS (*Ancor.* c. 67, p. 71, repeated *Hær.* lxxiv. 4, p. 891; c. 73, p. 78, repeated *Hær.* lxxiv. 10, p. 898; and *Hær.* lxiv. 9, p. 643; lxxvi. 7, 29, 32, pp. 943, 977, 981); once in CHRYSOSTOM (*In Joan. Hom.* lx. § 1, Opp. viii. 353 (404) A, ed. Montf.), once in PSEUDO-CYRIL (*De Trin.* c. 1), once in MAXIMUS CONFESSOR (*Schol. in Dion. Areop. de div. Nom.* c. 1. § 2, in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* iv. 189), once in JOANNES DAMASCENUS (*De Fide Orth.* i. 1) and twice in GEORGIUS PACHYMERES (*Paraphr. in Dion. Areop. de div. Nom.* c. 1, § 1, and *de myst. Theol.* c. 5; Migne, iii. 613, 1061). It is noticeable that the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 13 *bis*, 20) do not here agree with Justin.

6. There is no difference between *οἷς ἂν*, "they to whomsoever," and *ᾧ ἂν* (or *ἐᾶν*), "he to whomsoever," so far as the sense is concerned. The plural, which Justin uses, is found in the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES 5 times (xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 13 *bis*, 20), and IRENÆUS 5 times (*Hær.* ii. 6. § 1; iv. 6. §§ 3, 4, 7, and so the Syriac; 7. § 3). The singular is used in the citations given by Irenæus from the MARCOSIANS (i. 20. § 3) and "those who would be wiser than the Apostles," as well as in his own express quotation from Matthew (*Hær.* iv. 6. § 1); and so by the Christian Fathers generally.

7. The next variation (*οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς*) ἀποκαλύψῃ for *βοῦλήται ἀποκαλύψαι* is a natural shortening of the expression, which we find in the citation of the MARCOSIANS (Iren. i. 20. § 3) and in IRENÆUS himself 5 times (ii. 6. § 1; iv. 6. §§ 3, 4, 7, and so the Syriac; 7. § 3); in TERTULLIAN twice (*Marc.* iv. 25; *Præscr.* c. 21), and perhaps in Marcion's mutilated Luke; in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA 5 times (*Cohort.* i. 10, p. 10; *Ped.* i. 5, p. 109; *Strom.* i. 28, p. 425; v. 13, p. 697; vii. 18, p. 901;—*Quis dixeris*, etc., c. 8, p. 939, is a mere allusion); ORIGEN 4 times (*Cels.* vi. 17, p. 643; vii. 44, p. 726; *in Joan.* tom. i. c. 42, p. 45; tom. xxxii. c. 18, p. 450); the SYNOD OF ANTIOCH against Paul of Samosata (Routh, *Rel. sacrae*, ed. alt. iii. 290); EUSEBIUS or MARCELLUS in Eusebius 3 times (*Eccl. Theol.* i. 15, 16, pp. 76^c, 77^d, ἀποκαλύψει; *Ecl. proph.* i. 12 [Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xxii. col. 1065], ἀποκαλύψῃ); ATHANASIAS 4 or 5 times (*Decret. Nic. Syn.* c. 12, Opp. i. 218 ed. Bened.; *Orat. cont. Arian.* i. c. 12, p. 416; c. 39, p. 443; iii. c. 46, p. 596, in the best MSS.; *Serm. maj. de Fide*, c. 27, in Montf. *Coll. nova*, ii. 14); CYRIL OF JERUSALEM twice (*Cat.* vi. 6; x. 1); EPIPHANIAS 4 times (*Ancor.* c. 67, p. 71, repeated *Hær.* lxxiv. 4, p. 891, but here ἀποκαλύπτει or -τη; *Hær.* lxxv. 6, p. 613; and without ὁ υἱὸς, *Hær.* lxxvi. 7, p. 943; c. 29, p. 977); BASIL THE GREAT (*Adv. Eunom.* v. Opp. i. 311 (441) A); CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA 3 times (*Theol. Opp.* v. 131, 149; *Cont. Julian.* viii. Opp. vi. b. p. 270).

All of these variations are obviously unimportant, and natural in quoting from memory, and the extent to which they occur in writers who unquestionably used our Gospels as their sole or main authority shows that their occurrence in Justin affords no ground for supposing that he did not also so use them.

We will then turn our attention to the two variations on which the main stress is laid by the author of *Supernatural Religion*. He greatly exaggerates their importance, and neglects an obvious explanation of their origin.

3. We find $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, "knew," or "hath known," for $\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$, in the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES 6 times (xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 11, 13 *bis*, 20), and once apparently in the RECOGNITIONS (ii. 47, *novit*); twice in TERTULLIAN (*Adv. Marc.* ii. 27; *Præscr.* c. 21); in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA 6 times (*Cohort.* i. 10, p. 10; *Pæd.* i. 5, p. 109; i. 8, p. 142; i. 9, p. 150; *Strom.* i. 28, p. 425; v. 13, p. 697;—once the present, $\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$, *Strom.* vii. 18, p. 901; and once, in a mere allusion, $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$, *Quis dives*, etc., c. 8, p. 939); ORIGEN uniformly, 10 times (*Opp.* i. 440, 643, 726; ii. 537; iv. 45, 234, 284, 315, 450 *bis*), and in the Latin version of his writings of which the Greek is lost *novit* is used 10 times, including *Opp.* iii. 58, where *novit* is used for Matthew and *scit* for Luke; *scit* occurs also *Opp.* iv. 515. The SYNOD OF ANTIOCH *versus* Paul of Samosata has it once (Routh, *Rel. sacra*, iii. 290); ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA once (*Epist. ad Alex.* c. 5, Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xviii. 556); EUSEBIUS 6 times (*Ecll. Theol.* i. 12, 16, pp. 72^c, 77^d; *Dem. Evang.* iv. 3, v. 1, pp. 149^c, 216^d; *Ecll. proph.* i. 12, Migne xxii. 1065; *Hist. Ecll.* i. 2. §2); DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA once (*De Trin.* ii. 5, p. 142); EPIPHANIUS twice (*Hæc.* lxxv. 6, p. 613; lxxiv. 10, p. 898).—Of these writers, Alexander has $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ once; Eusebius $\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 3 times, Didymus $\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ followed by $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 3 times, Epiphanius has $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ 9 or 10 times, and it is found also in Basil, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria. Marcellus in Eusebius (*Ecll. Theol.* i. 15, 16, pp. 76^c, 78^d) wavers between $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ (twice) and $\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ (once), and perhaps $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ (c. 16, p. 77^d).

4. We find the *transposition* of the clauses, "No one knoweth [or knew] the Father" coming first, in one MS. in Matthew (Matthæi's d) and two in Luke (the uncial U and i^{scr}), in the *Diatessaron* of TATIAN as its text is given in the Armenian version of Ephraem's Commentary upon it, translated into Latin by Aucher, and published by G. Moesinger (*Evangelii concordantis Expositio*, etc., Venet. 1876),* the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES 5 times (xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 13 *bis*, 20), the MARCOSIANS in Irenæus (i. 20. §3), other Gnostics in Irenæus (iv. 6. §1), and IRENÆUS himself (ii. 6. §1; iv. 6. §3, *versus* §1 and §7, *Lat.*, but here a Syriac version represented by a MS. of the 6th century, gives the transposed form; see Harvey's Irenæus, ii. 443), TERTULLIAN once (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 25), ORIGEN once (*De Princip.* ii. 6. §1, *Opp.* i. 89, in a Latin version), the SYNOD OF ANTIOCH against Paul of Samosata (as cited above), the MARCIONITE in PSEUDO-ORIG. *Dial. de recta in Deum fide*, sect. i. *Opp.* i. 817); EUSEBIUS 4 times (*Ecll. Theol.* i. 12; *Dem. Evang.* iv. 3, v. 1; *Hist. Ecll.* i. 2. §2), ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA once (*Epist. ad Alex.* c. 12, Migne xviii. 565); ATHANASIUS twice (*In illud, Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, c. 5, *Opp.* i. 107; *Serm. maj. de Fide*, c. 27, in Montf. *Coll. nova*, ii. 14), DIDYMUS once (*De Trin.* i. 26, p. 72), EPIPHANIUS 7 times, or 9 times if the passages transferred from the *Ancoratus* are reckoned (*Opp.* i. 766, 891, 898, 977, 981; ii. 16, 19, 67, 73), CHRYSOSTOM once (*In*

* This reads (pp. 117, 216), "Nemo novit Patrem nisi Filius, et nemo novit Filium nisi Pater."

Ascens., etc., c. 14, Opp. iii. 771 (931) ed. Montf.), PSEUDO-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA once (*De Trin.* c. 1, Opp. vi. c. p. 1), PSEUDO-CAESARIUS twice (*Dial.* i. *resp.* 3 and 20, in Migne xxxviii. 861, 877), MAXIMUS CONFESSOR once (*Schol. in Dion. Areop. de div. Nom.* c. 1. §2, in Migne iv. 189), JOANNES DAMASCENUS once (*De Fide Orth.* i. 1), and GEORGIUS PACHYMERES once (*Paraphr. in Dion. Areop. de div. Nom.* c. 1. §1, in Migne iii. 613).

This transposition is found in MS. b of the Old Latin, and some of the Latin Fathers, *e.g.*, Phæbadius (*Cont. Arian.* c. 10); and most MSS. of the Old Latin, and the Vulgate, read *novit* in Matthew instead of *scit* or *cognoscit*, which they have in Luke; but it is not worth while to explore this territory here.

It is manifest from this presentation of the facts that the variations to which the author of *Supernatural Religion* attaches so much importance,—the transposition of the clauses, and the use of the past tense for the present,—being not peculiar to Justin and the heretics, but found in a multitude of the Christian Fathers, can afford no proof or presumption that the source of his quotation was not our present Gospels—that he does not use in making it (*Dial.* c. 100) the term “the Gospel” in the same sense in which it is used by his later contemporaries. It indeed seems probable that the reading $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$, though not in the MSS. which have come down to us, had already found its way into some MSS. of the second century, particularly in Matthew. Its almost uniform occurrence in the numerous citations of the passage by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and the reading of the Old Latin MSS. and of the Vulgate, favor this view. The transposition of the clauses may also have been found in some MSS. of that date, as we even now find its existence in several manuscripts. But it is not necessary to suppose this; the Fathers, in quoting, make such transpositions with great freedom. The stress laid on the transposition in *Supernatural Religion* is very extravagant. It did not affect the sense, but merely made more prominent the knowledge and the revelation of the Father by Christ. The importance of the change from the present tense to the past is also preposterously exaggerated. It merely expressed more distinctly what the present implied. Further, these variations admit of an easy explanation. In preaching Christianity to unbelievers, special emphasis would be laid on the fact that Christ had come to give men a true knowledge of God, of God in his paternal character. The transposition of the clauses in quoting this striking passage, which must have been often quoted, would thus be very natural; and so would be the change from the present tense to the past. The Gnostics, moreover, regarding the God of the Old Testament as an inferior and imperfect being, maintained that the true God, the Supreme, had been wholly unknown to men before he was revealed by Christ. They would, therefore, naturally quote the passage in the same way; and the variation at an early period would become wide-spread. That Irenæus should notice a difference between the form in which the Gnostics quoted the text and that which he found in his own copy of the Gospels is not strange; but there is nothing in what he says which implies that it was anything more than a various reading or corruption of the text of Matthew or Luke; he nowhere charges the Gnostics with taking it from Gospels peculiar to themselves. It is their *interpretation* of the passage rather than their text which he combats. The change of order further occurs frequently in writers who are treating of the divinity of Christ, as Athanasius, Didymus, Epiphanius. Here the occasion seems to have been that the fact that Christ alone fully knew the

Father was regarded as proving his deity, and the transposition of the clauses gave special prominence to that fact. Another occasion was the circumstance that when the Father and the Son are mentioned together in the New Testament, the name of the Father commonly stands first; and the transposition was the more natural in the present case, because, as Semisch remarks, the word "Father" immediately precedes.

In this statement, I have only exhibited those variations in the quotation of this text by the Fathers which correspond with those of Justin. These give a very inadequate idea of the extraordinary variety of forms in which the passage appears. I will simply observe, by way of specimen, that, while Eusebius quotes the passage at least eleven times, none of his quotations verbally agree. (See *Cont. Marcel.* i. 1, p. 6^a; *Ecl. Theol.* i. 12, 15, 16 bis, 20, pp. 72^c, 76^c, 77^d, 78^a, 88^d; *Dem. Evang.* iv. 3, v. 1, pp. 149^c, 216^d; *Comm. in Ps.* cx.; *Ecl. proph.* i. 12; *Hist. Ecl.* i. 2. § 2.) The two quotations which he introduces from Marcellus (*Ecl. Theol.* i. 15 and 16) present a still different form. In three of Eusebius's quotations for εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ he reads εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ (*Ecl. Theol.* i. 12, p. 72^c; *Dem. Evang.* iv. 3, p. 149^c; and *Hist. Ecl.* i. 2. § 2). If this were found in Justin Martyr, it would be insisted that it must have come from some apocryphal Gospel, and the triple recurrence would be thought to prove it.* The variations in Epiphanius, who also quotes the passage eleven times (not counting the transfers from the *Ancoratus*), are perhaps equally remarkable. PSEUDO-CÆSARIUS quotes it thus (*Dial.* i. *resp.* 3): Οὐδείς γὰρ οἶδε τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις ἐπίσταται εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. But the false premises from which the author of *Supernatural Religion* reasons have been sufficiently illustrated.

This Note is too long to allow the discussion of some points which need a fuller treatment. I will only call attention to the fact that in the list of passages in our Gospels which Irenæus (i. 20. § 2) represents the Marcosians as perverting, there is one which presents a difficulty, and which some have supposed to be taken from an apocryphal Gospel. As it stands, the text is corrupt, and the passage makes no sense. Mr. Norton in the *first edition* of his *Genuineness of the Gospels* (1837), vol. i. Addit. Notes, p. ccxlii, has given a plausible conjectural emendation of the text in Irenæus, which serves to clear up the difficulty. For the πολλὰκις ἐπεθύμησα of Irenæus he would read πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν, for δεῖν, εἶναι (so the old Latin version), and for διὰ τοῦ ἑνός, διὰ τοῦ ἑροῦντος. The passage then becomes a modification of Matt. xiii. 17. Dr. Westcott (*Canon of the N. T.*, 4th ed., p. 306) proposes ἐπεθύμησαν for ἐπεθύμησα, without being aware that his conjecture had been anticipated. But that change alone does not restore sense to the passage. The masterly review of Credner's hypothesis that Justin's Memoirs were the so-called "Gospel according to Peter," which contains Mr. Norton's emendation to which I have referred, was not reprinted in the *second edition* of his work. It seemed to me, therefore, worth while to notice it here.

* Compare *Supernatural Religion*, i. 341.

NOTE B. (See p. 25.)

ON THE TITLE, "MEMOIRS BY *the* APOSTLES."

In regard to the use of the article here, it may be well to notice the points made by Hilgenfeld, perhaps the ablest and the fairest of the German critics who regard some apocryphal Gospel or Gospels as the chief source of Justin's quotations. His book is certainly the most valuable which has appeared on that side of the question.*

In the important passage (*Dial.* c. 103), in which Justin says, "In the Memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by the Apostles of Christ and their companions (*ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι*), it is written that sweat, like drops of blood [*or* "clots," *θρόμβοι*], flowed from him while he was praying" (comp. Luke xxii. 44), and which Semisch very naturally compares, as regards its description of the Gospels, with a striking passage of Tertullian,† Hilgenfeld insists—

(1) That the article denotes "the collective body" (*die Gesamtheit*) of the Apostles and their companions.

(2) "The Memoirs by the Apostles" is the phrase generally used by Justin. This might indeed be justified by the fact that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were regarded as founded on the direct communications of Apostles or sanctioned by them; but this, Hilgenfeld says, is giving up the sharp distinction between the Gospels as written two of them by Apostles and two by Apostolic men.

(3) The fact that Justin appeals to the "Memoirs by the *Apostles*" for incidents, like the visit of the Magi, which are recorded by only *one* apostle, "shows clearly the utter indefiniteness of this form of expression."‡ "Manifestly, that single passage," namely, the one quoted above (*Dial.* c. 103), "must be explained in accordance with Justin's general use of language."

Let us examine these points. As to (1), the supposition that Justin conceived of his "Memoirs" as "composed" or "written"—these are the words he uses—by "the collective body" of the Apostles of Christ and "the collective body" of their companions is a simple absurdity.

(2) and (3). For Justin's purpose, it was important, and it was sufficient, to represent the "Memoirs" to which he appealed as resting on the authority of the Apostles. But in one place he has described them more particularly; and it is simply reasonable to say that the more general expression should be interpreted in accordance with the precise description, and not, as Hilgenfeld strangely contends, the reverse.

* See his *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's* (Halle, 1850), p. 13 ff.

† *Adv. Marc.* iv. 2: Constituimus in primis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere. . . Si et apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis et post apostolos. . . Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Ioannes et Matthæus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant.

‡ Hilgenfeld also refers to Justin (*Dial.* c. 101, p. 328, comp. *Apol.* i. 38) for a passage relating to the mocking of Christ at the crucifixion, which Justin, referring to the "Memoirs," describes "in a form," as he conceives, "essentially differing from all our canonical Gospels." To me it appears that the agreement is essential, and the difference of slight importance and easily explained; but to discuss the matter here would be out of place, and would carry us too far.

(3) The fact that Justin appeals to the "Memoirs by the Apostles" for an incident which is related by only *one* Apostle is readily explained by the fact that he gives this title to the Gospels considered *collectively*, just as he once designates them as *εὐαγγέλια*, "Gospels," and twice as *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, "the Gospel." The usage of the Christian Fathers in quoting is entirely analogous. They constantly cite passages as contained "in the Gospels" which are found only in *one* Gospel, simply because "the Gospels" was a term used interchangeably with "the Gospel," to denote the four Gospels conceived of as one book. For examples of this use of the plural, see the note to p. 24. To the instances there given, many might easily be added.

Hilgenfeld, in support of his view of the article here, cites the language of Justin where, in speaking of the new birth, he says, "And the reason for this we have learned from *the* Apostles" (*Apol.* i. 61). Here it seems to me not improbable that Justin had in mind the language of Christ as recorded by the Apostles John and Matthew in John iii. 6, 7, and Matt. xviii. 3, 4. That he had *no* particular Apostles or apostolic writings in view — that by "the Apostles" he meant vaguely "the collective body of the Apostles" does not appear likely. The statement must have been founded on something which he had read *somewhere*.

NOTE C. (See p. 80.)

JUSTIN MARTYR AND THE "GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS."

After remarking that the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" was "almost universally regarded in the first centuries as the Hebrew original of our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew," that Greek versions of it "must have existed at a very early date," and that "at various times and in different circles it took very different shapes," Lipsius observes: "The fragments preserved in the Greek by Epiphanius betray very clearly their dependence on our canonical Gospels. . . . The Aramaic fragments also contain much that can be explained and understood only on the hypothesis that it is a recasting of the canonical text. . . . The narrative of our Lord's baptism (Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 13), with its *threefold* voice from heaven, is evidently a more recent combination of older texts, of which the first is found in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; the second in the text of the Cambridge *Cod. Bezae* at St. Luke iii. 22, in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryphon.* 88, 103), and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Pædag.* i. 6, p. 113, Potter); the third in our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. And this very narrative may suffice to prove that the so-called 'Hebrew' text preserved by St. Jerome is by no means preferable to that of our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, and even less original than the Greek text quoted by Epiphanius."* "The attempt to prove that Justin Martyr and the Clementine Homilies had one extra-canonical

* Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, vol. ii. (1880), p. 710. Many illustrations are here given of the fact that most of the quotations which have come down to us from the "Gospel of the Hebrews" belong to a later period, and represent a later stage of theological development, than our canonical Gospels. Mangold agrees with Lipsius. See the note in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 3^e Aufl. (1875), p. 132 f. Dr. E. A. Abbott, art. *Gospels* in the ninth ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (x. 818, note), takes the same view. He finds no evidence that Justin Martyr made any use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

authority common to them both, either in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or in the *Gospel of St. Peter*, . . . has altogether failed. It is only in the rarest cases that they literally agree in their deviations from the text of our Gospels; they differ in their citations as much, for the most part, one from the other as they do from the text of the synoptical evangelists, even in such cases when one or the other repeatedly quotes the same passage, and each time in the same words. Only in very few cases is the derivation from the *Gospel of the Hebrews* probable, as in the saying concerning the new birth (Justin M. *Apol.* i. 61; Clem. *Homilies*, xi. 26; *Recogn.* vi. 9); . . . in most cases . . . it is quite enough to assume that the quotations were made from memory, and so account for the involuntary confusion of evangelic texts." (*Ibid.* p. 712.)

Mr. E. B. Nicholson, in his elaborate work on the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Lond. 1879), comes to the conclusion that "there are no proofs that Justin used the Gospel according to the Hebrews at all" (p. 135). He also observes, "There is no reason to suppose that the authorship of the Gospel according to the Hebrews was attributed to the Apostles generally in the 2d or even the 3d cent. Irenæus calls it simply 'that Gospel which is according to Matthew'" (p. 134).

Holtzmann in the eighth volume of Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1866) discusses at length the subject of apocryphal Gospels. He comes to the conclusion that the "Gospel of the Hebrews" or "of the Nazarenes" was an Aramaic redaction (*Bearbeitung*) of our Matthew, executed in an exclusively Jewish-Christian spirit, making some use of Jewish-Christian traditions, but presupposing the Synoptic and the Pauline literature. It was probably made in Palestine for the Jewish-Christian churches some time in the second century (p. 547). The Gospel of the Ebionites, for our knowledge of which we have to depend almost wholly on Epiphanius, a very untrustworthy writer, Holtzmann regards as "a Greek recasting (*Uebersetzung*) of the Synoptic Gospels, with peculiar Jewish-Christian traditions and theosophic additions" (p. 553).

Professor Drummond, using Kirchofer's *Quellensammlung*, has compared the twenty-two fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews there collected (including those of the Gospel of the Ebionites) with Justin's citations from or references to the Gospels, of which he finds about one hundred and seventy. I give his result:—

"With an apparent exception to be noticed presently, not one of the twenty-two quotations from the lost Gospel is found among these one hundred and seventy. But this is not all. While thirteen deal with matters not referred to in Justin, nine admit of comparison; and in these nine instances not only does Justin omit everything that is characteristic of the Hebrew Gospel, but in some points he distinctly differs from it, and agrees with the canonical Gospels. There is an apparent exception. Justin quotes the voice from heaven at the baptism in this form, 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee.' 'This day have I begotten thee' is also in the Ebionite Gospel;* but there it is awkwardly appended to a second saying, thus: 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee was I well pleased; and again, This day have I begotten thee';—so that the passage is quite different from Justin's, and has the appearance of being a later patchwork. Justin's form of quotation is still the reading of the Codex

* See Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 13; Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 40 ff.—E. A.

Bezzæ in Luke, and, according to Augustine, was found in good MSS., though it was said not to be in the older ones. (See Tischend. in loco.)* One other passage is appealed to. Justin says that, when Jesus *went down upon the water*, a fire was kindled in the Jordan,—*πῆρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*. The Ebionite Gospel relates that, when Jesus *came up from the water*, immediately a great light shone round the place,—*ἐνθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα*. This fact is, I believe, the main proof that Justin used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that we may therefore have recourse to it, whenever he differs verbally from the existing Gospels. Considering that the events recorded are not the same, that they are said to have happened at different times, and that the two quotations do not agree with one another in a single word, this argument cannot be considered very convincing, even by those who do not require perfect verbal accuracy in order to identify a quotation. But, further, the author of the anonymous *Liber de Rebaptismate* says that this event was related in an heretical work entitled *Pauli Prædicatio*, and that it was not found in any Gospel: ‘Item cum baptizaretur, ignem super aquam esse visum; quod in evangelio nullo est scriptum.’ (Routh, *Rel. Sac.* v. pp. 325, 326 [c. 14, Routh; c. 17, Hartel.]) Of course the latter statement may refer only to the canonical Gospels.† To this it may be added that a comparison of the fuller collection of fragments of “the Gospel according to the Hebrews” given by Hilgenfeld or Nicholson (the latter makes out a list of thirty-three fragments) would be still less favorable to the supposition that Justin made use of this Gospel.

In the quotations which I have given from these independent writers, I have not attempted to set forth in full their views of the relation of the original Hebrew Gospel to our Greek Matthew, still less my own; but enough has been said to show how little evidence there is that the “Gospel of the Hebrews” in one form or another either constituted Justin’s “Memoirs,” or was the principal source from which he drew his knowledge of the life of Christ. While I find nothing like *proof* that Justin made use of any apocryphal Gospel, the question whether he may in a few instances have done so is wholly unimportant. Such a use would not in his case, any more than in that of the later Fathers, as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome, imply that he placed such a work on a level with our four Gospels.

The notion that Justin used mainly the “Gospel according to Peter,” which is assumed, absolutely without evidence, to have been a form of the “Gospel according to the Hebrews,” rests almost wholly on the hypothesis, for which there is also not a particle of evidence, that this Gospel was mainly used by the

* It is the reading also (in Luke iii. 22) of the best MSS. of the old Latin version or versions, of Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, Lactantius, Juvenus, Hilary of Poitiers in several places, Hilary the deacon (if he is the author of *Quæstiones Vet. et Nov. Test.*), and Faustus the Manichæan; and Augustine quotes it once without remark. It seems to be presupposed in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 32); see the note of Cotelier *in loc.* It is altogether probable therefore that Justin found it in his MS. of Luke. The words (from Ps. ii. 7) being repeatedly applied to Christ in the N.T. (Acts xiii. 33; Heb. i. 5; v. 5), the substitution might easily occur through confusion of memory, or from the words having been noted in the margin of MSS. — E. A.

† *Theol. Review*, October, 1875, xii. 482 f., note. The *Liber de Rebaptismate* is usually published with the works of Cyprian.

author of the Clementine Homilies. The agreement between certain quotations of Justin and those found in the Clementine Homilies in their variations from the text of our Gospels is supposed to prove that Justin and Clement drew from a common source; namely, this "Gospel according to Peter," from which they are then imagined to have derived the great body of their citations. The facts stated in the quotation I have given above from Lipsius, who has expressed himself none too strongly, are enough to show the baselessness of this hypothesis; but it may be well to say a few words about the alleged agreement in *five* quotations between Justin and the Clementines in their variations from the text of our Gospels. These are all that have been or can be adduced in argument with the least plausibility. The two most remarkable of them, namely, Matt. xi. 27 (par. with Luke x. 22) and John iii. 3-5, have already been fully discussed.* In two of the three remaining cases, an examination of the various readings in Tischendorf's last critical edition of the Greek Testament (1869-72), and of the parallels in the Christian Fathers cited by Semisch and others, will show at once the utter worthlessness of the argument. †

The last example alone requires remark. This is Matt. xxv. 41, "Depart from me, accursed, into the eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." This is quoted by Justin as follows: "Go ye into the outer darkness, which the Father prepared for Satan and his angels." (*Dial.* c. 76.) The Clementine Homilies (xix. 2) agrees with Justin, except that it reads "the devil" for "Satan."

Let us examine the variations from the text of Matthew, and see whether they justify the conclusion that the quotations were taken from a different Gospel.

The first is the substitution of *ὑπάγετε*, which I have rendered "Go ye," for *πορεύεσθε*, translated in the common version "depart." The two words, however, differ much less, as they are used in Greek, than *go* and *depart* in English. The common rendering of both is "go." We have here merely the substitution of one synonymous word for another, which is very frequent in quotations from memory. Tischendorf cites for the reading *ὑπάγετε* here the Sinaitic MS. and HIPPOLYTUS (*De Antichr.* c. 65); so ORIGEN on Rom. viii. 38 in Cramer's *Catena* (p. 156) referred to in the *Addenda* to TROGELLES's Greek Test.; to which may be added DIDYMUS (*Adv. Manich.* c. 13, Migne xxxix. 1104), ASTERIUS (*Orat.* ii. *in Ps.* v., Migne xl. 412), THEODORET (*In Ps.* lxi. 13, M. lxxx. 1336), and BASIL OF SELEUCIA (*Orat.* xl. § 2, M. lxxxv. 461). Chrysostom in quoting the passage substitutes *ἀπέλθετε* for *πορεύεσθε* eight times (*Opp.* i. 27^b ed. Montf.; 285^c; v. 256^c; xi. 29^c; 674^c; 695^d; xii. 291^b; 727^e); and so Epiphanius once (*Hær.* lxi. 80, p. 700), and Pseudo-Cæsarius (*Dial.* iii. *resp.* 140, Migne xxxviii. 1061). In the Latin Fathers we find *discedite*, *ite*, *abite*, and *recedite*.

* See, for the former, Note A; for the latter, p. 31 ff.

† The two cases are (a) Matt. xix. 16-18 (par. Mark x. 17 ff.; Luke xviii. 18 ff.) compared with Justin, *Dial.* c. 101, and *Apol.* i. 16, and Clem. Hom. xviii. 1, 3 (comp. iii. 57; xvii. 4). Here Justin's two quotations differ widely from each other, and neither agrees closely with the Clementines. (b) Matt. v. 34, 37, compared with Justin, *Apol.* i. 16; Clem. Hom. iii. 55; xix. 2; also James v. 12, where see Tischendorf's note. Here the variation is natural, of slight importance, and paralleled in Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius. On (a) see Semisch, p. 371 ff.; Hilgenfeld, p. 220 ff.; Westcott, *Canon*, p. 153 f.; on (b) Semisch, p. 375 f.; Hilgenfeld, p. 175 f.; Westcott, p. 152 f.; Sanday, p. 122 f.

The second variation consists in the omission of ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, "from me," and (οἱ) καταραμένοι, "(ye) accursed." This is of no account whatever, being a natural abridgment of the quotation, and very common in the citations of the passage by the Fathers; Chrysostom, for example, omits the "from me" fifteen times, the "accursed" thirteen times, and both together ten times (*Opp.* i. 103^d; v. 191^c; 473^d; vii. 296^a; 571^d; viii. 356^d; ix. 679^a; 709^c; x. 138^b). The omission is still more frequent in the very numerous quotations of Augustine.

The third and most remarkable variation is the substitution of τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, "the outer darkness," or "the darkness without," for τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, "the eternal fire." The critical editors give no various reading here in addition to the quotations of Justin and the Clementines, except that of the cursive MS. No. 40 (collated by Wetstein), which has, as first written, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐξώτερον, "the outer fire," for "the eternal fire." It has not been observed, I believe, that this singular reading appears in a quotation of the passage by Chrysostom (*Ad Theodor. lapsu*, i. 9), according to the text of Morel's edition, supported by at least two MSS. (See Montfaucon's note in his edition of Chrysost. *Opp.* i. 11.) This, as the more difficult reading, may be the true one, though Savile and Montfaucon adopt instead αἰώνιον, "eternal," on the authority of four MSS.* But it does not appear to have been noticed that CHRYSOSTOM in two quotations of this passage substitutes the "outer darkness" for "the eternal fire." So *De Virg.* c. 24, *Opp.* i. 285 (349)^c, ἀπέλθετε γάρ, φησίν, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον κ. τ. λ. Again, *De Penit.* vii. 6, *Opp.* ii. 339 (399)^b, πορεύεσθε, οἱ καταραμένοι, εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον κ. τ. λ. We find the same reading in BASIL THE GREAT, *Hom. in Luc.* xii. 18, *Opp.* ii. 50 (70)^d; in THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA in a Syriac translation (*Fragmenta Syriaca*, ed. E. Sachau, Lips. 1869, p. 12, or p. 19 of the Syriac), "discedite a me in *tenebras exteriores* quæ paratæ sunt diabolo ejusque angelis"; in THEODORET (*In Ps.* lxi. 13, Migne lxxx. 1336), who quotes the passage in connection with vv. 32-34 as follows: "Go ye (ὑπάγετε) into the *outer darkness*, where is the loud crying and gnashing of teeth"; † in BASIL OF SELEUCIA substantially (*Orat.* xl. § 2, M. lxxxv. 461), ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἔξω, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον κ. τ. λ., and in "SIMEON CIONITA," i.e. Symeon Stylites the younger (*Serm.* xxi. c. 2, in Mai's *Nova Patrum Biblioth.* tom. viii. (1871), pars iii. p. 104), "Depart, ye accursed, into the *outer darkness*; there shall be the wailing and gnashing of teeth." ‡ Compare SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *Epist.* i. *ad Sororem*, c. 7: "Ite in *tenebras exteriores*, ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium" (Migne xx. 227^a). See also Antonius Magnus, Abbas, *Epist.* xx. (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xl. 1058), "Recedite a me, maledicti, in ignem æternum, ubi est fletus et stridor dentium."

The use of the expression "the outer darkness" in Matt. viii. 12, xxii. 13, and especially xxv. 30, in connection with "the wailing and gnashing of teeth," and the combination of the latter also with "the furnace of fire" in Matt. xiii. 42, 50, would naturally lead to such a confusion and intermixture of different passages in quoting from memory, or quoting freely, as we see in these

* Since the above was written, I have noticed this reading in Ephraem Syrus, *Opp. Gr.* ii. 218^b, πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ καταραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐξώτερον; and a little below, πορ. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ καταραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐξώτερον καὶ αἰώνιον, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.—*Ibid.* p. 218^d. But on pp. 198, 256, 278, 382, 402, Ephraem quotes the passage as it stands in the *textus receptus*. See also Philippus Solitarius, *Dioptra Rei Christiana*, iv. 20 (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* cxxvii. 875, b c): "Abite a me procul, longe, maledicti, in ignem ætèriorem, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus."

† The last clause reads ὕπον ὁ βρυγμός καὶ ὁ ὀλολυγμός τῶν ὀδόντων, but the words βρυγμός and ὀλολυγμός seem to have been transposed through the mistake of a scribe.

‡ Simeon Cionita uses the expression τὸ ἐξώτερον πῦρ, "the outer fire," *Serm.* xxi. c. 1.

examples. Semisch quotes a passage from Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dices*, etc., c. 13, p. 942), in which Jesus is represented as threatening "fire and the outer darkness" to those who should not feed the hungry, etc. Cyril of Alexandria associates the two thus: "What darkness shall fall upon them . . . when he shall say, Depart from me, ye accursed, into the eternal fire," etc. (*Hom. div. Opp.* v. pars ii. b, p. 408 f.* The fire was conceived of as burning without light. In the case of Justin there was a particular reason for the confusion of the "fire" and the "outer darkness" from the fact that he had just before quoted Matt. viii. 12, as well as the fact that "the outer darkness" is mentioned likewise in the same chapter of Matthew (xxv. 30) from which his quotation is derived (*Dial.* c. 76).

Justin's substitution of "Satan" for "the devil" is obviously unimportant. It occurs in the Jerusalem Syriac and Æthiopic versions, and was natural in the dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

The remaining coincidence between Justin and the Clementines in their variation from Matthew consists in the substitution of ὁ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ, "which the Father prepared" (comp. ver. 34), for τὸ ἡτοίμασμένον, "which is [or hath been] prepared." This is of no weight, as it is merely an early various reading which Justin doubtless found in his text of Matthew. It still appears, usually as "my Father" for "the Father," in important ancient authorities, as the *Codex Bezae* (D), the valuable cursives 1. and 22., the principal MSS. of the Old Latin version or versions (second century), in IRENÆUS four or five times ("pater," *Hær.* ii. 7. § 3; "pater meus," iii. 23. § 3; iv. 33. § 11; 40. § 2; v. 27. § 1, allus.), ORIGEN in an old Latin version four times (*Opp.* i. 87b, allusion; ii. 177^f; 298^d; iii. 88^{5e}), CYPRIAN three times, JUVENCUS, HILARY three times, GAUDENTIUS once, AUGUSTINE, LEO MAGNUS, and the author of *De Promissis*,—for the references to these, see Sabatier; also in PHILASTRIUS (*Hær.* 114), SULPICIUS SEVERUS (*Ep.* ii. *ad Sororem*, c. 7, Migne xx. 231e), FASTIDIUS (*De Vit. Chr.* cc. 10, 13, M. l. 393, 399), EVAGRIUS presbyter (*Consult.* etc. iii. 9, M. xx. 1164), SALVIAN (*Adv. Avar.* ii. 11; x. 4; M. liii. 201, 251), and other Latin Fathers—but the reader shall be spared.—Clement of Alexandria in an allusion to this passage (*Cohort.* c. 9, p. 69) has "which the Lord prepared"; Origen (*Lat.*) reads six times "which God prepared" (*Opp.* ii. 161^e; 346^a; 416^f; 431^d; 466^b; and iv. b. p. 48^a, ap. Pamphili *Apol.*); and we find the same reading in Tertullian, Gaudentius, Jerome (*In Isa.* l. 11), and Paulinus Nolanus. Alcimus Avitus has *Deus Pater*.—Hippolytus (*De Antichr.* c. 65) adds "which my Father prepared" to the ordinary text.

It is clear, I think, from the facts which have been presented, that there is no ground for the conclusion that Justin has here quoted an apocryphal Gospel. His variations from the common text of Matthew are easily explained, and we find them all in the quotations of the later Christian Fathers.

In the exhibition of the various readings of this passage, I have ventured to go a little beyond what was absolutely necessary for my immediate purpose, partly because the critical editions of the Greek Testament represent the patristic authorities so incompletely, but principally because it seemed desirable to expose still more fully the false assumption of *Supernatural Religion* and other writers in their reasoning about the quotations of Justin.

But to return to our main topic. We have seen that there is no direct evi-

* Comp. Ephraem Syrus, *De Judicio*, *Opp.* Gr. iii. 402 e f: οἶον σκότος ἐπιπέσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὅταν λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ πατάξει αὐτοὺς λέγων, πορεύεσθε κ.τ.λ. (as in the received text). So iii. 97^a.

dence of any weight that Justin used either the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" (so far as this was distinguished from the Gospel according to Matthew) or the "Gospel according to Peter." That he should have taken either of these as the source of his quotations, or that either of these constituted the "Memoirs" read generally in public worship in the Christian churches of his time, is in the highest degree improbable. The "Gospel according to the Hebrews" was the Gospel exclusively used by the Ebionites or Jewish Christians; and neither Justin nor the majority of Christians in his time were Ebionites. The "Gospel according to Peter" favored the opinions of the Docetæ; but neither Justin nor the generality of Christians were Docetists. Still less can be said in behalf of the hypothesis that any other apocryphal "Gospel" of which we know anything constituted the "Memoirs" which he cites, if they were one book, or was included among them, if they were several. We must, then, either admit that Justin's "Memoirs" were our four Gospels, a supposition which, I believe, fully explains all the phenomena, or resort to Thoma's hypothesis of an "X-Gospel," *i.e.*, a Gospel of which we know nothing. The only conditions which this "X-Gospel" will then have to fulfil will be: It must have contained an account of the life and teaching of Christ which Justin and the Christians of his time believed to have been "composed by the Apostles and their companions"; it must have been received accordingly as a sacred book, of the highest authority, read in churches on the Lord's day with the writings of the Old Testament prophets; and, almost immediately after he wrote, it must have mysteriously disappeared and fallen into oblivion, leaving no trace behind.*

* Compare Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1st ed. (1837), vol. i. pp. 225-230; 2d ed., i. 231 f.

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II.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN αἰτέω AND ἐρωτάω.*

[From the *North American Review*, January, 1872.]

THE treatise of Archbishop Trench on the *Synonyms of the New Testament* first appeared in 1854, and was at once republished in this country. After passing through five editions, it was followed in 1863 by a "Second Part," likewise reprinted in New York in 1864. The two parts were published in one volume in 1865; and now the seventh edition, "revised and enlarged," attests the well-merited favor with which the work has been received. The Preface to this new edition is much enlarged, and contains some excellent observations on the value of the study of synonyms, and on the method in which it should be pursued. Other parts of the book bear marks of the careful revision which it has undergone. The amount of new matter, however, is not very large. Sections xlix., l., lxxviii., xcii.–xcvi., xcvi., xcix., and part of section c., are new, as compared with the first and third editions, reprinted in this country; section xlix. of the third edition has been cancelled. In sections ix., xix., xxii., lxxxiv. (= xxxiv. of Part II.), the synonyms οἰκέτης, ἐντροπή, ἄρτιος, and κακός are added.

I do not propose to enter upon a general review of a work which is universally recognized as the best on the subject of which it treats. It is enriched with observations gathered from a wide range of reading, and is full of acute remarks and fruitful suggestions; but the ingenious author has not elaborated all its parts with equal care, and in some cases his distinctions appear to be strikingly at variance

*A Critical Notice of *Synonyms of the New Testament*. By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Seventh Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Macmillan & Co. 1871. 8vo. pp. xxvi, 363. [A ninth edition appeared in 1880, but essentially unchanged in its treatment of the two words here discussed.]

with the actual usage of the words which he undertakes to discriminate. One example of this kind, involving questions of considerable theological interest, particularly deserves to be pointed out, as the statements of the Archbishop have been incautiously adopted by several respectable scholars both in England and Germany, and are likely to be received without question by the generality of readers. I refer to his distinction between the words *αἰτέω* and *ἑρωτάω*, discussed in section xl. of his work. He says:—

The distinction between the words is this. *Αἰτέω*, the Latin “*peto*,” is more submissive and suppliant, indeed the constant word for the seeking of the inferior from the superior (Acts xii. 20); of the beggar from him that should give alms (Acts iii. 2); of the child from the parent (Matt. vii. 9; Luke xi. 11; Lam. iv. 4); of the subject from the ruler (Ezra viii. 22); of man from God (1 Kin. iii. 11; Matt. vii. 7; James i. 5; 1 John iii. 22; cf. Plato, *Euthyphl.* 14: *εὐχεσθαι* [ἔστιν] *αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοῦς*). *Ἐρωτάω*, on the other hand, is the Latin “*rogo*”; or sometimes (as John xvi. 23; cf. Gen. xlv. 19) “*interrogo*,” its only meaning in classical Greek, where it never signifies to ask, but only “to interrogate,” or “to inquire.” Like “*rogare*,”* it implies that he who asks stands on a certain footing of equality with him from whom the boon is asked, as king with king (Luke xiv. 32), or, if not of equality, on such a footing of familiarity as lends authority to the request.

Thus it is very noteworthy, and witnesses for the singular accuracy in the employment of words, and in the record of that employment, which prevails throughout the New Testament, that our Lord never uses *αἰτεῖν* or *αἰτεῖσθαι* of himself, in respect of that which he seeks on behalf of his disciples from God; for his is not the *petition* of the creature to the Creator, but the *request* of the Son to the Father. The consciousness of his equal dignity, of his potent and prevailing intercession, speaks out in this, that often as he asks, or declares that he will ask, anything of the Father, it is always *ἑρωτῶ*, *ἑρωτήσω*, an asking, that is, as upon equal terms (John xiv. 16; xvi. 26; xvii. 9, 15, 20), never *αἰτέω* or *αἰτήσω*.—*Synonyms*, etc., pp. 136, 137.

The view here presented by Archbishop Trench, which is, I believe, original, so far as his account of *ἑρωτάω* is concerned, has been substantially adopted by Düsterdieck in his commentary on 1 John v. 16 (*Die drei johan. Briefe*, II. 417), by Wordsworth (Greek Test.) on John xvi. 23 and 1

* “Thus Cicero (*Planc.* x. 25): ‘Neque enim ego sic *rogabam*, ut *petere* viderer, quia familiaris esset meus.’”

John v. 16, by Lightfoot on Phil. iv. 3, and by Webster and Wilkinson, Alford, and Braune in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, in their notes on 1 John v. 16. Braune says, without qualification, "ἐρωτᾶν is = *rogare*, and implies equality on the part of the asker with him from whom the favor is sought" (p. 171, Amer. transl.).

In opposition to these assertions, I shall endeavor to show that there is in the word ἐρωτάω no implication of equality on the part of the asker with him from whom the favor is sought, any more than there is in the English word *ask*; that there is not only no ground whatever for connecting such a notion with the word, but that its common use is totally inconsistent with this assumption.

The materials for forming a judgment upon this matter fortunately lie within a small compass. The use of ἐρωτάω in the sense of *to request*, as Archbishop Trench has remarked, does not belong to classical Greek; and in the later Greek, outside of the New Testament, it seems to be infrequent. After a pretty extensive examination of the general Greek lexicons, from Stephens's *Thesaurus* in its several editions to the great work of Prof. Sophocles on the Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, and also of the special lexicons, commentaries, etc., illustrating the New Testament, I cannot find that more than nine examples of it have hitherto been adduced; while in one of these the meaning is questionable, and in another the text is uncertain.* In the New Testament, however, we have thirty-six clear examples of the use of the word in the sense referred to, besides one (John xvi. 23) in which its meaning has been disputed. The comparative frequency of this use of ἐρωτάω in the New Testament, though some have considered it a Latinism, is

* They are as follows: Sept. Ps. cxxi. 6 (doubtful). Jos. *Ant.* v. 1. 14 (text uncertain). Hermog. *De Meth. Eloq.* c. 3, condemning this use of the word. Apollon. *Dysc. Synt.* p. 289, l. 20, ed. Bekker. Hermas, *Vis.* i. 2. Mart. Polyc. c. 12. Strato, *Epigr.* liii. 8 (Anthol. Gr. ed. Jacobs, iii. p. 80). Babr. *Fab.* xvii. 3. Charit. viii. 7.—To these may be added the twenty-four following, which I have not seen before referred to: Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8. 1. Barnab. *Ep.* 4, 21 (*ter*). Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2; iii. 1 (*bis*), 2, 10; iv. 1; *Sim.* v. 4; ix. 2, 11. Duæ Viæ vel Judic. Petri, in Hilgenfeld's *N. T. extræ Canonem*, iv. p. 100, l. 20; 105, l. 1. Orac. Sibyl. ii. 310; viii. 355. Const. Apost. ii. 16. Babr. *Fab.* x. 8; xlii. 3. Suidas, s. vv. ἐρωτῶ σε and ἠρώτα. Zonaras, s. vv. ἐρωτῶ σε. The more important of these passages will be cited hereafter.

probably to be explained by the influence of the Hebrew or Aramæan on the Greek-speaking Jews, the Hebrew אָשָׁא, with its cognates in Chaldee and Syriac, being freely employed in both of the principal senses of the English word *ask*.

Let us then try the theory of Archbishop Trench by a few examples of the use of ἐρωτάω in the New Testament. (In quoting, I give the rendering of the common English version.) The first instance of its occurrence is in the account of the woman of Canaan or Syrophœnicia in Matt. xv. 23, where we read that the disciples of Jesus "came and *besought* him (ἠρώτων or ἠρώτου), saying, Send her away," etc. Were the disciples of Jesus on a footing of *equality* with their Master, or of such familiarity as to lend *authority* to their request? The next example is in Mark vii. 26, where we are told respecting the Syrophœnician woman herself that she "came and *fell at his feet* and *besought* him (ἠρώσα) that he would cast forth the devil out of her daughter." Did she address Christ on a footing of equality? In Luke vii. 3, the centurion is represented as sending elders of the Jews to Jesus, "*beseeking* him (ἐρωτῶν) that he would come and heal his servant." So far from this petition having "authority" in it, or implying "a consciousness of equal dignity," the centurion says (vv. 6, 7) that he was not worthy that Jesus should enter under his roof, and that he did not think himself worthy to come to him. In Luke viii. 37, we read that the Gadarenes "*besought* Jesus (ἠρώτησαν) to depart from them; for they *were taken with great fear*." In Luke xvi. 27, the word is used of the petition addressed to Abraham by the rich man in Hades, "*I pray* thee therefore, father" (ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε), etc. Did he, when he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, consider himself as on a footing of equality with the patriarch?

But perhaps the usage of John may favor the Archbishop's theory. Let us see. If the disciples of Christ addressed their Master with authority (John iv. 31), if the Samaritans when they "*besought* Jesus that he would tarry

with them" (iv. 40), and the nobleman at Capernaum, who "*besought* him that he would come down and heal his son" (iv. 47), the Greeks who "came to Philip and *desired* him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus" (xii. 21), the Jews who "*besought* Pilate that the legs of the crucified might be broken, and that they might be taken away" (xix. 31), and Joseph of Arimathæa, who "*besought* Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus" (xix. 38), made these requests "as being on a footing of equality," and if it is also clear that this idea is expressed in these passages by the word ἐρωτάω itself, then, and not otherwise, is Archbishop Trench's view confirmed by the usage of John. In reference to the last passage cited, it deserves particular notice that the first three evangelists, in describing this request of Joseph of Arimathæa, use the word αἰτέομαι (ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Matt. xxvii. 58, Mark xv. 43, Luke xxiii. 52), where John employs ἐρωτάω (ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πιλάτον . . . ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα, κ. τ. λ.).*

It can hardly be necessary to proceed much further in the citation of passages from the New Testament. The first example in the Book of Acts (iii. 3) may seem alone decisive of the question. There, in the account of the man lame from his birth, it is said that he was laid daily at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple to ask alms (αἰτεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην) of those who went into the Temple, and seeing Peter and John about to go into the Temple he *asked* alms (ἠρώτα ἐλεημοσύνην λαβεῖν). Did he ask this as a right, or as being "on a footing of equality"? We may further observe that αἰτέω is here *interchanged* with ἐρωτάω, though this is one of the very passages adduced by Archbishop Trench to illustrate the distinction between the words. The other passages in which the word ἐρωτάω occurs in the Acts are cc. x. 48; xvi. 39; xviii.

*I am indebted for this observation to "a Clergyman of the Church of England," the anonymous author of *An Examination of Canon Lidion's Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Lond. 1871), p. 263, note, to whom belongs the credit, so far as I know, of first pointing out the untenableness of Archbishop Trench's statements respecting the use of the word ἐρωτάω. This able writer, however, enters into no full discussion of the subject, and is far too liberal in conceding that "about the general accuracy of the distinction on which the Archbishop insists there can be no dispute," contending merely for an exception in the New Testament usage. We shall see that the examples of the word outside of the New Testament are equally at war with the Archbishop's theory.

20; xxiii. 18, 20. None of them favors the Archbishop's view.*

What now are the facts adduced by Archbishop Trench in proof of his position that ἐρωτάω implies a certain equality between the asker and the person asked? The reader may be somewhat surprised to learn that no evidence is adduced by him or his followers except what is contained in the extracts from his article already given. Passing by the mere assertion that in certain passages of John's Gospel ἐρωτάω is used by Christ with this implication, we find that the only passage of the New Testament referred to in support of this theory is Luke xiv. 32. Here the argument is that, as one king is represented as asking another king for conditions of peace, "the word implies that he who asks stands on a certain footing of equality with him from whom the boon is asked."

Now the mere fact that, in any single case of the use of the word ἐρωτάω, the parties in question are equals, obviously cannot prove that such equality is implied by the word itself. The only possible proof of the Archbishop's thesis must consist in establishing the fact, by induction from a large number of examples, that the word is always, or at least generally, used of requests made by one who is regarded as standing on a footing of equality with him from whom the favor is sought. That the word is not so used has already been shown. But, waiving all this, the Archbishop seems to forget that the king in the passage referred to is represented, not as conscious of equality with the hostile king, but of his *inequality*,—his inability to meet, with ten thousand men, him that cometh against him with twenty thousand; so that, when the other is a great way off, he sends an embassy "to ask for conditions of peace," or, as Campbell and Norton in their translations have very naturally phrased it, "to sue for peace."

*For completeness, the only passages in the New Testament not already cited in which ἐρωτάω has or may have the meaning "to request" are here referred to, with the rendering of the word in the common English version: *Ask*, John xvi. 23, first part (?) *Desire*, Luke vii. 36; xiv. 32. *Pray*, Luke v. 3; xiv. 18, 19; John xiv. 16; xvi. 26; xvii. 9 (*bis*), 15, 20; 1 John v. 16. *Beseech*, Luke iv. 38; xi. 37; 1 Thess. iv. 1; v. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 1; 2 John 5. *Entreat*, Phil. iv. 3.

It is difficult to imagine that this passage of the New Testament, or any other, could have suggested the notion which the Archbishop has affixed to the word. He seems to have been really influenced by the supposed analogy of the Latin *rogo*, which does correspond, in its double meaning and otherwise, very closely with ἐρωτάω, and is used as its representative throughout the Latin Vulgate. Trench, as we have seen, asserts that "*rogo* implies that he who asks stands on a certain footing of equality with him from whom the boon is asked," while *peto*, corresponding with αἰτέω, is the word appropriate to an inferior; and the following passage of Cicero is quoted to prove it: "Neque enim ego sic rogabam, ut *petere* viderer, quia familiaris esset meus" (*Planc.* x. 25). This statement in regard to the use of *rogo* I believe to be incorrect, though something like it may be found in Doederlein's *Latin Synonyms*, and in the valuable English-Latin Dictionary published by Dr. William Smith and Theophilus D. Hall (see the art. *Ask*). The passage from Cicero quoted above seems to have been supposed by Trench and Alford (who, with Düsterdieck, has quoted it after him) to have the following meaning: "For I did not *ask* in such a way as to seem to *beg*, because he [of whom I asked the favor] was my intimate friend"; though a careful reader who should thus construe the words might be a little staggered by the subjunctive *esset*, where *erat* would seem to be required by the laws of grammar. Now nothing like this is the real meaning of the passage. The object of *rogabam* and *petere* is not the person spoken of as "*familiaris meus*." The sentence is imperfectly quoted; and the Archbishop appears to have caught it up hastily from his Latin dictionary, without taking the trouble to look into Cicero. It is necessary, therefore, to point out the connection in which it stands, and to explain the true force and bearing of the words. Plancius was accused of having obtained the ædileship by bribery of voters. Cicero in defending him urges, among other things, that he had himself secured many votes for him by his personal influence. Cicero's private obligations to Plancius were so great that the friends of Cicero

were constrained to vote for him. *Rogabam* in the passage in question is a technical term, denoting the soliciting of votes for a candidate for office. The full sentence reads as follows: "Neque enim ego sic rogabam, ut petere viderer, quia familiaris esset meus, quia vicinus, quia huius parente semper plurimum essem usus, sed ut quasi parenti et custodi salutis meæ." It may be thus translated: "For I did not solicit the votes of the people in such a way as to seem to beg them for Plancius because he was my intimate friend, because he was my neighbor, because I had always been on terms of the most familiar intercourse with his father; but as asking them for one who was, as it were, my own parent, and the guardian of my safety." The meaning of the passage does not turn, as Trench seems to suppose, on a contrast between *rogare* and *petere*. On the contrary, the words are here interchanged,—the *rogatio* is described as a *petitio*; and Cicero had just before spoken of it in the following terms: ". . . precibus aliquid attulimus etiam nos. Appellavi populum tributim; *submisi me et supplicavi*." Instead, therefore, of favoring Archbishop Trench's view of the use of *rogare*, the passage is directly opposed to it.

It would lead us too far from our proper subject to discuss the uses of *rogo* and its distinction from *peto*, but it may be worth while to refer to a few passages which show how false is the supposition that it implies the asking of what one has a right to, or carries with it any notion of equality. "Molestum verbum est, onerosum, demisso voltu dicendum, *rogo*," says Seneca. "Properet licet, sero beneficium dedit, qui *roganti* dedit." (*De Benef.* ii. 2. Comp. also c. 1.) "In blandiendo, fatendo, satisfaciendo, *rogando*," says Quintilian, the voice should be "lenis et summissa." (*Inst. Or.* xi. 3, 63.) Comp. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 90, "auxilium submissa voce rogavit," and *Pont.* iv. 3, 41. Finally, *rogare* is often used of prayer to the gods, who are not usually supposed to be addressed on terms of equality; e.g., "Deos supplex *rogavi*," Ovid, *Ep.* ii. 17; "Suppliciter *rogate* Deos," Id. *Pont.* i. 10. 44, comp. ii. 3, 100, iv. 8, 3; "Otium divos *rogat*," Hor. *Carm.* ii. 16, 1.

We have seen that Archbishop Trench finds in the use

of ἐρωτάω and the non-use of αἰτέω, on the part of our Lord in his prayers to the Father, "the consciousness of his equal dignity." We shall consider, hereafter, the real distinction between the words, and shall not find, I think, that the phenomenon in question requires us to assume that, in the passages to which he refers, an idea is implied in the word ἐρωτάω which cannot be shown to belong to it anywhere else. And the Archbishop does not seem to have observed that very different and rather startling conclusions might be drawn, with equal plausibility, from the premises which he assumes in regard to this word. We might say, for example, that it is very noteworthy, and witnesses for the singular accuracy in the employment of words which prevails throughout the New Testament, that αἰτεῖν or αἰτεῖσθαι the constant word for the seeking of the inferior from the superior, is never used in respect of that which the Apostles ask of Christ, but is appropriated to their petitions to God (Matt. xviii. 19; xxi. 22; John xv. 16; xvi. 23, etc.). When they are represented as requesting anything of Christ, the word ἐρωτᾶν is employed (Matt. xv. 23; Luke iv. 38; John iv. 31), implying an asking as upon equal terms. The only exception is in Mark x. 35; but in that case, as we learn from the parallel passage (Matt. xx. 20), the petition was not really presented by the Apostles James and John directly, but through their mother, who fell down before Jesus and begged the favor, so that the apparent exception really confirms the rule. This may suffice for an *argumentum ad hominem*.

The concluding paragraph of Archbishop Trench's article reads thus in the seventh edition (p. 138):—

It will follow that the ἐρωτᾶν, being thus proper for Christ, inasmuch as it has authority in it, is not proper for us; and in no single instance is it used in the N. T. to express the prayer of man to God, of the creature to the Creator. The only passage seeming to contradict this assertion is 1 John v. 16. The verse is difficult, but, whichever of the various ways of overcoming its difficulty may find favor, it will be found to constitute no true exception to the rule, and perhaps, in the substitution of ἐρωτήσῃ for the αἰτήσῃ of the earlier clause of the verse, will rather confirm it.

The passage in question is as follows in the common version :—

If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask (*αἰτήσεται*), and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it (*οὐ περὶ ἐκείνης λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ*).

It should be noted here that the word translated "it" in the last clause of the verse is emphatic in the original, and should have been rendered "that" or "this."

The Archbishop unfortunately does not favor us with his view of the passage, and indeed seems to be doubtful about its meaning; he is only sure that, at all events, the true explanation will present no exception to his rule about the use of *ἐρωτάω*. In the earlier editions of the *Synonyms* reprinted in this country, he did propose an explanation, which, though adopted by Alford and others, seems now to have been discreetly abandoned by its original propounder. According to his former view, it was the design of the Apostle by the use of the word *ἐρωτήσῃ* in the last clause to declare that "the Christian intercessor for his brethren shall not assume the authority which would be implied in making request for a sinner who had sinned the sin unto death" (*Synonyms*, p. 198, Amer. ed.). The Archbishop has probably since perceived that the result of assigning this meaning to *ἐρωτάω* here, and laying stress on the supposed difference between it and *αἰτέω*, must be to suggest that, though a person is not permitted *ἐρωτᾶν*, to ask with authority for the pardon of a sin unto death, he is permitted *αἰτεῖν*, to ask humbly for it. But this is evidently contrary to the meaning of the Apostle, as it would render nugatory the restriction in the first clause of the verse. St. John, moreover, would hardly deem it necessary to tell his readers that he did not mean to have them address their prayers to God "as being on a footing of equality" with him.

Bishop Wordsworth gives a different explanation. He adopts the view of Archbishop Trench, that *ἐρωτάω* expresses "the request of an equal, who has a right to ask and obtain," but does not introduce that meaning here. His translation of the passage is certainly remarkable: "I am

not speaking concerning that, in order that he (the Christian brother) should ask"; and the explanation matches it. He understands St. John "to intimate that no *interrogatory questions* are to be addressed to God concerning the person who is sinning a sin unto death." * The view of Webster and Wilkinson is similar: "The Apostle checks the approach to the throne of grace as to an oracle to inquire (ἐρωτᾶν) with the intention of αἰτεῖν." Whether this is the view which Archbishop Trench is now inclined to entertain, I do not know; it does not appear to have occurred to any commentator, ancient or modern, except those whom I have just quoted.

Dismissing, then, these unnatural explanations, which seem to have been suggested by the exigencies of a theory, let us turn once more to the passage. Is it not evident that the Apostle is stating in a positive form, in the last clause of the verse, the restriction implied in the first? "There is a sin unto death; [when I say that he shall ask, αἰτήσει,] I do not say that he shall pray (or, "I do not bid him pray") for *that*" (οὐ περὶ ἐκείνης λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ).* He has been speaking of *petitions*, not of an "oracle," or of "interrogatory questions addressed to God."

We may now consider the use of the word ἐρωτάω outside of the New Testament. The earliest example adduced is from the Septuagint, Ps. cxxi. (Heb. cxxii.) 6, ἐρωτήσατε δὴ τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, which has been translated, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem." This is probably the true rendering of the original Hebrew (see Maurer and Hupfeld *in loc.*), though some understand it differently. But, if we follow the analogy of precisely the same phraseology in other passages of the Septuagint (see 1 Sam. x. 4, ἐρωτήσουσί σε τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην, also xxx. 21; 2 Sam. viii. 10; 1 Chr. xviii. 10), we shall make the verbal meaning of the Greek translation to be, "Ask Jerusalem concerning her peace,"—that is, as the

* If λέγω here means "to say," and not "to speak" (for which λαλέω would be the proper word), ἵνα cannot mean "in order that," but introduces an object-clause, as in Acts xix. 4, John xiii. 29, comp. Rev. vi. 11, ix. 4, Matt. iv. 3, etc., and Sophocles, Gr. Lex. art. λέγω. The word as used here and in the other examples cited is nearly equivalent to κελεύω. The preposition περὶ is to be connected with ἐρωτήσῃ, as in Luke iv. 39, John xvii. 9, etc. Comp. δέομαι περὶ ἀμαρτιῶν, Eccles. xxi. 1, xxvii. 4, xxxix. 5.

phrase is used elsewhere, "*Salute* Jerusalem," wish her all prosperity. (Comp. the rendering of Symmachus, ἀσπύσαισθε.) If ἐρωτήσατε is here taken in the sense of "pray," we must suppose an ellipsis of τὸν θεόν as the being addressed, which would give us the extraordinary construction of three accusatives after the verb. We should expect, instead of the third accusative, τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, as the verse is inaccurately quoted by Bishop Ellicott on 1 Thess. iv. 1, and by Webster in his *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*. It is also to be observed that we thus assign to ἐρωτάω a meaning which it has nowhere else in the Septuagint. Such being the state of the case, although the passage is adduced by Bretschneider, Robinson, Bloomfield, Grimm, Sophocles, and other lexicographers, as an example of ἐρωτάω in the sense of "to pray," I shall not urge it against Archbishop Trench's theory.

The next passage in chronological order is in Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1. 14, where, after giving the prayer of Joshua, he says, ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεισῶν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν. Here, if the text is correct, ἐρωτάω is clearly used of the prayer of man to God. This is the reading in the editions of Hudson and Havercamp, and in the earlier editions of Josephus. Dindorf and Bekker, however, have substituted for ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν, τὸν θεόν ἰκέτευσεν. Notwithstanding the authority of these eminent critical editors, it seems to me that not only does the external evidence, as given in Bernard's note in Havercamp's edition, decidedly favor the reading ἠρώτα, but the internal still more. This use of ἐρωτάω being rare, and condemned by some of the rhetoricians, it was very natural that a gloss like ἰκέτευσεν should be substituted for it in some MSS.; just as Zonaras (*Ann.* i. 20), in copying this account of Josephus, has substituted ἐδέετο τοῦ θεοῦ. Comp. Suidas: ἠρώτα · παρεκάλει, ἔθνευ, ἠύχετο, ἰκέτευσεν,* and see also his art. ἐρωτῶ σε, cited on the next page.

* Here, however, as ἔθνευ is inappropriate as an explanation, I would suggest that Suidas needs emendation, and that we should read, ἠρώτα · παρεκάλει. ἔθνευ, ἠύχετο, ἰκέτευσεν, ἠρώτα, taking all after παρεκάλει as a quotation from Babrius, *Fab.* x. 3, to be cited below. ἠρώτα is actually added after ἰκέτευσεν, making the line complete, in three MSS. and the first edition of Suidas. See Bernhardt's note.

But whatever may be thought of this passage of Josephus, a plenty of unquestionable examples may be cited of ἐρωτάω used in reference to prayer addressed to God or to heathen deities. See Hermas, *Vis.* i. 2, ἐρωτήσω τὸν κύριον, ἵνα ἱλατεύσῃ [Sin. ἱλατεύσῃται] μοι, also *ibid.* ii. 2, iii. 1 (*bis*), iv. 1; *Sim.* v. 4, ix. 2, in all of which passages κύριον is the object; Orac. Sibyl. ii. 310, Πολλὰ δ' ἐρωτήσουσι ματῆν θεὸν ὑψιμέδοντα, and viii. 355, Πολλὰ δ' ἐρωτήσουσι θεὸν γε τὸν αἰὲν ἔδοντα (so Alexandre; Friedlieb makes the line identical with ii. 310); and Babr. *Fab.* x. 8, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην . . . Ἐθνευ, ἧΰχεθ', ἰκέτευν, ἠρώτα.

Other passages may be adduced in opposition to Archbishop Trench's notion that ἐρωτάω implies "an asking as upon equal terms," or with "authority." In the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, where the word ἐρωτάω occurs four times (cc. 4, 21 thrice) in exhortation, in the sense of "to entreat," "beseech," we read (c. 21), ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτούμενος, "I entreat you, *asking it as a favor.*" In Hermas, it is used of the humble entreaty addressed by the writer to the woman, representing the Church, who appeared to him in a vision (*Vis.* iii. 2, πεσὼν δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν . . . ἵνα, κ. τ. λ., also *ibid.* iii. 10), and to the Shepherd or angel of repentance (*Sim.* ix. 11). In the Epistle of the Church at Smyrna, giving an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp (c. 12), the angry multitude are said to have *besought* (ἠρώτων) the asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. And in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. ii. c. 16) the word is used of the entreaty to be addressed to the bishop in behalf of a penitent brother.

The notices of the word by the old grammarians and lexicographers may now be quoted. Hermogenes (*De Meth. Eloq.* c. 3) condemns the use of ἐρωτάω and παρακαλέω in the sense of δέομαι, "to beg," "to entreat," restricting the former to the meaning "to inquire": ἐὰν εἴπῃ τις ἐρωτῶ καὶ παρακαλῶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέομαι, ἀκύρωσ εἶρηκε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρακαλεῖν ἢ καλεῖν ἔστιν ἢ προτρέπεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐρωτᾶν πυνθάνεσθαι. (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 404.) †

Apollonius Dyscolus enumerates among the words "which denote supplication," ὅσα ἰκετείαν σημαίνει,—γονοῦμαι, ἐρωτῶ σε ἐν ἰσῷ τῷ παρακαλῶ σε, λιτανεύω, ἰκνοῦμαι. (*Synt.* p. 289, ed. Bekker.)

Suidas under the word ἠρώτα has already been quoted. He

also has: Ἐρωτῶ σε· παρακαλῶ σε, ἱκετεύω σε, δέομαι. Καὶ αὐθις· Ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἡρώτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ παρεκάλει. Here the line is quoted from Babrius, *Fab.* xlii. 3. Compare also Babrius, *Fab.* xcvi. 3, τὸν ταῦρον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἡρώτα, and the same use of the word in Luke vii. 36, xi. 37.

Zonaras has Ἐρωτῶ σε· παρακαλῶ σε, ἱκετεύω σε, and quotes the same passage as Suidas. The word does not appear to have been noticed by Hesychius, Photius, and the other old lexicographers and grammarians.

The few remaining examples of *ἱρωτάω* outside of the New Testament are not of sufficient interest to be quoted.

The preceding examination of the use of *ἱρωτάω* may satisfy us that Archbishop Trench's theory not only has no foundation to rest upon, but that it is directly contradicted by a large majority of the passages in which the word occurs, both in the New Testament and the later Greek writers. We will now consider the use of *αἰτέω*.

In the extract already given from Archbishop Trench's article, he represents *αἰτέω*, compared with *ἱρωτάω*, as "more submissive and suppliant, indeed the constant word for the seeking of the inferior from the superior"; and this statement may seem to be supported by the prevailing usage of the word. His view accords also with that of Bengel (notes on John xi. 22 and 1 John v. 16), and of Webster in his *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*, p. 190.

The following passages, however, must at least be regarded as exceptions, and may suggest a doubt as to the correctness of the distinction asserted: Luke i. 63, "he *asked for* a writing-table and wrote" (*αἰτήσας . . . ἔγραψεν*); xii. 48, "to whom men have committed much, of him they *will ask* (require) the more" (*αἰτήσουσιν*); Acts xvi. 29, "Then he *called for* a light" (*αἰτήσας*); 1 Cor. i. 22, "For the Jews *require* signs" (*αἰτοῦσιν*); and 1 Pet. iii. 15, "Be always ready to give an answer to every man that *asketh* you (*αἰτοῦντι*) a reason for the hope that is in you." In the Septuagint we read, "What doth the Lord thy God *require* (*αἰτεῖται*) of thee?" (Deut. x. 12.) See also 2 Macc. vii. 10. Similar

examples from Philo and Josephus are given by Loesner, *Obs.* p. 118, and Krebs, *Obs.* p. 117, though ἀπαυτέω is generally used to express the idea of *demanding*.

If we are guided by the actual usage of the words, we shall be led to the conclusion that the distinction between αἰτέω and ἐρωτάω in Hellenistic Greek does not depend upon the relative dignity of the asker and the person asked. In this respect, they seem to be neutral, as much so as our English work *ask*.

The main distinction appears to be this: αἰτέω is, in general, to ask for something which one desires to *receive*, something to be *given*, rarely for something to be done: it is therefore used when the *object sought*, rather than the person of whom it is sought, is prominent in the mind of the writer; hence also it is very rarely employed in exhortation. Ἐρωτάω, on the other hand, is to request or beseech a person to *do* something, rarely to give something; it refers more directly to the *person* of whom the favor is sought, and is therefore naturally used in exhortation and entreaty.

Doederlein notes a similar distinction between *petere* and *rogare*. "As compared with *petere*," he says, "*rogare* refers immediately to the *person* who is applied to for a service: *petere*, on the other hand, to the object sought. Cic. *in Verr.*: Iste *petit a rege et cum pluribus verbis rogat*, uti ad se mittat," etc. (*Lat. Syn.* v. 229, 230.)

In confirmation of this view, I will give the results of an examination of the use of αἰτέω in the New Testament, the Septuagint, the so-called Apostolical Fathers, and some other early Christian writings. For the canonical books of the Septuagint, I have used the Concordance of Trommius, and for the Apocrypha Wahl's *Clavis*; for Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and the Ignatian writings, Jacobson's Index to his edition of the *Patres Apostolici*; for Barnabas and Hermas, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Epistle to Diognetus, my own notes. The classical use of the word is not important for our present purpose.

To illustrate the distinction referred to, little will be needed besides the statistics of the *construction* of αἰτέω as

contrasted with *ἑρωτάω*. Both words must, of course, have both a person and a thing as their objects, expressed or implied. But the different construction of the words shows that their relation to these objects was usually conceived of differently. In the case of *αἰτέω*, which occurs in the New Testament seventy-one times, we have :—

1. The thing only expressed, thirty-six times. Twice (Luke xxii. 23 ; Acts iii. 14) the object is an accusative with the infinitive ; twice (Acts vii. 46 ; Eph. iii. 13) an infinitive only ; once (Col. i. 9) *ἵνα* with the subjunctive.

2. Thing, and person with the preposition *παρά* or *ἀπό*, three times.

3. Person and thing, two accusatives, ten times ; thing expressed by accusative with infinitive, once (Acts xiii. 28).

4. The person only expressed, in the accusative case, six times (Matt. v. 42, vi. 8, vii. 11 ; Luke vi. 30, xi. 13 ; John iv. 10).

5. Neither person nor thing expressed, but the thing more prominent in the context, fifteen times.

One who shall examine the New Testament examples by the aid of his Concordance will find that, in a great majority of the seventy-one passages, the request is for something to be *given*, not *done* ; and that the *thing asked for*, rather than the *person*, is chiefly prominent in the mind of the writer. Even in the six examples cited under number four, where the personal object alone is expressed, the exception is rather apparent than real ; *e.g.*, Matt. v. 42, "Give to him that *asketh* thee," where the thing to be given is not specified, on account of the comprehensiveness of the injunction.

In the Septuagint *αἰτέω* occurs about eighty-two times, including thirteen in the Apocrypha. We have :—

1. The thing asked for only expressed, thirty-six times. (In 1 Sam. xii. 13, I adopt the reading of the Alexandrine MS.)

2. Thing in the accusative (with one exception), and person in the genitive with *παρά*, twenty-six times.

3. Person and thing both expressed in the accusative, ten times. Passive participle, perhaps with accusative of thing, once (2 Macc. vii. 10).

4. Person only, in the genitive with παρά, four times. There is *no* example of the construction with the accusative of a person only. (In Esth. vii. 7, I adopt the reading of the Roman edition and the Alexandrine MS.)

5. Neither person nor thing expressed, five times.

The result is that in nearly all, perhaps in all, the examples found in the Septuagint we may reasonably regard the object asked for as made more prominent than the person. This object is also almost always something to be *given*, rather than something to be *done*; and, accordingly, is only once expressed by ὅπως with the subjunctive, never by ἵνα, and never by an infinitive of which the person asked is the subject. We shall see a striking contrast in the construction of ἐρωτάω.

In the Apostolical Fathers and other early Christian writings before mentioned, I have noted forty-four examples of αἰτέω or αἰτέομαι; namely, Clem. Rom. *Ep.* i. 50, 53, 55. Barn. 21 (in c. 19 probably spurious). Polyc. *Phil.* 7. Ignat. *Trall.* 12; *Rom.* 1, 3, 8 (*bis*); *Polyc.* 1, 2. Mart. Ignat. 6. Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 3, 10 (four times); *Mand.* ix. (eleven times), xii. 5; *Sim.* iv., v. 3, 4 (five times), vi. 3. *Ep. ad Diogn.* 1. Test. xii. Patr., *Jud.* 9, *Jos.* 15, 16 (three times; I adopt the reading of the Oxford MS.). They are constructed as follows:—

1. Thing only expressed, twenty times.
2. Thing, and person with παρά or ἀπό, ten times.
3. Person and thing, two accusatives, twice. Person in accusative, and object represented by λέγοντες with imperative, once (Test. xii. Patr., *Jos.* 15).
4. Person only in genitive with παρά, seven times.
5. Person only, in the accusative, twice.
6. Neither person nor thing expressed, twice.

Without going into a more minute analysis, we perceive that the result is essentially the same as in our examination of the usage of the New Testament and the Septuagint.

Contrast now the construction of *ἑρωτάω*, of which we have in all sixty-six or sixty-seven examples. We find:—

1. The person only directly expressed (in the accusative), eighteen times. The object sought is understood nine times (Luke iv. 38; John xiv. 16, xvi. 26; Barn. 21; Const. Apost. ii. 16; Apollon. *Dysc. Synt.* p. 289; Babr. x. 8; Suidas, *s. v.* *ἑρωτῶ σε*; Zonaras, *do.*); indirectly signified by an imperative, six times (Luke xiv. 18, 19; Phil. iv. 3; Barn. 21, *bis*; Duæ Viæ, p. 100, l. 20, ed. Hilgenf.); by an imperative preceded by *λέγοντες*, twice (Matt. xv. 23; John iv. 31); by *λέγοντες* introducing a sentence with the verb in the indicative, once (John xii. 21). The passive participle is used, without object expressed, twice (Strato, *Epigr.* liii. 8; Charit. viii. 7).

2. Accusative of person; thing variously expressed, namely: (a) By an accusative, five or six times (John xvi. 23? Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, 14; Barn. 4; Herm. *Vis.* ii. 2; Orac. Sibyl. ii. 310, viii. 355). (b) By an infinitive, eight times (Luke v. 3, viii. 37; John iv. 40; Acts x. 48; 1 Thess. v. 12; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8. 1; Duæ Viæ, p. 105, l. 2; Babr. xcvi. 3). (c) By *iva* with subjunctive, fifteen times (Mark vii. 26; Luke vii. 26, xvi. 27; John xix. 31, 38; 1 Thess. iv. 1; 2 John 5; Mart. Polyc. 12; Herm. *Vis.* i. 2, iii. 2, 10, iv. 1; *Sim.* v. 4, ix. 2, 11). (d) By *ὅπως* with the subjunctive, three times (Luke vii. 3, xi. 37; Acts xxiii. 20). (e) By *εἰς τό* with infinitive, once (2 Thess. ii. 1). In all, thirty-two or thirty-three times.

3. Thing only expressed: (a) By an accusative, once (Luke xiv. 32). (b) By an infinitive, four times (Acts iii. 3, xvi. 39, xxiii. 18; Babr. xlii. 3). (c) By *iva* with subjunctive, four times (John iv. 47 (Tisch.), xvii. 15, 20; Herm. *Vis.* iii. 1). In all these cases, the *person* is prominent in the context. (Nine times.)

4. Neither person nor thing expressed, five times (John xvii. 9, *bis*; 1 John v. 16; Herm. *Vis.* iii. 1, *bis*).

The difference of construction illustrates palpably the reality of the distinction pointed out. Of the sixty-six or sixty-seven examples of the use of *ἑρωτάω*, there are only six or seven in which the object asked for is expressed by

an accusative. In a great majority of cases, it is expressed by an infinitive, or by *ἵνα* or *ὕπως* with the subjunctive, or indirectly by an imperative, the thing asked for being usually something which the person asked is requested to *do*. In the one hundred and ninety-seven examples, on the other hand, which have been cited of the use of *αἰτέω* or *αἰτέομαι*, there is hardly (but see Deut. x. 12) a single instance in which the thing asked for is something which the person is directly requested to do; generally, it is something to be *given*, and the object asked for is expressed by an accusative. Thus we see why, in Matt. xxvii. 58, and the parallel passages in Mark and Luke, we have *ἡτήσατο τὸ σῶμα, κ.τ.λ.*, but in John *ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πειλᾶτον . . . ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα, κ.τ.λ.* In John xiv. 16 and xvi. 26, *ἐρωτάω* may be preferred to *αἰτέω*, because the *personal object* not only is prominent, but is alone expressed. In the prayer, John xvii. 9, 15, 20, the personal object, indeed, is not expressed, but is prominent in the mind, from the nature of the case. It may also be true that *ἐρωτάω*, though not implying "equality" or "authority," accords better than *αἰτέω* with the intimate personal relation between Christ and the Father, and also with that between Christ and his disciples. In Acts iii. 2, 3, the transition from *αἰτεῖν* to *ἐρωτᾶν* may perhaps be explained by the prominence given in the third verse to Peter and John, the *persons* from whom the alms was asked, though the personal object is not expressed after the verb. It is further evident that, with *ἐρωτάω*, the idea of earnestness is often associated; see, *e.g.*, Mark vii. 26; Luke viii. 37, xvi. 27. Our translators have felt this, in rendering the word so often "beseech" or "entreat." This is much more rarely the case with *αἰτέω* or *αἰτέομαι*, which is accordingly seldom used in exhortations. The exception in Ignat. *Rom.* 8 is so unusual that Vossius insists that the true reading there must be *παρακαλῶ*. The use of *αἰτοῦμαι* in Eph. iii. 13, *Διὸ αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐνκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσίν μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, accordingly favors the rendering, "Wherefore I pray that I may not be disheartened in my afflictions in your behalf," rather than, "I entreat you not to be dis-

heartened," etc., though many of the best scholars prefer the latter.*

If the preceding statements are correct, we cannot accept the distinction between *ἠρωτάω* and *αἰτέω*, which Huther proposes in the last edition of his Commentary on the First Epistle of John (note on 1 John v. 16). He says that *ἠρωτᾶν*, properly "to inquire" (*fragen*), is a milder asking than *αἰτεῖν*, which properly means "to demand" (*fordern*), and expresses greater urgency. Bengel, in his note on the same passage, regards *ἠρωτᾶν* as denoting the "*genus*," of which *αἰτεῖν* is a "*species humilior*"; in other words, *ἠρωτᾶν* is "to ask," in general, while *αἰτεῖν* is "to ask humbly," "to beg." (Compare his note on John xi. 22.) But we have seen that this view is not sufficiently supported by usage.

In the comparison which has been made between *ἠρωτάω* and *αἰτέω*, it must be borne in mind that the former word, in the sense of "to request" or "entreat," appears never to have had a wide currency. It seems to have been familiar in this sense to Luke, John, Paul, Hermas, the author of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, and Babrius. It does not occur in the Septuagint, is rare in Josephus, and seems to be very rare in the later Greek generally. We find commonly in its place *ἄξιόω*, *δέομαι*, or *παρακαλέω*. Though this use of *παρακαλέω* is condemned by Hermogenes, it is remarkably frequent in Josephus. It occurs a few times in the Septuagint; but there we have more commonly *δέομαι* or *ἄξιόω*. One might suppose from its etymology and classical use that the latter word would have the sense which Archbishop Trench ascribes to *ἠρωτάω*, of asking for something to which one has a certain right; but it is not so. It is used in the simple sense of to express a desire for something; or, with reference to a person, "to ask," "request," "pray." It often occurs with *τὸν θεόν* or *κύριον* as its object; and is even used absolutely, as we should use "to pray" in English.

* On the side of the former construction (for which comp. Ignat. *Trall.* 12, *αἰτούμενος θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*) are the Syriac version, Theodoret, Bengel, Rückert, Harless, Baumgarten-Crusius, Olshausen, Wahl, Bretschneider, Conybeare, Braune, Ewald; the latter is supported by Theophylact, Grotius, LeClerc, Beausobre, Wolf, Matthies, De Wette, Meyer, Bleek, Schenkel, Alford, Ellicott, Eadie, Noyes, and the majority of expositors.

δέομαι is also frequently thus used; and, what will seem very strange to a merely classical scholar, is often followed in the Septuagint, and once in the New Testament, by *πρός* with the accusative, like *εὐχομαι* and *προσεύχομαι*.

We will conclude this long discussion with the examination of a passage of considerable interest, in which the meaning of *ἐρωτάω* has been disputed. I refer to John xvi. 23, which reads as follows in Tischendorf's last edition: *καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐρωτήσετε οὐδέν. ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἂν τι αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα, δώσει ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.* "And in that day ye will ask nothing of *me*. Truly, truly, do I say to you, if ye ask anything of the Father, he will give it to you in my name."

The question is whether *ἐρωτάω* is here used in the sense of "to inquire," as in vv. 19, 30, or "to request," as in v. 26. Archbishop Trench remarks:—

Every one competent to judge is agreed that "ye shall ask" of the first half of the verse has nothing to do with "ye shall ask" of the second; that, in the first, Christ is referring back to the *ἠθέλον αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν* of ver. 19, to the questions which the disciples would fain have asked of him, if only they dared to set these before him. "In that day," he would say, "in the day of my seeing you again, I will by the Spirit so teach you all things, that ye shall be no longer perplexed, no longer wishing to ask me questions (cf. John xxi. 12), if only you might venture to do so."—*Syn.*, p. 136.

The explanation given by Archbishop Trench is supported by Lampe, Bengel, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, De Wette, Meyer, Ewald, Godet, Bloomfield, Alford, and a large majority of modern expositors; also, by Wakefield and Norton in their translations of the New Testament. But it seems to involve serious difficulties, which are not satisfactorily explained by these eminent commentators. Our Saviour is referring to the time when he was to be personally withdrawn from the disciples, and another Helper (*παράκλητος*), the Holy Spirit, should, as it were, take his place. But why should he say that then they would *ask him no questions*? Was it worth while to tell them that they would not do what from the nature of the case was impossible? It is to be observed further that *me* is the emphatic word in the

sentence,—emphatic both by form (*ἐμὶ*) and position. We have then the meaning, “In that day you will ask no questions of *me*”; but what is the antithesis? We are told that the meaning is, You will have *no need* to question me, because the Holy Spirit will enlighten you. But is not this putting violence on the simple *ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐρωτήσετε οὐδέν*? Further, though an antithesis is so strongly demanded by the emphatic *ἐμὲ*, according to this explanation we have none expressed, and none which is plainly suggested by the immediate context.

If now, on the other hand, we take *ἐρωτήσετε* in the sense of “to request,” all is smooth and natural. The emphatic *ἐμὲ* finds its immediate antithesis in *τὸν πατέρα*; and we have no sudden transition from the subject of putting questions to that of petitioning. We have similar examples of the interchange of *ἐρωτάω* and *αἰτέω* in Acts iii. 2, 3, and 1 John v. 16; and it accords with the ordinary use of the words, *ἐρωτάω* being elsewhere employed of the requests addressed by the disciples to Christ, *αἰτέω* of their petitions to God. Though, after the departure of their Master from the earth, the disciples would not address their petitions directly to him, as they had done when he was personally present with them, they would have all needed aid; whatever they should ask of the Father, he would give them in his name,—that is, on his account, or on account of their relation to him, they being, as it were, his representatives, carrying on his work upon the earth; comp. c. xiv. 26; also, Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

Though a majority of the best scholars adopt the other interpretation, it is too much to say, with Archbishop Trench, that “every one competent to judge is agreed” that the words must be so understood. Among the scholars who take *ἐρωτάω* here in the sense of “to request” are Henry Stephens in his *Thesaurus*, s. v. *ἐρωτάω*, Grotius, Vossius (*Harm. Ev.* i. c. 18, § 18; *Opp.* vi. 151), LeClerc (*Nouv. Test.*), Beausobre and Lenfant (*N. T.*), Schoettgen, Archbishop Newcome in his translation, Baumgarten-Crusius, Weizsäcker (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1857, ii. 183, note), and Weiss (*Der johan. Lehrbegriff*, Berl. 1862, p. 278),

who in a pretty full discussion of the passage does not hesitate to call this an "evidente exegetische Resultat." * Schleusner, in his *Lexicon*, though explaining the clause in question by "habebitis idoneam et perfectam scientiam," says, "Alii non minus commode reddunt, tum nihil amplius a me petetis. Confer sequentia"; and Schirlitz (*Wörterb. zum N. T.*, 3^e Aufl., 1868) assigns to ἐρωτάω here the meaning *bitten*, "to request." Bretschneider, Wahl, and Robinson do not notice the passage. Among our American commentators who have assigned this meaning to ἐρωτάω here may be mentioned Barnes (though he thinks there may be a reference to both meanings of the word), and Dr. Howard Crosby, in his *Notes on the New Testament*. According to Bloomfield (*Reccensio Synoptica*, in loc.), ἐρωτάω is explained in this passage as meaning "to request" by Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodore of Heraclea, and Theophylact. This is, however, not quite correct. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and also Euthymius recognize *both* meanings of ἐρωτάω in their notes on the verse, kindly allowing the reader his choice. The expression used by Nonnus in his Paraphrase may be regarded as ambiguous. There seems to be nothing bearing on the point in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, vol. lxxvi.). Theodore of Heraclea is probably the author of some of the notes on the Gospel of John, of which fragments have been preserved in a Gothic translation published by Massmann under the title *Skeireins Aivaggeljons thairh Johannen*, München, 1834; but there appears to be among them no note on John xvi. 23, nor do I know on what the statement of Bloomfield respecting this writer can be founded.

Whatever view may be taken of the disputed passage, the interpretation just given has too much in its favor, and is supported by too many respectable scholars, to be dismissed at once with contempt.

It may be said, however, that the above explanation of

* So H. J. de Haan Hugenholtz, *Disp. theol. inaug.* (Lugd. Bat. 1834), p. 56. He cites Vinke as taking the same view, and adds, "Utramque notionem conjungere cupiunt STARKIUS et VAN HERWERDEN."

ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐρωτήσατε οὐδέν is forbidden by the fact that the early Christians habitually addressed their prayers to Christ, as is shown by the use of the expression "to call upon the name of the Lord," Acts ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16; Rom. x. 12-14; 1 Cor. i. 2 (comp. Acts ii. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 22); and by the examples of Stephen (Acts vii. 59) and Paul (2 Cor. xii. 8). I admit that if the phrase *οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου* as applied to the early Christians implies that their *petitions* were habitually addressed to Christ instead of to the Father in his name, this fact is an objection to the interpretation proposed. The question is one of no little interest; but to discuss it here would carry us much too far, and might lead into the thorny paths of dogmatic theology.

III.

ANCIENT PAPYRUS AND THE MODE OF MAKING PAPER FROM IT.

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THE Egyptian papyrus plant has played so important a part among ancient materials for writing that perhaps the *Library Journal* is a not inappropriate place for the correction of a common error respecting it,—an error found not only in popular works, but in many of deservedly high reputation. In Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, for example, we read that "the papyrus was about ten cubits high, and had several coats or skins above one another, like an onion, which they separated with a needle" (p. 424, New York ed., 1828). In the article "Liber," in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, the writer says, "The papyrus-tree grows in swamps to the height of ten feet or more, and paper was prepared from the thin coats or pellicles which surround the plant." Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, under βιβλος, defines the word, first as "the inner bark of the papyrus," and then as "the paper made of this bark." A similar account is given in the Lexicons of Jacobitz and Seiler, Pape, and Rost and Palm's edition of Passow, under βιβλος and πάπυρος; so also in the common Latin dictionaries, English and German, under "Papyrus"; and in many encyclopædias,—e.g., the Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edition, art. "Paper," v. 17, p. 247; and Pauly's *Real-Encyclopædie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, v. 5, pp. 1155, 1156. Other works of very high character contain this representation, as Becker's *Charikles*, 2te Aufl. (1854), v. i. p. 282 ff., in an elaborate note (compare the English translation, p. 161, n. 12); Guhl and Koner's *Life of the Greeks*

and *Romans*, translated from the third German edition (Lond. 1875), p. 198 ff., which speaks of the stem of the papyrus plant as having about twenty "layers of bark"; and so even Marquardt, *Römische Privatalterthümer*, Abth. 2 (1867), p. 390, who has given in general a wonderfully complete and accurate account of all that relates to the writing and book-making of the ancient Romans.

These are high authorities; but it is safe to say that the statements which have been italicized in the quotations given above are wholly erroneous. The papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus* of Linnæus, or *Papyrus antiquorum*, Willd.) belongs to the family of *Cyperaceæ*, or sedges: it is an *endogenous* plant, with a triangular stem; and to talk about its "inner bark," and "layers" like the coats of an onion, is a simple absurdity. One might as well speak of "the inner bark" of a stalk of Indian corn, or of a bulrush. The error has originated from ignorance or forgetfulness of the elements of botany, and the consequent misinterpretation of the passage in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 11-13, al. 21-27), which is our chief source of information about the ancient manufacture of paper from this plant. One of the words which Pliny uses to describe the very thin strips into which *the cellular substance of the stem* was sliced in making the paper is *philyra*, which strictly denotes the inner bark of the linden tree, also employed as a writing material. Hence, the papyrus has been conceived of as an *exogenous* plant, with its outer and inner bark, and has actually been called a "tree"!

But though the error to which I have referred has widely prevailed, and seems to have a tenacious vitality, it must not be supposed that it is universal. The botanists, of course, have not made such a mistake; see, e.g., Sprengel, art. "Papyrus," in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encycl.*, Sect. 3, Theil 11 (1838), p. 230; Tristram's *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 2d ed. (1868), p. 435; and Le Maout and Decaisne's *General System of Botany*, translated by Mrs. Hooker (1873), p. 880. A correct account is also given in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, v. 3, p. 148, and in Wattenbach's *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (1871), p. 67. The

most thorough article on the subject with which I am acquainted is the "Mémoire sur le papyrus et la fabrication du papier chez les anciens," by M. Dureau de la Malle, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Institut de France), tom. 19, pt. 1 (1851), pp. 140-183, in which the passage of Pliny above referred to is fully explained. See also the "Dissertation sur le papyrus," by the Count de Caylus, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1752-54), tom. 26, pp. 267-320.

It may be worth while, perhaps, to call attention to another mistake in the English translation of Guhl and Koner's *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, already cited. We there read (p. 198), in the account of making paper from the papyrus plant: "The stalk . . . was cut longitudinally, after which the outer bark was first taken off; the remaining layers of bark, about twenty in number (*philura*), were carefully severed with a pin; and, afterwards, the single strips plaited crosswise; by means of pressing and perforating the whole with lime-water, the necessary consistency of the material was obtained." *Lime-water*, indeed! The German *Leimwasser* and the English *lime-water* are very different things. What is meant is glue-water, water in which *gluten* (Germ. *Leim*) has been dissolved. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 12, al. 26.

On the botanical questions respecting the papyrus of Sicily, Syria, and ancient Egypt, see particularly Parlatore, "Mémoire sur le papyrus des anciens et sur le papyrus de Sicile," in the *Mém. présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. des Sciences*, tom. 12 (1854), pp. 469-502, with 2 plates. Parlatore makes two distinct species, and Tristram agrees with him; but Otto Böckeler, in a recent monograph, "Die Cyperaceen des Königlichen Herbariums zu Berlin," in the *Linnæa*, Bd. 36 (1869-70), pp. 303, 304, regards the *Cyperus syriacus* of Parlatore as only a variety of the *Cyperus papyrus* of Linnaeus.

IV.

ON THE COMPARATIVE ANTIQUITY OF THE SINAITIC AND VATICAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK BIBLE.

[From the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. x., No 1, 1872.]

THE present essay was suggested by a recent work of the Rev. J. W. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, entitled *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark Vindicated against recent Critical Objectors and Established* (London, 1871). In one of the Appendixes to this volume (pp. 291-294), Mr. Burgon has a dissertation "On the Relative Antiquity of the Codex Vaticanus (B) and the Codex Sinaiticus (א)," in which he maintains that certain "notes of superior antiquity," which he specifies, "infallibly set Codex B before Codex א, though it may be impossible to determine whether by fifty, by seventy-five, or by one hundred years" (p. 293). He does not doubt that they are "the two oldest copies of the Gospels in existence"; but, "if the first belongs to the beginning, the second may be referred to the middle or latter part of the fourth century" (p. 70). Tischendorf, on the other hand, now assigns both MSS. to the middle of the fourth century; and even maintains that one of the scribes of the Sinaitic MS., whom he designates by the letter D, wrote the New Testament part of the Codex Vaticanus. Mr Burgon's arguments are for the most part new, and have not, so far as I am aware, been subjected to any critical examination. Few scholars, in this country at least, have the means of testing the correctness of his statements. His book in general, and his discussion of the present subject in particular, have been highly praised; and he writes throughout in the tone of one who teaches with

authority. It has seemed to me, therefore, that a review of the arguments put forth with such confidence might be of interest.

In the present investigation, I have relied chiefly on the original edition of the Sinaitic MS. published by Tischendorf in 1862 in four volumes folio, printed in fac-simile type, with nineteen plates of actual fac-similes of different parts of the MS.; and on the similar edition of the Codex Vaticanus now publishing at Rome, of which three volumes have thus far appeared, two of them containing the Old Testament as far as the end of Nehemiah, and the other the New Testament part of the MS. I have also used Tischendorf's fac-simile edition of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus (another name for forty-three leaves of the Sinaitic MS.), published in 1846; his *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* (1867) with the *Appendix* (1869); and his *Appendix Codicum celeberrimorum Sinaitici Vaticani Alexandrini* with fac-similes (1867).

Mr. Burgon's arguments are as follows: (1) "The (all but unique) sectional division of Codex B, confessedly the oldest scheme of chapters extant, is in itself a striking note of primitiveness. The author of the Codex knew nothing, apparently, of the Eusebian method."

The Vatican MS. has in the Gospels a division of the text into chapters, which differs from that found in most MSS. from the fifth century onward, and appears, so far as is known, in only one other MS., the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ), of the *eighth* century. It has also a peculiar division into chapters in the Acts and Epistles. Mr. Burgon finds in its scheme of chapters "a striking note of primitiveness." But the Sinaitic has *no* division into chapters at all, *a prima manu*. Is not that quite as primitive? Further, Mr. Burgon's argument appears to be of a circular character. The only proof of the high antiquity of the "scheme of chapters" referred to is its existence in the Vatican MS.

It may be worth while, perhaps, to remark that the Roman edition of the Vatican MS. seems to afford evidence (p. 1272,

col. 1, and p. 1299, col. 3) that the division into chapters, noted by numbers in red in the margin, was not made by the original scribe, but by one who preferred in some places a different division into paragraphs. It may have been made, however, by a contemporary hand.

Mr. Scrivener thinks it "very credible that Codex Sinaiticus was one of the fifty volumes of Holy Scripture, written 'on skins in ternions and quaternions,' which Eusebius prepared A.D. 331 by Constantine's direction for the use of the new capital." (Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, p. xxxvii. f. Comp. Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 36, 37.) This is possible, though there is no proof of it. Mr. Burgon's argument, that, because the Eusebian sections do not correspond with the paragraphs in the Codex Sinaiticus, Eusebius could have known nothing of the MS. (p. 294), is utterly futile. The object of those sections is totally different from that of a division into paragraphs. The Eusebian sections are not chapters or paragraphs, but merely serve for a comparison of parallel or similar passages in the Gospels. In not less than twenty-five instances there are two of them (in one case *three*) in a single verse; see, *e.g.*, Matt. xi. 27; Mark xiii. 14; Luke vi. 21; John xix. 6, 15, 16.

The Eusebian sections are not in the Sinaitic MS. *a prima manu*, though they may, as Tischendorf supposes, have been added by a contemporary scribe. In that case, the MS. may still be older than the middle of the fourth century; for Eusebius died about A.D. 340. It is curious to see how Scrivener contradicts himself on this matter in a single page (Collation, etc., p. xxxvii).

(2) "Codex \aleph (like C, and other later MSS.)," says Mr. Burgon, "is broken up into short paragraphs throughout. The Vatican Codex, on the contrary, has very few breaks indeed: *e.g.*, it is without break of any sort from S. Matth. xvii. 24 to xx. 17; whereas, within the same limits, there are in Cod. \aleph as many as *thirty* interruptions of the context. From S. Mark xiii. 1 to the end of the Gospel, the text is absolutely continuous in Cod. B, except in *one* place; but in Cod. \aleph it is interrupted upwards of *fifty* times. Again:

from S. Luke xvii. 11 to the end of the Gospel, there is but *one* break in Cod. B. But it is broken into well-nigh *an hundred and fifty* short paragraphs in Cod. S.

“There can be no doubt that the unbroken text of Codex B (resembling the style of the papyrus of *Hyperidæ's* published by Mr. Babington) is the more ancient. The only places where it approximates to the method of Cod. S. are where the Commandments are briefly recited (S. Matth. xix. 18, etc.), and where our Lord proclaims the eight Beatitudes (S. Matth. v.)”

Here, apparently, the stress of Mr. Burgon's argument rests on the rarity of paragraphs, indicated by “breaks,” in the Vatican MS., as compared with the Sinaitic. If this is so, he has strangely misrepresented the facts in the case. In the first passage referred to (Matt. xvii. 24 to xx. 17) there are certainly no less than thirty-two “breaks” in the Vatican MS., designed to mark a division into paragraphs. In two instances (Matt. xvii. 24, xix. 1), the division is made by the projection of the initial letter into the left-hand margin, in the manner usual in the Sinaitic MS.; in thirty, by a space between the words, and a dash (—) below the line where the break occurs, projecting into the left-hand margin, after the fashion common in the Herculanean and early Egyptian papyri, and also found, though more rarely, in the Sinaitic MS. Besides these thirty-two cases there are seven in which a paragraph is indicated by a dash simply, the preceding sentence happening to fill the whole line above it. There are also in the passage referred to about ten places in which the end of a sentence or a paragraph is indicated by a space simply. (In respect to the representation of these spaces, there is a little difference, in two or three places, between the Roman edition and that of Tischendorf.) But, dismissing the simple spaces from the account altogether (though they are certainly *breaks*), we have in the first passage selected by Mr. Burgon a division into paragraphs in the Vatican MS. even more minute than in the Sinaitic. In Mark xiii. 1 to xvi. 8 there are thirty-nine paragraphs in the Vatican MS. marked by the dash and

space, or by the dash alone, when the preceding line is full; and in Luke xvii. 11 to xxiv. 53, one hundred and twenty-nine paragraphs are thus marked, besides two in which the initial letter projects into the margin. There are also places in which divisions are marked by spaces alone.

Such being the state of the case, it may perhaps be thought that Mr. Burgon does not mean to argue the superior date of the Vatican MS. from the comparative rarity of its divisions into paragraphs, but merely from the *manner* in which they are made; and that he intends by "break" the projection of the initial letter of a paragraph into the left-hand margin, which we find in the Vatican MS. in the Beatitudes (Matt. v.), though not in Matt. xix. 18, the only other place, according to Mr. Burgon, in which B "approximates to the method of Col. 8." This, however, can hardly be his meaning; for he makes a separate point of that feature of the Sinaitic MS. in his *fourth* argument, which will be considered in its proper place.

As to the frequency of the division into paragraphs, we find a great difference in different parts of both the Sinaitic and the Vatican MSS. For example, in the Sinaitic MS. (vol. ii.), from 1 Macc. v. 55 to x. 18, two hundred and forty-nine verses, there is but *one* indication of a paragraph besides that with which the passage begins. For twenty-one entire columns of forty-eight lines each, namely, from fol. 21,* col. 4, to fol. 26, col. 4, inclusive (*i.e.*, for more than one thousand lines), there is no break and no sign of a paragraph whatever. In the First Book of Maccabees, which contains thirty-six pages in the Codex Sinaiticus, there are sixteen pages in which there is no indication of a paragraph, and ten more in each of which but one paragraph is marked. In the Fourth Book of Maccabees, the paragraphs are still rarer in proportion to its length. In the Vatican MS., on the other hand, to anticipate a little the answer to Mr. Burgon's fourth argument, there are many pages in each of which from ten to twenty paragraphs are marked by the projection of the first letter of a word into the left-hand margin; see, *e.g.*, pp. 41, 44, 48,

53, 71, 73-75, 123, 186, 187, 226, 291-294 (vol. i. of the Roman ed.); and a page of the Vatican MS. contains considerably less than a page of the Sinaitic. In respect both to the frequency of the paragraphs and to the manner of indicating them, much appears to have depended upon the fancy of the copyist. The books most read would naturally be divided the most.

(3) "Again," says Mr. Burgon, "Cod. \aleph is prone to exhibit, on extraordinary occasions, *a single word* in a line, as at —

S. MATTH. xv. 30.

χῶλους

τυφλους

κυλλους

κωφους

S. MARK x. 29.

ἡ ἀδελφᾶς

ἡ πατερα

ἡ μητερα

ἡ τεκνα

ἡ ἀγρους

S. LUKE xiv. 13.

πτωχους

αναπηρους

χῶλους

τυφλους

"This became a prevailing fashion in the sixth century; *e.g.*, when the Codex Laudianus of the Acts (E) was written. The only trace of anything of the kind in Cod. B is at the Genealogy of our Lord."

Here, again, Mr. Burgon mistakes the facts in the case. We find this stichometric mode of giving greater distinctness to particulars exemplified in repeated instances in the Vatican MS., besides the striking one of the genealogy in Luke. For example, on p. 211, col. 3, of the MS., the names of the twenty-two unclean birds in Deut. xiv. 12-18 appear each in a separate line. On p. 247, col. 3, there is a similar stichometry of six lines; on p. 254, col. 1, one of at least twenty-five lines (Josh. xii. 10-22, the list of kings), with another example in the same column, and still another in the next; and on p. 485, col. 2, there is one of eleven lines (the "dukes" in 1 Chron. i. 51-54). For other instances, see p. 71, col. 3; p. 76, col. 1; p. 274, col. 2; p. 316, col. 3; and p. 917, col. 3.

We find, moreover, in the Vatican MS., the different branches of the genealogy in Matthew presented in thirty-eight distinct paragraphs; and the beatitudes in Matt. v. and the salutations in Rom. xvi. are similarly treated.

This may be regarded as a kind of stichometry, of which we have also examples in the Old Testament: *e.g.*, p. 138, col. 1, 2; p. 264, col. 1; p. 272, col. 1; p. 309, col. 1. All that can be said in respect to the first form of *stichi* is that it is much more common in the Sinaitic MS. than in the Vatican, especially in the New Testament. Both MSS. have also another mode of making distinct the items of an enumeration; namely, by spaces between the words, with or without dots (the Roman edition of B does not agree with Tischendorf's about the dots); *e.g.*, Rom. i. 29-31, both MSS.; and in the Vatican, 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, xiii. 13, xiv. 26; Gal. v. 19-23; Phil. iv. 8; Col. iii. 8. The choice between the modes seems to have been determined by the taste of the scribe; compare, for example, in the Vatican MS., Lev. xi. 13-19 with Deut. xiv. 12-18 (pp. 111 and 211). It cannot be made a criterion of date.

(4) Mr. Burgon's fourth argument is this: "At the commencement of every fresh paragraph, the initial letter in Cod. \aleph *slightly projects into the margin*, beyond the left-hand edge of the column, as usual in all later MSS. This characteristic is only not undiscoverable in Cod. B. Instances of it there *are* in the earlier Codex; but they are of exceedingly rare occurrence."

The expression "as usual in all later MSS." is likely to mislead. There is a great difference between the style of the Sinaitic MS. and that of the Alexandrine, the Ephraem, and later MSS. generally, in respect to the mode of indicating the beginning of paragraphs. In the Sinaitic, the initial letter, which slightly projects, and often does not project at all, is no larger than the rest, a peculiarity found in but a very few existing MSS., and those the oldest known to us. In the other MSS. referred to, the initial letter, or, when the new paragraph begins in the middle of a line, the first letter of the line following, is very much larger than the others, and stands out wholly in the margin, giving these MSS. a strikingly different appearance from that of the Sinaitic and the Vatican. But the characteristic which Mr. Burgon says is "exceedingly rare," "only not undis-

coverable," in the Vatican MS., occurs ten times on the very first page of that MS.; and in the first two hundred and ninety-four pages, namely, from Gen. xlvi. 28 (*πολω*) to 1 Sam. xix. 11 (*αγγελουσ*), there are 1,441 examples of it. Though less common in the New Testament part of the MS., in the first eight pages it occurs thirty-one times. When Codex B was written, the choice between this mode of indicating the beginning of a paragraph and the other, described under Mr. Burgon's second argument, was evidently a matter depending on the taste of the copyist. In the two hundred and ninety pages *following* the word *αγγελουσ* in 1 Sam. xix. 11, extending to the end of Nehemiah, there are but *two* clear examples of it; namely, on pp. 343, 484. (The projecting letter, pp. 578 and 606, is not the first letter of a paragraph or even of a word.) In the two Books of Chronicles, the First Book of Esdras, and the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah together, there is *no* example of that mode of indicating paragraphs which is usual in the Sinaitic, and so common in the first two hundred and ninety-four pages of the Vatican (pp. 41-334). The natural inference is that we have in the part of the MS. beginning with page 335 the hand of a different scribe; and this inference is confirmed by the striking difference between these pages of the MS. and those which precede, in respect to the use of > to fill up a space at the end of a line, and by other peculiarities. Even Mr. Burgon will hardly contend that the scribe who wrote page 334 of the Codex Vaticanus lived fifty or one hundred years after the writer of page 335.

Both of these modes of indicating paragraphs are of an antiquity greatly exceeding that of the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. The use of the space between words and the dash or some other mark to attract attention in the left-hand margin of the column (*παραγραφή* or *παράγραφος*, something written *at the side*), in the old Herculanean and Egyptian papyri, has already been mentioned. See, for a specimen, the beautiful papyrus of a Greek treatise on rhetoric, written *before* 160 B.C., published in fac-simile in "Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre," etc., edited after Letronne by Brunet de

Presle (tom. xviii., 2^e ptie. of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, etc., published by the French Institute, Paris, 1865), pl. xi., pap. No. 2. (Also in Silvestre, *Paléogr. univ.*, pl. 55.) In the same volume, pl. xxxiv., pap. 49, in a letter of a certain Dionysius to Ptolemy, about 160 B.C., we have perhaps the earliest known example of the use of *two dots* like our colon for separating paragraphs, in conjunction with the marginal dash, precisely like the style which frequently occurs in both the Vatican and the Sinaitic MSS., though the Vatican more commonly omits the dots. Finally, in the curious "Nativity" or *Thema genethliacum*, dated in the first year of the Emperor Antoninus (A.D. 138), of which a facsimile is given in pl. xxii., pap. 19, and also in Silvestre, pl. 58, we have numerous paragraphs indicated by the projection of the first letter, or the first two or three letters, into the left-hand margin; and, for the most part, this initial is of considerably larger size than the rest of the letters. This, however, is not a *book* manuscript.

(5) "Further," says Mr. Burgon, "Cod. \aleph abounds in such contractions as $\overline{\alpha\nu\sigma}$, $\overline{\sigma\nu\sigma}$ (with all their cases), for *ανθρωπος*, *ουρανος*, etc. Not only $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\iota}$, $\overline{\mu\rho\iota}$ (for *πνευμα*, *πατηρ-τερ-τερα*, *μητερα*), but also $\overline{\sigma\rho\theta\eta}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda\eta\mu}$, for *σταυρωθη*, *ισραηλ*, *ερουσαλημ*.

"But Cod. B, though familiar with $\overline{\sigma}$, and a few other of the most ordinary abbreviations, knows nothing of these compendia: which certainly *cannot* have existed in the earliest copies of all. Once more, it seems reasonable to suppose that their constant occurrence in Cod. \aleph indicates for that Codex a date subsequent to Cod. B."

Here, Mr. Burgon, as usual, misstates the facts. The contraction for *ανθρωπος* is found in the Vatican MS., p. 137, col. 1; p. 146, col. 2; p. 160, col. 1; that for *πνευμα* occurs twice on the first page of the New Testament (Matt. i. 18, 20), also Matt. iii. 11, 16, iv. 1, and often elsewhere, particularly in the Old Testament (five times, for example, p. 331, col. 1, and again twice in col. 2); $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$ for *πατερος* occurs p. 69, col. 1; p. 190, col. 3 (marg. note); p. 226, col. 2; $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$ for *ισραηλ* occurs *hundreds* of times: for instance, in

Exod. xiv. it is contracted sixteen times out of seventeen in which it occurs, and in Josh. xi. eighteen times out of twenty.* It will be hard to find “ $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda\eta\mu}$ ” as the contraction for $\overline{\iota\epsilon\rho\nu\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu}$ in the Vatican MS. or in any other, but $\overline{\iota\eta\mu}$ occurs Josh. xii. 10, and $\overline{\iota\lambda\mu}$, Josh. x. 1, 3, xv. 5. $\overline{\Sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\eta}$ is contracted but *once* in the Sinaitic MS., where we also have once (in Rev. xi. 8) a unique contraction of $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\eta}$, which Tischendorf has neglected to express in the text of his quarto edition, though he has spoken of it in the Prolegomena (p. xx.; compare the larger edition, vol. i., col. 8, of Prol.).

In this matter of contractions, much appears to have depended on the fancy of the scribe; and, as a criterion of antiquity, it must be used with caution. We find in the Vatican MS. contractions for several words, as $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota}$, $\overline{\mu\omicron\upsilon}$, $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\sigma}$, $\overline{\nu\iota\omicron\sigma}$, $\overline{\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\omicron\nu\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma}$, $\overline{\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\upsilon\delta}$, $\overline{\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda}$, $\overline{\iota\epsilon\rho\nu\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu}$, which are never contracted in Codex D (the Cambridge MS.), written two centuries later. In the papyrus MS. of Philodemus, “De Deorum vivendi Ratione,” published in vol. vi. of the *Herculaneusia Volumina*, and consequently written as early as A.D. 79, we find a number of remarkable contractions not known to exist in any other Greek MS., or certainly in any of similar antiquity. In different parts of the Vatican MS. there is a marked diversity in this respect; for example, in the part of the MS. extending from 1 Kings xix. 11 to the end of Nehemiah, as compared with the preceding portion.† The same is true of the Sinaitic MS., particularly in the six leaves of the New Testament which Tischendorf attributes to the scribe D, whom he now supposes to be *identical* with one of the scribes of the Vatican MS. For

* In a single column of the Vat. MS. (p. 711, col. 2), we find the contractions $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\omicron}$, $\overline{\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\omicron}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, $\overline{\iota\lambda\eta\mu}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$, all of which Mr. Burgon says are never found in it. See also $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma}$, pp. 678^b, 753^b; $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\omicron}$, pp. 753^b, 756^b, 823^b; $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\omicron}$, pp. 755^a, 762^b, 824^b; $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\iota}$, p. 803^a; $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\sigma}$, p. 773^b. So $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$, pp. 783^a, 808^b, 899^a, 931^a; $\overline{\mu\rho\sigma}$, pp. 707^b, 753^b; $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$, p. 761^a. For $\overline{\iota\lambda\eta\mu}$, see also pp. 675^a, 689^b, 711^b, 751^a, 764^b, 765^a, 768^a, 913^b; for $\overline{\iota\lambda\mu}$, pp. 763^b, 930^a. We find also the contraction $\overline{\delta\alpha\delta}$, pp. 331^a, 334^a, 334^c, 414^a (*bis*), 750^a.

† In the first two hundred and ninety-four pages of the Vatican MS. (pp. 41–334 of the edition), $\overline{\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha}$ occurs forty-two times, in forty of which it is contracted; in the next two hundred and ninety pages, it occurs forty-one times, in forty of which it is *not* contracted. There is a similar difference of usage in respect to the contraction of the word $\overline{\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda}$.

example, in fol. 15 of the Sinaitic MS., written by D, *υιου* (sing.) occurs five times, and is always written in full. In the contiguous leaves (14 and 16), written by A, it occurs nine times, and is always contracted. On fol. 15, *ανθρωπος* is written six times in full, once only contracted. In the contiguous leaves it occurs eleven times, and is always contracted. In fol. 10, written by D, *ουρανοσ* occurs nine times, and is always written in full, as it seems to be in the Vatican MS. On the next leaf, written by A, it occurs ten times, and in six of them is contracted. (The statement in Tischendorf's *Nov. Test. Vat.*, Prol. p. xxii., differs from the above in four particulars, in consequence, apparently, of oversights in counting.)

(6) Mr. Burgon's sixth argument is founded on the following facts. The Gospel of Mark in the Vatican MS., as well as the Sinaitic, ends with verse 8 of the sixteenth chapter. But in the Vatican MS., where the ending occurs near the bottom of the second column, the third column is left blank, and the Gospel of Luke begins on the next page. "This," says Mr. Burgon, "is *the only vacant column* in the whole manuscript" (p. 87). In the Sinaitic MS., in which there are four columns to a page, the Gospel of Mark ends on the second, and that of Luke begins on the third. The Vatican MS. has at the end of verse 8 the usual arabesque which is placed at the end of a book, and the subscription *κατα Μαρκου*. But the phenomenon of the blank column is, to Mr. Burgon, "in the highest degree significant, and admits of only one interpretation. *The older MS.*, from which Cod. B was copied, must have infallibly *contained* the twelve verses in dispute. The copyist was instructed to leave them out—and he obeyed: but he prudently left a blank space *in memoriam rei*" (p. 87). The Sinaitic, on the other hand, "was copied from a Codex which had been already mutilated" (p. 88). This difference between the MSS. seems to Mr. Burgon "a very striking indication that Cod. B is the older of the two. Cod. **Σ** is evidently *familiar* with the phenomenon which *astonishes* Cod. B by its novelty and strangeness" (p. 292).

Eusebius, in the first quarter of the fourth century, expressly testifies that the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark were wanting "in the accurate copies" and "in almost all the copies" of that Gospel, but were found "in some copies." (*Quæst. ad Marinum*, c. 1. Opp. iv. 937, in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* tom. xxii.) Suppose, then, that the Vatican MS. was transcribed in the age of Eusebius from a copy which contained the passage, why may not the Sinaitic have been transcribed at the same time from one which did not contain it?

With Mr. Burgon, a conjecture seems to be a demonstration. There is to him but one possible explanation of that blank column. But, considering the well-known tendency of copyists and possessors of MSS. to add rather than to omit,—a tendency which would be very strong in the present case, in consequence of the abruptness of verse 8 as an ending, and of which the existence of another ending besides the disputed verses is a proof,—another conjecture may be proposed. Why may we not suppose that the exemplar from which the Vatican MS. was copied did *not* contain the last twelve verses, but the copyist, or owner of the MS., having at some time seen or heard of them, left on that account the blank column in question? We have a similar phenomenon in the case of Codices L and Δ at John vii. 52, and in Codex G at Rom. xiv. 23.

Mr. Burgon is not strictly correct in saying that the case to which he refers is "the only vacant column" in the Vatican MS. Two columns are left blank at the end of Nehemiah; but this may be accounted for by the different style (stichometric) in which the next following book, the Psalms, is written.*

(7) Mr. Burgon's last argument is as follows: "The most striking feature of difference, after all, is only to be recognized by one who surveys the Codices themselves with attention. It is *that* general air of primitiveness in Cod. B

* A column and a half are also left blank at the end of the Book of Tobit (p. 944), presenting an appearance remarkably similar to that of the end of the Gospel of Mark. This may be, however, because it is on the last leaf of the quinion, or quire.

which makes itself at once *felt*. The even symmetry of the unbroken columns;—the work of the *prima manus* everywhere vanishing through sheer antiquity;—the small, even, *square* writing, which partly recalls the style of the Herculean rolls, partly the papyrus fragments of the ‘Oration against Demosthenes’ (published by Harris in 1848):—all these notes of superior antiquity infallibly set Cod. B before Cod. \aleph ; though it may be impossible to determine whether by fifty, by seventy-five, or by one hundred years.”

On this, we may remark: (a) That “the even symmetry of the unbroken columns” has been shown to exist, so far as a large part of the MS. is concerned, only in Mr. Burgon’s imagination; and that, where it does exist, it has a parallel in parts of the Sinaitic. (b) The work of the *prima manus* is rarely to be seen in the Vatican MS., a scribe of the tenth or eleventh century having retraced all the letters with fresh ink, adding accents and breathings, except in those places where he wished to indicate that something should be omitted (*e.g.*, the accidental repetition of a word or sentence). In the passages where the work of the first hand remains untouched, of which we have fac-similes (*e.g.*, John xiii. 14; Rom. iv. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16), the original writing appears to have been well preserved. We may add that a scribe of the eighth or ninth century has retouched with fresh ink many pages of the Sinaitic MS.; and this had already been done to a considerable extent by a still earlier scribe (Tischendorf, *N. T. ex Sin. Cod.* p. xxxviii. f.). As to the appearance of the Sinaitic MS., we have the testimony of Dr Tregelles that, “though the general semblance of the whole work is somewhat less worn than that of Cod. Vaticanus (whose extensive hiatus prove how carelessly it has been kept), when it comes to be contrasted with such a MS. as the illustrated Dioscorides at Vienna (whose age is fixed by internal evidence at about A.D. 500), that interesting and valuable MS. looks comparatively quite fresh and modern” (Scrivener’s *Coll. of Cod. Sin.* p. xxxi.). (c) The writing in the Sinaitic is just as “even and *square*” as that of the Vatican. In the form of the letters, Tischen-

dorf expressly says that there is not the least difference, — *ne minimam quidem discrepantiam* (*Nov. Test. Vat.* p. xix.). Mr. Burgon's argument, then, must rest wholly on the difference in *size*, the letters in the Vatican MS. being perhaps one-third smaller than those in the Sinaitic. (There is a difference in size in different parts of the two MSS. themselves, as is shown by the fac-similes and by Tischendorf's express testimony.) It is difficult to deal seriously with such an argument; but, if any explanation is needed, it may be suggested that the extraordinary size of the skins on which the Sinaitic MS. is written, allowing four columns to a page, of forty-eight lines each (the Vatican has three columns of forty-two lines), would naturally lead a calligrapher to make letters somewhat larger than usual. And, if Mr. Burgon will look again at a few of the *Herculaneusia Volumina*, say the one last published (vol. v. of the second series), he will find that in some of the papyri there represented we have letters of the size of those in the Codex Sinaiticus, while in others they are less than half that size.

Such are "the notes of superior antiquity" which "infallibly" prove that the Vatican MS. is fifty or one hundred years older than the Sinaitic.

A few words may be added in respect to Mr. Burgon's treatment of the principal subject of his work. The specimen which has been given illustrates some of his prominent characteristics as a writer; but, judging from this alone, we might do him injustice. His book is to be welcomed as giving the results of earnest original research on the subject to which it relates. It brings to light many interesting facts, and corrects some errors of preceding scholars. It is written, however, with great warmth of feeling, in the spirit of a passionate advocate rather than that of a calm inquirer. The author appears to have been especially stimulated to the defence of the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark by his zeal for the damnatory part of the Athanasian Creed, which he not only regards as justified by Mark

xvi. 16, but actually *identifies* with that verse. He says: "The precious *warning clause* . . . (miscalled 'damnatory'), which an impertinent officiousness is for glossing with a rubric, and weakening with an apology, proceeded from Divine lips,—at least, if these concluding verses be genuine" (p. 3). This is only one of many examples which might be cited of the tendency of Mr. Burgon to confound the certainty of a fact with the certainty of a very dubious or even preposterous inference from it. For the new critical material which he has amassed, every student will thank him, and also for the clear and satisfactory discussion of some special topics, as the so-called Ammonian sections; but there is much in his book which cannot fail to mislead an unwary or ill-informed reader. His conclusions are often strangely remote from his premises, but his confidence in them is boundless. He not only claims to have shown that the genuineness of the disputed passage "must needs be reckoned among the things that are absolutely certain," but appears to expect that in consequence of his labors "it will become necessary for Editors of the Text of the New Testament to reconsider their conclusions in countless other places, . . . to review their method, and to remodel their text throughout" (p. 254). This seems indeed a sad prospect for Tischendorf and Tregelles and Westcott and Hort, who have so utterly mistaken the true principles of textual criticism; but a careful examination of Mr. Burgon's book will greatly relieve the anxiety of their friends.

V.

THE LATE PROFESSOR TISCHENDORF.*

[From the *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* for March, 1875.]

THE death of Professor Tischendorf at Leipzig, Dec. 7, 1874, after a lingering illness of a year and a half from a stroke of paralysis, deserves more than a cursory notice. The loss to Biblical learning is, in some respects, irreparable; for he left unfinished important works, which can hardly be completed by any successor. The amount, however, of what he did accomplish is marvellous; and we can hardly be surprised that even an exceptionally strong physical constitution should have suddenly given way under the strain of such intense and unremitting activity. A brief sketch of his life, and an enumeration of his chief publications, will show how great are his claims to the gratitude of all Biblical scholars.

Lobegott (Latinized, Aenotheus) Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf was born at Lengenfeld, in Voigtland, a district of Saxony, Jan. 18, 1815. After five years of preparatory study at the Gymnasium in Plauen, he entered the University of Leipzig in 1834, devoting himself to the study of theology and philology. Here, in 1836, he won a prize for an essay entitled "Doctrina Pauli Apostoli de vi mortis Christi satisfactoria," which was printed in 1837. In 1838, he published a volume of poems called *Maiknospen*, "May-buds." These buds do not seem to have blossomed, though one of the poems had the honor of being set to music by the great

* *Constantin Tischendorf in seiner fünfundsanzwanzigjährigen schriftstellerischen Wirksamkeit.* Literar-historische Skizze von Dr. Joh. Ernst Volbeding. Leipzig: C. F. Fleischer. 1862. 8vo. pp. vi., 98.

Beilage zur Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Kirchenzeitung, Nr. 50. Leipzig, d. 11. December, 1874.

composer Mendelssohn. In 1838, he signaled the close of his university studies by another prize essay, "Disputatio de Christo pane vitae," an exegetical and doctrinal dissertation on John vi. 51-59, published in Leipzig in 1839. After receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University, he spent a year and a half in teaching, near Leipzig, and in this period, besides translating one or two small works from the French, tried his hand at a novel entitled *Der junge Mystiker*, "The Young Mystic," published under the pseudonym of "Dr. Fritz." In October, 1839, he returned to Leipzig with the purpose of preparing a critical edition of the Greek Testament, and entered in earnest upon those labors to which the remainder of his life was devoted. Here he published, in 1840, an essay on Matt. xix. 16 ff., the first-fruits of his studies in textual criticism, and a dissertation on the so-called *Recensions* of the text of the New Testament, with particular reference to Scholz's theory, which he effectually demolished. His first edition of the Greek Testament appeared at Leipzig with the date 1841, though the volume was printed before the end of the year 1840. It was a convenient manual, giving the various readings of the Received Text, Knapp, Scholz, and Lachmann, with the more important authorities, and showing, on the whole, good critical judgment. The essay on Recensions, confuting Scholz's theory, was reprinted in the Prolegomena, and is the most valuable part of the book. The edition was favorably received as a work of promise, being warmly welcomed, especially by the veteran critic, David Schulz.

In preparing this edition, Tischendorf was struck with the defectiveness of our knowledge of even the most important MSS. of the New Testament, excepting the very few whose text had at that time been published. This deficiency he determined to do his best to supply, as the first essential condition of improvement in New Testament criticism. He proposed to visit the chief libraries of Europe for the purpose of making accurate copies or collations of all the uncial MSS. of the New Testament. But he was wholly destitute of the pecuniary resources required for such an enter-

prise. At last, through great exertions on the part of the theological faculty of Leipzig, represented by such men as Winer, Illgen, and Niedner, seconded by Von Falkenstein, the Minister of Public Instruction, he obtained from the government of Saxony a subsidy of one hundred thalers for two successive years; other necessary funds he could only raise by pledging a life-assurance policy for the repayment of a small loan; and when, finally, he set out for Paris, in October, 1840, he was so poor that, to use his own words, he was unable to pay for the cloak which he wore,—“*tam pauper . . . ut pro paenula quam portabam solvere non possem*” (*N. T.* 1859, Pars I., p. viii.).

At Paris, he made it his first object to copy with the greatest care, and prepare for publication, the celebrated Ephraem MS. of the fifth century, a palimpsest extremely difficult to decipher, and which had been but very imperfectly collated. The New Testament part of this MS. was published at Leipzig in 1843, in a splendidly printed volume, with excellent Prolegomena; the Old Testament portion appeared in 1845. Tischendorf's edition of this MS. was a most important service to Biblical criticism, and gained for him, in 1843, the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Breslau. While at Paris, besides collating thoroughly or copying other important MSS. of the New Testament, as K, L, M, of the Gospels and D (*Coдекс Claromontanus*) of the Pauline Epistles, he prepared (in 1842), at the instance of the celebrated publisher Firmin Didot, two editions of the Greek Testament. One of these was designed particularly for the use of Catholics, the Greek text being conformed, as far as any MS. authority would allow, to the Latin Vulgate, with which it was printed in parallel columns, forming one of the volumes of Didot's Library of Greek Authors. By way of offset to this “Catholic edition,” which was dedicated to Affre, Archbishop of Paris, and the Greek text of which was also issued separately, he published another dedicated to Guizot, containing a text substantially the same as that of his Leipzig edition, but without the Prolegomena and critical authorities. By these publications, and by further aid from

the government of Saxony, and the liberality of private friends, he obtained the means of widely extending his travels for the collation and collection of MSS.

At this point, it will be convenient to give a synopsis of the various journeys taken by Tischendorf for critical purposes, from first to last. More than eight years were spent in these travels. His chief objects were the collation or copying for publication of all the important uncial Greek MSS. of the New Testament and of the Septuagint that had not already been published; the collation of MSS. of the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations, and of the *pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament; and the collection of materials for a work on Greek palæography. He gave special attention, moreover, to important unpublished MSS. of the Old Latin version and the Vulgate, and collated for the use of Grossmann all the MSS. which he could find of the writings of Philo of Alexandria, a new critical edition of which is so much needed. For these purposes, in the years 1841-44, he not only spent a long time at the Royal Library in Paris, but visited the libraries of Utrecht, in Holland; London, Oxford, and Cambridge, in England; Basle, in Switzerland; Carpentras, in France; and Rome, Florence, Naples, Venice, Modena, Verona, Milan, and Turin, in Italy; and, after his return from his first Eastern tour, explored, at convenient seasons, the libraries at Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, and Wolfenbüttel, in Germany; Zürich and St. Gall, in Switzerland; and St. Petersburg and Moscow, in Russia,—the last named city being visited by him in 1868. England he revisited for critical purposes in 1849, 1855, and 1865; Paris, in 1849 and 1864; and Rome and Naples, in 1866,—using for such excursions the vacations which relieved him from his labors at the University of Leipzig, where in 1845 he was made Professor Extraordinary, in 1850 Honorary Professor, and in 1859 Ordinary Professor of Theology and Biblical Palæography, the latter professorship having been founded expressly for him.

Tischendorf's great acquisitions of *new* MS. treasures

were made in his three journeys to the East, undertaken in 1844, 1853, and 1859, in which he visited Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, bringing home most valuable collections of Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Samaritan, and other Oriental MSS. His expenses in the first two journeys were largely defrayed by the government of Saxony; and the greater part of the MSS. collected were accordingly transferred to the library of the University at Leipzig, though some were sold to the British Museum, others to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The third journey, memorable for the discovery of the world-renowned Sinaitic MS., was prosecuted under the auspices of the Russian government; and the rich manuscript collections obtained are deposited in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. The great prize secured in the first journey, in 1844, was the forty-three leaves of a MS. of the Septuagint, of the fourth century, which Tischendorf rescued from a wastebasket in the monastery of St. Catharine at Mount Sinai, and published in 1846, in lithographed fac-simile, under the title *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, in honor of his royal patron, Frederick Augustus II. of Saxony. This proved afterwards to be a part of the famous Codex Sinaiticus discovered in 1859. Tischendorf published an interesting popular account of his first Oriental journey in two volumes (1845-46), entitled *Reise in d. n. Orient*, translated into English, London, 1847; and of the third, with the title *Aus dem heiligen Lande*, in 1862. The latter has been translated into French and Swedish. The MS. treasures secured in these journeys are described in his *Anecdota Sacra et Profana* (1855, second edition, enlarged, 1861) and *Notitia Codicis Sinaitici*, etc. (1860). The whole story of the Sinaitic MS. is told in a very interesting pamphlet entitled *Die Sinaibibel. Ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe, und Erwerbung*. ("The Sinai Bible; its Discovery, Publication, and Acquisition.") Leipzig, 1871.

We will now take a view of the principal publications of Tischendorf, in which the fruits of these researches have

been given to the world. They mostly fall into three classes: first, Editions of MSS. of the New Testament and the Septuagint; second, Editions of the Greek Testament and of the Septuagint; third, Editions of Apocryphal Christian Writings.

I. Of the first class, we have already noticed the editions of the Ephraem MS., published in 1843-45, and the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, 1846. Next comes the *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, 1846, a large quarto volume, containing the text of the important MS. L of the Gospels, and six others, F^a, N, W^a, Y, Θ^a of the Gospels, and B of the Apocalypse; then the "Evangelium Palatinum," 1847, being the remains of a MS. (fourth or fifth century) of the Old Latin version, with a remarkable text; the Codex Bobbiensis, another important MS. of the Old Latin, of about the same date, published in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1847-49; the New Testament part of the Codex Amiatinus, supposed to be the oldest MS. of the Latin Vulgate (1850, new edition 1854); the Codex Claromontanus (D), a very important Græco-Latin MS. of the Epistles of Paul, of the sixth century (1852); and, finally, the great Sinaitic MS., published at St. Petersburg, in magnificent style, in *fac-simile* type, in four folio volumes, in 1862, glorifying the millennial anniversary of the founding of the Russian Empire. Of this splendid work, three hundred copies were printed, two hundred of which were distributed by the Russian government, as presents, to eminent personages or public libraries, while one hundred were given to Tischendorf for sale, the price being fixed at two hundred and thirty thalers. A smaller edition, containing the New Testament portion, with the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the "Shepherd" of Hermas, in ordinary type, but representing the MS. line for line, and with improved Prolegomena, was published in quarto, at Leipzig, in 1863; and in 1865 appeared *Novum Testamentum Græce ex Sinaitico Codice*, with the variations of the Received Text and of the celebrated Vatican MS. in the margin, to which was added a supplement of corrections in 1870. For critical purposes, this last edition does not entirely take

the place of that of 1863; but the Introduction is fuller, and it is a convenient and useful book. In 1867, Tischendorf published his *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, giving the text of the New Testament part of the famous Vatican MS. (B) far more correctly than it had been published by Cardinal Mai. But he was not allowed to examine the MS. long enough to edit it in a perfectly satisfactory manner, though the forty-two hours spent upon it were turned to wonderfully good account. His *Appendix Novi Testamenti Vaticani*, published in 1869, after the appearance of the splendid Roman edition, corrected a few errors which, under the circumstances, were inevitable, and also gave us for the first time a correct edition of the MS. B of the Apocalypse. A sharp pamphlet, entitled "Responsa ad Calumnias Romanas" (1870), may be regarded as another supplement to this edition. In 1867, Tischendorf also published *Appendix Codicum celeberrimorum Sinaitici Vaticani Alexandrini*, containing a few fragments of the Codex Sinaiticus found in the *binding* of certain MSS., twenty select pages of the Vatican MS. printed line for line, and a careful edition, from the Alexandrine MS., of the Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome, which have been preserved in that MS. alone, and had before been inaccurately edited. The Prolegomena to this volume, and to the *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, are valuable, as giving the results of a special study of the palæographical characteristics of the Vatican MS. Tischendorf comes to the remarkable conclusion that one of the four scribes engaged on the Sinaitic MS., and who wrote six pages of the New Testament portion of it, was *identical* with the scribe who wrote the New Testament portion of the Vatican MS.

It remains for us to notice under this head the new collection of *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, which was to comprise nine large quarto volumes, seven only of which had appeared at the time of Tischendorf's death. Vol. I. (1855) contains many important palimpsest fragments of both the New Testament and the Old, and the remarkable *papyrus* MS. in the British Museum of a part of the Psalms (fourth cen-

ture?); Vol. II. (1857), among other things, the Nitrian palimpsest R of the Gospel of Luke (sixth century), and the Cottonian fragments of Genesis (fifth century), "saved so as by fire"; Vol. III. (1860) gives us the MSS. Q (fifth century) and W^o of the Gospels, and one hundred and thirty-one leaves of the very important Codex Sarravianus of the Octateuch (fourth or fifth century); Vol. IV. (1869), the beautiful Zürich Psalter (seventh century), written in letters of silver and gold on purple vellum, also the Book of Daniel from the Codex Marchalianus (seventh century); Vols. V. and VI. (1865 and 1869), the recently discovered palimpsest P of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, Codex Porfirianus (ninth century),—Vol. VI. also containing the Wolfenbüttel palimpsest P of the Gospels (sixth century); in Vol. IX. (1870) we have the Græco-Latin MS. E of the Acts, Codex Laudianus (sixth century),* with additional portions of the Septuagint from Codex Marchalianus. Vol. VII. was to have contained a Wolfenbüttel MS. of Chrysostom, of the sixth century, and other uncial fragments of Chrysostom, giving many quotations from the New Testament and the Old; Vol. VIII., numerous fragments of the Septuagint and the New Testament from palimpsests and other very ancient MSS. It is probable that these volumes will still be published.

II. We come now to Tischendorf's editions of the Greek Testament and of the Septuagint. Besides the two (or three) Paris editions already mentioned, Tischendorf published the Greek Testament at Leipzig in *twenty-two* editions, the last (*Editio academica octava*), issued just before his death, bearing the date 1875. Of these, however, besides his youthful essay of 1841, only three possessed distinctive critical importance,—namely, the second Leipzig

*This MS. was published in 1715 by the celebrated antiquarian, Thomas Hearne. The impression, however, being limited to one hundred and twenty copies, the book had long since become excessively rare. Though a small volume, published originally at ten shillings a copy, at the sale of Dr. Gough's library it fetched at auction twenty pounds. It has occasionally sold for much less; but both on account of its extreme rarity, and because Hearne's edition was far from accurate (the same may be said of Hansell's publication of its text in 1864), Tischendorf has rendered an important service to Biblical criticism by this faithful edition. There is a copy of Hearne's edition, as well as of Tischendorf's, in the library of Harvard College.

edition of 1849, in which were utilized the critical materials thus far collected; the "seventh larger critical edition," issued in thirteen parts from 1855 to 1858, making two thick volumes (dated 1859), with a greatly enlarged apparatus, and giving for the first time a clear statement of the evidence both *for* and *against* the principal readings; and, finally, the "eighth larger critical edition," issued in eleven parts, the first dated October, 1864, the last published in 1872, completing the *text* in two octavo volumes (1869-72). In richness of critical material, this eighth edition far surpassed any that preceded it. Among the new sources drawn from may be mentioned the MSS. collected by Tischendorf in his third Eastern journey, including the Sinaitic; the accurate publication of the text of the great Vatican MS., and also B of the Apocalypse, which had been edited by Tischendorf in 1846 from a very hurried collation; the Codex Porfirianus, already mentioned; Scrivener's careful editions of the Codex Augiensis and the Codex Bezae, the former accompanied by a full collation of fifty cursive MSS.; Tregelles's edition of the Codex Zacynthius; and the publication of the Jerusalem Syriac version of the Gospels by the Count Miniscalchi-Erizzo. The quotations of the Christian Fathers are also given much more fully and accurately than before. Tischendorf must also have derived great advantage from the previous publication of the successive parts of Tregelles's elaborate edition; indeed, he seems to have deliberately delayed the issue of his own *Lieferungen* for the sake of this benefit.

In regard to the text of this last edition, as compared with its predecessors, it may be observed that the influence of the Sinaitic MS. is very marked, and that more weight is attached to a few of the most ancient authorities than was allowed them in previous editions, especially that of 1859. Less regard is paid — too little, perhaps, in some cases — to internal evidence. According to Dr. Scrivener's reckoning (*Nov. Test., Cantabrigiae*, 1873), the text of the eighth edition varies from that of the seventh in about three thousand three hundred and fifty-nine places. The true number

is doubtless somewhat larger, as about a hundred variations are overlooked in Scrivener's collation. Most of these differences, however, are of little importance. A part of them may be ascribed to a modification of Tischendorf's critical principles since the publication of his seventh edition;* others to the new evidence brought to bear on cases where the authorities were before nearly balanced. In some instances, a natural partiality for the Sinaitic MS. seems to have led its discoverer to defer too much to its authority; but, on the whole, this edition of Tischendorf may be regarded as presenting the best text which has yet been published. No editor has given clearer evidence of freedom from theological bias; though, in his adoption of "kingdom of heaven," instead of "kingdom of God," in John iii. 5, it may be feared that the desire to nullify a weak argument of the Tübingen critics against a supposed reference to the passage by Justin Martyr has turned the scales of his critical balance in opposition to the real weight of evidence.†

Accompanying the seventh large critical edition (1859) there was issued a smaller, "Editio septima critica minor," in a single volume, the Prolegomena and critical apparatus being much abridged. The *Erste Hälfte* of a similar abridgment of the eighth critical edition was published in 1872, but I am not aware that it has been completed.‡

* The fullest statement of the rules which he has followed will be found in the Prolegomena to the three manual editions published in 1873, described below. He admits that, "after long wavering" (*nach längerem Schwanken*), he has adopted substantially the principles of Bentley and Lachmann. See his *Haben wir den ächten Schrifttext der Evang. und Apostel?* (1873), p. 17.

† As Tischendorf has published few corrections of the last *fasciculus* of this edition (pp. 801-1044), it may be a convenience to some to point out here certain errors in the *text* that might easily be passed over unobserved,—cases in which the *notes* show that a certain change was intended, which, through some oversight, was not actually made. A considerable number of such mistakes occurred in the earlier *fasciculi*, and five in this are corrected by Tischendorf himself in the brief temporary preface to vol. ii.; but others will be found as follows: Rev. ii. 10, for βαλεῖν read βάλλειν; iii. 4, for ὀλίγα ἔχεις read ἔχεις ὀλίγα; v. 8, for αἱ εἰσὶν read ἃ εἰσὶν; vii. 15, for τῷ θρόνῳ read τοῦ θρόνου; x. 11, omit ἐπὶ before ἔθνεσιν; xi. 11, omit τὰς before τρεῖς; 12, for φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . λέγουσαν read φωνῆς μεγάλης . . . λεγούσης; xiv. 14, for τὴν κεφαλὴν read τῆς κεφαλῆς; xvii. 1, omit τῶν both before and after ἰδάτω; xviii. 9, for κλαύουσιν read κλαῖουσιν. A bad misprint, because not immediately obvious, is the substitution of ἡμῖν for ἡμῖν in Heb. vii. 26, repeated from the edition of 1859. Obvious misprints will be found in the text in Rev. xvii. 14, xviii. 12, xxi. 10. A long list might be given of errors in the notes to this edition: but, in such a multiplicity of minute details, oversights are unavoidable. It may be doubted whether any modern editor has, on the whole, surpassed Tischendorf in accuracy.

[‡ The *Zweite Hälfte*, completing the work, appeared in 1877.]

Of Tischendorf's minor editions, we may notice first, as most important, the *Novum Testamentum triglottum*, published in 1854; new edition, "cum triplici tabula terrae sanctae," 1865. This contains, in parallel columns, (1) the Greek text of his edition of 1849, slightly revised, with the variations of the Received Text and other noticeable readings in the margin; (2) the Latin Vulgate critically edited, chiefly from the Codices Amiatinus and Fuldensis (generally supposed to be the two oldest MSS.),* with the variations of the Clementine Vulgate in the margin; and (3) Luther's German translation, carefully printed from the edition of 1545, with occasional corrections from other editions published in Luther's lifetime. The Greek text was also issued separately, as an *Editio academica*, often reprinted,—in the seventh edition (1873) from the text of Tischendorf's last critical edition; it was also published, accompanied by the Latin or the German, as a diglott; and the Latin and German texts were also themselves issued separately. Each division has its appropriate Prolegomena, or introduction. The Latin part is specially valuable as the nearest approximation to a really *critical* edition of Jerome's version of the New Testament which has yet been published; and the German part is valuable, as the popular editions of Luther's version contain many unauthorized changes of his text, the famous passage, for example, of the three heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7, 8) having been *interpolated* in his translation about thirty-six years after his death, and appearing in nearly all the editions issued in the three following centuries. Tischendorf, in his Prolegomena, denounces with just indignation this falsification of Luther's text.

After the issue of the critical edition of 1849, its text was reproduced, with slight modification, in a stereotyped manual edition of octavo size, published by Tauchnitz in 1850, the variations of the Received Text being given in the

*The date (A.D. 541) assigned to the Codex Amiatinus by Bandini and Tischendorf is questioned by K. L. F. Hamann in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1873, p. 596, on grounds which deserve attention. He refers it to the seventh century. There can be no doubt, however, of the excellence of its text.

margin. A second edition, with enlarged Prolegomena, but essentially the same text, was printed in 1862. In 1873, Tauchnitz published a new edition, *Editio tertia stereotypa. Ad editionem viii. criticam maiorem conformata*. This gives in the lower margin, together with the readings of the Received Text, the principal variations of the Sinaitic MS. from the text adopted by Tischendorf. In size and general appearance, it corresponds to the series of Greek classical authors published in large octavo by Tauchnitz. It has twenty-six pages of Prolegomena, which are the more valuable as the Prolegomena to the large critical edition have not appeared, and, it is greatly to be feared, were never written out for publication. A somewhat later manual edition, though bearing the same date (1873) on the title-page, was published by Brockhaus, matching in size and type Tischendorf's edition of the Septuagint. This has some advantages over the Tauchnitz edition just described. It gives the principal variations of the famous Vatican MS. as well as the Sinaitic; and the Prolegomena, though essentially the same, have received some additions and corrections. The type, however, is smaller and less agreeable to the eye than that of the Tauchnitz edition.*

* The errors in the text of the large critical edition, which were pointed out above, reappear in the text of the manual editions published in 1873 by Tauchnitz, Brockhaus, and Mendelssohn (*Ed. academica*), except the one in Rev. xviii. 9, which is corrected in them all, and that in Rev. xi. 11, corrected in the Brockhaus edition. The Tauchnitz edition has also errors of the text in Luke xxiv. 4, *αὐτοῖς* for *αὐταῖς*; John i. 19, *ἐπέστειλαν* for *ἀπέστ.*; Jude 15, *αὐτῶν* should be omitted after *ἀσεβεῖς*; Heb. vii. 26, for *ἑμῖν* read *ἡμῖν*; Tit. ii. 3, for *μὴ οἶνω* read *μηδὲ οἶνω*; Rev. xix. 17, insert *ἐν* after *ἐκραξεν*; 20, for *τῆν καιομένην* read *τῆς καιομένης*. Obvious misprints occur in John iv. 32, ix. 40; Acts xxiv. 20. The mistakes in Luke xxiv. 4, Jude 15, and Heb. vii. 26, are found also in the Brockhaus edition and the seventh *Editio academica*. The Brockhaus edition has also incorrectly in James iii. 8, *ἀνθρώπων δαμάσαι* for *δαμάσαι ἀνθρώπων*. [All these oversights are corrected in the manual edition edited with extreme care by Dr. Oscar von Gebhardt and published by Tauchnitz in 1881 (3d ed. 1886). This edition reproduces the text of the *Editio tertia stereotypa* mentioned above, but prefixes a new preface, and gives at the bottom of the page (besides references to parallel passages) a collation of Tischendorf's text with those of Tregelles and Westcott and Hort. Thirty-six pages of critical annotations are added at the end. This edition is issued in two forms: one giving the Greek alone, the other exhibiting the Greek text and Luther's translation on opposite pages. Other statements made above it seems hardly necessary to supplement by mentioning that the First Part of the "Prolegomena to the large critical edition" appeared in 1884, prepared by Dr. C. R. Gregory with the assistance of Prof. Abbot, that the *Synopsis evangelica* was reissued in 1878 and 1884, and that Tischendorf's Septuagint reached a sixth edition (with a supplement by Nestle, giving a collation of Cod. Vat. and Sin.) in 1880. See Dr. Gregory's chronological catalogue of Tischendorf's publications given in the Prolegom. pp. 7-22, and the article by Bertheau in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, etc., 2te Aufl., xv. 672-691.]

In connection with these editions of the Greek Testament, we may mention Tischendorf's *Synopsis evangelica*, a Greek harmony of the Gospels on the tripaschal theory, with a critical apparatus giving briefly the evidence for the principal various readings. Of this convenient manual, three editions were published,—in 1851 (new impression, 1854), 1864, and 1871. In the edition of 1864, an excessive regard for his newly discovered Sinaitic MS. betrayed Tischendorf into the adoption of a considerable number of readings which a sober second thought afterwards led him to reject. Compare, for example, the editions of 1864 and 1871 in Luke xxiv. 13, 21; John i. 18.*

Of the Septuagint, Tischendorf published four editions: in 1850, 1856, 1860, and 1869. He did not attempt a critical recension of the text, but reprinted the text of the Roman or Vatican edition of 1587 with the correction of typographical errors, noting in the margin the various readings of the Alexandrine and Ephraem MSS., and of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. The text was stereotyped in the first edition, but in the second and later editions was added the real Septuagint version of the Book of Daniel from the Codex Chisianus; and the Prolegomena in successive editions were enlarged and improved. In the last edition, a few pages of the text were reset from the stereotype plates, so that in 1 Sam. xii. 18 to xiv. 9 (wanting in Codex Alexandrinus) the variations of the Vatican MS. are given from the recent Roman edition; and in Ps. xlix. 19 to lxxix. 11 (also wanting in Codex Alexandrinus) the readings of the Sinaitic MS. are noted. In the preface to this edition (p. vii.), Tischendorf expressed his intention of undertaking, after the publication of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* should be completed, a new edition of the Septuagint, —“talem qualem litterae sacrae poscunt et per instrumenta critica perfici licebit,” —in which the large mass of important materials now at our command should be critically

* The following errata in the edition of 1871 might give trouble: Prolegomena, p. xxii. l. 20 [l. 31 of the 5th ed.], for *ante* read *an*; p. lix. l. 13 [l. 15 of the 5th ed.], for 1858 read 1868; p. 176, text, l. 11, for *ἐμβλέποντες* read *βλέποντες*.

used. This is a great desideratum; and, now that Tischendorf's foreboding that he might not live to accomplish this has been unhappily verified, it is gratifying to know that an eminent English Biblical scholar proposes the same task.* Promising beginnings of work in this department have already been made in Germany by O. F. Fritzsche in his critical editions of the Greek text of Esther, Ruth, and Judges (Zürich, 1848, 1864, 1867), and especially his excellent edition of the Apocrypha (*Libri apocryphi Vct. Test. Græce*, Lips. 1871), and by P. A. de Lagarde in his *Genesis Græce*, etc. (Lips. 1868).†

III. The third important division of Tischendorf's publications includes his editions of Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. His *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha* was published in 1851; *Evangelia apocrypha*, in 1853; *Apocalypses apocryphae*, in 1866. For these three volumes, more than one hundred MSS. were used. Nineteen of the pieces contained in them had never been published before, while others were for the first time given in full. Ample Prolegomena are prefixed to the text, and the various readings of the MSS. are exhibited in the notes; but there is no attempt to supply that illustrative commentary which renders the unfinished edition by Thilo so valuable. How-

* See the announcement in the *Independent*, Jan. 21, 1875, p. 11.

† Passing over the more obvious typographical errors in Tischendorf's fourth edition of the Septuagint, it may be well to point out some mistakes likely to cause trouble. Page viii. l. 8, for 1 Macc. read 2 Macc.; p. xxxv., 2d par., l. 11, for 20 read 10; p. xli., 2d par., l. 3, *dele* the clause beginning 4, 39; p. lvi., 2d par., l. 2, for *sedecim* read *septendecim*. Here, as on pp. lvii. and cix., Tischendorf overlooks the fact that the famous Zürich Psalter was among the MSS. (namely, No. 262) used by Holmes and Parsons in their edition of the Septuagint. Page xc. l. 6, before *δανηλ* insert *ιεζεκιηλ*; p. cix. l. 8, for *sedecim* read *septendecim*. Vol. i., Gen. xxv. 30, for *ἐψήματος* the Roman ed. reads *ἐψέματος*; Gen. xxviii. 11, note, read *ἐπέθηκεν*; xxxi. 48, note that Alex. reads *μου* for *ἐμοῦ*, and xliii. 17, *ἄνθρωποι* for *ἄνδρες*; Ex. xxix. 17, for *παῖ* read *καὶ*; 22, for *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* read *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (one of the *pen* corrections in the Roman ed.); Num. xxvii. 18, for *ὅστις* read *ὄς* (another *pen* correction); Deut. xi. 10, *dele* *ἡμεῖς* (another *pen* correction); xxxii. 39, for *ἀποκτενω* read *ἀποκτένω* (so Rom. ed. and the Vat. MS.); 49, for *γῆν* read *γῆν*; Josh. xvii. 10, for *Ἐραῖμ* read *Ἐφραῖμ*; 1 Esdras vi. 24, for *ξυστῶ* read *ξυστῶν*; ix. 27, note, for *ζαχαριος* read *—ας*; 28, note, for *ζαρδαιος* read *—ας*. Vol. ii., Ps. xix. 9, for *ἀνωρθώθημεν* read *ἀνορθ.* (so both the Roman ed. and Sin.; B has *ἀνωρθ.* See Tischendorf's Prolegom. p. xli., note 2; also, Luke xiii. 13, in his *N. T.*); civ. 9, note, before *κληρονομ.* insert 11; 11, for *ἡμῶν* (misprint in Rom. ed.) read *ἐμῶν*, with Sin., Vat., Comp., Ald., etc.; cx. 1, for *σου* read *σοι*; cxlii. 23, for *ἡμεῖς* (perhaps misprint in Rom. ed.) read *ἡμεῖς*, with Sin.; cxliiii., inscription, for *κατεδιώκει* read *καταδιώκει*, with Sin., Vat.; Ezek. xv. 2, for *ἐν* read *ἐκ*; Hab. iii. 17, for *γεννήματα* read *γενήματα* (so Rom. ed., Sin., Vat.), and erase foot-note.

ever slight may be the intrinsic worth of the productions thus brought together, they have no little antiquarian interest, throwing much light on the later superstitions and legends which became current in the church, and serving by their striking contrast to enhance our estimate of the value of the canonical writings of the New Testament.

In connection with these editions should be mentioned a dissertation published by Tischendorf in 1851, entitled *De Evangeliorum apocryphorum Origine et Usu*, which received the prize offered by the Society at the Hague for the Defence of the Christian Religion. This has long been out of print; and the new and greatly enlarged edition, announced about two years ago as in preparation, we can never hope to see. A brief essay published by Tischendorf in 1855, *Pilati circa Christum Judicio quid Lucis afferatur ex Actis Pilati*, is also out of print. A second edition of the *Evangelia apocrypha* was promised by Tischendorf in 1873;* and in the preface to his *Apocalypses apocryphae*, p. x., he speaks of various unpublished documents which he had reserved for a *Corpus Novi Testamenti apocryphum*. He had also promised, among other things, an edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* from four MSS., including one discovered by him at Patmos in 1844, "ad tollendam imperfectissimam Grabii editionem." This would have been very welcome, as the book is one of the most curious remains of the early Christian literature, and, even after Mr. Sinker's praiseworthy labor, greatly needs a new critical edition. It is to be hoped that Tischendorf's materials may pass into the hands of some scholar qualified to carry out his plans.

IV. We may now mention some works of Tischendorf's not belonging to the three classes thus far noticed.

In 1865, he published a small volume, written in a popular style, entitled *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* ("When were our Gospels composed?") The reputation of the author gave it a wide and rapid circulation, a second edition being called for in two months; but it was savagely attacked by some of the principal representatives of the more

*[It was completed by Friedrich Wilbrandt, and published in 1876.]

skeptical school of critics, as Hilgenfeld and Volkmar. In the fourth edition of the work, published in 1866, Tischendorf entered into the discussion of the question at issue much more fully, reviewing his reviewers, and, it must also be confessed, repaying their abusive language in the same coin with interest. In this enlarged edition, the book is one of the most vigorous of the recent defences of the genuineness of the Gospels. It has been published, in the longer or shorter form, in no less than fifteen editions in different languages, having been translated into English, French, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Russian, and Turkish. The fourth edition of the original was translated, in this country, by Rev. William L. Gage, and published by the American Tract Society in 1867 or 1868. In simple justice to Tischendorf, it is necessary to say that this translation in many places sadly misrepresents the original, sometimes completely reversing the sense, more frequently making nonsense; and that important words, clauses, or even whole sentences are often omitted.*

We may next take notice of the edition of the authorized English version of the New Testament, with an Introduction and various readings from the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrian MSS., published under the editor-

* A few examples must be given. Translation, p. 115 (Germ. 65): "Is the accusation brought against Marcion, . . . that he made arbitrary changes, . . . *anything else than empty inference?*" For "anything else than" read "nothing but" (nichts als). The whole sentence is badly translated; and the first sentence on the preceding page (p. 114) does not afford even a glimpse of the true meaning. Trans. p. 243, note 50 (Germ. p. 34, n. 2): "That the translation of John found a place in some of our manuscripts of the Septuagint is *no less than an evidence,*" etc. Read, "is *anything but an evidence.*" The connection should have prevented such a misunderstanding of the idiomatic "nichts weniger als." The last part of the sentence to which this note refers (Trans. p. 70, Germ. 34) is rendered: "*Yet there is one of the older versions . . . which coincides,*" etc. What Tischendorf says is, "*Nor does even a single one of the old versions . . . coincide*" (*noch auch stimmt eine einzige . . . der alten Uebersetzungen . . . mit*). Trans. p. 282, note 157 (Germ. 116, n. 2), *unbestritten*, "uncontested," is translated "a subject of dispute"! Trans. p. 204 (Germ. 121, 122), Tischendorf is made to speak of "Greek manuscripts written in the first century" (!) as among our sources of textual criticism, *Jahrtausend* being confounded with *Jahrhundert*. After describing Marcion's Gospel as an arbitrary mutilation of the Gospel of Luke, Tischendorf is represented as saying (Trans. p. 105, Germ. 58), "The correctness of this *mode of procedure, employed even by the oldest Fathers of the Church, was confirmed in a striking manner in his dealing with the Pauline Gospels*" [*sic*]. Read, "The correctness of this view of the matter, *which was that of the oldest Fathers of the Church, is established beyond dispute by his treatment of the Pauline Epistles.*" Trans. p. 110 (Germ. 62), "die evangelische Predigt," "the gospel preaching," in contrast with the written Gospels, is translated "the Sermon on the Mount"! Three lines further on, the essential words "they say" are omitted, and the

ship of Tischendorf by B. Tauchnitz, at Leipzig, in 1869, as the *thousandth* volume of the Tauchnitz Collection of British Authors. Of this, it is said that forty-five thousand copies were sold in the first year; and it has undoubtedly done much to awaken a popular interest in the textual criticism of the New Testament, and to show the need of a revision of our translation which shall embody its well-established results. It is to be regretted, however, that the English text is disfigured by typographical errors, and that the notes respecting the various readings contain many mistakes, especially in reference to the readings of the Vatican MS. There are also some strange translations, as "before all *the world*," Jude 25, for *πρὸ πάντων τοῦ αἰῶνος*. Whether these errors are attributable to Tischendorf, or to his coadjutor, Mr. B. Harris Cowper, may be a question. The Introduction by Tischendorf, as it appears in the earlier copies published, is a curiosity in point of style. In later impressions, it was rewritten.*

In 1868, Tischendorf made a valuable contribution toward a new edition of Philo in his *Philonca, incedita altera, altera nunc demum ex vetere scriptura eruta*. A considerable part of the treatise "De Septenario sive de Decem Festis" here appears for the first time; and the text of other important treatises, which had been edited before only in a very imperfect form by Mangey and Cardinal Mai, is

whole sentence is very badly translated. The same may be said of the sentences immediately preceding and following. Pages 64, 65 (Germ. 30), the translator makes Tischendorf stultify himself by saying that it is "the first half of the second century to which we trace the main origin of the diverse materials which enter into the canon, and more especially the Gospels." What Tischendorf is speaking of is the various readings of the *text*. The sentence on page 69 (Germ. 34), beginning "What a trick," is full of errors. On the same page (Germ. 33), the plurals "Lahme, Gichtbrüchige, und Blindgeborene" are translated "*one who was born lame, palsied, and blind*!" The notes to this sentence and the next are mistranslated, and the first and last sentences of the preceding note (Trans. p. 242, Germ. 33) are rendered into nonsense. The same is true of the first and fourth sentences of note 38, and the first of note 91 (Trans. pp. 235, 258, Germ. 26, 64). A multitude of similar mistakes might be pointed out; but these are enough to justify a protest against judging of Tischendorf's work by the representation of it which has been given to American readers.

*The first sentence reads as follows in the earlier copies: "A magnificent display of human intellect in the Literature of England and America was that which the noble originator of this collection aspired to accomplish, for the benefit of the educated world beyond the native countries of the Authors represented." In later impressions, it reads: "To place the glorious works which adorn the literature of England and America within reach of the readers of other countries was the aim of the noble originator of the 'Tauchnitz Collection.'"

restored from MSS. in the libraries at Rome, Florence, and Munich. It is greatly to be lamented that Grossmann should have died without publishing more fully the results of his life-long study of Philo; but Tischendorf encourages us by stating in his preface that a critical edition of this author has been long in preparation by J. C. W. Otto, whom he represents as well qualified for the task.

In 1873, Tischendorf published a second edition of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, already referred to in speaking of his *Appendix Codicum cel.*, etc. (p. 161). This may probably be regarded as presenting the text in its most authentic form. In the same year, he also completed the valuable edition of the Latin Vulgate version of the Old Testament begun by Theodor Heyse, in which the various readings of the best MS., the Codex Amiatinus, are given throughout; and still later, in conjunction with S. Baer and Prof. F. Delitzsch, he published *Liber Psalmorum Hebraicus et Latinus ab Hieronymo ex Hebraeo conversus* (Lips. 1874).

Such, though very imperfectly described, are the principal literary labors of Tischendorf. We have already seen, under each of the three great classes into which his publications fall, that he had made preparation for other important works, several of which, had his health been spared, would ere this have been given to the world. Besides these, he had announced for speedy publication a translation of the New Testament into German from the text of his Greek Testament, and *Reliquiae Graecarum Litterarum antiquissimae*, containing, with other matter, fragments of Menander, Euripides, and Dion Cassius, from MSS. of the fourth and fifth centuries. But what is most to be deplored is, first, the absence of the Prolegomena to his last critical edition of the Greek Testament, a want which no other hand can fully supply; and, in the second place, the loss of his promised work on Greek palæography, for which he had been making preparation for over thirty years, and which was to be accompanied with more than one hundred plates of the

largest size, giving fac-similes of MSS. The best existing work on the subject, Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*, was published in 1708; and, though in respect to cursive MSS. it will always be of great value, our materials, so far as the uncial MSS. and early papyri are concerned, have been immensely enlarged since his time. As long ago as 1856, when Tischendorf's practised eye instantly detected the fraud in the Uranios palimpsest of Simonides, which had imposed upon William Dindorf and Lepsius, and came near costing the Berlin Academy five thousand thalers, he had already critically examined, for palaeographical purposes, about fifty Greek palimpsests and more than one hundred and twenty Greek uncial MSS.* His later researches, especially his third journey to the East, must have considerably increased his materials. Probably no scholar in Europe possessed qualifications to be compared with his for the execution of such a work.

The later portion of Tischendorf's life in its brilliant success presented a striking contrast with the arduous struggles of his earlier years. His enthusiasm was magnetic; his single-hearted devotion to the pursuit of his great objects, and the proof which he gave of ability as well as zeal, soon gained him a host of powerful and generous friends, so that, after the first obstacles were surmounted, he seems never to have lacked the means for prosecuting his expensive undertakings. Honors were showered upon him from every quarter:—orders of knighthood, crosses, and other insignia from many of the governments of Europe, honorary membership in learned societies too numerous to mention; the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Cambridge, in England, and that of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford; so that "his titles," to borrow the expression of an unfriendly critic, "fill half a page." The king of Saxony, always his friend, made him Privy Councillor; and finally, in 1869, an imperial ukase,

* See Lykurgos's *Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorfschen Uranios*, 2te Aufl., 1856, p. 76.

“in recognition of his great scientific merits, and of his services to Russia especially,” elevated him to the rank of an hereditary noble of the Russian Empire, an honor which was recognized by the government of his own country, so that in his later publications his name appears as “Constantin von Tischendorf.” Freedom from vanity was not his most conspicuous virtue, and it may be that he valued somewhat too highly such titles and distinctions; but who shall say that he did not richly deserve them all?

It is to be feared that there is no German critic on whom the mantle of Tischendorf has fallen. But, in recounting his achievements, we cannot fail to associate with him the name of at least one English scholar. The labors of Dr. Tregelles, in the department of Biblical criticism, are second in importance only to those of Tischendorf. But we have no space to characterize them here. The services also of Dr. Scrivener, in accurately editing the Codex Augiensis and the Codex Bezae, in publishing collations of about seventy cursive MSS., and in the preparation of other important works, particularly his *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, deserve most grateful acknowledgment. And every scholar must look with great interest for the publication of the long-promised critical edition of the Greek Testament undertaken by Dr. Westcott and Mr. Hort, which has been in preparation for more than twenty years, and may be confidently expected to prove a contribution to Biblical literature of marked originality and value. [See Essay IX. below.]

VI.

THE LATE DR. TREGELLES.

[From the *Independent* for July 1, 1875.]

THE most eminent English scholar in the department of textual criticism as applied to the Greek Testament, second only to Tischendorf in the extent and importance of his labors in this field of learning, has after a few months, as we learn by recent intelligence, followed his illustrious compeer to the grave. Dr. Tregelles died at his residence in Plymouth, England, on the 24th of April last, after having been disabled for about five years by a shock of paralysis, which literally struck the pen from his hand as he was revising the concluding chapters of the Book of Revelation. The circumstances attending his last illness were thus remarkably similar to those in the case of Tischendorf, who, though spared to complete the text of his eighth and most important critical edition of the Greek Testament, was soon after prostrated by a stroke of apoplexy, followed by paralysis, and compelled to leave the long-desired Prolegomena unwritten. The concluding part of the text of Tregelles's edition was published in 1872, by the aid of some of his friends; but the Prolegomena have not yet appeared. [See page 181, note.]

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (the name is pronounced in three syllables, Tre-gel-les) was born at Falmouth, in Cornwall, England, Jan. 30, 1813. His parents belonged to the Society of Friends, and he was for a time connected with that religious body. Afterward, he became associated with the Plymouth Brethren, but ultimately disengaged himself from that sect. He was educated, according to Allibone, at the Classical Grammar School in Falmouth, from 1825 to

1828; between 1828 and 1834, he was employed in the iron works at Neath Abbey, Glamorganshire, and afterward was engaged for a short time in private tuition near Portsmouth. Though lacking the advantages of a university education, he was full of scholarly zeal, and devoted himself with special earnestness to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages and some of the oldest versions, particularly the Syriac. His interest in the study of Hebrew was shown by his translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, published by the Bagsters in 1847, and by some elementary works, as *Hebrew Reading Lessons* (1845), an interlineary *Hebrew Psalter* and *Heads of Hebrew Grammar* (1852). He had also a share in the preparation of several other important aids to Biblical study, in some of which his name does not appear,—as *The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance to the Old Testament* (1843), *The Englishman's Greek Concordance to the New Testament* (1839), and *The English Hexapla*, published by the Bagsters in 1841, for which he wrote the very valuable "Historical Account of the English Versions of the Scriptures," which was prefixed to it on its first issue. (In later impressions of the work, a different "Historical Account," less full and comprehensive, was substituted. The latter is ascribed to the Rev. Christopher Anderson.)

As early as August, 1838, Dr. Tregelles had formed the plan of a critical edition of the Greek Testament, to be founded solely on ancient authorities, and had prepared a specimen; but his first published essay in the department of textual criticism was *The Book of Revelation in Greek. Edited from Ancient Authorities, with a new English Version and Various Readings* (London, 1844). This work at once commanded the respect of scholars for the care and thoroughness with which it was executed, though it was in direct opposition to the spirit of superstitious reverence which then prevailed in England for the so-called Received Text. After its publication, Dr. Tregelles devoted himself in earnest to the preparation of a critical

edition of the Greek Testament, the prospectus of which was issued in 1848. The text was to be formed on the authority of the oldest Greek MSS. and versions, and the citations of early ecclesiastical writers, including Eusebius, with an accurate statement of the evidence, in the case of all important variations, both for and against the readings adopted. The Received Text was justly treated as having no authority in itself, and no account was made of the great mass of cursive MSS. Completeness and accuracy in the exhibition of the evidence of the witnesses used were especially aimed at. To this end, Dr. Tregelles personally collated with extreme care nearly all the known uncial MSS. in the libraries of Europe of which the text had not before been published, visiting the Continent for this purpose in 1845-46, 1849-50, and 1862. He also collated some specially important cursive MSS., and the Codex Amiatinus, supposed to be the oldest known MS. of the Latin Vulgate. In his edition of the Greek Testament, the text of the Vulgate is printed from this MS., the variations of the Clementine edition being given in the margin. For the Gospels, he collated twelve uncials, E, G, H, I^b, K, M, R, U, X, Z, T, A, and the cursives 1, 33, 69; for the Acts, H, L (formerly G), and 13, 31, 61; for the Pauline Epistles, D, F, L, M, 17, 37, 47; and the cursives 1 and 14 for the Apocalypse. He so marked the variations that he could produce a copy of every MS. that he collated, line for line; he also traced a page of each in fac-simile. It is very fortunate that all these uncials, with the exception of Z, the Dublin palimpsest, some parts of which Tregelles restored by a chemical application, were also collated independently by Tischendorf, and that Tischendorf and Tregelles compared their notes, taking pains in cases of discrepancy to ascertain the true reading by careful re-examination.

Few persons are aware what sacrifices of time, labor, money, and health, were required for the work thus briefly described. Of pecuniary remuneration or even reimbursement there was no hope. The price of Dr. Tregelles's

proposed edition (three guineas) was such as to preclude an extensive sale, and the number of subscribers was very limited. The work of collating an ancient MS. demands, even under favorable circumstances, the closest attention and unbounded patience. Not to speak of palimpsests, as R and Z, the difficulties presented by such a MS. as D of the Pauline Epistles (Codex Claromontanus), with its numberless alterations by many later hands, all requiring to be carefully discriminated, can hardly be estimated. In the case of the very important cursive MS. numbered 33 in the Gospels, 13 in the Acts, 17 in the Pauline Epistles, which has been grievously injured by damp, Dr. Tregelles remarks :—

In the Book of Acts, the leaves were so firmly stuck together that when they were separated the ink had adhered rather to the *opposite* page than to its own; so that in many leaves the MS. can only be read by observing how the ink has *set off* (as would be said of a printed book), and thus reading the Greek words *backward*. I thus obtained the reading of every line from many pages where *nothing* could be seen on the page itself. In some places where part of a leaf is wholly gone, from decay, the writing which was once on it can be read from the *set off*.— *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 162.

No wonder that Dr. Tregelles should speak of this MS. as wearisome to his eyes and “exhaustive of every faculty of attention.”

One great object of Dr. Tregelles in visiting Rome, in 1845, was to obtain the privilege of collating the famous Vatican MS. No. 1209 (B). His earnest efforts, however, were unsuccessful. He was tantalized by being often permitted to look at it, but was not allowed to transcribe anything; and, if he looked too long, the two *prelati*, he tells us, would snatch the book out of his hand. He was deprived, of course, of the use of pen, ink, and paper; but it is said that he contrived to note some important readings on his nails.

The only MS. edited by Dr. Tregelles was the Codex Zacynthius, a palimpsest of great value, belonging to the

Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London, and containing about three hundred and forty-two verses of the Gospel of Luke. This was published in 1861.

In the extent of his contributions to our stock of critical material, Dr. Tregelles was far surpassed by Tischendorf, who, in successive journeys to the East, secured rich MS. treasures, crowning all with the great discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus. Tischendorf's editions of the texts of Biblical MSS. published by him for the first time, or for the first time accurately, comprise no less than seventeen large quarto and five folio volumes, not counting the *Anecdota Sacra et Profana* and the *Notitia Codicis Sinaitici*. But Dr. Tregelles did much more than Tischendorf to illustrate and enforce the principles on which a critical edition of the Greek Testament should be based, and to establish, by what he called "comparative criticism," the right of a few of the oldest MSS. to outweigh a vast numerical majority of later authorities. He did far more than any other writer to overcome the blind and unreasoning prejudice which existed in England in favor of the *textus receptus*, and which prized the inaccurate and uncritical edition of Scholz on account of its demerits. The change of opinion on this subject in conservative England within the last thirty years is marvellous, amounting almost to a revolution. The language indulged in by Bloomfield in the preface to his Greek Testament, about the "temerity" of Griesbach, and "his perpetual and, for the most part, needless cancellings and alterations of all kinds," would now sound very strange, unless perhaps from Dr. Burgon or some kindred spirit. Though the treatises of Prof. Porter and Dr. Davidson, the works of the Rev. T. S. Green, the articles of Prof. Westcott and Mr. Hort, and the later editions of Alford's Greek Testament have contributed to this result, yet to Dr. Tregelles the credit of effecting the change is pre-eminently due. His views were presented partly in his *Book of Revelation*, etc., already mentioned, partly in valuable articles in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, but most fully in his work entitled *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New*

Testament, with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles (London, 1854), and his *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, published, in 1856, as part of Vol. IV. of Horne's *Introduction*, etc., tenth edition. These two volumes are far from being superseded by the later and valuable *Introduction* of Dr. Scrivener, who represents a different school of criticism, fighting gallantly for the rights of the cursive MSS., to our better knowledge of which he has contributed so much. But the two last works of Dr. Scrivener, compared with his earlier writings, especially with his *Supplement to the Authorized Version of the New Testament*, published in 1845, will show how great progress even he has made under the influences to which I have referred. The reaction in favor of the few very ancient MSS. has, indeed, gone so far that there seems to be a tendency in certain quarters greatly to overestimate the absolute authority of some of the oldest witnesses to the text, and to regard a reading supported by the Vatican MS. (B), with one or two of its usual allies, as something to be defended at all hazards. There is also a disposition to put aside all considerations of internal evidence, and to rest in what may be termed a purely diplomatic text. Such a procedure will, undoubtedly, save an editor a deal of troublesome thinking, and a lovely appearance of consistency may be preserved; but in every critical question we are bound to inquire what hypothesis will best explain all the phenomena. Every consideration which may bear on the matter should be fairly weighed. To shut one's eyes to internal evidence, or any other evidence, is simply arbitrary.

After long delays, the First Part of Dr. Tregelles's edition of the Greek Testament, containing the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, was issued in 1857; Part II. (Luke and John) in 1861. Soon after the completion of this part, the overtasked editor was visited by a stroke of paralysis, and was for a long time unable to resume his work. Parts III.-V., however, were issued in 1865, 1869, 1870; and Part VI. (Revelation), as has already been mentioned, in 1872.

The preparations for this edition have been in part described above. It should be added that special pains was taken to exhibit accurately the readings of the most important ancient versions. For the Æthiopic, Dr. Tregelles had the assistance of Mr. Prevost, of the British Museum, and, for the Armenian, of Dr. Rieu. The quotations of the earlier Christian Fathers were also carefully given from personal examination. The edition is beautifully and accurately printed, and the clearness of arrangement leaves little or nothing to be desired. It has one decided advantage over that of Tischendorf:—several grades of probability in the case of different readings are indicated, a reading nearly equal in value to that in the text being placed in the margin, etc.

In the Gospels, Dr. Tregelles had not the benefit of the Sinaitic MS., or the accurate knowledge of the Vatican which we now possess through the labors of Tischendorf, Vercellone, and Cozza. In some other respects, his critical apparatus was less complete than that used for the last edition of Tischendorf, who, throughout the long-protracted issue of his eleven *Lieferungen* (1864–72), enjoyed the great advantage of having the successive parts of Dr. Tregelles's edition published in advance of his own.

It is understood that Dr. Tregelles, before the complete deprivation of strength which marked the later period of his illness, dictated notes for the Prolegomena of his Greek Testament, which, it is hoped, may ere long be published.*

This great work of Dr. Tregelles will not meet all the demands of the critical student. It ignores a considerable portion, though not often a decisive portion, of the evidence for the various readings; but it is by far the most important original contribution which England has made in the present century to the establishment of a pure text of the Greek Testament. It is a monument of the most conscientious, disinterested, and arduous labor, prosecuted with indomitable perseverance and zeal, under discouraging cir-

*[They appeared (enlarged by extracts from the writings of Dr. Tregelles) together with a copious collection of "Addenda and Corrigenda," edited by Dr. Hort, in 1879, as Part VII. of the Greek Testament.]

cumstances, for a high end. The author has earned a title to the warmest gratitude of all who are interested in the study of the New Testament.

We can only glance at the other publications of Dr. Tregelles. The most important of these is, perhaps, his edition of the famous *Muratorian Canon*, the earliest catalogue of the books of the New Testament, of which he published a fac-simile, with copious notes and critical discussions, Oxford, 1867, 4to. Other writings of his are: *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions of the Book of Daniel* (1847), with notes, and a *Defence of its Authenticity*, also issued separately (1852); *Historic Evidence of the Authorship and Transmission of the Books of the New Testament* (1852), a lecture; also, elaborate articles in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature* and the *Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, some of which, as those on "The Original Language of Matthew's Gospel" and "The Jansenists," were also published independently. He contributed to Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* valuable articles on the "Ancient Versions"; and, judging from internal evidence, the general articles "Manuscripts" and "Palimpsest" in Cassell's *Bible Dictionary*, and the articles on particular MSS., as Alexandrian, Augiensis, Bezae Codex, Claromontanus, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, etc., in that work, are from his pen.

Dr. Tregelles was a man of great simplicity of character and deep religious feeling, a devout believer in the plenary verbal inspiration of the Scriptures and in the doctrines usually denominated evangelical. For any form of "rationalism" or any deviation from the doctrines which he regarded as fundamental, he had no toleration. In translating the Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius, he accordingly deemed it his duty to insert many notes of warning against what he regarded as perverse and dangerous explanations of particular passages by that eminent scholar; and, when the second volume of Horne's *Introduction*, edited by Dr. Davidson, was issued, he published a solemn protest against its heresies. Whether or not his zeal was always enlightened need not be discussed. It was honest, and not prompted

by malevolence. His denunciations were uttered more in sorrow than in anger.

The great merits and sacrifices of this self-denying scholar were not wholly unappreciated, though they surely deserved a wider and warmer recognition than they ever received. In 1850, the University of St. Andrew's conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws ; and, during the latter part of his life, he received from the civil list a pension amounting to £200 per annum. He was invited to become a member of the British committee for the revision of the authorized English version of the Bible, though the failure of his health prevented him from taking part in the work.

Dr. Tregelles leaves behind him a widow, the sympathizing sharer of his labors, but no children. Rare, indeed, are the examples of such patient, unwearied, self-sacrificing devotion to a noble object as his life presents ; and ever honored be his memory !

VII.

GERHARD VON MASTRICHT.

[From the *Unitarian Review* for August, 1884.]

[THE extreme thoroughness and conscientiousness of Dr. Ezra Abbot, in even the smallest matters that came under his investigation, are in need of no illustration to those who were well acquainted with him. But those who know of that strong characteristic only by hearsay will be glad of an actual example. The following one is quite to the point, and, besides showing the trouble he habitually took to help his correspondents, is worthy of permanent record for its intrinsic interest.

About a year ago, the writer's correspondence with him — always pretty frequent — had to do with certain doubtful places in Dr. Eduard Reuss's *Bibliotheca N. T. Græci*, and the correction of certain errors therein. Among them was the name by which Reuss designated the editor of a Greek Testament who is denoted on the title-page by the letters "G. D. T. M. D." Every one conversant with the subject knows that the letters stand for "*Gerhardus de Trajecto Mosæ Doctor*"; and the question was whether the "*de Trajecto Mosæ*" was a translation from the Dutch or German, and what was the shape of the name as the man used it himself. Reuss had indexed the name (in the genitive) simply as "Gerhardi." Other late writers, the present writer among the number, knowing that the *place* "*Trajectum Mosæ*" was the Dutch *Maestricht*, had taken the name to be "Gerardus (or Gerard) van Maestricht."

Dr. Abbot's final comment was as follows: —

More than a dozen years ago, having charge of the cataloguing department in the library of Harvard College, I had occasion to investigate the proper form of the name, and came to the conclusion that it was Gerhard von Mastricht. I have now renewed the investigation with the

same result. The mistake (found in a *very* few recent writers) of giving the surname as *Maestricht*, or of translating the "Gerhardus (*or* Gerardus) de Trajecto Mosae" by "Gerhard (*or* Gerard) von (*or* van) Maestricht," is easily explained by the fact that Maestricht is the old Dutch form of the name of the place, and also the form commonly found in English Gazetteers, and would therefore be naturally supposed to represent the *Trajectum Mosae*. But this natural inference is false in the present case, and founded on ignorance of the history of the name.

The grandfather of Gerhard von Mastricht was a Dutchman, residing in Maestricht. His family name was *s'Coning* (Paquot), or *Scoring* (Moréri); his Christian name was Cornelius (that is, his name answered to the English 'Cornelius King'). Being an ardent Protestant, fear of the terrible Duke of Alva compelled him to flee from his native city to Cologne, where he dropped his Dutch surname, assuming in its stead that of *von Mastricht* (Mastricht being the common German form for the name of the city). This name was borne by his son, Thomas von Mastricht, and by his grandsons, Gerhard and Peter von Mastricht. The latter, after preaching for some years at Glückstadt, became Professor of Hebrew at Frankfurt on the Oder, then (1663) Professor of Theology at Duisburg, and finally (1677) Professor of Theology at Utrecht, where he died in 1706. While at Utrecht, he published his most important works, particularly his *Theoretico-practica Theologia*, under the name of Petrus *van* Mastricht. In most catalogues and biographical dictionaries, he accordingly appears under the name *van* Mastricht, as he naturally during his residence at Utrecht changed the German *von* to *van*. But in none of the authorities have I ever found his surname given as *Maestricht*; all the Dutch biographies and bibliographies, Kok, Van der Aa, Kobus, Abkoude and Arrenburg, call him Petrus *van* Mastricht. This alone makes it improbable that his brother ever used the form *Maestricht*.

But the case of Gerhard is much stronger. He never resided in Holland; he was always a German,—born at Cologne, Professor at Duisburg (1669), and afterward (1687–1721) Syndic of Bremen. There is not, I think, the slightest reason for believing that he ever spelled his name *Maestricht*, and very little for supposing that he ever used *van* for *von*, though the fact that his brother commonly goes by the name of *van Mastricht* has naturally led many to assume that his surname corresponded. (For the facts stated above, see Paquot, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. lit. des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, tome i. (Louvain, 1765, fol.) p. 649 f.)

The earliest authority for *Maestricht* that I have yet found is Horne's Biblical Bibliography, appended to his Introduction. The only other writers in which I have seen it are Tregelles (*Printed Text*, pp. 73–75), who doubtless followed Horne, Westcott (art. New Testament, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 2134, note a, American edition).

who also probably copied Horne or Tregelles, and Reuss (*Die Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften N. T.*, 5te Ausg. (1874), § 407. end, where I conceive that the "v. Maestricht" is simply his translation of the *de Trajecto Mosae*). He appears to have imagined that Maestricht was the birthplace or former residence of our Gerhard, for he calls him a *Belgian* (*Biblioth.*, p. 133), which he was not and never was. He even treats his name as if it were a mediæval one, like Adam of Bremen or Geoffrey of Monmouth or Peter of Clugny, putting him in his Index under *Gerhard*, which is as absurd as it would be to put Edmond de Pressensé's name in an index under *Edmond* or Alexander von Humboldt's under *Alexander*. In short, he appears to have known so little about the man that his authority is worthless. Gerhard, in fact, is much less known than his brother Peter; his name does not appear in the *Biographie universelle* or its *Supplément*, or in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (Hoefer), or in the great *Dictionnaire universelle* of Larousse, where you find almost everything.

Scrivener is equivocal, giving "Gerhard à Mastricht" (*Introd.* 2d ed., p. 177) and "Gerhard à Mästricht" (p. 400, and so in his Index). Davidson, *Bibl. Crit.* ii., 122, has "Gerhard of Mastricht," copying Marsh's translation of Michaelis, but in his Index he has "Gerhard of Maestricht."

The authorities on the other side are overwhelming in number, age, and weight. All the man's contemporaries, all in fact who have written of him within a hundred years of his time, agree, so far as I can ascertain, in giving his surname as *Mastricht*. (It is possible that there is some exception in Dutch books; but I have found none.)

Jac. Hasæus, in the *Bibliotheca historico-hilologico-theologica* published at BREMEN in 1718, Class I. Fasc. v. p. 691, while Von Mastricht was living, speaks of him in terms of the highest eulogy, and gives his name as "Gerh. von Mastricht." Lilienthal, *Theologische Bibliothec* (1741), p. 77, gives the title of the Catalogue of his Library as follows: "Catalogus Bibliothecae Gerh. von Mastricht, Syndici Bremensis, Librorum in quavis facultate insignium. . . . BREM. 1719. 8." In the titles of two of his books, published at Duisburg in 1670 and 1677, as given by Paquot, his name appears as "Gerh. von Mastricht"; in that of another, Traj. ad Rhen. 1714, as "Gerardus von Mastricht." So in the titles cited in Pérennès, *Dict. de bibliog. catholique* (1858), I. col. 86 and III. col. 90. the surname appears as "von Mastricht." Accordingly, in the *Bibliotheca realis juridica* of Lipenius (1736), pp. 233, 242, 306, his works appear under the name "Gerardus von Mastricht," or "Gerh. von Mastricht" in the Index, and so in Schott's *Supplément* to this work (1775), p. 63. So in the General Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, and in the *Catalogus dissertationum academicarum* belonging to that Library, his writings are entered under the heading "Mastricht, Gerh. von," while those of his brother appear

under "Mastricht, Petrus van." The same is true of the excellent *Catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, vol. v. (1877). In the *Cat. . . . van godgeleerde Werken* on sale by Frederick Muller at Amsterdam (1857), No. 3625, the *Hist. juris ecclesiastici* appears under the heading "Mastricht, G. von," while his brother's writings stand under "Mastricht, P. van." C. J. Stewart's *Catalogue of Bibles and Biblical Literature*, London, 1849, No. 503, has "Mastricht (G. von) de Canone Scripturae. . . . Breae, 1722, Sm. 8vo." In all probability he has given the name the form which he found on the title-page.

Probably in no catalogue in the world is so much pains taken to secure accuracy in the representation of names as in the Manuscript Catalogue of the British Museum, select portions of which are now in course of publication. The portion extending from D to Dal, in explaining the *initialism* "G. D. T. M. D.," gives the name as "G. von Mastricht."

In the notice of his death, in the *Bibliotheca hist.-phil.-theol.* Bremen, 1721, iv. 1091, his name appears as "Gerhardus a Mastricht."

I cannot speak from personal inspection of the title-pages of the juridical or theological writings of this author; it is doubtful whether any of them are to be found in the libraries in this country; but such an agreement in the copying of the titles which *contain* his name in the works referred to above, corroborated by the form under which they are entered in the best catalogues, leaves no doubt in my mind that in the titles themselves the surname appears as "Von Mastricht."

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in nearly all of the numerous biographical and bibliographical works which I have consulted the surname is given as *Masiricht*; generally with *von*, less frequently, but often, with *van*, and in Latin works often with *a* or *de*, as the translation of the prefix.

So in the great general biographical or bibliographical works, as Zedler's *Univ. Lex.* vol. xix. (1739), Georgi (1742), Jöcher (1751), Moréri, Saxius's *Onomasticon* (1785), Heinsius (1812), Rotermund, *Fortsetzung zu Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lex.* vol. iv. (1813), Ebert, Graesse. Rotermund's authority is the more weighty, as he published an elaborate work on the literati of Bremen.

So in many special bibliographical or biographical or miscellaneous works; as *Acta Eruditorum*, 1709, p. 35; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibl. Graeca* (tom. iv., p. 845, ed. Harles); Joh. Fabricius, *Hist. Bibl. Fabric.* (1724), vi. 374; Reimman (1731); *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, etc. 1735, xv. 29; Baumgarten, *Nachrichten*, u.s.w. iv. 207; Francke, *Cat. Biblioth. Bunav.* (1750), i. 12; Knoch (1754); Paquot (1765); Koecher, *Analecta* (1766); Bauer, *Biblioth. libb. rar.* (1771); Goeze, *Verzeichniss* (1777); Kok, *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, vol. xxi. (1790); and Van der Aa, *Biog. Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. xii. (Kok and Van der Aa have no article upon him, as he was not a Dutchman; but they mention him in treating of his brother.)

So in the special bibliographies of theological literature or some of its branches; as Buddæus, *Isagoge* (1730), Walch (1757-65), Masch's *Le Long* (1778), Rosenmüller (1797), Noesselt (4th ed., 1800), G. W. Meyer (1805), Simon (1813), Winer (3d ed., 1838-40), Danz (1843), Pérennès (1858).

So various writers on textual criticism; as Bengel (1734) and Wetstein (1735 and 1751), who call him "Gerardus à Maastricht"; C. B. Michaelis (*De varr. lectt.*, 1749), Rumpæus (2d ed., 1757), Doedes, *Tekst-kritiek* (1844). Griesbach (1777) has "Maastrichtius."

So among the "Introductions" to the N. T.; C. G. Hofmann in his edition of Pritius (1737 and 1764), and Kapp in his notes to the same; J. D. Michaelis (4th ed., 1787), Haenlein (2d ed., 1802), J. E. C. Schmidt (1805), Bertholdt (1812), Marsh (Lect. vii.), Hug (4th ed., 1847), Eichhorn (vol. v., 1827), Schott (1830), De Wette (6th ed., 1860), Guericke (3d ed., 1868). He does not appear to be mentioned by Bleek or Hilgenfeld.

I fear I have been tedious; but, having looked up the matter as well as I could conveniently in my physical weakness, I thought I would give you the benefit of my memoranda. I have cited, I believe, about sixty authorities for *Maastricht* as the form of the surname. There is, I think, no evidence on the other side of any weight, no reason to suppose that our Gerhard, a German, ever wrote his name *Gerardus* or *Gerard van Maastricht*, much less "Gerhard van Maastricht," which is mixing up German and Dutch. It is a small matter; but were I in your place, unless you have the man's autograph or something as decisive on the other side, I should request the printers to change *van* to *von*, and to strike out the *e* in *Maastricht*.

I. H. H.]

VIII.

BUTTMANN'S GREEK TESTAMENT.*

[From the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1853.]

THIS edition of the Greek Testament forms a part of the popular collection of ancient Greek and Latin authors published by Teubner of Leipzig. Like the other volumes in the series, it is neatly printed, and sold at a moderate price. Its editor, Philip Buttmann, the son of the distinguished philologist of the same name, was associated with Lachmann in the preparation of his larger edition of the Greek Testament: he arranged the authorities for the various readings of the Greek text. The edition which he now presents to the public purports to be based on the celebrated Codex Vaticanus No. 1209, except in the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and the Apocalypse, in which portions of the New Testament that MS. is unfortunately mutilated. Here its place is supplied by the Alexandrine. Buttmann professes to give, in the margin, all the variations from his own text which are found in the Vatican MS., the Elzevir edition of 1624, or the "Received Text," Griesbach's larger edition (Vol. I. ed. Schulz, 1827; Vol. II., 1806), Lachmann's larger edition (1842-50), and Tischendorf's edition of 1854, included in his *Novum Testamentum Triglotum*, but also issued separately.

One serious defect in the present work, considered as a manual for common use, is the absence of all references to the quotations from the Old Testament, or to parallel pas-

* *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Ad fidem potissimum Codicis Vaticani B recensuit, varias lectiones Codicis B, Textus Recepti, Editionum Griesbachii Lachmanni Tischendorffii integras adiecit PHILIPPVS BUTTMANN. Lipsiae sumptibus et typis B. J. Teubneri. 1856. Small 8vo. pp. viii., 543.

sages in the New. Some may also regret that it has no analysis of the contents of the different books, in the form of running titles or headings of chapters. But, if the promises of the title-page and preface were fulfilled, it would still be a convenient and useful book, supplying an important desideratum. No other edition gives a complete view of the critical results arrived at in respect to the text by Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, the three editors whose judgment is now most highly respected by scholars.

The editions of Hahn (1840) and Theile (stereotyped in 1844), and the edition of the New Testament in Stier and Theile's *Polyglotten-Bibel* (stereotyped in 1846), profess, indeed, to exhibit the various readings of the principal recent editors of the Greek Testament; but they do this very imperfectly. In giving the readings of Griesbach, they take no notice of those which he marks as *probably spurious*, or of those which he designates as *equal* in authority to the reading of the text. Hahn preceded Tischendorf; and he professedly exhibits a selection only from the readings of Lachmann, taken of course from his first edition of 1831. He is, moreover, inaccurate, incorrectly representing the critical judgment of Knapp alone in more than one hundred and thirty instances.

Theile intentionally passes over the minuter variations; and both his Greek Testament and the *Polyglotten-Bibel* were published too soon to enable him to use the second volume of Lachmann's larger edition, or the second Leipzig edition of Tischendorf (1849), the most important, so far as the criticism of the text is concerned, since the time of Griesbach. (The first edition of Tischendorf, published in 1841, is comparatively of little value.) The Greek portion of Theile's *Novum Testamentum Tetraglotton* (1855) is merely taken from the stereotype plates of the *Polyglotten-Bibel*.

Tischendorf's edition of 1849 gives the various readings of Griesbach, Scholz, and Lachmann, with those of the Elzevir edition of 1624 and Stephens's of 1550; but he neglects the readings which Lachmann places in the margin as *equal* in value to those of the text; and Griesbach's are

taken from his larger edition, instead of the manual edition of 1805, which generally represents his later conclusions.

Bagster's *Large-print Greek Testament* (London, 1851) contains only "selected various readings from Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf," though the selection is copious, and made with care and judgment.

Buttmann speaks in his preface of the difficulty of making a selection of this kind, and thinks it better to let the student decide for himself as to the comparative importance of particular differences in the text. He accordingly professes to give *all* the various readings of the authorities named in his title-page, "even the most trivial" (*et levissimas*). Where Griesbach and Lachmann regard two readings of the same passage as possessing equal claims to reception, he indicates the fact by citing their authority for both. Such are his promises; and the value of his work must chiefly depend on the fidelity with which they are performed. Few critics will doubt that he overestimates the authority of the Vatican MS., regarding it as equal, if not superior, to that of all the rest of our MSS. of the New Testament united. He even ventures, in one instance (2 Pet. iii. 10), to alter the text by conjecture, changing $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ into $\acute{\alpha}$, because, otherwise, the reading of this MS. would be without meaning. Still, the Vatican MS. is undoubtedly the oldest and best which has come down to us; and, if Buttmann has relied upon it too exclusively, the error is not of much consequence, if he sets before us the text of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf in connection with his own.

Such being the case, we regret to say that all which would give value to this edition is wanting. No reliance can be placed on Buttmann's account of the various readings of any one of the authorities cited. His carelessness is extraordinary. We have gone over the Gospel of Matthew, comparing the representations of Buttmann with the authorities to which he refers; and it appears that he has committed more than *five hundred* errors in that Gospel alone. These mistakes may be divided as follows:

errors respecting the readings of the Received Text (the Elzevir edition of 1624), 136; errors respecting those of Griesbach's edition, 250; respecting those of Lachmann's edition, 47; respecting those of Tischendorf's edition, 60; errors respecting the readings of the Vatican MS., not less than 47, and probably many more; in all, 540. It did not seem worth while to pursue the inquiry further; but, at this rate, the number of mistakes in the whole volume would be not less than four thousand.

It is true that many of the errors which we have noted relate to minute differences in the text, of little intrinsic importance; but Buttman, it will be remembered, professes to give *all* the various readings of the authorities mentioned. It may be of no consequence whether Βόζ, or Βός, or Βοές be the original reading in Matt. i. 5; but it is of some importance as a test of Buttman's care as an editor, to know that he ascribes to Griesbach, Tischendorf, and the Received Text one of these forms, when they actually have another.

A complete list of the errors referred to (in the Gospel of Matthew alone) would occupy a number of pages. The following examples may suffice.

i. The Elzevir edition of 1624 reads, Matt. i. 5, Βόζ, not Βός; iii. 15, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, not εἶπεν αὐτῷ; 16, καὶ βαπτισθεῖς, not βαπτισθεις δέ; iv. 11, προσῆλθον, not προσῆλθαν (so ix. 28; xiii. 36; xiv. 15); v. 27, ἐρρέθη, not ἐρρήθη (so vv. 33, 38, 43); same verse, adds τοῖς ἀρχαίοις after ἐρρέθη; 30, βληθῆ εἰς γέενναν, not εἰς γ. βλ.; vii. 22, προεφητεύσαμεν, not ἐπροφητεύσαμεν (similarly xi. 13; xv. 7); viii. 29, Ἰησοῦ νιέ not νιέ simply; ix. 5, ἀφέωνται, not ἀφίενται; x. 41, λήψεται, not λήμψεται (so elsewhere); xi. 23, ἔμειναν, not ἔμεινεν; xii. 44, σεσαρωμένον, not καὶ σεσ.; xiii. 6, ἐκανματίσθη, not ἐκανματώθη; 14, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, not αὐτοῖς simply; 52, εἶπεν, not λέγει; xiv. 6, ἀγομένων, not γενομένων; 27, εὐθέως, not εὐθύς (so xxī. 3); xviii. 4, ταπεινώση, not -σει; xxiii. 14, ὑποκριταὶ after Φαρισαῖοι; xxvi. 70 reads πάντων, not αὐτῶν πάντων; xxvii. 47, ἐσώτων, not ἐστηκότων. In all but four of the places (Matt. v. 27; viii. 29; xiii. 14; xxvi. 70), the mistakes above specified apply equally to the account of Griesbach's readings. We will therefore give only a few additional examples from him.

2. Griesbach reads, Matt. i. 6, *Σολομῶνα*, not *-ῶντα*; ii. 11, *εἶδον*, not *εὔρον*; vi. 32, *ἐπίσητεῖ*, not *ἐπιζητούσιν*; viii. 31, *ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς*, not *ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ἀπελθεῖν*; ix. 8, he marks *ἐφοβήθησαν* as equal in authority to *ἐθαύμασαν*; xiii. 16 reads *ἀκούει*, not *ἀκούουσιν*; marks xviii. 11 and xxiii. 14 as probably to be omitted.

3. Lachmann reads, Matt. iv. 11, *προσηλθόν*, not *-θαν*; vii. 25, *προσέπαισαν*, not *προσέπεσαν*; 27, *προσέρρηξαν*, in the margin, as equal in authority to *προσέκοψαν* in the text; xiii. 6, *ἐκανματίσθη*, not *ἐκανματώθη*; xiv. 19, *ἠλόγησεν*, not *εὐλόγησεν*; xviii. 16, *μετὰ σοῦ* after *δύο*, not after *παράλαβε*; xxi. 3, *εὐθέως*, not *εὐθύς*; xxiii. 19, brackets *μωροὶ καί*.

4. Tischendorf reads, Matt. ii. 22, *ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, not *τῆς Ἰουδ.*; iv. 23, *περιῆγεν*, not *π. ὁ Ἰησοῦς*; xi. 16, *ἐτέρους*, not *ἐταίρους*; xiii. 48, *ἄγγη*, not *ἄγγεία*; 52, *εἶπεν*, not *λέγει*; xvi. 8, *ἐλάβετε*, not *ἔχετε*; 28, *εἰσίν*, not *ὅτι εἰσίν*; xvii. 4, *ποιήσω*, not *-σωμεν*; xviii. 1, *ῶρα*, not *ἡμέρα*; xxi. 18, *ἐπαναγαγών*, not *ἐπανάγων*; xxiii. 4, omits *καὶ δυσβάστακτα*.

5. The Vatican MS. reads, Matt. i. 12, *γεννᾶ*, not *ἐγέννησεν* (twice); ii. 13, adds *εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν* after *αὐτῶν*; iii. 16, *πνεῦμα Θεοῦ*, not *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*; iv. 23, omits *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* after *περιῆγεν*; vii. 19, reads *πᾶν*, not *πᾶν οὖν* (Lachmann is wrong); xii. 47, omits the whole verse; 31, *αὐτοῦ οἱ σύνδουλοι*, not *οἱ σ. αὐ.*; xxii. 45, *αὐτὸν κύριον καλεῖ*, not *καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον*; xxv. 6, *ἐγένετο*, not *γέγονεν*; xxvi. 56, adds *αὐτοῦ* after *μαθηταί*.

These specimens may be sufficient to determine the character of the work; but one or two points require further elucidation. We refer to the use which the editor professes to make of the Vatican MS., and to the extraordinary number of errors which he has committed in regard to the readings of Griesbach.

It is on the Vatican MS. that Buttmann professedly finds his text; but he nowhere informs his readers how imperfect our knowledge of that MS. is. We have, indeed, three collations of it: one by Bartolucci, in 1659; another by an Italian named Mico, made for the use of Bentley, about 1720; and a third by Birch, toward the end of the last century. The two last have been published; a transcript of the first is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris. These collations give us the reading of the MS. in a great many pas-

siges; but it would be the height of rashness to attempt from them to publish its text. Sometimes they all disagree; sometimes two of them differ, while the third is silent; and a comparison of them demonstrates that much has been overlooked by the author of each. Important readings, which they have all neglected to notice, have been observed by Tischendorf and Tregelles, who have both had the privilege of inspecting (not of collating) the MS. for a short time. The text which Buttmann gives as that of the *Codex Vaticanus* rests, in many places, only on the unsafe foundation of the silence of the collators.

But this is not all. Buttmann has not even taken pains to examine any one of the collations personally; but derives the readings of the MS. merely from Lachmann's edition, except that he has made considerable use of an article by Tischendorf, in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* for 1847, p. 129 ff. Tischendorf, in his edition of 1849, p. xlvi., points out a number of errors committed by Lachmann in respect to the readings of this MS.; but these errors are repeated by Buttmann. He also mentions (p. lviii.) two noticeable readings communicated by Dr. Tregelles; but this information is also lost upon our editor. Other mistakes of Buttmann might have been corrected by examining the collation made for Bentley, printed by Ford in 1799, in his Appendix to Woide's edition of the *Codex Alexandrinus*; others still, from the article by Tischendorf, to which he refers.

Discreditable as this negligence is, it is more excusable than the misrepresentations of Griesbach's critical judgment which constitute so large a part of the errors which we have noticed. Buttmann does not seem to have even made himself acquainted with the meaning of the *signs* which Griesbach uses to denote the comparative value of different readings. In the first place, Griesbach is represented as receiving, without question, the readings which he marks as *probably spurious*, prefixing the sign =. There are not far from five hundred cases of this kind in the New Testament, some of them of much importance. The passage concerning the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53 to

viii. 11) is a striking instance. In the Gospel of Matthew there are forty-five examples of this error on the part of Buttmann.

There is another class of readings, to which Griesbach prefixes a peculiar mark (∞), denoting that they are worthy of consideration, but *inferior* to those received into the text. Buttmann habitually confounds this with another mark (∞̄), which signifies that the reading to which it is prefixed is *equal* or perhaps preferable to the received lection. Compare, for example, his edition with that of Griesbach in Matt. i. 18, 19; ii. 8, 9, 17, etc. He has fallen into this mistake, in the Gospel of Matthew, thirty-nine times.

There is another smaller class of readings which Griesbach introduces into the text with the sign + prefixed. These are given by Buttmann as readings which Griesbach adopts as genuine; whereas this sign, as explained by him, denotes an addition for which there is some evidence deserving attention, but which is probably *not* genuine. See his *Prolegomena* (Schulz's ed.), p. lxxxvii. There are ten examples of this error in the Gospel of Matthew; see, e.g., Matt. xxvi. 9, 33, 35, 38.

One other remark may be made in this connection. Griesbach's readings should have been taken from his manual edition, printed at Leipzig in 1805. Where this differs from his larger edition, it generally represents his maturer judgment. The first volume of the larger edition was published in 1796; and, though the second volume bears the date 1806, it appears by the preface that far the greater part of it had been printed several years before. The differences between the two editions, in respect to the text, are not very numerous; but some of them are important. For example, the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark, to which Griesbach affixes no mark of doubt in his larger edition of 1796, are designated as *probably spurious* in the manual edition of 1805; and he argues at length against their genuineness in Part II. of his *Commentarius Criticus*, published in 1811. It is obviously not doing him justice, to quote his authority, in such a case, in support of the reading of the Received Text.

It is hardly worth while to point out misprints in a work of the character of the present. One or two of the grosser instances which we have observed may be mentioned, as *μετα* for *μεστοι*, p. 246, line three from the bottom; and *τηρημένοι* for *τηρουμένων*, p. 342, line eight; and also in line two of the margin.

It is unpleasant to be compelled thus to expose the faults of a work the editor of which bears so honored a name, and which forms part of a series that has been received with general favor. These very circumstances, however, being likely to give it a circulation to which it is not entitled, make it a more imperative duty to warn the unwary student against its false pretensions.

IX.

WESTCOTT AND HORT'S EDITION OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.*

[From the *Sunday School Times* for Nov. 5, 1881.]

THIS edition of the Greek Testament will mark an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism. Dr. Schaff accepts its text enthusiastically as "the oldest and purest" which has yet been published. Many in England, and still more, probably, in Germany, will heartily welcome it as a work bearing everywhere the stamp of independent, original research, and the most painstaking care. But, in some quarters, it cannot fail to encounter deadly hostility, and before its conclusions are generally adopted there will be much discussion. Though the work will now be more fairly judged than if it had been published twenty years ago, the charge of extreme rashness will doubtless be brought against the editors by such critics as Dean Burgon and the Rev. J. B. McClellan; and Dr. Scrivener, who had the use of their "provisional" text, has already, in the second edition of his Introduction (1874), strongly expressed his dissent from many of their conclusions. Even scholars who have become emancipated from the superstitious worship of the so-called "Received Text," and who are ready to decide critical questions on purely critical principles, and not by their "infallible instincts," may be startled at the boldness of the editors in the use of the pruning-knife, which in their hands cuts deeper than even in those of Tischendorf and Tregelles. Westcott and Hort, for exam-

* *The New Testament in the Original Greek*: the Text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., Canon of Peterborough, and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. American Edition, with an Introduction by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Crown 8vo, pp. xc., 580. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price \$2.00

ple, regard as later additions to the text not only the last twelve verses of Mark, the account of the descent of the angel into the pool of Bethesda (or "Bethzatha," as they read), and the story of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53 to viii. 11), but the passages noted in the margin of the Revised Version at Matt. xvi. 2, 3; Luke xxii. 19, 20, 43, 44; xxiii. 34; xxiv. 3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52; and John iii. 13, as "omitted by some [or "many"] ancient authorities." Other readings of theirs will seem to many, at first sight at least, very questionable.

But the last charge which can be justly brought against the editors is that of rashness. They may have erred in judgment, but they have come to their conclusions with great deliberation. The history of the work entitles it, not, indeed, to immediate, unquestioning acceptance as final in its decisions, but to the most respectful consideration. It "was projected and commenced in 1853, and the work has never been laid more than partially aside in the interval, though it has suffered many delays and interruptions. The mode of procedure adopted by the editors from the first was to work out their results independently of each other, to hold no counsel together except upon results already provisionally obtained, and to discuss on paper the comparatively few points of initial difference until either agreement or final difference was reached." (Circular of the publishers.) To this, it may be added that a large part of the text, the Gospels at least, appears to have been in type for more than ten years, during which period it has been revised and re-revised with great care, as deeper investigations have led the editors to modify here and there their earlier decisions. As to the character of the editors, none who are acquainted with the writings of Professor Westcott and Dr. Hort will question their eminent intellectual and moral qualifications for the task they have undertaken,—the great moral qualification, in studies such as these, being the single aim to ascertain the truth.

It is important, however, to observe that the present volume exhibits only the *results* of their critical investiga-

tions. It takes no notice of the text of any previous edition, so that there is nothing to show the extent of its divergence from the so-called "Received Text," or of its agreement with the great critical editions of Tischendorf and Tregelles, with which, notwithstanding many differences, it does agree in the main. There is no discussion of any reading, no statement of the authorities (MSS., etc.) which, in any questionable case, support the text. Alternative readings, indeed, are given, where the editors regard the true reading as more or less uncertain; also, certain noteworthy rejected readings appear in the text in double brackets, or in the margin with certain marks; and at the end of the volume there is a list of still other rejected readings "which have been thought worthy of notice in the appendix [to the second volume] on account of some special interest attaching to them." This list also includes a few passages in which the editors (or one of them) suspect "some primitive error," and propose conjectural emendations. But it is a mere list. There is also a very condensed sketch (pp. 541-562) of the conclusions of the editors in regard to the true principles of criticism, the history of the text, the grouping of our chief documentary authorities in accordance with their peculiar characteristics, and the determination of the relative value of the several documents and groups of documents, in estimating which "the history and genealogy of textual transmission have been taken as the necessary foundation." To this is subjoined a most appetizing and tantalizing summary of the contents of their elaborate "Critical Introduction," which, with an appendix, containing notes on select readings, notes on orthography, and a list of passages of the Old Testament quoted or alluded to, forms the second or accompanying volume of their work. This was announced more than a month ago in the *Academy* and elsewhere as to appear *immediately*, but does not seem as yet to have found its way across the Atlantic.

It is this critical "Introduction" which will give the edition of Westcott and Hort its distinctive value, and which,

whether all their conclusions prove firmly established or not, will be most heartily welcomed by scholars, and cannot fail to contribute greatly to the advancement of New Testament criticism. They have undertaken a very difficult and delicate task; but their method is the true one. Some pioneering had been done by Griesbach and others; but no such comprehensive and scientific investigation of the character and relative value of our external authorities for settling the text has been hitherto attempted. It is on this introduction that the whole structure of the editors rests; and any criticism of particular readings which they have adopted, should, in fairness, be reserved till the facts and reasonings on which their system of criticism is founded, have been carefully studied and weighed.

To describe the four types of text, "the Western," "the Alexandrian," "the Neutral," and "the Syrian" (earlier and later), which they find represented in our critical documents, would require more space than can here be allowed. It may be enough to say that the text which they designate as "neutral," and regard as in general approximating most closely to the original autographs, is represented in its greatest purity by the Vatican MS. (B), to which they assign superlative value; the Sinaitic (Σ) being, in their judgment, next in importance, but far less pure. But "with certain limited classes of exceptions, the readings of Σ and B combined may safely be accepted as genuine in the absence of specially strong internal evidence to the contrary, and can never be safely rejected altogether" (p. 557). Nay, every combination of B with one other primary MS., as in the Gospels L, C, or T, "is found to have a large proportion of readings, which on the closest scrutiny have the ring of genuineness, and hardly any that look suspicious after full consideration." "Even when B stands alone, its readings must never be lightly rejected" (*Ibid.*). This estimate differs somewhat from that of Professor T. R. Birks of Cambridge, who conceives himself to have proved by mathematical calculations "that on the hypothesis most favourable to the early manuscripts, and specially to the Vatican, its

weight is exactly that of two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, while the Sinaitic weighs only one-third more than an average manuscript of the eleventh century." (*Essay on the Right Estimation of Manuscript Evidence in the Text of the New Testament*, London, 1878, p. 66.)

The present volume is issued in such a form that it may be used independently of the second; and it is apparently supposed that there will be some or many theological students whose want of a convenient manual edition will be met by this volume alone. It certainly is one which every theological student may well desire to possess, and should possess if possible; but the question may arise how far it will serve as his only edition. If he is ready to accept the conclusions of the editors without further inquiry or examination of evidence, and without comparison with those of other critics, and if he does not care to have a text furnished with references to parallel or illustrative passages, or to the quotations from the Old Testament, this volume may be perfectly satisfactory. It is beautifully printed, though the type is not large; the lines are well leaded; its form is convenient; and it may be read with great delight. Indeed, there is no other existing edition of the Greek Testament in which so much is done to aid the mind of the reader by the form in which the matter is presented to the eye. The great natural divisions of the larger books are marked by a wide space, and by the printing of the initial words in capitals; the minor subdivisions, but such as comprise many paragraphs, are separated by a smaller space; the paragraphs, when they include a series of connected topics, as, for example, Matt. v. 17-48, are broken up by short but well-marked spaces into sub-paragraphs, as in Herbert Spencer's writings,—a most excellent device, worthy of general introduction. "Uncial type" is employed for quotations from the Old Testament, and also to mark phrases borrowed from it; rhythmical passages, like Luke i. 46-55, 68-79, as well as poetical quotations from the Old Testament, are printed in a metrical form. The chapters and verses are numbered only in the margin. This sometimes leaves

uncertainty as to the beginning of a verse, in which case the doubt should have been removed by a little mark of separation. For one who wishes to give himself to the continuous reading of the Greek text with the least possible distraction, this edition has no rival. Harper & Brothers have rendered a great service to students of the New Testament by their republication of it, from duplicate plates, at a moderate price. In a second issue the few misprints — such as *ἑμῶν* for *ἐμῶν* at the end of line three on page 23, and (probably) “*Posteriority*” for “*Priority*,” page 567, in the titles of the subsections to Section I. of Chapter II.— will doubtless be corrected.

But no intelligent scholar, even though he may have other editions which will supply some of the deficiencies that have been mentioned, will be fully contented with the first volume alone. The second volume is really the basis of the first, and its necessary explanation; it is that by which the value of the editors' work must be measured. It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that the enterprising American publishers will issue it as soon as possible in the same style as the first. It is no ephemeral production.

A few words on Dr. Schaff's Introduction. After a brief but highly commendatory notice of the edition and the editors, we have, presented in a lively, popular style, an introduction, not so much to this particular edition as to the elements of textual criticism. It describes, in an interesting manner, the chief authorities for settling the text,— the most important ancient MSS., the principal ancient versions, and the quotations by the early Christian Fathers; treats of the various readings, their origin, number, importance, and the principles of criticism; and gives a good account of the most important printed editions of the Greek text, ranged under three “periods.” The ancient MSS. are illustrated by five fac-similes. In general, the information given is well brought down to the present time, and many minor errors of Scrivener and other writers are corrected. The account of ancient MSS., versions, etc., will not greatly facilitate the use of this volume, as these documents are

never cited in it for or against any particular reading. Occasional oversights may be found; for example, on page *xlviii*, Bernhardt's edition of the Gothic version is said to be "provided," like that of Gabelentz and Loebe, "with a complete apparatus." That is emphatically true of the latter; but the former lacks the important accompaniments of a grammar and lexicon. On the same page, in speaking of the edition of the Gospel of Mark in Gothic, with a grammatical commentary by Dr. R. Müller and Dr. H. Hoeppe (1881), "Müller" is misprinted "Miller." It should be added that the little work referred to is not only inaccurately printed, but that the grammatical notes are disfigured by extraordinary mistakes. In treating of the Peshito or Peshitto Syriac, it would have been well, perhaps, to have mentioned the edition of Leusden and Schaaf, since, with all its faults, it is so helpful to the student through the copious Lexicon (almost Concordance) which accompanies it, and its Latin translation.

THE NEW TESTAMENT GREEK TEXT.

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It is an unquestionable fact that the Greek text of the New Testament from which our common English version was made contains many hundreds of errors which have affected the translation; and that in some cases whole verses, or even longer passages, in the common English Bible, are spurious. This fact alone is sufficient to justify the demand for such a revision of the common version as shall remove these corruptions. Why, when so much pains is taken to obtain as correct a text as possible of ancient classical authors,—of Homer, Plato, or Thucydides,—should we be content with a text of the New Testament formed from a few modern MSS. in the infancy of criticism, when our means of improving it are now increased a hundred-fold? Why should the mere mistakes of transcribers still be imposed upon unlearned readers as the words of evangelists and apostles, or even of our Lord himself?

The statements that have just been made require illustration and explanation, in order that the importance of these errors of the Received Text may not be exaggerated on the one hand or underestimated on the other. We will consider, then:—

1. *The nature and extent of the differences of text in the Greek MSS. of the New Testament.* The MSS. of the New Testament, like those of all other ancient writings, differ from one another in some readings of considerable interest and importance, and in a multitude of unimportant particulars, such as the spelling of certain words; the order of the words; the addition or omission of particles not

affecting, or only slightly affecting, the sense; the insertion of words that would otherwise be understood; the substitution of a word or phrase for another synonymous with it; the use of different tenses of the same verb, or different cases of the same noun, where the variation is immaterial; and other points of no more consequence. The various readings which are comparatively important as affecting the sense consist for the most part: (1) of the *substitution* of one word for another that closely resembles it in spelling or in pronunciation; (2) the *omission* of a clause or longer passage from *homoteleuton*,—that is, the fact that it ends with the same word or the same series of syllables as the one preceding it; and (3) the *addition* to the text of words which were originally written as a marginal note or gloss, or are supplied from a parallel passage. Ancient scribes, like modern printers, when very knowing, have often made mistakes while they thought they were correcting them; but there is little or no ground for believing that the text of the New Testament has suffered in any place from wilful corruption.

The state of the case will be made plainer by specific examples. The great majority of questions about the readings, so far as they affect the translation, are such as these: whether we should read "Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus"; "the disciples" or "his disciples"; "and" for "but" or "now," and *vice versa*; "Jesus said" or "he said"; "he said" or "he saith" or "he answered and said"; whether we should add or omit "and" or "but" or "for" or "therefore," the sense not being affected; whether we should read "God" or "Lord" or "Christ," in such phrases as "the word of God," or "of the Lord," or "of Christ,"—these three words differing, as abbreviated in the Greek MSS., by only a single letter. Of the more important various readings, much the larger part consists of spurious *additions* to the text, not fraudulent, but originally written as marginal or interlinear notes, and afterwards taken into the text by a very common and natural mistake. Most of these occur in the Gospels. For instance, "bless them that

curse you, do good to them that hate you," is probably not genuine in Matt. v. 44, but was borrowed from the parallel passage in Luke vi. 27, 28. So the words "to repentance" are wanting in the best MSS. in Matt. ix. 13 and Mark ii. 17, but were introduced into later copies from Luke v. 32. For an example of omission from *homototeuton*, we may refer to 1 John ii. 23, where in our English Bibles the last clause of the verse is printed in italics as of doubtful genuineness. It is unquestionably genuine; how it was accidentally omitted in some MSS. will be seen if we understand that in the original the order of the words is as follows: "he that acknowledgeth the Son hath also the Father," the ending being the same as that of the preceding clause. The copyist, glancing at the ending of the second clause, supposed he had written it, when in fact he had only written the first. For an example of the *substitution* of a word for another resembling it in spelling, we may take Rev. i. 5, where for "washed us" (*λοβσαντι*) the best MSS. read "loosed" or "released us" (*λὸβσαντι*). For another, see the margin of the common version, Acts xiii. 18.

I will now give as full an account as is possible within moderate limits of the more important and remarkable various readings, that every one may see for himself to how much they amount.

The longer passages of which the genuineness is more or less questionable are the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 13; Matt. xvi. 2, 3, from "when" to "times" (most critics retain the words); xvii. 21; xviii. 11; xx. 16, last part (genuine in xxii. 14); xxi. 44; xxiii. 14; xxvii. 35 (from "that it might be fulfilled" to "lots"); Mark vi. 11, last sentence; vii. 16; ix. 44, 46; xi. 26; xv. 28; xvi. 9-20 (a peculiar and rather difficult question); Luke ix. 55, 56, from "and said" to "save them"; xvii. 36; xxii. 43, 44 (most critics retain the passage); xxiii. 17, 34, first sentence (most critics retain it); xxiv. 12, 40; John v. 3, 4, from "waiting" to "he had" (most critics reject this); vii. 53 to viii. 11 (also rejected by most critics); xxi. 25 (retained by most critics); Acts viii. 37; ix. 5, 6, from "it is hard"

to "unto him" (has no MS. authority: compare xxvi. 14; xxii. 10); xv. 34; xxiv. 6-8, from "and would" to "unto thee"; xxviii. 29; Rom. xi. 6, second sentence; xvi. 24; 1 John v. 7, 8, from "in heaven" to "in earth," inclusive (the famous text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, now rejected by common consent of scholars as an interpolation). Most of the questionable additions in the Gospels, it will be seen on examination, are from parallel passages, where the words are genuine; the doxology in the Lord's Prayer probably came in from the ancient liturgies (compare 1 Chron. xxix. 11); the passage about the woman taken in adultery, and some other additions, especially Luke ix. 55, 56, xxiii. 34 (if this is not genuine), are from early and probably authentic tradition.

Of questions relating to particular words or phrases, the following are some of the more interesting and important: whether we should read in Matt. i. 25 "a son" or "her first-born son" (compare Luke ii. 7); vi. 1, "alms" or "righteousness"; xi. 19, "children" or "works"; xix. 16, 17, "Good Teacher," and "callest thou me good," or "Teacher," and "askest thou me concerning what is good"; Mark i. 2, "in the prophets" or "in Isaiah the prophet"; ix. 23, "If thou canst believe," or simply, "If thou canst!" Luke ii. 14, "good will to (*or* among) men" or "among men of good will" (the latter expression meaning, probably, "men to whom God hath shown favor"); iv. 44, "Galilee" or "Judæa"; xiv. 5, "an ass or an ox" or "a son or an ox"; xxiii. 15, "I sent you to him" or "he sent him back to us"; xxiv. 51, omit "and was carried up into heaven"; John i. 18, read "the only begotten Son" or "only begotten God" (the words for "Son" and "God" differ in but a single letter in the old MSS.); iii. 13, omit "which is in heaven" (most critics retain the clause); vii. 8, read "not . . . yet" or "not"; xiv. 14, "ask anything in my name" or "ask of me anything in my name"; Acts xi. 20, "Greeks" or "Hellenists"; xvi. 7, "the Spirit" or "the Spirit of Jesus"; xx. 28, "the church of God" or "the church of the Lord"; Rom. xiv. 10, "the judgment seat of

Christ" or "the judgment seat of God"; 1 Cor. x. 9, "tempt Christ" or "tempt the Lord"; xiii. 3, "to be burned" or "that I may glory"; xv. 47, omit "the Lord"; Eph. iii. 9, omit "by Jesus Christ"; v. 9, read "the fruit of the Spirit" or "the fruit of the light"; Col. ii. 2, "the mystery of God" or "the mystery of God, Christ" (compare i. 27: there are several other readings); 1 Tim. iii. 16, "God was manifest" or "who (or "He who") was manifest" (manifested); 1 Pet. iii. 15, "the Lord God" or "the Lord Christ," or rather "Christ as Lord"; Jude 25, "the only wise God our Saviour" or "the only God our Saviour, through Jesus Christ our Lord"; Rev. i. 8, "the Lord" or "the Lord God"; xxii. 14, "that do his commandments" or "that wash their robes."

I have sufficiently illustrated the nature of the differences in the text of the New Testament MSS.: we will now consider their extent and importance. The *number* of the "various readings" frightens some innocent people, and figures largely in the writings of the more ignorant disbelievers in Christianity. "One hundred and fifty thousand various readings"! Must not these render the text of the New Testament wholly uncertain, and thus destroy the foundation of our faith?

The true state of the case is something like this. Of the one hundred and fifty thousand various readings, more or less, of the text of the Greek New Testament, we may, as Mr. Norton has remarked, dismiss nineteen-twentieths from consideration at once, as being obviously of such a character, or supported by so little authority, that no critic would regard them as having any claim to reception. This leaves, we will say, seven thousand five hundred. But of these, again, it will appear, on examination, that nineteen out of twenty are of no sort of consequence as affecting the sense; they relate to questions of orthography, or grammatical construction, or the order of words, or such other matters as have been mentioned above, in speaking of unimportant variations. They concern only the form of expression, not the essential meaning. This reduces the number to per-

haps four hundred which involve a difference of meaning, often very slight, or the omission or addition of a few words, sufficient to render them objects of some curiosity and interest, while a few exceptional cases among them may relatively be called important. But our critical helps are now so abundant that in a very large majority of these more important questions of reading we are able to determine the true text with a good degree of confidence. What remains doubtful we can afford to leave doubtful. In the text of all ancient writings, there are passages in which the text cannot be settled with certainty; and the same is true of the interpretation.

I have referred above to all, or nearly all, of the cases in which the genuineness of a whole verse or more is questionable; and I have given the most remarkable of the other readings of interest which present rival claims to acceptance. Their importance may be somewhat differently estimated by different persons. But it may be safely said that no Christian doctrine or duty rests on those portions of the text which are affected by differences in the MSS.; still less is anything *essential* in Christianity touched by the various readings. They do, to be sure, affect the bearing of a few passages on the doctrine of the Trinity; but the truth or falsity of the doctrine by no means depends upon the reading of those passages.

The number of the various readings which have been collected from more than five hundred MSS., more than a dozen ancient versions, and from the quotations in the writings of more than a hundred Christian Fathers, only attests the exuberance of our critical resources which enable us now to settle the true text of the New Testament with a confidence and precision which are wholly unattainable in the case of the text of any Greek or Latin classical author. I say, enable us *now* to do this; for, in the time of our translators of 1611, only a small fraction of our present critical helps was available. This leads us to consider:—

2. *The imperfection of the Greek text on which our common English version of the New Testament is founded.* The prin-

cipal editions of the Greek Testament which influenced, directly or indirectly, the text of the common version are those of Erasmus, five in number (1516-35); Robert Stephens (Estienne, Stephanus), of Paris and Geneva, four editions (1546-51); Beza, four editions in folio (1565-98), and five smaller editions (1565-1604); and the Complutensian Polyglott (1514, published in 1522). Without entering into minute details, it is enough to say that all these editions were founded on a small number of inferior and comparatively modern MSS., very imperfectly collated; and that they consequently contain a multitude of errors, which a comparison with older and better copies has since enabled us to discover and correct. It is true that Erasmus had one valuable MS. of the Gospels, and Stephens two (D and L); Beza had also D of the Gospels and Acts, and D (the Clermont MS.) of the Pauline Epistles; but they made scarcely any use of them. The text of the common version appears to agree more nearly with that of the later editions of Beza than with any other; but Beza followed very closely Robert Stephens's edition of 1550, and Stephens's again was little more than a reprint of the fourth edition of Erasmus (1527). Erasmus used as the basis of his text an inferior MS. of the fifteenth century, except in the Revelation, where he had only an inaccurate transcript of a mutilated MS. (wanting the last six verses) of little value, the real and supposed defects of which he supplied by *translating* from the Latin Vulgate into Greek. Besides this, he had in all, for his later editions, three MSS. of the Gospels, and four of the Acts and Epistles; the text of the Aldine edition of 1518, and of the Complutensian Polyglott. In select passages, he had also collations of some other MSS. The result of the whole is that in a considerable number of cases, not, to be sure, of great importance, the reading of the common English version is supported by *no* known Greek MS. whatever, but rests on an error of Erasmus or Beza (*e.g.*, Acts ix. 5, 6; Rom. vii. 6; 1 Pet. iii. 20; Rev. i. 9, 11; ii. 3, 20, 24; iii. 2; v. 10, 14; xv. 3; xvi. 5; xvii. 8, 16; xviii. 2, etc.); and it is safe to say that in more than a *thousand* instances

fidelity to the true text now ascertained requires a change in the common version, though in most cases the change would be slight. But granting that not many of the changes required can be called important, in the case of writings so precious as those of the New Testament every one must feel a strong desire to have the text freed as far as possible from later accretions, and restored to its primitive purity. Such being the need, we will next consider:—

3. *Our present resources for settling the text.* Our MS. materials for the correction of the text are far superior, both in point of number and antiquity, to those which we possess in the case of any ancient Greek classical author, with the exception, as regards antiquity, of a few fragments, as those of Philodemus, preserved in the Herculanean papyri. The cases are very few in which any MSS. of Greek classical authors have been found older than the ninth or tenth century. The oldest MS. of Æschylus and Sophocles, that from which all the others are believed to have been copied, directly or indirectly, is of the tenth or eleventh century; the oldest MS. of Euripides is of the twelfth. For the New Testament, on the other hand, we have MSS. more or less complete, written in uncial or capital letters, and ranging from the fourth to the tenth century, of the Gospels twenty-eight, besides twenty-nine small fragments; of the Acts and Catholic Epistles ten, besides six small fragments; of the Pauline Epistles eleven, besides nine small fragments; and of the Revelation five. All of these have been most thoroughly collated, and the text of the most important of them has been published. One of these MSS., the Sinaitic, containing the whole of the New Testament, and another, the Vatican (B), containing much the larger part of it, were written as early, probably, as the middle of the fourth century; two others, the Alexandrine (A) and the Ephraem (C), belong to about the middle of the fifth; of which date are two more (Q and T), containing considerable portions of the Gospels. A very remarkable MS. of the Gospels and Acts, the Cambridge MS. or Codex Bezae, belongs to the sixth century, as do E of the

Acts and D of the Pauline Epistles, also N, P, R, Z, of the Gospels and H of the Epistles (fragmentary). I pass by a number of small but valuable fragments of the fifth and sixth centuries. As to the cursive MSS., ranging from the tenth century to the sixteenth, we have of the Gospels more than six hundred; of the Acts over two hundred; of the Pauline Epistles nearly three hundred; of the Revelation more than one hundred,—not reckoning the Lectionaries or MSS. containing the lessons from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles read in the service of the church, of which there are more than four hundred. Of these cursive MSS. it is true that the great majority are of comparatively small value; and many have been imperfectly collated or only inspected. Some twenty or thirty of them, however, are of exceptional value—a few of very great value—for their agreement with the most ancient authorities.

But this is only a part of our critical materials. The *translations* of the New Testament, made at an early date for the benefit of Christian converts ignorant of Greek, and the very numerous *quotations* by a series of writers from the second century onwards, represent the text current in widely separated regions of the Christian world, and are often of the highest importance in determining questions of reading. Many of these authorities go back to a date one or two centuries earlier than our oldest MSS. Of the ancient versions, the Old Latin and the Curetonian Syriac belong to the second century; the two Egyptian versions, the Coptic or Memphitic and the Sahidic or Thebaic, probably to the earlier part of the third; the Peshito Syriac in its present form perhaps to the beginning of the fourth; in the latter part of the same century, we have the Gothic and the Latin Vulgate, and perhaps the Aethiopic; in the fifth century, the Armenian and the Jerusalem Syriac; and, in the sixth, the Philoxenian Syriac, revised by Thomas of Harkel, A.D. 616; to say nothing of several later versions.

Since the beginning of the present century, thoroughly critical editions of the Greek Testament have been published by such scholars as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischener-

dorf, and Tregelles, in which the rich materials collected by generations of scholars have been used for the improvement of the text; we have learned how to estimate the comparative value of our authorities; the principles of textual criticism have been in a good measure settled; the more important questions in regard to the text have been discussed, and there has been a steadily growing agreement of the ablest critics in regard to them.

With this view of what has been done in the way of preparation, we will consider, finally:—

4. *The ground for expecting a great improvement in the text from the work now undertaken by the British and American Revision Committees.* On this little needs now to be said. We have seen that the text from which the common English version was made contains many known errors, and that our present means of correcting it are ample. The work of revision is in the hands of a body of the best Christian scholars in England and America, and their duty to the Christian public is plain. The composition of the Committees, and the rules which they follow, are such that we may be sure that changes will not be made rashly; on the other hand, we may be confident that the work will be done honestly and faithfully. When an important reading is clearly a mistake of copyists, it will be fearlessly discarded; when it is doubtful, the doubtfulness will be noted in the margin; and the common English reader will at last have the benefit of the devoted labors of such scholars as Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, who have contributed so much to the restoration of the text of the New Testament to its original purity. On the English Committee itself there are at least three men who deserve to be ranked with those I have named: Professor Westcott and Dr. Hort, two of the best scholars that England has produced, who have given more than twenty years to the preparation of a critical edition of the Greek Testament; and Dr. Scrivener, whose labors in the collation and publication of important MSS. have earned the gratitude of all Biblical scholars. Professor Lightfoot is

another scholar of the highest eminence who has given much attention to the subject of textual criticism. We may rely upon it that such men as these, and such men as constitute the American Committee, whom I need not name, will not act hastily in a matter like this, and will not, on the other hand, "handle the word of God deceitfully," or suffer it to be adulterated through a weak and short-sighted timidity.

One remark may be added. All statements about the action of the Revision Committee in regard to any particular passage are wholly premature and unauthorized, for this reason, if for no other, that their work is not yet ended. When the result of their labors shall be published, it will be strange if it does not meet with some ignorant and bigoted criticism; but I feel sure that all intelligent and fair-minded scholars will emphatically indorse the judgment of Dr. Westcott, expressed in the Preface to the second edition of his *History of the English Bible* (1872), "that in no parallel case have the readings of the original texts to be translated been discussed and determined with equal care, thoroughness, and candor."

As regards the text of the Old Testament, the MSS. collated in the last century by Kennicott and De' Rossi all fall within the Masoretic period, and present for the most part only trivial variations. In general, our means of correcting the Hebrew text followed by our translators are very far inferior to those which we possess in the case of the Greek text of the New Testament, and but few changes on this ground are to be expected in the revised translation of the canonical books.

XI.

THE GOSPELS IN THE NEW REVISION.

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A VERY important part of the work of the new revision has consisted in the settlement of the Greek text to be followed in the translation. This was a duty which could not be evaded. To undertake to correct merely the mis-translations in the common English version, without reference to the question of the genuineness of the text, would be equivalent to saying that, while the mistakes of translators must be rectified, those of transcribers and editors should be regarded as sacred. It would be deliberately imposing on the Christian public hundreds of readings which all intelligent scholars, on the ground of decisive evidence, now agree in rejecting as spurious.

That there should be many mistakes in our MSS. of the Greek New Testament, as there are in all other MSS. of ancient authors, and that a portion of these mistakes should be capable of correction only by the comparison of many different copies, was inevitable in the nature of things, unless a perpetual miracle should be wrought. That such a miracle has not been wrought is shown by the multitude of "various readings" which a comparison of copies has actually brought to light, the number of which was roughly reckoned at thirty thousand in the days of Mill (1707), and may now be estimated at not fewer than one hundred thousand.

This host of various readings may startle one who is not acquainted with the subject, and he may imagine that the whole text of the New Testament is thus rendered uncertain. But a careful analysis will show that nineteen-

twentieths of these are of no more consequence than the palpable errata in the first proof of a modern printer; they have so little authority, or are so manifestly false, that they may be at once dismissed from consideration. Of those which remain, probably nine-tenths are of no importance as regards the sense; the differences either cannot be represented in a translation, or affect the form of expression merely, not the essential meaning of the sentence. Though the corrections made by the revisers in the Greek text of the New Testament followed by our translators probably exceed two thousand, hardly one-tenth of them, perhaps not one-twentieth, will be noticed by the ordinary reader. Of the small residue, many are indeed of sufficient interest and importance to constitute one of the strongest reasons for making a new revision, which should no longer suffer the known errors of copyists to take the place of the words of the evangelists and apostles. But the chief value of the work accomplished by the self-denying scholars who have spent so much time and labor in the search for MSS., and in their collation or publication, does not consist, after all, in the corrections of the text which have resulted from their researches. These corrections may affect a few of the passages which have been relied on for the support of certain doctrines, but not to such an extent as essentially to alter the state of the question. Still less is any question of Christian duty touched by the multitude of various readings. The greatest service which the scholars who have devoted themselves to critical studies and the collection of critical materials have rendered, has been the establishment of the fact that, on the whole, the New Testament writings have come down to us in a text remarkably free from important corruptions, even in the late and inferior MSS. on which the so-called "Received Text" was founded; while the helps which we now possess for restoring it to its primitive purity far exceed those which we enjoy in the case of any important classical author whose works have come down to us. The multitude of "various readings," which to the thoughtless or ignorant seems so alarming, is

simply the result of the extraordinary richness and variety of our critical resources.

At this point, it may be well to illustrate, by a brief statement, the difference between the position of the present revisers and King James's translators two hundred and seventy years ago, as regards a critical knowledge of the Greek text of the New Testament. The translators or revisers of 1611 followed strictly no one edition of the Greek Testament, though their revision seems to agree more closely, on the whole, with Beza's later editions (1588 and 1598) than with any other. But Beza's various editions (1565-98, folio, 1565-1604, 8vo) were founded mainly on Robert Stephens's editions of 1550 and 1551. For those editions Stephens had a very imperfect collation of fifteen MSS. from the Royal Library at Paris, and of the Complutensian Polyglott, whose readings were given in his margin. Of his MSS., ten contained the Gospels, eight the Acts and Epistles, and two the Apocalypse. Two of these MSS. of the Gospels were valuable (D and L), but he made very little use of them; indeed, the MS. readings given in his margin seem in general to have served rather for show than for use. Scrivener has noted one hundred and nineteen places in which his text is in opposition to all of them. His text is, in fact, substantially formed from the last editions of Erasmus (1527-35), which differ very slightly from each other. Now what was Erasmus's critical apparatus? In the Gospels, he had, all told, three MSS.,—one of the tenth century, and a good one, but which he hardly ever followed, because its text seemed so peculiar that he was afraid of it. He used as the basis of his text in the Gospels an inferior MS. of the fifteenth century. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, he had four modern MSS.; in the Pauline Epistles, five; in the Revelation, only one, an inaccurate copy of which was used by the printer. This MS. was mutilated, lacking the last six verses of the book, which Erasmus supplied by *translating* back from the Latin Vulgate into pretty bad Greek. This was not all. In other passages he took the liberty of correcting or supplementing

his text from the Latin Vulgate. Beza occasionally took a similar liberty; and the result is, that in a considerable number of cases, not, indeed, in general, of much importance, the reading of the common English version is *supported by no known Greek MS.*, but rests on an error of Erasmus or Beza (for example, Acts ix. 5, 6; Rom. vii. 6; 2 Cor. i. 6; 1 Pet. iii. 20; Rev. i. 9, 11; ii. 3, 20, 24; iii. 2; v. 10, 14; xv. 3; xvi. 5; xvii. 8, 16; xviii. 2, etc.). Such is the foundation of the text on which the so-called Authorized Version was based.

It is impossible, without entering into tedious detail, to give an adequate idea of the immense accession to our critical resources which has resulted from the lifelong labors of generations of scholars since our common version was made. I will merely allude to Mill's edition of the Greek Testament (1707) on which he spent thirty years, mainly in collecting materials; to Bengel (1734), who did much to establish correct principles of criticism; to Wetstein, whose magnificent edition of the Greek Testament (1751-52), in two folio volumes, represents the arduous labor of forty years, and who added greatly to our knowledge of MSS. and the quotations of the Christian Fathers; and to the extensive collations of MSS. by Alter, Birch, with his associates, and Matthæi, the latter of whom alone carefully examined more than one hundred. Above all his predecessors, Griesbach stands pre-eminent. He not only added much to the materials already collected, but was the first to turn them to proper account in the correction of the Received Text, and in critical tact has perhaps been excelled by none of those who have succeeded him. After Griesbach, who links the last to the present century, we may name the Roman Catholic Scholz, a poor critic, but who brought to light and partially collated many hundreds of MSS. before undescribed; Lachmann, the eminent classical scholar, whose original genius gave a new impulse to textual criticism; Scrivener, to whom we are indebted for excellent editions of two important uncial MSS. (the Codex Bezae or Cambridge MS. of the Gospels and the Acts, and the Codex Augiensis of the Pauline Epistles), and for the careful col-

lation of about seventy cursive MSS. ; and, above all, Tischendorf and Tregelles, whose indefatigable labors have made an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism. To describe these labors here in detail is utterly out of the question. It may suffice to say that, for the purpose of enlarging and perfecting our critical apparatus, Tischendorf visited nearly all the principal libraries of Europe, collating or copying for publication the most important MSS. of the New Testament, whose text had not before been printed. Besides this, he took three journeys to the East, bringing home rich MS. treasures, and crowning all with the magnificent discovery of the Sinai MS. of the fourth century, containing the New Testament absolutely complete. He spent more than eight years in these travels and collations. His editions of the texts of Biblical MSS. published by him for the first time, or for the first time accurately, comprise no less than seventeen large quarto and five folio volumes, not counting the *Anecdota Sacra et Profana* and the *Notitia editionis Codicis Sinaitici*, two quarto volumes containing descriptions or collations of many new MSS. Many of his collations or copies of important MSS. still remain unpublished, though used in his last critical edition of the Greek Testament. Between the years 1840 and 1873, he issued as many as twenty-four editions of the Greek New Testament, including the reimpressions of his stereotyped *editio academica*. Only four of these editions, however, those of 1841, 1849, 1859, and 1869-72, are independently important as marking great advances in the acquisition of new materials. The mere catalogue of Tischendorf's publications, prepared by Dr. Gregory for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (January, 1876), most of them relating to Biblical criticism, covers more than ten octavo pages.*

Dr. Tregelles, like Tischendorf, visited many of the principal European libraries, making three journeys to the Continent for this purpose, and collated with extreme care the most important uncial MSS. and a number of very valuable cursives. He compared his collations with those of Tischen-

[* See also Dr. Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *Editio Octava Critica Maior*, pp. 7-22.]

dorf, and, in case of any discrepancy, settled the question by a re-examination of the MS. The only new MS. which he published was the Codex Zacynthius, a palimpsest of great value belonging to the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and containing about a third of the Gospel of Luke. He issued but one edition of the Greek Testament (1857-72), and was disabled by paralysis from personally completing the Prolegomena or Introduction to this, and from supplying the needful corrections and additions. His accuracy in the statement of his authorities, and the new material incorporated in the notes, give the work great value, and the arrangement of the matter is very lucid. But though not to be compared with Tischendorf in the extent of his contributions to our stock of critical material, Dr. Tregelles did far more than his rival to illustrate and enforce the principles on which a critical edition of the Greek Testament should be based, and to establish, by what he called "comparative criticism," the right of a few of the oldest MSS., in many cases, to outweigh a vast numerical majority of later authorities. He did far more, probably, than any other writer, to overcome the blind and unreasoning prejudice which so long existed in England in favor of the so-called "Received Text."

A rough account of the number of Greek MSS. of the New Testament now known will give some idea of the vast enlargement of our critical materials since the time when the common English version was made. We have now for the Gospels sixty uncials (reckoning the six Psalters, etc., which contain the hymns in Luke i. 46-55, 68-79, ii. 29-32), ranging from the fourth century to the tenth, and more than six hundred cursives, dating from the tenth century to the sixteenth; for the Acts and Catholic Epistles, seventeen uncials and over two hundred cursives; for the Pauline Epistles, twenty uncials and over two hundred and eighty cursives; for the Revelation, five uncials and about one hundred cursives. To these are to be added over three hundred and forty Evangelistaries and about eighty Praxapostoli; that is, MSS. containing the Lessons from the

Gospels and the Acts and Epistles read in the service of the church. This very rough statement, however, requires much qualification to prevent a false impression, as more than half of the uncials are mere fragments, though very valuable fragments, and most of the others are more or less mutilated; while a large majority of the cursives have been but partially collated, or only inspected. But *all* of the uncials, incomparably the most valuable part of the apparatus, have been thoroughly collated (with the exception of the recently discovered Codex Rossanensis); indeed, the whole text of the most valuable among them has been published.*

There is another very important class of our critical documents which can be noticed only in the briefest manner. The translations of the New Testament into different languages, made at an early date for the benefit of Christian converts ignorant of Greek,—the *ancient versions* as they are commonly termed,—represent the text current in widely separated regions of the Christian world, and are often of the highest importance in settling questions of textual criticism. Two of these versions, the Old Latin and the Curetonian Syriac, belong to the second century; two, the Memphitic or Coptic, and the Thebaic or Sahidic, to the earlier part of the third; four more, the Peshito Syriac in its present form, the Gothic, the Latin Vulgate, and the Aethiopic (perhaps) to the fourth; two, the Armenian and the Jerusalem Syriac, to the fifth; and there are several other later versions of considerable importance, as the Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac and the Slavonic. The earlier editors of the Greek Testament knew none of these except the Vulgate and the Peshito, and the former only in a very corrupt text. They made little use of either of them, except occasionally to corrupt the Greek text from the more familiar Vulgate. The Curetonian Syriac is a recent discovery;

[* See Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, p. 101 sq., and the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition, p. 338. It may be added that a collation of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, as given in the Codex Rossanensis, has been published in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, u. s. w. Bd. I. Heft 4; compare Professor Sanday's Essay in *Studia Biblica* (Oxford, 1885), pp. 103-112; and p. 238 below.]

and the value of this and of the other early versions in textual criticism can hardly be overestimated. Our knowledge of the Old Latin version or versions has been very greatly extended by the labors of scholars in the present century in connection with the discovery of new MSS.

A third and also very important class of our authorities is the numerous *quotations* of the New Testament by early Christian writers, many of them one or two centuries earlier than the date of our oldest MSS. In respect to these, though Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Sabatier, Griesbach, Matthæi, and others, had made extensive collections, our critical apparatus has been greatly augmented by the labors of Tischendorf and Tregelles.

The most valuable result of these vast accessions to our critical apparatus has been indirect rather than direct. It has enabled us to trace the outlines of the history of the text; to determine, approximately, the *relative value* of our different authorities and their distinguishing characteristics; it has enabled us to establish on a solid foundation certain *principles of criticism*, which serve as a guide through the labyrinth of conflicting testimonies.

A careful study of the occasions of error in copying is an important preparation for the decision of many questions in textual criticism. The way in which the oldest MSS. were generally written, with no spaces between the words except at the end of a long paragraph (where a space about half the width of a capital letter is often left in the Vatican MS.), no distinction of the beginning of sentences by larger initial letters, with very few points, perhaps none for a whole page, and no accents or breathings, greatly increased the liability to mistakes in transcription. How easy it is to make such mistakes, even under favorable circumstances, is well known to every proof-reader. Many of the occasions of error in copying MSS.—mistakes of the eye, the ear, and of memory—affect in a similar manner the work of the printer; so that the critical examination of typographical errors throws no little light on some of the problems presented by the variations in ancient MSS. The proper

comparison, indeed, would be between the errors in a MS. and those in the compositor's first proof; but it may not be without interest to illustrate by examples some of the occasions of error common to MSS. and printed books.

In the year 1833 there was published at Oxford an "Exact Reprint" of what was then supposed to be the first edition of the common English version of the Bible, printed in 1611. (Two editions were actually printed that year; and which of these is the one represented in the "Exact Reprint" is still in dispute.*) To this is prefixed a collation of the text with that of one of the editions of 1613. The variations noted (about 412 in all), which do not include mere differences in spelling, occupy seven or eight pages quarto. From these I select a few illustrations of different classes of mistakes.

The first is an example of *omission* occasioned by what is called *homæoteleuton*, that is, the "like ending" of successive words or clauses. In the edition of 1611, John xx. 25 reads thus: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nailes, and put my finger into the print of the nailes, and thrust my hand into his side," etc. Here, in the edition of 1613, the words "and put my finger into the print of the nailes" are omitted. The compositor having set up the first clause of the verse, ending with "the print of the nailes," glances back to his text, and, seeing the *second* "print of the nailes," supposes *that* is what he has just put in type, and goes on with the "and thrust," unconsciously omitting the second clause. This kind of mistake occurs very frequently in MSS. In the edition of 1613, clauses were also accidentally omitted on account of the recurrence of the same word in 1 Kings iii. 15, Hab. ii. 5, Matt. xiii. 8 and xvi. 11, and two whole verses (vv. 13, 14) were dropped in the sixteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, owing to the fact that verses 12 and 14 each end with the phrase "according to his workes." In Blayney's edition of 1769, intended to be a standard, seventeen words were inadvertently omitted in Rev. xviii. 22, on account of the recurrence of the word "more." In the Sinaitic MS., omissions

* [Scrivener (*Authorized Edition of the Eng. Bible*, Cambr. 1884, p. 5 ff.) thinks the *second*.]

from this cause are very numerous; some of the most remarkable will be found at Matt. xxvi. 62, 63; Mark x. 35, 37; Luke x. 32; John xix. 20, 21; Acts xiv. 20, 21; Eph. ii. 7; Rev. iv. 3. In the Alexandrian MS., four whole verses (1 Cor. vi. 3-6) are omitted on account of the like ending of the last word in verse 2 and the last in verse 6. In 1 John ii. 23, in our common English version the last clause is printed in italics as spurious, or of doubtful genuineness. It is unquestionably genuine; its accidental omission in many MSS. being occasioned by the fact that in the original it ends with the same words as the first clause.

The omission of a small word where the sense is not materially affected is very common in the English Bible of 1613 referred to above as compared with the edition of 1611; and it also occurs in some places where the sense is essentially changed by it; for example, 2 Tim. iv. 16, where we read, "I pray God that it may be laid to their charge," instead of "may *not* be laid." In other passages, as Lev. xvii. 14; Neh. x. 31; Ezek. xxiv. 7; 1 Cor. xi. 17, this important little word *not* is found in one of these editions and not in the other. In an edition of the English Bible printed in 1632 ['31?], as is well known, the word *not* was omitted from the seventh commandment; and another edition reads in 1 Cor. vi. 9, "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God?"

We have seen how the recurrence of the same word, or of the same ending of a word, may occasion an omission. It may also occasion the unconscious *repetition* of a clause or sentence. We have a very curious example of this in Exod. xiv. 10 in the English Bible of 1611 according to the Oxford "Exact Reprint," where twenty-one words were repeated by accident, thus:—

1611.

And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lift vp their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel lift vp their eyes, and beholde, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid; and the children of Israel cried out vnto the Lord.

1613.

And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lift vp their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out vnto the Lord.

Here we perceive that the cause of the error, not surprising in a first proof, but strangely uncorrected, was the recurrence of the words "the children of Israel" in two successive parts of a long sentence. The sleepy compositor, having set up the verse as far as the second "children of Israel" (inclusive), looked back to his text, and seeing the *first* "children of Israel," which he supposed was what he had just put in type, went on with the words following.

There are several remarkable examples of such repetition in the Vatican MS.; one in Rom. iv. 4, 5, another in 2 Cor. iii. 14, 15; in each case the origin of the error will appear on consulting the Greek. It is fortunate on one account that these mistakes were made, as it is only in such duplicated passages that the beautiful original writing has preserved its primitive form, a later hand having elsewhere retouched the letters and added accents and breathings. There is a more extraordinary case of this kind in the Sinaitic MS., 1 Thess. ii. 13, 14, where twenty-five words are repeated on account of the recurrence of τοῦ θεοῦ, "of God." This mistake was, however, corrected by the contemporary reviser of the MS. In a few other instances, as Luke xvii. 16, Eph. vi. 3, a verse has been carelessly repeated in the Codex Sinaiticus.

An unconscious substitution of one word for another equivalent in meaning often occurs in copying, and even in printing. In such cases, a familiar or easy form of expression usually takes the place of one which is harsh or unusual. Thus, in Gen. xxvii. 44, the edition of 1611 reads, correctly, "until thy brother's furie *turne* away"; the edition of 1613 substitutes "*pass*e away"; Prov. xiv. 15, "The simple *beleeveth* every word" (1611) becomes "The simple *beleeve* every word" (1613); Mark xii. 13, "And they *send* vnto him certaine of the Pharisees," reads in the edition of 1613 "they *sent*," etc. Here the original settles the true reading of the English version; were it otherwise, the maxim, "The more difficult reading is to be preferred," would lead to the same result.

More extraordinary substitutions sometimes occur, in

which a word suggested to the mind of the transcriber or printer by the preceding context is unconsciously set in the place of the true word. This may be the origin of a misprint which has usurped the place of the true reading in all copies of our common English version; namely, "the profession of our *faith*," in Heb. x. 23, for "the profession of our *hope*." The Greek word here represented by "faith" is everywhere else in the New Testament rendered "hope," and has no other meaning. It is so rendered in Heb. x. 23, in all the earlier English versions. It is incredible that our translators, in opposition to the original, deliberately changed the "hope" of their predecessors to "faith." As a misprint, which would easily escape correction, it may have originated in the expression "assurance of faith" in the preceding verse, putting the thought of "faith" into the mind of the type-setter, and thus making it natural for him to substitute the common expression, "profession of *faith*," for the unusual one, "profession of *hope*." This may also have been facilitated by the occurrence of the word "faithful" in the following clause. We have a somewhat similar substitution in the edition of 1613 of "*shined* through darknesse" for "*walked* through darknesse" in Job xxix. 3, the word "shined" occurring in the preceding clause. In John x. 25, "I told you, and ye *believed* not," "believed" is doubtless a printer's mistake, very natural after "told," for "believe." The verb is in the present tense in the Greek, with no various reading, and all the earlier English versions read "believe." It cannot be reasonably supposed that our translators deliberately altered this correct rendering, while, as an unintentional change after a past tense, it would be more likely to occur than "sent" for "send" and "said" for "say," which we find in the Bible of 1613 at Mark xii. 13, 14.

We find occasional examples of the unconscious *addition* of words not belonging to the text, but merely suggested by the context. In Gen. xv. 24, in the edition of 1611, we read "that which the yong men have eaten, and the portion of the men that went with mee." The edition of 1613 reads "the portion of the *olde* men that went with mee." There

is no authority for "olde"; the mention of the *young* men suggested by contrast the idea of old men, and thus the insertion was innocently made. Perhaps such is the origin in the Greek text of the addition "openly" in Matt. vi. 4, 6, 18, rightly rejected by the Revisers as spurious. In Matt. xxv. 6, the true text reads, "Behold, the bridegroom!" the addition "cometh," found in the great mass of the later MSS., was not probably a deliberate interpolation, but what the mind supplied was unconsciously added to the text.

These illustrations from the English Bible of some occasions of error in copying have been carried much further than was intended, and many things which they suggest must be passed over. An examination of the whole list of differences between the editions of 1611 and 1613 would show the great value of such a comparison for the correction of the errors of both. In the case of variations that affect the sense, the mere comparison, without reference to the original Hebrew or Greek, would in most cases at once determine the true reading. The addition of another independent early copy, though it would add to the number of variations, would settle most of the remaining questions. Indeed, the grosser errors would at once suggest their own correction. The analogy between the early printed editions of King James's version as compared with modern copies, and the oldest MSS. of the New Testament as compared with those from six to twelve hundred years later, obviously fails in many important respects; but, as no one would dispute the pre-eminent value of these editions in an investigation of the text of our translators, notwithstanding their gross misprints, the pre-eminent value of our oldest MSS. is not destroyed by the fact that they each contain many errors of the scribe. The carelessness of the copyist impairs the value of a MS. where its testimony is single, and especially when the apparent error is one to which he is proved to have been prone; but a comparison with other MSS., or often the nature of the error itself, will enable us to correct with confidence these transcriptional mistakes, and thus reach a text incomparably purer than

that presented by the great mass of late MSS. Such arguments as writers like Mr. Burgon use against the authority of the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS., even if not founded on false premises, as they are to a large extent, would simply destroy the authority of *all* our MSS., and *a fortiori* that of the ancient versions and the quotations found in early Christian writers. We may learn much from an honest witness, even if he is not infallible; and there can be no possible doubt that the New Testament scribes were in general honest.

In considering the principles of criticism which have governed the Revisers in determining the Greek text, it will be better to begin with concrete examples which serve to illustrate them than to state them baldly beforehand in an abstract form.

An instructive example for our purpose will be found in the quotations from Isa. xxix. 13 in Matt. xv. 8. This reads in the Revised Version, "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me"; in the Common Version, "This people *draweth nigh to me with their mouth, and* honoureth me with their lips, but their heart," etc., the latter agreeing with the Septuagint in the addition of the words here italicized. The shorter reading is supported by five uncial MSS., \aleph and B,—that is, the Sinaitic and Vatican (of the fourth century),—D (the Codex Bezae) and T^c (sixth century), and L, of the eighth century, and two cursives, 33 (eleventh century) and 124 (twelfth century); by the Old Latin version or versions (except the MS. f, that is, Codex Brixianus) and the Vulgate, the Curetonian and Peshito Syriac, the Memphitic, Aethiopic, Armenian, and Persic versions; by the quotations of the Gnostic Ptolemy in the second century, Clement of Alexandria, Origen repeatedly, who expressly remarks upon the reading, Eusebius, Basil the Great (or Pseudo-Basil), Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and of Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Latin Fathers generally. Clement of Rome (first century) quotes the passage in the shorter form, and so it is quoted in the spurious Second Epistle (or Homily) to the Corin-

thians ascribed to him (second century). On the other side are fourteen uncials; namely, C, the Ephraem palimpsest of the fifth century, E of the eighth century, and the rest of the ninth and tenth centuries, with several hundreds of cursives, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries; the Latin MS. f, representing a late revision of the Old Latin; and the Harclean Syriac version, of the seventh century.

We observe first that, if the disputed clause be genuine, its omission must have been the result either of accident or of design. But it cannot have been omitted by accident from authorities so numerous, so independent, and so widespread, representing all the principal regions of the Christian world. There is no *homœoteleuton* here. Nor is there the slightest probability that it was omitted by design. Should it be suggested that it was omitted to make the contrast of the second and third clauses more forcible, it may be replied that there is no evidence that the scribes dealt in any such way with their MSS., or, rather, abundant evidence that such was not their habit. Their work was mechanical; and they had some respect for the Scriptures. Internal evidence is thus fatal to the clause; and we cannot fail to be struck at once with the immense preponderance of the *ancient* evidence, of all sorts, against it.

But how can we explain the addition? Very easily: it came in from the Septuagint version. In the case of passages from the Old Testament quoted in the New, where they are often cited freely, or abridged, it was customary to note in the margin the differences between their text in the Septuagint and in the New Testament. In a similar manner, the report of Christ's sayings or doings in one Gospel was often supplemented by marginal or interlinear notes derived from the parallel passages in one or more of the other Gospels. Glosses, or interpretations of difficult words, were often given in the margin. Words or clauses accidentally omitted by the scribe were also placed there. Owing to this last circumstance, it frequently happened that, in copying MSS. containing these various marginal notes and glosses, the scribe either added them to his text,

supposing them to have been accidentally left out by the former copyist, or substituted them for the true text, supposing them to be a correction. This has been a main source of corruption in the later MSS. of the Gospels, as will be seen hereafter. Taking all these things into consideration, we may conclude with absolute confidence that the shorter reading here is the true one.

The case is equally clear in the quotation from Isa. lxi. 1 in Luke iv. 18, 19, where the words "to heal the broken-hearted" are omitted by the Revisers. They are wanting in the uncial MSS. \aleph , B, D, L, and the Codex Zacynthius (eighth century), in the cursives 13, 33, 69, in most MSS. of the Old Latin version or versions and the best of the Vulgate, also in the Memphitic, Aethiopic, and Armenian versions, and in the quotations of Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria. The omission of the clause cannot be explained as the result either of accident or design: it came in from the Septuagint. So in Matt. ii. 18, the words "lamentation and" before "weeping and great mourning," in the quotation from Jer. xxxi. (Sept. xxxviii.) 15 are rightly omitted in the new version on the authority of \aleph , B, Z (the Dublin palimpsest, sixth century), the cursives 1, 22, the Old Latin, Vulgate, Memphitic, Thebaic, Peshito Syriac, and Jerusalem Syriac versions, and the quotation of Justin Martyr (second century). The omission here cannot be explained as the result either of accident or design; and the combination of very ancient evidence against it, representing all quarters of the Christian world, is absolutely decisive. It was introduced, as in the other cases, from the Septuagint version. Other instances of the amplification of passages quoted from the Old Testament will be found in the "Received Text" in Rom. xiii. 9 and Heb. xii. 20, where the clauses "thou shalt not bear false witness" and "or thrust through with a dart" are omitted by the Revisers. Heb. ii. 7 may be another case. See the Revisers' margin.

Looking back now at the documentary evidence in the three passages examined, we see the great mass of the

cursive MSS. and all the later uncials agreeing in readings which are certainly false. It becomes evident, then, that our MSS. must be weighed, not counted. These are only a few out of a vast multitude of examples in which the force of evidence, internal and external, compels us to accept a reading supported by a very small number of our oldest MSS. in opposition to the great horde of later authorities. This is particularly the case in questions of omission or addition.

We have seen the manner in which abridged quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels are supplemented in the later MSS. and the Received Text from the Septuagint. We shall now notice some examples of the way in which the text of one Gospel has been interpolated by the addition of words or clauses which belong to another, or in which its language has been assimilated to that used in the parallel passages.

In Matt. xx. 22, the common version reads: "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of [and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with]?" and in verse 23, "Ye shall indeed drink of my cup [and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with]." The clauses here bracketed are wanting in \aleph , B, D, L, Z, in the cursives 1 and 22 (in verse 23 in six others besides these), in most of the MSS. of the Old Latin version or versions, the Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, the Memphitic, Thebaic, Aethiopic, and Persic versions, and in the quotations of Origen, Epiphanius, John of Damascus, and the Latin Fathers generally. Origen (in the early part of the third century) expressly notes the fact that they were found in Mark, but not in Matthew. In Mark x. 38, 39, none of the MSS. or versions omit them. But, in Matthew, C alone contains them, among our MSS. of the oldest class; they are found in thirteen of the later uncials (all but one of them belonging to the ninth or tenth century), in the great mass of cursives, in three MSS. of the Old Latin, in the Peshito, Harclean Syriac, and Armenian versions, and in the quotations of Chrysostom and Basil of Seleucia. (Most of these authorities read "or" for "and" in verse 22.)

Now, if these clauses belonged originally to the text, they must have been omitted by accident or by design. They could not have been omitted accidentally in so many and so independent very early authorities, including all, so far as we know, that represent the second and third centuries. In the 23d verse, the last word in the Greek indeed agrees in the last four letters with the word which ends the preceding clause; but there is no such occasion for accidental omission in verse 22. Nor can we discover any motive for intentional omission of the clauses. On the other hand, their insertion is readily explained by their existence in Mark. We conclude then, with confidence, that the clauses in question did not belong to the original text.

Among the numerous examples in which the text followed in the common version has received similar additions from the parallel passages are — Matt. i. 25, where for “her first-born son” the oldest authorities read simply “a son,” the fuller form coming from Luke ii. 7, where all the MSS. have it; Matt. v. 44, where “bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,” and “despitefully use you and,” are from Luke vi. 27, 28; Matt. viii. 29, where “Jesus” is from Mark v. 7 and Luke viii. 28; Matt. ix. 13 and Mark ii. 17, where the words “to repentance” are from Luke v. 32; Matt. xvi. 3, where “O ye hypocrites” is from Luke xii. 56. In Matt. xvii. 21, the whole verse, probably, was introduced from Mark ix. 29, and Matt. xviii. 11 from Luke xix. 10. In Matt. xix. 16, 17, the Revisers’ text omits “good” before “Master,” and reads, “Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good,” instead of, “Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God,” the readings of the Received Text being found without any important variation in the parallel passages, Mark x. 17, 18, Luke xviii. 18, 19. Here the readings adopted in the new revision have in their favor a great preponderance of the *most ancient* testimony of MSS., versions, and Fathers, while their origin in accident seems impossible; and the only apparent motive for deliberate alteration, the avoiding of a theological difficulty, would be

equally strong in the case of the parallel passages in Mark and Luke, where there is no trace of an attempt to remove it in that way. The judgment of the Revisers is accordingly supported by that of a great majority of the better critics, as Mill, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Green, Westcott and Hort, Porter, Davidson, Scrivener, De Wette, Meyer, Weiss, Keil, etc. In Matt. xix. 20, the words "from my youth up" are derived from Mark x. 20 and Luke xviii. 21; "or wife" in Matt. xix. 29 and Mark x. 29, from Luke xviii. 29; the verse Matt. xxiii. 14 is from Mark xii. 40 and Luke xx. 47; Matt. xxvii. 35, "that it might be fulfilled" to the end, from John xix. 24. In this last case, the question might arise whether the omission was not accidental, on account of the recurrence of the word "lots"; but the authorities against the sentence are so numerous and weighty, including all our uncial MSS. but one, a host of cursives, most of the ancient versions, and the commentators among the Christian Fathers, that this explanation must be dismissed.

In Mark iii. 5 and Luke vi. 10, "whole, as the other," comes from Matt. xii. 13; in Mark vi. 11, "Verily I say unto you," etc., to the end of the verse, from Matt. x. 15; Mark vii. 16, "If any man have ears to hear, let him hear," may be from Mark iv. 23, though substantially the same words occur also in Matt. xi. 15; xiii. 9, 43; Mark iv. 9; Luke viii. 8; xiv. 35. They appear as an unquestionable interpolation in many MSS. in Luke xii. 21 and xxi. 4. Mark xi. 26 is probably from Matt. vi. 15, though the omission might possibly be occasioned by the like ending of the preceding verse. Mark xv. 28 is from Luke xxii. 37.

In Luke iv. 2, "afterward"; 4, "by every word of God"; 5, "into a high mountain"; 8, "get thee behind me, Satan, for" etc., are from Matt. iv. 2, 4, 8, 10, and xvi. 23; Luke v. 38, "and both are preserved," from Matt. ix. 17; Luke viii. 48, "be of good comfort," is from Matt. ix. 22; Luke viii. 54, "put them all out, and" is from Mark v. 40. In Luke xi. 2, 4, the words or clauses in the Lord's Prayer in the common version which are omitted in the revision are

borrowed from Matt. vi. 9, 10, 13. We have the express testimony of Origen that they were wanting in the MSS. of Luke in his day. In Luke xi. 44, "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," is from Matt. xxiii. 27; "desolate," in Luke xiii. 35, from Matt. xxiii. 38; and the verse Luke xvii. 36 comes doubtless from Matt. xxiv. 40. *Homoteleuton* might indeed operate here, but all the uncial MSS. except two omit the verse. Our translators of 1611 note in their margin that it is "wanting in most of the Greek copies." They followed Beza against Erasmus and Stephens.

In John vi. 69, the true reading is, with little doubt, "thou art the Holy One of God," instead of, "thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," which comes from Matt. xvi. 16.

The text has often been amplified from the context, or from other parts of the same Gospel. In many cases this might be done by a transcriber unconsciously. So in Matt. i. 6, "the king" has been added to the second "David" from the preceding clause; the subject "Jesus," for example, is supplied in Matt. iv. 12, 18, viii. 3, 5, 7, and often elsewhere; "by them of old time" (more properly "to them," etc.) in Matt. v. 27 is added from verse 21; "among the people" in Matt. ix. 35 comes from iv. 23; "first" before "come," Matt. xvii. 11, is from verse 10, or perhaps from Mark ix. 12; "idle," Matt. xx. 6, comes from verse 3, and the last two clauses of verse 7 from verse 4, slightly modified; "for many be called, but few chosen," in Matt. xx. 16, is from Matt. xxii. 14. In Matt. xxviii. 9 (8), "And as they went to tell his disciples" seems to have been added from the preceding verses; but accidental omission from *homoteleuton* is possible. Mark vii. 8, "as the washing of pots and cups, and many other such like things ye do," is from verses 4 and 13; the verses Mark ix. 44, 46, are from verse 48, and the last clause of verse 45 from verse 43; "whatsoever he saith," Mark xi. 23, is from the beginning of the verse. In Luke i. 28, "blessed art thou among women" is from verse 42; in Luke ii. 40, "in spirit" comes from i. 80; "to Jerusalem," Luke ii. 42, from verse 41; Luke vi. 45, "man" and "treasure of his heart" after "evil" are from the first part of the

verse; in John i. 27, the amplified form of the Received Text is from verse 15.

Marginal notes or glosses have often been taken into the text. Many of the supplements already mentioned were probably first written in the margin. Examples of glosses or marginal notes added to the text, or substituted for the true reading, are Matt. v. 22 (probably), "without a cause"; vi. 1, "alms" (see verse 2) for "righteousness"; Matt. xxv. 13, "wherein the Son of man cometh"; Mark vii. 2, "they found fault" (inserted to remove a supposed difficulty in the construction); Mark vii. 5, "unwashed" for "defiled" (literally, *common*) hands; Luke x. 35, "when he departed"; xi. 54, "and seeking" and "that they might accuse him" (compare Matt. xii. 10, Mark iii. 2); Luke xxii. 64, "struck him on the face, and"; Luke xxiii. 17, the whole verse; John v. 16, "and sought to slay him"; viii. 59, "going through the midst of them, and so passed by" (compare Luke iv. 30); xi. 41, "from the place where the dead was laid."

The spurious additions to the text which we have thus far considered are in one point of view of little importance, as nearly all of them either grow out of the context by a natural or necessary inference, or are unquestionably genuine in the Gospel from which they are derived. From another point of view, however, they are pernicious. This assimilation of the parallel passages of the Gospels by later copyists is very misleading to one who is carefully studying their relation to one another: it makes them appear much less independent than they really are. The Revisers have greatly aided the English reader who wishes to compare the different Gospels intelligently: first, by the purification of their text; and, secondly, by the pains which they have taken to translate the same Greek words and phrases, when they are found in parallel passages of the Gospels, in the same way. The common version is surprisingly faulty in this respect, often leading the English reader to suppose there is a difference in the original where there is really an agreement, or an agreement where there is a difference.

But though the great majority of the later additions to

the text of our Gospels originated in the way above explained, a certain number are from a source not yet mentioned. Our four Gospels are all only fragmentary sketches of the life and teaching of Jesus (compare John xx. 20; [xxi. 25]). Sayings and doings of his which they have not recorded would naturally be handed down, in a more or less imperfect form, by tradition. A considerable number of such sayings, some of them probably genuine, are found in early Christian writings. It would be strange if some of these traditionary sayings or incidents did not find their way, in certain MSS., into the text of our Gospels. This has actually been the case, though to an extent far less than one might have expected. In the MS. D of the Gospels, in most MSS. of the Old Latin, and in the Curetonian Syriac version, there is an addition of this kind of considerable length at Matt. xx. 28, founded probably on a misreport of the parable Luke xiv. 7-11. A saying respecting the Sabbath, ascribed to Christ, is inserted in D (the Codex Bezae) at Luke vi. 4.

The longest and the most remarkable of the comparatively few interpolations of this sort in the Received Text of the Gospels is the passage relating to the woman taken in adultery, John vii. 53 to viii. 11 inclusive. The Revisers have separated this from the context by an extra space, and enclosed it in brackets, with a marginal note stating the fact that most of the ancient authorities omit it, and that those which contain it vary much from each other. An overwhelming preponderance of the weightiest testimony of all kinds—of our oldest MSS., the ancient versions, and the Christian Fathers who have commented on the Gospel—is against it; the only MS. of the oldest class which contains it (D) gives it in a form differing much from that in the mass of the later MSS., while these vary not a little from one another. More than ten MSS. put it at the end of the Gospel; one inserts it after John vii. 36; four others place it at the end of the twenty-first chapter of Luke. Very many of the MSS. which have it, including five of the later uncials, mark it either with asterisks or obeli as something

which ought to be added or omitted; many other MSS. have notes or scholia to the effect that it is "wanting in most copies," or "in the more accurate copies"; or that it is "found in some copies," or "in the more ancient copies." It breaks the connection, and differs in style from the rest of the Gospel. These phenomena are irreconcilable with the supposition that it belonged originally to the text, and nearly all critics of reputation agree in rejecting it as a later addition. This does not prove the story false; on the contrary, it has many internal marks of truth.

Another remarkable interpolation is that in John v. 3, 4, respecting the descent of the angel at the pool of Bethesda, where the ancient evidence against the questionable portions is so strong, and the variations among the authorities that contain them are so numerous, that there can be no reasonable doubt of their spuriousness, though they were early added to the text.

Another is the rebuke of James and John by Christ, as given in the Received Text in Luke ix. 55. The evidence against the genuineness of the words placed in the margin by the Revisers is decisive, though in this case also the addition was made as early as the second century. But the words bear the stamp of a genuine utterance of Christ in their originality and their harmony with his character. The clause "even as Elijah did" at the end of verse 54 is also rightly rejected by the Revisers, as wanting in the best MSS. and other ancient authorities, while its omission cannot be reasonably explained as due either to accident or design.

The last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark present a problem of much interest in connection with this subject. They are retained by the Revisers without brackets, but are separated by an extra space from the preceding, with a marginal note mentioning their absence from the two oldest Greek MSS. and other documents, and that some other authorities have a still different ending of the Gospel. This is not the place for entering into a discussion of the difficult and complicated question concerning the genuineness of

these verses, of which the Rev. (now Very Rev.) Mr. Burgon is the most prominent advocate.

Of the passages of any considerable length in the Gospels which the Revisers have been constrained to reject as later additions to the text there remains only, I believe, the doxology of the Lord's Prayer. Here an examination of the evidence will satisfy us that the words could not have been omitted by accident from the authorities in which they are wanting; and the beauty of the doxology is such that it could not have been omitted by design. On the other hand, its addition from the liturgical service of the church was most natural. It is founded on 1 Chron. xxix. 11. In many of the MSS. which contain it, it is written in red ink, to distinguish it from the proper text; in others, it appears only in the margin: such MSS. mark the steps of its introduction. It is found in the newly discovered *Codex Rossanensis*, of the latter part of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century; but this MS., to judge from the readings which have been published, though better than the ninth and tenth century uncials, represents a text far less pure than that of our uncials of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, \aleph , B, D, Z, which omit the doxology (A and C are mutilated here), as do also the cursives 1, 17, 118, 130, 209, of which 1, 118, and 209 are of exceptional excellence. The testimony of the Old Latin, Vulgate, and Memphitic versions against it, and the dead silence respecting it of the early commentators on the Prayer, as Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, are of very great weight; while its variations in form in several of the versions and ancient quotations in which something like it is found, diminish their authority as witnesses in its favor.

This detailed, though incomplete, exhibition of supplements to the original text from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, from parallel passages in the Gospels, from the context of the passage itself, or from similar passages in other parts of the same Gospel, from marginal notes or glosses, and sometimes from tradition, is intended to serve several purposes besides that of an enumeration of

remarkable changes of text in the new revision. A very large part of these changes consists in the *omission* of words or clauses, or even whole verses, which are found in the common text ; in comparatively few cases have words been *added* by the Revisers. To many readers these omissions of familiar words will seem little less than sacrilege. One little versed in criticism and unacquainted with MSS. is likely to say to himself, "The presumption is altogether in favor of the fuller text : transcribers might easily omit words by accident, but they could only add by design ; and we cannot suppose that any considerable number of them would wilfully interpolate writings which they regarded as sacred, especially after the warning in Rev. xxii. 18."

This view of the matter is very superficial. We have seen in the few cases in which the evidence has been stated that, if the longer form of the passage were the original, we could not rationally explain the omissions as the result either of accident or design. Very strange omissions will sometimes occur through accident in a single MS. ; but the chances will be perhaps a thousand to one against another independent copyist's making the same blunder. In the cases in which the evidence has not been stated, it would in general be equally clear, I believe, on examination, that the hypothesis that the longer form of the passage was genuine would leave the omission entirely unaccountable ; while, if the shorter form were the original, we should have a plausible explanation of the addition. Each repeated instance of this kind strengthens our conviction that in this explanation we are on the right track. And we are confirmed in our view when we find that the tendency to add rather than to omit characterizes the MSS. of ancient classical authors, and that the most eminent philologists fully recognize the principle to which our New Testament examples seem irresistibly to lead us. For example, Porson says in his *Letters to Travis* (p. 149), "Perhaps you think it 'an absurd and affected idea' that a marginal note can ever creep into the text ; yet I hope you are not so ignorant as not to know that this has actually happened, not merely in

hundreds or thousands, but in millions of places." He then quotes Daillé and Bengel on this point, and adds, "From this known propensity of transcribers to turn everything into text which they found written in the margin of their MSS. or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded that at present the surest canon of criticism is, *Praefertur lectio brevior.*" (That is, "The shorter reading is to be preferred.")

The cases which we have noticed are instructive in other ways. When critically examined, they demonstrate the superlative value of such MSS. as B, \aleph , Z, D, L, C, and Δ in the Gospel of Mark, in questions of omission or addition, as compared with the mass of the later uncials and cursives. They show that certain cursives are also of exceptional value in such questions. They illustrate in some measure the process by which the character of our different witnesses may be tested. We find that their character is often different in different books of the New Testament. We find that the value of their testimony depends much on the nature of the reading. We perceive that they fall more or less distinctly into certain *groups*, representing certain tendencies, and that this consideration is often important in weighing evidence. But these and other matters can only be hinted at. Other classes of readings, which would also serve to test the relative value and bring out the characteristics of our different authorities, must be wholly passed over, at least for the present, as this paper has already reached an inordinate length.

XII.

ON THE READING "ONLY-BEGOTTEN GOD,"
IN JOHN I. 18.WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE STATEMENTS
OF DR. TREGELLES.*[From the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1861.]

Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός [αἰ. θεός], ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

IN John i. 18, which reads in the common version: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him," it has long been known to scholars that important critical authorities, instead of the expression ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, "the only-begotten Son," have the remarkable reading μονογενὴς θεός, "only-begotten God." The MSS. that contain it, though not numerous, are of the very highest rank, including both the famous Vatican MS. and the newly discovered *Codex Sinaiticus* of Tischendorf. This reading is also found in several of the ancient versions, and has been *supposed* to be attested by a great majority of the ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin. Though not adopted into the text of any edition of the Greek Testament yet published, its genuineness has been maintained by Dr. S. P. Tregelles, the most eminent among English scholars in the department of textual criticism; and it will undoubtedly be presented as the true reading in his long expected edition. It would also, as Dr. Tregelles assures us, have been received by Lachmann

* *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament; with Analyses, etc., of the respective Books.* . . . By the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. The critical part rewritten and the remainder revised and edited by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D. Second Edition. London: Longman, etc., 1860. 8vo. pp. xxvii., 801; pp. 751-784 being "Additions" and "Postscript," which alone distinguish this from the former edition. These Additions, with the Postscript, have also been published separately.

into his text, had he been aware of the authorities by which it is supported.

It is evident from this brief statement of the claims of the reading *μονογενῆς θεός*, that the question of its genuineness well deserves a critical investigation, while its theological character gives it a special interest, which, however, must not be suffered to bias our judgment. This investigation is the more necessary in consequence of the circumstance that, in respect to one very important branch of the evidence, — the quotations of the passage by the ancient Fathers, — no critical edition of the Greek Testament gives even a tolerably complete and accurate account of the facts in the case. On the contrary, the most important editions which have been published since the time of Wetstein, as those of Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf, and Alford, not only neglect to state a very large part of the evidence, but contain almost incredible errors in regard to the authorities which they professedly cite.* Many of these errors were repeated by Dr. Tregelles in his remarks on the passage in his *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (London, 1854), in which he maintained the genuineness of the reading *θεός*.† His observations led to an examination of the evidence on the subject by the present writer, the results of which were published in a Note appended to the second edition of Mr. Norton's *Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians* (Boston, 1856), pp. 448-469.

I cannot better introduce the discussion proposed in the present article than by quoting from the Note just referred to a statement of some of the conclusions arrived at. After mentioning the fact that Wetstein, in his note on the passage, has fallen into extraordinary errors, many of which have been blindly copied by subsequent editors, it was observed :—

* In his recent edition of the Greek Testament, *Editio septima critica major*, Lips. 1859, Tischendorf has considerably corrected and enlarged his former account of the evidence of the Fathers on this passage. But his note is still very defective, and contains important mistakes.

† See pp. 234, 235.

One who should take the statements in Wetstein's note to be correct, would suppose that not less than *forty-four* Greek and Latin writers, in the first eight centuries, have quoted the passage in question with the reading *μονογενῆς θεός*, or *unigenitus Deus*; and that the number of distinct quotations of this kind in their writings, taken together, is not far from *one hundred and thirty*. I have examined with some care all the passages specifically referred to by Wetstein, and the whole work, or collection of works, cited, when his reference is general, — as "*Epiphanius duodecies*," "*Hilarius de Trinit. passim*," "*Fulgentius plusquam vicies*," not confining my attention, however, to these particular passages or works. The following is the result of this examination. Of the *forty-four* writers cited by Wetstein in support of the reading *μονογενῆς θεός*, there are but *four* who quote or refer to the passage with this reading only; * *four* quote it with both readings; † *nine* quote it with the reading *υἱός*, or *filius*, only, except that in one of the quotations of Titus of Bostra *υἱός θεός* occurs; ‡ *two* repeatedly allude to it, — sometimes using the phrase "only-begotten God," and sometimes "only-begotten Son," in connection with the words "who is in the bosom of the Father," — but do not distinctly quote it; || and *twenty-five* do not quote or allude to it at all.** Of the particular passages referred to by Wetstein, a great majority have no bearing whatever on the subject, but merely contain the expression *μονογενῆς θεός*, or *unigenitus Deus*, with no trace of an allusion to the text in question, — an expression often occurring, as will hereafter appear, in writers who abundantly and unequivocally quote John i. 18 with the reading *υἱός*, or *filius*. Indeed, in some of these passages we do not find even this expression, but only the term *γεννητός* [al. *γεννητός*] *θεός*, or *genitus Deus*, applied to Christ.†† Sufficient evidence that these assertions are not made at random will be given in what follows, though the mistakes of Wetstein cannot here be all pointed out in detail.

We may now examine the witnesses brought forward by Dr. Tregelles. . . . Of the *twenty-five* writers whom he has adduced in support of the reading *μονογενῆς θεός*, but *four*, I believe, can be relied on with much confidence, and even their testimony is far from unexceptionable; *three* may be regarded as doubtful; *eight* really support the common reading;

* "It is thus quoted in the *Excerpta Theodoti*, and also by Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius. It appears to be once referred to in the Epistle of the second Synod of Ancyra."

† "Irenæus, Origen, Basil, and Cyril of Alexandria."

‡ "Eusebius, Athanasius, Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, Titus of Bostra, Maximinus the Arian bishop, Hilary, Vigilius of Tapsa, Alcuin."

|| "Gregory of Nyssa and Fulgentius."

** "That is, all the remaining authorities cited by Wetstein, for which see his note."

†† "As in the following: '*Origenes* in Psalm. i. ap. Epiphanium,' see Epiphanius, *Haer.* l. xiv. c. 7, Opp. i. 531^b, or Origen, Opp. ii. 526^e; '*Eusebius* D. iv. 2,' i. e., *Dem. Evang.* lib. iv. c. 2; '*Prudentius* in Apotheosi,' viz. line 895; '*Claudianus Mamert.* de statu animae, l. 2,' where lib. i. c. 2 must be the place intended."

two merely allude to the passage; and *eight* have neither quoted nor alluded to it.*

These statements were supported by a detailed exposition of the facts in the case, accompanied in every instance by precise references to the passages in the Fathers bearing on the subject. In addition to the correction of these enormous errors in respect to the evidence alleged for the reading *θεός*, I produced, as the result of original investigation, quotations of the passage, supporting the reading *νίός*, from no less than *eighteen* Greek and *six* Latin ecclesiastical writers, whose testimony had never before been adduced to this purpose in any critical edition of the Greek Testament, — twelve or thirteen of them belonging to the third and fourth centuries. The examination made of the works of the Fathers enabled me also to give the evidence much more fully and accurately than had before been done in the case of many other writers who *had* been cited, on one side or the other, in editions of the Greek Testament. In this exposition of the evidence I was scrupulously careful to mention not only every quotation of the passage which I had found with the reading *θεός*, but every allusion to it which might be imagined to favor this reading, even in cases where it seemed clear that no real argument could be founded on these allusions.

In the Postscript to the second edition of his *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (pp. 780, 781), Dr. Tregelles has taken notice of my remarks on this passage, which “have led,” as he says, “to a re-examination of the whole of the evidence.” After exhibiting the authorities for the different readings, he says in a note : —

In this one instance I have given at length the evidence for and against the reading, so as to show what authorities do really support *μονογενής θεός* and what uphold *μονογενής νίός*. The statement is here given just as it stands in my Greek Testament, with the precise references to the Patristic citations.

The conclusion to which he comes is thus expressed : —

It appears to be most clear that not only is *μονογενής θεός* the ancient reading of MSS. and some versions, but also of the Fathers *generally*;

* Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc., Appendix, Note C, pp. 451-453.

for those that have both readings in the present copies of their works, evidently do support that which is not in the *later* Greek Text, with which those who copied their writings were familiar; and the doubtful passages must give way to the *express* mentions of *θεός* by the same writers as the reading in this place.

Here a regard for the truth compels me to state some facts which may give an unfavorable impression concerning Dr. Tregelles's character for fairness and accuracy. No one can regret this more than myself; and in simple justice to a scholar whose services to Biblical criticism have been so valuable, and who has often shown himself superior to the influence of dogmatic prejudice, I must beg the reader not to regard his note on John i. 18 as a specimen of his usual manner of dealing with evidence.

Dr. Tregelles, it will be observed, professes to give at length the testimony for and against the reading *θεός*. In doing this, he does not confine himself to the chronological limit generally observed in his Greek Testament, so far as the Fathers are concerned, but comes down to the latter part of the eighth century, including the latest author (namely, Alcuin) who has ever been cited in favor of the reading "only-begotten God." He leads us to expect a full and accurate statement of the evidence on both sides, which, in a case like this, it was unquestionably his duty to give. How is it, then, in reality?

I answer that, for some cause which I do not pretend to explain, his account of the evidence is deceptive and untrustworthy. He has omitted to mention the greater part of the facts in the case, though they were placed directly before his eyes. In stating the evidence for the reading *θεός*, it is true, he has not been guilty of the sin of omission. On the contrary, he not only appears to have availed himself very freely of the matter which I had for the first time collected that seemed to favor that reading, even copying my references, in one instance at least, without verification,* but he has repeated many mistakes in the evidence

* I had cited the Dialogue of Cyril, *Quod Unus sit Christus*, Opp. Tom. V. P. i. p. 786e, for the reading *θεός*. The reference should have been to p. 768e instead of p. 786e. Dr. Tregelles

alleged for this reading after they had been clearly pointed out. He has referred, in various instances, to places in different authors where John i. 18 is not quoted or even alluded to, but which merely contain the *expression* *μονογενὴς θεός*, or *unigenitus Deus*, applied to Christ by the writer, and has intermixed these references indiscriminately with those to actual *quotations*, thus leading the unwary reader to suppose them to denote quotations, and to attach to them undue weight.

But how fares the evidence on the other side? The answer to this question may well astonish the reader. Of the *twenty-three* Greek and *thirteen* Latin writers whom I had cited as supporting the reading *υἱός*, giving in every case exact references to their quotations of the passage, Dr. Tregelles notices only *seven*. Of the twenty-nine witnesses whom he thus ignores, at least *twenty-six* are as ancient as Alcuin, whom he cites, though erroneously, in favor of the reading "only-begotten God"; and a great majority of them belong to the third and fourth centuries. Even this is not all. His exhibition of the testimony of the authorities which he does cite as containing the reading *υἱός* is far from complete. See the note below.*

has copied this mistake in reference, though an examination would have shown that the treatise ends on p. 778.

The only acknowledgment made by Dr. Tregelles of any indebtedness to my researches on this passage is the following: "He points out rightly that I had incorrectly alleged *Phœbadius* for the reading *μονογενὴς θεός* (an error which originated, I believe, in revising in the proof-sheet the name which had been intended for *Prudentius*)." This statement has not mended the matter. *Prudentius* has not only never quoted John i. 18 with the reading *unigenitus Deus*, but has never used this *expression* even, in any part of his writings. As to *Phœbadius*, I not only pointed out the fact that the same remark was true of him, but that he *had expressly quoted* the passage with the reading *unigenitus filius* (*Contra Arianos*, c. 12). Of this, Dr. Tregelles, in his account of the evidence, takes no notice. Why should he not be as ready to adduce the testimony of *Phœbadius* on one side as the other?

* For the convenience of Dr. Tregelles, and those of his readers who may happen to see this article, I will here point out in order some of the principal errors and defects in his note on John i. 18. A fuller discussion of various questions will be given hereafter.

Authorities cited for the reading μονογενὴς θεός.

Lines 4, 5. "*Orig. Int.* iv. 92^d." To be omitted. Merely an instance of the use of the expression "unigenitus Deus Salvator noster," without any reference to John i. 18.

Line 5. "*Marcel. ap. Eus.* 19c." To be omitted for a similar reason. Eusebius simply says of a letter of Marcellus, containing his creed: Γέγραφε πιστεύειν εἰς πατέρα θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ θεόν, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Under such circumstances, no apology can be necessary for offering a restatement of the evidence for the various

Lines 5, 6. "Eus. c. Mcl. 67d. ὁ μονογ. υἱὸς ἢ μονογ. θεός." This should be quoted with the context, τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ διαρρηθῆναι αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ εἶναι διδάσκοντος δι' ὃν ἔφη, Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἔωρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ἢ μονογενὴς θεός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον, κ.τ.λ., which makes it, I think, evident that the words ἢ μονογ. θεός are a marginal gloss which has crept into the text; and that the proper place for the reference is among the authorities for *μονογενὴς υἱός*, where *five* other places are cited, in which Eusebius has expressly quoted the passage with this reading. Cf. p. 259.

Line 6. "Eus. c. Mcl. 124e. θεὸν δὲ καὶ μονογενῆ." Irrelevant. Eusebius simply says here that Christ is represented by the Evangelist "as God *and* only-begotten," *not* only-begotten God, "inasmuch as he alone was truly the Son of the God over all."

Ibid. "Hil. 1124e seq.," etc. To be omitted. The passage is not a quotation of John i. 18, except so far as the words "in sinu patris est" are concerned, as was shown in the Appendix to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, p. 465, note, and will be fully shown below. Cf. p. 263 sq. The stress of Hilary's argument, such as it is, rests wholly on the word *est*. The "et in sequentibus saepe" which Dr. Tregelles adds is altogether deceptive, as it will naturally be understood to signify that Hilary has "often" quoted John i. 18 with the reading *unigenitus Deus*. The truth is, that he has *never* quoted the passage with this reading, but has, on the contrary, expressly quoted it *seven* times with the reading *filius*; and not only so, but has *commented* upon it in such a way (*De Trin.* lib. vi. c. 39) as to demonstrate beyond question that he thus read the passage.

Lines 18, 19. "Epist. Synodi Ancyrae 2e [2dae] ap. Epiph. . . Haer. lxxxiii. 8 (i. 854c)."
It is quite proper to adduce this among the authorities which *favor* the reading *θεός*, but as it is not an express quotation of the passage, it would be more accurate to add the Greek: ὁ δὲ [sc. Ἰωάννης] τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λόγον μονογενῆ θεὸν . . . φησί. The imprudence of a confident reliance on references of this kind was illustrated in the Appendix to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, pp. 454, 455, note, and will be shown below. Cf. p. 254, et seqq.

Line 23. "Cyr. Alex. V. p. i. 786e." For 786e read 768e.

Ibid. "Fulgentius interdum." *Dele.* Fulgentius has never quoted the passage. His allusions to it were given in full in the "Appendix" just referred to, and will be again exhibited below. Cf. p. 257.

Lines 23, 24. "Isidorus Pel. 6. iii. 95 (ap. Wetst.)." *Dele.* Isidore of Pelusium has nowhere quoted or alluded to John i. 18. The passage referred to by Wetstein, as was pointed out in the Appendix to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, p. 460, note, contains merely the expression "only-begotten God," — ὁ μονογενὴς γοῦν θεός ἐπιδημήσας, φησί, κ.τ.λ. This is the only place in his writings in which Isidore uses even this expression.

Lines 24-29. "Scriptores Graeci et Latini saepissime habent verba *μονογενὴς θεός, unigenitus Deus*, tanquam nomen Jesu in Scriptura tributum; e.g., *Greg. Nyss.* saepissime, *Greg. Naz., Bas. Sel., Arius, Lucianus* (s. Pseudo-Luc.), nec non *Eunomius, Tit. Bostr., Gaudentius, Ferrandus, Prudentius, Vigilinus, Alcuinus*, etc.; quod ab hoc loco ut videtur pendet." Here it is to be observed: 1. That it is not pretended that any of these writers *quotes* the passage in question with the reading "only-begotten God"; on the other hand, *four* of them, *Greg. Naz., Tit. Bostr., Vigilinus*, and *Alcuin*, do expressly quote it with the reading "only-begotten Son." 2. Two of them, *Titus of Bostra* and *Prudentius*, have never even used the phrase "only-begotten God" in their published works. 3. Four of the remainder, *Bas. Sel., Arius, Lucianus* (or Pseudo-Luc.), and *Gaudentius*, instead of employing this expression "*saepissime*," have used it but *once* each, in their extant writings; and it occurs very rarely, perhaps only once, in those of *Gregory Nazianzen*. 4. None of the writers named speak of it as "applied to Jesus in Scripture," except *Gregory Nyssen*; and his assertion, as I shall show, is very poor evidence that he ever found it there. Cf. pp. 255, 256.

Authorities cited for the reading μονογενὴς υἱός.

Line 29. After "1." insert "69," a manuscript of great value, ranking with 1. and 33.

Line 31. Add "*Iren.* 189 (unigenitus filius Dei), et vid. seqq." Add also "*Orig.* iv. 102d, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ap. De la Rue, ὁ υἱὸς θεός ap. Huet.; cf. ὁ υἱὸς θεός. Clem. 956. *Orig. Int.* iii. 91e, unigenitus Dei filius."

readings of the passage in question. In doing this, I may be pardoned for saying, that so far as the testimony of the Fathers is concerned, nothing whatever will be given at second hand. When it is affirmed that a particular Father has not quoted John i. 18, or has never used in his writings even the expression *μονογενῆς θεός*, or, on the other hand, that he *has* used it a certain number of times, the statement is founded on a personal examination of the whole of his published works. It would be presumptuous to assert that in this examination, extending over so wide a field, nothing has escaped my notice; I can only say that I have aimed at accuracy, and have had no object but to ascertain the truth. The new note of Dr. Tregelles has added nothing to the evidence which was presented in the Appendix to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, except one reference to Didymus of Alexandria, confirming the two citations which I had given from him in favor of the reading *θεός*;* and, on the other side, the fact (already mentioned in Tischendorf's last edition of the Greek Testament), that the Aethiopic version, as edited by Mr. Platt, supports the reading *υἱός*. The very few other apparent additions are merely errors.

I may here advert to an extraordinary statement in the note of Dr. Tregelles, which, if correct, would make this whole investigation on my part an absurdity. He says:

Line 32. For "197" read "297."

Line 33. *Dele* "123b." There is no reference here to John i. 18.

Line 34. Insert among the references to *Hil.*, "799e," and for "852e" read "852c."

Ibid. For "vid. *Tert. adv. Prax.* 8" read "*Tert. adv. Prax.* 15." Dr. Tregelles *omits* the place where Tertullian has quoted the passage with the reading *unigenitus filius*, and refers instead to a place where he has merely alluded to it in such a way as not to determine the reading.

Ibid. For "*Athanas.*," which is out of place, read "*Athanas.* i. 219^e (diserte), 227^d, 530^d, 638^a (dis.); cf. 628^{ef}, 631^d, 634^f, 635^a, ed. Benedict." Athanasius quotes the passage four times, twice *commenting* on the word *υἱός*, and refers to it in three other places in such a way as to show, in each of them, that he unquestionably read *υἱός*.

Within the chronological period to which Dr. Tregelles has confined himself, namely, the first eight centuries, I shall further adduce in support of the reading "only-begotten *Son*," the testimony of not less than *thirty* writers whom he has not mentioned; to which, for the sake of completeness, will be added that of ten others of later date.

* Not having been able to procure at that time the treatise of Didymus, *De Trinitate*, I was compelled to cite it at second hand from the work of Guericke, *De Schola quae Alexandriae floruit catechetica*, carefully stating, however, this fact in a note. Didymus was the only author thus cited.

"Mr. Abbot has entirely failed in his endeavour to show that Patristic citations are wholly a matter of uncertainty" (p. 781). There is not the slightest ground in my Note for ascribing to me such a preposterous "endeavor." I did endeavor to show that the evidence of some of *Dr. Tregelles's* "Patristic citations" was very uncertain; I called attention to the indisputable fact that several of his principal authorities were notorious for the general looseness and inaccuracy of their quotations; I pointed out the importance of carefully distinguishing express *citations* of a passage from mere *allusions* or *references* to it; and I proved that it was not always safe to rely on the assertion of a Father that a particular expression was found in scripture. But I can assure Dr. Tregelles that had I endeavored "to show that Patristic citations are wholly a matter of uncertainty," I should not have taken pains to adduce *eighty* of them, from *thirty-six* different writers, in opposition to the reading which he defends as genuine. The evidence of the Fathers in regard to various readings always needs to be carefully weighed and sifted; the references to it in all critical editions of the Greek Testament hitherto published are very incomplete and often untrustworthy; but it is frequently of great importance.

We will now examine the evidence for the reading *μονογενῆς θεός* as compared with that for *μονογενῆς υἱός*. The testimony of the *Greek MSS.* is first to be considered. It is here important to observe that the words *υἱός* and *θεός* in the abbreviated form in which they are written in the most ancient codices ($\overline{\nu\zeta}$, $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$), differ in but a single letter, so that one might easily be substituted for the other through the inadvertence of a transcriber.

The reading *θεός* is found in the MSS. \aleph^* , B, C*, L, 33, only five in number, but three of them of the highest antiquity, and all of great value. \aleph , the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which has the reading *a prima manu*, was probably written, according to Tischendorf,* about the middle of the fourth century; B,

* In his *Notitia Codicis Sinaitici* Tischendorf gave the reading of \aleph on this passage thus:—

the Vatican MS., is of nearly the same age; C, the Ephraem MS., is about a century later; L is of the eighth century, but remarkable for its affinity with the Vatican and the Ephraem; and 33 is a cursive MS. of the eleventh century, also very remarkable for its agreement with our oldest copies. It is one of the three cursive MSS. which read $\upsilon\varsigma$ in 1 Tim. iii. 16.

The reading $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, on the other hand, is found in \aleph^{**} , A, C^{***}, E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, V, X, Δ , Λ , also in 1, 69, and all the other cursive MSS. containing the passage (so far as is known), amounting to four or five hundred in number, but many of them imperfectly collated. \aleph^{**} denotes the *Codex Sinaiticus* as corrected; A is the Alexandrine MS., of the fifth century; C^{***} denotes the Ephraem MS. as corrected in the ninth century; X and Δ are MSS. of the latter part of the ninth century, but distinguished from the others of that period by their more frequent agreement with the most ancient documents; this is particularly true of X, the text of which is of great excellence. The other uncial MSS. range in date from the eighth century to the tenth; 1 and 69 are cursive MSS., the first of the tenth, the second of the fourteenth century, but of uncommon value on account of the accordance of their text with that of our oldest copies; a remark which applies, in a somewhat inferior degree, to a considerable number of others, especially 13, 22, 118, 124, 157, and 209.

The concurrence of three out of our four most ancient MSS. in the reading $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is remarkable; but some circumstances may lessen its apparent weight. The testimony of \aleph , which has the reading *a prima manu*, cannot be properly estimated till we know something respecting the date of the *correction*, which possesses an authority, of course, equal to that of a MS. at the time it was made. The alterations which \aleph has undergone are by many different

"Johannis i. 18, a pr $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ (absque \omicron) $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (om. \omicron $\omega\nu$).” I took the “a pr” to apply to *all* the variations from the received text, not merely the first and last. Dr. Tregelles before me had fallen into the same error. See *Postscripts* to his *Introd. to the Text. Crit. of the N. T.*, 2d ed., p. 780 (dated Nov. 1, 1860). The Sinaitic MS. was first published in 1862.

hands, but Tregelles remarks (p. 784) that "it will apparently be found that one at least of these has carefully corrected the errors of the original scribe; indeed it seems not improbable that such a corrector may have been the person whose business it was to revise what had been written by a mere mechanical copyist. For a full apprehension of the value, etc., of the corrections, we must wait the appearance of Tischendorf's edition." Should it appear that the original διορθωτής, or a very early corrector, altered the reading of \aleph from *θεός* to *υἱός*, the importance of its testimony to the former would be greatly diminished, or even nullified; on the other hand, if the change was made by a *late* corrector, the alteration would be of little consequence. That the original transcriber was careless or sleepy when he copied John i. 18 is evident from the fact that he has omitted the words *ὁ ὢν* before *εἰς τὸν κόλπον*. Another circumstance may be regarded as weakening in some measure the authority of \aleph^* , B, C*, L, in this passage. They all agree in reading *μονογενῆς θεός* instead of *ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός*. It seems hardly possible that this omission of the *article* can be correct; but, if this be an error, it throws some suspicion on the reading which accompanies it.

The balance of evidence in the case of the MSS. will be estimated differently by different critics according to the school to which they belong. Tregelles would attribute greater weight than Tischendorf to the preponderance of the few most ancient MSS. in favor of *θεός*, while Mr. Scrivener would lay greater stress than either on the testimony of the later uncials and cursives. It may be sufficient to say here that the united testimony of the MSS. of the ninth century and later, though numbered by hundreds, cannot disprove the genuineness of a reading which is supported by a great preponderance of the more ancient evidence; and, on the other hand, that the coincidence of the MSS. \aleph , B, C, L, in a reading, though entitled to grave consideration, is far from being decisive. The testimony of several of the ancient versions and Fathers goes further back than that of our oldest MSS.; and that of the versions, in particular, is of great

importance in cases like the present, where, from the similarity of the questionable words in the Greek, a transcriber might easily mistake one for the other.

We will proceed, then, to examine the evidence of the *ancient versions*. The following support *θεός*: (1) the Peshito Syriac, which has been assigned to the second century, but the text of which is regarded by Dr. Tregelles and others as having been greatly corrupted and modernized, especially in the Gospels, by a later revision;* (2) the Harclean or Philoxenian Syriac (A.D. 616) in the *margin*; (3) the Coptic or Memphitic (third or fourth century); and (4) the Aethiopic (fourth or fifth century) in the Roman edition.

The following support *υἰός*: (1) the Old Latin or Italic, of the second century; (2) the Vulgate, of the fourth; (3) the Curetonian Syriac, probably of the second century; † (4) the Harclean or Philoxenian Syriac (A.D. 616) in the *text*; (5) the Jerusalem Syriac, of uncertain date, but representing a very ancient text; (6) the Aethiopic (fourth or fifth century), as edited in 1826 by Mr. Platt; and (7) the Armenian, of the fifth century.

It will be perceived that the weight of authority, so far as the ancient versions are concerned, greatly preponderates in favor of the reading *υἰός*. The evidence of the Old Latin and the Curetonian Syriac is particularly important.

The testimony of the *ancient Fathers* is next to be attended to. We will examine the evidence: (1) of those who favor *θεός*; (2) of those who favor *υἰός*; and (3) of a few who have quoted the passage with *both* readings, and may be regarded as doubtful. I add, for convenience, the time at which they flourished as assigned by Cave.

I. The following favor the reading *θεός*:—

1. Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 194, who has once quoted the passage with this reading (*Stromat.* lib. v. c. 12, p. 695,

* See his *Introd. to Textual Criticism*, pp. 265, 266; comp. p. 757.

† Of this version Dr. Tregelles observes that "its readings are in far greater accordance with the oldest authorities of various kinds than is the case in the previously known Peshito." *Ibid.* p. 267. It has been printed from a MS. of the fifth century.

ed. Potter). This evidence is, however, somewhat weakened by the fact, that in another place, in alluding to the text, he has the words *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς θεός*, "the only-begotten Son, who is God."* He does not *comment* on the passage, in either case, in such a way as to show how he read it; and as Dr. Tregelles has remarked (p. 333), "he often gives his own phrases instead of those of any writer whom he may cite." Indeed, he is one of the most remarkable among the Fathers for the looseness of his quotations from scripture.

2. The *Excerpta Theodoti*, or *Doctrina Orientalis*. This is a compilation of uncertain authorship, but supposed by many to have been made by Clement of Alexandria, with whose works it is generally printed. "Theodotus" is several times cited in it, but more frequently "the followers of Valentinus." The quotation of John i. 18 occurs in an account of the manner in which the Valentinians understood and explained the first chapter of John. It is a very important testimony to the reading *θεός*, both on account of its high antiquity, and because it is *express*: *ἀντικρυς θεὸν αὐτὸν δηλοῖ λέγων, Ὁ μονογενὴς θεός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.*†

3. Epiphanius, Bp. of Constantia or Salamis in Cyprus, A.D. 368, has quoted the passage three times with the reading *θεός*. (*Haer.* lxxv. c. 5, *bis*, and lxx. c. 7, Opp. i. 612^c and 818^a, ed. Petav.) In the remark, however, which follows the quotation in the first passage, *θεός* and *υἱός* are interchanged: *Καὶ φησὶ, Ὁ μονογενὴς θεός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ἐστὶν ἐκ πατρὸς γεννηθείς, ὁ πατὴρ δὲ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη· διὰ τοῦτο μονογενὴς υἱός.* He also speaks of John as "calling Christ only-begotten God": *Μονογενῆ θεὸν αὐτὸν φάσκων . . . Περὶ πατρὸς γέγραπται, ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ· περὶ υἱοῦ δέ, ὅτι μονογενὴς θεός* (*Ancorat.* c. 3, Opp. ii. 8^{ed}). A little before, however, in a *quotation* of John i. 18, *ὁ μονογενὴς* is given without either *θεός* or *υἱός*. But here the context renders it probable that *θεός* has been omitted after *μονογενὴς* by the mistake of a transcriber, though the

* καὶ τότε ἐποπτεύσεις τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃν ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς θεός μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. — *Quis dñves salvetur*, c. 37, p. 956.

† *Excerpta Theodot.* c. 6, *ap. Clem. Alex. Opp.* p. 968, ed. Potter; also in *Fabricii Bibl. Graec.* v. 136, and in Bunsen's *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i. 211.

text, both in what precedes and follows, appears to be corrupt.*

4. Didymus of Alexandria, A.D. 370, has quoted the passage twice with the reading *θεός*. (*De Trinit.* lib. i. c. 26, and lib. ii. c. 5, pp. 76, 140, ed. Mingarel., or in Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, xxxix. 393^a, 495^a.) He also says, *ὁ υἱὸς κέκληται μονογενὴς θεὸς λόγος, καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. (*Ibid.* lib. i. c. 15, p. 27, or col. 313^a, ed. Migne.) But here it may be doubted whether a comma should be placed after *μονογενής*, or after *θεός*, or after neither.†

The *four* writers whose testimony has now been adduced are *all* who have expressly quoted John i. 18 with the reading *μονογενὴς θεός* alone, and are all who can be cited in its support with much confidence. There are four others who have quoted the passage with *both* readings; namely, Irenæus, Origen, Basil the Great, and Cyril of Alexandria. The first of these favors *υἱός*; the last, perhaps, *θεός*; while the two remaining are altogether doubtful. Their evidence will be considered hereafter.

There are, however, some *allusions* and *references* to the passage which may be supposed to favor the reading *θεός*, but in regard to which there is room for a difference of opinion. A statement of the facts will enable the reader to form his own judgment.

1. The Second (semi-Arian) Synod of Ancyra, A.D. 358, *may* have read *θεός* in John i. 18, but the evidence is not decisive. After quoting Prov. viii. 22, etc., Col. i. 15, etc., and the first verses of the Proem to the Gospel of John, without any allusion, however, to John i. 18, the Fathers of this Synod state their conclusion as follows: "So that we have testimony 'from the mouth of two or three witnesses'

* After having quoted and remarked upon John xvii. 3, Epiphanius says: *Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τίνα; ἀληθινὸν θεόν*. *Εἰ δὲ θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης, Ὁ μονογενὴς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσατο*. *Εἰς θεὸς τοίνυν ὁ πατήρ, κ. τ. λ.* — *Anchorat.* c. 2, p. 7^c. Here *εἰ δέ* must be wrong unless the whole conclusion of the sentence has been lost. Perhaps we should substitute *οἶδε* (comp. *Basil. de Spir. Sanct.* c. 8, p. 14^c) or *οἶδατε*, though *ἴδε* may seem at first an easier emendation.

† [Later Dr. Abbot added in pencil] Better after neither; cf. *μονογενὴς θεός λόγος*, lib. i. c. 26, p. 75 (392 Migne), quoted by Mr. Drummond. [Cf. p. 273 below.]

in proof that the substance of the Son is like that of the Father; for one [Solomon] calls the wisdom of the [all-] Wise his Son; another [John] calls the Logos of God only-begotten God; another [Paul] calls the Son of God his Image." * We have no reason to suppose, *a priori*, that the reference to John is verbally accurate any more than that to Proverbs, where we find neither the word *υἱός*, nor the expression *ἡ σοφία τοῦ σοφοῦ*. It is not uncommon with the Fathers to give, as the language of scripture, expressions formed from several passages combined, or which they regard as fully authorized by scripture, though not occurring there in so many words. The Logos being called "God" in John i. 1, and the Son being called "the only-begotten" in John i. 18, nothing was more natural than that they should unite the two passages, and speak of John as calling the Logos "the only-begotten God." This would be done the more readily by many of the Fathers, as they regarded the terms "Son" and "only-begotten" as necessarily implying a participation of the Divine nature, and as in themselves justifying the appellation *θεός*. Thus the Epistle of this Synod says, a little after the passage just cited, *υἱός θεός μὲν, καθὼς υἱός θεοῦ, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καθὼς υἱός ἀνθρώπου*. (Cap. 9, p. 855^b, *ap. Epiph.*) So Eusebius says that Christ is *τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενῆς υἱός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεός* (*Dem. Evang.* lib. v. c. 4, p. 227^b), and an indefinite number of passages might be quoted to the same purpose.

2. In one place Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 370) says: *Εἰρηται παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος λόγου, ὅτι ὁ μονογενῆς θεός, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*. (*De Perf. Christ. Forma.* Opp. iii. 291^a.) Some may regard this as a clear proof that Gregory read *θεός* in John i. 18. One, however, who has become accustomed to the style in which scripture is quoted and referred to in the writings of the Fathers, will be more likely to regard it as affording but a slight presumption of the fact in question; a presumption altogether outweighed by the consideration that

* Ὡς ἔχειν τὴν ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων [ἢ μαρτυρίαν, Fetav.] εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν πρὸς πατέρα τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁμοιότητος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ τὴν σοφίαν υἱόν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λόγον μονογενῆ θεόν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν υἱὸν εἰκόνα ῥησί. — *Apud Epiphian. Haer.* lxxiii. c. 8, Opp. i. 854^{bc}; or *Concilia*, ed. Coleti, ii. 872^b.

he has nowhere expressly quoted the passage, though the deity of Christ is so prominent a subject in his writings. If he had actually read *θεός* in John i. 18, it would have been a testimony too remarkable to be overlooked. It is not easy to perceive why he should not have quoted this passage as often as John i. 1. But we have not far to seek for an illustration of the imprudence of a confident reliance on such references to scripture as the one before us. Turning back a few leaves in this same treatise of Gregory Nyssen we find the assertion that, among the names which the Apostle Paul has given to Christ, — “He has *called* him . . . a propitiation *for souls*, . . . and first-born of the *new* creation, . . . and *only-begotten Son*, crowned with glory and honor,” etc.* In another place he expressly quotes the words “whom God hath set forth as a propitiation *for our souls*” as the language of the apostle.† But it would be idle to suppose that he had τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν in his MSS. in Rom. iii. 25, or that his Greek copies contained the expression “*new* creation” in Col. i. 16; still more that his copy of the Epistle to the Hebrews contained the words “*only-begotten Son*,” a phrase occurring only in the writings of John. The looseness and inaccuracy of such references to scripture in the writings of the Fathers might be much more fully illustrated.

Though Gregory of Nyssa has nowhere quoted John i. 18, he has repeatedly *alluded* to it, using the words ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς *eight* times in connection with the expression ὁ μονογενὴς θεός, *twice* in connection with the phrase ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, and *once* with the phrase ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις θεός. For examples and references see below.‡ The expression ὁ μονογενὴς θεός is a

* Αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσε . . . ἰλαστήριον ψυχῶν, . . . καὶ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως πρωτότοκον, . . . καὶ υἱὸν μονογενῆ, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον, κ. τ. λ. — *De Perf. Christ. Forma*. Opp. iii. 276, 277.

† Ὁς [ὁ ἀπόστολος] φησιν· ὅτι ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἰλαστήριον τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. — *De Vita Mosis*. Opp. i. 225d.

‡ Ὁ μονογενὴς θεός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐτός ἐστιν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου. — *De Vita Mosis*. Opp. i. 192b. See also *In Cantic. Hom.* xiii. Opp. i. 663a. — *Contra Eunom. Orat.* ii., *ter.* iii., vi., x. Opp. ii. 432b, 447a, 478d, 506e, 595 [605]a, 681a. Lat. *unigenitus Dei filius*. (Georg. Trapezuntius.)

Ἁ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν, κ. τ. λ. —

favorite designation of Christ in the writings of this Father. I have noted *one hundred and twenty-five* examples of its occurrence in his treatise against Eunomius alone. But this expression, as we shall see, is also a favorite one with other Fathers who unquestionably read "only-begotten *Son*" in John i. 18.

3. We may here take notice of the allusions to John i. 18 in the writings of a Latin Father, Fulgentius, who flourished A.D. 507. They are so instructive as to deserve to be quoted in full. Taken together, they show clearly how little can be inferred concerning the reading of a passage from such allusions, and may serve to guard us against hasty conclusions from those of Gregory of Nyssa. See the note below.* Neither Fulgentius, nor any other Latin Father, has ever *quoted* John i. 18 with the reading *unigenitus Deus*. This is only what might be expected, as both the Old Latin version and the Vulgate read *Filius*. But if Fulgentius had found the reading *Deus* in his copies, the nature of his writings is such that he could not have failed to quote it frequently in proof of the deity of Christ.

II. The following Greek Fathers, with one Pagan writer, support the reading *υἱός*. They expressly quote the passage with this reading, unless the contrary is stated.

I. Irenæus, Bp. of Lyons in Gaul, but educated in Asia

Epist. ad Flavian. Opp. iii. 648^a. See also *Contra Eunom. Orat.* ii. Opp. ii. 466^c. See also *Orat.* x. 682^a.

Ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις θεός, ὧν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς, κ. τ. λ. — *In Cantic. Hom.* xv. Opp. i. 697^a.

* Fulgentius has alluded to John i. 18 six times.

1. In connection with the phrase *unigenitus Deus*. "Ut ille unigenitus Deus, qui est in sinu Patris, non solum in muliere, sed etiam ex muliere fieret homo." — *Epist.* xvii. c. 3, in Migne's *Patrol.* lxxv. 454^{cd}. "De Deo unigenito, qui est in sinu Patris, ut dixi, omnia hæc personaliter accipe." — *De Fide*, c. 20, col. 681^b, ed. Migne.

2. With *unigenitus Filius*. "Quis enim natus est Deus verus ex Deo vero, nisi unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris?" — *Ad Trasim.* lib. iii. c. 4, col. 272^b. "Si vero unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, post æternam natiuitatem," etc. (*Greg. Nyss. cont. Eunom.* lib. x. vol. ii. col. 844. Migne is cited by Mr. Drummond as confirming the reading *υἱός*.) — *Epist.* xvii. c. 15, al. 7 (Gall. 235), Opp. ii. 682^a, col. 459^c. "Dei ergo Filius unigenitus, qui est in sinu Patris, ut carnem hominis animamque mundaret," etc. — *De Fide*, c. 17, col. 679^c.

3. With *unigenitus* alone. "Quia unigenitus, qui est in sinu Patris, secundum quod caro est, plenus est gratiæ," etc. — *De Incarnat.* c. 18, col. 583^c.

The expression "unigenitus Deus" occurs in the writings of Fulgentius about *ninety* times.

Minor, fl. A.D. 178. According to the very early Latin version in which his work against Heresies has come down to us, he has quoted the passage once with the reading *Filius*; once with *Filius Dei*; and once with *Deus*. As *Filius Dei* is a merely trivial variation of *Filius*, and as the words which follow his quotation in two passages confirm the latter reading, his testimony may be fairly regarded as favoring *υἱός*.*

2. Hippolytus, Bp. of Portus Romanus, A.D. 220. Λέγει γὰρ Ἰωάννης· Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε, μονογενὴς υἱός, ὃ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, αὐτὸς διηγήσατο. (*Cont. Noct.* c. 5, in Routh's *Script. Eccles. Opusc.* i. 58, ed. alt., or Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* x. 812^a.)

3. The Third Synod at Antioch (A.D. 269), in their Epistle to Paul of Samosata. (*Concilia*, ed. Coleti, i. 869^b; also in Routh's *Reliq. Sacr.* ii. 473, or iii. 297, ed. alt.)

4. Archelaus, or rather the *Acta Disp. Archelai cum Manete* (about A.D. 300?), as preserved in a Latin version. (Cap. 32, in Routh's *Reliq. Sacr.* iv. 213, or v. 121, ed. alt.; also in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* x. 1479^c.)

5. Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria, A.D. 313. (*Epist. ad Alex. Constant.* § 4, *ap. Theodoreti Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 4 (al. 3), or in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* xviii. 553^a.)

6. Eusebius, Bp. of Cæsarea, A.D. 315, quotes the passage with the reading *υἱός* not less than *six* times. In one case, indeed, which has already been briefly noticed, the words *ἢ μονογενὴς θεός* are added *after* *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, and on this ground Dr. Tregelles claims his authority in support of the reading *θεός*. This passage *alone*, however, when carefully examined with the *context*, seems enough to disprove this claim; and when it is taken in connection with at least *five* other unequivocal quotations in which Eusebius reads *υἱός*, there

*The passages are as follows: (1) "Deum enim, inquit, nemo vidit unquam, nisi *unigenitus Filius Dei*, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit. Patrem enim invisibilem existentem ille qui in sinu ejus est *Filius* omnibus enarrat."—*Cont. Haer.* lib. iii. c. 11, § 6, p. 189, ed. Mass. (2) "Quemadmodum in Evangelio scriptum est: Deum nemo vidit unquam, nisi *unigenitus Filius*, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit. Enarrat ergo ab initio Filius Patris," etc.—*Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 20, § 6, p. 255. (3) "Quemadmodum et Dominus dixit: *Unigenitus Deus*, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit."—*Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 20, § 11, p. 256.

really appears to be no room for doubt. The facts are given below.*

7. Eustathius, Bp. of Antioch, A.D. 320. (*De Engastrimytho*, c. 18, in Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* iv. 563^e, or Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* xviii. 652^e.)

8. Athanasius, Bp. of Alexandria, A.D. 326, has expressly quoted John i. 18 with the reading *υἱός* four times, and referred to it in such a way in *three* other places as to show in each of them that he had this reading. †

*Eusebius quotes John i. 18 with the reading *υἱός*, *De Eccles. Theol.* lib. i. c. 20, §§ 4, 5, p. 86^{ab}. In the remarks which follow the last quotation, he repeats the expression *ὁ μονογενής υἱός*, and uses the words *οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς* in such a way as to afford strong confirmation of that reading. A little further on (p. 86c) he enumerates the appellations given to Christ by the Apostle John, *in their order*, in such a manner as to demonstrate that he read *υἱός* in John i. 18. He calls upon us to observe how the Evangelist, *μετὰ τὸ ἀπαξ ὀνομάσαι λόγον* (John i. 1), *καὶ θεὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνειπεῖν* (ver. 1), *καὶ φῶς ἀποκαλέσαι* (ver. 7), *καὶ μονογενῆ φάναι* (ver. 14), *καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ ὁμολογήσαι* (ver. 18), *οὐκ ἔτι λόγον ὀνομάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν λοιπὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν σωτήρα οὐ λόγον ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλοῦντα, ἀλλὰ υἱόν, καὶ μονογενῆ, καὶ φῶς, κ. τ. λ.*, quoting John iii. 16, etc. Now the only place before this citation from the third chapter, in which *the Evangelist*, in his own person, applies the name *Son* to Christ, is in the passage in question. Eusebius *must*, therefore, have read *υἱός* in John i. 18; and the arbitrary hypothesis that, in all his apparent quotations of the passage with this reading, *θεός* has been changed to *υἱός* by *transcribers*, falls to the ground. Eusebius also reads *υἱός*, *De Eccles. Theol.* lib. i. c. 20, § 7, p. 92^d; lib. ii. c. 23, p. 142^c; and Comm. in Psalm. lxxiii. 11, in Montfaucon's *Coll. Nova*, i. 440^a. See also lib. ii. c. 14, p. 124. We may add his Comm. in Is. vi. 1, where we find *ὁ μονογενής υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς*, though not introduced as a formal quotation (Montf. *Coll. Nova*, ii. 374^d). It may here be observed that no various reading affecting the word *υἱός* is given by Nolte, who made use of four MSS. in revising the text of Eusebius *De Eccles. Theol.* published by the Abbé Migne in his *Patrol. Gr.* tom. xxiv.

Let us now examine the passage on which Dr. Tregelles relies, *De Eccles. Theol.* lib. i. c. 9, p. 67^d. Here the quotation is introduced by the assertion that the Evangelist "*expressly* teaches that Christ is the only-begotten *Son* in the following words," and is succeeded by a quotation of John iii. 16, where the same expression also occurs, in which Eusebius says that "*our Saviour confirms this*." Τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ διαρρήδη αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ εἶναι διδάσκοντος δὲ ὢν ἔφη, Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε· ὁ μονογενής υἱός, ἡ μονογενής θεός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. Under these circumstances, an impartial critic will probably think that no clause ever more clearly betrayed itself as a marginal gloss than the words *ἡ μονογενής θεός* in the present instance. It is perhaps hardly worth while to mention that they are so regarded by the original editor, Bp. Montagu, who says of them in his note: "Non sunt hæc evangelistæ, sed nec credo Eusebii, nisi forsan, ἦγον μονογενής θεός."

The only passage that I have found in Eusebius which might seem at first view to countenance the reading *μονογενής θεός* is in his treatise *De Eccles. Theol.* lib. iii. c. 6, pp. 174, 175. After having quoted Eph. iv. 5, 6, he says of the Father: "He alone may be called (*χωματίζον ἅν*) the One God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; but the Son [may be called] only-begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father (*ὁ δὲ υἱός μονογενής θεός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς*); but the Paraclete Spirit can be called neither God nor Son." Here it will be observed that Eusebius does not assert that the Son *is* called "only-begotten God" in scripture, but only that it is proper to give him that name. This passage, therefore, does not weaken the force of his express quotations of John i. 18 with the reading *υἱός*. [Compare p. 278 note.]

† The *direct quotations* of Athanasius are: *De Decret. Nic. Synod.* c. 13: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ

9. *Pseud-Athanasius* (4th century?). (*Contra Sabellian*. c. 2, Opp. ii. 38^d; Migne, xxvii. 100^b.)

10. Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, *probably*. He has nowhere expressly quoted the passage, but *alludes* to it as follows: Πιστεύομεν τοίνυν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα . . . ὃν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔώρακεν, ὁ μονογενὴς δὲ μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. (*Cat.* vii. c. 11, Opp. p. 117, ed. Tout.) Here the omission of *υἱός* after *μονογενὴς* affords no ground for supposing that it was absent from his Greek copies in John i. 18, because its omission does not affect the sense. But if he had read *θεός* in this passage, it is improbable that he would have neglected so important a word. To this it may be added that in his *Eleventh Catechesis* it is his special object to prove that the *sonship* of Christ implies his *divinity*, or, as he expresses it, that *θεὸς θεὸν ἐγέννησεν*. Such being the case, had he read *μονογενὴς θεός* in John i. 18, he could hardly have failed to quote the passage; none would seem so likely to have suggested itself. But he has not referred to it.

11. The Emperor Julian, A.D. 362, has quoted the passage *twice* with the reading *υἱός*. (*Ap. Cyril. Alex.* lib. x. *cont. Julian.* Opp. vi. ii. 333.)

12. Titus of Bostra, A.D. 362. (*Cont. Manichaeos*, lib. iii. c. 6, in Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* v. 332^b, or Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* xviii. 1224^b.) He has also once quoted the passage with the reading *υἱός θεός*.*

13. Gregory of Nazianzus, A.D. 370. Ἐπειδὴ υἱὸς μονογενὴς, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. (*Orat.* xxix. al. xxxv. c. 17, p. 535^d, ed. Bened.) Euthymius quotes

κυρίου εὐαγγελιζόμενος λέγει· Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον, κ. τ. λ. Εἰ τοίνυν υἱός, οὐ κτίσμα, κ. τ. λ. (Opp. i. 219^e, ed. Bened., Par. 1698.) *Ibid.* c. 21, p. 227^d. *Orat.* ii. *cont. Arian.* c. 62, p. 530^d. *Orat.* iv. *cont. Arian.* c. 26, p. 638^a: Πάλιν δὲ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰρημένον, Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον, κ. τ. λ. δείκνυσιν τὸν υἱὸν ἀεὶ εἶναι. Ὅτι γὰρ λέγει ὁ Ἰωάννης υἱόν, τοῦτων χεῖρα ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλει λέγων. Ἴνα τί ἀποστρέφεις τὴν χεῖρά σου . . . ἐκ μέσου τοῦ κόλπου σου (Psalm lxxiii. al. lxxiv. 11). Οὐκοῦν εἰ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν κόλπῳ, κ. τ. λ. The references to the reading *υἱός*, which in this case are as explicit as quotations, are found in *Orat.* iv. *cont. Arian.* c. 16, p. 628^e; *ibid.* c. 20, p. 631^d; and c. 23, pp. 634^f, 635^a.

* *Ibid.* c. 11, *ap.* Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* v. 338^a, or Migne, xviii. 1240^a. Here *θεός* may have been added by Titus from John i. 1, to indicate, as he says in the following sentence, that the *υἱός* was *υἱὸς γνήσιος ὁμοῖος τῷ γεγεννηκότι*. Compare the insertion in the next sentence to this, where he quotes Matt. iii. 17 (or xvii. 5) thus: Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ἐγὼ εὐδόκησα.

this passage from Gregory with the same reading. (*Panopl. Pars i. tit. xi.*)

14. *Pseudo-Basilii* (4th century?), that is, the author of a Homily published with the works of Basil. (Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. c. 3, in *Basilii Magni Opp.* i. 359^f, Migne, xxx. 77^a, ed. Bened.)

15. Rufinus Syrus or Palaestinensis, about A.D. 390, as preserved in a very early Latin translation. (*De Fide*, lib. i. c. 16, in *Sirmondi Opera Varia*, i. 166^a, ed. Venet. 1728.)

16. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, not less than *eight* times. In several of these instances he so *comments* on the word *υἱός* as to show beyond question that he had this reading.*

17. Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 407, in his comment on John i. 29. *Εἰρηκῶς ἐνταῦθα ὁ βαπτιστής, ὅτι οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ αἶρων τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκ εἶπεν Ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός, οὐδέ, Ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρὸς, οἷα φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω εἰρηκῶς (i.e., in John i. 18). Ap. Maii Nov. Patr. Bibl. tom. vii. P. i. p. 397, or in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* lxvi. 733^d.*

18. Nonnus, of Panopolis in Egypt, A.D. 410, *probably*. In his poetical *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* he has no trace of the reading *θεός*, which he would hardly have failed to express, had he found it in the original. He uses *μονογενής* alone, which implies *υἱός*.

19. Theodoret, Bp. of Cyrrhus, near Antioch, A.D. 423, at least *four* times. (Comm. in Psalm. cix. 1; *Dial.* i.; *Haer. Fab.* lib. v. cc. 1, 2. *Opp.* i. 1392, and iv. 20, 379, 383, ed. Schulz.)

20. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 434. (*Orat.* xv. c. 2; *Analect.* p. 440, ed. Riccard., or in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* lxv. 801^a.)

21. *Pseudo-Cyril* (5th century?). I refer under this name

* *De Incomp. Dei Natura*, Hom. iv. c. 3, *bis*; *ibid.* c. 4; *ibid.* Hom. v. c. 1; *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*, c. 3; *In Is.* cap. vi. § 1; *In illud, Filius ex se nihil*, etc., c. 6; *In Joan.* Hom. xv. al. xiv. cc. 1 (text), 2. *Opp.* i. 475^{ae}, 476^b, 481^a; iii. 470^b; vi. 64^a, 264^d; viii. 84^b, 86^c, cf. 87^{be}, ed. Montf. Of these passages, those first referred to will be found, on examination, to exclude the *possibility* of the supposition that Chrysostom really quoted the passage with the reading *θεός*, and that transcribers have substituted *υἱός*. I may also remark that neither Savile nor Montfaucon has noted in his MSS., in any of these instances, any various reading affecting *υἱός*.

to a work, *De sanctâ et vivificâ Trinitate*, ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, and published as his by Cardinal Mai. Dr. Tregelles, however, to whose judgment I have deferred, regards it as the production of a later writer than Cyril.* In this work (cap. 6) John i. 18 is quoted with the reading *viós*.†

22. Andreas, Bp. of Crete, A.D. 635? (*Orat. in Transfig.* Opp. p. 44^a, ed. Combefis; Migne, xcvi. 940^e.)

23. Pseudo-Cæsarius (7th century?). (*Quaest. et Respons.* Dial. i. Resp. 4, *ap.* Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* vi. 8^b.) The work here cited has been attributed, but it would seem erroneously, to Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen. It was accredited as his in the time of Photius, who has described it. Migne, xxxviii. 864.

24. Joannes Damascenus, A.D. 730, *three* times. (*De Fide Orthod.* lib. i. c. 1; *Adv. Nestorianos*, c. 32, *bis*, and 42. Opp. i. 123^e, 562^e, 567^e, ed. Le Quien.)

25. Theodore Studites, A.D. 813, *twice*. (*Antirrhet.* iii. 14, and *Epist.* ii. 36. *Epist.*, etc., pp. 108^d, 349^e, as edited by Sirmond in his *Opera Varia*, tom. v.; Migne, xcix. 396^e, 1216^e.)

26. Andreas the Presbyter (9th or 10th century?), in his *Catena* on 1 John iv. 11–17. (Cramer's *Catena*e, viii. 134.)

27. The *Catena* on John i. 18, published by Cramer. (Cramer's *Catena*e, ii. 189.)

28. Theophylact, A.D. 1070. (Comm. in loc. Opp. i. 519^e, ed. Venet.; Migne, cxxiii. 1164.)

29. Euthymius Zigabenus or Zygadenus, A.D. 1110, *thrice*. (Comm. in loc. iii. 35, 39, ed. Matth.; Migne, cxxix. 1125^d, 1128^e; and *Panopl.* P. ii. tit. xxiii. (*Adv. Bogomilos*) c. 6, p. 10, ed. Gieseler; Migne, cxxx. 1296^e.)

It is hardly worth while to go lower than this, but two or three more writers may be added for completeness.

30. Elias Cretensis, A.D. 787 according to Cave, 1120

* *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Test.*, p. 232, note †.

† In *Maii Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* tom. viii. P. ii. p. 31, and in his *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* ii. 5; also in Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* lxxv. 1153b.

according to Oudin. (Comm. in *Greg. Naz. Orat. i.*, in the App. to *Greg. Naz. Opp. ii.* 210^a, ed. of 1630.)

31. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, A.D. 1157. (*In Unum ex Quat.* lib. i. in loc., according to the Latin version in *Max. Bibl. Patr.* xix. 762^d.)

32. Nicetas Choniates, A.D. 1200, *four* times. (*Theos. Orthod.* lib. i. c. 27; iv. 31; v. 41, 60, according to the Latin version in *Max. Bibl. Patr.* xxv. 75^f, 130^e, 165^e, 176^b.)

We will now attend to the testimony of the Latin Fathers. Some of them, as Tertullian, Hilary, Victorinus Afer, Ambrose, and Jerome, were acquainted with Greek, and occasionally, at least, consulted the original; but the evidence of the majority bears only on the reading of the Old Latin and Vulgate versions. Notwithstanding the extraordinary statements of Dr. Tregelles, and various editors of the Greek Testament who have been misled by Wetstein, no quotation of John i. 18 with the reading *unigenitus Deus* has ever been produced from a single Latin Father. The following quote the passage with the reading *Filius*:—

1. Tertullian, A.D. 200. (*Adv. Prax.* c. 15, cf. c. 8.)

2. Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. 354, at least *seven* times. (Tract. in Psalm. cxxxviii. c. 35;—*De Trin.* lib. ii. c. 23; lib. iv. cc. 8, 42; lib. v. cc. 33, 34; and lib. vi. c. 39. *Opp. coll.* 520^d, 799^e, 831^e, 852^c, 873^d, 874^a, 905^e, ed. Bened.)*

* In the last passage referred to (*De Trin.* lib. vi. c. 39) Hilary has *commented* on his quotation of John i. 18 in such a way as to demonstrate that he read *Filius*. He remarks: "Naturæ fides non satis explicata videbatur ex nomine *Filii*, nisi proprietatis extrinsecus virtus per exceptionis significantiam adderetur. Præter *Filium* enim, et *unigenitum* cognominans, suspicionem adoptionis penitus exsecuit."

The only passage, so far as I know, in all Hilary's writings, which has even the appearance of supporting the reading *unigenitus Deus*, is in his work *De Trin.* lib. xii. c. 24, coll. 1124-25; cf. 247, note, *supra*. This is partially quoted by Dr. Tregelles, and has already been adverted to. We will now compare it with the context, which will make it clear that it affords no reason for supposing that Hilary read *Deus* instead of *Filius* in John i. 18. Having quoted Exod. iii. 14, "Misit me ad vos *is qui est*" (Sept. *ὁ ὢν*), and remarking "Deo proprium esse *id quod est* non ambigens sensus est," he goes on to argue that this expression implies eternity, and then says: "Quod igitur et per Moysen de Deo significatum . . . id ipsum unigenito Deo esse proprium Evangelia testantur: cum in principio *erat Verbum* (John i. 1), et cum hoc apud Deum *erat* (*ibid.*), et cum *erat* lumen verum (ver. 9), et cum unigenitus Deus in sinu Patris *est* (ver. 18), et cum Jesus Christus super omnia Deus *est* (Rom. ix. 5). *Erat* igitur, atque *est*; quia ab eo est, qui quod est semper est."

From this it will be perceived that Hilary's argument rests wholly on the word *est*. When he says "cum unigenitus Deus in sinu Patris *est*," there is no more reason for regarding the words

3. Phœbadius (or Phæbadius), Bp. of Agen in Gaul, A.D. 359. (*Cont. Arian.* c. 12, in Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* v. 253, or Migne's *Patrol.* xx. 21^d.)

4. Victorinus Afer, A.D. 360, *six* times. (*De Gen. Verb. Div., ad Candidum*, cc. 16 (unigenitus Dei Filius), 20; — *Adv. Arium*, lib. i. cc. 2, 4; lib. iv. cc. 8, 33. In Migne's *Patrol.* viii. 1029, 1030, 1041, 1042, 1119 (free), 1137. In the last instance he had the Greek before him. *Adv. Arium*, lib. i. c. 15, he omits *Filius*. Migne, viii. 1050.)

5. Ambrose, Bp. of Milan, A.D. 374, at least *seven* times. (*De Fos.* c. 14, al. 84; — *De Bened. Patr.* c. 11, al. 51; — *In Luc.* lib. i. c. 25; lib. ii. c. 12; *De Fide*, lib. iii. c. 3, al. 24; — *De Spir. Sanct.* lib. i. c. 1, al. 26; — *Epist.* xxii. c. 5. Opp. i. 510^d, 527^f, 1274^d, 1286^b; ii. 501^e, 605^f, 875^e, ed Bened.)

6. Jerome, A.D. 378. (*In Esck.* c. xlv. Opp. iii. 1023, ed. Mart.; Migne, xxv. 429, 430.)

7. Faustinus, A.D. 384, *three* times. (*De Trin.* lib. i. c. 2, § 5, in Migne's *Patrol.* xiii. 54^{ab}.)

8. Augustine, Bp. of Hippo, A.D. 396, *three* times. (*In Joan. Tract.* xxxi. c. 3; xxxv. c. 5; xlvii. c. 3. Opp. tom. iii. P. ii. col. 1638, 1660, 1734, ed. Migne. *Cont. Adim.* c. 9, viii. 140, Migne.)

9. Adimantus the Manichæan, A.D. 396. (*Ap. Augustinum cont. Adimant.* c. 9, § 1, Opp. viii. 139, ed. Migne.)

10. Maximinus, the Arian bishop, A.D. 428, *twice*. (*Ap. Augustini Collat. cum Maximin.* cc. 13, 18, Opp. viii. 719, 728, ed. Migne.)

11. The author of the work against Virimadus ascribed to Idacius Clarus, A.D. 385, *three* times. (*Adv. Virimad.* lib. i. cc. 64, 66, in *Max. Bibl. Patr.* v. 731^e, 740^{be}; * Migne, lxii. 393^d, 395^a. Unigenitus alone, lib. i. c. 18; Migne, lxii. 366^c.)

"unigenitus Deus" as quoted from John than there is for supposing them to be quoted from Paul a page or two below (c. 26), where Hilary says, "cum secundum Apostolum ante tempora æterna sit unigenitus Deus," referring to 2 Tim. i. 9.

The expression "unigenitus Deus" is a favorite one with Hilary. It occurs in his treatise *De Trinitate* about one hundred and four times. The frequency of this expression in his writings, with the *certainty* that he read *Filius* in John i. 18, shows how futile it is to argue from the mere use of this phrase in the works of a Father that he found it in scripture.

* Montfaucon ascribes this work, and also the first eight books of the one next mentioned, to Idacius the chronicler (A.D. 445). See his edition of Athanasius II. 602, 603.

12. Vigilius of Tapsa, A.D. 484, or the author, whoever he was, of libri xii. *de Trinitate*. (*De Trin.* lib. iv. in *Max. Bibl. Patr.* viii. 783^a, or in *Athanasii* Opp. ii. 615^a, ed. Montf.; Migne, lxii. 265^d.) Unigenitus alone, lib. iii.; Migne, lxii. 260^a.

13. Junilius, A.D. 550. (*De Part. Div. Legis*, lib. i. c. 16, in Migne's *Patrol.* lxxviii. 22^e.)

14. Alcuin, A.D. 780. (*Comm. super Joan.* in loc. Opp. i. 472, 473, ed. Froben., or in Migne's *Patrol.* c. 752^e, cf. 753^a.)

Other Latin Fathers, as Paschasius Radbertus, Bruno Astensis, etc., might be cited to the same purpose; but it is useless to go any further.

III. The three following Fathers have quoted the passage with *both* readings, and their testimony may be regarded as doubtful; namely, Origen, Basil the Great, and Cyril of Alexandria. The last, on the whole, favors *θεός*; but as it seems not improbable that they all had both readings in their copies of the Greek Testament, we will consider their evidence together.

1. Origen, A.D. 230, according to the text of the Benedictine edition (De la Rue) has the reading *θεός* twice; on the other hand, he has *υἱός* once, once *υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ*, and once *unigenitus Dei Filius* in a work preserved only in the Latin version of Rufinus.*

2. Basil of Cæsarea, A.D. 370, according to the text of his

* Origen has *θεός*, *In Joan.* tom. ii. c. 29, and xxxii. c. 13 (Opp. iv. 89^b, 438^d, ed. De la Rue). In *both* these passages, however, the very literal version of Ferrari, made from a MS. now lost, reads *unigenitus* alone, without either *Deus* or *Filius*. If he had *υἱός* in his Greek copy, the omission would be unimportant; but if he had *θεός*, the neglect to translate it would be strange and inexcusable. On the other hand, we have *υἱός*, *Cont. Cels.* lib. ii. c. 71, Opp. i. 440^f. *Θεὸν οὐδέεις ἑώρακε πώποτε • ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὄν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο*. So De la Rue and Lommatsch, from two MSS.; the earlier edition of Hoeschel, founded on a single MS., instead of *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* reads *καὶ μονογενὴς γε ὄν θεός*. But this, it will at once be perceived, bears the marks of a marginal gloss, which, by one of the most common of mistakes in MSS., has been substituted for the text. Compare the similar gloss in Eusebius *De Eccles. Theol.* lib. i. c. 9, noticed above; cf. p. 259. *Υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ* occurs, *In Joan.* tom. vi. c. 2, Opp. iv. 102^d, as edited by De la Rue and Lommatsch from the Bodleian MS., which appears to be an excellent one; the earlier edition of Huet, which was founded on a single MS., reads *υἱός θεός*. A little after, in two allusions to the passage, *ὁ μονογενὴς* is used alone; Opp. iv. 102^e, 114^e. "Unigenitus Dei Filius," *In Cant.* lib. iv. Opp. iii. 91^e. *Unigenitus Filius* just before, alluding to the passage.

Benedictine editors (Garnier and Maran), has *θεός* once, and in another passage he mentions True Son, Only-Begotten God, Power of God, Wisdom, and Logos, as names given to Christ in scripture; but he twice quotes the text in question with the reading *υἱός*.*

3. Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 412, as edited by Aubert, has *θεός* four times, and *υἱός* three times. His commentary on the passage, as printed, favors *θεός*, but its evidence is somewhat weakened by various readings.†

The whole of the *external* evidence for the different readings of the passage in question, so far as I am acquainted with it, has now been stated. If one should look into Wetstein, and find apparently a considerable number of authorities which have not been noticed, he may be assured that they have all been carefully examined, and that they amount to nothing. The same is true of the vague references to "*alii permulti*," "*alii multi*," in the last edition of Tischendorf, and of similar references in other critical editions of the Greek Testament, all founded on Wetstein's

* Basil reads *θεός*, *De Spir. Sanct.* c. 6, Opp. iii. 12b. Comp. *ibid.* c. 8, p. 14c, where he says, *Οἶδε γὰρ [ἡ γραφή] τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ υἱὸν ἀληθινὸν λέγειν (αὐτὸ λέγει), καὶ μονογενῆ θεόν, καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ λόγον.* On the other hand, he has *υἱός*, *De Spir. Sanct.* c. 11, Opp. iii. 23a, where the six MSS. of Garnier appear to agree in this reading, though one of Matthæi's Moscow MSS. has *θεός* (see Matthæi's *Nov. Test. Graec.* i. 780). He again has *υἱός*, apparently without any variation in the ten MSS. of Garnier, *Epist.* 234 (al. 400), c. 3, Opp. iii. 358b. Here Matthæi's Moscow MS. also reads *υἱός*.

† Cyril reads *θεός*, *Thes. Assert.* xiii. and xxv. Opp. v. i. 137b, 237a; but Latin of *Bonaventura Vulcanius*, "unigenitus fil. Dei" (Drummond). The correctness of *θεός* in his text in the last instance is confirmed by the citations of this passage of Cyril in Catena, from which it has been printed in his *Comm.* on Luke ii. 7, in Mai's *Nova Patr. Bibl.* ii. 123, and Migne's *Patrol. Gr.* lxxii. 437a; also in the *Catena* published by Cramer (vi. 305) on Col. i. 16. He has *θεός*, moreover, in the Dialogue *Quod Unus sit Christus*, Opp. v. i. 768e. In his *Comm.* on John i. 18 he has *υἱός* in the *text*, Opp. iv. 103e; but toward the end of his remarks he quotes the passage with the reading *θεός*, p. 107b. He also says: 'Ἐπιτηρητέον δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι μονογενῆ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν υἱόν, p. 105b. But here the scholion in one of Matthæi's Moscow MSS. cites him as saying, 'Ἐπιτηρητέον τοίνυν, ὅτι καὶ μονογενῆ ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν υἱόν, omitting *θεὸν*, and the *Catena* in Corderius, 'Ἐπιτ. πάλιν ὅτε καὶ μονογενῆ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν υἱόν, κ. τ. λ. Still, the commentary, on the whole, confirms the reading *θεός*.

He has the reading *υἱός*, *Thes. Assert.* xxxv., and *Adv. Nestorium*, lib. iii. c. 5, Opp. v. i. 365e, and vi. i. 90b. This reading is also found twice in an extract which he gives from Julian, in his work against that emperor. Opp. vi. ii. 333e.

In an *allusion* to John i. 18 we find ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ ἐν κόλποις ὢν τοῦ πατρὸς. *Apol. adv. Orient.* Opp. vi. 187c.

note.* They relate without exception, not to quotations of the passage in question, but merely to examples of the phrase *μονογενὴς θεός* or *unigenitus Deus*, employed without any allusion to John i. 18. After all that has been said, it will hardly be pretended that the mere use of this expression by a Greek or Latin Father affords any evidence that he read it in this passage. We might as well argue from the frequency of the expression *ὁ θεὸς λόγος* in the writings of the Fathers from the third century downwards, or of *θεοτόκος* and *Deipara* applied to the Virgin Mary, or of "God the Son" in modern theological works, that these precise designations must have been found in scripture by those who have so freely employed them. Though the phrase has now become unusual, there were good reasons for its popularity in ancient times. The Arians, who laid great stress on the fact that the Father was "unbegotten" and "without beginning," *ἀγέννητος* and *ἀναρχος*, were fond of calling the Son "the only-begotten God," because, while the term expressed his high dignity, it brought into view his derived existence. *Begotten* by an act of God's will, he could not, they argued, be eternal. The Orthodox, on the other hand, who saw no absurdity in the idea of eternal generation, were fond of the expression, because they regarded it as indicating his derivation from the *substance* of the Father, as it is explained in the Nicene Creed, *γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ*. Both the Arians and the Orthodox freely applied the term *θεός* to Christ.

Before proceeding to consider the *internal* evidence for the different readings, it will be convenient to present the results

* It may be worth while to say that the *Opus Imperfectum*, a Latin commentary on Matthew cited by Tischendorf and others as an authority for *θεός*, contains no quotation of John i. 18. It has the expression "unigenitus Deus" in the remarks on Matthew i. 20, v. 9, xix. 17, and xxiv. 41. The work is appended to tom. vi. of the Benedictine ed. of Chrysostom.

It may be satisfactory to refer here also to the places where this expression occurs in some other writers, who have been erroneously cited as authorities for the reading *μονογενὴς θεός* in John i. 18. See Pseudo-Ignat. *ad Philad.* c. 6 (the larger recension); *Const. Apost.* iii. 17; v. 20; vii. 38, 43; viii. 7, 35; Arius, *ap. Athanas. de Syn.* c. 15, Opp. i. 728^e, but *not ap. Epiph. Haer.* lxi. c. 6, Opp. i. 731^d, *πληρὴς θεός, μονογενής*; Asterius, *ap. Athanas. de Syn.* c. 18, p. 732^b; Eunomius, *Expos. Fid.* c. 3, and *Apol.* cc. 15, 21, 26 (*ap. Fabric. Bibl. Graec.* tom. viii.); *Greg. Naz. Epist.* 202, *ad Nectarium*, Opp. ii. 168^e; Gaudentius, *Serm.* xix., in Migne's *Patrol.* xx. 990^b; Ferrandus, *Epist.* iii. cc. 2, 7, 9-11; v. 2, 5; vii. 12; in Migne, lxxvii.

of the preceding examination in a tabular form, so that one may see at a glance the authorities for each. The figures added to the names of the Fathers denote the time when they flourished.

FOR THE READING *θεβς*.

Manuscripts.

Ν*, B, C*, L, 33.

Versions.

Pesh. Syr., Harcl. Syr. (marg.), Copt., Aeth. (Rom. ed.)

Greek Fathers.

Clem. Al.¹⁹⁴, Theod.¹⁹⁴, Epiph.³⁶⁸, *three* times, and *one* ref., Didym.³⁷⁰, *twice*, and *one* ref. (?); Cyr. Al.⁴¹², *four* times, and *one* ref. (?), but *viós* *three* times.

Perhaps, 2d Syn. An-cyr.³⁵⁸, *one* ref., and Greg. Nyss.³⁷⁰, *one* ref., and *eight* *allusions*, but both very uncertain. (See above, pp. 254-257.)

Latin Fathers.

None.

FOR THE READING *viós*.

Manuscripts.

Ν**, A, C³, X, Δ, E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, V, Δ, I, 69, and, with one exception, all the other cur-sive MSS., several hundred in number, which have been examined on the passage.

Versions.

Old Lat., Vulg., Curet. Syr., Harcl. Syr. (text), Jerus. Syr., Aeth. (Platt's ed.), Armen.

Greek Fathers.

Iren.¹⁷⁸ *probably*, Hippol.²²⁰, 3d Syn. Ant.²⁶⁹, Archel.³⁰⁰, Alex. Al.³¹³, Euseb.³¹⁵, *six* times, and *one* *allus.*, Eustath. Ant.³²⁰, Athanas.³²⁶, *four* or *rather* *seven* times, Pseud-Athan.^{4th cent.?}, Cyr. Hier.³⁵⁰, *probably*, Julian³⁶², *twice*, Tit. Bostr.³⁶², Greg. Naz.³⁷⁰, Pseudo-Basil., Rufin. Syr.³⁹⁰, Chrysost.³⁹⁸, *eight* times, Theod. Mops.⁴⁰⁷, Non-nus⁴¹⁰, *probably*, Theodoret⁴²³, *four* times. Pro-clus⁴³⁴, Pseudo-Cyr.^{5th cent.}, Andr. Cret.⁶³⁵, Pseudo-Cæsarius^{7th cent.?}, Joan. Dam.⁷³⁰, *thrice*, Theod. Stud.⁸¹³, *twice*, Andr. presb.^{9th cent.?}, Caten. ed. Cramer^{9th or 10th cent.}, Theoph.¹⁰⁷⁰, Euthym.¹¹¹⁰, *thrice*, Elias Cret.¹¹²⁰, Zach. Chrys.¹¹⁵⁷, Nic. Chon.¹²⁰⁰.

Latin Fathers.

Tert.²⁰⁰, Hilar.³⁵⁴, *seven* times, Phœbad.³⁵⁹, Vic-torin. Afer³⁶⁰, *six* times, Ambrose³⁷⁴, *seven* times, Jerome³⁷⁸, Faustin.³⁸⁴, *three* times, August.³⁹⁶, *three* times, Adimant.³⁹⁶, Maximin.⁴²⁸, *twice*, Ida-cius^{385 or 445}, *three* times, Vigil. Taps.⁴⁸⁴, Junil.⁵⁵⁰, Alcuin⁷⁵⁰, and others.

Wholly doubtful. Origen²³⁰, Basil the Great³⁷⁰. See the full account of their readings above.

This exposition of the evidence makes it apparent that Dr. Tregelles has been somewhat incautious in asserting that *μονογενὴς θεός* is "the ancient reading of the Fathers generally."

In estimating the external evidence, it is important to consider the wide *geographical distribution* of the witnesses for *υἰός*. They represent every important division of the Christian world. The reading *υἰός* is attested by the Curetonian, Harclean, and Jerusalem Syriac versions; by the Third Synod at Antioch, Eustathius of Antioch, and Theodoret; by Titus of Bostra in Arabia; by Gregory of Nazianzus in Cappadocia, and Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia; by the Armenian version; by Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, who paid particular attention to the text of the Gospels, and was commissioned by the Emperor Constantine to procure fifty copies of the scriptures carefully written for the use of the churches at Constantinople; by Alexander and Athanasius of Alexandria; by Chrysostom and Proclus of Constantinople; by the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, and, apparently, the whole Western Church, without exception. On the other hand, the authorities for *θεός*, besides being much more limited in number, are, so far as we know their locality, almost wholly Egyptian.*

Comparing the readings in respect to *antiquity*, we find in favor of *υἰός*, before the middle of the fourth century, the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac versions, Irenæus (probably), Tertullian, Hippolytus, the Third Synod at Antioch (A.D. 269), Archelaus, Alexander of Alexandria, Eusebius, Eustathius of Antioch, and Athanasius: on the other side, we have during this period only the Peshito Syriac (if that version in its present form is so ancient), Clement of Alexandria (somewhat doubtful), the *Excerpta Theodoti*, and the Coptic version. In the period that follows, though the few MSS. that support *θεός* are of the highest character, the evidence, on the whole, must be regarded as preponderating against it.

* The Harclean Syriac in the *margin* represents the reading of one or two Greek MSS. with which it was collated at *Alexandria*, A.D. 616.

We now come to the *internal* evidence. It is urged in favor of *θεός* that *μονογενής* naturally suggests the word *υἱός*, so that a transcriber might easily inadvertently substitute it for *θεός*. This consideration appears to be of some weight.

It is also urged in favor of *μονογενής θεός* that it is entitled to preference as the more difficult reading, being one at which transcribers would naturally stumble as an unexampled expression. This argument, however, will not bear examination. In the first place, if transcribers were struck with the expression as remarkable, it is not probable that they would intentionally alter it. They would be more likely to reverence it as containing a mystery. In the second place, though *μονογενής θεός* may sound strangely to us, it was not a strange or harsh expression to copyists of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. On the contrary, it was, as we have seen, a favorite phrase with many writers of this period, being used with equal freedom both by the Arians and their opponents. So far from stumbling at it, transcribers may have been led, by their very familiarity with the expression, to introduce it unconsciously into the text. Let us look at the passage in John. In the clause immediately preceding *ὁ μονογενής υἱός, θεόν* had just occurred, bringing *θεός* before the mind of the copyist. Is it strange that in transcribing he should inadvertently connect this word with *μονογενής*, the combination being so familiar to him, the words *θε* and *υ* being so similar in ancient MSS., and *θεός* being so much the more common of these two abbreviated words? Such a mistake, in some early MS. or MSS., might have been easily propagated, so as to extend to the comparatively few authorities which exhibit the reading *θεός*. It is much more difficult to account for such an ancient and *widespread* corruption as must have taken place, if *θεός* proceeded originally from the pen of the Evangelist. If he *had* written *μονογενής θεός* in this passage, so remarkable an expression must have early attracted attention, and stamped itself ineffaceably, like the language in the first verse of his Gospel, upon the whole Christian literature. It would have been continually quoted and appealed to.

But there is another aspect of the internal evidence, which must strike every one who reads the passage in question with attention. "No man hath seen GOD at any time; the only-begotten *God*, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Is it not evident that the introduction of the phrase "only-begotten God," after the use of the word "God" *alone* and *absolutely*, immediately before it, is a harshness which we can hardly suppose in any writer? Does not the word "Father," in a sentence like this, almost necessarily imply that the correlative "Son" has just preceded? And is there anything analogous to this expression, "the only-begotten God," in the writings of John, or in any other part of the New Testament?

In closing this discussion, the writer wishes to express his great respect for Dr. Tregelles, and the earnest desire that his life and health may be spared for the completion of the important work on which he has been so long engaged. No scholar of the present century, with the single exception of Tischendorf, has so high a claim on the gratitude of all who are solicitous to obtain the purest possible text of the original records of our religion. His labors for this object have displayed a patient, earnest, and self-sacrificing devotion worthy of the highest admiration. The reasons for differing from him in opinion in regard to the genuineness of *θεός* in John i. 18, and for desiring a more complete and accurate statement of the evidence than he has given in this case, have now been laid before the reader, who will judge of the whole matter for himself.

XIII.

ON THE READING “AN ONLY-BEGOTTEN GOD,” OR “GOD ONLY-BEGOTTEN,” JOHN I. 18.

[From the *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* for June, 1875.]

Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε • ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός [var. reading μονογενὴς θεός], ὁ ὢν
εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

As the writer of the present article has already twice discussed the reading of this passage,—first in the Appendix to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc. (2d ed., 1856), pp. 448–469, and afterwards in the *Bib. Sacr.* for Oct., 1861, p. 840 sqq. [see Essay XII.],—an apology may be needed for returning to the subject. The question, however, has acquired a new interest in connection with the revision of the common English version of the Bible which is now in progress in England and this country. It is well known that two of the most eminent among the scholars of the British Committee engaged in this work, Dr. Westcott and Mr. Hort, have adopted the reading “God” in the text of their (as yet unpublished) critical edition of the Greek Testament. Another of the British revisers, Professor Milligan, has accepted it as the true reading, in Milligan and Roberts's *The Words of the New Testament*, etc. (1873), p. 162 ff.; and Professor Lightfoot, in his valuable work *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament* (2d ed., 1872), p. 27, remarks that “the ‘Only-begotten God’ would seem to have equal or superior claims to ‘the Only-begotten Son’ in John i. 18, and must either supersede it or claim a place side by side with it.” Dr. Tregelles receives it into the text of his important edition of the Greek Testament (Part II., 1861), and had previously defended its genuineness in his *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (1854), p. 234 f.; Lachmann placed it in the margin of his critical editions (1831 and 1842) as an

alternate reading, and would undoubtedly have taken it into the text, had he known all the authorities by which it is supported.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is a general agreement of scholars in favor of this reading. Tischendorf, though he had adopted it in the second edition of his *Synopsis Evangelica* (1864), has restored the reading "Son" to the text in his eighth critical edition of the Greek Testament (1869); Alford retains *υἱός* (6th ed., 1868), though giving *θεός* a place in his margin; Dr. Scrivener, also a member of the British Biblical Revision Committee, defends the reading "Son" in his *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (2d ed., 1874), p. 525 f.;* and Bishop Wordsworth does not even notice the reading *θεός* in his edition of the Greek Testament (5th ed., 1866). The reading "Son" is also defended by Rev. T. S. Green, M.A., in his *Course of Developed Criticism*, etc. (1856), p. 73, and *Critical Appendix to the Twofold New Testament* (187-), p. 33; by Dr. Samuel Davidson, art. "Manuscripts, Biblical," in *Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.* (3d ed., 1870), iii. 60; by Professor James Drummond, of Manchester New College, in an able article in the *Theological Review* for October, 1871, pp. 468-495; and by Rev. J. B. McClellan, M.A., in his recent learned and elaborate work, *The New Testament . . . a New Translation . . . from a critically revised Greek Text*, etc. (Lond. 1875), vol. i. p. 707 f. Among scholars of the present century on the continent of Europe, I know of none who have adopted the reading *θεός*.† It is emphatically rejected as a dogmatic gloss by Godet (1864) and Meyer (1869) in their recent Commentaries on the Gospel of John; and it is also rejected or ignored entirely by Olshausen (1838), Lücke (1840), Tholuck (1857), Ewald (1861), Brückner and De Wette (1863), Baumlein (1863), Hengstenberg (1867), Lange (1868), and so by Dr. Schaff in his American translation; see his note. It is also ignored in the most important recent translations which professedly represent a critically revised Greek text; as that of Holtz-

* [So, too, in the 3d ed. (1883); see especially p. 606, note.]

† [Now adopted by Harnack, Weiss, *al.*]

mann in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. iv. (1864), the American Bible Union (2d revis., 1867), the new authorized Dutch translation by Van Hengel and others (Amst. 1868), the French version of Oltramare (Genève, 1872), and the German translation by Weizsäcker (1875). The French translation of Rilliet (Genève, 1860) is not an exception, as that only represents the Vatican MS.

The question, then, is evidently an open one; and the object of the present article is to state and weigh, as fairly as possible, the evidence for the rival readings. It may be proper to mention that the substance of the paper was prepared at the request of the New Testament Company of the American Biblical Revision Committee, though no one but the writer is responsible for any statement or argument which it may contain. It is hoped that the account of the evidence will be found somewhat fuller and more accurate than has elsewhere been given; but, to avoid unnecessary repetition of what has already been published, I shall often refer, for details, to the articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and the *Theological Review*, which are mentioned above. Alford's note also gives very fully the context of some of the passages cited from the Christian Fathers. In adducing authorities not noticed in Tischendorf's last critical edition (1869), references are given; but it is assumed that one who is specially interested in the investigation of the question will have that edition at hand.

The evidence, then, for the different readings is as follows:—

I. MANUSCRIPTS. — For *μονογενῆς θεός*, **Σ**, B, C*, L, 33 (**Σ**^c, 33, *ὁ μ. θ.*)*

For *ὁ μόν. υἱός*, A, X, Γ, Δ, Λ, Π, C³, E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, V,

* In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1861 (p. 850), *θεός* was given as the reading of **Σ** *a prima manu*, as if it had been afterwards corrected. The text of the MS. was not then published, and I was misled by Tischendorf, who, in his *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici* (1860), p. 18, gave the reading as follows: "Joh. 1, 18 a prima *μονογενῆς* (absque *ὁ* cum BC*L) *θεός* (cum BC*L etc.) *εἶσ* (om *ο ων*)." I naturally supposed the "*a prima*" to refer to all the variations from the Received Text, not merely to the first and the last. Dr. Tregelles before me had fallen into the same error (*Text. Crit.*, 2d ed., p. 780).

the cursives 1, 22, 28, 118, 157, 209, all of which are of exceptional importance and value, also Professor Ferrar's group, 13, 69, 124, 346, which he regards as representing an early uncial akin to D, but with a purer text;* and all other known cursives, several hundred in number, but the majority of them not carefully examined, or of little worth. D, unfortunately, is mutilated here; but the versions and Fathers with which it usually agrees support *ὁὐς*.

Of these MSS., \aleph and B are assigned to the middle of the fourth century, A and C to the middle of the fifth, E and L are of the eighth century, the other uncials of the ninth or tenth. Among the later uncials, L, X, Γ , Δ , Λ , Π , are distinguished from the rest, L pre-eminently, by their more frequent agreement with the oldest authorities. The cursive MS. 33 is of remarkable excellence.

The MS. authority for *ὁὐς* is weighty, though confined to the representatives of an Alexandrian or Egyptian text. In a large majority of cases, the reading supported by these MSS. against the rest is confirmed by other ancient evidence and by intrinsic probability, and has a good claim to be adopted. On the other hand, they all, or the most of them, sometimes concur in readings which are clearly false, or exceedingly improbable, or very doubtful. See, for example, \aleph , B, C, L, U, Γ , Matt. xxvii. 49; \aleph , B, C*, Δ , Cop., Hcl. Syr.^{margin.} Aeth., Mark iii. 14; \aleph , B, D, L, Δ , Mark vi. 22; B*, C, L, V, Luke i. 17; \aleph , B, D, U, X, 33, Luke xv. 21; \aleph^a , B*, C*, John i. 15; \aleph , B, L, T^b, 33, John iii. 13; B, L, T, X, Γ , Δ , etc., John vii. 8; \aleph , B, H, L, P, 61, Acts xii. 25 (impossible). See also for \aleph , B, in particular, Matt. vi. 8; xvi. 21; Mark iv. 21 (*ὕπὸ* for *ἐπί*, impossible); Luke xxiii. 32; Acts xvi. 32; James i. 17; 2 Peter ii. 13. As to the cursives, those first named above are nearly, some of them perhaps quite, equal in value to 33 *in the Gospels*; 1, 22, and 209, especially, are often right where it is wrong. See, e.g., Matt. v. 44; vi. 1, 6, 13; xix. 16, 17; Luke xi. 2, 4, and numberless other passages.

* See Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 167, and Addenda to do., p. ix. (2d ed., 1874); [see 3d ed. (1883), p. 181].

Such being the state of the case, the MS. authority for μ . $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, though important, cannot be regarded as in itself decisive.

II. ANCIENT VERSIONS. — For $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, the Coptic or Memphitic (3d cent., or perhaps even the 2d), Peshito Syriac (in its present form, 4th cent. ; so Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Crowfoot, Payne Smith, Lightfoot), Harclean Syriac in the *margin* (A.D. 616), Aethiopic (4th or 5th cent.) in the Roman edition.

For $\nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma$, Old Latin (2d cent.), a, b, c, e, f, ff², l, *filius*, q *fil. dei* ; Vulgate (A.D. 384), Curetonian Syriac (2d cent.), Jerusalem Syriac (5th cent. ?), Harclean Syriac in the *text* (here probably Philoxenian, A.D. 508), Aethiopic in Platt's edition, which is the best ; Armenian (*cir.* A.D. 431).

Though Wilkins and Malan (*Gospel of St. John*) in their translations of the Coptic give its reading as "the only-begotten of God," and are followed by Scrivener and McClellan, this is doubtless an error ; see Schwartze's note *in loc.*

III. FATHERS. — (In citing their names, the year when they flourished is noted, generally as assigned by Cave.)

For $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. Clem. Alex.¹⁹², once, but once in reference $\nu\acute{i}\delta\varsigma \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (Valentinians), 2d cent. (?) ; Epiphanius.³⁶⁸ three times, and one ref. ; Didym. Alex.³⁷⁰ twice, and one ref. (?) ; Cyr. Alex.⁴¹² four times, and one ref., but $\nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma$ three times (Opp. iv. 103^e, v. i. 365^e, vi. i. 90^b), also (allus.) $\acute{o} \mu\omicron\nu. \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (vi. i. 187^c). *Perhaps* 2d Synod of Ancyra³⁵⁸ one ref., and Greg. Nyss.³⁷⁰ one ref. and eight allusions (Opp. iii. 291^a, and in addition to what Tisch. cites, ii. 432^b, 478^d, 506^c, 595 [605]^a, 691^a), but $\nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma$ twice in similar allusions (Opp. ii. 466^c, iii. 648^a), and $\acute{o} \acute{\epsilon}\nu \iota\psi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ once (i. 697^a). The inconclusiveness of such references and allusions is illustrated in *Bib. Sac.* (as above), pp. 855–857 ; see also below, p. 280.

No *quotation* of the passage with the reading *deus* has been produced from any Latin Father.*

*The apparent exception in the case of Hilary (*De Trin.* xii. 24, Migne x. 448^a) is merely

For *viós*. Iren.¹⁸⁰, in a very ancient Latin version, has once *filius dei*, once *filius*, and once *deus*; in the first two cases the context favors *filius*; Hippol.²²⁰, 3d Syn. of Antioch²⁶¹, Archelaus^{300?} (*Disp. c. Man.* c. 32, in an Old Lat. version; Migne x. 1479^c), Alexander of Alexandria³¹³, Euseb.³¹⁵ six times, and one ref. (see below), Eustathius of Antioch³³⁰ (*De Engastr.* c. 18, Migne xviii. 652^c), Athanas.³²⁵ four times, and three ref., *Pseud-Athan.*^{uncert.} (*Cont. Sab.* c. 2, Migne xxviii. 100^b), the Emperor Julian³⁶² twice (*ap. Cyr. Alex. Opp.* vi. ii. 333), Tit. Bostr.³⁶² once, and once *viós θεός*; Greg. Naz.³⁷⁰, *Pseudo-Basil.*^{unc.} (Hom. in Ps. xxviii. c. 3, Opp. i. 359, improperly cited by Tisch. as if genuine), Rufinus Syr. or Palaest.^{cir. 390} (*De Fide*, c. 16, in a Latin trans.; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xxi. 1131^a), Chrys.³⁹⁸ eight times, Theod. Mops.⁴⁰⁷ (in Joh. i. 29; Migne lxvi. 733^d), Theodore⁴²³ four times, Proclus⁴³⁴, *Pseudo-Cyril* (5th cent.?) (*De Trin.* c. 6, Migne lxxv. 1153; Cardinal Mai published this as Cyril's; I have followed Dr. Tregelles, *Printed Text*, p. 232, note †), Andr. Cret.^{635?} (*Or. in Transf.*, Migne xcvi. 940^c), Joan. Damascan.⁷³⁰ five times (Migne xciv. 789^a; xc. 204^{cd}, 216^b). So the later Greek Fathers, as Germanus⁷¹⁵ (*Rev. Eccl. Cont.*, Migne xcvi. 429^b, or Gall. xiii. 215^b), Theod. Stud.⁸¹³ twice (Migne xcix. 396^c, 1216^a), Andr. presb., Theophyl., Euthymius three times (Migne cxxix. 1125^d, 1128^c; cxxx. 1296^c); see above, p. 262. Probably, Cyril of Jerusalem³⁵⁰ (see above, p. 260); and perhaps Nonnus⁴¹⁰; see Tischendorf.

The Latin Fathers all support *viós*. So Tertullian²⁰⁰ once, and one allusion, Hilary³⁵⁴ seven times, Phœbadius³⁵⁹ once (*Cont. Arian.* c. 12, Migne xx. 21), Victorinus Afer³⁶⁰ six times, Hilarius diaconus³⁷⁰ or Auct. *Quæst. ex utroque Test.*

apparent, the "unigenitus deus" forming no part of the quotation from John i. 18, just as "Jesus Christus" forms no part of the quotation from Rom. ix. 5, and as "unigenitus deus" is no part of the quotation from 2 Tim. i. 9, a little below (c. 26). What precedes and follows shows that the whole stress of Hilary's argument rests on the word *est*. Chrysostom argues in just the same way from the *ὁ ὧν* in this passage (Opp. i. 476^c, 477^a, and viii. 87^{ab}, ed. Montf.); see also Epiphanius, *Ancor.* c. 5, Basil. *Adv. Eunom.* iv. 2 (Opp. i. 281, 282 [399]), and Greg. Nyss. *Adv. Eunom.* lib. x. (Opp. ii. 680-682). Dr. Tregelles's "et in sequentibus *sæpe*" is wholly misleading, if he means that this is anything more than the application by Hilary of a favorite appellation to Christ. Hilary has quoted John i. 18 with the reading *filius* seven times, and the passage *De Trin.* vi. 39 proves that he did not read *deus*.

Pars II. qu. I (*ap. Augustini Opp.* III. ii. 3099^b, ed. Bened. 2^{da}) once, Ambrose³⁷⁴ seven times, Jerome once (In Ezek. xlv. I seqq.), Faustinus³⁸⁴ four times, Augustine³⁹⁶ three times, Adimantus the Manichæan³⁹⁶, Maximinus the Arian⁴²⁸ twice, Vigilius of Tapsa (?)⁴⁸⁴ three times (Migne lxii. 265^d, 393^d, 395^a), Junilius⁵⁵⁰, Alcuin⁷⁸⁰, and so on; see, for references, above, pp. 263–265. Fulgentius should not be cited, as he is by Tisch. for *filius*, and by Treg. for *deus*. He has nowhere, properly speaking, *quoted* the passage; his *allusions* (Migne lxxv. 272^b, 454^{cd}, 459^c, 583^c, 679^c, 681^b) are all quoted in the *Bib. Sac.*, p. 857. [above, p. 257].

Doubtful. I. Origen²³⁰ has the reading *θεός* twice (Opp. iv. 89, 438, ed. De la Rue). Here, however, the very literal version of Ferrari, made from a MS. now lost, reads *unigenitus* alone, in both places (see Huet's ed. of Origen's *Comm.* ii. 82, 406), though De la Rue has added *deus* in the second instance. A translator might regard *filius* as superfluous with *unigenitus*, but not so *deus*. On the other hand, Origen has *ὁ μὲν. υἱός* once, *Cont. Cels.* ii. 71 (Opp. i. 440). So De la Rue and Lommatzsch, from two MSS.; Hoeschel's ed., from a single MS., reads *καὶ μὲν. γε ὢν θεός*, which bears clear marks of being a marginal gloss.* In another quotation of

* Compare the interpolation in Hoeschel's edition of the same treatise, lib. i. c. 63, by which Origen is made to quote 1 Tim. i. 15 thus: . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ θεός ἤλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοῦς σῶσαι, where De la Rue omits ὁ θεός on the authority of four MSS. and the Philocalia. A similar gloss has apparently been added to the text in Euseb. *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 9, p. 67^d: ὁ μὲν. υἱός, ἢ υἱὸν. θεός, ὁ ὢν, κ.τ.λ. The context seems clearly to show that Eusebius read *υἱός* here, as in five other places; see above, p. 259. Such a mode of designating an *alternate* reading, as we must otherwise suppose, is almost unexampled. Not wholly so; see Origen, *Comm. in Joan.* t. xxviii. c. 14, Opp. iv. 392^b, who cites Heb. ii. 9 in this way: συναρτήσεται τῷ ὄπῳ χάριτι, ἢ, χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γένησεται θανάτου. See, on the other hand, Origen's mode of citing the passage, Opp. iv. 41^c, χωρὶς θεοῦ . . . ἢ, ὑπὲρ ἐν τῷ κῆραι . . . ἀντιγράφοις. γάρ τι θεοῦ. For other remarkable instances of interpolation or corruption of the text in MSS., see Wetstein's *N. T.* ii. 596, last paragraph, and 865.

It may be well here to notice a passage in which Eusebius *allows* the appellation *μονογενής θεός* as applied to the Son, though he does not affirm that it is given him in scripture. He says (*De Eccl. Theol.* iii. 6, p. 175^a), "And he alone [the Father] may be called (*χρηματίζοι ἄν*) One God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, while the Son may be called Only-begotten God, he who is in the bosom of the Father. but the Paraclete (*ὁ* Helping) Spirit can be called neither God nor Son, since he has not like the Son been generated from (*ἐκ*) the Father, but is one of the beings made through the Son." I would here thank Professor Drummond for pointing out an error in my former translation of this passage (*Bib. Sac.*, p. 860, note); and would refer to his article for a full exhibition of the quotations of Eusebius with their context, which leave no room for doubt

John i. 18 (Opp. iv. 102), De la Rue and Lommatzsch edit *ὁ μον. υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*; the earlier ed. of Huet reads *υἱὸς θεός*. A little after, in two allusions, we find *ὁ μονογενής* alone (Opp. iv. 102, 114). Again we have in a quotation (in Rufinus's translation) *unigenitus dei filius* (Opp. iii. 91), where the context confirms the reading, having *unigenitus filius* just before in an allusion to the passage.

As to the variations, the occasional *addition* of *τοῦ θεοῦ* or *dei*, as in the Old Lat. q, Irenæus, Victorinus (*Ad Cand.* 16), Auct. *Quæst.* qu. 91, p. 2913 (*Augustini Opp.* iii. ii.), Fulgentius (allus., *De Fide*, 17), or of *θεός* (Clem. Alex. and Tit. Bostr. above), for the sake of strengthening the expression, or the *omission* of *υἱὸς* and *filius*, as by Cod. gat. of the Vulg., *Pseud-Ignat.*, Origen (see above),* Aphraates³³⁷ † (*Hom.* vi. 7, p. 115 Wright, allus.), Cyril of Jer., Epiph. (?), Chrys. (Opp. i. 475^b, ed. Montf.), Nonnus, *Pseud-Ath.* (*Q. ad Ant.* 28), Max. Conf.⁴⁴⁵ (*In Dion. Ar. Ep.* ix.), Victorinus (*Adv. Ar.* i. 15), Ambr., Vigil. Taps. (Migne, lxii. 260^a, 366^e), and Fulgentius (*De Inc.* c. 18, allus.), as unessential, would be natural enough if *ὁ μονογενής υἱὸς* was the original reading; but if *θεός* were genuine, *υἱὸς* would hardly be inserted before it, and it would not be easily omitted.

In *Orig. Opp.* iv. 92, cited by Treg. and Tisch., we have merely the *expression* "unigenitus deus salvator noster," with no sign of even an allusion to John i. 18. The like is true of *Marcel. ap. Eus.* p. 19^c, and Isid. Pel. *Ep.* iii. 95, cited by Tregelles. Dr. Tregelles further cites twelve writers as using the phrase *μονογενής θεός* or *unigenitus deus* "saepissime, . . . tanquam nomen Jesu in Scriptura tributum." A careful examination of these writers will show, if I have made no mistake, that only *one* of them (Greg. Nyss.) intimates that

that he here read *υἱὸς* (*Theol. Review*, pp. 480-482). It may be added that Tischendorf and Tregelles have not noticed the quotation of John i. 18 by Eusebius in his Comm. on Is. vi. 1 (Migne, xxiv. 121^d). On the other hand, Euseb. *De Eccl. Theol.* ii. 14, p. 123^b, referred to by Tregelles and Tischendorf, is not a quotation.

* In Origen's *comment* on the passage, as given in the scholion from Codex 237 by Matthæi (*N. T. Gr. et Lat.* iv. 23, 24), *υἱὸς* is also omitted. This scholion is instructive as showing how *θεός* might creep in: *ὁ μονογενής, φησίν, ὃν προεἶπον ὅτι θεός, ὅτι φῶς, κ.τ.λ.*

† Quoted by Tisch. as Iacobi; but see Wright.

this is a name given to Christ in scripture; not one of them expressly quotes John i. 18 with the reading *μον. θεός* or *unig. deus*; four of them do expressly quote it with the reading *μον. υἱός* or *unig. filius* (viz. Greg. Naz., Tit. Bostr., Vigil., Alcuin); four certainly, perhaps five, have used the phrase but *once* each, in their extant writings (Bas. Sel., Arius, Lucian, Gaudent., and perhaps Greg. Naz.); and two of them have never used it at all (Tit. Bostr., Prudentius). For details, see above, pp. 243, 244, 246 note, 266 note, 267 note.

2. Basil the Great³⁷⁰, according to the text of the Benedictine edition, has *θεός* once (with five MSS.) where earlier editions read *υἱός*, and once mentions "True Son, Only-begotten God, Power of God," etc., as names given to Christ in scripture. On the other hand, he quotes the passage twice with the reading *υἱός*. In the first case (Opp. iii. 23) the six MSS. of Garnier appear to support this reading, but one of Matthæi's Moscow MSS. has *θεός*. In the second (Opp. iii. 358), Garnier notes no variation in his ten MSS., and Matthæi's MS. also has *υἱός*.

The imprudence of inferring the reading of John i. 18 from the mere assertion of a Father that Christ is called or named in scripture the Only-begotten God was illustrated above, pp. 255-257. See also Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* v. 2 (Opp. iv. 383-387, ed. Sirmond; Migne, vol. lxxxiii.), who says, "All the apostles *name* (*ὀνομάζουσι*) him Genuine and True Son of God"; and, farther on, "the divine John the Evangelist *calls* (*καλεῖ*) the same both *λόγον προαιώνιον, καὶ μονογενῆ υἱόν, καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργόν,*" κ.τ.λ. Again: "They *name* (*ὀνομάζουσι*) him both *Χριστόν, καὶ αἰδίον υἱόν, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς συναΐδιον.*" Again: "He has been *named* (*ὀνόμασται*) not simply *λόγος*, but *θεὸς λόγος.*" So Epiphanius (*Ancor.* c. 28) speaks of the Father as "*calling* (*καλοῦντα*) the Son *συνδημιουργόν,*" referring to Gen. i. 26. Such language is often used of titles which the Fathers regarded as *justified* by scripture, though not expressly given. We cannot, therefore, attach much weight to the evidence of the Synod of Ancyra, or to the references of Gregory Nyssen and Basil.

3. *Pseudo-Cæsarius* (7th cent.?) is cited by Tischendorf,

as also in the *Bib. Sac.*, for the reading *υἱός* (*Dial.* i. 4; Migne xxviii. 864). But the context (*Τίνα τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν; καθὼς φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης· Ὁ μὲν υἱός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις, κ.τ.λ.*) so naturally suggests the conjecture that *θεός* should be here substituted for *υἱός*, that I now prefer to treat the reading as doubtful. The deity of Christ may, however, have been merely *inferred* from *μονογενής* and *ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις*, as it is by Chrys. *in loc.*, Greg. Naz. (*Or.* xxix. al. xxxv. 17), Junilius (*De Part. div. Leg.* i. 16), and others. Euseb. *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 10, p. 68^b.

There is some doubt about Irenæus and Cyril of Alexandria; see above.

On a review of the external evidence it will be seen that the MSS. which read *θεός* are of the highest rank, though few in number, — weighty authorities, but not decisive; while the testimony of the ancient versions, and the quotations of the passage by the Christian Fathers, decidedly favor *υἱός*. We trace both readings to the second century; but we find *θεός* supported almost wholly by one class of authorities, the Alexandrian or Egyptian; while the witnesses for *υἱός* are far more widely diffused as well as far more numerous, representing all quarters of the Christian world. The whole Western Church seems to have known no other reading. The Syrian and Palestinian Fathers, with all the Syrian versions but the (revised?) Peshito, support it, as well as those of Asia Minor and the Byzantines, while the Alexandrian witnesses are divided. Though the majority of these favor *θεός*, Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius support *υἱός*, the latter by repeated and unequivocal quotations. Origen's MSS. and those of Cyril may have had both readings.

The *number* of Fathers that can be relied on with confidence as witnesses for *θεός* is very small. Besides the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* mentioned above, there are but *two* who have expressly quoted the passage with the reading *θεός* only, — Epiphanius and Didymus. Didymus became blind at four or five years of age, and quotes from memory, often making mistakes; while Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius are notorious for the looseness and inaccuracy of their

citations from scripture. The uncertainty of mere allusions, and of assertions that Christ is *called* *μονογενὴς θεός* in scripture, has already been illustrated. It is proper to state these facts, and to give them due weight; but in the present case I would not lay great stress upon them, in disparagement of the testimony for *θεός*. The indisputable authorities for *θεός* give strength to evidence which, standing alone, would be weak.

It has been imagined that the *text* of the Fathers who read *θεός* is more trustworthy than that of those who have *υἱός*. This point is carefully examined by Professor Drummond, who maintains that there is not one passage in their quotations "where any serious difficulty would be presented by the context if *υἱός* were substituted for *θεός*." We have already seen the probability of corruption from marginal glosses in two passages of Origen and Eusebius. On the other hand, in the case of some of the more important witnesses for *θεός*, as Eusebius, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and also of Hilary and other Latin Fathers, the context in several places renders the reading *υἱός* absolutely *certain*. (See above, pp. 259-261 notes, 247 note, or *Theol. Review*, pp. 480, 482 f., 492, 488; also Alford's note *in loc.* for Hippolytus and Tertullian.) In reasoning on this subject we must not forget that the phrase *μονογενὴς θεός*, though "only-begotten God" is strange to us, was familiar to transcribers in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and suited the prevailing taste.

But how could the phrase *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός* have become so familiar if *θεός* was not here the primitive reading? In the same way in which *ὁ θεὸς λόγος*, "God the Son," and a little later *θεοτόκος*, as applied to the Virgin Mary, became current, though not found in scripture. The appellation *ὁ θεὸς λόγος*, which so often occurs in the Fathers from Melito and Clement of Alexandria onward, was readily formed from John i. 1; and when *υἱός* was regarded as a synonym of *λόγος*, and implying generation from the divine substance, nothing was more natural than the formation of such expressions as *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός* or *ὁ μον. θεὸς λόγος*, *unigenitus deus*, *unigenitus deus verbum*, which occur abundantly in writers who we *know* read only

υἱός or *filius* in John i. 18. Though not equally suiting all tastes, the expression was a favorite one with many among the Orthodox and the Arians alike, who were pleased with it for different reasons (see above, p. 267). It was enough that it was regarded as authorized by *necessary inference* from scripture. No quotation of John i. 18 with this reading has been found in any Arian writer.

We are now prepared to consider the internal evidence. It may be urged that if the original reading was *θεός, υἱός* might be readily substituted for it, unconsciously, after *μονογενής*, which naturally suggests it, and is connected with it in three other passages. This is true. On the other hand, if *υἱός* was the original reading, it may be said that in this place, forming the grand conclusion of the Prologue which began with predicating *θεός* of *ὁ λόγος*, *θεός* would be a natural marginal gloss, which would easily find its way into the text.* It may also be said that the phrase *ὁ μονογενής θεός* being familiar to copyists of the third and following centuries, *θεός* would easily be unconsciously substituted for *υἱός*, especially as the *θεόν* which precedes would *suggest* the word, and the resemblance of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}$, or of $-\text{HC}\bar{\nu}\text{I}\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}$ and $-\text{HC}\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}$ (*υἱός* being often unabbreviated in the oldest MSS.), would facilitate the change. (For the dots over the initial ν a dash was often substituted, which might, on a hasty glance, be connected with the final ω .) Abundant illustrations of transcriptural error originating in both the ways now supposed might be given. For the mechanical repetition of a word suggested by the context, see Mark iv. 21, where the absurd *ὑπὸ τῆν λυχνίαν* in \aleph , B*, 13, 33, 69, is due to the previous occurrence of *ὑπό* twice in the same verse.

* "Nominis *υἱός* nomen *θεός* modo substitutum, modo adjectum est. Utrumvis glossema, collato v. 1, καὶ θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος, suaviter tinniebat" (Bengel, *Aῤῥ. Crit.* p. 217). In illustration of the fact that such a combination as *μονογενής θεός* was not likely to offend transcribers, and possibly of what Tischendorf calls the "studium in summa antiquitate appellationis *θεοῦ* in Christum conferendae," we may note that Codex A in John xix. 40 for τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ reads τὸ σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ, and that in John xviii. 32, for ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ . . . σπυαίνων ποίω θανάτῳ ἡμελλεν ἀποθνῆσκειν. L. Δ. 59, 259, read ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ. The reading of \aleph^* Luke viii. 40, τὸν θεόν for ἀνάν, probably arose from a mechanical repetition of the ΘN in ἀντόν in the MS. copied. See also the note on p. 278, above. Comp. the various readings in Rev. xi. 19.

It would seem, then, that on the supposition of the genuineness of either reading we may plausibly explain the origin of its rival. But other important considerations come in to turn the scale. Had *θεός* been the original reading, its uniqueness and its dogmatic significance must have forced attention to it from the beginning, and preserved it from change. Sanctioned by the authority of an apostle, and of course in accordance with his oral teachings, it could not be a stumbling-block. It would have been constantly quoted and appealed to, like the first verses of the chapter. So *wide-spread* a corruption as we are compelled to assume, if *υἱός* is not genuine, seems, under these circumstances, altogether incredible; while we can easily explain the existence of *θεός* in the comparatively few authorities that support it.

Under another aspect the internal evidence is still more unfavorable to *θεός*. The expression *μονογενῆς θεός* not only has no parallel elsewhere in the New Testament, but its introduction here, after *θεόν* used *absolutely*, produces a harshness and confusion which it is almost impossible to suppose in any writer; *υἱός*, on the other hand, seems almost required as a counterpart to the *πατήρ* which follows, and also accords with John iii. 16, 18, and 1 John iv. 9.

Such being the state of the case, with the highest respect for the eminent critics who take a different view, I am constrained to regard both the external and the internal evidence, when fairly stated and weighed, as decidedly in favor of the reading *υἱός*.

Professor Lightfoot (as before referred to) suggests that the reading *μονογενῆς θεός* in this passage may be regarded as a compensation for the loss of *θεός* in 1 Tim. iii. 16. Dr. Tregelles (*Printed Text*, etc., p. 234) appears to have viewed it in the same light. But it may well be questioned whether, if the genuineness of *θεός* here were demonstrated, its bearing would be favorable to the Athanasian doctrine. Standing without the article, in contrast with *θεόν* used emphatically and absolutely, it would seem almost necessary to regard the word as used in a lower sense, as Origen (*In Joan.* t. ii. §§ 2, 3, Opp. iv. 50 ff.) and Eusebius (*De Eccl. Theol.* ii. 14, 17) take the

predicate *θεός* in ver. 1; and we should thus have, not the ecclesiastical doctrine of the proper deity of Christ, but a *δεύτερος θεός*, like the Logos of Philo. The ancient Arians were very ready to call the Son *ὁ μονογενὴς θεός*; this appellation, in their view, happily distinguished him from the Father, who alone was God in the highest sense, as unbegotten, uncaused, and without beginning.

XIV.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF JOHN VIII. 44.

[Prepared at the request of the New Testament Company of the American Biblical Revision Committee.]

WE are unable to accept *ἔστηκεν*, regarded as the imperfect of *στήκω*, as the true reading in this passage.

1. Because there appears to be no proof of the use of an imperfect of *στήκω* in the whole range of Greek literature. The existence of the form *στέκω*, with an imperfect *ἔστεκον*, in modern Greek (Mullach, *Gram. der griech. Vulgarsprache*, p. 299) does not go far toward rendering probable the use of *ἔστηκον* as an imperfect in the *first century*.

2. It is certainly not found elsewhere in the Septuagint or the New Testament. The pluperfect form of *ἵστημι* is always there used, as in classical Greek, for the intransitive imperfect, occurring thus in the Septuagint at least thirty-three times, and in the New Testament fourteen times, seven of which are in the Gospel of John. How great the improbability that in the face of this usage we should find here a needless form, of which no other example has been produced!

3. The perfect *ἔστηκεν*, in the sense of the present, is entirely suitable to the context. The devil "standeth not in the truth" practically, "because truth is not in him" as a principle of action: a regard for the truth does not belong to his nature. The imperfect would give a less appropriate sense: it is the permanent character of Satan, what he *is*, not what he was doing, or was in the habit of doing, at some past time, which gives point to the representation of him as "the father" of the truth-rejecting Jews.

4. No one of the Greek Fathers who have cited or commented on the passage appears to have regarded *ἔστηκεν* as an imperfect. Origen, *In Joan.* tom. xx. § 22 (Opp. iv. 343 ss., ed. De la Rue), clearly takes the form as a perfect, in the

sense of the present : see p. 343^c, εἰ δέ τις μὴ οὕτως βιοῖ, οὐχ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ; p. 345^a, ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τοῦ· ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ [so Huet, De la Rue] ἔστηκεν, ἀκούομεν οὐχ ὡς φύσιν τοιαύτην ἐμφαίνοντες [read ἐμφαίνοντος, with Huet], οὔτε τὸ ἀδύνατον περὶ τοῦ ἔστηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παριστάντες [read παριστάντος] ; and p. 345^c, ὥσπερ ὁ διάβολος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν αὐτῷ, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ὄντες ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκασιν, ὅτι ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. So Heracleon, quoted by Origen (*ubi sup.*), who understands the οὐχ ἔστηκεν of the nature of the devil. So Cyril of Alexandria, *De Ador.* lib. vi. (Opp. i. i. 184, 185, ed. Aubert), who, after quoting the passage, says : οὐχὶ πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ἀμαρτοεπής, ὁ μὴ ἔστηκώς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. So Procopius Gazaëus on Exod. viii. 42 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvii. 556) : "Ὁρα ποσάκις ψεύδεται τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὁ Φαραώ. ψεύστης γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκε, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν. So apparently Chrysostom, *In Gen. Serm.* vii. 2, Opp. iv. 676^d (784), ed. Montf. : ψεύστης γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθές φθέγγεται. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, φησὶν, οὐχ ἔστηκεν ; and Theophylact (*in loc.*) : Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψεύδους ἐστὶ πατήρ. So certainly Euthymius (*in loc.*), who explains οὐχ ἔστηκεν by οὐκ ἐμμένει, οὐκ ἀναπαύεται. Irenæus (*Cont. Haer.* v. 22. § 2), according to the Old Latin version, though that reads *stetit*, seems to have taken the verb as a present in sense : "*Quoniam diabolus mendax est ab initio, et in veritate non stetit. Si itaque mendax est, et non stans in veritate,*" etc. In the allusion in Pseudo-Ignatius, *Philad.* c. 6, ἔστηκεν is taken as a present. Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria in their comments on the passage, and Photius (*Ad Amphil. Quaest.* xlvii., Migne, *Patr. Gr.* ci. 352 ff.) in his long discussion, have nothing to the point ; Eustathius, *De Engastrim.* c. 4 (Migne, xviii. 620). But Photius (*Ad Amphil. Quaest.* xlvii.) does seem to have taken ἔστηκεν as present in signification : καὶ τό, μηδαμῶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐστάναι κ.τ.λ. (Migne, ci. p. 356^c). So *Cont. Manich.* iv. 8 (Migne, cii. 192^e) : εἰ γάρ ἐστι ψεύστης, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἔστηκε ; and the same is true of the Fathers cited in the *Catenaë* of Corderius and Cramer on John, and the scholia given by Matthæi, *N. T. Gr. et Lat.* iv. 368–375. They certainly have nothing which suggests that ἔστηκεν was read as an imperfect. Other quotations, e.g., by Clement of Alexandria,

Strom. i. 17 (Opp. p. 369, Potter) ; Origen (Opp. ii. 126^a, iv. 340^c) ; Macarius Aegyptius, *Hom.* v. 3 ; Severianus, *De Mund. Creat. Orat.* vi. c. 2 (in *Chrysost. Opp.* vi. 497, ed. Montf.) ; and Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaph. in Gen.* lib. i. (Opp. i. ii. 18), and *In Mich.* iii. 8 (Opp. iii. 420), — throw no light on the matter.

Augustine and other Latin Fathers explain the passage of the fall of the devil, being influenced by the *stetit* of the Old Latin version, or versions, and the Vulgate. Didymus of Alexandria (*Cont. Manich.* c. 16) apparently *infers* the fall of Satan from the present *ἴστηκεν*, which suggests to him a contrast with the past : *Ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν, Οὐκ* [so Basnage, Gallandi] *ἔστηκεν, δεικνύς* [read *δείκνυσιν* ?] *αὐτὸν πρότερον ἰστάμενον ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.* So in his *Comm.* on Ps. v. 6 (Migne, xxxix. col. 1170^d), which is particularly worthy of notice. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxviii. 4, p. 279) in a very loose quotation of the passage substitutes the *aorist* *ἔμεινεν* for *ἴστηκεν* ; and Nonnus in his poetical *Paraphrase* represents the word by *μίμνεν*, as he does the following *ἔστιν* by *ἦεν*, referring the passage to the fall of the devil. Theodoret also (*Haer. Fab.* v. 8) finds this intimated : *τοῦτο δὲ παραδηλοῖ, ὡς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτραπέις, τάναντία τῇ ἀληθείᾳ προεἴλετο.* But these references of the passage to the fall of Satan afford no ground for believing that any of the writers named took *ἴστηκεν* here for an imperfect of *στήκω*. The *aorist*, not the imperfect, would have been the proper tense to describe that event.

5. The uncials B³, C, E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, Γ, Λ*, Π, and, apparently, the great mass of the cursive MSS. and the Evangelistaries, read *οὐχ* before *ἔστηκεν*.

But it may be said that the important MSS. which here read *οὐκ* for *οὐχ*, and the ancient versions which represent *ἔστηκεν* by a past tense, justify us in regarding the word as an imperfect. The facts in regard to the versions and the MSS. are indeed remarkable, and require explanation. Let us see what they are.

1. The following important versions render *ἔστηκεν* here by a past tense : the Old Latin and the Vulgate, which read *stetit* ; the Memphitic, Thebaic, Gothic ; the Armenian and

Georgian (according to the Rev. S. C. Malan), and the Harclean Syriac in the *text*, which have a preterite tense; and the Jerusalem Syriac (ed. Miniscalchi Erizzo, i. 66), which uses the imperfect. On the other hand, the Peshito Syriac, the Harclean Syriac in the *margin*, the Aethiopic, and the Slavonic have the present. (See Malan, *The Gospel according to S. John*, etc., London, 1872.) Here it is particularly to be observed, that of the nine versions which use a past tense in translating only one has the imperfect. But how can we account for the use of a past tense? The answer is easy. It was naturally suggested by the ἀπθρωποκτόνος ἦν which precedes, and might also naturally be used by those who found in the passage, like Didymus, an implication of the fall of Satan. But if the Latin translators had taken εσθηκεν as an imperfect, they would have rendered it *stabat*, not *stetit*; and a similar remark applies to all the other versions but the Jerusalem Syriac. Most modern translators, including all the early English, have rendered the verb in the past tense; and this rendering has been given by a host of scholars, from Erasmus, Beza, and Grotius down to the Rev. S. C. Malan, who yet never dreamed of an imperfect εσθηκεν. This may serve to show the caution required in drawing inferences from versions. It would be imprudent to infer even from the isolated case of the Jerusalem Syriac that the translator either regarded εσθηκεν as an imperfect, or read ἐστήκει or εἰστήκει. The Peshito renders ἐσθηκε by the imperfect in Heb. x. 11.

2. The support of οὐκ for οὐχ by **8**, B*, D, L, X, Δ, Λ², I, 69**, 253, and Scrivener's i, w, P, may seem very strong in favor of ἐσθηκε as an imperfect. But may it not merely show that the scribes of those MSS. pronounced the perfect of ἵστημι incorrectly without the aspirate?

There is reason for believing that there was at an early date much confusion in regard to the use of the aspirate in Attic Greek, not to speak of the well-known diversities in different dialects. See Franz, *Elementa Epigr. Græcæ*, Berol. 1840, p. 111; and especially E. A. Sophocles, *Hist. of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge and Boston, 1848, pp. 64, 65, and Adolph von Schütz, *Historia Alphabeti Attici*, Berol. 1875,

pp. 54-58. Speaking of the period Ol. 83, 3-Ol. 94, 2 (B.C. 446-403), Schütz remarks: "Spiritus asperi usus hac omni aetate adeo inconstans fuit ac perversus, ut Η nota saepissime aut ibi ommissa sit, ubi scribenda erat, aut praescripta compareat ejusmodi vocibus, quae re vera spiritu aspero carent. Qua re apparet hunc sonum procedente tempore magis magisque neglectum esse, ita ut postremo omnino non audiretur, neque quisquam in dicendo rationem ejus haberet." He illustrates this by more than a hundred examples from various inscriptions, not including a long one which deserves particular notice, though it is exceptional in the extent of its irregularities; namely, No. 324 (Ol. 93, 1 = B.C. 408) in Kirchhoff's *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*, vol. i. (Berol. 1873). In this, according to Schütz, out of sixty words which should have the rough breathing, it is wanting in twenty; while of two hundred and fourteen which should *not* have it, it is prefixed in one hundred and twenty-two, only ninety-two being correctly written. And it is to be specially noted that in this inscription, notwithstanding the fondness of the stone-cutter for the aspirate, we have ΕΙΣΤΕΚΟΤΑ (Kirchhoff, p. 170, frag. c, l. 19) for ἔστηκότα (on ει for ε see Franz, p. 150), and ΚΑΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΝ (Kirchhoff, p. 169, frag. a, l. 4) for καθιστᾶσιν.

It is well known that οὐκ and οὐχ are occasionally interchanged in our oldest uncials. See Scrivener, *Collatio Cod. Sinaitici*, p. lv. no. 9, 2d ed.; *Cod. Bezae*, p. xlvii. no. 11; Tischendorf, *Prolegom. to LXX*, pp. xxxiii., xxxiv.; and οὐκ for οὐχ in Cod. Alex. 1 Esdr. iv. 2, 12; Job xix. 16, xxxviii. 11, 26. See also Buttmann, *Gram. of N. T. Greek*, p. 7, Thayer's trans.; and Moulton's *Winer*, p. 48, note 1, 2d ed.

The facts thus far stated, however, are not alone sufficient to explain the *concurrence* of so many important MSS. in the substitution of οὐκ for οὐχ in the present passage. Other points must be considered. The fact that the tenses of ἵστημι have partly the rough and partly the smooth breathing would naturally lead to exceptional diversities of pronunciation; the very common aorist ἔστην being pronounced without an aspirate, there would be a tendency to treat the perfect and the pluperfect in the same way. That this tendency really

operated strongly, notwithstanding the counteracting influence of the compounds ἀνθ-, ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, μεθ-, ὑφίστημι, may be satisfactorily proved. Occasionally the tendency to assimilation would take the other direction, and lead to the aspiration of such forms as ἔσθησα and ἔστην. Of this also we find examples.*

Unfortunately there is no instance except the one before us in the Septuagint or the New Testament in which any aspirated form of ἴστημι is preceded by a word like οὐκ or οὐχ, so that we cannot tell what phenomena would be presented by our oldest uncials in a similar case. For the evidence of the tendency referred to we must therefore depend upon such information as we can obtain respecting the use of the aspirate in the later uncials and the cursives.

The collators of MSS. have not usually noted the breathings. This has been done, however, by Dr. Scrivener, in the case of irregularities, in his *Full Collation of Fifty Manuscripts*, added to his edition of the *Codex Augiensis* (1859); and an examination of his collation brings to light important facts.

Scrivener cites here for the reading οὐκ ἔστηκεν the MSS. i, w, L** (*i.e.* 69**), P. But that reading affords no evidence that the scribes took ἔστηκεν for an imperfect. This appears at once when the fact is stated, that in *every one* of the instances where the forms of the perfect and pluperfect of ἴστημι occur in the New Testament, some of Scrivener's MSS., and often more than in the present case, prefix the smooth breathing. For example, we have Luke viii. 20, ἔσθηκασιν, i, w, P; xxiii. 10, εἰσθηκίσαν, w, L, H, P; 35, εἰσθηκει, i, w, H, P; 49, εἰσθηκίσαν, i, v, w, H, P, z, *semel*; John i. 26, ἔσθηκεν, i, w, z, *sem.*; 35, εἰσθηκει, i, v, w, H, P, *sem.*; vii. 37, also xviii. 16 and xx. 11, εἰσθηκει, i, v, w, H, P; Acts xxvi. 22, ἔσθηκα, k, o, p; James v. 9, ἔσθηκεν, j, k, o; Rom. xi. 20, ἔσθηκας, and I Cor. vii. 27, ἔσθηκεν, k, n, o; Heb. x. 11, ἔσθηκε, k, m, n, o; Rev. iii. 20, ἔσθηκα, c, j, k, l, m, n; xii. 4, ἔσθηκεν, d, g, k, l, m, n.

In regard to the use of the breathings in the later uncials

* Codex 69 of the Gospels (Acts 31, Paul 37, Apoc. 14), collated by Scrivener (L Gosp., m Acts and Epp., f Apoc.), almost always aspirates ἔσθησεν, ἔσθησαν, ἔσθη. The same is true of the scribe who in the tenth or eleventh century supplied Codex B with accents and breathings. See the preface of Kuenen and Cobet to their *N. T. ad fid. Cod. Vat.* (1860), p. lxxxvii. f.

we have little information, except general statements as to their irregularity, and the evidence of this from fac-similes. There is an exception, however, in the case of Codex F of the Gospels, of which J. Heringa's careful collation has been published by H. E. Vinke: *Disputatio de Codice Borceliano, nunc Rheno-Trajectino*, etc., Traj. ad Rhen. 1843, 4to. This MS. reads ἔστηκεν, John i. 26; ἐστήκατε, Matt. xx. 6; ἕστηκασιν, Matt. xii. 47; ἕστηκώς, John vi. 22, and ἕστικώς, John iii. 29; ἕστηκότων, Mark xi. 5; ἕστως, John xii. 29; ἕστος, Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14; ἕστωτες, -τας, -των, Matt. xx. 3, 6, xxvi. 73, xxvii. 47; ἕστηκει, Matt. xiii. 2, John i. 35; and ἕστηκεισαν, Matt. xii. 46. Thus, of the twenty-seven examples which it contains of the perfect and pluperfect forms of ἕστημι, the collator has expressly noted seventeen in which they have the smooth breathing.

Another uncial MS. of the Gospels, Codex H at Hamburg, has been recently examined with reference to this matter by Dr. C. R. Gregory, of Leipzig, at the request of a member of our Committee, with a result still more striking. Of the thirty-one examples which it contains of the perfect and pluperfect forms of ἕστημι, twenty-eight have the smooth breathing; two, the rough; and one is doubtful, having been altered from one to the other. The reading in the present passage is peculiar, — οὐχ'ἕστηκεν. Dr. Gregory has also made notes on the cursive MS. 234 of the Gospels (Acts 57, Paul 72) at Copenhagen. In the perfect and pluperfect forms of ἕστημι it has the smooth breathing ten times, and the original smooth has been altered to the rough six (or perhaps seven) times besides. It may be worth while to add that in the fac-simile of Codex 33 of the Gospels, given by Scrivener in his *Introduction*, 2d ed., Plate xii. No. 34 (3d ed., Plate xiii. No. 39), the participle ἕστως has the smooth breathing. So in the fac-simile of Evan. 348, dated A.D. 1023, published by the *Palæogr. Soc.* Part ix. (1879), pl. 130.

As to the reading οὐκ ἕστηκεν [*sic*] for οὐχ ἕστηκεν in one place in some editions of Origen and of Didymus (see above), and in Cyril of Alexandria (iv. 563, ed. Aubert), it may be a mere misprint; it is so treated by the later editors of Origen (Lommatzsch, ii. 264), Didymus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxix.

1105), and Cyril (Pusey, ii. 100). If, on the other hand, it was derived from a MS., as may be the case, though it is nowhere so stated, we can only infer that the scribe pronounced the perfect *ἔστηκεν* without the aspirate.

In view of the facts which have been presented, it appears that the evidence for an imperfect *ἔστηκεν* in this passage, though it may at first seem strong, breaks down at every point; and till some proof of the actual use of an imperfect of *στήκω* shall be produced, we must regard its very existence as imaginary.

XV.

ON THE READING "CHURCH OF GOD,"
ACTS XX. 28.

[From the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1876.*]

Common Version: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." *Received Text*:

Προσέχετε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἡμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.

Various readings: οὖν, "therefore," is bracketed by Lachmann, and omitted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Green (*Twofold New Test.*), and Westcott and Hort, but is retained by Alford and Wordsworth. For τοῦ θεοῦ, "God," Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Green read τοῦ κυρίου, "the Lord"; Alford, Wordsworth, and Westcott and Hort retain θεοῦ. But Tregelles places θεοῦ in the margin with a mark of interrogation, implying some doubt whether it should not be regarded as an *alternative* reading; and Alford, on the other hand, puts κυρίου in the margin, in large type, as of nearly equal authority with θεοῦ. All the editions named above read in the last clause διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου for διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.

Of those who have written treatises on the textual criticism of the New Testament, Porter, Davidson, and Hammond give the preference to κυρίου; Scrivener and Milligan defend θεοῦ. Among recent commentators and translators, θεοῦ is preferred by Dr. Gloag; on the other hand, Meyer, Ewald, Lechler (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*) very confidently, Overbeck, Dr. David Brown (with hesitation), Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*), the new Dutch translation (1868), and Weizsäcker adopt the reading κυρίου.

* [The substance of this article was originally prepared at the request of the New Testament Company of the American Biblical Revision Committee.]

To recount the opinions of the earlier critics, or to give a sketch of the literature of the subject, would carry us too far. But as a mistake made by one scholar often leads many astray, it may be well to say that Matthaei does not read *θεοῦ*, as stated by De Wette, Davidson, and Alford, but *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ*, in both of his editions; that Gratz does not reject *κυρίου*, as is affirmed by Bloomfield (9th ed.), but adopts it; and that although Michaelis defends *θεοῦ* in his *Introduction to the New Testament* (4th ed., 1788), in a later work (*Anmerkungen zu seiner Uebers. d. N. T.*, 1790, ii. 407 ff.) he gives the preference to *κυρίου* as the best supported reading.

The passage presents one of the most interesting and important problems in the textual criticism of the New Testament; but no thorough investigation of the evidence for the different readings has been published, so far as I am aware, since the time of Wetstein. The recent accession of the Sinaitic MS. to the authorities for *θεοῦ* may be thought by some to turn the scale in its favor; and the fact that this reading is received into the text by scholars so eminent as Professor Westcott and Dr. Hort might alone justify a new discussion of the question, if any excuse were needed.

In stating the evidence for the different readings, we may begin with

I. THE AUTHORITIES FOR *κυρίου*.

MANUSCRIPTS. — A, C*, D, E, $\frac{13}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{15}{\text{X or XI}}$, $\frac{18}{\text{XIII}}$, $\frac{36}{\text{XIII}}$, $\frac{40}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{69}{\text{XIII}}$, $\frac{73}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{81}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{95^*}{\text{XI or XII}}$, $\frac{130}{\text{XII}}$, $\frac{156}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{163}{\text{XIV}}$, $\frac{180}{\text{XII}}$, $\frac{\text{a}^{\text{scr}}}{\text{XII}}$, B-C ii. 7, and Lect. $\frac{58}{\text{XII}}$; in all, four uncials and sixteen cursives.* As to date, two are supposed to be of the fifth century, two of the sixth, one of the tenth or eleventh, five of the eleventh, one of the eleventh or twelfth, four of the twelfth, four of the thirteenth, and one

* I omit Tischendorf's "cat", by which he means not "some catenae," but the *text* of the MS. (New Coll. Oxford, 58), published by Cramer with its catena, in 1838. Tischendorf sometimes cites this as "cat", sometimes as "cat^{ox}", but does not seem to be aware that it is identical with No. 36. Bloomfield (*Crit. Annot.*, Lond 1860, p. 194) says, "I am now, indeed, enabled to add to the evidence for *κυρίου*, 9 Lam. and Scr. MSS." But *κυρίῳ* here must be a mistake for *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ*. B-C. II. 7 is one of the Burdett-Coutts MSS. recently collated by Scrivener; see his *Introduction*, 2d ed., no. 221. 540 [3d ed., p. 236, MS. 549; it is now numbered 219 of the Acts; a^{scr} in the list above is now known as 182 of the Acts].

of the fourteenth. Here the high character of the cursives which read *κρίων* is particularly to be remarked. Eight of them, Nos. 13, 36, 40, 69, 73, 81, 95, and 180, are marked by Tischendorf with an asterisk in the Prolegomena to his seventh critical edition as noticeable for their agreement with the text of the most ancient copies; and there are three others at least, namely, Nos. 15; 18, and a^{scr}, which deserve to be so marked. The first in the list, No. 13 (33 Gosp., 17 Pauline Epist.), is said by Eichhorn to be "full of the most excellent and oldest readings." He styles it "the Queen of the cursive manuscripts." No. 40 Tischendorf designates as "codex admodum insignis;" it represents the text of Euthalius. No. 73 is called by Griesbach "praestantissimus;" "optimis adnumerare non dubito," says Birch (*Variac Lect.* 1798, p. ix.). No. 180 is justly spoken of by Scrivener as "important." Finally, Scrivener's "a" represents, according to him, "a very interesting and valuable text, . . . being found in harmony . . . with the most ancient MSS., and very conspicuously with that most precious document designated . . . as p" (now 61, formerly Tischendorf's "10^{ti}"). (*Introd. to Cod. Augiensis*, p. lvi.) The excellence of most of the cursives that support *κρίων*, in contrast with the inferior character of those which read *θεοῖ*, is an important point, and will be illustrated hereafter.

ANCIENT VERSIONS. — The Old Latin (second century), as shown by the quotations in all the earlier Latin Fathers (see below), confirmed more or less by the Latin interpreter of Irenaeus, and the Graeco-Latin MSS. D and E;* the Memphitic or Coptic (third century, or perhaps the second), the Thebaic or Sahidic (same date), the Armenian (fifth century), and the Harclean or Philoxenian Syriac (A.D. 616) in the *margin*, representing an Alexandrian MS. "very accurate and approved," according to Thomas of Harkel, and which certainly exhibits an early form of the text, though, like D, disfigured by interpolations.

* *Domini* is also the reading of the *Gigas Librorum*, published by Belsheim, Christiania, 1879, the only MS. of the Old Latin containing the Acts complete.

FATHERS. — Irenaeus (*cir.* A.D. 180), *Cont. Haer.* iii. 14. § 2, in a very early Latin version (already used, it is thought, by Tertullian): *Attendite igitur et vobis et omni gregi in quo vos Spiritus sanctus praeposuit episcopos, regere ecclesiam Domini, quam sibi constituit per sanguinem suum.* This is the more important, as it is part of a quotation embracing six verses (v. 25–30), and therefore probably not made from memory. I know of no particular reason for doubting that this version represents the Greek of Irenaeus; certainly there is nothing in the context (*pacc* Mr. Nolan) to suggest such a doubt; and we may at any rate say with Lachmann, "licet aliquando non Irenaeum sed Latinos novi testamenti codices secutus sit [Latinus interpres], eos cum Irenaei libris in plerisque omnibus consensisse multis documentis cognoscitur" (*N. T.* tom. i. p. x.). But if it be assumed, without proof, that the translator here followed the Old Latin version instead of Irenaeus, we have at all events a testimony for *κυρίου* which reaches back to the second century.

Apostolical Constitutions (third or fourth century?), ii. 61. § 4, an allusion rather than a quotation, and from which, though it favors *κυρίου*, we cannot draw any confident inference: *συντρέχετε εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν περιεποιήσατο τῷ αἵματι τοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως.* Here, according to Lagarde, Codices x, y, z, of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, but of different families, with the edition of Turrianus, which he follows, read *κυρίου*, while Codex w (A.D. 1111) has *θεοῦ*. Compare the allusion vii. 26. § 1; viii. 12. § 18. I do not include ii. 57. § 13; viii. 11. § 2, 41. § 4; see 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. The compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions, if he refers to Acts xx. 28, may possibly, though not very probably, have interpreted the *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* as equivalent to *διὰ τ. αἵμ. τ. ἰδίου υἱοῦ*, as is done by Erasmus (*Paraphr.*), Limborch (though he prefers the reading *κυρίου*), John Milton, Lenfant and Beausobre, Doederlein, Van der Palm (note in his Dutch trans.), Granville Penn, and Mr. Darby. But if he read *θεοῦ* in the Acts, he would hardly have substituted the unusual expression, "the church of the Lord," which occurs elsewhere, I believe, but twice in the Constitutions (ii. 20. § 9,

43. § 4), for his familiar phrase, "church of God," which he uses at least sixteen or eighteen times.

Athanasius (fl. A.D. 328, d. 373), in *Ep. i. ad Serap.* c. 6, as edited, reads *θεοῦ*; but Cod. Reg. 1, of the tenth or eleventh century, and "egregiae notae" according to Montfaucon, has *κυρίου*, and three other good MSS. *χριστοῦ*. (Athan. Opp. i. 653^c, ed. Bened., or ii. 544^b in Migne's *Patrol.* xxvi.) That the true text of Athanasius here is either *κυρίου* or *χριστοῦ* is made almost certain, I think, not only by the passage cited by Tischendorf from his treatise against Apollinaris, but by many other passages in the same work. See below, Supplementary Note A, p. 325 ff.

Didymus of Alexandria (A.D. 309–395), *De Trin.* ii. 8. § 2 (Opp. col. 621^b in Migne's *Patrol.* xxxix.), quotes the passage *Προσέχετε . . . διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*, with the reading *κυρίου*. So also in his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 24 (Opp. col. 1054^c), as preserved in the Latin translation by Jerome. In a reference to the passage in Cramer's *Catena* (p. 337), he uses the expression *τῷ ποιμνίῳ ὃ περιποιήσατο ὁ σωτὴρ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι*.

Chrysostom (A.D. 347–407) quotes the passage with the reading *κυρίου* in *Hom. xi. in Ep. ad Eph.* (on Eph. iv. 12, Opp. xi. 83^a (95), ed. Montf.). Here the MSS. of Savile, Montfaucon, and Field present no variation, and Matthaei's MS. of Chrysostom confirms the reading (see his *N. T. Gr. et Lat.* viii. 92, note on Eph. iv. 9). That Chrysostom's text in his Comm. on the Acts,* as edited by Montfaucon, which reads *θεοῦ* twice (Opp. ix. 333 (372)), has been corrupted, as often elsewhere (see Tregelles, *Textual Criticism*, p. 335), is proved, I think, by five distinct considerations: (a) By the context, as Mill perceived, *εἰ γε ὁ δεσπότης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἰδέσαστο τῶν ἰαντοῦ, κ. τ. λ.*, though this alone might not be decisive. (b) By the extract in Cramer's *Catena* on the passage (pp. 336, 337), shown to belong to Chrysostom instead of Ammonius, not only by its contents, but, what has not been noticed,

* That *θεοῦ* stands in the text prefixed to the comment is hardly worthy of notice, as editors and transcribers very often in such cases conformed the text to that of the copies with which they were familiar. See Wetstein's *N. T.* ii. 867; also, Tischendorf's notes on Acts xi. 20, p. 97, and 1 Cor. vii. 5, p. 489, bottom.

expressly ascribed to Chrysostom (Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου instead of Τοῦ αὐτοῦ) in the *Paris* MS. of this catena (Cod. Coislin. xxv., *i.e.* No. 15 of the Acts), which is much older and better than the Oxford MS. (see Cramer, p. 446, and his Preface, p. iv.). This catena reads twice, in both MSS., ποιμαίνειν τ. ἐκ. τοῦ κυρίου where Montfaucon has θεοῦ.* (c) By the anonymous commentary on the Acts published by Finetti with the works of Theophylact, from a MS. in the Medicean Library at Florence, and which here, as often elsewhere, abridges Chrysostom. This reads Ὁρᾶς; παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχετε τὴν χειροτονίαν, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου. Ἴδὸν καὶ ἄλλη ἀνάγκη· τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία. (*Theophylacti Opp.*, ed. De' Rossi and Finetti, iii. 620^e, or iii. 1115^e in Migne's *Patrol.* cxxv.) (d) It has not been observed that this reading of Chrysostom in the catena is further confirmed in part by one or more of Savile's MSS. In his edition of Chrysostom (vol. iv. p. 855), for the text of Montfaucon, εἶτα, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκ. τοῦ θεοῦ, ἰδὸν καὶ δευτέρα [sc. ἀνάγκη]. he gives the various reading, Ἴδὸν καὶ ἄλλη, τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία.† (e) Adding to these considerations the fact that Chrysostom on Eph. iv. 12 unquestionably reads κυρίου, we cannot reasonably hesitate, I think, to regard the catena as preserving the true reading here. If Dr. Tregelles is right (*Printed Text*, p. 232) in regarding the Homilies on the Acts as not really Chrysostom's, this last argument falls away; but the others appear to be decisive, and we have then two authorities for κυρίου instead of one.‡

*So the best MSS. of Chrysostom *in loc.*, in the comment on the verse. This reading is accordingly adopted by the translators of Chrysostom's Homilies on the Acts, in the Oxford Library of the Fathers. See Part II. (Oxford, 1852), p. 595, with the note, and Preface, pp. vi.-x., on the MSS.

† In the case of another important passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Savile's MSS. preserve, as I believe, the true reading of Chrysostom. In his *Hom.* xv. (al. xiv.) *in Joan.* (on John i. 18, *Opp.* viii. 86 (99), ed. Montf.), the printed editions read: Εἰ δὲ ἄλλαχού φησι, θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, μὴ θαυμάσιος· ὅτι ἡ φανερώσις διὰ τῆς σαρκός, κ. τ. λ. But here Savile (*Chrys. Opp.* ii. 613, l. 27) gives the various reading, Διὰ τοῦτο φησιν, ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἡ γὰρ φανερώσις, κ. τ. λ. This is confirmed by the Latin translation of Chrysostom's Homilies on John made in the fifteenth century by Francesco Accolti of Arezzo (Franciscus Aretinus), which reads: "Propterea inquit, *Qui manifestatus est in carne,*" etc.

Cramer's catena on 1 Tim. iii. 16 likewise preserves the genuine text of Chrysostom in opposition to the text of Montfaucon, and is here confirmed by an Old Latin version of this Father, as is remarked by Dr. W. H. Ward, in his valuable article on this passage in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1865, p. 26 f.

‡ The translators of Chrysostom's Homilies on the Acts, in the Oxford Library of the Fathers,

Euthalius (5th century). See p. 296.

Pseudo-Cyril (5th century?), *De sanctâ et vivif. Trin.* c. 26, published by Cardinal Mai as Cyril's, but regarded by Dr. Tregelles (*Account of Printed Text*, p. 232, note †), to whose judgment I defer, as belonging to a later author: Προσέχετε . . . κυρίου . . . διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. (*Cyrolli Opp.* viii. 1185^b, in Migne lxxv.)

Constantine VI. and Irene, Letter to Pope Hadrian I. (*Divialis sacra ad Hadrian. papam*) at the time of the second Nicene Council (A.D. 787): "Et iterum divinus . . . apostolus . . . sic mandavit: *Pascite gregem Domini cum disciplina, quam acquisivit proprio sanguine.*" (*Concilia*, ed. Coleti, viii. 677^d, 678^a.)

Theodorus Studita (A.D. 759–826), *Epist.* lib. ii. ep. 56: ὄρων οὕτω κινδυνεύουσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν περιποιήσατο κύριος διὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αἵματος. (In *Sirmondi Opp. Var.* v. 379^d, or Migne xcix. 1269^b.)

Antonius, compiler of Melissa* (8th century? 12th century?), in "Loci communes Sententiarum . . . collecti per Antonium et Maximum monachos," etc., Genev. 1609 (appended to Stobaeus), *Serm.* clxxiii. p. 286: Προσέχετε . . . κυρίου . . . διὰ τ. ἰδ. αἵματος.

have shown that the text of these Homilies, as it appears in modern editions (as those of Comelin, Savile, Morel [which commonly goes under the name of Fronto Ducaeus], and the Benedictines ["here not Montfaucon"]), is founded on MSS. (particularly the Paris MS. No.

729^{cent. x.}_D (E of Oxf. trans.)), which represent a corrupt recension of the text, in opposition to the Paris

MSS. No. 725^{XII.}_A, 726^{XIV.}_B, 727^{XIII.}_C, and a copy in the Library of New College, Oxford, which con-

tain the old text, confirmed by the Catena of Andreas the presbyter (not later than the tenth century, for the MS. is of that age), Oecumenius, Theophylact, and the scholia in MSS. of the Acts. Savile has corrected words and phrases here and there from the New College MS. The Paris MSS. 728 and 73 suppl. "exhibit a text compiled from old and new, and with alterations peculiar to itself. Of the six Parisian MSS. a full collation was made for 'the Library of the Fathers'; of N, we have at present but a partial collation."

They have accordingly translated from this older text. (See Preface to the Homilies on the Acts, Part II., Oxford, 1852, pp. vi.–x.)

I quote from their translation, p. 595:—

"In which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God. See, it is from the Spirit ye have your ordination. This is one constraint: [then] he says, *To feed the Church of the Lord.*^g Lo! another obligation: the Church is the Lord's. And a third: *which he hath purchased with his own blood.*"

* Cave and many others call him Antonius Melissa. But this seems to be an error. *Melissa* was the title of his compilation.

^g Hence it appears that St. Chrys. reads Κυρίου not Θεοῦ in this text, though in the citation the scribes give it according to the other reading, Θεοῦ."

But this is not all. The quotations given by Wetstein (*N. T.* ii. 597, 598), to which I must content myself with referring for want of space, from Origen (A.D. 230),* Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 370), Isidore of Pelusium (A.D. 412), Eutherius (not "Eucherius") of Tyana (A.D. 419), Theodoret (A.D. 423), see especially his Third Dialogue, Nestorius (A.D. 428), and Joannes Maxentius (A.D. 520), — seem altogether inconsistent with the supposition that they could have regarded "the blood of God" as a Scriptural expression. We may with great probability consider these writers as supporting the reading *κυρίου*, or possibly in some cases (as in that of Theodoret), *χριστοῦ*. To these I would add Eustathius of Antioch (fl. A.D. 325), who maintains that he has shown *ἀπαθὲς τὸ θεῖον τοῦ χριστοῦ πνεῦμα* (see the passages preserved by Theodoret in Migne's *Patrol.* xviii. 681); who affirms, as quoted by Gelasius, "vesaniunt et bacchantur et furiunt et insaniunt et suis mentibus excesserunt, qui Deo Verbo passionem applicare praesumunt" (Migne, xviii. 694); who says, as quoted in Syriac by Sabarjesus (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. i. 542), "Si quis dixerit Deum Verbum quascumque creaturarum passiones passum fuisse, maledictus esto in caelo et in terra," and who, like Theodoret, in discussing this question, meets the argument of his adversaries founded on 1 Cor. ii. 8 (see Migne, xviii. 681^a), but seems never to have heard of an argument from Acts xx. 28. Sabarjesus (*ibid.*) also quotes "Gregory" ("perhaps Thaumaturgus," says Assemani) as saying, "Stultus est et insipiens qui affirmat Deum Verbum cum suo templo passiones tulisse." Gregory of Nazianzus (fl. A.D. 370) is shocked at the idea that our Saviour

*The passages of Origen cited by Wetstein are *Cont. Cels.* ii. 36 (hardly relevant) and vii. 16 (see cc. 13-17), *Opp.* i. 416, 705, ed. De la Rue. To these may be added *Comm. in Joan.* t. xxviii. c. 14, *οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ὁ θεὸς λόγος, κ. τ. λ.*; t. xxxii. c. 17, *Opp.* iv. 392^{de}, 446^b; and especially *Comm. in Matt.* t. xvi. c. 8 ad fin., *Opp.* iii. 726, 727. "The godhead of Christ," as Redepenning remarks, "Origen everywhere taught had no share in his suffering" (*Origenes*, ii. 410, n. 7). The expression "Deum crucifixerunt," which Dr. Burton ascribes to Origen (*Testim. of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Div. of Christ*, pp. 223, 312), rests only on the notoriously untrustworthy authority of the Latin translation of Rufinus. (Origen, *Opp.* ii. 676^b.) The reader of Dr. Burton's book needs also to be warned that the comments ascribed to Origen in *Catena* are often of very doubtful genuineness. See the Preface to vol. ii. of De la Rue's edition.

τῆ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ θεότητι πάθος δεῖξασθαι (*Epist.* cciii. *ad Nectarium*; Opp. iii. 333^a, in Migne xxxvii.). Amphilochius of Iconium (fl. A.D. 370) also says: Εἰ μὲν οὖν θεότης ἐπαθεν, εἶπας τὸ βλάσφημον (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xxxix. 100^b), with much more of the same sort (Migne, xxxix. 104^c, 108^c, 113^{abc}; and Sabarjesus in Assemani, as above).

We may notice here some misleading references: Eusebius, *Comm. in Isa.* xxxv. 9, 10 (Opp. vi. 341^c, in Migne xxiv.), cited by Wetstein and many others, seems to me to prove nothing. The *διὰ κυρίου* belongs to Isaiah; and the *ὁς αὐτὸς δηλονότι ἐλυτρώσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι* may as well refer to 1 Pet. i. 18, 19, and Eph. i. 7, as to Acts xx. 28. Equally inconclusive is the passage referred to in the Epistle of Maximus to Nicander: *καθολικῆν ἐκκλήσιαν, καὶ τὸν ταύτην δι' αἵματος οἰκείου καὶ ζωοποιῦ κατὰ θέλησιν ἄρμυσάμενον κύριον* (Opp. ed. Combefis, ii. 47, or Migne, xci. 92^d). The Epistle of Ibas to Maris or Mares (not "Marinus") has been cited on both sides without reason. In the passage referred to, the Greek text or version reads "God," while three *independent* Latin versions have "Lord"; but the passage is not a quotation, and it may be doubted whether it contains even an allusion to Acts xx. 28. See *Concilia*, ed. Coleti, iv. 1577^c, 1578^c, vi. 132^e; and the translation of Facundus Hermianensis, *Pro Def. trium Capitulorum*, lib. vi. c. 3 (Migne, lxvii. 665^a).

We come now to the LATIN FATHERS. Their quotations are of interest only as serving to determine the reading of the Old Latin version.

Lucifer of Cagliari (fl. A.D. 354, d. 371), *De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus* (Migne, xiii. 997^a): *Attendite . . . regere ecclesiam Domini . . . sanguine suo.*

The author of *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* (A.D. 370), Q. 97: *Attendite . . . regere ecclesiam Domini Jesu* (Migne, xxxv. 2296). This is ascribed to Hilary the Deacon by Cave and many others, and was written, as Cave remarks, about A.D. 370 (see *Quaest.* 44). It was formerly attributed to Augustine, and appears in many editions of his works.

Jerome (*cir.* A.D. 345-420), *Epist.* 146 (al. 85) *ad Evangelum* (al. *Evagrium*): *Attendite . . . ut regretis eccles. Domini . . .*

sanguine suo. (Opp. i. 1193; Migne, xxii.) So in his *Comm. in Ep. ad Tit.* i. 5 (Opp. vii. 563; Migne, xxvi.): *Attendite . . . pascere eccles. Domini . . . per sanguinem suum.* That Jerome's text is here faithfully preserved is evinced by the fact that the passage is cited in precisely the same words by Sedulius Scotus (8th or 9th century) in his *Collect. in Ep. ad Titum* (Migne, ciii. 243^d), who is here borrowing from Jerome; and by Amalarius of Metz (9th century), *De Eccles. Offic.* ii. 13 (Migne, cv. 1089), who expressly quotes from Jerome.

Ambrose of Milan (A.D. 340-397), *De Spir. Sancto*, ii. 13. § 152 (Opp. ii. 663, ed. Bened., or Migne, xvi. 775^d): *Attendite . . . regere eccles. Dei*, as edited. But it has not been observed that the Benedictine editors in their appendix of "Variæ lectiones inter omissas non contemnendæ" inform us, "Quidam mss., *regere ecclesiam Domini.*" Now when we consider that this reading is supported by the other authorities for the Old Latin version, and that the tendency of transcribers would be to conform their text to that of the Vulgate rather than the reverse, it seems very probable that these MSS. represent the true reading of Ambrose. That he did not read *Dei* here is confirmed by various passages of his writings: e.g. *De Incarn.* c. vi. § 52: "cum utique Scripturæ dicant quia Christus secundum carnem passus est, non secundum divinitatem"; comp. c. v. §§ 37, 40; *De Fide*, ii. c. 7, §§ 56-58; c. 8, § 65; and v. c. 8, § 106, "quod creatura omnis sine passione aliqua divinitatis *Dominici* sanguinis redimenda sit pretio."

Arator (A.D. 544) in his poetical *Paraphrase of the Acts*, lib. ii. lines 850-853 (Migne, lxxviii. 221^b), favors the reading *Domini* or *Christi*: "— Servate, ministri, | Ecclesiam Christi [*al.* Christus] pretium quam sanguine nobis | Fecit in orbe suo; famuli retinere laborent | Quæ Dominus de morte dedit." I do not know for what reason Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, and others cite this work under the name of Alcimus.

The collection of Scripture passages called the *Speculum*, ascribed on very slight evidence, and against strong presumptions, to Augustine, but at any rate a sort of authority for the Old Latin version, quotes the passage thus: "Atten-

dite . . . universo gregi, in quo sanctus Spiritus conlocavit vos esse episcopos, ad pascendam ecclesiam Jesu Christi." (*Spec.* c. 3; Mai, *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* i. ii. p. 10.) The *Speculum* often quotes very loosely; but it will be admitted, I think, that in a loose quotation *Jesu Christi* would be more naturally substituted for *Domini* than for *Dei*.*

The argument from silence must be used with caution; but considering the nature of the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian (see especially his *Testim.* ii. 6), and Novatian (*De Regula Fidei sive de Trinitate*), it seems almost incredible that they should not have cited this passage if they had the reading *Dei*; and I think we may reasonably regard them as decidedly confirming *Domini* as the reading of the Old Latin version.

We see thus, if I mistake not, that *all* the authorities for the reading of the Old Latin version whose testimony is of any weight favor the reading "Lord." The only apparent exception is Primasius, who is too late to be of any importance, flourishing in the middle of the sixth century, and who, though preserving some readings of the Old Latin, is so poor an authority that Dr. Tregelles remarks in his *Book of Revelation in Greek*, etc. (London, 1844), p. xxvii., note †, "I have purposely omitted the readings of the ancient Latin version cited by Sabatier out of Primasius; many of the readings so cited are undoubtedly really ancient, but many of them have been *indubitably* modernized, — perhaps by transcribers and editors." †

* Cardinal Mai assigns the MS. of the *Speculum* (designated by Tischendorf as "m") to the sixth or seventh century. Being of interest as perhaps the oldest copy that contains the famous passage 1 John v. 7 (it has also the spurious Epistle to the Laodiceans), it may be well to note that Reifferscheid, a much better authority as I suppose, dates it as "Saec. viii.-ix." (*Die römischen Bibliotheken*, in the *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, Bd. i. 1865, p. 753.) Hartel agrees with him (Pref. to his edition of Cyprian, p. xxv.; see also p. 34). [On this note compare the "Postscript," p. 330 f.]

† A more careful investigation shows that Primasius is an important authority for the Old Latin in the Apocalypse, but that in other books of the N. T. he follows the Vulgate. — We may here again note some irrelevant references: The Acts of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 258 or 256), *Sent.* 79 (al. 80), merely use the expression "ecclesiam Domini gubernantes," or in the Greek, τὴν ἐκκλ. θεοῦ κυβερνῶντες. (*Concilia*, ed. Coleti, i. 815e, 836de.) Augustine, *Cont. Parmen.* i. 12 (al. 7, al. 6), cited by Wetstein and many others, simply has "ille Dominus noster qui emit totum mundum pretio sanguinis sui." (Aug. Opp. ix. i. 71b, ed. Par. alt. 1837.)

We now proceed to

II. THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE READING *θεοῦ*.

MANUSCRIPTS. — \aleph , B, $\frac{4}{XV}$, $\frac{22}{XII}$, $\frac{23}{XI \text{ or } XII}$, $\frac{25}{A.D. 1037}$, $\frac{37}{XIII}$, $\frac{46}{XI}$, $\frac{65}{XIII}$, $\frac{66^*}{XII}$ (?), $\frac{68}{XII}$, $\frac{84}{X \text{ cir. } 700}$, $\frac{89}{1093}$, $\frac{154}{XV}$, $\frac{162}{XV}$, $\frac{\text{Lect. } 12}{1022}$; and *ex silentio*, "on which," as Scrivener remarks, "one can lay but little stress," $\frac{7}{X}$, $\frac{12}{XI}$, $\frac{16}{X}$, $\frac{39}{?}$, $\frac{56}{XII}$, $\frac{64}{XII}$, $\frac{c^{scr}}{XV}$, $\frac{e^{scr}}{XIV}$ *; in all, two uncials and fourteen cursives, with eight in which the reading is merely inferred from the silence of collators. As to date, passing over the silent witnesses, we have two of the fourth century (middle), one of the tenth, four of the eleventh, one of the eleventh or twelfth, three of the twelfth, two of the thirteenth, and three of the fifteenth. Of this whole number, Tischendorf marks three only with an asterisk as noticeable for their frequent agreement with the oldest MSS.: No. 25, of which Griesbach says, "melioribus, nec tamen optimis, accensendus est"; No. 68, of which he says, "interdum quidem cum optimis libris consentit"; and Lect. 12, of which Scrivener remarks, "it contains many valuable readings (akin to those of Codd. A, D, E) but numerous errors." We ought also, I think, to add c^{scr} , though its reading is only inferred *ex silentio*, as it appears to be well collated. Of this Scrivener says, "it is one of our best authorities, being full of weighty and probable variations from the common herd." With these exceptions, the cursives that support *θεοῦ* are of a very inferior character (see the special examination in Griesbach's note); and, as a whole, they are not to be compared in value with those that read *κυρίου*. This will be illustrated in the proper place.

ANCIENT VERSIONS. — The Peshito Syriac (4th century, in its present form?) in Lee's edition, and in eight MSS., including four very ancient, in another as a late correction, and another in the margin (see Supplementary Note B); the Vulgate (*cir.* A.D. 385); and the Harclean or Philoxenian Syriac in the *text* (A.D. 508, rev. 616). The Aethiopic of the Polyglot has a word which may represent *κυρίου* or *θεοῦ*, but I

* [These last two MSS. are now numbered by Dr. Scrivener 184 and 186 respectively; see his *Introduction*, etc., 3d ed., p. 260.]

think favors θεοῦ;* on the other hand, Platt's edition, with most of the MSS., supports the reading χριστοῦ. (See Supplementary Note B, p. 329 below.)

FATHERS. — Athanasius, *Ep. i. ad Serap.* c. 6, as edited, reads θεοῦ; but the MSS. vary. See above, under I. p. 298.

Epiphanius (fl. A.D. 368), *Hacr.* lxxiv. c. 6, transferred from the *Ancoratus*, c. 69: Προσέχετε (+ δὲ *Anc.*) . . . ἐν ᾧ ἔθ. ὑμᾶς (ἴμ. ἔθ. *Anc.*) . . . ποιμ. ὑμᾶς (*Anc. om.* ἴμ.) . . . τ. ἐκκλ. τ. θεοῦ. Not quoted in proof of the deity of Christ, but of the Holy Spirit.†

Basil the Great (fl. A.D. 370), *Moral.* lxxx. c. 16 (Opp. ii. 316 (442), ed. Bened.): Προσέχετε οὖν . . . ποιμ. τ. ἐκκλ. τοῦ θεοῦ. Not quoted for any dogmatic purpose. [Compare p. 310 n.†]

Cyril of Alexandria (fl. A.D. 412, d. 444), *Quod B. Maria sit deipara*, c. 22 (Opp. ix. 281^d, ed. Migne; in his *Patrol.* lxxvi.): Προσέχετε γὰρ . . . θεοῦ . . . διὰ τ. αἴμ. τ. ἰδίου. Here the word θεοῦ is repeated and commented on. This is the earliest and the *only* example which I find in the Greek Fathers of the quotation of this passage in reference to the deity of Christ.

Pseudo-Athanasius (uncert.), *Testim. ex S. Script.* c. 3 (Opp. ii. 4^a, ed. Montf.; Migne, xxvii.): προσέχετε . . . ποιμενίῳ [*sic*] . . . ἐν ᾧ ἴμ. ἔθετο . . . ποιμ. τ. ἐκκλ. τ. θεοῦ. Quoted in proof of the deity of the Spirit.

Antiochus the Monk (fl. A.D. 614), *Hom.* lxi.: Προσέχετε . . . (ἐπισκόπους om.) . . . ποιμ. τ. ἐκκλ. τ. θεοῦ. (Migne, lxxxix. 1617^c.) Again, *Hom.* cxxii.: προσέχετε . . . θεοῦ . . . διὰ τ. ἰδ. αἵματος. (Migne, *ibid.* 1812^b.) In both places, quoted for no dogmatic purpose.

Pseudo-Chrysostom (uncert.), *De S. Joan. Apost. Serm.* (Chrys. Opp. viii. pars ii. 135 (785), ed. Montf.): ὡς ἐφη ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος: Ποιμάνετε τ. ἐκκλ. τοῦ θεοῦ. Montfaucon remarks, "Jure

* The word *egziabher* is apparently used for κύριος only when the translator regarded κύριος as equivalent to Jehovah. To take the examples in the present chapter: in ver. 19 it represents κύριος, in vv. 21, 24, 25, 27, 32, θεός; but it does not stand for κύριος in the phrase ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, vv. 21, 24, 35. See Dillmann's *Lex. Ling. Aeth.*, col. 1192. [Compare p. 330. note*.]

† I venture to suggest here a small, but not unimportant, emendation of the text of Epiphanius. Even in the recent editions of Dindorf and Oehler we read, ἡ, "αὐτῇ ἢ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ λόγου. προσέχετε." κ.τ.λ., as above, as if the quotation began with αὐτῇ. Read, ἡ αὐτῇ ἢ διακ. κ.τ.λ. — "The ministry of the Spirit and of The Word [*i.e.* the ministry to which they appoint] is the same," — which is illustrated by the two quotations that follow, viz. Acts xx. 28 and 1 Tim. i. 12.

hanc orationem praetermisit Savilius, utpote indignum quae legatur; nam est otiosi cujusdam Graeculi, ut nemo non videt."

An Anonymous Scholiast in Cramer's *Catena* (p. 338): τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . ἦν γὰρ φησι περιεποιήσατο ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. θάρρει οὖν . . . καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσεις [-σης ?] ἀκούειν ὡσπερ Ἰουδαῖοι αἶμα καὶ σῶμα θεοῦ τὸ σωτήριον, κ.τ.λ. The writer has just quoted John vi. 47-58. The same scholion is found in MSS. No. 15, 18, and 37, though the first two, as well as No. 36, from which Cramer published his *Catena*, read κυρίου in the text.

Œcumenius (tenth century?) : Προσέχετε οὖν . . . θεοῦ . . . διὰ τ. ἰδ. αἵματος. (Opp. i. 260^a, in Migne, cxviii.) This is merely the text; there is no allusion to θεοῦ in the commentary.

Theophylact (eleventh century), or rather the commentary No. 2 published under his name by Finetti from a Vatican MS.* Just as in Œcumenius, whose text and comment are copied *verbatim*. (Opp. iii. 1016^b, in Migne, cxxv.)

I do not follow Bengel in citing the Orthodoxa Confessio Eccl. Orient., P. i. Q. 85 (Kimmel, *Libri symb. Eccl. Or.* p. 158), as that document belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century, and also quotes 1 John v. 7 (P. i. Q. 9).

Tischendorf should not have cited Pope Cælestine I. (A.D. 423), *Ep. xviii. ad Syn. Eph.* (Migne, l. 508^c, or *Concil.*, ed. Coleti, iii. 1145^b), as an authority for the *Greek* here, as the Greek text of this Epistle is plainly a mere translation from the Latin which it accompanies: Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πάση τῇ ἀγγέλῃ, ἧς ὑμ. τ. πν. τ. ἄγ. ἔταξεν ἐπισκόπους, διοικεῖν τ. ἐκ. τ. θεοῦ, ἦν περιεπ. τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. This is shown also by the translation of other passages of Scripture in the same Epistle. •

The earliest writer not Greek who seems to have quoted this verse with the reading "God" is the Egyptian monk Orsiesius or Oresiesis (fl. A.D. 345), *De Inst. Monach.* c. 40 (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xl. 886^c): "scientes vos reddituros rationem pro omni grege, super quem vos Spiritus sanctus constituit inspicere et pascere ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit proprio

* The designation of this commentary by Griesbach and Scholz as "Theoph. 2," and of that mentioned above under I. as "Theophyl. 3," has led to the erroneous statements by Davidson, Tregelles, and others, that Theophylact reads θεοῦ twice, and κυρίου three times.

sanguine." But we have him only at third hand. The treatise was written in Coptic, then translated into Greek, from which version Jerome, as he tells us, *dictated* to a *notarius* his Latin translation, in which alone it has come down to us.

The Latin Fathers who have quoted this verse with the reading *Dei* are all later than Jerome, most of them much later, and only attest what is already settled, the reading of the Vulgate. I will, then, simply name those in whom I have found the reading *Dei* down to the time of Beda in the eighth century, referring to the places.

Cælestine I. has been already cited (p. 307); next come Cassian (*cir.* 430), *De Incarn.* vii. 4 (Migne, l. 204^b);* Julianus Pomerius (A.D. 498, *al.* Prosper Aquitanus), *De Vita contemp.* ii. 3. § 1 (M. lix. 446^a), *bis*; Paschasius the Deacon (A.D. 501, *al.* Faustus Rejenensis), *De Spir. sanct.* ii. 10 (M. lxii. 21^{ab}); Fulgentius (A.D. 507), *De Fide*, c. 19, *al.* 60, and *Cont. Fabian.* fr. 33 (M. lxxv. 699^b, 807^a); Anon. (sixth century?) *Brev. Fidei cont. Arian.* (M. xiii. 662^{ab}); Pope John II. (A.D. 532-5), *Ep. ad Senat.* (M. lxvi. 22^b); Ferrandus (A.D. 533), *Ep.* iii. *ad Anat.* c. 14 (M. lxxvii. 902^a, 903^a); Primasius (A.D. 550), *In Apoc.* vii. 10 (M. lxxviii. 852^a); Pope Martin I. (A.D. 649), *Ep.* i. (Lat. and Gr. M. lxxxvii. 129^c, or *Concil.*, ed. Coleti, vii. 386^{ab}, see also col. 95^a); Beda (A.D. 701), *Super Act. Ap. Expos.*, in loc. (Opp. iii. 986^a, ed. Migne, in *Patrol.* xcii.); and Anon. (eighth or ninth century), *De xlii. Mans. Fil. Isr.* c. 13 (M. xvii. 24^a). I refer to this last treatise, often printed with the works of Ambrose, merely because it is cited by Sabatier, and might be mistaken for a witness to the Old Latin. But Sabatier assigns its date to the time of Beda or Rabanus (*Bib. Sac. Lat. Verss. Ant.* i. p. lxii.).

The allusion of Arcadius, delegate of the Church of Rome at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Act. ii. — *Concil.*, ed. Coleti, iii. 1147-48), does not determine the reading: "pro ecclesia Dei, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus sanguine

* Following a mistake of Griesbach in copying from Wetstein, Scholz, Tischendorf (eds. 1849, 1859), Alford, Porter, Davidson, and Scrivener substitute *Cassiodorus* for Cassian.

suo acquisivit, *Gr.* ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκ. τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αἵματι περιποιήσατο.

Of the Latin writers named above, Cassian, Paschasius, Fulgentius (*bis*), Ferrandus, Pope John II., Primasius, and Beda cite the passage with reference to the deity of Christ; the anonymous authors of the *Breviarium Fidei* and the treatise *De xlii. Mansionibus* adduce it in proof of the deity of the Holy Spirit; the others do not quote it for a doctrinal purpose.

On the use of the *expression* "the blood of God," and many kindred expressions, in the writings of the Fathers, see Supplementary Note A, p. 320 ff.

III. AUTHORITIES FOR THE READING *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ.*

MANUSCRIPTS. — C³, H, L, P, all of the ninth century and of inferior character, with more than one hundred and ten cursives (cent. x.–xv.), most of them of little value. Nos. $\frac{5}{\text{XII}}$, $\frac{27}{\text{XV}}$, $\frac{29}{\text{X or XI}}$, $\frac{31}{\text{XIV}}$, $\frac{96}{\text{XI}}$, $\frac{114}{\text{XIII}}$, $\frac{137}{\text{XI}}$, and $\frac{142}{\text{XII}}$ are marked with a star by Tischendorf as distinguished from the rest by a more frequent accordance with the oldest copies, but none of them seems in the Acts remarkably distinguished in this respect. Most noteworthy, perhaps, are No. 31 (*Gosp.* 69), and No. 137 which has a singular agreement with the eccentricities of D and with the margin of the Harclean Syriac.

ANCIENT VERSIONS. — The Slavonic, of the ninth century.

FATHERS. — Theophylact, as edited by Sifanus, — No. 1 of the Commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles published under the name of Theophylact, — has this reading in the text, with no remark on the words in the commentary. (*Opp.* iii. 777^{de}, ed. Migne; *Patrol.* cxxv.)

MSS. No. 3, 95^{**}, and the Arabic of the Polyglot read *κύριον θεοῦ*; and No. 47 *θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου*. The Georgian version (sixth century) is cited by Scholz as reading *κύριον τοῦ θεοῦ*. But we have no trustworthy edition of it.

IV. AUTHORITIES FOR THE READING *χριστοῦ.*

MANUSCRIPTS. — None.

ANCIENT VERSIONS. — The Peshito Syriac in all editions but Lee's, and in many MSS. (one of the sixth century, others

of the seventh, eighth, and ninth), both Jacobite and Nestorian (see Supplementary Note B); the Aethiopic in Platt's edition, and in most of the MSS.; and the Erpenian Arabic, made from the Syriac.

FATHERS. — Athanasius, *Ep. i. ad Serap. c. 6*, in three MSS.; see above, under I. p. 298; Theodoret (A.D. 423), *Int. Ep. ad Philip. i. 1, 2* (Opp. iii. 560^{bc}, ed. Migne; *Patrol. lxxxii.*): Προσέχετε . . . ὑμ. ἔθετο . . . ποιμ. τ. ἐκ. τ. χριστοῦ; and Pseudo-Athanasius, *Dial. i. cont. Maced. c. 13* (Opp. ii. 550^e, ed. Bened.; Migne, xxviii. 1312^b), quoting precisely like Theodoret, above.* Pseudo-Fulgentius (sixth century), *Pro Fide Cath. c. 9* (Migne, lxxv. 716^d): *Attendite gregem Christi, in quo vos Spiritus sanctus constituit episcopos.* For the *Speculum*, which has *Jesu Christi*, see above, under I. p. 303 f. †

Let us now attempt to weigh the evidence. The question lies, of course, only between the readings *κυρίου* and *θεοῦ*.

The MS. authority for the rival readings may seem, at first view, nearly balanced; but I must regard it as decidedly preponderating in favor of *κυρίου*. *κ* and *B* are excellent MSS., but we must not overestimate their value. One of the two is often wrong, for they often differ; and the cases in which they are both wrong, though much rarer, are sufficiently numerous to teach us that their combined testimony is far from decisive. One clear example, unless we suppose these two MSS. right in opposition to *all* the other MSS. and *all* the ancient versions, and to internal evidence, is to be found in Acts xvi. 32, where, for the less familiar expression τὸν λόγον

* Garnier attributes this Dialogue to Theodoret, and publishes it as *Dial. iv. de Spir. sancto* among seven *Dialogi de Trinitate* which he ascribes to that author; others, as Petavius, Combeffis, and Du Pin, more correctly, as Schulze thinks, assign it to Maximus the Confessor (A.D. 645). Tischendorf cites it both under "Dialmaced" and "Thdr⁵,¹⁰³²," as if these were two independent authorities.

† Other authorities cited for *χριστοῦ* are not quotations, and afford no proof that Acts xx. 28 was in the mind of the writer; as Origen, *De Orat. c. 23*, *χριστοῦ ὠνησαμένον ἡμᾶς τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι*; *Exhort. ad Mart. c. 12*, ὁ ὠνησάμενος ἡμᾶς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τιμίῳ αἵματι, and c. 50, ὡσπερ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡγοράσθημεν (Opp. i. 252^f, 282^d, and 309^c, ed. De la Rue). The *breuiarium* of Basil referred to by Wetstein and others, which Davidson says "can only mean Basil's *Regulae brevius tractatae*," where he has "searched for it in vain," is simply the summary or heading of his *Moral.* lxxx. c. 16, quoted under II. above, p. 306, and amounts to nothing. It has merely the expression ὡς ποιμένες προβάτων χριστοῦ.

τοῦ κυρίου, **κ** and B have substituted the more familiar τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, as I believe they have done here.* In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, so far as I can judge without a thorough examination, A is right nearly, if not quite, as often as **κ**. The MS. authority for κυρίου is made exceedingly strong by the fact that its uncials represent both the Alexandrian and the Western forms of the text, and that it embraces *nearly all of the best cursives*. In cases where our chief uncials differ, the testimony of those MSS. which are remarkable for their frequent or general agreement with them is obviously of special importance. To show how great is the superiority of the cursives which support κυρίου over those which have θεοῦ, we need not go far, though numerous examples of a striking character will be found in the Acts. (a) The omission of οὖν in ver. 28 is supported by **κ**, A, B, D, 13, 15, 36, 81, 180, ^{scr}o; of these six cursives, all but one read κυρίου, and none reads θεοῦ. (b) In the last clause of the verse the reading διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου is found in **κ**, A, B, C, D, E, 13, 15, 31, 33, 34, 36, 40, 69, 73, 81, 105, 130, 142, 156, 163, 180, a, c, m, of Scrivener, and Lect. 12. Of the fifteen cursives † which support κυρίου, twelve have this reading; while of the fourteen which support θεοῦ only one has it, Lect. 12; or, if we include those counted *ex silentio*, of the twenty-two which read θεοῦ only two have it. (c) In ver. 29 ἐγώ without a conjunction is the reading of **κ***, A, C*, D, 13, 15, 36, 81, 130, 180, *all* of which cursives read κυρίου. (d) In the same verse, οἶδα without τοῦτο is the reading of **κ**, A, B, C*, D, 13, 15, 36, 68, 69, 105, 163, 180, ^{scr}a. Of these nine cursives, seven support κυρίου, and only one, No. 68, θεοῦ. We see clearly, then, that in the present case **κ** and B are caught in bad company; which affords a strong presumption that they are in the wrong, and

* See particularly Tischendorf's note on that passage, and to his five examples in which "λόγ. τ. θεοῦ non solet fluctuare," add Acts xiii. 46, xvii. 13, xviii. 11. For other instances of the agreement of **κ** and B in readings manifestly or probably false, see Matt. vi. 8, viii. 9, ix. 32, xxvii. 49; Mark iv. 21; Luke xv. 21; John x. 18, xix. 41; Acts xii. 25, xxviii. 12; Gal. ii. 12; Eph. i. 15; 1 Thess. ii. 7; Heb. vii. 1; Jas. i. 17; 2 Pet. ii. 13.

† Sixteen, including B-C. II. 7 [see p. 295 n.*]; but I do not know how this MS. reads in the last clause.

that the uncials and cursives which usually agree with them are right.

The numerous MSS. which read *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ* seem to me to confirm the reading *κυρίου*. "The church" (or "churches") "of God" being a familiar expression, occurring eleven times in the Epistles of Paul, and "the church of the Lord" being unique, if *κυρίου* were original, *καὶ θεοῦ* or *θεοῦ* would be a natural marginal addition or interlineation, which would readily pass into the text. Further, when *θεοῦ* had been introduced into some MSS. by unconscious substitution of the familiar expression for the unusual one, or by the substitution of the marginal *θεοῦ* by those who were pleased with that reading, copyists of MSS. with *κυρίου*, finding that others had the reading *θεοῦ*, would think themselves safe if they took both into the text. But, as Tischendorf says, "Quis τοῦ κυρίου additurus fuisset, si τοῦ θεοῦ invenisset?"

The authorities for *χριστοῦ* also, such as they are, seem to favor the reading *κυρίου* rather than *θεοῦ*. The abbreviation $\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$ resembles $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota}$ more than $\bar{\theta}\bar{\iota}$; and in a version or quotation the substitution of "Christ" for "Lord" (but not so for "God") might have seemed a matter of indifference, or have been unconsciously made.* A deliberate falsification of the text is the last supposition to be resorted to. That *χριστοῦ* has not played a great part as a marginal gloss for either reading appears from the fact that it is found in no Greek MS.

The authority, next, of the Ancient Versions decidedly confirms the reading *κυρίου*. It is supported by the *three oldest*, the Old Latin, the Memphitic, and the Thebaic, which carry us back to a far earlier date than any of the authorities for *θεοῦ*; and these are confirmed by the Armenian, with the margin of the Harclean Syriac, and indirectly, I think, by

* How easily "Christ" might be inadvertently substituted for "Lord" in a version or quotation may be illustrated by modern examples. Ewald, who reads "Lord," in his paraphrase substitutes *Christus*, printing it in italics as a translation (*Die drei ersten Evang. u. d. Apostelgeschichte*, 1872, ii. 209; comp. p. 500). Reuss, who in his *Théol. Chrétienne*, ii. 341, n. 2, 2d ed., p. 308, Eng. trans., adopts the reading *κυρίου*, actually cites Acts xx. 28 (*ibid.* p. 186, note, or p. 169, Eng.), as containing the expression *ἐκκλησία τοῦ χριστοῦ*; and Adler, *Nov. Test. Verss. Syr.*, 1789, p. 26, speaks of the reading "pascatis ecclesiam Christi" as found in "nonnullis graecis codicibus."

those that read "Christ," though their testimony is more or less uncertain. That Jerome should adopt the reading *Dei* in the Vulgate need excite no surprise, or that the Monophysite translator of the Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac should prefer the reading favorable to his doctrine.

The evidence of the Fathers is pretty well balanced, but the *earlier* testimony (as that of Irenaeus), though not absolutely free from doubt, favors *κυρίου* rather than *θεοῦ*. The authorities for *κυρίου* also represent the principal divisions of the Christian world. (See the detailed statements above.) I have already observed that the earliest and the only Greek Father who quotes the passage as bearing on the deity of Christ is Cyril of Alexandria, in the fifth century, who adduces it once. In connection with this point, I may quote the important remark of the Rev. Thomas Sheldon Green: "According to the common reading, the passage bears strongly upon more than one great dogmatic controversy, and, accordingly, had this form possessed established currency in the age of those disputes, its employment as a dogmatic weapon ought to be of no unfrequent occurrence in the writings of that age; whereas the contrary is evidently the case." (*Developed Criticism*, etc., p. 112.)

We will now consider the *internal evidence*. What supposition will best explain the various phenomena?

Alford says: "If *θεοῦ* was the original, *but one reason* can be given why it should have been altered to *κυρίου*, and *that one was sure to have operated*. It would stand as a bulwark against Arianism, an assertion which no skill could evade, which *must therefore be modified*. If *θεοῦ* stood in the text originally, *it was sure to be altered to κυρίου*."

I perceive no ground for this confident assumption, and must reject it for the following reasons: (1) The Arians were as devout believers in the sacredness of Scripture as their adversaries, and would equally have regarded a deliberate falsification of the record as a horrible impiety. There is no evidence that they tampered with the text in any other

passage of the New Testament.* The absence of 1 John v. 7 from our MSS. of the Greek Testament and from the ancient versions is not now ascribed to them. (2) Such an attempt would have been absurd and useless. The Arians did not have possession of the orthodox copies; and how would a wilful corruption of their own have helped them in controversy? It was sure to be detected, and to expose them to shame. (3) We have no evidence that the Arians were troubled by the passage; it does not appear to have been quoted by any Greek Father in the Arian controversy. (4) The reading *θεοῦ* would have been really favorable to the Arians. They did not hesitate to apply the term *θεός* to Christ, but lowered its meaning. They were fond, as we learn from Athanasius, of “calling τὴν θεότητα τοῦ λόγου παθητήν”; of saying that “*God* suffered through the flesh, and rose again”; and of using the bald expression “the blood of *God*.” Referring to such expressions, Athanasius exclaims: ὅτι τῆς ἀτοπίας καὶ τῆς βλασφημίας! Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. — *Cont. Apollinar.* ii. 11–13. (See Supplementary Note Λ, p. 320 ff.) And very naturally. “A *Go*! whose blood was shed,” says Professor Stuart, “must surely be a *θεὸς δευτέρως*, as the Arians would have it, and not the impassible and eternal God, which I believe the *Logos* to be.” (*Amer. Bibl. Repository* for April, 1838, p. 315.) We do not find, however, that the Arians and Apollinarians ever appealed to the reading *θεοῦ* in this passage. They justified such language on other grounds. (5) This hypothesis does not explain the existence of the reading *Lord* in authorities which reach back to a century or more before the Arians were heard of.

In truth, Dean Alford’s theory of wilful alteration would have been much more plausible, if he had ascribed the substitution of *κυρίου* for *θεοῦ* to the orthodox. But such an imputation would, I believe, be doing them great injustice. If they had found the word *θεοῦ* in the text, they would have been much more likely to reverence it as containing a mystery; and there was less occasion to stumble, as the opinions

* On John iii. 6, see the note of Wetstein or Tischendorf.

of the earlier Christian Fathers respecting the passibility of the Logos differed from those which afterwards prevailed. They also used the words *θεός* and *deus* rather loosely. From an early period there were many rhetorical writers, like Tertullian and Lactantius, who were fond of startling and paradoxical expressions, which would also suit the popular taste. (See Supplementary Note A.) At a later date the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* bridged the difficulty. In the Latin Vulgate the reading *Dei* has been undisturbed, being found, apparently, in all the MSS.

But though we reject the supposition of a wilful alteration of the text on the part either of the Arians or the orthodox, it may still be said that *κυρίου* may have been a marginal explanation of *θεοῦ*, which would readily and innocently be substituted by those who might stumble at the harshness of the latter. This is *possible*, but not very probable; for the natural marginal addition would rather have been the unambiguous *χριστοῦ*, which has been found in no Greek MS. "The churches of *Christ*" occurs once in Paul's writings; and "the blood of *Christ*," "*Christ* died," and "*Christ* suffered," are familiar expressions.

On the other hand, supposing *κυρίου* to be the original reading, we can easily explain all the variations without resorting to the hypothesis, *a priori* extremely improbable, of a deliberate corruption of the text. We have only an example of what has occurred in a multitude of instances, the *substitution by the copyist of a familiar expression for an unusual one*; a substitution often made unconsciously, but sometimes, perhaps, because the more common form had been noted in the margin. The expression "the church" (or "churches") "of *God*" occurs, as has already been remarked, *eleven* times in the Epistles of Paul, while "the church of the *Lord*" is found nowhere else in the New Testament; the former expression is also frequent, while the latter is rare, in other early Christian writings; see, *e.g.*, the statement respecting the Apostolic Constitutions under I., above, p. 297 f. The resemblance of 1 Pet. v. 2 to the present passage, — Ποιμνάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες (om. by *8*, *B*, and

perhaps derived from *επισκόπου* in Acts xx. 28), κ. τ. λ., — “might aid,” as Dr. Tregelles remarks, “in suggesting τοῦ θεοῦ.”

This tendency of transcribers to substitute the familiar expression for the unusual, which would be particularly strong in the present case, may be illustrated by a few examples.

Acts xv. 40, *παροδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου*. “The grace of God” being a very common expression, and occurring in a similar passage (xiv. 26), *θεοῦ* is here substituted for *κυρίου* by C, E, H, L, P, and all but about six of the cursives. For Acts xvi. 32, where *κ*, B, seem to be clearly wrong, see above, p. 310 f.

James iii. 9, for *τὸν κύριον καὶ πατέρα*, the familiar *τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα* has been substituted in K, L, and, apparently, all the cursives but two.

1 Pet. iii. 15, for *κύριον δὲ τὸν χριστὸν ἀγίασατε*, κ. τ. λ., *κύριον δὲ τὸν θεόν* appears in K, L, P, and, apparently, all the cursives but seven.

Col. iii. 15, for *ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ χριστοῦ*, *κ*^c, C^b, D^c, E, K, L, and all but about seven of the cursives read *ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ*; comp. Phil. iv. 7, and *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης* in Rom. xv. 33, and passages cited in last paragraph of this page.

Col. iii. 22, for *φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον*, *κ*, D^c, E^{**}, K, and all but about twelve of the cursives read *φοβ. τὸν θεόν*, the more common expression.

Eph. v. 21, for *ἐν φόβῳ χριστοῦ*, K reads *ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου*, comp. Acts ix. 31; 2 Cor. v. 11; and most of the cursives *ἐν φ. θεοῦ*, comp. Rom. iii. 18; 2 Cor. vii. 1, and the use of the verb *φοβέομαι*.

2 Thess. iii. 16, for *ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης*, F, G, L, seven cursives, and many Latin MSS. read *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης*; comp. Rom. xv. 33, xxi. 20; Phil. iv. 9; 1 Thess. v. 23; Heb. xiii. 20. — For other examples, see Col. iii. 16; 2 Thess. iii. 3; Acts viii. 22, 24. I will only notice further that in the single instance in which we have the phrase *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πάσαι τοῦ χριστοῦ*, Rom. xvi. 16, the MSS. 3, 23, 42, 69, 106, 120, 177, a^{**scr}, k^{scr}, and two of Matthæi's Chrysostom MSS., read *θεοῦ*. See Wetstein, Scholz, and Scrivener; Tischendorf does not note the variation.

Thus I think it clearly appears, that on the supposition that *κυρίου* was the original reading, the variations may be easily and satisfactorily explained; and we may adopt the language of Dr. Tregelles, who remarks that "even if the evidence for *ἐκκ. τοῦ κυρίου* had not been so strong, it would have been confirmed by its peculiarity, and by the immense probability of the familiar phrase being substituted for it." (*Account of the Printed Text*, etc., p. 233.)

Bengel's explanation of the origin of the reading *κυρίου* is as follows: "Ex LXX. apud quos saepe dicitur *ἐκκλησία κυρίου*." The "saepe" is seven times in all: viz., Deut. xxiii. 1, 2, 3 (*bis*), 8; 1 Chron. xxviii. 8; Mic. ii. 5; the phrase being applied to the congregation of Israel. Of this far-fetched explanation it is enough to say that there appears to be no reason why the cause of error assigned should not have affected the other passages where *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ* (in the singular or plural) occurs in the New Testament as well as Acts xx. 28. But in these eleven passages the various reading *κυρίου* is not once found, according to the critical editors, in a single MS. Bengel's hypothesis, therefore, has no foundation.

Another argument of Dean Alford and many others for the reading *θεοῦ* is this. Paul is the speaker. He has used the expression "church" (or "churches") "of God" eleven times in his Epistles, but never "church of the Lord." Does not *Pauline usage*, then, strongly confirm the genuineness of *θεοῦ* here?

I agree with those who regard *Pauline usage* as very important in its bearing on this question. In the divided state of the external evidence, it is entitled to be regarded as a decisive consideration. But it has been strangely misapprehended.

Paul has used the phrase (*ἡ*) *ἐκ.* or *αἱ ἐκ.* (*τοῦ*) *θεοῦ* eleven times, eight times in the singular, three in the plural. But has any respectable commentator in any one of these passages understood him to mean *Christ* by *θεοῦ*? In four of them (1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 14; 2 Thess. i. 4) *Christ* is in the immediate context clearly distinguished from *θεός*; and in none of the others (1 Cor. x. 32, xi. 16, 22, xv. 9; Gal. i. 13; 1 Tim.

iii. 5, 15) has Dean Alford suggested, or would it occur to any reader, that *θεοῦ* is used as a designation of Christ. So far, then, as the phrase in question is concerned, the appeal to the usage of Paul shows that it is extremely improbable that he would have employed it here to describe the church as belonging to *Christ*.

Let us look a little further. What is the usage of Paul in the rest of this discourse? Examine the use of the words *κύριος* and *θεός* in vv. 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 32, 35; note especially vv. 21 and 24. Is it not clear, without argument, that the usage of the apostle *here* favors the supposition that he would employ *κυρίου* rather than *θεοῦ* to denote Christ in ver. 28?

If he had occasion to describe the church as belonging to Christ, he *might* have used the name "Christ," as he has done in Rom. xvi. 16; but in such a connection as this, in speaking of the Chief Shepherd of the flock, after reference to the *ἐπίσκοποι*, — overseers of the church, but servants of Christ, — it was particularly appropriate that *κύριος* should be used, the term by which the apostle especially delights to designate Christ in his exaltation; see Phil. ii. 9–11. Arator in his paraphrase, quoted above under I. p. 303, seems to have felt the point of the expression: "*Famuli* retinere laborent Quae *Dominus* de morte dedit." See also on this matter Wordsworth's note.

But much more is to be said; and, as two or three of the passages to which I shall have occasion to refer have been sometimes appealed to in theological controversy, I beg that it may be understood that I am not attempting to argue a doctrinal question, which would here be out of place, but wish simply to call attention to certain important facts in relation to the New Testament *use of language*.

If *τοῦ θεοῦ* here denotes Christ, we have *ὁ θεός* used *absolutely*, not as *θεός* is *predicated* of the *λόγος ἄσαρκος* in John i. 1, but *assumed* as a designation of Christ in his mediatorial relation, and this when the term has just before been used in the same discourse in marked distinction from Christ. What is *Pauline usage* in regard to this point?

The term *θεός* occurs in Paul's writings, not including the

Epistle to the Hebrews, more than five hundred times. How does he employ it? We all know that his *habitual* use of language in his Epistles is in perfect accordance with 1 Cor. viii. 6, ἡμῖν εἰς θεός ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ. I need not refer to other passages, as Eph. iv. 5, 6; Phil. ii. 9-11. Paul certainly had a most exalted conception of Christ, — see, e.g., Col. ii. 9, i. 15-20; but I am now speaking simply of his *use of language*; and it cannot be denied that he generally sharply distinguishes θεός and χριστός; e.g., 1 Cor. iii. 23, xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 5. Has he *ever* given the name θεός to Christ? Alford himself finds only *one* instance in all his writings in which he supposes him to have done so; viz., in Rom. ix. 5. But I need not say that the application of θεός in Rom. ix. 5 depends on the *punctuation* and *construction*, on which the most eminent scholars have differed; and when we observe that Lachmann, Buttmann, Kuenen and Cobet, and Tischendorf* have so punctuated the passage as to exclude the reference to Christ, and that their construction has been adopted or favored by commentators so able and unprejudiced as Rückert (2d ed.), Fritzsche, Lücke,† De Wette, Meyer, Ewald, Clausen (author of the *Hermeneutik*), Van Hengel, and Jowett; by such a grammarian as Winer, and by many eminent recent translators, as Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*), Noyes, Oltramare, Lipsius (in the *Protestanten-Bibel*), Professor Godwin, Davidson, Volkmar, Weizsäcker, and in the new Authorized Dutch Version (1868), we can hardly, I think, rely with any confidence on this supposed exception to the otherwise *uniform* usage of the apostle.‡ And consider the extent of this usage, the exceeding frequency with which the words in question occur! If the *usus loquendi* of a writer

* So Dr. Hort; see the note on the passage in Westcott and Hort's *Gr. Test.*, vol. ii.

† *De Invocatione Jesu Christi*, Part I. (1843), p. 8; and MS. notes of his Lectures on Romans, taken by Professor E. J. Young.

‡ On Eph. v. 5 and Tit. ii. 13, on which few would now lay any stress, it may be enough to refer to Alford, Meyer, Huther, and Winer; and on Col. ii. 2, if we adopt the reading τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ, to the notes of Bishop Ellicott and Dr. Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort and Wieseler (on Gal. i. 1).

is ever to be regarded in textual criticism, I hardly see how there could be a stronger case than the present.

In treating a critical question like this, we must not confound the style of the fourth century, or even of the second, with that of the first, or allow ourselves to be unconsciously influenced by the phraseology with which custom has made us familiar. We find in some writers in the latter half of the second century and afterwards, — or, as some suppose, even earlier, — when the application of the names *θεός* and *deus* to Christ had become frequent, such expressions as the blood, the sufferings, the birth and death, the burial and resurrection of God; but I need not say how foreign this language is from the style of the New Testament.

It appears to me, then, in fine, that the evidence of MSS., ancient versions, and the early Christian writers, when fairly weighed, decidedly preponderates in favor of the reading *κυρίου*; and that, even if the external testimony for *θεοῦ* were far stronger than it is, we should not be justified in adopting it, in the face of the extreme improbability that Paul (or Luke) should have here used an expression so foreign from his own style and that of the New Testament writings; especially when the origin of *θεοῦ* and of all the other variations can be so easily and naturally explained, on the supposition that *κυρίου* is the genuine reading.

Two matters of interest remain which require some further notice, and which, for convenience, have been reserved for

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

A.—ON THE USE OF SUCH EXPRESSIONS AS “THE BLOOD OF GOD” IN THE WRITINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

In a few passages of early Christian writings the expression “the blood of God” occurs; and it is urged, not without plausibility, that “nothing short of scriptural authority could have given early vogue to a term so startling.” The Fathers who use it are thus regarded as indirect witnesses to the genuineness of the reading *θεοῦ* in Acts xx. 28.

If the writers who employ this expression used it in such a connection as to show that this particular passage was in their minds, and if they were generally

careful not to use startling expressions analogous to this without some Scripture precedent, the argument would have much weight. But so far as my examination of their writings has extended, — which indeed has not been exhaustive, — the reverse is true. Though language of this sort was freely used by some, and strongly condemned by others, and though the passage would seem to have a direct bearing on the Patripassian controversy and on the Gnostic controversies of the second and third centuries, yet I cannot find that it was ever adduced, on the one hand, by way of justification of such expressions, or that, on the other, attempts were made to explain it away. Other passages, far less relevant, were appealed to; but, concerning this, *altum silentium*. The reading *θεοῦ* had doubtless found its way into some MSS. as early as the first part of the fourth century; but it had not become current; it had not attracted attention; and it is not till the fifth century that we find it actually quoted in reference to the deity of Christ and the propriety of such language as "the blood of God."

The expression *αἷμα θεοῦ* occurs in Ignatius, *Eph. c. I, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε*, according to the Shorter Greek form of the Epistles, and in the Syriac version of the Three Epistles as published by Cureton; the Old Latin version of the Shorter form reads "in sanguine *Christi Dei*"; and the Longer Epistles, *ἐν αἵματι Χριστοῦ*. The Armenian version, made from the Syriac, omits the phrase altogether; and Petermann, in his edition of Ignatius (p. 6), says, "Equidem dixerim, primitus scriptum esse *Χριστοῦ*, deinde ex nota Monophysitæ cujusdam marginali in textum irrepsisse *θεοῦ*, ac deinde vocem *χριστοῦ* excidisse." Bunsen puts a comma after *αἵματι*, and connects *θεοῦ* either with *τὸ συγγενικόν* (*Die drei ächten . . . Briefe des Ignatius*, 1847, pp. 42, 86, n. 7), or with *ἔργον* (*Hippolytus*, i. 95, 2d ed.). But for brevity I waive all question of the reading, or the construction, or the genuineness of the Epistles, which, so far as I can venture at present to judge (and this is the view of eminent scholars), cannot be regarded as earlier in any of their forms than the latter half of the second century. The phrase suits the style of these Epistles very well, and the only point important to notice is that there is nothing in the context to suggest in the slightest degree a reference to the passage in the Acts. The appeal sometimes made to Ignat., *Rom. c. 7*, rests on a false reference of *αὐτοῦ*, to say nothing of the fact that *θεοῦ* after *πῶμα* is probably spurious.

The next example is in Tertullian (*Ad Uxor. ii. 3*): "Non sumus nostri, sed pretio empti; et quali pretio? sanguine Dei." Here, again, there is no allusion in the context to Acts xx. 28; and even Burton admits (*Testim. of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Div. of Christ*, 2d ed., p. 25) that "his words bear such a direct reference to another text, I Cor. vi. 19, 20, that we cannot say whether he had the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians also in mind." I will add that Roensch, who in his *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's* (1871) has collected with great care all the *allusions* of Tertullian to passages of the New Testament as well as his quotations, finds no allusion in his writings to Acts xx. 28.

The remaining example of this expression is in Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives salvetur*, c. 34): "Not knowing how great a treasure we bear in an earthen vessel, *δυνάμει θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αἵματι θεοῦ παιδὸς καὶ δρόσω πνεύματος ἁγίου περιτετειχισμένον*." Here, again, there is in the connection no allusion to Acts xx. 28.

These are all the examples that have been adduced, so far as I am aware, from

the Ante-Nicene Fathers, of the expression "blood of God."* They are found in highly rhetorical writers, remarkable generally for the harshness and extravagance of their language. They are connected with a large number of kindred expressions, in which the Fathers speak of the birth, conception, flesh, body, sufferings, death, crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of God, for which no Scripture precedent can be pleaded, but which are founded merely on inference. Under these circumstances, it seems to me extremely rash to single out this, one of the rarest, and claim that it implies the existence of the reading *θεοῦ* in Acts xx. 28, against the very strong presumption that, if it had existed there, it would often have been directly appealed to.

I regret that the wholly unexpected length to which the preceding discussion has extended forbids any detailed illustration of what has been stated in regard to the language of the Christian Fathers, and of the extent to which, when the use of *θεός* and *deus* as appellations of Christ had become familiar, they use the most harsh and startling expressions without Scriptural authority, and simply as the result of inference. I can only refer to the collection of such expressions given by Wetstein in his note on Acts xx. 28 (*N. T.* ii. 596 f.), and add some references to passages not noticed by him.

See Ignatius, *Rom.* c. 6: "Suffer me to be an imitator τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου." Here, again, there are various readings (see Lipsius, *Text der drei syr. Briefe*, pp. 77, 78). *Eph.* c. 18: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκκοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας. — Tatian, *Or. ad Graec.* c. 13: "rejecting τὸν διάκονον [the Holy Spirit] τοῦ πεπονητός θεοῦ." — Melito, *Ex Serm. de Passione*, ed. Anastasium Sin.: ὁ θεὸς πέποιθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλίτιδος, but in the Syriac: "God was put to death; the King of Israel was slain by an Israelitish right hand" (see Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.* p. 55, cf. p. 56; or Otto, *Corp. Apol. Christ.* ix. pp. 416, 422, 444 ff., and 459, n. 119). Cureton has some doubt whether this and some other pieces in which similar language occurs belong to Melito; there may be a confusion between Melito and Meletius, "the honey of Attica," who flourished in the fourth century. See his *Spicil. Syr.* pp. 96, 97. — Tertullian, as might be expected from his fiery intensity of feeling, and the audacities of his glowing style, has much language of the kind referred to. See, e.g., *De Carne Christi*, c. 5. After speaking of the "passiones Dei," he exclaims: "Quid enim indigni Deo . . . nasci an mori? carnem gestare an crucem? circumcidi an suffigi? educari an sepeliri? in praesepe deponi an in monumento recondi? . . . Nonne vere crucifixus est Deus? nonne vere mortuus est, ut vere crucifixus? nonne vere resuscitatus, ut vere scilicet mortuus?" He goes on to speak of the "interemptores Dei." On the passage just cited, which contains the famous sentence *Certum est, quia impossibile*, so often misquoted, I would refer to the valuable notes of Mr. Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., iii. 175 ff., or ii. 272 ff. Eng. ed. For other examples of similar language in Tertullian, see *ibid.* c. 4; *Adv. Marcion.* ii. 16 (mortuum Deum), 27 (Deum crucifixum); iv. 13 (quia Deus homo natus erat); v. 5 (nativitas et

* In the *Paul. Samos. Quaest.* (Q. iv.), ascribed to Dionysius of Alexandria, we have the expression τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Concil.*, ed. Coleti, i. 888b); but Dr. Burton should not have cited this work as he has done, together with the so-called Epistle of Dionysius against Paul of Samosata (Burton, *Testim.* p. 25 f., 92 f., 161, 397-419), without warning the reader of their probable spuriousness. See Lardner's *Works*, ii. 685 ff., ed. 1829.

caro Dei); *De Patient.* c. 3. — Irenaeus, *Cont. Haer.* v. 19, § 1: "[Maria] per angelicum sermonem evangelizata est, ut portaret Deum." — Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* ii. c. 3, p. 190, ed. Potter: τὸς πόδας ἐνιπτειν αὐτῶν σαβάνῳ περιζώσάμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεὸς καὶ κύριος τῶν ὕλων. *Ibid.* c. 8, p. 214: ἐδίωξεν τὸν θεόν.— Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, c. 45 (Migné, *Patrol.* x. 764^b): τὸν ἐν κοιλίᾳ παρθένου συνειλημμένον θεὸν λόγον. *Ex Serm. in Elcan. et Annam*: ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Τὸ δὲ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐθήθη Χριστὸς ὁ θεός (Migne, col. 864^o). Ὁ θεός is in the same way added to I Cor. v. 7 in MS. number 116, and in one MS. of Chrysostom; and that passage is so quoted, according to Wetstein, by the Lateran Council. Such cases are instructive. — Novatian, *De Reg. Fid. sive de Trin.* c. 25, opposes those who argued, "Si Christus Deus, Christus autem mortuus, ergo mortuus est Deus." — Synod of Antioch (A.D. 269, *Epist. ad Dionys. et Max.* (in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 312, 2d ed.): θεὸς ἦν ἐν γαστρὶ συννοσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ; and see what precedes. — Sibylline Oracles, vi. 26, ὦ ξύλον ὦ μακαριστὸν, ἐφ' ᾧ θεὸς ἐξετανίσθη; vii. 66, τλήμων, οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὸν σὺν θεόν, ὅς ποτ' ἔλουσεν Ἰορδάνου ἐν προχοῇσι [Friedlieb ἰδέτεσσι]; viii. 288, καὶ δώσουσι θεῷ ῥαπίσματα χερσὶν ἀνάγκοις, quoted by Lactantius, iv. 18; viii. 462, δέξαι ἀχράντοις θεὸν σοῖς, παρθένε, κόλπῳις. See also vii. 24. — There is a great abundance of such language in Lactantius; see *Inst.* iv. cc. 10, 14, 18, 22, 26, 29, 30. — Alexander of Alexandria, *De Anima et Corpore*, c. 5 (Migne, xviii. 595, cf. 603), preserved in Syriac and Arabic: "Quaenam, oro, necessitas Deum coegit in terram descendere, carnem assumere, panniculis in praesepe involvi, lactante sinu ali, baptismum in famulo suscipere, in crucem tolli, terreno sepulcro infodi, a mortuis tertia die resurgere?" — Apostolical Constitutions, lib. viii. (late) c. 1, § 4: ὅτι συγχωρήσει θεοῦ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας ὁ θεὸς λόγος, καὶ ὅτι ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη, κ. τ. λ.

The subject has been very imperfectly presented, but the foregoing references and citations may be sufficient to establish the position taken. They may also serve to show, in reference to the argument that *θεοῦ* is the *lectio durior*, that expressions which seem very harsh to us were well suited to the taste of many in the second and third centuries. And how ready the Christian Fathers were to confound their own *inferences* with the language of Scripture may appear, to take a single example, from Cyril of Alexandria, who says: Τίς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέμνην, ὡς μὴ βούλεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἐὐαγγελίων θεοτόκον ἀποκαλεῖν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον; (*Quod B. Maria sit deipara*, c. 23; Opp. ix. 284^b, in Migne, lxxvi.). One who thinks the Fathers would have been very scrupulous about using such expressions as *μονογενὴς θεός*, *αἷμα θεοῦ*, etc., unless they had found them in Scripture, may look into Sophocles's Greek Lexicon, under such words as *ἀδελφός*, *θεογεννήτωρ*, *θεοκτόνος*, *θεομήτωρ*, *θεοπάτωρ*, and *θεοπρομήτωρ*, to say nothing of *θεοτόκος*. The title *Dei avia* applied to Anna, the mother of the Virgin, became so popular that, as Wetstein remarks, Clement XI. had to issue an edict against it, as offensive to pious ears.

One very early passage, wrongly supposed, as I think, to speak of "the sufferings of God," requires a little discussion, which has been reserved for the present place.

In the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (c. 2), we read τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν, τοῦ θεοῦ being the near antece-

dent.* But as the term *θεός*, with or without the article, is throughout the Epistle applied exclusively to the Father, and is used in marked distinction from Christ (see, e.g., cc. 1, 7, 12, 16, 20, 42, 46, 49, 50, 58, 59), this reference of the *αὐτοῦ* would seem to make Clement a Patripassian; and such is the view of Lipsius (*De Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. priore*, pp. 101, 102), comp. Hellwag, in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1848, p. 255 f. But this supposition, as well as the supposition that the second person of the Trinity is intended by the *τοῦ θεοῦ* preceding, is so entirely out of harmony with the rest of the Epistle (see above, and in reference to the blood of Christ, cc. 7, 12, 21, 49), that I should regard as much more probable the conjecture of *μαθήματα* for *παθήματα*, proposed by the first editor of the Epistle, Patrick Young (Junius), and adopted by Fleury (*Hist. Eccl.* liv. ii. c. 33), Whitly (*Disq. Mod.* p. 18), Hilgenfeld (*N. T. extra Can.* i. p. 5, note), and Donaldson (*Apost. Fathers*, 1874, pp. 157, 158). The older forms of the Mu and Pi were sometimes hardly distinguishable; † and, as Dr. Lightfoot (*in loc.*) remarks, “the confusion of *μαθητής*, *παθητής*, in Ign. *Polyc.* 7, and *μαθήματα*, *παθήματα*, in Ign. *Smyrn.* 5, shows that the interchange would be easy.” And I do not perceive much force in the remark that “the reading *μαθήματα* would destroy the propriety of the expressions in the parallel clauses . . . ‘the words in your hearts, the sufferings before your eyes.’” The eyes of the *mind*—what Clement calls *τὰ ὄμματα τῆς ψυχῆς* (c. 19) and *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας* (c. 36) are certainly referred to; and the use of such language with *μαθήματα* is perfectly paralleled by *τὴν παράδοσιν* (*τῶν ἀποστόλων*) *πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων*, in Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3, § 3; comp. *Const. Apost.* ii. 36, § 1, and *Mart. Polyc.* c. 2. See also Anatol. *Can. Pasch.* c. 5: *Χριστὸν καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ κατοπτρίζεσθαι μαθήματα καὶ παθήματα*. But the conjecture, however plausible, does not seem necessary; we have only to suppose a somewhat negligent use of *αὐτοῦ* (of which we have an example near the end of the same chapter, and others in cc. 32, 34, 36, 50), referring to Christ *in the mind of the writer*, though not named. This is the view of Dr. Samuel Clarke (*Works*, iv. 569), Rössler (*Bibliothek d. Kirchen-Väter*, i. 47, n. 2), Martini (*Gesch. des Dogma von der Gottheit Christi*, p. 24, note), Dörner (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 139, or p. 99, Eng. trans.), Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, i. 46, note, 2d ed.), Ekker (*De Clem. Rom. Epist.* p. 92, note), and Reuss (*Théol. Chrétienne*, ii. 326, 2^e éd.). For such a use of *αὐτός*, see Luke ii. 38, xvii. 16; Acts xv. 5; 1 John ii. 12, 27, 28, and other places; and comp. Wahl, *Clavis N. T.* s. v. *αὐτός*, 2 c. bb-dd, and Winer, *Gram.* § 22. 3, and § 67. 1. d. In the passage in question I adopt the punctuation of Lightfoot and Gebhardt (who put a colon after *ἀρκοῦμενοι*), and their interpretation of *ἐφοδίους*. Observing, then, that Clement has just borrowed a saying introduced in Acts xx. 35 by the phrase “remembering the words of the Lord Jesus,” how natural that, with Christ in mind, he should go on to say, “and diligently giving heed to his words, ye had laid them up in your hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes”! I refer, it will be seen, both of the *αὐτοῦ*'s to Christ. This is also, perhaps, favored by

* But the newly discovered Constantinople MS. and the Syriac version read *χριστοῦ* instead of *θεοῦ*; and this reading is adopted by Bryennios, Hilgenfeld, and Funk (the recent Catholic editor). Lightfoot, however, still contends that *θεοῦ* is the true reading.

† See Silvestre, *Paléogr. univ.* pl. lvi.; and the Copto-Greek form of M in Uhlemann's Coptic Grammar or Schwartze's Memphitic Gospels. See also Donaldson, as referred to above.

the use of the *plural*, τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ; comp. in this Epistle cc. 13, 46; also Acts xx. 35; 1 Tim. vi. 3, *Const. Apost.* viii. 45; whereas, except in Rev. xvii. 17, xix. 9, where the reference is to the words of a particular prophecy, we always have in the New Testament, and I think in the Apostolical Fathers, ὁ λόγος, not οἱ λόγοι, τοῦ θεοῦ. The general resemblance in sentiment (noticed by Professor Lightfoot) between c. 2 of Clement and c. 13, in which "the words" of Christ are twice appealed to, lends confirmation to this view, on which I have dwelt the longer, as no notice is taken of it in the editions of Cotelier, Jacobson, Hefele, Dressel, Lightfoot, Gebhardt, and Harnack, or in any other within my knowledge.*

An important passage of Athanasius remains to be considered, which I quote in full, as different views have been taken of its bearing. *Cont. Apollinar.* ii. 14 (Opp. i. 951, ed. Bened., or Migne, xxvi. 1156^b): Οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί, ἢ θεὸν διὰ σαρκὸς παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πολήματα, ἐπειδὴ μήτε θεὸν ἀληθινὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμολογοῦσιν. Αἱ δὲ ἅγιοι γραφαὶ ἐν σαρκὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, αἷμα, καὶ πάθος, καὶ ἀνάστασιν κηρύττουσι σώματος θεοῦ, ἀνάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν γενομένην. I would propose a different punctuation of the last sentence, — placing a comma after κηρύττουσι, and removing it after γενομένου and after the last θεοῦ. We may, then, translate as follows: "But the Scriptures, have nowhere spoken of 'blood of God' apart from the flesh, or of *God* as having suffered and risen again through the flesh. Such audacities belong to the Arians, since they do not confess that the Son of God is true God. But the holy Scriptures speak of blood and suffering and resurrection *in the flesh* of God and *of the flesh* of God become man, — a resurrection from the dead of the *body* of God."

I have italicized certain words made emphatic by position. Here, for αἷμα θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς, the edition of Athanasius *ex Officin. Commeliniana*, 1601 (i. 503^a), reads αἷμα θεοῦ καθ' ἑμᾶς, which is also the reading of the Paris edition of 1627 (i. 645^{be}). Wetstein, who used the former edition, quotes the passage with ἡμᾶς for ἑμᾶς (probably a misprint, as the two words are often confounded), whereupon Dr. Burton charges him with inserting καθ' ἑμᾶς "from his own head," and leaving out the words δίχα σαρκὸς, "upon which the whole meaning of the passage turns." (*Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 20 f.) This is unjust to Wetstein; and the charge is the more unfortunate, as Dr. Burton himself immediately *misquotes* the edition (the Benedictine) which he professedly follows, substituting δίχα σαρκὸς for διὰ σαρκὸς in the second clause; and in citing the last sentence (p. 22) omits the last clause, which is important as determining its construction. He has also, if I mistake not (I would speak with deference), misconstrued and mistranslated the sentence.†

* This explanation is adopted by C. J. H. Ropes in the *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* for April, 1877, p. 331, and by Wieseler in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1877, p. 357. Lightfoot regards it as admissible, *St. Clement of Rome*, Appendix (London, 1877), p. 403.

† He renders: "But the Holy Scriptures, speaking of God in the flesh, and of the flesh of God when he became man, do mention *the blood* and sufferings and resurrection of the body of God." But if αἷμα, κ. τ. λ., is connected with σώματος, what does σαρκὸς depend on? I venture to think that the construction I have adopted is confirmed, and the whole passage illustrated, by c. 16 (Migne, col. 1160a). In answer to those who ask, "How did they crucify the Lord of glory, and not crucify the Word?" Athanasius says, "they nailed the *body* of the Word to the cross. He was God who was rejected; σαρκὸς δὲ θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις γέγονε."

In saying that the Scriptures nowhere αἷμα θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδώκασιν, Athanasius means, as I understand him, that they have nowhere used this naked expression. As Dr. Humphry remarks, "if θεοῦ were the reading in our text [Acts xx. 28], there would be mention of the blood of God δίχα σαρκός." (*Comm. on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2d ed., p. 164.) Mr. Darby takes the same view of the language of Athanasius in the note on Acts xx. 28 in his new translation of the New Testament (2d ed., 1872). This view seems to me to be confirmed by the whole tenor of the treatise against Apollinaris, as well as by many particular passages. See, for example, lib. ii. c. 13 (Migne, col. 1153^b): Πῶς οὖν γεγράφατε, ὅτι θεὸς ὁ διὰ σαρκὸς παθὼν καὶ ἀναστάς; εἰ γὰρ θεὸς ὁ διὰ σαρκὸς παθὼν καὶ ἀναστάς, παθητὸν ἔρειτε καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν παράκλητον. *Ibid.* c. 19 (Migne, col. 1165^a): Μάταιοι οὖν οἱ τῆ θεότητι αὐτοῦ πάθος προσάγοντες. See also lib. i. cc. 3, 5, 11, 15, 20; lib. ii. cc. 3, 7, 11, 12. "The Scriptures," says Athanasius, "ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ πάθος ἰστώσι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβαίνουσιν. . . . περὶ δὲ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἀτρεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφραστότητα ὁμολογοῦσι" (*ibid.* lib. ii. c. 18); and neither he, nor those with whom he argues, seem ever to have thought of the passage, Acts xx. 28, as opposing this view on the one hand, or favoring it on the other.

The use of the phrase δίχα σαρκός may require further notice. Dr. Burton, in discussing this passage of Athanasius (*ubi supra*, p. 22), makes an assertion which even his own translation does not justify. "Since that Father tells us," he says, "that the Scriptures *do speak of the blood of God*, we ask, where else do they speak of it, except in Acts xx. 28?"—He does not observe that Athanasius represents the Scriptures as speaking, *not* of the blood and suffering and resurrection "of God," but "of the *flesh* of God," or, according to *his* rendering, "of the *body* of God"; expressions which Athanasius here and elsewhere employs to denote the flesh or body which, together with a human soul, ὁ θεὸς λόγος assumed. He does not mean that the Scriptures use even these expressions; but that, in speaking of the blood and passion and resurrection of Christ, they do not use the word θεός, which is a term δίχα σαρκός, one that does not suggest or imply the flesh or human nature, but such names as χριστός, which, as he says, is *not* given δίχα σαρκός; that is, it implies the incarnation. Οὐτε οὖν τὸ χριστὸς ὄνομα δίχα τῆς σαρκὸς προσάγεται· ἐπειδὴ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ ὀνόματι τὸ πάθος καὶ ὁ θάνατος, τοῦ μὲν Παύλου γράφοντος, κ. τ. λ., citing Acts xxvi. 23; 1 Cor. v. 7; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; 2 Tim. ii. 8. (*Cont. Apollinar.* ii. 2.) Thus he refers repeatedly to 1 Pet. iv. 1, where we read that "Christ suffered for us in the flesh." (See *Or.* iii. *cont. Arian.* cc. 31, 34; *Cont. Apollinar.* ii. 18, 19.) It is just because the word θεός, without modification, does not, like χριστός, suggest "the flesh", in other words, because it is δίχα σαρκός, that Athanasius regards such expressions as αἷμα θεοῦ and ὁ θεὸς ἑπαθεν καὶ ἀνέστη as senseless and blasphemous (see above, p. 315).

B.—ON THE READING OF THE PESHITO SYRIAC AND THE AETHIOPIC VERSIONS.

Before entering upon this subject, I wish to express my hearty thanks to Dr. William Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, for very important and interesting information, most kindly communicated, concerning the Syriac and Aethiopic MSS. in the British Museum. The statements here made

respecting their readings in Acts xx. 28 all rest on his authority. For a detailed account of the MSS., his Catalogues are of course to be consulted.

Of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, the following read in Acts xx. 28 "the church of *God*": —

Addit. 14473 (6th century); 17121, f. 59^a (6th century); 14472, f. 39^b (6th or 7th century); 18812, f. 35^a (6th or 7th century); and 14470, f. 160^b in its later supplement (9th century). It is also found in Addit. 17120 (see below) as a late correction; and in 14681 (12th or 13th century) as a marginal variant, the text reading "of *Christ*."

The reading "God" is also found, as is well known, in a Syriac Lectionary in the Vatican Library, No. 21, dated A.D. 1042 (see Adler's *Novi Test. Verss. Syr.* p. 16 ff.), in a MS. brought by Dr. Buchanan from Travancore, "Codex Malabarensis," now in the Library of the University of Cambridge, No. i. 1, 2, which Dr. Lee considers 500 years old; and a MS. in the Bodleian Library, "Dawk. 23," which he regards as "much older." * Dr. Lee admitted the reading "God" into the text of his edition of the Syriac New Testament in 1816, on the authority of these three MSS.

Of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, the following read "the church of *Christ*" (or the Messiah): —

Addit. 1712 O, "written in a good regular *Estrangelā* of the sixth century"; altered "at a much later period into 'of *God*'" (Dr. Wright); 14448 (A.D. 699–700), f. 143^a; 7157, f. 121^a, "a very fine MS. of the year A.D. 768" (Wright; see also Scrivener, *Introd.*, 2d ed., p. 279, n. 2); 14474 (9th century); 14680 (12th or 13th century); 17124 (A.D. 1234); and 14681 (12th or 13th century) in the *text*, but with "of *God*" as a marginal variant. — The two MSS. numbered 7157 and 14448 are Nestorian.

Respecting the Syriac MSS. in other libraries, I have little information. We may set down, I suppose, as supporting the reading "of *Christ*" the MSS. on which the printed editions that have that reading were founded, or in which no variation was noted by the collator; but our knowledge of them is imperfect. Among these editions are those of Widmanstadt (1555), resting on one or two Jacobite MSS.; the edition of Tremellius (1569), who used a Heidelberg MS.; that of Le Fevre de la Boderie (Fabricius Boderianus) in the Antwerp Polyglot (vol. v. 1572), in which he used a MS., dated 1188, brought by Postel from the East; that of Raphaeleng (1575), who used a "Cologne MS.," but Marsh thinks this was probably identical with the one just mentioned; that of Gutbier (1664), who had a MS. borrowed from L'Empereur; and that published by the Propaganda at Rome, in 1703, from a copy made by Antonius Sionita in 1611 from three MSS. belonging to the College of Maronites. (See Hug's *Introd.*, Part I, § 69, p. 215, Fosdick's trans.) Two Nestorian MSS. in the Vatican Library, No. 16 (al. 10), assigned by Assemani to the thirteenth century, and No. 17 (al. 9), dated A.D. 1510, described by Adler (*ubi supra*, p. 20 ff.), also have that reading. To these I can only add the MS. Ff. 2. 15 in the Library of the University of Cambridge, Ridley's No. 14, who says that it is dated A.D. 1524; and, what is

* See the letter of Dr. Lee in Hug's *Introduction*, trans. by Wait, i. 363–370, and his *Prolegomena in Bibl. Pol. Lond. min.*, iii. § 4, c. 14. But Dr. Payne Smith, in his *Cat. of Syr. MSS.*, in the Bodleian Library, assigns "Dawk. 23" to the fourteenth century.

more important, "a Syriac MS. of about 1000 years old, belonging to Mr. Palmer of Magdalen College," mentioned by the Rev. J. B. Morris (*Select Works of S. Ephraem the Syrian*, Oxford, 1847, p. 395, note).*

We have thus an interesting question respecting the primitive reading of the Peshito in this passage. A majority of the *oldest* MSS., so far as our information at present extends, support the reading "the church of God"; and as *χριστοῦ* is found in no Greek MS., and in but few patristic quotations, is it not probable that *θεοῦ* was originally read by the Syriac translator?

This is a question on which I am not qualified to express a confident opinion; but I will state the considerations which incline me to a different view.

(1) The MS. evidence for both readings extends back to the sixth century; but it is important to notice that *all* the Nestorian MSS. have the reading "Christ," while the Jacobite or Monophysite MSS. are divided, the majority in point of number, including one of the sixth century, also supporting that reading. In the controversies of the fifth century, when it became known that some Greek MSS. supported the reading *θεοῦ*, and after the Philoxenian Syriac, prepared at the instance of a leading Monophysite bishop, had adopted this reading in the text, it is not strange that some of the Jacobites or Monophysites should have *corrected* (as they thought) their copies of the Peshito by the Greek or by the Philoxenian, and that thus the reading "God" should have found its way into a considerable number of MSS., since it is a reading which would especially favor the Monophysite doctrine.† Latin influence, so far as it went, would also tend in the same direction. I lay no stress upon the fact that the Nestorians (as Sabarjesus at the end of the tenth century) *charged* their adversaries with corrupting this passage and Heb. ii. 9 (see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. i. 543). Such charges amount to little on one side or the other. But we must consider the probabilities. Had "God" been the original reading, the Nestorians were not likely deliberately to change it to "Christ," which must have been found in few, if any, Greek MSS.; they would rather have substituted "Lord," which has so much very ancient authority; but passing this by, if they *had* thus corrupted the text, how could their reading, in opposition to the text which had been handed down for centuries, have found its way into a majority of the MSS. of the hostile sect, after controversy had become bitter?‡

* The passage of Ephraem which gave occasion to Mr. Morris's note reads: "Flee from it [Judaism], thou that art feeble; a light thing is thy death and thy blood to it; it took [upon it] the Blood of God, will it be scared away from thine? . . . It hung God upon the Cross, and all created shook to see him." — *Rhythm i. concerning the Faith*, c. 46 (Opp. Syr. et Lat. iii. 189f). — To the MSS. mentioned above are to be added, as I am informed by Mr. McClellan, Cod. Coll. Nov. ap. Oxon. 334, twelfth century, and four MSS. in the Bodleian Library, — one fourteenth century, one not dated, one eighteenth century, one nineteenth century. So the MS., of about the ninth century, belonging to the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, and described by Dr. Isaac H. Hall in the *Proceedings of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* for Oct., 1877, vol. x. p. cxlvii.

† "Iacobitarum codices post editam versionem Philoxenianam ad textum Graecum corrigi coeptum est." — Wichelhaus, *De N. T. Vers. Syr.* p. 231; comp. p. 190: "Haec versio [Philoxeniana] . . . nacta est haud exiguum apud illos famam et auctoritatem, ita ut plurimum transcripta sit et variis temporibus a Iacobitarum doctoribus laudata."

‡ "Fuit ni fallor haec rerum conditio, ut Nestoriani omnes legerent 'Christi,' Iacobitarum alii codices 'Christi' exhiberent alii 'Dei,' quam Graeci textus lectionem genuinam et veram habemus." — Wichelhaus, *ibid.* p. 150.

That the Nestorians were not the authors of the corruption appears probable from the similar case of Heb. ii. 9, where their MSS. and some Jacobite MSS. also read, "For he *apart from God* (*χωρίς θεοῦ* for *χάριτι θεοῦ*) tasted death for all men"; while most of the Jacobite MSS. read, "For *God himself, in his grace*, tasted death for all men." That the reading *χωρίς θεοῦ* was not invented by the Nestorians is shown by the fact that it was current two hundred years before they existed, being found in the MSS. of Origen and many other ancient Fathers (see Tischendorf, and Bleek *in loc.*), whereas the Jacobite reading has in Greek no MS. support.

It must be confessed, however, that the authority of the Synod of Diamper is against them. In the Acts of that Council (A.D. 1599) the Nestorians are charged with maliciously corrupting both Heb. ii. 9 and Acts xx. 28. "Nam ipsi Nestoriani, a Diabolo acti, veritatem Catholicam scilicet Deum pro nobis passum sanguinemque fudisse fateri nolunt." (Mansi, *Concil. Coll. Nova seu Supplementum*, etc., tom. vi. col. 24.) That very learned and judicious body also restored to the Syriac text the passage about the Woman taken in Adultery, the reading "the love of *God*, because he laid down his life for us," 1 John iii. 16, the Three Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John v. 7, 8, and some other gems from the Clementine Vulgate.*

Should it be urged that the majority of the *oldest* MSS. in the British Museum collection support the reading "God," though very ancient MSS. are found on both sides, I would call attention to the fact that most or all of these MSS. come from the monastery of St. Mary *Deipara* in the Nitrian desert, a Jacobite establishment, and that what is really remarkable is the fact that they do not all have that reading.† The *tendency* to alter the reading "Christ" to "God" is illustrated by the MSS. Addit. 17120 and 14681; see above, and note the changes in Rich's MS. 7157, described by Tregelles (*Textual Criticism*, p. 262, n. 2).

(2) The genuineness of the reading "Christ" is favored by its existence in the Erpenian Arabic, made from the Peshito.

(3) It is also favored by the fact that all or most of the earlier Fathers of Syria and its neighborhood, as Eustathius of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, Nestorius, Amphilochius of Iconium, the Gregories, and Eutharius of Tyana, appear to have been averse to such expressions as "the blood" or "the sufferings of God"; see p. 319 f. Perhaps Ephraem is an exception (see the note quoted above); but he was a poet, and fond of extravagant and paradoxical language. Moreover, Sabarjesus quotes him as saying, "Deus Verbum neque passus, neque mortuus est." (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III. i. 542.)

Such being the state of the case, I incline pretty strongly to the belief that "Christ" was the original reading of the Peshito in Acts xx. 28.

The Aethiopic version as printed in Walton's Polyglot, as has already been

* See La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, 1758, i. 341 ff.

† "Neque id mirum est, quod Iacobitarum potissimum libri in Europam translati sunt. Etenim qui in Nitriae deserta confugerunt ibique in monasterio Mariae Deiparae sedes fixerunt, Monophysitae erant et codices attulerunt ex Iacobitarum monasteriis; deinde plus omnino commercii fuit ecclesiae occidentali cum Iacobitis quam cum Nestorianis, qui interioris Asiae tractus incolabant."

— Wichelhaus, *ubi sup.*, p. 147.

mentioned (see p. 305 f.), uses a word regarded by Griesbach, Tischendorf, and others as ambiguous, but which seems to me to support the reading "God."* But the Polyglot text (from the Roman edition of 1548-49) represents but a single MS., parts of which in the Acts were defective, and supplied by the native editors from the Greek or the Vulgate. Thomas Pell Platt's edition, printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1830, was also made, in the Acts and Epistles, from a single MS. (Tregelles, *Textual Criticism*, p. 318.) This edition reads "Christ." In this uncertainty about the text, the following account, for which I am indebted to Dr. Wright, of the readings of the Aethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, is of special interest:—

Orient. 526, f. 67^a; 527, f. 111^a; 529, f. 93^a; 530, f. 39^b; and 531, f. 78^a, agree in reading "church of *Christ*." Or 532, f. 116^b, omits the word *Christ* altogether. Or 528, f. 18^a, has "church of *God*," using the word *egziabher*.

"These MSS.," Dr. Wright remarks, "are all of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but we have none older in the British Museum."

I would add that Dr. Lightfoot has kindly examined for me the only one of the Memphitic MSS. in the British Museum containing the Acts, or at least the only one accessible at the time, viz. Orient. 424, and states that "the reading is clearly τῷ κυρίου."

POSTSCRIPT.

On p. 304, note *, the MS. of the *Speculum*, published by Cardinal Mai, is spoken of as "perhaps the oldest copy that contains the famous passage 1 John v. 7." I have not yet had the opportunity of examining Ziegler's *Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Uebersetzung d. ersten Johannesbriefes aus Pergamentblättern der ehemaligen Freisinger Stiftsbibliothek* (Marburg, 1876), but in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* for Jan. 15, 1876, there is an interesting notice of the volume by Dr. Reusch, who states that the Freising MS. mentioned in the title just given contains the disputed passage in the following form (supplying the gaps):—

"et spiritus e[st testimonium,] quia spiritus est veritas. Quoniam tr[es sunt qui testificantur] in terra: spiritus et aqua et sa[nguis, et tres sunt qui tes]tifican- tur in caelo: Pater e[t Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi] tres unum sunt." †

As this Freising fragment of the Old Latin version (containing 1 John iii. 8-v. 21) is said to be "of the seventh century at the latest," it is probably entitled to the distinction of being the oldest Latin copy in which the Three Heavenly Witnesses have yet appeared. The La Cava MS. of the Vulgate, which, like the *Speculum*, contains the spurious Epistle to the Laodiceans, is, indeed, referred by

* I would add, in further illustration of the statement that the word *egziabher* appears to stand for κύριος only when κύριος was regarded by the translator as equivalent to Jehovah, and that it is the common representative of θεός, the examples of its use in 1 Cor. ii. In vv. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, it stands for θεός; in ver. 16, for κύριος; but *not* for κύριος in ver. 8,— "they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."

† The MS. is mutilated, the words in brackets being absent. It is very doubtful whether *hi* should be supplied before *tres*.

Cardinal Mai to the seventh century; but Tischendorf assigns it to the eighth, and Ziegler, as the result of a special investigation, would place it even later.

In regard to the authorship of the *Speculum*, the opinion expressed above (p. 303 f.), and in the American edition of Orme's *Memoir of the Controversy respecting the Three Heavenly Witnesses* (pp. 187, 188), is confirmed by Ziegler, who remarks, as quoted and indorsed by Dr. Reusch, that "the *Speculum* is not by Augustine, but by an unknown, probably African author; and that it is not even certain whether he took this verse with the Heavenly Witnesses from a MS. of the Bible, or added it himself; at any rate, the citation in the *Speculum* is of no more importance than that in Vigilius." As the passage was quoted by Vigilius Thapsensis (*cir.* 484) and by Fulgentius (507-533), we need not be surprised to find it in a Latin MS. of the sixth century.

XVI.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROMANS IX. 5.

[From the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for 1881.]*

WE shall understand better the passage to be discussed, if we consider its relation to what precedes and follows and the circumstances under which it was written.

In the first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle has set forth the need and the value of the gospel as "the power of God unto salvation to *every one that believeth*; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." In view of the present blessings and the glorious hopes of the Christian believer, he closes this part of the Epistle with an exultant song of triumph.

But the doctrine of Paul was in direct opposition to the strongest prejudices of the Jews and their most cherished expectations. It placed them on a level, as to the conditions of salvation, with the despised and hated Gentiles. The true Messiah, the king of Israel, the spiritual king of men, had come; but the rulers of their nation had crucified the Lord of glory, and the great mass of the people had rejected him. They had thus set themselves in direct opposition to God. They had become *ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ*, outcasts from the Messiah and his kingdom. Christians, a large majority of them Gentiles by birth, were now the true Israel. No rite of circumcision, no observance of the Jewish Law, was required, as the condition of acceptance with God and the enjoyment of the Messianic blessings; no sacrifice but self-sacrifice: the only condition was *faith*, as Paul uses the term,— a *practical* belief and trust in Christ, and

* [The article by Dr. Dwight, to which Professor Abbot makes frequent reference below, and which defends the opposite opinion to that maintained by Dr. Abbot, may be found in the same number of the above-named journal, pp. 22-55.]

thus in God revealed in his paternal character; a faith that carried with it the affections and will, *πίστις δὲ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*.

How could these things be? How was this gospel of Paul to be reconciled with the promises of God to the "holy nation"? how with his justice, wisdom, and goodness? Had God cast off his people, "Israel his servant, Jacob his chosen, the seed of Abraham his friend"? These are the great questions which the Apostle answers in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of this Epistle. The first five verses are to be regarded as a *conciliatory introduction* to his treatment of this subject, on which he had so much to say that was not only hard for the unbelieving Jews, but for Jewish Christians, to understand and accept.

The unbelieving Jews regarded the Apostle as an apostate from the true religion and as an enemy of their race. Five times already he had received from them forty stripes save one; he had been "in perils from his own countrymen" at Damascus, at Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium and Lystra, at Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth,—often in peril of his life. By a great part of the believing Jews, he was regarded with distrust and aversion. (See Acts xxi. 20, 21.) His doctrines were indeed revolutionary. Though he was about to go to Jerusalem to carry a liberal contribution from the churches of Macedonia and Achaia to the poor Christians in that city, he expresses in this Epistle great anxiety about the reception he should meet with (anxiety fully justified by the result), and begs the prayers of the brethren at Rome in his behalf (Rom. xv. 30–32). As the Jews hated Paul, they naturally believed that he hated them.

These circumstances explain the exceedingly strong asseveration of his affection for his countrymen and of his deep sorrow for their estrangement from God, with which this introduction begins. So far from being an enemy of his people, he could make any sacrifice to win them to Christ. They were his brethren, his kinsmen, as to the flesh. He gloried in sharing with them the proud name of Israelite. He delights to enumerate the magnificent privileges by which God had distinguished them from all other

nations,—“the adoption, and the glory, and the giving of the Law, the covenants, the temple service, and the promises.” Theirs were the fathers; and, from among them, as the crowning distinction of all, the Messiah was born, the supreme gift of God’s love and mercy not to the Jews alone, but to all mankind. All God’s dealings with his chosen people were designed to prepare the way, and had prepared the way, for this grand consummation. How natural that, when, in his rapid recital of their historic glories, the Apostle reaches this highest distinction of the Jews and greatest blessing of God’s mercy to men, he should express his overflowing gratitude to God as the Ruler over all; that he should “thank God for his unspeakable gift”! I believe that he has done so, and that the fifth verse of the passage we are considering should be translated, “whose are the fathers and from whom is the Messiah as to the flesh: he who is over all, God, be blessed forever. Amen,” or “he who is God over all be blessed forever. Amen.” The doxology springs from the same feeling and the same view of the gracious providence of God which prompted the fuller outburst at the end of the eleventh chapter, where, on completing the treatment of the subject which he here introduces, the Apostle exclaims: “O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and untraceable his ways! . . . For from him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to him be (*or is*) the glory forever. Amen.”

I believe that there are no objections to this construction of the passage which do not betray their weakness when critically examined; and that the objections against most of the other constructions which have been proposed are fatal.

The passage is remarkable for the different ways in which it has been and may be punctuated, and for the consequent variety of constructions which have been given it. The Greek is as follows:—

. . . καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

It *grammatically* admits of being punctuated and construed in at least seven different ways.

1. Placing a *comma* after *σάρκα*, and also after *θεός*, we may translate the last clause, “who (*or* he who) is God over all, blessed for ever.”

2. Putting the second *comma* after *πάντων* instead of *θεός*: “who (*or* he who) is over all, God blessed for ever.”

3. With a *comma* after *πάντων* and also after *θεός*, “who (*or* he who) is over all, God, blessed for ever.” So Morus, Gess (*Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 207 f., Basel, 1878).

4. Placing a *comma* after *ὁ ὢν*, and also after *θεός*,—“He who Is, God over all, blessed for ever.” See Wordsworth’s note, which, however, is not consistent throughout; and observe the mistranslation at the end of his quotation from Athanasius (*Orat. cont. Arianos*, i. § 24, p. 338).*

5. Placing a *comma* after *σάρκα* and a *colon* after *πάντων*, the last part of the verse may be rendered: “and from whom is the Messiah as to the flesh, who (*or* he who) is over all: God be blessed for ever. Amen.”

6. Placing a *colon* after *σάρκα, θεός* may be taken as predicate, thus: “he who is over all is God, blessed for ever”; so Professor B. H. Kennedy, D.D., Canon of Ely; or thus, “he who was over all being (*literally*, was) God, blessed for ever.” So Andrews Norton.

7. With a *colon* after *σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* may be taken as the subject, and *εὐλογητός* as predicate, with the ellipsis of *εἶη* or *ἐστίν*, making the last part of the verse a doxology, thus: “he who is over all, God, be blessed (*or* is to be praised) for ever”; or “he who is God over all be blessed (*or* is to be praised) for ever”; or “God, who is over all, be blessed (*or* is to be praised) for ever.”

I pass over other varieties of translation and interpretation, depending on the question whether *πάντων* is to be taken as masculine or neuter, and on the wider or narrower application of the word in either case.

In Nos. 1-4 inclusive, it will be seen that the *ὁ ὢν*, with all that follows, including the designation *θεός*, is referred to

*Perhaps I ought to add here as a curiosity a construction proposed in the *Record* newspaper, in an article copied in *Christian Opinion and Revisionist* for March 11, 1882, p. 222. The writer would translate, “Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God. Blessed be he for ever! Amen.”

ὁ χριστός; in Nos. 6 and 7, ὁ ὢν introduces an independent sentence, and θεός denotes God, the Father. No. 5 refers the first part of the sentence in debate to ὁ χριστός, the last part to God.

The question of chief interest is whether in this passage the Apostle has called Christ *God*. Among those who hold that he has done so, the great majority adopt one or the other of the constructions numbered 1 and 2; and it is to these, and especially to No. 2, followed both in King James's version and the Revised Version (text), that I shall give special attention. Among those who refer the last part of the sentence to God, and not Christ, the great majority of scholars adopt either No. 5 or No. 7. I have already expressed my preference for the latter construction, and it is generally preferred by those who find here a doxology to God.

I. We will first consider the objections that have been urged against the construction which makes the last part of the sentence, beginning with ὁ ὢν, introduce a doxology to God. I shall then state the arguments which seem to me to favor this construction, and at the same time to render the constructions numbered 1 to 4 each and all untenable. Other views of the passage will be briefly noticed. Some remarks will be added on the history of its interpretation, though no full account of this will be attempted.

1. It is objected that a doxology here is wholly out of place; that the Apostle is overwhelmed with grief at the Jewish rejection of the Messiah and its consequences, and "an elegy or funeral discourse cannot be changed abruptly into a hymn." He is, indeed, deeply grieved at the unbelief and blindness of the great majority of his countrymen; but his sorrow is not hopeless. He knows all the while that "the word of God hath not failed," that "God hath not cast off his people whom he foreknew," that at last "all Israel shall be saved"; and nothing seems to me more natural than the play of mingled feelings which the passage presents,—grief for the present temporary alienation of his countrymen from Christ, joy and thanksgiving at the thought of the priceless

blessings of which Christ was the minister to man and in which his countrymen should ultimately share.

Flatt, Stuart, and others put the objection in a very pointed form. They represent a doxology as making Paul say, in effect: "The special privileges of the Jews have contributed greatly to enhance the guilt and punishment of the Jewish nation; God be thanked that he has given them such privileges!" But they simply read into the passage what is not there. There is nothing in the context to suggest that the Apostle is taking this view of the favor which God has shown the Jewish nation. He is not denouncing his countrymen for their guilt in rejecting the Messiah, and telling them that this guilt and its punishment are aggravated by the privileges they have abused. So tender is he of their feelings that he does not even name the cause of his grief, but leaves it to be inferred. He is assuring his countrymen, who regarded him as their enemy, of the sincerity and strength of his love for them. They are his brethren: the very name "Israelite" is to him a title of honor;* and he recounts in detail, certainly not in the manner of one touching a painful subject, the glorious distinctions which their nation had enjoyed through the favor of God. Calvin, who so often in his commentaries admirably traces the connection of thought, here hits the nail on the head: "*Haec dignitatis elogia testimonia sunt amoris. Non enim solemus adeo benigne loqui, nisi de iis quos amamus.*" †

At the risk of being tedious, I will take some notice of Dr. Gifford's remarks in his recent and valuable Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.‡ He says: "Paul's anguish is deepened by the memory of their privileges, most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour, whom they have rejected." But in Paul's enum-

* See ch. xi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 22.

† The view which I have taken accords with that of Dr. Hodge. He says: "The object of the Apostle in the introduction to this chapter, contained in the first five verses, is to assure the Jews of his love and of his respect for their peculiar privileges." *Comm. on the Ep. to the Romans*, new ed. (1864), note on ix. 4, p. 469; see also p. 463.

‡ [With the paragraphs which follow compare the additional comments in Essay XVII., p. 415 f.]

eration of the privileges of the Jews he has in view not merely their present condition, but their whole past history, illuminated as it had been by light from heaven. Will it be seriously maintained that Paul did not regard the peculiar privileges which the Jewish nation had enjoyed for so many ages as gifts of God's goodness for which eternal gratitude was due? But "his anguish is deepened most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour, whom they have rejected"!* Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then, had extinguished his gratitude for the inestimable blessings which he personally owed to Christ: it had extinguished his gratitude for the fact that the God who rules over all had sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world! The dark cloud which hid the light just then from the mass of his countrymen, but which he believed was soon to pass away, had blotted the sun from the heavens. The advent of Christ was no cause for thanksgiving: he could only bow his head in anguish, deepened most of all by the thought that the Messiah had sprung from the race to which he himself belonged.

"His anguish is deepened by the memory of their privileges." Paul does not say this; and is Dr. Gifford quite sure that this was the way in which these privileges presented themselves to his mind? May we not as naturally suppose that the thought of God's favor to his people in the past, whom he had so often recalled from their wanderings, afforded some ground for the hope that they had not stumbled so as to fall and perish, but that their present alienation from Christ, contributing, as it had done, in the overruling providence of God, to the wider and more rapid spread of the gospel among the Gentiles, was only temporary? If we will let Paul be his own interpreter instead of reading unnatural thoughts between his lines, we shall take this view. "God hath *not* cast off HIS PEOPLE, whom he foreknew," "whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the promises." "A hardening in part hath befallen Israel," but only "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so (*or* then) all Israel shall be saved." It

*[The last four words were added by Dr. Abbot subsequently, for reasons apparent on p. 415.]

is not for nothing that "theirs are the fathers"; that they had such ancestors as Abraham, "the friend of God," and Isaac, and Jacob. "As touching the gospel, they are enemies for the sake of the Gentiles, but as touching the election," as the chosen people of God, "they are beloved for the fathers' sake." "If the first fruit is holy, so is the lump; and, if the root is holy, so are the branches." "God doth not repent of his calling and his gifts." "God hath shut up all [Jews and Gentiles] unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all." For the ancient prophecy is now fulfilled: the Deliverer hath come out of Zion; and "he shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." "O the depth of the riches," etc. Such were the thoughts which the past privileges of the Jews, in connection with the advent of Christ, as we see from the eleventh chapter of this Epistle, *actually* suggested to the mind of Paul.*

Can we, then, reasonably say that, when, in his grand historic survey and enumeration of the distinctive privileges of the Jews, the Apostle reaches the culminating point in the advent of the Messiah, sprung from that race, a devout thanksgiving to God as the beneficent ruler over all is wholly out of place? Might we not rather ask, How could it be repressed?

We may then, I conceive, dismiss the *psychological* objection to the doxology, on which many have laid great stress, as founded on a narrow and superficial view of what we may reasonably suppose to have been in the Apostle's mind. And I am happy to see that so fair-minded and clear-sighted a scholar as Professor Dwight takes essentially the same view of the matter. (See *Journ. Soc. Bibl. Lit.*, etc., as above, p. 41.)

2. A second objection to a doxology here is founded on the relation of the first five verses of the chapter to what follows. A doxology, it is thought, unnaturally breaks the connection between the sixth verse and what precedes.

* This appreciative recapitulation of the distinctions of the Jewish people would also serve to check the tendency of the Gentile Christians to self-conceit, and would lead them to recognize the important part of the despised Hebrews in the drama of the world's history. It would virtually say to them, "Glory not over the branches; but if thou gloryest, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee" (Rom. xi. 18).

This argument is rarely adduced, and I should hardly have thought it worthy of notice, were it not that Dr. Dwight seems to attach some weight to it, though apparently not much. (See as above, p. 41 f.)

The first five verses of the chapter, as we have seen, are a conciliatory introduction to the treatment of a delicate and many-sided subject. This treatment begins with the sixth verse, which is introduced by the particle *δέ*, "but." Whether the last part of verse 5 is a doxology to God, or simply the climax of the privileges of the Jews, the *δέ* cannot refer to what *immediately* precedes. In either case, it refers to what is implied in verses 2 and 3, and meets the most prominent objection to the doctrine set forth by the Apostle in the preceding part of the Epistle. The thought is, The present condition of the great mass of my countrymen is indeed a sad one, and not the Jews as a nation, but Christians, are the true people of God; *but* it is not as if the promises of God have failed. (Comp. iii. 3, 4.) This simple statement of the connection of verse 6 with what precedes seems to me all that is needed to meet the objection. The argument that a doxology is inconsistent with the Apostle's state of mind has already been answered.

3. A third objection, urged by many, is founded on the alleged abruptness of the doxology and the absence of any mention of God in what precedes. Some also think that a doxology here would need to be introduced by the particle *δέ*.

I cannot regard this objection as having any force. It is quite in accordance with the habit of Paul thus to turn aside suddenly to give expression to his feelings of adoration and gratitude toward God.* See Rom. i. 25; vii. 25 (where the genuineness of *δέ* is very doubtful); 2 Cor. ix. 15, where note the omission of *δέ* in the genuine text; 1 Tim. i. 17, where the doxology is suggested by the mention of Christ.

* "Ad hæc annotatum est hoc in scriptis beati Pauli, quod aliquoties in medio sermonis cursu veluti raptus orat, aut adorat, aut gratias agit, aut glorificat Deum, præsertim ubi commemoratum est aliquid de mysteriis adorandis, aut ineffabili bonitate Dei"—Erasmus, *Apol. adv. monachos quosdam Hispanos*, Opp. ix. (Lugd. Bat. 1705), col. 1044. On this subject, and on the position of *εὐλογητός*, see the valuable note of the Rev. Joseph Agar Beet, *Comm. on St. Paul's Ep. to the Romans*, 2d ed. (London, 1881), p. 269 f., 271.

The doxology xi. 36, as has already been noticed (p. 334), is completely parallel in thought. Far more abrupt is the doxology 2 Cor. xi. 31, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὧν εὐλογία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι, where the ascription of praise is interposed between οἶδεν and ὅτι in an extraordinary manner.

It is very strange that it should be urged as an argument against the doxology that God is not *mentioned* in the preceding context. The name does not occur, but almost every word in verses 4 and 5 suggests the thought of God. So, to a Jew, the very name "Israelites"; so "the adoption and the glory and the giving of the Law and the covenants and the service and the promises"; and so, above all, ὁ χριστός, the Anointed of God, the Messiah: as to the flesh, sprung from the Jews; but, as to his holy spirit, the Son of God, the messenger of God's love and mercy, not to the Jews alone, but to all the nations of the earth.

That the mention of Christ in such a connection as this should bring vividly to the mind of the Apostle the thought of God and his goodness, and thus lead to a doxology, is simply in accordance with the conception of the relation of Christ to God which appears everywhere in this Epistle, and in all his Epistles. While Christ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, is the medium of communication of our spiritual blessings, Paul constantly views them in relation to God, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, as the original Author and Source. The gospel is "the gospel of God," "a power of God unto salvation"; the righteousness which it reveals is "a righteousness which is of God"; it is God who has set forth Christ as ἰλαστήριον, who "commendeth his love toward us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us," who "spared not his own Son, but freely gave him for us all"; it is "God who raised him from the dead"; "what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and on account of sin," has done; the glory to which Christians are destined, as sons and heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, is "the glory of God"; in short, "all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself through Jesus Christ," and "nothing shall separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Though no one can doubt that Paul was full of love and gratitude to Christ, so that we might expect frequent ascriptions to him of praise and glory, it is a remarkable fact that there *is* no doxology or thanksgiving to Christ in any of his Epistles except those to Timothy, the genuineness of which has been questioned by many modern scholars. These Epistles, at any rate, present marked peculiarities of style and language, and, if written by Paul, were probably written near the close of his life. And in them there is but one doxology to Christ, and that not absolutely certain, on account of the ambiguity of the word *κύριος* (2 Tim. iv. 18); while the thanksgiving is a simple expression of thankfulness (1 Tim. i. 12), *χάρην ἔχω, gratias habeo* (not *ago*). One reason for this general absence of such ascriptions to Christ on the part of the Apostle seems to have been that habit of mind of which I have just spoken, and which makes it *a priori* more probable that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 belongs to God. But this is a matter which will be more appropriately treated in another place.

As to the *δέ*, which Schultz insists would be necessary,* one needs only to look fairly at the passage to see that it would be wholly out of place; that a doxology to God involves no *antithetic* contrast between God and Christ, as Schultz and some others strangely imagine. Nor does *δέ*, as a particle of transition, seem natural here, much less required. It would make the doxology too formal.

4. It is urged that "*ὁ ὢν*, grammatically considered, is more easily and naturally construed in connection with *χριστός* than as the subject of a new and doxological clause." (See Dr. Dwight's article, as above, pp. 24, 25.)

Much stronger language than this is often used. Dr. Hodge, for example, assuming that *ὁ ὢν* must be equivalent to *ὁς ἐστι*, says that the interpretation which refers the words to Christ is the only one "which can, with the least regard to the rules of construction, be maintained." (*Comm. in loc.*, p. 472.)

Dr. Dwight, whose article is in general so admirable for

the fairness, clearness, and moderation of its statements, has expressed himself here in such a way that I cannot feel perfectly sure of his meaning. He says, speaking of the connection of $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$ with $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, "This construction of $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$, in cases similar to that which is here presented, is the almost universal one, both in the New Testament and in other Greek." If "cases similar to that which is here presented" means cases in which $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$ (or any participle with the article) is preceded by a noun to which it may be easily joined, while it also admits of being regarded as the subject of an independent sentence, and it is affirmed that, in such grammatically ambiguous cases, it almost invariably *does* refer to the preceding subject,—the argument is weighty, if the assertion is true. But not even *one* such case has ever, to my knowledge, been pointed out. Till such a case, or, rather, a sufficient number of such cases to serve as the basis of a reasonable induction, shall be produced, I am compelled to consider the statement as resting on no evidence whatever. Yet that this is what is meant by "similar cases" seems necessarily to follow from what is said further on (*l. c.*, p. 24) about "the peculiarity of Rom. ix. 5." Cases in which $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$, grammatically considered, *can* only refer to a preceding subject are certainly not "similar cases to that which is here presented," in which, as Dr. Dwight admits, "there is, at the most, only a presumption in favor of this construction of the clause as against the other" (*l. c.*, p. 25).

But, if Dr. Dwight's statement means, or is intended to imply, that $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$ with its adjuncts, or, in general, the participle with the article, almost universally forms a descriptive or a limiting clause referring to a preceding subject, while its use as the independent subject of a sentence is rare, the assertion is fatally incorrect. The latter use is not only very common, but in the New Testament, at least, is more frequent than the former. We have (*a*) $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$, or $\omicron\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, in the nominative, as the subject of an independent sentence, Matt. xii. 30; Mark xiii. 16 (text. rec.); Luke vi. 3 (t. r., Tisch.); xi. 23; John iii. 31; vi. 46; viii. 47; ix. 40; Acts xxii. 9; Rom. viii. 5, 8. *Contra* (*b*), referring to a preceding subject,

and forming, as I understand it, an *appositional* clause, John i. 18; iii. 13 (text. rec.); (Acts v. 17); 2 Cor. xi. 31; Rev. v. 5 (t. r.); a *limiting* clause, John xi. 31; xii. 17; Acts xi. 1. To these may be added 2 Cor. v. 4, Eph. ii. 13, where the clause is in apposition with or describes *ἡμεῖς* or *ὑμεῖς*, expressed or understood; and perhaps John xviii. 37 (*πᾶς ὁ ὢν, κ. τ. λ.*).*

It is uncertain whether Col. iv. 11 belongs under (a) or (b). See Meyer *in loc.* For the examples of *ὢν*, I have relied on Bruder's Concordance, p. 255, No. VI. But as there is nothing peculiar in the use of this particular participle with the article so far as the present question is concerned, I have, with the aid of Bruder, † examined the occurrences of the participle in general, in the nominative, with the article, in the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. I find in Matthew eighty-six examples of its use (a) as the subject, or in very few cases (nine) as the predicate, of a verb expressed or understood, and only thirty-eight of its use (b) in a descriptive or limiting clause, annexed to a preceding subject; in the Epistle to the Romans, twenty-eight examples of the former kind against twelve of the latter; and in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, thirty-nine of the former against four of the latter, one of these being a false reading. ‡

In general, it is clear that the use of the participle with the article as the subject of an independent sentence, instead of being exceptional in the New Testament, is far more common than its use as an attributive. Nor is this strange; for *ὁ ὢν* properly signifies not "who is," but "he

* The examples of *ὁ ὢν* and other participles with *πᾶς* belong, perhaps, quite as properly under (a). Without *πᾶς*, the *ὁ ὢν, κ. τ. λ.* is the subject of the sentence, and the meaning is the same; *πᾶς* only strengthens the *ὁ ὢν*. See Krüger, *Gr. Sprachlehre*, 5te Aufl. (1875), § 50, 4, Anm. 1.

† *Concordantiae*, etc., p. 586, No. 2; p. 598, No. VII. 1; comp. p. 603, No. VIII. 1; p. 604, No. IX.

‡ In this reckoning, to prevent any cavil, I have included under (b) all the examples of *πᾶς ὁ* or *πάντες οἱ*, of which there are eight in Matthew, two in Romans, and one in 1 Cor.; also, the cases of the article and participle with *σὺ* or *ὑμεῖς* as the subject of the verb, expressed or understood, of which there are four in Matthew and seven in Romans. I have not counted on either side Rom. viii. 33, 34, and ix. 33: the first two, translated according to the text of the Revised Version, belong under (a), according to its margin, under (b); Rom. ix. 33, if we omit *πᾶς*, with all the critical editors, would also belong under (a).

who is." The force of the article is not lost.* While in some of its uses it may seem interchangeable with *ὅς ἐστι*, it differs in this: that it is generally employed either in appositional or in limiting clauses, in distinction from descriptive or additive clauses; while *ὅς* with the finite verb is appropriate for the latter. For examples of the former, see John i. 18; xii. 17; of the latter, Rom. v. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 4. To illustrate the difference by the passage before us: if *ὁ ὢν* here refers to *ὁ χριστός*, the clause would be more exactly translated as appositional, not "who is," etc., but "he who is God over all, blessed forever," implying that he was well known to the readers of the Epistle as God, or at least marking this predicate with special emphasis; while *ὅς ἐστιν* would be more appropriate if it were simply the purpose of the Apostle to predicate deity of Christ, and would also be perfectly unambiguous.

There is nothing, then, either in the proper meaning of *ὁ ὢν* or in its usage which makes it more easy and natural to refer it to *ὁ χριστός* than to take it as introducing an independent sentence. It is next to be observed that there are circumstances which make the latter construction easy, and which distinguish the passage from nearly all others in which *ὁ ὢν*, or a participle with the article, is used as an attributive. In all the other instances in the New Testament of this use of *ὁ ὢν* or *οἱ ὄντες* in the nominative, with the single exception of the parenthetic insertion in 2 Cor. xi. 31 (see above, page 341), it *immediately* follows the subject to which it relates. The same is generally true of other examples of the participle with the article. (The strongest cases of exception which I have noticed are John vii. 50 and 2 John 7.) But here *ὁ ὢν* is separated from *ὁ χριστός* by *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, which in reading *must* be followed by a pause,—a pause which is lengthened by the special emphasis given to the *κατὰ σάρκα* by the *τό;*† and the sentence which precedes is complete in

*"Participles take the article only when some relation already known or especially noteworthy (*is qui, quippe qui*) is indicated, and consequently the idea expressed by the participle is to be made more prominent."—Winer, *Gram.* 7te Aufl., § 20, 1. b. a. c. p. 127 (p. 134, Thayer).

† If *ὁ χριστός* were placed *after* *κατὰ σάρκα*, the ambiguity would not, indeed, be wholly removed, but it would be much more natural to refer the *ὁ ὢν* to Christ than it is now. Perhaps the feeling of this led Cyril of Alexandria to make this transposition as he does in quoting the

itself grammatically, and requires nothing further logically; for it was only as to the flesh that Christ was from the Jews. On the other hand, as we have seen (p. 334), the enumeration of blessings which immediately precedes, crowned by the inestimable blessing of the advent of Christ, naturally suggests an ascription of praise and thanksgiving to God as the Being who rules over all; while a doxology is also suggested by the Ἀμήν at the end of the sentence.* From every point of view, therefore, the doxological construction seems easy and natural. The ellipsis of the verb ἐστὶ or εἶη in such cases is simply according to rule. The construction numbered 6 above (see p. 335) is also perfectly easy and natural grammatically (see 2 Cor. I. 21, v. 5; Heb. iii. 4).

The naturalness of a pause after σίκα is further indicated by the fact that we find a point after this word in all our oldest MSS. that testify in the case,—namely, A, B, C, L,—and in at least eight cursives, though the cursives have been rarely examined with reference to their punctuation.†

It has been urged, that, if the writer did not intend that ὁ ὧν should be referred to Christ, he would have adopted another construction for his sentence, which would be exposed to no such misapprehension. But this argument is a boomerang. Mr. Beet in his recent Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (2d ed., p. 271 f.) well says, on the other hand:—

Had Paul thought fit to deviate from his otherwise unvarying custom, and to speak of Christ as *God*, he must have done so with a serious and set purpose of asserting the divinity of Christ. And, if so, he would have used words which no one could misunderstand. In a similar

passage against the Emperor Julian, who maintained that “neither Paul dared to call Christ God, nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark, ἀλλ’ ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης.” (See Cyril *cont. Julian*. lib. x. Opp. vi. b. p. 328 b, ed. Aubert.) In two other instances, Cyril quotes the passage in the same way: Opp. v. pars ii. b. pp. 118 a, 148 e; though he usually follows the order of the present Greek text.

* In fifteen out of the eighteen instances in the N. T., besides the present, in which Ἀμήν at the end of a sentence is probably genuine, it follows a doxology; namely, Rom. i. 25, xi. 36, xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 16; 2 Tim. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11, v. 11 (2 Pet. iii. 18); Jude 25; Rev. i. 6, vii. 12. *Contra*, Rom. xv. 33; Gal. vi. 18 (Rev. i. 7).

† The MSS. S, D, F, G, cannot be counted on one side or the other; respecting K, we have no information. For a fuller statement of the facts in the case, see Note A at the end of this essay.

case, John i. 1, we find language which excludes all doubt. And in this case the words *ὅς ἐστίν*, as in i. 25, would have given equal certainty. . . . Moreover, here Paul has in hand an altogether different subject, the present position of the Jews. And it seems to me much more likely that he would deviate from his common mode of expression, and write once "God be blessed" instead of "to God be glory," than that, in a passage which does not specially refer to the nature of Christ, he would assert, what he nowhere else explicitly asserts, that Christ is God, and assert it in language which may either mean this or something quite different.

Many writers, like Dr. Gifford, speak of that construction which refers *ὁ ὢν*, etc., to Christ as "the natural and simple" one, "which every Greek scholar would adopt without hesitation, if no doctrine were involved." It might be said in reply, that the natural and simple construction of words considered apart from the doctrine it involves, and with reference to merely lexical and grammatical considerations, is by no means always the true one. For example, according to the natural construction of the words *ὁμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ* (John viii. 44), their meaning is, "you are from the father of the devil"; and probably no Greek scholar would think of putting any other meaning on them, if no question of doctrine were involved. Again, in Luke ii. 38, "she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem." How unnatural, it may be said, to refer the "him" to any subject but "God," there being no other possible antecedent mentioned in this or in the three preceding verses. But I do not make or need to make this reply. We have already considered the grammatical side of the question, and have seen, I trust, that the construction which makes *ὁ ὢν*, etc., the subject of a new sentence is perfectly simple and easy. I only add here that the meaning of words often depends on the way they are read,—on the pauses, and tones of voice. (If we could only have heard Paul dictate this passage to Tertius!) And it is a matter of course that, when a person has long been accustomed, from whatever cause, to read and understand a passage in a particular way, any other mode of reading it will seem to him unnatural. But

this impression will often be delusive. And it does not follow that a mode of understanding the passage which was easy and natural in the third and fourth centuries, or even earlier, when it had become common to apply the name *θεός* to Christ, would have seemed the most easy and natural to the first readers of the Epistle. I waive here all considerations of doctrine, and call attention only to the use of language. When we observe that everywhere else in this Epistle the Apostle has used the word *θεός* of the Father in distinction from Christ, so that it is virtually a proper name,* that this is also true of the Epistles previously written — those to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, how can we reasonably doubt that, if the verbal ambiguity here occasioned a momentary hesitation as to the meaning, a primitive reader of the Epistle would naturally suppose that the word *θεός* designated the being everywhere else denoted by this name in the Apostle's writings, and would give the passage the construction thus suggested? But this is a point which will be considered more fully in another place.

The objection that, if we make the last clause a doxology to God, "the participle *ὄν* is superfluous and awkward," will be noticed below under No. 6.

5. It is further urged that *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* requires an antithesis, which is supposed to be supplied by what follows. Some even say that *κατὰ σάρκα* must mean "according to his human nature," and therefore requires as an antithesis the mention of the divine nature of Christ. But the proper antithesis to *κατὰ σάρκα* is *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, not *κατὰ τὴν θεότητα*, which there is nothing in the phrase itself to suggest: *κατὰ σάρκα*, as will at once appear on examining the cases of its use in the New Testament, does not refer to a distinction of *natures*, but often denotes a physical relation, such, for example, as depends on birth or other outward circumstances, in contrast with a spiritual relation. We need only refer to the third verse of this very chapter, which certainly does not imply

* It is so used in the first eight chapters about eighty-seven times, and so in the verse which immediately follows the one under discussion.

that Paul or his “kinsmen *κατὰ σάρκα*” had a divine nature also. The phrase *κατὰ σάρκα* undoubtedly implies an antithesis: “as to the flesh,” by his natural birth and in his merely outward relations, the Messiah, the Son of David, was from the Jews, and in this they might glory; but as Son of God, and in his higher, spiritual relations, he belonged to all mankind. It was not to the Apostle’s purpose to describe what he was *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, as he is speaking of the *peculiar* distinctions of the Jews. Indeed, the antithesis to *κατὰ σάρκα* is very often not expressed (see, for example, Rom. iv. 1, ix. 3; 1 Cor. i. 26, x. 18; 2 Cor. v. 16; Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22), so that Alford judiciously says: “I do not reckon among the objections the want of any antithesis to *κατὰ σάρκα*, because that might have well been left to the readers to supply.” We have an example strikingly parallel to the present in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (c. 32), first adduced, so far as I know, by Dr. Whitby, in his *Last Thoughts*, which at least demonstrates that, in a case like this, the expression of an antithesis is not required. Speaking of the high distinctions of the patriarch Jacob, Clement says: “For from him were all the priests and Levites that ministered to the altar of God; from him was the Lord Jesus *as to the flesh* (*τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*); from him were kings and rulers and leaders in the line of Judah.” See also Iren. *Hæc.* iv. 4. § 1: *ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ χριστὸς ἐκαρποφόρηθη, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι* (mistranslated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library); and Frag. xvii. ed. Stieren, p. 836: *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς, ἐγεννήθη [ὁ Χριστός]*.

The eminent Dutch commentator, Van Hengel, maintains in an elaborate note on this passage, citing many examples, that the form of the restrictive phrase here used, *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, with the neuter article prefixed, absolutely requires a pause after *σάρκα*, and does not admit, according to Greek usage, of the *expression* of an antithesis after it, so that the following part of the verse must be referred to God. (Comp. Rom. i. 15; xii. 18.) He represents his view as supported by the authority of the very distinguished Professor C. G. Cobet

of Leyden, who as a master of the Greek language has perhaps no superior among European scholars.*

It may be true that Greek usage in respect to such restrictive expressions, when $\tau\acute{o}$ or $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is prefixed, accords with the statement of Van Hengel, indorsed by Cobet. In my limited research I have found no exception. The two passages cited by Meyer in opposition (Xen. *Cyr.* 5, 4, 11; Plat. *Min.* 320 C.) seem to me wholly irrelevant: the former, because we have $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\iota$, which of course requires an antithetic clause with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$; the latter, because the essential element in the case, the $\tau\acute{o}$ or $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, does not stand before $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$. But I must agree with Dr. Dwight (*l. c.* p. 28) that Van Hengel's argument is not conclusive. On the supposition that \acute{o} $\acute{\omega}\nu$, etc., refers to Christ, we have not a formal antithesis, such as would be excluded by Van Hengel's rule, but simply an appositional, descriptive clause, setting forth the exalted dignity of him who as to the flesh sprang from the Jews. I cannot believe that there is any law of the Greek language which forbids this.

We may say, however, and it is a remark of some importance, that the $\tau\acute{o}$ before $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$, laying stress on the restriction, and suggesting an antithesis which therefore did not need to be expressed, indicates that the writer has done with that point, and makes a pause natural. It makes it easy to take the \acute{o} $\acute{\omega}\nu$ as introducing an independent sentence, though it does not, as I believe, make it necessary to take it so.

I admit, further, that, if we assume that the conception of Christ as God was familiar to the readers of the Epistle, and especially, if we suppose that they had often heard him called so by the early preachers of Christianity, the application of the \acute{o} $\acute{\omega}\nu$, etc., to Christ here would be natural, and also very suitable to the object of the Apostle in this passage. I am obliged to say, however, that this is assuming what is not favored by Paul's use of language or by the record of the apostolic preaching in the Book of Acts.

* See Van Hengel, *Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Rom.*, tom. ii. (1859), pp. 348-353, and pp. 804-813. Speaking of his citations, he says (p. 330), "Allatorum unum a.terumque mecum communicavit COBETUS noster, se multo plura, quibus interpretatio mea confirmaretur, suppeditare posse dicens." [See p. 432 sq.]

On the other hand, there was no need of such an appendage to ὁ χριστός. We have only to consider the glory and dignity with which the name of the Messiah was invested in the mind of a Jew, and the still higher glory and dignity associated with ὁ χριστός in the mind of a Christian, and especially in the mind of Paul.

6. It is further objected that, in sentences which begin with a doxology or an ascription of blessing, εὐλογητός (or εὐλογημένος) always precedes the subject; and that "the laws" or "rules of grammar" (Stuart, Alford) require that it should do so here to justify the construction proposed. So, in the N. T., εὐλογητός stands first in the doxologies Luke i. 68, 2 Cor. i. 3, Eph. i. 3, 1 Pet. i. 3; and so εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος precede the subject in a multitude of places in the Septuagint. (See Trommius's Concordance and Wahl's *Clavis librorum Vct. Test. apocryphorum*.)

Great stress has been laid on this objection by many; but I believe that a critical examination will show that it has no real weight.

We will begin by considering a misconception of the meaning of ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός which has led to untenable objections against the doxological construction, and has prevented the reason for the position of εὐλογητός from being clearly seen. It has been assumed by many that the phrase is simply equivalent to "the Supreme God" (so Wahl, *s. v. ἐπί, omnibus superior, omnium summus*),* as if the Apostle was contrasting God with Christ in respect to dignity, instead of simply describing God as the being who rules over all. This misunderstanding of the expression occasioned the chief difficulty felt by De Wette in adopting the construction which places a colon or a period after σάρκα. It seemed to him like "throwing Christ right into the shade," without any special reason, when we should rather expect

*Wahl gives a more correct view of the use of ἐπί in his *Clavis libr. Vct. Test. apocr.* (1853), p. 218, col. 1, C. b., where εἰμὶ ἐπί with the genitive is defined, *praesum alicui rei, moderor s. administro aliquam rem.* Comp. Grimm's *Lexicon Gr.-Lat. in libros N. T.*, ed. 2da, *s. v. ἐπί*, A. i. 1. d. p. 160, col. 2; Rost and Palm's *PASSOW*, vol. 1. p. 1035, col. 1, 3; and the references given by Meyer and Van Hengel *in loc.* See Acts viii. 27, xii. 20; Gen. xlv. 1; Judith xiv. 13, εἶπαν τῷ ὄντι ἐπὶ πάντων αὐτοῦ; 1 Macc. x. 69, τὸν ὄντα ἐπὶ Κοίλης Συρίας.

something said in antithesis to τὸ κατὰ σάουκα, to set forth his dignity; though he admits that this objection is removed, if we accept Fritzsche's explanation of the passage.* On this false view is founded Schultz's notion (see above, p. 342) that ὁ would be needed here to indicate the antithesis. On it is also grounded the objection of Alford, Farrar, and others, that the ὦν is "perfectly superfluous," as, indeed, it would be, if that were simply the meaning intended. To express the idea of "the God over all," "the Supreme God," in contrast with a being to whom the term "God" might indeed be applied, but only in a lower sense, we should need only ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός,—a phrase which is thus used numberless times in the writings of the Christian Fathers; see, for examples, Wetstein's note on Rom. ix. 5. But, as I understand the passage, the ὦν is by no means superfluous. It not only gives an impressive fulness to the expression, but converts what would otherwise be a mere epithet of God into a *substantive* designation of him, equivalent to "the Ruler over All," on which the mind rests for a moment by itself, before it reaches the θεός qualified by it; or θεός may be regarded as added by way of apposition or more precise definition. The *position* of this substantive designation of θεός, between the article and its noun, gives it special prominence. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 7, οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστί τι, οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐξάνων θεός; Addit. ad Esth. viii. l. 39, ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός, cf. ll. 8, 35, Tisch.; ὁ πάντων δεσπόζων θεός, Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 15; ὁ ποιητῆς τοῦδε τοῦ παντός θεός, *ibid.* i. 26. In expressions of this kind, the definite article fulfils, I conceive, a double function: it is connected with the participle or other adjunct which immediately follows it, just as it would be if the substantive at the end were omitted; but, at the same time, it makes that substantive definite, so that the article in effect belongs to the substantive as well as to the participle. Thus, ὁ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός is equivalent to ὁ θεός ὁ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων in everything except the difference in *prominence* given to the different parts of the phrase in the two expressions. In the latter, ὁ θεός is made prominent by its position: in the former, prominence is

* De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung des Briefes an die Römer*, 4te Aufl. (1847), p. 130.

given to the particular conception expressed by ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων, "the Ruler over All."*

Let us look now for a moment at the connection of thought in the passage before us, and we shall see that this distinction is important. The Apostle is speaking of the favored nation to which it is his pride to belong. Its grand religious history of some two thousand years passes rapidly before his mind, as in a panorama. Their ancestors were the patriarchs,—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Theirs were "the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the temple service, and the promises." But God's choice and training of his "peculiar people," and the privileges conferred upon them, were all a providential preparation for the advent of the Messiah, whose birth from among the Jews was their highest national distinction and glory; while his mission as the founder of a spiritual and *universal* religion was the crowning manifestation of God's love and mercy to mankind. How could this survey of the ages of promise and preparation, and the great fulfilment in Christ, fail to bring vividly before the mind of the Apostle the thought of God as *the Being who presides over all things*, who cares for all men and controls all events?† Because

* If this account is correct, it follows that neither of the renderings which I have suggested above (p. 334) as expressing my view of the meaning represents the original perfectly. Nor do I perceive that the English idiom admits of a perfect translation. If we render "he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever," we make the word "God" stand in simple apposition to "he who is over all," which I do not suppose to be the *grammatical* construction. If, on the other hand, we translate, "he who is God over all be blessed for ever," we lose in a great measure the effect of the position of the ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων before θεός.

† Erasmus has well presented the thought of the Apostle: "Ut enim haec omnia, quae commemorat de adoptione, gloria, testamentis, legislatione, cultibus, ac promissis, deque patribus, ex quibus Christus juxta carnem ortus est, declaret non fortuito facta, sed admirabili Dei providentia, qui tot modis procuravit salutem humani generis, non simpliciter dicit Deus, sed *is qui rebus omnibus praeest, omnia suo divino consilio dispensans moderansque*, cui dicit deberi laudem in omne aevum, ob insignem erga nos charitatem, cui maledicebant Judaei, dum Filium unicum blasphemis impeterent." Note *in loc.*, in his Opp. vi. (Lugd. Bat. 1705), col. 611.

So Westcott and Hort, in their note on this passage in vol. ii. of their Greek Testament, remarking on the punctuation which places a colon after σάρκα as "an expression of the interpretation which implies that special force was intended to be thrown on ἐπὶ πάντων by the interposition of ὢν," observe: "This emphatic sense of ἐπὶ πάντων (cf. i. 16; ii. 9 f.; iii. 29 f.; x. 12; xi. 32, 36) is fully justified if St. Paul's purpose is to suggest that the tragic apostasy of the Jews (vv. 2, 3) is itself part of the dispensations of 'Him who is God over all,' over Jew and Gentile alike, over past present and future alike; so that the ascription of blessing to him is a homage to his divine purpose and power of bringing good out of evil in the course of the ages (xi. 13-16; 25-36)." Dr. Hart remarks that "this punctuation alone seems adequate to account for the whole of the language employed, more especially when it is considered in relation to the context."

this conception is prominent in his mind, he places the *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* first in the sentence. A recognition of this fact removes all the difficulty about the position of *εὐλογητός*. There is no "law of grammar" bearing on the matter, except the law that the predicate, when it is more prominent in the mind of the writer, precedes the subject. In simply exclamatory doxologies, the *εὐλογητός* or *εὐλογημένος* comes first, because the feeling that prompts its use is predominant, and can be expressed in a single word. But here, where the thought of the overruling providence of God is prominent, the *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* *must* stand first in the sentence, to express that prominence; and the position of *εὐλογητός* after it is required by the very same law of the Greek language which governs all the examples that have been alleged against the doxological construction of the passage. This thought of God as the Ruler over All reappears in the doxology at the end of the eleventh chapter (xi. 36), where the Apostle concludes his grand Theodicy: "For from him and through him and to him are ALL THINGS: to him is the glory for ever! Amen." Compare also Eph. i. 11, cited by Mr. Beet: "foreordained according to the purpose of him who worketh ALL THINGS after the counsel of his will"; and so in another doxology (1 Tim. i. 17) suggested by the mention of Christ, the ascription is, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων,— "to the King OF THE AGES." *

I prefer, on the whole, to take *πάντων* as neuter; but much might be said in favor of the view of Fritzsche, whose note on this passage is especially valuable. He, with many other scholars, regards it as masculine: "*Qui omnibus preest hominibus (i.e. qui et Judaeis et gentilibus consulit Deus, der ueber allen Menschen waltende Gott) sit celebratus perpetuo, amen.*" (C. F. A. Fritzsche, *Pauli ad Rom. Epist.* tom. ii.

* This seems to me the true rendering rather than "to the King *eternal*," though eternity is implied. Comp. Rev. xv. 3, Westcott and Hort; Sir. xxxvi. 22 (al. xxxiii. 19); Tob. xiii. 6, 10; Ps. cxliv. (cxlv.) 13; Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.* cc. 35, 3; 55, 6; 61, 2; *Const. Apost.* vii. 34; *Lit. S. Jac.* c. 13. So Ex. xv. 18, *κύριος βασιλείων τῶν αἰώνων*, as cited by Philo, *De Plant. Noῦ*, c. 12, *bis* (Opp. i. 336, 337, ed. Mang.), *De Mundo*, c. 7 (Opp. ii. 608), and read in many cursive MSS.; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 18, § 7, *δέσποτα παντὸς αἰῶνος*. *Contra*, Test. xii. Patr., *Ruben*, c. 6.

[1839] p. 272.) He refers for the πάντων to Rom. x. 12, xi. 32, iii. 29.

We may note here that, while the Apostle says ὡν οἱ πατέρες, he does not say ὡν, but ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστός. He could not forget the thought which pervades the Epistle, that the Messiah was for *all* men alike. Nor does he forget that, while by natural descent, κατὰ σάρκα, Christ was "from the Jews," he was κατὰ πνεῦμα, and in all that constituted him the Messiah, "from GOD," who "anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power," who "made him both Lord and Christ," who marked him out as his "Son" by raising him from the dead (Acts xiii. 33; Rom. i. 4), and setting him at his right hand in the heavenly places, and giving him to be the head over all things to the Church (Eph. i. 20-22),—that Church in which there is no distinction of "Greek and Jew," "but Christ is all and in all."

That such words as εὐλογητός, εὐλογημένος, μακάριος, and ἐπικατάρατος should usually stand first in the sentence in expressions of benediction, macarism, and malediction, is natural in Greek for the same reason that it is natural in English to give the first place to such words as "blessed," "happy," "cursed." It makes no difference, as a study of the examples will show, whether the expression be *optative*, as is usually the case with εὐλογημένος, with the ellipsis of εἴη or ἔστω, or *declarative*, as in the case of μακάριος, and usually, I believe, of εὐλογητός, ἐστὶ being understood.* The ellipsis of the substantive verb gives rapidity and force to the expression, indicating a certain glow of feeling. But in Greek as in English, if the subject is more prominent in the mind of the writer, and is not overweighted with descriptive appendages,

*I believe that εὐλογητός in doxologies is distinguished from εὐλογημένος as *laudandus* is from *laudatus*; and that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 is therefore strictly a declarative, not an optative one. The most literal and exact rendering into Latin would be something like this: "Ille qui est super omnia Deus laudandus (est) in aeternum!" Where the verb is expressed with εὐλογητός (as very often in the formula εὐλογητός εἶ), it is always, I believe, in the indicative. Here I must express my surprise that Canon Farrar (*The Expositor*, vol. ix. p. 402; vol. x. p. 238) should deny that Rom. i. 25 and 2 Cor. xi. 31 are "doxologies." What is a doxology but a pious ascription of glory or praise? If ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν, Rom. i. 25, is "not a doxology at all" on account of the ἐστίν, then Matt. vi. 13 (text rec.) and 1 Pet. iv. 11 are, for the same reason, not doxologies.

there is nothing to hinder a change of order, but the genius of the language rather requires it.

The example commonly adduced of this variation in the case of *εὐλογητός* is Ps. lxxvii. (Heb. lxxviii.) 20, *Κύριος ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητός, εὐλογητός κύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν*, where we find *εὐλογητός* in both positions. This peculiarity is the result of a misconstruction and perhaps also of a false reading (Meyer) of the Hebrew. The example shows that the position of *εὐλογητός* after the subject violates no law of the Greek language; but, on account of the repetition of *εὐλογητός*, I do not urge it as a parallel to Rom. ix. 5. (See Dr. Dwight as above, p. 32 f. and cf. Essay XVII. p. 436 below.) On the other hand, the passage cited by Grimm (see as above, p. 34) from the Apocryphal Psalms of Solomon, viii. 41, 42, written probably about 48 B.C., seems to me quite to the purpose:—

*αἰνετὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν στόματι ὁσίων,
καὶ σὺ εὐλογημένος, Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὸ κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.**

Here, in the first line, *αἰνετός* precedes, because the predicate is emphatic; but in the second, the subject, *σύ*, precedes, because it is meant to receive the emphasis. I perceive no antithesis or studied chiasmus here. The sentence is no more a “double” or “compound” one than Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; Ps. lxxi. (lxxii.) 18, 19; Tob. xi. 13, 16 (Sin.); Judith xiii. 18; Orat. Azar. 2; and I see no reason why the fact that the clauses are connected by *καὶ* should affect the position of *εὐλογητός* here more than in those passages,—no reason why it should affect it at all.

Another example in which the subject precedes *ἐπικατάρατος* and *εὐλογημένος* in an optative or possibly a predictive sentence is Gen. xxvii. 29, *ὁ καταρώμενός σε ἐπικατάρατος, ὁ δὲ εὐλογῶν σε εὐλογημένος*. Here the Greek follows the order of the Hebrew, and the reason for the unusual position in both I suppose to be the fact that the contrast between *ὁ καταρώμενος* and *ὁ εὐλογῶν* naturally brought the subjects into the foreground. It is true that in Rom. ix. 5, as I understand the passage (though others take a different view), there is no antithesis, as there is here; but the example shows that, when for any reason

* See O. F. Fritzsche, *Libri apoc. V. T. Gr.* (1871), p. 579, or Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judaeorum* (1869), p. 14.

the writer wishes to make the subject prominent, there is no law of the Greek language which imprisons such a predicate as *εὐλογημένος* at the beginning of the sentence.

Another example, in a declarative sentence, but not the less pertinent on that account (the verb not being expressed), is Gen. xxvi. 29, according to what I believe to be the true reading, *καὶ νῦν σὺ εὐλογητὸς ὑπὸ κυρίου*, where the *σὺ* being emphatic, as is shown by the corresponding order in Hebrew, stands before *εὐλογητὸς*. Contrast Gen. iii. 14; iv. 11; Josh. ix. 29 (al. 23). This reading is supported by *all* the uncial MSS. that contain the passage,—namely, I. Cod. Cotton. (cent. v.), III. Alex. (v.), X. Coislin. (vii.), and Bodl. (viii. or ix.) ed. Tisch. *Mon. Sacr. Ined.*, vol. ii. (1857), p. 234, with at least twenty-five cursives, and the Aldine edition, also by all the ancient versions except the Aethiopic, and the Latin, which translates freely, against the *καὶ νῦν εὐλογημένος σὺ* of the Roman edition, which has very little authority here.*

Still another case where in a declarative sentence the usual order of subject and predicate is reversed, both in the Greek and the Hebrew, is 1 Kings ii. 45 (al. 46), *καὶ ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών εὐλογημένος*, the ellipsis being probably *ἔσται*. Here I suppose the reason for the exceptional order to be the contrast between Solomon and Shimei (ver. 44).

It is a curious fact that *μακαριστός*, a word perfectly analogous to *εὐλογητός*, and which would naturally stand first in the predicate, happens to follow the subject in the only instances of its use in the Septuagint which come into comparison here,—namely, Prov. xiv. 21; xvi. 20; xxix. 18. The reason seems to be the same as in the case we have just considered: there is a contrast of subjects. For the same reason *ἐπικατάρατος* follows the subject in Wisd. xiv. 8 (comp. ver. 7).

These examples go to confirm Winer's statement in respect to contrasted subjects. And I must here remark, in

* The statement above about the reading of the ancient versions in Gen. xxvi. 29 lacks precision. The versions made directly from the Hebrew, of course, do not come under consideration. Of those made from the Septuagint, the Armenian, the Georgian, and the Old Slavic (Cod. Ostrog.) support *σὺ εὐλογ.*; the Aethiopic, *εὐλογ. σὺ*; the Old Latin has perished; and the Coptic, as I am informed by Professor T. O. Paine, omits the last clause of the verse.

respect to certain passages which have been alleged in opposition (see Dr. Dwight as above, p. 36), that I can perceive no contrast of subjects in Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; or in Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 53, where the doxology appears to have no relation to what precedes, but to be rather the formal doxology, appended by the compiler, which concludes the Third Book of the Psalms (comp. Ps. xl. (xli.) 14).

It may be said that none of the examples we have been considering is *precisely* similar to Rom. ix. 5. But they all illustrate the fact that there is nothing to hinder a Greek writer from changing the ordinary position of *εὐλογητός* and kindred words, when from any cause the subject is naturally more prominent in his mind. They show that the *principle* of the rule which governs the position may authorize or require a deviation from the common order. I must further agree with Meyer and Ellicott on Eph. i. 3, and Fritzsche on Rom. ix. 5, in regarding as not altogether irrelevant such passages as Ps. cxii. (cxiii.) 2, *εἰη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον*, where, though *εἰη* precedes, as a copula it can have no emphasis; and the position of *εὐλογημένον* is determined by the fact that the subject rather than the predicate here naturally presents itself first to the mind. The difference between such a sentence and *εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου* is like that in English between "May the name of the Lord be blessed" and "Blessed be the name of the Lord." It is evident, I think, that in the latter sentence the predicate is made more prominent, and in the former the subject; but, if a person does not *feel* this, it cannot be proved. Other examples of this kind are Ruth ii. 19; 1 Kings x. 9; 2 Chron. ix. 8; Job i. 21; Dan. ii. 20; *Lit. S. Jac.* c. 19; *Lit. S. Marci*, c. 20, a. (Hammond, pp. 52, 192). In Ps. cxii. (cxiii.) 2 and Job i. 21, the prominence given to the subject is suggested by what precedes.

I will give one example of the fallacy of merely empirical rules respecting the position of words. Looking at Young's *Analytical Concordance*, there are, if I have counted right, one hundred and thirty-eight instances in which, in sentences like "Blessed be God," "Blessed are the meek," the

word "blessed" precedes the subject in the common English Bible. There is no exception to this usage in the Old Testament or the New. "Here," exclaims the empiric, "is a law of the language. To say 'God be blessed' is not English." But, if we look into the Apocrypha, we find that our translators *have* said it,—namely, in Tobit xi. 17; and so it stands also in the Genevan version, though the Greek reads *εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός*. Why the translators changed the order must be a matter of conjecture. Perhaps it was to make a contrast with the last clause of the sentence.

There is a homely but important maxim which has been forgotten in many discussions of the passage before us, that "circumstances alter cases." I have carefully examined all the examples of doxology or benediction in the New Testament and the Septuagint, and in other ancient writings, as the Liturgies, in which *εὐλογητός* or *εὐλογημένος* precedes the subject; and there is not one among them which, so far as I can judge, justifies the assumption that, because *εὐλογητός* precedes the subject there, it would probably have done so here, had it been the purpose of Paul to introduce a doxology. The cases in which a doxology begins without a previous enumeration of blessings, but in which the *thought* of the blessing prompts an exclamation of praise or thanksgiving,—*"Blessed be God, who"* or *"for he"* has done this or that,—are evidently not parallel. All the New Testament doxologies with *εὐλογητός*, and most of those in the Septuagint, are of this character.* In these cases, we perceive at once that any other order would be strange. The expression of the *feeling*, which requires but one word, naturally precedes the mention of the ground of the feeling, which often requires very many. But there is a difference between *εὐλογητός* and *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. Where it would be natural for the former to precede the subject, it might be more natural for the latter to follow. In the example aduced by Dr. Dwight in his criticism of Winer (see as above,

* See Luke i. 68; 2 Cor. i. 3; Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3. Gen. xiv. 20, xxiv. 27; Ex. xviii. 10; Ruth iv. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 39; 2 Sam. xviii. 28; 1 Kings i. 48, v. 7, viii. 15, 56; 2 Chron. ii. 12, vi. 4; Ezra vii. 27; Ps. xxvii. (Sept.) 6, xxx. 22, lxx. 20, lxxi. 18, cxxiii. 6, cxxvii. 21, cxliii. 1, Dan. iii. 28 Theodot., 95 Sept.

pp. 36, 37), it is evident that *εὐλογητός* more naturally stands first in the sentence; at the end, it would be abrupt and unrhythmical. But I cannot think that a Greek scholar would find anything hard or unnatural in the sentence if it read, *ὁ διατηρήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον ἀμίαντον εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.*

To make the argument from usage a rational one, examples sufficient in number to form the basis of an induction should be produced in which, in passages *like the present*, *εὐλογητός* precedes the subject. Suppose we should read here, *εὐλογητὸς ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, we instantly see that the reference of *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* becomes, to say the least, ambiguous, the "for ever" grammatically connecting itself with the phrase "he who is God over all" rather than with "blessed." If, to avoid this, we read, *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, we have a sentence made unnaturally heavy and clumsy by the interposition of *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* before the subject, — a sentence to which I believe no parallel can be produced in the whole range of extant doxologies. Wherever *εὐλογητός* precedes, the subject *directly* follows. These objections to the transposition appear to me in themselves a sufficient reason why the Apostle should have preferred the present order. But we must also consider that any other arrangement would have failed to make prominent the particular conception of God, which the context suggests, as the Ruler over All. If, then, the blessings mentioned by the Apostle suggested to his mind the thought of God as *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, in view of that overruling Providence which sees the end from the beginning, which brings good out of evil and cares for all men alike, I must agree with Winer that "the present position of the words is not only altogether suitable, but even necessary." (*Gram.*, 7te Aufl., § 61. 3. e. p. 513; p. 551 Thayer, p. 690 Moulton.) Olshausen, though he understands the passage as relating to Christ, well says: "Rückert's remark that *εὐλογητός*, when applied to God, must, according to the idiom of the Old and New Testament, always precede the noun, is of no weight. Köllner rightly observes that the position of words is altogether [everywhere] not a mechanical thing, but determined, in each par-

ticular conjuncture, by the connexion and by the purpose of the speaker." *

7. The argument founded on the notion that the Apostle here had in mind Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 20, and was thereby led to describe Christ as *θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, is one which, so far as I know, never occurred to any commentator, ancient or modern, before the ingenious Dr. Lange. Its weakness has been so fully exposed by Dr. Dwight (as above, p. 33, note) that any further notice of it is unnecessary.

8. The argument for the reference of the *ὁ ὢν*, etc., to Christ, founded on supposed patristic authority, will be considered below under IV., in connection with the history of the interpretation of the passage.

II. I have thus endeavored to show that the construction of the last part of the verse as a doxology suits the context, and that the principal objections urged against it have little or no weight.

But the construction followed in the common version is also grammatically unobjectionable; and, if we assume that the Apostle and those whom he addressed believed Christ to be God, this construction likewise suits the context.

How then shall we decide the question? If it was an ambiguous sentence in Plato or Aristotle, our first step would be to see what light was thrown on the probabilities of the case by *the writer's use of language elsewhere*. Looking then at the question from this point of view, I find three reasons for preferring the construction which refers the last part of the verse to God.

1. The use of the word *εὐλογητός*, "blessed," which never occurs in the New Testament in reference to Christ. If we refer *εὐλογητός* to God, our passage accords with the doxologies Rom. i. 25; 2 Cor. i. 3; xi. 31; and Eph. i. 3. In Rom. i. 25, we have *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, as here; and 2 Cor. xi. 31, "The God and Father (*or* God, the Father) of the Lord Jesus knows — he who is blessed for ever! — that I lie

* Olshausen, *Bibl. Comm. on the N. T.*, vol. iv., p. 88, note, Kendrick's trans. The remark cited from Rückert belongs to the first edition of his *Commentary* (1831). In the second edition (1839), Rückert changed his view of the passage, and adopted the construction which makes the last part of the verse a doxology to God.

not," strongly favors the reference of the *εὐλογητός* to God.* It alone seems to me almost decisive. The word *εὐλογητός* is elsewhere in the New Testament used in doxologies to God (Luke i. 68; 1 Pet. i. 3); and in Mark xiv. 61, *ὁ εὐλογητός*, "the Blessed One," is a special designation of the Supreme Being, in accordance with the language of the later Jews, in whose writings God is often spoken of as "the Holy One, blessed be He!"

I have already spoken (see above, p. 342) of the rarity of doxologies to Christ in the writings of Paul, the only instance being 2 Tim. iv. 18, though here Fritzsche (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 268) and Canon Kennedy (*Ely Lectures*, p. 87) refer the *κύριος* to God. Doxologies and thanksgivings to God are, on the other hand, very frequent in his Epistles. Those with *εὐλογητός* are given above; for those with *δόξα*, see Rom. xi. 36, xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17 (*τιμὴ καὶ δόξα*);—*τιμὴ καὶ κράτος*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. (Comp. *δοξάζω*, Rom. xv. 6, 9.) Thanksgivings, with *χάρις* first, Rom. vi. 17, vii. 25 (Lachm., Tisch., Treg., WH.); 2 Cor. viii. 16, ix. 15; *τῷ δὲ θεῷ* first, 1 Cor. xv. 57; 2 Cor. ii. 14; *εὐχαριστῶ*, Rom. i. 8; 1 Cor. i. 4 (14), xiv. 18; Eph. i. 16; Phil. i. 3; Col. i. 3, 12; 1 Thess. i. 2, ii. 13; 2 Thess. i. 3, ii. 13; Philem. 4. Note especially the direction, "*giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God, even the Father,*" Eph. v. 20; comp. Col. iii. 17, "do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, *giving thanks to God the Father through him.*" These facts appear to me to strengthen the presumption founded on the usage of *εὐλογητός*, that in this passage of ambiguous construction the doxological words should be referred to God rather than to Christ.

It may be of some interest to observe that, in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians,—probably the earliest Christian writing that has come down to us outside of the New Testament,—there are eight doxologies to God; namely, cc. 32, 38, 43, 45, 58, 61, 64, 65, and none that clearly belong to Christ. Two are ambiguous; namely, cc.

* For the way in which the Rabbinical writers are accustomed to introduce doxologies into the middle of a sentence, see Schoettgen's *Horae Hebraicae* on 2 Cor. xi. 31.

20, 50, like Heb. xiii. 21, 1 Pet. iv. 11, which a majority of the best commentators refer to God as the leading subject; see Dr. Dwight as above, p. 46. The clear cases of doxologies to Christ in the New Testament are Rev. i. 6, 2 Pet. iii. 18 (a book of doubtful genuineness), and Rev. v. 13, "to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb"; comp. vii. 10. But our concern is chiefly with the usage of Paul.

The argument from the exclusive use of the word *εὐλογητός* in reference to God has been answered by saying that *εὐλογητός* is also applied to man; and Deut. vii. 14, Ruth ii. 20, and 1 Sam. xv. 13 are cited as examples of this by Dr. Gifford. But he overlooks the fact that *εὐλογητός* is there used in a totally different sense; namely, "favored" or "blessed" by God. To speak of a person as "blessed" by God, or to pray that he may be so, and to address a doxology to him, are very different things. [See Essay XVII. p. 437.]

Note further that *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου*, Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 26, applied to Christ in Matt. xxi. 9 and the parallel passages, is not a doxology. Comp. Mark xi. 10; Luke i. 28, 42.

On the distinction between *εὐλογητός* and *εὐλογημένος*, see Note B, at the end of this article.

2. The most striking parallel to *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* in the writings of Paul is in Eph. iv. 5, 6, where Christians are said to have "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one *God* and Father of all, *who is over all* (*ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων*), and through all, and in all." Here it is used of the one *God*, expressly distinguished from Christ.

3. The Apostle's use of the word *θεός*, "God," throughout his Epistles. This word occurs in the Pauline Epistles, not including that to the Hebrews, more than five hundred times; and there is not a single clear instance in which it is applied to Christ. Alford, and many other Trinitarian commentators of the highest character, find no instance except the present. Now, in a case of ambiguous construction, ought not this *uniform* usage of the Apostle in respect to one of the most common words to have great weight? To me it is absolutely decisive.

It may be said, however, that Paul has nowhere declared that Christ is *not* God;* and that, even if he has not happened to give him this title in any other passage, he must have believed him to be God, and therefore might have so designated him, if occasion required.

As to the statement that Paul has nowhere expressly affirmed that Christ was *not* God, it does not appear that, supposing him to have believed this, he ever had occasion to say it. It is certainly a remarkable fact that, whatever may have been the teaching of Paul concerning the nature of Christ and the mode of his union with God, it appears, so far as we can judge from his writings, to have raised no question as to whether he was or was not God, jealous as the Jews were of the divine unity and disposed as the Gentiles were to recognize many gods besides the Supreme.

It is important to observe, in general, that in respect to the application to Christ of the *name* "God" there is a very wide difference between the usage not only of Paul, but of all the New Testament writers, and that which we find in Christian writers of the second and later centuries. There is no clear instance in which any New Testament *writer*, speaking in his own person, has called Christ God. In John i. 18, the text is doubtful; and, in 1 John v. 20, the *ὄντος* more naturally refers to the leading subject in what precedes,—namely, τὸν ἀληθινόν,—and is so understood by the best grammarians, as Winer and Buttmann, and by many eminent Trinitarian commentators. [See Essay XVIII. Note C. *sub fin.*] In John i. 1, θεός is the predicate not of the historical Christ, but of the antemundane Logos. The passages which have been alleged from the writings of Paul will be noticed presently. †

But it may be said that, even if there is no other passage in which Paul has called Christ God, there are many in which the works and the attributes of God are ascribed to him, and in which he is recognized as the object of divine

* See Dr. Dwight's Essay, as above, pp. 25, 30, 43.

† On John xx. 28 and Heb. i. 8, 9, which do not belong to the category we are now considering, I simply refer, for the sake of brevity, to Norton's *Statement of Reasons, etc.*, new edition (1856), p. 300 ff., and the note of E. A., or to the note of Lücke on the former passage, and of Professor Stuart on the latter. On 2 Peter i. 1, see Huther.

worship; so that we ought to find no difficulty in supposing that he is here declared to be "God blessed for ever." It may be said in reply, that the passages referred to do not authorize the inference which has been drawn from them; and that, if they are regarded as doing so, the unity of God would seem to be infringed. A discussion of this subject would lead us out of the field of exegesis into the tangled thicket of dogmatic theology: we should have to consider the questions of consubstantiality, eternal generation, the hypostatic union, and the *kenosis*. Such a discussion would here be out of place. But it is certainly proper to look at the passages where Paul has used the clearest and strongest language concerning the dignity of Christ and his relation to the Father, and ask ourselves whether they allow us to regard it as probable that he has here spoken of him as "God over all, blessed for ever," or even as "over all, God blessed for ever."

In the Epistles which purport to be written by Paul there is only one passage besides the present in which any considerable number of respectable scholars now suppose that he has actually called Christ *God*; namely, Titus ii. 13. Here the new Revised Version, in the text, makes him speak of "our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." But the uncertainty of this translation is indicated by the marginal rendering, "the great God and our Saviour"; and, in another paper, I have stated my reasons for believing the latter construction the true one. [See Essay XVIII.] This latter construction was preferred by a large majority of the American Company of Revisers, and it has the support of many other eminent Trinitarian scholars. Surely, so doubtful a passage cannot serve to render it probable that Christ is called "God blessed for ever" in Rom. ix. 5.

Acts xx. 28 has also been cited, where, according to the *textus receptus*, Paul, in his address to the Ephesian elders, is represented as speaking of "the Church of God, which he purchased with his own blood." This reading is adopted by the English Revisers in their text, and also by Scrivener, Alford, and Westcott and Hort; but its doubtfulness is indi-

cated by the marginal note against the word "God," in which the Revisers say, "Many ancient authorities read *the Lord*." Here, again, the marginal reading is preferred by the American Revisers, as also by Lachmann, Tregelles, Green, Davidson, and Tischendorf. I have given my reasons for believing this the true reading in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1876 [see Essay XV.]. And, although Westcott and Hort adopt the reading *God*, Dr. Hort well remarks that "the supposition that by the precise designation *τοῦ θεοῦ*, standing alone as it does here, with the article and without any adjunct, St. Paul (or St. Luke) meant Christ is unsupported by any analogies of language." Calling attention to the fact that the true text has the remarkable form, *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*, he would understand the passage, "on the supposition that the text is incorrupt," as speaking of the Church of God which he purchased "through the blood that was his own," *i.e.*, as being his Son's." "This conception," he remarks, "of the death of Christ as a price paid by the Father is in strict accordance with St. Paul's own language elsewhere (Rom. v. 8; viii. 32). It finds repeated expression in the Apostolic Constitutions in language evidently founded on this passage (ii. 57. 13; 61. 4; vii. 26. 1; viii. [11. 2] 12. 18; 41. 4)." On the supposition that *θεοῦ* is the true reading, the passage has been understood in a similar manner not merely by Socinian interpreters, as Wolzogen and Enjedinus, but by Erasmus (in his *Paraphrase*), Pellican,* Limborch (though he prefers the reading *κυρίου*), Milton (*De Doctrina Christiana*, Pars I. c. v. p. 86, or Eng. trans. p. 148 f.), Lenfant and Beausobre as an alternative interpretation (*Le Nouveau Test.*, note in loc.), Doederlein (*Inst. Theol. Christ.*, ed. 6ta, 1797, § 105, Obs. 4, p. 387), Van der Palm (note in his Dutch translation), Granville Penn (*The Book of the New Covenant*, London, 1836, and *Annotations*, 1837, p. 315), and Mr. Darby (*Trans. of the N. T.*, 2d ed. [1872]). Dr. Hort, however, is disposed to conjecture that *τιος* dropped out after *τοῦτιος* "at some

* "Erga congregationem dei quae vobis oscitanter curanda non est, ut quam deus aed̄o charam habuit, ut unigeniti sui sanguine eam paraverit." *Comm.* in loc., Tiguri, 1537, fol.

very early transcription, affecting all existing documents." Granville Penn had before made the same suggestion. It is obvious that no argument in support of any particular construction of Rom. ix. 5 can be prudently drawn from such a passage as this.

A few other passages, in which some scholars still suppose that the name *God* is given to Christ by Paul, have been examined in the paper on Titus ii. 13 (see Essay XVIII. notes to pp. 440, 447; also Dr. Dwight, as above, p. 44).

Let us now look at the passages in which Paul has used the most exalted language respecting the person and dignity of Christ, and ask ourselves how far they afford a presumption that he might here describe him as "God blessed for ever."

The passage in this Epistle most similar to the present is ch. i. vv. 3, 4, where Christ is said to be "born of the seed of David as to the flesh," but "declared to be the Son of God with power as to the spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead," or, more exactly, "by the resurrection of the dead." Here the antithesis to *κατὰ σάρκα* is supplied. It is not, however, *κατὰ τὴν θεότητα*, or *κατὰ τὴν θείαν φύσιν*, but *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγίωσίνης*, "as to his holy spirit,"—his higher spiritual nature, distinguished especially by the characteristic of *holiness*. There are many nice and difficult questions connected with this passage which need not be here discussed; I will only say that I see no ground for finding in it a presumption that the Apostle would designate Christ as "God blessed for ever." Some, however, suppose that the title "Son of God" is essentially equivalent to *θεός*, and that the resurrection of Christ as an act of his own divine power is adduced here as a proof of his deity. I do not find the first supposition supported by the use of the term in the Old Testament or in the New (see John x. 36); and, as to the second, it may be enough to say that it contradicts the uniform representation of the Apostle Paul on the subject, who everywhere refers his resurrection to the power of "God the Father." See Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 19, 20; Rom. iv. 24, vi. 4, viii. 11, x. 9; 1 Cor. vi. 14, xv. 15; 2 Cor. iv. 14, xiii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 10; Acts xiii. 30-37, xvii. 31

Another striking passage is Phil. ii. 6-11, where the Apostle says that Christ, "existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God* a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." Without entering into any detailed discussion of this passage, it may be enough to remark that being in the form of God, as Paul uses the expression here, is a very different thing from being God; that the *μορφή* cannot denote the nature or essence of Christ, because it is something of which he is represented as emptying or divesting himself. The same is true of the *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*, "the being on an equality with God," or "like God," which is spoken of as something which he was not eager to *seize*, according to one way of understanding *ἄρπαγμα*, or not eager to *retain*, according to another interpretation.† The Apostle goes on to say that, on account of this self-abnegation and his obedience even unto death, "GOD *highly exalted* him and *gave* him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . . and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." I cannot think that this passage, distinguishing Christ as it does so clearly from God, and representing his present exaltation as a reward bestowed upon him by God, renders it at all likely that Paul would call him "God blessed for ever."

We find a still more remarkable passage in the Epistle to the Colossians, i. 15-20, where it is affirmed concerning the Son that "he is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him were all things created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist [*or* hold together]. And he is the

* Or, as the Rev. Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, translates it, "the being like God"; compare Whitty's note on the use of *ἴσα*. See Kennedy's *Occasional Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge*, London, 1877, p. 62, or *Ely Lectures* (1882), p. 17 f.

† See Grimm's *Lexicon Novi Testamenti*, ed. 2da (1879), s. v. *μορφή*, for one view; for another, Weiss's *Biblische Theol. des N. T.*, § 103 c, p. 432 ff., 3te Aufl. (1880).

head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence [more literally, "become first"]. For it was the good pleasure [of the Father] that in him should all the fulness dwell; and through him to reconcile all things unto himself." In this passage, and in Col. ii. 9, 10, where the Apostle says of Christ "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him are ye made full, who is the head of all principality and power," we find, I believe, the strongest language which Paul has anywhere used concerning Christ's position in the universe and his relation to the Church. I waive all question of the genuineness of the Epistle. Does, then, the language here employed render it probable that Paul would, on occasion, designate Christ as "over all, God blessed for ever"?

Here certainly, if anywhere, we might expect that he would call him God; but he has not only not done so, but has carefully distinguished him from the being for whom he seems to reserve that name. He does not call him God, but "the *image* of the invisible God" (comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4, and 1 Cor. xi. 7). His agency in the work of creation is also restricted and made secondary by the use of the prepositions *ἐν* and *διὰ*, clearly indicating that the conception in the mind of the Apostle is the same which appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 3; that he is not the primary source of the power exerted in creation, but the being "*through* whom GOD *made* the worlds," *δι' οὗ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας*; comp. also 1 Cor. viii. 6, Eph. iii. 9 (though here *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is not genuine), and the well-known language of Philo concerning the Logos.* Neither Paul nor any other New Testament writer

* Philo calls the Logos the "Son of God," "the eldest son," "the first-begotten," and his representation of his agency in creation is very similar to that which Paul here attributes to "the Son of God's love" (ver. 13). He describes the Logos as "the *image* of God, *through* whom the whole world was framed," *εἰκὼν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ, κ. τ. λ.* (*De Monarch.* ii. 5, Opp. ii. 225 ed. Mangey); "the instrument, through which [or whom] the world was built," *ὄργανον δι' οὗ κ. τ. λ.* (*De Cherub.* c. 35, Opp. i. 162, where note Philo's distinction between *τὸ ὕψ' οὐ*, *τὸ ἐξ οὐ*, *τὸ δι' οὐ*, and *τὸ δι' ὅ*); "the shadow of God, using whom as an instrument he made the world" (*Legg. Alleg.* iii. 31, Opp. i. 106). In two or three places he exceptionally applies the term *θεός* to the Logos, professedly using it in a lower sense (*ἐν καταχρήσει*), and making a distinction between *θεός*, without the article, "a divine being," and *ὁ θεός*, "the Divine Being." (See *De Somn.* i. 38, Opp. i. 655, and comp. *Legg. Alleg.* iii. 73, Opp. i. 128, l. 43.) In a frag-

uses the preposition *ὑπὸ*, "by," in speaking of the agency of the Son or Logos in creation. The designation "first-born of all creation" seems also a very strange one to be applied to Christ conceived of as God. Some of the most orthodox Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, as Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Augustine, were so perplexed by it that they understood the Apostle to be speaking here of the new, spiritual creation;* and the passage has been explained as relating to this by some eminent modern interpreters, as Grotius, Wetstein, Ernesti, Noesselt, Heinrichs, Schleiermacher, Baumgarten-Crusius, Norton, — though, I believe, erroneously. But I shall not discuss here the meaning of *πρωτότοχος πάσης κτίσεως*. I would only call attention to the way in which the Apostle speaks of the *good pleasure* of God, the Father, as the *source* of Christ's fulness of gifts and powers. "For it was the good pleasure [of God] that in him should all the fulness dwell" (ver. 19).† This declaration explains also Col. ii. 9; comp. Eph. iii. 19, iv. 13, John i. 16. See also John xiv. 10, iii. 34 (?).

It thus appears, I think, first, that there is no satisfactory evidence that Paul has elsewhere called Christ *God*; and, secondly, that in the passages in which he speaks of his dignity and power in the most exalted language he not only seems studiously to avoid giving him this appellation, but represents him as *deriving* his dignity and power from the being to whom, in distinction from Christ, he everywhere gives that name,—the "one God, the Father."

ment preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* vii. 13, or *Philonis Opp.* ii. 625) he names the Logos *ὁ δεύτερος θεός*, "the second [or inferior] God," distinguished from "the Most High and Father of the universe," "the God who is before [or above, *πρὸ*] the Logos." So he applies the term to Moses (comp. Ex. vii. 1), and says that it may be used of one who "procures good (*τὸ ἀγαθὸν*) for others," and is "wise." *De Mut. Nom.* c. 22, Opp. i. 597, 598; see also *De Mos.* i. 28, Opp. ii. 106 [misprinted 108], where Moses is called *ὄλον τοῦ ἔθνους θεός καὶ βασιλεύς*; *Quod det. pot. insid.* c. 44, Opp. i. 222; *De Migr. Abr.* c. 15, Opp. i. 449; *Leeg. Alleg.* i. 13, Opp. i. 151; *Quod omn. prob. liber.* c. 7, Opp. ii. 452; *De Decem Orac.* c. 23, Opp. ii. 201. But, though he speaks of the Logos in language as exalted as Paul uses concerning the Son, he would never have dreamed of calling him *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*.

* See Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 214 ff. [p. 148 ff. 7th ed.]

† *ὁ θεός* (or *ὁ πατήρ*) must be supplied as the subject of *εὐδόκησεν*; comp. ver. 20, and Lightfoot's note. So Meyer, De Wette, Alford, Eadie, and the great majority of expositors.

We have considered the strongest passages which have been adduced to justify the supposition that Paul *might* apply this title to Christ. I have already intimated that they do not seem to me to authorize this supposition. But, admitting for the sake of argument that we must infer from these and other passages that he really held the doctrine of the consubstantiality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father, and that on this account he would have been *justified* in calling him God, this does not remove the great improbability that he *has* so designated him, incidentally, in Rom. ix. 5, in opposition to a usage of the term which pervades all his writings. The question still forces itself upon us, What was the ground of this usage? *Why* has he elsewhere avoided giving him this title? In answering this question here, wishing to avoid as far as possible all dogmatic discussion and to confine myself to exegetical considerations, I shall not transgress the limits of recognized orthodoxy. The doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son to the Father, in his divine as well as his human nature, has been held by a very large number, and, if I mistake not, by a majority of professed believers in the deity of Christ. The fourth and last Division or "Section" of Bishop Bull's famous *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* is entitled *De Subordinatione Filii ad Patrem, ut ad sui originem ac principium*. He maintains and proves that the Fathers who lived before and many, at least, of those who lived after the Council of Nice unequivocally acknowledged this subordination (though the post-Nicene writers were more guarded in their language), and that on this account, while calling the Son *θεός* and *θεός ἐκ θεοῦ*, as begotten from the substance of the Father, they were accustomed to reserve such titles as *ὁ θεός* used absolutely, *εἰς θεός*, and *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων* or *ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός* for the Father alone. The Father alone was "uncaused," "unoriginated," "the fountain of deity" to the Son and Spirit.* Now the word *θεός* was often used by the Fathers of the second and

* "The ancient doctors of the church," as Bishop Pearson remarks, "have not stuck to call the Father 'the origin, the cause, the author, the root, the fountain, and the head of the Son,' or the whole Divinity." *Exposition of the Creed*, chap. i. p. 38, Nichols's ed.

later centuries not as a proper, but as a common name; angels, and even Christians, especially in their beatified state, might be and were called *θεοί*. It had also a metaphorical and rhetorical use, quite foreign from the style of the New Testament.* All this made it easy and natural, especially for the Fathers who were converts from heathenism, to apply the title in a relative, not absolute, sense to the Son, notwithstanding the pre-eminence which they ascribed to the Father. We find traces of this loose use of the name in Philo, as I have observed (see p. 369, note). But there is no trace of such a use in the writings of Paul. The points, then, which I would make are these: that, even granting that he believed in the deity of the Son as set forth in the Nicene Creed, he yet held the doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son so strongly in connection with it that we cannot wonder if *on this account* he reserved the title *θεός* exclusively for the Father; and that the way in which he has expressed this subordination, and the way in which he has used this title, render it incredible that he should in this single instance (Rom. ix. 5) have suddenly transferred it to Christ, with the addition of another designation, "blessed for ever," elsewhere used by him of the Father alone.

I do not see how any one can read the Epistles of Paul without perceiving that, in speaking of the objects of Christian faith, he constantly uses *θεός* as a *proper name*, as the designation of the Father in distinction from Christ. See, for example, Rom. i. 1-3, "the gospel of *God*, which he had before promised . . . concerning his Son"; ver. 7, "*God* our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ"; ver. 8, "I thank my *God*, through Jesus Christ"; ver. 9, "*God* is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son"; and so all through the Epistle; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, "All things are of

* For proof and illustration of what has been stated, see Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. iii. Addit. Note D, "On the Use of the Words *θεός* and *deus*"; *Statement of Reasons*, 12th ed., pp. 113, 114 note, 120 note, 300 f., 314, 319 f., 365 note, 468; Sandius, *Interpretationes Paradoxae* (1669), p. 227 ff.; Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. iv. p. 100 ff.; LeClerc (Clericus), *Ars Critica*, Pars II. Sect. I. c. III., vol. i. p. 145 ff., 6th ed., 1778; *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, by John [Kaye], *Bp. of Lincoln*, 1835, p. 253; Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, 4te Aufl. (1838), i. 596, note 333.

God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that *God* was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses"; Eph. v. 20, "giving thanks always for all things, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to *God*, even the Father"; though among the heathen there are gods many and lords many (1 Cor. viii. 6), "to us there is *one God*, the Father, from whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him"; Eph. iv. 5, 6, There is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, *one God* and Father of all, *who is over all*, and through all, and in you all"; 1 Tim. ii. 5, "There is *one God*, one mediator also between God and men, [himself] a man, Christ Jesus"; v. 21, "I charge thee before *God*, and Christ Jesus, and the elect angels"; Titus iii. 4-6, "*God* our Saviour" poured out upon us the Holy Spirit "*through* Jesus Christ our Saviour." Observe how strongly the subordination of the Son is expressed in passages where his dignity and lordship are described in the loftiest strain: Eph. i. 16-23, "—in my prayers, that the *God of our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Father of glory, may give unto you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him; . . . that ye may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to that working of the strength of his might which he wrought in Christ when *he raised him from the dead*, and *made him to sit at his right hand* in the heavenly places, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and *he put all things in subjection under his feet*, and *give* him to be head over all things to the Church"; 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23, "all things are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is *God's*"; xi. 3, "the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is *God*"; xv. 24, "Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to *God*, even the Father"; vv. 27, 28, "But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that He is ex-

cepted who did subject all things unto him. And when all things have been subjected unto him, THEN shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that *God* may be all in all."

Can we believe that he who has throughout his writings placed Christ in such a relation of *subordination* to the Father, and has habitually used the name *GOD* as the peculiar designation of the Father in distinction from Christ, who also calls the Father the one God, the only wise God (Rom. xvi. 27), the only God (1 Tim. i. 17), and the God of Christ, has here, in opposition to the usage elsewhere uniform of a word occurring five hundred times, suddenly designated *Christ* as "over all, God blessed for ever"? At least, should not the great improbability of this turn the scale, in a passage of doubtful construction?

4. There is another consideration which seems to me to render it very improbable that Paul has here deviated from his habitual restriction of the name *God* to "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." If he has spoken of Christ in this passage as "God blessed for ever," he has done it *obiter*, as if those whom he addressed were familiar with such a conception and designation of him. But can this have been the case with the Roman Church at so early a stage in the development of Christian doctrine?

It is the view of many Trinitarians that the doctrine that Christ is God was not *explicitly* taught in the early preaching of the Apostles. We find no trace of such teaching in the discourses of Peter or of Stephen in the Book of Acts, and none in those of the Apostle Paul (the passage Acts xx. 28 has already been examined), as we find none in the Synoptic Gospels, which represent the instruction concerning Christ given by the Apostles and their companions to their converts.* Nor does it appear in the so-called Apostles'

* "There is nothing in St. Peter's sermon upon the day of Pentecost which would not, in all probability, have been acknowledged by every Ebionite Christian down to the time when they finally disappear from history. Yet upon such a statement of doctrine, miserably insufficient as all orthodox churches would now call it, three thousand Jews and proselytes were, without delay, admitted to the Sacrament of Baptism. . . . We must carefully bear in mind what was St. Peter's object. It was to convince the Jews that Jesus Christ was the great appointed Teacher whom

Creed. When we consider further the fact already mentioned above (see p. 364), that Christ is nowhere called God in any unambiguous passage by any *writer* of the New Testament,* and that it is nowhere recorded that he ever claimed this title, we cannot reasonably regard this abstinence from the use of the term as accidental. In reference to the early apostolic preaching in particular, many of the Christian Fathers, and later Trinitarian writers, have recognized a prudent reserve in the communication of a doctrine concerning Christ and the application of a title to him which would at once have provoked vehement opposition on the part of the unbelieving Jews, which would have been particularly liable to be misunderstood by the Gentiles, and must have required much careful explanation to reconcile it with the unity of God and the humanity of Christ.† We nowhere find either in the Acts or the Epistles any trace of the controversy and questionings which the direct announcement of such a doctrine must have excited. The one aim of the early apostolic preaching was to convince first the Jews, and then the Gentiles, that Jesus, whose life and teaching were so wonderful, whom God had raised from the dead, was the Messiah, exalted by God to be a Prince and a Saviour.

God had sent,—the true spiritual Prince whom they were to obey. The Apostle felt that, if they acknowledged these great truths, everything else would follow in due time." T. W. Mossman, B.A., Rector of Torrington, *A History of the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ*, etc., London, 1873, pp. 192, 190. Gess naïvely asks, "Wie dürfte man von dem galiläischen Fischer, welcher der Wortführer der junger Gemeinde war, eine befriedigende Dogmatik erwarten?" *Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 13. See also Dr. John Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, Book III. Chap. V. (vol. ii. p. 151 ff., 5th ed.).

* I speak of the historical Christ, which is the subject in Rom. ix. 5. The unique prologue of John's Gospel, in which the *Logos* or Word is once called *θεός* (i. 1, comp. ver. 18 in the text of Tregelles and Westcott and Hort), cannot reasonably be regarded as parallel to the present passage. This is candidly admitted by Schultz, who has most elaborately defended the construction which refers the last part of Rom. ix. 5 to Christ. He says, "Nach unseren Prämissen versteht sich von selbst, dass wir nicht etwa daraus, dass der *λόγος θεός* genannt wird, Beweise ziehen wollen für die Zulässigkeit des Namens *θεός* für den verkündeten Jesus." (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, 1868, xiii. 491.) I of course do not enter here into the difficult questions as to what was precisely John's conception of the *Logos*, and in what sense he says "the Word became flesh," language which no one understands literally. We must consider also the late date of the Gospel of John as compared with the Epistle to the Romans.

† For superabundant quotations from the Christian Fathers confirming the statement made above, notwithstanding a few mistakes, see Priestley's *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*, Book III. Chap. IV.-VII. (vol. iii. p. 85 ff., ed. of 1786). Or see Chrysostom's Homilies on the Acts, *passim*. How this doctrine would have struck a Jew may be seen from Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*.

To acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, or Jesus as Lord, which is essentially the same thing, was the one fundamental article of the Christian faith.* Much, indeed, was involved in this confession; but it is now, I suppose, fully established and generally admitted that the Jews in the time of Christ had no expectation that the coming Messiah would be an incarnation of Jehovah, and no acquaintance with the mystery of the Trinity.† Such being the state of the case, it seems to me that, on the supposition that the Apostles were fully enlightened in regard to the mystery of the Trinity and the hypostatic union, the only tenable ground to be taken is that they wisely left these doctrines to develop themselves gradually in "the Christian consciousness." As Dr. Pye Smith remarks, "The whole revelation of the Christian system was given by an advancing process. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that the doctrine concerning the person of the Messiah was developed gradually, and that its clearest manifestation is to be found in the latest written books of the New Testament." (*Ut supra*, p. 155.) Canon Westcott observes, "The study of the Synoptists, of the Apocalypse, and of the Gospel of St. John in succession enables us to see under what human conditions the

* See Neander, *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*, Book I. Chap. II. Comp. Matt. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 29; Luke ix. 20; John vi. 69, xx. 31; Acts ii. 36, v. 42, viii. 5, ix. 20, 22, xvii. 3, xviii. 5, 28; Rom. x. 9, *nota bene*; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 5; 1 John iv. 2, v. 1.

† See the art. *Messias*, by Oehler, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie der prot. Theol. und Kirche*, ix. 437 ff., or in the new ed., vol. ix. (1881), p. 666 ff.; Ferd. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästin. Theol.* (1880), p. 146 ff., 339 ff. Passages from the Rabbinical writings are sometimes adduced by commentators on Rom. ix. 5 in which the name Jehovah, or Jehovah our righteousness, is said to be given to the Messiah. But the irrelevance of these citations has been repeatedly exposed; see Fritzsche, *Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 269, note; Weber, *ut supra*, p. 342. Weber says, "Und wenn *Baba bathra* 75^b gesagt wird, der Messias werde nach dem Namen Jehova's יהוה צדקני genannt, so stehen an dieser Stelle in gleicher Beziehung die Gerechten und Jerusalem." Comp. Jer. xxiii. 6 with xxxiii. 16, and on this passage see Oehler, *Theol. des A. T.* ii. 263; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 262, note 36; Schultz, *Alltest. Theol.*, 2te Aufl. (1878), p. 740. On Isa. ix. 6, see Schultz, p. 727; H tzig, *Vorlesungen über bibl. Theol.*, u. s. w. (1880), p. 206 ff., and the commentators, as Gesenius, Knobel, Ewald, Cheyne. That the *Memra da Yeyaz* or "Word of Jehovah" is not identified in the Targums with the Messiah is certain. See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Word," vol. iv. p. 3557 b, Am. ed., and Weber, *ut supra*, p. 339. It is time that the book Zohar, which figures so conspicuously in Schoettgen, Bertholdt, and other writers, but is now proved to be a pseudograph of the thirteenth century, should cease to be quoted as an authority for Jewish opinions in the time of Christ. See Ginsburg, *The Kabbala* (London, 1855), p. 78 ff., espec. p. 90 ff. One who is disposed to rely on Hengstenberg's *Christology* in relation to this subject should compare the review of it by Dr. Noyes in the *Christian Examiner* (Boston) for January, May, and July, 1836.

full majesty of Christ was perceived and declared, not all at once, but step by step, and by the help of the old prophetic teaching." (*Introd. to the Gospel of St. John* in the so-called "Speaker's Commentary," p. lxxxvii.) Canon Kennedy even says: "I do not think that any apostle, John or Peter or Paul, was so taught the full *μυστήριον θεότητος* as that they were prepared to formulate the decrees of Nicæa and Constantinople, which appeared after three hundred years and more, or the Trinitarian exegesis, which was completed after six hundred years and more. But they, with the other evangelists, guided by the Holy Spirit, furnished the materials from which those doctrines were developed." (*Ely Lectures*, p. xix.)

Taking all these facts into consideration, is it probable that at this early day the Jewish Christians and Gentile believers at Rome, who needed so much instruction in the very elements of Christianity, were already so fully initiated into the mysterious doctrine of the deity of Christ that the application of the term God to him, found in no Christian writing that we know of till long after the date of this Epistle, could have been familiar to them? Accustomed to the representation of him as a being distinct from God, would they not have been startled and amazed beyond measure by finding him described as "over all, God blessed for ever"? But if so, if this was a doctrine and a use of language with which they were not familiar, it is to me wholly incredible that the Apostle should have introduced it abruptly in this incidental manner, and have left it without remark or explanation.

Dr. Hermann Schultz, whose elaborate dissertation on Rom. ix. 5 has been already referred to, admits that if *ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* was used here to designate the *λόγος*, the eternal Son of God,—in other words, if *θεός* was used here in reference to the nature of Christ,—"the strict monotheism of Paul would certainly require an intimation that the honor due to God alone was not here trespassed upon" (*beeinträchtigt*).* The expression, he maintains, describes "the dignity con-

* Schultz, *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1868, xiii. 484.

ferred upon him by God": the *θεός* here is essentially equivalent to *κύριος*. "The predicate *θεός* must be perfectly covered by the subject *Χριστός*, *i.e.* the Messianic human King of Israel." *

But these concessions of Schultz seem to me fatal to his construction of the passage. If *θεός*, used in the metaphysical sense, describing the *nature* of Christ, would confessedly need explanation, to guard against an apparent infringement of the divine unity, would not Paul's readers need to be cautioned against taking it in this sense,—the sense which it has everywhere else in his writings? Again, if Paul by *θεός* here only meant *κύριος*, why did he not say *κύριος*, this being his constant designation of the glorified Christ (comp. Phil. ii. 9-11)?

This leads me to notice further the important passage, 1 Cor. viii. 6, already quoted (see above, p. 373). It has often been said † that the mention here of the Father as the "one God" of Christians no more excludes Christ from being God and from receiving this name than the designation of Christ as the "one Lord" excludes the Father from being Lord and receiving this name. But, in making this statement, some important considerations are overlooked. In the first place, the title "god" is unquestionably of far higher dignity than the title "lord"; and because godship *includes* lordship, with all the titles that belong to it, it by

* This view of Schultz appears to be that of Hofmann (*Der Schriftbeweis*, 2te Aufl., 1857, i. 143) and Weiss (*Bibl. Theol. d. N. T.*, 3te Aufl., 1880, p. 233, note 5), as it was formerly of Ritshl (*Die Entstehung der Aeth. Kirche*, 2te Aufl., 1857, p. 79 f.). This is the way, also, in which the old Socinian commentators understood the passage, as Socinus, Crell, Schlichting, Wo zogen. They did not hesitate to give the name "God" to Christ any more than the ancient Arians did, understanding it in a lower sense, and referring especially in justification of this to John x. 34-36, and various passages of the Old Testament. So it appears to have been taken by some of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, who referred the last clause of the verse to Christ, as probably by Novatian, who quotes the passage twice as proof that Christ is *Deus* (*De Regula Fidei* or *De Trin.* cc. 13, 30), but who says, "Dominus et Deus constitutus esse reperitur" (c. 20); "hoc ipsum a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset et Dominus esset" (c. 22); "omnium Deus, quoniam omnibus illum *Deus Pater praeponit* quem genuit" (c. 31). So Hippolytus (*Cont. Noët.* c. 6) applies the verse to Christ, and justifies the language by quoting Christ's declaration, "All things have been delivered to me by the Father." He cites other passages in the same connection, and says, "If then all things have been subjected unto him with the exception of him who subjected them, he rules over all, *but the Father rules over him.*"

† See, e.g., Chrys. *De incomprehens. Dei nat.* Hom. v. c. 1, Opp. i. 481 f. (590), ed. Montf.: *Εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἓνα λέγεσθαι θεὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐκβάλλει τὸν υἱὸν τῆς θεότητος, καὶ τὸ ἓνα λέγεσθαι κύριον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβάλλει τὸν πατέρα τῆς κυριότητος.*

no means follows that lordship includes godship, and has a right to its titles; in other words, that one who is properly called a *lord* (κύριος), as having servants or subjects or possessions, may therefore be properly called a *god* (θεός). In the second place, the lordship of Christ is everywhere represented not as belonging to him by *nature*, but as conferred upon him by the one God and Father of all. This lordship is frequently denoted by the figurative expression, "sitting on the right hand of God."* The expression is borrowed from Ps. cx., so often cited in the New Testament as applicable to Christ, and particularly by Peter in his discourse on the day of Pentecost, who, after quoting the words, "The Lord [*Jehovah*] said unto my Lord [*Adoni*], 'Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool,'" goes on to say, "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God hath MADE him both *Lord* and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts ii. 35, 36). It is he to whom "all authority was *given* in heaven and on earth," whom "*God exalted* with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour"; "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . *put all things in subjection* under his feet, and *gave* him to be head over all things to the Church"; "*gave* unto him the name which is above every name, . . . that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is *Lord*, to the glory of God, the Father." Such being Paul's conception of the relation of Christ to God, is it not the plain meaning of the passage that, while the heathen worship and serve many beings whom they call "gods" and "lords," to Christians there is but one God, the Father,—one being to whom they give that name, "from whom are all things" and who is the object of supreme worship; and one being "through whom are all things," through whom especially flow our spiritual blessings, whom "God hath made both Lord and Christ," and whom Christians therefore habitually call "the Lord"? The fact that this appellation of Christ, under such circumstances, does not debar the Supreme Being from receiving

* See Knapp, *De Jesu Christo ad dextram Dei sedente*, in his *Scripta varii Argumenti*, ed. 2da (1823), i. 39-76.

the name "Lord" obviously affords no countenance to the notion that Paul would not hesitate to give to Christ the name "God." As a matter of fact, "the Lord" is the common designation of Christ in the writings of Paul, and is seldom used of God, except in quotations from or references to the language of the Old Testament.* There, in the Septuagint, *Κύριος* is used of God sometimes as a proper name, taking the place of Jehovah (Yahweh) on account of a Jewish superstition, and sometimes as an appellative.

Glancing back now for a moment over the field we have traversed, we may reasonably say, it seems to me, *first*, that the use of *εὐλογητός*, elsewhere in the New Testament restricted to God, the Father,—in connection with the exceeding rarity, if not absence, of ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving to Christ in the writings of Paul and their frequency in reference to God,—affords a pretty strong presumption in favor of that construction of this ambiguous passage which makes the last clause a doxology to the Father; *secondly*, that some additional confirmation is given to this reference by the *εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων*, in Eph. iv. 6; and, *thirdly*, that the at first view overwhelming presumption in favor of this construction, founded on the uniform restriction of the designation *θεός*, occurring more than five hundred times, to God, the Father, in the writings of Paul, is not weakened, but rather strengthened, by our examination of the language which he elsewhere uses respecting the dignity of Christ and his relation to God. And, though our sources of information are imperfect, we have seen that there are very grave reasons for doubting whether the use of *θεός* as a designation of Christ belonged to the language of Christians anywhere at so early a period as the date of this Epistle (*cir.* A.D. 58).

Beyond a doubt, all the writers of the New Testament and the early preachers of Christianity believed that God was *united with* the man Jesus Christ in a way unique and

* "On the meaning of ΚΥΡΙΟΣ in the New Testament, particularly on the manner in which this word is employed by Paul in his Epistles," see the valuable article of Professor Stuart in the *Biblical Repository* (Andover) for October, 1831, i. 733-776. His view is that the *κυριότης* which Christ has as the Messiah is a delegated dominion.

peculiar, distinguishing him from all other beings; that his teaching and works and character were divine; that God had raised him from the dead, and exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour; that he came, as the messenger of God's love and mercy, to redeem men from sin, and make them truly sons of God; that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." But no New Testament writer has *defined the mode* of this union with God. How much real light has been thrown upon the subject by the councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the so-called Athanasian Creed, is a question, on which there may be differences of opinion. The *authority* of councils is another question. But it has been no part of my object, in discussing the construction of the passage before us, to argue against the doctrine of the Nicene Creed. My point is simply the *use of language* at the time when this Epistle was written. The questions of doctrine and language are, of course, closely connected, but are not identical. It seems to me that a believer in the deity of Christ, admitting the fact that we have no clear evidence that the "mediator between God and men" was ever *called* "God" by any New Testament writer, or any very early preacher of Christianity, may recognize therein a wise Providence which saved the nascent Church from controversies and discussions for which it was not then prepared.

III. We will now consider some other constructions of the passage before us. (See above, p. 335.)

1. I refrain from discussing in detail the comparative merits of Nos. 1 and 2. The advocates of No. 1 observe correctly that it describes Christ as only *ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, not *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, which they say would identify him with the Father. But if the Father is "God over all," and Christ is also "God over all," the question naturally arises how the Father can be "*the* God over all," unless the term "God" as applied to Christ is used in a lower sense. The answers to this question would lead us beyond the sphere of exegesis, and I pass it by. Meyer thinks that, if we

refer the $\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ to Christ, this is the most natural construction of the words ; and it seems to have been adopted by most of the ancient Fathers who have cited the passage, at least after the Council of Nicæa, and in nearly all the generally received modern translations, from Luther and Tyndale downwards.

2. Construction No. 2 aims to escape the difficulty presented by No. 1, but involves some ambiguities. Does the sentence mean, "who is over all (Jews as well as Gentiles), and who is also God blessed for ever" (so Hofmann, Kahnis, *Die luth. Dogm.* i. 453 f.)? or does it mean, "celui qui est élevé sur toutes choses, comme Dieu béni éternellement"? as Godet translates it (*Comm.* ii. 256), contending that $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ is not to be connected with $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, but with $\acute{\omega}\nu$, though he had before translated, inconsistently it would seem, "lui qui est Dieu au-dessus de toutes choses béni éternellement" (pp. 248, 254). Lange finds in the last clause "a quotation from the synagogical liturgy," together with "a strong Pauline breviloquence," the ellipsis in which he supplies in a manner that must always hold a high place among the curiosities of exegesis. He says, however, that "every exposition is attended with great difficulties." I cannot discover that "God blessed for ever," as a kind of compound name of the Supreme Being, occurs in Jewish liturgies or anywhere else.

3. Construction No. 3 is defended particularly by Gess, who maintains, in opposition to Schultz and others, that $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ here "nicht Christi Machtstellung sondern seine Wesenheit bezeichnet." (*Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 207.) But on this supposition he admits that the connecting of $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ with $\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ would present a serious difficulty. "The care with which Paul elsewhere chooses his expressions in such a way that the supreme majesty of the Father shines forth would be given up." Meyer thinks that the punctuation adopted by Morus and Gess makes "die Rede" "noch zerstückter, ja kurzathmiger," than construction No. 5. But this is rather a matter of taste and feeling. The objections which seem to me fatal to all the constructions which refer

the name *θεός* here to Christ have been set forth above, and need not be repeated.

If the view of Westcott and Hort is correct, the construction of this passage adopted by Hippolytus (*Cont. Noët.* c. 6) agrees with that of Gess in finding three distinct affirmations in the clause beginning with *ὁ ὢν*, in opposition to those who would read it *μονοκῶλως*. But the passage in Hippolytus is obscure. See below under IV.

4. Under No. 4 I have noticed a possible construction, for which, as regards the essential point, I have referred to Wordsworth's note in his *N. T. in Græc.*, new ed., vol. ii. (1864). He translates in his note on ver. 5: "He that is existing above all, God Blessed for ever," and remarks: "There is a special emphasis on *ὁ ὢν*. He that *is*; He Who is the *being One*; JEHOVAH. See John i. 18; Rev. i. 4, 8; iv. 8; xi. 17; xvi. 5, compared with Exod. iii. 14, *ἐγώ εἰμι, ὁ ὢν*. And compare on Gal. iii. 20." "He Who *came* of the Jews, according to the *flesh*, is no other than *ὁ ὢν*, the BEING ONE, JEHOVAH." We have an assertion of "His *Existence* from Everlasting in *ὁ ὢν*." He mistranslates the last part of Athanasius, *Orat. cont. Arian.* i. § 24, p. 338, thus: "Paul asserts that He is the splendour of His Father's Glory, and is the Being One, over all, God Blessed for ever." In his note on vv. 4, 5, on the other hand, he translates the present passage: "Christ came, Who is over all, God Blessed for ever."

There is some confusion here. The verb *εἰμι* may denote simple existence; it may (in contrasts) denote *real* in distinction from *seeming* existence; it may be, and commonly is, used as a mere copula, connecting the subject with the predicate. As applied to the Supreme Being in Exod. iii. 14 (Sept.), Wisd. Sol. xiii. 1, etc., *ὁ ὢν*, "He who Is," describes him as possessing not only real, but independent and hence eternal existence. This latter use is altogether peculiar. To find it where *ὢν* is used as a *copula*, or to suppose that the two uses can be combined, is purely fanciful and arbitrary. It was not too fanciful and arbitrary, however, for some of the Christian Fathers, who argue Christ's eter-

nal existence from the use of *ὢν* or *ὁ ὢν* (or *qui est*) in such passages as John i. 18; iii. 13 (T. R.); vi. 46; Rom. ix. 5; Heb. i. 3. So Athanasius, as above; Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* c. 5; Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Eunom.* lib. x., Opp. (1638) ii. 680-682; Pseudo-Basil, *Adv. Eunom.* iv. 2, Opp. i. 282 (399); Chrysostom, *Opp.* i. 476 f., viii. 87, ed. Montf.; Hilary, *De Trin.* xii. 24; cf. Cyril. Alex. *Theol.* i. 4. So Proclus of Constantinople, *Ep. ad Armen. de Fide*, c. 14, quoting Rom. ix. 5, says: *εἶπεν αὐτὸν ὄντα, ἵνα ἀναρχὸν βροντήσῃ*, "he spoke of him as *being*, that he might declare in thunder his existence without beginning." (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxv. 872°.)

5. The construction, "from whom is the Messiah as to the flesh, he who is over all: God be blessed for ever!" has found favor with some eminent scholars (see below under IV.), and deserves consideration. If adopted, I think we should understand *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* not as meaning "he who is superior to all the patriarchs" (Justi and others), which is tame, and would hardly be expressed in this way; nor "he who is over all things," which, without qualification, seems too absolute for Paul; but rather, "who is Lord of *all*" (Jews and Gentiles alike), comp. Acts x. 36; Rom. x. 12, xi. 32; who, though he sprang from the Jews, is yet, as the Messiah, the ruler of a kingdom which embraces all men. (See Wetstein's note, near the end.) The natural contrast suggested by the mention of Christ's relation to the Jews *κατὰ σάρκα*, may justify us in assuming this reference of *πάντων*, which also accords with the central thought of the Epistle. The doxology, however, seems exceedingly abrupt and curt; and we should expect *ὁ θεός* instead of *θεός* as the subject of the sentence, though in a few cases the word stands in the nominative without the article. Grimm compares *θεός μάρτυς*, 1 Thess. ii. 5, with *μάρτυς ὁ θεός*, Rom. i. 9; also 2 Cor. v. 19; Gal. ii. 6, vi. 7; Luke xx. 38 (?). We should also rather expect *εὐλογητός* to stand first in the doxology; but the position of words in Greek is so largely subjective, depending on the feeling of the writer, that we cannot urge this objection very strongly. The thought, so frequent in Paul, of God as the *source*, in contrast with, or rather in distinction

from, Christ as the *medium* of the Messianic blessings, may have given the word *θεός* prominence. (See above, p. 356 f., in regard to the position of the subject in contrasts.) Gess accordingly dismisses the objection founded on the position of *εὐλογητός*, remarking, "die Voranstellung von *θεός* hätte durch den Gegensatz gegen Christum ein zureichendes Motiv" (*ubi supra*, p. 206). Still, on the whole, construction No. 7 seems to me much easier and more natural.

6. The construction numbered 6 was, I believe, first proposed by Professor Andrews Norton, in his review of Professor Stuart's *Letters to Dr. Channing*. This was published in the *Christian Disciple* (Boston) for 1819, new series, vol. i. p. 370 ff.; on Rom. ix. 5, see p. 418 ff. The passage is discussed more fully in his *Statement of Reasons*, etc. (Cambridge and Boston), 1833, p. 147 ff.; new ed. (ster. 1856), p. 203 ff., 470 ff., in which some notes were added by the writer of the present essay. There, after giving as the literal rendering, "He who was over all was God, blessed for ever," Mr. Norton remarks: "'He who was over all,' that is, over all which has just been mentioned by the Apostie." "Among the privileges and distinctions of the Jews, it could not be forgotten by the Apostle, that God had presided over all their concerns in a particular manner."

There is no grammatical objection to this construction of the passage. (See above, p. 346, 1st paragr.) Mr. Norton, in translating vv. 4 and 5, uses the *past* tense in supplying the ellipsis of the substantive verb. This is done by other translators; e.g., Conybeare and Howson. It may be questioned, however, whether this is fully justified here. Canon Kennedy uses the present tense, but seems to take the same general view of the bearing of the passage as Mr. Norton. See his *Occasional Sermons*, pp. 64, 65, and *Ely Lectures*, pp. 88, 89.

As regards this view of the passage, I will only say here that the thought presented in Mr. Norton's translation did not need to be expressed, as it is fully implied in the nature of the privileges and distinctions enumerated. (See above, p. 341.) Taking Professor Kennedy's rendering, I doubt

whether the Apostle would have used this language in respect to the relation existing between God and the Jewish people at the time when he was writing. The Jews gloried in God as their God in a special sense (Rom. ii. 17); but, in Paul's view, it was *Christians*, now, who rightfully gloried in God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. v. 11; comp. iii. 29).

7. I add a single remark, which might more properly have been made before. I have rendered ὁ χριστός here not "Christ," as a mere proper name, but "the Messiah." Not only the use of the article, but the context, seems to me to require this. Westcott and Hort observe in regard to the word χριστός: "We doubt whether the appellative force, with its various associations and implications, is ever entirely lost in the New Testament, and are convinced that the number of passages is small in which Messiahship, of course in the enlarged apostolic sense, is not the principal intention of the word." (*The N. T. in Greek*, vol. ii., *Introd.*, p. 317.)

IV. We will now take notice of some points connected with the *history* of the interpretation of Rom. ix. 5. The fullest account of this is perhaps that given by Schultz in the article already repeatedly referred to; but he is neither very thorough nor very accurate.

The application of the passage by the Christian Fathers will naturally come first under consideration.

The fact that the great majority of the Fathers whose writings have come down to us understood the last part of the verse to relate to Christ has been regarded by many as a very weighty argument in favor of that construction. I have had occasion to consider the value of this argument in connection with another passage. (See *Essay XVIII.*, p. 445.) The remarks there made apply equally to the present case. The fact that the Fathers, in quoting a passage grammatically ambiguous, have given it a construction which suited their theology, does not help us much in determining the true construction. We must remember, also, the looser use of the term θεός which prevailed in the latter

part of the second century and later. (See above, p. 371 f.) Those in the second and third centuries who held strongly the doctrine of the inferiority of the Son, and the Arians in the fourth, like the Socinians at a later period, did not hesitate to apply the name "God" to Christ, and would find little difficulty in a construction of the passage which involved this. They might hesitate about the expression "God over all"; but, as we have seen, though natural, it is not necessary to connect the ἐπὶ πάντων with θεός.

The specimen of patristic exegesis in the construction given to 2 Cor. iv. 4, where so many of the Fathers make the genitive τοῦ αἰῶνος depend not on ὁ θεός, but τῶν ἀπίστων (see Essay XVIII., *u. s.*), will be sufficient for most persons who wish to form an estimate of their authority in a case like the present. I will only ask further, taking the first examples that occur to me, how much weight is to be attributed to the judgment of Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Isidore of Pelusium, Gennadius, Theodorus Monachus, Joannes Damascenus (?), Photius, Œcumenius (or what passes under his name), and Theophylact, when, in their zeal for the freedom of the will, they explain πρόθεσις in Rom. viii. 28 (τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς), not as denoting the Divine purpose, but the purpose or choice of the subjects of the call? (Cyril of Alexandria gives the words both meanings at the same time.) What is the value of the opinion of Chrysostom, Joannes Damascenus, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, that διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Rom. xvi. 27 is to be construed with στήριζαι in ver. 25? Shall we accept the exegesis of Chrysostom and Theophylact when they tell us that in the injunction of Christ in Matt. v. 39 not to resist τῷ πονηρῷ, τῷ πονηρῷ means the devil?

Dean Burgon, in his article on "New Testament Revision" in the *Quart. Rev.* for Jan., 1882,* has given (p. 54 ff.) perhaps the fullest enumeration yet presented of ancient Christian writers who have referred the ὁ ὢν, κ. τ. λ. in Rom. ix. 5 to Christ. He counts up "55 illustrious names," forty of Greek writers, from Irenæus in the latter part of the

[* Reprinted in *The Revision Revised* (London, 1883); see p. 212.]

second century to John of Damascus in the eighth, and fifteen of Latin writers, from Tertullian at the beginning of the third century to Facundus in the sixth, "who all see in Rom. ix. 5 a glorious assertion of the eternal Godhead of CHRIST." An examination of his list will show that it needs some sifting. Most of the Latin writers whom he mentions, as Augustine, knew little or nothing of Greek, and their authority cannot be very weighty in determining the construction of an ambiguous Greek sentence. Of his illustrious names, six are unfortunately unknown, being writers "of whom," as Mr. Burgon mildly puts it, "3 have been mistaken for Athanasius, and 3 for Chrysostom." Another is the illustrious forger of the Answers to Ten Questions of Paul of Samosata, fathered upon Dionysius of Alexandria, "certainly spurious," according to Cardinal Newman and the best scholars generally, and marked as pseudonymous by Mr. Burgon himself. Methodius should also have been cited as Pseudo-Methodius (see p. 391 f), and Cæsarius as Pseudo-Cæsarius. Among the other illustrious names, we find "6 of the Bishops at the Council of Antioch, A.D. 269." On looking at the names as they appear in Routh's *Rel. Sacrae*, ed. alt. (1846), iii. 289, I regret my inability to recall the deeds or the occasion that made them "illustrious," unless it is the fact that, as members of that Council, about half a century before the Council of Nicæa, they *condemned* the use of the term *ὁμοούσιος*, "consubstantial," which was established by the latter as the test and watchword of orthodoxy.

Next to the six bishops and "ps.-Dionysius Alex." in Mr. Burgon's list of the illustrious Fathers "who see in Rom. ix. 5 a glorious assertion of the eternal Godhead of Christ," we find "Constt. App.," that is, the Apostolical Constitutions, with a reference to "vi. c. 26." He does not quote the passage. It reads as follows: "Some of the heretics imagine the Christ [so Lagarde; or "the Lord," Cotelier and Ueltzen] to be a mere man . . . ; but others of them suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all, glorifying him as his own Father, supposing him to be Son and Para-

plete; than which doctrines what can be more abominable?" Compare Const. Apost. iii. 17: "The Father is the God over all, *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory." See also vi. 18.

One is surprised, after this, to find that Mr. Burgon did not cite for the same purpose Pseudo-Ignatius *ad Tars.* cc. 2, 5, and *ad Philip.* c. 7, where it is denied emphatically that Christ is *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*; and also Origen, *Cont. Cels.* viii. 14, who says: "Grant that there are some among the multitude of believers, with their differences of opinion, who rashly suppose that the Saviour is the Most High God over all; yet certainly we do not, for we believe him when he said, *The Father who sent me is greater than I.*" The very strong language which Origen uses in many other places, respecting the inferiority of the Son, renders it unlikely that he applied the last part of this verse to Christ. See, e.g., *Cont. Cels.* viii. 15; *De Princip.* i. 3. § 5; *In Ioan.* tom. ii. cc. 2, 3, 6; vi. 23; xiii. 25. Rufinus's Latin version of Origen's Commentary on Romans, which is the only authority for ascribing to Origen the common interpretation of this passage, is no authority at all. He, according to his own account of his work, had so transformed it by omissions, additions, and alterations, that his friends thought he ought to claim it as his own.* It was in accordance with his professed principles to omit or alter in the works which he translated whatever he regarded as dangerous, particularly whatever did not conform to his standard of orthodoxy. His falsification of other writings of Origen is notorious. Westcott and Hort remark that in the Rufino-Origenian commentary on this verse "there is not a trace of Origenian language, and this is one of the places in which Rufinus would not fail to indulge his habit of altering an interpretation which he disapproved on doctrinal grounds." They

* See his *Peroratio* at the end of the Epistle; *Origenis Opp.* iv. 688 f., ed. De la Rue. *Matthæi* remarks: "Rufini interpretatio, quæ parum fidei habet, in epistola ad Romanos, quod quilibet ipse intelligit, non tam pro Origenis opere, quam pro compendio Rufini haberi debet, quod haud dubie alia omisit, alia, sicut in ceteris libris, invito Origene admisit." — *Pauli Epp. ad Thess.*, etc. (Rigae, 1785), *Praefatio*, sig. b 2. See more fully to the same purpose Redepenning's *Origenes*, ii. 189 ff., who speaks of his "Ausscheidung ganzer Stücke," and "Umgestaltung des Heterodoxen in der Trinitätslehre." See also Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, art. "Origenes."

also remark, "It is difficult to impute Origen's silence to accident in the many places in which quotation would have been natural had he followed the common interpretation."

Origen should therefore be henceforth excluded from the list of Fathers cited in support of the common punctuation. It is even "probable," as Westcott and Hort maintain, though "not certain," that he and Eusebius gave the passage a different construction.*

As regards Eusebius, the presumption is perhaps even stronger than in the case of Origen. He has nowhere quoted the passage; but in very numerous places in his writings he uses ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός as a title exclusively belonging to the Father, and insists upon this against the Sabelians.† I admit that these considerations are not decisive; he and Origen may have given the passage an interpretation similar to that of Hippolytus; but, if they understood it to relate to Christ, it is certainly strange that they have nowhere quoted it in their numerous writings.

The assumption that Irenæus referred the last part of this verse to Christ must be regarded as doubtful. The only place where he has quoted it is *Hæv.* iii. 16. (al. 18.) § 3, where his text is preserved only in the Old Latin version, which of course cannot determine the construction which Irenæus put upon the Greek. He does not quote it to prove that Christ is θεός,—the Gnostics gave the name θεός to their Æons, and also to the Demiurgus,—but to prove the unity of the *Christ* with the man Jesus, in opposition to the Gnostics who maintained that the Æon Christ did not descend upon Jesus till his baptism. He had just before

* I have represented the eminent scholars named above as regarding it as "probable though not certain" that these Fathers understood the last clause as relating to God. Their note does imply that they are inclined to this view; but subsequent examination leads me to suppose that the words quoted were intended to apply to the Apostolic Constitutions and the Pseudo-Ignatius. Westcott and Hort also refer, for the application of the phrase ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός to the Father in distinction from Christ, to "Melito p. 413 Otto," *i.e.*, to his *Apol.* fragm. 2; comp. Routh, i. 118, ed. alt.

† See, for example, *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 3, 7, 8, 11, 20; ii. 1, 4, 5 (pp. 62 c, 65 a, 66 c, 70 d, 93 c, 104 a, 107 c, d), and a multitude of other places, some of which are quoted in Wetstein's note. The apparent exception, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 11, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν χριστὸν ἐπιβωμένον (ed. Vales.), is a false reading: Burton, Schwegler, Laemmer, and Dindorf omit χριστὸν on the authority of important MSS.; on the other hand Henrichen in his recent edition (1868) omits ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν, and reads τὸν χριστὸν simply.

(§ 2) quoted Matt. i. 18 for this purpose (reading τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ); he now quotes Rom. i. 3, 4; ix. 5; and Gal. iv. 4, 5, for the same purpose. His argument rests on the εἰς ὃν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, and not on the last part of the verse, on which he makes no remark. Throughout his work against Heresies, and very often, Irenæus uses the title "the God over all" as the exclusive designation of the Father.*

The passage in which Hippolytus quotes Rom. ix. 5 (*Cont. Noët.* c. 6) has already been noticed. (See above, pp. 378, 383.) The Noetians and Patripassians, according to him, quoted the text to prove the identity of Christ with the Father. (*Ibid.* cc. 2, 3.) He complains that they treat the words μονοκῶλως (or μονόκωλα); comp. Epiph. *Haer.* lvii. 2. Westcott and Hort understand this to mean that they read all the words from καὶ ἐξ ὧν το αἰῶνας "as a single clause." Semler once took nearly the same view (*Hist. Einl. zu S. J. Baumgarten's Unters. theol. Streitigkeiten*, 1762, i. 217, n. 205), but was afterwards doubtful about it (*ibid.* p. 236, n. 235). Fabricius in his note on the passage, and Salmond in his translation of Hippolytus in the *Ante-Nicene Christ. Library*, ix. 53, give a very different explanation. To discuss the matter here would require too much space, but it seemed well to mention it. Possibly in *Cont. Noët.* c. 6 εὐλογητός is misplaced through the mistake of a scribe, and should stand before εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Dean Burgon refers also to "Phil. 339," that is to the *Philosophumena* or *Ref. omn. Haer.* x. 34, *ad fin.* But ὁ κατὰ πάντων θεός there should not, I think, be alleged as a quotation of Rom. ix. 5 applied to Christ. Bunsen's easy emendation of the passage (*Anal. Ante-Nic.* i. 392; comp. his *Hippolytus*, 2d ed., i. 413) seems to me the true reading, and is supported by x. 33, *ad init.* (p. 334), where οὗτος μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων θεός is distinguished from the Logos. Hippolytus could hardly have called Christ "the God over all." (See p. 378, note*.)

* Semler (*Ep. ad Griesbachium*, 1770, p. 77 ff.; *Antwort*, etc., 1770, p. 45) and Whitby (*Disq. modestae*, p. 125 f.) take the above view of this passage of Irenæus. For the use of the designation "God over all," see *Iren. Haer.* ii. 5, § 4; 6. (al. 5) §§ 2, 3; 11. (al. 12.) § 1, *ὕψις*; 13. (al. 18.) § 8; 24. (al. 41.) § 2; 28. (al. 47.) § 8; iii. 8 § 3; iv. 5. (al. 10.) § 1; v. 18. § 1, and many other passages. (Cf. iv. 1. § 1.)

I note in passing that Tischendorf cites incorrectly for the reference of the $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\omega} \nu$, etc., to Christ "Meth. ^{conviv} 805 (Gall 3)." The passage referred to is not from the *Convivium*, but from the discourse of the Pseudo-Methodius *De Simone et Anna*, c. 1, *ad fin.*, where we have the mere expression $\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\eta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$. This is also one of Dean Burgon's authorities; but, as the writer explains himself (c. 2, *ad fin.*), he seems to mean by "the glory of the God over all" not the glory of the Son considered by himself, but the glory of the whole Trinity. There is no quotation of Rom. ix. 5 here.

The passage of Amphilochius (Gallandi vi. 409, or Migne xxxix. 101) which Tischendorf adduces, with a *videtur*, as a reference of Rom. ix. 5 to the Father, seems analogous to the above, and hardly proves anything on one side or the other.

In the quotation of Rom. ix. 5 in the Antiochene Epistle to Paul of Samosata (see above, p. 388) it is probable that the six bishops made a slight pause at $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$. The subordination of the Son is very strongly expressed in the Epistle. Among other things it is said, "To think that the God of the universe is called a messenger ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) is impious; but the Son is the messenger of the Father, being himself Lord and God." (Routh, *ut supra*, p. 294.)

The Emperor Julian has already been referred to. (See above, p. 346, note.) He was as good a judge of the construction of a Greek sentence as Cyril of Alexandria, or any other of the Fathers, and quite as likely to interpret impartially. Well acquainted with the writings of the Christians, he could hardly have overlooked passages so frequently quoted in the controversies on the nature of Christ as Rom. ix. 5 and Tit. ii. 13. But he did not find the title $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ given to Christ in these or any other places (*e.g.*, 1 Tim. iii. 16) in the writings of Paul.

Among the orthodox Greek Fathers, Diodorus (of Antioch and Tarsus) and Photius appear to have understood the $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\omega} \nu$, etc., to refer to God. The comment of Diodorus on this passage is preserved in the important Catena on the Epistle

to the Romans published by Cramer from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Cramer's *Catenæ in N. T.*, vol. iv., Oxon. 1844). The essential part of it reads: *καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ἐξ αὐτῶν, φησὶν, ὁ χριστὸς. Θεὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἐπὶ πάντων ἐστὶ Θεός.* (p. 162.) This appears to mean, "From them, he says, is the Messiah. But God belongs not to them alone, but is God over all men alike." Meyer, Tholuck, Philippi, and Schultz understand it as relating to the Father. I do not perceive that this reference is affected by the fact that Theodore of Mopsuestia, a pupil of Diodorus, who has borrowed much of the language of this comment, gives the last part a different turn: *καὶ τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὅς ἐστι θεὸς οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πάντων.* (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 833.) Had it been the purpose of Diodorus to express this meaning, he would probably have inserted *ἐστὶν* after *θεὸς δέ*, or have written *ὅς ἐστὶν*. The omission of the article before *θεός* creates no difficulty in taking *θεός* as the subject of the sentence. It is often omitted in such a case by these later Greek writers.*

Diodorus, it will be remembered, was the founder of a comparatively rational, grammatico-historical, and logical school of interpretation, in opposition to the arbitrary exegesis of Scripture which had prevailed among the Fathers.

The passage in Photius (*Cont. Manich.* iii. 14) appears to be unequivocal: "He cries with a loud voice,—*whose are the covenants, and the laws (αἱ νομοθεσίαι), and the promises, and the holy services (αἱ λειτουργίαι)*; and showing most clearly whence these things are and on whose providence they have depended [he adds], *ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*" "So the laws and the holy services and the promises, in the observance of which the fathers pleased God, and from whom as to his humanity sprang the Messiah, are from the God over all, *τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ.*" (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* cii. 157.)

Schultz, in the essay so often referred to (p. 480, note 2), says that Theodulus *in loc.* seems to refer the last part of

* See, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia on Rom. ii. 15; viii. 28; ix. 10, 14 *dis.* 22-24, 25; xi. 2. (Migne, lxxvi. coll. 789^b, 832^a, 833^d, 836^c, 840^b, 841^c, 841^d, 852^a.) See also Cramer, p. 11, l. 30; 15, l. 15; 27, l. 24; 54, l. 22, etc.

our verse to God. He misapprehends the meaning of the passage in Theodulus, and does not observe that it is taken from Œcumenius.* The *Enarratio in Ep. ad Romanos*, which, in a Latin translation, passes under the name of Theodulus, does not belong to the presbyter or bishop in Cœle-Syria of that name, who died A.D. 492, but is a very late Catena. (See Cave.)

A few words now respecting the Latin Fathers who have quoted Rom. ix. 5.

Tertullian is the first. He quotes it once as below, and once (*Prax.* c. 15) with *super omnia* before *deus*.† Cyprian simply cites the passage to prove that Christ is *deus* (*qui est super omnia deus benedictus in sæcula*), without remark. (*Testim.* ii. 6.) Novatian has already been spoken of. (See above, p. 378, note *.)

I know of no trace of the reference of the last part of the verse to God among the Latin writers, except what may be implied in the language of the Pseudo-Ambrosius (Ambrosiaster), commonly identified with Hilary the deacon, in his commentary on the Epistle. He remarks: "Si quis autem non putat de Christo dictum, *qui est Deus*, det personam de qua dictum est. De patre enim Deo hoc loco mentio facta non est." This is repeated in the commentary of Rabanus Maurus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxi. col. 1482). The same in substance appears in the *Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test.*, qu. 91, formerly ascribed to Augustine, and printed in the Benedictine edition of his works, *Opp.* III. ii. 2915, ed. Bened. alt.: "Sed forte ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur. Sed

* See *Biblioth. max. vet. Patrum*, viii. 605, or the *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographia* of Grynæus, ii. 1163.

† After remarking that he never speaks of Gods or Lords, but following the Apostle, when the Father and Son are to be named together, calls the Father God and Jesus Christ Lord, he says: "Solum autem Christum potero deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus. *Ex quibus Christus, qui est*, inquit, *deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne*. Nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo; solem autem nominans, cuius est radium, non statim et radium solem appellabo." (*Prax.* c. 13, ed. Oehler.) This accords with his language elsewhere: "Protulit deus sermonem . . . sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium." (*Prax.* c. 8.) "Cum radium ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio . . . nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur." (*Apologet.* c. 21.) "Pater tota substantia est; filius vero derivatio totius et portio; sicut ipse proficitur, *Quia pater maior me est*." (*Prax.* c. 9.) "Sermo deus, quia ex deo. . . Quodsi deus dei tanquam substantiva res, non erit ipse deus [*ἀνθρώπος*], sed hactenus deus, qua ex ipsius substantia, ut portio aliqua totius." (*Prax.* c. 26.)

hoc loco nulla est paterni nominis mentio. Ideoque si de Christo dictum negatur, persona cui competat detur." (This work is generally ascribed to the Hilary mentioned above.) The writer seems to have heard of those who interpreted the passage of God; and, relying apparently upon the Latin version, he meets their interpretation of the Greek with a very unintelligent objection.

The Greek Fathers in Mr. Burgon's list who have not already been mentioned are the following: Athanasius, Basil, Didymus, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Theodorus Mops., Eustathius, Eulogius, Theophilus Alex., Nestorius, Theodotus of Ancyra, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Gelasius Cyz., Anastasius Ant., Leontius Byz., Maximus. Of the Latins, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Victorinus, the Breviarium, Marius Mercator, Cassian, Alcimus Avit., Fulgentius, Ferrandus.

"Against such a torrent of Patristic testimony," says Mr. Burgon, "it will not surely be pretended that the Socinian interpretation, to which our Revisionists give such prominence, can stand."

But to what does it all amount? Simply to the fact that a mass of writers, to the judgment of most of whom an intelligent scholar would attach very little weight in any question of exegesis, have followed that construction of an ambiguous passage which suited their theological opinions. Out of the whole list, the two, I suppose, who would be most generally selected as distinguished from the rest for sobriety and good sense in interpretation are Chrysostom and Theodoret. Yet both of them adopted that excessively unnatural, if not impossible, construction of 2 Cor. iv. 4 of which I have spoken above. (See p. 387.)

The same general considerations apply to the ancient versions, some of which are ambiguous here, as Westcott and Hort remark, though the translators probably intended to have the last part of the verse understood of Christ.

We will now dismiss the Fathers, and notice some facts belonging to the more recent history of the interpretation of

our passage.* I take up the different constructions in the order in which they are numbered above, p. 335.

The three most important recent discussions of the passage outside of the commentaries, before that of Dr. Dwight, are by Dr. Hermann Schultz, in the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1868, pp. 462-506, who defends constructions Nos. 1-3, with a slight preference for No. 1 (p. 483); Dr. C. L. Willibald Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1869, pp. 311-322, who adopts No. 5; and Pastor Ernst Harmsen, *ibid.*, 1872, pp. 510-521, who adopts No. 7. There is a brief discussion of the passage by Dr. G. Vance Smith, Canon Farrar, and Dr. Sanday, in the *Expositor* for May, 1879, ix. 337-405, and September, 1879, x. 232-238. There was a more extended debate in the *Independent* (New York) for Aug. 12, Oct. 14, 21, 28, and Nov. 18, 1858, in which Dr. John Proudfit (anonymously), the Rev. Joseph P. Thompson (the editor), Dr. Z. S. Barstow, and E. A. took part.

1-3. It would be idle to give a list of the supporters of Nos. 1-3, who refer the clause in question to Christ. Among the commentators, perhaps the more eminent and best known are Calvin, Beza, Hammond, LeClerc, Limborch, Bengel, Michaelis, Koppe, Flatt, Tholuck, Olshausen, Stuart, Hodge, Philippi, Lange (with Schaff and Riddle), Hofmann, Weiss, Godet, Alford, Vaughan, Sanday (very doubtfully), Gifford. That the Roman Catholic commentators, as Estius, Klee, Stengel, Reithmayr, Maier, Beelen, Bisping (not very positively), Jatho, Klofutar (1880), should adopt this explanation, is almost a matter of course. This construction of the verse is accepted by all the *Fratres Poloni*, who did not hesitate to give the name God to Christ, and to worship him, recognizing of course the supremacy of the Father, to whom they applied the name God in a higher sense; so

* *Literature.*—The older literature is given by Wolf (*Curæ*) and Lilienthal (*Biblischer Archivarius*, 1745). For the more recent, see Danz, and especially Schultz in the article so often referred to; also, among the commentators, Meyer and Van Hengel. E. F. C. Oertel (*Christologie*, Hamb. 1792, p. 216 ff.) gives a brief account of the controversy excited by Semler (1769-71); see also the works named by Schultz, especially Hirt's *Orient. u. exeg. Bibliothek*, 1772, 1773. The name Bremer (Schultz, p. 462, note 2) is a misprint for Benner.

Socinus,* *Opp.* ii. 581, 582, 600 a; cf. ii. 377 f.; John Crell, *in loc. Opp.* i. 147; also *Respons. ad Grotium*, *Opp.* iv. 230 b; *De Uno Deo Patre*, p. 23 a; *De Deo ejusque Attrib.* p. 35 b; *Eth. Christ.* p. 348 a; Schlichting (*Lat.* Slichtingius), *Comm. post.* i. 254; Wolzogen, *Opp.* i. 710, 712; ii. 301; iii. 5; Sam. Przpcovius or Przpkowsky *in loc.*, p. 51. So also the Raco-vian Catechism, §§ 159, 160.

With a singular disregard of these historical facts, Dean Burgon holds up his hands in holy horror at the marginal renderings of the Revised New Testament at Rom. ix. 5, ascribed to "some modern Interpreters," and stigmatizes them as "*the Socinian gloss*"! (*Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1882, p. 54 [*Revision Revised*, p. 211].) The Italics are his. He seems throughout his article to imagine himself to be writing for readers who will take an opprobrious epithet for an argument. The real "*Socinian gloss*" is adopted, and the arguments for it are repeated, as we have seen, by the latest prominent defender of the construction which Mr. Burgon himself maintains. Among English commentators, compare Macknight on the passage.

A slight qualification or supplement of the above statement is, however, required. Schlichting, though he does not object to the common construction, misled by Erasmus, is inclined to suspect the genuineness of the word *θεός*. It is important, in reference to the history of the interpretation of this passage, to observe that the statement of Erasmus, in regard to the omission of this word in the quotations by some of the Fathers, led many astray; among others, Grotius, who also incorrectly represents the word God as wanting in the Syriac version. Schoettgen misrepresented the case still worse, saying, by mistake of course, "*Hoc verbum quamplurimi Codices, quidam etiam ex Patribus, non habent.*"

* Socinus speaks of the punctuation and construction proposed by Erasmus, a believer in the deity of Christ, which makes the *ὁ ὦν*, etc., a doxology to God, the Father, and says: "Non est ulla causa, cur haec interpretatio, vel potius lectio et interpunctio Erasmi rejici posse videatur; nisi una tantum, quam Adversarii non afferunt; neque enim illam animadverterunt. Ea est, quod, cum simplex nomen Benedictus idem significat quod Benedictus sit, semper fere solet anteponi ei, ad quem refertur, perraro autem postponi."

Some of those who are so shocked at what they call "*Socinian glosses*" might perhaps learn a lesson of candor and fairness from this heretic.

Schlichting also suggests, as what "venire alicui in mentem posset," the somewhat famous conjecture of $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\omega}$ for $\acute{\omega}\acute{\omega}\nu$, but *rejects* it. It was taken up afterwards, however, by a man far inferior in judgment, Samuel Crell (not to be confounded with the eminent commentator), in the *Initium Ev. S. Joannis restitutum* (1726), published under the pseudonym of L. M. Artemonius. Its superficial plausibility seems to have fascinated many; among them Whitby (*Last Thoughts*), Jackson of Leicester (*Annot. ad Novat.* p. 341), John Taylor of Norwich, Goadby, Wakefield (*Enquiry*), Bishop Edmund Law (Wakefield's *Memoirs*, i. 447), Belsham (*Epistles of Paul*), John Jones, and David Schulz (so says Baumgarten-Crusius). Even Doddridge and Harwood speak of it as "ingenious," and Olshausen calls it "scharfsinnig." It is quite indefensible.

Among the writers on Biblical Theology, Usteri (*Paulin. Lehrbegr.*, 5te Ausg., 1834, p. 324 f.) refers the clause in question to Christ, but strongly expresses his sense of the great difficulties which this involves. He is influenced especially by Rückert (1831), who afterwards changed his mind. Messner (1856, p. 236 f.) regards this reference as probable, though not certain; somewhat more doubtful is C. F. Schmid (2d ed., 1859, p. 540 f., or p. 475 f. Eng. trans.). Dorner in his recent work, *System der Christl. Glaubenslehre* (1879), i. 345, only ventures to say that the reference to Christ is "the most natural." Schott, August Hahn, De Wette, Reuss, Ritschl, are sometimes cited as supporting this construction; but later they all went over to the other side. See below, under No. 7.

For the most elaborate defences of the construction we are considering, besides those which have already been mentioned, one may consult Dr. John Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 5th ed. (1859), vol. ii. pp. 370-377, 401-405, and the commentaries of Flatt (from whom Professor Stuart has borrowed largely) and Philippi.

4. Construction No. 4 has already been sufficiently noticed. (See above, p. 383.)

5. The construction which puts a colon or a period after

πάντων, making the clause beginning with *θεος* a doxology to God, seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus in the Annotations to his third edition of the Greek Testament (1522), repeated in the fourth (1527). In his later writings, and in the note in his last edition (1535), while recognizing the possibility of this construction, he gave the preference to No. 7.* It was adopted by Locke in his posthumous *Paraphrase*, etc. (London, 1705, and often): "and of them, as to his fleshly extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen." Locke's construction was preferred by Wetstein in the important note on the passage in his Greek Testament, vol. ii. (1752), and was adopted by Prof. L. J. C. Justi in Paulus's *Memorabilien*, 1791, St. i. pp. 1-26, treated more fully in his *Vermischte Abhandlungen*, 2te Samml., 1798, pp. 309-346; also by E. F. C. Oertel, *Christologie* (1792), p. 209 f. He has a pretty full discussion of the passage (pp. 195-218). So by G. L. Bauer, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, Bd. iv. (1802), pp. 10-14, and by C. F. Ammon; for though in his *Bibl. Theol.*, 2te Ausg. (1801), pp. 220-222, he does not decide between constructions No. 5 and No. 7, he favors the former in his note on the passage in the third edition of Koppe on Romans (1824). J. J. Stolz adopts it in the fourth edition of his *Uebersetzung des N. T.* (1804), and the third edition of his *Erläuterungen* (1808), iii. 170-191. He gives there an interesting extract from Semler's *Hist. u. krit. Sammlungen über die sogenannten Beweisstellen in der Dogmatik*, St. ii. pp. 284-287. So De Wette in the text of the third edition of his German translation of the Bible (1839), though he gives constructions Nos. 1 and 7 as alternative renderings; in the note in the fourth and last edition of his commentary on the Epistle (1847), though undecided, he seems on the whole rather inclined to No. 7. This construction (No. 5) is supported also by Baumgarten-Crusius, a scholar to be spoken of with high respect, in his *Comm.* on the Epistle (Jena, 1844), comp. his *Grundzüge der bibl. Theol.* (1828), p. 385 f., and his *Exeget. Schriften zum N. T.* II. i. (Jena, 1844) p. 266, the latter cited

* *Erasmi Opp.*, Lugd. Bat. 1703, ff., vol. vi. 610 f.; ix. 1002 f., 1045 f.

by Ernesti. So by Schumann in his *Christus* (1852), ii. 545, note; H. Fr. Th. L. Ernesti, *Vom Ursprunge d. Sünde nach paulin. Lehrgehalte*, i. (1855) pp. 197–204; Märcker (cited by Meyer), whose work I have not seen; and Reuss, *Les Épîtres Pauliniennes* (1878), ii. 88.

The best defence of this view, perhaps, is to be found in the article of Grimm, referred to above.

6. On construction No. 6, see above, p. 385 f.

7. Erasmus in his *translation* renders the words of the last part of our verse thus: "et ii, ex quibus est Christus quantum attinet ad carnem, qui est in omnibus deus laudandus in secula, amen." His *paraphrase* seems a little ambiguous.* But in the note in his last edition (1535), and in his later writings, he clearly indicates his preference for construction No. 7.† Bucer (or Butzer) *in loc.* (1536?), as quoted by Wetstein, suggests this construction as an alternative rendering. Curcellæus (Courcelles) in his edition of the Greek Testament published in 1658 (also 1675, 1685, 1699) notes that "Quidam addunt punctum post vocem *σάρκα*. quia si id quod sequitur cum præcedentibus connecteretur, potius dicendum videatur *ὅς ἐστι*, vel *ὁς ὄν*, quam *ὁ ὄν*."

Among those who have adopted or favored this construction are Whiston, in his *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. iv. (1711), p. 13 ff.; and Dr. Samuel Clarke, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1712, 3d ed., 1732, p. 85 ff. He gives also as admissible constructions No. 5 and No. 2, but places No. 7 first. He was, as is well known, one of the best classical scholars of his day, as well as one of the ablest metaphysicians and theologians. So John Jackson of Leicester, in his *Annot. ad Novatianum* (1726), p. 341,

* "At Christus sic est homo, ut idem et Deus sit, non huius aut illius gentis peculiaris, sed universorum Deus, et idem cum patre Deus, qui [Christus? pater? or Pater cum Christo?] præsidet omnibus, cuiusque inscrutabili consilio geruntur hæc omnia, cui soli . . . debetur iaus," etc. One suggestion of Erasmus is that the word "God" in the last clause may denote the whole Trinity.

† See especially his *Apol. adv. monachos quosdam Hispanos* (written in 1528), Opp. ix. 1043–47: "Ego coram Deo profiteor mihi videri Paulum hoc sensisse, quod modo significavimus, nec hunc sermonem proprie ad Christum pertinere, sed vel ad Patrem, vel ad totam Trinitatem" (col. 1045). Comp. *Resp. ad Jovenem Gerontodidasalum* (written 1532), col. 1002: "ipsa res loquitur, verba Pauli nullum sensum evidentius reddere quam hunc: *Deus, qui est super omnia, sit benedictus in secula*. Cui precatoni accinitur, *Amen*." See also above, under No. 5.

though captivated by the specious but worthless conjecture of ὁ ὁ; Wetstein, as an alternative rendering, but rather preferring to place the stop after πάντων (see the end of his note); Semler, *Paraph. Ep. ad Rom.* (1769), p. 114 ff., and in many other writings; on the literature of the Semler controversy, see the references given above, p. 396 n. Semler was not so well acquainted with the writings of the later as with those of the earlier Fathers, and in this part of the field of debate his adversaries had the advantage. But he gave a stimulus to a freer and more impartial treatment of the question. Eckermann adopted the construction we are now considering in the *second* edition (1795) of his *Theologische Beyträge*, Bd. I. St. iii. pp. 160-162, though in the first edition he had opposed it.

Coming now to the present century, we find this construction adopted by the commentators C. F. Boehme (Lips. 1806), and H. E. G. Paulus, *Des Apostels Paulus Lehr-Briefe an die Galater- und Römer-Christen* (Heidelb. 1831), where he translates (p. 102): "Der über alle (Juden und Heiden) seyende Gott sey gepriesen auf (alle) die Zeitalter hinaus"; by Professor J. F. Winzer of Leipzig in a *Programma* on Rom. ix. 1-5 (Lips. 1832), which I have not seen, but find highly praised; and Karl Schrader, *Der Apostel Paulus*, Theil iii. (1833), p. 75, and Theil iv. (1835), p. 355. He translates, "Der über Allem Seiende (der welcher über Allem ist,) Gott, gelobt (sei gelobt) in Ewigkeit!" It is adopted in three commentaries of remarkable independence and ability which appeared in 1834, namely: those of Professor J. G. Reiche of Göttingen, whose note (Theil ii. pp. 268-278) is one of the fullest and best discussions of the passage, though he makes some mistakes about the Fathers; Professor Eduard Koellner of Göttingen; and Dr. Conrad Glöckler, whom Professor Stuart calls "a Nicenian" as regards his theological position. K. G. Bretschneider, in the fourth edition of his *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (1838), i. 604 f., adopts the same construction, though in the earlier editions of this work he had referred the θεός to Christ. He translates: "Der Herr über alles, Gott, sei gepriesen in Ewig-

keit." In 1839, Professor L. J. Rückert of Jena, in the second edition of his elaborate and valuable commentary (vol. ii. pp. 13-17), discusses the passage fully, and though in the first edition (1831) he had strenuously contended for the reference of the last part of the verse to Christ, now pronounces the construction which makes it a doxology to God "far more probable." This year is also signalized in the history of the interpretation of our passage by the publication of vol. ii. of the commentary of Professor C. F. A. Fritzsche of Rostock, who discusses the passage in a masterly manner (pp. 260-275). His translation has been given above, p. 354. In the fourth edition of his Greek Testament with a Latin version, published in 1839, Professor H. A. Schott of Jena adopted the punctuation and construction which make the clause beginning with *ὁ θεός* a doxology to God, though in previous editions he had followed the common construction. In his essay *De Invocatione Jesu Christi Partic. I.* (1843), p. 8, the highly esteemed commentator Dr. Friedrich Lücke, Professor at Göttingen, refers the last part of our verse to God. Professor A. L. G. Krehl, of Leipzig, does the same in his *Der Brief an die Römer ausgelegt*, u. s. w. (1845), p. 322, though in an earlier work, *Neutest. Handwörterbuch* (1843), art. *Christus*, p. 114, he had cited Rom. ix. 5 in proof that Christ is called God.

Baur, who makes the passage a doxology to God, has some valuable remarks upon it in his *Paulus* (1845), p. 624 f., 2te Aufl. (1866-67), ii. 263 f.; comp. his *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit* (1841), i. 84, note, and *Neutest. Theol.* (1864), p. 194. Zeller agrees with him (*Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1842, p. 55). So J. F. Rübiger, a believer in the divine nature of Christ, in his *De Christologia Paulina contra Baurium Commentatio* (1852), pp. 26-28.

We may notice here the great commentators De Wette and Meyer. De Wette, not perfectly satisfied with any view, yet wavers between constructions Nos. 5 and 7; see above under No. 5. In his *Bibl. Dogmatik*, 3te Aufl. (1831), p. 249, and in the second edition of his translation of the New Testament (1832), he had taken the name "God" here

as a designation of Christ; but in the third edition of his translation (1839) he makes it begin a doxology. Meyer in his *Das N. T. griechisch mit einer neuen deutschen Uebersetzung* (1829) followed the common construction; but in the first edition of his *Comm.* (1836), and all later editions, he makes the passage a doxology to God. His collaborator, Huther, maintains in his note on Titus ii. 13 that the name θεός is not given to Christ in any of the New Testament Epistles.

In 1855 appeared the first edition of Jowett's work on four of the Epistles of Paul (2d ed., 1859). He translates: "God, who is over all, is blessed for ever. Amen." So Bishop Colenso, *St. Paul's Ep. to the Romans*, etc., London, 1861; Am. ed., New York, 1863.

Ewald, *Die Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus*, u. s. w. (1857), translates: "der über allen ist Gott sei gelobet in die ewigkeiten, Amén!" (p. 323; comp. p. 398 f.) See also his *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, Bd. iii. (1874), p. 416, n. 3. Professor J. H. Scholten of Leyden, in his *Dogmatices Christ. Initia*, ed. 2da, Lugd. Bat. 1858, p. 193 f., adopts the same construction. So Athanase Coquerel, *Christologie* (Paris, 1858), i. 76, note. So the celebrated Dutch commentator, Van Hengel, who in tom. ii. of his *Interpretatio* (1859), pp. 343-360, discusses the passage very fully. He mentions some Dutch scholars that agree with him, as Vissering and Scheffer (*Godgel. Bijdragen* 1853 and 1854), whose writings I have not seen. The eminent Danish commentator, Dr. H. N. Clausen, *Pauli Brev til Romerne fortolket* (Copenhagen, 1863), p. 124, translates: "Han som er over Alt, Gud, (eller, "Gud, som er over Alt") være priset i Evighed!" (He is the author of the *Hermeneutik*. The Germans spell his name Klausen.) Holtzmann, in his translation of the Epistle in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1864), vol. iv., gives the same construction to the passage; and so Professor Willibald Beyschlag of Halle, in his *Christologie des N. T.*, Berlin, 1866, p. 209 f.

Professor R. A. Lipsius of Jena, in the *Protestanten-Bibel Neuen Testaments* (1872-73), p. 572, translates: "Der da

ist über Alles, Gott, sei gelobt in Ewigkeit"; Volkmar, *Römerbrief* (Zürich, 1875), p. 32: "Der über Allen seiende Gott sei gelobt in Ewigkeit!" His comment is (p. 97): "Der Gott, der über *allen* (Völkern) waltet, sei dafür gepriesen, dass er aus Israel den Heiland (für Alle) hervorgehen liess." The Rev. John H. Godwin, "Hon. Prof. New Coll., Lond.," and Congregational Lecturer, translates, "God who is over all be praised for ever. Amen," and has a good note. (*Ep. to Rom.*, London, 1873.) Professor Lewis Campbell, the editor of *Sophocles*, in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1876, p. 484, adopts the rendering of Professor Jowett. The Rev. Joseph Agar Beet, Wesleyan Methodist, in a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans of very marked ability (London, 1877, 2d ed., 1881), defends this view in an excellent note (pp. 267-272, 2d ed.). The same construction is followed in Herm. Bartels's *Exeget. Uebersetzung des Briefes*, etc. (Dessau, 1878), which I mention because Professor Woldemar Schmidt of Leipzig, in a notice of the book (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1879, No. 22), expresses his approval of this. C. Holsten, in an article in the *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theol.*, 1879, p. 683, translates: "Der über allen Völkern waltende Gott (der doch Israels Volk so begnadet hat) sei gepriesen in Ewigkeit!"

Some of the best recent *translations* adopt this construction of the passage; e.g. *Het Nieuwe Testament*, etc. (published by the authority of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church), Amsterdam, 1868: "Hij, die over alles is, God, zij geprezen tot in eeuwigheid!" and the versions by Dr. George R. Noyes (Boston, 1869), Hugues Oltramare (Genève, 1872), "Que celui qui gouverne toutes choses, Dieu, en soit béni éternellement!" Carl Weizsäcker, *Das N. T. uebersetzt*, Tübingen, 1875, and Dr. Samuel Davidson, London, 1875, 2d ed. 1876.

No one who knew the scholarship and the impartiality of the late Dr. Noyes will wonder that I have cited him here. A dispassionate, judicial spirit in the examination of such questions as the one before us is not the exclusive possession of the Dean of Chichester and of "the Church" in

distinction from "the Sects," though there are many noble examples of it in the Church of England.

Among critical *editors* of the Greek Testament who have placed a period after *σάρκα*, making the passage a doxology to God, I may mention Harwood (1776), Lachmann (1831-50), Schott (4th ed., 1839), Tischendorf (1841-73), Muralt (1846-48), Buttman (1856-67), Aug. Hahn, assisted by his son G. L. Hahn (1861), Kuenen and Cobet (1861), and Westcott and Hort (1881) in their margin, representing the judgment of Dr. Hort.

To these authorities may be added the names of the grammarians Winer and Wilke. See Winer, *Gram.*, 7te Aufl., 1867, §§ 61, 3, e., and 64, 2, b., pp. 513, 545, or 551, 586 Thayer, 690, 733 Moulton; and Wilke, *Hermeneutik* (1844), ii. 88.

It is worthy of notice that many scholars who had already in their publications adopted or even strongly contended for the common construction of this passage, afterwards saw reason to change their minds. Such was the case with Eckermann, De Wette, Meyer, Rückert, Bretschneider, Schott, Krehl, Hahn (perhaps both father and son); and it is so with Ritschl, as I am assured by a very intelligent student (the Rev. Alfred Gooding), who took full notes of his exegetical lectures on Romans in the semester of 1879-80. I know of only one instance of a conversion in the opposite direction, that of Dr. G. V. Lechler, who, in the first edition of his *Das apost. u. das nachapost. Zeitalter* (1851), pp. 38, 39, made the last part of the verse a doxology to God, but in the second edition (1857), p. 63 f. [and 3d ed. (1886), Eng. trans., vol. ii. p. 27 f.], applies it to Christ. He expressly admits, however, as regards the two opposing views, that "sprachlich und logisch sind beide gleichberechtigt."

"The awful blindness and obstinacy of Arians and Socinians in their perversions of this passage," says the Scotch commentator Haldane, "more fully manifest the depravity of human nature, and the rooted enmity of the carnal mind

against God, than the grossest works of the flesh." * "The dishonest shifts," says Dean Burgon, "by which unbelievers seek to evacuate the record which they are powerless to refute or deny, are paraded by our Revisionists in the following terms." † (Here Mr. Burgon quotes the margin of the Revised Version at Rom. ix. 5, regarding these renderings as "not entitled to notice in the margin of the N. T.," and their admission as "a very grave offence.") *Σὺ τις εἶ, ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην, ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.* (Rom. xiv. 4; Rev. xii. 10.)

In contrast with these utterances, not addressed to the reason of men, and not adapted to promote Christian charity or Christian humility, it is refreshing to read a discussion so calm, so clear, so fair, and so able as that of Professor Dwight.

NOTE A. (See p. 346.)

On the Punctuation of Rom. ix. 5 in Ancient MSS.

In regard to the punctuation of this passage in ancient MSS., though the matter is in itself of little importance, it may be well to correct some current errors, especially as the supposed absence of a point after *σάρκα* in the MSS. has been urged as an objection to the construction which makes the *ὁ ὢν, κ. τ. λ.* a doxology to God. For example, Dr. Gifford, the latest commentator, speaks of the stop after *σάρκα* as found simply "in two or three inferior MSS.;" while Mr. Burgon, in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, says "*the oldest codices, besides the whole body of the cursives* [the Italics are his], know nothing about the method of 'some modern Interpreters'" (referring to the margin of the Revised Version); and he remarks in a note, "C alone has a point between *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* and *Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. But this is an entirely different thing from what is noted in the margin." (p. 54.)

The facts of the case do not accord with these statements. In the first place, C, according to Tischendorf's very careful edition of this MS. (Lips. 1843), has no point after *πάντων*, and there can be little doubt that such a stop exists only in Mr. Burgon's very lively imagination; it *docs* have, on the other hand, as Tischendorf's edition shows, both a point and a space after *σάρκα*, unquestionably *a prima manu*. The Alexandrian MS. (A) has also a point after *σάρκα*, as appears by Woide's edition (1786), by the recent photograph published by the

* *Exposition of the Ep. to the Romans*, Am. reprint of the fifth Edinburgh edition, p. 454.

† *The Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, p. 54 [see *The Revision Revised*, p. 211]; see also the same for April, 1882, p. 370 [*The Revision Revised*, p. 353 f.].

British Museum (1879), and by the express testimony of Dr. Vance Smith and of Dr. Sanday, who says, "The point is clearly marked, and it is evidently by the first hand." (*The Expositor*, Sept., 1879, x. 235.) This fact has been overlooked both by Tischendorf and by Westcott and Hort. There is, moreover, a point after *σάρκα* in the Vatican MS. (B), which, though it does not appear in the Roman edition, is amply attested by Dr. Vance Smith from personal inspection (*The Expositor*, May, 1879, ix. 399, comp. his *The Spirit and the Word of Christ*, London, 1874, p. 138), and by others. This point also, from the description of it, seems to be probably by the first hand, though more careful examination and comparison may be required to settle the question.* The Clermont MS. (D) ends a stichometric line at *σάρκα*, but this does not determine the construction of what follows. The Sinaitic MS. has only a single point (after *ουτως*, Rom. ix. 20) in the whole page containing the passage, 4 cols. of 48 lines each, from Rom. viii. 38 *ουτε ενεστωτα* to *αγνοουντες*, x. 3, inclusive. It is therefore neutral. The same is true for a different reason of F and G, in which the numerous points are distributed in the most arbitrary manner, so that, although they each have a point after *σάρκα*, it counts for nothing. We have no report of K, collated by Matthæi, who does not record the punctuation of MSS. L, the remaining uncial, has a point after *σάρκα* according to Tischendorf. There is no break between *ων* and *αμην* in A, B, C.

As to the cursive MSS., their punctuation has been very rarely noted by collators. The sweeping statement of Mr. Burgon is made

* The facts as to the Vatican MS. are these. Tischendorf, who has given the most careful attention to its palæography, states that "ipsam primam manum passim, in nonnullis libris haud raro interpunxisse, sine ulla dubitatione asseverandum est." (*N. T. Vat.* p. xx.; comp. p. xxi.) The later hand, of the tenth or eleventh century, has but rarely supplied points. (*Ibid.*) The original scribe indicates a pause, sometimes by a small space simply; sometimes by such a space with a point, and sometimes by a point with a *very* small space between the letters or none at all. Of the latter there are two unquestionable examples by the first hand in Tischendorf's fac-similes, made from parts of the MS. which, having been accidentally repeated, were wholly untouched by the corrector and freshener of the ink; namely, after the word *οφειλημα* in Rom. iv. 4 (cod. p. 144S), where there is no space, and after *κειται* in 2 Cor. iii. 15 (cod. p. 1479), where the space is exceedingly small. Tischendorf was unable to examine carefully the punctuation of the MS. beyond the end of the Gospel of Luke, but he observed that punctuation was much more frequent in the Epistles than in the Gospels. I notice that in the Roman edition there are twelve points on the page (p. 1453) that contains Rom. ix. 5, extending from Rom. viii. 23 (*εχοντες* to *μηπω γαρ*, ix. 11, inclusive. There is no extra space after *σάρκα*, but perhaps that does not diminish the probability that the point is by the first hand. There is no extra space, as we have seen, after *οφειλημα* in Rom. iv. 4; and Tischendorf observes (*Nov. Test. Sin.* p. xix.) that there are points with no space in the Sinaitic MS. after the words *πονηρια· κακια· πλεονεξια·* Rom. i. 29. On the page of B (1453) which contains Rom. ix. 5 there is no extra space in the printed edition with the point after *απεκδεχομεθα*, col. 1, l. 12, or after *τεκνα*, col. 3, l. 28. It will be observed that all the words which have been mentioned end with the letter A, which on account of its peculiar form in the uncial MSS. did not need any extra space for the insertion of a point after it at the top of the line, the shape of the letter necessarily leaving a space there. But the absence of extra space after the letter would render it less likely that the late corrector would insert a point after it.

It is expressly stated by a gentleman who recently examined the MS., and whose letter from Rome I have been permitted to see, that the point after *σάρκα* "is of lighter color than the

NOTE B. (See p. 363.)

On the Distinction between εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος.

The distinction between εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος is dwelt upon by Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* c. 19, Opp. i. 453, in his remarks on Gen. xii. 2. The former word, according to him, describes one who by nature or character is *worthy* of praise or blessing, εὐλογίας ἄξιος; the latter, one who is in fact praised or blessed, whether rightfully or otherwise. In other words, εὐλογητός, in doxologies, would be *laudandus* or *laude dignus*; εὐλογημένος *laudatus*. So Theodore of Mopsuestia on Eph. i. 3 explains εὐλογητός as τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιος. (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 912.) It is true that in classical Greek verbals in -τός, like the Latin participles in -tus, have generally a simply passive signification; but we find exceptions, particularly in the later Greek, and especially in the case of words analogous in meaning to εὐλογητός. See in the Lexicons αἰνετός, ἐπαινετός, ὑπεραινετός, ἐγκωμιστός, ζήλωτός, θαυμαστός, μακαριστός (2 Macc. vii. 24), μεμπτός, ψεκτός, μισητός, στυγητός, ἕμνητός, ὑπερμνητός. On ἐπαινετός and ψεκτός, see Philo, *ubi supra*. (See also Kühner, *Ausführl. Gram.*, 2te Aufl., i. 716.) This view is confirmed by the fact that we never find εὐλογητός used like εὐλογημένος with εἶη or ἔστω; wherever the verb is expressed with εὐλογητός it is always in the indicative. For example, in Rom. i. 25, τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, it is surely more natural to take εὐλογητός as signifying "to be praised," *laudandus*, than actually "praised," *laudatus*. See Fritzsche and Van Hengel *in loc.*, the latter of whom cites the passage of Philo referred to above. So in other doxologies we find the indicative, εὐλογητός εἶ, Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 12; Judith xiii. 17; Tob. iii. 11; viii. 5, 15, 16, 17; xi. 13; Orat. Azar. 2; Cant. trium puer. (Fritzsche), 28, 30-33; 1 Esdr. iv. 60; 1 Macc. iv. 20; Const. Apost. vii. 34, 49; Act. Phil. c. 26; Lit. S. Jac. in Hammond's *Antient Liturgies* (Oxford, 1878), pp. 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 38, 39, 53, 54; Lit. Const. (Anaph. S. Chrys.), p. 119; (Anaph. S. Basil.) p. 138; Lit. S. Marci, p. 179; and so ὁ ὢν εὐλογητός, 2 Cor. xi. 31; Lit. S. Marci, pp. 176, 192. This is the view of many excellent scholars besides Fritzsche and Van Hengel; as Erasmus, Beza (on Mark xiv. 61), Crell on Rom. ix. 5, Tholuck, Rückert, and the lexicographers Schleusner, Wahl, Bretschneider, and Robinson. On the other side there are indeed very eminent names, as Grimm in his *Lex.*, Meyer, De Wette and Philippi on Rom. i. 25, and Harless on Eph. i. 3; but I find no argument in any of them except Harless, and his arguments seem to me of little weight. They rest mainly on the assumption that εὐλογητός is taken to mean "one who *must* be praised" instead of "one to whom praise is *due*." That the latter conception of God may naturally be expressed in a doxology is shown by Rev. iv. 11, ἄξιος εἶ, ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν, κ. τ. λ.; comp. Rev. v. 12. See also Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, ed. Galura, ii.

186 (S. Bonifatius, § 12), ὅτι σοι πρέπει τιμῆ, κ. τ. λ., and iii. 62 (SS. Tarachus, Probus, etc., § 11), ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα, κ. τ. λ.; Const. Ap. vii. 48; Act. Barn. c. 26; Act. Joh. c. 22; Protev. Jac. c. 25, § 2, MSS.; Act. Pil. A. c. 16, § 8, MSS.; Narr. Jos. c. 5, § 4. I accordingly agree with Buttmann, *N. T. Gram.*, p. 120 (137 Thayer), that in doxologies with εὐλογητός we are to supply ἐστίν rather than εἶη or ἔστω. The sentence is therefore, in these cases, grammatically considered, declarative, not optative, though the whole effect of the original is perhaps better given by rendering "be blessed" than "is to be praised." Compare further 1 Pet. iv. 11; Matt. vi. 13 (Text. Rec.); Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.* c. 58 (new addit.; *contra*, c. 32); and see Lightfoot's note on Gal. i. 5.

We must notice the difference in meaning, not affecting however the position of the words, between εὐλογητός in the Septuagint when applied to men, as in Gen. (xii. 2, variante lectione) xxiv. 31 (v. l.); xxvi. 29 (v. l.); Deut. vii. 14; (xxviii. 6, v. l.; xxxiii. 24, v. l.); Judges xvii. 2 (v. l.); Ruth ii. 20; 1 Sam. xv. 13 (v. l.); Judith xiii. 18 (v. l.); Tobit xi. 16 (in one text), xiii. 12 (in one text), 18 (do.), and when applied to God. In the former case, it is used in the sense of "prospered," "blessed" (namely, by God), and is to be taken, probably, in a simply passive sense; εὐλογημένος often occurs as a various reading. As applied to God, I believe Philo's distinction holds good. In the particular case, however, to which he refers, Gen. xii. 2, where he reads εὐλογητός (so many other authorities, see Holmes), applied to Abraham, his exposition is fanciful. In several cases the terms may seem to be intentionally distinguished; see Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; Tobit xi. 16, Sin.; *contra*, Judith xiii. 18.

One other remark may be made. In speaking of εὐλογητός and similar words in "exclamatory doxologies" (see Dr. Dwight as above, pp. 31-39), we must guard against a fallacy. "Exclamatory" as applied to sentences denotes a characteristic which exists in very different degrees in different cases; where one printer would use a mark of exclamation, another would often put a period. Because the placing of such a predicate as εὐλογητός first in the sentence gives or tends to give it an exclamatory character, we cannot straightway draw the inference that in *all* doxologies in which the verb is omitted εὐλογητός, if used, must have the first place. One may admit that in exclamatory doxologies εὐλογητός always stands first, and deny that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 is exclamatory. The elliptical word I suppose to be ἐστί, as in most at least of the clauses immediately preceding.

XVII.

RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF ROMANS IX. 5.

[From the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for 1883.]

SINCE the publication of the articles on Rom. ix. 5 in the *Journal* of our Society for 1881, there have been several discussions of the passage which seem worthy of notice, especially as in some of them those articles have been quoted with approval or criticised. The venerable pastor and Professor of Theology in the University of Geneva, Hugues Oltramare, has a long and able note upon it in his recent elaborate and valuable *Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains* (2 vols., Geneva and Paris, 1881-82). He adopts the doxological construction, placing a period after *σάρκα*. In England, the marginal note of the Revisers appears to have given great offence in certain quarters. "I must press upon every reader," says Canon Cook, "the duty—I use the word 'duty' emphatically—of reading the admirable note of Dr. Gifford [on this passage] in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' I should scarcely have thought it credible, in face of the unanswered and unanswerable arguments there urged, that English divines would venture to have given their sanction to one of the most pernicious and indefensible innovations of rationalistic criticism." (*The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, London, 1882, p. 167, note.) Elsewhere he speaks of "the very painful and offensive note on Romans ix. 5, in the margin of the Revised Version" (*ibid.*, p. 194).

It appears that Canon Cook sent a challenge to Canon Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, to meet the arguments of Dr. Gifford, and that this led to the publication of the first pamphlet to be

noticed, the title of which is given below.* Dr. Gifford replied to Professor Kennedy in a pamphlet of sixty-six pages; † and Professor Kennedy rejoined in a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled *Pauline Christology*, Part I. ‡ We shall probably have in due time a surrejoinder by Dr. Gifford, and Part II. of Professor Kennedy's *Pauline Christology*.

Professor Kennedy translates the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as follows: "And of whom *is* the Christ as concerning flesh. He who is over all *is* God, worthy to be praised for ever. Amen." (*Sermon*, etc., p. 19.) As was remarked above, pp. 346, 385, there is no grammatical difficulty in this construction. But I cannot adopt the view which Professor Kennedy takes of the passage. He regards the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as added by St. Paul "to win the ear and gain the confidence of the Jews by declaring his adherence to doctrines which they prized, a Jewish Messiah, and one supreme God worthy to be praised for ever" (*Sermon*, p. 21; comp. pp. 20, 25, and *Pauline Christology*, I., p. 61.)

My objections to this view are: (1) that there was no need of Paul's declaring his adherence to doctrines which neither he nor any other Christian of that day was ever charged with questioning, the Jewish origin of the Messiah, and the unity of God; and (2) that the last clause of verse 5, according to Dr. Kennedy's construction, is not a direct affirmation of monotheism in distinction from polytheism, though monotheism is implied in the language.

Were Professor Kennedy's construction of the passage to be adopted, I should rather regard the $\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ as having reference to God's providential government of the universe, and especially to his providential dealings with the Jews, in the revelations and privileges granted them with a view to

* *The Divinity of Christ*. A Sermon preached on Christmas Day, 1882, before the University of Cambridge. With an Appendix on Rom. ix. 5 and Tit. ii. 13. By Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D. . . . Printed by desire of the Vice-Chancellor. Cambridge, also London, 1883. 8vo. pp. vii, 32.

† . . . A Letter to the Rev. Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D., . . . in Reply to Criticisms on the Interpretation of Rom. ix. 5, in "The Speaker's Commentary." By Edwin Hamilton Gifford, D.D. . . . Cambridge, also London, 1883. 8vo. pp. 66.

‡ *Pauline Christology*, Part I. Examination of Romans ix. 5, being a Rejoinder to the Rev. Dr. Gifford's Reply. By Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D. Cambridge, etc., 1883. 8vo. pp. 72.

the grand consummation of them all in the advent of the Messiah, as the head of a new spiritual dispensation, embracing all men upon equal terms. The *ὅν*, in this connection, may include the past, present, and future; and we might paraphrase as follows, supplying what may naturally be supposed to have been in the mind of the Apostle: "He who is over all," He who has presided over the whole history of the Jewish nation, and bestowed upon it its glorious privileges; He whose hand is in all that is now taking place, who brings good out of evil, the conversion of the Gentiles out of the temporary blindness and disobedience of the Jews; He whose promises will not fail, who has not cast off his people, and who will finally make all things redound to the glory of his wisdom and goodness, "is God, blessed for ever. Amen."

But with this understanding of the bearing of the *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων*, it seems more natural to regard the enumeration of the distinctive privileges of the Jews as ending with *ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, and to take the last clause as a doxology, prompted by the same view of the all-comprehending, beneficent providence of God, and the same devout and grateful feeling, which inspired the doxology at the end of the eleventh chapter.

Professor Kennedy is a devout believer in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the deity of Christ; and one cannot help admiring the conscientiousness and sturdy honesty which lead him, in the pure love of truth, to defend an unpopular view of this mooted passage. He speaks feelingly of "that mischievous terrorism, which, like carbonic dioxide in a crowded and closed room, pervades and corrupts with its stifling influence our British theological atmosphere." "Men," he says, "who judge of this verse as I do, and who publish and defend that judgment as I do, know that they have to encounter the open rage of a few, the suppressed displeasure of a great many, and the silence of masses, who, whatever they may think on one side or the other, yet for various private reasons consider 'golden silence' the safe course." (*Pauline Christology*, I., p. 3; comp. pp. 34, 38.)

It is not my purpose to enter into any detailed analysis or criticism of Professor Kennedy's pamphlets. He urges powerfully against Dr. Gifford's view the Pauline usage of *θεός*, and other considerations; but on some minor points takes positions which seem to me untenable, and exposes himself to the keen criticism of his antagonist, who is not slow to take advantage of any incautious expression. In the *Pauline Christology*, I., pp. 22, 23, he presents, though with some hesitation, an extraordinary view of the cause of Paul's grief expressed in Rom. ix. 2, 3; but I will not stop to discuss it. He also takes an indefensible position (*ibid.*, pp. 26, 32) in regard to Cyril of Alexandria, and draws, I conceive, an inference altogether false (pp. 28, 29) from the passages in *Origen against Celsus*, viii. 12 and 72. The former of these will be discussed hereafter in reply to Dr. Gifford: in the latter we have the expression τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι λόγου καὶ θεοῦ, where the ἐπὶ πᾶσι belongs only to λόγου, not to θεοῦ also, as Professor Kennedy seems to understand it; comp. *Cont. Cels.* v. 4, τοῦ . . . ἐμφύχου λόγου καὶ θεοῦ. Christ, according to Origen, is ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κύριος, and ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι λόγος, but not ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός, which is, as Dr. Kennedy elsewhere observes, "the Father's express title, applied by Origen to the supreme God nearly 100 times." (*Pauline Christology*, I., p. 27.)

Professor Oltramare had not seen the articles in our *Journal*, but replies effectively on many points to the arguments of Godet and Dr. Gifford. I only note here that Oltramare, Dr. Gifford, and Professor Kennedy agree in taking ὁ χριστός, in ver. 5, not as a proper name, "Christ," but in the sense of "the Christ," "the Messiah," which the definite article suggests and the context requires, or at least favors.

Dr. Gifford's pamphlet is mainly occupied with a reply to Dr. Kennedy; but he bestows some criticisms on my paper in the *Journal* for 1881, of which it seems to me well to take notice. I regret to say that he also makes some complaints, which I must also consider.

He complains, first (*Letter*, p. 27), that in quoting a sentence of his (*Journal*, p. 91 [p. 337 above]) I have omitted

altogether the first part, in which the cause of Paul's anguish is said to be "the fall of his brethren."

I omitted it simply for the sake of brevity. I had already assumed this as the cause of his grief, at the beginning of the discussion (*Journal*, p. 91 [p. 336 f.]). I had expressly mentioned it as such, twice, on the very page (p. 91 [see as above]) containing my quotation from Dr. Gifford; it was implied in the clause "whom they have rejected," which I did quote; and it was a point about which there was no dispute. Every reader would take it for granted that when Paul's anguish was spoken of, it was his anguish on that account. Under these circumstances I fail to perceive how my omission of a part of Dr. Gifford's sentence, in which I had nothing to criticise, has given him any reasonable ground of complaint.

Here I observe that Dr. Gifford passes over without notice the first point of my criticism of his sentence (*Journal*, pp. 91, 92 [pp. 336, 337 above]). I still venture to think that it is not unworthy of attention.

Dr. Gifford next complains that after having once quoted the remainder of his sentence fully, I proceed to criticise it, omitting in my second quotation the words "whom they had rejected." I omitted this clause because, having been just quoted, it seemed unnecessary to repeat it; because it formed no part of the particular *privilege* of the Jews of which Dr. Gifford was speaking, the climax of which was expressed by the words "the *Divine* Saviour"; and because its omission was likely to make the point of my criticism strike the reader somewhat more forcibly. That I have done Dr. Gifford no injustice seems to me clear from the fact that, in the sentence quoted, "his anguish was deepened [not caused] most of all by the fact that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour," the phrase "his anguish" *can* only mean "his anguish on account of the rejection of the Messiah by the great majority of his countrymen." This is also clearly implied in the first words of my criticism, "Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then." Not a word of my criticism, which Dr. Gifford seems to misunder-

stand, would be affected in the least by the insertion of the omitted clause.

Two typographical errors in Dr. Gifford's pamphlet give a false color to his complaint. He calls on the reader to "observe the note of admiration in place of the all-important words 'whom they had rejected.'" It stands *inside* of the quotation-marks in the sentence as he gives it, as if I had ascribed it to *him*, but *outside* in the sentence as printed in the *Journal*. Again, in quoting his own sentence from the Commentary on Romans, he omits the comma before "whom they have rejected," thus making the relative clause an inseparable part of the sentence, and aggravating my supposed offence in omitting it.

In commenting on Dr. Gifford's assertion that "Paul's anguish was deepened most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour, whom they have rejected," I had exclaimed, "Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then, had extinguished his gratitude for the inestimable blessings which he personally owed to Christ; it had extinguished his gratitude for the fact that the God who rules over all had sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world!" (*Journal*, p. 92 [p. 338 above].)

Dr. Gifford remarks, "Another note of admiration at Paul's ingratitude, a pure invention of Professor Abbot" (*Letter*, p. 28).

My critic appears to misunderstand me. I shall be very sorry if, through my unskilful use of irony of which Dr. Gifford speaks, any other reader has failed to perceive that my note of admiration is an expression of wonder that in his reference to the Jewish birth of the Messiah as deepening Paul's grief at the unbelief of his countrymen, and in his whole argument against a doxology, Dr. Gifford ignores the fact that THE ADVENT OF CHRIST, necessarily suggested by the words *καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, was to the Apostle a cause of joy and gratitude immensely outweighing all temporary occasions of grief, and might well prompt an outburst of thanksgiving and praise to God. That the very language he uses did not suggest this is a marvel. He does not meet at all the point of my objection to his view.

It will be observed that I do not, with many commentators, regard the doxology here as simply or mainly an expression of gratitude for the distinctive privileges bestowed upon the Jews as a nation, and still less for the particular fact that, as Dr. Gifford expresses it (p. 30, and note in his Commentary), "Christ was born a Jew." That gratitude, not sorrow, was the predominant sentiment in the mind of the Apostle in view of these privileges I do not doubt; but these particular occasions for thankfulness were lost, I conceive, in the thought of the actual advent of Christ, incomparably the greatest and most joyful event in the history of the world, and the most glorious expression of God's love and mercy to man, for which eternal gratitude was due. It was this which prompted the song of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest," and which prompted here the doxology which so fitly closes the Apostle's grand historic survey of those privileges of his people, which were the providential preparation for it.

Let us now consider more particularly Dr. Gifford's arguments and criticisms.

JEWISH PRIVILEGES, AND CONNECTION OF THOUGHTS IN ROM. IX. 1-5.

Dr. Gifford assumes that the Apostle, in his enumeration of the privileges which God had bestowed on his nation, names them only as reasons for the deepening of his grief for the fall of his countrymen; and thus finds in vv. 1-5 of the chapter one unbroken strain of lamentation, leaving no room for a doxology.

It appears to me that this is a very narrow view of what was probably in the Apostle's mind, and that there are other aspects of these privileges, which the way in which they are mentioned would more naturally suggest to the reader, and under which it is far more probable that the Apostle viewed them here. As I have elsewhere observed, the *manner* in which he recites them is not that of one touching upon a subject on which it is painful to dwell. To say nothing here of the *οἰτινες*, observe the effect of the repe-

tition of the *ὁ* and the *καί*. Let us consider some of these other aspects.

(1) The privileges of the Jews which the Apostle recounts were the glory of their nation, distinguishing it above all the other nations of the earth. This detailed enumeration of them, so evidently appreciative, was adapted to gratify and conciliate his Jewish readers, and to assure them of the sincerity of his affection for his countrymen. It was also adapted to take down the conceit of his Gentile readers, who were prone to despise the Hebrew race.

(2) These privileges had been the source of inestimable blessings to the Israelites in the course of their long history. (See Rom. iii. 1, 2.) Through them the worship of one God, who rewarded righteousness and punished iniquity, was preserved in their nation.

(3) They were parts of a great providential plan which was to find and had found its consummation in the advent of the Messiah, "the unspeakable gift" of God's love and mercy.

(4) They were tokens of the Divine favor to the Jews as a nation, and especially to their pious ancestors, which gave assurance to Paul that God would not cast off his people, whom he had chosen; that they were still "beloved for the fathers' sake"; that the present unhappy state of things was only temporary, and that, finally, all Israel should be saved.

The first three aspects of these privileges are obvious, and would naturally suggest themselves to every reader of the Epistle; the fourth we have strong reasons for believing to have been also in the mind of the Apostle. (See the eleventh chapter.)

Here I must express my surprise at the manner in which Dr. Gifford has treated my quotations from the eleventh chapter in reference to this last-mentioned aspect of the Jewish privileges. (*Letter*, p. 26 f.) He omits entirely my statement of the purpose for which I introduce them (*Journal*, p. 92 [p. 338 above]), though this is absolutely essential to the understanding of what is meant by "this view" in the

first sentence which he quotes from me; and then, wholly without ground, represents me as teaching two things: (1) "that as we read the simple enumeration of Jewish privileges in vv. 3, 4 [he means vv. 4, 5], we are not to connect it, as is most natural, with the preceding context." How can he say this, when in the whole treatment of the subject (*Journal*, pp. 88 f. [p. 333 f.], 91 [337], 2d paragr., 104, 105 [p. 353 f.]), I have taken particular pains to point out the connection of thought, and to show that my view of vv. 4, 5, agrees with the context? (2) That, "in order to understand the Apostle's meaning at this point, we must anticipate by an effort of our own imagination all the long-sustained argument . . . and the far-reaching prophetic hopes which make up the three following chapters." If Dr. Gifford had not omitted the sentences in which I stated my purpose, it would be at once seen that I did not make these quotations to show what the *reader* of vv. 4, 5, is expected to draw from them by an effort of his own imagination, but what the *Apostle*, together with other things more obvious to the reader, may be reasonably supposed to have had in mind when he wrote. When a person treats at length of a subject on which he must have meditated often and long, meeting objections which he must have been frequently called upon to answer, I have been accustomed to suppose that what he actually says may afford some indication of what was in his mind when he began to write.

I admit that the privileges which the Jews enjoyed as a nation may be regarded as having incidentally aggravated the sin and the shame of their rejection of the Messiah; that the contemplation of them under that aspect would have deepened in some measure the Apostle's grief; and that it is possible, though I see nothing which directly proves it, that he viewed them under this aspect here. Dr. Gifford's error, I conceive, lies in ignoring the other obvious aspects, under which they could be only regarded as occasions of thankfulness; and in not recognizing the well-known psychological fact that the same object of thought often excites in the mind at the same time, or in the most

rapid succession, mingled emotions of grief and joy and gratitude. One knows little of the deeper experiences of life who has not felt this. That this should be true here in the case of the Apostle who describes himself as "sorrowful, yet always rejoicing," who exhorts his Christian brethren to "rejoice evermore," and to "give thanks always for all things to God, the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," cannot be regarded as strange or unnatural.

There is no incongruity between sorrow for the misuse of a great privilege, whether by ourselves or by others, and devout thankfulness to God for its bestowal. In a pious mind, these feelings would naturally co-exist. Take, for example, the privilege of having been born and educated in a Christian land, so sadly abused by the majority of those who enjoy it.

I may note here another fallacy which appears to me to lurk in the language Dr. Gifford uses respecting the Jewish privileges. He repeatedly speaks of them as "lost" (pp. 30, 34, 35), inferring that the remembrance of them can only deepen the Apostle's grief. But these privileges were distinctions and glories of the Jewish people which from their very nature could not be lost. They, and the blessings of which they had been the source, were facts of history. Even in the case of the unbelieving Jews, though abused, or not taken advantage of, they were not, properly speaking, "lost." The privileges themselves remained unchanged, a permanent subject of thankfulness to God. In Dr. Gifford's assumption that verses 4 and 5 are only a wail of lamentation, he ignores these obvious considerations.

I will here state briefly my view of the connection of thought between vv. 4, 5, of the ninth chapter, and what precedes.

In vv. 1-5 the purpose of the Apostle was to conciliate his Jewish-Christian readers, and indirectly the unbelieving Jews,* by assuring them of his strong affection for his peo-

*Though the Epistle to the Romans was not addressed to unbelieving Jews, one object of it was to meet, and to enable its readers to meet, objections which the unbelieving Jews urged against Christianity, and which many Jewish Christians urged against Paul's view of it. The strength of the prejudice against himself personally which the Apostle of the Gentiles had to encounter is shown by the earnestness of his asseveration in ver. 1.

ple, and his appreciation of their privileges.* His affection is shown (1) by his deep sorrow for the unhappy condition of the great mass of his countrymen in their rejection of the Messiah (ver. 2); and (2) by his readiness to make any sacrifice, even that of his own salvation, were such a thing possible, if thereby he might bring them to Christ. His appreciation of their privileges is indicated by the detailed manner in which they are enumerated, and is distinctly expressed by the *οἰτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλεῖται* and what follows. The *οἰτινες* shows that it is not merely because he belongs to the same nation with the Jews that he is ready to make such a sacrifice for them; but because their nation is *such* a nation, distinguished above all the other nations of the earth; a nation dedicated to God, whose whole history had been glorified by extraordinary marks of the Divine favor, a nation to which he is proud and thankful to belong. The *οἰτινες* introduces the *distinguishing characteristic* of his *συγγενεῖς κατὰ σάρκα*. They are not merely fellow-countrymen, they are ISRAELITES; and as Philippi remarks, "In dem Namen Israelit lag die ganze Würde des Volkes beschlossen." So far as the word *οἰτινες* indicates a *causal* relation, it strengthens the reason for the affirmation which *immediately precedes* (not directly that in ver. 2, to which Dr. Gifford refers it); it serves, as Tholuck remarks, "zur Begründung eines solchen Grades aufopfernder Liebe." Dr. Gifford's assumption that the memory of these privileges only deepened the Apostle's grief is not proved by the *οἰτινες*, and really rests on no evidence.

So much for the connection of vv. 4, 5, with what precedes. How naturally the doxology at the end was suggested, and the reason for the position of *εὐλογητός*, are

* So Theophylact, on vv. 1, 2: Μέλλει προῖδων δεῖξαι, ὅτι οὐ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἰσι. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξη κατ' ἐμπάθειαν ταῦτα λέγειν, προλαμβάνει, καὶ λέγει περὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰ χρηστότερα, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ταύτην ἀναιρῶν, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ αὐτοὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως φιλεῖν. And on vv. 4, 5: Ἐπαινεῖ τοῦτους ἐνταῦθα καὶ μεγαλύνει, ἵνα, ὅπερ ἔφην, μὴ δόξη κατ' ἐμπάθειαν λέγειν. Ἡρέμα δὲ καὶ ἐπαινιττεται, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἠβούλετο αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. So also, in the main, Theodore, Calvin, Locke, and especially Flacius Illyricus, whose notes on vv. 1, 3, and 4 are very much to the point. Dr. Hodge has stated his view of the Apostle's purpose in almost the same language as I have used above. (See *Journal*, p. 91, note [p. 337 above]; see also Dr. Dwight, *ib. id.*, p. 41.)

pointed out on pp. 88 f., 90 ff., and 104 f. of the *Journal* [pp. 334, 336 ff., 353 f. above], and I need not repeat what is there said.

ὁ ὢν.

In Dr. Gifford's remarks on ὁ ὢν (p. 46), he speaks of my "gratuitous assumption that ὁ ὢν, in this passage, 'admits of being regarded as the subject of an independent sentence,'" and affirms that this "is simply . . . begging the whole question in dispute." It is so if "admits of being regarded" is synonymous with "*must* be regarded"; not otherwise. That ὁ ὢν, grammatically considered (and it is of this point that I was speaking), may either refer to the preceding ὁ χριστός, or introduce an independent sentence, is simply a thing plain on the face of the passage. If Dr. Gifford denies this, he not only contradicts the authorities he cites, who only contend that it is *more* naturally connected with what goes before, but virtually charges such scholars as Winer, Fritzsche, Meyer, Ewald, Van Hengel, Professor Campbell, Professor Kennedy, Professor Jowett, Dr. Hort, Lachmann, and Kuenen and Cobet, with ignorance or violation of the laws of the Greek language in the construction which they have actually given the passage.

In reply to Dr. Dwight, who admits that the construction of this passage is ambiguous, but makes a statement about "cases similar to that which is here presented," I remark that no similar case of ambiguity from the use of the participle with the article has ever, to my knowledge, been pointed out, so that we have no means of comparing this passage with a similar one. Dr. Gifford seems to argue from this (p. 46) that there is no ambiguity here. But I fail to perceive any coherence in his reasoning. He "concludes" that St. Paul "could not possibly have intended his words to bear" an ambiguous construction "in a passage of the highest doctrinal importance." Certainly. No writer, whose object is to express and not to conceal his thoughts, *intentionally* uses ambiguous language. But how does this prove that the language here is not actually ambiguous?

The fact that it is so is plain; and it is also obvious that, had the Apostle intended to express the meaning conveyed by Dr. Gifford's construction, all ambiguity would have been prevented by using *ὅς ἐστίν* instead of *ὁ ὧν*.

If Dr. Gifford's proposition, "The reference of *ὁ ὧν* not ambiguous" (p. 45), denies a *grammatical* ambiguity here, it denies, as I have said, what is plain on the face of the passage, and what is generally, if not universally, admitted by competent scholars; if, on the other hand, conceding the grammatical possibility of two different constructions of *ὁ ὧν* here, he affirms that there is no *real* ambiguity, because he deems the one he adopts the only one tenable, he simply begs the whole question.

It is true, as Dr. Gifford observes, that in the cases in the New Testament in which *ὁ ὧν* introduces an independent sentence no other construction is grammatically possible. But it is equally true, on the other hand, that in the cases in which *ὁ ὧν* refers to a preceding subject no other construction is grammatically possible. It follows that the examples of the use of *ὁ ὧν* in the New Testament do not help us to decide which of the two possible constructions is the more probable here. There are no "cases similar to that which is here presented." Dr. Gifford's claim that 2 Cor. xi. 31 is similar will be examined presently.

On what ground, then, is it affirmed that the construction which refers *ὁ ὧν* to *ὁ χριστός* is "easier" here than that which makes it the subject of an independent sentence? There is not the slightest grammatical difficulty in either. Nor is there the slightest difficulty in the latter construction, on account of the fact that the verb is not *expressed*. In the case of a doxology, which the *Ἀμήν* naturally suggests, the ellipsis of *ἐστί* or *εἶη*, when *ἐὐλογητός* is employed, is the constant usage; nor is there any grammatical difficulty in the construction adopted by Professor Kennedy.

It has indeed been asserted by many, as by Dr. Gifford for example, that the construction of the *ὁ ὧν* for which he contends here is the "usual" one, and, therefore, more easy and natural. But the examples which I have cited of the

other construction disprove this assertion, and also show that, in general, the construction of the participle with the article in the nominative case, as the subject of an independent sentence, is much more common in the New Testament than that which refers it to a substantive preceding. (See *Journal*, p. 97 [above, p. 344].)

In one respect, and one only, so far as I can see, the construction which refers $\delta\ \omega\nu$ to $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ may be regarded as the more natural. It is the one which naturally presents itself first to the mind. But it has this advantage only for a moment. As the reader proceeds, he perceives at once that $\delta\ \omega\nu$ may introduce an independent sentence, and the Ἀμὴν suggests a doxology. Even more may be said: the separation of $\delta\ \omega\nu$ from $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ by $\tau\acute{o}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$, and the necessary pause after $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$, might at once suggest that $\delta\ \omega\nu$ (not "who is," but "he who is") may introduce a new sentence. But waiving this possibility, as soon as it is perceived that the passage admits grammatically of two constructions, the question which is the more natural does not depend at all on the fact that the one presented itself to the mind a moment before the other, but must be determined by weighing all the considerations which bear on the subject. One of these considerations, second to no other in importance, is Paul's use of language. In the eight preceding chapters of the Epistle the Apostle has used the word $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ as a proper name, designating the "one God, the Father," about eighty seven times, and has nowhere applied it to Christ. Could anything then be more natural than for the primitive reader of the Epistle to adopt the construction which accords with this *uniform* usage of the writer?

On p. 48 Dr. Gifford claims that 2 Cor. xi. 31 is "exactly similar in form" to Rom. ix. 5, and therefore proves "that the clause $\delta\ \omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \kappa\iota\ \tau\iota\ \lambda\iota$. must, according to Paul's usage, be referred to the preceding subject $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ "; and he again speaks of the "exact correspondence between the two passages." He overlooks two fundamental differences: (1) that in 2 Cor. xi. 31 the construction which refers the $\delta\ \omega\nu$ to $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \kappa\iota\ \tau\iota\ \lambda\iota$. is the only one *possible*; and (2) that what precedes

the *ὁ ὢν* does not, as he incorrectly affirms, form a sentence "grammatically complete," as in Rom. ix. 5; but, on the contrary, an essential part of the sentence, the object of the transitive verb *οἶδεν* (namely, *ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι*), is separated from the verb which governs it by the clause introduced by *ὁ ὢν*.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN *θεός* AND *κύριος*.

In regard to the distinction between *θεός* and *κύριος*, which Dr. Gifford charges me with having "asserted in a most inaccurate form" (*Letter*, p. 12), I cannot perceive that he has pointed out any inaccuracy in my statement. That the word *θεός* in general expresses a higher dignity than *κύριος* seems to me beyond question. The use of *κύριος* in the Septuagint as a proper name, taking the place of Jehovah on account of a Jewish superstition respecting the pronunciation of the *tetragrammaton*, is something wholly exceptional and peculiar. I have not, however, as Dr. Gifford incorrectly represents, "suppressed all reference" to this very frequent use in the Septuagint and occasional use in the New Testament. I note the fact that "it is seldom used of God in the writings of Paul except in quotations from or references to the language of the Old Testament," and then remark upon its twofold use as applied to God in the Septuagint. (See *Journal*, p. 127 f. [above, p. 380].) That as a title of Christ it does not stand for Jehovah is fully shown, I think, by Cremer in his *Biblisch-theol. Wörterbuch der Neu-test. Gräcität*, 3te Aufl., p. 483 ff. [4te Aufl., p. 520], or Eng. trans., 2d ed., p. 382 ff. The argument that as a designation of Christ in the writings of St. Paul it is equivalent to Jehovah, because in a very few places he applies to Christ language of the Old Testament in which *κύριος* represents Jehovah, loses all its apparent force when we observe the extraordinary freedom with which he adapts the language of the Old Testament to his purpose without regard to its meaning in the connection in which it stands. On this it may be enough to refer to Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of the N. T.*, 3d ed., § 74. He remarks: "Paul does not inquire into the original meaning of Old Testament expressions; he takes

them in the sense which he is accustomed to give to similar expressions, even in the case of such terms as *πίστις, κύριος, εὐαγγελιζέσθαι* (Rom. i. 17, ix. 33, x. 13, 15)."

In the passage of the Old Testament (Ps. cx. 1) which Christ himself has quoted (Matt. xxii. 43-45; Mark xii. 35-37; Luke xx. 41-44) as illustrating the meaning of *κύριος* as a designation of the Messiah, the Messiah (if the Psalm refers to him) is clearly distinguished from Jehovah, at whose right hand he sits, as he is everywhere else in the Old Testament.* This very passage is also quoted by the Apostle Peter as proving that "God hath MADE Jesus both *Lord* and Christ." When these and other facts are adduced to show that the term "Lord" as applied to Christ in the New Testament does not stand for Jehovah, but describes the dignity and dominion conferred upon him by God, Dr. Gifford simply remarks that "this reasoning has been employed again and again in the Arian and Unitarian controversies, and again and again refuted." I wonder how many of his readers would regard this as a satisfactory answer to my quotations (if he had *given* them) from the Apostles Peter and Paul, or are ready to assume, with St. Jerome, that *Dominatio* involves *Deitas*. The "refutations" to which Dr. Gifford refers, "again and again" repeated, do not appear to have been convincing to those to whom they were addressed.

Dr. Gifford refers to Waterland, Pearson, and Weiss. Weiss has already been sufficiently answered by Weiss; see above. Waterland and Pearson cite such passages as Hosea i. 7, "I will save them by Jehovah their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, nor by horses, nor by horsemen," as proving that Jesus Christ is called Jehovah in the Old Testament. (Pearson, *Expos. of the Creed*, p. 217 f., Nichols's ed.) Pearson cites to the same purpose Zech. x. 12; Jer. xxiii. 5, 6 (comp. Jer. xxxiii. 15, 16); Zech. ii. 10, and other passages. Such exegesis might perhaps be pardoned in the time of Pearson and Waterland, though commentators like Calvin, Pocock, Dru-

* See, for example, Micah v. 4: "And he shall stand and feed in the strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah, HIS GOD."

sius, Grotius, and LeClerc had rejected this wild interpretation; but it can hardly be supposed that it needs a formal refutation at the present day. It may be enough to refer Dr. Gifford to "The Speaker's Commentary" on the passages mentioned, and the note in the *Journal* for 1881, p. 124 [above, p. 376].

ORIGEN.

Dr. Gifford still appeals to Rufinus's translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans as proving that Origen "certainly" interpreted the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as he does (*Letter*, pp. 32 ff., 65). His positiveness is not abated by the circumstance that Rufinus so altered, abridged, and interpolated this work of Origen, that for the most part we have no means of determining what belongs to Origen and what to Rufinus, and that his friends thought he ought to claim it as his own.*

Dr. Gifford gives his readers no hint of this important fact, of which he could not have been ignorant, and for which I had cited Matthæi, Redepenning, and Rufinus himself (*Journal*, p. 135). There is perhaps no higher authority in Patrology than Cave, who, in his list of Origen's writings, thus describes the work on which Dr. Gifford relies with so much confidence: "*In Epistolam ad Romanos Commentariorum tomi 20. quos PESSIMA FIDE A SE VERSOS MISERE INTERPOLATOS, DETRUNCATOS et ad mediam fere partem contractos edidit Rufinus, versione sua in 10. tomos distributa.*" — *Hist. Lit. s.v. ORIGENES*, i., 118 ed. Oxon. 1740. Thomasius, in his valuable work on Origen, was more prudent in his use of authorities. He says: "Am wenigsten aber wagte ich den Commentar zu den Römern zu benützen, der nach der *Peroratio Rufini in explanationem Origenis super Epist. Pauli ad Rom.* Vol. iv. eine gänzliche Umgestaltung durch den Uebersetzer erfahren zu haben scheint." (*Origenes* (1837), p. 90.) Even Burton, who, in his very

*"Adversus hanc audaciam excandescit Erasmus, nec immerito quidam Rufinum objurgarunt, quemadmodum ipse sibi objectum fuisse ait in peroratione sue translationis, quod suum potius, quam Origenis nomen hujus operis titulo non inscripsisset. Hinc etiam fit, ut vix Origenem in Origene reperias," etc. Lumper, *Hist. theol.-crit.*, etc., Pars ix. (1792), p. 191.

one-sided *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, etc., quotes largely from spurious works ascribed to Hippolytus and Dionysius of Alexandria without giving any warning to the reader, could not bring himself to cite Rufinus's transformation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. (See *Testimonies*, etc., 2d ed., p. 339.)

Dr. Gifford's citations from the treatise of Origen against Celsus do not appear to me to answer his purpose. He quotes passages (*Cont. Cels.* i. 60, 66; ii. 9) in which Origen has called Christ *θεός* but in the last one adduced (ii. 9) the words at the end of the sentence, *κατὰ τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν καὶ πατέρα*, as De la Rue remarks, "manifestam continent antithesin ad ista, *μεγάλῃν ὄντα δύναμιν καὶ θεόν, ut pater supra filium evellatur.*"* What is wanted is to show that Origen has not merely given Christ the appellation *θεός*, "a divine being," in contradistinction from *ὁ θεός*, *ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεός*, *ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός*, by which titles he constantly designates the Father, but that he has called him "God over all," as he is represented as making St. Paul do in this so-called translation of Rufinus. It is the Father alone who in the passages cited by Dr. Gifford (*Cont. Cels.* viii. 4, 12) is termed *ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός*; in viii. 14 of the same treatise Origen emphatically denies that the generality of Christians regarded the Saviour as "the God over all"; and in the next section he expressly calls him

* De la Rue understands the *κατὰ* to denote "inferiorem ordinem," and says it is often so used. I doubt this, and, if the word is genuine, should rather take it as meaning "in accordance with the will of," or "by the will of," nearly as in the phrase *κατὰ θεόν* in Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek authors. But it seems to me very probable that the true reading is *μετά*; comp. Orig. *In Joannem*, tom. i. c. 11, τὸν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων θεὸν λόγον; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 32, ἡ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότῃν θεόν (and similarly *Apol.* i. 12, 13; ii. 13); Euseb. *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 20, p. 93 c. κήρυξ τῶν ὅλων μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν. The prepositions *κατὰ* and *μετά* are very often confounded in MSS. by an error of the scribe, the abbreviations for the two words being similar. (Montfaucon, *Palaeogr. Graeca*, p. 345; Sabas, *Specim. Palaeogr.*, Suppl., tabb. xi., xii.) See Bast ad Gregor. Corinth. ed. Schaefer (1811), pp. 99, 405, 825, and Irmisch's Herodian iv. 1638, who gives eight examples. Cobet remarks: "Qui codices Graecos triverunt sciunt *κατὰ* et *μετά* compendiose sic scribi ut vix oculis discerni possint. Passim confundi solere sciunt omnes."—*Variae Lectiones*, in *Mnemosyne* vii. 391.

Dr. Gifford may prefer Burton's view, who says (*Testimonies*, etc., 2d ed., p. 293) it "can only mean 'God after the pattern of the God of the universe.'" It would take too much space to give my reasons for differing from him. Martini says (p. 175), "Entweder ist es s. v. a. *per deum* [there is some mistake here, perhaps only a comma omitted] *cuius auctor est summus deus*, oder *secundum voluntatem summi dei.*" Mosheim renders it *nächst*; Rössler, *nach*; Cromie and Professor Kennedy, *next to*. These translations rather represent *μετά*, but show what the translators thought the context to require, and may thus be regarded as confirming my conjecture.

“inferior” to the Father (*ἰποδεέστερος*), as he elsewhere speaks of him as *ἐλάττων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* and *δεύτερος τοῦ πατρός* (*De Princip.* i. 3, § 5), and says that “he is excelled by the Father as much as (or even more than) he and the Holy Spirit excel other beings,” and that “in no respect does he compare with the Father” (*οὐ συγκρίνεται κατ’ οὐδὲν τῷ πατρὶ*, *In Joan.* tom. xiii. c. 25, Opp. iv. 235). It is not easy to believe that one who uses such language as this applied the last clause of Rom. ix. 5 to Christ.

In the passage *Cont. Cels.* viii. 4, I perceive no ground for regarding the titles *τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν τῶν θεῶν*, and *τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι κύριον τῶν κυρίων*, as denoting equal dignity. The latter, high as it is, as applied to Christ, is far from proving that he might be called *ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*. The last sentence quoted by Dr. Gifford shows the distinction. The purport of it is that “he has risen to the GOD OVER ALL who worships HIM undividedly” (this is said in opposition to the worship of the heathen, distributed among many gods), “through him who alone leads men to God, namely, the Son, the God-Logos and Wisdom,” etc. The relation of the Son to the Father, from whom he has derived all that makes him an object of worship, and whose image he is, is such, according to Origen, that the relative worship paid to him is all *ultimately* paid to the God over all, the Father, who alone is the Supreme Object of worship.

Still less, if possible, is the quotation from *Cont. Cels.* viii. 12 to Dr. Gifford’s purpose. It teaches, he says, “that Christ is to be worshipped as being One with the Supreme God.” “One” in what sense? Dr. Gifford omits the words that immediately follow, in which Origen cites Acts iv. 32, “And the multitude of believers were of one heart and one soul,” as explaining the meaning of the words, “I and the Father are one.”* A little further on Origen says: “We worship, then, the Father of the Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth; † two distinct persons, but one in agree-

* So in his *Comm. in Joan.* tom. xiii. c. 34, Opp. iv. 245, Origen explains John x. 30 as relating to the unity of *will* between the Father and the Son.

† Comp. Origen, *In Joan.* tom. ii. c. 18, Opp. iv. 76b: *ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἀληθείας θεὸς πλείων ἐστὶ καὶ μείζων ἢ [we should read, perhaps, ἢ ἢ] ἀλήθεια*: “the God who is the Father of the Truth is more and greater than the Truth.”

ment of thought, and in harmony of feeling, and in sameness of will," ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος; so that he who has seen the Son . . . has seen in him, who is the image of God, God himself."*

In the view of Origen, the moral union between the Father and the Son was perfect, so that the worship of the Son, regarded as the image of the Father, reflecting his moral perfections, his goodness and righteousness and truth, is virtually the worship of the Father himself; it terminates in him as its ultimate object. (See *Cont. Cels.* viii. 13, *ad fin.*)

Origen's ideas respecting the worship of the Son appear distinctly in what he says of prayer. In his treatise on Prayer, he teaches that prayer, properly speaking, is "perhaps never to be offered to any originated being, *not even to Christ himself*, but only to the God and Father of all, to whom our Saviour himself prayed and teaches us to pray." (*De Orat.* c. 15; *Opp.* i. 222.) There is much more to the same purpose. In his later work against Celsus, he says that "every supplication and prayer, and intercession, and thanksgiving is to be sent up to the GOD OVER ALL, *through* the High Priest, who is above all angels, the living Logos, and God. But we shall also supplicate the Logos himself, and make requests to him, and give thanks and pray, if we are able to distinguish between prayer properly speaking and prayer in a looser sense, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα κατακόειν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως." (*Cont. Cels.* v. 4, and see also v. 5, *Opp.* i. 580.) Compare *Cont. Cels.* viii. 26: "We ought to pray only to the GOD OVER ALL; yet it is proper to pray also to the only-begotten, the first-born of the whole creation, the Logos of God, and to request him, as a High Priest, to carry up our prayers which reach him to HIS GOD and our God." So *Cont. Cels.* viii. 13: "We worship the one God,

* It may be well to notice here an ambiguous sentence in this section, which has been translated, incorrectly, I think, "We worship one God, therefore, the Father and the Son, as we have explained." The Greek is, ἓνα ὄν θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδόκαμεν, τὸν πατέρα [] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν θεραπεύομεν. We should, I believe, place a comma after πατέρα, and translate, "We worship, therefore, one God, the Father, and the Son." This is confirmed by what follows, cited above, and by the language used in the next section (c. 13): διὸ τὸν ἓνα θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἓνα υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον καὶ εἰκόνα . . . σέβομεν.

and the one Son, who is his Logos and Image, with supplications and petitions as we are able, bringing our prayers to the GOD OF THE UNIVERSE *through* his only-begotten Son, to whom we first offer them; beseeching him, who is the propitiation for our sins, to present, as High Priest, our prayers and sacrifices and intercessions to the GOD OVER ALL."*

I do not see how any one can read these passages and regard it as probable, much less as *certain*, that Origen understood Paul in Rom. ix. 5 to describe Christ as ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. It is clear, at any rate, that he did not understand the passage as Dr. Gifford does (*Letter*, p. 3), as "a testimony to the CO-EQUAL GODHEAD of the Son."

Dr. Gifford's argument from the *Selecta in Threnos*, iv. 5, rests on a false assumption, which has been already sufficiently remarked upon.

PUNCTUATION IN MANUSCRIPTS.

On p. 36 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, speaking of punctuation in MSS., he observes that "it is universally acknowledged that no marks of punctuation or division were in use till long after the days of St. Paul." This remark, if intended to apply to Greek MSS. in general, is inaccurate, and indicates that Dr. Gifford has been misled by untrustworthy authorities. If it is intended to apply to New Testament MSS., I do not see how the fact can be proved, as we possess no MSS. of the New Testament of earlier date than the fourth century. But the essential point in Dr. Gifford's remarks is, that the punctuation in MSS. of the New Testament is *of no authority*. This is very true; and it should have been remembered by the many commentators (including Dr. Gifford) who have made the assertion (very incorrect in point of fact), that a stop after *σάρκα* is found in only two or three inferior MSS. in Rom. ix. 5, as if that were an argument against a doxology here.

* It may be worth while to note that Origen (*Cont. Cels.* viii. 9) justifies the honor paid to the Son on the ground that he receives it by the appointment of the Father (ἀποδείξομεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ δέδοται αὐτῷ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι, citing John v. 23), and is declared by God to be ἄξιον τῆς δευτερενουόσης μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων . . . τιμῆς. (*Cont. Cels.* v. 57.)

The results of some recent investigation in regard to this matter are given in our *Journal* for 1882, p. 161 [p. 406f. above]. The investigation has since, through the kindness of Dr. C. R. Gregory, been carried somewhat farther. I can now name, besides the uncials A, B, C, L, the first three of which are not "inferior MSS.," at least twenty-six cursives which have a stop after *σάρκα*, the same in general which they have after *αἰῶνας* or *Ἀμήν*. In all probability, the result of an examination would show that three-quarters or four-fifths of the cursive MSS. containing Rom. ix. 5 have a stop after *σάρκα*.

In regard to Codex A, Canon Cook thinks the testimony of Dr. Vance Smith, whom Dr. Gifford cites as saying that the stop after *σάρκα* is "evidently *a prima manu*," is "not verified or likely to be verified." * Many others will question the testimony of a Unitarian heretic. It would have been only fair, therefore, to have added the fact, mentioned on p. 150 of the *Journal* [p. 407 above], that Dr. Sanday agrees with him. I would add that I am informed, on good authority, that Dr. Scrivener has examined the MS. at this place with the same result.

The whole matter is in itself unimportant; but it is important that writers like Dean Burgon should cease imposing upon unlearned readers by making reckless assertions about it.

VAN HENGEL ON THE τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.

As regards the limitation τὸ κατὰ σάρκα (*Letter*, p. 38 f.), the examples cited by Van Hengel from Plato's *Philebus* (c. 7, p. 17^e) and Isocrates (*Ad Nicocl.* c. 29 *al.* 30) in support of his view, and urged by Dr. Gifford in opposition to it, are, I think, not to the purpose on either side. The formulæ "A and *also* B," and "not only A, but B," into which the quotations, so far as they bear on the matter, may be resolved, do not express "antithesis," but agreement. Dr. Gifford's citation from Demosthenes (*Cont. Eubul.* p. 1229, l. 14) furnishes no analogy to the τὸ κατὰ σάρκα here, and is wholly

* Canon Cook, *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, p. 194; comp. p. 167.

irrelevant, for two reasons: (1) because the τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς [al. ἡμῶς] is introduced with a μίν, which of course leads one to expect an antithesis, such as follows, expressed by δέ; and (2) because the τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς is probably to be regarded as the direct object of the verb θαρρεῖν, used here, as often, transitively, like its opposite φηβείσθαι. Van Hengel's rule relates only to clauses like τὸ καθ' ἐμέ, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, in which the article τό with its adjunct is neither the object nor the subject of a verb, or at least of any verb expressed. (See Van Hengel, *Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Rom.* ii. 348.)

IRENÆUS.

As to the quotation of Rom. ix. 5 by Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 16, § 3), I must still, for the reasons assigned in the *Journal* (p. 390 above), regard it as doubtful whether he referred the last clause of the verse to Christ. In opposition to the Gnostics who held that the Æon *Christ* first descended upon Jesus at his baptism, Irenæus is quoting passages which, like ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, speak of the *Christ* as *born*. But why, Dr. Gifford asks, does he quote the remainder of the passage, if it had nothing to do with his argument? (*Letter*, p. 42.) I answer, he may well have included it in his quotation, if he regarded it as a doxology, or gave it Dr. Kennedy's construction, for the same purpose as Photius has quoted it in his work against the Manichæans (see *Journal*, p. 138 f. [p. 393 above]); namely, as confirming the doctrine insisted on throughout his book, that the God of the Jews, the God of the Old Testament, was not, as all the Gnostics contended, a being inferior to the Supreme God, but the God over all. So understood, it would agree with the language which Irenæus uses so often elsewhere, describing the Father as the God over all, while he nowhere, to my knowledge, speaks of the Son as God over all. I admit that Irenæus *may* have applied the last clause to Christ, separating the θεός from ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων as a distinct predicate; but I perceive nothing which determines with certainty the construction he gave it. The whole question is of the least possible consequence. One who could treat 2 Cor. iv. 4 as he has done (*Haer.* iii. 7,

§ 1; iv. 29, § 2) is certainly no authority in exegesis in a case where doctrinal prejudice could have an influence.

Dr. Gifford thinks that Irenæus "most probably" refers to Rom. ix. 5 when he says (*Hæc.* iii. 12, § 9) that the mystery which was made known to Paul by revelation was that ὁ παθὼν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου οὗτος κύριος τῶν πάντων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς καὶ κριτὴς ἴσται. He omits the words that *immediately* follow, preserved in the old Latin version: "ab eo qui est omnium Deus accipiens potestatem, quoniam subiectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis," where Christ as θεός is distinguished from him who is "omnium Deus," from whom he received his power. This does not go far towards proving that Irenæus would call *Christ* "God over all." I observe incidentally that Irenæus's explanation of "the mystery which was made known to Paul by revelation" (Eph. iii. 3) differs widely from that which Paul himself gives (Eph. iii. 6 ff.).

CLEMENT OF ROME.

Passing to p. 41 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, I remark that if Clement of Rome in the passage cited (*Cor.* c. 32) had Rom. ix. 5 in mind, as he probably did, and regarded the last clause as applicable to Christ, it would have been altogether to his purpose to have added it to the τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, his purpose being to magnify the distinctions bestowed by God on the patriarch Jacob. Dr. Gifford will not, I think, find many who regard the simple expression "the Lord Jesus" as equivalent to "He who is over all, God blessed for ever"; it is rather the equivalent of the Pauline ὁ χριστός, a title which, when it denotes the Messiah, involves lordship. So far, then, from inferring, as Dr. Gifford does, from this passage of Clement, that he "probably" (*Letter*, p. 65) applied the last clause to Christ, I should infer from his omitting it, where, thus understood, it would have been so much to his purpose, that he probably did *not*. This presumption would be confirmed by the way in which he speaks of Christ, and distinguishes him from God, throughout his Epistle.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED QUOTATION OF ROMANS IX. 5 BY
IRENÆUS.

Dr. Gifford (*Letter*, p. 41) adduces a passage from Irenæus, "which no one," he observes, "so far as I know, has hitherto noticed in this connection. Prof. Abbot indeed says (p. 136) that the only place where Irenæus has quoted Rom. ix. 5 is *Haer.* iii. 16 (*al.* 18), § 3. Alas! for the man who ventures on that spirited but dangerous hobby, the universal negative. These are the words of Irenæus in *Fragm.* xvii. (Stieren): ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς προετυπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη."

Dr. Gifford has fortunately given the Greek of the passage that is to put me to shame, and I have not the slightest apprehension that any reader of his *Letter* will call the fragment of Irenæus which he cites a quotation of Rom. ix. 5; at the very utmost, it could only be termed an *allusion* to that passage. The editor of the *Σειρά* or *Catena* from which this fragment is taken (Nicephorus Theotoki), and the editors and translators of Irenæus, as Grabe, Massuet, Stieren, Migne, Harvey, Roberts and Rambaut, and Keble, though they all refer in the margin to supposed quotations, have failed to make any reference here to Rom. ix. 5. If it be a quotation, the discovery of the fact belongs probably to Dr. Gifford alone. It will be observed that Dr. Gifford spaces the letters in ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστός as if they must be regarded as *quoted* from Rom. ix. 5. He does not note the fact that this fragment of Irenæus is part of a comment on Deut. xxvii. 12, and is given in a fuller form in a Latin translation by Franciscus Zephyrus or Zephyrius (= Zafiri) in his edition of a *Catena* on Deuteronomy, as cited by Grabe in his edition of Irenæus (p. 469). This reads: "Notandum, benedicti munus in TRIBUBUS demandatum, EX QUIBUS CHRISTUS designatus cognoscitur et generatur," etc., and shows how little the ἐξ ὧν, κ. τ. λ. has to do with Rom. ix. 5, and how groundless is the inference which Dr. Gifford draws from this accidental coincidence of expression.

Long before Dr. Gifford's *Letter* was published I had noted this fragment, together with a similar passage in Irenæus (*Hæc.* iv. 4, § 1), as examples of τὸ κατὰ σάρκα without an antithesis expressed, and had caused them to be printed among the Additions and Corrections in the number of the *Journal* for 1882, p. 160, referring to the *Journal* for 1881, p. 101. So far as they go, they both, I think, favor my view of the controverted passage rather than Dr. Gifford's. If they are to be regarded as *quotations* of Rom. ix. 5, they favor it more than I had supposed.

POSITION OF εὐλογητός.

In Dr. Gifford's remarks on the position of εὐλογητός (*Letter*, p. 54 f.), he maintains that in the text of the Septuagint, in Ps. lxxviii. 20 (Sept. lxxvii. 19), εὐλογητός should be read but once, and connected with what follows. For this, so far as I can ascertain, he has the authority of only two unimportant cursive MSS. (Nos. 183, 202),—in which the omission of one εὐλογητός is readily explained as accidental, on account of the *homæotcleuton* or dittography,—in opposition to all the other known MSS. of the Psalms, more than a hundred in number, including the uncials, among them Ⲛ and B of the fourth century, and the Verona MS. of the fifth or sixth. (The Alexandrian MS. and the Zürich Psalter are mutilated here.) The omission of the first εὐλογητός, moreover, leaves the κίριος ὁ θεός simply hanging in the air, without any construction. To adopt such a reading in the face of such evidence is to do violence to all rational principles of textual criticism. The difference between the LXX and the Hebrew is easily explained by the supposition that in the Hebrew copy used by the translators, the כְּרוֹךְ was repeated (which might easily have happened), or at least that they thought it ought to be.

Dr. Gifford takes no notice of my explanation of the *reason* for the ordinary position of such words as εὐλογητός, εὐλογημένος, ἐπικατάρατος, etc., in doxologies, benedictions, and maledictions, or of the exceptions which I adduce (save Ps.

lxviii. 20, which I waive), or of my argument that, if we take the last clause as a doxology, the position of *εὐλογητός* after the subject is not only fully accounted for, but is rather *required by the very same law of the Greek language* which governs all the examples that have been alleged against the doxological construction. (*Journal*, pp. 103-111.) As this view is supported by so eminent a grammarian as Winer, to say nothing of Meyer, Fritzsche, and other scholars, it seems to me that it deserved consideration.

DIFFERENT SENSES OF *εὐλογητός*.

On p. 56 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, he gives as examples of the use and meaning of the word *εὐλογητός* the expressions "Blessed be God" and "Blessed be thou of the Lord," and remarks that "Dr. Abbot 'overlooks the fact' that, whatever difference there may be, it lies *not in the sense of the word* *εὐλογητός*, but in the different relations of the persons blessing and blessed." I must confess that I have overlooked the fact, if it be a fact; and must also confess my belief that not a few of Dr. Gifford's readers will be surprised at the proposition that there is no difference in the sense of the word *εὐλογητός* when, applied to God, it means "praised" or "worthy to be praised," and when, applied to men, it means "prospered" or "blessed" by God. The fact on which Dr. Gifford seems to lay great stress, that *εὐλογητός* in these different senses represents the same Hebrew word, will not weigh much with those who consider that many words in common use have several very different meanings in Hebrew as well as in other languages. The two meanings are as distinct as those of *εὐλογία* in the sense of *laus, laudatio, celebratio* (Grimm, *Lex. s.v. εὐλογία*, No. 1), and of *bonum, beneficium* (Grimm, *ibid.*, No. 5).

The very common use of *εὐλογητός* in doxologies to God seems to have led the Septuagint translators to restrict its application in the sense of "praised," or rather "worthy to be praised," to the Supreme Being. To this perhaps the only exception is in the expression *εὐλογητός ὁ τρόπος σου* in

1 Sam. xxv. 33. In the New Testament, apart from the passage in debate, its application is restricted to God, "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." My point is that whatever force there may be in the argument from this extensive usage in favor of its application to God rather than to Christ in Rom. ix. 5, it is not diminished in the slightest degree by the fact that in a few passages of the LXX the word is applied to men in the very different sense of "prospered" or "recipients of blessings." *i.e.* benefits, from God.

I have now, I believe, taken notice of all the points of importance in which Dr. Gifford has criticised my statements, or statements which he has ascribed to me. I am not without hope that in a future edition of his pamphlet he may see reason for modifying some of his remarks, and for giving more fully the context of some of his quotations.

XVIII.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF TITUS II. 13.

[From the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1881.]

The Greek reads as follows: προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (οἱ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ).

Shall we translate, "the appearing of the glory of *our great God and Saviour* Jesus Christ"? or, "the appearing of the glory of *the great God and our Saviour* Jesus Christ"?

It was formerly contended by Granville Sharp, and afterwards by Bishop Middleton, that the absence of the Greek article before σωτῆρος in Tit. ii. 13 and 2 Pet. i. 1, and before θεοῦ in Eph. v. 5, is alone sufficient to prove that the two appellatives connected by καὶ belong to one subject.* "It is impossible," says Middleton in his note on Tit. ii. 13, "to understand θεοῦ and σωτῆρος otherwise than of one person." This ground is now generally abandoned, and it is admitted that, *grammatically*, either construction is possible. I need

* Sharp applied his famous rule also to 2 Thess. i. 12, but Middleton thinks that this text affords no certain evidence in his favor. Winer disposes of it summarily as merely a case in which κύριος is used for ὁ κύριος, the word κύριος taking, in a measure, the character of a proper name. In 2 Thess. i. 11, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν denotes God in distinction from "our Lord Jesus" (ver. 1); it is therefore unnatural in the extreme to take this title in the last clause of *the very same sentence* (ver. 12) as a designation of Christ. We may then reject without hesitation Granville Sharp's construction, which in fact has the support of but few respectable scholars.

As to 1 Tim. v. 21 and 2 Tim. iv. 1, it is enough to refer to the notes of Bishop Middleton and Bishop Ellicott on the former passage. Compare the remarkable various reading in Gal. ii. 20, adopted by Lachmann and Tregelles (text), but not by Tischendorf or Westcott and Hort, — ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ.

In Eph. v. 5, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, the Χριστοῦ and θεοῦ are regarded as denoting distinct subjects by a large majority of the best commentators, as De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, Meier, Holzhausen, Flatt, Matthies, Baumgarten-Crusius, Bleek, Ewald, Schenkel, Braune and Riddle (in Lange's *Comm.*, Amer. trans.), Conybeare, Bloomfield, Ellicott, Eadie, Alford, Canon Barry in Ellicott's *N. T. Comm.*, and Prebendary Meyrick in "the Speaker's Commentary" (1881).

In the Revised New Testament, the construction contended for so strenuously by Middleton in Eph. v. 5, and by Sharp in 2 Thess. i. 12, has not been deemed worthy of notice.

only refer to Winer, Stuart, Buttman, T. S. Green, and S. G. Green among the grammarians, and to Alford, Ellicott, Bishop Jackson, and other recent commentators.* It will be most convenient to assume, provisionally, that this view is correct; and to consider first the *exegetical* grounds for preferring one construction to the other. But as some still think that the omission of the article, though not decisive of the question, affords a *presumption* in favor of the construction which makes τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ a designation of Christ, a few remarks upon this point will be made in Note A, at the end of this paper. It may be enough to say here that θεοῦ has already an attributive, so that the mind naturally rests for a moment upon τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ as a subject by itself; and that the addition of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ το σωτήρος ἡμῶν distinguishes the person so clearly from τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, according to Paul's *constant use of language*, that there was no need of the article for that purpose.

The question presented derives additional interest from the fact that, in the recent Revision of the English translation of the New Testament, the English Company have adopted in the text the first of the constructions mentioned above, placing the other in the margin; while the American Company, by a large majority, preferred to reverse these positions

I will first examine the arguments of Bishop Ellicott for the construction which makes τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ an appellation of Christ. They are as follows:—

“(α) ἐπιφάνεια is a term specially and peculiarly applied to the Son, and never to the Father.” The facts are these. In one passage (2 Tim. i. 10) the word ἐπιφάνεια is applied to Christ's first advent; in four to his second advent (2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8); and as ἐπιφάνεια denotes a visible manifestation, it may be thought that an ἐπιφάνεια of

* See Winer, *Gram.* § 19, 5, Anm. 1, p. 123, 7te Aufl. (p. 130 Thayer's trans., p. 162 Moulton); Stuart, *Bibl. Repos.* April, 1834, vol. iv. p. 322 f.; A. Buttman, *Gram.* § 125, 14-17, pp. 97-102, Thayer's trans.; T. S. Green, *Gram. of the N. T. Dialect* (1842), pp. 205-219, or new ed. (1862), pp. 67-75; S. G. Green, *Handbook to the Gram. of the Greek Test.*, p. 216; and Alford on Tit. ii. 13. Alford has some good remarks on the passage, but I find no sufficient proof of his statement that σωτήρ had become in the N. T. “a quasi proper name.”

God, the Father, "whom no man hath seen nor can see," could not be spoken of.

But this argument is founded on a misstatement of the question. The expression here is not "the appearing of the great God," but "the appearing of the glory of the great God," which is a very different thing. When our Saviour himself had said, "The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels" (Matt. xvi. 27, comp. Mark viii. 38), or as Luke expresses it, "in his own glory, and the glory of the Father, and of the holy angels" (ch. ix. 26), can we doubt that Paul, who had probably often heard Luke's report of these words, might speak of "the appearing of the glory" of the Father, as well as of Christ, at the second advent?*

This view is confirmed by the representations of the second advent given elsewhere in the New Testament, and particularly by 1 Tim. vi. 14-16. The future *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ was not conceived of by Paul as independent of God, the Father, any more than his first *ἐπιφάνεια* or advent, but as one "which in his own time the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can see, shall show" (*δείξει*). The reference is to the joint manifestation of the glory of God and of Christ at the time when, to use the language of the writer to the Hebrews (i. 6), "he again bringeth [or shall have brought] the first-begotten into the world, and saith, Let all the angels of God pay him homage." † That God and Christ should be associated in the references to the second advent,

* Even if the false assumption on which the argument is founded were correct, that is, if the expression here used were τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the argument would have little or no weight. The fact that *ἐπιφάνεια* is used four times of Christ in relation to the second advent would be very far from proving that it might not be so used of God, the Father, also. Abundant examples may be adduced from Jewish writers to show that any extraordinary display of divine power, whether exercised directly and known only by its effects, or through an intermediate visible agent, as an angel, might be called an *ἐπιφάνεια*, an "appearing" or "manifestation" of God. The word is used in the same way in heathen literature to denote any supposed divine interposition in human affairs, whether accompanied by a visible appearance of the particular deity concerned, or not. See Note B.

† See also Acts iii. 20: "—and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus."

that God should be represented as displaying his power and glory at the *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ, accords with the account given elsewhere of the *accompanying events*. The dead are to be raised at the second advent, a glorious display of divine power, even as Christ is said to have been "raised from the dead by the *glory* of the Father" (Rom. vi. 4). But it is expressly declared by Paul that, "as Jesus died and rose again, even so shall GOD, *through* Jesus, bring with him them that have fallen asleep" (1 Thess. iv. 14; comp. Phil. iii. 21); and again, "GOD both raised the Lord, and will raise up us by his power" (1 Cor. vi. 14). There is to be a general judgment at the second advent; but Paul tells us that "God hath appointed a day in which HE will judge the world in righteousness *by* a man whom he hath ordained" (Acts xvii. 31), or, as it is elsewhere expressed, "the day in which HE will judge the secrets of men, *through* Jesus Christ" (Rom. ii. 16, comp. ver. 5, 6); and that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of GOD" (Rom. xiv. 10). So the day referred to is not only called "the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. i. 8, v. 5; 2 Cor. i. 14), or "the day of Christ Jesus" (Phil. i. 6), or "the day of Christ" (Phil. i. 10, ii. 16), but "the day of GOD" (2 Pet. iii. 12). Here, as throughout the economy of salvation, there is εἰς θεός, ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δὲ οὗ τὰ πάντα (1 Cor. viii. 6).

It appears to me, then, that Bishop Ellicott's "palmary argument," as he calls it, derives all its apparent force from a misstatement of the question; and when we consider the express language of Christ respecting his appearing in the glory of his Father, the express statement of Paul that this *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ is one which God, the Father, will *show* (1 Tim. vi. 15), and the corresponding statement of the writer to the Hebrews (i. 6, "when he again bringeth," etc.); when we consider that in the *concomitants* of the second advent, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment of men, in which the glory of Christ will be displayed, he is everywhere represented as acting, not independently of God, the Father, but in union with him, as his agent, so that "the Father is glorified in the Son," can we find the slight-

est difficulty in supposing that Paul here describes the second advent as an "appearing of the *glory* of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ"?

(*b*) Bishop Ellicott's second argument is "that the immediate context so specially relates to our Lord." He can only refer to ver. 14, "who gave himself for us," etc. The argument rests on the assumption, that when a writer speaks of two persons, A and B, there is something strange or unnatural in adding a predicate to B alone. If it is not instantly clear that such an assumption contradicts the most familiar facts of language, one may compare the mention of God and Christ together in Gal. i. 3, 4, and 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, and the predicate that in each case follows the mention of the latter. The passage in Galatians reads: "Grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might deliver us," etc.

(*c*) The third point is "that the following mention of Christ's giving Himself up for us, of His abasement, does fairly account for St. Paul's ascription of a title, otherwise unusual, that specially and antithetically marks His glory." — "Otherwise *unusual*!" Does Bishop Ellicott mean that "the great God" is simply an "unusual" title of Christ in the New Testament? But this is not an argument, but only an answer to an objection, which we shall consider by and by. It is obvious that what is said in ver. 14 can in itself afford no proof or presumption that Paul in what precedes has called Christ "the great God." He uses similar language in many passages (*e.g.* those just cited under *b* from Gal. i. 3, 4, and 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6), in which Christ is clearly distinguished from God.

(*d*) The fourth argument is "that *μεγάλου* would seem uncalled for if applied to the Father." It seems to me, on the contrary, to have a solemn impressiveness, suitable to the grandeur of the event referred to. It condenses into one word what is more fully expressed by the accumulation of high titles applied to God in connection with the same subject in 1 Tim. vi. 14-16, suggesting that the event is one in which the power and majesty of God will be con-

spicuously displayed. The expression "the great God" does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, but it is not uncommon in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings as a designation of Jehovah. See Note C. p. 456.

(c) Bishop Ellicott's last argument is that "apparently two of the ante-Nicene (Clem. Alexand. *Protrept.* 7 [ed. Pott.] and Hippolytus, quoted by Words.) and the great bulk of post-Nicene writers concurred in this interpretation."—As to this, I would say that Clement of Alexandria does not cite the passage in proof of the deity of Christ, and there is nothing to show that he adopted the construction which refers the τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ to him.* Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, c. 67), in an *allusion* to the passage, uses the expression ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν of Christ, which may seem to indicate that he adopted the construction just mentioned. But it is to be observed that he omits the τῆς δόξης, and the μεγάλου, and the Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ after σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, so that it is not certain that if he had quoted the passage fully, instead of merely borrowing some of its language, he would have applied all the terms to one subject. My principal reason for doubt is, that he has nowhere in his writings spoken of Christ as ὁ μέγας θεός, with or without ἡμῶν, and that it would hardly have been consistent with his theology to do this, holding so strongly as he did the doctrine of the subordination of the Son.

It is true that many writers of the fourth century and later apply the passage to Christ. At that period, and earlier, when θεός had become a common appellation of Christ, and especially when he was very often called "our God" or "our God and Saviour," the construction of Tit. ii.

* Winstanley well remarks, in his valuable essay on the use of the Greek article in the New Testament, that "the observation of Whitby that Clem. Alex. quotes this text of St. Paul, when he is asserting the divinity of Christ, if it mean that he quotes it as an argument, or proof, is a mistake. Clemens is all along speaking of a past appearance only, and therefore he begins his quotation with a former verse, ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ . . . etc., and then proceeds τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινόν [I omit the quotation], etc., so that his authority inclines the other way; for he has not appealed to this text, though he had it before him, when he was expressly asserting the divinity of Christ, as θεός, and ὁ θεὸς λόγος, but not as ὁ μέγας θεός." (*Vindication of certain Passages in the Common English Version of the N. T.*, p. 35 f., Amer. ed., Cambridge, 1819.)

The supposition of Wordsworth and Bishop Jackson that Ignatius (*Eph.* c. 1) refers to this passage has, so far as I can see, no foundation.

13 which refers the *θεοῦ* to him would seem the most natural. But the *New Testament* use of language is widely different; and on that account a construction which would seem most natural in the fourth century, might not even suggest itself to a reader of the first century. That the orthodox Fathers should give to an ambiguous passage the construction which suited their theology and the use of language in their time was almost a matter of course, and furnishes no evidence that their resolution of the ambiguity is the true one.

The cases are so numerous in which the Fathers, under the influence of a dogmatic bias, have done extreme violence to very plain language, that we can attach no weight to their preference in the case of a construction really ambiguous, like the present. For a notable example of such violence, see 2 Cor. iv. 4, *ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων*, where, through fear of Gnosticism or Manichæism, Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 7, § 1; comp. iv. 29 (al. 48), § 2), Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v. 11), Adamantius or Pseudo-Origen (*De recta in Deum fide*, sect. ii. Orig. *Opp.* i. 832), Chrysostom, Theodoret, (Ecumenius, Theophylact, Augustine, Primasius, Sedulius Scotus, Haymo, and others make *τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* depend on *ἀπίστων* instead of *ὁ θεός*,* a construction which we should hardly hesitate to call impossible.

I have now considered all the arguments of Bishop Elliott, citing them in full in his own language. It seems to me that no one of them has any real weight; and that a consideration of his "palmary argument," which is the one mainly urged by the advocates of his construction of the passage, really leads to the opposite view. The same is true also, I conceive, of his reference to the expression "the great God."

But there is a new argument which it may be worth while to notice. In the English translation of the second edition of his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of N. T. Greek*, Cremer has added to the article *θεός* a long note on Tit. ii. 13 which

* For many of these writers see Whitby, *Diss. de Script. Interp. secundum Patrum Commentarios*, p. 275 f. Alford's note on this passage has a number of false references, copied without acknowledgment from Meyer, and ascribes this interpretation (after Meyer) to Origen, who opposes it (*Opp.* iii. 497, ed. De la Rue).

is not in the German original, and has made other alterations in the article. He here contends that τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ refers to Christ. He gives up entirely the argument from the want of the article before σωτήρος, on which he had insisted in the German edition. Nor does he urge the argument from the use of ἐπιφάνεια. His only arguments are founded on the assertion that ver. 14 "by its form already indicates that in ver. 13 only one subject is presented"—an argument which has already been answered (see p. 443, under *b*), and to which, it seems to me, one cannot reasonably attach the slightest weight—and the fact that ver. 14 contains the expression λαὸς περιούσιος, "a peculiar people," an expression used in the O. T. to denote the Jewish nation as the chosen people, the peculiar possession of God. The argument rests on the assumption that because in ver. 14 the Apostle has transferred this expression to the church of Christ, "the great God" in ver. 13 must be taken as a predicate of Christ.

The case seems to me to present no difficulty, and to afford no ground for such an inference. The relation of Christians to God and Christ is such that, from its very nature, the servants of Christ are and are called the servants of God, the church of Christ the church of God, the kingdom of Christ the kingdom of God. So Christians are and are represented as the peculiar people and possession of Christ, and at the same time the peculiar people and possession of God (1 Pet. ii. 9, 10).^{*} If Christians belong to Christ, they must belong also to God, the Father, to whom Christ himself belongs (1 Cor. iii. 23, "ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's"). To infer, then, that because in ver. 14 Christians are spoken of as Christ's peculiar people, the title "great God" must necessarily be understood as applied to him in ver. 13 is a very extraordinary kind of reasoning.

Such are the arguments which have been urged for the translation, "the appearing of the glory of our great God

^{*} Comp. Clement of Rome, 1 *Ep ad Cor.* c. 64 (formerly 58): "May the All-seeing God and Master of Spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us through him for a peculiar people (εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον), grant," etc.

and Saviour Jesus Christ." Let us now consider what is to be said for the construction which makes *τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ* and *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* distinct subjects.

In the case of a grammatical ambiguity of this kind in any classical author, the first inquiry would be, What is the usage of the writer respecting the application of the title in question? Now this consideration, which certainly is a most reasonable one, seems to me here absolutely decisive. While the word *θεός* occurs more than five hundred times in the Epistles of Paul, not including the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is not a single instance in which it is *clearly* applied to Christ.*

In the case then of a question between two constructions, either of which is grammatically possible, should we not adopt that which accords with a usage of which we have five hundred examples, without one clear exception, rather than that which is in opposition to it? The case is made still stronger by the fact that we have here not only *θεοῦ*, but *μεγάλου θεοῦ*.

Even if we do not regard the Pastoral Epistles as written by Paul, and confine our attention to them only, we reach the same result. Observe how clearly God, the Father, is distinguished from Christ in 1 Tim. i. 1, 2; ii. 3-5; v. 21; vi.

* The passages in the writings of Paul in which the title *θεός* has ever been supposed to be given to Christ are very few, and are all cases of very doubtful construction or doubtful reading. Alford finds it given to him only in Rom. ix. 5; but here, as is well known, many of the most eminent modern scholars make the last part of the verse a dæology to God, the Father. So, for example, Winer, Fritzsche, Meyer, De Wette, Ewald; Tischendorf, Kuenen and Cobet, Buttmann, Hahn (ed. 1861); Professor Jowett, Professor J. H. Godwin, Professor Lewis Campbell of the University of St. Andrew's, the Rev. Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and Dr. Hort. Of the other passages, Eph. v. 5 and 2 Thess. i. 12 have already been considered. In 1 Tim. iii. 16 there is now a general agreement among critical scholars that *ὃς ἐφανερώθη* and not *θεὸς ἐφανερώθη* is the true reading. In Col. ii. 2, the only remaining passage, the text is uncertain; but if we adopt the reading *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ*, the most probable construction is that which regards *Χριστοῦ* as in apposition with *μυστηρίου*, which is confirmed by Col. i. 27. This is the view of Bishop Ellicott, Bishop Lightfoot, Wieseler (on Gal. i. 1), and Westcott and Hort. Others, as Meyer, Huther, and Klöpffer, translate "the mystery of the God of Christ" (comp. Eph. i. 3, 17, etc.). Steiger takes *Χριστοῦ* as in apposition with *τοῦ θεοῦ*, and thus finds Christ here called God; but to justify his interpretation the Greek should rather be *Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* (comp. De Wette).

The habitual, and I believe *uniform*, usage of Paul corresponds with his language 1 Cor. viii. 6.

Here and elsewhere I intentionally pass by the question whether Paul's view of the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father would have allowed him to designate Christ as *ὁ μέγας θεός καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν*. This would lead to a long discussion of many passages. My argument rests on the undisputed facts respecting his habitual use of language.

13-16; 2 Tim. i. 2, 8, 9; iv. 1; Tit. i. 1, 3 (comp. for the *κατ' ἐπιταγήν* 1 Tim. i. 1, Rom. xvi. 26), 4; iii. 4-6. Observe, particularly, that the expression "God our Saviour" is applied solely to the Father, who is distinguished from Christ as our Saviour; God being the primal source of salvation, and Christ the medium of communication, agreeably to the language of Paul, 2 Cor. v. 18, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ; comp. 1 Cor. viii. 6. See 1 Tim. i. 1; ii. 3-5; iv. 10; Tit. i. 1-4; iii. 4-6; compare also Jude 25. Such being the marked distinction between *θεός* and *Χριστός* in other passages of these Pastoral Epistles, should we not adopt the construction which recognizes the same here?

An examination of the context will confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived. I have already shown that the title "God our Saviour" in the Pastoral Epistles belongs exclusively to the Father. This is generally admitted; for example, by Bloomfield, Alford, and Ellicott. Now the connection of ver. 10, in which this expression occurs, with ver. 11 is obviously such, that if *θεοῦ* denotes the Father in the former it must in the latter. Regarding it then as settled that *θεοῦ* in ver. 11 denotes the Father (and I am not aware that it has ever been disputed),* is it not harsh to suppose that the *θεοῦ* in ver. 13, in the latter part of the sentence, denotes a different subject from the *θεοῦ* in ver. 11, at the beginning of the same sentence? It appears especially harsh, when we notice the beautiful correspondence of *ἐπιφάνειαν* in ver. 13 with the *ἐπεφάνη* of ver. 11. This correspondence can hardly have been undesigned. As the first advent of Christ was an *appearing* or visible manifestation of the *grace* of God, who sent him, so his second advent will be an *appearing* of the *glory* of God, as well as of Christ.

To sum up: the reasons which are urged for giving this verbally ambiguous passage the construction which makes "the great God" a designation of Christ, are seen, when examined, to have little or no weight; on the other hand,

* If it should be questioned, all doubt will probably be removed by a comparison of the verse with Tit. iii. 3-7 and 2 Tim. i. 8. a.

the construction adopted in the common English version, and preferred by the American Revisers, is favored, if not required, by the context (comparing ver. 13 with ver. 11); it perfectly suits the references to the second advent in other parts of the New Testament; and it is imperatively demanded by a regard to Paul's *use of language*, unless we arbitrarily assume here a single exception to a usage of which we have more than five hundred examples.

I might add, though I would not lay much stress on the fact, that the principal ancient versions, the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, the Coptic, and the Arabic, appear to have given the passage the construction which makes God and Christ distinct subjects. The Aethiopic seems to be the only exception. Perhaps, however, the construction in the Latin versions should be regarded as somewhat ambiguous.

Among the modern scholars who have agreed with all the old English versions (Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, the Geneva, the Bishops' Bible, the Rhemish, and the Authorized) in preferring this construction are Erasmus, Calvin, Luther, Grotius, LeClerc, Wetstein, Moldenhawer, Michaelis, Benson, Macknight, Archbishop Newcome, Rosenmüller, Heinrichs, Schott, Bretschneider, Neander (*Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, Robinson's revised trans., p. 468, note †), De Wette (and so Möller in the 3d ed. of De Wette, 1867), Meyer (on Rom. ix. 5), Fritzsche (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 265 ff.), Grimm, Baumgarten-Crusius (*N. T. Gr.* ed. Schott, 1839), Krehl, H. F. T. L. Ernesti (*Vom Ursprunge der Sünde*, p. 235 f.), Schumann (*Christus*, 1852, ii. 580, note), Messner (*Die Lehre der Apostel*, 1856, p. 236 f.), Huther, Ewald, Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and with more hesitation in his *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 1880), Bey-schlag (*Christol. des N. T.*, 1855, p. 212, note), Rothe (*Dogmatik*, II. i. (1870), p. 110, note 3), Conybeare and Howson, Alford, Fairbairn, with some hesitation (*The Pastoral Epistles*, Edin. 1874, pp. 55, 282-285), Davidson, Prof. Lewis Campbell (in the *Contemp. Rev.* for Aug., 1876), Immer (*Theol. d. N. T.*, 1877, p. 393), W. F. Gess (*Christi Person*

und Werk, Abth. II. (1878), p. 330), in opposition to the view expressed in his earlier work, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi* (1856), p. 88 f., Reuss (*Les Épîtres Pauliniennes*, Paris, 1878, ii. 345), Farrar (*Life and Work of St. Paul*, ii. 536, cf. p. 615, note 1); and so the grammarians Winer and T. S. Green (comp. his *Twofold N. T.*). In the case of one or two recent writers, as Pfeiderer and Weizsäcker, who have adopted the other construction, there is reason to regard them as influenced by their view of the non-Pauline authorship of the Epistle, disposing them to find in its Christology a doctrine different from that of Paul.

Very many others, as Heydenreich, Flatt, Tholuck (*Comm. zum Brief an die Römer*, 5te Ausg., 1856, p. 482), C. F. Schmid (*Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, 2te Aufl., p. 540), Luthardt, leave the matter undecided. Even Bloomfield, in the Addenda to his last work (*Critical Annotations, Additional and Supplementary, on the N. T.*, London, 1860, p. 352), after retracting the version given in his ninth edition of the Greek Testament, candidly says: "I am ready to admit that the mode of interpreting maintained by Huther and Al[ford] completely satisfies all the grammatical requirements of the sentence; that it is both structurally and contextually quite as probable as the other, and perhaps more agreeable to the Apostle's way of writing."

The view of Lange (*Christliche Dogmatik*, Heidelb. 1851, ii. 161 f.), Van Hengel (*Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Romanos*, ii. 358, note), and Schenkel (*Das Christusbild der Apostel*, 1879, p. 357), that Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is here in apposition to τῆς δόξης, the words which precede (τοῦ μεγ. θεοῦ καὶ σωτ. ἡμῶν) being referred to the Father,* has so little to commend it that it may be passed over without discussion.

* The punctuation in the margin in Westcott and Hort's *N. T. in Greek* is also intended to represent this view.

NOTE A. (See p. 440.)

On the Omission of the Article before σωτήρος ἡμῶν.

Middleton's rule is as follows: "When two or more attributives joined by a copulative or copulatives are assumed of [assumed to belong to] the same person or thing, before the first attributive the article is inserted; before the remaining ones it is omitted." (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, Chap. III. Sect. IV. § 2, p. 44, Am. edition.) If the article is not inserted before the second of the two assumable attributives thus connected, he maintains that both must be understood as describing the same subject.

By attributives he understands adjectives, participles, and nouns which are "significant of *character, relation, or dignity*."

He admits that the rule is not always applicable to *plurals* (p. 49); and, again, where the attributives "are in their nature plainly incompatible." "We cannot wonder," he says, "if in such instances the principle of the rule has been sacrificed to negligence, or even to studied brevity. . . . The second article should in strictness be expressed; but in such cases the writers knew that it might be safely understood" (pp. 51, 52).

The *principle* which covers all the cases coming under Middleton's rule, so far as that rule bears on the present question, is, I believe, simply this: The definite article is inserted before the second attributive when it is *felt to be needed to distinguish different subjects*; but when the two terms connected by a copulative are *shown by any circumstance to denote distinct subjects*, then the article may be omitted, for the excellent reason that it is not needed.*

Middleton's rule, with its exceptions, applies to the English language as well as to the Greek. Webster (Wm.) remarks in his *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*: —

"In English, the Secretary and Treasurer means one person; the Secretary and the Treasurer mean two persons. In speaking of horses, the black and white means the piebald, but the black and the white mean two different horses." (pp. 35, 36.)

But this rule is very often broken when such formal precision of expression is not felt to be necessary. If I should say, "I saw the President and Treasurer of the Boston and Albany Railroad yesterday," no one, probably, would doubt that I spoke of two different persons, or (unless perhaps Mr. G. Washington Moon) would imagine that I was violating the laws of the English language. The fact that the two offices referred to are generally or always in such corporations held by different persons would prevent any doubt as to the meaning. Again, the remark

* See the remarks (by Andrews Norton) in the Appendix to the American edition of Win-
stanley's *Vindication of Certain Passages in the Common Eng. Version of the N. T.*, p. 45 ff.;
or Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc., 2d ed. (1856), pp. 199-202.

that "Mr. A. drove out to-day with his black and white horses" would be perfectly correct English and perfectly unambiguous if addressed to one who *knew* that Mr. A. had only four horses, two of them black and the other two white.

Take an example from the New Testament. In Matt. xxi. 12 we read that Jesus "cast out all those that were selling and buying in the temple," τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας. No one can reasonably suppose that the same persons are here described as both selling and buying. In Mark the two classes are made distinct by the insertion of τοὺς before ἀγοράζοντας; here it is safely left to the intelligence of the reader to distinguish them.

In the case before us, the omission of the article before σωτήρος seems to me to present no difficulty,—not because σωτήρος is made sufficiently definite by the addition of ἡμῶν (Winer), for, since God as well as Christ is often called "our Saviour," ἡ δόξα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν, *standing alone*, would most naturally be understood of one subject, namely, God, the Father; but the addition of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ to σωτήρος ἡμῶν changes the case entirely, restricting the σωτήρος ἡμῶν to a person or being who, according to Paul's *habitual use of language*, is distinguished from the person or being whom he designates as ὁ θεός, so that there was no need of the repetition of the article to prevent ambiguity. So in 2 Thess. i. 12, the expression κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου would naturally be understood of one subject, and the article would be required before κυρίου if two were intended; but the simple addition of Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ to κυρίου makes the reference to the two distinct subjects clear without the insertion of the article.

But the omission of the article before the second of two subjects connected by καὶ is not without effect. Its absence naturally leads us to conceive of them as united in some common relation, while the repetition of the article would present them to the mind as distinct objects of thought. The difference between the two cases is like the difference between the expressions "the kingdom of Christ and God" and "the kingdom of Christ and of God" in English. The former expression would denote one kingdom, belonging in some sense to both; the latter would permit the supposition that two distinct kingdoms were referred to, though it would not require this interpretation. The repetition of the preposition, however, as of the article, brings the subjects separately before the mind. In the present case, the omission of the article before σωτήρος, conjoining the word closely with θεοῦ, may indicate that the glory spoken of belongs in one aspect to God and in another to Christ (comp. Eph. v. 5); or that the glory of God and the glory of Christ are displayed in conjunction (comp. 2 Thess. i. 12, κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. X.; Luke ix. 26).

There may be still another reason for the omission of the article here before σωτήρος ἡμῶν, or, perhaps I should say, another effect of its

absence. It is a recognized principle that the omission of the article before an appellative which designates a person tends to fix the attention on the quality or character or peculiar relation expressed by the appellative, while the insertion of the article tends to throw into the shade the inherent meaning of the term, and to give it the force of a simple proper name. For example, in Heb. i. 2 *ἐν τῷ υἱῷ* would simply mean "in (or by) the Son," or "his Son"; but the omission of the article (*ἐν υἱῷ*) emphasizes the significance of the term *υἱός*,—"by one who is a Son," and in virtue of what that designation expresses is far above all "the prophets." (Comp. T. S. Green, *Gram. of the N. T.*, 2d ed., pp. 47 f., 38 f.) So here the meaning may be, "the appearing of the glory of the great God and a Saviour of us," one who is our Saviour, "Jesus Christ"—essentially equivalent to "of the great God and Jesus Christ as our Saviour" (comp. Acts xiii. 23); the idea suggested being that the salvation or deliverance of Christians will be consummated at the second advent, when Christ "shall appear, to them that wait for him, unto salvation." Comp. Phil. iii. 20, 21, "For our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, *ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτήρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, who shall change the body of our humiliation," etc.; Rom. viii. 23, 24, xiii. 11; 1 Thess. v. 8, 9; Heb. ix. 28; 1 Pet. i. 5. The position of *σωτήρος ἡμῶν before Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, as well as the absence of the article, favors this view; comp. Acts xiii. 23; Phil. iii. 20, and contrast Tit. i. 4.

The points which I would make, then, are that the insertion of the article before *σωτήρος* was not needed here to show that the word designates a subject distinct from *τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ*; and that its absence serves to bring out the thoughts that, in the event referred to, the glory of God and that of Christ are displayed *together*, and that Christ then appears as Saviour, in the sense that the salvation of Christians, including what St. Paul calls "the redemption of the body," is then made complete. These are conceptions which accord with the view which the Apostle has elsewhere presented of the second advent.

But as many English writers still assume that the construction of Tit. ii. 13 and similar passages has been settled by Bishop Middleton, I will quote in conclusion a few sentences, by way of caution, from one of the highest authorities on the grammar of the Greek Testament, Alexander Buttmann. He says:—

"It will probably never be possible, either in reference to profane literature or to the N. T., to bring down to rigid rules which have no exception, the inquiry when with several substantives connected by conjunctions the article is repeated, and when it is not. . . . From this fact alone it follows, that in view of the subjective and arbitrary treatment of the article on the part of individual writers (cf. § 124, 2) it is very hazardous in particular cases to draw important inferences affecting the sense or even of a doctrinal nature, from the single cir-

cumstance of the use or omission of the article; see *e.g.* Tit. ii. 13; Jude 4; 2 Pet. i. 1 and the expositors of these passages." (*Gram. of the N. T. Greek*, § 125, 14; p. 97, Thayer's trans.)

NOTE B. (See p. 441 n.*)

The Use of ἐπιφάνεια and Kindred Terms with Reference to God.

It has already been observed that the expression used in Tit. ii. 13 is not ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, but ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, and that the reference of the title "the great God" to the Father accords perfectly with the representation elsewhere in the New Testament that *the glory* of God, the Father, as well as of Christ, will be displayed at the second advent. This reference, therefore, presents no difficulty. But the weakness of the argument against it may be still further illustrated by the use of the term ἐπιφάνεια and kindred expressions in Josephus and other Jewish writings. It will be seen that any extraordinary manifestation of divine power, whether exerted directly or through an intermediate agent, is spoken of as an ἐπιφάνεια of God.

1. For example, the parting of the waters of the Red Sea is described as "the appearing" or "manifestation of God." Μωϋσῆς δὲ ὄρων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ. (*Joseph. Ant.* ii. 16. § 2.)

2. Speaking of the journey through the wilderness, Josephus says: "The cloud was present, and, standing over the tabernacle, signified *the appearing of God*," τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. (*Ant.* iii. 14. § 4.)

3. Josephus uses both ἡ παρουσία τοῦ θεοῦ and ἡ ἐπιφάνεια [τοῦ θεοῦ] in reference to a miraculous shower of rain (*Ant.* xviii. 8. (al. 10) § 6). So a violent thunder storm, which deterred the army of Xerxes from attacking Delphi, is described by Diodorus Siculus as ἡ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφάνεια (*Bibl. Hist.* xi. 14). Comp. *Joseph. Ant.* xv. 11. (al. 14) § 7, where ἡ ἐμφάνεια τοῦ θεοῦ is used in a similar way. Observe also how, in Herod's speech (*Ant.* xv. 5. (al. 6) § 3), angels are spoken of as bringing God εἰς ἐμφάνειαν to men.

4. In reference to the miraculous guidance of Abraham's servant when sent to procure Rebecca as a wife for Isaac, the marriage is said to have been brought about ὑπὸ θείας ἐπιφανείας, where we might say, "by a divine interposition." (*Joseph. Ant.* i. 16. § 3.)

5. After giving an account of the deliverance of Elisha from the troops sent by Ben-Hadad to arrest him, which were struck with blindness, Josephus says that the king " marvelled at the strange event, and the *appearing* (or *manifestation*) and power of the God of the Israelites (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν), and at the prophet with whom the Deity was so evidently present for help." (*Ant.* ix. 4. § 4.) Elijah had prayed that God would "*manifest* (ἑωραίσαι) his power and *presence*," παρουσίαν. (*Ibid.* § 3.)

6. In Josephus, *Ant.* v. 8. §§ 2, 3, the appearance of *an angel sent by*

God is described as "a sight of God," ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὄραθῆναι.

7. In 2 Macc. iii. 24, in reference to the horse with the terrible rider, and the angels that scourged Heliodorus, we read, ὁ τῶν πατέρων [al. πνευμάτων] κύριος καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης ἐπιφάνειαν μεγάλην ἐποίησεν, and in ver. 30, τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπιφανέντος κυρίου, "the Almighty Lord *having appeared*," and farther on, ver. 34, Heliodorus is spoken of as having been "scourged *by him*," ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, i.e. the Lord, according to the common text, retained by Grimm and Keil. But here for ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Fritzsche reads ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, which looks like a gloss (comp. ii. 21, τὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενομένης ἐπιφανείας).

8. The sending of a good angel is described as an ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ θεοῦ, 2 Macc. xv. 27, comp. vv. 22, 23. Observe also that in 2 Macc. xv. 34 and 3 Macc. v. 35 τὸν ἐπιφανῆ κύριον or θεόν does not mean "the *glorious* Lord (*or* God)" as it has often been misunderstood, but ἐπιφανῆς designates God as one who *manifests* his power in the deliverance of his people, a present help in time of need, "the interposing God" (Bissell). Compare the note of Valesius (Valois) on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6. § 2.

9 See also 2 Macc. xii. 22 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος ἐπιφανείας γενομένης ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; comp. 2 Macc. xi. 8, 10, 13.

10. "They made application to him who . . . always helpeth his portion [his people] μετ' ἐπιφανείας," 2 Macc. xiv. 15.

11. In 3 Macc. v. 8, we are told that the Jews "besought the Almighty Lord to rescue them from imminent death μετὰ μεγαλομεροῦς ἐπιφανείας," and again, ver. 51, "to take pity on them μετὰ ἐπιφανείας." The answer to the prayer is represented as made by the intervention of angels (vi. 18). In ch. i. 9, God is spoken of as having glorified Jerusalem ἐν ἐπιφανείᾳ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ.

12. In the Additions to Esther, Text B, vii. 6 (Fritzsche, *Libr. Apoc. V. T.* p. 71), the sun and light in Mordecai's dream are said to represent the ἐπιφάνια τοῦ θεοῦ, "appearing" (*or* manifestation) "of God" in the deliverance of the Jews.

13. In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, c. 12, § 1, we read: "Let us therefore wait hourly [*or* betimes, *Lightf.*] for the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, because we know not the day of the *appearing of God*, τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ." The τοῦ θεοῦ, employed thus absolutely, must, I think, refer to the Father, according to the writer's use of language. This consideration does not seem to me invalidated by c. 1, § 1, or by the use of ἐπιφάνεια in reference to Christ, c. 17; but others may think differently.

The use of the term ἐπιφάνεια in the later Greek classical writers corresponds with its use as illustrated above. Casaubon has a learned note on the word in his *Exercit. ad Annales Eccles. Baronianas*, ii. xi., Ann. I., Num. 36 (p. 185, London, 1614), in which he says: "Graeci scriptores ἐπιφάνειαν appellant apparitionem numinis quoquo tandem modo

deus aliquis sine praesentiae signum dedisse crederetur." (Comp. his note on Athenæus, xii. 11. al. 60.) Wesseling in his note on Diodorus Siculus, i. 25, repeats this, and adds other illustrations from Diodorus, namely: iii. 62; iv. 82 [v. 62?]; xi. 14; and xiv. 69 (a striking example). See also the story of the vestal virgin in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 68 (cf. 69), and of Servius Tullius, *ibid.*, iv. 2. Other examples are given by Elsner, *Obs. Sacr.* on 2 Pet. i. 16, and by the writers to whom he refers. But it is not worth while to pursue this part of the subject further here. One who wishes to do so will find much interesting matter in the notes of the very learned Ezechiel Spanheim on Callimachus, *Hymn. in Apoll.* 13, and in *Pallad.* 101, and in his *Dissertationes de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum antiquorum*, ed. nova, vol. i. (London, 1706), Diss. vii., p. 425 sqq.

I will only add in conclusion: If Paul could speak of the first advent of Christ as an *ἐπιφάνεια* of the *grace* of God (see *ἐπεφάνη*, Tit. ii. 11; iii. 4), can we, in view of all that has been said, regard it as in the least degree strange or unnatural that he should speak of his second advent as an *ἐπιφάνεια* of the *glory* of God?

NOTE C. (See p. 444.)

On the Expression, τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ.

There is no other passage in the New Testament in which this expression occurs, the reading of the "received text" in Rev. xix. 17 having very slender support. But the epithet "great" is so often applied to God in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings, and is so appropriate in connection with the display of the divine power and glory in the event referred to, that it is very wonderful that the use of the word here should be regarded as an argument for the reference of the *θεός* to Christ on the ground that "God the Father did not need the exalting and laudatory epithet *μέγας*," as Usteri says (*Paulin. Lehrbegriff*, 5te Aufl., p. 326). It might be enough to answer, with Fritzsche, "At ego putaveram, Deum quum *sit magnus*, jure etiam *magnum appellari*" (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 268). But the following references will show how naturally Paul might apply this designation to the Father: Deut. viii. 21 (Sept. and Heb.), x. 17; 2 Chron. ii. 5 (4); Neh. i. 5, vii. 6, ix. 32; Ps. lxxvii. 13, lxxxvi. 10; Jer. xxxii. 18, 19; Dan. ii. 45, ix. 4; Psalt. Sal. ii. 33; 3 Macc. vii. 2. Comp. ὁ μέγιστος θεός, 3 Macc. i. 16, iii. 11, v. 25, vii. 22; "the great Lord," Ecclus. xxxix. 6, xlvi. 5; 2 Macc. v. 20, xii. 15. So very often in the Sibylline Oracles. I have noted thirty-one examples in the Third Book alone, the principal part of which was the production of a Jewish writer in the second century before Christ.

Though all will agree that God, the Father, does not "need" exalting epithets, such epithets are applied to him freely by the Apostle Paul

and other writers of the New Testament. For example, he is called by Paul "the incorruptible God," "the living God," "the eternal God," "the only wise God," "the only God," "the invisible God," "the living and true God," "the blessed God"; and, since there is no other place in which the Apostle has unequivocally designated Christ as *θεός*, much less *θεός* with a high epithet, it certainly seems most natural to suppose that *ὁ μέγας θεός* here designates the Father. The Bishop of London (in the "Speaker's Commentary") appeals to 1 John v. 20, where he assumes that Christ is designated as "the true God." But he must be aware that this depends on the reference of the pronoun *οὗτος*, and that many of the best expositors refer this to the leading subject of the preceding sentence,—namely, *τὸν ἀληθινόν*; so, *e.g.*, Erasmus, Grotius, Wetstein, Michaelis, Lücke, De Wette, Meyer, Nander, Huther, Düsterdieck, Gerlach, Brückner, Ewald, Holtzmann, Braune, Haupt, Rothe, C. F. Schmid, Gess, Reuss, Alford, Farrar, Westcott, and Sinclair (in Ellicott's *N. T. Comm.*); and so the grammarians Alt, Winer, Wilke, Buttmann, and Schirlitz; comp. also John xvii. 3. So doubtful a passage, and that not in the writings of Paul, but John, can hardly serve to render it probable that Paul has here applied the designation *ὁ μέγας θεός* to Christ rather than to God, the Father.

XIX.

I. JOHN V. 7 AND LUTHER'S GERMAN BIBLE.

[From the *Christian Intelligencer* for May 15, 1879.]

IN my reply to Dr. Todd (*Christian Intelligencer* for April 24), I pointed out the futility of his objection to President Woolsey's statement that 1 John v. 7 was "a passage which Luther would not express in his translation,"—a statement which, in the face of the plain fact that Luther *did not* insert it in any one of the numerous editions of his translation published in his lifetime, Dr. Todd presumed to call a "mistake." I will here simply remind the reader that Erasmus introduced the passage into his third edition of the Greek Testament in 1522, and that Luther died in 1546. It has been contended, however, by some writers, that, at least in the latter part of his life, the great Reformer changed his mind, and received the text as genuine. (See Knittel's *Neue Kritiken*, Braunsch. 1785, p. 133 ff.) The argument rests on the fact that in an exposition of the First Epistle of John, written probably between the years 1543 and 1545, Luther commented on the verse without expressing any doubt of its genuineness. The question whether Luther changed his mind is not important in itself, but is on several accounts not without interest. I will therefore state the circumstances of the case.

There are *two* expositions by Luther of the First Epistle of John, both of which may be found, translated from the original Latin into German, in vol. ix. of Walch's edition of Luther's *Sämmtliche Schriften*. The first was written somewhere between the years 1522 and 1524. (See Walch's ed., ix. 908-1079, and Vorrede, pp. 18, 19.) In this,

Luther, after quoting the passage of the three heavenly witnesses, remarks:—

“These words are not found in the Greek Bibles; but it seems as if this verse had been inserted by the Orthodox against the Arians. This, however, has not been done even fittingly, for he [the Apostle] speaks here and there not of the witnesses in heaven, but of the witnesses on earth.” (Col. 1059.)

We here see that Luther felt not merely the deficiency of the external evidence for the passage, but its internal incongruity.

The other exposition was certainly written after 1532, and probably between 1543 and 1545. (See Knittel, *ubi supra*, pp. 134, 135.) It first appeared in 1743, in Walch's edition of Luther, vol. ix. coll. 1080–1251. In this exposition Luther not unfrequently remarks upon Greek words, showing that he had the Greek text before him. He is said to have used as a manual in the later years of his life the edition of the Greek Testament published at Basle in 1540 by Thomas Platter, which reproduces substantially the text of the third edition of Erasmus. (See Luther's *Bibelübersetzung kritisch bearbeitet* von Bindseil und Niemeyer, Theil vii., Vorrede, p. xv. note †.) This edition contains 1 John v. 7, like nearly all of the editions of the sixteenth century published after 1522. In his remarks under 1 John v. 6, which include the larger part of what he says about the seventh verse, Luther begins with observing that “this passage is certainly very difficult and obscure.” Speaking of the three heavenly witnesses, he rejects the supposition that the apostle refers to their testimony at the baptism and the transfiguration of Jesus, because that was a testimony borne on earth, not “in heaven”; and then explains it as given in what some later theologians would call “the covenant of redemption” made between the three persons of the Trinity. Apparently, however, not very well satisfied with this explanation, he concludes with saying, “If this is not the true meaning of these words, I confess that I know no other.” (Col. 1225.) On the seventh verse itself, after quoting the

words, he only says: "This is the testimony which is borne by the three witnesses, [which] is in heaven, and also remains there. The order here should be observed, namely, that the witness which is the last among the witnesses in heaven is the first among the witnesses on earth; and with reason." He then proceeds to expound the eighth verse.

In this second exposition, Luther could no longer say that 1 John v. 7 was not in the Greek Bibles: it had already appeared in a large number of editions of the Greek Testament. Having it before him, he gave such an explanation of it as he could. It does not necessarily follow that he had re-examined the subject, and convinced himself of the genuineness of the passage; but only that he did not choose to go into the critical question. If he had really found any new evidence in favor of the text, here was the place for him to have said so. That he had *not* become convinced of its genuineness appears from the fact that he did not insert it in the edition of his translation published in 1545, the year before his death. This is confirmed by the circumstance that he seems never to have quoted the passage as a proof-text for the doctrine of the Trinity, though he has often treated of this doctrine in his voluminous writings.

For example, in his *Auslegung der letzten Worte Davids*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7, §§ 65-96 (Walch, iii. 2835-59), he sets forth the doctrine at length, quoting as proof-texts Ps. xxxiii. 6; Matt. xxviii. 19; Luke iii. 22; John v. 17, x. 30, 33, and other passages, but ignoring 1 John v. 7. This treatise was written in 1543. See also, for other discussions of the Trinity by Luther, his works as edited by Walch, x. 1215-30; xi. 1548-55; xii. 852-69; xiii. 1508-29, 2624-39. Neither here nor anywhere else have I been able to find the passage quoted by Luther, though it was *interpolated* into his Catechism by Lyser in 1600. (Rickli, *Johannis erster Brief*, Anhang, p. 40.) It is omitted in his *Auslegung der Epistel* [1 John v. 4-12] *am Sonntage nach Ostern*. (Walch, xii. 698, 710.)

In view of all these facts, the judgment of Michaelis seems reasonable. He remarks:—

“As to the circumstance that Luther in his later lecture explained 1 John v. 7, after he had read it from the Greek Testament, without entering into any critical inquiry into its authority, it shows nothing more than that Luther distinguished exegetical from critical lectures, and that in explaining the Greek Testament he interpreted what he and his hearers had before them. That he received it as genuine is an inference which we are not authorized to make.” (*Introd. to the N. T.*, trans. by Marsh, 2d ed., iv. 440 f.)

Bengel takes the same view. He says: “It is clear that the passage was omitted by Luther not accidentally, but deliberately; nay, his colleague Bugenhagen, with solemn adjuration, warned all persons against ever inserting it.” (*Apparatus criticus ad N. T.*, ed. 2da, 1763, p. 459.) Luther's own warning, prefixed to editions of his translation of the New Testament from 1530 onward, ought to have been sufficient. His words are as follows:—

“MARTIN LUTHER. I beg all my friends and enemies, my masters, printers and readers, to let this Testament be mine. If they find it faulty, let them make one of their own for themselves. I know well what I make; I see well what others make. But this Testament shall be Luther's German Testament. For of playing the master and the critic [or “of conceited correcting and criticising,” *meisterus und klügeln*] there is nowadays neither measure nor end. And let every man be warned against other copies. For I have had full experience how carelessly and falsely others reprint what I have printed.” (See Luther's *Bibelübersetzung* von Bindseil und Niemeyer, Theil vi. p. 15. Compare also the *Warnung* prefixed to Luther's Bible of 1541. *Ibid.*, Theil vii. p. 21 f.)

The warning of Luther and the protest of Bugenhagen (occasioned by the interpolation of 1 John v. 7 in an *Evangelien- und Epistelbuch* printed at Wittenberg in 1549) were not without effect, for at least one generation. The first edition of Luther's German Bible which contains 1 John v. 7 appears to have been one printed at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1582, 4to. Panzer and Mönckeberg are wrong in saying that the verse was inserted in a Hamburg edition in 1574.

(See Huther, *Krit. excg. Handb. über die drei Briefe des Ap. Johannes*, 3te Aufl., 1868, p. 222, note.) It is found in none of the numerous editions printed at Wittenberg before 1596. In the Swiss-German version (not published under Luther's name) printed by Froschover at Zürich in 1529, it was inserted in smaller type, and so in the edition of 1531; in nearly all the later editions from 1534 to 1589 (that of 1561 is said by Ebrard to be an exception), in brackets; in 1597 without brackets, at which time it was also introduced as a proof-text into the Zürich Catechism. The Basle edition by Byrlinger in 1552 is said to have it without brackets. It was still omitted in Meissner's Wittenberg edition of 1607, and in a quarto edition printed at Wittenberg in 1620; also, in Hamburg editions of 1596, 1619, and 1620. Since this last date the interpolation has appeared in the numberless editions of Luther's German Bible without mark of doubt, except that it has been bracketed in the recent *authorized* "revised edition" of his version of the New Testament (Halle, Canstein'sche Bibelanstalt, 1871), with the following note: "The bracketed words are wanting in Luther's translation, and were not added till later." It should be understood that the words *auf Erden*, "on earth," in verse 8, are not included in the brackets. They were inserted by Luther in the five editions of his German Bible printed at Wittenberg from 1541 to 1545 inclusive; but this very fact shows that his attention was directed to the passage, and that the omission of the three heavenly witnesses was intentional.

(Perhaps I may be pardoned for turning aside a moment to correct two errors which have been repeated from Rickli (1828) by a large number of respectable scholars, as De Wette, Tischendorf in his editions of 1841, 1849, 1859, and 1869-72, Bertheau in his edition of Lücke on the Epistles of John (1856), Davidson, Braune in Lange's Commentary, etc. They all speak of Robert Stephens as receiving the passage in his editions of 1546-69, and Beza in his editions of 1565-76. They should have said "Robert Stephens *the elder* in his editions of 1546-51, and Robert Stephens *the*

younger in his edition of 1569" (the great Robert died ten years before); also, "Beza in his editions 1565-98." Beza published no edition in 1576: the one of that date erroneously ascribed to him by several writers was edited by Henry Stephens.)

We may observe, finally, that the other early Reformers and friends of Luther generally rejected the passage; so Zwingli, Bullinger, (Ecolampadius, Bugenhagen (Rickli, *ubi supra*, pp. 35, 36). So, also, according to Kettner (*Historia dicti Johannei . . . I John v. 7, etc.*, 1713, cap. 13), Melancthon, Cruciger (or Creutziger), Justus Jonas, Förster, Aurogallus. (See Semler, *Hist. u. krit. Sammlungen über I John v. 7, I. 248.*) Bugenhagen, as we have seen, was especially strenuous against it; see his *Expositio Jonæ*, 1550, cited by Rickli, p. 39. It was also omitted in the celebrated Latin version of the Bible by Leo Judæ, Pellicanus, Peter Cholin, Rudolph Gualther, and others, printed at Zürich in 1543, fol., and commonly called the Zürich Bible or *Versio Tigurina*. A marginal note explains the reasons for its rejection. The passage was received, though with hesitation, by Calvin, and without hesitation by Beza. Both of them, however, explain "these three are one" as relating not to unity of essence, but agreement in testimony.

To trace the history of this gross corruption of the text in modern Translations, Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith, especially in the Greek Church since the sixteenth century, and in modern editions of some ancient versions, as the Peshito Syriac, Armenian, and Slavonic, might be interesting and instructive, psychologically as well as critically; but there is no room for it here.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT INTO VERSES.

[From the First Part of the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *Editio Octava critica maior.*]

THE history of the division of the Bible into our present verses is somewhat obscure, and many erroneous statements are current respecting it. For example, Tischendorf (in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* ii. 174, p. 422, 2d ed.) and Reuss (*Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften N. T.*, 5te Ausg., 1874, § 337), after Jahn, Bertholdt, and others, represent it as first introduced by Robert Stephens (Estienne) in his edition of the Vulgate in 1548; De Wette (*Einl. in d. A. T.* p. 112, 7te Ausg., 1852) and Keil (*Einl.*, 2te Aufl., 1859, p. 518) say 1558. But no edition of the Vulgate was printed by Robert Stephens in either of those years. Others erroneously assign 1545, others still 1557, as the date of the Latin Bible first divided into verses. The best account of the matter that I know of is given by Dr. William Wright, art. "Verse" in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Bibl. Literature* (London, 1845); in the third edition (1870) this article is somewhat carelessly abridged. On some points I have supplemented his statements.

The main facts are as follows. The *numbering* of the Masoretic verses in the Old Testament is supposed to have been first made by Rabbi Isaac Nathan, for convenience of reference in his Hebrew Concordance, completed A.D. 1448, and first printed at Venice in 1524.* The *Quincuplex Psalterium*, printed by Henry Stephens the elder at Paris in 1509, and edited by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Le Fèvre d'Estaples), is the first edition of any part of the Old

*The dates 1445 and 1523 are sometimes inaccurately given. These errors are corrected by Bindseil, *Concord. Homer. Specimen*, Halis, 1867, 8vo, Prolegom. p. xvi., and p. xviii., note.

Testament in which the Masoretic verses are numbered by Arabic figures. The first edition of the whole Bible divided into verses is the Latin translation by Sanctes Pagninus, printed at Lyons in 1528. But in the Apocrypha and the New Testament his division was very different from ours, the verses being twice or three times as long; and it seems to have been followed in no other edition.

The first edition of the New Testament divided into our present verses was printed by Robert Stephens at Geneva in 1551, in 2 vols. 16mo, the Greek text occupying the centre of the page, with the Latin version of Erasmus on one side and the Vulgate on the other. His son Henry tells us that a large part of this verse-division was made "inter equitandum," while the author was on a journey from Paris to Lyons. It was preliminary to his construction of a Greek Concordance of the New Testament, which was completed by Henry Stephens and published in 1594. (See Henry Stephens's preface to this Concordance.) Another reason given by Robert Stephens for the division into separated verses was, "quòd hac ratione vtraque translatio posset omnino e regione Græco contextui respondere" (Pref. to N. T., 1551). The first edition of the whole Bible divided into our present verses was Robert Stephens's edition of the Vulgate, Geneva, 1555 ("VIII. Idvs Aprilis"), 8vo, the division being made for his Latin Concordance, issued the same year. This division also appears in the splendid edition of the Vulgate, accompanied in the Old Testament by the version of Pagninus with the notes ascribed to Vatable, and in the New Testament by that of Beza with his annotations, which was printed in three folio volumes by Robert Stephens at Geneva in 1557. This is the eighth and last edition of the Latin Bible printed by Robert Stephens.* The first *French* New Testament divided into verses was that printed by Robert Stephens in 1552, in 2 vols. small 8vo, containing the French version of Olivetan revised by

* See LeLong, *Bibl. Sacra*, ed. Masch, iii. 191 ff.; and for a very full description, Knock, *Hist.-crit. Nachrichten von der Braunschwizischen Bibelsammlung*, Guelferb. 1754, i. pp. 876-891.

Calvin, and the Latin version of Erasmus, in parallel columns; the first French Bible so divided appears to be the edition of the Genevan version printed by Robert Stephens at Geneva, 1553, in folio.* The first *Italian* version, so far as I know, which contains the verse-divisions of Stephens was that which was made by the martyr John Louis Paschale, and issued without place, but perhaps at Geneva, in the year 1555.† The first *Dutch* translation which has these verses was published at Emden in 1556, 8vo, by Gell. Ctematius; the Dutch Bible issued at Emden in 1560, 4to, is so divided.‡ The first *English* New Testament divided into verses was the version of William Whittingham, printed at Geneva in 1557; the first English Bible so divided was the Genevan version, completed in 1560, in which the translation of the New Testament differs widely from that of 1557. Beza followed Stephens's division into verses, with some variations, in the first edition of his *Latin translation* of the Greek Testament, published at Geneva in 1557 (this is the date at the end of the volume; the title-page is dated 1556), already referred to as the second volume of Robert Stephens's Latin Bible of that year. In his first edition of the *Greek* New Testament accompanied with his Latin version and notes, Geneva, 1565, fol., and in his numerous subsequent editions, Beza deviated much more frequently from the verse-divisions of Robert Stephens; and his editions had great influence in giving currency to the use of the division into verses, which soon became general. His variations from the division of Stephens were largely followed by later editors, especially the Elzevirs, who also introduced others of their own. Others still will be found in the early modern translations.

The variations of later editions of the Greek Testament from that of Robert Stephens in respect to the division into

* See the account of these editions in Baumgarten's *Nachrichten von merkw. Büchern*, Halle, 1752, ii. 377 ff., 379 ff.

† "Est mihi N. T. Gallico-Italicum, editum a. 1555 ap. Giovan Luigi Paschale, quod est distinctum hodierna distinctione versuum." Leusden, *Philol. Hebr.-Gr.*, Utrecht, 1670, Diss. iii., § 12, p. 21. Paschale was burned at Rome in 1560 for protestantism.

‡ See Isaac LeLong, *Boek-Zaal der Nederduyt. Bybels*, Amst. 1732, p. 716; cf. p. 708 seq., 711 seq., 667 seq.

verses, are not noted, so far as I am aware, by any of the critical editors. One reason for this may be the extreme rarity of Stephens's edition of 1551, which has the best right to be regarded as the standard, from which an editor should not deviate in marking the beginning of a verse without noting the change, and then only for very strong reasons.

The want of agreement in different editions, leading of course to discrepancies in concordances, dictionaries, and other books of reference, often occasions doubt and perplexity. Who shall say which edition is right? It has appeared to me, therefore, that it would be useful to exhibit the results of a collation of Stephens's edition of 1551 with the Elzevir edition of 1633 (the first of the Elzevirs divided into *separated* verses), and with Tischendorf's eighth critical edition (1869-72). With the variations noted I have compared about fifty of the principal editions of the Greek New Testament, and some early translations.

LIST OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS EXAMINED,

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, WITH THE ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Alphabetical Key to the List.

A = 4.	D = 37.	L = 21.	T = 28.
Al = 25.	Elz = 7.	Lu = 35.	Th = 23.
B ⁵⁷ = 2.	F = 9.	M = 10.	Tn = 19.
B ⁶⁵ and B = 3.	G = 16.	Mas = 11.	Tr = 27.
Be = 12.	Ge and Gen = 32, 33.	Mt = 14.	V = 36.
Bi = 15.	H = 22.	Sch = 18.	W = 13.
Bl = 24.	HS = 5.	Scr = 29.	Wd = 26.
Bp = 34.	J = 38.	St = 1.	We = 6.
Br = 39.	K = 17.	Sz = 20.	WH = 30.
Cur = 8.			

1. St: Rob. Stephanus (Estienne), N. T. Gr. et Lat. 1551; Biblia, 1555, 8vo. Where they differ, St⁵¹, St⁶⁵.
2. B⁵⁷: Theo. Beza (de Bèze), N. T. Lat. 1557 (title-page 1556), fol.
3. B⁶⁵: T. Beza, N. T. Gr. et Lat., fol., 1565, 1582, 1588 (in many copies 1589), 1598; 8vo, 1565, 1567, 1580, 1590.
(B) Where these editions differ, I have noted it; where *all* the editions of Beza agree, including the Latin of 1557, "B" alone is used.
4. A: The Greek N. T. in the Antwerp Polyglott, Tom. v. (1571), also Tom. vi. (1572), fol.
5. HS: H. Stephanus (Estienne), N. T. Gr. 1576.
6. We: Divinæ Script. omnia Gr. Francofurti, ap. Andr. Wecheli heredes, 1597, fol.
7. Elz: Elzevir (Elzevier) eds. of 1624, 1633, 1641, 1656, 1662, 1670, 1678. Where they differ, the date is given.
8. Cur: S. Curcellæus (Étienne de Courcelles), N. T. Gr. 1658. (Other eds., 1675, 1685, 1699.)
9. F: J. Fell, Oxon. 1675.
10. M: J. Mill, Oxon. 1707, fol.; also ed. L. Kuster, Amst. and Leipzig (also Rotterdam), 1710, fol.
11. Mas: G. von Mairicht ("G. D. T. M. D."), ed. alt., 1735. (1st ed., 1711.)
12. Be: J. A. Bengel, 1734, 4to.
13. W: J. J. Wetstein, 1751-52, fol.
14. Mt: C. F. Matthæi, N. T. Gr. et Lat. 1782-88; N. T. Gr. 1803-07. Where they differ, Mt¹, Mt².
15. Bi: A. Birch, Quatuor Evangelia, 1788, 4to.
16. G: J. J. Griesbach, ed. 2da, 1796-1806 (ed. maior); Lips. 1805 [1806] (ed. minor); Vol. I., ed. tert. cur. D. Schulz, 1827. Where they differ, G^{mai}, G^{min}, G²⁷.

17. K: G. C. Knapp, ed. 2da, 1813; 4ta (ed. Thilo et Roediger), 1829. (Other eds., 1797, 1824, 1840.)
18. Sch: H. A. Schott, Gr. et Lat. ed. 3tia, 1825; 4th ed., by Baumgarten-Crusius, 1839 (Sch³⁹). (Earlier eds., 1805, 1811.)
19. Th: J. A. H. Tittmann, ed. ster. 1828, 16mo. (Other eds., 1820, 16mo; 1824, 1831, 8vo.)
20. Sz: J. M. A. Scholz, 1830-36, 4to.
21. L: C. Lachmann, ed. ster. 1831 (ed. minor; also dated 1837, 1846); ed. maior, Gr. et Lat. 1842-50.
22. H: A. Hahn, 1840, 12no; 1841, in separated verses, 16mo. (Reprinted New York, 1842, ster. ed.) Post Lachm. et Tisch. denuo diligenter recognovit, 1861. Where the eds. differ, H⁴¹, H⁶¹.
23. Th: C. G. W. Theile, 1844; ed. ster. undecima, cur. Gebhardt, 1875. Where they differ, Th⁴⁴, Th⁷⁵.
24. Bl: S. T. Bloomfield, Greek Test. with English notes, 9th ed., 1855. (1st ed., 1832.)
25. Al: H. Alford, Vols. I., II., 6th ed., 1868-71; Vol. III., 5th ed., Vol. IV., 4th ed., 1871. (1st ed., 1849-61.)
26. Wd: C. Wordsworth, Greek Testament with English notes; Gospels, 5th ed., 1866; Acts, 4th ed., 1864; Paul, Epp., 4th ed., 1866; Gen. Epp. and Rev., 3d ed., 1864. (1st ed., 1856-60.)
27. Tr: S. P. Tregelles, Gr. and Lat., Parts I.-VI., 1857-72, 4to. (Part VII. Prolegomena and Addenda, 1879.)
28. T: (L. F.) C. von Tischendorf, 1869-72; also the earlier critical eds., 1841, 1849, 1859; and the manual eds. published in 1873 by Tauchnitz, Brockhaus, and Mendelssohn (ed. acad.). Where they differ, Ti⁴¹, etc.
29. Scr: F. H. (A.) Scrivener, N. T. textûs Stephanici A.D. 1550. Ed. auct. et emend. Cantab. 1877.
30. WH: B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort. The N. T. in the original Greek. The text revised, etc. Cantab. and Lond. 1881. These editors now agree uniformly with Stephens in the verse-divisions. The deviations in a few of the earlier copies have since been corrected.

TRANSLATIONS.

31. St⁵⁵ and B⁵⁷: See Nos. 1 and 2 above.
32. Ge: English N. T. (by W. Whittingham), Geneva, 1557. (Bagster's facsimile reprint, Lond. 1842.)
33. Gen: Genevan English version of the Bible, 1560. "Ge" stands for both "Ge" and "Gen" when they agree, as they generally do.
34. Bp: The Bishops' Bible, so called, 1568. (I have used the second edition, Lond. 1572, fol.)
35. Lu: The German version of Luther. Goezius was unable to find any older edition divided into verses than the one published by Feyerabend, Franc. on the Main, 1582, 8vo. I have followed the divisions in the edition of Bindseil and Niemeyer, 1854-55.
36. V: Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis, etc., Romae, 1592, fol.
37. D: La Bibbia; cioè, i libri del Vecchio e del Nvovo Test. traslatati da Gio. Diodati, 1607, fol.

38. J: King James's English Bible ("authorized version"), 1611, fol. (I have used the "Exact Reprint," Oxford, 1833, 4to.)
- *39. Br: Il Nvovo Testamento di Jesv Christo nostro Signore, Latino & volgare, diligentemente tradotto dal testo Greco, & conferito con molte altre traduttioni volgari & Latine, le traduttioni corrispōdenti l' vna à l' altra, & partite per versetti. In Lyone, appresso Guillel. Rouillio. MDLVIII. 16mo. pp. 559, besides 1 blank leaf, and "Tavola che insegna a trovar l' Epistole & gli Evangelii delle Domeniche, e feste dell' Anno, secondo la conuetudine della chiesa Romana," pp. 7, and 1 blank leaf. Fol. 325 gi es a special title embracing the Epp. of Paul, the Cath. Epp., and the Apoc.

I have examined fifty-one editions of the Greek Testament and nine translations.

() denotes that the beginning of the verse in the edition in question is uncertain, the verses being distinguished only by the number in the margin. This uncertainty is frequent in the editions of Schott, Scrivener, and Westcott and Hort; and usually in such cases I have made no reference to them.

n. signifies that an ambiguity in the text is sometimes removed by the note.

VARIATIONS IN RESPECT TO THE VERSE-DIVISION.

N.B.—I give first (from St. 1551) the words placed in different verses in different editions, occasionally noting various readings.

Matt. ii. 1, 2 λέγοντες,

ver. 2, St B A HS We Elz²⁴ M Bi L Al Tr T (exc. T⁴¹) Scr; Ge Br Bp V D J.

ver. 1, Elz^{33, 41, 56, 62, 70, 78} Cur F Mas Be W Mt G (G^{min}) K Sch Tn Sz T⁴¹ H Th Bl Wd; Lu.

—v. 4, 5 Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες . . . ⁵ Μακ. οἱ πρραεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

These verses are transposed by L^{text} (contra L^{marg}) Tr T (exc. T⁴¹) St⁵⁵ and V. WH^{marg} mark the transposition † † "as having a claim to be at least provisionally associated with the true text." L retains the former numbering of the verses.

—ix. 23, 24 λέγει αὐτοῖς [l. v. ἔλεγεν],

ver. 24, St B A HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt G^{min} K Tn T⁴¹ H Th Al Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu D J.

ver. 23, M Bi G^{mai} Sch L Bl Wd T (exc. T⁴¹); V.

—xv. 5, 6 Καὶ οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ. (Various readings.)

ver. 6, St A We Al Tr; Ge Br Bp V Lu J.

ver. 5, B HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn Sz L H Th Bl Wd T Scr; D.

—xxi. 1, 2 λέγων αὐτοῖς,

ver. 1, Elz^{33, 41}.

ver. 2, *All the rest.* (Br)

*[This edition was collated by Dr. Abbot subsequently (March, 1851); hence its unchronological position and numbering. The copy used belongs to Dr. Isaac H. Hall.]

- Matt. xxi. 25, 26. *Εὐὰν εἰπωμεν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἔρει ἡμῖν, διατί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ;*
 ver. 26, T; V.
 ver. 25, *All the rest.* (Br)
- xxiii. 13, 14. *Οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν... ὅτι κλείετε... ¹⁴Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν... ὅτι κατεσθίετε...*
 So St B HS Elz Cur F Mas Be W^{text} Th (but brackets ver. 14); Ge
 Br Bp Lu V D J.
 vv. 13, 14, are *transposed* by A We M W^{marg} Mt Bi G (but G³⁰ ver.
 14) K Sch Tn Sz H Bl Wd Scr. Of these, G K Sz H retain
 the former numbering.
 ver. 14 is omitted by G³⁰ L Al Tr T WH. Of these, L Al Tr WH
 (but not T) number ver. 13 as 14.
- xxviii. 8, 9. *Ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγέλλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ,*
 ver. 8, St⁶¹ B⁵⁷ A Tr n.; Br Lu.
 ver. 9, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn Sz
 H Th Bl Al n. Wd T n. Scr; Ge Bp J. The clause is omitted
 by St⁶⁵ G³⁰ L Al Tr T WH; V D; bracketed by Bl.
- Mark iii. 19, 20. *Καὶ ἔρχονται [L. v. ἔρχεται] εἰς οἶκον.*
 ver. 20, St A Elz⁶⁶, ⁶², ⁷⁰, ⁷⁸ Cur F Mas Mt Bi G K Sch Tn Sz H
 Th Bl Wd Tr T^{tauch73} WH; Br Lu V D.
 ver. 19, B HS We Elz²⁴, ³³, ⁴¹ M W Be L Al T (exc. T^{tauch73});
 Ge Bp J.
- vi. 27, 28. *Ὁ δὲ [L. v. Καὶ] ἀπελθὼν ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ.*
 ver. 27, St B⁵⁷ A Tr WH; Ge Br Bp V Lu J.
 ver. 28, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn
 Sz L H Th Bl Al Wd T Scr; D.
- xiii. 8, 9. *ἀρχαὶ ὠδίνων ταῦτα.*
 ver. 8, St B⁵⁷ A Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
 ver. 9, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn
 Sz L H Th Bl Al Wd T; D.
- Luke iv. 18, 19. *κηρύξαι [κηρύξαι] αἰχμαλώτους ἄφεςιν, καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν,
 ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει,*
 ver. 18, St⁶¹ B HS Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt² G K Bl Wd Tr Scr
 WH; Ge Bp Lu J.
 ver. 19, St⁶⁵ A We M Mt¹ Bi Sch Tn Sz L H Th Al T; Br V D.
- vi. 17, 18. *Ὁὶ ἤλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν.*
 ver. 18, St A Tr WH; Br Lu V.
 ver. 17, B HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn
 Sz L H Th Bl Al Wd T Scr; Ge Bp D J.
- vii. 18, 19. *Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος δύο τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης,*
 ver. 18, St⁶¹ B HS Elz Cur Be Tr WH; Lu.
 ver. 19, St⁶⁵ A We F M Mas W Mt Bi G K Sch Tn Sz L H Th
 Bl Al Wd T Scr; Ge Br Bp V D J.
- x. 21, 22. *Καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς, εἶπε,*
 ver. 21, St⁶¹ We Cur F Mas W Bi Mt² K n. Bl Wd Tr n.
 ver. 22, M Mt¹ G^{min} n. Sch n. Sz L H Th [Al] T Scr; Gen J^{marg}.
*Omitted by St⁶⁵ B A HS Elz Be G Sch Tn Tr WH; Ge Br Bp
 Lu V D J.*
- xiv. 3, 4. *Οἱ δὲ ἡσύχασαν.*
 ver. 4, St B A HS We Elz²³, ⁴¹ Be K Tn H Th Al Tr; Ge
 Br Bp Lu V D J.

ver. 3, Elz^{50, 62, 71, 78} Cur F M Mas Mt Bi G^{mai} Sch Sz Bl Wd T.
 Luke xiv. 34, 35 Καλὸν τὸ ἀλας . . . ⁸⁵Οὔτε εἰς γῆν . . .

Elz (all editions) unite these two verses, thus dividing the chapter into thirty-four verses only.

— xix. 41, 42 Λέγων,
 ver. 42, St⁵¹ B A HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt² K Tn H Th
 Bl Al Wd Tr; G₂ Bp Lu D J.

ver. 41, St⁵⁵ M Mt¹ Bi G^{mai} Sch L Sz T; Br V.

— xxii. 66, 67 Λέγοντες, Εἰ σὺ ὁ Χριστός; εἶπὲ [L. v. εἰπὸν] ἡμῖν.
 ver. 67, St B A HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W G^{min} G²⁷ Mt² K Tn
 Sz H⁴⁰ Th Bl Wd Tr Scr WH; s_o Br Ge Lu D; but Bp J
 "saying, ⁶⁷Art thou," etc.

ver. 66, M Mt¹ Bi G^{mai} Sch L H⁶¹ Al T; V.

— xxiv. 45, 46 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,

ver. 45, St⁵¹ Greek Tr WH.

ver. 46, *All the rest*, and St⁵¹ in the Lat., Br (WH).

John i. 38, 39 Τί ζητεῖτε; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ, Ραββί, (ὃ λέγεται ἐρμηνευόμενον,
 διδάσκαλε) ποῦ μένει;

ver. 38, St B⁵⁷ A We Tr WH; G₂ Br Bp Lu V D J.

ver. 39, B⁵⁵ Elz *and all the rest*, making Τί ζητεῖτε . . . μένει a verse
 by itself, so that vv. 39–51 St = vv. 40–52 E^z, etc.

— iv. 35, 36 ἤδη. T WH connect ἤδη with ver. 36, reading ἤδη ὁ θερίζων
 κ. τ. λ. So Tr^{margin}.

— ix. 11, 12 Απεθλῶν δὲ [L. v. οὖν] καὶ νηψάμενος ἀνέβλεψα.

ver. 12, Elz⁸³ Be.

ver. 11, *All the rest*. Br.

Acts ii. 10, 11 Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι,

ver. 11, St A We Tr; Br Lu V D.

ver. 10, *All the rest*. (Tn) (WH)

— — 47, iii. 1 Επιτοαντὸ δὲ Πέτρος κ. τ. λ.

L Al Tr T^{41, 72} (not T^{49, 59}) WH (and so St⁵⁵ V) join ἐπιτοαντὸ το
 ii. 47, omitting τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ, and reading in iii. 1 Πέτρος δὲ καὶ
 Ἰωάννης κ. τ. λ. L T⁴¹ WH however retain the old numbering.

— iii. 19, 20 Ὅπως ἂν ἐλθῶσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου,

ver. 20, St A We G^{min} K Sch Th Tr WH; Br Lu V.

ver. 19, *All the rest*.

— v. 8, 9 Ἡ δὲ εἶπε, Ναὶ, τοσοῦτου.

ver. 9, Elz (²⁴), ⁸³, ⁴¹.

ver. 8, *All the rest*. Br (WH)

— — 39, 40 Ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ.

ver. 39, St A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr WH; Br V.

ver. 40, *All the rest*. (WH)

— xi. 25, 26 Καὶ εὐρῶν αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

ver. 26, St B⁵⁷ A We Tr Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu J.

ver. 25, B⁵⁵ HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G K Sch Tn Sz L H
 Th Bl Al Wd T; V D.

— xiii. 32, 33 Ὅτι ταύτην ὁ Θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκε τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν, ἀναστήσας
 Ἰησοῦν,

ver. 33, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{min} K Sch Tn H⁴¹ Th Tr WH; Ge Br Bp
 Lu V D J.

- ver. 32; B⁶⁵ HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G^{mai} Sz L H⁰¹ Bl Al
Wd T Scr.
- Acts xiii. 38, 39 *καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως δικαιωθῆναι,*
ver. 38, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{min} K Tr WH; Ge Br Lu V.
ver. 39, B³⁵ HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G^{mai} Sch Tn Sz L H
Th Bl Al Wd T Scr; Gen Bp D J.
- xviii. 12, 13 *Λέγοντες,*
ver. 12, E z³³, 41.
ver. 13, *All the rest.* Br.
- xix. 40, 41 *καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν . . . ταύτης. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν τὴν
'ἐκκλησίαν.*
ver. 40 *καὶ γὰρ . . . 'ἐκκλησίαν.* St B⁵⁷, 65, 82, 88, 98 B^{min} 65 A¹⁵⁷² HS We
Elz Cur F Mas W Mt G^{mai} K Sch Tn Sz H Th T; Lu V.
ver. 41 begins with the words *καὶ ταῦτα* in A¹⁵⁷¹ M Be M¹ G^{min} L Bl
Al Wd Tr Scr WH; Ge Bp J.
- xxiv. 2, 3 *Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ καὶ κατορθωμάτων [L. v. διορθωμά-
των] γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας,*
ver. 2, St B⁵⁷ Tr WH; Ge Br Bp V J.
ver. 3, *All the rest.*
- — 18, 19 *Τινὲς δὲ [Elz om δὲ] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίου,*
ver. 19, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{min} Sch; Br Bp Lu V D (WH).
ver. 18, *All the rest.* (WH) In St⁵¹, 55 (not so Br) and B⁵⁷ ver. 19
is numbered 19, 20 or "19 et 20"; hence vv. 21-28 St = 20-27
Elz, etc. This double numbering of ver. 19 appears to have
arisen from an interpolation here in many copies of the Latin
Vulgate. In St⁵⁵ the following (marked as wanting in the Greek)
is inserted at the beginning of ver. 19: "Et apprehenderunt me,
clamantes, & dicentes, Tolle inimicum nostrū" The same inter-
polation is found in the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (1590), but
not in the Clementine (1592).
- In Ge Gen ver. 18 is divided into two, ver. 19 beginning "Neither with
multiplicity," so that vv. 20-28 Ge etc. = 19-27 J.
- Rom. i. 29, 30 *ψιθυριστὰς,*
ver. 29, St B⁵⁷ A Al Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
ver. 30, *All the rest.* (WH)
- v. 20, 21 *ἐπ' ἑλπίδι*
ver. 20, St B⁵⁷ A We M Mt G Sch Sz L H Th⁴⁴ Al Tr T WH;
Ge Br Bp Lu V J. But G Sch Sz H Th⁵⁵ Al Tr place a comma
after *ἐλπίδι*, and L Th⁴⁴ T WH have no point.
ver. 21, B³⁵ HS Elz Cur F Mas Be W K Tn Bl Wd Scr; D.
- ix. 11, 12 *οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος,*
ver. 12, St A Tr; Br Lu V.
ver. 11, *All the rest.* (Sch. begins ver. 12 with "Οτι ὁ μερίζων.) (WH)
- 1 Cor. vii. 33, 34 *μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος.* (Various readings.)
ver. 33, St⁵¹ WH; Lu.—St⁵⁵ A Sz Tr Br V D include *μεμέρισται*
alone in ver. 33.
ver. 34, *All the rest.*
- 2 Cor. i. 6, 7 *Καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*
ver. 7, St A We G^{mai} Sch Sz WH; Ge Br Lu V J.

- ver. 6, *All the rest.*
- 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11 *ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ.*
 ver. 11, St B⁵⁷ A M Mt¹ G K Sch Tn Sz L H Th Bl Al Wd Tr
 T Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
- ver. 10, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt²; D. Ge (not Gen)
 begins ch. ii. with i. 23, numbering i. 23, 24, as ii. 1, 2, and ii. 1-17
 as ii. 3-19.
- 12, 13 *Ὀὐκ ἐσχηκα ἀνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί μου, τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν με τίτον τὸν ἀδελφόν
 μου.*
 ver. 13, St B⁵⁷ A M L Tr T Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
 ver. 12, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt G K Sch Tn Sz H
 Th Bl Al Wd; D.
- v. 14, 15 *κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες
 ἀπέθανον.*
 ver. 14, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{min} K Sch Tn H Th Tr WH; Ge Br Bp
 Lu V J.
 ver. 15, B⁶⁵ HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G^{mai} Sz L Bl Al Wd
 T Scr; D.
- viii. 13, 14 *Ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ τὸ ἡμῶν περίσσειμα, εἰς τὸ ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα,*
 ver. 14, St A Tr WH; Br Lu V.—B⁵⁷ G^{mai} Sch Sz, and Ge Bp J,
 include also in ver. 14 the words *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰσότητος*, which precede
 the above.
 ver. 13, B³⁵ HS We Elz T *and all the rest.*
- x. 4, 5 *λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες,*
 ver. 4, St A Sch Tr; Br V.
 ver. 5, *All the rest.* (WH)
 Luther begins cap. xi. with x. 17.
- xi. 8, 9 *Καὶ παρὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑστερηθεῖς, οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐδενός.*
 ver. 9, St B⁵⁷ A We Wd Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V D J.
 ver. 8, B⁶⁵ HS Elz T *and all the rest.*
- Gal. ii. 19, 20 *Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι.*
 ver. 19, St B⁵⁷ A G^{min} K Tn Th Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu V.—Mt² includes
 also in ver. 19 the words that follow: *ζῶ δὲ, οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ
 χριστός.*
 ver. 20, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz T, *and all the rest*; J' (WH)
- v. 22, 23 *πραότης, ἐγκράτεια.*
 ver. 23, St B⁵⁷ A M G^{mai} Sch Sz L H Th Al Tr T Scr WH; Ge
 Br Bp V J.
 ver. 22, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt G^{min} K Tn Bl Wd;
 Lu D.
- Eph. i. 10, 11 *ἐν αὐτῷ.*
 ver. 10, St B⁵⁷ A We M G^{mai} Sch Sz L H Bl Al Wd Tr T Scr;
 Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
 ver. 11, B⁶⁵ HS Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt K Tn Th; D (WH).
- ii. 14, 15 *τὴν ἐχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ.*
 ver. 14, St A B¹⁵⁰³ Tr WH; Br Lu V.
 ver. 15, *All the rest.*
- iii. 17, 18 *ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι.*
 ver. 17, St B⁵⁷ A Sch Th Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.

ver. 18, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz T *and all the rest.*

Phil. i. 16, 17 Οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐριθείας . . . τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου. ¹⁷ Οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀγάπης . . . κείμαι.
G K Sch Tn Sz L H Th Al Wd Tr T WH (and so St⁵⁵ V) *trans-*
pose vv. 16 and 17, with the exception of οἱ μὲν and οἱ δέ, reading
οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀγάπης, κ. τ. λ. ¹⁷ οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας, κ. τ. λ. Of these, G
K L^{min} H Th⁴⁴ WH retain the old numbering.

— ii. 7, 8 καὶ σχήματι εἴρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

ver. 7, St B⁵⁷ A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr T (exc.⁴¹) WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V D.

ver. 8, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G^{min} K Tn L H
T⁴¹ Th Bl Al Wd Scr; J.

— iii. 13, 14 ἐν δὲ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος,
ver. 13, St B⁵⁷ A Bl Wd Tr Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.

ver. 14, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz T *and all the rest.*

Col. i. 21, 22 Νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκατήλλαξεν [L. v. ἀποκατηλλάγητε]

ver. 22, St A We Tr WH; Br Lu V D.

ver. 21, *All the rest.*

1 Thess. i. 2, 3 ἀδιαλείπτως

ver. 2, St A Bl Al Wd Tr WH; Lu V. But St⁶¹ A Tr WH con-
nect the word with *μνημονεύοντες.*

ver. 3, B HS We Elz T *and all the rest.* Br Lat. ver. 2, Ital. ver. 3.
But Ge connects the word with what precedes.

— ii. 6, 7 Δυνάμει ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι.

ver. 7, St B⁵⁷ A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V.

ver. 6, *All the rest.*

— — 11, 12 Παρακαλοῦντες ἑμᾶς καὶ παραμυθούμενοι,

ver. 12, St B⁵⁷ A Tr WH; V. So Br in the Lat., but in the Ital.
esortato is put in ver. 11.

ver. 11, *All the rest.* Bl Wd, with Ge Bp J, also include καὶ μαρτυρούμενοι
in ver. 11.

Ge includes "as a father his children" in ver. 11.

Philem. 11, 12 Ὁν ἀνέπεμψα

ver. 12, St B⁵⁷, ⁶⁵, ⁸², ⁸⁸, ⁹⁸ A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr WH; Ge Br Bp V D J.

ver. 11, B^{min} ⁶⁵, ⁶⁷, ⁸¹, ⁹¹ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt K Tn
L H Th Bl Al Wd T; Lu.

— 23, 24 Μάρκος,

ver. 24, St B A HS We (see below) M Be Mt¹ G^{mai} K Sch Sz L
H Th Al Tr T; Ge Br Bp Lu V D J.

ver. 23, Elz Cur F Mas Bl Wd.—Elz²⁴ W G^{min} Mt² Tn Scr WH
are doubtful.

We unites vv. 18, 19, so that We vv. 19–22 = St vv. 20–23. We
also unites vv. 24, 25, numbered as ver. 23.

Heb. i. 1, 2 Ἐπ' ἐσχάτων [L. v. ἐσχάτου] τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν νιφ,

ver. 2, St B⁵⁷ A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V D J.

ver. 1, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be Mt G^{min} K Sch Tn L H
Th Bl Al Wd T.

— iii. 9, 10 Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη

ver. 10, St A Tr WH; Br V.

ver. 9, *All the rest.*

— vii. 20, 21 οἱ μὲν γὰρ χωρὶς ὀρκωμοσίας εἰσὶν ἱερεῖς γεγονότες

- ver. 20, St B⁵⁷ A We M Mt¹ G^{mai} Sch Sz L H⁶¹ Al Tr T WH;
Ge Br Bp Lu V D.
- ver. 21, B⁶⁵ HS Elz Cur F Mas Be W Mt² G^{min} K Tn H⁴¹ Th Bl
Wd Scr; J.
- Heb. x. 22, 23 *καὶ λελουμένοι [I. v. λελουσμένοι] τὸ σῶμα ὑδατι καθαρῶ,*
ver. 22, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{mai} Sch Tn Sz H Al Tr Scr; Ge Br Bp Lu
V D J (WH).
- ver. 23, B⁶⁵ HS Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt G^{min} K L Th Bl
Wd T.
- xii. 22, 23 *πανηγύρει*
ver. 22, St B⁵⁷ A We Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu V.
ver. 23, B⁶⁵ HS Elz T *and all the rest.* But Be G K L H⁴¹ Th Bl Al
T omit the comma after ἀγγέλων, which they join with πανηγύρει.
Al includes *καὶ μυριάσιν, ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει* in ver. 23.
- I Pet. ii. 7, 8 *Καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος, καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλον·*
ver. 8, St B⁵⁷ A G^{mai} Sch Tn Sz H Tr Scr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
ver. 7, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz Cur F M Mas Be W Mt K L Th Bl Al
Wd Ti; D.
- iii. 15, 16 *Μετὰ πρᾶντος καὶ φόβου,*
ver. 16, St B⁵⁷ A Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu V.
ver. 15, *All the rest.* B¹⁵⁹⁸ also includes in ver. 15 *συνείδησιν ἔχοντες
ἀγαθὴν.*
- I John ii. 13, 14 *Γράψω [I. v. ἔγραψα] ὑμῖν, παιδιά, ὅτι ἐγνώκατε τὸν πατέρα.*
ver. 14, St B⁵⁷, ⁶⁵, ⁸², ⁸⁸, ⁹⁸ A We Tr WH; Ge Br Bp V D.
ver. 13, B^{min} ⁶⁵, ⁶⁷, ⁸¹, ⁹¹ HS Elz T *and all the rest.*
- Rev. ii. 27, 28 *Ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου·*
ver. 28, St B⁵⁷ A G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V.
ver. 27, B⁶⁵ HS We Elz G^{min} T *and all the rest.*
- xvii. 9, 10 *καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτὰ εἰσιν.*
ver. 9, St B⁵⁷ A Sch Tr WH; Ge Br Bp Lu V D.
ver. 10, *All the rest.*
- xviii. 16, 17 *Ὅτι μὴ ἴσῃς ἡρημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος.*
ver. 17, St B⁵⁷ A We G^{mai} Sch Sz Tr; Ge Br Bp Lu V J.
ver. 16, B⁶⁵ HS Elz G^{min} T *and all the rest.* (WH)

These, I believe, are all the instances in which Elz 1633 or T (ed. 8) differ in the verse-division from St 1551. There are still other places in which either some editions of the Greek N. T. (as that of Mill), or some of the early modern translations (Ge Bp Lu J), or the Clementine Vulgate, differ from these three.

In the subjoined instances, the full-faced numerals mark the verse to which the editions or translations named transfer the given words or phrases from the verse in which they stand in St Elz T.

MATT 10,2.3 Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ·
M V; — 20,4.5 Οἱ δὲ ἀπῆλθον. Scr, Ge Bp Iac; — 22,41.42 λέγων, M G^{mai}.
MARK 9,1-50 = 8,39.9,1-49 Lu V; — 12,14.15 δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; Ge Bp J.
LUKE 1,73.74 τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν Ge J; — 9,42 = 42.43 (Et increpavit) V, and
43-44 = 44 V; — 16,22.23 ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ (ὄμ. καὶ) V (et sepultus est in inferno);
— 17,35-36 = 35 V, 37 = 36.37 V. JOHN 4,13.14 ὅς δ' ἂν πίη ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ

ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ [*L. v. -σει*] εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· V; —6,51 = 51.52 (si quis etc.) V and 52-71 = 53-72 V; —11,34.35 Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε. M Mt¹; —56,57 = 56 V; —13,30.31 ἦν δὲ νῦξ ὅτε ἐξῆλθε. We M Be Mt Th Scr.

ACTS 7,55.56 = 55 V edd. Van Ess, T, but not so edd. Rom. 1592, 1861 (Vercellone); 57-60 = 56-59 V edd. Van Ess, T, but not edd. Rom. 1592, 1861; —7,60.8,1 Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ. V; —8,7 = 7.8 (multi autem) V edd. Van Ess, T, and 8.9 = 9 edd. Van Ess, T, but not so edd. Rom. 1592, 1861; —8,19,20 Πέτρος δὲ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, V; —9,28.29 Καὶ [l. v. om. καὶ] παρῆρσιάζομενος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ [l. v. om. Ἰησοῦ] B HS Be Scr, Ge Bp J; —13 30.31 V (qui visus est per dies multos his); —14,6.7 = 6 V, and 8-28 = 7-27 V; —16,37.38 V (et ipsi nos efficiant); —24,12.13 οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· V.

ROM 1,9.10 πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου J; —3,25.26 ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, Lu J. 2 CO 13,12 = 12.13 (ἀσπάζονται, κ.τ.λ.) Bp J, and 13 = 14 Bp J. PHIL 4,21.22 Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί. St⁶⁵ V. 1 THESS 4,11.12 = 11 V edd. Van Ess, T, and 13-18 = 12-17 V edd. Van Ess, T, but not edd. Rom. 1592, 1861. 2 THESS 2,10.11 = 10 V edd. Van Ess, T, and 12-17 = 11-16 V edd. Van Ess, T, but not edd. Rom. 1592, 1861. 1 TIM 6,21 = 21.22 (Ἡ χάρις, κ. τ. λ.) G^{mai} Sch Sz H Al Tr T⁴⁰,⁶⁹ and N. T. triglott. 1854. B⁵⁷,⁶⁵,⁸²,⁸⁸,⁹⁸ number the subscription to 1 TIM as 6,22. 3 JOHN 14,15 = 14 Ge Bp V J. REV 12,18.13,1 = 13,1 Lu J.

Luther begins *Mk* 9 with 9,2; 1 *Co* 11 with 11,2; 2 *Co* 2 with 1,23 (so Ge¹⁵⁵⁷); 2 *Co* 11 with 10,17; *Gal* 6 with 5,25; *Col* 4 with 4,2; *Heb* 5 with 4,14; *Rev* 11 with 11,3; 12 with 11,15; 13 with 12,18 (so J).

This list is incomplete, but to enter into further details would be here out of place.

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