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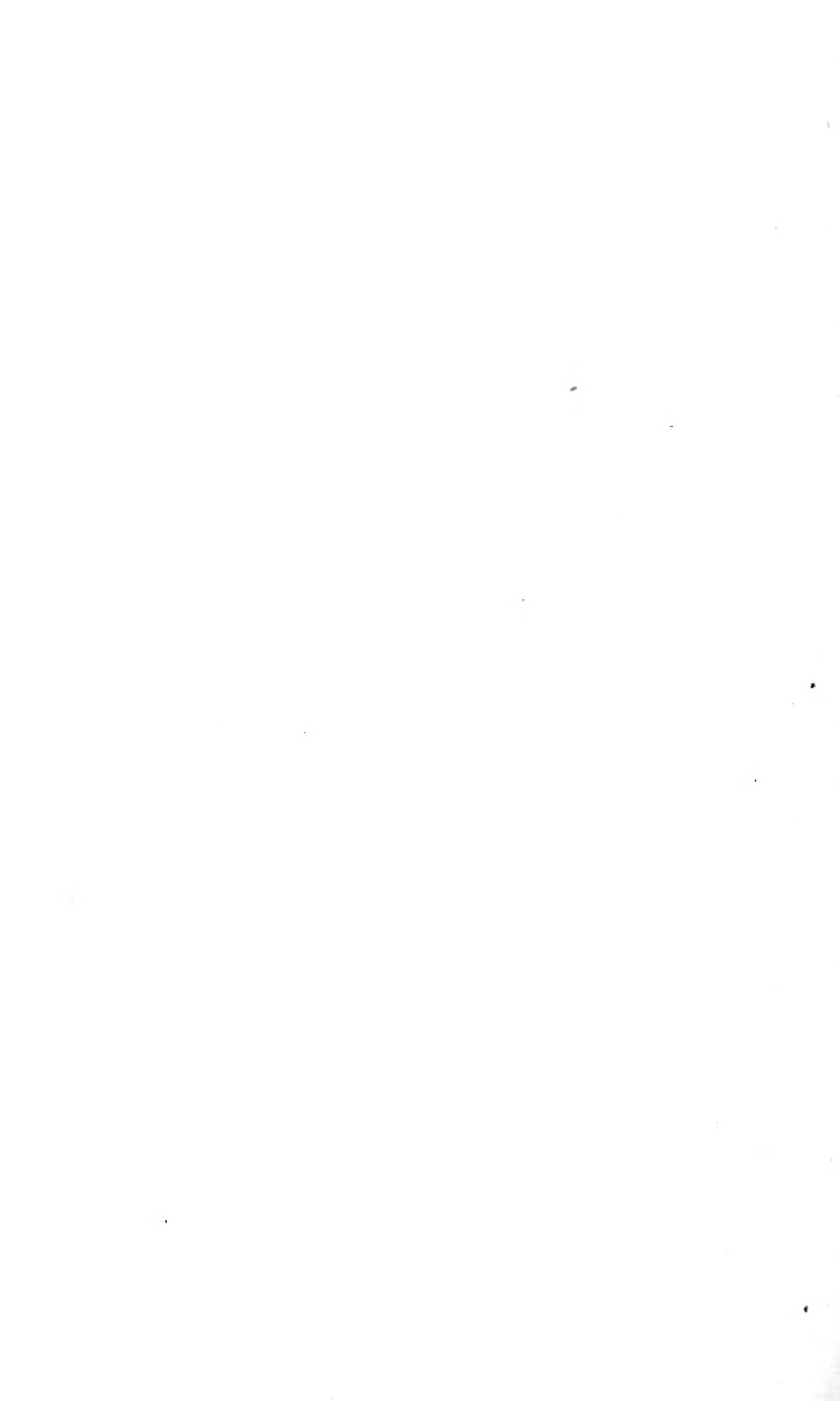
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A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO
THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE



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A GENERAL

INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

HOLY SCRIPTURE

BY

A. E. BREEN, Ph. D., D. D.

Πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν,
πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν
δικαιοσύνῃ. Ἵνα ἄρτιος ᾖ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος
πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος.

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Preface to the Second Edition.

We live in an age of great activity. It is also an age wherein material progress and the love of worldly pleasure tend to enfeeble man's hold on the supernatural world. It is most evident that there is a general movement away from the spiritual world. In non-Catholic thought the idea of a *reduced* Christianity is dominant. A mere natural religion recommends itself to many. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them because they are spiritually examined." [I. Cor. II. 14.] Instead of accepting religion as a mysterious message from Heaven, men make a religion that is not religious. A religion is sought that will not interfere with man's worldly tastes and pleasures. Human reason is made the judge of all the works of God. Arianism is recrudescent under another name and formula. The mystery of Christ's Divinity, the miracles of the Bible, the extraordinary action of God in the Revelation and Inspiration of the Scriptures are made the special objects of attack in this modern fashion of thought.

That which is most deplorable is that this tendency has in some degree invaded the minds of some Catholic scholars. Clear calls of warning come from Christ's Vicar; the danger is grave. The demon of unbelief finds strong allies in the pride and rebellion of fallen human nature.

During the last twenty-five years the Church has waged a fierce battle in defense of the Holy Scriptures. In this fight her worst enemies are those of her own children, who, making dishonorable compromises with the Rationalists, the "true children and inheritors of the older heretics," make a breach in the walls which they have sworn to defend.

General Introduction teaches the art of studying Holy Scripture:

“Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,
Perchè non torna tal qual ei si muove,
Chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l'arte.”

The study of Holy Scripture is proposed in that remarkable encyclical, “Providentissimus Deus,” as the chief remedy against the evil doctrinal tendencies of our time. This study cannot be pursued without a competent knowledge of the questions which an Introduction to Holy Scripture treats. The very key to the present situation is a right idea of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Hence in this Second Edition of my work, I have devoted about one third of the volume to this great theme. I have endeavored in all things to be conservative. I have endeavored to present a fair examination of the different theories, and in judging of them, the authority of the Church has been the norm. My treatise on the Canon of the Old Testament may be judged excessively long, but I have contemplated this as a work of reference, in which completeness of treatment is required. My hope is that I may have, in some small degree, helped the Cause of Christ.

A. E. BREEN.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,

Feast of the Circumcision of Our Lord, 1908.

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A General Introduction to Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER I.

REVELATION AND ITS CRITERION.

The science of Introduction to Holy Scripture has for its object to treat of the Books of Inspired Scripture, their Number, the Nature of Inspiration, the Authenticity of the several books, the Canon, the ancient Codices, the Versions of Holy Scripture, the History of the Text, the Decrees of the Church regarding the Holy Books and the Laws of Expounding Holy Scripture.

The existence of inspired writings is a fact warranted by the most convincing data. The tradition of the Jews, the approbation of Christ, the traditions of Christians, the sublimity of the writings, the verification of prophecies, and the universal belief of civilized mankind are alone natural motives of credibility which logically produce certainty. Moreover, those who are incorporated in the organized economy of the New Law have the living voice of the Holy Ghost, declaring through the Church: "*And this supernatural revelation, according to the faith of the universal Church, declared in the Holy Tridentine Synod, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions, which have come down to us.*" [Vat. Council, Cap. II. De Revelatione.]

The existence of divinely inspired Scripture is so essentially bound up with the existence of religion itself that they stand or fall together. Ancient history and modern history make the existence of an authentic written message from

God to man a necessity. The writers of the Old Law abundantly proved by miracles the divine commission to deliver in writing the message of God. The great revelation of God through Christ added certainty to certainty; and Christianity continues through the ages to present the proofs of the divinity of the Holy Books. No man will deny that the Christian religion is a fact; and were there no divinely inspired Scriptures, that fact would not have a sufficient cause. The Christian Church draws her life from two fountains, the Holy Scriptures and the living voice of the Holy Ghost within her. Had it so pleased God he could have founded, and could have conserved religion without any written message. However, considering the nature of man, it seems more conformable to the wisdom of God to deliver to man a written deposit which should be an everlasting memorial of God's teachings. Moreover, religion claims to possess divine Scriptures; the Jews received their Scriptures from Moses and the Prophets, and handed them down to the Christian Church. Jesus Christ appealed to these Scriptures as the infallible message of God; all the writers of the New Testament corroborate the doctrine of the existence of divinely inspired Scriptures. Hence to deny the existence of inspired Books is tantamount to deny that religion exists.

Having once placed as a basic position that there exist divinely inspired writings, the next step is to determine how we may infallibly discern and know what is inspired and what is not. We must establish an adequate criterion, which can discriminate, from all other books, the products of the authorship of God.

Inspiration, in its formal concept, is a supernatural psychological effect, wrought in the mind of the inspired agent by the First Cause. We might define it, using the conciseness and precision of the Latin idiom: *Illustratio mentis et motus efficax voluntatis a Deo, ad exprimendum infallibiliter sensum Dei, seu ad exprimenda ea omnia et sola quae Deus vult.* Now it is plainly evident that a fact of such nature can be immediately known but to two beings, God and the person inspired.

It must be conceded that many of the inspired writers were conscious of their inspiration. Some explicitly declare that they had received a commission to write: such are Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk and others. David declares: "And the man who was raised on high saith, the Anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel: The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was upon my tongue."—II. Sam. XXIII. 1, 2.

But in other inspired books we find no evidence that the author was conscious that he wrote under divine inspiration. The writer of the Second Book of Maccabees declares thus of his work:

"And all such things as have been comprised in five books by Jason of Cyrene, we have attempted to abridge in one book.

"For considering the multitude of books, and the difficulty that they find that desire to undertake the narrations of histories, because of the multitude of the matter,

"We have taken care for those indeed that are willing to read, that it might be a pleasure of mind: and for the studious, that they may more easily commit to memory: and that all that read might receive profit.

"And as to ourselves indeed, in undertaking this work of abridging, we have taken in hand no easy task, yea rather a business full of watching and sweat.

"But as they that prepare a feast, and seek to satisfy the will of others: for the sake of many, we willingly undergo the labour.

"Leaving to the authors the exact handling of every particular, and as for ourselves, according to the plan proposed, studying to be brief.

"For as the master builder of a new house must have care of the whole building: but he that taketh care to paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning of it: so must it be judged for us.

"For to collect all that is to be known, to put the discourse in order, and curiously to discuss every particular point, is the duty of the author of a history:

“But to pursue brevity of speech, and to avoid nice declarations of things, is to be granted to him that maketh an abridgement.” (II. Maccab. II. 24-32.)

The same writer draws his work to a conclusion in the following words:

“So these things being done with relation to Nicanor, and from that time the city being possessed by the Hebrews, I also will here make an end of my narration.

“Which if I have done well, and as it becometh the history, it is what I desired: but if not so perfectly, it must be pardoned me.”—Chap. 15, Ver. 39.

There is strong evidence here that the writer was unconscious of his inspiration.

In the preamble of St. Luke's Gospel we find certain indications that he was not conscious of being an inspired writer. In such books as these therefore there is no intrinsic note to compel us to accept them as divine. It is a generally accepted truth by Catholic theologians that the author's consciousness of his inspiration enters not into the essential constituents of inspiration; but is of the nature of an accessory. Card. Franzelin declares: “As in the prophetic impulse to speak which St. Thomas, 2. 2. 173. a. 4, and other theologians distinguish from complete prophecy, (Cfr. Aug. Genes. ad litt. Lib. III. n. 37.), thus also in the inspiration to write it seems not essential that a man be conscious of his inspiration; nevertheless it should not be readily admitted that de facto any of our inspired writers was ignorant of his inspiration” (De Div. Trad, et Script. p. 358.) In a note in the same place he declares that it is not proven that any of our inspired writers was ignorant of his inspiration. Crets (De Div. Bib. Insp. Lovanii, 1886) and Pesch (De Insp. Script., 1906) are of the same opinion.

It seems far more probable to us to hold that some were not conscious of their inspiration. The case of the writer of the Second Book of Maccabees is perhaps the clearest instance. Since all admit that this consciousness in no way pertains to the essence of inspiration it seems that it should not be asserted of a book unless there be some evidences of its existence. No such evidences are found there. But

waiving this question of fact, our main position is established that divine revelation has not in itself the power of making itself authentically known to man. Even if the inspired agent were conscious of his inspiration, an examination of the issue will convince us that the testimony of the inspired agent, unsupported by the corroborative attestation of God, is not sufficient. In the first place, this means would be subject to hallucination, error, and fraud. Long would be the list of those who, from one or other of these motives, claimed inspiration from God. It would suffice to mention Muhammad and the founder of Mormonism, to specify the weakness of this criterion. But granted that the inspired agent did, in any case, so testify as to merit credence, the faith that these motives of credibility would produce would not be *divine faith*, which has for its formal motive the *authority of God*; but, at most, it would be only *human faith*; for the effect cannot be greater than the cause; and, as the cause of this credibility was not divine but human, the faith, its effect, would be no more than human faith. Now it is exacted that we believe in the Scriptures with a divine faith. Hence, granted that the testimony of the inspired writer might be trustworthy of itself, it could never produce more than human credibility, which is not sufficient to form a basis for *absolute and divine faith*. No creature can be trusted infinitely, but, when we are dealing with "God's epistle to his creature," absolute trust and certainty are required. It was fitting that an all-provident God should provide man with this means of certitude, and we believe that he has done so, and these considerations are leading us to investigate and establish it. The Prophets and Apostles merited divine faith for what they taught, because they, by miracles, established their divine commission to teach. In such case, this faith was rendered divine by the corroborative attestation of God through these miracles. But how shall man always and in every case be able to discriminate between the divine writings and books of purely human origin? The Prophets are gone, the Apostles are gone; their writings have undergone great vicissitudes. "We live amid the dust of systems and of creeds." In this remote age, is there any

adequate criterion, in virtue of which man can say, This book is of God, and this other is not? Were there not, God would not have sufficiently provided for man; he would no longer be the Heavenly Father.

Men, who still believe in a personal God, and a definite form of religion, generally admit that some such criterion must exist, but differ widely in defining it.

We do not deny that internal evidences are a partial criterion; but it is not a universal criterion for all the books. For instance there are many places in the New Testament where the books of the Old Testament are cited as Holy Scripture. These explicit quotations are in number about three hundred, and there are many more allusions of less proving force. The citation of a book of the Old Testament by Christ or any inspired writer of the New Testament as Holy Scripture is a subsidiary criterion of inspiration; but it is not an adequate and sufficient criterion, since it does not establish a complete list of the books. Not to mention the deuterocanonical books, there is no mention in the New Testament of Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, the Canticle of Canticles, Obadiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Ecclesiastes: Ezekiel is only faintly alluded to. Therefore the testimony of the New Testament is neither complete nor exclusive; but only a positive proof of some books.

A text often used to prove the internal evidences of inspiration in the Scriptures themselves is taken from Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy III. 16. The passage, according to the Greek is as follows: "*Πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.*"

The Vulgate renders the passage: "Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia." The Roman Catholic version is in accord with the Vulgate: "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice." It is evident from a scrutiny of the Greek text that the Vulgate does not adequately reproduce it. No account is taken in such version of the *καί*, which however appears in all the best codices. The Vulgate

expunging *καί*, would virtually insert the elliptical *ἔστι*, after *ὠφέλιμος*, thus making *θεόπνευστος* a qualifying characteristic, warranting the predication of *ὠφέλιμος*, of *πάσα γραφή*. By the expunging of the important particle *καί*, such sense can be gleaned from this passage; but, retaining such conjunction, whose presence rests upon the best data, I am at a loss to understand how they gather the meaning. Moreover, the context and parallel passages demand the sense which results from the retaining of the particle.

Of all the versions, the Ethiopic comes closest to the original. According to the Latin translation of the Ethiopic text by Walton, it is as follows: "Et tota scriptura per Spiritum Dei est, et prodest in omni doctrina et eruditione ad corrigendum et instruendum in veritate." Although this ancient and valued text departs somewhat from the verbally literal translation, it reproduces the full sense. We could perhaps literally translate the Greek: "All Scripture is divinely inspired and useful to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in righteousness." Thus it is in conformity with the Greek reading, with the Ethiopic, with the context, with other parallel passages, and with some of the best of the Fathers. We may instance one parallel passage: II. Pet. I. 20—21.

We think then that this sense is sufficiently evidenced so as to become practically certain. The passage thus becomes a direct testimony for the influence of God on Holy Scripture. Indeed, Paul's motive is to induce Timothy to entertain a divine regard for the Holy Writ; and for this reason he brings forward as a proof the divine element in all Scripture. It is not then a discriminative, conditional proposition, but a plain assertion of the authorship of God in the Holy Scripture. But this clear text may not be adduced with any profit as a criterion; because, first of all, it is, as Perrone says, begging the question to prove the divinity of the Holy Books from their own testimony. It is the *circulus vitiosus*. Again, even to those who grant the divine authority of the Epistle to Timothy, it only avails to prove the impress of the hand of God on Holy Scripture *in a general way*, but does not distinguish book from book, or form any

judgment concerning an official catalogue. We grant then that the text, as well as others of a similar nature, operates to prove the divine impulse of the Holy Ghost on Scripture in general, provided we once have received as granted that these books are of God; but we deny to all such texts any value to discern canonical from uncanonical books.

It is not conformable to the scope of this book to follow the progress of protestantism through all its changes and vagaries. We see in it a constant tendency to limit the divine element in the Holy Scriptures. All the protestant sects began with an exaggerated notion of the nature of the Scriptures. In the beginning Luther seems not to have formulated any theory of inspiration. He accepted the general principles then held by the Church from which he seceded, that God is the author of Holy Scripture, that the inspired writers are God's instruments, that the inspired writers had received an impulse from the Holy Ghost to write the words and the truths, and that the Holy Scriptures are the infallible word of God, not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in other things, and are free from error, etc. But having once thrown off subjection to authority, with his characteristic genius of audacity, he formulated new theories to meet every emergency in his inconsistent heresy. Luther's opinions present many contradictions, and his defenders are divided against themselves. Speaking of his audacious attitude toward Holy Scripture, Kier (*Bedarf es einer besondern Inspirationslehre?* 1891, 8) cites Luther as a proof that there is no need of any fixed theory of inspiration, and declares of him: "Of Luther the greatest scriptural theologian, well known is his remarkably free judgment, not alone concerning St. James, but also concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, some of the Prophets, and St. Paul. He read the Bible as a *free* blessed child of God." This *freedom* moved him to reject according to his caprice whatever did not please his humor. When the Holy Scriptures pleased him, he extolled them above all other things: "But I, against the sayings of the fathers, of men, of angels, of demons, set up not ancient usage, not a multitude of men, but the word of the one eternal Majesty, which they are forced to approve.

“This is the work of God, not of us. Here I stand; here I sit; here I remain; here I glory; here I triumph; here I insult papists, Thomists, Henricists, sophists, and all the gates of Hell, and also the sayings of men even though holy, and erring custom. God’s word is above all; God’s power so strengthens me that I should not care if a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand *Henrician* Churches were opposed to me.” (Contra Henricum regem, Opera Lat. Ed. Franc. VI. 437.)

But when the *papists* urged against him the Scriptures, he repudiates the Scriptures: “Thou urgest forward the slave, that is the Scriptures, and not the entire Scriptures, nor their better part, but certain places concerning works. I leave this slave to you; I urge forward the Lord, who is the King of the Scriptures, who became to me my merit, and the price of my justification and salvation. Him I hold: to him I cleave, and leave to thee works, which however thou never hast done,” (Comment. in Galat. III. 10.)

“I care nothing for these. Do thou ever urge on the slave; I am bold in the Lord, who is Lord and King over the Scriptures. I ask not concerning all the sayings of Scripture, even though thou bringest more against me, for I have on my side the Master and Lord of the Scriptures.”

The arch deceiver sets at variance with the Lord the message of God himself, and with marvelous arrogance begs the question. To the candid student of history, Luther must ever appear as a clever sophist, who, having thrown off all real belief in religion, played upon the ignorance, superficiality and credulity of the people.

Against the Sacramentarians Luther declared that one tittle of the Scriptures was greater than the heavens and the earth; but in another mood he rejected Scriptures which pleased not his caprice: “Finally St. John’s Gospel, and First Epistle, St. Paul’s Epistles, especially the Romans, to the Galatians, and that to the Ephesians, and St. Peter’s First Epistle are the books which present to thee Christ and all things which are necessary and saving, even though thou never see or hear another book or doctrine. Therefore James’ Epistle compared to these is verily a letter of

straw, because it has not in itself the Gospel spirit." (Welches die rechten und edlsten Bücher des N. T. sind; LXIII. 115.)

Of the Apocalypse of St. John, Luther declared: "In this book I leave every one to his own opinion, and I ask no one to accept my opinion or judgment. I speak what I feel. Many things are wanting in this book, which move me to hold it as neither apostolic nor prophetic. My spirit is not drawn to the book, and a sufficient cause why I esteem the book no higher is that in it Christ is neither taught nor acknowledged, a thing which first of all an apostle should do." (Vorrede zur Offenbarung St. Johannis, LXIII. 169 et seqq.)

According to Luther, "Ecclesiastes should be more complete; much has been excised from it; it has neither boots nor spurs, but rides in socks, as I was wont to do when still in the cloister." (Tischreden 2261, 2262; Ed. Erlang. LXII. 127—131.)

The genius of Luther pervades all protestantism, a false freedom, a subjectivism, and illogical sentimentalism.

Well does Rabaud declare of Luther: "His principle of critique was purely subjective: from the intensity with which Christ is preached he determined the inspiration and canonicity of a book. Is not this to abolish the authority of the Bible, and to substitute in its stead the individual conscience? Who shall determine the degree of faithfulness of the inspired writer? Who shall judge the purity of his doctrine? Who shall say if Christ is preached as it behooveth? This principle, in appearance more practical, but in reality equally as subjective as the principles of the other leaders of the Reformation led to the same result, the authority of the individual conscience, a theology read out of the Bible. Luther furnished the first and most remarkable example. By his audacious critique and his independence in regard to the *exterior* Scriptures, he placed the germs of the subsequent objections which were to shatter and ruin the doctrine of inspiration, which in common with his contemporaries Luther held, but which he admitted only in the passages in harmony with his theology, or his religious

sense." (*Histoire de la doctrine de l'inspiration des S. Ecritures dans les pays de langue française*, Paris, 1883, 39.)

The seed of rationalism which Luther sowed has produced dreadful fruit. All protestantism has become rationalistic. In our own country no protestant theologian accepts the Bible as the infallible word of God. In the protestant church in America as soon as a man propounds some audacious heresy he is made a hero. Protestant Germany is thoroughly rationalistic. Cardinal Manning had to deplore the drift of non-Catholic thought in England:

"It is therefore, no new thing in the history of the Church, nor, indeed, in the history of England since the Reformation. From the Deistical writers down to Thomas Paine, there has never wanted a succession of critics and objectors who have assailed the extrinsic or intrinsic authority of Holy Scripture.

"So far it is no new thing. But in one aspect, indeed, it is altogether new. It is new to find this form of scepticism put forth by writers of eminence for dignity and personal excellence, and mental cultivation, in the Church of England; by men, too, who still profess not only a faith in Christianity, but fidelity to the Anglican Church. Hitherto these forms of sceptical unbelief have worked outside the Church of England, and in hostility against it. Now they are within, and professing to be of it, and to serve it. Unpalatable as the truth may be, it is certain that a Rationalistic school imported from Germany has established itself within the Church of England; that its writers are highly respectable and cultivated men, and that though they may be few, yet the influence of their opinions is already widely spread, and that a very general sympathy with them already extends itself among the laity of the Anglican Church. This is certainly a phenomenon altogether new.

"Before entering upon the subject of this chapter, it would seem, therefore, to be seasonable to examine briefly the present state of the subject of Inspiration in the Church of England, and contrast with it the teaching of the Catholic Church upon this point.

“And first, as to the doctrine of the Church of England on Inspiration, it is to be remembered that though the Canon of Scripture was altered by the Anglican Reformation, the subject of inspiration was hardly discussed. The traditional teaching of the Catholic Theology, with its various opinions, were therefore passively retained. The earlier writers, such as Hooker, repeat the traditional formulas respecting the inspiration and veracity of Holy Scripture. Hooker’s words are, ‘He (that is, God) so employed them (the Prophets) in this heavenly work, that they neither spake nor wrote a word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths.’* Such was more or less the tone of the chief Anglican writers for a century after the Reformation.

“Perhaps the best example of the Anglican teaching on the subject will be found in Whitby’s general Preface to his ‘Paraphrase of the Gospels.’ His opinion is as follows. He begins by adopting the distinction of the Jewish Church between the ‘Prophets’ and the ‘Chetubin,’ or holy writers, and therefore between the ‘inspiration of suggestion’ and the ‘inspiration of direction.’

“He then lays down—

“1. First, that where there was no antecedent knowledge of the matter to be written, an inspiration of suggestion was vouchsafed to the Apostles; but that where such knowledge did antecedently exist, there was only an inspiration exciting them to write such matters, and directing them in the writing so as to preclude all error.

“2. Secondly, that in writing those things which were not antecedently known to them, either by natural reason including education, or previous revelation—*e.g.* the Incarnation, the vocation of the Gentiles, the apostasy of the latter times, the prophecies of the Apocalypse—they had an immediate suggestion of the Holy Spirit.

“3. Thirdly, that in all other matters they were directed so as to preclude error, and to confirm the truth whether by illumination in the meaning of the previous revelation, or by reasoning.

* *Works*, Vol. III, p. 62. Ed. Keble.

"4. Fourthly, that in the historical parts of the New Testament they were directed in all that is necessary to the truth of the facts related, but not as to the order or accessories of such events, unless these things affected the truth of the facts.

"5. Fifthly, that in relating the words or discourses of our Lord and of others, they were directed so as to preclude all error as to the substance, but not so as to reproduce the words.

"6. Lastly, that the inspiration or divine assistance of the sacred writers was such as 'will assure us of the truth of what they write, whether by inspiration of suggestion, or direction only, but not such as would imply that their very words were dictated, or their phrases suggested to them, by the Holy Ghost.*

"In Bishop Burnet may be seen a somewhat less explicit tone. He says, 'The laying down a scheme that asserts an immediate inspiration, which goes to the style, and to every tittle, and that denies any error to have crept *into any of the copies*, as it seems on the one hand to raise the honor of Scripture very highly, so it lies open on the other hand to great difficulties, which seem insuperable on that hypothesis.'†

"Such was the current teaching of the most respectable class of Anglican divines, men of true learning and of sound judgment, in the best century of the Church of England. But I need quote no more. Let us now examine one or two of the modern opinions on the same subject.

"A member of the University of Oxford writes as follows:—'The Bible is none other than the voice of Him that sitteth upon the throne. Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it, every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High.'‡ A member of Trinity College, Dublin, writes as follows:—'The

* Whitby's *Paraphrase*, Gen. Pref. p. 57. Ed. London, 1844.

† Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 117. Ed. Oxford.

‡ Burgeon, *Inspiration and Interpretation of Holy Scripture*, p. 89, quoted by Dr. Colenso, Part I. p. 6.

opinion that the subject-matter alone of the Bible proceeded from the Holy Spirit, while its language was left to the unaided choice of the various writers, amounts to that fantastic notion which is the grand fallacy of many theories of Inspiration; namely, that two different spiritual agencies were in operation, one of which produced the phraseology in its outward form, while the other created within the soul the conceptions and thoughts of which such phraseology was the expression. The Holy Spirit, on the contrary, as the productive *principle*, embraces the entire activity of those whom He inspires, rendering their language the word of God. The entire substance and form of Scripture, whether resulting from revelation or natural knowledge, are thus blended together into one harmonious whole.* Once more. Dr. Arnold writes as follows: 'An inspired work is supposed to mean a work to which God has communicated His own perfections; so that the slightest error or defect of any kind in it is inconceivable, and that which is other than perfect in all points cannot be inspired. This is the unwarrantable interpretation of the word Inspiration. . . . Surely many of our words and many of our actions are spoken and done by the inspiration of God's Spirit. . . . Yet does the Holy Spirit so inspire us as to communicate to us His own perfections? Are our best works or words utterly free from error or from sin?† Mr. Jowett, in his well-known Essay on the 'Interpretation of Scripture,' after reciting the commonly-received theories of inspiration, proceeds as follows:—'Nor for any of the higher or supernatural views of Inspiration is there any foundation in the Gospels or Epistles. There is no appearance in their writings that the Evangelists or Apostles had any inward gift, or were subject to any power external to them different from that of preaching or teaching which they daily exercised; nor do they anywhere lead us to suppose that they were free from error or infirmity. . . . The nature of Inspiration can only be known from

* See on the *Inspiration of the Holy Scripture*, pp. 32, 33.

† Arnold's *Sermons*, quoted by Stanley, *The Bible, its Form, and its Substance*, Preface, VII. VIII. IX.

the examination of Scripture. There is no other source to which we can turn for information; and we have no right to assume some imaginary doctrine of Inspiration like the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church. To the question, What is Inspiration? the first answer therefore is, That idea of Scripture which we gather from the knowledge of it.* Dr. Williams says, 'In the Bible, as an expression of devout reason, and therefore to be read with reason in freedom, he [Bunsen] finds a record of the spiritual giants whose experience generated the religious atmosphere we breathe.'

"I do not undertake to do more than recite these opinions of clergymen of the Church of England. It is not for us to say what is the authoritative doctrine of that body; but it has been recently declared by the highest Ecclesiastical tribunal, that the views of Inspiration last given are not inconsistent with the Anglican formularies. Dr. Lushington expressed himself as follows:—'As to the liberty of the Anglican clergy to examine and determine the text of Scripture, I exceedingly . . . doubt if this liberty can be extended beyond the limits I have mentioned, namely, certain verses or parts of Scripture. I think it could not be permitted to a clergyman to reject the whole of one of the books of Scripture.' †

"It is evident from the above quotations that the theory of Inspiration among many prominent men in the Anglican Church has been moving in the direction of the German Neology:" (Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost pp. 138—145.)

The tendency deplored by Manning has continued until now in protestant thought the Bible is a very secondary thing.

"Dr. Driver, canon of Christchurch, Oxford, in his work on the 'Literature of the Old Testament,' quotes with approval the following words of Professor Sanday, in regard to inspiration:

* *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 345, 347.

† Judgment—Bishop of Salisbury *versus* Williams, p. 16.

“‘In all that relates to the revelation of God and of His Will, the writers of the Bible assert for themselves a definite inspiration; they claim to speak with an authority higher than their own. But with regard to the narration of events, and to processes of literary composition, there is nothing so exceptional about them as to exempt them from the conditions to which other works would be exposed at the same time and place.’” Dub. Review, 1893, p. 533.

Driver himself declares that, “‘applied to the Bible, as a whole, the expression ‘Word of God’ seems to savour of the old theory of inspiration, which *no one now cares to maintain.*” (Driver’s Sermons on the Old Test. p. 158.)

“But it may be said: ‘These are the opinions of individual Anglicans; men of influence and learning no doubt, but still only individuals; they do not necessarily represent the formal teaching of the Church. What is the attitude of the bishops on this important question? What is the view of the *ecclesia docens* on inspiration?’

“One thing may safely be said: a remarkable harmony pervades their lordships’ words on the subject. Whether their teaching is likely to throw much light on the matter, we leave our readers to decide from the few specimens we adduce. ‘We heartily concur with the majority of our opponents,’ says the Bishop of Gloucester, in ‘Aids to Faith,’ p. 404, ‘in rejecting all theories of inspiration.’ ‘Our Church,’ says Bishop Thirlwall, charge for 1863, ‘has never attempted to determine the nature of the inspiration of sacred Scriptures.’ ‘If you ask me,’ writes Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, ‘for a precise theory of Inspiration, I confess I can only urge you to repudiate all theories; to apply to theology the maxim which guided Newton in philosophy, *hypotheses non fingo.*’ Finally, to take one more instance, the Bishop of Winchester writes: ‘It seems pretty generally agreed, that definite theories of inspiration are doubtful and dangerous.’ (Manning, *op. cit.*)

When Dr. Frederick Temple was appointed Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury many took the appointment as a total surrender by the Anglican Church to the spirit of rationalism.

Mr. Jesse Locke thus speaks of Mr. Temple's theology:

"What sort of theology has been enthroned at Canterbury? What idea of religion does he hold and teach who now occupies what Anglicans like to call 'the chair of St. Augustine'? Fortunately for our inquiry Dr Temple's views on religion are easily accessible. He was the first essayist in a volume published in 1861, and entitled 'Essays and Reviews.' This book was the signal for a blaze of controversy. Its authors were clergymen of the Church of England, and its teaching was the frankest, boldest rationalism, which emasculated religion of the supernatural, and reduced it to a purely humanitarian basis. Orthodox, evangelical protestants—pious but illogical—were deeply shocked. A few quotations will give an idea of what the essayist taught on some important subjects.

"Dr. Temple, in his opening essay, 'The Education of the World,' plants himself squarely on that fundamental protestant principle of which rationalism is the necessary and legitimate fruit. The ultimate basis for religion, he claims, is to be found only in that 'inner voice' which should guide every man. There is nothing external which can be an authority; neither is the church. 'The Bible,' he says, 'in fact is hindered by its form from exercising a despotism over the human spirit. . . . The inner voice by the principle of private judgment puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey ('Essays and Reviews,' p. 53). Again: 'When conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian immediately concludes that he has not really understood the Bible.' That is, his private judgment is certainly right, and the Bible must be made to conform to it! This reduces religion to the purest individualism; makes as many different religions as there are individuals to hold them. And all are equally right! Suppose this principle applied to the law of the land, each man assuming that the law had no other interpreter than his own 'inner voice'!"

Mr. Locke then gives us a number of quotations from the essays of other writers in the same volume of "Essays

and Reviews," and though the "usual statement" was found in the preface, to the effect that each essayist was responsible for his own essay alone, Dr. Temple has, in the writer's judgment, made himself responsible for the views of these other writers by his failure to repudiate them. Some of these other essayists spoke of the doctrine of inspiration as "absurd," explained away the Messianic prophecies, characterizing as "distortion" the application of Isaiah's prophecies to the Messiah, and upheld the idea of a true national church as one that should include all the people of the nation, who should be born into membership in the church as they are born into civil rights. Referring to Mr. Temple's Bampton lectures, 1884, Mr. Locke writes:

"As to miracles, those of the Old Testament, he tells us, could never be proved. 'The times are remote; the date and authorship of the books are not established with certainty; the mixture of poetry with history is no longer capable of any sure separation into its parts' (p. 206). In the New Testament, he adds, we must admit that some unusual occurrences took place which struck the disciples and other observers as miracles, though they need not necessarily have been miracles 'in the scientific sense.' 'For instance, the miraculous healing of the sick may be no miracle in the strictest sense at all. It may be but an instance of the power of mind over body, a power which is undeniably not yet brought within the range of science, and which nevertheless may be really within its domain' (p. 195). Our Lord's miracles of healing may have been simply the result of this power and 'due to a superiority of this mental power to the similar power possessed by other men. Men seem to possess this power over their own bodies and over the bodies of others in different degrees' (p. 201). Even our Lord's resurrection from the dead is reached by this destructive criticism. 'Thus, for instance, it is quite possible that our Lord's resurrection may be found hereafter to be no miracle at all in the scientific sense. It foreshadows and begins the general resurrection; when that general resurrection comes we may find that it is, after all, the natural issue of physical laws always at work' (p. 196).

"If we ask, What, then, can be the object of miracles? Dr. Temple has his answer ready. If these events, though not really miraculous, have 'served their purpose, if they have arrested attention which would not otherwise have been arrested, if they have compelled belief,' then they have accomplished their true end. In other words, they were 'pious frauds' impressing a people naturally credulous and easily deceived, as the best way of conveying ethical truth to them. The protestant tradition persists in giving to the Society of Jesus the possession of 'The end justifies the means' as a principle of conduct; but Dr. Temple goes farther still, and carries the charge back from His faithful servants to the great Master Himself!"

For these views of the new archbishop, says Mr. Locke, the Anglican Church must be held responsible, since it has twice passed in review of them and refused to condemn either him or them, and has now received him as its head.

In May, 1904, Professor Marcus Dods of New College, Edinburgh, delivered a course of lectures before Lake Forest College, Ill. on "The Bible: Its Origin and Nature."

In his lecture on the Canon of Scripture he candidly declares:

"If you ask a Romanist why he accepts certain books as canonical, he has a perfectly intelligible answer ready. He accepts these books because the Church bids him do so. The Church has determined what books are canonical, and he accepts the decision of the Church. If you ask a protestant why he believes that just these books bound up together in his Bible are canonical, and neither more nor fewer, I fear that ninety-nine protestants out of a hundred could give you no answer that would satisfy a reasonable man. The protestant scorns the Romanist because he relies on the authority of the Church, but he cannot tell you on what authority he himself relies. The protestant watchword is, 'The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible,' but how many protestants are there who could make it quite clear that within the boards of their Bible they have the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible? If you asked them to show you that no canonical writing has been omitted

and that no uncanonical writing has been received, how will they proceed to do so? If you ask the average protestant to say why he receives the second Epistle of Peter, which a large part of the early Church declined to receive, or why he accepts the Epistle of James, regarding which Luther himself was more than doubtful,—what can he say but that the Church to which he belongs receives them? In other words, what is the difference between the protestant and the Romanist on this cardinal point of canonicity? Do not protestants and Romanists alike accept their canonical books at the hands of the Church?"

After reviewing the Catholic position superficially he endeavors to establish a protestant criterion by appealing to the direct influence of God upon the individual. Luther is his hero:

"There were two questions which Luther found himself driven to answer: What assures me that Scripture is the Word of God, and therefore authoritative? and, What books are Scripture? Prior to the question, What is the Canon of inspired Scripture? comes the question, Is there an inspired Scripture? Prior to the question, What writings contain the Word of God? comes the question, Is there a Word of God? We cannot understand Luther's answer to the one question unless we recognize his attitude toward the other.

"Now, according to Luther, the prior question, Is there a Word of God? or, Has God spoken? is answered in the affirmative, and with certainty, by every man in whom the Word of God attests its own Divine origin and authority, and it can be answered with an assured affirmative by none beside. Luther's explicit and constant teaching is that this word is self-evidencing, and needs no authority at its back, but carries in it its own authentication. Let us hear some of his strong statements to this effect. Showing that the question between himself and Rome was not whether God was to be obeyed when he spoke,—for they were agreed as to that,—he goes on: 'The Romanists say, Yes, but how can we know what is God's word, and what is true or false? We must learn it from the Pope and the Councils. Very well, let them decree and say what they will, still say I, Thou

can'st not rest thy confidence thereon, nor satisfy thy conscience: thou must thyself decide, thy neck is at stake, thy life is at stake. Therefore must God say to thee in thine heart, This is God's Word, else it is still undecided.' Again: 'Thou must be as certain that it is the Word of God as thou art certain that thou livest, and even more certain, for on this alone must thy conscience rest. And even if all men came, even the angels and all the world, and determined something, if thou can'st not form nor conclude the decision, thou art lost. For thou must not place thy decision on the Pope or any other, thou must thyself be so skilful that thou can'st say, God says this, not that; this is right, that is wrong; else it is not possible to endure. Dost thou stand upon Pope or Concilia? Then the Devil may at once knock a hole in thee and insinuate, 'How if it were false? how if they have erred?' Then thou art laid low at once. Therefore thou must bring *conscience* into play, that thou may'st boldly and defiantly say, That is God's word; on that will I risk body and life, and a hundred thousand necks if I had them. Therefore no one shall turn me from the word which God teaches me, and that must I know as certainly as that two and three make five, that an ell is longer than a half. That is certain, and though all the world speak to the contrary, still I know that it is not otherwise. Who decides me there? No man, but only the truth which is so perfectly certain that nobody can deny it.'

"Why is Luther so urgent on this point? He is urgent because he sees that the whole difference between himself and Rome hinges here. If he cannot make good this position, that the truth or the Word of God has power to verify itself as such to the conscience it awakens, he has no standing at all. The principle which made him a protestant, and which constitutes men protestants always, is simply this, that the soul needs not the intervention of any authority to bring it into contact with God and the truth, but that God and His truth have power to verify themselves to the individual. Luther did not accept the Gospel because it was written in a book he believed to be inspired, or canonical, or the word of God; but he accepted it because it brought new

life to his spirit and proved itself to be from God. He did not accept Christ because he had first of all accepted the Scriptures, but he accepted the Scriptures because they testified of a Christ he felt constrained to accept. In short, it is the truth which the Scriptures contain which certify him that they are the word of God; it is not his belief that they are the word of God which certifies him of the truth they contain. The proclamation of God's grace quickening a new life within him convinced him this proclamation was from God.

“The difference between the Romanist and the protestant is not what it is so often said to be, that the Romanist accepts the Church as his infallible authority, while the protestant accepts the Scriptures as his infallible authority. The Romanist equally with the protestant accepts the authority of Scripture. The difference lies deeper. The difference lies here: that the Romanist accepts Scripture as the word of God because the Church tells him so, the protestant accepts it as the word of God because God tells him so. The protestant believes it to be God's word because through it God has spoken to him in such sort as to convince him that it is God who here speaks. This is the one sure foundation-stone of protestantism,—the response of the individual conscience to the self-evidencing voice of God in Scripture. He does not need to go to the Church to ask if this be God's word; his conscience tells him it is. Deeper than that for a foundation of faith you cannot get, and any faith that is not so deeply founded is insecure—it may last, and it may bring a man to all needed benefit, but it is not reasonably defensible, and therefore it is liable to be upset.

“This, then, was Luther's first position regarding Scripture; this was the fundamental position on which protestantism is reared; viz. that through Scripture God Himself so speaks to the soul that the man is convinced without the intervention of any other proof or authority that this is the word of God. The individual does not need the Church to tell him that this is the word of God. God tells him so, and makes all other authority superfluous.

“But next comes the question, What writings contain this word? Are we to carry through this fundamental principle, and maintain that only such writings can be accounted Scripture as approve themselves to be God’s word by renewing or building up the fundamental faith in God which has already been quickened within us? This fundamental principle of protestantism—that God’s word is self-evidencing—can we carry it over to the subject of canonicity and make it the sole, absolute test of canonicity? Or can we at any rate say that whatever agrees with the word of God, which at first begot faith in us, and presents to us the same Gospel and the same Christ is canonical? This Luther does, subject to the limitation that it springs from the Apostolic Circle. Or can we only use this fundamental faith of our own as a negative test, rejecting whatever does *not harmonize* with that faith in Christ which has given us spiritual life, or at any rate whatever contradicts it? In other words, can I say that all those writings are canonical which awaken faith in me? or can I say that all those writings are canonical which present that same Christ, whose presentation at first awakened faith in me; or can I only say that those are certainly not canonical which do not harmonize with faith in Christ?

“Now we shall find Luther’s answer to these questions in the judgments he pronounced on the books actually forming our Canon. Taking up his translation of the New Testament, we find that the four writings—Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation—which he considered to be non-apostolic, are relegated to the end by themselves, and introduced with these significant words: ‘Up to this point we have been dealing with the quite certain (*rechten gewissen*) chief books (*Hauptbuecher*) of the New Testament. But these four following have in times past had a different position.’ He then goes on to prove briefly but convincingly that Hebrews is not by Paul nor by any Apostle, and after extolling its ability, and pointing out what he considered faulty, he remarks that ‘although the writer does not lay the *foundation* of faith, which is the apostolic function, he yet builds upon it gold, silver, precious stones, and if, in accordance with

Paul's words, he mingles some wood, hay, stubble, this is not to hinder us from accepting with all reverence his teaching—although it cannot in all respects be compared to the Apostolic Epistles.' His criticisms on the Apocalypse are also very outspoken: 'My spirit,' he says, 'can't accommodate itself to this book: *the reason being that I do not think Christ is taught therein.*'* His judgment of this book, however, underwent considerable modification; and although, in contradistinction to the body of modern critics, he seems never to have been convinced that it was written by the Apostle John, it is not probable that in his later years he would have spoken of it so slightly. But in his introductory remarks to the Epistle of James he shows more explicitly his criterion or test of canonicity. He refuses to admit this epistle among the *Hauptbuecher* of the New Testament, or to allow its apostolic authorship, and he defends his judgment in these words: 'Herein agree all the genuine (*rechtschaffene*) holy books, that they all preach and exhibit Christ. This, indeed, is the right touchstone (*der rechte Pruefstein*) to test all the books, —if one sees whether or not they present Christ, for all Scripture witnesses to Christ (Rom. iii. 21); and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ. That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, though St. Peter or St. Paul teaches it. That which preaches Christ is apostolic, though Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod teaches it.'

"Luther's direct test of canonicity, then, is, Does the book in question occupy itself with Christ or does it not? So says Dorner:† 'The deciding principle as to whether a writing is to pass for canonical lies, in a dogmatic aspect, according to Luther, as well known, in this, whether it is occupied with Christ.' Luther, in short, recognizes that God has an end to secure in making a revelation, and this end is to bring clear before men His will for our salvation; or, in one word, Christ. The books that promote this end he accepts as canonical.

*Luther's "Prefaces" are to be found in old editions of his translations of the Bible. See also Reuss's "History of the Canon," p. 347.

†History of Protestant Theology, E. Tr. I., p. 252.

"But while this was Luther's final and determining test of canonicity, it is obvious that he at the same time employed some preliminary test. He applied his final test, not to all books he knew, but only to a number already selected and already passing for canonical. He never thought of carrying his principle through all literature and accepting as canonical every book that was occupied with Christ. He did not accept Augustine and Tauler as canonical, though to them he in great part owed his salvation, his peace, his light, his strength. And it may, on the other hand, be questioned whether, with all his boldness, he would have dared to reject any writing which was proved to be of apostolic authorship. In point of fact he does *not* reject any such writing. His test of canonicity is, in short, only a supplemental principle which can be applied only in a field already defined by the application of some other principle, or by some universal usage such as the Church-collection of Scriptures had sprung from. Luther's method is really this: he first accepts at the hand of Jerome certain candidates for admission into the Canon, and to these selected candidates he applies this test. He was aware that up to Jerome's time the Church had always been in doubt regarding certain of these writings, and to these he freely applies the testing question, Are they occupied with Christ?

"*Theoretically*, therefore, Reuss is right in saying that Luther did not look upon the Canon as a collection, more or less complete, of all the writings of a certain period or of a certain class of men, but as a body of writings destined by God *to teach a certain truth*; and accordingly the test of the individual writings must at bottom lie in the teaching itself.* But *practically* what Luther did was to apply this test only to writings which already had some claim to be considered apostolical. The course of his thought was briefly this: he arrived at faith in Christ before he reached any clear view of the inspiration or canonicity of certain writers; he reached faith in Christ apart from any doctrine regarding Scripture. But having believed in Christ, he found that certain men

*"History of Protestant Theology." E. Tr., I., page 344.

had been appointed by Christ to witness to the great facts of His life, death, resurrection, and gift of the Spirit. The same faith which accepts Christ as supreme, the same faith which produces self-verifying results in his soul compels him also to believe that the commission of Christ to His Apostles was actually effectual, and that they are the appointed, normative witnesses to Him and His salvation. The writings of these Apostles he accepts, though holding himself free to reject them if they contradict the fundamental faith in Christ which gave him his new life. The other books, whose authorship is doubtful, but which from the first have claimed admittance to the New Testament Canon, he judges purely on their merits, rejecting or admitting as he finds they do not or do fit into the apostolic teaching.

“This, it will be said, leaves a ragged edge on the Canon. It leaves much to be decided by the individual. A man may say to Luther, ‘I do not find in the gospel of John agreement with the three synoptic gospels, and as you throw over James because he does not agree with Paul, so I throw over John because he does not agree with the synoptists.’ And Luther could have made no satisfactory reply. Better, he would think, let a man accept Scripture from his own feeling of its truth than compel him to do so by some external compulsion. Indeed, his boldness in pronouncing his own opinion is quite equalled by his explicit and repeated allowance of liberty to every other man. Thus, though he himself did not accept the Apocalypse as the work of John, he hastens to add, ‘No man ought to be hindered from holding it to be a work of St. John or otherwise as he will.’ Similarly, after giving his opinion of the Epistle of James, he concludes, ‘I cannot then place it among the chief books, but I will forbid no one to place and elevate it as he pleases.’ So that if we find ourselves in disagreement with Luther regarding the judgments he pronounces on some of the books of Scripture, this is only what he himself anticipated. Neither does the fact that his principle can never be applied without such discordant results emerging, reflect any discredit on the principle itself. As Reuss says, ‘To begin to speak to-day of the infatuation of Luther’s method of procedure, because in the

details of its application one cannot always share in his opinion, this only proves that with the modern champions of a pretended, privileged orthodoxy, ignorance and fatuity go hand and hand in the van.'

"The same vagueness which marred the Lutheran doctrine of canonicity affected the Calvinistic position. The inward witness cannot reasonably be expected to be sufficient for the task of certifying every word that God has uttered to man. It cannot, in other words, be expected to form of itself a sufficient test of canonicity.

"The truth is there seems to have been some confusion of thought in Calvinistic writers, arising from the fact that in speaking of the *authority* of Scripture they viewed Scripture *as a whole*. Challenged by the Romanists to say how they knew the Bible to be from God, they said, We know it to be from God because God's Spirit within us recognizes it as His. But this inward witness could only become a test of canonicity if the Bible were an indissoluble whole, part hanging with part, so that each part stands or falls with every other part.

"If, in order to prove the canonicity of *all* the writings in the Bible, it were enough to say, the Spirit within me recognizes God's voice in the Bible as a whole, then this were a sufficient test. If, in order to prove the canonicity of the Epistle of James, it were enough to say, I recognize the voice of God in the Epistle of John, then the 'inward witness of the Spirit' would be a sufficient test. But the very thing we are seeking for is *that which brought the parts together*, the principle on which the Church proceeded when it took one writing here and another there and brought them into one whole. What is it which is characteristic of each part, so that even when the parts were lying separate, they could be and were recognized as properly belonging to the Canonical Scriptures? The question seeking solution is, why do we receive this or that book into the Canon? There is no question here as to whether we have a word of God, nor as to the *general* collection of writings in which we find that word: the question is, how do we know that the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Epistle of Jude, or any other individual writing, is the word of God?

“The Westminster Confession makes ‘inspiration’ the test of canonicity, although it does not in express terms say so. After naming the books of the Old and New Testament, it proceeds, ‘all which are given by inspiration of God;’ and then in section three it goes on, ‘The books commonly called Apocrypha, *not being of Divine inspiration*, are no part of the Canon of Scripture.’ That is to say, writings which are inspired are canonical, writings not inspired are not canonical. But how are we to discover what writings are inspired? The Confession, singularly enough, says nothing of prophetic and apostolic authorship, but refers us to the various marks of divinity in the writings themselves, and concludes in the well-known words, ‘Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and Divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.’

“There are two processes by which we can arrive at the conclusion that a writing is inspired. First, as in reading any book we form an opinion of it, and either pronounce it stupid or feel in it the touch of genius, so in reading the work of an inspired man we may arrive at the conclusion that it has been written with Divine aid. There may be that in it which makes us feel that we have to do with a Divine as well as a human author. Second, we may believe in the inspiration of a book, because we first of all believe in Christ, and find that He authorized certain persons to speak in His name and with His authority and spirit. When the well-authenticated writings of such persons come into our hands, we accept them, if we are already Christian.

“But there are books in the Bible whose inspiration cannot be ascertained by either of these methods. There are books of which we cannot say that they are written by prophet or apostle or otherwise commissioned person; Chronicles, Esther, Job, Ecclesiastes,—no one knows who wrote these books. One of the methods of ascertaining inspiration is therefore closed to us. And as to the other method, the inward witness, I am not persuaded that John Owen himself could have detected the book of Esther as an inspired book, had it been found lying outside the Canon. How, then,

can we justify the admission of such a book as Esther—a book of which the authorship is unknown, and to which the inward witness bears at the best a somewhat doubtful testimony so far as regards its inspiration?

“To say that we accept it because the Jews accepted it, is simply to fall back to the Romanist position and take our Canon at the hands and by the authority of the Church. To affirm that the men who settled the Canon were inspired, is to assume what cannot be proved, and even to affirm what we know to be false, because discussion was still going on among the Jews regarding their Canon as late as the year 96 A. D. We can only justify the admission of these books on some such general ground as that of Luther—their congruity to the main end of revelation. If by ‘canonical writings’ we mean the writings through which God conveys to us the knowledge of the revelation He has made, if this be the prominent idea, and if their being the rule of faith and life be an inference from this, then we get a broader basis for the Canon and can admit into it all writings which have a direct connection with God’s revelation of Himself in Christ. If the book in question gives us a link in the history of that revelation, or if it represents a stage of God’s dealings and of the growth His people had made under these dealings, and if it contains nothing which is quite inconsistent with the idea of its being inspired, then its claim to be admitted seems valid. Therefore I would be disposed to say that the two attributes which give canonicity are congruity with the main end of revelation and direct historical connection with the revelation of God in history.*

“It may indeed be said that if such a book as Esther were lost, nothing that is *essential* to the history would be lost, or that if several of the Psalms were lost nothing essential would be lost. But this is really to say no more than that a man who has lost a joint of a finger or a toe has lost nothing *essential*. No doubt he can live on and do his work, but he is not a complete man. And there are parts of the body of which it is very difficult to say why they are there, or why they are

*A similar, if not identical, conclusion was reached by the late A. B. Bruce, but I have lost the reference.

of the particular form they are; but there they are, and the want of them would seem a deformity. So of the Bible, we may not be able to say of every part that it its exact relation to the whole; nor yet may we be able in honesty to say that we think anything essential would be lost were certain portions of Scripture to be removed; and yet he would be a rash man who would dare to aver that he could improve upon the Canon, or who should think it needful to excise from it such parts as to himself may seem unimportant.

“From all this, then, we must gather (1) that churches should be cautious in speaking of the Canon as an absolutely defined collection of writings, thoroughly and to a nicety ascertained, based on distinct principles and precisely separated at every point from all extracanonical literature. There is no reasonable doubt that the bulk of the books of the New Testament come to us so accredited that to reject them is equivalent to rejecting the authority of Christ; but a few are not so accredited, and it is a question whether our creeds ought not to reflect the fact that in the early Church some books were universally admitted into the Canon, while regarding seven of the books of our New Testament grave doubts were entertained. The position taken by one of the greatest champions of protestantism, Chillingworth, is one that commends itself: ‘*I may believe even those questioned books to have been written by the Apostles and to be canonical; but I cannot in reason believe this of them so undoubtedly as of those books which were never questioned: at least I have no warrant to damn any man that shall doubt of them or deny them now, having the example of saints in heaven, either to justify or excuse such their doubting or denial.*’ This was the position of Luther and of the Reformers generally, and for my part I think it a pity it was ever abandoned. It is not a calamity over which one need make great moan, but unquestionably the combining of less authenticated books with those that are thoroughly authenticated has rather tended to bring the latter class under suspicion with persons ignorant of their history.

“We also gather (2) what ought to be the attitude of the ordinary lay protestant toward this subject of the Canon.

Sometimes Romanists have taunted us with the absurdity of inviting each protestant, educated or uneducated, to settle the Canon for himself. The taunt is based on a misconception. It is the *right* of every protestant to inquire into the evidence on which certain books are received as canonical, and the more that right is exercised, the better. But even when the right is not used, it is not thereby resigned. Protestants receive the Canon as they receive historical facts, on the testimony of those who have pursued this line of inquiry. We may never have individually looked into the evidence for Alexander's invasion of India, but we take it on the word of those best informed regarding historical matters, reserving of course the right to examine it ourselves if need arises. So on this subject of the Canon, the lay protestant accepts the judgment of the Reformed Churches, feeling tolerably confident that after all the research and discussion which learned men have spent upon this subject, the result cannot be seriously misleading. But he of course reserves the right to inquire for himself if opportunity should arise, and does not dream that the decision of the Church binds him to accept certain books as Divine. The protestant accepts the decision of the Church precisely as he accepts the decision of engineers or medical men or experts of any kind in their respective departments—he accepts it as the result arrived at after deliberation by competent men. The Romanist accepts the decision of the Church as a decree of law issued because the Church wills it so, and not as the mere finding of learned men; and the Romanist has no right to revise the Church's decision. The Romanist holds that the Church has power to make books canonical; the protestant holds that irrespective of any ecclesiastical decision there is that in the books themselves which makes them canonical. To confound the two positions is ignorant or malicious.

“(3) Again, protestants are taunted with the diversity of opinion consequent on leaving such questions to individual research and private judgment. I reply that it is a vast advantage so to leave such questions, for it is to invite investigation, and to invite investigation is to secure that one day the truth will shine in the eye of the world. What

value attaches to the unanimity that is secured by closing every one's eyes, and shutting every one's mouth? That unanimity alone is valuable which the truth itself commands. And this unanimity can only be attained by diligent, reverent, truth-seeking investigation. For my part, I think Luther was right in holding that regarding some of the books there must be difference of opinion always; but of the great bulk of the New Testament,—the four Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, the First of Peter, and the First of John,—as there was no difference of opinion in the early Church, so eventually there will be an entire agreement. Men do not differ regarding the authorship of 'Hamlet,' nor the esteem in which that writing should be held, neither will private judgment and liberty of criticism cause men to differ regarding the canonical books, but will rather bring them to the only agreement that is worth having.

"Lastly, let us remember that the true protestant order is, first, faith in Christ; second, faith in Scripture. Our faith in Christ does not hang upon our faith in Scripture, but our faith in Scripture hangs upon our faith in Christ. Our faith in Christ may depend on Scripture as a true history; but not as an inspired canonical book. It is Christ as presented in Scripture or by other means, by preaching as in the first age, and often now, that evokes faith. He and he only is the true protestant who knows that God has spoken to him in Christ, and who knows this irrespective of any infallible authority separable from Christ himself, whether that authority be the authority of the Church or the authority of Scripture. We must not shift the ultimate authority from Christ to Scripture."

We have presented this long quotation as it sums up the position of what might be considered the most conservative protestantism. The very principle on which protestantism was founded must lead to rationalism and it has led to it. Outside the Catholic Church dogma is decried as narrow and bigoted, and the Scriptures are only stray records of man's striving after God. According to them the Scriptures are the product of the thought of successive ages, and reflect the evolution of Man's conceptions of the Deity, and of his state

of culture. Much therefore in them is to be attributed to the erroneous ideas of that cruder age, and therefore now must be discarded, as not in harmony with our finer ideas. When Dods wrote his statement he had not read Tolstoi's criticism of Hamlet.

The force with which these liberal ideas are propounded and the popularity which they acquire have led astray some of the members of the Catholic Church. The progress of the movement evoked from the venerable Head of the Church a powerful denunciation in his address to the newly created cardinals on April 18, of the present year. We quote the following short passage:

"For these modern heretics, the Holy Scripture is not a sure source of all the truths concerning faith, but an ordinary book. For them inspiration reduces itself to dogmatic doctrines understood in their own fashion, and differs but little from the poetic inspiration of Æschylus and of Homer. According to them the legitimate interpreter of the Bible is the Church, but the Church subject to the rules of so called critical science which dominates and enslaves theology. As for tradition, everything is relative and subject to mutations, consequently the authority of the holy Fathers is reduced to a nullity. All these numerous errors are propagated by means of pamphlets, reviews, books on asceticism, and even novels. These errors are wrapt up in certain ambiguous terms and in vague forms in order that there may be always an opening for defense, so as not to incur a formal condemnation while at the same time the unwary may be taken in the toils."

The protestant subjectivism crude and indefinite in Luther, was more definitely formulated by Zwinglius, Calvin, and their followers. Thus Zwinglius declares: "I know that I am taught of God because I feel him. Let no one raise the objection: How knowest thou that thou art taught of God? When I was a youth I had not progressed more in human knowledge than my equals. But when seven or eight years ago I began to devote myself entirely to the Scriptures, the philosophy and theology of cavilers continually aimed at me objections. Wherefore relying on the Scriptures and the

word of God I came to this conclusion: Thou must leave all, and learn the pure teaching of God from his own plain word. Then I began to ask God for light, and the Scriptures, though I read only them, they began to be much clearer than if I read many commentaries and commentators." (Huldreich Zwingli's Werke, I. 79).

Relying on this same spirit Zwinglius declares of Luther: "Clearly and dispassionately I shall show that in the doctrine of this sacrament (the Eucharist) the almighty God has not revealed the secrets of his counsels to Martin Luther." (Ibid.)

For his criterion Calvin appeals to the secret testimony of the Spirit, *arcanum testimonium Spiritus*: "It remains therefore firmly established that the Scripture is *αὐτόπιστον*: neither is it right to subject the Scriptures to the logical demonstration; and the Spirit establishes a certitude by his testimony. . . . Illumined therefore by his power we conclude with certainty, no less than if we saw in them the divinity of God himself, that by the ministry of men they have come down to us from the mouth of God." (Instit. Christ. Rel. 6).

Calvin admitted as subsidiary helps the harmony, dignity, truth, simplicity, power, and sublimity of the Scriptures.

In the year 1675 Henry Heidegger drew up a Helvetican Formula in which this declaration occurs: "The Hebrew text of the Old Testament which we have received from the Jewish church, to which of old the oracles of God were committed, we receive and hold fast, both the consonants and the vowel points, or at least their value, and we hold both the truths and the words to be inspired." (Niemeyer Collect. Conf.)

This extreme formula was abrogated in 1725. All the Calvinist formulas, the Gallican, Scotch, Belgian, Anglican, and Bohemian, set up the testimony of the Spirit as the criterion of inspiration.

The Westminster Conf. I. 5 reads thus: "We may be moved and influenced by the testimony of the Church to a high and reverent esteem of the holy scripture, and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the

majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Ghost bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts."

We see a general tendency in protestantism to appeal to the tradition of the Jews as a criterion of the Old Testament. Thus John Gerhard (*De Locis Theol.*) declares: "That a book of the Old Testament should be canonical, it is necessary that it should be written in the prophetic, that is, the Hebrew tongue."

Hence those protestants who saw the futility of the subjective criterion were more anxious to find a criterion for the New Testament. John David Michælis of Göttingen († 1791) rejected all subjective criterions, and established for the New Testament one criterion, to wit, that a book of the New Testament is canonical if written by one who has received the Apostolic commission. He therefore rejected the Gospels of Mark and Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

(*Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes.*)

Concerning the affirmative sense of this statement Catholic theologians differ. Perrone and Franzelin, and more recently Crets (*De Div. Insp.*) Schmid, Chauvin, Zanicchia, Scheeben, Heinrich, Hurter, and Pesch (*De Insp. Sac. Script. Friburgi 1906*) deny it; Ubaldi (*Introd. in S. Script. 1878*) and Schanz (*Apologie*) defend it. However it seems certain that if an apostle wrote as a teacher of the faithful, on a theme connected with religion, his writings *ipso facto* would be inspired. In other words whenever an apostle exercised his apostolic office of teaching he was inspired, whether he spoke or wrote.

But Michælis' criterion is inadequate, because the apostolic commission is not an exclusive condition of an inspired

writer. No one now would accept a criterion that excludes Mark, Luke and Acts. Again a criterion must tell me not only that, *if a book be written under certain conditions, it is inspired*, but it must tell me that certain definite books unconditionally are inspired. What avails it, if a man tell me that, if the Second Epistle of Peter be written by him, it is inspired? What I must know is that it is the word of God.

It is evident that the subsidiary criteria appealed to by Calvin are not sufficient to form a criterion. The Imitation of Christ, and certain sermons of the Fathers are more sublime than Chronicles and Ezra. The "inner voice" is repudiated by candid protestants.

John David Michaelis, the learned professor of Göttingen, speaks thus of this means: "This interior sensation of the effects of the Holy Ghost, and the conviction of the utility of these writings to better the heart and purify us are entirely *uncertain criterions*. As regards this interior sensation, I avow that I have never experienced it, and those who have felt it are not to be envied. It cannot evince the divine character of the book, since the Muhammadans feel it as well as Christians, and pious sentiments can be aroused by documents purely human, by the writings of philosophers, and even by doctrine founded in error." (*Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes.*) Burnett also, in his Exposition of the XXXIX Articles, speaks thus of this subjective criterion: "This is only an argument to him that feels it, if it is one at all; and, therefore, it proves nothing to another person." No *subjective criterion* could ever be apt for such use, since it would depend on the subjective dispositions of individuals, and one and the same individual would, at different times, be differently affected by the same book. Moreover, this pious movement can come from other than inspired books. A man will feel more religious emotion from the reading of the Imitation of Christ than from the Book of Judges. But experience itself disproves this system. Honest men attest that they do not feel this pious movement, and the opinion may now be said to be obsolete.

The Calvinists' particular inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the individual's soul is cognate to the Calvinistic theory of

the invisible church, and they both fall together. Once establish a visible authoritative Magisterium, and such means of interpreting Holy Scripture becomes incompatible with it. It is evident that such a system of private inspiration can never be proven. There never can be any available data to establish such secret action. It must ever remain a gratuitous, groundless assumption. It is exactly opposite to the economy of God. When He would teach the world, He did it by means of divinely commissioned men, directly establishing that such mode of teaching truth would last always. This were absurd, were the evangelization of mankind to be effected by the sole direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the heart. To be sure, no man can be brought to Christ without that working of the Holy Ghost in his heart. "*Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi Pater traxerit eum.*" But the error of protestants is to believe that this energy of the Spirit in man's soul excludes the external authoritative Magisterium. The power of the Spirit and the Magisterium are two causes co-operating to produce one effect. All the texts of Scripture alleged by the protestants, in support of this system, simply prove that the Holy Ghost moves man to Christian belief and to Christian action; and the same power energizing in the Church vitalizes it, and renders it capable of its great mission to teach all mankind. We will leave the prosecution of this train of argument to the tract *De Locis Theologicis*, and content ourselves here with a few *a posteriori* arguments. In the first place, did the Holy Ghost exert such action, he would, doubtless, move to a unanimity of faith; but the exact contrary is in fact verified. The sect of Presbyterians are split on some of the basic truths of Christianity. Can the Spirit of truth inspire them with doctrines directly opposed? The recent Briggs controversy has shown the lack of any religious harmony in the Presbyterian church.

I will here excerpt from Milner's *End of Controversy* a few examples of men who claimed this inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The instances are based upon incontrovertible historical data. Montanus and his sect first claimed this private inspiration; we may see what spirit led him on, since

he and others of his sect hanged themselves. After the great Apostasy, commonly called the Reformation, had been inaugurated by Luther, there arose the sect of the Anabaptists, who professed that it had been commanded them by direct communication from God to kill all the wicked ones, and establish a kingdom of the just.* Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, was moved by the *private inspiration* of the Spirit to proclaim himself King of Sion. He married by the same impulse eleven wives, all of whom he put to death. He declared that God had given him Amsterdam, through whose streets his followers ran naked crying out; "Woe to Babylon! Woe to the wicked!" Hermann, the Anabaptist, was moved to proclaim himself the Messiah, and to order: "Kill the priests; kill all the magistrates in the world! Repent; your redemption is at hand." †

All these excesses were done upon the principle and under a full conviction of an individual inspiration. In England, Venner was *inspired* to rush from the meeting-house in Coleman St., proclaiming "that he would acknowledge no sovereign but King Jesus, and that he would not sheathe his sword, till he had made Babylon [which emblemized monarchy] a hissing and a curse, not only in England, but also in foreign countries; having assurance that one of them would put to flight a thousand, and two of them, ten thousand." On the scaffold, he protested that he was led by Jesus. The records of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, furnish abundant evidence of the abominable absurdities into which this supposed inspiration led the Friends. One woman rushed naked into Whitehall Chapel, when Cromwell was there. Another came into the parliament house with a trencher, which she there broke in pieces, saying: "Thus shall he be broken in pieces." Swedenborg declared that he had received, at an eating house in London, the commission from Christ: "I am the Lord Jesus Christ, your Creator and Redeemer. I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the Scriptures. I

* Sleidan De Stat. et Reip.

† *Hist. Abrégé, de la Réforme par Brandt.*

will dictate to you what you are to write." Here, in the very position of the system, he contradicts himself; for, if Christ gave him a command to teach men, they must needs pay heed to him. Muhammad, and the founder of the foul sect of Mormons, claimed private inspiration. Guiteau claimed the moving of the Spirit in the slaying of President Garfield. Wherefore, we maintain that the system of private inspiration, which logically leads to such absurdities, is in itself absurd and untenable.

No man makes a better argument against the insufficiency of protestant criteria than Marcus Dods in his article which we have quoted. If any man will weigh this able presentation of the necessity which confronts a protestant with the vague answer which Dods renders he must be convinced that protestants are at sea without compass or star.

We have in series weighed these several criterions and found them wanting, we now turn to the CATHOLIC CRITERION.

This criterion is no other than the Catholic Church, into whose custody the Holy Writings have been given. The Church as an organized body has various elements and agencies, which functionate to teach man that truth which the Redeemer promised should be taught by her to the end of time. One of these agencies is tradition, which is simply the solemn witness and testimony of what the Church taught and believed from her inception. We can see at a glance that the fountain source of our criterion is God himself, who, as the First Cause, wrought this effect in the mind of the writer. God through his living Magisterium of truth tells us what is Holy Scripture, and what is not, and those who refuse to hear that authoritative voice have come to reject even the Scriptures themselves. Such rejection must logically follow from disbelief in the Church. Augustine was never truer than when he said: "Were it not that the Authority of the Church moves me, I would not believe the Gospels." Rejecting the authority of the Church, the protestants have passed through a wondrous transition. Beginning by ador-

ing even the Masoretic points, they have gradually lapsed to such a point where those who believe in the Bible as the infallible Word of God are the exceptions.

There remains then one means, and one means only, to teach man not only the *truths of Scripture*, but also the *Scripture of truths*. This means is the voice of God through the Church.

The mighty mind of St. Augustine clearly saw and proclaimed the necessity of the Church as the criterion of Scripture. Arguing with a Manichæan he declares: "I ask: Who is this Manichæus? Ye will answer: The Apostle of Jesus Christ; I believe it not; and now thou art not able to do or say anything. Thou didst promise me a knowledge of truth, and now thou obligest me to believe what I know not. Perhaps thou wilt read me the Gospel, and thence endeavor to establish the existence of Manichæus. But if thou findest one who not yet believes the Gospel what wilt thou say to one who declares to thee: I do not believe? And I would not believe the Gospel were it not that the authority of the Catholic Church moved me."

In placing the Church as the supreme judge of the Canon we do not assert that the Church has power to make an inspired book. In the words of Melchior Canus: "This is to be demonstrated that the Church of the faithful still on earth can not write a canonical book; but that it can define whether or not a disputed book be canonical, because the solution of doubts regarding matters of faith belongs to the present Church. For it is necessary that there should be a visible judge in the Church to decide controversies, for the reason that God fails not the Church in necessary things. And whether or not a book be canonical vitally concerns faith. Therefore to the Church on earth pertains this judgment. . . . I firmly believe therefore that the Church is inspired not to give truth and authority to the canonical books, but to teach that these and not others are canonical" (De Locis Theol. 7,8).

The Church must teach us two things; what books are of God; and what influence God had in such books. We shall treat first of God's influence upon the Holy Books; and,



secondly, of the official list of those books. As it is well to know the nature of the thing sought, before going in quest of it, so we believe that we shall be aided in constructing the list of books of Holy Scripture by a knowledge of the distinguishing element required in them, before admitting them to such list. Our treatise will deal first, therefore, with the NATURE AND EXTENT OF INSPIRATION, and secondly with THE CANON.

At this point we shall submit a document which, though not a dogmatic pronouncement, is still an authoritative directing voice from the Head of the Church. This document is the encyclical letter "Providentissimus Deus" of Pope Leo XIII. on the study of Holy Scriptures, which appeared on Nov. 18, 1893. The immediate occasion of the encyclical letter was a defense of Lenormant by d'Hulst entitled "La Question Biblique" which was published at Paris in 1893. We give the following translation of the papal document "Providentissimus Deus:"—"The God of all Providence, Who in the adorable designs of His love at first elevated the human race to the participation of the Divine nature, and afterwards delivered it from universal guilt and ruin, restoring it to its primitive dignity, has, in consequence, bestowed upon man a splendid gift and safeguard—making known to him, by supernatural means, the hidden mysteries of His Divinity, His wisdom and His mercy. For although in Divine revelation there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of unassisted reason, and which are made the objects of such revelation in order 'that all may come to know them with *facility*, *certainty*, and *safety from error*, yet not on this account can supernatural Revelation be said to be absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordained man to a supernatural end.' [Conc. Vat. Sess. III. cap. ii. *de revel.*] This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church is contained *both in unwritten Tradition, and in written books*, which are therefore, called sacred and canonical because, 'being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, *they have God for their author*, and as such have been delivered to the Church.' [*Ibid.*] This belief has been perpetually held and professed by the

Church in regard to the Books of both Testaments; and there are well-known documents of the gravest kind, coming down to us from the earliest times, which proclaim that God, Who spoke first by the Prophets, then by His own mouth, and lastly by the Apostles, composed also the Canonical Scriptures, [S. Aug. *de civ. Dei.* XI., 3.] and that these are His own oracles and words—[S. Clem. Rom. 1 ad. Cor. 45; S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 7; S. Iren. *c. haer.* II., 28, 2]—a Letter written by our Heavenly Father and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country. [S. Chrys. in *Gen. hom.* 2, 2; S. Aug. in *Ps.* XXX., *serm.*, 2, 1; S. Greg. M. ad Theo. *ep.* IV., 31.] If, then, such and so great is the excellence and dignity of the Scriptures, that God Himself has composed them, and that they treat of God's marvellous mysteries, counsels, and works, it follows that the branch of sacred Theology, which is concerned with the defence and elucidation of these Divine Books, must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

“Now We, who by the help of God, and not without fruit, have by frequent Letters and exhortation endeavored to promote other branches of study which seem capable of advancing the glory of God, and contributing to the salvation of souls, have for a long time cherished the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges, and even compels us, not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who impiously or openly assail the Scriptures, or of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are not ignorant, indeed, Venerable Brethren, that there are not a few Catholics, men of talent and learning, who do devote themselves with ardor to the defence of the Sacred Writings and to making them known and better understood. But whilst giving to these the commendation they deserve, We cannot but earnestly exhort others also, from whose skill and piety

and learning we have a right to expect good results, to give themselves to the same most praiseworthy work. It is Our wish and fervent desire to see an increase in the number of the approved and persevering laborers in the cause of Holy Scripture; and more especially that those whom Divine Grace has called to Holy Orders, should, day by day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating and explaining it.

HOLY SCRIPTURE MOST PROFITABLE TO DOCTRINE
AND MORALITY.

“Among the reasons for which the Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—in addition to its own excellence and to the homage which we owe to God’s Word—the chief of all is, the innumerable benefits of which it is the source; according to the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself, who says: ‘All Scripture, inspired by God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work.’ [Tim. III., 16—17.] That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scripture to men is shown by the example of Christ our Lord and of His Apostles. For He Himself who ‘obtained authority by miracles, merited belief by authority, and by belief drew to himself the multitude’ [S. Aug. *de util. cred.* XIV. 32.] was accustomed in the exercise of His Divine Mission, to appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them at times to prove that He is sent by God, and is God Himself. From them He cites instructions for His disciples and confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; He quotes them against Sadducees and Pharisees, and retorts from them upon Satan himself when he dares to tempt Him. At the close of His life His utterances are from the Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that He expounds to His disciples after His resurrection, until He ascends to the glory of His Father. Faithful to His precepts, the Apostles, although He Himself granted ‘signs and wonders to be done by their hands,’ [Act. XIV., 3.] nevertheless used with the greatest effect the Sacred Writings, in order to persuade the nations every-

where of the wisdom of Christianity, to conquer the obstinacy of the Jews, and to suppress the outbreak of heresy. This is plainly seen in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter; these were often a little less than a series of citations from the Old Testament making in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same thing in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and in the Catholic Epistles; and most remarkably of all in the words of him, who 'boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel, in order that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterwards say with confidence, 'the arms of our warfare are not carnal but mighty unto God.' ' [St. Hieron. *de stud. Script. ad Paulin. ep.* LIII., 3.] Let all, therefore especially the novices of the ecclesiastical army, understand how deeply the Sacred Books should be esteemed, and with what eagerness and reverence they should approach this great arsenal of heavenly arms. For those whose duty it is to handle Catholic doctrine before the learned or the unlearned will nowhere find more ample matter or more abundant exhortation, whether on the subject of God, the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or the works which display His glory and His love. Nowhere is there anything more full or more express on the subject of the Saviour of the world than is to be found in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, 'to be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ.' [*in Isaiam Prol.*] In its pages His Image stands out, living and breathing; diffusing everywhere around consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue and attraction to the love of God. And as to the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office and her gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments, that as St. Jerome again most truly says. 'A man who is well grounded in the testimonies of the Scripture is the bulwark of the Church.' [*in Isaiam* LIV. 12.] And if we come to morality and discipline, an apostolic man finds in the Sacred Writings abundant and excellent assistance; most holy precepts, gentle and strong exhortation, splendid examples of every virtue, and finally the

promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punishment, uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

"And it is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, arising from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which gives authority to the sacred orator, fills him with apostolic liberty of speech, and communicates force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and strength of the Word of God, speak 'not in word only, but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness.' [I Thess. I., 5]. Hence, those preachers are foolish and improvident who, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, use no words but those of human science and human prudence, trusting to their own reasonings rather than to those of God. Their discourses may be brilliant and fine, but they must be feeble and they must be cold, for they are without the fire of the utterance of God [Jerem. XXIII., 29] and they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: 'for the Word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit.' [Hebr. IV., 12]. But, indeed those who have a right to speak are agreed that there is in the Holy Scripture an eloquence that is wonderfully varied and rich and worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine thoroughly understood and has abundantly set forth. [*De doct. Chr.* IV., 6, 7.] This, also, is confirmed by the best preachers of all ages, who have gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to the assiduous use of the Bible, and to devout meditation on its pages.

"The Holy Fathers well knew all this by practical experience, and they never cease to extol the Sacred Scripture and its fruits. In innumerable passages of their writings we find them applying to it such phrases as 'an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine,' [S. Chrys. *in Gen. Hom.* XXI., 2; *Hom.* IX., 3; S. Aug. *de Disc. Christ.* II.] or 'an overflowing fountain of salvation,' [S. Athan. *ep. ject.* XXXIX.] or putting it before us as fertile pastures and beautiful gardens in which the flock of the Lord is marvellously refreshed and

delighted. [S. Aug. *serm.* XXVI., 24; S. Ambr. *in Ps.* CXVIII., *serm.* XIX., 2] Let us listen to the words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Nepotian: 'Often read the divine Scriptures; yea, let holy reading be always in thy hand; study that which thou thy self must preach. . . . Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading.' [S. Hier. *de vita cleric.* ad Nepot.] St Gregory the Great, than whom no one has more admirably described the pastoral office, writes in the same sense: 'Those,' he says, 'who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease the study of the Written Word of God.' [S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* II., 11. (*al.* 22); *Moral.* XVII., 26 (*al.* 14). St. Augustine, however, warns us that 'vainly does the preacher utter the Word of God exteriorly unless he listens to it interiorly;' [S. Aug. *serm.* CLXXIX., 1.] and St. Gregory instructs sacred orators 'first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves, and then carry it to others, lest in reproving others they forget themselves.' [S. Greg. M. *Regul. past.*, III., 24 (*al.* 14).] Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been uttered long before by the Apostolic voice which had learnt its lesson from Christ Himself, Who 'began to do and teach.' It was not to Timothy alone, but to the whole order of the clergy, that the command was addressed: 'Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.' [I. Tim. IV., 16.] For the saving and for the perfection of ourselves and of others there is at hand the very best of help in the Holy Scriptures, as the Book of Psalms, among others, so constantly insists; but those only will find it who bring to this divine reading not only docility and attention, but also piety and an innocent life. For the sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, it contains things of the deepest importance, which, in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the 'coming' [S. Hier. *in Mic.* I., 10.] of the same Holy Spirit; that is to say, His light and His grace, and these, as the Royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life.

WHAT THE BIBLE OWES TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

“It is in this that the watchful eye of the Church shines forth conspicuously. By admirable laws and regulations, she has shown herself solicitous that ‘the celestial treasure of the Sacred Books, so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should not lie neglected.’ [Conc. Trid. *sess.* V. *decret. de reform.* I.] She has prescribed that a considerable portion of them shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has ordered that in cathedral churches, in monasteries, and in other convents in which study can conveniently be pursued, they shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts. [*Ibid.* 1—2.] Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been continued, from century to century that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and has borne such ample fruit.

“And here, in order to strengthen Our teaching and Our exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning, have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture. If we consider the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp—or the apologists, such as St. Justin and St. Irenæus, we find that in their letters and books, whether in defence of the Catholic Faith or in its commendation, they drew faith, strength, and unction from the Word of God. When there arose, in various Sees, catechetical and theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and of Antioch, there was little taught in those schools but what was contained in the reading, the interpretation and the defence of the divine written word. From them came forth numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the appellation of the golden age of biblical exegesis. In the Eastern Church the greatest

name of all is Origen—a man remarkable alike for penetration of genius and persevering labor; from whose numerous works and his great *Hexapla* almost all have drawn who came after him. Others who have widened the field of this science may also be named, as especially eminent; thus, Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine, of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Cappadocia, of St. Basil the Great and the two Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa; Antioch, of St. John Chrysostom, in whom the science of Scripture was rivalled by the splendor of his eloquence. In the Western Church there are as many names as great: Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great; most famous of all, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvellously acute in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it for the promotion of the Catholic truth, and the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his pre-eminent knowledge of Scripture and his labors in promoting its use, the name of the 'great Doctor.' [See the Collect on his feast, September 30.] From this period down to the eleventh century, although biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigor and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumentality of the clergy. It was their care and solicitude that selected the best and most useful things that the ancients had left, arranged them in order; and published them with additions of their own—as did S. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede, and Alcuin, among the most prominent; it was they who illustrated the sacred pages with 'glosses' or short commentaries, as we see in Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon, or expended fresh labor in securing their integrity, as did St. Peter Damian and Blessed Lanfranc. In the twentieth century many took up, with great success, the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this kind, St. Bernard is preeminent; and his writings, it may be said, are Scripture all through. With the age of the scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, or list

of emendations, which they have left. But they expended their labors and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words; the assignment of the value of each 'sense' in theology; the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts; the investigation of the objects of the writers; the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence, and clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the Sacred Volume. The valuable work of the scholastics in Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; and in this respect the greatest name among them all is St. Thomas Aquinas.

"When our predecessor, Clement V., established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation on the original text of the Bible as well as on the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a strong impetus to biblical studies. In a brief space of time, innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were diffused throughout the Catholic world; so honored and loved was Holy Scripture during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienna and that of Trent; men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances, and by the tribute of their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich store of ancient times, but prepared the way for the succeeding century, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well-known, and We recall it with pleasure, that Our predecessors from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. caused to be prepared the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, which, having been pub-

lished by the command and authority of Sixtus V. and of the same Clement, are now in common use. At this time, moreover, were carefully brought out various other ancient versions of the Bible, and the Polyglots of Antwerp and of Paris, most important for the investigation of the true meaning of the text; nor is there any one book of either Testament which did not find more than one expositor, nor any grave question which did not profitably exercise the ability of many inquirers, among whom there are not a few—more especially of those who made most use of the Fathers—who have acquired great reputation. From that time downwards the labor and solicitude of Catholics have never been wanting; for, as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against *rationalism* with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. The calm and fair consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed in taking due measures to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by Almighty God for the protection and glory of His Holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require any stimulation from without.

HOW TO STUDY HOLY SCRIPTURE.

“We must now, Venerable Brethren, as our purpose demands, impart to you such counsels as seem best suited for carrying on successfully the study of biblical science.

“But first it must be clearly understood whom we have to oppose and contend against, and what are their tactics and their arms. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of faith. Now we have to meet the Rationalists, *true children and inheritors of the older heretics*, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which

had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they see, instead, only the forgeries and falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: the prophecies and oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks and myths; and the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the apostles at all. These detestable errors, whereby they think they destroy the truth of the divine books, are obtruded on the world as the peremptory pronouncements of a newly invented 'free science;' a science, however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are some of them, who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honorable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by similar intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found *everywhere*; and they are in possession of numerous schools, taken by violence from the Church, in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and unformed minds of the young to the contempt of Holy Scripture. Should not these things, Venerable Brethren, stir up and set on fire the heart of every pastor, so that to this 'knowledge, falsely so called,' [1. Tim. IV., 20.] may be opposed the

ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles has received from Christ, and that Holy Scripture may find the champions that are needed in so momentous a battle?

“Let our first care, then, be to see that in seminaries and academical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of professors. Teachers of Sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at haphazard out of the crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of the Bible and their long familiarity with it and by suitable learning and study.

“It is a matter of equal importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well wherever this can be done, to select young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course, and to set them apart exclusive for Holy Scripture, affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors, thus chosen and thus prepared, may enter, with confidence, on the task that is appointed for them; and that they may carry out their work well and profitably, let them take heed to the instructions we now proceed to give.

“At the commencement of a course of Holy Scripture, let the professor strive earnestly to form the judgment of the young beginners so as to train them equally to defend the Sacred Writings and to penetrate their meaning. This is the object of the treatise which is called ‘Introduction.’ Here the student is taught how to prove the integrity and authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true sense, and how to meet and refute objections. It is needless to insist upon the importance of making these preliminary studies in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of Theology; for the whole subsequent course must rest on the foundation thus laid and make use of the light thus acquired. Next, the teacher will turn his attention to that more fruitful division of Scripture science which has to do with interpretation, wherein is

imparted the method of using the Word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. We recognize, without hesitation, that neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single Book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching should result in a definite and ascertained method of interpretation—and, therefore, the professor should equally avoid the mistake of giving a mere taste of every Book, and of dwelling at too great a length on a part of one Book. If most schools cannot do what is done in large institutions—take the students through the whole of one or two Books continuously and with a certain development—yet at least those parts which are selected should be treated with suitable fulness; in such a way that the students may learn from the sample that is put before them to love and use the remainder of the Sacred Book during the whole of their lives. The professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent decreed that ‘in public lectures, disputations, preaching, and exposition,’ [*Sess. IV., decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*] the Vulgate is the ‘authentic’ version; and this is the existing custom of the Church. At the same time, the other versions, which Christian antiquity has approved, should not be neglected, more especially the more ancient MSS. For, although the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless, wherever there may be ambiguity or want of clearness, the ‘examination of older tongues,’ [*De doctr. chr. III., 4.*] to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. But in this matter we need hardly say that the greatest prudence is required, for the ‘office of a commentator,’ as St. Jerome says, ‘is to set forth not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says.’ [*Ad Pammachium.*] The question of ‘reading’ having been, when necessary, carefully discussed, the next thing is to investigate and expound the meaning. And the first counsel to be given is this: that the more our adversaries contend to the contrary, so much the more solicitously should we adhere to the received and approved canons of interpretation. Hence, whilst weighing the meaning of words, the connection of ideas, the parallel-

ism of passages, and the like, we should by all means make use of such illustrations as can be drawn from opposite erudition of an external sort; but this should be done with caution so as not to bestow on questions of this kind more labor and time than are spent on the Sacred Books themselves, and not to overload the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND THEOLOGY; INTERPRETATION;
THE FATHERS.

“The professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of theology. On this head it must be observed that, in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are peculiar to the Bible. For the language of the Bible is employed to express, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, many things which are beyond the power and scope of the reason of man—that is to say, Divine mysteries and all that is related to them. There is sometimes in such passages a fulness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter hardly expresses and which the laws of interpretation hardly warrant. Moreover, the literal sense itself frequently admits other senses, adapted to illustrate dogma or to confirm morality. Wherefore, it must be recognized that the Sacred Writings are wrapped in a certain religious obscurity, and that no one can enter into their interior without a guide; [S. Hier. ad. Paulin. *de studio Script. ep.* LIII., 4.] God so disposing, as the holy Fathers commonly teach, in order that men may investigate them with greater ardor and earnestness, and that what is attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart, and, most of all, that they may understand that God has delivered the Holy Scripture to the Church, and that in reading and making use of His Word, they must follow the Church as their guide and their teacher. St. Irenæus long since laid down, that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth was to be learnt, and the Holy Scripture was safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession. [*C. haer.* IV. 26, 5.] His teaching and that of other holy Fathers, is

taken up by the Council of the Vatican, which, in renewing the decree of Trent declared its 'mind' to be this — that 'in things of faith and morals, belonging to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture, which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother the Church, whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; and, therefore, that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers.' [*Scss. III., cap. II., de revel. ; cŷ. Conc. Trid. sess. IV. decret. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*] By this most wise decree the Church by no means prevents or restrains the pursuit of Biblical science, but rather protects it from error, and largely assists its real progress. A wide field is still left open to the private student, in which his hermeneutical skill may display itself with signal effect and to the advantage of the Church. On the one hand, in those passages of Holy Scripture, which have not as yet received a certain and definite interpretation, such labors may, in the benignant providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgment of the Church; on the other, in passages already defined, the private student may do work equally valuable, either by setting them forth more clearly to the flock or more skillfully to the scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator should be to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation either from the Sacred writers themselves, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, whether by her solemn judgment or her ordinary and universal *magisterium* [*Conc. Vat. sess. III., cap. II., de fide.*]—to interpret these passages in that identical sense, and to prove by all the resources of science, that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In the other passages the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should be held as the supreme law: for, seeing that the same God is the author both of the

Sacred Books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can, by legitimate means, be extracted from the former, which shall, in any respect, be at variance with the latter. Hence it follows that all interpretation is foolish or false which either makes the Sacred writers disagree one with another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The professor of Holy Scripture, therefore, amongst other recommendations, must be well acquainted with the whole circle of Theology and deeply read in the commentaries of the Holy Fathers and doctors, and in other interpreters of mark. [*Ibid.*] This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who thus justly complains, 'If there is no branch of teaching, however humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the Books of the Divine mysteries by the help of those who have interpreted them?' [Ad Honorat. *de util. cred.* XVII., 35.] The other Fathers have said the same, and have confirmed it by their example, for they 'endeavored to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writing and authority of the ancients, who, in their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles.' [Rufinus *Hist. eccl.* LI., 9.] The holy Fathers 'to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth—who have planted, watered, built, governed, and cherished it,' [S. Aug. C., Julian. II., 10. 37.] the holy Fathers, We say, are of supreme authority, whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text of the Bible, as pertaining to the doctrine of faith and morals; for their unanimity clearly evinces that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight when they treat of these matters in their capacity of doctors unofficially; not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things which are useful in understanding the Apostolic Books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, on whom God has bestowed a more ample measure of

His light. Wherefore the expositor should make it his duty to follow their footsteps with all reverence, and to use their labors with intelligent appreciation.

“But he must not on that account consider that it is forbidden, when just cause exists, to push inquiry and exposition beyond what the Fathers have done; provided he carefully observes the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires; [*De Gen. ad litt.* LVIII. CC., 7. 13.] a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times, when the thirst for novelty and the unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the holy Liturgy attests; although it is true that the holy Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used it as a means of promoting virtue and piety, such as, by their own experience, they knew to be most valuable. The authority of other Church interpreters is not so great; but the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church, and, therefore, these commentaries also have their own honorable place, and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. But it is most unbecoming to pass by, in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the work of non-Catholics—and to seek in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labor. For although the studies of non-Catholics, used with prudence, may sometimes be of use to the Catholic student, he should, nevertheless, bear well in mind—as the Fathers also teach in numerous passages [*Cfr. Clem. Alex. Strom.* VII., 16; *Orig. de princ.*

IV., 8; in *Levit. hom.* 4. 8; Tertull. *de praescr.* 15, *seqq.*; S. Hilar. Pict. in *Matth.* 13. 1.]—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside the Church, and cannot be expected to be found in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of Sacred Scripture, and never attain its pith.

“Most desirable is it, and most essential, that the whole teaching of Theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the Divine Word of God. This is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It is chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with Divine Tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will any one wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use, Theology cannot be placed on a true footing, or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless the judicious and instructed theologians will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; ‘for (Theology) does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive of other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or hand maids.’ [S., Greg. M. *Moral.* XX., 9 (al. 11).] It is this view of doctrinal teaching which is laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquin; [*Summ. theol.* p. I., q. I., a. 5 ad 2.] who moreover shows—such being the essential character of Christian Theology—how she can defend her own principles against attack: ‘If the adversary,’ he says, ‘do but grant any portion of the Divine

revelation, we have an argument against him; thus, against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article, we can use another. But if our opponent reject Divine revelation entirely, there is no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them.' [*Ibid* a. 8.] Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well prepared and furnished; otherwise, just hopes will be frustrated, or, perchance, what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error, falling an easy prey to the sophisms and labored erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to philosophy and theology under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquin, and a thorough training therein—as We ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means, both in Biblical studies and in that part of Theology which is called *positive*, they will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

THE AUTHORITY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE; MODERN
CRITICISM; PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

“To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic doctrine by the legitimate and skillful interpretation of the Bible is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the maintenance in the strongest possible way of its full authority. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily except by means of the living and proper *magisterium* of the Church. The Church by reason of her wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity, and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own Divine mission.’ [Conc. Vat. sess. III. c. II. *de fide*.] But since the divine and infallible *magisterium* of the Church rests also on Holy Scripture; the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of Sacred records, at least as human documents, from which can be clearly proved, as from primitive and authentic testimony, the Divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of a hierarchi-

cal Church and the primacy of Peter and of his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that there should be numerous members of the clergy well prepared to enter on a contest of this nature, and to repulse hostile assaults, chiefly trusting in the armor of God recommended by the Apostle, [Eph. VI., 13, *seqq.*] but also not unaccustomed to modern methods of attack. This is beautifully alluded to by St. John Chrysostom, when describing the duties of priests: 'We must use every endeavor that the 'Word of God may dwell in us abundantly' [Cfr., *Coloss.* III., 16.] not merely for one kind of a fight must we be prepared—for the contest is many-sided and the enemy is of every sort; and they do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore it is needful that the man who has to contend against all should be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all—that he should be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier, foot-soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless he knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to get in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep.' [*De Sacerdotio* IV., 4.] The sophisms of the enemy and his manifold arts of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word of advice on the means of defence. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages and of the art of criticism. These two acquirements are in these days held in high estimation, and, therefore, the clergy, by making themselves fully acquainted with them as time and place may demand, will the better be able to discharge their office with becoming credit; for they must make themselves 'all to all,' [I. Cor. IX., 22.] always 'ready to satisfy every one that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them.' [I. Peter III., 25.] Hence it is most proper that professors of Sacred Scripture and theologians should master those tongues in which the Sacred Books were originally written; and it would be well that Church students also should cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. And endeavors should be made to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs

of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of subjects connected therewith, for the benefit, principally, of those who are intended to profess Sacred literature. These latter, with a similar object in view, should make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the 'higher criticism,' which pretends to judge the origin, integrity and authority of each Book from internal indications alone. It is clear on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted 'higher criticism' will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the Sacred Writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.

“In the second place, we have to contend against those who, making an evil use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the Sacred Books in order to detect the writers in a mistake, and to take occasion to vilify its contents. Attacks of this kind, bearing as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to the young who are beginning their literary studies; for the young, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether. It need not be pointed out how the nature of science, just as it is so admirably adapted to show forth the

glory of the Great Creator, provided it is taught as it should be, so, if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, it may prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in the corruption of morality. Hence, to the professor of Sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be of very great assistance in detecting such attacks on the Sacred Books, and in refuting them. There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines, and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, 'not to make rash assertions, or to assert what is not known as known.' [*In. Gen. op. imperf.* IX., 30.] If dissension should arise between them, here is the rule also laid down by St. Augustine, for the theologian: 'whatever they can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of reconciliation with our Scriptures; and whatever they assert in their treatises, which is contrary to these Scriptures of ours, that is to Catholic faith, we must either prove it as well as we can to be entirely false, or at all events we must, without the smallest hesitation, believe it to be so.' [*De Gen. ad litt.*, I., 21—41.] To understand how just is the rule here formulated we must remember, first, that the Sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost 'Who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things is no way profitable unto salvation.' [*S. Aug. ib.* II., 9—20.] Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the Sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—'went by what sensibly appeared,' [*Summa theol.* p. i. q. LXXX., a. 1. ad 3.] or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.

1. "out of condescension to popular ignorance"

“The unshrinking defence of the Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which each of the Fathers or the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence, in their interpretations, we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith—what they are unanimous in. For ‘in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the saints were at liberty to hold divergent opinions, just as we ourselves are,’ [*In Sent.* II., Dist. II., q. I., a. 3.] according to the saying of St. Thomas. And in another place he says most admirably: ‘when philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down such a point as a dogma of faith, even though it is perhaps so presented by the philosophers, nor to reject it as against faith, lest we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion of despising our faith.’ [*Opusc.* X.] The Catholic interpreter, although he should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be now quite certain are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, must, nevertheless, always bear in mind, that much which has been held and proved as certain has afterwards been called in question and rejected. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own branch, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, let them be handed over to philosophers for refutation. }

INSPIRATION INCOMPATIBLE WITH ERROR.

“The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences and especially to history. It is a lamentable fact that there are many who with great labor carry out and publish investigations on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of nations and other illustrative subjects, and whose chief purpose in all this is to find mistakes in the Sacred Writings and so to shake and weaken

their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the Sacred Writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of those difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that Divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think), in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind when saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the Books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church solemnly defined in the councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: 'The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated by the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as Sacred and Canonical. And the Church holds them as Sacred and Canonical, not because having

been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Author.' [Sess. III. C. II., *de Rev.*] Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot, therefore, say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary Author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. 'Therefore,' says St. Augustine, 'since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the Writer; for His members executed what their Head dictates.' [*De consensu Evangel.* L. 1, C. 35.] And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces: 'most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the author of the Book. He wrote it Who dictated it for writing; He wrote it Who inspired its execution.' [*Præf. in Job.* n. 2.]

"It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the Sacred Writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and Doctors agreed that the Divine Writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they labored earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in a great measure have been taken up by the 'higher criticism'; for they were unanimous in laying it down, that those writings, in their entirety and in all their parts were equally from the *ajflatus* of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the Sacred Writers, could not set down anything that was not true. The words

of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught: 'On my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honor and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these Books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand.' [*Ep. LXXVII., 1, et crebrius alibi.*]

"But to undertake fully and perfectly, and with all the weapons of the best science, the defence of the Holy Bible is far more than can be looked for from the exertion of commentators and theologians alone. It is an enterprise in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all those Catholics who have acquired reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children; may their service to the Faith grow and increase! For there is nothing which We believe to be more needful than that truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything which is better calculated to impress the masses with respect for truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare to insist so shamelessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show towards faith the most marked honor and respect. Seeing, then, that those can do so much for the advantage of religion on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scripture is the object, select each of them the branch of study most suitable to his circumstances, and endeavor to excel therein, and thus be prepared to repulse with credit and distinction the assaults on the Word of God. And it is Our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work which certain Catholics

have taken up—that is to say, the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money, for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out complete studies. Truly an excellent fashion of investing money, and well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope of public patronage there is for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private persons—those to whom God has given riches thus willingly making use of their means to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

SUMMARY.

“In order that all these endeavors and exertions may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which We have in this Letter laid down: Let them loyally hold that God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures—and that, therefore, nothing can be proved either by physical science or archæology which can really contradict the Scriptures. If, then, apparent contradiction be met with, every effort should be made to remove it. Judicious theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion, and hostile arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is after all not cleared up, and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made either in the interpretation of the Sacred Words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgment for the time being. There have been objections without number perseveringly directed against the Scripture for many a long year, which have been proved to be futile and are now never heard of; and not infrequently interpretations have been placed on certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals) which have been rectified by more careful investigations. As time goes on, mistaken views die and

disappear; but 'truth remaineth and groweth stronger forever and ever.' [3 Esdr. IV., 38.] Wherefore, as no one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of the Scripturē, in which St. Augustine himself confessed there was more that he did not know, than that he knew, [Ad Ianuar. *cp.* LV., 21] so, if he should come on anything that seems incapable of solution, he must take to heart the cautious rule of the same holy Doctor: 'It is better even to be oppressed by unknown but useful signs, than to interpret them uselessly and thus to throw off the yoke only to be caught in the trap of error.' [*De doct. chr.* III., 9, 18].

"As to those who pursue the subsidiary studies of which We have spoken, if they honestly and modestly follow the counsel we have given—if by their pen and their voice they make their studies profitable against the enemies of truth, and useful in saving the young from the loss of their faith—they may justly congratulate themselves on their worthy service to the Sacred Writings, and on affording to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

"Such, Venerable Brethren, are the admonitions and the instructions which, by the help of God, We have thought it well, at the present moment to offer to you on the study of Holy Scripture. It will now be your province to see that what We have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness; that so, We may prove our gratitude to God for the communication to man of the Words of His Wisdom, and that all the good results so much to be desired may be realized, especially as they affect the training of the students of the Church, which is our own great solicitude and the Church's hope. Exert yourself with willing alacrity, and use your authority and your persuasion in order that these studies may be held in just regard and may flourish in Seminaries and in educational institutions which are under your jurisdiction. Let them flourish in completeness and in happy success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Holy Fathers, and the laudable traditions

of antiquity; and, as time goes on, let them be widened and extended as the interests and glory of truth may require—the interests of that Catholic Truth, which comes from above, the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, We admonish with paternal love, all students and ministers of the Church always to approach the Sacred Writings with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain to the profitable understanding thereof unless the arrogance of 'earthly' science be laid aside, and there be excited in the heart the holy desire for that wisdom 'which is from above.' In this way the intelligence, which is once admitted to these Sacred studies, and thereby illuminated and strengthened, will acquire a marvellous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using for eternal salvation all that is valuable and precious; whilst, at the same time, the heart will grow warm, and will strive, with ardent longing, to advance in virtue and in Divine love. 'Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek Him with their whole heart.' [Ps. XVIII., 2].

"And now, filled with hope in the Divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace, and a sign of Our special good will—to you all, and to the Clergy, and to the whole flock entrusted to you, We lovingly impart in Our Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

"Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the eighteenth year of Our Pontificate."

POPE LEO XIII.

In common parlance, revelation and inspiration are convertible terms, but, in reality, they differ greatly. Revelation, from *revelare*, means to uncover, unveil, disclose to the view something hidden, and, in the present instance, to make known to the mind a concept not before known. This took place with the Prophets, and in every portion of the Holy Writings where the truths enunciated were impervious to the human understanding, or depended on the free will of God; in fact, wherever the idea portrayed was not acquired by the industry and labor of the writer. When, therefore, the writer expresses truths which he had acquired by the

ordinary method of human research and observation, there is no revelation from God requisite or given. Thus St. Luke tells us that, "it had seemed good to him, who had followed studiously all things from the beginning, to write in order these things." Thus the author of the II. Book of Maccabees testifies, Cap. II. 24—27: "And thus the things that were comprised by Jason the Cyrenean in five volumes, we have attempted to compendiate in one volume. We who have undertaken to compendiate this work, have taken upon ourselves a task abounding in vigils and sweat." This book then is not, properly speaking, revealed. But usage has prevailed and prevails to speak of the whole body of the Scriptures as revealed writings, and we do not wish to correct this usage, but only to define and fix our terms for the greater facility of our treatise. Inspiration then pervades the whole structure of Scripture: it is its formal principle, its soul; revelation is only called in, as we have said, where the writer could not, or, *de facto*, did not acquire his knowledge in the ordinary manner.

This distinction is of great moment, as many difficulties are solved by the same. The neglect of this distinction gave rise to a censure of one of the propositions of the famous Leon Lessius, which, had it been couched in precise terms, would have challenged contradiction. The Holy Ghost, then, is the directing and impelling agent in all the Scripture, but not in the same manner. He discloses the truths unknown before in revelation; he impels to write infallibly the things which God would communicate to man in inspiration. We have defined above the concept of inspiration; we shall now scrutinize more closely its object and extent. The Vatican Council has given us a definition which will serve as our guide in dealing with the present subject, for, as we have proven above, the Church can be the only guide in such a question.

In Cap. II. De Revel. we find:

"Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia

pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant, sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt.” And in Canon IV. De Revelatione:

“Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non suseceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit.”

Hence it is of faith that God is the AUTHOR of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the *integral books* with *all their parts*. It is not here asserted that God with his own hand wrote the books materially, but that he is the *Auctor principalis per conscriptores suos*. Now, we shall bear in mind the relation of the author to his work, in weighing and judging of the correctness or falseness of opinions which deal with this subject.

Inspirare is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *θεοπνεύειν*, which word S. Paul uses in his II. Epist. to Tim. III., 16., “*πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος*”. It signifies that one is impelled by God, that the Spirit of God is in him, moving him to action and guiding him in that action. Hence, God is the principal author, the principal cause; and the inspired agent in the instrumental cause.

In every action wrought by a creature, there is a concursus of two causes, the *causa prima*, and the *causa secunda*; the Creator and the Creature. We exist by reflected existence, as the moon shines by reflected light. The same act, which brought us into being at our creation, preserves us in that being, and this is what is called the *conservatio in esse*; and the conservative act is all that prevents us from relapsing into the primal absolute chaos. God must then cooperate with his creature in every act, for the second cause must depend on the First Cause *essentially*, and, therefore, in every act, it must be upheld by the conservative power of God.

But there are certain acts where this concursus is more marked and potent on the part of the Creator, and Inspiration is one of these acts.

On this theme Cardinal Manning (*Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, pp. 158—161) writes as follows:

In order to appreciate more exactly the reach of these opinions, it will be well to examine them somewhat more intimately, and to fix the sense of the terms used in the discussion of the subject.

(1.) First, then, comes the word *Inspiration*, which is often confounded with *Revelation*.

Inspiration, in its *first intention*, signifies the action of the Divine Spirit upon the human, that is, upon the intelligence and upon the will. It is an intelligent and vital action of God upon the soul of man; and “inspired” is to be predicated, not of books or truths, but of living agents.

In its *second intention*, it signifies the action of the Spirit of God upon the intelligence and will of man, whereby any one is impelled and enabled to act, or to speak, or to write, in some special way designed by the Spirit of God.

In its still more *special* and *technical intention*, it signifies an action of the Spirit upon men, impelling them to write what God reveals, suggests, or wills that they should write. But inspiration does not necessarily signify revelation, or suggestion of the matter to be written.

(2.) Secondly, *Revelation* signifies the unfolding to the intelligence of man truths which are contained in the intelligence of God, the knowledge of which without such revelation would be impossible. Men may be the subjects of revelation, and not of inspiration; and they might be the subjects of inspiration, and not of revelation.

(3.) Thirdly, *Suggestion*, in the theory of inspiration, signifies the bringing to mind such things as God wills the writer to put in writing. All revelation is suggestion, but not all suggestion revelation; because much that is suggested may be of the natural order, needing no revelation, being already known by natural reason, or by historical tradition and the like.

(4.) Fourthly, by *Assistance* is understood the presence and help of the Holy Spirit, by which the human agent, in full use of his own liberty and powers—such as natural gifts, genius, acquired cultivation, and the like—executes the work which the Divine Inspiration impels him to write.

There are three kinds of *assistance*.

(1.) First, there is the assistance afforded by the Holy Spirit to all the faithful, by which their intelligence is illuminated and their will strengthened, without exempting them from the liability to error.

(2.) Secondly, there is the assistance vouchsafed to the Church diffused throughout the world or congregated in council, or to the person of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, speaking *ex cathedra*, which excludes all liability to error within the sphere of faith and morals, and such facts and truths as attach to them (of which relations the Church is the ultimate judge), but does not extend to the other orders of purely natural science and knowledge.

(3.) Lastly, there is the assistance granted as a 'gratia gratis data' to the inspired writers of the Holy Scripture which excludes all liability to error in the act of writing not only in matters of faith and morals, but in all matter, of whatsoever kind, which by the inspiration of God they are impelled to write.

The Jesuits, in the 'Theologia Wireburgensis,' sum up the subject in the following way:—The authorship of God 'may be conceived in three ways. First, *by special assistance*, which preserves the writer from all error and falsehood. Secondly, *by inspiration*, which impels the writer to the act of writing, without, however, destroying his liberty. Thirdly, *by revelation*, by which truths hitherto unknown are manifested.' They then affirm, 'that God specially inspired the sacred writers with the truths and matter expressed in the sacred books.'

Perhaps it may be more in accordance with the facts of the case to invert the order, and to say that what we call Inspiration, in the special and technical sense, includes the three following operations of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the sacred writers:—

(1.) First, the impulse to put into writing the matter which God wills they should record.

(2.) Secondly, the suggestion of the matter to be written, whether by revelation of truths not previously known, or

only by prompting of those things which were already within the writer's knowledge.

(3.) Thirdly, the assistance which excludes liability to error in writing all things, whatsoever may be suggested to them by the Spirit of God to be written.

From this follow two corollaries:—

1. That in the Holy Scripture there can be no falsehood or error.

2. That God is the author of all inspired books."

It is declared in the definition of the Vatican Council that God is the *Author* of the books of the Old and New Testaments with all their parts. We also assert that the various inspired writers were *authors* of the respective books which history and tradition attribute to them. Therefore, there is a concursus of two causes here, of two authors. A book may be defined to be a "Contextus sententiarum seu sensuum scripto consignatus." We here denominate *book*, every complete component factor of the Old or New Testament, even though it consist of but a few sentences, as for instance the Epistle to Philemon, consisting of but 25 verses, comprised in one chapter. In every book or writing, there are two elements, the material and the formal element. The formal element comprises the "Complexus" of ideas and judgments signified by the words and propositions in the book. These by some are called the "res et sententiæ"; by others, the "sensa"; by Franzelin, the "Veritates." The material element of the book, "*in fieri*," is the consigning of these veritates to writing. The author of a book needs not necessarily consign the *veritates* to writing. St. Paul employed an amanuensis to commit his teachings to writing in his Epistles, and, yet, he is their author. It is the creations of the soul reflected in a work that denominate an agent an author. Any hand may do the material work, but the mind back of the truths is the factor to which is rightly attributable the authorship.

When we, therefore, assert for God the authorship of the Scriptures, we do not mean to say that he consigned the ideas to writing with his own hand, but that he was the formal cause of the "res et sententiæ," of the "sensa," of

the "veritates." Now the relation of an author to his work is to be measured by the object of the work. In a rhetorical or poetical work, the words and style would be "per se intenta," and, consequently, the work could not be called the creation of any certain author, unless he had per se produced such beauty of diction. But in a book whose scope is to convey truth to the mind, and naught else, the style or the selection of the words would not necessarily need be the effect of the principal author. Provided they be adequate and fitting to convey the truths which he might wish to impart, the book can attain its end, even though the principal cause have no special influence in the selection of words or the style. Now, it is evident that no being can be termed the author of a book, unless he produces the formal element of the book. God is the Author of all the books of Scripture, and, therefore, he produced all the "veritates," or "res et sententiæ" therein contained. These are true and inspired; the other part may be defective. God produced these "res et sententiæ" either by revelation or by inspiration; by revelation, if the truths were impervious to human reason, such as *futura contingentia*, mysteries, or any other truth which the writer could not acquire by natural means; by inspiration always, illumining the mind and moving the will to write all those things and only those things which God wished to communicate to his creature, whether those things were then for the first time known by revelation, or were the acquisitions of human industry and observation. For even in this latter case, the special action of God is necessary to impel the writer to write all and only the things which God wishes written, and to write them infallibly, without the mixture of error.

We see thus that there is always a greater concursus than the concursus generalis in inspiration. God does for the inspired writer more than "conservare in esse." He is the impelling power within him. Sometimes, as was the case with the Prophets, the second agent is thrown into an ecstasy, and his mind is imbued with ideas, in the creation of which he is only the passive agent. Though the inspired writer is always ὑπὸ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου φερόμενος, borne on,

impelled by the Holy Ghost, not always is this impelling force active in the same way. It is different in prophecy than it is in the inspiration which guided the Evangelists in infallibly committing to writing things to which they had been eye-witnesses. Inspiration does not preclude the examining of existing documents, the patient toil and research which always accompany the natural acquisition of knowledge. Moses may have made use of existing documents, when giving an account of Creation. But the certainty of inspiration is not measured by the certainty of these existing documents, nor by the certainty of fallible human observation and research. Always the hand of God is there, guiding, and positively influencing the agent to write all those things, and only those things which God would have written; and this assistance is not merely a negative one, but a positive act exercised in every concept of Holy Writ. Such is the relation of an author to his work, and we know by divine faith that God is the *Author* of the Holy Scriptures.

It may not be amiss here to indicate some of the principal writers on this theme in our times: Franzelin (*De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*, Romae 1882); Ubaldi (*Introductio in Sac. Script.* Romae 1888); Schmid (*De Inspirat. Bibl. Vi et Ratione*, Brixinae 1885); Crets (*De Divina Bibliorum Inspiratione Lovanii* 1886); Holzhey (*Die Inspiration der Heil. Schrift*, München 1895); Zanecchia (*Divina Inspirat.* etc. Romae 1899, Revised 1903); Chauvin (*L'Inspiration des Divines Ecritures*, Paris 1896); Billot (*De Inspirat. Sac. Script.* Romae 1903); Pesch (*De Inspirat. Sacrae Script.* Friburgi 1906).

Of the Abbé's Chauvin's work, the Dublin Review (1897 pp. 215—218) has the following favorable review:

"Although inspiration is very frequently spoken of, yet, like progress, civilisation and liberty, it is rarely understood. The vast majority of those who refer to it do, no doubt, intend to suggest some kind of mysterious influence from on high; but their ideas are vague and indefinite. They think of it as of a dark figure, veiled and hooded, that moves in silence and never reveals its features.

“All will readily admit that inspiration necessarily implies a divine influence. But divine influences are many; and it is a task of unusual delicacy to define that specific influence which constitutes inspiration. There is a divine influence which actively pervades all creation and rules mighty from end to end; but it is not inspiration. We call it law and providence. Another kind of influence enriches man with virtue, and blossoms out into holiness of life; but we name it grace, not inspiration. Even when inspirations of grace are mentioned by theologians, the word has not the same meaning that it bears when we speak of the inspiration of Scripture; for when a man has been inspired to write, we say: ‘God speaks thus,’ but when a man under the influence of grace makes an act of faith in the Creed, we do not say: ‘God believes thus.’ God is personally identified with inspiration in a manner very different from that by which He is identified with the works of grace in general. Lastly, it is only by a divine influence that the Church is preserved from error in all her solemn definitions of faith and morals. But here again, this influence is not termed inspiration, but merely assistance. Ecclesiastical definitions, although infallible, are not inspired.

“What, then, is inspiration? What are our means for detecting its presence in this or that particular instance? Before we can venture to answer these questions we must first determine what are the reliable sources of information on the subject; but it is precisely in this preliminary work of determination that discordant voices are making themselves most loudly heard. One company of explorers is content to accept, on the general consent of Christians, the abridged Bible of protestant tradition as being truly inspired. Starting with this assured fact, the discovery of what is meant by inspiration is merely a matter of induction from Biblical phenomena. The chief merit claimed for the system is that it makes the doctrine of Biblical inspiration absolutely secure against every form of literary and scientific analysis. He who believes in the inspiration of Scripture may, with unruffled serenity, admit the presence in the Bible of flagrant contradictions, or gross historical errors, and of

a low moral tone; for, since the Bible is inspired, the more clearly we understand what the Bible actually is, the deeper will be our insight into the nature of inspiration itself. So far removed, then, are the results of analysis from being opposed to the doctrine of inspiration, that they are an essential factor in its due apprehension.

“Another company of searchers after inspiration have been endowed by a merciful heaven with, or have created for themselves, an *a priori* and quite subjective idea of the true nature of inspiration. This idea they employ as a sort of search-light which they steadily flash around, and are then able to inform us of the varying degrees of purity in which inspiration may be found, not only in the several books of Scripture, but also in the literature of the world at large. Unfortunately, the initial idea of inspiration is not uniform, and the results of its application are consequently divergent. In general, however, it seems to be taken for something freshly informing, deeply suggestive, and highly stimulating. The inspired writer is the man with a special message to the world. Hence those solemn disquisitions on the inspiration of our modern prophets, Browning, Tennyson Ruskin, and Carlyle.

“To readers desirous either of refreshing their memory, or of acquiring clear ideas on this subject, we heartily recommend the Abbé Chauvin’s little book. Judged for what it professes to be—an ‘essai théologique et critique’—it deserves all praise. Brief as it is, it leaves nothing to be desired on the score of clearness; in dealing with the central points of the doctrine it is fuller, and certainly more able, than many volumes far more pretentious. With acute mind and independent judgment the author has availed himself of the previous labors of Schmid, Crets, d’Hulst, Loisy, Didiot, Brucker, Brandi, Holzhey, and others. He has thus laid under contribution the most recent commentaries and magazine articles on the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.

“The essay is divided into eight chapters, as follows: The idea of inspiration; its psychology; false theories bearing upon it; true and false tests of inspiration; the proof of Scriptural inspiration; the subject matter of inspiration; the

controversy on verbal inspiration; the consequences of plenary inspiration. Of these chapters, that on the psychology of inspiration is undoubtedly the most important and the best. We are so interested in the essay that, even at the risk of spoiling what the author has done so well, we shall venture on a brief account of this main position.

“Inspiration implies a divine breath or movement by which a man is stirred to write what God wishes to be written. That movement plays along man’s intellect, imagination, memory, and will, till man becomes the responsive instrument of the divine purpose. But man is a living instrument, and is moved by God in accordance with his free and living nature, freely and deliberately—often with much painful effort—to the desired goal. Hence the mental gifts, the literary talents and characteristic qualities of each inspired writer are employed, not destroyed, by God. St. Thomas’s principle here also stands good: *‘Motus primi moventis non recipitur uniformiter in omnibus . . . sed in unoquoque secundum proprium modum.’* We have not space to follow the author in his patient analysis of the divine action on man’s several faculties, but he leads us to the clear conclusion that, when God inspired the Scriptures He supernaturally, and as a principal cause, employed the faculties of the inspired writer, as His instruments in the psychological labor which man would have undergone if he had been writing in his own name instead of writing in the name of God. If writing for himself, the man would have had the same labor, but he would not have had the same divine impulse and guidance, the same divine assistance, the same divine illumination in the doing of his task. The whole result belongs, not partly to God and partly to man, but in its entirety to God and in its entirety to man. The effect, as a whole, proceeds from both God and man; from God as the chief cause, from man as the free and living instrumental cause. *‘Effectus totus attribuitur instrumento, et principali agenti etiam totus . . . sed totus ab utroque secundum alium modum.’*

“On the principles of sound psychology not only does that mechanical speaking-tube theory, introduced by the Reform

Churches, appear in all its grotesqueness and its inconsistency with the plainest facts, but also does the theory of some Catholic theologians who distinguish between 'verba' and 'res et sententias' show itself to be most unnatural. Inspiration covers everything the inspired writer writes—thoughts, opinions, judgments, surmises, the collection and arrangement of materials, method of treatment, style and language. An inspired book is a living whole; and the whole is inspired."

Pesch's work merits still more approbation.

It has been said by eminent scholars that the Catholic doctrine on inspiration is summed up in the one sentence, authoritively defined by the Church: "God is the author of the Holy Scriptures." Certain it is that all that is determined by the Church on this theme is drawn from that sure principle. The Church has made a few applications of the principle, but has left a very large field open. In entering this field every writer must recognize that however much he may differ from advocates of views differing from his own, he is bound to refrain from branding with any note of infamy opinions which the Church has not yet condemned. In all ages of the Church good men have been material heretics: and on the other hand the *odium theologicum* of those who had a "zeal for God, but not according to knowledge" (Rom. X. 2) has injured the very cause which they wished to defend. It is only by toleration and patient examination of the views of all that we can advance our knowledge of these deep problems. No right-minded, candid seeker after truth will object to arguments against his opinions, but personalities wound the opponent, without promoting their author's side. If passion could be set aside, it would be greatly beneficial to scriptural science if, of the sincere scholars of the Church, there were a conference regarding the different views on Inspiration, that all the arguments pro and con might be weighed dispassionately, and the best adopted.

Of course that which we here state only applies to candid, sincere seekers after truth. There are in the Church certain sycophants who angle for popularity by copying the German

and English and French rationalists. They have no principles, but are like sponges filled with dirty water. These merit only contempt.

Prof. Dods in his lecture on Inspiration declares as follows:

“It is, then, only from the Bible itself we can learn what an inspired book is. We may find many unexpected peculiarities in the Bible, but these will not dismay us, if we have not gone to it with a preconceived theory of what it ought to be and of what inspiration *must* accomplish. The Bible must not be forced into conformity with our Procrustean theory of inspiration; but we must allow our theory to be formed by the Bible. If we should find on examination that much of what is human enters into the Bible, we must expand our theory to include this. If we should find discrepancies or inaccuracies, these must help us to our true theory.

“In Professor Bowne’s small but excellent book on the ‘Christian Revelation,’ he very truly says: ‘The presence of inspiration is discernible in the product, but the meaning and measure of inspiration cannot be decided by abstract reflection, but only by the outcome. What inspiration is, must be learned from what it does. We must not determine the character of the books from the inspiration, but must rather determine the nature of the inspiration from the books’ (pp. 44—45).

“The problem in regard to inspiration is, to adjust truly the Divine and the human factors. The various theories which have been framed and held differ from one another regarding the proportion which the human element in the process and in the result bears to the Divine.”

No other view is consistent with the protestant principle of the rejection of the obedience of faith to the Church’s teaching. It is true that the Bible is the only inspired book in the world; it is true that it is impossible *a priori* to establish a perfect system which will embrace every proposition; but it is not true that we must come to the Bible with no preconception of what it is. The Church of God, to whom Christ promised infallibility and indefectibility, in the exercise of her mission teaches us with authority that the

Bible is a book of God's authorship, that it is the word of God, and every theory based upon an examination of the Bible itself must be *forced into conformity with this infallible definition.*

We see therefore that the field in which Catholic theologians may differ is in applying the principles which the Church has defined to the specific statements of the Bible; and here it must be granted that the divergency of opinion is very great.

Many of the difficulties which science and the investigations of criticism have brought up were unknown to the Fathers, and we find in them an unquestioning acceptance of the Scriptures as the word of God. Clement of Rome declares: "Ye have searched the Scriptures, which are true, which were given through the Holy Ghost; and Ye know that nothing unrighteous or counterfeit is written in them" (I. Cor. 45).

Justin the Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho, Chap. VII. clearly asserts the inspiration of the Holy Books:

"There existed, long before this time, certain men more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers, both righteous and beloved by God, who spoke by the Divine Spirit, and foretold events which would take place, and which are now taking place. They are called prophets. These alone both saw and announced the truth to men, neither reverencing nor fearing any man, not influenced by a desire for glory, but speaking those things alone which they saw and which they heard, being filled with the Holy Spirit. Their writings are still extant, and he who has read them is very much helped in his knowledge of the beginning and end of things, and of those matters which the philosopher ought to know, provided he has believed them. For they did not use demonstration in their treatises, seeing that they were witnesses to the truth above all demonstration, and worthy of belief; and those events which have happened, and those which are happening, compel you to assent to the utterances made by them, although, indeed, they were entitled to credit on account of the miracles which they performed, since they both glorified the Creator, the God and Father of all things,

and proclaimed His Son, the Christ [sent] by Him: which, indeed, the false prophets, who are filled with the lying unclean spirit, neither have done nor do, but venture to work certain wonderful deeds for the purpose of astonishing men, and glorify the spirits and demons of error."

Again in the same treatise he answers Trypho:

"If you spoke these words, Trypho, and then kept silence in simplicity and with no ill intent, neither repeating what goes before nor adding what comes after, you must be forgiven; but if [you have done so] because you imagined that you could throw doubt on the passage, in order that I might say the Scriptures contradicted each other, you have erred. But I shall not venture to suppose or to say such a thing; and if a Scripture which appears to be of such a kind be brought forward, and if there be a pretext [for saying] that it is contrary [to some other], since I am entirely convinced that no Scripture contradicts another, I shall admit rather that I do not understand what is recorded, and shall strive to persuade those who imagine that the Scriptures are contradictory, to be rather of the same opinion as myself."

Athenagoras applying to every inspired agent the name of prophet describes their inspiration thus:

"But we have for witnesses of the things we apprehend and believe, prophets, men who have pronounced concerning God and the things of God, guided by the Spirit of God. And you too will admit, excelling all others as you do in intelligence and in piety towards the true God that it would be irrational for us to cease to believe in the Spirit from God, who moved the mouths of the prophets like musical instruments, and to give heed to mere human opinions." (A Plea for Christians).

Irenæus makes the Holy Ghost the Author of the Scriptures. In II. Against Heresies, XXVIII. 2, he thus declares:

"If, however, we cannot discover explanations of all those things in Scripture which are made the subject of investigation, yet let us not on that account seek after any other God besides Him who really exists. For this is the very greatest impiety. We should leave things of that nature

to God who created us, being most properly assured that the Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and His Spirit; but we, inasmuch as we are inferior to, and later in existence than, the Word of God and His Spirit, are on that very account* destitute of the knowledge of His mysteries. And there is no cause for wonder if this is the case with us as respects things spiritual and heavenly, and such as require to be made known to us by revelation, since many even of those things which lie at our very feet (I mean such as belong to this world, which we handle, and see, and are in close contact with) transcend our knowledge, so that even these we must leave to God."

Again *ibid.* Bk. IV. II. 3 Irenæus enunciates the Catholic doctrine:

"But since the writings (*literæ*) of Moses are the words of Christ, He does Himself declare to the Jews, as John has recorded in the Gospel: 'If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed Me: for he wrote of Me. But if ye believe not his writings, neither will ye believe My words.' † He thus indicates in the clearest manner that the writings of Moses are His words. If, then, [this be the case with regard] to Moses, so also, beyond a doubt, the words of the other prophets are His [words], as I have pointed out. And again, the Lord Himself exhibits Abraham as having said to the rich man, with reference to all those who were still alive: 'If they do not obey Moses and the prophets, neither, if any one were to rise from the dead and go to them, will they believe him' " ‡

And again *ibid.* XI. 1: "And how do the Scriptures testify of Him, unless all things had ever been revealed and shown to believers by one and the same God through the Word; He at one time conferring with His creature, and at another propounding His law; at one time, again reproving, at another exhorting, and then setting free His servant, and adopting him as a son (*in filium*); and, at the proper time, bestowing an incorruptible inheritance, for the purpose of bringing man to perfection? For He formed him for growth

* Or, that degree. † John V. 46, 47. ‡ Luke XVI. 31.

and increase, as the Scripture says: 'Increase and multiply.'"*

Origen is very explicit: "Since, in our investigation of matters of such importance, not satisfied with the common opinions, and with the clear evidence of visible things, we take in addition, for the proof of our statements, testimonies from what are believed by us to be divine writings, viz., from that which is called the Old Testament, and that which is styled the New, and endeavor by reason to confirm our faith; and as we have not yet spoken of the Scriptures as divine, come and let us, as if by way of an epitome, treat of a few points respecting them, laying down those reasons which lead us to regard them as divine writings." (De Principiis. Bk. IV. 1.)

The same doctrine is consistently propounded by St. Theophilus of Antioch. Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Marinus Victorinus, Hilary of Poitiers, and others.

Clement of Alexandria believes in a full inspiration of the Holy Scriptures: "I could adduce ten thousand Scriptures of which not 'one tittle shall pass away' † without being fulfilled; for the mouth of the Lord the Holy Spirit hath spoken these things." (Exhortation to the Heathen, IX.)

Again in the Stromata, VII. 16, Clement declares: "Accordingly, those fall from this eminence who follow not God whither he leads. And he leads us in the inspired Scriptures." All his writings are full of reverences to the Holy Scriptures as the infallible word of God.

Space is not afforded for the numerous passages from the works of St. Basil in which he declares the Scriptures to be divine. Let one short passage serve as an illustration of his views. In his letter (XLII.) to Chilo he declares: "Never neglect reading, especially of the New Testament, because very frequently mischief comes of reading the Old; not because what is written is harmful, but because the minds of the injured are weak. All bread is nutritious, but it may be injurious to the sick. Just so all Scripture is God inspired

* Gen. I. 28. † Matt. V. 18.

and profitable,* and there is nothing in it unclean: only to him who thinks it is unclean, to him it is unclean."

St. Athanasius to Marcellinus (Migne 27. 11) speaks thus of Holy Scripture: "All Scripture, O Son, both of the Old and of the New Testament is divinely inspired and useful for teaching, as it is written."

In his Thirty-ninth Letter St. Athanasius appeals to the constant tradition regarding the divinely inspired Scripture: "In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying on my own account: 'Forasmuch as some have taken in hand,' † to reduce into order for themselves the books termed apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, delivered to the fathers; it seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by true brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to set before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine."

One passage will illustrate the belief of Gregory of Nyssa: "The Scripture, 'given by inspiration of God,' as the Apostle calls it, is the Scripture of the Holy Spirit, and its intention is the profit of men. For 'every scripture,' he says, 'is given by inspiration of God and is profitable;' and the profit is varied and multiform, as the Apostle says—'for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' " ‡ (Against Eunomius Bk. VII. 1.)

It is superfluous to review the enormous bulk of writings of the Latin Fathers. No one will deny that they unanimously taught the doctrine on inspiration which the Councils of the Church has now defined. St. Ambrose (On the Holy Spirit, Bk. III. XVI. 112) clearly enunciates the doctrine: "How, then, does He not possess all that pertains to God, Who is named by priests in baptism with the Father and the Son, and is invoked in the oblations, is proclaimed by the Seraphim in heaven with the Father and the Son, dwells

* Cf. 2 Tim. III. 16. † 4a i.e. Ezra and Nehemiah. ‡ 2 Tim. III. 15.

in the Saints with the Father and the Son, is poured upon the just, is given as the source of inspiration to the prophets? And for this reason in the divine Scripture all is called *θεόπνευστος*, because God inspires what the Spirit has spoken."

St. Jerome fills his works with declarations like these: "I am not, I repeat, so ignorant as to suppose that any of the Lord's words is either in need of correction, or is not divinely inspired." (To Marcella Letter XXVII.); "the Scriptures were written and promulgated by the Holy Ghost." (On Ephesians I. 10); "all the Scriptures were written by the one Holy Spirit, and therefore are called one book." (On Isaiah XXIX. 9.)

We shall close these few representative quotations with these declarations of St. Augustine: "For it seems to me that most disastrous consequences must follow upon our believing that anything false is found in the sacred books: that is to say, that the men by whom the Scripture has been given to us, and committed to writing, did put down in these books anything false. It is one question whether it may be at any time the duty of a good man to deceive; but it is another question whether it can have been the duty of a writer of Holy Scripture to deceive: nay, it is not another question—it is no question at all. For if you once admit into such a high sanctuary of authority one false statement as made in the way of duty,* there will not be left a single sentence of those books which, if appearing to any one difficult in practice or hard to believe, may not by the same fatal rule be explained away, as a statement in which, intentionally, and under a sense of duty, the author declared what was not true." (Letter XXVIII. 3): "For I confess to your Charity that I have learned to yield this respect and honour only to the canonical books of Scripture: of these alone do I most firmly believe that the authors were completely free from error. And if in these writings I am perplexed by anything which appears to me opposed to truth, I do not hesitate to suppose that either the ms. is faulty, or the translator has not caught the meaning of what was said, or I

* *Officiosum mendacium.*

myself have failed to understand it. As to all other writings, in reading them, however great the superiority of the authors to myself in sanctity and learning, I do not accept their teaching as true on the mere ground of the opinion being held by them; but only because they have succeeded in convincing my judgment of its truth either by means of these canonical writings themselves, or by arguments addressed to my reason."

With the Fathers there was not much thought of the analysis of the concept of inspiration; they were content to affirm the canonical books to be the word of God, without analysing the question which in our day is the first question in divine science.

In the formulary of faith called "The Ancient Statutes of the Church" which is falsely attributed to the Fourth Council of Carthage (Mansi) it is demanded of the bishop to make profession of faith that God is the *author of both the Old and the New Testaments*. This formula has been accepted as the Catholic doctrine. The Council of Trent reaffirmed it; and the Vatican Council explained and promulgated it.

The older theologians generally ascribe to the divine element in Scripture an excessive part. The Faculties of Louvain and Douai declared: "It is an intolerable and great blasphemy, if any shall affirm that any otiose word can be found in Scripture. All the words of Scripture are so many sacraments (or mysteries). Every phrase, syllable, tittle, and point is full of a divine sense, as Christ says in St. Matthew, 'a jot or a tittle shall not pass from the law.'"

Melchior Canus tempers the doctrine somewhat.

"In his second book *De Locis Theol.*, after stating and refuting the opinions 'of those who thought that the sacred writers in the canonical books did not always speak by the Divine Spirit,' he establishes the following proposition: that 'every particle of the canonical books was written by the assistance of the Holy Spirit.' He says, 'I admit that the sacred writers had no need of a proper and express revelation in writing every particle of the Scripture; but that every part of the Scripture was written by a peculiar instinct and impulse of the Holy Ghost, I truly and rightly

contend.' After saying that some things were known to them by supernatural revelation, and others by natural knowledge, he adds, 'that they did not need a supernatural light and express revelation to write these latter truths, but they needed the presence and peculiar help of the Holy Ghost, that these things, though they were human truths and known by natural reason, should nevertheless be written divinely and without any error.'" (De Loc. Theol. II. 16).

Dominicus Bañez is deeper and more explicit: "For the establishment of truth we must know that when it is said that a Scripture is inspired of God, it can be understood in three ways. The first manner (of inspiration) has place when the things to be written were unknown to the writer, and were made known by the inspiration of God.

The second way is when the thing which is written was indeed known to the writer, but the impulse to write it came from a special moving and inspiration of God; and therefore the writer is protected by a special assistance of the Holy Ghost lest by malice or forgetfulness he should be deceived in anything.

In the third way Scripture is said to be inspired, for the reason that God not only revealed hidden things to the writer, or moved him to write things known to him, and upheld him lest he should err, but also suggested and, as it were, dictated the very words which he should write.

Therefore let this be the first conclusion: The Holy Scripture of which we speak proceeds from divine revelation sometimes in the first manner and sometimes in the second. This should be the firm belief of all Catholics. And it is proven; because (the Scripture) in some parts contains many things which transcend every created mind such as the Mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation and many other things; in other parts it contains things which fall within the compass of natural reason and experience. But in all these things even the most diligent and attentive writer may at times be deceived or may forget. Therefore, in all these things partly by revelation, partly by impelling and assisting, the Holy Ghost was with the writer lest he should deviate from the truth.

The second conclusion: The Holy Ghost inspired not only the matter of the Scriptures but also suggested and dictated every word by which they should be written. "For if it were left to the free will of the sacred writer to choose the words by which he should express or write the thoughts, he might err in expressing what was revealed to him; and thus in the Scriptures there might be found falsehood."

But the great Dominican felt obliged to temper this doctrine in his third conclusion: "If anyone should affirm that the composition of the words is often left to the knowledge and diligence of the sacred writer in such a manner however, that such a one affirms the necessary assistance of the Holy Ghost lest the writer err in the words or in their composition, he says nothing so contrary to faith, that the assertion should be gravely censured; although to me the opinion seems not true or altogether safe on account of the argument adduced to prove the preceding conclusion. This conclusion (that verbal inspiration is not of faith) is proven by the fact that when the sacred writer writes the things which he sees, in order that the Scripture be called inspired it is enough that the Holy Ghost move his mind to write these things, and that he be guided by the Holy Ghost lest he forget what he is commanded to write. Therefore the same cooperation of the Holy Ghost will suffice for the composition of words which the writer of himself may effect.

"Nevertheless it is safer and freer from blame to say that as the Holy Ghost moves the mind of the writer to write, so also he inspires the words and composition. And this is proven, for, unless we say thus, we shall be scarcely able to assign a difference between the Holy Scriptures and the definitions of Councils. For in both cases the Holy Ghost assists lest there should be error. And if in both cases the words and their composition be left to human industry, it follows that there is no difference, for also the definitions of Councils by the assistance of the Holy Ghost contain infallible truth," (Schol. Comment, in D. Thom. Q. I.)

The Thomistic theologians quite generally defended verbal inspiration. Most recently Zaneccchia (*Div. Inspir.*

ad Mentem S. Thomae, Romae, 1899, 1903, p. 175) declares: "The action of the Holy Ghost in inspiration is not restricted to the conception of the ideas and to the communicating of them to the inspired writer; but extends itself to the very writing, that is to the words, the expressions, the style; in a word, to all that which is written by the inspired writers, and to the manner in which they expressed these things in writing."

Against this rigid system of inspiration a reaction was inaugurated by Lessius and Hamel. In 1586, Lessius and Hamel, in their lectures at Louvain, taught the following propositions:—

1. "Ut aliquid sit Scriptura Sacra, non est necessarium singula ejus verba inspirata esse a Spiritu Sancto." "That a book be Holy Scripture, it is not necessary that every word of it be inspired by the Holy Ghost."

2. "Non est necessarium ut singulae veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a Spiritu Sancto ipsi Scriptori inspiratæ." "It is not necessary that every truth or sentence be immediately inspired into the writer by the Holy Ghost."

3. "Liber aliquis (qualis forte est secundus Machabæorum) humana industria sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti scriptus, (si Spiritus Sanctus postea testetur nihil ibi esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura Sacra."* "A book (such as perhaps the 2nd of Maccabees), written by human industry, without the assistance of the Holy Ghost—if the Holy Spirit afterwards testify that nothing false is contained in it—becomes Holy Scripture."

These propositions were at once assailed. The archbishops of Cambrai and Mechlin sent them to the Faculties of Douai and Louvain.† They were condemned by both. The third was especially censured. Estius, who drew up the censure, in his "Commentary on the Epistles" gives his own opinion as follows: "From this passage it is rightly and truly established, that all the sacred and canonical Scripture is written by the dictation of the Holy Ghost; so that not only the sense, but every word, and the order of the words,

* See *Theol. Wireburg.* tom. 1. p. 23. † *Ibid.*

and the whole arrangement is from God, as if He were speaking or writing in person. For this is the meaning of the Scripture being divinely inspired.”*

Lessius and Hamel appealed to the Sorbonne. The Faculty of Paris did not approve either of the Jesuit propositions, nor of the censures of Louvain and Douai. The Faculties of Mayence, Treves, Ingoldstadt, and Rome disapproved the censures; but Sixtus V. imposed silence until the Holy See should pronounce. The subject has never been decided. The censures are given by D'Argentre, in his “*Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*,” and the Jesuit propositions are defended by P. Simon, in his “*Histoire Critique du Texté du Nouveau Testament*.”

Lessius defended himself in a special treatise entitled, “*Responsio ad Censuram Assertionum de Scriptura*.” In this he states: “In these propositions there can be no difficulty if they be understood as they have otherwise been explained by us. As regards the two first we do not deny that the sacred writers wrote by a peculiar inspiration, and direction, and assistance of the Holy Ghost. But this we say that for every sentence and every word it was not necessary that they should receive a new and positive inspiration from the Holy Spirit, that is a new illumination by which in a new manner they should know the truths which they wrote, and should see the words which the Holy Ghost wished them to use; but that it was sufficient that the Holy Ghost should in a special way induce them and move them to write the things which they had heard or seen, or in any other way known, and that he should assist them in regard to the expressions and the words, and where need was, direct them.

“This opinion seems to me the more probable one. First, because the Evangelists and other sacred writers seem not to have needed a new revelation to write the things they saw or heard from faithful witnesses, as Paul learned in a brief time, not from men but from Jesus Christ, the Gospel. And John wrote that which he saw, as is evident I. Jo. I., and in the same way Matthew wrote. But Mark wrote, what he

* *Estii Comment. in Ep. 2 ad Timoth. cap. III. 16.*

heard from Peter. . . . And Luke what he received from those who had seen, as he testifies in the beginning of his Gospel. In the same way I should believe that by the sacred historians were written many things which they had seen or heard without a new revelation. Secondly, it is proved from reason. For the Holy Ghost employs fitting instruments, as he finds them; and as he is not wanting in necessary things neither is he redundant in sufficient things. And men who know a thing with certainty and have the art of expressing thought are capable of writing it. Therefore if the Holy Ghost wishes to use them as instruments and amanuenses it is not necessary that he reveal to them these things anew, but is enough that he select them for his amanuenses and move them by a special impulse to write what they already know, and that he assist them in a special way in all words and sentences, that they commit not the least error.

“For the better explaining of this we must know that a thing may be written through inspiration of the Holy Ghost in two ways. First, that the Holy Ghost by a new supernatural inspiration make manifest all the things to be written and all the words, and thus the Prophets wrote their prophecies, as is evident in Jeremiah XXXVI., who dictated his prophecies with such facility that he seemed to read them. Secondly, that the Holy Ghost by a special impulse should excite and move the one whom he appoints to write the things which he already has seen, heard, or in any other way known, and that the Holy Ghost assist him in every word and sentence. And I hold it to be probable that many Evangelists and sacred historians wrote thus, so that they needed not a new and positive inspiration and illumination about every thing. And I am the more inclined to this opinion for the reason that by a contrary principle, to wit, that they believe every word to be dictated by the Holy Spirit by a new inspiration, many heretics of our day try to prove that the books of Maccabees are not canonical Scripture. . . . If it were thus St. Luke would not say that he wrote the things which he received from the Apostles who had seen them, but he would say (that he wrote) the things which he received from the Holy Ghost who specially dic-

tated them. . . . Now it is enough for the sacred historians that God by a special impulse move them to write the things which they already know, and infallibly assist them in all things. By this is not removed the labor of calling to mind things heard, seen, and read, and of coordinating them, and, as one judges most fitting, of expressing them in proper words. Wherefore it comes to pass that the more eloquent speak more eloquently, and the less eloquent less ornately."

It is evident here that the difficulty lies in the ambiguous use of the term inspiration. Lessius did not distinguish between revelation and inspiration. In his explanation he makes his meaning clear, that he extends inspiration to all the Scriptures, and in a proper degree to the words themselves; while he restricts revelation to those things which the writers did not know by natural means. If this distinction be inserted we believe that no one has written on the theme more clearly or correctly.

In treating the third proposition Lessius is no less fortunate: "The third opinion, leaving out the clause in parentheses, seems to me wholly certain, unless there be question about terms. Let us suppose that by a pious man well furnished with the knowledge, a pious history be written by the impulse of the Holy Ghost, and that the writer without the special assistance of inspiration write the truth, and commit no error. If the Holy Ghost, by some prophet or otherwise, attest that what is there written be true and saving, I see no reason why that book should not have the authority of Holy Scripture, since it has the same motive of credibility that any other prophecy has, namely, divine authority. And I say this not that I assert that such was the method of inspiration of any part of Holy Scripture; nay, more, I believe that in fact nothing of this kind is found in Holy Scripture, but I speak only of possibility. Hence the proposition is conditional. If God willed he could have acted in this manner in the Scriptures, for it does not imply a contradiction, and such Scripture would be equal to the other parts in divine authority."

We see here that Lessius has retracted somewhat. By cutting out the parenthetical clause he removes the question

to the region of speculations on the possible, and no man can object to his reasoning.

The Faculties of Louvain and Douai had charged Lessius with the error of the Anomœi, an obscure sect described by S. Epiphanius. Their capital error was to divide the Scriptures into the divine and human parts, and to deny authority to the things which the writers wrote as men. Lessius in his defense shows how absurd it was to accuse him of their error, and adds: "We say, therefore, that all parts of the Scripture are of infallible truth, and are of the Holy Ghost who inspires by a new *revelation*, or moves by a special impulse, and assists in every word and sentence; and as we have elsewhere abundantly demonstrated, we hold that there is not in them the least error, for it would redound upon the Holy Ghost, and the authority of the whole Scripture would totter; although it is not necessary that the Holy Ghost inspire everything, in a special manner illumining the writer." (In Schneëman Controv. de div. grat. Friburgi, 1881, 467 seqq.)

We see here the same confusion between inspiration and revelation.

The Faculty of Louvain answered Lessius in a treatise called "Antapologia," and Lessius again delivered a defence in which he makes the issues still clearer. Among other things he says that even when God did not give to the sacred writers new revelations, "he directed them in everything, lest they should write other things, or in a manner different from his good-pleasure; but this took place without a new revelation, or new mode of understanding. Thus it is plain in what sense the writer of II. Maccab. could declare his tongue to be the pen of a ready scribe, because he was moved and directed by the Holy Ghost; and also (it is plain) in what sense he could not so declare, for the Holy Ghost did not beforehand form all the words in his mind, as one does who in the proper sense dictates. . . . For the concept of Holy Scripture does not essentially include that all the material words be dictated by the Holy Ghost, but this is an accessory and ornament (of inspiration). Otherwise if the Hebrew and Greek exemplars were lost the Church

would be without the Holy Scriptures. Nay, more, the Latin Church would not have the Scriptures, for the Latin edition would not be Scripture. . . . But if we look closely we shall see that the essence of Holy Scripture consists in this that the proposition be the word of God in whatever tongue expressed. . . . Concerning the third proposition . . . that conjecture in which is said that perhaps the book of Maccabees was written by human industry, I said not as my opinion, but as the opinion of those whom I have before cited but not approved, who think the author to have been a pagan, and the book to have acquired authority from the Apostles and from the Church. Which opinion Sixtus of Sienna expresses with sufficient clearness (*Bib. Sacr. L. 8, haer. 12 resp. ad 7*) where he says: 'It matters not what is the opinion of the Jews concerning these books, since the Catholic Church receives them into her canon; and it derogates nothing from their authority if they be written by a pagan, since the authority of a book depends not on the author but on the authority of the Church; and that which she receives must be true and infallible, whoever he said to be the author, whom I should not, dare pronounce to be either pagan writer or sacred writer. This is his opinion. We did not approve this opinion; but we said the author (of Maccabees) was a faithful man, as it is fitting that a sacred writer should be. . . . As regards that third opinion, I believe and have always believed that there exists no such book which was written without the assistance, impulse and direction of the Holy Ghost.' (Ibid. 387 sqq.)

Estius, one of the chief opponents of Lessius, thus formulates the opinion of the faculty of Louvain: "Rightly and truly it is established that all holy and canonical Scripture is written by the dictation of the Holy Ghost, in a manner so that not only the matter, but also every word, and the order of the words and the whole structure is of God, as though himself speaking and writing." (Estius on II. Tim. III. 16.)

In the heat of the controversy that was waged about divine grace, Lessius was misunderstood and misrepresented.

His statements were torn from their context, and often garbled into a distorted meaning. It is true he used an ambiguous term in his first two propositions; but his explanation does honor to his knowledge and his faith. His third proposition is not well enunciated. His own expunging of the parenthesis is a retractation; but dealing with a possibility he utters nothing contrary to faith. As Bishop Gasser rightly argued in the Vatican Council, that Council's condemnation of the theory of a subsequent inspiration does not apply to Lessius. He spoke of a possibility; the Council spoke of the existing books. Moreover, Lessius admits into his hypothetical book the element of present inspiration; because the Holy Ghost must approve the book "through a prophet, or in some other manner." Therefore Lessius makes the authority of the book the effect of the Holy Ghost. For instance let us suppose, as every one is free to do, that Jason who wrote the original of II. Maccab. was not inspired. Let us suppose that the writer who abridged these books into the one book of II. Maccab. wrote no word of his own, but only selected from the five books. Still the element of inspiration would be there, not disclosing new truths; but moving the writer to make the abridgment, and positively aiding him to arrange these things into an infallible book. Of course we are speaking of a mere hypothesis; for it seems evident that the writer of Maccabees did not servilely copy passages from Jason; but compendiously wrote for a religious end certain things, in an epoch which had been more extensively described by the historian Jason.

Of Lessius' three propositions Bellarmine speaks thus: "The three propositions on Scripture, enunciated without explanation, sound bad, and are liable to calumny. But Father Lessius has rightly explained the two first. For the third he has recently written an apology, and although he has not satisfied me fully, yet the opinion as modified and tempered by him seems tolerable." (Apud Schneeman, *op. cit.*)

The system of inspiration taught by Bellarmine in the main agrees with the two first propositions of Lessius. Thus

he declares: "The first is that the Scripture is the word of God immediately revealed, and written as it were by the dictation of God. . . . But this is not to be understood as though the sacred writers always had new revelations, and wrote what they beforehand were ignorant of; for it is certain that the Evangelists Matthew and John wrote what they saw; but Mark and Luke, what they heard, as Luke declares in the beginning of his Gospel. The sacred writers are said therefore to have an immediate revelation, and to have written the words of God himself, either because certain new things, before unknown, were revealed to them . . . or because God immediately inspired and moved the writers to write the things which they had seen and heard, and directed them lest they should err in any matter." (De Conc. 1. 2. 12.)

Suarez defines Holy Scripture to be "a writing by the impulse of the Holy Ghost, who dictated not only the sense but also the words." After describing the necessity of verbal inspiration, he tempers the doctrine as follows: "In two ways the words of Holy Scripture may be understood to be of the Holy Ghost, either by a special antecedent motion or only by an assistance, and as it were, safeguarding. The first way is when the Holy Ghost either imprints the mental word by infused ideas, or specially moves and calls up pre-existing ideas, and this mode is the most proper to (the Holy Ghost), and the most perfect, and most probably was followed when the mysteries to be written were supernatural, and surpassed human reason.

But it seems not necessary, although recent learned men so teach, that always the words be dictated in this special way. For when a sacred writer writes something which is of natural reason and within the compass of the senses, it seems sufficient that the Holy Spirit specially assist him and save him from all error and untruth and from all words which are not profitable or becoming to Holy Scripture, removing everything which might suggest such (unfitting) words, and for the rest permitting the writer to use his memory, and his ideas, and diligence in writing as Luke acknowledges in the beginning of his Gospel. It is enough there-

fore that either in one way or in the other according to the exigency of the matter, the words be of the Holy Ghost."

To the question: Whether there be anything in the Holy Scriptures which was not written by the action of the Holy Ghost, and consequently is not Holy Scripture, Suarez replies: "The Holy Writer writes nothing purely of himself, but everything and each thing is by the direction of the Holy Ghost." (De Fide V. 3.)

A classic writer on this theme is Marchini (†1773). In his work *De Divinitate et Canonicitate Sacrorum Bibliorum*, Art. V., he defines the concept of inspiration: "The first question which demands solution is whether the Holy Ghost placed every word in the sacred writer's mind and mouth. This truth is evident to those who study the question that not to leave to the writer's natural faculties the selection of the words and the diction is needless and superfluous for our defence of the truth, dignity, and infallibility of Holy Scripture. It is enough for this defence that as regards the things written, God infuse them into the writer's mind, or call them up in his mind, and that he assist him that he employ apt words, and leave aside unfitting ones. Why therefore should the Holy Ghost inspire every word, who is neither wanting in the necessary, nor redundant in the superfluous?" Marchini confirms this from the sacred writers' diversity of style, from the fact that the same thing is described in different words by different writers, from the literary imperfections of Scripture, and from the authority of the versions. He promulgates more accurately Lessius' principle that revelation does not extend to all parts of Scripture. He defines inspiration to be "a special impulse of the Holy Ghost to write, and a directing and assistance governing the mind and soul of the writer which permits him not to err, and causes him to write what God wills."

Marchini strongly condemns "the error of those who violate the Scriptures by teaching that in certain minor things as they say, not necessary to salvation, the Prophets and Apostles wrote merely as men without that special action of God, without which a book can not be divine." He alleges as proof II. Tim. III. 16; II. Peter. I. 21, and the

authority of the Fathers. He declares that the whole authority of the Scriptures would totter if in minor things, errors be admitted, since certain limits between great and small can not be admitted." Marchini differentiates the Holy Scriptures from other infallible documents by the fact that a positive divine action pervades the whole Scripture. And, he says, "this divine afflatus or inspiration can be present, even though God does not by a special action furnish the words nor the sentences. . . . That is, if the Holy Ghost assists the writer whom he beforehand moved to write; if he aptly suggests that which he wishes written, if perchance the writer's memory fail him; if he enlightens the mind with that light which expels all pernicious ignorance, and removes rashness; if he strengthens with such power that things are written faithfully, plainly, and consistently; if he brings to the mind things hidden, sublime and unknown; if he leaves no part of Scripture deprived of his protection, surely the books will be written by God's inspiration, although the manner of speech, and the sentences often proceed from man's mind, memory, study, thought, and diligence."

Among the great theologians of the XIX. Century, Cardinal Franzelin holds an eminent place. His system of inspiration has been made the subject of a special attack by that reaction which in our day has set in towards a more liberal view of inspiration. In his work "Tractatus de Divina Traditione et Scriptura" (Ed. 3, Romae, 1882) he treats the question of inspiration at length. Among other things he declares that the books of Scripture are of divine authority "for the reason that they are the books of God, and God is their author by his supernatural action on the human *co-writers*, which action by ecclesiastical usage drawn from the Scriptures themselves is called inspiration."

"A book is divine in the strict sense for the reason that it is written by God through the instrumentality of a man whom God so moves to write, and in whom God so operates in writing, that God himself in the strict sense should be considered the principal Author. This supernatural and extraordinary action of God is called inspiration" (Thesis II.)

From intrinsic and extrinsic evidence Franzelin places the essence of inspiration in a *charisma gratis datum* enlightening so that the minds of inspired men understand in order to write the truths which by Scripture God wishes to give to his Church, and the wills are moved to consign these only to writing; and thus assisted man under the action of God, the principal cause, infallibly executes the divine counsel. Hence distinguishing between inspiration and assistance, inspiration must be said to embrace the truths, and the formal word; while assistance is extended to the material words." (Thesis III.)

The teaching of Lessius that revelation is not essential to inspired Scripture has now become the universal teaching.

Franzelin distinguishes the formal part of a book which he calls the *veritates* from the material part, that is the words. He demands inspiration as he has described it for the formal element; but for the words he requires only an assistance to guarantee that they aptly express the thoughts: "Regarding the words it is clear that the truths, that is the thoughts of the principal Author, can not be expressed in writing unless terms be chosen fitting to express the sense. If therefore, God by his inspiration of the things and thoughts thus acts on the inspired man to the intent that he write, so that the writing, infallibly in virtue of the divine operation, truly and sincerely contains the thoughts of God, there must accompany the divine inspiration or be included in it such a divine operation that the man writing, not only actually elect, but also infallibly elect terms apt truthfully and sincerely to express the inspired substance and sentences, and that he be thus made infallible in choosing words and other things which pertain to the material part (of the inspired writings). A man inspired in mind and will to write the thoughts of God, but left to himself in the election of the terms would remain fallible in expressing the inspired thoughts; and by this therefore it would not follow infallibly that a book written by such inspiration would be in the full sense inspired Scripture and the word of God."

"From what has been said it is evident what is this divine operation which we declare to accompany inspiration. The

aim of most, at least, of the Holy books is such that the formal object of the book is not affected if the same things and sentences be expressed by different words or different style, provided that words apt and befitting the subject be chosen. . . . 'For we do not believe that the Gospel consists in the words of Scripture but in the sense; not on the surface, but in the marrow; *non in sermonum foliis sed in radice rationis.*' " (S. Jerome on Gal. I. II. 12.)

"Therefore, from the definition of inspiration and from the fact that God is the Author of the Scriptures by means of human co-writers, so that through the very action of God upon inspired men it is infallibly certain that the Scriptures are the books of God as their Author; in most cases, that is where the choosing of certain words instead of other equivalents pertains merely to the material part, there is no reason to affirm that God by an antecedent supernatural action furnished the words and the style of writing, and individually determined them. But there is a reason of affirming God's assistance by which he so aided the writers in choosing apt terms, that in expressing inspired thoughts, they were fully infallible."

Franzelin adduces three classes of arguments to refute the mechanical idea of verbal inspiration. One proof for the thesis under consideration is found in the variety of style prevailing among the different authors. Isaiah is polished and cultured in his diction; Jeremiah, on the contrary, and Amos are less polished and coarser in their style. Isaiah was in high social rank, while Jeremiah was a burgher from Anathoth, and Amos, a cowherd. And differences of style exist among all the inspired writers, due to their different characteristics.

Secondly in the Scriptures, sometimes the same fact is related by different writers in different ways. For instance, the consecration of the chalice is related in four different ways by St. Math., XXVI. 28; St. Mark. XIV. 24; St. Luke, XXII. 20, and St. Paul, I. Cor. XI., 25. These speak of the same words of Christ, as he used them once for all at the Last Supper. If the Holy Ghost had inspired the words, how could we account for these divergencies? Here applies

aply what St. Augustine said of the inspired writers: "Ut quisque meminerat eos explicasse manifestum est."

The writers of the New Testament rarely or never quote the old Testament literally, but only the sense. In the words of St. Jerome: "Hoc in omnibus pene testimoniis quæ de veteribus libris in novo assumpta sunt Testamento observare debemus, quod memoriæ crediderint Evangelistæ vel Apostoli, et tantum, sensu explicato, sæpe ordinem commutaverint, nonnunquam vel detraxerint verba vel addiderint." (Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas.)

Thirdly, the inspired writers themselves disclaim verbal inspiration, asserting that their compositions had been the result of toil, observation and research. The text of II. Maccab. already quoted is an example of this. Also the preface of the Gospel of St. Luke, and various other passages. Now, if the inspiration had been verbal this labor and research would be inconceivable. Again, the writer of the second book of Maccab. XV. 39, in closing his work, speaks thus of his work: "I also with these things, will draw my discourse to an end. And if (I have written) well, and as is befitting history, this I should wish; if only weakly and commonly, *μετρίως*, mediocriter, (not above the average) this is all I could achieve," etc. No such apology for shortcomings were necessary, had the Holy Ghost inspired the words.

Bonfrere, the disciple of Lessius, had taught a doctrine in some points identical with that taught by Lessius. He defended a three-fold relation of the Holy Ghost to the inspired writings; antecedent, concomitant, and consequent. According to Bonfrere, the antecedent relation had actuated the Prophets, who committed to writing the things revealed, without any part in their conception except a passive action, simply as an amanuensis writes down the dictated ideas, always, of course, in their own terms, as we have just seen.

The concomitant relation directed the writer as one would direct another in writing a human document, not permitting him to fall into error. Bonfrere even admitted in this mode a vague general impulse of the Holy Spirit to write such a history. He also admitted a sort of prompting influence, in case the writer's memory failed him, according to that pas-

sage in St. Matthew: "He (the Holy Ghost) will suggest all things to you, whatever I shall have said to you."

Bonfrere asserted this mode of inspiration to have had place in historical books, and in things known by natural means. He therefore applied it to the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Books of Maccabees, and the other historical books, except the parts of Genesis which treat of the origin of the World.

The consequent relation of the Holy Ghost to Scripture Bonfrere describes thus: "The Holy Ghost has a consequent relation to Holy Scripture if something be written by merely human agency without the help, direction or assistance of the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost afterward give testimony that all that is there written is true. For it is certain that then the whole writing would be the word of God and would have the same infallible authority as other things which were written by the direction or inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as it is the King's word when some secretary or notary by his own authority draws up a royal decree or public document which the King afterwards ratifies and to which he affixes his seal, and it is of equal authority as that which the King himself, conceives, writes or dictates."

Bonfrere believes that in this manner the Holy Ghost accepted the sayings of Aratus and Epimenides, Acts XVII. 28; Titus I. 12. "In the same way the Holy Ghost may make Holy Scripture, by testifying that all is true in it, a whole history or a book treating of morals or of anything else which was written by a uninspired author." (Praeloquia in Script. Sac.)

Bonfrere expressly denied that such had been the origin of any of the books now possessed by the Church, but asserted the non-repugnance of such action, and the possibility that such might have been the origin of some of the inspired works which the Church has lost.

Of Bonfrere's consequent inspiration it must be said, that to assert it of any of the existing books of the Holy Scripture, is condemned in express terms in the definition of the Vatican Council; if it only deals with a possibility, then it is false and absurd; for a *subsequent inspiration* is a contradiction in

terms. As Cornely rightly says: "repugnat in adjecto." For to constitute inspiration, we must have this supernatural psychological action in the mind of the writer, and if this be not verified, no subsequent action can supply it. "Factum infectum fieri non potest." But one might say, God is free to approve a book in such way, and if he were to do so, would not the book be made inspired Scripture? It would be an infallibly true writing, rendered infallible by its subsequent approbation, but not *inspired Scripture*; for the essential element required for inspiration never was there. Wherefore, that such was the origin of any of our Holy Books is denied by the Council of the Vatican; the possibility of such origin is disproved by a consideration of the essential elements of inspiration.

Nevertheless sentences, parts of books, and in fact, any document whatever, passing through the hands of an inspired writer, and used by him in writing a book, under the influence of inspiration, would become inspired Scripture. This is not consequent inspiration, but the employment of an inspired writer's natural faculties in collecting material. It is not probable that any great part of any inspired book was produced in this way; but some data most certainly were thus employed.

Jahn departed farther from the truth than Bonfrere had gone: asserting inspiration to be, in general, only a negative assistance protecting from error, he defended that such was the general origin of our books. Logical in his opinion, and recognizing that *inspiration* imported something positive, he boldly proclaimed that inspiration was a misapplied term; but, consecrated by usage, it was difficult to change.

The concomitant relation of the Holy Ghost to Scripture is also erroneous. This mode is a merely negative influence. The Holy Ghost, as it were, watches the inspired writer to protect him from error, and actually does save him when he would otherwise err. This is not sufficient to make God the Author of the Holy Books..

Inspiration is an *active, positive influence in every part of the Holy Scripture*. No other relation can constitute God the *author* of the Holy Writ. If, indeed, we were to defend

that God only preserved from error, as Calmet asserted, it would follow, that if the writer were exempt from error of himself, unaided by any other cause, God would not be the *author* of the book so written; and, as this would doubtless have happened in many passages and whole chapters, there would thus be parts of which God could not be said to be the author, as He would have had no part except a general supervision in their production. This the definition of the Vatican Council forbids to assert.

Again, there would be no difference, in such case, between the definitions of œcumenical councils and of the Pope's "ex cathedra", and the Holy Scriptures; for in these definitions there is the *negative assistance* of the Holy Ghost. But we know that the dignity and rank of such documents are far below that of the Holy Writ; for these are human documents, infallible in their truth, but they can not be said to have God for their *author*.

In 1885 Dr. Franciscus Schmid, complaining that nowhere could he find a fitting treatise on inspiration, published at Brixen his work entitled: "De Inspirationis Bibliorum vi et ratione," a volume of 422 pages in octavo. It is divided into seven books.

In the first book Dr. Schmid expounds the common Catholic doctrine, that there can be no error in the Scriptures; that all the statements of Scripture rest on the testimony of God and are of divine authority. The reason is that the Scriptures being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost have God for their principal Author, who employs human writers as instruments. God is not the only Author, because he did not immediately produce the books by miracle; but he wrote them by means of men. That God writing through men, be the true Author, an assistance saving from error is not enough, neither a subsequent approbation, for neither can give to a book the prerogative of a *divine origin*. There is necessary therefore a positive action of God on the man, by which the things which God has in mind and will to write, the (inspired) man also conceives in his mind, and adequately accomplishes. Then the book is to be given to men as divine. The intrinsic and principal

argument is drawn from this that God is the Author of the sacred books. To write a book, or to be a book's author, in the last analysis, means nought else than by writings to speak to the readers; that is, to express in writing that which one thinks in the mind, that they who read may know from his writings the writer's thoughts. But if God did not by his action determine all things that were to be written he himself *would not have spoken* these things; therefore he would not be the Author of the whole book. This applies to the action of God upon the understanding of the inspired writer. But since the inspired writer is an instrument of God, it is required that he write not merely by his own good pleasure, but in the name of God; consequently there is necessary that there should be a divine action on the will of the man and through the will upon his executive faculties."

"There is a great difference between an inspired book and the definitions of the Church; for an inspired book is infallible in all that it affirms; it is a basic fount of revelation; besides divine assistance it requires an extraordinary positive action of God; that it should be written in the name of God, and as God's book delivered to the Church; and even for the words, it requires a special assistance. All these qualities are not found in the definitions of the Church. Nevertheless the labor and vigils of the author do not conflict with the inspiration of a book."

Regarding verbal inspiration Schmid speaks as follows: "It is asked: What is truly required that a book be formally called the word of God? And, to particularize, Is it required that the individual words, just as they are, be of God? We answer, No. But it is not the same to deny that God antecedently determined and inspired in the writer the individual words, as to say that God left to the inspired writer an unrestricted liberty concerning the words and forms of expression. Rather another mode of inspiration which is a mean between the two extremes seems possible. In other words, one can grant that in our books the words and the style are not determined by God for every individual part, and yet maintain that the whole manner of speech which is found in the Scripture, is in a certain manner antecedently determined

by God, and by God's providence, in a manner known to God, brought out in the inspired books by the act of the inspired writers."

"We understand that God brought forth the Scriptures that men in matters of faith and morals might have a book which they might readily and safely believe." "Therefore all things whether they pertain to faith or morals or not, if found in the Scriptures, should have divine authority. Otherwise confusion and doubt will shake the foundations of faith. Therefore, there is no limiting the inspiration of the things affirmed in the Bible, and the words of Scripture must be such that they adequately express God's thought and will." "And God assists the words as far as is necessary for this end."

In 1886, G. J. Crets of the order of the Premonstratensians published at Louvain "De divina Bibliorum inspiratione." After a review of the various opinions, he institutes an analysis of the dogmatic formula, "God is the Author of the Holy Scripture;" for the reason that nothing conduces more to the knowledge of the true concept of inspiration than to ascertain what is required on the part of God, in order that God writing by means of men be called in the common use of the term the Author of the Scriptures. Having made a distinction between the material and formal element of the book, he places as necessary in inspiration that, as regards the formal element of the book, the writer receive a divine *afflatus* by which he may conceive in his mind and be infallibly moved in his will to write all those things, and only those things, which the Holy Ghost has decreed should be written by him. Moreover there is required a certain assistance or some direction from the Holy Ghost that the writer be saved from error and defect in executing the work to which he is divinely moved. By this assistance Crets understands a divine action by which the human writer chooses words apt to express the thoughts of the principal Author. Crets refutes the theory which made inspiration a mere assistance, and he also rejects the theory of subsequent approbation. In the things which the inspired writer acquires by his own faculties Crets teaches that God moves

his will by a special action to write, and to choose the things which God wishes written, and supernaturally enlightens him to know what to write. He believes that it is probable that all the inspired writers were conscious of their inspiration.

Regarding verbal inspiration Crets declares: "We conclude that besides the inspiration in the strict sense of the words and sentences, by which indeterminately and remotely the words and form of expression are furnished, there is not in the main to be admitted a special action of the Holy Ghost in the mode of expression, except the special direction and assistance by which the mind of the writer, in choosing forms of expression characteristic of his temperament and education, is so led that leaving aside incongruous and less exact expressions, he employs words and expressions befitting the inspired thoughts, by which the divine truths may be truthfully and fully expressed in a manner befitting the destination of the books to all the generations of men."

Crets extends inspiration "to all the statements of the Bible, whether they be of faith and morals, or of profane things; whether they be great or small; for if any error be admitted in the Scripture its whole authority is shaken: and also because God is the Author of the whole Scripture with all its parts."

Those who argue against this, base their argument on the purpose of Scripture, which they assert to be not profane but religious.

Crets answers: "The adequate and the ultimate end intended by God in giving us the Holy Scriptures was not that all the truth pertaining to faith and morals should be systematically condensed into certain books, and thus delivered to us; or that in books partly written by purely human agency, portions written by their authors while under divine inspiration should be interspersed; but (the end was) that in things pertaining to faith and morals, for our present life and our eternal life in Heaven, we should be taught by means of books having divine authority for each and every statement; in which books the truths at times are presented in a familiar form; as, for instance, in the form of historical

accounts, narrations and letters; all which not only contain things strictly religious, but also profane matter, which however either from the nature of the thing or from the intention of God, has a proximate or remote relation to the religious truths. Therefore the things essentially religious by the primary intention of God are for their own sake inspired; the other matter is the word of God, written by the divine influx, though accessorially, and for their relation to the things of faith and morals."

Crets affirms that in things of the physical order the sacred writers spoke according to the popular conception of these things, based on the appearances of things. Also in indicating numbers or time the writers at times expressed a certain indetermination as the matter demanded. By this most excellent theory all that is in the Scripture is inspired, but must be properly interpreted according to the principles approved by the Church.

In 1899 at Rome, Zanecchia O. P. published his work on inspiration. This contains little that is new, and its chief feature was an unreasonable attack on Card. Franzelin's theory of inspiration. Zanecchia was ably answered by Fr. J. P. van Kasteren, S. J., of Utrecht in the periodical "Studien." Utrecht 1902. Zanecchia answered in a work entitled "Scriptor sacer sub divina inspiratione juxta sententiam Card. Franzelin", published at Rome in 1903.

The main point urged against Franzelin is that he made the formula "God is the Author of the Scriptures" the fundamental first principle in investigating the nature of inspiration. Zanecchia, Prat and Lagrange argue that the term *author* is ambiguous and can not be made the basis of the clear concept of inspiration. It appears that there is much sophistry in the opposition to Franzelin. The word author has, it is true, several meanings as guarantee, cause, writer, etc.; but as used by the Councils of the Church, the sense in which it is employed in the conciliar formula is made clear by the setting, and it is evident that it means to predicate of God the divine Authorship of the Holy Books.

They say that the term "author" does not contain the term "inspirer" no more than the term "animal" contains

of necessity the concept "man". Therefore, they say that it is not logical to prove God's inspiration from his authorship. But here again there is sophistry. The term "author" *generically considered* does not contain the concept of inspiration; but the concept "author" as used by the councils and as used by Franzelin clearly contains the concept "inspirer." While the concept "inspirer" is ontologically prior to the concept "author", in the order of our cognition the concept of authorship is the clearer; and we understand the essential elements of inspiration from authorship. Therefore, we believe that Billot's remark is à propos: "The new critics seem to themselves to have brought forth a great apparatus of learning (against Franzelin); but in vain, for it would seem that it is their own logic, and not the logic of Card. Franzelin that is defective." (De inspiratione, 25.)

At this point it is well to insert the eminent author Christian Pesch's note on the controversy: "Although it is scarcely necessary, I acknowledge that I have never considered Card. Franzelin's theory definitive; nay more, there are many things in it which I do not approve. The understanding of the dogma of inspiration, not less than that of the other dogmas, continually develops in the Church; nor can any man in this life formulate an immutable theory, beyond which progress will not be possible. God's providence so governs human affairs that there is never closed the way to the knowledge of truth and the love of good. But that Zaneccchia never wearies of repeating that the theory of Franzelin is *absurd, obscure, unreasonnable, arbitrary*; that (Franzelin's) method is *unreasonable, false, illogical*, and such like, serves indeed to show us the character of the mind of the one who writes such things, but will avail nothing with wise men to overthrow Franzelin's doctrine." (De insp. sac. script. p. 313, note.)

Holden, the English professor at the Sorbonne († 1662), was the first among Catholics to distinguish between the doctrinal parts of Scripture, which, he asserted, were to be believed *fide divina*, and the historical and other parts, which he held to be written without any special influence of the Holy Ghost. Thus in his *Analysis of Faith*, V.: "The

special divine assistance given to the author of whatever book the Church receives as the word of God, extends only to those things which are *doctrinal*, or have a proximate or necessary bearing on doctrine; but, in these things which are not of the primary intent of the writer, or are relating to other things, we believe him to have received from God only that assistance which is common to other pious writers"; and, II. 3: "Although it is not licit to impeach as false aught contained in the Holy Code, nevertheless, the things which do not relate to religion do not constitute articles of Catholic faith." Holden's doctrine was examined by the Sorbonne and condemned.

Richard Simon in his "Histoire Critique du Nouveau Testament" (Rotterdam, 1689) declares that he dares not condemn the opinion of Holden; and dares not approve it in all its parts. Simon himself delivers his opinion obscurely, but seems content with a negative assistance preserving from error. Thus in his *Réponse aux Sentiments de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, he asserts: "Therefore when the Gospels are said to be inspired, this is not to be understood in the rigor that all things in these books came immediately from the Holy Ghost; but the sense is that God so controlled their writers that they fell not into error. Men wrote, and the Holy Ghost directed them, and did not deprive them of reason or memory, that he might inspire things which they already knew; but in general he determined them to write certain things rather than other things which they knew equally well."

Chrismann, in his "Rule of Faith" went farther. He declares that while all things in Scripture are true, only the truths of faith and morals are to be believed with divine faith: "Those things which neither antecedently or in the actual writing were revealed are not to be believed with divine faith, . . . as for instance that Pilate was prefect of Judæa when Christ was crucified; or that statement of Paul, II. Tim. IV.: 'Only Luke is with me,' and many other things which merit not divine faith but only Catholic faith. In these things that inspiration suffices by which the Holy Ghost assisted the writers that they might not err."

Some other obscure theologians both before and after Chrismann held these opinions. It was therefore to eradicate these errors that the Vatican Council promulgated its decree: "Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore continerent; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt." (Cap. II. De Revel.) And in Canon IV. De Revelatione:

"Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit."

One of the bishops in the Council proposed an emendation to the decree for the reason that it is not the same to declare a book sacred as to declare it canonical. A book is sacred by inspiration; it is canonical by the approbation of the Church. Bishop Gasser ably answered that though the two terms, etymologically differed, in the concrete they were identical, for the books of the canon were both sacred and canonical. Canonicity does not pertain to the essence of inspiration but to its manifestation. The Council first declared the intrinsic character of inspiration, and then the external condition, that it be delivered to the Church as a divine book. Soon after the Vatican Council August Rohling published in Germany a treatise "De Bibliorum inspiratione ejusque valore ac vi pro libera scientia." Rohling distinguished between things of faith and morals, and profane things. In things of faith and morals the human writer was preserved from error by inspiration. In all things profane the writer was left to his own resources, and hence what he wrote was to be treated as the work of any uninspired historian. To distinguish between inspired and uninspired accessory matter, Rohling gave the criterion that

such matter was inspired only when it bore a necessary relation to religious truth, as for instance that Israel came to Mt. Sinai. This theory was ably refuted by Franzelin, "De Trad. et Script." pag. 564 sqq. Rohling's theory rests on a false principle that God inspires only a part of the Scriptures, whereas the Councils of the Church declare that they are all inspired with all their parts. The profane matter is inspired *per accidens*, that men might have a deposit of writings of infallible truth.

A far greater impetus was given to the tendency to limit inspiration by the work of the French orientalist, F. Lenormant. In his work, "Les Origines de l'histoire," 1880, he declares that all the Scripture is inspired, but all that is inspired is not infallibly true. In faith and morals the Scripture is an infallible guide, but this infallibility is not to be extended to other matters. The first eleven chapters of Genesis are myths serving to present religious ideas, but in the history the fabulous is inseparably intermingled. Lenormant speaks with great clearness. Of inspiration he says: "In regard to biblical questions one of which is here treated, I firmly believe the divine inspiration of the sacred books, and with perfect submission I accept the doctrinal decisions of the Church pertaining to inspiration, but I know that in these decisions inspiration is not extended beyond the things which relate to religion and the things of faith and morals, that is the supernatural teaching contained in the Scriptures. In other things the human faculties of the biblical writers is supreme. Everyone impressed his character on the style of his book. Regarding physical sciences, the writers had no special light; they followed the common opinions and prejudices of their times. 'The end of Scripture is,' says Cardinal Baronius, 'to teach us how to go to Heaven; not how the heavens move'; much less is it the end of Scripture to reveal how earthly things move through their changes. The Holy Ghost did not reveal scientific truths nor universal history." Applying his theory to Genesis he believes that in its first chapters it is a collection of myths and traditions common to all the peoples inhabiting about the Euphrates and Tigris. Under the influence of the

religion of Israel the polytheistic element has been eliminated from these traditions, and they became the instrument of conveying the high truths of the monotheistic religion of Israel. Lenormant differs from other non-Catholic orientalists. These assign an evolution of human conscience as the cause of a transition from the crude beliefs of polytheism to the more elevated character of monotheism in Israel. Lenormant invokes a special intervention of divine Providence inspiring the Law and the Prophets. Lenormant's work was placed on the Index by a decree of Dec. 19, 1887.

The theory of Lenormant was plainly contrary to the Catholic idea of the total inspiration of the Bible. It would no longer be a book of inspired truths, but a book in which inspired truths were intermingled with myth and fable. Many Catholic writers took up the defence of the Bible against Lenormant. Notable among these were Lefebvre (*Revue Catholique de Louvain*, 1880) Desjacques, Lamy, and Brucker (*La Controverse* 1881, 1882). Franz von Hummelauer (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1881) pointed out the danger of Lenormant's theories, declaring: "Er rückt sich mit Sack und Pack in die Linie der rationalistischen Erklärer ein."

Tentatively and cautiously Card. Newman advanced some views on inspiration in an article "On The Inspiration of Scripture" published in the *Nineteenth Century*, LXXXIV. Feb. 1884. In this article, inspiration and allied topics are studied. Card. Newman wrote his article to put the Church in a true light against the calumnies of Renan. The latter argued that the Catholic Church insisted on certain things which criticism and history proved to be impossible. Newman takes up to consider whether the Church does insist on matters in defiance of criticism and history. Hence, rather than the formulation of a theory of inspiration the great cardinal presents his view of what the Church insists on. Of inspiration he says:

"Now then, the main question before us being what it is that a Catholic is free to hold about Scripture in general, or about its separate portions or its statements, without compromising his firm inward assent to the dogmas of the Church,

that is, to the *de fide* enunciations of Pope and Councils, we have first of all to inquire how many and what those dogmas are."

"I answer that there are two dogmas; one relates to the authority of Scripture, the other to its interpretation. As to the authority of Scripture, we hold it to be, in all matters of faith and morals, divinely inspired throughout; as to its interpretation, we hold that the Church is, in faith and morals, the one infallible expounder of that inspired text.

"I begin with the question of its inspiration.

"The books which constitute the canon of Scripture, or the Canonical books, are enumerated by the Tridentine Council, as we find them in the first page of our Catholic Bibles, and are in that Ecumenical Council's decree spoken of by implication as the work of inspired men. The Vatican Council speaks more distinctly, saying that the entire books with all their parts, are divinely inspired, and adding an anathema upon impugners of this definition.

"There is another dogmatic phrase used by the Councils of Florence and Trent to denote the inspiration of Scripture, viz., '*Deus unus et idem* utriusque Testamenti Auctor.' Since this left room for holding that by the word '*Testamentum*' was meant '*Dispensation*,' as it seems to have meant in former Councils from the date of Irenæus, and as St. Paul uses the word, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, the Vatican Council has expressly defined that the concrete *libri* themselves of the Old and New Testament '*Deum habent Auctorem.*'

"There is a further question, which is still left in some ambiguity, the meaning of the word '*Auctor.*' '*Auctor*' is not identical with the English word '*Author.*' Allowing that there are instances to be found in classical Latin in which '*auctores*' may be translated '*authors*,' instances in which it even seems to mean '*writers*,' it more naturally means '*authorities.*' Its proper sense is '*originator*,' '*inventor*,' '*founder*,' '*primary cause*;' (thus St. Paul speaks of our Lord as '*Auctor salutis*,' '*Auctor fidei*;) on the other hand, that it was inspired penmen who were the

'writers' of their works seems asserted by St. John and St. Luke and, I may say, in every paragraph of St. Paul's Epistles. In St. John we read, 'This is the disciple who testifies of these things, and has *written* these things,' and St. Luke says, 'I have thought it good to write to thee' &c. However, if any one prefers to construe 'auctor' as 'author' or writer, let it be so—only, then there will be two writers of the Scriptures, the divine and the human.

"And now comes the important question, in what respect are the Canonical books inspired? It cannot be in every respect, unless we are bound *de fide* to believe that 'terra in æternum stat', and that heaven is above us, and that there are no antipodes. And it seems unworthy of Divine Greatness, that the Almighty should in His revelation of Himself to us undertake mere secular duties, and assume the office of a narrator, as such, or an historian, or geographer, except so far as the secular matters bear directly upon the revealed truth. The Councils of Trent and the Vatican fulfil this anticipation; they tell us distinctly the object and the promise of Scripture inspiration. They specify 'faith and moral conduct' as the drift of that teaching which has the guarantee of inspiration. What we need and what is given us is not how to educate ourselves for this life; we have abundant natural gifts for human society, and for the advantages which it secures; but our great want is how to demean ourselves in thought and deed towards our Maker, and how to gain reliable information on this urgent necessity.

"Accordingly four times does the Tridentine Council insist upon 'faith and morality,' as the scope of inspired teaching. It declares that the 'Gospel' is 'the Fount of all *saving truth* and all *instruction in morals*,' that in the written books and in the unwritten traditions, the Holy Spirit dictating, this *truth* and *instruction* are contained. Then it speaks of the books and traditions, 'relating whether to *faith* or to *morals*,' and afterwards of 'the confirmation of *dogmas* and establishment of *morals*.' Lastly, it warns the Christian people, 'in matters of *faith* and *morals*,' against distorting Scripture into a sense of their own.

“In like manner the Vatican Council pronounces that Supernatural Revelation consists ‘*in rebus divinis,*’ and is contained ‘*in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus;*’ and it also speaks of ‘*petulantia ingenia*’ advancing wrong interpretations of Scripture ‘*in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium.*’

“But while the Councils, as have been shown, lays down so emphatically the inspiration of Scripture in respect to faith and morals, it is remarkable that they do not say a word directly as to inspiration in matters of fact. Yet are we therefore to conclude that the record of facts in Scripture does not come under the guarantee of its inspiration? We are not so to conclude, and for this plain reason:—the sacred narrative carried on through so many ages, what is it but the very matter for our faith and rule of our obedience? What but that narrative itself is the supernatural teaching, in order to which inspiration is given? What is the whole history, traced out in Scripture from Genesis to Esdras and thence on to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but a manifestation of Divine Providence, on the one hand interpretative, on a large scale and with analogical applications, of universal history, and on the other preparatory, typical and predictive, of the Evangelical Dispensation? Its pages breathe of providence and grace, of our Lord, and of His work and teaching, from beginning to end. It views facts in those relations in which neither ancients, such as the Greek and Latin classical historians, nor moderns, such as Niebuhr, Grote, Ewald, or Michelet, can view them. In this point of view it has God for its author, even though the finger of God traced no words but the Decalogue. Such is the claim of Bible history in its substantial fulness to be accepted *de fide* as true. In this point of view, Scripture is inspired, not only in faith and morals, but in all its parts which bear on faith, including matters of fact.

“But what has been said leads to another serious question. It is easy to imagine a Code of Laws inspired, or a formal prophecy, or a Hymn, or a Creed, or a collection of proverbs. Such works may be short, precise, and homogeneous; but inspiration on the one hand, and on the other a document,

multiform and copious in its contents, as the Bible is, are at first sight incompatible ideas, and destructive of each other. How are we practically to combine the indubitable fact of a divine superintendence with the indubitable fact of a collection of such various writings.

“Surely, then, if the revelations and lessons in Scripture are addressed to us personally and practically, the presence among us of a formal judge and standing expositor of its words is imperative. It is antecedently unreasonable to suppose that a book so complex, so systematic, in parts so obscure, the outcome of so many minds, times, and places should be given us from God without the safeguard of some authority; as if it could possibly, from the nature of the case, interpret itself. Its inspiration does but guarantee its truth, not its interpretation. How are private readers satisfactorily to distinguish what is didactic and what is historical, what is fact and what is vision, what is allegorical and what is literal, what is idiomatic and what is grammatical, what is enunciated formally and what occurs *obiter*, what is only of temporary and what is of lasting obligation? Such is our natural anticipation, and it is only too exactly justified in the events of the last three centuries, in the many countries where private judgment on the text of Scripture has prevailed. The gift of inspiration requires as its complement the gift of infallibility.

“Where then is this gift lodged, which is so necessary for the due use of the written word of God? Thus we are introduced to the second dogma in respect to Holy Scripture taught by the Catholic religion. The first is that Scripture is inspired, the second that the Church is the infallible interpreter of that inspiration.”

“Such then is the answer which I make to the main question which has led to my writing. I asked what obligation of duty lay upon the Catholic scholar or man of science as regards his critical treatment of the text and the matter of Holy Scripture. And now I say that it is his duty, first, never to forget that what he is handling is the Word of God, which, by reason of the difficulty of always drawing the line between what is human and what is divine, cannot be put on

the level of other books, as it is now the fashion to do, but has the nature of a Sacrament, which is outward and inward and a channel of supernatural grace; and secondly, that in what he writes upon it or its separate books, he is bound to submit himself internally, and to profess to submit himself, in all that relates to faith and morals, to the definite teachings of Holy Church.

“This being laid down, let me go on to consider some of the critical distinctions and conclusions which are consistent with a faithful observance of these obligations.

“Are the books or are the writers inspired? I answer, Both. The Council of Trent says the writers (*‘ab ipsis Apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante’*); the Vatican says the books (*‘si quis libros integros &c. divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit, anathema sit’*). Of course the Vatican decision is *de fide*, but it cannot annul the Tridentine. Both decrees are dogmatic truths. The Tridentine teaches us that the Divine Inspirer, inasmuch as he acted on the writer, acted, not immediately on the books themselves, but through the men who wrote them. The books are inspired, because the writers were inspired to write them. They are not inspired books, unless they came from inspired men.

“There is one instance in Scripture of Divine Inspiration without a human medium; the Decalogue was written by the very finger of God. He wrote the law upon the stone tables Himself. It has been thought the Urim and Thummim was another instance of the immediate inspiration of a material substance; but anyhow such instances are exceptional; certainly, as regards Scripture, which alone concerns us here, there always have been two minds in the process of inspiration, a Divine Auctor, and a human Scriptor; and various important consequences follow from this appointment.

“If there be at once a divine and a human mind co-operating in the formation of the sacred text, it is not surprising if there often be a double sense in that text, and, with obvious exceptions, never certain that there is not.

“Thus Sara had her human and literal meaning in her words, ‘Cast out the bondwoman and her son,’ &c.; but we

know from St. Paul that those words were inspired by the Holy Ghost to convey a spiritual meaning. Abraham, too, on the Mount, when his son asked him whence was to come the victim for the sacrifice which his father was about to offer, answered 'God will provide;' and he showed his own sense of his words afterwards, when he took the ram which was caught in the briers, and offered it as a holocaust. Yet those words were a solemn prophecy.

"And is it extravagant to say, that, even in the case of men who have no pretension to be prophets or servants of God, He may by their means give us great maxims and lessons, which the speakers little thought they were delivering? as in the case of the Architrictinus in the marriage feast, who spoke of the bridegroom as having 'kept the good wine until now;' words which it was needless for St. John to record, unless they had a mystical meaning.

"Such instances raise the question whether the Scripture saints and prophets always understood the higher and divine sense of their words. As to Abraham, this will be answered in the affirmative; but I do not see reason for thinking that Sara was equally favoured. Nor is her case solitary; Caiphas as high priest, spoke a divine truth by virtue of his office, little thinking of it, when he said that 'one man must die for the people;' and St. Peter at Joppa at first did not see beyond a literal sense in his vision, though he knew that there was a higher sense, which in God's good time would be revealed to him.

"And hence there is no difficulty in supposing that the Prophet Osee, though inspired, only knew his own literal sense of the words which he transmitted to posterity, 'I have called my Son out of Egypt,' the further prophetic meaning of them being declared by St. Matthew in his gospel. And such a divine sense would be both concurrent with and confirmed by that antecedent belief which prevailed among the Jews in St. Matthew's time, that their sacred books were in great measure typical, with an evangelical bearing, though as yet they might not know what those books contained in prospect.

“Nor is it *de fide* (for that alone with a view to Catholic Biblicalists I am considering) that inspired men, at the time when they speak from inspiration, should always know that the Divine Spirit is visiting them.

“The Psalms are inspired; but, when David, in the outpouring of his deep contrition, disburdened himself before his God in the words of the *Miserere*, could he, possibly, while uttering them, have been directly conscious that every word he uttered was not simply his, but another’s? Did he not think that he was personally asking forgiveness and spiritual help?

“Doubt again seems incompatible with a consciousness of being inspired. But Father Patrizi, while reconciling two Evangelists in a passage of their narratives, says, if I understand him rightly (ii. p. 405), that though we admit that there were some things about which inspired writers doubted, this does not imply that inspiration allowed them to state what is doubtful as certain, but only it did not hinder them from stating things with a doubt in their minds about them; but how can the All-knowing Spirit doubt? or how can an inspired man doubt, if he is conscious of his inspiration?

“And again, how can a man whose hand is guided by the Holy Spirit, and who knows it, make apologies for his style of writing, as if deficient in literary exactness and finish? If then the writer of Ecclesiasticus, at the very time that he wrote his Prologue, was not only inspired but conscious of his inspiration, how could he have entreated his readers to ‘come with benevolence,’ and to make excuse for his ‘coming short in the composition of words’? Surely, if at the very time he wrote he had known it, he would, like other inspired men, have said, ‘Thus saith the Lord,’ or what was equivalent to it.

“The same remark applies to the writer of the second book of Machabees, who ends his narrative by saying, ‘If I have done well, it is what I desired, but if not so perfectly, it must be pardoned me.’ What a contrast to St. Paul, who, speaking of his inspiration (I Cor. VII. 40) and of his ‘weakness and fear’ (*ibid.* II. 4), does so in order to *boast* that

his 'speech was, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the showing of the Spirit and of power.' The historian of the Machabees, would have surely adopted a like tone of 'glorying,' had he had at the time a like consciousness of his divine gift.

"Again, it follows from there being two agencies, divine grace and human intelligence, co-operating in the production of the Scriptures, that, whereas, if they were written, as in the Decalogue, by the immediate finger of God, every word of them must be His and His only; on the contrary, if they are man's writing, informed and quickened by the presence of the Holy Ghost, they admit, should it so happen, of being composed of outlying materials, which have passed through the minds and from the fingers of inspired penmen, and are known to be inspired on the ground that those who were the immediate editors, as they may be called, were inspired.

"For an example of this we are supplied by the writer of the second book of Machabees, to which reference has already been made. 'All such things,' says the writer, 'as have been comprised in five books by Jason of Cyrene, we have attempted to abridge in one book.' Here we have the human aspect of an inspired work. Jason need not, the writer of the second book of Machabees must, have been inspired.

"Again; St. Luke's gospel is inspired, as having gone through and come forth from an inspired mind; but the extrinsic sources of his narrative were not necessarily all inspired any more than was Jason of Cyrene; yet such sources there were, for, in contrast with the testimony of the actual eye-witnesses of the events which he records, he says of himself that he wrote after a careful inquiry, 'according as *they* delivered them to us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word;' as to himself, he had but 'diligently attained to all things from the beginning.' Here it was not the original statements, but his edition of them, which needed to be inspired.

"Hence we have no reason to be surprised, nor is it against the faith to hold, that a canonical book may be composed, not only from, but even of, pre-existing documents, it being always borne in mind, as a necessary condition, that

an inspired mind has exercised a supreme and an ultimate judgment on the work, determining what was to be selected and embodied in it, in order to its truth in all 'matters of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine,' and its unadulterated truth.

"Thus Moses may have incorporated in his manuscript as much from foreign documents as is commonly maintained by the critical school; yet the existing Pentateuch, with the miracles which it contains, may still (from that personal inspiration which belongs to a prophet) have flowed from his mind and hand on to his composition. He new-made and authenticated what till then was no matter of faith.

"This being considered, it follows that a book may be, and may be accepted as, inspired, though not a word of it is an original document. Such is almost the case with the first book of Esdras. A learned writer in a publication of the day* says: 'It consists of the contemporary historical journals, kept from time to time by the prophets or other authorized persons who were eye-witnesses for the most part of what they record, and whose several narratives were afterwards strung together, and either abridged or added to, as the case required, by a later hand, of course an inspired hand.'

"And in like manner the Chaldee and Greek portions of the book of Daniel, even though not written by Daniel, may be, and we believe are, written by penmen inspired in matters of faith and morals; and so much, and nothing beyond, does the Church 'oblige' us to believe.

"I have said that the Chaldee, as well as the Hebrew portion of Daniel requires, in order to its inspiration, not that it should be Daniel's writing, but that its writer, whoever he was, should be inspired. This leads me to the question whether inspiration requires and implies that the book inspired should in its form and matter be homogeneous, and all its parts belong to each other. Certainly not. The book of Psalms is the obvious instance destructive of any such

* *Smith's Dictionary.*

idea. What it really requires is an inspired Editor;* that is, an inspired mind, authoritative in faith and morals, from whose fingers the sacred text passed. I believe it is allowed generally, that at the date of the captivity and under the persecution of Antiochus, the books of Scripture and the sacred text suffered much loss and injury. Originally the Psalms seem to have consisted of five books; of which only a portion, perhaps the first and second, were David's. That arrangement is now broken up, and the Council of Trent was so impressed with the difficulty of their authorship, that, in its formal decree respecting the Canon, instead of calling the collection 'David's Psalms,' as was usual, they called it the 'Psalterium Davidicum,' thereby meaning to imply, that although canonical and inspired and in spiritual fellowship and relationship with those of 'the choice Psalmist of Israel,' the whole collection is not therefore necessarily the writing of David.

"And as the name of David, though not really applicable to every Psalm, nevertheless protected and sanctioned them all, so the appendices which conclude the book of Daniel, Susanna and Bel, though not belonging to the main history, come under the shadow of the Divine Presence which primarily rests on what goes before.

"And so again, whether or not the last verses of St. Mark's, and two portions of St. John's Gospel, belong to those Evangelists respectively, matters not as regards their inspiration; for the Church has recognised them as portions of that sacred narrative which precedes or embraces them.

"Nor does it matter whether one or two Isaiahs wrote the book which bears that Prophet's name; the Church, without settling this point, pronounces it inspired in respect of faith and morals, both Isaiahs being inspired; and, if

* This representation must not be confused with either of the two views of Canonicity which are pronounced insufficient by the Vatican Council--viz. 1, that in order to be sacred and canonical, it is enough for a book to be a work of mere human industry, provided it be afterwards approved by the authorities of the Church; and 2, that it is enough if it contains revealed teaching without error. Neither of these views supposes the presence of inspiration, whether in the writer or the writing; what is contemplated above is an inspired writer in the exercise of his inspiration, and a work inspired from first to last under the action of that inspiration.

this be assured to us, all other questions are irrelevant and unnecessary."

"Nor do the Councils forbid our holding that there are interpolations or additions in the sacred text, say, the last chapter of the Pentateuch, provided they are held to come from an inspired penman, such as Esdras, and are thereby authoritative in faith and morals.

"From what has been last said it follows, that the titles of the Canonical books, and their ascription to different authors, either do not come under their inspiration, or need not be accepted literally.

"For instance: the Epistle to the Hebrews is said in our Bibles to be the writing of St. Paul, and so virtually it is, and to deny that it is so in any sense might be temerarious; but its authorship is not a matter of faith as its inspiration is, but an acceptance of received opinion, and because to no other writer can it be so well assigned.

"Again, the 89th Psalm has for its title 'A Prayer of Moses,' yet that has not hindered a succession of Catholic writers, from Athanasius to Bellarmine, from denying it to be his.

"Again, the Book of Wisdom professes (*e. g.*, chs. vii. and ix.) to be written by Solomon; yet our Bibles say, 'It is written in the *person* of Solomon,' and 'it is uncertain who was the writer;' and St. Augustine, whose authority had so much influence in the settlement of the Canon, speaking of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, says: 'The two books by reason of a certain similarity of style are usually called Solomon's though the more learned have no doubt they do not belong to him.' (*Martin. Pref. to Wisdom and Eccl.*; *Aug. Opp.* t. iii. p. 733.)

"If these instances hold, they are precedents for saying that it is no sin against the faith (for of such I have all along been speaking), nor indeed, if done conscientiously and on reasonable grounds, any sin, to hold that Ecclesiastes is not the writing of Solomon, in spite of its opening with a profession of being his; and that first, because that profession is a heading, not a portion of the book; secondly, because, even though it be part of the book, a like profession is made

in the Book of Wisdom, without its being a proof that 'Wisdom' is Solomon's; and thirdly, because such a profession may well be considered a *prosopopeia* not so difficult to understand as that of the Angel Raphael, when he called himself 'the Son of the great Ananias.'

"On this subject Melchior Canus says: 'It does not much matter to the Catholic Faith, that a book was written by this or that writer, so long as the Spirit of God is believed to be the author of it; which Gregory delivers and explains, in his Preface to Job, 'It matters not with what pen the King has written his letter, if it be true that He has written it.' (*Loc. Th.* p. 44.)

"I say then of the Book of Ecclesiastes, its authorship is one of those questions which still lie in the hands of the Church. If the Church formally declared that it was written by Solomon, I consider that, in accordance with its heading (and, as implied in what follows, as in 'Wisdom,') we should be bound, recollecting that she has the gift of judging '*de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum,*' to accept such a decree as a matter of faith; and in like manner, in spite of its heading, we should be bound to accept a contrary decree, if made to the effect that the book was not Solomon's. At present as the Church (or Pope) has not pronounced on one side or on the other, I conceive that, till a decision comes from Rome, either opinion is open to the Catholic without any impeachment of his faith.

"And here I am led on to inquire whether *obiter dicta* are conceivable in an inspired document. We know that they are held to exist and even required in treating of the dogmatic utterances of Popes, but are they compatible with inspiration? The common opinion is that they are not. Professor Lamy thus writes about them, in the form of an objection: 'Many minute matters occur in the sacred writers which have regard only to human feebleness and the natural necessities of life, and by no means require inspiration, since they can otherwise be perfectly well known, and seem scarcely worthy of the Holy Spirit, as for instance what is said of the dog of Tobias, St. Paul's *penula*, and the salutations at the end of the Epistles.' Neither he nor Fr. Patrizi

allow of these exceptions; but Fr. Patrizi, as Lamy quotes him, 'damnare non audet eos qui hæc tenerent,' viz., exceptions, and he himself, by keeping silence, seems unable to condemn them either.

"By *obiter dicta* in Scripture I also mean such statements as we find in the Book of Judith, that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineve. Now it is in favour of there being such unauthoritative *obiter dicta*, that unlike those which occur in dogmatic utterances of Popes and Councils, they are, in Scripture, not doctrinal, but mere unimportant statements of fact; whereas those of Popes and Councils may relate to faith and morals, and are said to be uttered *obiter*, because they are not contained within the scope of the formal definition, and imply no intention of binding the consciences of the faithful. There does not then seem any serious difficulty in admitting their existence in Scripture. Let it be observed, its miracles are doctrinal facts, and in no sense of the phrase can be considered *obiter dicta*.

"It may be questioned, too, whether the absence of chronological sequence might not be represented as an infringement of plenary inspiration, more serious than the *obiter dicta* of which I have been speaking. Yet St. Matthew is admitted by approved commentators to be unsolicitous as to order of time. So says Fr. Patrizi (*De Evang.* lib.ii. p. 1), viz., 'Matthæum de observando temporis ordine minime sollicitum esse.' He gives instances, and then repeats, 'Matthew did not observe order of time.' If such absence of order is compatible with inspiration in St. Matthew, as it is, it might be consistent with inspiration in parts of the Old Testament, supposing they are open to re-arrangement in chronology. Does not this teach us to fall back upon the decision of the Councils that 'faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine' are the scope, the true scope, of inspiration? And is not the Holy See the judge given us for determining what is for edification and what is not?"

' In the Irish Ecclesiastical Record of March, 1884, Rev. John Healy (afterward Bishop Healy) published an article in which he dissented from Card. Newman. As Healy's

article seems to us to express a clear statement of the Catholic doctrine we reproduce it here nearly in full: "With regard to the Cardinal's views on the interpretation of Scripture, we have nothing to say; he merely expresses the common teaching of theologians on this point. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the first question which he discusses—the authority or inspiration of Sacred Scripture.

"In answer to his own question on this point—What is *de fide* with regard to the inspiration of Scripture? his reply is:—'As to the authority of Scripture, we hold it to be, in all matters of faith and morals, divinely inspired throughout.' In No. 11 he tells us that the Councils of Trent and the Vatican 'specify "faith and moral conduct" as the 'drift' of that teaching (in Scripture) which has the guarantee of inspiration.' In No. 12 he says that the Vatican Council pronounces that supernatural Revelation consists 'in rebus divinis,' and is *contained*—the italics are not ours—"in libris scriptis et sine scriptis traditionibus." And finally, in No. 13, he asserts that while the Councils, as has been shown, lay down so emphatically the inspiration of Scripture in respect to 'faith and morals,' it is remarkable that they do not say a word directly as to its inspiration in 'matters of fact;' and hence he raises the question—but does not answer it—whether there may not be in Scripture, as there are in the dogmatic utterances of Popes and Councils, *obiter dicta*, 'unimportant "statements of fact," not inspired, and therefore unauthoritative' (No. 26), and, we may add, not even necessarily true.

"The merest tyro in the schools of Catholic theology will at once perceive the startling character of these statements, and the pregnant consequences which they involve. Hence we propose to examine them very briefly, in order to ascertain if the *de fide* utterances of the Church on this matter of the inspiration of the sacred volume are exactly of the character described by Card. Newman; and we shall for the most part confine ourselves to an analysis of these dogmatic utterances themselves.

"Of course, when the Cardinal says it is *de fide* that Scripture, in all matters of faith and morals, is divinely in-

spired throughout, he says what is true; but he certainly seems to imply that it is not *de fide* that Scripture is inspired in those things (if there be any such) which are not 'matters of faith and morals.' Now, here precisely we join issue, and we say that, in our opinion, the Catholic dogma, as defined both in the Council of Trent and the Vatican, admits of no such restricting clause; that it is adequately and accurately expressed only by eliminating that clause; or, in other words, the Catholic dogma is, to borrow some of the Cardinal's own words, that Sacred Scripture is divinely inspired *throughout*.

"The Council of Trent first enumerates the books that constitute the canon of Scripture, and then, in the strictest language, formulates its decree in the following words:— 'Si quis autem libros ipsos *integros cum omnibus suis partibus*, prout in ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit.*' There is here no restriction of inspiration or canonicity to matters of faith and morals; the *entire* books, with *all their parts*, are declared to be sacred and canonical, that is, inspired Scripture, recognised as such by the Church; for, as we shall see, that is the meaning of sacred and canonical, as applied by the Council of Trent and of the Vatican to the books of Scripture. If we take the expression 'entire books, with all their parts,' to be equivalent to the Cardinal's word *throughout*, we have a right to conclude that the Catholic dogma, as enunciated in that canon, proclaims that these canonical books are inspired *throughout*, and therefore not merely in questions of faith and morals.

"Lest there might be any doubt of the meaning of the expression 'pro sacris et canonicis,' we beg to append the analogous canon in the Vatican Council, which, in our opinion, leaves no doubt about the matter. Here it is:—'Si quis sacrae Scripturae libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos Sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse

* Quarta Sessio, Decr. de Canonicis Scripturis.

negaverit, anathema sit.' (Can. 4, De Revelatione.) It is impossible to enunciate in clearer language the great Catholic truth, that the *entire* books of Sacred Scripture, *with all their parts*, are divinely inspired; or in other words, that the books of Sacred Scripture are inspired *throughout*. If any one should urge that perhaps 'eos,' in the last clause of this canon is not necessarily the exact equivalent of the subject of the preceding clause, our answer is, that both grammatically and logically 'eos' and 'illos' stand for the subject of the preceding clause, and are therefore exactly co-extensive with it. At any rate, the Council pronounces the *entire* books—eos, scil, libros *integros*—to be inspired, without making any distinction between 'matters of fact' and 'matters of faith and morals,' and that is quite enough for our argument.

"Every one trained in theological discipline knows that it is not always easy to ascertain, from the wording in the body of a dogmatic chapter of a General Council, what is strictly and exactly *de fide*. But when a Council wishes to express Catholic dogma with the utmost accuracy and exactness, it formulates it as a canon, and pronounces anathema against the gainsayers. I have a right, therefore, to infer from this canon, as a Catholic dogma, that Sacred Scripture, without exception or restriction, is inspired throughout.

"Cardinal Newman says that the dogmatic phrase used by the Councils of Florence and Trent to denote the inspiration of Scripture, viz., that one and the same God was the author of both Testaments—*Deus unus et idem utriusque Testamenti Auctor*—left some room for holding that the word 'Testament' might mean 'Dispensation, rather than the Books of the Testaments, although he admits that the Vatican Council has settled the question by inserting the word "books."

"It appears to us that the Council of Florence left no doubt about the matter, for it has explained the meaning of the word 'Testament' in its decree, as may be seen in so common a book as Franzelin (*De Inspir. S. Scrip. Thesis. II., No. 1.*) Here are the words:—

“Firmissime credit, profitetur et praedicat (Sacrosancta Rom. Ecclesia) unum verum Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum creatorem. . . . Unum atque eundem Deum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, *hoc est, Legis et Prophetarum atque Evangelii profitetur Auctorem, quoniam eodem Spiritu Sancto inspirante utriusque Testamenti sancti locuti sunt, quorum libros suscipit et veneratur, qui titulis sequentibus continentur.*’

“Surely the expression ‘Old and New Testament,’ when explained to mean ‘the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel,’ can mean nothing else but the Sacred Books that commonly go under these names.

“But if there could be any doubt about the matter it would be removed by the reason that is subjoined—God is the author of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, *because* it was under the inspiration of His Holy Spirit that the saints of both Testaments *spoke*, whose books, therefore, the Council receives and venerates. The word ‘*locuti*’ evidently refers to the *written word*, as in 2 Peter I., 21, and, in conjunction with *libros*, clearly shows that by Testament the Council meant the *books* of the Old and New Testament—that is, as it explains, the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels.

“It is difficult to see how this explanation given by the Council itself can be reconciled with the statement that the Councils of Florence and Trent left the meaning of the word Testament in the phrase referred to somewhat doubtful. The Council of Florence certainly did not; and, Pallavicini tells us, the Council of Trent, in framing its decree, was careful to follow the very words of the Council of Florence.*

“It is defined both by the Councils of Trent and of Florence, that God is the *auctor utriusque Testamenti*, and as we have just seen, that is the same as to say he is the *author* of all the books of the Old and New Testament; and so it has been expressly defined by the Vatican Council, as the Cardinal himself admits. But, he says, the Latin word *auctor* still leaves some ambiguity, for it is not equivalent to the

* Hist. Concil. Trid. Lib. VI. c. 11, n. 11-14.

English word *author*. That may be very true, when there is question of the words *auctor* and *author* in their generic sense; it is too delicate a point for us to discuss, and it is quite unnecessary to discuss it. For there is no question now of the *generic* meaning, which as Cardinal Franzelin clearly points out (Thesis III., No. 1.) is determined by the context, that is, by the special efficiency of which there is question. Generically, both in English and Latin, 'author' means the person who gives origin or authority to anything, but in its specific sense the meaning will very much depend on the kind of origin or authority of which there is question. The same may be the author of a law, the author of a book, and the author of a crime, but in very different senses. Now it is *de fide* that God is the author of the Books of the Old and New Testament, and will the Cardinal undertake to say, that when thus used in regard to books, *auctor* in classical Latin is not equivalent to 'author' when said in reference to books in English? We do not pretend to the Cardinal's knowledge of classical Latin, but we know something of ecclesiastical Latin, as used by the Councils of Trent and Florence, and we are quite sure that *auctor libri* in ecclesiastical Latin is pretty much the same as the 'author of a book' in English.

"It is *de fide*, therefore, that God is the author of all the Books of the Old and New Testament; and we have seen that it is *de fide* that they are inspired throughout, whole and entire, without any distinction between 'matters of fact' and 'matters of faith and morals.' Well, now, in No. 11, the Cardinal asks, in what respect are the Canonical Books inspired? 'It cannot be in every respect,' he says, 'except we are bound *de fide* to believe that 'terra in aeternum stat,' that heaven is above us, and that there are no antipodes.' If by 'respect' is meant every signification which a word or phrase might have, scientific or popular, literal or metaphorical, he is evidently right; but then it is hardly necessary to tell us so. Surely the phrases 'terra in aeternum stat,' 'and heaven is above us,' 'the sun rises,' and the like, have a popular meaning which is perfectly true, and which might

be revealed by God, and which if revealed by God, incidentally or otherwise, in that popular sense, we should be bound to believe it *de fide*.

“But apparently this is not what Cardinal Newman means, for in the next sentence he says: ‘And it seems unworthy of Divine greatness that the Almighty should, in His revelation of Himself to us, undertake mere secular duties, and assume the office of a narrator as such, of a historian, or geographer, except so far as the secular matters bear directly on the revealed truth.’ Does any one assert that God in His Revelation undertakes the office of narrator, *as such*, or historian, or geographer? We thought it was a well-known distinction made by Catholic theologians of every school between the things revealed *propter se*, or, as the Cardinal calls them, matters of faith and morals, and things revealed *per accidens*, including every other statement made in Sacred Scripture, whether in narration, history, geography, or anything else. God reveals none of these things *propter se*. He does not undertake the work of annalist, historian, geographer, *as such*. They are revealed on account of their connection, necessary, useful, or accidental as the case may be, with the main purposes of Divine Revelation. But as Benedict XII. in his Dogmatic Catalogue of the Errors of the Armenians very clearly signifies, they must be all believed even those which have been revealed *per accidens*, because they are all equally the word of God, and all serve a useful purpose in the Divine economy of our salvation.* ‘For *whatsoever* things were written, were written for our learning; that through patience and the comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope.’ *Rom. XV. 4.*

“And what is man that he should undertake to pronounce what is worthy, or what is unworthy of Divine Majesty? If we were to attempt to do so, especially in God’s revelation. where should we stop? Does not the Socinian think it unworthy of God to reveal mysteries? The Rationalist, for a somewhat similar reason, denies miracles. The ordinary

* See Franzelin note, Thesis iii. p. 352. The 114th error in the Catalogue seems to consist in the fact that the Armenians assumed a historical statement in Genesis to be *false*.

protestant contends that the Catholic teaching about the Blessed Eucharist is utterly unworthy of God, and so he gives up the literal, and adopts a metaphorical sense. It is the old story—*Durus est hic sermo, et quis potest eum audire?* Our reply is—*Quis cognovit sensum domini, qui instruat eum?* Human wisdom left to itself would say that of all unworthy things the most unworthy of God was to redeem the word by the 'folly' of the cross; and it did say it by the mouth both of Jew and Gentile.

"We have no objection to the statement that faith and moral conduct is the 'drift' of the teaching that has the guarantee of inspiration, or that the Council of Trent insists on faith and morality as the 'scope' of inspired teaching, provided always it is not thereby implied that Scripture is not also inspired throughout, even in those things which to us seem to have least connection with faith and morals. It is in this sense and in no other sense the Council of Trent speaks. In the *preamble* of the chapter it states, as Cardinal Newman says, that faith and morality is the 'scope' of inspired teaching, and that the Gospel is the 'fount' of all saving truth and all instruction in morals; and this is perfectly true, but the *main proposition* to which everything else is incidental is contained in the following words, which necessarily imply the inspiration of every single statement made by sacred writers. 'Sacrosancta. . . . Synodus . . . orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel oretenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in ecclesia Catholica conservatas pari pietatis affectu et reverentia suscipit et veneratur.' From the beginning of the chapter to the word *veneratur* is one single sentence; the last part, as written by us, contains the main assertion, the purport of which is perfectly clear: that as God is the author of all the books of the Old and New Testament, and, as the divine traditions regarding faith and morals were either spoken by Christ himself or dictated by His Holy Spirit, therefore the Council accepts and venerates both with equal affection of

piety and reverence—and why? because they are both equally the Word of God. It must be carefully observed that the words ‘*tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes*’—refer only to the traditions, and have nothing at all to do with the preceding words. And they were inserted, as Palavicini tells us, in order to distinguish the divine traditions, of which God is the author, and which concern faith and morals, from purely apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, which are of their own nature disciplinary and mutable. So far, therefore, is the Council of Trent from lending any countenance to the idea that all Scripture is not inspired, that it distinctly affirms the divine authorship of all the books of Sacred Scripture, and we have seen, pronounces anathema against those who would dare to assert that they are not ‘sacred and canonical,’ and inspired Scripture throughout.

“There is one point to be carefully kept in mind in any discussion on this important question, if we wish to avoid grave errors—the difference between *inspiration* and *revelation*. Inspiration, as we shall see further on, in its plenary sense, implies three things, the Divine afflatus moving, enlightening, and guiding the writer—*inspiratio active sumpta*: the *state* of the human agent under this Divine influence—*inspiratio passive sumpta*; and, lastly, the product of the combined action of God and man, that is, the book written by the Holy Spirit through man’s agency—which is *inspiratio terminative sumpta*. Inspiration therefore, in reference to Sacred Scripture, essentially regards the *writing*—the writing *in fieri*, and the writing *in facto esse*. Not so in the case of revelation. It need have no connection with inspired writing at all. In its active sense it is simply the Divine manifestation of hidden things, and sometimes of things not previously hidden; in its objective sense it merely means the things so made known by God. Inspiration, therefore, necessarily implies revelation in the wide sense given above; but revelation, as in the case of Divine traditions not contained in Scripture, may have nothing at all to do with inspiration. Let our readers bear this in mind, for the Cardinal goes on to say that ‘the Vatican Council pronounces that supernatural *revelation* consists *in rebus Divinis*, and is *con-*

tained in libris scriptis, et sine scriptis traditionibus.' italicising as above, and implying thereby, it seems to us, that all Sacred Scripture is not necessarily Divine truth or a Divine revelation, and that revelation and inspiration are identical.

"What the Council says on the first point is contained in the following sentence, and certainly will not admit the meaning given above by implication:—'Huic Divinae revelationi tribuendum quidem est, ut ea, quae *in rebus Divinis* humanae rationi per se impervia non sunt, in presenti quoque generis humani conditione ab omnibus expedite, firma certitudine, et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint.'" I do not think the Council declares in that sentence that revelation consists 'in things Divine,' but even if it does, then all we can say is, that every statement in Scripture is Divine, or, what comes to the same, is the Word of God—as St. Paul himself asserts, at least by implication, regarding the Scriptures certainly of the Old Testament, if not also of some of the New, *πάντα γραφή θεόπνευστος*. If every scripture is *θεόπνευστος* it may well be called Divine.

"As regards the second point, the Council does say that the supernatural *revelation* is *contained* in the written books and unwritten Divine traditions; but concerning these same books it says in the very next sentence, that the church does not regard them as sacred and canonical, merely because they *contain* this *revelation* without error, but because, having *been written* under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author, and as such have been handed down to the church. 'Eos vero (libros) ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati, nec ideo dumtaxat, quod *revelationem* sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi ecclesiae traditi sunt.' To say, therefore, that the Divine books contain the revelation of God, and even without any error, is declared by the Council itself to be an inadequate description of their sacred and canonical character.* The reason is manifest. A book

* See Franz, page 375 Thesis IV.

might contain the whole revelation of God, and contain it without error, and yet not be at all an inspired book, because inspiration essentially regards the writing or authorship of the book. If it is an inspired book, God is its author; it must have been written in all its parts under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God, so much so, that God becomes responsible for every single statement it contains, and therefore quite as much responsible for its statements 'in matters of fact,' as for its statements in reference to 'faith and morals.' All these truths will not have the same intrinsic importance in relation to each other, or to the economy of man's redemption; but they are all divine as regards their origin and their authority.

"And now this leads us to give, in conclusion, a very brief explanation of the nature of inspiration as taught in all Catholic schools, and it is as contained in the writings of the Fathers, and of all our eminent theologians, since the Council of Trent. Catholic teaching on this point has become still more definite and dogmatic since the definitions of the Council of the Vatican already referred to.

"The points of Catholic dogma clearly defined are, (a) that God is the author of all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, (b) that these books have been *written* under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God, (c) and hence the entire books are inspired. The second of these points more clearly and accurately defines the meaning of the first; and the third expresses the abiding consequence of the other two, that is, the inspiration of the sacred books *terminative*, as the theologians call it.

"God, then, is defined to be the author of all the Sacred Scriptures, *because* they were written under the inspiration of His Holy Spirit. Now, what is meant by being the author of a book in this sense? It must mean here, as it means everywhere else, either that He Himself wrote it, as He wrote the Tables of the Law, with his own finger, which, of course, is out of the question; or that he dictated the sacred books word for word to the inspired penmen, an opinion which has been held by few, but is now justly and generally rejected; or finally, as a *minimum*, it must mean according to the use

of language, that He directed or procured the writing of all these sacred books; that He suggested to the sacred writers all the *matter* to be written—*res et sententias*—even that known before, and finally gave them such constant, ever watchful assistance in the composition of all these books as to insure that everything which He wished should be said, and that nothing should be said except what He wished, and hence that there should be no trace of falsehood or error, for which He, the principal and infallible Author of the book, would, in that absurd hypothesis, be held responsible. The very nature of Divine authorship requires this at least; if the instrumental author begin to write *motu proprio*, it is in no special sense God's work; if he write anything which he is not directed to write, it is not God's work so far; and if there could be errors or mistakes in any book written by Divine authority, God could never claim that book whole and entire, with all its parts, as purely and simply His own—as written in its entirety under the inspiration of His Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Divine authorship of the Sacred Books, in the sense *defined by the Church*, imperatively requires that as a *minimum*, the impulse to write should come from God, that He should suggest at least the matter, and that He should preserve the sacred writers from all error, which, if it were possible, would not be the error of man, but of God. It is as absurd to say that a man could commit sin under the impulse of the Holy Ghost, as to say that the sacred writer could write error under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, as it is *de fide* that the Sacred Books, whole and entire, were written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, it follows, at least as a conclusion theologically certain, that everything written by the sacred writers is, what is called in Scripture, and by the Church, and by the Fathers, and by the people, verily and indeed the Word of God, unmixed with any false, or erroneous, or *merely* human element.

“This doctrine, regarding the nature of inspiration, does not imply that God did not, in most cases, leave the choice of the words to the sacred writer. It does not even imply that the words chosen were the most elegant, or most appropriate, for expressing the Divine ideas in the writer's mind. It does

not imply the adoption of the graces of style, nor the niceties of grammar, nor the exactness in scientific or rhetorical arrangement. But it does imply that the words must be suitable to express the writer's Divine thoughts, that his language must be intelligible, and that the arrangement must not be such as will necessarily lead the readers astray.

"Again, inspiration does not exclude antecedent knowledge of much of the matter to be written, nor labor in its acquisition, provided always it is written by the human author of the sacred Book, not *motu proprio*, but in virtue of the Divine impulse, consciously or unconsciously followed, and written also under the Divine guidance, lest any error might creep in, of which, as it could not originate from God, He could not accept the authorship or responsibility.

"Neither does our doctrine on inspiration imply that it is confined to the autograph of the sacred writer. Inspiration does not, *terminative sumpta*, consist in the *material* book as such—in the handwriting, the ink, and the vellum; but it consists in the book as a series of signs, with a definite objective significance for the mind of man: and hence the inspired books remain, although the autographs have all perished."

Others who opposed the views of Newman were Brucker (*La Controverse et le Contemporain*), and Corluy in the same periodical. Later Brucker published his views in a work entitled "Questions Actuelles d'Ecriture Sainte." In Germany Franz Schmid vigorously opposed Newman's theory.

In 1889 Salvatore di Bartolo published his "I Criteri Teologici." This was placed on the Index of prohibited books by the decree of May 14, 1891. A corrected edition which appeared at Rome in 1904 is permitted to be read. The most widely circulated form of this work is a French edition with certain additions by the translator. This was made from the proscribed edition. Di Bartolo aimed to bring about a union between the Catholic Church and all those who dissent from it by keeping in abeyance everything non essential on which there is difference of view, and insisting only on the things that are *clearly revealed*, and on the things of common belief of all Christians. Applying this theory to

inspiration he says: "Inspiration is a supernatural assistance acting on the intelligence and will of the sacred writer, and causing him to write the true doctrine in things of faith and morals, and true facts which are essentially connected with things of faith and morals; and to write other things with a sincere purpose and divine commission to save mankind."

Explaining his meaning he declares inspiration to be such a co-operation of the Holy Ghost that the whole Scripture should be attributed to the Holy Ghost as its author." Conceding that the Church has defined the divine authorship, di Bartolo affirms "that the Church has never determined the constituent elements of inspiration, and that theologians are not agreed as to its nature." Hence this author gives a very wide stretch to the free ground in this great question. The substance of his own views may be summed up as follows: Inspiration has three degrees. In the things of faith and morals and facts essentially therewith connected the highest degree of inspiration takes place, even at times extending to the very words. Whenever there is a doubt of the degree of inspiration the presumption is in favor of the biblical expression until the clearest arguments force us to admit the evidence of the human element. Inspiration is not present in all sentences, neither always in the forms of expression.

The least degree of inspiration is present in the accessories to the things narrated in Scripture, and here inspiration does not guarantee infallibility. Here therefore not all doubt, equivocation, and error are excluded. These things are not to be said to the common people who are unable to make the necessary distinctions; but di Bartolo believes it not irreverent to speak of an error in the material part of Scripture. Such opinion, he says, offends not God, for the error is not attributed to God, but to his secretary. If the Son of God in his incarnation had natural imperfections; if God permitted errors gradually to creep into the text of the Scriptures as they were preserved by men, why could not God permit his secretary the inspired writer to commit certain defects in the narration of accessory things, when they

could not be imputed to God, but to the writer whom God employed? It conflicts not with inspiration when the writer uses old documents, therefore, why should it be excluded by inspiration that a writer in secondary things should commit equivocations? that he should follow popular beliefs? that he should fall into error? God, permitting that human weakness should be manifested, saved intact the entire divine message. The least degree of inspiration is present in things non-religious in character, and here the human element is not guaranteed infallibility. There is a certain inspiration here; for the writer had a special commission to write for the salvation of men, and his end in writing was good. Inspiration extends itself to all the sacred writers have written; but in these accessory and non-religious things it is the least degree of inspiration, which leaves more to the human factor. Therefore the writer being by nature limited and fallible, he may in these secondary things err and doubt. To the non-religious order of Scripture pertain geography, chronology, natural history, physics, defective philosophy perhaps, and defects in literary style.

Though di Bartolo's views are in some things extreme, and rightly condemned, there is every evidence that he wrote in good faith, and with the sole purpose of seeking the truth.

At Turin in 1892, Canon Berta published his "Dei cinque libri mosaici," wherein he defended the views similar to those of Lenormant.

The Barnabite Semeria (*Revue Biblique* 1893, p. 434) went further, and declared that it would be a most useful thing for the Church if some one of sufficient ability would separate the inspired portions from the uninspired portions of Holy Writ.

The same views were advocated by the Barnabite Paolo Savi in the "*Science Catholique*," 1892—93. Canon Jules Didiot, professor at Lille in "*La logique surnaturelle subjective*," 1891, rejected the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures, but after the appearance of the Bull "*Providentissimus Deus*" he retracted his opinions in favor of the more conservative opinion in his, "*Traité de la Sainte Ecriture d'après S.S. Léon, XIII.*," (Paris, 1894).

In the year 1893 a little before the appearance of the Bull of Leo XIII. Msgr. D'Hulst, Rector of the free theological faculty of Paris, published in the "Correspondant" an article entitled "La Question biblique." In this article d'Hulst takes up the defense of Lenormant on the ground that the placing of a work on the Index is not of necessity a condemnation of its doctrine. After enumerating some of the reasons which may move the Congregation to prohibit a book, he declares that the ideas of Lenormant may have been prohibited for the reason that the world was not ready for them. He declares that "The hypothesis by which inspiration is extended to the things narrated of the origin of the human race, in such wise that the inspiration confers not infallibility on these narrations, but only joins doctrinal and moral truth to them, is adopted by a certain number of learned and orthodox men. . . . Such men admit that there may be in the Bible propositions not strictly true. God is not responsible for these, although he is the Inspirer of the whole work. The reason is that to reveal is one thing; to inspire, another. Revelation is divine teaching which must be true. Inspiration is an impulse which determines the sacred writer to write, directs him, moves him, watches over him. In the hypothesis which I am explaining this moving (*motio*) renders him immune from error in faith and morals; they believe that this preservation does not go further; they believe that it has the same limits as has the infallibility of the Church. The promise of inerrancy was made to the Church for the sole end that it might with certitude promulgate the rule of faith and morals. It is true that the Scriptures are not alone infallible, but also inspired. Yet although inspiration extends to everything, perhaps it confers not infallibility on all the statements of the inspired writer; perhaps this privilege is restricted to the things of faith and morals. Perhaps the other statements which are not by inspiration rendered infallible, are only employed as the vehicle of the teaching concerning faith and morals. It may be that God, the Inspirer, who could have corrected the material errors of the sacred writer judged it not useful to do this. These are the opinions of the liberal school (*école large*).

“The adherents of this school assert: First, that the best way to determine the effect of inspiration is to inquire into its motive. . . . But the end which God proposed in dictating the Holy Books is to teach man what he should believe, hope, and do, that he may bring him to his supernatural end. Therefore all the statements of Scripture which conduce to this end must be divine affirmations, but as to other things there seems to be doubt.

“Secondly, the Council of Trent declared the Vulgate authentic, but only in things of faith and morals. Therefore if the divine authority of the Vulgate is not defined except as regards the things of faith, the authority of the Holy Scripture is practically restricted within the same limits. Why should it not be theoretically?

“Moreover, the Vatican Council renewing the decree of the Council of Trent declares the true sense of Scripture to be that which holy Church holds. . . . But it adds that the interpretation of which it speaks, and to which the rules apply, is the interpretation in things of faith and morals.”

Speaking of Cardinal Newman d'Hulst says: “Cardinal Newman restricts the liberty afforded by this theory to the *obiter dicta*. This timidity may readily be understood if we reflect that the eminent author located the question in a very dangerous point; for he treats of the object or extent of inspiration. Now if inspiration is of limited extent, there are uninspired portions of Holy Scripture. This is a new and dangerous formula, which it is difficult to bring into accord with the decrees of councils and the teaching of tradition. Hence it is evident why the prudent theologian restricted the application to fragments merely accessory. This difficulty is greatly lessened, and almost vanishes if we hold the total inspiration of Scripture, but in such a sense that in certain things not pertaining to faith the infallibility be restricted, which, however is the proper effect of inspiration. To exempt from infallible inspiration *obiter dicta* would be of little use to solve the great exegetical difficulties. . . . Wherefore other writers diligently considering not the extent of inspiration, but the effect of inspiration, apply the principle in a wide range not to merely accessory things, but

to considerable portions of Scripture; in the first place to the portions which treat of, or seem to treat of scientific questions, then to other texts of greater moment and extent which have, or seem to have, a historical character."

Msgr. d'Hulst affirms the sound doctrine concerning the relation of the Scriptures to the natural sciences: "The Scriptures do not convey scientific instruction, and therefore there can be no conflict. The Scriptures speak of these matters in accordance with the opinions then in vogue; such matters are not written for their own sake, but for a setting of religious ideas."

And now Msgr. d'Hulst comes to the most difficult question of all; the question which Père Lagrange has worked into his famous *Méthode Historique*; the question which divides the greatest minds in the Catholic Church, namely: May we apply to the portions of Scripture which are historical the same theory which without detriment to the faith we apply to the scientific statements of the Bible? Msgr. d'Hulst declares this to be the axis about which all future Biblical questions will revolve. Indeed were it not for it there would not be a *biblical question*. The doctrinal and moral parts of the Bible give us no difficulty. All the world accepts the principles enunciated above concerning the matters of natural science in the Bible; but the history in the Bible is the source of the greatest difficulties.

With admirable acumen, Msgr. d'Hulst declares that if the question were to be submitted whether the historical parts of the Bible should be treated in the same manner as the scientific parts a negative answer must be given. "For although we may deny that cosmology is taught in the Bible no man may in any way imagine that history is not taught. . . . At least a part of history is divinely taught, for revelation itself is a dogmatic fact, and the whole series of human events is bound up with revelation. The creation, the primitive state of man, the fall, the promise of a Saviour, the various divine covenants and the signs attesting them, the events which prepared the way for the Messiah, the life itself of the Saviour, his preaching, his death, his resurrection, the foundation of the Church, these are historical facts.

If these are false all religion is false. If they are not inspired nothing is inspired. If the inspired writers who deliver them are not by inspiration preserved immune from error, inspiration is of no avail. Therefore the question is not whether there is history in the Bible, but whether all the historical facts which are found in this divine collection are revealed, or at least attested by inspiration."

It seems to us that the principles here enunciated prove the historical method of Lagrange to be impossible. And yet Lagrange himself admits these principles. Thus we read in the opening paragraphs of Lecture VI. in the "Méthode Historique:"

"When, in the previous Lecture on the authority of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, I applied to history the same principles as to science, the thought must have occurred to you, that for every point of similarity there might be between science and history, viewed as matter for biblical criticism, there were many more points of difference. Every kind of knowledge has its own rules and methods. In the first place, granted that we may hold that there is no science in the Bible, it would be more than paradoxical to maintain that the Bible contained no history, seeing that the Bible is the history of salvation. Science, moreover, based as it is upon experiment and calculation, is naturally outside the sphere of the greater number of men as soon as it goes beyond the mere observation of natural phenomena, while history, in itself, is nothing but the record of the doings of men as established by testimony. If in late years it has seemed to move in a somewhat mysterious region, it is simply because of the attention given to the study of sources which calls for specialized knowledge and a critically trained mind; but, in itself, history is but the record of what eye-witnesses have seen. So that while scientific theories like our own could not possibly have found a place in the Bible without an absolutely unnecessary revelation, and without doing violence to men's minds, on the other hand, no supernatural help was needed to write sound history.

"Hence there is no science in the Bible, although throughout, an elementary knowledge of arithmetic is supposed, for

that is well within the range of man; there are no metaphysics in the Bible, although the normal use of the intellect is always assumed; there is much history in the Bible, because the writing of history is familiar to all people who have reached the same stage as the Israelites. Now, if God did not reveal to His chosen people any scientific or metaphysical proposition, at that time beyond the range of their mind, because it was not profitable for their salvation, we have good ground for holding that neither did He reveal to them any history that was beyond the range of what could be seen or known except in so far as it was necessary for salvation. Hence, and this is a further difference, we have no hesitation in placing history, that is to say, the record of men's deeds, in a different category from the sciences and from metaphysics, because a man's salvation is inseparably connected with his actions. Thus it is quite possible that God may have made a revelation of history, and hence it is, that I wish to exclude from the conclusions which follow, all that concerns the Fall of man."

It is evident to all that there is an illogical sentence in this statement. After declaring that history is not in the category of science, Lagrange by inference places it in the same category by declaring: "Now if God did not reveal to his chosen people any scientific or metaphysical proposition, at that time beyond the range of their mind, because it was not profitable for their salvation, we have good ground for holding that neither did he reveal to them any history that was beyond the range of what could be seen or known, except in so far as it was necessary for salvation."

The exact opposite should be the logical influence: from the fact that history enters more intimately into the very essence of revelation, God might well be supposed to safeguard it more especially, lest an error in one statement might cast doubt on others more essential.

Msgr. d'Hulst rightly affirms that it is indifferent whether we consider certain books such as Ruth, Job and others to be historical, or doctrinal and moral treatises presented under the form of history. The thing is uncertain and in no wise pertains to faith. "A more difficult question is presented by

the first eleven chapters of Genesis. Certainly they should be held as historical were it not that grave reasons persuade us that we have to deal here with a mythological tradition of the most ancient oriental people, as F. Lenormant shows. His theories indeed seem new and bold in the Church. That they are new is not strange, since the documents of which he treats were only lately found; but they are not more bold than, for instance, the theory of St. Augustine concerning the six days of creation. But they say: 'Errors are introduced into the Scripture. Error excludes inspiration.' We answer: This is rashly said. Error excludes inspiration as far as it is imputed to God, not in as far as it is committed by the sacred writer. God could make himself sponsor of all that goes into the Scriptures; but also God could have limited inspiring action to these effects: to move the writer to write; to reveal to him certain truths; to direct him, and preserve him from all error in things of faith and morals; and yet, when the writer employs documents, not enter to correct their imperfections and less accurate statements, except where they were contrary to the doctrinal and moral end of inspiration. . . . There has always been admitted the human element subordinate to the divine element in the composition of the sacred books. All the commentators and all the Fathers of the Church have pointed out the differences of style, of genius, and of intellectual equipment of the different sacred writers. If the Holy Ghost could permit such defects, why not defects, in historical narratives which pertain not to faith? If the infallibility which is founded on inspiration be restricted to religious truths, there will be removed the gravest difficulties which are moved against the Scriptures."

With true Catholic spirit Msgr. d'Hulst proclaimed that he submitted his opinions to the infallible authority of the Church, whose voice he was ready to obey. After the condemnation of Lenormant's book many other treatises had been published which advocated analogous views. Rome had kept silent; and Msgr. d'Hulst interpreted this silence as a liberty to speak his views, always in subjection to the Church.

The silence of which this writer spoke was soon broken. In the same year Pope Leo XIII. published his Bull, "Providentissimus Deus," in which the principles of Msgr. d'Hulst are tacitly condemned.

True to his profession Msgr. d'Hulst and his associate faculty signified their obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. They begin their letter thus; "The Rector and professors of the canonical theological Faculty of the University of Paris, after carefully reading and meditating on the encyclical letter 'Prov. Deus,' declare themselves prepared with a willing mind to accept and obey all that Your Holiness therein teaches, commands, and advises, especially concerning the effect of inspiration which extends itself to all the parts of all the canonical books so that it excludes all error."

Against Msgr. d'Hulst's article Jaugey wrote in "La Science Catholique," 1892-93, and Brucker in the "Etudes," 1893. Jacquier, recognizing that the historical difficulties had brought about the new concept of inspiration, suggested that the adherents of the "new exegesis" should collect all the scientific, chronological, and historical difficulties. The conservative theologians should then attempt their solution; and perhaps thus concessions might be made on both sides, and the points of difference lessened. This is the wisest advice, but it is a great undertaking, and still awaits men capable of accomplishing it.

In a letter to the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy of France under date of Sept. 8, 1899, Pope Leo XIII. reiterated with great earnestness his condemnation of the liberal theories of inspiration: "Venerable Brethren, regarding the study of the Holy Scriptures we again call your attention to the instructions which we have given in our encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" which we desire that professors should make known to their pupils, and add the necessary explanations. Let them warn (their pupils) against the alarming tendencies which seek to thrust themselves into the interpretation of the Bible, and which if they prevail will soon ruin inspiration and the supernatural order. Under the specious pretext of removing from the adver-

saries of revelation arguments which seems irrefutable against the authenticity and veracity of the Holy Books certain Catholic writers have thought well to accept their arguments on their side. Pursuant to these strange and dangerous tactics they have labored with their own hands to make breaches in the walls of the city which they have a mission to defend. In our aforesaid encyclical and in another document (Letter to The General of the Friars Minor) we have justly dealt with the dangerous temerities. While encouraging our exegetes to keep abreast of progress and criticism, we have firmly maintained the principles sanctioned by the traditional authority of Fathers and Councils and renewed in our days by the Council of the Vatican."

It is clear to all that the Supreme Pontiff in these utterances has in mind the theories taught by Lenormant, Loisy, and Lagrange, and thought possible by Msgr. d'Hulst.

In the *Revue Biblique* of 1896-97 Père Lagrange published a series of articles entitled "The Inspiration of the Holy Books." His theory is spread out over a great mass of words, and often obscurely enunciated, but we may gather from it the following principles. "God teaches all that is taught in the Bible; but he teaches nothing except what is taught by the inspired writer, and the inspired writer teaches nothing except what he intends (by his writing) to teach." Lagrange calls this a very simple theory, declaring that thus inspiration does not change the sense of terms, nor the character of propositions, nor the species of literature to which the books belong. It is only by studying these that we may come at the idea and intention of the author. The illustrations given to prove this principle seem to us puerile and illogical. Lagrange cites the sentence from the Psalms: "There is no God," as an evidence of a statement which the author did not wish to teach, and as therefore a proof that the author teaches only what he wishes to teach. Issues are confused here. No man believes that every sentence in the Bible, without regard to whose utterance it be, or its context, is true. In such absurd supposition Christ would be a malefactor, a blasphemer, and God the Father would give

place to Baal. But there is no logical connection between these simple self-evident facts and a system that is propounded in order to allow its author later to say that the primitive history of the Bible is closely allied to myths. Thus he continues:

“On the other hand, no one will deny that not all that appears to be historical is really historical; and so I need not insist upon the now generally accepted and perfectly simple theory—so simple indeed that I can hardly claim as my own the words which express it—to the effect that the value of statements seemingly affirmative or negative depends entirely upon the style of literary production in which such apparently categorical statements appear. The first thing to be done is to determine the various literary styles found in the Bible and presenting the appearance of history. Catholic sentiment rightly shrinks from the use of the word ‘myth,’ but between myth and history there lies a very wide field. Let us examine, then, the different forms of literary production known to the ancients, so as to find out how many of them the Bible contains, in order to be able to estimate the true character of the expression used.

“Can it be said that there are myths in the Bible? The very idea jars on the ordinary mind, and it will not allow the word to be uttered. A few Catholic writers, daily growing more numerous, prefer to draw a distinction.

“Naturally they are not anxious to retain the word if it gives pain. But they find its use convenient to express the likeness—at least the external likeness—there is between myths and primitive history; only, they carefully add that the mythological elements found in the Bible have been carefully ‘stripped of any polytheistic tinge, and are only used to express lofty religious ideas.’ The phrase is that of Dom Hildebrand Höpfl, a Benedictine, used in a pamphlet directed against the rationalistic methods of the higher critics.*

“No one, as far as I know, has attempted to analyze this statement or any equivalent one, so that the popular mind,

* Höpfl, *Die hochere Bibelkritik*, Paderborn, 1902, p. 63. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1902, p. 603.

is uneasy and not favorably disposed. Speaking for myself, I think it would be well definitely to put the word aside, on the ground that words—which in themselves are of little importance—should only be used in the sense assigned to them by general use. We are accustomed to associate the word 'myth' with the idea of a false or even childish religion. Let us leave the word alone, and try and reach the root of the matter.

"We may take as an example the story of Lot's wife, changed into a pillar of salt, in circumstances with which you are familiar. The passage is quite definite: 'and his wife looking behind her, was turned into a pillar of salt.' (Gen. XIX. 26) To understand its full meaning you should have seen the locality. To the south of the Dead Sea, on the western side, there lies a long hill, resembling a whale cast ashore. It is an inexhaustible salt mine, and supplies all the homes of Jerusalem. On the side of the sea, by erosion or by some other geological phenomena, blocks have been formed which look like statues. There has always been at least one for the tradition, which now no longer speaks of the wife of Lot, but of *bint Lout*—the daughter of Lot. Now, ask those who are interested in folklore or mythology—ask yourselves, ask your own common-sense and your conscience. There can be no doubt what the answer will be. Were we to find this phrase elsewhere than in the Bible, we should simply say that popular imagination had personified a thing, and having found in some block of salt a human likeness, connected it with the memory of a woman who disappeared in some great catastrophe. To be changed into stone is generally a punishment, as in the case of Niobe." (Méthode Historique, VI.)

The falsity of Lagrange's principle must be evident to all, We may concede that God is responsible for all that is taught in the Bible, without committing God to a solid firmament, a geocentric system, etc.; for these things are not taught in the Bible. The language of a people was accepted to express truth without affirming or denying their ideas on scientific phenomena. But when Lagrange affirms that the inspired writer teaches nothing except what he wishes

to teach, the statement is evidently false. Many prophets uttered prophecies which were sealed for ages after they wrote. In many cases the inspired writers did not comprehend the full sense of what they wrote. The typical sense of Holy Scripture is a legitimate sense, and yet the human writers did not know it. Will any man say that Moses knew that the brazen serpent in the desert was a type of the Crucified Saviour?

Lagrange next declares that scientific criticism was satisfied the moment the principle was conceded that the Scriptures spoke according to appearances. He then asks: "May we apply the same principle to the historical books?" All his subsequent argument, all his illustrations are in defense of an affirmative answer to this question. As we have before stated, he makes some restrictions of his theory. There are some strictly revealed historical facts, as for instance the fall of man. Thus he declares in his VI. Lecture of the *Méthode Historique*:

"But it is quite evident that the first chapters of the Bible are not a history of mankind, nor even of one of its branches, for the simple reason that we could with difficulty find one fact for every thousand years, and even then we should not know where to place it.

"You may object that you are anxious to retain those first chapters as so many landmarks in the history of the continuity of religion. Very good; but we must bear in mind that that is what they are, for their only importance is that of fingerposts along this wide waste. But let us take care to recognize their true character. You will agree with me when I say that among those persons there are perhaps some names of peoples: if I go so far as to suggest names of towns, you will recall Sidon to mind. That being so, why not allow that among these fragments there are also names which merely stand for an impersonal progress of mankind, lost memories, the source of which no one knows, occupying in history the same relative position as the ether with which we fill space, without fully realizing what it does, simply because we must put something between the starry spheres?"

“The very fact that nothing so restrained is found anywhere else, that mythology proper is excluded, itself suffices to guard from error anyone who seeks to see things as they really are. These characteristics, taken by themselves, would suffice to show forth the influence of monotheism, and that all is in keeping with the dignity of the dogma of inspiration.

“When I began, I said that I placed the history of Original Sin on one side. Not that I desire to affirm the historicity of all the details of the account; on that subject I have elsewhere clearly expressed my mind.* But some might perhaps be tempted to conclude, from the ideas I have been developing, that the essential fact itself cannot have been handed down by tradition. I do not think that follows from the premises. I have endeavored to draw a distinction between the details and the *core* of stories which may be handed down most faithfully for centuries in the most varied surroundings, everywhere undergoing some transformation because it is everywhere tinged with borrowed colors, yet remaining everywhere recognizable.

“The study of religious histories, and particularly of primitive histories, has familiarized folklorists with this fact. There seems to me, therefore, no impossibility whatever in the transmission of the account of the Fall from generation to generation for thousands of years.

“But even supposing such transmission to be impossible, *dato, non concesso*, we have only to see whether Original Sin, which evades any strict historical proof, is or is not part of the divine revelation. It is quite certain that it is included in revelation. The conclusion therefore is that it has been revealed. And its revelation seems quite what might be expected, considering its capital importance, and its necessary connection with Redemption. If the dogma involves as a necessary consequence the unity of the human race, our reasoning will be the same. And really I fail to see that in this matter we are all awkwardly placed. History is silent; so there can be no objection from that quarter.

* *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 341 seq.

Natural science brings against it the difference of races. It was perhaps somewhat of a difficulty, and is perhaps a difficulty even now, for those who maintain the immutability of species. But if moderate evolution tends to predominate science, I should be much surprised if it were not able to explain this phenomenon by its own principles.

“On account of the Church’s definition, I believe in Original Sin according to the Church’s meaning; but abstracting from this dogmatic point, based upon the unshakeable foundation of revelation, there can be no objection to assigning primitive history its true character, even though it may not have been sufficiently understood by the men of bygone days.”

Lagrange divides historical books into three classes: The romance, history proper, and primitive history. The romance is a creation of the imagination, and may be the means of inculcating truth or falsehood. Strict history has a certain fallible latitude in details without ceasing to be true. Primitive history holds a middle place between romance and real history: “No ancient people has solved the mystery of its origin. There are certain annals which are the foundation of history, and there are legends. In the latter case if a historian reproduces the narrations current in his day, to preserve them to future generations, he gives them for what they are worth. Everyone is familiar with this kind of history. For example, it is well known that to indicate the origin of different peoples men derive them from an eponymic hero. The Dorians have as ancestor Dorus; the Phoenicians, Phoenix. The method deceives no one, there is therein no properly called affirmation. Men have only wished to reduce the confused questions of origins to a certain order.”

Lagrange believes that an imaginative historical narrative, provided it teach a true lesson, may have place in the Scripture. He cites the Book of Tobias. Whatever we may say of the example chosen, certain it is that the principle is applicable. Even though we hold that Job is a historical personage, no one will deny that the substance of the book is the creation of an inspired imagination to inculcate a great moral lesson.

Of course the chief place in the historical books of the Bible is held by history properly so called. But even here Lagrange declares that the inspired writers did not affirm the precision of facts and words "avec la dernière acribie." Absolute exactness in all details is not in the nature of history; the inspired writers reproduced the substantial truths of words and facts.

This part of Lagrange's theory pleases every right-minded scholar. Certain modal differences in the Evangelists are well explained by this theory. But *venenum in cauda*.

Lagrange comes to the third application with a certain timid hesitation: "But the history of origins, this strange history where the narration of facts and the uncertain legend jostle each other (*se coudoient*) in close contact, if (such history) enters into the Bible, how shall we recognize it there? How discern the true from the false? The imaginative narration and the parable teach no fact; real history teaches all facts; but (in primitive history) where lies the truth? How may we arrive at certitude? And most of all in this mixture what becomes of the divine illumination? the infallible judgment, *judicium infallibile de acceptis*?

"Indeed it is a most delicate question, but we can not draw back. A difficulty encompasses us on all sides. Let us endeavor to solve it after having implored light.

"In the first place I ask: In what consists this infallible judgment when there is question of a work of the imagination or a parable? The facts related have no objective reality; they have no purpose except to present a lesson; to present a truth under the convenient form, as the parable of Lazarus, or the Canticle of Canticles. The same holds in our hypothesis; (primitive history) aims to present a truth, nothing but a truth in the most apt manner, whether it be a simple affirmation or the adapting of an ancient legend to national forms. But how shall we discern? Is it proven that we must effect this discernment so quickly and easily? Is the Scripture so clear as some protestants pretend? On the contrary is it not of faith that it is obscure? We know that a parable declares the existence of no object-

ive entity. Do we always know when we are dealing with a parable? Some speak of the parable of Lazarus; others believe it to be real history. . . . The same is true of Tobias, Judith, Jonas. If therefore God leaves us uncertain whether Judith be true history, why could he not leave us in the same incertitude when there is question of distinguishing the various elements which compose a book? Who shall decide the question? The Church as a final resort; exegetes in the first attempt, as humble servants of the Church."

After attempting to find proof for his system in the fact that Fathers and theologians have admitted allegories and metaphors in the first chapter of Genesis, Lagrange continues: "Having established these preliminaries we definitively ask: Is primitive history found in the Bible with the same literary characteristics as among other peoples, save only that it is the medium of an infallible teaching?" It is equivalent to say: Is the history of Noah and his sons to be placed on the same plane as the legend of Romulus and Remus?

Lagrange answers his question: "Here is our conclusion: There exists in the Bible a primitive history, the basis of which is guaranteed by divine truth; but certain circumstances may be considered either as metaphors and allegories; or a Hebrew accommodation of the oral tradition. These circumstances are more the clothing of the truth than the truths contemplated in the teaching, and in interpreting one may occupy himself less with their material object than with their relation to the principal truth taught. But when the sacred writer employs documents or uncertain oral traditions he has the guidance of the infallible judgment. The judgment preserves him from all formal error in his statements, and assures the fitness of what may be called national or popular metaphors to render correctly his proper teaching. I distinguish between the foundation and certain circumstances which have place in all primitive history; and I say that the foundation of primitive biblical history is always true. But if even the foundation of the primitive history of other peoples may be false, why make an exception in favor of the Bible? It is simply on account of

the divine truth, because the Bible is inspired. . . . It is most reasonable to ascribe such action to God, and to hold that he teaches us a true history, whatever be the means chosen by him to deliver it to us. He could have taught us all the circumstances with the same certitude, and we are disposed always to believe them true, except when an examination of the text shows us that the writer did not intend them as true history. . . . For example, if it be proven, as M. Oppert alleges, on whom I leave the responsibility, that the ages of the patriarchs are artificial reductions of Chaldean epochs, it is evident that the man who made this mathematical operation has not pretended to write history, and does not give us as history the result of his calculations. He has only wished to supply the defect of positive chronology. Our rule shall be to accept as true all that the author delivers as such, substance and circumstances. We shall always consider the foundation to be true history; and we shall never cast doubt on the circumstances except when we are persuaded thereto by what we believe to have been the intention of the author." *Revue Biblique* 1896 pp. 510 et seqq.

Lagrange has made many applications of his theory:

"Berosus tells how the fish-god Oannes, by a series of apparitions, led men on to civilization; then he enumerates kings with very long and empty reigns. The Bible is more serious, is closer to truth, and, I venture to say, closer to history. On going back in thought to the beginnings of the race, the historical deeds of individuals entirely escape us, though we do possess the elements at least of the history of civilization; in other words, the progress it has made, and the great discoveries which have led it on to the point reached. When the Bible tells us that the arts developed little by little, that nomadic life gradually assumed its own general characteristics, different from those of town life, that men did not always play the kinnor and flute, nor work brass and iron. . . . I suppose anthropology recognizes it to be quite correct, and that it is impossible otherwise to conceive the beginning and progress of civilization.

“But can that be said to constitute history, duly noted and handed down? I do not think so, the reason being that history, or rather what we mean by real history, demands some knowledge of the circumstances, or at least of the time and place. The Bible, of course, cites proper names. But, as I pointed out at the beginning, that is not enough, because those proper names are given in a Hebrew form which is not their own; and besides, what is the value of a proper name, of which the form has undergone change, in the midst of such a vast expanse of time? And if the syllables do not correspond to syllables, nor yet, doubtless, the sense to the original sense, what is there left of the historical setting of the fact? Can anyone see therein an historical reality which involves the truthfulness of the sacred writer? To what extent is it of faith that Jobal invented music?

“And yet, those proper names are a most interesting study. They often seem to me to be the very name of the object invented, thus perhaps witnessing to a marked degree the admirable wisdom of the biblical writer. Could anything, in fact, be more restrained, prudent, and sound than the statement that this or that art, known in our own day, had a beginning, that music was invented by a musician? It is a great virtue to be able to say nothing when you know nothing. It called for much more than that, to put an obstacle in the way of the Greeks; though they, too, were well acquainted with this elementary method.

“Let me give you some examples found in Pliny.* Kloster invented the distaff (*κλωστήρ*, distaff); Staphylos (*σταφυλή* bunch of grapes) mingled water and wine. The oar was discovered in two places—the handle at Kopae (*κώπη* handle) and the blade at Plataea (*πλατή* flat). Or it may even take the form of a genealogy: thus, according to Philo of Byblos, fire is descended from three brothers named Light, Fire, and Flame. It is all true enough, and deceives no one. Turn to the first story we have in the Bible. I pass over the name of Abel, which probably means shep-

* *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57 Cf. *Etudes sur les religions sémitiques*.

herd. The first town is called Henoah, derived from a word meaning dedication. All have heard of the trumpet of Jubilee, *jobel*: *jobel* in Phoenician means ram: the connection between the two is very natural; the ram's horn was used as a musical instrument. Can we wonder that Jabal was the father of shepherds, and Jobal the father of musicians? The name Cain means blacksmith in Arabic; and it was Tubal-Cain who was the first maker of musical instruments. I do not seek to lower the Bible by making this analysis; on the contrary, I think it works out to its honour.

"It was quite out of the question to write real history, and yet it was of importance to show by a continuous chain of evidence the unity of the history of salvation. The Bible avoids absurd or obscene accounts; there is no pretence of ignoring sin, but sin receives its due punishment, and is not glorified, as though it changed its character by becoming the privilege of heroes. The Bible avoids even unfounded stories. It is taken up with tangible things, with discoveries which are still known; it relates their origin and progress, and leaves them in a hazy light, which has no outward semblance of actual history. If the personality of Lamech seems to stand out against this background it is only in an elegy. Could the author have told us more clearly that there exists no history of these periods?

"I find a similar regard for reality, in so far as it can be reached and set forth, in the story of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel.

"There is a modern school, represented by Canon Cheyne, which considers the Deluge mythical—mythical, that is, in that it is the translation of an astronomical phenomenon into history. But the great majority of anthropologists consider that the Deluge, of which accounts are everywhere found, is the memory, more or less modified, of real floods.* M. Suess, professor of geology at Vienna, and M. Raymond de Girard, professor of geology at Freiburg, have even considered they could indicate the physical causes of the Baby-

* M. Loisy does not seem to have definitely made up his mind about these two systems, nor does he point out in his work on Babylonian myths how fundamentally different they are.

ionian deluge.‡ Be that as it may, the general character of the biblical story points to a real flood, the religious interpretation of which has far surpassed its historical importance. Nor is the Tower of Babel a mere product of the imagination. The biblical writer had certainly seen the gigantic unfinished temple of Borsippa, which Nabuchodonosor finding in ruins in consequence of the bad state of its gutters, made a boast of achieving. It was no mere flight of the imagination to look upon Babylon as a proud city where all languages were to be heard. And after M. Blanckenkorn's careful investigation, the results of which were accepted as satisfactory by M. de Lapparent, we are entitled to hold that the sinking of the south part of the Dead Sea may have taken place at a time when there were men on the earth, and that the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah cannot be simply set aside as purely mythical—as the picturesque expression of the horror inspired by scenery unique in the world for its sublime desolateness. Undoubtedly the biblical story goes far beyond the mere fact, otherwise it would not faithfully express what it wishes to express; but it is always careful to have as the background of its picture some striking reality which fills the horizon, whether it be in the depths of the desert or of the past." (Méthode Historique, VI.)

Withal Père Lagrange believes in an unrestricted inspiration extending even to the words. In his third conference before the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, which conferences were afterward published under the name of "La Méthode Historique," he speaks of inspiration thus: "We must have recourse to the principles of faith and to psychology if we would understand what the grace of inspiration really is, what special light it communicates to the intellect, and how the will is moved. From the Church's definitions we may conclude that God's help is antecedent and not consequent, that it is an impulse, and so necessarily a light bestowed upon him, for man is no mere machine, and his will does not determine anything without a corresponding light in the intellect. Now since this help is antecedent to the whole

‡ Cf. M. de Girard's article in the *Revue Thomiste*.

operation, it must extend to the whole work, and consequently even to the very words; but since the sacred writer used his ordinary faculties, it impressed nothing ready-made upon the mind—not even the thoughts. On this particular point I have nothing new to say, and nothing clearer to propound.

“So far reason has been working within its proper limits; it is but fitting, however, that it should show more reserve in dealing with the divine historical fact. Our guiding principle in this matter must be clear to all. It is no business of ours to decide what God must have done, or what it was fitting that He should have done; all we have to do is humbly to note whatever forms part of His work. Such questions are not to be solved by each man according to his taste; we must be content to be guided by facts.

“The demands of reason are to be taken into account as long as the question merely concerns what God may or may not inspire, and to whom it is fitting that He should betake Himself to do so. We may never affirm that God could teach error—that would be blasphemous—but we ought to be very careful about confidently concluding that a thing is fitting or unfitting. Let casuists, by all means, use probable reasons, in obscure cases, but, as straightforward critics, we will confine our attention to facts. What we want more especially is that vigorous care in reasoning characteristic of true theologians: the opinion of such men is far less to be feared than the routine of those who make theology a mere matter of professional knowledge, who are unable to bring the light of reason to bear upon what they dislike, except through prejudices begotten of the necessarily narrow outlook they allow themselves.

“If a French priest were to celebrate Holy Mass with covered head, he would be guilty of an act of grave irreverence, which could only be paralleled by celebrating in China with head uncovered. We have not the same ideas as had the ancients concerning history, morality, literary property, use of pseudonyms, borrowing—in more or less disguised form—from other books, the revision and re-editing of works. Your respect for inspired authors may make you wonder

whether you are to attribute to them what to you seems improper. Do you not see that you are condemning the actions of the missionary in China?

“But we must subject the historical idea of inspiration to a more searching analysis, and as we have dealt with the person inspired, let us now turn to the aim of inspiration. If we only knew the exact relation in which inspiration stood to divine teaching a great result would be achieved. No one hesitates to say that inspiration goes far beyond the limits of religious teaching, since it extends to everything, even to the words themselves, while religious teaching is not everywhere found. It would be a mistaken application of St. Augustine’s principle that God does not teach in the Bible what is not of use for salvation, to suppose that God ceases to inspire when not actually teaching a religious truth.

“The consequence would be that all that is non-religious in the Bible would not be inspired. Now it is difficult to see, for instance, where lies the religious teaching of the Book of Ruth. In controversy with protestants it has often been maintained that all dogma is not contained in Scripture, for the simple reason that the sacred writers had no intention of always teaching it; they wrote as particular circumstances demanded, sometimes to teach, but also to encourage, console, or recommend, as in the letter to Philemon; and we may add that throughout the whole Psalter, rich as it is in the loftiest religious truths, it is never the Psalmist’s direct object to inculcate religious truths, since he addresses himself to God, whom he has no intention of instructing when he confesses his iniquities and asks for assistance from Him. Still less does the Psalmist teach God historical or natural truths. So that one may quite fairly ask whether the aim of inspiration really *is* instruction. That it is not its direct aim seems clearly to follow from the distinction between revelation and inspiration. The Bible contains God’s teaching: the religious truths He taught were communicated by revelation, and it is not essential that revelation should coincide in point of time with inspiration. On the other hand, if, in that teaching, we take the facts not directly bearing upon our salvation, we may say that generally speaking, in their natural and

historical aspect, there was no absolute need of God's teaching them, since man's memory would have sufficed to retain them.

"Inspiration leads to writing; and the aim of writing is to fix and record previously-acquired knowledge, so that the grace of inspiration has as its primary object not to teach, but to preserve the memory of revealed truths, and of the historical facts which enable the order and sequence of revelation to be understood, and that, although the aim of the sacred writer himself be to teach: the notion of inspiration is wider in range.

"It follows from this first point, that the doctrine contained in an inspired book is not necessarily perfect in its literal and historical meaning. God, in wishing to preserve the memory of facts of importance in the history of man's salvation—occasionally merely of secondary importance, as in the case of the Book of Ruth—determined, perhaps, to preserve the memory of the imperfect ideas men had of the Godhead at a given stage of revelation. You remember we admitted the idea of essential progress in the Old Testament. He does not teach those imperfect ideas to us in the form in which they are expressed, nor does He desire that we should confine ourselves to them. Were we to do so, we should be making a mistake, for through His Son we have a higher knowledge of His infinite perfection; it was His wish that we should have knowledge of those ideas, the better to appreciate the need in which we stand of His light and grace. And so it is quite possible that we may find in the Bible inferior sentiments expressed, not only by the impious, but even by such as lived in the hope of a clearer light; thus the tone of the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus is no doubt practical enough, yet often wanting in moral elevation, and lacking that exquisite delicacy which constitutes the glory of Christian virtue. The meaning has to be spiritualized in order to raise it to the Christian standard, and through its spiritual meaning the Holy Scriptures regain in our eyes their full value. And hence the Church, full of reverence as she is for the Word of God, obliges no one to read it, and all instinct-

ively feel that they derive more profit for their souls from one chapter of the *Imitation* than from the whole Book of Leviticus.

“If we consider the Spirit of God which inspired it, the Bible is the noblest of books; but its aim and object is not so lofty. God inspired the preservation of this teaching, but it is far inferior to the teaching we find throughout the Church. They are *cœna clementa*, the words spoken to them of old: for us our Lord reserved more saving words. The facts speak for themselves.

“Yet we must not go too far. Let us remember what we said before—reason itself, as well as faith, will bar the way when it needs must be barred. It is impossible that God should teach error. It is therefore impossible, not that the Bible, recording the words of all kinds of men, should contain no error, but that an intelligent study of the Bible should lead us to conclude that God taught error.

“But what do the sacred writers teach? They teach, we are told, what they categorically affirm. Now it has long since been pointed out that the Bible is not a mere collection of theses or categorical affirmations. There are certain forms of literary composition in which no absolute statement is made as to the reality of the facts related: they are used merely as the groundwork of a moral lesson—of this the parable is an example. Now inspiration does not change the forms of composition: each must be interpreted according to its own particular rules. It is not necessary that I should insist on this point; it has been fully accepted in the *Études* by Père Prat, and to me it seems the very best means of meeting current objections to the truthfulness of the Bible. To-day, however, I wish to look at the question from another standpoint, and consider the method of divine teaching as shown by the Bible itself.

“As our starting-point we shall take the facts we have just noted.

“We all agree that everything God teaches must be received with reverence, but it is quite clear that in the Bible this teaching is not to be found in ready-made statements standing in a state of splendid isolation. It is mingled with

numberless stories, discussions, poetical effusions, anecdotes, prayers, and metaphors. We all willingly admit that the inspired writer has not always the intention of giving instruction in the name of God, as is quite clear, for instance, when he prays to God for pardon of his sins; though it is none the less true that few prayers of the Bible contain such valuable teaching as does the *Miserere*. And so it is possible that there may be divine teaching, even when the sacred writer seems to make no mention of it. On the other hand, we must not be in too great a hurry to receive as a statement made by God what the writer is merely relating, without taking the trouble to indicate it as his own. If religious teaching itself is frequently a resultant whose formula the Church alone is competent to state, with still greater force does this apply to those secondary elements which only figure in Scripture to clothe the truth, or, if you prefer St. Augustine's figure, to serve as the sounding-board of the lyre. All this goes to prove that God's teaching is infinitely beyond our own, even in the method of which He makes use, and that, consequently it is not to be judged by our standards.

"Some few years ago one of my brethren Père Lacôme, in a little book, entitled *Quelques considérations exégétiques sur le premier chapitre de la Genèse*, which was published with the fullest approval of Père Monsabre, drew the exact distinction that is here needed. His theory had not the success it would have to-day, because less attention was then paid to such problems. I shall take the liberty of quoting a few extracts: "This small nation (Israel) owed to its Prophets, and to them alone, its rise above all others. Thanks to them, their ideas were purified from errors concerning the Godhead.

But apart from and outside this one point, the Prophet had no call to rectify the ideas of his people, and he left them as they were: he took them as he found them, as inconsistent as are the ideas of a child, false figures of the true, radically incomplete ideas, as the ideas of men will ever be. Yet the Spirit of God gave himself full play in the maze of our illusions, without ever adopting, to the extent of identifying Himself therewith, an erroneous opinion; He

may be said to have leaned upon it, or better, to have glided over it, even as do the rays of sunshine over a faulty mirror, or a pool of muddy water, without thereby contracting any stain.'

"How are such faulty statements to be reconciled with the dignity of the Holy Ghost? After all, we are concerned with a book whose author is God, who can neither deceive nor be deceived. It is the standing difficulty. 'Even granting,' P. Lacôme proceeds, 'that the sky spoken of in Genesis is a solid vault, which in reality it is not: can the Holy Spirit be said to have fallen into error? Our own common-sense can give the answer. When a teacher wishes to teach a child science—astronomy, for example—he proceeds step by step, not being able to convey at once the whole of his knowledge to the mind of his pupil. Before he can go forward he must have a starting-point, and so the ideas already in the mind of the child will have to serve as the foundation of all his teaching. Those ideas are the only material to hand, the only forces wherewith to work to set the mind in motion and cause it to go forward.

"When a master has to enter into the mind of his pupil, he endeavors to discover the weird and foolish ideas it has; and when he has found them, he makes use of them to insinuate some particles of truth; and then to help him to digest the first lessons of astronomy, he goes back to the myths and gropings of old, he personifies the sun, speaks of its going forth on its daily course from its rise to its setting; but can it be fairly said that in so doing the master approved of all the illusions that fill that youthful mind? Now in the Bible the Holy Spirit is such a master, such a preacher.

"He is a teacher in the midst of the other teachers of this world; He teaches as they do, and in their own way; He has a teaching of His own knowledge, of His own supernatural knowledge, and He wishes to impart it to man. . . .' Speaking of the Wisdom of God rejecting the knowledge of man, he says: 'With the sole qualification of Teacher of Divine Science she came, and established her chair by the side of other chairs, in the public places and cross-roads she gathered together all the passers-by without any distinction,

and to them set forth her teaching; she marked out her own definite position, and outside that position she spoke the language of the people, as all great teachers of the human race have done. And if to man, who is all his life but a little child, she spoke in childish terms, and spelled out to him the mysteries of Heaven, we really cannot blame her for our own stammering and inconsequence, she whose teaching is so justly pure and lofty. Our own ignorance alone should be blamed.'

"This theory, I said, created no sensation. Yet there was a watchman on the alert. Père Brucker, in the *Etudes*, denounced the views as dangerous, and concluded that, 'Pleasing as Père Lacôme's hypothesis may at first sight appear, it seems to me fraught with ruinous consequences. . . . No wise and conscientious human teacher would act in such a way; nor would he bolster himself up on the wrong ideas of his pupil even to begin his work, and run the risk of their being mistaken for truth, or of discrediting his own lessons in advance. Still less, therefore, could the divine master, Truth itself, make use of error, in any degree whatever, to open human intellects to His supernatural doctrine. He could only exploit (if I may be allowed the word) what is good and true in our ideas.'*

"The theory is perhaps painted in rather dark colors. Père Lacôme had said, to lean upon, or better, to *glide over*; Père Brucker interprets him to mean, 'to bolster himself up.'

"Père Lacôme was particularly careful to draw a distinction between two essentially different forms of teaching, where his critic would appear to see only one form. It would be foolish for a teacher of geometry to tolerate in his pupils wrong ideas about a straight line: how could he 'bolster himself up' with that? But need the teacher of grammar trouble himself about the truth of the examples cited to prove the rule, and when he is teaching them how to spell the name of King Pharamond, may he not pass lightly over the obscurity of the early history of France?

* *Etudes*, p. 504. 1895.

“Now if it be the case that St. Paul and our divine Saviour have argued from Holy Scripture according to the mental habits of the Jews, without seeking the exact text and without binding themselves down to its precise meaning, and that the Apostles set forth as the fulfilment of a prophecy what is merely an application based upon the similarity of the incidents, with how much more reason may they not have made use of current Jewish ideas in matters literary and scientific without seeking to rectify them? And if this course of action is not unworthy of the Author of our faith, why may we not presume that a similar course may have been adopted by other sacred writers in their exposition of divine teaching? The theological statement of the fact is not of recent origin: as is so frequently the case, the idea was stated by St. Augustine, St. Thomas moulded it, and, in his Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, Leo XIII. has consecrated it anew. The rule is so excellent as to need no apology for its repetition.

“‘We have first to consider,’ says Leo XIII., ‘that the sacred writers, or, to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable to salvation.* Hence they do not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—‘went by what sensibly appeared,’† or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to’ (*Providentissimus Deus*, § 28).

“Then after a section working out the same idea, the Pope concludes that, ‘The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history’ (§ 30).

* *Etudes*, p. 502. 1895. † ST AUGUSTINE, *De Genesi ad litt.*, 9, 20.

“F. Brucker accepts St. Thomas’ formula, but takes it to mean that the Bible, ‘in relating, for instance, the formation of the firmament, the standing still of the sun, etc., speaks according to outward *appearances*, and consequently speaks *truly*, though its language is not properly *scientific*.’* ”

“It would be more correct to say that in such cases the Bible is neither right nor wrong. It is quite clear that the ancient writers knew no more than they appear to know. When I use similar statements, I know, like everyone else, that it is wrong, so much so that the error has become a mere figure of speech. Now, can an author who looks upon the sky as a solid vault, and who definitely states his opinion in that sense (for otherwise we should never have guessed it), be really said to express himself in a manner at once exact and true, though not strictly scientific? Is it possible in such a case to make a distinction between science and truth?”

“It may be objected that if the statement is not true it must be false, and then what becomes of the truthfulness of the Bible? The objection admits of a simple answer. A statement must be either true or false: but here, there is no question of a statement. Remember what St. Thomas says: the sacred writer ‘went by what sensibly appeared.’ If you confine yourself to mere appearances, you do not judge the thing in itself; and where there is no such judgment there is neither affirmation nor negation. Now it is an elementary logical fact that truth and error are only to be found in a formal act of judgment.

“The Holy Father very briefly states that the same criterion should be applied to history.”

Lagrange cites the following passage from Cornely:

“The interpreter ought to pay great attention to the manner in which the sacred writers give their historical accounts. For, as St. Jerome points out, ‘it is customary in Scripture for the historian to give the common opinion as generally received in his own day;’ and again; ‘many things are related in the Scriptures according to the opinion of the day in which the facts occurred, and not according to what in

* ST. THOMAS, *Summa Theol.*, p. 1. q. lxx., a 1. ad 3.

reality took place (*et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat*).⁷ This observation of the holy doctor is most important. He thus warns us not to press the words of Scripture to make them meet the present state of scientific knowledge, but to explain them in accordance with the ideas and intentions of the sacred writer. What a number of difficulties would never have been raised had all interpreters always kept St. Jerome's word of warning before them?" Lagrange concludes:

"It means to say that historical accounts, and even those which bear the fullest token of their historical character, must not be understood in the light of the knowledge of God who knows all things, but in the light of man's limited outlook, and, that it is quite conceivable that God should not communicate further information to the sacred writer, who knows no more than other men on a particular point, even though, in consequence, he should make use of a materially wrong expression.

"Use all the arguments *ex convenientia* you like—these are facts, clear biblical facts, and easy to check. From this it follows that the sacred writers speak according to what appears to them. The theory is a traditional one. It has merely to be applied to particular cases as the needs of criticism call for it, making due allowance for the distinction between history and natural science. And it is precisely in that application of traditional principles to the results of human industry that consists the progress of theological science," (*Méthode Historique*, pp. 91–116.)

The defect in the system of Lagrange is its excess: *falsis vera involvit*. Though he disclaims to place history on the same plane as natural science, in some of his applications he does so. Nay more, as we have seen in his own words, he makes Leo XIII. in his encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" sponsor for this new theory. As we have given the papal encyclical complete in our present treatise, we refer to that to show the falsity of Lagrange's appeal. The Pope gives rules for dealing with the objections drawn from science; and then declares that men are to deal with kindred sciences and with history in the same manner. That is by showing that our

adversaries often demand more for their hypotheses than they are worth; by showing that many things formerly held by them are now abandoned; and by showing that what is clearly proven does not conflict with Scripture. These are the principles which the Pope advises to apply to history.

Fr. Delattre, S. J., has shown this conclusively in his "Autour de la Question Biblique" wherein he ably exposes the excesses of the system of Lagrange. It seems also that a recent decision of the Biblical Commission sanctioned by the Pope, forbids some of the applications of Lagrange's theory.

This is the wording of the question proposed to the Commission: "Is it lawful for the Catholic exegetist to solve the difficulties occurring in certain texts of Sacred Scripture, which appear to relate historical facts, by asserting that in these we have to deal with a tacit or implicit quotation of a document written by an uninspired author, and that the inspired author did not at all intend to approve or adopt all of these assertions, which cannot, therefore, be held to be free from error?"

The answer reads: "In the negative, except in the case when, due regard being paid to the sense and judgment of the Church, it is proved by solid arguments; (1) that the sacred writer has really quoted the sayings or documents of another; and (2) that he has neither approved nor adopted them, so that he may be properly considered not to be speaking in his own name." This answer was submitted to the Holy Father, and signed and sanctioned by His Holiness on February 13, 1905.

In a private audience granted me in June of 1905, the Holy Father Pius X. spoke sadly of the tendencies of some Catholic scholars, who have been led away by the labored erudition of the Rationalists; and who have accepted some of the false principles of "higher criticism."

When Père Lagrange defends the theory that in scientific facts the inspired writers spoke according to appearances, he says nothing new; the principle has been handed down from the Fathers. When he admits the presence of allegory, parable, and metaphor in the Holy Books, especially

in the early chapters of Genesis, we agree fully with him. But when he applies his theory of appearances to real historical personages there is an excess. For instance, when the Scriptures declare that Joshua arrested the course of the sun it affirms a truth, a truth that could not have been better enunciated by the most accomplished astronomer of our day. It affirms that a day was miraculously lengthened. The same is true when it is asserted that God created a firmament. It assigns to God the creation of the universe which is spoken of as the ancients saw it. But when the Scriptures assert that Sarah went down into Egypt, and was taken into Pharaoh's house, if the account be not true as history, nothing is true. Every circumstance proclaims that the writer wished to be understood as writing genuine history. And yet, Lagrange disposes of the event as follows:

“Can that whole story which God willed to be preserved be said to be above the imperfections of the religious truth of those days? Did it come more directly from God to our souls than does the religious truth on which we look to the Church for a final decision?”

Lagrange asserts that he preserves the groundwork of the history, and applies the theory of folk-lore only to the details; but one may see by his own application of his system that he treats as details substantial records of events such as the incest of Lot, the destruction of Sodom, the rape of Sarah, etc. Now these events are recorded as history; they have no purpose if they be legendary; and it seems incompatible with the Church's definitions to declare such narratives to be merely folk-lore.

The phrase folk-lore is a favorite expression of Lagrange. In his theory, primitive history ceases to be history. It is simply a collection of folk-lore; and its relation to religion lies only in this, that no false ideas of faith or morals are found therein. Thus monotheism purifies primitive history from the errors of the folk-lore of the idolatrous nations. We believe that this theory is false for the reason that it does not leave to the Bible the character attributed to it by the Church. The error is in an excessive application of a

principle which has a substratum of truth. It may well be admitted that in the mere details of facts of history absolute precision is not demanded in order that it be true history; but no theory may lawfully be applied to the history of the Bible which makes any part of it anything but true history. It must be true history; and its facts must be true, even though they have no immediate relation to doctrine or morals. We can not reason here a priori; it is not for us to determine how God should have delivered his message: the definition of the Church, though it leaves a free ground for discussion, allows no man a theory which makes any part of the Bible other than true history. Allegories, parables and metaphors presented in their proper setting are not inconsistent with the truthful character of a book; but the myths, fables, and legends of folk-lore presented as history are formally false, and can not be a part of a book of which God is the Author.

In 1904, the Rev. Ferd. Prat, S. J., published a small brochure entitled *La Bible et l'Histoire*. The work is a synthesis of the opinions of Lagrange, and adds little that is new. He also invokes the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* in support of the *historical method*. Others who have in a more or less degree favored the *new exegesis* are Alfred Durand (*Revue du Clergé français*), F. Girerd (*Annales de philosophie chrétienne*), P. Batiffol (*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*), G. Bonaccorsi (*Studi religiosi*), Vincent Zapletal, and Vincent Rose.

As before stated, we believe the evil of the new theory to lie in its excess, and hence care must be taken to distinguish what sound dogma may admit in the *new exegesis*. This is an exegetical question and can not be treated here.

It is however not in accordance with truth to invoke the encyclical of Leo XIII. in support of these theories. The words of the encyclical itself and many other utterances of the pontiff manifest that he condemned the ultra views of the very men who cite the "*Providentissimus Deus*" in support of their theories. It is also ridiculous to allege St. Jerome as authority for the historical method. The before mentioned work of Fr. Delattre has clearly demonstrated the falsity of this claim.

The able presentation of the new theories has proven the truth of the Latin proverb: "Nihil est tam improbable quod probando not fiat probabile."

The Belgian Benedictin Dom. Sanders published in 1903, a treatise under the title "Études sur St. Jerome" in which he attempted to base the liberal exegesis on the authority of St. Jerome. The Literar. Rundschau, XXXI., 1905, has ably shown the defective critique of Dom. Sanders' work. It is a mangling of history to compel it to support a theory already determined.

Alfred Loisy has drifted so far from orthodoxy that it is scarcely worth our while to examine his views on inspiration. In his *Études Bibliques* (Paris, 1901) he discusses the new science of criticism as applied to the Bible. He declares that "Scripture contains a divine and a human element; but these two elements so compenetrate each other that they form a divine-human work in which the divine action and the human action cannot be separated. These two operations act *per modum unius*, as the Scholastics say. An inspired book is wholly the work of God, and wholly the work of man. To distinguish the inspiration of the matter from the non-inspired words; or to assign the dogmatic and moral texts to God, and assign other things to the human author is to operate the vivisection of the books."

M. Loisy next proceeds to admit a "*relative element*" in the scriptures. This relative element comes from the fact that the books express the beliefs of the times in science and in certain parts of history. The Scriptures were adapted to the conditions of the times, and hence with the progress of science an imperfection is revealed, and this must always be verified in human progress. That which men call errors in the Scripture is nothing more than its *relative part*, which marks the stage of human progress at the date of the origin of the book. There will thus be an ever changing element in exegesis as human progress goes on; and there will be a fixed element, for the church safeguards the truths which never change. In a word the inspired book is a product of the times, and reflects the state of learning, of customs, and in a way, of the moral code of the times. Hence the first

eleven chapters of Genesis are not historical; but a presentation of the philosophy of creation in the form of the Chaldean traditions.

In consequence of these views M. Loisy was compelled to leave the Catholic Institute of Paris, where he had taught for twelve years. Five of his works are on the Index of prohibited books. It seems quite evident that Pius X. had the opinions of M. Loisy in mind when in his allocution to the newly created cardinals on April 18, 1907, he declared: "As for tradition, everything is relative and subject to mutations; consequently the authority of the holy Fathers is reduced to a nullity."

Zanecchia is a pronounced advocate of the new exegesis. He follows closely the teaching of Lagrange, but is bolder in applying them. We reproduce here a few passages in the original Latin from his most recent work, "Scriptor sacer sub div. Insp. juxta sent. Card. Franzelin, Romae 1903:" "In sacris ergo libris qui historici appellantur, sub forma historica qua conscripti fuerunt, non semper vera historia factorum eorumque chronologicus ordo reperitur, quia scopus hagiographorum non erat ubique veram historiam humanarum rerum tradere, sed communiter utebantur historicis notionibus, et prout in vulgo erant, ad religiosas vel morales veritates docendas. Qui proinde in ea quae sacra historia vocatur accuratam veramque historiam ubique reperire praesumit, se exponit certo periculo inveniendi non historicam veritatem sed historicos errores, qui tamen neque Deo inspiranti neque hagiographo scribenti imputari possunt, sed unice inquirenti historicam veritatem ubi nec Deus nec hagiographus eam docuerunt [docuit]."

"Demum nihil prohibet scriptorem sacrum ad ostendendam processionem omnium creaturarum a Deo, uti documentis ac traditionibus in quibus rerum eventus plus vel minus poetica descriptione narrantur. Sic in primis Genesis capitibus introductio dierum in instantanea creatione, ordo quo res a Deo processerunt, descriptio formationis protoparentum, eorum felicitas ante lapsum, descriptio paradisi voluptatis, arboris vitae et arboris scientiae boni ac mali in medio paradisi, fluvii qui inde egrediens in quattuor partes

dividebatur, relatio colloquii Dei cum lapsis protoparentibus, tunicarum pellicearum quibus Deus eos vestivit etc., sunt narrationes veridicae quantum ad radicem eventuum, sed in earum forma descriptiva orientalis poetica extranea non fuit. Hagiographus autem narrationes illas accepit prout in usu erant apud populos, et in sacro Libro retulit, non quidem ut auctoritate propria illas approbaret, praesertim in earum forma, sed quatenus lumine inspirativo iudicavit conscribendas esse, ut populi cognoscerent cuncta mundi bona non alium praeter Deum auctorem habuisse, qui specialem providentiam erga hominem manifestavit, singularemque misericordiam una cum iustitia in eum ostendit."

"Ut igitur concludamus, narrationes biblicae neque omnes historicam veritatem habent, neque omnes historica veritate destitutae sunt, et quamplures ex eis inveniuntur in quibus fundamentum designat veridicum atque historicum factum, forma vero et circumstantiae quibus traditur ex poetica arte proveniunt. Similiter omnes biblicae assertiones veritatem continent, haec tamen neque semper absoluta est, neque ubique relativa manet, sed in aliquibus absoluta est et in aliis relativa. Vera itaque intelligentia Scripturae maximam eruditionem requirit, ubi vero haec non sufficit, exspectandum est iudicium Ecclesiae, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu ac interpretatione Scripturarum."

For more than twenty years the new exegesis was being propagated with great activity in France, England, and in other lands before Catholic scholars in Germany entered into the movement. In 1903, the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* reproached the German theologians (Bardenhewer, Hoberg, etc.) with being *stationary*, and with not realizing that there was a *biblical question*. In 1902, Prof. Karl Holzhey published his work "*Schoepfung, Bibel und Inspiration*," (Vienna and Stuttgart). Though more temperate than the French "*école large*," Holzhey admits an imperfect side of the Scriptures. The inspired writer has his own individuality, and impresses it on his work. He is also the *child of his times*, and impresses on his work the beliefs of his age. Divine inspiration is consistent with

these imperfections. The inspired writer never utters a formal lie; but is not necessarily ahead of his age except in the case of direct revelation. Holzhey then asks the question: Whether inspiration so strengthens the writer's human judgment that he commits no substantial error. In his answer he distinguishes between the main truth which the writer wished to express and the mode of expression. The mode of expression is not necessarily determined by divine power. Again as the very nature of a human work is to be human and therefore imperfect, without a series of miracles the work of the inspired writer cannot be totally preserved from imperfections. In these there is no formal falsehood: the writer has made use of his data honestly and truthfully; but yet as the work bears the impress of a human author, it will also have human imperfections. Holzhey condemns the theory restricting inspiration to things of faith and morals, and will not exempt "obiter dicta" from inspiration. He extends inspiration to all the Scripture; but the cooperation of the divine and human elements leaves a certain human imperfection in the work, not of a nature to defeat God's purpose.

In 1904, Fr. Franz von Hummelauer, S. J., published in the series of "Biblische Studien" a brochure entitled "Exegetisches zur Inspirationsfrage." This work caused much amazement to those who had known the learned exegete's work in the "Cursus Scripturae Sacrae." Fr. von Hummelauer is a pronounced advocate of the new Exegesis. The ground principle of his whole system is the greater role given to the human side of inspiration. He confesses in the foreword that he has made large study of French works on the subject, which admission prepares us to find in his work the influence of the "école large". He declares that the time is not yet come to formulate definitive theories on inspiration; but yet he puts forth his hypothesis in a very positive manner. Von Hummelauer groups his views under three heads: "(1) the form of literature in which the narrative portions of the Old Testament have come down to us; (2) the human side of Biblical inspiration; (3) the human authors of the inspired books."

Von Hummelauer acknowledges that he is more a collector of what others have written than an original creator of his treatise. And true enough on the first page we find the principle of Lagrange: Every word in the Bible is true in the sense that God and the inspired writer understood it and wrote it. The sense of the human author is determined by what von Hummelauer calls the remote context, that is the literary form of the inspired work.

Father von Hummelauer draws the attention of his readers not merely to the historical novel, but also to the fable, the parable, the epic; again, to the form of *religious* history, of antique history, of national tradition or folk-lore, of the Midrash, and of the prophetic or apocalyptic narrative. The author believes that God can move the inspired writer to make use of one and all of these various literary forms in his narratives. And what becomes of Biblical inerrancy in this case? An inspired parable, or epic, or historical novel is truthful in the same way in which profane works of the respective literary form are considered truthful. The reader well knows that the *religious* historian makes the material and the form of his narrative subservient to edification; he knows that the *antique* historian represents his facts in an artistically free form; that in folk-lore, fiction is not limited to form, but extends to the contents of the narrative, though some, and perhaps a great many, of its statements, may be historically true; that the Midrash resembles our passion-play in representing a Biblical narrative in such a way as to inculcate a religious or moral lesson; finally, that the apocalyptic narrative contains a great many symbolic representations.

According to Fr. von Hummelauer, several of the Old Testament narratives actually present some of the foregoing literary forms. Scholz had suggested that the Book of Judith might be a parable, but Fr. Prat mentions the Book in connection with the Midrash.¹ The epic is represented in the psalms on creation, *c. g.*, Ps. 135, and on Pharaoh's death in the Red Sea. The historical novel is

1 *Etudes*, 1902, iv., 625.

mentioned in connection with the Books of Ruth, Judith, Esther, and Tobias by such writers as Fr. Prat,² Fr. Brucker³ Scholz,⁴ Schanz,⁵ Vigouroux,⁶ E. Cosquin,⁷ L. Fonck,⁸ A. Durand,⁹ Lagrange,¹⁰ and Gayraud.¹¹ Finally, von Hummelauer is of opinion that the Book of Genesis presents the form of national tradition or folk-lore, while the Book of Ruth may be considered as a form of family tradition. He gives three reasons for his view as to the Book of Genesis: (1) The formula 'these are the generations' or 'this is the book of the generation' occurs some ten times in Genesis, and replaces the Hebrew expression '*elle toledoth*'; it appears to be agreed that the rendering is not exact, but the Rev. author believes that the rendering 'this is the national tradition concerning heaven and earth,' or 'this is the folk-lore concerning Adam,' would be correct. The author of Genesis claims, therefore, to write a series of national traditions. (2) The primeval records of all other nations have passed into national tradition or folk-lore; now, there is no evidence to prove a special divine intervention in favor of the earliest Hebrew records. (3) The first eleven chapters of Genesis present a remarkable affinity to the national traditions of other nations, so that we naturally consider them as their Hebrew parallels.

Fr. Von Hummelauer considers in the second part of his pamphlet the historian of the Old Testament rather than any other inspired author. The author supposes the wellknown principle that by merely quoting a source we do not become responsible for the objective truthfulness of the same. A quotation is true if it faithfully reproduces

2 *Etudes*, 1902, iv., 624 ff.

3 *Etudes*, 1903, i., 231.

4 Kommentar über d. B. Judith u. über Bel u Drache; Leipzig, 1898.

5 *Apologie*, 576, 582.

6 *Revue Biblique*, 1899, 50.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 50 ff.

8 *Civiltà Catt.*, 1903, x., 580.

9 *Revue du Clergé franç.*, 1902, xxxiii., 8.

10 *La méthode historique*, Paris, 1903, 83 ff.; *Revue Biblique*, 1896, 511.

11 *Revue du Clergé franç.*, 1903, xxxiv., 118.

the original text. In the same way, a history of Rome according to Livy, *e. g.*, does not vouch for the objective truthfulness of the narrative; such a history is true, if it faithfully represents the history of Rome according to the record of Livy. It cannot be called in question that the Bible contains quotations, and at times these quotations are said to be colorless so that they cannot be distinguished from their context except by critical means.*

Rev. Fr. von Hummelauer maintains that the Books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Paralipomenon are a history of Israel according to the Annals quoted in these books and corrected according to the prophetic source utilized by the writers; that II. Mach., III.—XV. professes to be a history according to the writings of Jason, that the Books of Joshua, Judges, and of I. Mach. must be considered historical in the same way in which the foregoing books are historical; that most of the Old Testament quotations found in the New Testament are citations according to the Septuagint translation; that several typical applications of Old Testament passages on the part of New Testament writers may have been made according to the current interpretation of Judaism; that finally the names of the Old Testament authors are given by New Testament writers according to the current Jewish tradition. In none of these cases, therefore, can we hold the inspired writer responsible for the objective truthfulness of his course, unless he freely vouches for the same. This does not impair the historical character of the inspired books; for they are as truthful as historical documents usually are. In fact, they are more reliable than other historical documents, seeing that gross errors are incompatible with the dignity of an inspired work. Nor does this explanation conflict with the Fathers, seeing that they explained away their historical difficulties by having recourse to a spiritual meaning of Sacred Scripture.

Von Hummelauer cites Pope Leo's encyclical as authority for his views, and repeats the formula of Lagrange, that the inspired writer is the child of his times, that he stands

* Cf. Prat, *Etudes*, 1901, i. 485; Durand, *Revue du Clergé franç.*, 1902, xxxiii., 20 ff.; Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1896, 508.

on the scientific plane of his age, and his knowledge is limited by the horizon of his age. Therefore we must not read our opinions into the books, but draw the author's opinions out of them. He concludes that the question within proper limits belongs not to dogma, but to literary criticism.

Fr. von Hummelauer quotes the following sentence from Durand (*Revue du Clergé français* XXXIII., 1902): "Men have compared the inspired word of God with the Incarnate Word of God. The Apostle says that the Incarnate Word was made like to us in all save sin: we may say that the inspired word becomes a human utterance in all save error." Von Hummelauer evidently accepts this as a most apt simile. He develops it still further: "Yes, that (error) is the bound which is reached but not passed. The Son of God was sinless, but he was tempted: he was not to see corruption; but he died and was buried. Man's word having become God's word is free of error, but it comes to the bound of error. Not to it is stranger the *argumentum ad hominem* which uses error, though it does not affirm error."

It seems that this example is most unfitting and irreverent. It proves nothing for the new exegesis. In the category of sin there was no weakness in the Son of God: he was not tempted from within. He did not *come to the bound of sin*, and there stop. So likewise we may logically argue that in the category of error there is no weakness in the Scriptures; they do not stop at the boundary of error. They have human elements corresponding to the human in Christ; they are not always written in the finest style; the expression may not always be the most apt; they employ the scientific notions of their time; but their enunciations are always true. Though they treated history without the critical method, they were upheld by the power of God to write true history.

In our review of the liberal opinions on inspiration we have not contemplated to give all the authors. We have given the ablest exponents, and we believe that those omitted add nothing new to the principles here reviewed. Fr. Hildebrand Höpfl (*das Buch der Bücher*, Freiburg, 1904), closely follows Zaneccchia; Engelkemper (*die Paradieses*

flüsse, 1901) and Norbert Peters (die grundsätzliche Stellung der Katholischen Kirche zur Bibelforschung, Paderborn, 1905). add nothing to the theories of Holzhey and von Hummelauer.

Before closing this review of the liberal opinions we submit a brief notice of the manner in which the adherents of the New Exegesis present what they choose to call St. Jerome's "law of history."

In the XXVII. chapter of Jeremiah is narrated that Jeremiah prophesied the Babylonian captivity. In the XXVIII. chapter, Hananiah, the son of Azzur, contradicts Jeremiah, and declares that within two years the God of Israel shall break the yoke of the King of Babylon. The Lord reveals to Jeremiah that Hananiah had spoken a lying prophecy. Jeremiah charges the false prophet with the lie, and announces to him that he should die that same year, which duly came to pass.

The Hebrew mentions Hananiah as "Hananiah the son of Azzur the prophet who was of Gabaon." The Septuagint departs from the Hebrew, and calls him a pseudo-prophet.

"In his comment. on Jer. XXVIII. 10-11. Jerome writes: "The Seventy do not translate the clause 'two years.' Neither do they speak of Ananias as a *prophet*, lest they should seem to call him a prophet who was not a prophet: *as if many things were not spoken of in the Sacred Scriptures according to the opinion of that age, in which the events are related, and not according to the intrinsic truth of the thing itself* (quasi non multa in Scripturis Sanctis dicantur juxta opinionem illius temporis quo gesta referuntur, et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat). Even Joseph is called in the Gospel the *father* of the Lord." A little further in his commentary on Jer. XXIX, 5 ff., St. Jerome repeats: "How could Holy Scripture thus call him a prophet, although it is denied in Holy Scripture itself that he had been sent by the Lord? But *truth and the law of history is observed, as we said before, not according to what was, but according to what was believed at that time* (Sed historię veritas et ordo servatur, sicut prædiximus, non juxta quod erat, sed juxta id quod illo tempore putabatur."

In the first place it is a strange process to appeal to Jerome as supreme judge to decide a matter of criticism. Jerome was of impulsive temperament, often expressed his opinions hastily, and often contradicts himself. No Catholic accepts his theoretical views on the deutero-canonical books. Hence we might set aside this testimony by a mere *transeat*. But it seems to us that the *école large* have stretched its application far beyond what Jerome intended. In the Scriptural passage itself there is no difficulty. Everyone knows that in the Scripture false prophets are often called prophets. The interpreters of the Septuagint were hyper-critical in substituting pseudo-prophets, since there was no danger of error in the original text. Now if Jerome's remark has any point at all, it must mean that the Scriptures call these men prophets for the reason that they were commonly so termed, and not for the reason that the people believed them to be true prophets. In his Commentary on Ezekiel (M. t. XXV., Col. 108) Jerome makes clearer his meaning. He there treats of the same case, false prophets (Ezek. XIII. 1), and Jerome justifies their being called prophets in the Scripture: "Let it not disturb anyone that they are called prophets; for the Holy Scripture usually calls a prophet any one prophesying; thus are called the prophets of Baal, the prophets of idols, and the prophets of confusion. And also Paul the Apostle calls the Greek poet a prophet (Titus I. 12): 'One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said: Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle bellies.'" It is evident in Paul's quotation that he uses that word prophet in a loose sense, meaning that the verse of Epimenides was prophetically true of the Cretans. Jerome's meaning is simply to justify the Scriptural use of the word prophet. We do not assert that his statement is clear or cogent, but it can not have the wide application that the liberal school give it

Let us hear how St. Jerome explains the fact that in Holy Scripture, St. Joseph is called the *father* of Christ; and the Virgin Mary the *wife* of St. Joseph. ["Adversus Helvidium," n. 4.]

“ Excepting Joseph and Elizabeth and Mary herself, and some few others who, we may suppose, heard the truth from them, *all considered Jesus to be the Son of Joseph.* And so far was this the case that even *the Evangelists, expressing the opinion of the people, which is the true law of history* (*quæ vera historiæ lex est*), called him the *father* of the Saviour: as, for instance, ‘And he (that is, Simeon) came in the Spirit into the temple; and when the *parents* brought in the child Jesus;’ and elsewhere, ‘And his *parents* went every year to Jerusalem.’ And afterwards, ‘The boy Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem and his *parents* knew not of it.’ Observe also that Mary herself, who had replied to Gabriel with the words: ‘How shall this be, since I know not man?’ says concerning Joseph: ‘Son why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, *thy father* and I sought thee sorrowing.’ We have not here, as many maintain, the utterance of Jews or mockers. *The Evangelists call Joseph father; Mary says he was father.* Not, as I said before, that Joseph *was really* the father of the Saviour: but that, to preserve the reputation of Mary, he *was regarded by all* as his father. . . . But we have said enough, more with the aim of imparting instruction than of answering an opponent, to show *why* Joseph is called the *father* of our Lord, and why Mary is called Joseph’s *wife.*’

In his commentary on St. Matthew XIV., 9, St. Jerome applies the same principle, which he calls “the law of history,” to the statement read in the Gospel that King Herod “*was struck sad,*” because the daughter of Herodias said: “Give me here in a dish the head of John the Baptist.”

St. Jerome does not believe that Herod was sorry. “*It is the manner of Scripture,*” he says, “*that the historian relates the opinion of the multitude, as it was commonly viewed at that time.* (Consuetudinis Scripturarum est opinionem multorum sic narret historicus quomodo eo tempore ab omnibus credebatur). As Joseph was called, even by Mary herself, the *father* of Jesus, so here Herod is said to have been *struck sad, because the banqueters thought he was.* The hypocrite indeed and the homicide simulated sadness in his countenance, although he was really joyful in his heart.”

The best answer to these two testimonies is to admit that Jerome erred in both cases, and consequently his opinion is based on error, and is worthless. The Scriptures call Jesus the son of Joseph, not to accommodate themselves to a popular error, but because he was born in a lawful wedlock, and not of fornication; and because Joseph was the real husband of the Mother of God. Secondly, it is clear that Jerome errs in believing that Herod was not at heart sad. There is not the slightest warrant for such supposition. Jerome's supposition makes the Gospel ridiculous. In fact one of the ardent disciples of the *école large* admits that Jerome is in error: "As a matter of fact, we believe that, not the Evangelist, but St. Jerome was mistaken. King Herod was indeed 'struck sad' because he feared the people. But his mistake does not, of course, touch our question about the *exegetic principle* of St. Jerome." (H. Poels in Catholic University Bulletin, Jan., 1905). How may Catholic writers ever expect to harmonize their views, when such arguments are used? In order to add authority to their theory, they cite Jerome's weaknesses, of which he had many, as the supreme law in this crisis of Catholic faith.

It is not our intention to mention all those who have arisen to defend the Church on the question of inspiration. Two however, deserve special mention.

Fr. Murillo [El Movimiento Reformista y la Exegesis; *Razón y Fe*, December, 1904; January, etc., 1905,] has published a series of articles against Fr. von Hummelauer's views and all kindred theories of exegesis. Among those reasons which he urges against the view of Oriental or ancient history assumed by our recent Catholic apologists, he appeals to Cicero's canon of history: *ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat: ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo ne qua simultas*. [De Orat. 11 15.] Murillo denies that historical fiction or romance is as effective as historical truth for inculcating moral principles; he does not see why it cannot be said that the Evangelists too related the life of Christ according to the Oriental historical method, if the latter be compatible with the character of an inspired book.

A still more important work in defense of a safe and sane theory of inspiration is the work "De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae, Romae, 1903," by Fr. L. Billot, S. J.

After reviewing the various forms under which the new doctrines present themselves, Billot declares them to be contrary to the attributes of God and to the veracity of the Scriptures. He takes up their principles as follows: "Their first principle is that the inspired writers were neither more nor less than profane writers. This is false; for an instrumental cause is not in the same category of causality as a principal cause. Profane writers are the principal cause of their works; while the inspired writers are only the instrumental cause of their works: therefore there is no parity.

"Their second principle is that it pertains to the inspired writers to determine the literary form of their books. This is false, for the reason that it pertains to the principal author to determine the species of truth which is to be presented in a book, and sought therein. For our literary critics have in mind that literary form on which the whole sense of the book depends, and which is the directive principle of the entire interpretation. Therefore it is the literary form which determines the character of the book. Now if that by which a book receives its specific character be not from God, but from man, how is God the principal Author?

"Their third principle is that there is no literary form received among men which the inspiration of the Holy Ghost rejects. This is false, if it be understood of the literary forms which they imagine, especially that unspeakable genius of Oriental history. . . . It is false for the reason that divine inspiration can not accept our defects, our ignorance, our vices, our rashness, our vanity. For the genus of literature, which they imagine, more properly should be called a genus of vanity, wherein there is no excuse; or if there be an excuse, ignorance must excuse the error, and rashness the ignorance. Now God corrects our defects but does not accept them. And if we appeal to the simile which the new biblicists employ, the Word made flesh did not assume any of the defects which springing from sin take away something of the plenitude of knowledge and grace:

but he dwelt among us full of grace and truth. Much less therefore in that operation (inspiration) which is proper not to his assumed nature, but to his divine nature can he participate in our defects by inspiring books of primitive myths and Oriental history." Here Billot especially aims to overthrow the theory of Loisy:

"La vérité divine, pour se manifester aux hommes, s'est incarnée comme le Verbe éternel. Le Fils de Dieu nous est devenu semblable en tout, sauf le péché. Et la Bible aussi ressemble en toutes choses à un livre de l'antiquité qui aurait été rédigé dans les mêmes conditions historiques, à l'exception d'un seul défaut qui la rendrait impropre à sa destination providentielle, et ce défaut serait l'enseignement formel d'une . . . erreur quelconque présentée comme vérité divine. Mais. . . les interprètes de la révélation divine . . . se sont conformés aux procédés littéraires employés de leur temps, et ils ont moulé en quelque sorte la vérité révélée dans le cadre des opinions communes et des traditions de leur race, sauf à rectifier dans ces données . . . ce qui pouvait contredire les principes essentiels de la vérité religieuse." Loisy, *Etudes bibliques*, p. 34.

Billot severely handles the theory of implicit quotations: "Let us now come to the implicit quotations which are a great part of the new invention. . . . Under the name of an implicit quotation is understood the tacit employment of a document which the author inserts in his narration on its own authority, and for whose truth the author does not vouch. . . . Whatever literary form be supposed, whatever customs and conventions prevailing in different times and places, we must always believe in our hearts and confess that the holy books were written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost, and indeed the entire books and all their parts, and therefore all and every one of the so called implicit quotations. For if a properly so called explicit quotation is a true part of a book which proceeds from the author as any other part . . . how much the more an implicit quotation which is incorporated into the body of the narration without any reference? It must be conceded therefore that the implicit quotations were inserted by the inspired

writers not of their own motive and industry, but under the direction of God. . . . The human writer finds a document of whose value he is ignorant; nevertheless he copies it, and inserts it into his narration, taking a certain risk, judging that in any case he may be excused, partly on account of a presumptive probability of the veracity of the document, partly on account of the considerations which our *critics* have ingeniously invented; let this pass. But what shall we judge of him to whom the falsity of the document is known, and who notwithstanding this certain conscience, should insert this document into his narration? Shall we forsooth distinguish historical honesty into western and Eastern? into ancient and modern? In this case even Oriental honesty would hardly be preserved. Wherefore since God is neither western nor eastern, neither ancient nor modern; since moreover those things which are false he does not apprehend as probably possibly true, but certainly knows them to be false; since finally with him avail nothing those usages and conventions which the ignorance or vanity of men has introduced, we understand how from his dictation there can not come forth an implicit quotation of a false document. And therefore from first to last, the doctrine of implicit quotations, understood in the sense and to the end that the new exegetes understand it, most evidently is to be rejected.

“Let the final conclusion be that in treating of literary forms they would argue more wisely if instead of seeking a genus of literature in which to place the Holy Books they would acknowledge that the Holy Scriptures form a genus apart, transcendent, unlike all other books. . . . It is fitting that the books of which God is the principal Author should have a manner of speech proper to themselves.”

The examination of the various theories of inspiration has brought us now to a point where we must adopt certain principles as our working theory of inspiration. Most of the adherents of the new exegesis in investigating the nature of inspiration make their point of departure not the action of God in inspiration, but the books themselves. In this there is excess. Inspiration is a supernatural effect, and is

not revealed to us by the books themselves, but comes to us from God through the founts of revelation. Therefore we can not build up a theory of inspiration *a posteriori* from an examination of the books themselves. The process is legitimate to study the books to see what effects the action of God works in them; but there must always be the directive principle in our minds that these books were written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and have God for their Author.

In seeking the nature of inspiration we must separate it from extraneous questions. The Church does not admit as inspired, any writing of later origin than the Apostles. This has been a consistent teaching of the Church. But if this principle be accepted, the question of inspiration does not occupy itself with the question: Who are the authors of the inspired books? Neither does it concern inspiration to discern whether a book be of one human author or of many. To treat of the human authors is a separate question. Inspiration is sure of one divine Author; but it is not essential to it to define its human authors. At times it has done it, but only *per accidens*. Certain books, as many of St. Paul's epistles, declare their human authorship under the guarantee of divine inspiration; of other books the authors will ever remain unknown; of some, the authorship is merely probable.

Fr. Christian Pesch believes that no genus of literature is *per se* excluded from inspiration. It seems to us that this principle needs some restrictions. By the fact of inspiration the Holy Books are unlike all other books. They are a transcendent genus of literature. Their modes of presenting truth may have affinities with the various forms of literature; but there is not an identity. And moreover there are certain species of literature whose end seems to be incompatible with the end of Scripture. For instance the epic poem is based on mythical heroes, and we can find no place in the plan and purpose of the Holy Scripture for the epic poem.

The novel is a fictitious prose narrative or tale, involving some plot of more or less intricacy, and aiming to present a

picture of real life in the historical period and society to which the persons, manners, and modes of speech, as well as the scenery and surroundings are supposed to belong. We look in vain in this definition for anything which could have been the aim of any of the Holy Books.

The fable is a story or history untrue in fact or substance, invented or developed by popular or poetic fancy or superstition, and to some extent or at one time current in popular belief as true and real. Now rigorously speaking perhaps we may apply the term to some portions of Holy Writ. Lexicographers tell us that the parable is a species of fable. But certainly the fable as popularly understood finds no place in Scripture.

There are two species of literature which we believe must absolutely be excluded from Scripture. The legend is an unauthentic and improbable or non-historical narrative handed down from early times. It is the product of a people's imagination, a mere creation of fancy. Some legends teach moral truth, but not as we expect it to be taught in Holy Scripture. Once admit the presence of legends in the Scriptures and the basis of the Holy Scriptures is shaken. Parables and allegories are also fictitious history, but of another kind. The parable openly bears evidence that it is a species of similitude: in the allegory, one thing true and real is described under the image of another. In parables and allegories the symbolical character of the narrative is distinctly recognized.

Still more do we exclude from Holy Scripture the myth, which is false history believed to be true. It is imaginary history having no existence in fact. It is not aimed to point a moral; it only expresses a people's superstitious conceptions of primitive history. We believe that the divine element of inspiration excludes from Holy Scriptures the novel, the fable in its popular sense, the epic poem, the legend, and the myth. And the reason is that they are not true, and the Scriptures are true.

These forms of literature being excluded, there remain many other forms of literature which Holy Writ employs, and consequently the divine influence manifests itself in

Holy Scripture in different modes. We find in Jeremiah a good description of the manner in which the Holy Ghost delivers a written prophecy. We do not say that all prophecy in the strict sense was delivered in this way; but it is a representative specimen:

“And it came to pass in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, that this word came unto Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah, even unto this day. It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way; that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin. Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah; and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord, which he had spoken unto him, upon a roll of a book.” [Jer. XXXVI., 1-4.]

Jeremiah executes the command, and Baruch reads the message. Then the princes ask the manner of the communication from Heaven: “And they asked Baruch, saying, Tell us now, How didst thou write all these words at his mouth? Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth.” [Jer. XXXVI. 17-18.]

King Jehoiakim burns the scroll, and God commands that another be written:

“Then the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, after that the king had burned the roll, and the words which Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah, saying, Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim the king of Judah hath burned. And concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord: Thou hast burned this roll, saying, Why hast thou written therein, saying, The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast? Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah: He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his

dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost. And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon the men of Judah, all the evil that I have pronounced against them, but they hearkened not. Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire: and there were added besides unto them many like words." [Jer. XXXVI. 27—32.]

While the direct influence of God here is most potent, it does not justify a mechanical theory of verbal inspiration. God's message came to the Prophet in mental words; as it came forth from Jeremiah's lips the impress of God was upon thoughts and words; but still it is not necessary to make the mind of Jeremiah act as a mere phonograph. Intellect and memory exercised their proper functions in receiving and delivering the words of God. It is evident from the account that the consigning of it to writing did not take place at the very moment that God spoke to the prophet. Jeremiah received the message, and his memory preserved it. In reproducing it for writing, his memory was supernaturally aided by God; but there is no warrant for multiplying miracles to the extent that every word be placed ready made in Jeremiah's mind. In dealing with this subtle action of God it is difficult to describe in words the mental processes with which God co-operates. We may illustrate by an example. Let us suppose that the same identical message came to Jeremiah and to another prophet; and that both executed the command to write it. In the two accounts we should expect to find the same modal differences that are found in the several accounts of the words of institution of the Blessed Sacrament at the Last Supper.

In investigating the nature of inspiration we have the certain principle that God is the principal Author of Holy Scripture, and that the human authors are the instrumental causes. It follows also that they are living rational instruments, and in conformity with the certain theological

principle, God employed the faculties of these instruments to write the Holy Books. Inasmuch as these created faculties were incapable of effecting the Holy Books, God elevated and strengthened them, and thus used them to deliver his message, so that one effect the Holy Books, comes forth from a double causality. This action of God thus enabling a man to accomplish a writing above his natural powers is aptly called *charismatic*. The Church has done more than tell us that God has inspired the writers of Scripture; St. Thomas, St. Gregory the Great, the author of the Imitation of Christ, and many others have been given of the grace of God which might truly be called inspiration; but the inspiration which moved the human authors of the Bible was of that nature that it made God the Author of the Scriptures: they are the word of God. By this definition of inspiration the negative theory of inspiration of Chrismann and Jahn is excluded. Neither could a subsequent approbation by the Church give to any book the character which the Church infallibly declares to belong to her canonical books. As Franzelin rightly declared in the Vatican Council: "Because the Church is infallible she can define nothing as revealed truth which is not revealed by God; and in like manner through the same *charisma* of infallibility she can not put any book in the Canon of Holy Scripture which was not divinely inspired." (Coll. Lac. VII. 1621). It can not be argued against this theory that St. Paul thus approved the sayings of Aratus and Epimenides (Acts XVII. 28; Titus I. 12). St. Paul not only approves these sayings, but by incorporating them into his book makes them a part of his book. God is not the Author of those sayings as existing in the works of the two poets; but he is the Author of the citation of them and the approbation of them by which they became an integral part of an inspired book.

In every question there are two extremes. So here in defending full inspiration for the Holy Books, we must not run into the other extreme.

We have said before that revelation does not enter into the essence of inspiration. We mean here revelation in the strict sense. This takes place when God directly in-

fuses the ideas into a created mind, as in the Prophets and the Apocalypse of St. John. But there is an influence of God wherein he enlightens the mind better to receive and use naturally acquired knowledge. This is sometimes called revelation in a wide sense. It is clear that this is always present in inspiration. Sometimes this distinction is not adverted to, and the divine influence in Holy Scripture is spoken of as revelation. It is clearly evident that revelation, strictly speaking, does not extend to all the Scriptures. Often the writers indicate their human sources. The annals of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel are in large part the indicated sources of the Books of Kings. In the Books of Chronicles we find sixteen different documents cited as sources. The writer of II. Maccabees certainly employed existing documents; and St. Luke asserts that he had gathered his materials from others.

St. Thomas clearly explains this doctrine of the Church as follows: "If into the mind of a man light be infused by God, not for the purpose of knowing certain supernatural things, but that he may know with the certitude of divine truth things which can be known by human reason, that species of prophecy is inferior to that which by mental visions imparts the knowledge of supernatural truth, which (later) prophecy all they had who are placed in the order of Prophets, for they fulfilled the prophetic office. Wherefore, they spoke in the person of God, saying to the people: 'Thus saith the Lord;' but the *hagiographis* spoke not so, for most of them spoke in most part of those things which can be known by human reason, and (they spoke) not in the person of God, but as men, but with the help of divine light." (2. 2. q. 173, a. 4.) From the fact that this divine light is omnipresent in the Holy Scriptures the whole Scripture is divinely revealed, and is the object of divine faith. But in this regard, we must bear in mind the principle of St. Thomas: "A thing pertains to the precept of faith in two ways: (1) it pertains to faith directly as the articles of faith which are promulgated to be believed for their own sake. . . . (2) Other things pertain to faith indirectly, inasmuch as they are not proposed to be believed for their

own sake, but for the reason that from the negation of these, something would follow contrary to faith, as for instance if one should deny that Isaac was Abraham's son, there would follow something contrary to faith, viz., that the Scripture contains falsehood." (I. Cor. XI. 4).

This teaching is of value against those who would restrict inspiration to things of faith and morals. It is true that our act of faith more immediately finds its object in the things of faith and morals; but it embraces this other equally immediate truth: We believe all that God has revealed (in the broad sense). Therefore the things revealed *per accidens* are included in our act of faith. Of course our act of faith presupposes the application of true hermeneutics to determine what is the true sense of the things not yet defined by the Church.

To produce a book the author must conceive the ideas in his mind and consign them to writing either in person or by another. Therefore in employing man as an instrument to execute a writing, God must illumine his mind in the very act of conceiving the thoughts. This illumination will be a strict revelation in certain cases, as before explained; in things of natural reason or even mysteries learned through natural means it will be revelation in the larger sense, and both degrees of God's action are inspiration.

God also moves the will of the author to write, and assists him so that he properly executes the writing in a manner worthy of the word of God. Not alone by an internal moving of the will does God bring about the writing—he uses external circumstances and agents. Thus the things impelling to write may be friendship, or a special request, or a special need of a particular church, etc. But with the natural knowledge of the things to be written and with the natural motives impelling to write, God co-operates, strengthening the intelligence, and moving the free will so that there is inevitably produced a book which God wills to be his word, inspired and free from error.

It is not difficult to understand why God should illumine the created intelligence even in the act of writing things naturally known. Without the help of God, man could not

impress upon his writings the stamp of absolute infallible truth, even in the things which he knows by his own industry. We know that at times we experience a greater intellectual vigor, and that we can then judge better, and write better. In dealing with natural phenomena, or with the events of history, one writer is more accurate than another; one writer is better able to judge of the nature of things and events and of their relations. In inspiration God's action gives the strength necessary to deliver adequately God's message.

God's action on the will of the inspired writer is both physical and moral. Inasmuch as God as the principal Author wills to deliver to men a certain definite message through the instrumentality of the inspired writer, there corresponds to this will of God a charismatic physical motion of the will of the inspired writer which does not deprive it of liberty. The human will—thus moved by God still retains the absolute power to resist. The moral influence of God at times may be a direct command to write as was given to some of the writers. In more instances it will consist in a supernatural illumination of the mind by which it conceives ideas and judgments which impel a man to write.

The delivering of the books to the Church is not an essential of inspiration, but supposes it. We cannot say that God ordained the delivery of the books to the Church as an absolute end in giving inspiration; for some inspired books have been lost. The purpose of inspiration was to deliver a message of salvation to the world, and the ordinary custodian of that message is the Church.

We may distinguish three elements in God's action in inspiration, God supernaturally illumines the intellect to conceive rightly the truths; He moves the will to write faithfully these truths; and he assists the inspired writer to give written expression to these truths without admixture of error.

It is indifferent to inspiration whether the inspired man himself do the material writing or execute it by means of an amanuensis; but in the latter case the assistance of God protects against errors which would affect the sense of the propositions.

The curious question is raised by some: Does inspiration admit of different degrees? as for instance: Is Isaiah more inspired than the writer of the Books of Maccabees? This question must be answered with a distinction. As regards the essence of biblical inspiration all the books are equal, and are received by the Church *pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia*. (Conc. Trid. Sess. 4.) Therefore one book can not be said to be more inspired than another. But since the illumination of the mind and the motion of the will are finite entities they may admit of various degrees of intensity. Of what degree was given we know nothing, since it is not revealed to us. But it is perfectly compatible with the right idea of inspiration that God may have given to one a deeper insight into divine truth, a greater feeling in expressing it, a poetic power in presenting it. These are not of the essence of the inspiration.

CHAPTER II.

EXTENT OF INSPIRATION.

In all these questions we seek first if there be any authoritative teaching on the subject. In the present instance we find that in his universal proposition, "all Scripture is inspired," St. Paul extends inspiration to all Scripture. The same persuasion is in Christ in his use of Scripture. He cites it as a thing of absolute authority: he bases the great proofs of his character and mission on the statement: "It is written." The very fact that a thing is written in Holy Scripture was an absolute proof. The Apostles and other inspired writers did the same. The Fathers are unanimous in asserting that all Scripture is inspired. The councils of the Church have defined this by asserting that all the books with all their parts are inspired.

But now we must see in what sense all Scripture is inspired.

The question of the inspiration of *Obiter Dicta* is a celebrated one in Biblical Criticism. *Obiter Dicta* may be called those details of minor moment related in Holy Writ, which are inserted en passant, not seemingly comprised in the main scope and intention of the writer. The passage in

Tobias XI. 9. relating to the wagging of the tail of Tobias' dog: "blandimento suæ caudæ gaudebat," and the passage in St. Paul's letter to Timothy, II. Tim. IV. 13. relating to the cloak left at Troas: "Penulam, quam reliqui Troade apud Carpum, veniens affer tecum," are usually quoted as examples of *obiter dicta*. Concerning these, two questions may be raised: 1. Are the *Obiter Dicta* inspired? 2. Is it of faith that these are inspired? Catholic theologians generally answer the first question in the affirmative. And, in truth, such must be defended, for the same danger would menace us as before mentioned, were we to reject the inspiration of these passages, namely, that of gradually widening the circle of these, and inducing uncertainty into the Scripture, by the freedom with which men might reject these details.

Card. Newman asserted that, in his opinion, these were not of faith. Patrizi, quoted by Lamy, and by him followed, does not dare condemn the opinion of those who deny that the *Obiter Dicta* are of faith. Schmid says: "*Credimus doctrinam quam proposuimus quoad illam specialem assertionem, quæ immunitatem ab errore, divinam auctoritatem, et inspirationem ipsam ad res indifferentes etiam minimas extendit, non esse de fide, et contrariam non esse hæresim. Nihilominus, persuasum nobis est doctrinam nostram omnino certam esse, nec contrariam ullo modo probabilem aut tolerabilem judicamus.*"

Newman, in the 19th Century for 1884, excludes from the *fide divina credenda* "*obiter dicta*"; such as, for instance, that Nabuchadnezzar was king of Niniveh, Judith I. 7; or that Paul left his cloak at Troas; or that Tobias' dog wagged his tail. Tob. XI. 9: "And here I am led on to inquire whether *obiter dicta* are conceivable in an inspired document. We know that they are held to exist and even required in treating of the dogmatic utterances of Popes, but are they compatible with inspiration? The common opinion is that they are not. Professor Lamy thus writes about them, in the form of an objection: 'Many minute matters occur in the sacred writers which have regard only to human feebleness and the natural necessities of life, and by no

means require inspiration, since they can otherwise be perfectly well known, and seem scarcely worthy of the Holy Spirit, as for instance, what is said of the dog of Tobias, St. Paul's *penula*, and the salutations at the end of the Epistles.' Neither he nor Fr. Patrizi allow of these exceptions; but Fr. Patrizi, as Lamy quotes him, 'damnare non audet eos qui hæc tenerent', viz., exceptions, and he himself, by keeping silence, seems unable to condemn them either.

By *obiter dicta* in Scripture I also mean such statements as we find in the Book of Judith, that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineveh. Now it is in favor of there being such unauthoritative *obiter dicta*, that unlike those which occur in dogmatic utterances of Pope and Councils, they are, in Scripture, not doctrinal, but mere unimportant statements of fact; whereas those of Popes and Councils may relate to faith and morals, and are said to be uttered *obiter*, because they are not contained within the scope of the formal definition, and imply no intention of binding the consciences of the faithful. There does not then seem any serious difficulty in admitting their existence in Scripture. Let it be observed, its miracles are doctrinal facts, and in no sense of the phrase can be considered *obiter dicta*."

The Fathers were concurrent in extending inspiration to everything contained in Holy Scripture. "I believe," says St. Augustine, "that no Sacred writer has been deceived in anything." (Epist. 72. ad Hieron.) St. J. Chrys., Hom. XV. in Gen., says that every word is to be pondered, as they are the words of the Holy Ghost (*i. e.* the sense of the words.) So, St. Jerome reproaches, for the same reason, those who do not receive the Epistle to Philemon. St. Thomas, Summa Theol. I. Q. 1. art. 10. ad. 3.: "It is evident that there never can be falsehood contained in the literal sense," and Q. 32. art. 4: "A thing pertains to faith in two ways. In one way, directly, as those things which are principally assigned to us; as for instance, that God is triune. Things pertain indirectly to faith, from whose contrary would follow something pernicious to faith; as, for instance, if one were to say that Samuel were not the son of Helcana; for from this it would follow that the Scriptures were false."

The encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" in express terms condemns the theory that exempts the *obiter dicta* from inspiration: "But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the Sacred Writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of those difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that Divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think), in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind when saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the Books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church solemnly defined in the councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: 'The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated by the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as Sacred and Canonical. And the Church holds them as Sacred and Canonical, not because having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Author.' [Sess. III. C. II. *de Rev.*] Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot, therefore, say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary Author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which

He ordered, and those only, they first rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. 'Therefore,' says St. Augustine, 'since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the Writer; for His members executed what their Head dictates.' [*De consensu Evangel.* L. 1, C. 35.] And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces: 'most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the author of the Book. He wrote it who dictated it for writing; He wrote it who inspired its execution.' [*Praef. in Job*, n. 2.]

"It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the Sacred Writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error."

The error of those who have excluded the *obiter dicta* from inspiration seems to be to regard these details in themselves, without considering their relations to the general text. Considered apart from the other portions of the book, they are unimportant: they could have been omitted without substantial loss to the book. They are not written for their own sake; they are a part of the setting of more important truth. The inspired writer under the influence of inspiration conceives his book in his human mind. It is written in a human manner of expression. These details are not irrelevant; they fit in naturally into the account. The motive moving us to extend inspiration to them is not their own importance; but the fact that if they be denied inspiration the integrity of the Holy Books is assailed. Who shall fix the limits of the *obiter dicta*? Hence they claim inspiration not on account of their own importance but because they are parts of an inspired book. Their claim to inspiration rests on the basic truth that there can not be error in any part of the Bible. The positive teaching of the Church condemns the opinion which asserts that some parts of the Bible are inspired and others are not. The *obiter*

dicta can not be said to be so few as not to form a part as here contemplated. The greater part of the XVI. Chapter of Romans is made up of salutations which are set down as *obiter dicta*.

It seems therefore to follow from the definitions of the Church that inspiration must be extended to all the parts of Holy Scripture.

In answer to the second question, Is it of faith that the *obiter dicta* are inspired? we believe that a negative answer must be returned. Bellarmine, however, holds that it is of faith: "It is heresy, to believe that in St. Paul's Epistles and in other sacred books not all things are written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; but that some things proceeded solely from human reason and judgment." (De Verbo Dei, Lib. 1.) Melchior Canus (De Locis Theol. Lib. 2, 16) calls the theory an impious error: "How impious is the error to assert that in the canonical books the writers at times wrote as mere men without the divine and supernatural revelation (inspiration), I demonstrate first by the argument that in this opinion the authority of the Holy Scriptures is in great part shaken." He proceeds then to show how easy it were to widen the field of the *obiter dicta*; and then concludes: "Let us therefore confess that everything whether great or small was written by the sacred writers under the dictation of the Holy Ghost."

But the Church has not defined the issue with sufficient clearness to warrant a theological censure of the opposite opinion.

In relation to the inspiration of "dicta aliorum," no definite rule can be given. The character of the person, the circumstances in which such saying is uttered, the mode of quoting, and the nature of the proposition must be weighed. For instance, the sayings which the inspired writers make their own by their approbation are inspired. St. Peter was inspired, when he confessed the divinity of Christ, not when he denied Christ. The words of impious men sometimes are quoted, but "in persona illorum," not intending them to be as truths. In regard to these, although no fixed rule can be laid down, still there is no difficulty in distinguishing the true from the false.

Sometimes the statements are formulated as the sayings of others, but are in reality the creations of the author himself. He sometimes expresses the ideas of impious men in order to condemn them. Thus in the book of Wisdom, speeches are placed in the mouths of Epicureans in order to illustrate and condemn these errors.

Again, the inspired writer may reproduce the words of good men and approve them, without thereby extending the prerogative of absolute infallibility to them. Thus in Acts St. Luke relates St. Stephen's great discourse before the Sanhedrim. He declares also that Stephen was filled with the Holy Ghost in his discourse. And yet St. Luke does not become responsible for the lapse of memory whereby Stephen declares that Abraham bought the tomb "for a price in silver of the sons of Hamor in Shechem" (Acts VII. 16). Genesis (XXXIII. 18-19) states that Jacob bought this tomb, and the context warrants the statement of Genesis.

The divine inspiration of Luke aided him faithfully to report Stephen's words. Stephen, though filled with the Holy Ghost, *was not inspired as an inspired writer*. The main truth of his words is not affected by the accidental error. St. Luke approves the substantial truth of Stephen's words.

Again, it may happen that a writer may present his teaching in a species of drama. Care must be taken then to discern when the actors in the drama convey the ideas of the writer of the book. Thus in Job there are various speakers who discuss the great questions of human life and destiny. With consummate art the writer has so conceived the discourses that, though there is an error of fact in Job's friends, inasmuch as they believe him guilty of grave sin, nevertheless they discourse rightly upon the great issues of human life.

If the inspired writer relates the words of others without either implicit or explicit approbation, the words thus related do not become a part of divinely inspired Scripture, but have only their own intrinsic authority. This principle will apply to the letters written to the Jews by the Spartans, and by the Romans, and according to some to the letters

(II. Maccab. I. 15, seqq.; IX. 1 seqq.) written by the Jews to their compatriots in Egypt. In a word therefore, the sayings of others related in Holy Scripture are inspired if they become the *sense* of the inspired writer.

Sometimes the writers express an indetermination of mind, or a state of doubt; or they express an estimate of certain things. St. Luke seems to have been uncertain whether it were eight or ten days that Festus tarried at Jerusalem (Acts XXV. 6); St. John describes the water pots as holding two or three firkins (John II. 6); the number fed by the multiplication of the loaves was not with mathematical precision known to St. Matthew; but it was a number which the correct judgment of men would estimate at five thousand. The truth of history demands nothing more for such a statement. The state of indetermination is not to be ascribed to the Holy Ghost. He uses human instruments to deliver all truth as required by the nature of the things written. It is an inspired fact that Festus tarried at Jerusalem a period of time of which an adequate idea was conveyed by declaring that it was eight or ten days; and so in all other cases. This principle is very useful in its application to such biblical facts as the size of armies, the number of the slain, etc. We must distinguish between these numbers as they came from the inspired writers and the present numbers of the text. Many accidental errors have crept into the present numbers.

It is clear also that opposed to the very nature of inspiration is the theory that the inspired writer may declare a thing which is false in the sense which the human writer intended to convey; but true in the sense that the Holy Ghost delivered thereby. God's action as the principal cause of the writing excludes such a condition in the instrument; for an essential element of inspiration is the illumination of the mind of the inspired writer that he may rightly conceive what he is to write.

It would be the opposite extreme to hold that inspiration banished all ignorance and false persuasion from the mind of the inspired writer. As far as regards the things which they were not called to write as inspired agents

God left them to their own resources; not, of course, excluding that illumining influence that grace works in all the saints. Thus for instance it is clearly proclaimed in revelation that the day of general judgment is hidden from all creatures. This all the inspired writers accepted as a fundamental truth. Yet from their own human reasoning some of them at least seem to have believed that such event was near at hand. This is not in any way prejudicial to inspiration. They do not proclaim that it is near at hand. Perhaps some of their arguments relating to human conduct in a certain sense imply that they believed that the consummation were not far off; but the arguments do not assert it, nor do they become false from the fact that ages have elapsed since they wrote. The uncertainty of that great day is a true incentive to a right order of life; and thus they used it.

A most important and most difficult question is to determine what influence the Holy Ghost has on the words of Holy Scripture. This question is usually treated of under the heading of *Verbal inspiration*. The term *verbal* in this connection is badly chosen; for it admits of such meanings that to the question, Are the Holy Scriptures verbally inspired? we may return an affirmative and negative answer, both true. Hence we have need to present the question in clearer terms.

The words of Holy Scripture may be divided into formal words and material words. The formal words are the mental conceptions of the writer, and corresponds to the ideas expressed in the books. In this sense all the words of Holy Scripture are the words of God; they are all inspired; and are free from error.

The external signs by which these ideas are expressed are conveniently called material words; and the question is now to be discussed: Are these inspired? Here again we must distinguish. All must admit a certain influence of the Holy Ghost on the words. The question therefore narrows itself down to this. In what sense are the material words of Holy Scripture inspired?

We can readily understand that the mental word conceived in the mind in one sense compels and determines the material word; and in another sense leaves it free. For example: the inspired writer under the influence of divine inspiration conceives the idea: The Son of God became man. The nature of human speech limits him to a certain range of words and expressions to convey that idea. But still within that range there is a latitude of freedom. If the writer knows more than one language he may choose one or the other. Thus Matthew had a choice between Hebrew and Greek for his Gospel. We do not deny that God may determine the tongue to be used, but such determination would not be of the essence of inspiration. Again, the writer may express the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity as the Son of God, or the Word of God, and the same freedom of choice is applicable to the predicate.

Let us take as another example the truth: Jesus Christ died for us. A man may express that truth in different material words, viz., The Son of God gave his life for us; The Redeemer suffered death for all mankind, etc.

Now the question to answer is, Did God in inspiration determine the Holy Writers to use one form of expression instead of another, when both were equally apt? Some of the early protestants answered this question in the affirmative. It was a part of that exaggerated sentimentalism which endeavored to set aside the *Magisterium* of the Church, and set up the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith. We have seen that this error died amid its worshippers. In Catholic thought there have been certain changes of thought and certain differences of opinion in those things in which the Church has not defined.

The Fathers at times, speaking oratorically, in their desire to demand for the Scriptures fitting reverence, speak in such terms that without due caution one might be led to believe that they held the theory of absolute inspiration of the material words. But a deeper insight into the consistent principles of the Fathers, and a comparative study of the system of their faith will persuade that what they demanded for the Holy Scriptures was reverence for every

truth of Holy Scripture as it exists clothed in fitting words for us. Though we believe that the inspired writer had a certain liberty in choosing words and expressions, providing they be fitting, when he has made this choice and clothed an inspired idea in words, these words become sacred as signs of a divinely inspired idea, and they will merit the veneration which the Fathers paid them. Moreover, since the writer's intellectual faculties are supernaturally enlightened by the action of inspiration, this illumination will influence the choice of words; the inspired writer will be aided by God to convey his inspired concepts in a manner that befits the infallible message of God; hence our purpose here is not to deny a certain verbal inspiration, but to prevent its exaggeration.

The Fathers used synonymously the two expressions, The Holy Scriptures are inspired by God, and, The Holy Scriptures are dictated by God. Their clear statements demonstrate that they did not use the term dictation to signify the mechanical theory of inspiration. All will consider Origen a capable witness of tradition, the greatest mind of his age. Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. VI. 25) transmits to us the following testimony of Origen on the Epistle to the Hebrews:

“That the verbal style of the epistle entitled ‘To the Hebrews,’ is not rude like the language of the apostle, who acknowledged himself ‘rude in speech,’ [II. Cor. XI. 6] that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.

“If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement

of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it."

We may logically argue that if Origen considered it not inconsistent with inspiration that another should write down the inspired writer's thoughts at his leisure as he remembered them, he was far from holding the absolute inspiration of the material words. At times we find that under the prepossession of his excessive mysticism, Origen extended inspiration to the very material letters of Holy Writ, (Hom. in Ps. I. 4) but he tempered this extreme view by statements such as we have adduced.

St. Ambrose in many things followed the excessive mysticism of Origen. Touching our present theme he says: "Though sometimes, according to the letter, the Evangelists seem at variance, the truths they utter are not discordant, for the mystery is the same." (On Luke X. 171) Again he says (On Luke VIII. 63): "In the Holy Scriptures it is not the order of words but the substance of the things which we should consider."

St. John Chrysostom is sometimes cited as an advocate of inspiration of the material words of Holy Scripture. In his Homily on Genesis, II. 2, he writes thus: "Ye have heard just now the Scripture declaring: 'But for Adam there was not found a help meet for him.' What is the meaning of the brief clause: 'But for Adam?' Why does (the Scripture) place there the conjunction ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$)? Did it not suffice to say: 'For Adam?' It is not from vain curiosity that we discuss these things, but that by interpreting all things we may teach you not to pass over any brief saying, or even syllable of Holy Scripture. For they are not mere words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, and therefore a great value may be found in one syllable." Again in the same work, XXI. 1, he continues: "In the Holy Scriptures there is nothing written which has not a great wealth of meaning; for since the prophets spoke by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, therefore the writings proceeding from the Holy Ghost contain in themselves a great treasure. There is not a syllable or tittle in Holy Scripture in whose depths

there is not a great treasure." In his Homily on "Salute Priscilla and Aquila," Chrysostom declares the purpose of his homily to be "that ye may know that in the Holy Scriptures there is nothing superfluous, even though it be an iota or a tittle. And even a simple salutation opens up to us a vast sea of meaning. And why do I say, a simple salutation? often even the addition of one letter adds the value of sentences. This may be seen in the name of Abraham. A man who receives a letter from a friend, not only reads the body of the letter, but also the salutation at the end, and concludes from it the writer's affection; and since Paul, or rather not Paul, but the grace of the Holy Ghost, dictates a letter to a whole city, and a numerous people and through them to the whole world, is it not most unbecoming to judge that any thing therein is superfluous and pass it by, not realizing that thus everything is perverted?"

This is a strong patristic argument for the inspiration of the *obiter dicta*, but it does not maintain the absolute inspiration of the material words. In the first place if we press the testimony too much it becomes absurd, and we are unwilling to believe that the mighty mind of Chrysostom should have so betrayed him. He well knew that the material words of the Old Testament were not the material words of the inspired writer, but the words of an interpreter, and as Ambrose rightly says: "We must always seek the sense, which the frequent translations from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Latin attenuates." (On Ps. XXXVII. 49).

Chrysostom himself admits the same principle: "We have not the Old Testament writ in our mother tongue: it was composed in one tongue; we read it in another. It was first written in Hebrew; we have received it in Greek. By its translation into another tongue it becomes difficult. All who are versed in many tongues know that it is impossible with equal clearness to translate everything from its own language into another. This is a cause of difficulty in the Old Testament." (On The Obscurity of Proph. II. 2.) Therefore the letters and tittles of the Greek text could not

have been considered by Chrysostom as dictated by the Holy Ghost. St. Chrysostom's meaning is therefore that the deep *sense* of Holy Scripture is to be sought in every word of Holy Scripture. Acting within that range of liberty that we have explained the writers chose certain words and expressions as the sensible signs to convey their inspired ideas. Therefore the ideas which might have been expressed in other ideas, *de facto* lie in these words. We may therefore call these words inspired; for by them as sensible signs the conceptions of inspired minds are delivered to us. The words therefore merit all reverence, and we can not come at the deep sense of Holy Scripture without weighing every word. The conjunction in Genesis specified by Chrysostom has a value, for it makes more forcible the contrast between the completeness of the other orders of creation, and the incompleteness of the human race as existing in Adam. We must also know that Chrysostom spoke oratorically, and used the arts of oratory. In other works he distinguishes between the inspired sense and the material word. In his work *Contra Judæos* II. XLVIII. he says: "When thou hearest Paul crying out and saying: 'behold, I Paul say to you, if you be circumcised, Christ profits you nothing,' the voice, *φωνή*, only recognize to be that of Paul, but the sense and the dogma recognize to be of Christ by whom he was interiorly taught."

St. Jerome is most reverent to the "syllables, titles, points, etc." of Holy Scripture, since they "are of divine origin and full of meaning," (*On Eph. V. 6*). Again he declares: "For I myself not only admit but freely proclaim that in translating from the Greek, *except in the case of Holy Scriptures, where even the order of the words is a mystery*, I render sense for sense, and not word for word." (*Epist. LVII. 4.*)

A superficial observation of such passages might move one to believe that Jerome asserted the mechanical theory of verbal inspiration; but deeper study of his works demonstrates that he allowed to the human writers the same range of liberty in the use of words and expressions for which we are pleading. In his commentary on the well

known hyperbaton of Ephesians, III. 1, Jerome declares: "I believe that the expression here is defective." Jerome could not attribute a defective expression to the Holy Ghost. Again St. Jerome in his CXX. Epistle, 11, has this testimony: "Though he (Paul) had knowledge of all the Scriptures, and knew many tongues, he was unable to render the august *sense* of the Holy Scriptures fittingly in Greek. He had therefore Titus as an interpreter, as Peter had Mark, whose Gospel was composed by Peter's dictation and Mark's writing. Moreover the two epistles which are called Peter's differ in style, character, and composition of words. From which we know that by the necessity of the case, Peter used different amanuenses." Jerome will not be said to have held that God inspired thoughts to Paul and Peter, and words to different interpreters who wrote their thoughts.

Jerome traces a man's origin and education in his inspired writings: "We must know that Isaiah is eloquent in speech, being a man of noble birth and of cultured eloquence, and free from everything uncouth." (Prof. on Is.) "Jeremiah the prophet is held by the Hebrew to be ruder in speech than Isaiah and Hosea and other prophets, but he equals them *in sense*, for he prophesied in the same spirit. The plainness of his language comes from the place of his birth. He was of Anathoth, a village to this day, three miles distant from Jerusalem." (Prol. On Jer.) "Amos the prophet was of the shepherds, unskilled in speech, but not in knowledge; for the same Spirit who spoke by all the prophets spoke by him." (Prol. On Amos.) This is a clear argument that the Holy Ghost delivered the sense of the Holy Scriptures through men, leaving to them to employ words and expressions in conformity with their education.

A strong argument against the theory of the inspiration of the material words is the fact that the inspired writers of the New Testament, when quoting from the Old Testament do not quote the exact words, but only the sense. Now if the material words were inspired by the Holy Ghost, they would have taken care to reproduce them. Jerome develops this argument at great length: "In Matthew [XXVII. 9, 10.] when the thirty pieces of silver are returned

All the books of Scripture were written by the Jews
and inspired by the authority of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ecclesiastical~~ ^{ecclesiastical} Church and
based on the readings of the ~~ancient~~ ^{ancient} ~~Church~~ ^{Church}. The
contents of the phrase "St. Paul's" are
apostles & other inspired writers, but the ~~same~~ ^{same}
St. Paul says "All inspiration is inspired by God."
St. Councils of the Church have ~~inspired~~ ^{inspired} ~~the~~ ^{the}
declared that the Scriptural books are ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~inspiration~~ ^{of}
Totality.

The early fathers extended inspiration ~~to~~ ^{to}
aliter dicta - St. Aug. says - "I believe that was
said writer has been deceived in any thing."
St. Irenaeus (A.D. 180) - "Things pertain indirectly
to faith and ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Church~~ ^{Church} ~~should~~ ^{should} ~~follow~~ ^{follow}

encycl. - "Providentissimus Deus" concerning
theory that attempts to shut doors from inspiration.
"It is absolutely wrong & forbidden to narrow
inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scriptures."

Verbal Inspiration -

① Distinguish between material words & formal words.
Formal words - ms. letters, etc. - spots, accents which
correspond to the ideas expressed in the books. These formal
words are the words of words & words of letters.
material - the ideas expressed by which those who
are expressed & not material. Only words are
inspired. Inspiration is not verbal inspiration.
Inspiration is not verbal inspiration. It is not verbal inspiration.
Inspiration is not verbal inspiration. It is not verbal inspiration.

Q 14 a. 3. - Are Creatures like God

(1) →

(2)

(3)

- communication in forms.
- (a) eadem ratione et eodem modo
- (b) " " sed non " "
- (c) non eadem ratione specificis nec " "
- ~~sed~~ sed eadem ratione specificis

Similitudo est communicatio vel
communicatio in forma
 (in three ways)

in. That is, and he is used in any form
 this appears as like him a. b. by analogy. God
 for ex. creates him being by participation, B
 is not a genus. it is this imperfect kind of
 likeness which we mean when we say
 men are made to image & likeness of

by the traitor Judas, and the potter's field is purchased with them, it is written:—"Then was fulfilled that which was spoken of by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'and they took the thirty pieces of silver the price of him that was valued which they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.' This passage is not found in Jeremiah at all but in Zechariah, in quite different words and an altogether different order. In fact the Vulgate renders it as follows:—'And I will say unto them, If it is good in your sight, give ye me a price or refuse it. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Put them into the melting furnace and consider if it is tried as I have been tried by them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them into the house of the Lord.' [Zech. XI. 12, 13, Vulg.] It is evident that the rendering of the Septuagint differs widely from the quotation of the evangelist. In the Hebrew also, though the sense is the same, the words are quite different and differently arranged. It says: 'And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my price; and, if not, forbear. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter; [statuarius.] a goodly price that I was priced at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.' [Zech. XI. 12, 13.]

They may accuse the apostle of falsifying his version seeing that it agrees neither with the Hebrew nor with the translators of the Septuagint: and worse than this, they may say that he has mistaken the author's name putting down Jeremiah when it should be Zechariah. Far be it from us to speak thus of a follower [peditsequus.] of Christ, who made it his care to formulate dogmas rather than to hunt for words and syllables. To take another instance from Zechariah, the evangelist John quotes from the Hebrew, 'They shall look on him whom they pierced.' [Joh. XIX. 37: Zech. XII. 10] for which we read in the Septuagint 'And they shall look upon me because they have mocked me,' and in the Latin version, 'And they shall look upon me for the things which they have mocked or insulted.' Here

the evangelist, the Septuagint, and our own version [*i. e.* the Italic, for the Vulgate, which was not then published, accurately represents the Hebrew.] all differ; yet the divergence of language is atoned by oneness of spirit. In Matthew again we read of the Lord preaching flight to the apostles and confirming His counsel with a passage from Zechariah. 'It is written,' he says, 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.' [Matt. XXVI, 31; Zech. XIII. 7.] But in the Septuagint and in the Hebrew it reads differently, for it is not God who speaks, as the evangelist makes out, but the prophet who appeals to God the Father saying:—'Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.' In this instance according to my judgment—and I have some careful critics with me—the evangelist is guilty of a fault in presuming to ascribe to God what are the words of the prophet. Again the same evangelist writes that at the warning of an angel Joseph took the young child and his mother and went into Egypt and remained there till the death of Herod; 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.' [Matt. II. 13–15.] The Latin manuscripts do not so give the passage, but in Hosea [Hos. XI. 1.] the true Hebrew text has the following:—'When Israel was a child then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.' Which the Septuagint renders thus:—'When Israel was a child then I loved him, and called his sons out of Egypt. 'Are they [*i. e.*, the Septuagint and Vulgate versions] altogether to be rejected because they have given another turn to a passage which refers primarily to the mystery of Christ? . . . Once more it is written in the pages of the same evangelist, 'And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.' [Matt. II. 23.] Let those word fanciers and nice critics of all composition tell us where they have read the words; and if they cannot, let me tell them that they are in Isaiah. [Isa. XI. 1.] For in the place where we read and translate, 'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots,' [So AV.; the Vulg.

varies slightly.] in the Hebrew idiom it is written thus, "There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a Nazarene shall grow from his root." How can the Septuagint leave out the word 'Nazarene,' if it is unlawful to substitute one word for another? It is sacrilege either to conceal or to set at naught a mystery.

"Let us pass on to other passages, for the brief limits of a letter do not suffer us to dwell too long on any one point. The same Matthew says:—'Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel.' [Matt. I. 22, 23; Isa. VII. 14.] The rendering of the Septuagint is, 'Behold a virgin shall receive seed and shall bring forth a son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel.' If people cavil at words, obviously 'to receive seed' is not the exact equivalent of 'to be with child,' and 'ye shall call' differs from 'they shall call.' Moreover in the Hebrew we read thus, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel.' [AV.] Ahaz shall not call him so, for he was convicted of want of faith, nor the Jews, for they were destined to deny him, but she who is to conceive him, and bear him, the virgin herself. In the same evangelist we read that Herod was troubled at the coming of the Magi, and that gathering together the scribes and the priests he demanded of them where Christ should be born, and that they answered him, 'In Bethlehem of Judah: for thus it is written by the prophet; and thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel.' [Matt. II. 5., 6.] In the Vulgate [*i. e.* the Versio Itala which was vulgata or 'commonly' used at this time, as Jerome's Version was afterwards] this passage appears as follows:—'And thou Bethlehem, the house of Ephrath, art small to be among the thousands of Judah, yet one shall come out of thee for me to be a prince in Israel.' You will be more surprised still at the difference in words and order between Matthew and the Septuagint if you look at the Hebrew which runs thus:—'But thou Bethlehem

Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel.' [Mic. V. 2.] Consider one by one the words of the evangelist:—'And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah.' For the land of Judah the Hebrew has 'Ephratah' while the Septuagint gives 'the house of Ephratah.' The evangelist writes, 'art not the least among the princes of Judah.' In the Septuagint this is, 'art small to be among the thousands of Judah,' while the Hebrew gives, 'though thou be little among the thousands of Judah.' There is a contradiction here—and that not merely verbal—between the evangelist and the prophet; for in this place at any rate both Septuagint and Hebrew agree. The evangelist says that he is not little among the princes of Judah, while the passage from which he quotes says exactly the opposite of this, 'Thou are small indeed and little; but yet out of thee, small and little as thou art, there shall come forth for me a leader in Israel,' a sentiment in harmony with that of the apostle, 'God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty.' [I. Cor. I. 27.] Moreover the last clause 'to rule' or 'to feed my people Israel' clearly runs differently in the original.

"I refer to these passages, not to convict the evangelists of falsification—a charge worthy only of impious men like Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian—but to bring home to my critics their own want of knowledge, and to gain from them such consideration that they may concede to me in the case of a simple letter what, whether they like it or not, they will have to concede to the Apostles in the Holy Scriptures. Mark, the disciple of Peter, begins his gospel thus:—"The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the prophet Isaiah: Behold I send my messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' [Mark I. 1-3.] This quotation is made up from two prophets, Malachi, that is to say, and Isaiah. For the first part: 'Behold I send my messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way before thee,' occurs at the close of Malachi. [Mal. III. 1]

But the second part: 'The voice of one crying, etc.,' we read in Isaiah. [Isa. XL. 3.] On what grounds then has Mark in the very beginning of his book set the words: 'As it is written in the prophet Isaiah, Behold I send my messenger,' when, as we have said, it is not written in Isaiah at all, but in Malachi the last of the twelve prophets? Let ignorant presumption solve this nice question if it can, and I will ask pardon for being in the wrong. The same Mark brings before us the Saviour thus addressing the Pharisees: 'Have ye never read what David did when he had need and was hungry, he and they that were with him, how he went into the house of God in the days of Abiathar the highpriest, and did eat the shewbread which is not lawful to eat but for the priests?' [Mark II. 25, 26.] Now let us turn to the books of Samuel, or, as they are commonly called, of Kings, and we shall find there that the highpriest's name was not Abiathar but Ahimelech, [I. Sam. XXI. 1.] the same that was afterwards put to death with the rest of the priests by Doeg at the command of Saul. [I. Sam. XXII. 16-18.] Let us pass on now to the apostle Paul who writes thus to the Corinthians: 'For had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But, as it is written, Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.' [I. Cor. II. 8, 9.] Some writers on this passage betake themselves to the ravings of the apocryphal books, and assert that the quotation comes from the Revelation of Eliah; [This book is no longer extant. It belonged to the same class as the Book of Enoch.] whereas the truth is that it is found in Isaiah according to the Hebrew text: 'Since the beginning of the world men have not heard nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee what thou hast prepared for them that wait for thee.' [Isa. LXIV. 4, LXX. AV. has 'what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.'] The Septuagint has rendered the words quite differently: 'Since the beginning of the world we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen any God beside thee and thy true works, and thou wilt shew mercy to them that wait for thee.' We see then from what

place the quotation is taken and yet the apostle has not rendered his original word for word, but, using a paraphrase, he has given the sense in different terms. In his epistle to the Romans the same apostle quotes these words from Isaiah: 'Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling stone and rock of offence,' [Rom. IX. 33.] a rendering which is at variance with the Greek version [Lit. with the old version.] yet agrees with the original Hebrew. The Septuagint gives an opposite meaning, 'that you fall not on a stumblingstone nor on a rock of offence.' The apostle Peter agrees with Paul and the Hebrew, writing: 'but to them that do not believe, a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.' [I Pet. II. 8; AV. is different.] From all these passages it is clear that the apostles and evangelists in translating the old testament scriptures have sought to give the meaning rather than the words, and that they have not greatly cared to preserve forms or constructions, so long as they could make clear the subject to the understanding.

"Luke the evangelist and companion of apostles describes Christ's first martyr Stephen as relating what follows in a Jewish assembly. 'With threescore and fifteen souls Jacob went down into Egypt, and died himself, and our fathers were carried over [So the Vulg.: AV. punctuates differently.] into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor [*i. e.* Hamor] the father of Sychem.' [Acts VII. 15, 16.] In Genesis this passage is quite differently given, for it is Abraham that buys of Ephron the Hittite, the son of Zohar, near Hebron, for four hundred shekels [Drachmæ.] of silver, a double cave, [Spelunca duplex.] and the field that is about it, and that buries in it Sarah his wife. And in the same book we read that, after his return from Mesopotamia with his wives and his sons, Jacob pitched his tent before Salem a city of Shechem which is in the land of Canaan, and that he dwelt there and 'bought a parcel of a field where he had spread his tent at the hand of Hamor, the father of Sychem, for an hundred lambs' [AV. marg.], and that 'he erected there an altar and called there upon the God of Israel.' [Gen. XXXIII. 18-20; AV. varies slightly.] Abraham does

not buy the cave from Hamor the father of Sychem, but from Ephron the son of Zohar, and he is not buried in Sychem but in Hebron which is corruptly called Arboch. Whereas the twelve patriarchs are not buried in Arboch but in Sychem in the field purchased not by Abraham but by Jacob. I postpone the solution of this delicate problem to enable those who cavil at me to search and see that in dealing with the scriptures it is the sense we have to look to and not the words."

None of the Fathers treated the question of verbal inspiration with the clearness and depth of Augustine. He distinguishes between sense and material word, and declares that in employing the material word, the writers use that liberty that we here demand for them. A good specimen of St. Augustine's principles concerning this question is found in his "Harmony of the Evangelists," Bk. II., 27-29:

"If now the question is asked, as to which of the words we are to suppose the most likely to have been the precise words used by John the Baptist, whether those recorded as spoken by him in Matthew's Gospel, or those in Luke's, or those which Mark has introduced, among the few sentences which he mentions to have been uttered by him, while he omits notice of all the rest, it will not be deemed worth while creating any difficulty for oneself in a matter of that kind, by any one who wisely understands that the real requisite in order to get at the knowledge of the truth is just to make sure of the things really meant, whatever may be the precise words in which they happen to be expressed. For although one writer may retain a certain order in the words, and another present a different one, there is surely no real contradiction in that. Nor, again, need there be any antagonism between the two, although one may state what another omits. For it is evident that the evangelists have set forth these matters just in accordance with the recollection each retained of them, and just according as their several predilections prompted them to employ greater brevity or richer detail on certain points, while giving, nevertheless, the same account of the subjects themselves.

“Thus, too, in what more pertinently concerns the matter in hand, it is sufficiently obvious that, since the truth of the Gospel, conveyed in that word of God which abides eternal and unchangeable above all that is created, but which at the same time has been disseminated throughout the world by the instrumentality of temporal symbols, and by the tongues of men, has possessed itself of the most exalted height of authority, we ought not to suppose that any one of the writers is giving an unreliable account, if, when several persons are recalling some matter either heard or seen by them, they fail to follow the very same plan, or to use the very same words, while describing, nevertheless, the self-same fact. Neither should we indulge such a supposition, although the order of the words may be varied; or although some words may be substituted in place of others, which nevertheless have the same meaning; or although something may be left unsaid, either because it has not occurred to the mind of the recorder, or because it becomes readily intelligible from other statements which are given; or although, among other matters which (may not bear directly on his immediate purpose, but which) he decides on mentioning rather for the sake of the narrative, and in order to preserve the proper order of time, one of them may introduce something which he does not feel called upon to expound as a whole at length, but only to touch upon in part; or although, with the view of illustrating his meaning, and making it thoroughly clear, the person to whom authority is given to compose the narrative makes some additions of his own, not indeed in the subject-matter itself, but in the words by which it is expressed; or although, while retaining a perfectly reliable comprehension of the fact itself, he may not be entirely successful, however he may make that his aim, in calling to mind and reciting anew with the most literal accuracy the very words which he heard on the occasion. Moreover, if any one affirms that the evangelists ought certainly to have had that kind of capacity imparted to them by the power of the Holy Spirit, which would secure them against all variation the one from the other, either in the kind of words, or in their order, or in their number, that

person fails to perceive, that just in proportion as the authority of the evangelists [under their existing conditions] is made pre-eminent, the credit of all other men who offer true statements of events ought to have been established on a stronger basis by their instrumentality: so that when several parties happen to narrate the same circumstance, none of them can by any means be rightly charged with untruthfulness if he differs from the other only in such a way as can be defended on the ground of the antecedent example of the evangelists themselves. For as we are not at liberty either to suppose or to say that any one of the evangelists has stated what is false, so it will be apparent that any other writer is as little chargeable with untruth, with whom, in the process of recalling anything for narration, it has fared only in a way similar to that in which it is shown to have fared with those evangelists. And thus as it belongs to the highest morality to guard against all that is false, so ought we all the more to be ruled by an authority so eminent, to the effect that we should not suppose ourselves to come upon what must be false, when we find the narratives of any writers differ from each other in the manner in which the records of the evangelists are proved to contain variations. At the same time, in what most seriously concerns the faithfulness of doctrinal teaching, we should also understand that it is not so much truth in mere words as rather truth in the facts themselves, that is to be sought and embraced; for as to writers who do not employ precisely the same modes of statement, if they only do not present discrepancies with respect to the facts and the sentiments themselves, we accept them as holding the same position in veracity.

“With respect, then, to those comparisons which I have instituted between the several narratives of the evangelists, what do these present that must be considered to be of a contradictory order? Are we to regard in this light the circumstance that one of them has given us the words, *whose shoes I am not worthy to bear*, whereas the others speak of the *unloosing of the latchet of the shoe*? For here, indeed, the difference seems to be neither in the mere words, nor in the order of the words, nor in any matter of simple phrase-

ology, but in the actual matter of fact, when in one case the *bearing of the shoe* is mentioned and in the other the *unloosing of the shoe's latchet*. Quite fairly, therefore, may the question be put, as to what it was that John declared himself unworthy to do—whether to bear the shoes, or to unloose the shoe's latchet. For if only the one of these two sentences was uttered by him, then that evangelist will appear to have given the correct narrative who was in a position to record what was said; while the writer who has given the saying in another form, although he may not indeed have offered an [intentionally] false account of it, may at any rate be taken to have made a slip of memory, and will be reckoned thus to have stated one thing instead of another. It is only seemly, however, that no charge of absolute unverity should be laid against the evangelists, and that, too, not only with regard to that kind of unverity which comes by the positive telling of what is false, but also with regard to that which arises through forgetfulness. Therefore, if it is pertinent to the matter to deduce one sense from the words *to bear the shoes*, and another sense from the words *to unloose the shoe's latchet*, what should one suppose the correct interpretation to be put on the facts, but that John did give utterance to both these sentences, either on two different occasions or in one and the same connection? For he might very well have expressed himself thus, *whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose, and whose shoes I am not worthy to bear*: and then one of the evangelists may have reproduced the one portion of the saying, and the rest of them the other; while, notwithstanding this, all of them have really given a veracious narrative. But further, if, when he spoke of the shoes of the Lord, John meant nothing more than to convey the idea of His supremacy and his own lowliness, then, whichever of the two sayings may have actually been uttered by him, whether that regarding the unloosing of the latchet of the shoes, or that respecting the bearing of the shoes, the self-same sense is still correctly preserved by any writer who, while making mention of the shoes in words of his own, has expressed at the same time the same idea of lowliness, and thus has not made any de-

parture from the real mind [of the person of whom he writes]. It is therefore a useful principle, and one particularly worthy of being borne in mind, when we are speaking of the concord of the evangelists, that there is no divergence [to be supposed] from truth, even when they introduce some saying different from what was actually uttered by the person concerning whom the narrative is given, provided that, notwithstanding this, they set forth as his mind precisely what is also so conveyed by that one among them who reproduces the words as they were literally spoken. For thus we learn the salutary lesson, that our aim should be nothing else than to ascertain what is the mind and intention of the person who speaks."

In view of this clear testimony, it is strange that Père Lagrange hesitates not to say: "That we maintain, *with the Fathers*, that inspiration extends itself to everything, even to the words, is precisely the end to establish that the term inspiration is not synonymous with the dictation" (*Revue Biblique*, 1904, p. 293). While such reckless disregard of historical facts and such party spirit prevail in those who demand a more liberal exegesis, there is no hope of effecting a harmony among Catholic scholars. Far more truthful is the doctrine which Venerable Bede drew from the Fathers, that the prophets "secretly were taught the mysteries by clear mental visions, that they might make these things known to their hearers by whatever words they pleased". (On II. Peter 1.)

Most of the older scholastic writers did not expressly treat the question of verbal inspiration. St. Thomas leaves men in doubt as to his view. However, in his prologue to Hebrews, he declares that in this epistle Paul "is more elegant in style, because although he knew all tongues (I. Cor. XIV. 18) nevertheless, he knew better the Hebrew as his mother tongue in which he wrote this epistle. And therefore he could speak more eloquently in that tongue than in another. . . . Luke, a most excellent interpreter, transferred that eloquence from Hebrew into Greek." This certainly admits the human element in the words of Scripture for which we are contending.

Henry of Ghent, a disciple of Albertus Magnus, asserted verbal inspiration, but no other writer of authority is found of that opinion among the older scholastics.

After the Council of Trent opinion was divided on the question. Towards the end of the XVIII. Century, the opinion denying verbal inspiration in the material sense became the common opinion. Marchini (†1773) expresses the common opinion of his day as follows: "The divine afflatus and inspiration can have place even though God by special action furnishes neither words nor sentences. Truly if the Holy Ghost is present to the writer whom he has moved to write; if, in case memory should fail the writer, (the Holy Ghost) opportunely suggests what he wishes written; if he enlightens the mind with a light that dispels all ignorance and lack of judgment; if he strengthens the mind with such power that all things are written faithfully, plainly and consistently; if he brings to the mind hidden, sublime, and unknown things; if he leaves no part of Scripture devoid of his care, verily the books will be written by the inspiration of God, although the speech, and the expressions proceed for the most part from the genius, memory, study, meditation, and diligence of man." (De Div. et Can. Sac. Lib.)

The sense and the words are the effect of a man writing under the influence of divine inspiration, and in that sense the words are influenced by divine inspiration; but this influence leaves to the writer more of the human element in the words than in the sense; for the sense is the direct object of God's action: the words are intended only as a means of conveying the sense. God as the principal author can not be indifferent as to the sense of any part of Holy Scripture, for the sense of every part is attributable to Him. He may and does permit a liberty of choice of words to convey this sense, provided they be an apt medium to express his mind. God inspired writers in order that they should write determinate truths, not determinate words; he inspired them to write his message in fitting words which their faculties furnished.

There are times when the Holy Ghost determines the material words, but this pertains not to the essence of

inspiration, and more rarely is verified. Again when God gives command to "speak the words" of God, or to "write the words of God" it is evident that the meaning is to deliver to men the formal words of God, not the material words.

A legitimate argument against the inspiration of the material words of Scripture may be drawn from the following consideration. In God's plan entities are not to be multiplied without necessity. God employs the ordinary course of created agents where their causality is adequate to attain the end. Now there is no reason why God should have exercised a special action in determining words and expressions for the inspired writers. That God could have thus acted on the inspired writers, all admit. It may be that he did determine the very material words in some instances; but the evidence is against admitting that such determination pertains to the essence of inspiration. Many of the arguments against verbal inspiration have already been adduced. An additional argument may be drawn from the manner in which the inspired writers record facts.

In the Scriptures, sometimes the same fact is related by different writers in different ways. For instance, the consecration of the chalice is related in four different ways by St. Matt., XXVI., 28; St. Mark, XIV., 24; St. Luke, XXII., 20, and St. Paul, I. Cor. XI., 25. These speak of the same words of Christ, as He used them once for all at the Last Supper. If the Holy Ghost had inspired the words, how could we account for these divergencies? Here applies aptly what St. Augustine said of the inspired writers: "*Ut quisque meminerat eos explicasse manifestum est.*"

We may add that certainly the determination of the material words can not enter into the essence of the message of God, for such message was destined for the whole world, which it did not reach, and could not reach in the original words in which it was first delivered.

It may be said that the same argument evinces the same latitude for the things of Scripture that pertain not to faith and morals. In the versions accidental errors have crept into these in more or less degree; therefore, why demand a more absolute standard of inerrancy in the original? To

answer this difficulty we must know that the conditions of the sense of Holy Scripture differ from the conditions of the words. It is defined by the Church that God is the Author of the entire Scriptures with all their parts, for the reason that they were written by men inspired by the Holy Ghost. This definition extends inspiration to every enunciation of Holy Scripture, and the definition goes farther, and declares that the whole Scriptures thus inspired contain no error. Now if we exempt certain passages of Holy Writ from this infallible inspiration, we sever the vital unity of the Scriptures, we practise vivisection in the strict sense. A proposition may be enunciated in different words, and still preserve its identity of sense; but a sentence can not be true and false at the same time. When we say that inspired writers wrote the message of God with infallible truth, but with words which they themselves determined within the range of fitting words, we leave to God his rightful character as Inspirer and Author of the Scriptures; but when we say that the inspired writers wrote partly true things and partly false, we can not make God the Author of such a medley of truth and falsehood. The divine action of inspiration enlightens the mind of the writer to conceive ideas of the truths he is to deliver. These concepts must be true. Truth is one. But without detriment to their truth these concepts may in general be expressed by different words. They demand apt words, but not determinate forms of expression; and here we place the liberty of the inspired writer. When Abraham goes down with his wife Sarah into Egypt, and she is taken from him into the house of Pharaoh, there is but one concept that corresponds to it. It may be expressed in different words, but the event has an individual unity, and there can be but one true idea of it. Therefore when the writer records that event, he must reproduce that determinate fact. Therefore when we find such historical statements in the Bible we must conclude that they are historically true. They cannot be allegories, or parables: all the characteristics of allegory and parable are absent. They form a part of a real history; their context shows that the writers meant them as real history.

If we characterize them as myth and folk-lore, we impeach the veracity of the word of God.

The reasonableness of the doctrine just enunciated can be seen from a commonplace example. A professor delivers his lecture to his hearers, and they commit the sense of his discourse to writing, each in a different manner. Provided they relate faithfully the sense of what he says they may all be said to have his lecture; though the words differ, the sense remains the same, and the sense is the proper result of inspiration.

In the latter part of the last century a new theory was proposed regarding verbal inspiration. The advocates of the new theory refuse to admit that God's inspiring act affected the ideas differently from the words. They extend the act of inspiration to the sense and the words. They depart from the cruder mechanical theory of verbal inspiration, and raise the question more into the psychological order. But among the advocates of this new view of verbal inspiration there is not a consensus. Some of them in substance are in accord with the views which we here defend. It is in many cases merely a question of terms. We admit an influence of God on the words; and the words of Scripture are inspired words, because they are the signs of inspired ideas. We do not say that God is the Author of the ideas, and man is the author of the words; because the inspired writer was under the influence of inspiration when he wrote the words, and the action of God upon his faculties is reflected in the words he employed; but we believe that God's action left to man to use his faculties in expressing the conceptions of his mind, even while he remained under the influence of inspiration. Hence, as Jerome says, Paul may have used a defective expression in Ephesians, though the expression can at no time be so defective as not to convey God's meaning..

Lagrange, though an advocate of verbal inspiration, is obliged to admit that the action of God does not affect the words in the same manner as the sense: "Without doubt between the thought and the word there exists an intrinsic difference; therefore inspiration does not affect them in the

same manner. The thought should be true, the word should be apt; therefore under the influence of the divine light the judgment will be true, the terms and other accessories will be fittingly chosen. If this is what certain modern writers mean in distinguishing between inspiration for the thoughts and assistance for the words we are substantially in accord with them." (Revue Biblique, 1896, p. 215.)

It would seem at first sight that there were no substantial difference of opinion between the advocates of the new exegesis and us on the subject of inspiration, but in reality one of the fundamental tenets of their system lies here. While they grant to the inspired author the same liberty that we grant him, they insist that his material words be still termed inspired. They do this for the purpose of demanding the same liberty of the human element in the thoughts themselves. Thus Lagrange proposes the system: "It would be unreasonable to say that God in the same manner wills the thoughts and the words, that he attaches the same importance to the words as to the thoughts, or inspires both in the same manner. We do not wish to be narrower than Franzelin, but broader. He abandoned the theory that the words were the (material) words of God, because he found it difficult to find in them the perfection of things immediately revealed. We demand the same liberty for the thoughts, and it is scarcely exact to call them (the thoughts) *sensa Dei*, an expression which easily might become exclusive" (Revue Biblique, 1904, p. 294). The argument here is most illogical and inconsistent. If, by his own admission, the thoughts are more important than the words; if inspiration affects them differently, how can he demand the same liberty for the thoughts as Franzelin demands for the words?

In his work, (*Die Schriftinspiration*, 1891), Dr. Dausch declared: "To separate inspired elements from non-inspired elements of Holy Writ is like the distinction between verbal inspiration and sense inspiration, more or less a vivisection of the living efficacy of the Spirit." This phrase has been adopted by many to support the theory of verbal

inspiration. Without doubt to remove the influence of God entirely from the actual words of Holy Scripture might be called vivisection; but that term can not apply to the theory which we have defended. We believe therefore that inspired thoughts influence the words by which, with God's assistance, they are expressed; we believe that the supernatural enlightenment of the mind favorably reacts upon the power of expression; we believe that God assisted the writers so that infallible truth was competently expressed; but we believe at the same time that the writers exercised a certain liberty in the choice of words and expressions; that they reveal their genius and education in these; that certain literary defects are found in the words; and that certain things might have been better expressed. We believe also that the action of God is directed, as to its more immediate object, to the sense of Holy Scripture; and consequently the human element is greater in the words than in the thoughts.

The authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church proclaims the Scriptures to be God's infallible word, and consequently free from error. It is clear that it is the mind of the Church to make the inerrancy of the Scriptures the effect of its inspired character, to derive it from God's authorship. If a man denies the infallibility of Holy Scripture in things of faith and morals he is a heretic: if he limits the inerrancy of Holy Scripture to things of faith and morals only he is not far from being a heretic. Of course this applies to the Scriptures as they came from the inspired writers; and to the versions in the measure that they are authentic. The definition of the Council of Trent guarantees that the Vulgate is authentic in things of faith and morals.

While all Scripture is true, all Scripture is not true in the same way. The sense that the Scriptures affirm is always true. The parable and allegory are not true as history, because they are not written as history. They are true as moral illustrations, because their sense is a moral illustration. That which is written as parable is true as parable; that which is written as poetry is true as poetry; that which is written as allegory is true as allegory; that which is written as history is true as history; and that which is written

as doctrinal or moral teaching is a true law of belief and conduct. For this cause the historical method of Lagrange is rejected, because it makes a congeries of folk-lore, legends, and myths that which is written as history.

There may be times when it is difficult to discern that which is strictly historical from that which is fictitious history. Such difficulty will never obscure the way of belief or conduct. Some believe that Tobias or Judith or Ruth is a fictitious history. The Church has not defined the question. To deal with it, one must examine the evidence, and see whether the object of the writer be to write real or fictitious history. The object of the writer is always to write the truth; his fictitious history is not less true than his real history: it is true in the sense proper to its nature as a genus of literature which the Holy Scripture can use. It inculcates principles of truth and duty by concrete examples. While conservative opinion holds that Job is a historical personage, the great drama of the Book of Job is largely a creation of the poet's inspired mind to illustrate infallibly true principles. Hence in judging of an inspired book, we must have regard to its character to determine in what sense it is true. Prophecy has its peculiar character, its visions and its symbols; poetry has its poetic flights of imagination; parable and allegory make fictitious entities act and speak their message; while real history declares its message by relating facts. There is no place in Scripture for folk-lore or myth, for these relate the legends of a people as real history.

We must realize also that inspiration is only a partial participation of the divine light. God does not speak to us in the Scriptures *more divino*, but in a human manner. He condescends to us as we condescend to address a child. The books therefore of Holy Scripture contain the evidences of imperfection due to their human origin; but God's inspiration moves the writers to write nothing but the truth. The writers were not *critical historians*; but the Spirit of God supplied where human knowledge failed.

Another important hermeneutical principle is that the sense of an inspired writer may have a wider range than he

comprehends. That which he means to utter is the sense of God, but that very sense may be greater than he comprehends. This principle was clearly admitted by the Fathers: "Perhaps not even St. John spoke (of the Word) as it is, but as he, being a man, was able; because he, a man, spoke of God, he was verily inspired but still a man. . . . Therefore being a man inspired, he uttered not all; but what he could, being a man." (Aug. On John I., 1.) St. Jerome (On Eph. III., 5) admits that the mystery of the incarnation "was not known to the patriarchs and prophets as it is now known to the apostles and saints: it is one thing to know future things in a vision; it is another thing to contemplate them now fulfilled." St. Thomas sums up the question in his usual clear way: "We must know that since the mind of the prophet is an imperfect instrument, even the true prophets did not know all that the Holy Ghost intended in their visions, words, and deeds." (2. 2. 173. 4.) This principle is also promulgated in the bull "Providentissimus Deus.

It results therefore that the Church, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, may grow in the understanding of certain truths whose full import not even the original writers grasped. We see also a certain growth in the clearness of the revelation of Christ in the Old Testament, and those closer to the fulfillment of the prophecies saw with clearer view than those of old. Similarly in the Church there is a lawful growth in the understanding of doctrine. The Church has always taught the infallible truth; has always been adequately equipped to teach men; and must always preserve an identity of doctrine. But she is a living Church; and the Holy Ghost abides with her all days to teach. It follows from her life, and from the abiding of the Spirit that she grows in knowledge of the truths which were delivered to her in the beginning. Thus her unity and identity of teaching stand with her growth in knowledge.

We have before spoken of the manner in which the inspired Scriptures deal with natural sciences. St. Augustine rightly declares: "It is not read in the Gospel that the Lord said: 'I send you the Paraclete who shall teach you of

the course of the sun and the moon.' He wished to make them Christians, not mathematicians." (De actis cum Felice Manichæo, I., 10.)

It does not follow from this that when the Scriptures speak of the stars, plants, animals, etc., that they are not veracious, for "no one except an impious man or infidel doubts of the veracity of Scripture." (Aug. On Gen. VII., 28.)

The truths of salvation are directly inspired; the other truths are indirectly inspired, on account of their relation to the direct object of inspiration. But in speaking of things of natural science, the Holy Scriptures have not treated them to the end to teach the people science; they have not treated such matters from the scientist's viewpoint: "Moses condescending to a rude people, spoke of things as they sensibly appeared." (St. Thomas, Summa, I., q. 70.) The sacred writers make use of the common parlance of the people: "*secundum opinionem populi loquitur Scriptura.*" (S. Th. 1. 2. 198.) A question of vital importance, in our days, is the relation of Scripture to science. Men's minds have been active ever since the writing of Scripture itself, and have found many things unknown at the time of the writing of the Holy Books. They have delved down deep into the mysterious storehouse of nature, have discovered her treasures, have imprisoned her mighty forces to do their will and serve them in the affairs of their civil and domestic life. They have penetrated the heavens, and investigated the secrets of the vast expanse which men call the firmament. Many truths, and many more or less reasonable hypotheses have been thus found out. But science, proud of her achievements, and restless under restraint, too oft turns her powers against the God-given truths of the Sacred Text, and here the warfare waxes bitter indeed, and many there are who incline too much to the side of science, even of those of the household of faith. Since the time of Galileo, men have conceded that the Scriptures spoke according to the common opinions of the people, and attributed significations to words, which the vulgar speech of the day warranted. For God made use of a human medium to convey his message to

man, and he did not startle the people by strange expressions, which would have been unintelligible to all people at that stage of human development. Men speak thus today, and are not accused of inexactness or with combating science. Hence, with this in mind, we can reconcile the assertions of true science with the inspired Word of God, for there can be no combat between truth and truth; for the Author of both human and divine science is the Essential and Infinite Truth. "For although faith is above reason, no real discussion, no real conflict can be found between them since both arise from one and the same fount of immutable and eternal truth, the great and good God." (Pius IX., Encyc. of Nov. 9, 1846.) Some hypotheses broached by the incredulous and shallow dabbler in science may conflict with the truths of Scripture, but this imports nothing. The Church blesses scientific research, and fears nothing therefrom. She invites investigation into every field of human thought, and only good to herself can come therefrom. The greatest scientists and historians are her faithful children. The Vatican Council approved of scientific research explicitly, even when all the resources of science were brought to bear to oppose the Church. It leaves science free to use its own methods. "Neither does the Church forbid that these sciences should, in their own domain, use their own principles and methods." (Conc. Vat. De Fide, IV.)

Hence we should guard against attributing to a passage of Scripture a signification, which *in se* it has not, but which may have been given to it by some interpreter. When we find by incontestable evidence that science has demonstrated a truth, which is in seeming opposition to what has by some been held to be the opinion gleaned from the Holy Scriptures, we should seek some other interpretation, which the text must bear, as truth and truth can not conflict, and we can thus reconcile these two truths coming from different sources. In this manner, we may reconcile Gen. I. 14: "And God said let there be luminaries in the firmament of heaven. . . . And God made two great luminaries, a greater luminary to rule the day and a lesser luminary to rule the night,

and the stars." Now it would seem from this that the stars were less in magnitude than the moon. As science has indisputably proven the contrary, what must we admit? That the inspired writer spoke according to the appearance of things, and for us the moon is a greater luminary than the stars. Hence, even the sun is not necessarily asserted to be a greater luminary in fact than the stars, but only in appearance.

Two obstacles obstruct the way of harmony between Scripture and science; videlicet, the narrowness of view of many who essay to defend the Scriptures, and the pride and presumption of orientalisists and scientists who fail to recognize that there is:

"A deep below the deep,
And a height beyond the height;
Our hearing is not hearing,
And our seeing is not sight."

Shallow draughts of science intoxicate the brain; drinking deeply sobers us. The man of large mind will be conscious of his own limitations; conscious that much that passes as science is a congeries of hypotheses, many of which change with the course of time. The exegete must also realize that where the Church has not defined the question "one should not so tenaciously adhere to any exposition formerly believed to be true, that he would not abandon it when clearly proven to be false, lest the Scriptures be derided by the unbelieving, and a way to belief be cut off from them" (St. Th. 2. Sent. 12.)

At no time in the history of the world have men's ideas of natural science been absolutely correct. In time they never will be absolutely correct. We may know some things better than the ancients; but there are many more which we shall never know. God decreed to use men at certain epochs of history to deliver a body of truths to men. Incidentally they spoke of certain natural phenomena. They used the language of their time, as men have done in every age of the world. They spoke of the material universe as it appeared to men. The language which they employed was scientifically imperfect; but they uttered no falsehood.

They used an imperfect medium to convey to man the infallible message of God. The inspired writer's conceptions of nature were imperfect, and God did not by a necessary miracle remove this imperfection before making him an instrument to utter a message in which scientific facts are only indirectly contemplated. In these enunciations concerning natural phenomena there is a direct sense and an indirect sense. When it is said that at the voice of Joshua the sun stood still, the direct sense is that the light of day was miraculously prolonged; and that fact is affirmed in the language of the writer's time.

A question of paramount importance is now to determine whether we shall apply to history that same latitude that we give to things of natural science; that is whether we shall concede that the inspired historians wrote history according to popular belief. Lagrange and his school affirm this, and make that the cardinal principle of the so-called "historical method." Not content with asserting the theory, some of them, with amazing audacity, appeal to the encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" in support of their hypothesis. It is to set a low value on human intelligence to ascribe such a view to the encyclical. The Holy Father wishes "his principles applied to cognate sciences and especially to history;" but it is clear that what he means is that we must *defend Scripture* not only against scientists, but against orientalists and historians, whose methods the Holy Father exposes in the very same paragraph. There is not a word in the whole encyclical favorable to the "historical method." The context clearly establishes the pontiff's meaning to be that, as we are to refute scientists when they teach falsely, and as we are to show that what they have proven is not contrary to the Scriptures, so we are to deal with history and other cognate sciences. And the pontiff immediately proceeds to state the errors of historians who wage war on the Holy Scriptures.

It is clear that there is a vast difference between the scientific statements and the historical statements of the Bible. The very essence of history is to narrate facts. We have given a fit place to allegory and parable, lyric poem and

drama. Here we speak of history which the writer wrote as history. Every genus of literature which the Bible employs must be true in the mode competent to its nature. Therefore that which is written as history must be true as history. When the Scriptures say: "God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament," the purpose of the proposition is not to teach men the nature of the heavens, but to assert that God created the heavens, and gave to nature her laws. The truths of Scripture are conceived in a human manner. Nature is spoken of as men contemplated it: in this regard the inspired writer is a child of his time, and his scientific knowledge is not in advance of his epoch. There is truth in his statement, the truth he intended to convey: there is imperfection in the accessory.

But when the Scriptures say that Cain rose against Abel and slew him, or that God rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom, if these events be the creation of folk-lore, there is no truth in them; they are false beliefs narrated as history. The nature of the narration of such facts and their context take them out of the category of allegory and parable; they are narrated as history, and must be true as history. The object of the writer is to teach men this very history, and to move men to believe it. It may be called primitive history; but it still remains true history. The fact that many myths and fables mingle in the primitive history of other peoples does not necessitate that the history of the origin of the universe as related in the Bible must also have its myths and legends. By the fact of divine inspiration the history narrated in the Bible transcends all other history, for the reason that it is infallibly true. The historical parts of Holy Scripture, and in fact all its parts, are subject to proper hermeneutical laws to determine their sense; but in the last analysis every sentence of the Bible, as it came from the inspired writer, must be true in its proper sense. History according to popular beliefs is false history, and can not be a part of the word of God.

Moreover the historical parts of the Bible are in great part the foundation of our faith. The history of the fall of our first parents bears an essential relation to the doctrine of original sin. The Redemption, the Resurrection of Christ, the foundation of the Church, the descent of the Holy Ghost are historical facts. It is needless to declare how vital these are to faith.

One of the common phrases of the "new exegesis" is to declare the historical parts of Scripture *relatively true*. If they wish to assert that the Scriptures are not God, that the Scriptures are not God's own infinitely perfect utterance, it is well. The Scriptures are God's message through human utterance by the power of God. They have the impress of their human origin upon them; but they also bear the stamp of their principal Author, and by His power they are true in every part. Wherefore if by the phrase *relatively true* they mean to say that the Scriptures contain anything that is not objectively true, the statement conflicts with Catholic belief.

It is evident therefore that while we admit fictitious history which has its proper sense of truth, we exclude myth, legend and folk-lore; for these are false narrations in the guise of history. It is an abuse of the *relative sense* theory to assert that "all the wonders related during the forty years in the desert make no necessary claim to be miracles as we define them, *i. e.*, strictly supernatural occurrences." (The Tradition of Scripture, Barry, p. 254) The writer of "The Tradition of Scripture" falls in with the tendency to pare down the supernatural, and exalt the natural. It is the trend of the age ever since protestants invented a religion that is not religious. If the miracles of the Exodus are in reality only natural phenomena believed by a credulous age to be miracles, the Bible has spoken falsely, for not in one place only does it proclaim these to be true miracles. The tendency that endeavors to eliminate miracles from the Old Testament will not stop there. It will invade the New Testament even to a "clever cut" at Christ himself. In the Syllabus of Pius IX. this proposition was condemned: "The prophecies and miracles set forth in narration in the Sacred

Scriptures are the creations of poets, and the mysteries of Christian faith are a synthesis of philosophic investigations: myths are found in both testaments, and Jesus Christ is himself a myth." The "Providentissimus Deus" most explicitly deploras and condemns the myth and legend theories of the "historical method."

We have before explained that when the inspired writer cites a testimony without either explicit or implicit approbation, inspiration does not vouch for the truth of the testimony. In such case it is only inspiredly true that the writer has made such a citation; the matter of the testimony stands on its own merit. But when the writer uses a historical source, and embodies it into his history without sufficient indication that he is relating the words of another without endorsing them, then, by every law of history, the inspired writer confers his own authority to what he writes, and makes it his own. If it were not so, history would become a jugglery of words, and no man could know what to believe.

It can not be denied that many of the sources whence Moses drew his knowledge of the first chapters of Genesis were popular tradition. The form in which facts are handed down by popular tradition differs from the style of written history. In the course down from age to age as a general thing many legends, myths, and superstitions mix in with the stream of truth. The divine agency of inspiration saved the inspired writer from handing down to us any thing false; it allowed him to preserve the popular mode in which the truths were expressed. Abstract principles are expressed as concrete facts. The true historical fact that man was created immediately by God in a state of happiness, was tempted by the devil, and fell through ambitious pride, is expressed in the form of the allegory of the garden scene at the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. God becomes anthropomorphic, walks in the garden, communes with Himself, descends to see the tower of Babel, etc. The truth of history only demands that there shall be always an objective reality of fact in all these narrations. The fact is historical; the mode in which it reached us through popular tradition is sometimes allegorical.

CHAPTER III.

THE CANON.

Canon, from Greek *κανών*, originally meant any straight rod or bar. From this basal signification were formed the cognate meanings of the amussis or carpenter's rule, the beam or tongue of the balance, and then, like "norma," any rule or standard, whether in the physical or moral order. Hence it came to be generally applied as a rule or measure of anything. It is much controverted, and quite uncertain, just what particular shade of the general meaning the old writers had in mind when they first applied this word to the official list of the Holy Books. Such question is, in fact, of no real value to any man, and yet writers quibble and haggle about it, as though upon it depended some great question. Some contend that, in applying the term to the Holy Books, the early writers passed from the active signification of the term to its effect, and used the measure for the thing measured; thus the canon would be the list officially ruled and measured by the Church. Others hold that the said writers had in mind that the Holy Books formed *a rule of faith and morals*. We are of the persuasion that the term was applied to the collection of Scriptures to signify that such list formed the *criterion and measure of a book's divine origin*. The list was thus a *rule*; for only the books which satisfied its requirements, by being incorporated in it, were of divine authority. At all events, the signification of an official list of things or persons dates back to a great antiquity. Thus, in the Councils of Nice and Antioch, the catalogue of the sacred persons attached to any particular Church was called the *canon*. Thus, to-day, those who constitute the chapter are called *Canons*. The appositeness of the term all must concede, for such sanctioned catalogue forms a measure of inspiration, and we receive only as inspired that which conforms to its measurement.

The canon of Holy Scripture then is *the official catalogue of the Books that the Church authoritatively promulgates as the product of the Authorship of God*.

This official list is found in the Council of Trent, Sess. 4. De Can. Script.: "The Synod has thought good to sub-

join to the decree an index of the Holy Books, lest to any man there should arise a doubt as to which are the books that are received by the said Synod. These are the following: Of the Old Testament, the five books of Moses, to wit: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, the four Books of Kings, the two Books of Paralipomenon, the First Book of Esdras and the Second which is called that of Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidic Psalter of 150 Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias with Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, The Twelve Minor Prophets, to wit: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habakuk, Sophonias, Haggæus, Zachary, Malachy, and The First and Second of Maccabees. Of the New Testament: The Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Acts of The Apostles, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, to wit: The Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Epistle to the Philippians, the Epistle to the Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the two Epistles to Timothy, the Epistle to Titus, the Epistle to Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews; the two Epistles of St. Peter, the three Epistles of the Apostle John, one Epistle of the Apostle James, one Epistle of the Apostle Jude, and the Apocalypse of the Apostle John." In this catalogue, there are recorded forty-five books of the Old Testament, and twenty-seven of the New.

As the Holy Books are divided into two great classes, the Old and New Testament, so we must treat separately of the canons of these two Testaments.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The books containing God's covenant to man are designated by three equivalent terms in the three great Scriptural tongues. In Hebrew it is **בְּרִית**, in Greek, *Διαθήκη* and in Latin, *Testamentum*. Although the etymological construction of these terms is not exactly identical, still, in fact, their accepted sense in this predication is the same, that of a

pact, treaty or covenant; and they designate the written instruments of God's solemn covenant with mankind.

A fundamental variation took place in God's dealings with his creature in the mission of the Messiah, and, as the Greek language became at that time the principle medium of religious thought, the changed and better economy was called in that language the *Καينὴ Διαθήκη*, in contradistinction to the *Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη*; hence in Latin, which later preponderated as the vehicle of religious thought, the terms were rendered by *Vetus* and *Novum Testamentum*, whence come our equivalent English terms.

The books of the Old Testament can, from their very nature, be easily divided into three great classes: the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Such division, in fact, existed among the Jews from the very earliest times, but their arbitrary, ill-founded ranging of the different books under each particular class renders their data worthless. By their division, we must include Daniel among the Hagiographa, while Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are enrolled among the Prophets. Of course the Law remained ever and with all a unique element, admitting no other book to be classified with itself. There was also in vogue among the Jews a well-known liturgical section of Holy Scripture, the *תּוֹרַת מִגְלוֹת* or five volumes: The Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes and Esther. These formed a collection which was wont to be read on certain festal days of the year.

Our Saviour and the Apostles oft divided the Old Testament in two great divisions, the Law and the Prophets; thus, in a general way, designating all that was subsequent to the Law as the Prophets.

The Jews were wont also to divide the Pentateuch into liturgical divisions which they call *פְּרָשָׁה* from root *פָּרַשׂ*, to expound. These were first arranged so that every third year the Pentateuch was totally read in the synagogues. Now, however, the Babylonian mode prevails in all the synagogues, which divides the Pentateuch in fifty-four *parshas*, so arranged that, by reading them on every Saturday,

they finish the Pentateuch within the course of the year. To this usage St. James alludes, Acts XV. 21: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every Sabbath." These parashas are designated in the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch by three פּ or three ס. They are designated by פּ if the section begins on the beginning of the line; by ס if it begins in the middle of the line. The פּ is initial for פְּתוּחוֹת *open*, to signify that the section is an open one, as it begins with the line; while ס is initial for סְתוּמוֹת *closed*, implying that the section is shut up, as it were, beginning in the middle of the line. Thus, for instance, the first parasha, Gen. I. 1—VI. 8 inclusively, is open; so also the second, extending from VI. 9—XI. inclusively, is open and designated by three פּ. The parasha, enclosed from Gen. XXVIII. 11—XXXII. 3, inclusive, is closed, and designated by three ס. The parashas were subdivided into minor sections, designated in the Hebrew text by single פּ or ס as they respectively began either in the beginning or middle of a line. Later, they conjoined the reading of select portions of the Prophets to the sections of the Law. They called these הַפְּטָרָה from root פָּטַר to dismiss; because, after they were read, the people were dismissed. It was in accordance with this usage, that Jesus Christ at Nazareth read in the synagogue the passage from Isaiah, Luke IV. 16—19. This haftara is not now found among those assigned for synagogical readings. The antimessianic tendency of the Jews has probably expunged it.

Setting aside, therefore, rabbinical opinions, we can easily arrange all the books under the three great heads. First, the Law, comprising the five books of Moses; second, the Prophets, comprising the four great Prophets and the twelve minor Prophets, and lastly, the Hagiographa, composed of all the remaining books. However, modern writers find it convenient to divide the books in still another way, to facilitate their treatment. In this modern division, the motive of classification is the nature of the theme of the book. They thus divide them into Historical, Sapiential,

Poetic, and Prophetic books. We shall employ this division in our special introduction to the different books.

The well known division of both Testaments into the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books seems to have first been employed by Sixtus Sennensis (1520—1569). In his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, Book 1. Sec. 1, he writes thus: "Thus Canonical books of the first order we may call *protocanonical*; the Canonical books of the second order were formerly called ecclesiastical, but are now by us termed *deuterocanonical*." Although retaining and making use of this nomenclature, we in no wise attribute an inferior degree of dignity to the books of the second canon; they are in such respect equal, as God is the Author of all of them. We designate by the name of *protocanonical*, the books concerning whose divine origin no doubts ever existed; while the deuterocanonical books are those concerning which greater or less doubts were entertained for a time by some, till finally the genuineness of the books was acknowledged, and they were solemnly approved by the Church.

The *deuterocanonical* books of the Old Testament are seven; Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and the two books of Maccabees. Together with these, there are deuterocanonical fragments of Esther, (from the 4th verse of 10th chapter to 24th verse of 16th chapter, and Daniel III. 24—90; XIII, XIV.) The deuterocanonical books of the New Testament are also seven in number: The Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third Epistle of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse of St. John. There are also deuterocanonical fragments of Mark, XVI. 9—20; Luke XXII. 43—44; and John VII. 53—VIII. 11. Many of the protestants reject all the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, and apply to them the term Apocryphal. It shall be a part of our labors to defend the equal authority of these books.

The Jewish mode of enumeration of their Holy Books was as arbitrary and as worthless as was their system of division. Taking twenty-two, the number of the letters of their alphabet, as a number of mystic signification, they

violently made the number of the Books of Holy Scripture conform thereto. Josephus makes use of this mode of enumeration. In his defense against Apion, he says: "For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us (*as the Greeks have*), disagreeing from and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all past times; which are justly believed to be divine." [Contra Apion I. 8.] St. Jerome also, in his famous Prologus Galeatus to the Books of Kings, testifies of the existence of such number, and explains its mystic foundation: "As there are twenty-two elements, by which we write in Hebrew all that which we speak, so twenty-two volumes are computed, by which, as by letters and rudiments, the tender and suckling infancy of the just man is trained in the doctrine of God." "And thus there are of the Old Law twenty-two books; five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. Some, however, reckon Ruth and the Lamentations among the Hagiographa, and consider that these are to be numbered in their individual number, and thus they think to be of the Old Law twenty-four books, which John personifies in the number of the twenty-four Ancients who adore the Lamb." We see then that there were two modes of enumeration, and the Fathers confused these modes in trying to adjust their enumeration to the Jewish tradition. We can not tell who was the first to find a mystic relation between the Greek alphabet of twenty-four letters and the twenty-four books, but it must have been done after the preponderance of the Hellenistic influence. The appended schema will more vividly illustrate the Jewish mode of enumeration of the Holy Books:

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|----|----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| 1. | בְּרֵאשִׁית אֵ | — — — — — | Genesis |
| 2. | וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת ב | — — — — — | Exodus |
| 3. | וַיִּקְרָא ג | — — — — — | Leviticus |
| 4. | וַיִּדְבָּר ד | — — — — — | Numbers |
| 5. | אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים ה | — — — — — | Deuteronomy |
| 6. | יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ו | — — — — — | Joshua |

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 7. | שְׁפָטִים וְרוֹת יוֹ | — — — — | Judges and Ruth | |
| 8. | שְׁמוּאֵל יִח | — — | } Samuel I and II, commonly
called I and II Kings. | |
| 9. | מְלָכִים יִט | — — | | |
| 10. | יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ יִי | — — — — — — — — | Isaiah | |
| 11. | יִרְמְיָהוּ וְקִינּוֹת יִכ | — — — | } Jeremiah and The
Lamentations. | |
| 12. | יְחִזְקֵאל יִל | — — — — — — — — | | |
| 13. | נְבִיאִים תְּרֵי עֶשֶׂר יִם | — | } Hosea, Joel, Amos
Obadiah, Jona, Micah
Nahum, Habakuk
Zephaniah, Haggai
Zachariah, Mala-
chia | |
| 14. | סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים יִנ | — | | Liber Laudum, or The Psalms |
| 15. | מִשְׁלֵי יִם | — — — | | The Proverbs of Solomon |
| 16. | אִיּוֹב יִע | — — — — — — — — | | Job |
| 17. | דְּנִיאֵל יִפ | — — — — — — — — | | Daniel |
| 18. | עֶזְרָא יִצ | — — — — — — — — | Ezra I and II | |
| 19. | דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים יִק | — — — — | Chronicles I and II | |
| 20. | אֶסְתֵּר יִר | — — — — — — — — | Esther | |
| 21. | קוּהֶלֶת יִש | — — — — — — — — | Ecclesiastes | |
| 23. | שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים יִת | — — | The Canticle of Canticles | |

By separating Ruth from Judges, and the Lamentations from Jeremiah, twenty-four books resulted, and these are the books of the Jewish Canon, or as it is commonly called the Canon of Ezra, from his supposed influence upon it. As no doubts have ever arisen concerning these books, they have been called the protocanonical works or books of the First Canon. Which mode of computation is prior, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty. Loisy believes the number twenty-four to be prior, as it seems to be the Talmudic number. Against this is the authority of Josephus,

who speaks of the number twenty-two as the sole traditional one. A question of so little importance may well be left in its uncertainty.

CHAPTER V.

EZRA AND HIS INFLUENCE.

The history of the canon of the Old Testament is obscure and difficult, through default of reliable documents. In tracing it through its remote antiquity, we shall endeavor to bring forth in their clearest light the certain data, filling up the lacunæ by the best warranted conjectures.

The nucleus of the Old Law was the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. Around this centre of development were aggregated all the sacred writings of the Jews. It was the **תּוֹרָה**, the Law, par excellence, the divine book. The subsequent books, even though by them considered divine, were never held equal in dignity to "the Law by the hand of Moses." They were but adjuncts, participating in the great fount. As less reverence was entertained for these later works, so less care was taken in their preservation.

The Pentateuch was kept in the temple; it was the warrant of Israel's preeminence over all the nations of the earth. It needed no authority to canonize it; the character of its author, and the nature of its contents were all sufficient. No other book in Israel was equal to it.

The other books came into being by degrees. Most of them were first written as detached chronicles, annals, or diaries and subsequently compiled into their respective volumes. The Jews revered them, and acknowledged their divinity, but there was not, at least before Ezra's time, any central authority charged with the office of fixing the canon. Neither was there, before his time, any official list of the books of Holy Scripture. This is clearly proven by many proofs. The Samaritan Codex contains only the Pentateuch.* Had the other books been placed in a canon with the Pentateuch, the existence here of the isolated Pentateuch would be inexplicable. Cornely, in his *Introductio in*

*The Samaritan Codex contains a spurious text of the Book of Joshua, but it is evident that it is a later interpolation.

Libros Veteris Testamenti, maintains that, even before the time of Ezra, there existed a collection of sacred books, conjoined to the books of Moses. His argument to prove this is that there is evidence that the subsequent books were known and revered by the Jews, and that the preceding prophets influenced the later ones. Loisy, in refuting this, rightly says that it is quite another thing to assert that an official collection had been constituted, and to say that divers books existed, were known, and were revered. We hold that these books as they came into being were received by the Jews, but that no list was made of them, and the sole motive of their inspired character was the nature of the writing, and the authority of their authors. There is no convincing data that the prophets were commissioned by God to determine the canon of Scripture. There seems to be sufficient evidence to conclude that, previous to the time of Ezra, the five books of Moses occupied a unique place in the literature of the Jews. It was the written constitution of Israel's Yahvistic polity. At times of great defection in religion, even the Torah fell into disuse and oblivion. Thus the passage in II. Kings, XXII. 8: "And Hilkiah the high priest said to Shaphan the scribe: 'I have found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord'; and Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it," implies a pre-existing period of neglect and disuse of the Torah. In those fierce idolatrous upheavals in Israel, a stiff-necked people, led by an impious king, soon reduced all to religious anarchy. In the restoration of the divine worship by Josiah, no mention is made of any other book than the Law. Had the other books formed a collection with the Pentateuch, they could hardly be passed over in such complete silence.

The Pentateuch then from the beginning was always the basis and directing principle of the religious and national life of the Jewish people. It suffered some vicissitudes in the various religious defections of that people, but on their return to Yahveh's Law, the Pentateuch was the centre of their reorganization.

The other books came into being by gradual growth. Most of these contained data that by living tradition was

well known to the people. The books formed a *scattered sacred literature*. The writings of the Prophets gradually were collected by their disciples and by the learned in Israel. Thus copies of the books subsequent to the Pentateuch existed in many places through the nation but they were not united with the Torah, nor considered of equal dignity with it.

We come now to deal with Ezra and his influence on Scripture. The Babylonian Captivity, wrought by Nebuchadnezzar, had overthrown all the institutions of Israel. The temple was destroyed; the priests dispersed and led into captivity; the Holy Books in a state of disorder, and Yahveh's altars demolished. To bring Israel out of her religious disorder, Ezra was sent with full power from Artaxerxes. His fitness for his commission may be inferred from I. Ezra VII. 6: "—and he was a ready scribe in the Law of Moses." Of Ezra's work as the restorer of Yahveh's worship and the reorganizer of Israel's polity, we have certain data. Concerning, however, the nature and extent of his labors on the divine books, we can only form, at most, probable judgments, and, full oft, but conjectural opinions.

Up to our days, the belief has been almost general that Ezra revised the sacred books, and fixed the Canon. That he wrought some important effects on the sacred books, we may not reasonably doubt. But to determine the *exact nature and extent* of his influence is impossible, through defect of documents. In all questions of this nature, the judgments of men will be divergent. And so in this question men have thought differently. The preponderance of Catholic thought has been that Ezra compiled and fixed the Canon. Prominent among those who have held this opinion are Serarius, Bellarmine, Bonfrere, Huet, Frassen; and more recently Welte, Herbst, Glaire, Scholz, Himpel, Ubaldi and Cornely. The most eminent Catholic writers who reject, in whole or part, the old theory of the constitution of the Canon by Ezra are, Richard Simon, Movers, Nickes, Malou, Danko, Kaulen and Loisy.

As rationalistic principles have thoroughly pervaded protestant Scriptural thought it will not aid our investi-

gation to bring forth and classify the protestant opinion concerning the influence of Ezra on the Jewish Canon.

The Talmud furnishes us some curious data on the Canon. The treatise of the Mishna, called פְּרָקֵי אָבוֹת, (the Chapters of the Fathers) opens with a testimony concerning Holy Scripture: "Moses received the Law on Sinai and delivered it to Jehoshua. Jehoshua delivered it to the Elders. The Elders delivered it to the Prophets. The Prophets delivered it to the men of the *Great Synagogue*." The Talmudic treatise פְּתִילַת פְּתָרָא, (The Last Gate) of the Babylonian Gemara is more explicit. In folios 14 *b* and 15 *a*, it is written: "Who wrote the Holy Books? Moses wrote his book, the section concerning Bileam and Job. Jehoshua wrote his book and eight verses in the Law. Samuel wrote his book, the book of Judges and Ruth. David wrote the Book of Psalms by means of ten Ancients, Adam the first, Melchisedech, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Iduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Kore. Jeremiah wrote his books the Book of Kings and the Lamentations. Hezekiah and his colleagues wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezechiel, the twelve Prophets, Daniel, and the volume of Esther. Ezra wrote his book, and continued the genealogies of the Chronicles up to his time."

We now join with these testimonies that of the apocryphal fourth book of Ezra, IV. Ezra XIV. 22-26: "For if I have found favor in thee, send in me the Holy Spirit, and I will write all that which was done in time since the beginning, the things that were written in thy law, that men might find the path; and that they who will live in the last days may live. And he made answer to me and said: 'Go and summon the people, and say to them that they shall not seek thee for forty days, and do thou prepare for thyself many writing tablets, and take with thee Sarea, Dabrea, Salemia, Echan and Asiel, those five, who are able to write quickly, and come hither, and I will enkindle in thy heart the light of intellect, which shall not be extinguished until thou shalt

* The commentatorial treatises of the Gemara were called *gates*, since they *opened the way* for the intelligence of the different truths.

have finished the things thou shalt have begun to write. And then, a part thou shalt openly manifest to the perfect, and a part thou shalt deliver secretly to the wise; on the morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write."

"And I was brought to the morrow; and, behold, a voice called me saying: 'Ezra, open thy mouth and drink that which I will give thee to drink.' And I opened my mouth, and behold a full cup was held out to me. This was filled with water, and the color thereof as of fire, and I took and drank; and when I had drunk, my heart was exceedingly filled with knowledge, and in my bosom wisdom grew. For the memory of my spirit was strengthened. And my mouth was opened, and was no more closed. The Most High gave understanding to the five men, and they wrote the visions of the night which were told them, and which they knew not. And at night they ate bread. But I spoke through the day, and through the night I was not silent. And there were written, during forty days, 204 books. And it came to pass, after forty days, the Most High spoke saying: 'The first things thou hast written make openly manifest, and let the worthy and the unworthy read; but the latter seventy preserve, that thou mayest give them to the wise men of thy people. For in these is the vein of understanding, and the fount of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.' And I did so." (Ibid. 38-47.)

Up to the eighteenth century, the Latin of the Vulgate was the only text preserved to us of IV. Ezra. Since then there have been discovered the Arabic, Æthiopian, Syriac, and Armenian versions. In these the whole number of books is placed at ninety-four instead of 204; whence, if we subtract the seventy which were to remain hidden for the sole use of the wise men, we shall have the traditional number twenty-four of the Jewish Canon.

Cornely makes much of this testimony as being built upon the true basis of Jewish tradition. We confess, though admitting some basis of truth, we can not find anything in it that would convince the intellect that Ezra fixed the Canon. The role of Ezra as a second promulgator of the Law would be sufficient basis for the rabbinical fable.

We have not adduced these testimonies as peremptory proofs of anything. They are all more or less imbued with rabbinic fable. But perhaps, there may be some slight truth in these which has been distorted by the vagaries of the Rabbis, till it is hard to glean it from the composite mass.

We believe that the tradition of the Christian Fathers will give us small help in this investigation. As it was merely a critical question, and in nowise connected with faith, the authority of the Fathers could only be considered in its critical character. Now it is evident to the tyro of patrology that the Fathers are least valuable as critics. As simple witnesses of the faith, they are beacon lights; but when we turn to their critical character, we find little of value. Most of those who have delivered to us that Ezra fixed the canon, based their assertions on the Fourth Book of Ezra, a book filled with rabbinic fable, impossible superstition, and erroneous dogma. St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, St. Basil, Theodoret, St. Optatus, and others have relied implicitly on the testimony of the Fourth Book of Ezra. Some, as St. Chrysostom, St. Isidore of Seville, St. Bede, have tried to make the passage of the Fourth Book of Ezra credible by restricting the character of Ezra within somewhat narrower bounds. (See Loisy, *Hist. du Canon de l'Ancient Testament.*)

Having brought forth these preliminary testimonies, we now proceed to more closely examine the question of Ezra's influence on the Scripture. Ezra restored the Yahvistic worship, and promulgated the Law. This rests on the clear testimony of an inspired book. The 8th and 9th Chapters of the II. Book of Ezra firmly establish the character of Ezra as reorganizer of Israel and promulgator of the Law; but when we would extend his influence on the Scripture further than this, we are unsustained by certain data. In view of these facts, it is well to first set forth what Ezra did not do, and, secondly, proceed to establish the most reasonable probable judgments concerning what he did. We place, therefore, as a thesis, that there are no adequate data to establish that Ezra promulgated an official list of the holy

books of the Jews; but, on the contrary, probable data seem to warrant that no such official list was ever promulgated among the Jews by any authority.

To prove this thesis, we find one convincing proof in the fact that there is not a testimony in the patrimony of Scriptural science which asserts any such fact. Men, it is true, have asserted such fact; but they lacked one requisite element of a faithful witness, knowledge of the fact. The Fathers followed the pseudo Ezra; hence their authority is not greater than his, which is nothing. The Babba Bathra of the Talmud, quoted above, speaks of the Scripture as though reduced to definite list, but its authority, even though believed implicitly, would prove nothing for the supposed character of Ezra. The Baba Bathra does not antedate the second century of the Christian era, and, at that time, the list of the Jewish Canon was complete, not by definite authority, but by the common consent of the Jewish people and its teachers. The Baba Bathra does not attribute the fixing of the Canon to Ezra, and no other document worthy of faith does so. We think that a fact of such importance would not be passed over in silence, while so many others of much less importance are detailed to us in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Maccabees.

The Talmud records many disputes concerning the canonicity of some of the books of the Old Testament. Behold an example: "Rabbi Juda has said that the Canticle of Canticles defiles the hands; but Ecclesiastes is contested.* Rabbi Joseph said: 'Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands.' Rabbi Simon said: 'The disciples of Schammai judged more unfavorably of Ecclesiastes than the disciples of Hillel.' Rabbi Simeon, son of Azai, said: 'I have learned from every one of the mouths of the seventy ancients that this question was settled when Rabbi Eleazar, son of Azarias, was installed in office.' Rabbi Akiba said: 'May it please God, no Israelite has ever doubted that the Canticle of Canticles defiles the hands. The world has nothing more precious

*To render the hands impure was the rabbinic expression to express that a book was inspired, as they must needs wash their hands after touching an inspired book.

than the day on which the Canticle of Canticles was given to Israel. All the Hagiographa are holy, but the Canticle of Canticles is most holy. If discussion has existed, it was concerning Ecclesiastes.' Rabbi Jochanan, son of Joshua, son of the father-in-law of Rabbi Akiba, said: 'It was discussed and decided as has said the son of Azai.' " (Tr. Jadaim III. 5.) Again: "The doctors wished to place in obscurity the Book of Ecclesiastes, for the reason that its discourses were contrary to the Law. Why did they not place it apart? Because it begins and ends with the words of the Law." (Tr. Sabbath 30.)

These contentions among the Talmudists give evidence of doubts concerning various books of Scripture. If the Canon had been made out and promulgated by Ezra, would not his authority have been cited here to decide concerning these books? If, as our opponents assert, the fixing of the Canon by Ezra rests on Talmudic tradition, we ought certainly to hear some word of him in these disputes. On the contrary, he is only mentioned as the author of his book and the continuator of Chronicles.

The Book of Ecclesiasticus, written very probably about the year 180, B. C., in Chapters XLIV. to XLIX. speaks of Israel's heroes and sages, and, although it exhorts that Nehemiah be a long time remembered, it has no word of Ezra. This would seem incomprehensible had Ezra collected and authoritatively promulgated the Canon. Moreover, Daniel and Esther are not mentioned among the illustrious ones of Israel, and there seems to be no other credible reason than that these books had not, at that date, entered the Jewish Canon, and, consequently, were unknown to the author of Ecclesiasticus.

The Jews of Palestine, in their second letter to their confederates of Alexandria, make offer to send them the books that Nehemiah and Judas had collected: "And these same things were set down in the memoirs and commentaries of Nehemiah, and how he made a library, and gathered the writings concerning the kings, and the Prophets and the (writings) of David, τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, and the letters of the kings treating of the oblations. And in like manner Judas also gathered together all such things as were lost by the war we had, and

they are in our possession." We see in this testimony a description of a collection of books of national importance to Israel, partly sacred and partly profane. It is quite probable that the sacred books therein included were the first and later Prophets, according to the Jewish mode of enumeration, and the Psalms of David. The other works were, doubtless, epistles of the Persian kings, of importance in the government of a country now a vassalage of Persia. It is plainly evident that Nehemiah did not collect the Canon of Scripture but a collection of important books sacred and profane, which, joined to the later collection of Judas Maccabæus, formed a sort of national library, to a participation of which the Jews of Palestine invited their brothers of Alexandria. This testimony also is a factor to refute the generally received opinion that Ezra closed the Canon. Most probably, he co-operated with Nehemiah in this enterprise; but the very fact of a collection of certain sacred books into the national library presupposes that no complete authentic list of the Scriptures was in possession of Israel. Had it been made subsequently, some trace of it would have been left in the records of the Jews. We believe, therefore, that the opinion which attributes to Ezra the collection and closing of the Canon to be devoid of historical basis and untenable.

We now pass to consider what influence Ezra did exert upon the Holy Books. The selection of him, "a scribe able in the Law," implies that there was some reconstruction of Holy Scripture for him to do. We have before said that he promulgated the Law to the returned exiles. What revision he wrought on the Torah, it is impossible to say, but we are ready to believe that he revised in some respects Israel's great code. He also evidently explained this law to the people, and put into execution its enactments. This is Ezra's distinguishing function in history. As reorganizer of Israel's polity, we are ready to believe that he did collect and revise Israel's sacred literature, and that many books came under his influence. How many, we can not say. We must here simply rely on conjecture. But, from the fact of the collection by Nehemiah, one may see that the reconstructive spirit of Nehemiah and Ezra tended to bring together Israel's sacred

deposit of writings. They did this without any *ex professo* declaration of promulgating a canon; and it is highly probable that not all the Holy Books of the first Canon were collected into a body of writings at their epoch. Gradually the sacred collection was made up, and, at the time of Christ, the Jews considered the list of Holy Books as complete and fixed. The nucleus of the collection was the Thorah. Around this centre, the Holy Books formed themselves into a recognized collection by the concurrence of various causes, and their warranty for entrance into the sacred collection was not any decree or order of canonization by any authority but the fact that their contents were conformable to the living traditions of the people, and reflected the things which a tenacious Eastern memory had learned from law and prophet.

Concerning Daniel the Abbé Glaire declares thus: "It seems to me, admitting, as I also do, the perfect canonicity of Daniel, that the book being collected at Babylon, possibly after the death of its author, it was later brought to Jerusalem, and found place only at the end of the works already in the Canon." (Introduction I. 1868.)

Ezra may have revised many of the holy books; he may have collected all those attainable at that time; we are ready to admit his influence upon Scripture to have extended even to the correcting of the Pentateuch, but we deny him an official promulgation of an incomplete canon of Scripture, at the very time when other books of divine origin were in actual existence, although not in his possession. In the Talmudic testimonies adduced above, mention is made of a great synagogue, **בְּנֵי־הַיִּתְּוֵן**, organized by Ezra. Much that is fabulous has been written concerning this great synagogue. Many reject it *in toto* as a rabbinic fable. Here again historical data are wanting. Besides the Talmudic authority already quoted, the Jews of the middle age, Abarbanel, Abraham ben David, and Maimonides recount that the Great Synagogue was composed of 120 members. Ezra was president, and the Prophets Haggai, Zachary and Malachi were among its members. It endured from the year 444, B.C., down to the time of Simon the Just, about the year 200 of the Christian era. The writings of the middle age are char-

acterized by the same spirit of extravagant fable which robs the Talmud of all historic worth, hence we can not treat these assertions as historic data. At most, there may be in them a basic thread of true tradition, which is well nigh lost amid a web of fable. Even those who have credulously accepted the legend of Ezra's Canon have rejected the story of the Great Synagogue. No convincing data are at hand to establish the existence of such a body organized by Ezra, and yet such an organization, though not of such proportions as the Rabbis assert, may have been created by him. That a body of men called the Synedrion or Sanhedrim existed at the opening of the Christian era is not doubted. It is quite certain that Christ referred to this body in Math. V., 22: "But I say to you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment, and whosoever shall say to his brother, רִקְנָה, (cerebro vacuus), shall be in danger of the council." It is impossible to fix the date of origin of this assembly. Many Jews refer it back to the origin of their polity under Moses. Of course this is a vagary. Christian writers diverge widely in their opinions concerning it. Nothing certain is available. Without admitting the fables of the Rabbis, might it not be the evolution of a legislative body organized by Ezra to aid in administering the civil and religious affairs of re-organized Israel? The question, like many others of a like nature, only admits of a conjectural answer.

It is certain that the Providence of God entered as chief factor in preserving the Holy Books through so many vicissitudes. He, as ever, did this *suaviter et fortiter*. As he was back of the collection, they were safe, and there is no need of bringing the unsubstantial legend of Ezra's Canon to protect a collection of books which the Providence of God protected in his own way. But in the accessions to the central nucleus of the Jewish Canon, after the fourth century, a distinction was made, whence has sprung a leading question in the history of the Canon. Malachi closes the series of the Hebrew prophets. Nothing certain is known of the identity of this prophet. Some have believed the Hebrew name מְלֶאכִי (angelus meus) to be an appellative of Ezra, or of

another Jew of that period, designating the particular function of the last of the Prophets. Cornely sustains by probable arguments, that Malachi is the proper name of an individual. The Jews recognized in him the last of the Prophets, and termed him **הַנְּבִיאִים הַזֶּה** (sigillum Prophetarum). Whatever view we adopt, Malachi's period must have been about four hundred years B.C. The accessions to the Palestinian Canon subsequent to Malachi were accorded a secondary rank. They were by no means considered as mere profane creations, but from the fact that the series of the Prophets was closed, the effusion of the Holy Ghost was not believed to be so directly reflected in these books as in the others. This secondary influence of the Holy Ghost they denominated the **בֵּית קוֹל** (filia vocis). We find in no place an explicit enumeration of the several books whose writers were supposed to be actuated by the *bath kol*, but all indications seem to evince that they were the deuterocanonical works of the Old Testament.

From the first, these books existed in the Alexandrian Canon, which was totally derived from the sacred books of the Jews of Palestine, and the celebrated testimony of Flavius Josephus, now to be adduced, clearly asserts the existence and preservation of certain semi-divine books, which had been collected after the close of prophecy in the reign of Artaxerxes. Now these books can be naught else than the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. The testimony of Josephus exists in his "Defense Against Apion," Bk. I., Parag. 8: "For we have not an innumerable multitude of books disagreeing from and contradicting one another, as the Greeks have, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time embraces nearly three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, who reigned after Xerxes, the Prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of

human life. It is true, our history hath been writtten since Artaxerxes *very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of Prophets since that time:* and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add anything to them, or take anything from them, or make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them."

Although some of the deuterocanonical books contain history that must have antedated Artaxerxes, nevertheless, as the date of their accession to the Hebrew Canon was subsequent to Artaxerxes, Josephus confounds the date of their accession with the date of their origin. These books, then, existed in the Palestinian collection as *secondarily divine* books. The Talmuds of Jerusalem and Babylon contain quotations from Ecclesiasticus. Josephus, who was an apt expounder of Pharisaic traditions, makes use of the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther and the second book of Maccabees.

Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. VI. 25) gives us the Canon of Scriptures according to Origen. After enumerating the protocanonical works, he says: "There are also the Maccabees which are inscribed *Sarbeth Sarbaneel*." St. Hilary in Prol. in Psalter. testifies that Tobias was read among the Hagiographa of the Jews. St. Epiphanius, Haer. VIII. No. 6, testifies that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were in honor among the^r Jews, and distinguished from the apocryphal works. St. Isidore says of Wisdom: "As a certain one of those who know has recorded, the Hebrews received this work (Wisdom) among the Canonical Scriptures. But after they had seized and killed the Christ, remembering the most evident testimonies concerning Christ in that same book, in which it is written: 'The impious said among themselves, 'let us seize the just,' etc., taking counsel, lest we might lay upon them such an evident sacrilege, they cut

it off from the prophetic volumes, and prohibited its reading to their people." The Apostolical Constitutions testify that Baruch was read in the Jewish synagogues.* St. Jerome testifies in his preface to the book of Judith that among the Hebrews Judith is read "among the Hagiographa." "Its authority," he continues, "is considered less apt to decide things about which there is dispute. It is written in Chaldaic, and reckoned among the historical books." We think it to be a position admitting of no reasonable doubt that the deutero-canonical works of the Old Testament primarily existed in the collection of the Jews of Palestine. The narrow, nugatory, reactionary spirit of the latter day Jews, exemplified in the Pharisees, denied to these books canonicity, as we understand the term; but we can find no evidence that they denied them a divine origin. They are not found in the Hebrew collection of books to-day, but this can be readily explained. The same spirit which moved the Jews of Palestine to deny these books equal rank with the others, impelled them later to entirely exclude them. It would be hard to fix the date of this exclusion. It is probable that they gradually died out of the different codices, till, at last, all trace of them disappeared in the Palestinian Canon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALEXANDRIAN CANON.

Opposite causes effected the preservation of these books in the Alexandrian Canon. The Jews of Egypt depended in matters of religion on the Jews of Palestine. Abundant data prove that they received their collection of Holy Books from Palestine. This was not accomplished all at once. It began with the translation of the Law, made under Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century B.C., and continued down to the first century B.C. The influence of Greek

*The Constitutions of The Holy Apostles are a composite work, some of which may be as early as the second century of the Christian era. It seems quite probable that they originated in Syria. The only relation that they bear to the Apostles is that they reflect the Apostolical traditions of the times. They were declared apocryphal by the decree of Gelasius, but still are of value inasmuch as they preserve for us the traditions of the first ages of Christianity.

thought and customs on the Hellenistic Jews modified the narrow national spirit of that nation. Later, in the time of the Maccabees, the pagan Greek customs were readily adopted by the Jewish youth. This liberal trend of religious thought effected that the deuterocanonical books were received and *intermingled promiscuously with the other books*. It is quite probable that there was always a certain degree of uncertainty and indecision in the synagogues of Alexandria. The minute, sharply drawn, Pharisaic distinctions did not obtain there. They had left home and home traditions, and, blending with a highly cultivated nation, even those who clung to the substance of the Mosaic covenant lost much of their conservative spirit. As they read the Scriptures in Greek, the deuterocanonical books were not distinguishable by difference of tongue from the books of the first Canon. On the contrary, in Palestine the Scriptures were inseparably cast in the mould of the Hebrew mother tongue. The strong love of the Hebrews for their mother tongue would naturally incline the Jews of Palestine to look with less favor on a sacred book not written in the Hebrew language. Now some of the deuterocanonical books, such as Wisdom and II. Maccabees, were of Greek origin. It is quite probable that some of the others were already translated into Greek before their aggregation to the sacred collection, hence is explained their secondary place among the sacred books, and also why they are not found in the Hebrew Canon of to-day. It seems also quite certain that the Hellenistic Jews made no distinction between the protocanonical and the deuterocanonical books. Had such distinction been made, the books of secondary importance would have been relegated to the end of the collection. Now the direct opposite is found to have prevailed. Protocanonical and deuterocanonical works are indiscriminately intermingled in the Alexandrian Canon. This indiscriminate adoption of the deuterocanonical books was not the canonizing of these by the Alexandrians. It was a mere fact, which its authors had never taken thought to explain. Had they formally rendered equal these various books by an explicit declaration, it would have led to controversy between

the Hellenists and the Jews of Palestine. No trace of any such controversy is found in the records and traditions of antiquity. The Jews of Palestine were not hostile to the deuterocanonical works, but, from the causes already enumerated, refused to accord them equal rank with the others. The Jews of Alexandria, without deciding the issue, received and revered them all, and intermingled them in the sacred collection.

There is plainly evident in this fact the workings of the Providence of God. The Almighty had decreed to effect the transition from the old to the new covenant through the medium of Greek language and culture. Israel was to receive the Christ in fulfillment of Yahveh's promises, but the great Gentile world was to be the chosen people of the New Covenant. Under the Providence of God, Alexander the Great brought the known world under Greek influence, and gave it the Greek language as the medium of thought. The Romans reduced this vast extent of territory to peace without changing the language. Thus two conditions favorable for the evangelization of the world were accomplished, peace and a uniform adequate vehicle of thought. It is easy to see how these two factors aided in the spread of the Gospel. Now, it was also expedient that the existing Scriptures should be in the universal tongue of the civilized world. We can see how the teachers of the New Covenant availed themselves of this element, since, with a few exceptions, they always make use of the Greek text of Scripture when quoting the Old Testament. Hence, the Providence of God brought it about that in the Greek there should exist a complete body of Scriptures. God was less solicitous about the Palestinian collection, because that was not to be the medium of grafting the new scion on the old stock. Thus the Alexandrians were instruments in the hands of God in collecting a complete body of Scriptures, which that same Providence has ever protected as the great basic element in the deposit of faith. The first virtual canonization of the deuterocanonical books was the approbation of the Alexandrian collection of books by the teachers of the New Law.

We have hitherto assumed that the deuterocanonical books were indiscriminately intermingled with the other books in the Alexandrian collection. That we may not be thought to assume unproven things, we shall adduce a few proofs of this well warranted fact. In the first place, we may remark that the only ones who would be likely to deny this would be the protestants. Now Davidson, a protestant, in his Canon of the Bible admits this as an obvious fact. "The very way," he says, "in which apocryphal (deuterocanonical) are inserted among canonical books in the Alexandrian Canon shows the equal rank assigned to both." We may consider a first proof, the presence of these books in the Christian Canon of the first ages. Now certainly they received their collection of the Old Testament from the Greek Canon. Though the codices whence they took their Canon have perished, yet the exemplars now existing were faithfully reproduced from them. The translation known as the *Vetus Itala*, which dates back to the 2nd century of the Christian era, had all the deuterocanonical works, and this was certainly made from the Alexandrian collection. The great codices of the Vatican and Mt. Sinai, going back probably to the fourth century, contain these works. The early Fathers were as conversant with the deuterocanonical works as with the rest of Holy Scripture. The subjects of the art of the Catacombs are largely taken from the deuterocanonical works. Such early and universal approbation could not be effected, had not these books been delivered to the Christian Church by the Old Covenant through the medium of the Greek.

It should not appear strange that all our attention is now centering upon the deuterocanonical books. This is the great issue between the protestants and us. The protocanonical works need no defense, except against the rationalists. Our defense against them will appear later in our work. Those who reject the protocanonical works attack the whole basis of religious belief. But those who reject the deuterocanonical works profess still to accept God's word to man. With them, is the first issue. We shall first endeavor to prove that the writers of the New Law, by

accepting and employing the Alexandrian text of Holy Scripture, in which were the deuterocanonical books, virtually canonized that collection of Scriptures.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CANON OF THE CHURCH.

There is no trace in writing or tradition of any formal decision rendered by Jesus Christ or his Apostles concerning the Canon of the Old Testament. However, their use of the Alexandrian text of Scripture is equivalent to an express decree. It were incompatible with the character of the teachers of mankind and organizers of the Church, to make use of a collection of Scripture in which profane and inspired books were commingled. That they formulated no decree concerning the Canon of Scripture, proves that the Scriptures are subordinate to the Church. They, in virtue of the power given by the Master, were to found a living teaching body. The institutions of men exist by force of the fixed decrees and constitutions upon which their stability is based. The institution of Christ exists by virtue of the perpetual living vigor that energizes within her. She may pay small heed to human enactments, even though of infallible agents, for her warranty is in her living constitution, which is the almighty power of the Holy Ghost, her vital principle. Hence the Scriptures are only an instrument in the hands of the Church. Christ and his Apostles founded the teaching body, which should guard the Scriptures, and at the proper time fix the Canon. In all our investigations concerning the Canon, it is the authority of the Church in the background which forms the great complement of the motive of credibility. No man can go securely through the dim vista of those remote times without the beacon light of the Church. It is not by the sole force of historical data, that we believe that the deuterocanonical works have God for their author. We receive them on the authority of the Church, and then trace the conformity between the books' history and the dogma of the Church. A man would defeat his own purpose, should he attempt to convert one to Catholicity by proving that the

deuterocanonical works had equal title to canonicity. Prove first that there is a God; then that there is a Christ; then that there is a Church; and lastly exhort him to humbly ask Christ's teacher what to believe.

St. Jerome after much hedging was forced to admit that the Alexandrian collection was approved by the Apostles. He would, indeed, have us believe that, where the Septuagint differed from the Hebrew, the Apostles made use of the Hebrew. This is contradicted by the other Fathers, and is disproven by an examination and comparison of the two texts. St. Irenæus' authority is explicit in favor of our thesis. "The Apostles, being older than all these, (Aquila and the other Greek interpreters) are in accord with the aforesaid (Septuagint) translation, and the translation corresponds with the tradition of the Apostles. For Peter and John and Matthew and Paul and the others and their followers announced the prophetic things *according to the Septuagint.*" [Contra Haer. III. 21, 3.] Origin testifies that Paul, in Epist. to Romans, follows the Septuagint in everything, except, perchance, things of minor moment. [Orig. in Rom. VIII. 6.] The Syrian Jacobites, by the testimony of their primate Barhebræus preferred the Syrian version of Scripture, that had been made from the Septuagint to the earlier one made from the Hebrew, because the one made from the Septuagint was more in consonance with the discourses of Our Lord and his Apostles.

From the sixteenth century down, critical collation has been made of the passages of the Old Testament, quoted in the New. From the labors of Serarius, Morini, Capelli, Kautzsch, and others, it results that, of three hundred and fifty passages of the Old Testament quoted in the New, more than three hundred so agree with the Septuagint that it is evident that the writer was using that text as a source. Sts. Peter, James, Mark, Luke, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews *always quote from the Septuagint; St. Paul, almost always;* and Sts. Matthew and John very often quote from it. The reason for such course of action is evident. They were to convert a Greek world. By the Providence of God, a version of Scripture existed in Greek. They were

but following out the great plan of Salvation, by employing the resources of this existing text of Scripture in the evangelization of the world. Had such text been interspersed with spurious books and fragments such line of action would ill fit the teachers of the world. Our adversaries endeavor to enfeeble the force of this argument by alleging that no deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament is expressly quoted in the New. This fact we admit; but we deny that it weakens our position. Davidson, in Canon of the Bible, though not in the least friendly to Catholic opinions rejects this argument against the deuterocanonical books. On page 77: "When Bishop Cosius says that in all the New Testament we find no passage of apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books to have been alleged either by Christ or his Apostles for the confirmation of His doctrine, the argument, though based on a fact, is scarcely conclusive; else, Esther, Canticles, and other works might be equally discredited." In the New Testament Obadiah, Nahum, the Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah are neither quoted from nor alluded to. It needs not an explicit quotation to approve a book. The approbation of the version which recognized these books was a sufficient warranty for their inspiration. Express quotations in the New Testament are generally taken from the Law or the Prophets; the other books are more oft *implicitly* cited, and it is only by the general similarity between the passages that we may detect that the writer of the New Testament had in mind any particular book of the Old Testament. Now there are many passages in the New Testament, which, when closely examined, bear evidence that the writer had in mind some book of the deuterocanonical collection. As this identity of thought appears to better advantage from the Greek, we collate a few texts in that tongue.

Σοφία Σειραχ. κεφ. Ε. 11

Γίνου ταχύς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου,
καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου ἀπό-
κρισιν.

Ἰακώβου Ἐπιστολή κεφ. Α΄.

19.—ἔστω δὲ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τα-
χύς εἰς τὸ ἀκούσαι. βραδύς εἰς τὸ
λαλήσαι. βραδύς εἰς ὀργήν.

Ecclesiasticus V. 11.

Esto velox in auscultatione tua, et in longanimitate profer responsum.

Σοφία Σειραχ κερ. KH'. 2.

"Ἄρες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἱ ἀμαρτίαι σου λυθήσονται.

Eccli. XXVIII. 2.

Remitte injuriam proximo tuo, et tunc deprecanti tibi peccata solventur.

Σοφία Σαλωμών κερ. Γ'. 5, 6.

Καὶ ὀλίγα παιδευθέντες μεγάλα εὐεργετηθήσονται, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐπέειρασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὗρεν ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὡς ὄλοκάρπωμα θυσίας προσεδέξατο αὐτούς.

Wisdom III. 5-6.

Et in paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur. Quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit eos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit eos; quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos.

Κερ. Ζ'. 26.

'Απαύγασμα γὰρ ἐστὶ φωτὸς αἰθέριου καὶ ἔσπετρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.

Jas. I. 19.

Sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum, tardus ad loquendum tardus ad iram.

'Ευαγ. κατὰ Ματθ. VI. 14.

'Εὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος.

Math. VI. 14.

Nam si dimiseritis hominibus delicta sua, dimittet et vobis pater vester caelestis,

Πέτρου Α. κερ. Α. 6—7.

'Εν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολὺ τιμιώτερον χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου εὕρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

I Pet. I. 6—7.

In quo exultatis, nunc ad breve tempus afflicti variis tentationibus, si opus sit: ut probatio fidei vestrae multo pretiosior auro quod perditur, et tamen per ignem probatur, reperiat in laudem et gloriam et honorem in revelatione Jesu Christi.

Πρὸς Ἑβραίους κερ. Α'. 3.

"Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, κτλ.

Ibidem VII. 26.

Epist. ad Hebræos 1. 3.

Etenim lucis æternæ splendor est, atque speculum virtutis Dei nulla macula aspersum, ejusque imago bonitatis. Qui quum sit splendor gloriæ et impressa imago substantiæ illius, etc.

Many more texts of this character may be collected from a comparison of the deuterocanonical books with the New Testament. See Huet, *Demonst. Evang. Prop.* IV. and Vincenzi, *Sessio IV. Conc. Trid. Vindicata.*

The Fathers of the Church continued the approbation of the Apostles, and made no distinction in their frequent citations from Scripture between protocanonical and deuterocanonical works. None of the Apostolical Fathers has drawn up a Canon of Scripture. The injury of time has robbed us of much of their writings, but, in the few preserved to us, most frequent passages are found from the deuterocanonical works, of such mode of quotation that it is evident that they recognized these books as divine Scripture. St. Clement of Rome, who holds a high place in the primitive church, in his Epist. to the Corinthians, employs the book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. He made an analysis of the book of Judith and the Greek version of Esther with its deuterocanonical fragments.*

His use of the deuterocanonical books may be seen from a comparison of the following collated passages:

Sap. IV. 24.

Clem. I. ad Cor. III.

“Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum.”

“Sed secundum pravos ipsius concupiscentias incedit, iniquam et impiam invidiam resumendo per quam et mors in mundum intravit.”

Sap. XI. 22.

Clem. I. Cor. XXVII.

“Virtuti brachii tui quis resistet?”

“Quis resistet virtuti fortitudinis ejus?”

*St. Clement of Rome, was a disciple of St. Peter, from whom, according to Tertullian, he received ordination. He succeeded Anacletus in the Roman See in the year 91 of the Christian Era. He is mentioned by St. Paul in the Epist. to the Philippians. His death is placed about the year 100. Although some have controverted his martyrdom, he is placed among the martyrs in the Canon of the Mass.

Sap. XII. 12.
 "Quis enim dicet tibi: Quid fecisti?"

Ibid.
 "Quis dicet ei: Quid fecisti?"

Judith VIII. 30, et seqq.

Clem. I. Cor. LV.
 "Beata Judith, cum urbs obsideretur, rogavit seniores ut sibi liceret in alienigenarum castra transire, ac seipsam periculo tradens propter caritatem patriæ populique obsessi egressa est; et Dominus tradidit Olophernem in manu feminæ. Nec minus perfecta secundum fidem Esther periculo se objecit."

Esther V., XIV., XV. et seqq?

Among the genuine works of Clement of Rome are, by some, reckoned the two *Epistolæ ad Virgines*.*

Ecclesiasticus V. 14.
 "Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo; sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum."

Clem. I. ad Virg. XI.
 "Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo; sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum."

Ecclesiasticus IX. 8
 "Averte faciem tuam a muliere compta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt, et ex hac concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit"

Clem. II. ad Virg. XIII.
 "Ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt."

Ibid 12.
 "Cum aliena muliere ne sedas omnino, nec accumbas cum ea, super cubitum

Clem. Ibid.
 "Cum muliere aliena ne sedas omnino."

*Funk in his *Patr. Apost.* rejects the genuinity of these two Epistles, but his chief argument is that in them the texts from Scripture are more literally quoted than in the *Epist. ad Corinthios*. Beelen and others have defended the authenticity of these Epistles, and we see no reason why a sane criticism should reject them. They have come down to us through the Syriac, and have been translated into Latin by Wetstein, and later by Villecourt.

Ibid. IX. 4.

"Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis, nec audias illam, ne forte pereas in efficacia illius."

Dan. XIII. 8.

"Et videbant eam senes quotidie ingredientem, et deambulantem: et exarserunt in concupiscentiam ejus."

Ibid. 42—44.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant, tu scis quoniam falsum testimonium tulerunt contra me: et ecce morior, cum nihil horum fecerim, quae isti malitiose composuerunt adversum me. Exaudivit autem Dominus vocem ejus."

Clement Ibid.

"Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis, nec audias illam, ne pereas in efficacia illius."

Ibid. XIII.

"Nonne ex iisdem Scripturis notum tibi est quid, ad tempora Susannae, narretur de senibus illis qui, cum frequenter starent inter mulieres, contemplati pulchritudinem alienam, in concupiscentiae barathrum praecipites sese dederunt. Castitatis quidem pretium noverunt, sed ipsius jugum fregerunt. Hinc appetitui perverso venumdati, in beatam Susannam conspirarunt ut eam constuprarent. At illa turpe ipsorum desiderium frustrata est. Innocentiae suae testem invocavit Deum, qui de manibus impiorum senum eam liberavit."

The document of the first century, commonly known as the Epistle of St. Barnabas, also employs the deuterocanonical books*

Ecclesiasticus IV. 36.

"Non sit porrecta manus tua ad accipiendum et ad dandum collecta."

Epist. S. Barnabae XIX. 19.

"Noli porrigere manus tuas ad accipiendum, ad dandum vero contrahere."

The Pastor of Hermas, a document that goes back to the 1st or 2d century, makes use of deuterocanonical works. It is impossible to fix the identity of the author of the Pastor. Some believed him to be the Hermas mentioned by Paul to

*St. Barnabas was a Cyprian Jew of the tribe of Levi. Having embraced Christianity, he was associated with Paul in the Evangelization of the Gentiles. Tradition places his death to have occurred in Cyprus, at the hands of the Jews. Tillemont and others have rejected the genuineness of this Epistle. It is not our intention here to defend such genuineness. It is of value to us in making known to us the use of Scripture of the first century.

the Romans XVI. 14: "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Her-
mas," hence the book was regarded by some as canonical
Scripture. It is joined to the other Scriptures in Codex **N**
of Mt. Sinai. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen
reputed it divine Scripture. It was declared apocryphal in
the Canon of Gelasius. It has always been considered a
treatise valuable for Christian erudition. Its author's iden-
tity will always remain uncertain, but the document makes
for our scope by showing the Christian tradition of the age
immediately succeeding the Apostolic times. It is called
the Pastor, because in it an angel, under the form of a shep-
herd, speaks. Its trend is chiefly parenetic.

Ecclesiasticus XXVIII. 3. "Homo homini reservat iram, et a Deo quærit mede- lam."	Pastor, Similitudo IX. 23. "Deus et Dominus noster, qui dominatur omnium rerum, et creaturæ suæ universæ habet potestatem, offensas memi- nisse non vult, sed ab his qui peccata sua confitentur facile placatur. Homo vero, cum et languidus, mortalis, infir- mus sit repletus peccatis, ho- mini perseveranter irascitur."
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The works attributed to St. Dionysius, the Areopagite,
emply deutero-canonical Scripture.*

*Dionysius the Areopagite was a citizen of Athens, at the time that Paul preached the Gospel of Christ in that city. He was among the first men of the city, a member of the highest judicial court, called "*Ἄρειος πάγος*, Hill of Mars, from its location over against the Acropolis, on the West side. Before this tribunal, Paul was taken to be judged, for his doctrine, Acts XVII. By his preaching in that assembly, he converted Dionysius. In the Roman Breviary, the feast of Dionysius is placed on the 9th of October, and he is there declared to have been sent by Pope Clement as bishop of Paris. The falsity of this opinion has been proven by the labors of the Bollandists and others. We find the first statement of the identity of the Areopagite and Bishop Dionysius of Paris in the work which the Abbot Hilduinus compiled at the command of Louis, the Pious, in the year 835 of the Christian era. In the obscure writings of Hilduinus, we find it positively stated that Dionysius, the Areopagite, was the Bishop of Paris; though, at the same time, he mentions the doubts of those who refused to believe this. It seems that Hilduinus was a man of no critical acumen, and was deceived into his error by the anonymous Acts of the Passion of St. Dionysius, published about the

The works, *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, *De Divinis Nominibus*, *De Mystica Theologia*, and some Epistles, have been accredited to Dionysius. The Bollandists maintain as the more probable opinion that these works are not the genuine productions of the Areopagite. Their value as patristic testimonies is independent of his authorship, since certainly they reflect the tradition of the first ages of the Church.

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.”

De Div. Nom. IV. 12.

“Et in iis quæ aditum ad Scripturam præparant quemdam invenies de divina Sapientia agentem: *Amator factus sum formæ illius.*”

Sap. VIII. 1.

“Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter.”

De Div. Nom. VII. 4.

“Et quia (Deus) per omnia meat pervadens, ut ait Scriptura, usque ad finem omnium.”

middle of the eighth century. The Bollandists have clearly proven that all the Founts of Hilduinus were spurious. It is certain, then, that the opinion of the identity of the Areopagite and the Bishop of Paris was unknown before the middle of the eighth century, and that it had then no good foundation. It results from the voluminous testimonials adduced by the Bollandists that from the earliest times, the Greeks recognized that the Bishop of Paris and the Areopagite were different persons, and such opinion seems to have obtained with the Latins prior to the eighth century. One positive proof that Dionysius did not become the Bishop of Paris is in a canon of the Synod of Sardis, held in the year 347, which affirms as follows: “Nullus in hac re inventus est episcopus qui de majori civitate ad minorem transiret.” This plainly establishes that, up to the year 347, no bishop had ever been transferred from a greater to a less see. Therefore, Dionysius was not transferred from Athens to Paris at that time, which was so small as to be called by Julian the Apostate *πολίχνη*, “*oppidum*,” and by his historian Ammonius Marcellinus “*Castellum Parisiorum*.” Finally, the identity is clearly disproven by the fact that Dionysius, the bishop of Paris, came with Rusticus and Eleutherius to Paris, in the reign of Decius, about the year 250 A. D., as is clearly proven by the Bollandists. This is centuries after the period of Dionysius, the contemporary of St. Paul. We conclude, therefore, that the distinction between these two persons is a clearly proven fact.

In the Epistle of St. Dionysius to Demophilus, it is evident that he alludes to the angel in Tobias, when he speaks in the first chapter of the "beneficis angelis de quibus theologia quædam tradit."

St. Polycarp, the martyr bishop of Smyrna, in his Epistle to the Philippians incorporates a clear quotation from Tobias.

Tobias XII. 9.

"*Quoniam eleemosyna a morte liberat, et ipsa est quæ purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam æternam.*"

Polycarp Epist. ad Philip-
penses X.

"*Cum potestis benefacere, nolite differre, quia eleemosyna a morte liberat.*"

As Polycarp was a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, his use of Scripture must have been acquired under the supervision of St. John himself. This isolated quotation implies a liberal knowledge of Scripture, for the Fathers quoted from memory; such knowledge of Tobias could scarcely result from cursory readings. It must have resulted from assiduous study and use of a collection that recognized the book of Tobias as divine Scripture. Polycarp certainly reflects the teaching of his master, and we have here the implicit approbation of St. John the Evangelist.* These are but scanty data, it is true, but the Apostolic age was more the age of oral teaching than of writing. By the vicissitudes of time much of the literary product of that age has perished, and more is hid in obscurity. As when looking upon objects from afar, many are but dimly discernible, while the others are lost to the limited sense of vision; so in looking back

*Of the early history of Polycarp, we know nothing. His disciple, St. Irenæus, testifies that he was taught by the Apostles, and lived in close fellowship with many who had seen the Lord. [Adv. Haer. III. 3.] He also testifies that he was constituted bishop of Smyrna, and that he finished his life by martyrdom at a very advanced age. He is celebrated for his strict adhesion to the true doctrine, and his corresponding aversion to heresy. It is Polycarp who relates that John, his teacher, at one time, ran from the bath, wherein was Cerinthus, crying: "Let us flee, lest the bath should fall in, as long as Cerinthus, that enemy of truth, is within."

The same Polycarp, once meeting Marcion, who said: "Dost thou know us?" replied: "I recognize the first born of Satan." They stabbed him with a sword, after a futile attempt to burn him at the stake.

through the long, dim vista to the remote age of Apostolic times, we see but little with satisfying distinctness; other things appear bedimmed and shrouded by the haze of time, while many other things are entirely lost to our intellectual perception. As we recede from the remotest object of our vision, and concentrate our gaze upon nearer and nearer data, the fulness and distinctness grows with equal pace; and we must then take thought not to obtain testimonies, but to select the more fitting from the available many.

The few cited should evince to an honest mind that those who succeeded the founders of the everlasting teaching organism, recognized and used the deutero-canonical Scriptures in the same manner as the proto-canonical ones. We shall now pass down through the ages, and adduce some representative testimonies of every age.

Athenagoras, a Greek writer who presented the famous *Legatio pro Christianis* to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus A. D. 177, quotes Baruch in that work.

Athenag. *Legatio pro Christianis*, (secundum Gesner, 10).

Baruch III. 36.

“Hic est Deus noster; neque est alius qui cum ipso comparatur.”

“Dominus Deus noster; *non comparabitur alius ad illum.*”

St. Hippolyte wrote commentaries on the deutero-canonical fragments of Daniel, and, in his exegetical treatises, makes frequent use of the deutero-canonical works.*

*From the testimony of Photius, we know that St. Hippolyte was the disciple of Irenæus, who died about the year 202, A. D. The common opinion of the old writers makes him a bishop, but there is a great difference of opinion concerning his see. Eusebius and Jerome confess that they can establish nothing certain concerning it. Anastasius, Rom. Ecclesiæ apoerisiarius, Georgius Syncellus, Zonaras, Nicephorus Callisti, and the author of The Paschal Chronicle make him bishop of Porto in Italy, one of the suburban bishops of Rome. He is also commonly designated in the works of Greek and Latin writers as a “Roman bishop,” which is confirmatory of the preceding testimonies. The greatest diversity of opinion exists among modern writers concerning his see. The Bollandists [Aug. Tom. IV., p. 510] conjecture that he was a bishop of Arabia, who was martyred at Porto on his way to Rome; that thus gradually the error arose to confound the unknown bishop with the See of Porto, where he was martyred. His see is uncertain, but his martyrdom may safely be placed under Alexander Severus, 222-235. His authorship of the Commentaries and other works from which we shall quote is undoubted.

I. Maccab. II. 33—38.

“Exite et facite secundum verbum regis Antiochi et vivetis. Et dixerunt: ‘Non exhibimus, neque faciemus verbum regis dicentes: Moriamur omnes in simplicitate nostra’ . . . et mortui sunt usque ad mille animas hominum.”

Tob. III. 24.

“In illo tempore exauditæ sunt preces amborum in conspectu gloriæ Summi Dei, et missus est Angelus ut curaret eos ambos, quorum uno tempore sunt orationes in conspectu Domini recitatae.”

II. Maccab. VI. 7.

“Ad agitandum colendumque Bacchanaliorum solenne cogeantur Judæi hedera redimiti Baccho pompam ducere. Quod si qui minus in Græcorum ritus ac mores transire voluissent, interficerentur.”

Sap. II. 12—20.

“Circumveniamus igitur justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et improperat nobis peccata legis, et diffamat in

S. Hip. Frag. in Dan. XXXI., XXXII.

“Exite et facite praeceptum regis et vivetis. Illi autem dixerunt: ‘Neque exhibimus, neque faciemus praeceptum regis: moriemur in simplicitate nostra; ‘et interfecit ex eis mille animas hominum.’”

S. Hip. In Susannam V. 55.

“Porro ostendit, quo tempore Susanna ad Deum oravit, fuitque exaudita, missum ei fuisse angelum qui eum adjuvaret haud secus ac se res in Tobia et Sara habuit; ambobus enim eadem die eademque hora orantibus, exaudita est amborum oratio, missusque est angelus Raphael qui eos sanaret.”

S. Hip. De Christo et Anti-Christo XLIX.

“Nam et ille decretum tulit . . . cunctis immolatuos atque hedera coronatos Baccho circumcituos. Qui nolint parere, hos cruciatibus atque tormentis exagitatos neci tradendos esse. Ac si quis hæc sigillatim legere velit singulaque lustrare, in libro Machabæorum præscripta inveniet.”

S. Hip. Adv. Judæos, IX.

“Producam in medio etiam *prophetiam* Salomonis de Christo, quæ aperto et perspicue quæ Judæos spectant edisserit. Ait enim Propheta:

nos peccata disciplinæ nostræ. Promittit se scientiam Dei habere, et filium Dei se nominat. Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum. Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius, et immutatæ sunt viæ ejus. Tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo, et abstinere se a viis nostris tamquam ab immunditiis; et præfert novissima justorum, et gloriatur patrem se habere Deum. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sint, et tentemus quæ ventura sunt illi, et sciemus quæ erunt novissima illius. Si enim est verus filius Dei, suscipiet illum, et liberabit eum de manibus contrariorum. Contumelia et tormento interrogemus eum, ut probemus patientiam illius. sciamus reverentiam ejus, et probemus patientiam illius. Morte turpissima condemnemus eum: erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus illius."

Sap. V. 1.

"Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt et qui abstulerunt labores eorum. Videntes turbabuntur timore horribili, et mirabuntur in subitatione insperatae salutis, dicentes intra se, pœnitundine affecti et prae angustia spiritus

Non recte cogitaverunt impii de Christo, dicentes: Circumveniamus justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis et contrarius est operibus et sermonibus nostris, et impropereat nobis peccata legis; et promittit se scientiam Dei habere, et Filium Dei se nominat. Postea dicit: Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius, et immutatæ sunt viæ ejus. Tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo et abstinere se a viis nostris tamquam ab immunditiis, et præfert novissima justorum. . . . Ait igitur iterum Salomon in persona Judæorum de hoc justo qui est Christus: Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum, et gloriatur Patrem se habere Deum. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sint, et tentemus quæ erunt novissima illius. Si enim est justus Dei filius, suscipiet illum, liberabit illum de manibus contrariorum. Morte turpissima condemnemus eum: erit enim respectus ejus ex sermonibus illius."

S. Hip. Adv. Judæos, X.

"Et iterum Solomon de Christo et Judæis dicit quod, quando stabit justus in magna constantia ante faciem eorum qui eum afflixerunt et sermones ejus repudiarunt: Videntes turbabuntur timore horribili, et mirabuntur in subitatione insperatae salutis, et dicent

gementes: Hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem impropertii. Nos insensati vitam illorum aestimabamus insaniam et finem illorum sine honore: ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei, et inter sanctos sors illorum est. Ergo erravimus a via veritatis, et justitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol intelligentiae non est ortus nobis. Lassati sumus in via iniquitatis et perditionis, et ambulavimus vias difficiles, viam autem Domini ignoravimus. Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut divitiarum jactantia quid contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrens."

Baruch III. 36—38.

"Hic est Deus noster, neque est alius qui cum ipso comparetur. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec, in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

intra se, poenitudine affecti, et prae angustia spiritus gementes: Hic est quem habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem impropertii. Nos insensati vitam illius existimabamus insaniam et finem illius sine honore. Quomodo computatus est in filiis Dei, et in sanctis sors illius est? Ergo erravimus a via veritatis; et justitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol non ortus est nobis. Lassati sumus in via iniquitatis et perditionis. Ambulavimus vias difficiles; viam autem Domini ignoravimus. Quid nobis profuit superbia nostra? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra."

S. Hip. Contra Noet.

"Dicit Scriptura in alio loco; Hic est Deus; non reputabitur alius ad eum . . . Invenit omnem viam scientiae, et dedit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo . . . Post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

In the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, we find the following quotations or equivalent allusions: *Ecclesiasticus*, eight times; *Judith*, four times; *Wisdom*, four times; *Tobias*, once; *I. Maccab.*, once.

Irenæus, the stern defender of the Catholic truth against heresy, is a certain advocate of the deutero-canonical books.*

*St. Irenæus was a native of Greece, in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. He was a disciple of Polycarp, and was sent to Gaul in 157 A. D. He was, at first, priest at the church at Lyon, and, afterwards, bishop of that see. He made of that city the most

Dan. XIV. 3—4.

“Porro Daniel adorabat Deum suum. Dixitque ei rex: quare non adoras Bel? Qui respondens ait ei: Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum qui creavit Cælum et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Ibid. 23—24.

“Et dixit rex Daniel: Ecce nunc non potes dicere quia iste non sit Deus vivens: adora ergo eum.

“Dixitque Daniel: Dominum Deum meum adorabo, quia ipse est Deus vivens; iste autem non est Deus vivens.”

Dan. XIII. 20.

“Ecce ostia pomarii clausa sunt, et nemo nos videt.”

Dan. XIII. 52—53.

“Inveterate dierum malorum, nunc venerunt peccata tua quae operabaris prius; iudicans judicia injusta, innocentes opprimens, et dimittens noxios, dicente Domino: in-

Contra Hæreses, Lib. IV. 5.

“Quem (Deum) et Daniel Propheta, cum dixisset ei Cyrus rex Persarum: ‘*Quare non adoras Bel?*’ annuntiavit dicens; quoniam non colo idola manufacta, sed vivum Deum, qui constituit Cælum et terram, et habet omnis carnis dominationem. Iterum dixit: Dominum Deum meum adorabo, quoniam hic est Deus vivus.”

Iren. Contra Hæreses, Lib. IV. XXVI. 3.

“Qui vero crediti quidem sunt a multis esse *presbyteri, serviunt autem suis voluptatibus . . . et dicunt, nemo nos videt.*”

Iren. Contra Hæreses Lib. Iv. XXVI. 3.

“Audient eas quae sunt a Daniele Propheta voces: *Semen Chanaan* et non Juda, species seduxit te, et concupiscentia evertit cor tuum; inveterate dierum malorum, nunc ad-

flourishing center of Catholicity in all Gaul. His erudition was vast and precise. He advocated moderation in the schism of the Asiatic bishops under Pope Victor I. The influence of Papias drew him into the error of the mitigated Millenarianism. His chief work is his Treatise against Heresies, in five books. He was martyred in the fifth general persecution in 202. By the testimony of Eusebius, he recognized the epistle to the Hebrews and Wisdom, and quoted from them. [Hist. Eccles. V. 36.] We shall collate a few passages. In the fourth book *Contra Hæreses*, we find scriptural use of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel.

nocentem et justum non interficies.

Ibid. 56.

“Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum.”

Sap. VI. 19—20.

“Custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est, incorruptio autem facit esse proximum Deo.”

Baruch IV. 36—V.

“Circumspice, Jerusalem, ad orientem et vide jucunditatem a Deo tibi venientem. Ecce enim veniunt filii tui quos dimisisti dispersos; veniunt collecti ab oriente usque ad occidentem, in verbo Sancti gaudentes in honorem Dei.”

Cap. V. Exue te, Jerusalem, stola luctus et vexationis tuæ, et indue te decore et honore ejus quæ a Deo tibi est sempiternæ gloriæ. Circumdabit te Deus diploide justitiæ, et imponet mitram capiti honoris æterni. Deus enim ostendet splendorem suum in te, omni qui sub cælo est. Nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a Deo in sempiternum; pax justitiæ et honor pietatis. Exsurge, Jerusalem, et sta in excelso, et circumspice ad orientem, et vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole usque ad

venerunt peccata tua quæ faciebas antea, judicans judicia injusta; et innocentes quidem damnabas; dimittebas vero nocentes, dicente Domino: Innocentem et justum non occides.”

Ibid. XXXVIII. 3.

“Visio autem Dei efficax incorruptionis est; incorruptio autem proximum facit esse Deo.”

Iren. Contra Hæreses Lib. V. XXXV. 1.

“Hoc significavit Jeremias propheta:* Circumspice, dicens, ad orientem, Jerusalem et vide laetitiam quæ adventat tibi ab ipso Deo. Ecce veniunt filii tui quos emisisti, venient collecti ab oriente usque ad occidentem verbo illius sancti, gaudentes ea quæ a Deo tuo est claritate. Exuere Jerusalem, habitum luctus et afflictionis tuæ, et induere decorem ejus quæ a Deo tuo est claritatis in æternum. Circumdare amictum duplicem ejus quæ a Deo tuo est justitiæ, impone mitram super caput tuum gloriæ æternæ. Deus enim demonstrabit ei quæ sub cælo est universæ tuum fulgorem. Vocabitur namque nomen tuum ab ipso Deo in æternum, pax justitiæ et gloriæ colenti Deo. Surge, Jerusalem, et sta in ex-

*Baruch was by many considered an integral part of Jeremias.

occidentem, in verbo sancti gaudentes Dei memoria. Exierunt enim abs te pedibus ducti ab inimicis: adducet autem illos Dominus ad te portatos in honore sicut filios regni. Constituit enim Deus humiliare omnem montem excelsum et rupes perennes et convalles replere in aequalitatem terræ ut ambulet Israel diligenter in honorem Dei. Obumbraverunt autem et silvæ et omne lignum suavitatis Israel ex mandato Dei. Adducet enim Deus Israel cum jucunditate in lumine majestatis suæ, cum misericordia et justitia quæ est ex ipso."

celso, et circumspice ad orientem, et vide collectos filios tuos a solis ortu usque ad occidentem, verbo illius sancti gaudentes, ipsam Dei recordationem.

"Profecti sunt enim a te pedites dum adducebantur ab inimicis. Introducet illos Deus ad te portatos cum gloria tamquam thronum regni. Decrevit enim Deus ut humilietur omnis mons excelsus et congeries æternæ, et ut valles impleantur ad redigendam planitiem terræ, ut ambulet Israel tuti Dei gloria. Umbracula autem intexuerunt silvæ, et omne lignum boni odoris ipsi Israel, præcepto Dei. Præibit enim Deus cum lætitia, lumine claritatis suæ cum misericordia et justitia quæ ab ipso est."

Clement of Alexandria has drawn a large part of his scriptural references from deutero-canonical sources.*

Ecclesiasticus XXI. 7.

"Qui odit correptionem, vestigium est peccatoris; et qui timet Deum, convertetur ad cor suum."

Clem. Paed. VIII.

"Scripturam perperam intelligentes quæ sic dicit: Et qui timet Dominum convertetur ad cor suum."

*Clement of Alexandria was a Platonic philosopher of Alexandria. He was converted by St. Pantenus, who was at the head of the Alexandrian school in the latter half of the second century. After the death of Pantenus, Clement became chief of this famous school in 190, A. D. Origen was one of his pupils. He died about the year 217, A. D. His chief works are *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, *Pædagogus*, *Στρώματα* or *Miscellanea*, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, and *Fragments*. Among all these, the *Stromata* are the most famous. Clement is the great representative of Alexandrian tradition.

Sap. XI. 25.

“Nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti: nec enim odians aliquid constituisti aut fecisti.”

Eccli. XXII. 6-8.

“Flagella et doctrina in omni tempore sapientia. Qui docet fatuum, quasi qui conglutinat testam. Qui narrat verbum non audienti, quasi qui excitat dormientem de gravi somno.”

Eccli. XXXIV. 14, 15.

“Spiritus timentium Deum quæritur, et in respectu illius benedicetur. Spes enim illorum in salvantem illos et oculi Dei in diligentes se.”

Eccli. I. 27, 28.

“Timor Domini expellit peccatum, nam qui sine timore est non potest justificari.”

Ibid. 22.

“Corona sapientiæ, timor Domini, replens pacem et salutis fructum.”

Eccli. XVI. 13.

“Secundum misericordiam suam, sic correptio illius hominem secundum opera sua iudicat.”

Ibid. 12.

“Misericordia enim et ira est cum illo; potens exoratio et effundens iram.”

Clem. Paed. Ibid.

“Nihil enim est quod odio habet Dominus.”

Clem. Ibid.

“Flagella enim et disciplina in omni tempore sapientia. Qui testam conglutinat, et stultum docet ad sensum, inquit. . . . Propterea aperte subjunxit: Excitans dormientem e profundo somno, qui est ex aliis omnibus maxime morti similis.”

Clem. Ibid.

“Quoniam spiritus timens Dominum vivet. Spes enim est in eum qui ipsos salvos facit.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. VIII.

“*Timor enim Domini peccata extrudit: Qui est autem sine timore non poterit justificari, inquit Scriptura.*”

Ibid.

“*Corona itaque sapientiæ, inquit Sapientia, timor Domini.*”*

Ibid.

“*Virum, inquit, secundum opera sua iudicabit.*”

Ibid.

“De eo quoque aperte dicit Sap.: Misericordia enim et ira cum ipso. Dominus enim his utrisque solus est potens, iram

*Ecclesiasticus was frequently termed by the Fathers Sapientia Sirach.

Eccli. VII. 25, 26.

“Fili tibi sunt? erudi illos, et curva illos a pueritia illorum. Filiae tibi sunt? conserva corpus illarum, et non ostendas hilarem faciem tuam ad illas.”

Eccli. XXXII. 21.

“Peccator homo vitabit correctionem, et secundum voluntatem suam inveniet comparisonem.”

Eccli. XVIII. 13, 14; XVI.

12.

Baruch IV. 4.

“Beati sumus, Israel, quia quæ Deo placent manifesta sunt nobis.”

Baruch III. 9.

“Audi, Israel, mandata vitæ: auribus percipe ut scias prudentiam.”

Baruch III. 13.

“Nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna.”

Eccli. XXXIII. 6.

“Equus emissarius, sic et amicus subsannator, sub omni supersedente hinnit.”

effundens ad propitiationem ex magna sua misericordia. Ita etiam ejus reprehensio.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

“Sunt tibi filii? Castiga eos, suadet Sapientia, et inflecte eos a juventute sua. Sunt tibi filiae attende corpori earum, et ne vultum tuum apud eas exhilaraveris.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

“— quoniam peccator homo fugit reprehensionem.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. X.

“Jam quoque per Jeremiam enarrat prudentiam: Beati sumus, Israel, dicens, quod quæ Deo grata sunt, a nobis cognita sunt.”

Ibid.

“Audi, Israel, mandata vitæ, ausculta ut cognoscas prudentiam.”

Ibid.

“Quinetiam . . . per Jeremiam hortatur (pædagogus) dicens: Via Dei si ambulasses, habitasses in pace in sæculum.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. XIII.

“Hinc etiam dicit Sapientia: Equus ad coitum libidinosus, et adulter irrationali jumento assimilatus; et ideo subjungit: Quocumque super eum sedente hinnit.”

Sap. VI. 19.

“Cura ergo disciplinae dilectio est, et dilectio custodia legum illius est; custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est.”

Sap. XVI. 26.

“— ut scirent filii tui quos dilexisti, Domine, quoniam non nativitatis fructus pascunt homines, sed sermo tuus, hos qui in te crediderint conservat.”

Eccli. XVIII. 32. (juxta Græcum.)

“Ne delecteris multis deliciis.”

Eccli. XXXI. 36–38.

“Exultatio animæ et cordis, vinum moderate potatum.

“38. Vinum multum potatum irritationem et iram et ruinas multas facit.”

Eccli. XXXI. 31.

“Ignis probat ferrum durum; sic vinum corda superbiorum arguet in ebrietate potatum.”

Ibid. 30. (juxta Græcum.)

“In vino virum ne te exhibeas: vinum enim multos perdidit.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. I.

“Cura autem disciplinae est caritas, quam dicit Sapientia, caritas vero observatio legum est.”

Ibid.

“Discant, inquit, filii tui quos dilexisti, Domine, quod non generationes fructuum nutriant hominem, sed verbum tuum eos qui tibi credunt conservat.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. I.

“Ne laeteris autem propter execrandas delicias, dicit Sapientia.”

Ibid. Cap. II.

“Illud ergo bene dictum est: Exultatio animæ et cordis vinum creatum est ab initio, si quantum satis est bibatur.”

Ibid.

“Atque ante tragoediam clamavit Sapientia: ‘Vinum quod bibitur multum in irritatione et omni lapsu replet.’”

Clem. Ibid.

“Praeclare profecto dictum est: Fornacem quidem inter tingendum probare ferri aciem, vinum autem cor superbiorum.”

Clem. Ibid.

“In vino, inquit, ne te virum fortem praebeas; multos enim vinum reddidit inutiles.”

Eccli. XXVI. 11.

“Mulier ebriosa ira magna, et contumelia et turpitudine illius non tegetur.”

Eccli. XXXI. 23.

“Vigilia, cholera et tortura viro infrunito.”

Baruch III. 16–19.

“Ubi sunt principes gentium? et qui dominatur super bestias quae sunt super terram? qui in avibus cœli ludunt? qui argentum thesaurizat et aurum in qua confidunt homines, et non est finis acquisitionis eorum? qui argentum fabricant et solliciti sunt, nec est inventio operum illorum? Exterminati sunt, et ad inferos descenderunt et alii loco eorum surrexerunt.”

Eccli. XXI. 23.

“Fatuus in risu exaltat vocem suam; vir autem sapiens vix tacite ridebit.”

Eccli. XX. 5.

“Est tacens qui invenitur sapiens, et est odibilis, qui procax est ad loquendum.”

Ibid. 8.

“Qui multis utitur verbis laedet animam suam; et qui potestatem sibi sumit injuste, odietur.”

Ibid.

“Ira autem, inquit, magna est mulier ebria. . . . quoniam suam non celat turpitudinem.”

Ibid.

“Labor autem vigiliæ, inquit, et bilis et tormentum est cum homine insatiabili.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. III.

“Pulcherrime itaque alicubi dicit *divina Scriptura*, ad eos qui sunt sui amantes et arrogantes verba dirigens: Ubi sunt qui gentibus imperabant et qui dominabantur feris quae sunt super terram? qui in cœli avibus illudebant: qui argenti et auri thesauros congregabant in quibus homines habebant fiduciam, et non est finis acquisitionis eorum? qui aurum et argentum fabricabantur et erant solliciti? non est inventio operum illorum. Evanuerunt, et ad inferos descenderunt.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. V.

“Stultus autem in risu extollit vocem suam, inquit Scriptura: vir autem astutus vix sensim subridebit.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VI.

“Est enim tacens qui invenitur sapiens; et est qui odio habetur ob multam loquacitatem.”

Ibid.

“Quin etiam ipse nugator affert sibi ipsi fastidium ac satietatem: Qui enim multiplicat sermonem, odit animam suam.”

Ibid. XXXI. 41.

“In convivio vini non arguas proximum, et non despicias eum in jucunditate illius.”

Eccli. XIV. 1.

“Beatus vir qui non est lapsus verbo ex ore suo, et non est stimulatus in tristitia delicti.”

Eccli. IX. 12.

“Cum aliena muliere ne sed eas omnino, nec accumbas cum ea super cubitum.”

Ibid 13.

“—et non alterceris cum illa in vino, ne forte declinet cor tuum in illam, et sanguine tuo labaris in perditionem.”

Eccli. XXXI. 19-20.

“Utere quasi homo frugis his quæ tibi apponuntur, ne, cum manducas, multum odio habearis. Cessa prior causa disciplinae, et noli nimius esse, ne forte offendas.”

Eccli. XXXII. 15.

“Et hora surgendi non te trices: præcurre autem prior in domum tuam.”

Eccli. XXXII. 4, 10, 11.

“Loquere, major natu; decet enim te. Adolescens, loquere in causa tua vix. Si bis interrogatus fueris, habeat caput responsum tuum.”

Ibid. Cap. VII.

“In convivio autem, inquit, ne argueris proximum, et ei opprobrii sermonem ne dixeris.”

Ibid.

“Beatus revera vir ille est qui non est lapsus in ore suo, vel non compunctus est in molestia peccati.”

Ibid.

“Cum muliere quae viro subjecta est ne omnino sedeas, et ne super cubitum cum ea accubueris.”

Ibid.

“Et ideo subjungit: neque cum ea in vino congrediarius, ne quando inclinaret cor tuum in ipsam, et sanguine tuo labatur ad interitum.”

Ibid.

“Comede, inquit, ut homo quæ apponuntur; cessa autem primus disciplinae gratia. Et si in medio plurium sederis ne ante ipsos manum porrigas.”

Ibid.

“Cum est, inquit, tempus surgendi, ne sis postremus, et revertere in domum tuam.”

Ibid.

“Senior, loquere in convivio, te enim decet. . . . Adolescens, tibi quoque permittit Sapiencia, loquere si te opus sit, vix cum bis interrogatus fueris; sermonem autem tuum paucis in summam redige.”

Eccli. IX. 25

“Terribilis est in civitate sua vir linguosus.”

Eccli. VII. 15.

“Noli verbosus esse in multitudine presbyterorum, et non iteres verbum in oratione tua.”

Eccli. XXXIII. 1, 2, 7.

“Honora medicum propter necessitatem; etenim illum creavit Altissimus. A Deo est enim omnis medela, et a rege accipiet donationem. In his curans mitigabit dolorem, et unguentarius faciet pigmenta suavitatis et unctiones conficiet sanitatis.”

Eccli. XXXIX. 17-19.

“In voce dicit: Obaudite me, divini fructus, et quasi rosa plantata super rivos aquarum fructificate. Quasi Libanus odorem suavitatis habete. Florete flores, quasi lilium, et date odorem et frondete in gratiam, et collaudate canticum, et benedicite Dominum in operibus suis.”

Ibid. 31.

“Initium necessariæ rei vitæ hominum: aqua, ignis et ferrum, sal, lac, et panis similagineus, et mel et botrus uvæ et oleum et vestimentum.”

Ibid.

“Terribilis est in interitu suo vir linguosus.”

Ibid.

“Ne nugeris in multitudine seniorum . . . Sermonem ne iteraveris in oratione tua.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

“Honora autem medicum propter ejus utilitatem, inquit Scriptura. Ipsum enim creavit Altissimus. A Domino autem est medicina. Deinde subjungit: Et unguentarius faciet mistionem.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

“Exaudite me, inquit, et tamquam rosa plantata in fluentis aquarum germinate: tamquam Libanus, suavem odorem emittite, et benedicite Dominem super opera ejus.”

Ibid.

“Dicit itaque Scriptura: Aqua, et ignis, et ferrum, et lac, simila frumenti, et mel, sanguis uvæ et oleum et vestis: hæc omnia piis ad bona sunt.”

Eccli. XXIII. 6.

“Aufer a me ventris concupiscentias, et concubitus concupiscentiæ ne apprehendant me, et animæ irreverenti et infrunitæ ne tradas me.”

Eccli. XXIII. 25.

“Omnis homo qui transgreditur lectum suum contemnens in animam suam et dicens: quis me videt? Tenebræ circumdant me, et parietes cooperiunt me, et nemo circumspicit me; quem vereor? Delictorum meorum non memorabitur Altissimus. 28.—et non cognovit quoniam oculi Domini multo plus lucidiores sunt super solem, circumspicientes omnes vias hominum, et profundum abyssi, et hominum corda intuentes in absconditas partes.”

Eccli. XVIII. 30.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere.”

Eccli. XIX. 2-3.

“Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes, et arguent sensatos, et qui se jungit fornicariis erit nequam; putredo et vermes hæreditabunt illum.”

Eccli. XI. 4.

“In vestitu ne glorieris unquam, nec in die honoris tui extollaris.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

“Quocirca amove a servis tuis spes inanes et indecoras, inquit, cupiditates averte a me. Ventris appetitio et coitus ne me apprehendant.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

“Homo qui ascendit super lectum suum, qui dicit in animo: Quis me videt? circa me sunt tenebræ, et parietes sunt tegumenta mea, et nemo aspicit peccata mea. Quid vereor, ne meminerit Altissimus? . . . Nescit enim, Scriptura dicit, oculi Domini Altissimi quanto sint soli splendidiore qui respiciunt omnes vias hominum, et partes occultas intelligunt.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

“Post tua desideria ne ambules et acearis a tuis appellationibus. Vinum enim et mulieres faciunt sapientes deficere, et qui adhæret meretricibus evadet audacior. Putredo et vermis erunt ejus hæredes et efferetur in majori ludi-brio.”

Ibid.

“In amictu vestis ne glorieris, neque in omni gloria quæ est præter leges efferaris.”

Eccli. XXV. 8.

“Corona senum multa peritia; et gloria illorum, timor Dei.”

Eccli. IX. 7.

“Noli circumspicere in vicis civitatis, nec oberraveris in plateis illius.”

Eccli. XI. 31.

“Non omnem hominem inducas in domum tuam, multæ enim sunt insidiæ dolosi.”

Eccli. IX. 22.

“Viri justi sint tibi convivæ, et in timore Dei sit tibi gloria.”

Eccli. XXI. 24.

“Ornamentum aureum prudenti, doctrina, et quasi brachiale in brachio dextro.”

Eccli. XXVI. 12.

“Fornicatio mulieris in extollentia oculorum, et in palpebris illius agnoscetur.”

Eccli. IX. 8, 9.

“Averte faciem tuam a muliere compta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt, et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. III.

“Senum autem corona, inquit Scriptura, est multa experientia.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. IV.

“Ne circumspicias autem, inquit, in vicis civitatis, nec erres in ejus solitudinibus.”

Ibid.

“Unde Scriptura constantissime admonet: Ne inducas quemvis hominem in domum tuam; dolosi enim hominis multæ sunt insidiæ.”

Alibi autem: “Viri justi, inquit, sint tui convivæ, et in timore Domini tua permanebit gloriatio.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. XI.

“Ut vult enim Scriptura; Aureus prudenti mundus est disciplina.”

Ibid.

“Fornicatio autem mulieris in elevatione oculorum.”

Ibid.

“Averte autem oculum a muliere gratiosa, et ne discas alienam pulchritudinem, inquit Scriptura; et si causam roges, ipsa tibi enarrabit: In pulchritudine enim mulieris multi seducti sunt, et ex ea tamquam ignis accenditur amicitia.”

Eccli. I. 1.

“Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est, et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.”

Sap. VII. 17.

“Ipse enim dedit mihi horum quae sunt scientiam veram, ut sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum, et virtutes elementorum . . . differentias virgultorum et virtutes radicum, et quaecumque sunt absconsa et improvisa didici; omnium enim artifex docuit me Sapientia.”

Eccli. XV. 10.

“Quoniam a Deo profecta est sapientia: sapientiae enim Dei adstabit laus, et in ore fidei abundabit.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide, ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum autem animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.”

Ibid.

“Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et aestimata est afflictio exitus eorum, et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium; illi autem sunt in pace. Etsi coram hominibus tormenta

Clem. Strom. Lib. I. Cap. IV.

“Quoniam omnis sapientia a Domino, et cum ipso est in saecula, ut dicit Jesu Sapientia.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. I. C p. II.

“Dicit itaque in Sapientia: Ipse mihi dedit non falsam eorum quae sunt cognitionem, ut cognoscam mundi constitutionem . . . et vires radicum . . . et quaecumque sunt occulta et operta cognovi; *quae est enim omnium artifex me docuit Sapientia.*”

Clem. Strom. Lib. II. Cap. V.

“Merito ergo dictum est apud Salomonem: Sapientia est in ore fidelium.”

Ibid. Cap. XXIII.

“Hoc breviter *Scriptura significavit dicens: Quod odio habes, alii ne feceris.*”

Clem. Strom. Lib. IV. Cap. XI.

“Justorum enim animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget eas tormentum.”

Ibid. Cap. XVI.

“*Divina Scriptura dicit de martyribus: ‘Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et reputata est vexatio eorum exitus, et a nobis discessus contritio; illi vero sunt in pace. Etenim si*

passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos et in tempore erit respectus illorum. Fulgebunt justi, et tamquam scintillæ in arundineto discurrent. Judicabunt nationes et dominabuntur populis, et regnabit Dominus illorum in perpetuum."

Eccli. XXVII. 13.

"In medio insensatorum, conserva verbum tempori; in medio autem cogitantium, assiduus esto."

Sap. VII. 24.

"Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia; attingit autem ubique propter suam munditiam."

Sap. VI. 8.

"Non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus, nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam; quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et æqualiter cura est illi de omnibus."

in oculis hominum suppliciiis affecti fuerint spes eorum plena est immortalitatis. . . . Et in paucis castigati, magnis afficiuntur beneficiis, quoniam Deus tentavit eos et invenit eos se dignos, ut scilicet vocentur filii. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit eos, et tamquam solidam sacrificii oblationem excepit eos, et in tempore inspectionis eorum fulgebunt, et tamquam scintillæ in stipula perecurrent. Judicabunt gentes, et dominabuntur populis, et rex eorum erit Dominus in sæcula."

Clem. Strom. Lib. V. 3.

"In medio insipientium, observa occasionem; in medio autem cogitantium, versare perpetuo."

Clem. Strom. Lib. V. Cap. XIV.

"Quibus illud Sapientiæ imposuit: Pervadit autem ac subit per omnia propter suam munditiam."

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. VI.

"Non enim personam respicit et reveretur qui est omnium Dominus: neque curabit magnitudinem, quoniam ipse fecit magnum et parvum, et similiter omnibus providet, et omnium curam gerit."

Sap. IX. 17, 18.

“Consilium enim tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam, et miseris spiritum sanctum tuum de Altissimis? et sic correctæ sint semitæ eorum qui sunt in terris et quæ tibi placent didicerint homines.”

Sap. VI. 11.

“Qui enim custodierint iusta juste justificabuntur, et qui didicerint ista invenient quid respondeant.”

Sap. VII. 16.

“In manu enim illius et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis sapientia, et operum scientia et disciplina.”

Ibid. 28.

“Neminem enim diligit Deus, nisi eum qui cum sapientia inhabitat.”

Sap. XIV. 2, 3.

“Illud enim cupiditas acquirendi excogitavit, et artifex fabricavit sapientia sua. Tua autem, Pater, providentia gubernat—.”

Sap. VIII. 9.

“Et si iustitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes, sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet et iustitiam

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XI.

“Veritas autem per Dominum: ‘Consilium enim tuum, inquit, quis novit, si non tu dederis sapientiam, et miseris sanctum tuum Spiritum ab altissimis, et ita correctæ fuerint viæ eorum qui sunt in terra, et didicerint homines ea quæ tibi placent, et salvi fuerint sapientia.’”

Ibid.

“Qui enim sancta, inquit, sancte servant sanctificabuntur, et qui ea didicerent inveniunt responsionem.”

Ibid.

“Et rursus licet audire: ‘In manu enim ejus, hoc est, virtute et sapientia, et nos et verba nostra, et omnis prudentia et operum scientia. Nihil enim diligit Deus nisi eum qui cohabitavit cum sapientia. Præterea autem non legerunt quod dictum est a Salomone. Artifex autem construxit sapientia; tua autem, Pater, gubernat providentia.’”

Ibid.

“Et si quis diligit iustitiam, labores ejus sunt virtutes; temperantia enim et prudentia docet iustitiam et fortitudinem

et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus, et nescierunt sacramenta Dei. . . quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum.”

Tob. XII. 8.

“Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna magis quam thesauros auri recondere.”

Sap. IV. 17.

“Videbunt enim finem sapientis, et non intelligent quid cogitaverit de illo Deus, et quare munierit illum Dominus.”

Ibid. Cap. V. 3.

“—dicentes intra se, pœnitentia acti et præ angustia spiritus gementes: hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem improperii; nos insensati vitam illorum æstimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore: ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei, et inter sanctos sors illorum est.”

Eccli. XVIII. 8.

“Numerus dierum hominum, ut multum, centum anni; quasi gutta aquæ maris deputati sunt, et sicut calculus arenæ, sic exigui anni in die ævi.”

quibus nihil est in vita hominibus utilius.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XII.

“Sed, ut videtur, Dei non novere mysteria, quod, scilicet, Deus creavit hominem ob immortalitatem, et fecit eum imaginem suæ proprietatis.”

Ibid.

“Exaudiens Scripturam quæ dicit: ‘Bonum est jejunium cum oratione.’”

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XIV.

“Videbunt enim mortem sapientis, et non intelligent quid de eo decreverit, et ad quid eum stabilierit Dominus, et dicent de ejus gloria: ‘Is est quem aliquando habuimus in derisum et in parabolam opprobrii insipientes. Vitam ejus existimavimus insaniam, et mortem ejus ignominiosam. Quomodo est enumeratus inter filios Dei, et in sanctis est sors ejus.’”

Ibid.

“Reputati sunt, inquit, ut pulvis terræ, et ut gutta ex cado.”

Sap. III. 9.

“Qui confidunt in illo, intelligent veritatem, et fideles in dilectione acquiescent illi.”

Sap. III. 14.

“—dabitur enim illi fidei donum electum, et sors in templo Dei acceptissima.”

Sap. VI. 13-21.

“Clara est et quæ nunquam marcescit sapientia, et facile videtur ab his qui diligunt eam, et invenietur ab his qui quærunt illam. Præoccupat qui se concupiscunt ut illis se prior ostendat. Qui de luce vigilaverit ad illam non laborabit, assidentem enim illum foribus suis inveniet. Cogitare ergo de illa sensus est consummatus, et qui vigilaverit propter illum cito securus erit. Quoniam dignos se ipsa circuit quærens, et in viis ostendit se illis hilariter, et in omni providentia occurrit illis. Initium enim illius verissima est disciplinæ concupiscentia. Cura ergo disciplinæ dilectio est, et dilectio custodia legum illius est; custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est; incorruptio autem facit esse proximum Deo. Concupiscentia itaque sapientiæ deducit ad regnum perpetuum.”

Ibid.

“Merito ergo dictum est: ‘Et qui in ipso confidunt, intelligent veritatem, et fideles in dilectione in ipso permanent.’”

Ibid.

“Ecce enim Salomon: Dabitur enim ei, inquit, fidei gratia electa, et sors in templo Domini jucundior.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XV.

“Salomon hæc dicit: ‘Clara est et non marcescit sapientia, et facile cernitur ab iis qui ipsam diligunt: eos qui cupiunt prævenit, ut præcognoscatur. Qui mane surrexerit ad ipsam non laborabit; de ipso enim cogitare est perfectio prudentiæ. Et qui propter ipsam vigilaverit cito erit cura vacuus; quoniam eos qui ipsa digni sunt, ipsa quærens circuit, et in semitis ab ipsis benevole visione apprehenditur.’ Mox subjungit: ‘Et in omni cogitatione occurrit ipsis . . . ejus enim principium verissimum est desiderium disciplinæ, hoc est, cognitionis; cura autem disciplinæ est dilectio; dilectio autem est observatio legum ejus; attentio autem legum est incorruptibilitatis confirmatio; incorruptibilitas autem facit ut ad Deum prope accedatur. Sapientiæ ergo desiderium attollit ad regnum.’”

Clement of Alexandria weaves the woof of his fabric from Scripture. His *Pædagogus* could be properly called a commentary on *Ecclesiasticus*. He uses the deuterocanonical works as *divine Scripture*; plainly terms them so; and was evidently very familiar with them. As he was the coryphæus of the Alexandrian church in that age, we can deduce from his line of action that the great Alexandrian church in the age succeeding the Apostles, received and used the deuterocanonical books with equal honor as the books of the first Canon.

Turning from the master to his greater pupil, Origen, we find him to have prosecuted the same line of teaching as Clement.*

*Origen was born of Christian parents at Alexandria in the year 185, A. D. He was surnamed Adamantius, by reason of his indefatigable application to mental toil. The vastness of his erudition is not surpassed by that of any of the Fathers of the church. He was taught by Clement of Alexandria, and, at the age of eighteen, was given the charge of the instruction of the faithful at Alexandria. To preclude the taint which calumny strove to attach to his name, he, by means of a drug, destroyed the energy of his generative organs. He was led to this move by a false literal interpretation of the praise of eunuchs by Christ, in the Gospels. Origen visited Rome, Palestine, Greece, Arabia and other lands. While in Palestine, he was deputed by the bishops to explain publicly the Holy Scripture. Demetrius, his bishop, objected to this, on the grounds that it was not fitting for a layman to teach the Holy Scriptures. Origen was afterwards ordained priest by Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. Demetrius then deposed Origen on the grounds that he was a eunuch, that he had been ordained without consent of his own bishop, and that he had taught heresy. Origen was obliged to retire to Cæsarea till after the death of Demetrius in 231. Under Maximin he was cast into prison and treated with great indignity. It is charged by Epiphanius, and others, that, to escape from prison, Origen offered incense to Serapis. The data are wanting to establish either the truth or falsity of this imputation. He died at Tyre in 254. To Origen, have been imputed many pernicious errors. He was condemned by the fifth General Council, and again, Martin the Fifth anathematized him in the first Council of Lateran in 649. In that formative period, before the Christian dogmas became moulded with the precision and definiteness, which the natural development of doctrine subsequently gave them, when men strove to unite the philosophy of Plato with the divine teachings of Christ, it was not strange that a man deeply imbued with Greek thought, should in good faith, have advocated theories which closer investigation found to be untenable in the Catholic Church. Without the aid of divine revelation, it would be strange that a man should write so much on the subjects on which Origen wrote and never write amiss. These errors should not be considered as a malicious

It is impossible to give a detailed mention of his many works. Later in our book we shall treat of his great Hexapla. Other of his chief works are: Eight Books against Celsus, *De Principiis libri quattuor*, and Homilies and Commentaries on Holy Scripture.

We have thought good to transcribe and collate many citations from Origen, since the adversaries of the deuterocanonical books have alleged his authority in support of their curtailed canon. Nowhere in patristic literature do we find such copious and apposite use of Holy Scripture as in Origen. His works that have been preserved to us resemble a mosaic in which his own creations serve only as the setting in which are infixed the Scriptural gems. No discrimination is made in favor of the books of the first canon. He rejects and treats with irony the adoption of the Jewish canon. In his letter to Julius Africanus*, he defends the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, and implies that the canon must be sought from the authority of the Church, and not from the Jews: "Know, therefore, in answer to these things, what should be our line of action, not only concerning the history of Susanna, *which, in its Greek exemplar, circulates through the whole Church of Christ, although it does not exist with the Hebrews*; and not only concerning the other parts, which, as you have said, are written in the end of the book, namely, concerning Bel and the Dragon, which also are wanting in the Hebrew text; but also concerning many other parts, which, while we compared, according to our powers, the Hebrew

intent to infect the teachings of the Church but an evidence of the defectibility of human reason. Origen has done the Church invaluable service, and, though not ranked with the Fathers, he will always be appealed to in questions which need the testimony of tradition for their solution.

*Julius Africanus was a Christian historian, who flourished in the third century, under Heliogabalus. He was of Nicopolis, in Palestine. He is the author of a universal history from Adam down to Macrinus, whose scope was to prove that paganism was an innovation. Only fragments of the work are preserved to us by Eusebius. Africanus controverted the genuineness of the history of Susanna, concerning which he wrote to Origen. One of his most celebrated contributions to the patrimony of science is his reconciliation of the diverse genealogies of Jesus Christ in Matthew and Luke.

with our own text, we found in many places." Soon he breaks forth into irony: "Forsooth, the time is at hand, if we have discovered these things, to abrogate the exemplars of Holy Scripture of our churches, and impose the law upon the brethren that, rejecting the sacred books which they have, they, by adulation, persuade the Jews to concede to us the Scriptures pure and devoid of figment. . . . In relation to these things, consider whether it be not good to remember the saying: Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set. [Prov. XXII. 28.] And I say this, not, indeed, that I, through sloth, refuse to examine the Scriptures which the Jews have, and compare them with ours, to see what diversity between them exists. This, indeed, if it be not arrogant to say, we have diligently, and, according to our ability, done; comparing with great care the editions, and observing their divergencies, thus, however, that we have bestowed somewhat more labor on the Septuagint, that we might not bring anything spurious into the Churches, which are beneath the whole heavens. . . . We endeavor not to be ignorant of the Scriptures which the Jews have, so that, discussing with them, we may not bring forth those things which are wanting in their exemplars, and we also make use of those portions which are found with them, and are not in our books."

Many of the early Fathers were forced to meet the Jews on their own ground, and thus in disputes with them, to use only the curtailed canon which the Jews recognized. Thus Jerome [Praef. on Isaiah] affirms: "May He give me my future reward who knows me to have labored and sweat in the acquisition of this foreign tongue, so that the Jews might not longer insult the Christians on the charge of the falsity of their Scriptures." This need also was the motive for the lists drawn up by some of the Fathers, in which the deuterocanonical books were excluded. Even Origen himself has made such list, but he openly declares that it is the canon *according to the Hebrews*. The Jews by their ridicule of the deuterocanonical books may have led some individual Fathers to doubt of the equality of inspiration of the books of the second canon. As the rationalists of to-day sometimes

obtain from Catholics unwarranted concessions, lest they should seem to be ignorant, so those other earlier enemies of truth may have diminished in the minds of some the authority of the deuterocanonical works. This they certainly effected in the mind of Jerome. We see that Africanus rejected the deuterocanonical fragments of Susanna. Origen describes the existing state of things very well in his response to Africanus. The complete canon circulated throughout the universal Church; the Jews and some few individuals advocated the restricted canon of the Jews. Origen in plain words ridicules the theory which the protestants of to-day advocate, and yet they would claim his authority.

Origen endorses Tobias in *Hist. Susannæ*, 13: "We must know, therefore, that the Hebrews use neither Tobias nor Judith. For the Hebrews have not these books even among the Apocrypha, as we ourselves have learned from them. *But since the Churches use Tobias*, we must know that also in the captivity some captives were opulent and prospered." Origen essays to defend the book of Tobias, not that the Hebrews acknowledge it, but because *the Churches use it*.

Two things result for us from Origen's testimonies. First, that the usage of the Churches of his age recognized the divinity of the deuterocanonical books; and, second, that he considered this usage a criterion of inspiration. He can never be honestly claimed to have favored the protestant theory of accepting the canon from the Jews.

The Canon of Origen is found in his Commentary on the first Psalm, Parag. I: "The twenty-two books according to the Hebrews are these." The first which is called by us Genesis is termed by them, from its opening words, *Beresith* which signifies "In the beginning." Then Exodus, with Hebrews, *Vellesemoth*, interpreted, "These are the names." The third, Leviticus, with the Hebrews, *Vajikra*, that is, "And he called." The fourth, Numbers, with the Hebrews *Hammisphecodim*.* The fifth, Deuteronomy, with the He-

*The appellation *Hammisphecodim* for the book of Numbers is only found in Origen. Its signification is unknown to us. The common designation of the book in Hebrew was **וַיְדַבֵּר**, "et locutus est."

brews Elle, haddebarim, that is, "these are the words." The sixth, Jesus the son of Nave, in Hebrew, Jehoshua ben Nun. The seventh, Judges and Ruth, by the Hebrews comprised in one volume, which they call Sophetim. The eighth is the first and second book of the Kingdoms, which with them constitute one volume which is called Samuel, that is "The called of God." The ninth is the third and fourth of the Kingdoms, which they also comprise in one volume and call Vammelech David, that is, "The Kingdom of David." The tenth is the first and second of Paralipomenon, by them comprised in one volume, which they call Dibre Hajjamim, that is, "The Words of the Days." The eleventh is the first and second of Esdras, which with them constitute one volume, which they call Ezra, that is, "The Helper." The twelfth is the book of Psalms, with the Hebrews Sepher Tehillim. The thirteenth is the Proverbs of Solomon, with the Hebrews Misloth. The fourteenth is Ecclesiastes, with the Hebrew Koheleth. The fifteenth is the Canticle of Canticles, with the Hebrews Sir Hassirim. The sixteenth is Isaias, with the Hebrews Jesaia. The seventeenth is Jeremias with the Lamentation and Epistle, by them comprised in one volume, which they call Jirmia. The eighteenth is Daniel, with the Hebrews Daniel. The nineteenth is Ezekiel, with the Hebrews Jeezhel. The twentieth is Job, by the Hebrews, designated by the same name. The twenty-first is Esther, which is also thus designated by the Hebrews. Outside this enumeration are the books of Maccabees which are inscribed "Sarbet Sarbaneel."

In this list, the twelve minor Prophets, by the Hebrews comprised in one book, are omitted. It must have been, however, through inadvertence on the part of Origen or the amanuensis, since this book was never doubted. The care bestowed by Origen and other Fathers in preparing these lists was for the purpose of fitting the Christians to meet the Jews on common grounds. This was necessary in that age, when the chief intellectual attacks on Christianity came from the Jews. The following collated passages will illustrate Origen's attitude towards the deuterocanonical works:

Tob. I. 13-22.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. De Hist. Sus. 13.

(Already quoted.)

Judith XI. Passim.

Orig. Frag. Ex Lib. VI.
Strom.

“Homo autem, cui incumbit necessitas mentiendi, diligenter attendat ut sic utatur interdum mendacio quomodo condimento atque medicamine, ut servet mensuram ejus, ne excedat terminos *quibus usa est Judith contra Holophernem, et vicit* prudenti simulatione verborum.”

Dan. XIII.

“Et erat vir habitans in Babylone, et nomen ejus Joakim,” etc.

Orig. Ex Lib. Stromatum.

“Et erat vir habitans in Babylone, et nomen ejus Joacim, et accepit uxorem nomine Susannam, filiam Helciæ, pulchram nimis et timentem Dominum. Et parentes ejus justi edocuerunt filiam suam juxta legem Moysi.

Hoc utendum est testimonio ad exhortationem parentum, ut doceant juxta legem Dei sermonemque divinum, non solum filios, sed et filias suas. . . .
. Quia Hebræi reprobant historiam Susannae, dicentes eam in Danielis volumine non haberi, debemus inquirere nomina *σχίψου, και πρίψου* quae Latini ilicem et lentiscum interpretantur, si sint apud Hebraeos, et quam habeant etymologiam, ut a *σχίψου*, scissio, et a *πρίψου*, sectio sive serratio dicatur lingua eorum. Quod si non fuerit inventum,

necessitate cogemur et nos eorum acquiescere sententiae, qui Graeci tantum sermonis hanc volunt esse περιουσία, quae Graecam habeat tantum etymologiam, et Hebraicam non habeat. Quod si quis ostenderit duarum scissionis et sectionis in Hebræo stare etymologiam, tunc poterimus etiam hanc Scripturam recipere.”

Orig. De Principiis, Lib. I.

Cap. II.

Sap. VII. 25.

“Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera—”

“Invenimus nihilominus in Sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis, descriptionem quamdam de Dei Sapientia hoc modo scriptam: ‘Vapor est enim, inquit, virtutis Dei et ἀπόρροια gloriae omnipotentis purissima.’”

Ibid. VII. 25, 26.

Ibid.

Sap. XVIII. 24.

“In veste enim poderis, quam habebat, totus erat orbis terrarum—.”

Orig. De Princ. Lib. II. Cap. III. 6.

“— sicut in Sapientia Salomonis invenimus, cum dicit quia: ‘In vestimento poderis erat universus mundus.’”

Eccl. XLIII. 22.

“Frigidus ventus aquilo flavit—.”

Orig. Ibid. Cap. VIII. 3.

“—sicut scriptum est in Sapientia: ‘Frigidus ventus Boreas.’”

Eccli. VI. 4.

“Anima enim nequam disperdet, qui se habet.”

Ibid.

“Anima mala perdit eum qui possidet eam.”

Sap. XI. 21.

“— sed omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.”

Ibid. Cap. IX. 1.

“Porro autem, *sicut Scriptura dicit*: ‘In numero et mensura, universa condidit Deus.—’”

Sap. VII. 16.

“—in manu enim illius et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis Sapientia et operum scientia, et disciplina.”

Eccli. XVI. 22.

“Nam plurima illius opera sunt is absconsis—.”

Sap. XI. 18.

“Non enim impossibilis erat omnipotens manus tua, quae creavit orbem terrarum ex materia invisâ, immittere illis multitudinem ursorum, aut audaces leones—.”

Orig. De Prin, Lib. III. 14.

“ ‘In manu enim Dei, et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis prudentia atque operum disciplina est’ *sicut Scriptura dicit.*”

Orig. De Prin. Lib. IV. 26.

“Quia scriptum est: ‘Quamplurima ex operibus Dei in secretis sunt.’”

Ibid. 33.

“In Sapientia quae dicitur Salomonis, qui utique liber non ab omnibus in auctoritate habetur. Ibi tamen scriptum invenimus hoc modo: ‘Non enim,’ inquit, ‘deerat omnipotenti manu tuae, quae creaverat mundum ex informi materia, immittere eis multitudinem ursorum vel feroces leones.’”

Origen here records the doubts of some, without making them his own. Certain *individuals* have doubted concerning the deuterocanonical works; the *Church never doubted*. In quoting the book as *Scripture*, Origen follows the Church. This can be said in general; the Fathers, in their practical use of Scripture, reflect the belief of the Church. If they put forth, at times, speculative doubts, they are then speaking as fallible individuals. This principle has been recognized by the protestant Davidson.

“It is sometimes said that the history of the Canon should be sought from definite catalogues, not from isolated quotations. The latter are supposed to be of slight value; the former to be the result of deliberate judgment. This remark is more specious than solid. In relation to the Old Testament, the catalogues given by the Fathers, as by Meliton and Origen, rest solely on the tradition of the Jews; apart from which, they have no independent authority. As none except Jerome and Origen knew Hebrew, their lists of the Old

Testament books are simply a reflection of what they learned of others. If they deviate in practice from their masters by quoting as Scripture other than canonical (protocanonical) books, they show their judgment, overriding an external theory.

“The very men who give a list of the Jewish books, evince an inclination to the Christian and enlarged Canon. Thus the Fathers, who give catalogues of the Old Testament, show the existence of a Jewish and a Christian Canon in relation to the Old Testament; the latter wider than the former, their private opinion more favorable to the one, though the other was historically transmitted.” [Davidson, Canon of the Bible, p. 132.]

This last clause is not well said. It is not the private opinions of the Fathers that constitute the basis of traditional proof of our complete Canon. It is the universal usage of the Churches of the Christian people, which subjugated even those who theoretically were disposed to doubt. It is the belief identical with the life of the Church which manifests itself in the use which these Fathers made of Scripture. As individuals they could err and doubt; as faithful witnesses of the belief of the Church, they hand down to us the faith which was the same in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. This capacity they fulfill, as Davidson rightly says, when quoting the Scriptures as they were familiar to the Christian people. Neither is Davidson correct in saying that the curtailed canon of the Jews was historically transmitted. If he means by this that the restricted canon was transmitted to us by the Jews, it is well; but it is utterly false to say that the existing, recognized Canon of Christians were such Canon. Impartial historians, such as Eusebius, record the doubts of isolated churches concerning several books, but these doubts never could be said to have pervaded the whole Church. Such a critical mind, as was that of Origen, would have more readily tended to reject the deutero-canonical books, had he not been convinced by the belief and usage of the universal Church. As Origen's authority is most valuable, we have taken the trouble to collate many passages:

Sap. IX. 13-16.

“Quis enim hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? Aut quis poterit cogitare quid velit Deus? Cogitationes enim mortalium timidæ; et incertæ providentiæ nostræ; corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem, et difficile aestimamus quæ in terra sunt, et quæ in prospectu sunt invenimus cum labore. Quæ autem in cœlis sunt, quis investigabit?”

Sap. XI. 25.

“Diligis enim omnia quæ sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti—.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.”

Tob. III. 24. 25.

“In illo tempore exauditæ sunt preces amborum in conspectu gloriæ summi Dei, et missus est angelus Domini, Sanctus Raphael, ut curaret eos ambos.”

Tob. XII. 12 (juxta Græcum).

“Ac modo cum tu, et Sara nurus tua orastis, memoriam precum vestrarum coram Sancto retuli.”

Orig. Lib. De Oratione, I.

“Quis enim hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? Aut quis poterit cogitare quid Deus velit? Cogitationes enim mortalium timidæ; et incertæ providentiæ nostræ, corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem; et difficile aestimamus quæ in terra sunt. Quæ autem in cœlis sunt, quis investigavit?”

Ibid. 5.

“—diligitque omnia quæ sunt, et nihil odit eorum quæ fecit.”

Ibid. 10.

“Magis idoneus fit commiseri ‘Spiritui Domini qui replevit orbem terrarum.’”

Ibid. 11.

“Quæ inde patent, quod Raphael obtulerit Deo rationabile obsequium Tobiae et Saræ. ‘Nam post utriusque orationem, exaudita est, *inquit Scriptura*, deprecatio utrorumque coram gloria magni Raphael, et missus est ad sanandum ambos.’”

Ibid.

“‘Et nunc quando orasti tu, et nurus tua Sara, ego obtuli memoriale orationis vestrae coram Sancto.’ Et post pauca

Ibid. 15 (juxta Graecum).

“Ego sum Raphael, unus ex septem sanctis Angelis qui preces sanctorum ad Deum offerunt, atque ambulant ante majestatem Sancti.”

Ibid. 8 (juxta Graecum).

“Bonae sunt preces quae cum jejunio et beneficentia justitiae conjunctae sunt.”

II. Maccab. XV. 13-16.

“Post hoc apparuisse et alium virum aetate et gloria mirabilem, et magni decoris habitudine circa illum; respondentem vero Oniam dixisse: Hic est fratrum amator, et populi Israel: hic est qui multum orat pro populo et universa sancta civitate, Jeremias propheta Dei. Extendisse autem Jeremiam dexteram, et dedisse Judae gladium aureum dicentem: accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo in quo dejicies adversarios populi mei Israel.”

Judith XIII. 9-10.

“Cumque evaginasset illum, apprehendit comam capitis ejus, et ait: Confirma me, Domine Deus, in hac hora; et percussit bis in cervicem ejus, et abscidit caput ejus, et abstulit conopeum ejus a columnis, et evolvit corpus ejus truncum.”

Judith VIII. 22. (juxta Graecum).

“Mementote quae cum Abraham egerit, quibusque rebus Isaac probarit, quae item Jacob

‘Ego sum Raphael, unus ex septem Angelis qui offerunt orationes sanctorum, et ingrediuntur in conspectu gloriae Sancti.’ Itaque juxta Raphaelis sermonem: ‘Bonum oratio cum jejunio et eleemosyna et justitia.’ Item quod Jeremias, ut in Machabaeorum libris habetur; ‘apparuerit canitie et gloria eximius, ita ut mirabilis quaedam et maximi decoris fuerit praestantia circa illum: extenderitque dexteram, et dedit Judae gladium aureum, de quo testatus est alius sanctus qui ante obierat: Hic est qui multum orat pro populo et sancta civitate, Jeremias, propheta Dei.’”

Orig. De Oratione, 13.

“Judith, sanctis oblatis precibus, Holophernem, Deo adjuvante, superavit, et una Hebraeorum femina labem domui Nabuchodonosoris inussit.”

Orig. De Orat. 29.

“Recordamini enim,” ait Judith, “quaecumque fecit cum Abraham, et quaecumque tent-

in Mesopotamia Syriae pascenti oves Laban avunculi ipsius acciderint. Etenim sicut illos experiundi cordis ipsorum gratia, ita nos probat, et non ulciscitur; sed commonitionis causa Dominus castigat eos qui ei appropinquant.”

Sap. XVI. 28.

“— ut notum omnibus esset quoniam oportet praevenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ad ortum lucis te adorare.”

Tob. XII. 12.

(Already quoted.)

II. Maccab. VI. 19–31.

“At ille gloriosissimam mortem magis quam odibilem vitam complectens, voluntarie praeibat ad supplicium. Intuens autem, quemadmodum oporteret accedere, patienter sustinens, destinavit non admittere illicita propter vitae amorem. Hi autem, qui astabant, iniqua miseratione commoti, propter antiquam viri amicitiam, tollentes eum secreto rogabant afferi carnes, quibus vesci ei licebat, ut simularetur manducasse, sicut rex imperaverat de sacrificii carnibus: ut, hoc facto a morte liberaretur: et propter veterem viri amicitiam, hanc in eo faciebant humanitatem. At ille cogitare coepit aetatis ac

avit Isaac, et quaecumque evenerunt Jacob in Mesopotamia Syriae pascenti pecora Laban fratris matris suae, quoniam sicut illos examinavit in certamen cordis eorum, etiam nos ulciscitur, quia ad emendationem flagellat Dominus appropinquantibus sibi.”

Ibid. 31.

“— et de parte mundi, in Sapientia Solomonis, dicitur: ‘Ut notum esset, quoniam oportet praevenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ante ortum lucis te adorare.’ ”

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Exhortatio ad Martyrium, 22.

“Quam autem aequius est mortuum laudari quam qui mortem sponte ac libere pro religione oppetiit? Qualis fuit Eleazar, qui ‘gloriosissimam mortem magis quam odibilem vitam complectens, voluntarie praeibat ad supplicium,’ quique ‘strenuam assumens ratiocinationem dignam aetate sua nonagenaria, et senectutis suae eminentia, illustrique cantitie, atque optima a pueritia educatione, maxime vero sancta, et a Deo condita lege dixit: non est aetate hac nostra dignum fingere, ut multi adolescentes, arbitantes Eleazarum nonagenaria annorum transisse ad vitam alienigenarum, et ipsi prop-

senectutis suæ eminentiam dignam, et ingenitæ nobilitatis canitiem, atque a puero optimæ conversationis actus: et secundum sanctæ et a Deo conditæ legis constituta, respondit cito, dicens: Præmitti se velle in infernum. Non enim ætati nostræ dignum est, inquit; fingere; ut multi adolescentium, arbitrantes Eleazarum nonaginta annorum transisse ad vitam alienigenarum: et ipsi propter meam simulationem, et propter modicum corruptibilis vitæ tempus decipiantur, et per hoc maculam atque execrationem meæ senectuti conquiram. Nam, etsi in præsentī tempore suppliciiis hominum eripiar, sed manum Omnipotentis nec vivus, nec defunctus effugiam. Quamobrem fortiter vita excedendo senectute quidem dignus apparebo; adolescentibus autem exemplum forte relinquam, si prompto animo, ac fortiter pro gravissimis ac sanctissimis legibus honesta morte perfungar. His dictis, confestim ad supplicium trahebatur. Hi autem, qui eum ducebant, et paulo ante fuerant mitiores, in iram conversi sunt propter sermones ab eo dictos, quos illi per arrogantiam prolatos arbitrabantur. Sed, cum plagis perimeretur, ingemuit, et dixit: Domine, qui habes sanctam scientiam, manifeste tu scis, quia, cum a morte possem liberari, duos corporis sustineo

ter meam simulationem, et propter modicum corruptibilis vitæ tempus decipiantur propter me, et execrationem atque maculam senectuti acquiram; nam etsi in præsentī tempore suppliciiis hominum eripiar, sed manus Omnipotentis nec vivus nec defunctus effugiam. Quamobrem fortiter excedendo senectute quidem dignus apparebo, adolescentibus autem exemplum forte relinquam, ut prompto animo ac fortiter pro gravissimis ac sanctissimis legibus honesta morte perfungantur.'

Oro autem vos cum ad portas mortis imo libertatis constituti eritis, maxime si tormenta objicientur, dicere Domino, qui sanctam habet scientiam: 'Manifestum est quia cum a morte possem liberari, duos corporis sustineo dolores, secundum animam vero propter timorem ejus libenter hæc patior.'

Talis ergo fuit Eleazari mors. 'qui non solum juvenibus, sed et plerisque suæ gentis mortem suam exemplum fortitudinis et memoriale virtutis reliquit.' "

dolores: secundum animam vero propter timorem tuum libenter hæc patior. Et iste quidem hoc modo vita decessit, non solum juvenibus, sed et universæ genti memoriam mortis suæ ad exemplum virtutis et fortitudinis derelinquens.

The 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th numbers of the Exhortatio ad Martyrium are a commentary on the death of the mother and her seven sons, as recorded in the second book of Maccab., seventh chapter, and he concludes by saying: "I believe that I have selected these things as most useful to my scope *from the Scriptures*, that we may see how, against bitterest tortures and heaviest torments, pity and the love of God, mightier than any other love, can avail." It is evident that the faith for which the martyrs died recognized as divine Scripture the deuterocanonical books.

Sap. XV. 10.

"Cinis est enim cor ejus, et terra supervacua spes illius, et luto vilior vita ejus."

Sap. III. 6.

"Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum."

Sap. I. 4.

"Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis."

Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. 32.

"—idque postquam cognovimus 'cinerem esse cor idolis servientium, vitamque luto turpiorem.'"

Ibid. 35.

"Quodsi probatus est et ille, et qui similes illi sunt; quos 'tamquam aurum in fornace' tormentis et quæstionibus 'probavit Dominus, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit.'"

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. III.
60.

"Quoniam vero docemus 'sapientiam in malevolam animam non introituram, nec habitaturam in corpore subdito peccatis.'"

Sap. VII. 25—26.

“Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera: et ideo nihil inquinatum in eam incurrit; candor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis et imago bonitatis illius.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum: et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Sap. XI. 25.

“Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti: nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti, aut fecisti.”

Eccli. XVIII. 12.

“—misericordia autem Dei super omnem carnem.”

Sap. XII. 1.

“O quam bonus, et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.”

Eccli. XXXIX. 26.

“Non est dicere: Quid est hoc, aut quid est istud? omnia enim in tempore suo quaerentur.”

Orig. *Contra Celsum*, Lib. III.
72.

“—aut quomodo illum divina Scriptura definit: ‘vapor divinae potestatis, limpida omnipotentis ejus gloriae effluentia, splendor lucis aeternae, speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius.’ ”

Orig. *Contra Celsum*, Lib. IV.
5.

“— nescit: ‘Spiritum Domini replere orbem terrarum, et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habere vocis.’ ”

Ibid. 18.

“Legimus ac novimus: ‘Deum diligere omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisse eorum quae fecit; nihil enim constiturum fuisse quod odisset.’ ”

Ibid.

“— et misericordiam Domini esse super omnem carnem.”

Ibid. 37.

“—de quo dictum est: ‘Incorruptibilis autem tuus Spiritus est in omnibus.’ ”

Ibid. 75.

“Ne dixeris: quid hoc? aut: quorsum hoc? omnia enim ad illorum usum creata sunt. Et ne dixeris: quid istud? aut quorsum istud? omnia enim in tempore suo quaerentur.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.”

Sap. X. 5.

“Haec et in consensu nequitiae justum, et conservavit sine querela Deo, et in filii misericordia fortem custodivit.”

Tob. XII. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. I. 4.

“— quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Eccli. XXI. 21.

“Tamquam domus exterminata, sic fatuo sapientia: et scientia insensati inenarrabilia verba.”

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. V.

19.

“Quemadmodum, et apud Tobiam legitur: ‘Sacramentum regis bonum est abscondere; sed opera Dei sincere revelare. . . pulchrum est.’ ”

Ibid. 29.

“Sic enim ibi de sapientia: ‘Haec et in consensu nequitiae, cum gentes confusae fuissent, scivit justum, et conservavit sine querela Deo, et in filii misericordia fortem custodivit.’ ”

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid.

“—de qua pulchre scriptum est: ‘In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.’ ”

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib.

VI. 7.

“Modo Jesu Sirach filius, qui librum, Sapientiam (Sirach) inscriptum, conscripsit: ‘Scientia stulti, sermones inextricabiles.’ ”

Ibid. 13.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia, quae a te est, in nihilum computabitur.”

Ibid. 63.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XVII. 1.

“Magna sunt enim judicia tua Domine, et inenarrabilia verba tua: propter hoc indisciplinatae animae erraverunt.”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quae sunt sine intellectu, et corripitur a superveniente iniquitate.”

Eccli. XXI. 21.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XII. 1—2.

“O quam bonus, et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus! Ideoque eos, qui exerrant, partibus corripis: et de quibus peccant, admones et alloqueris: ut relicta malitia, credant in te, Domine.”

Sap. VII. 25—26.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XVII. 1.

I. Maccab. IX. 55; II. Maccab. III. 24; IX. 5.

Eccli. X. 23.

“Semen hominum honorabitur hoc, quod timet Deum: semen autem hoc exhonorabitur, quod praeterit mandata Domini.”

Ibid. 79.

“Verum nihil mirandum est quoniam: ‘Dei judicia magna sunt, et explicatu ardua; indisciplinatas animas,’ adeoque Celsum, ‘errare.’”

Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. 8.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu.”

Ibid. 12.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 51.

“Incorruptibilis spiritus tuus est in omnibus, quapropter delinquentes paulatim arguit Deus.”

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. 14.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 32.

Ibid. 46.

“—et alii qui, Judaeorum cultum violare in templo ausi fuerint, referunt Machabaeorum libri.”

Ibid. 50.

“Hoc docet divina Scriptura: ‘Ecquod semen in honore? semen hominis; ecquod semen in contemptu? semen hominis.’”

Eccli. X. 4.

“In manu Dei potestas terrae: et utilem rectorem suscitabit in tempus super illam.”

Sap. I. 13.

“Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum.”

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius.”

Sap. VIII. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXII. 24.

“Pungens oculum deducit lacrymas: et qui pungit cor, profert sensum.”

Sap. II. 20.

“Morte turpissima condemnemus eum: erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus illius.”

Baruch III. 9.

“Audi, Israel, mandata vitae auribus percipe, ut scias prudentiam.”

Eccli. VII. 40.

“In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis.”

Ibid. 68.

“—quique utilem rectorem suscitatur in tempus super terram.”

Orig. Selecta in Genesim.

“Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditione vivorum.”

Orig. Homilia VI. in Genesim.

“—sicut et ille sapiens qui dicebat de sapientia: ‘Hanc quaesivi adducere mihi sponsam.’”

Homilia XI. in Genesim, 1.

“Sicut et ille qui dicebat de sapientia: ‘Hanc ego cogitavi uxorem adducere mihi.’”

“Orig. in Exodum, Homilia IV. 5.

“Pro illo vero alia Scriptura dicit: ‘Punge oculum, et producit lacrymam; punge cor, et producit sensum.’”

Hom. VI. in Exodum, 1.

“De quo etiam Propheta praedixerat: ‘Morte turpissima condemnemus eum.’”

Hom. VII. in Exod. 2.

“Sicut et alibi (Scriptura) dicit; ‘Audi, Israel, mandata vitae.’”

Hom. IX. in Exod. 4.

“Memor esto novissimorum tuorum, et non peccabis.”

Dan. XIII. 22—23.

“Ingemuit Susanna, et ait: Angustiae sunt mihi undique: si enim hoc egero, mors mihi est: si autem non egero, non effugiam manus vestras. Sed melius est mihi absque opere incidere in manus vestras, quam peccare in conspectu Domini.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum: et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Sap. VIII. 20.

“Et cum essem magis bonus veni ad corpus incoinquinatum.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 22.

“Multi ceciderunt in ore gladii, sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam.”

Sap. VII. 20

“— naturas animalium, et iras bestiarum, vim ventorum, et cogitationes hominum, et virtutes radicum.”

Hom. I. in Leviticum, 1.

“But it behooves us to use against the impious presbyters the words of the *blessed Susanna*, which they indeed *repudiating, have cut off from the catalogue of divine Scripture the history of Susanna*. But we receive it, and appositely adduce it against them, saying: ‘I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing (follow the letter of the Law) it is death to me; and if I do it not, I shall not escape your hands. But it is better for me to fall into your hands without doing it than to sin in the sight of the Lord.’”

Hom. V. in Leviticum, 2.

“Et iterum alibi: ‘Spiritus enim Domini replevit orbem terrarum.’”

Hom. XII. in Levit. 4.

“Ipse (Jesus) enim erat qui et dudum per Salomonem dixerat: ‘Magis autem cum essem bonus, veni ad corpus incoinquinatum.’”

Orig. Hom. VIII. in Numeros, 1.

“Non legisti? ‘Dicunt quia vulnerant gladii sed non ita ut lingua?’”

Hom. XII. in Numeros, 1.

“—de quorum scientia dicebat ille qui repletus est sapientia Dei: ‘Ipse enim mihi dedit eorum quae sunt scientiam veram, ut scirem substantiam

mundi et elementorum virtutem, initium et finem et medietatem temporum, vicissitudinem, permutationes et commutationes temporum, anni circulos, et astrorum positiones, naturas animalium, et iras bestiarum, spirituum violentias et cogitationes hominum, differentias virgultorum, et virtutes radicum.' ”

Sap. VII. 10.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 22—23.

“— est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis, incoinquinatus, certus, suavis, amans bonum, acutus, quem nihil vetat, benefaciens, humanus, benignus, stabilis, certus, securus, omnem habens virtutem, omnia prospiciens, et qui capiat omnes spiritus, intelligibilis, mundus, subtilis.”

Eccli. I. 1.

“Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est, et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum.”

Eccli. XIX. 19

“Et non est sapientia nequitiae disciplina: et non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia.”

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Hom. in Numeros, XVII. 6.

“—quia et spiritus sapientiae, qui intelligibilis et sanctus et unicus et multiplex dicitur, similiter et subtilis esse perhibetur.”

Hom. XVIII. in Numeros, 3.

“In libro, qui apud nos quidem inter Salomonis volumina haberi solet, et Ecclesiasticus dici, apud Graecos vero Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach appellatur, scriptum est: ‘Omnis sapientia a Deo est.’ ”

Ibid.

“Non est enim sapientia malitiae disciplina.”

Sap. III. 16.

“Fili autem adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt, et ab iniquo thoro semen exterminabitur.”

Eccli. XVI. 5.

“Ab uno sensato inhabitabitur patria, tribus impiorum deseretur.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Eccli. XIV. 23.

“Qui excogitat vias illius in corde suo, et in absconditis suis intelligens, vadens post illam quasi investigator, et in viis illius consistens—.”

Eccli. II. 1.

“Fili, accedens ad servitutum Dei, sta in justitia, et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum —.”

Eccli. III. 20.

“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam —.”

Hom. in Numeros XX. 2.

“— de quibus scriptum est: ‘Fili autem adulterorum imperfecti erunt, et ex iniquo concubitu semen exterminabitur.’”

Hom. XXI. in Num. 2.

“Denique et scriptum est: Per unum sapientem inhabitabitur civitas; tribus autem iniquorum desolabitur.’”

Hom. XXIII. in Num. 11.

“‘Corpus enim corruptibile,’ ut ait ille sapientissimus, ‘aggravat animam, et deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.’”

Hom. XXVIII. in Num. 1.

“Sed et ego qui lego de sapientia scriptum: ‘Exi post eam sicut investigator—.’”

Orig. Hom. XI. in Joshua, 2.

“Sed et Salomon similia dicit: ‘Fili,’ inquit, ‘accedens ad servitutum Domini, præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.’”

Hom. XXII. in Joshua, 6.

“—Cui dicitur a Propheta, ‘Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species seduxit te.’”

Hom. XXIV. in Joshua, 2.

“—quod dicitur: ‘Quanto magnus es tanto magis humilia te, et ante Dominum invenies

Ibid. XXXII. 1.

“Rectorem te posuerunt? noli extolli: esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis.”

Eccli. X. 15.

“— quoniam ab eo, qui fecit illum, recessit cor ejus; quoniam initium omnis peccati est superbia—.”

Eccli. XXV. 3, 4.

“Tres species odivit anima mea, et aggravor valde animæ illorum: pauperem superbum: divitem mendacem: senem fatuum et insensatum.”

Judith XIII.

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quæ præcepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus.”

gratiam,’ et iterum quod scriptum est: ‘Si te ducem ordina-verint, ne extollaris, sed esto inter eos quasi unus ex ipsis.’ ”

Orig. Hom. III. in Judic. 1.

“—quia sicut Scriptura dicit: ‘Initium discedendi a Domino, superbia—.’ ”

Ibid.

“Nihil invenies tam foedum neque execrabile, sicut Scriptura dicit, quam ‘pauperem superbum et divitem mendacem.’ ”

Hom. IX. in Judic. 1.

“Quid ego illam magnificam et omnium feminarum nobilissimam memorem, Judith, quæ jam perditis pene rebus, non dubitavit sola succurrere, seseque suumque caput immanissimi Holophernis neci sola sub-jicere, et processit ad bellum non in armis, neque in equis bellicis aut in subsidiis militari-bus freta, sed in virtute animi; et confidentia fidei, consilio simul et audacia hostem per-mit.”

Orig. Hom. I. in Reg. 4.

“—quia et secundum Scrip-turas: ‘insipiens sicut luna mu-tatur.’ ”

Hom. II. in Reg. 4.

“Nam et Salomon dicit: ‘Al-tiora te ne quæsieris, et for-tiora te ne scrutere, sed de qui-bus tibi præceptum est, hæc intellige.’ ”

Eccli. I. 11.

“Timor Domini gloria, et gloriatio, et lætitia, et corona exultationis.”

Sap. V. 18—21.

“Accipiet armaturam zelus illius, et armabit creaturam ad ultionem inimicorum. Induet pro thorace justitiam, et accipiet pro galea iudicium certum; sumet scutum inexpugnabile æquitatem, acuet autem duram iram in lanceam, et pugnabit cum illo orbis terrarum contra insensatos.”

Dan. XIII. 25 et seqq.

“Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum sanctum pueri junioris, cujus nomen Daniel.”

Sap. V. 4.

“Nos insensati vitam illorum æstimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore.”

Esther XIV. 11.

“Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt, ne rideant ad ruinam nostram: sed converte consilium eorum super eos, et cum, qui in nos coepit sævire, disperde.”

Eccli. VIII. 6.

“Ne despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque

Orig. Selecta in Ps. XXI. 32.

“Generatio autem Sapientiæ est secundum Salomonem: ‘timor Domini, divitiæ, gloria ac vita.’”

Selecta in Ps. XXXIV. 2.

“Accipiet armaturam zelum illius, et armabit creaturam ad ultionem inimicorum. Induet pro thorace justitiam, et accipiet pro galea iudicium certum, sumet scutum inexpugnabile æquitatem, acuet autem duram iram in lanceam.”

Hom. IV. in Ps. XXXVI. 2.

“Respice beatum Danielelem, qui a puero et prophetiæ gratiam meruit, et iniquos arguens presbyteros, puer coronam justitiæ et castitatis obtinuit.”

Hom. V. in Ps. XXXVI. 5.

“—ita ut illi qui in poenis sunt, videntes eos in gloria dicent: Nos stulti vitam eorum putabamus insaniam.”

Ibid.

“Et in libro Esther dicitur: ‘Non tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt.’”

Hom. II. in Ps. XXXVII. 1.

“—nec memores Scripturæ sunt divinæ dicentis: ‘Noli im-

improperes ei; memento quoniam omnes in correptione sumus.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28, 29.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras. Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—.”

Eccli. XXIII. 2.

“Quis superponet in cogitatu meo flagella, et in corde meo doctrinam sapientiæ, ut ignorationibus eorum non parcant mihi, et non appareant delicta eorum?”

Eccli. XXI. 29.

“In ore fatuorum cor illorum: et in corde sapientium os illorum.”

Eccli. XV. 9.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris—.”

Sap. I. 4.

“—quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

properare homini convertenti se a peccato, sed memor esto quoniam omnes sumus in culpis.’ ”

Hom. I. in Ps. XXXVIII. 3.

“Alibi quidem scriptum est: ‘Vide, circumduc sepem spinarum circa possessionem tuam.’ Et iterum: ‘Pecuniam tuam et aurum tuum alliga, et ori tuo facito ostium et seram, et verbis tuis, jugum et stateram.’ ”

Hom. II. in Ps. XXXV. III. 7.

“Sed novi ego et alia flagella quibus vehementius cruciamur, illa scilicet quæ per prophetam describit sapientia (prophetam enim eum dico): ‘Quis dabit in cogitatu meo correptionem sapientiæ, ut ignorationibus meis quæ feci non parcat, et peccata mea non prætereantur?’ ”

Orig. Selecta in Ps. LI. Vers.

4.

“—in ore stultorum cor eorum est.”

Selecta in Ps. LXV. Vers. 2.

“—quia non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.”

Selecta in Ps. LXXXVIII.

Vers. 32.

“Qui non custodit mandata Dei desivit esse thronus Dei, nam: ‘In malevolam animam, non introibit sapientia, neque habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.’ ”

- Sap. I. 4.
(Already quoted.)
- Eccli. XXVII. 12.
"Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur."
- Baruch III. 38.
"Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."
- Eccli. XV. 9.
(Already quoted.)
- Sap. VII. 25.
(Already quoted.)
- Sap. IV. 13
"Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa—."
- Sap. VIII. 2.
"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsiivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius."
- Eccli. I. 33.
"Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva justitiam? et Deus præbebit illam tibi."
- Sap. XI. 27. 27—XII. 1.
"Parcis autem omnibus: quoniam tua sunt, Domine, qui amas animas. O quam bonus,
- Selecta in Ps. CXVIII. Vers. 155.
(Already quoted.)
- Selecta in Ps. CXX. Vers. 6.
"—Stultus ut luna mutatur."
- Selecta in Ps. CXXV. Vers. 2.
"Post haec enim in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."
- Selecta in CXLIX. Vers. 1.
(Already quoted.)
- Orig. Fragmenta in Prov. I. 2.
(Already many times quoted.)
- Ibid. Cap. XXX.
"—siquidem 'in brevi consummatus, explevit tempora multa.' "
- Orig. Prologus in Canticum Cantic.
"Sed et in eo libello qui dicitur Sapientia Salomonis ita scriptum est de ipsa sapientia: 'Amator factus sum decoris ejus.' "
- Ibid.
"—et intelligere illud quod scriptum est: 'Concupisti sapientiam? serva mandata, et Dominus dabit eam tibi.' "
- Orig. in Cant. Cantic. Lib. III. Vers. 4.
"—quamvis verum sit ut dicitur ad eum: 'Parcis autem omnibus, quia omnia tua sunt

et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.”

Sap. VII. 17—20.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXVIII. 29.

“Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—.”

Eccli. IV. 33.

“Pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.”

Sap. VII. 22.

“— est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis—.”

Sap. I. 13, 14, et II. 24.

“Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum. Creavit enim, ut essent omnia: et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—.”

Eccli. XXI. 18.

“Verbum sapiens quodcumque audierit scius laudabit, et ad se adjiciet—.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Domine, amator animarum. Spiritus enim incorruptionis est in omnibus.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. VII. Vers. 8.

“—juxta illud: ‘Ori tuo fac ostium, et vectem, et verbis tuis fac modum et stateram.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. VIII. 6.

“Et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia.”

Hom. VI. in Isaiam, 5.

“Dicitur enim de S. Spiritu, qui est secundum sapientiam, quia sit multifarius, tenuis, mobilis.”

Hom. II. in Jeremiam I.

“ ‘Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur in perditione viventium. Creavit enim ut essent omnia, et salutare generationes mundi, nec est in eis venenum mortis, neque inferni regnum super terram.’ Deinde paululum ultra procedens invenio unde sit mors: ‘Invidia autem diaboli, mors intravit in orbem terrarum.’ ”

Hom. VI. in Jerem. 1.

“Quoniam vero: ‘Verbum sapiens si audierit scius, laudabit, et ad illud adjiciet.’ ”

Ibid. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Baruch III. 9—13.

“Audi, Israel, mandata vitæ: auribus percipe, ut scias prudentiam. Quid est, Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? inveterasti in terra aliena, coinquinatus es cum mortuis; deputatus es cum descendantibus in infernum. Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ; nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna.”

Sap. III. 11.

“Sapientiam enim, et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est: et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum.”

Eccli. XXXI. 10.

“Qui probatus est in illo et perfectus est, erit illi gloria æterna: qui potuit transgredi, et non est transgressus: facere mala, et non fecit—.”

Baruch III. 10, 11.

“Quid est, Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? inveterasti in terra aliena, coinquinatus es cum mortuis: deputatus es cum descendantibus in infernum.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum autem animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.”

Hom. VII. in Jerem. 3.

“—et abire in terram de qua scriptum est: ‘Audi, Israel, quid est quod in terra inimicorum es? Computatus es cum descendantibus in infernum; dereliquisti fontem vitæ, Dominum: in via Dei si ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace in sæculum.’ ”

Hom. VIII. in Jerem. 1.

“Sapientiam autem et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est, et vana spes ejus, et labores ejus insensati, et inutilia opera ejus,’ ait Sapientia, quæ dicitur Salomonis.”

Selecta in Jerem. Cap. II. 32.

“Gloria enim æterna super caput justorum.”

Ibid. Cap. XXXI. 16.

“Scriptum est in Baruch: ‘Quid est quod in terra inimicorum es, et coinquinatus es cum mortuis?’ ”

Ibid. Cap. XLV. 5.

“—Nam ‘justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt.’ ”

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies sæculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem cœli, et latitudinem terræ, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?”

Eccli. VII. 6.

“Noli quærere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates: ne forte extimescas faciem potentis, et ponas scandalum in æquitate tua.”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum—.”

Eccli. X. 9, 10.

“Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam; hic enim et animam suam venalem habet: quoniam in vita sua projecit intima sua.”

Eccli. III. 20.

“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam.—”

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Orig. Hom. IV. in Ezechiel, 2.

“Arenam maris et pluvie stillas et dies sæculi, quis dinumerabit? Altitudinem cœli et latitudinem terræ et profundum Sapientiæ, quis investigabit?”

Hom. V. in Ezech. 4.

“—et ante oculos mihi proponens illum iudicii ordinem qui in Scripturis continetur, recordor dicti illius: ‘Pondus ultra te ne leves.’ Sed et illud: ‘Noli quærere fieri iudex, ne non valeas auferre iniquitates.’”

Hom. VI. in Ezech. 3.

“Sæpe miratus sum id quod dictum est a Daniel ad presbyterum peccatorem, cui pro peccato nomen imponens: ‘Semen,’ inquit ‘Chanaan et non Juda.’”

Hom. IX. in Ezech. 2.

“Quid enim ait Scriptura? ‘Quid superbit terra et cinis?’ et: ‘In vita ejus projecit interanea ejus.’”

Ibid.

“—dicente Scriptura: ‘Quanto magnus fuerit, tanto humilia te ipsum.’”

Hom. X. in Ezech. 2.

“Justum est quippe iudicium Dei, et ‘potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur.’”

Eccli. XVIII. 30.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere.”

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Esther XIV. 2.

“Cumque deposuisset vestes regias, fletibus et luctui apta indumenta suscepit—.”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Already quoted).

Eccli. XXVII. 28.

“Qui in altum mittit lapidem, super caput ejus cadet: et plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vulnera.”

Sap. II. 21, 22.

“Hæc cogitaverunt, et erraverunt: excæcavit enim illos malitia eorum. Et nescierunt sacramenta Dei—.”

Sap. VIII. 1.

“Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter.”

Eccli. IV. 33.

“Pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.”

Orig. Comment. in Math.
Tom. XII. 22.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas.”

Ibid. Tom. XIII. 4.

“Nobis . . . proderit is qui in Sapientia de justis quidem æquabilitate et constantia ait: ‘Narratio pii semper est sapientia . . . stultus autem sicut luna mutatur.’ ”

Ibid. 20.

“Simile in libro Esther dictum esse de illo, inquires, cum scriptum est: ‘Cum deposuisset omnem ornatum suum.’ ”

Ibid. Tom. XV. 10.

(Already quoted).

Ibid. Tom. XVI. 3.

“Nam ‘qui in altum mittit lapidem, in caput suum mittit.’ ”

Ibid.

“—quoniam ‘excæcavit illos malitia eorum, et nescierunt sacramenta Dei.’ ”

Ibid.

“—cum, ‘attingit a fine terræ usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit’ ecclesias ‘suaviter.’ ”

Ibid. Tom. XVII. 25.

“—illudque dogma observantes: ‘Usque ad mortem certa pro veritate, et Deus pugnabit pro te.’ ”

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.”

Eccli. III. 20.

“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam—.”

Eccli. XXI. 2.

“Quasi a facie colubri fuge peccata: et si accesseris ad illa, suscipient te.”

Eccli. IX. 4.

“Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis: nec audias illam, ne forte pereas in efficacia illius.”

Eccli. XXI. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Dan. XIII. 55.

“Dixit autem Daniel; Recte mentitus es in caput tuum: Ecce enim Angelus Dei, accepta sententia ab eo, scindet te medium.”

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Sap. VII. 17-20.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 32.

“Mulier quidem dicta est Sapientia propter illud: ‘Quæsi sponsam mihi eam assumere.’”

Orig. in Math, Comment. Series, 12.

“—cum deberent recordari Sapientiæ verbum dicentis: ‘Quantum magnus es, tantum humilia te, et coram Deo invenies gratiam.’” (Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 42.

“— et quod ait Sapientia: ‘Quasi a facie serpentis, fuge peccatum.’”

Ibid. 44.

“Cum saltatrice noli assiduus esse, ne forte consumaris in desiderii ejus.”

Ibid.

“Ideo bene dixit Scriptura: ‘Quasi a facie serpentis, fuge peccatum.’”

Ibid. 61.

“—quoniam Angelus Deus; habens gladium, scindet te medium.”

Ibid. 69.

“—quod ait Salomon: ‘Et si fuerit quis perfectus inter filios hominum, si abfuerit ab illo Sapientia tua in nihilum reputabitur.’”

Orig. Hom. XXI. in Lucam.

(Already quoted.)

II. Maccab. VII. 28.

“Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad cœlum et terram, et ad omnia quæ in eis sunt: et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus.”

Esther XIV. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Judith, IX. 2.

“Domine Deus patris mei Simeon, qui dedisti illi gladium in defensionem alienigenarum—.”

Baruch III. 38.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XVIII. 6.

“Cum consummaverit homo, tunc incipiet: et cum quieverit, aporiabitur.”

Sap. XVII. 1.

“Magna sunt enim judicia tua, Domine, et inenarrabilia verba tua: propter hoc indisciplinatæ animæ erraverunt.”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Oft quoted.)

I. Maccab. I. 22, 23.

“—et ascendit Jerosolymam in multitudine gravi. Et intravit in sanctificationem cum superbia, et accepit altare aureum et candelabrum luminis, et universa vasa ejus, et mensam propositionis, et libatoria, et phialas, et mortariola aurea,

Orig. Comment. in Joannem,
Tom. I. 18.

“Secus vero apud nos est, qui credimus ex non entibus Deum entia fecisse, ut mater illa septem Martyrum in Machabæorum gestis, et pœnitentiæ angelus in ‘Pastore’ docuit.”

Ibid. Tom. II. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 16.

“Verum Eliæ profecto etiam est Deus, et, ut inquit Judith, patris sui Symeon.”

Ibid. Tom. VI. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 19.

“‘Quoniam cum absolverit homo, tunc incipit; et quum quieverit, tunc incertus erit.’ juxta Jesu filii Sirach Sapientiam.”

Ibid. 36.

“‘Magna enim judicia Dei,’ eaque aegre nec facile narrantur, atque ‘ob hanc causam rudes animæ erraverunt.’”

Ibid. 37.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid, Tom. X. 22.

“Apparet etiam apud Machabaica, multam inconstantiam et confusionem fuisse, circa templum et circa populum—.”

et velum, et coronas, et ornamentum aureum, quod in facie templi erat: et comminuit omnia."

Eccli. III. 22.

"Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris.—"

Sap. 25, 26.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXI. 18.

"Verbum sapiens quodcumque audierit sciens laudabit, et ad se adjiciet—."

II. Maccab. XV. 14.

"Respondentem vero Oniam dixisse: Hic est fratrum amator, et populi Israel: hic est, qui multum orat pro populo, et universa sancta civitate Jeremias, propheta Dei."

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æternæ, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant—."

Sap. VII. 9.

"—nec comparavi illi lapidam pretiosum; quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius, arena est exigua, et tamquam lutum æstimabitur argentum in conspectu illius."

Sap. X. 3, 4.

"Ab hac ut recessit injustus in ira sua, per iram homicidii fraterni deperiit. Propter quem

Ibid. Tom. XIII. 5.

"Te difficiliora ne quæras, et te fortiora ne vestiga."

Ibid. 27.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 46.

"—quoniam autem 'si sermonem sapientem audierit sapiens, laudabit eum, et ad ipsum addet—.'"

Ibid. 57.

"—quemadmodum in Machabæorum gestis scriptum est, post plurimos annos ab obitu Jeremiæ: 'Hic est Jeremias, Dei Propheta, qui multum orat pro populo.'"

Ibid. 58.

"Quomodo etiam servat illud: 'Qui videt omnia ante ortum ipsorum.'"

Ibid. Tom. XIX. 2.

"Sapientia siquidem erat quivis ejus sermo, de qua dicitur: 'Omne aurum coram sapientia est pauca arena; et ceu cœnum reputabitur argentum coram ea.'"

Ibid. Tom. XX. 4.

"Sapientiæ liber, Salomoni inscriptus, his verbis docet: 'Recedens autem ab ipsa, in-

cum aqua deleret terram, sanavit iterum sapientia, per contemptibile lignum justum gubernans."

Sap. X. 7.

"—quibus in testimonium nequitiae fumigabunda constat deserta terra, et incerto tempore fructus habentes arbores, et incredibilis animae memoria stans figmentum salis."

Dan. XIII. 56.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. XII. 11.

"Semen enim erat maledictum ab initio: nec timens aliquem, veniam dabas peccatis illorum."

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli, mors introivit in orbem terrarum."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Eccli. V. 8.

"Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem."

Dan. XIII. 9 et 35.

"—et everterunt sensum suum, et declinaverunt oculos suos ut non viderent cœlum, neque recordarentur judiciorum justorum.

justus in ira sua periit cum animis fratricidis, per quem inundatam terram rursus servavit Sapientia, vili ligno justum gubernans.' . . . '—quorum etiamnum malitiæ testimonio fumosum restat solum, et plantæ intempestivum fructum ferentes.' "

Ibid. 5.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

"—dicente Sapientia: 'Semen execratione devotum ab initio.' "

Ibid. 21.

"Sic 'Invidia mors introivit in mundum.' "

Ibid. 33.

"—qui dicit: 'Amator factus sum pulchritudinis illius.' "

Ibid. Tom. XXVIII. 3.

"Quocirca memores simus necesse est illius dicti; 'Ne percuncteris reverti ad Dominum neque differas de die in diem.' "

Ibid.

" 'Et averterunt mentem suam, et declinarunt oculos suos, ne in cœlum suspicerent, neque memores essent judiciorum justorum.' Adducemus

Quæ flens suspexit ad cælum: erat enim cor ejus fiduciam habens in Domino.”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quæ sunt sine intellectu, et corripitur a superveniente iniquitate.”

Sap. II. 24.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXXI. 17.

“Ne comprimar in convivio.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 25, 26.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XV. 17, 18.

“Apposuit tibi aquam et ignem: ad quod volueris, porrigere manum tuam. Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum: quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi—.”

Sap. XI. 21.

“—sed omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere, disposuisti.”

etiam in medium quæ de Susanna scribuntur hoc modo dicta: ‘At illa flens suspexit in cælum, quoniam cor ejus fidebat Domino.’ ”

Ibid. 13.

“Spiritus sanctus disciplinæ effugiet dolosum, et recedet a pravis consiliis.”

Ibid. Tom. XXXII. 3.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 14.

“Scriptum est enim et hoc quoque: ‘Ne comprimar cum eo in catino.’ ”

Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad

Rom. Lib. I. 3.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 5.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 18.

“—sicut scriptum est: ‘Ecce posui ante faciem tuam vitam et mortem, ignem et aquam.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. II. 3.

“Sed sicut omnia in mensura facit Deus, et pondere et numero—.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.”

Baruch IV. 4.

“Beati sumus, Israel: quia quæ Deo placent, manifesta sunt nobis.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras.”

Eccli. XI. 30.

“Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Sap. I. 1.

“Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

Ibid. 4.

“‘Mysterium’ vero ‘regis abscondere bonum est.’”

Ibid. 7.

“—et ipsi dicunt: ‘Beati sumus, Israel, quia quæ placent Deo nobis nota sunt.’”

Ibid. 13.

“—et dicet *circumcidi aures*, cum secundum Salomonis monita non recipiunt vanam auditionem, et cum oppilantur, ne audiant iudicium sanguinis, et cum *sepiuntur spinis ne recipiant obtrectionem*.”

Ibid. Lib. III. 2.

“—sicut et *Scriptura dicit*: ‘Ne beatificaveris hominem ante mortem, quia nescis quæ erunt ejus novissima.’”

Ibid.

“—nunc vero, *ut ait Scriptura*, ‘Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, et demergit terrena habitatio sensum multa cogitantem.’”

Ibid. 7.

“—et ideo (Sapientia) ait: ‘Discite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram.’”

Ibid.

“Illa enim lex potest sentire quod inter homines justum sit, ut quod in se quis pati non vult, hoc ne proximo faciat.”

- Eccli. XV. 9.
 “Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris—.”
- Sap. VII. 26.
 (Oft quoted)
- II. Maccab. VII. 1, et seqq.
 “Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flangris, et taureis cruciatis.”
- Baruch III. 36–38.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Sap. X. 1.
 “Hæc illum, qui primus formatus est a Deo pater orbis terrarum, cum solus esset creatus, custodivit.”
- Sap. IX. 6.
 “Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”
- Sap. IX. 15.
 (Oft quoted)
- Dan. III. 86. Deut. Frag.
 “Benedicite, spiritus et animæ justorum, Domino: laudate et superexaltate eum in sæcula.”
- Eccli. I. 16.
 “Initium sapientiæ, timor Domini—.”
- Ibid.
 “Et iterum *alia Scriptura dicit*: ‘Non est speciosa laus Dei in ore peccatoris.’ ”
- Ibid. Lib. IV. 8.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Ibid. 10.
 “Legant Machabæorum libros, ubi cum omni instantia mater cum septem filiis martyrium suscipit, quique non solum martyrium patienter excipiunt, verum et contumelias ingerunt in tyrannum—.”
- Ibid.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Ibid. Lib. V. 2.
 “—sicut de Sapientia dicitur: ‘Hæc,’ inquit, ‘illum qui primus factus est patrem mundi, cum solus esset creatus, custodivit, et liberavit eum de peccato suo.’ ”
- Ibid. 3.
 “—quia et si perfectus sit quis in filiis hominum, si non adsit ei justitia a Deo, in nihilum reputabitur.”
- Ibid. Lib. VI. 3.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Ibid. Lib. VII. 1.
 “Et Daniel nihilominus testatur et dicit: ‘Benedicite, spiritus et animæ justorum, Dominum.’ ”
- Ibid.
 “—quia ‘initium sapientiæ timor Domini.’ ”

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| Sap. IX. 15.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid. 4.
(Oft quoted.) |
| Eccli. VII. 40.
"In omnibus operibus tuis
memorare novissima tua, et in
æternum non peccabis." | Ibid. 10.
"Mementote novissimorum
tuorum, et in æternum non
peccabis." |
| Sap. VII. 25.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid. 13.
(Oft quoted.) |
| Sap. I. 7.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid.
(Oft quoted.) |
| Eccli. XXVII. 6.
"Vas figuli probat fornax; et
homines justos, tentatio tribu-
lationis." | Ibid. 17.
"Et Sapientia dicit: 'vasa
figuli probat fornax; et hom-
ines justos, tentatio.'" |
| Sap. VII. 26.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid. Lib. VIII. 4.
(Oft quoted.) |
| Sap. I. 2.
"—quoniam invenitur ab his
qui non tentant illum; apparet
autem eis, qui fidem habent in
illum—." | Ibid. 5.
"Sed audi quid etiam in Sa-
pientia Salomonis dicatur quia:
'non invenietur ab his qui ten-
tant eam: apparebit vero his
qui non sunt increduli ad
eum.'" |
| Tob. XII. 7.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid. 11.
"'Mysterium enim regis,' ait
Scriptura, 'celare bonum est.'" |
| Sap. IX. 6.
(Oft quoted.) | Ibid. Lib. IX. 3.
(Oft quoted.) |
| Eccli. VIII. 6.
"Ne despicias hominem
avertentem se a peccato, neque
improperes ei; memento quon-
iam omnes in correptione su-
mus." | Ibid. Lib. X. 31.
"—didicerat enim a <i>Scriptura non impropere homini
convertenti se a peccato.</i> " |

From these numerous quotations, taken from the fragments which remain of Origen's vast writings, we may infer what was his use of the deuterocanonical books. His authority is especially valuable, because he was conversant with Hebrew, and had examined the canon of the Jews upon their own grounds. He defends the deuterocanonical books against the attack of Africanus and the Jews; he establishes the authority of the Church as criterion of the Canon; in his use of Scripture he makes no discrimination between the books of the first and second canons, and unreservedly asserts that the deuterocanonical works are *divine Scripture*. Hence we claim the authority of Origen in support of the Catholic Canon of Scripture.

In the acts of the disputation of St. Archelaus with Manes, we find a quotation from Wisdom.*

This quotation is of much worth, since it manifests that in that early day the canon of the Syrian Church comprised the deuterocanonical works. The quotation is found in the twenty-ninth chapter of the disputation:

Sap. I. 13. — quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum.”	“Archelaus dixit: Nequam: absit! ‘Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum.’ ”
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We shall here subjoin some quotations found in the extant works of St. Methodius, surnamed Eubulius, Bishop of Tyre, the bitter adversary of Origen.†

*St. Archelaus was a bishop of Mesopotamia, renowned for piety and wisdom. The date of the disputation with Manes is the year 277 A. D. It is uncertain who has committed the disputation to writing.

†The Roman martyrology honors St. Methodius on the eighteenth of September. He was of Olympius, in Lycia, and afterwards bishop of Tyre. He suffered martyrdom in Chalcis in Greece; according to some, under Diocletian; according to others, under Decius and Valerius. De Feller inclines to the first opinion, and places the date of such event about the year 311. His doctrine, though at times inaccurate, has been much praised by Jerome, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa and others. His most celebrated work is the “Symposium of Virgins,” in which he extols the virtue of chastity.

Eccli. XVIII, 30, et XIX. 2.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere. Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes, et arguent sensatos—.”

Sap. IV. 3.

“Multigena autem impiorum multitudo non erit utilis, et spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas—.”

Eccli. XXIII. 1, et 5. 6.

“Domine, pater et dominator vitæ meæ, ne derelinquas me in consilio eorum nec sinas me cadere in illis. Extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis mihi, et omne desiderium averte a me. Aufer a me ventris concupiscentias, et concubitus concupiscentiæ, ne apprehendant me—.”

Sap. IV. 1, 2.

“O, quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate! immortalis est enim memoria illius, quoniam et apud Deum nota est, et apud homines. Cum præsens est, imitantur illam, et desiderant eam, cum se eduxerit, et in perpetuum coronata triumphat incoinquinatorum certaminum præmium vincens.”

“Post concupiscentias tuas ne eas, et ab appetitibus tuis prohibe te. Vinum enim et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes.”

Ibid.

“— de quo et alibi: ‘Multigena impiorum multitudo non erit utilis, et spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas.’ ”

Ibid.

‘ ‘Domine,’ dicens ‘Pater et Deus vitæ meæ, ne derelinquas me in cogitatu illorum. Extollentiam oculorum amove a me. Cordis concupiscentia et concubitus ne apprehendant me.’ ”

Ibid.

“In libro vero Sapientiæ palam jam, et sine ambagibus auditores ad continentiam, et castitatem attrahens *Spiritus sanctus talia modulatur* . . . clamans: ‘Immortalis enim est in memoria illius: quoniam et apud Deum nota est et apud homines. Cum præsens est honorant illam et desiderant eam, cum se abduxerit, et in perpetuum coronata triumphat incoinquinatorum certaminum agone superato.’ ”

Sap. III. 16.

"Fili autem adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt, et ab iniquo thoro semen exterminabitur."

These two writers, though antagonistic in doctrine, both aid in building up our thesis, since both recognize the accepted divine Scripture of the third century. In the first discourse, that of Marcella, in the symposium, we find the following:

Sap. IV. 6.

"Ex iniquis enim somnis filii, qui nascuntur, testes sunt nequitiae adversus parentes in interrogatione sua."

Sap. XV. 10, 11.

"Cinis est enim cor ejus, et terra supervacua spes illius, et luto vilior vita ejus, quoniam ignoravit, qui se finxit, et qui inspiravit illi animam quae operatur, et qui insufflavit ei spiritum vitalem."

Baruch III. 14.

"Disce, ubi sit prudentia, ubi sit virtus, ubi sit intellectus, ut scias simul, ubi sit longiturnitas vitae et victus, ubi sit lumen oculorum et pax."

Sap. VII. 9.

"— nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum, quoniam omne

In the second discourse, that of Theophila:

"Et ne confugas velut in arcem securam, prolato testimonio Scripturae dicentis: 'Fili adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt.'"

Ibid.

"'Ex iniquis enim,' inquit, 'somnia, filii qui nascuntur, testes sunt nequitiae adversus parentes in interrogatione persuasibilium sermonum.'"

Ibid.

"— in libro Sapientiae ait: 'Cinis est cor eorum, et terra supervacua spes illorum, et luto vilior vita eorum, quoniam ignorarunt qui se finxit, et qui inspiravit illis animam quae operatur, et qui insufflavit eis spiritum vitalem.'"

In the eighth discourse, that of Thecla:

"Discite ubi sit prudentia, ubi sit virtus, ubi sit intellectus ut scias simul ubi sit longiturnitas vitae et victus, ubi sit lumen oculorum et pax. Quis invenit locum ejus? et quis intravit in thesauros eorum?"

In the eleventh discourse, that of Arete:

"Neque si quis pecuniarum cupiditate capitur, virginita-

aurum in comparatione illius arena est exigua, et tamquam lutum æstimabitur argentum in conspectu illius."

Judith XIII. Passim.

Dan. XIII. 19, 20.

"Cum autem egressæ essent puellæ, surrexerunt duo senes, et accurrerunt ad eam, et dixerunt: Ecce ostia pomarii clausa sunt, et nemo nos videt, et nos in concupiscentia tui sumus; quam ob rem assentire nobis, et commiscere nobiscum."

Sap. I. 14.

"Creavit enim, ut essent omnia, et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra."

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum."

tem vere studet colere: spernit enim illam, verius lucrum exiguum ipsi præferens; cui tamen nulla est comparabilis rerum in vita pretiosarum."

Ibid.

"Peregrinum ductorem numerosissimorum exercituum fortiter aggrediens, ardua feliciter exequens destinata, Judith dolose decollavit pulchritudinis suæ delinitum specie priusquam ullam membris corporis obtulisset maculam—."

Ibid.

"Videntes speciem decoram nudi Susannæ corporis, duo iudices amore furentes dixerunt: 'O mulier, hic adsumus te clam potiri cupientes.'"

St. Method. De Resurrectione (Fragmentary).

"—sapientia adstruit his verbis: 'Creavit enim Deus ut essent omnia, et salutares sunt mundi generationes, et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii.'"

Ibid.

"Atqui homo est immortalis: 'Creavit enim,' inquit Sapientia, 'hominem inexterminabilem, et imaginem æternitatis suæ fecit illum.'"

Sap. VII. 21.

“—et quæcumque sunt absconsa et improvisa, didici: omnium enim artifex docuit me sapientia.”

Eccli. XV. 18.

“Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum; quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi—.”

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies sæculi quis dinumeravit?”

Sap. XV. 3.

“Nosse enim te, consummata justitia est; et scire justitiam et virtutem tuam, radix est immortalitatis.”

Baruch III. 24.

“O Israel, quam magna est domus Dei, et ingens locus possessionis ejus!”

Eccli. XVI. 7.

“In synagoga peccantium exardebit ignis, et in gente incredibili exardescet ira.”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species

Ibid. in fine.

“Quamobrem etiam Salomon ‘artificem omnium’ appellavit—.”

Ibid. ex fragmentis.

“Posui enim,” inquit, ‘ante faciem tuam vitam et mortem.’ ”

St. Method. De Creatis. (fragmentary).

“— quomodo Sapientia in Jesu Sirach dicit: ‘Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies sæculi quis dinumerabit?’ ”

S. Method. De Simeone et Anna.

“Porro: ‘Nosse te consummata justitia est, et scire potentiam tuam radix immortalitatis.’ ”

Ibid.

“— ut quodam loco inclytus Propheta ait: ‘Quam magna domus Dei, et ingens locus possessionis ejus! Magnus, et non habet finem.’ ”

Ibid.

“Item alio loco: ‘In gente incredibili exardescit ignis.’ ”

S. Methodius, in Ramos Palmarum.

“O Chanaan impudentis semen, non pii ac timentis Deum, Juda!”

decepit te, et concupiscentia
subvertit cor tuum—.”

Sap. XII. 1.

“O quam bonus et suavis est,
Domine, spiritus tuus in omni-
bus!”

Method. quoted by Olym-
piodorus in *Catena Nice-*
tæ.

“Methodius autem, Spiritum
divinum qui a Deo omnibus
concessus est, et de quo Salo-
mon dixit: ‘Incorruptus tuus
Spiritus in omnibus,’ pro con-
scientia accipit, quæ et ani-
mam peccatricem condemnet.”

There are several quotations from deuterocanonical Scripture in the works of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, which we omit here, since they are found in works which Migne judged dubious.

There are a few certain citations from the deuterocanonical books in the fragments which have been collected of the works of Dionysius the Great.*

*The precise date of the birth of Dionysius the Great is uncertain. He was in Egypt when Cyprian was in North Africa, and he came under the influence of Origen. He succeeded Heraclas in the Episcopal See of Alexandria in 247 A. D., which see he held for seventeen years, till his death in 265. He was forced to flee in the Decian persecution, and, at one time, his life was only saved by a miracle. Under Valerian, he made a public profession of faith, and was exiled to Cephro in Libya. Having strenuously opposed the Sabellian Heresy, he was denounced to Dionysius, the Roman Pontiff, that his tenets were not sound concerning the substantiality of the Son and the Father. As Sabellius had denied that there was any distinction between the Father and the Son, Dionysius, in opposition, may have exceeded bounds somewhat in extending the distinction between these two persons, but his error was not formal. Dionysius cleared himself of imputation of heresy, publishing four books in his own defense. There came a lull in the persecution under Gallienus, and in 261 Dionysius returned to his see. He was called to Antioch to give judgment in the trial of the heretic Paul of Samosata, but feebleness prevented a personal appearance there. He signified his opinions in writings, fragments of which remain. Dionysius wrote many things, but only small fragments of these remain. The most important of his works are his Apology and his Letters.

The few quotations which we shall adduce will place Dionysius in the rank of those who considered the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

Eccli. XVI. 26, 27.

“In judicio Dei opera ejus ab initio, et ab institutione ipsorum distinxit partes illorum, et initia eorum in gentibus suis. Ornabit in æternum opera illorum, nec esurierunt, nec laboraverunt, et non destiterunt ab operibus suis.”

Eccli. XVI. 30, 31.

“Post hæc Deus in terram respexit, et implevit illam bonis suis. Anima omnis vitalis denuntiavit ante faciem ipsius, et in ipsam iterum reversio illorum.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est.”

Dionysius, De Natura III. B.

“Audite vero divinorum oraculorum vocem: ‘In judicio Domini opera ejus. Ab initio et a creatione ipsorum distinxit partes illorum. Ornabit in æternum opera sua, et principia eorum in generationes eorum.’”

Ibid. V. A.

“—et illud: ‘post hæc enim Dominus in terram respexit, et implevit illam bonis suis. Anima omnis animantis operuit faciem ejus.’”

Idem. Epist. X. (Adversus Germanum) IV.

“Sed quoniam arcanum quidem regis occultare, *ut ait Scriptura*, laudandum est; Dei autem opera prædicare, gloriosum; adversus Germani impetum cominus decertabo.”

The Constitutiones Apostolicæ also manifest that the Church, in the third century, recognized the deutero-canonical books as divine Scripture.*

*The age and author of the Apostolical Constitutions are uncertain. They are inserted by Migne among the Opera dubia of St. Clement of Rome; but no one now attributes to him their authorship. De Magistris contends that their author was St. Hippolyte, although he admits later interpolations. It is quite generally admitted now that the work is a product of the third century which has suffered later interpolations. The work consisted of eight books, *ὀκτὰ βιβλία*, containing practical precepts of Christian life, and principles of church polity. Though of uncertain authorship, and often erroneous in its present state in dogma, it is valuable to illustrate the traditions of the Church in that early age. Opinions differ as to the date of its origin, but all agree that it goes back to the third century. The name does not indicate that its author wished to deceive by making it appear that his book was written by the Apostles. The Constitutions were called Apostolic, because they were founded on the applied teachings of the Apostles.

Eccli. XXVIII. 16.

“Lingua tertia multos commovit, et dispersit illos de gente in gentem—.”

Dan. XIII.

Dan. XIII. 48, 49.

“Qui cum staret in medio eorum ait: Sic fatui filii Israel, non judicantes, neque quod verum est cognoscentes, condemnastis filiam Israel? Revertimini ad iudicium, quia falsum testimonium locuti sunt adversus eam.”

Judith XII. 8.

“Et ut ascendebat, orabat Dominum Deum Israel, ut dirigeret viam ejus ad liberationem populi sui.”

Eccli. XXVI. 28.

“Duæ species difficiles et periculosæ mihi apparuerunt: difficile exuitur negotians a negligentia: et non justificabitur caupo a peccatis labiorum.”

Eccli. XXX. 12.

“Curva cervicem ejus in juventute, et tunde latera ejus, dum infans est, ne forte induret, et non credat tibi: et erit tibi dolor animæ.”

Const. Apost. Lib. II. 21.

“Multi quippe sunt malevolidicaces, *tertiam linguam* habentes.”

Ibid. XXXVII.

“—ut olim Babylone duosenes adversum Susannam—.”
(The same allusion is repeated in the XLIX. Chapter.)

Ibid. L. 1.

“Quoniam Susannam quidem Dominus per Danielempripuit e manibus iniquorum; reos autem sanguinis feminae senes ad ignem damnavit: vobis vero per Danielemprobravit dicens: ‘Sic fatui filii Israel, non dijudicantes, neque quod manifestum est cognoscentes, condemnastis filiam Israel? Revertimini ergo ad iudicium, quia falsum testimonium isti locuti sunt adversus eam.’ ”

Lib. III. 6.

“Quemadmodum ergo sapientissima Juditha, pudicitiaetestimonio celebris, nocte ac die Deum pro Israel deprecabatur”

Lib. IV. 6.

“—quia non justificabitur caupo de peccato—.”

Lib. IV. 11.

“Et adhuc: Tunde latera ejus, dum infans est, ne forte induratus non credat tibi.”

Esther IV. 16.

“Vade et congrega omnes Judæos, quos in Susan repereris, et orate pro me. Non comedatis, et non bibatis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, et ego cum ancillis meis similiter jejunabo: et tunc ingrediar ad regem contra legem faciens, non vocata, tradensque me morti et periculo.”

Judith, VIII. 6.

“— et habens super lumbos suos cilicium, jejunabat omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, præter sabbata, et neomenias, et festa domus Israel.”

Eccli. XXIV. 35.

“—qui implet quasi Phison sapientiam, et sicut Tigris in diebus novorum—.”

Eccli. XXV. 36.

“A carnibus tuis abscinde illam, ne semper te abutatur.”

Eccli. V. 8.

“Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem—.”

Baruch IV. 4.

“Beati sumus, Israel: quia quæ Deo placent, manifesta sunt nobis.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum autem animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.”

Lib. V. 20.

“Item Esthera et Mardocheus, et Juditha insultationem impiorum Holophernis et Amanis jejunando declinarunt.”

Lib. VI. 5.

“—detractoque eis Spiritu sancto ac imbre prophetico, implevit ecclesiam suam gratia spirituali, velut fluvium Ægypti in diebus novorum.”

Ibid. 14.

“Abscinde enim eam,” inquit, “a carnibus tuis.”

Ibid. 15.

“Ne differas enim converti ad Dominum.”

Ibid. 23.

“Beati sumus, Israel, quia quæ placita sunt Deo manifesta sunt nobis.”

Ibid. 30.

“Justorum animæ in manu Dei.”

Sap. II. 23, 24.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum:—.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi vide, ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

Esther XIV. 12.

“Memento, Domine, et ostende te nobis in tempore tribulationis nostræ, et da mihi fiduciam, Domine, rex deorum et universæ potestatis—.”

I. Mac. II.

Judith VIII.

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant—.”

Judith VIII.

Lib. VII. 1.

“—naturale quidem est vitæ iter, adscitum autem iter mortis; non illius quæ ex voluntate Dei exstitit, verum illius quæ ex insidiis diaboli.”

Ibid. 2.

“Omne quod non vis tibi fieri, et tu hoc alteri ne facias.”

Ibid. 33.

“Æterne Salvator noster, *rex deorum.*”

Ibid. 37.

“Tu, Domine Deus, nunc quoque suscipe preces labiis prolatis populi tui congregati ex gentibus . . . sicut suscepisti munera justorum in eorum sæculis . . . Mathathiæ et filiorum ejus in zelo tuo—.”

Lib. VIII. 2.

“Sed et mulieres prophetaverunt . . . Holda et Juditha.”

Ibid. 5.

“Qui es vere, Dominus Deus omnipotens, . . . qui omnia nosti antequam fiant—.”

Ibid. 25.

“Vidua non ordinatur; sed si multo ante amisit virum, et caste et inculpabiliter vixit, ac domesticorum optime curam gessit ut Juditha—.”

Sap. III. 1.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 41.

“—quia cunctorum animæ apud te vivent, et spiritus justorum in manu tua sunt, quos non tanget cruciatus.”

Eccli. XXXI. 35.

“Vinum in jucunditatem creatum est, et non in ebrietatem, ab initio.”

Ibid. 44.

“Hoc autem dicimus non ut vinum nequaquam bibant: eo enim modo contumelia afficerent id *quod a Deo factum est ad lætitiã.*”

For the tradition of the African Church, we turn to the two great lights of that Church Tertullian and Cyprian.*

*Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was the son of a centurion in the Roman armies stationed in Proconsular Africa. It appears evident that he had first given himself to a forensic career. The faith and constancy of the Martyrs impressed him deeply, and in the fourth year of the reign of Septimius Severus he embraced the faith of Jesus Christ. At Carthage he was ordained priest, and passed thence to Rome, where he published his Apology for the Christians, a masterpiece of erudition and eloquence. Tertullian was endowed by nature with a capacious mind, endowed with a peculiar ardor and natural severity. For some years he used his splendid powers for the best interests of the Christian Church. He was naturally inclined to that which was rigorous. He seemed to find a lack of severity in the Gospels of the Christian dispensation. This natural impetuosity made him a prey to the fanatic Montanus. A very probable opinion sustains that baffled ambition and the opposition of the clergy of Rome conspired to cause his defection. Montanus pretended that God, having failed to save the world by Moses, the Prophets, and even by the Incarnation, had sent the Holy Spirit into him to execute the salvation of the elect. He associated with himself Priscilla and Maximilla, two women of high rank but of immoral lives. They affected great austerity, and rigid fasts. They forbade second marriages, denied the absolving power of the Church for certain sins, and considered flight from persecution as apostasy. They laid claim to prophecy, inveighed against the hierarchy of the Church, proclaimed that they were to raise the Christians from their spiritual infancy in which they had hitherto lived. The apparent severity of their morals drew many to the sect, but being founded on a violent misconception, it failed. Montanus is said by Eusebius to have hanged himself. The last years of Tertullian's life were spent in this wretched heresy, and he wrote many of his works while a Montanist. There is no good evidence that he ever abandoned the error. Tertullian's works may be divided into two classes; those written before his lapse into Montanism, and those written after. The first class includes *Apologia pro Christianis, Libri duo ad Nationes, De Testimonio Animæ, ad Martyres, De*

Dan. XIII. 32.

“At iniqui illi jusserunt ut discooperiretur (erat enim cooperta) ut vel sic satiarentur decore ejus.”

II. Mac. VII. 28.

“Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad cælum et terram, et ad omnia quæ in eis sunt: et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus—.”

An evident allusion to the Benedictus of Dan. III. 24-90.

Judith passim.

Eccli. XI. 14.

“Bona et mala, vita et mors, paupertas et honestas a Deo sunt.”

Dan. III. 24-90.

Tertull. De Corona IV. A.

“Si et Susanna in judicio revelata argumentum velandi præstat—.”

Adversus Hermogenem XXI.

“Ita si ex nihilo Deus cuncta fecisse non potuit, *Scriptura* non adjecisset *illum ex nihilo fecisse*—.”

Ibid. XLIV.

“—cui etiam inanimalia et incorporalia laudes canunt apud Danielelem.”

Adversus Marcionem, Lib. I. VII.

“Si communio nominum conditionibus præjudicat, quanti nequam servi regum nominibus insultant, Alexandri, et Darii et *Holophernis*?”

Ibid. XVI.

“Cur in hac sola specie uniformen cum capiunt, visibilium solummodo *et vitam et mortem et mala et pacem*.”

Adversus Marcionem, Lib. V. II.

“Quod non alius quam Creator intelligetur qui et universa benedixit, habes *Genesisim*; et

Spectaculis, De Idololatria, Ad Scapulam, De Oratione, De Baptismo, De Pœnitentia, De Patientia, Ad Uxorem, libri duo, De Cultu Feminum, lib. II. In the second class are De Corona Militis, De Fuga in Persecutione, Adversus Gnosticos, Adversus Praxeam, Adversus Hermogenem, Adversus Marcionem, lib. V., Adversus Valentinianos, Adversus Judæos, De Anima, De Carne Christi, De Resurrectione Carnis, De Velandis Virginibus, De Exhortatione Castitatis, De Monogamia, De Jejuniiis, De Pudicitia, De Pallio.

It is uncertain whether the work De Præscriptionibus was written before or after his defection.

Sap. I. 1.

Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quærite illum.

Eccli. XLIV. 17.

“Noe inventus est perfectus, justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio.”

I. Mac. passim.

Sap. I. 6.

“Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiæ, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis: quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguæ ejus auditor.”

Eccli. XV. 18.

“Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum: quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi—.”

Baruch VI. 3-5.

“Nunc autem videbitis in Babylonia deos aureos, et argenteos, et lapideos, et ligneos in humeris portari, ostentantes metum Gentibus. Videte ergo ne et vos similes efficiamini factis alienis, et metuatis, et metus vos capiat in ipsis. Visa itaque turba de retro, et ab

ab universis benedicitur, habes Danielelem.”

Adversus Valentinianos II.

“Porro facies Dei spectat in simplicitate quærentes, ut docet ipsa *Sophia*, non quidem Valentini sed Salomonis.”

Adversus Judæos II.

“Nam unde *Noe justus inventus*—?”

Ibid. IV.

“Nam et temporibus Maccabæorum, Sabbatis pugnando, fortiter fecerunt, et hostes allophylos expugnaverunt, legemque paternam ad pristinum vitæ statum, pugnando Sabbatis, revocaverunt.”

De Anima XV.

“Si enim scrutatorem et dispectorem cordis Deum legimus—.”

De Monogamia XIV.

“Ecce, inquit, posui ante te bonum et malum: elige quod bonum est.”

Adversus Gnosticos VIII.

“Meminerant enim et Jeremiæ scribentis ad eos quibus illa captivitas imminebat: ‘Et nunc videbitis deos Babylonicorum aureos et argenteos et ligneos portari super humeros, ostentantes nationibus timorem. Cavete igitur ne et vos consimiles sitis allophyllis, et

ante, adorantes, dicite in cordibus vestris: Te oportet adorari, Domine."

Dan. XIV. 3-24.

"Rex quoque colebat eum, et ibat per singulos dies adorare eum: porro Daniel adorabat Deum suum. Dixitque ei rex: Quare non adoras Bel? Dixitque Daniel: Dominum Deum meum adoro: quia ipse est Deus vivens: iste autem non est Deus vivens."

Sap. I. 1.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

timore capiimini, dum aspicitis turbas adorantes retro eos et ante: sed dicite in animo vestro: te, Domine, adorare debemus.' "

De Idololatria XVIII.

"—statimque apparuisset Daniele idolis non deservisse, nec *Bel nec draconem; colere quod multo postea apparuit.*"

De Præscriptionibus VII.

"Nostra institutio de porticu Salomonis est, qui et ipse tradiderat, Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quærendum."

*Cyprian. Epist. V. 2.

"—cum *scriptum sit: 'Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam.'*"

*Closely allied with Tertullian, is St. Cyprian. He declares himself that Tertullian had been his master. The style of Tertullian is rough, and tinged with certain African barbarisms. In the words of Balzac: "Tertullian's is an iron style, but it must be allowed that with this metal he has forged excellent weapons." Cyprian tempers the roughness of his master, but still he retains much of the genius of his country. He has been called by Lactantius the first eloquent father of the Latin Church. Cyprian was descended from an illustrious, rich family in Proconsular Africa in the first half of the third century. As a pagan, he first devoted himself to eloquence. He was converted through the labors of the priest Cæcilius in 246. A. D. He sold what he had, and gave to the poor, embraced continency, took the habit of a philosopher, and substituted the reading of the Sacred Scriptures for that of the profane authors. His great talents placed him in the Episcopal see of Carthage in 248. His labors in the see of Carthage were immense. He was the father of the poor, the light of the clergy and the consoler of the people. The Decian persecution forced him to flee from his see for some years, but he again returned to his post. The character of Cyprian was firm and uncompromising. When he was accused before Pope Cornelius by Privatus, he sent no defense to Rome. To the Pope, who asked an explanation of this, he responded, that it was established

Dan XIII.

Sap. III. 11.
 “Sapientiam enim et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est: et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum.”

Ecc. VII. 29-31.

“—honora patrem tuum, et gemitus matris tuæ ne obliviscaris—. In tota anima tua time Dominum, et sacerdotes illius sanctifica.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia et seras.”

Eccli. XXXIV. 30.

“Qui baptizatur a mortuo, et iterum tangit eum; quid proficit lavatio illius?”

Idem. Epist. XL. 4.

“Nec ætas vos eorum, nec auctoritas fallat, qui ad duorum presbyterorum veterem nequitiam respondentes, sicut illi Susannam pudicam corrumpere et violare conati sunt, sic et hi,” etc.

Idem. Epist. LXII. 1.

“—et iterum scriptum sit: ‘Disciplinam qui abjicit infelix est.’”

Idem. Epist. LXVI.

“Et iterum (Salomon): ‘Honora Deum ex tota anima tua, et honorifica sacerdotes ejus.’”

Idem. LXIX. 7.

“—nec recordaris scriptum esse: ‘Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.’”

Idem. Epist. LXXI. 1.

“— non considerantes scriptum esse: ‘Qui baptizatur a mortuo, quid proficit lavatio ejus?’”

among the Bishops that a crime should be examined where it was committed. This natural firmness led Cyprian to oppose Pope Stephen in the celebrated question of the baptism by heretics. The only justification that can be offered for Cyprian is, that the Pope's province in the Church was not so well understood then as now. Hatred of heresy led him into an error that was by no means formal. He suffered martyrdom for the faith in 258. Whatever was blameworthy in his contention with Pope Stephen was washed out in the blood of martyrdom. He was a prolific writer. His chief works are: Eighty-three Epistles, De Habitu Virginis, De Lapsis, De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Ad Demetrianum, De Idolorum Vanitate, De Mortalitate, De Opere et Eleemosynis, De Bono Patientiæ, De Zelo et Livore, Ad Fortunatum, Ad Quirinum.

Sap. III. 4-8.

“Etsi coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati in multis bene disponentur, quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum.”

Sap. III. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. V. 8, 9.

“Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut divitiarum jactantia quid contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrens—.”

Dan. XIV. 30 et seqq.

“Qui miserunt eum in lacum leonum; et erat ibi diebus sex.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est.”

Sap. V. 1-9.

“Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos, qui se angustiaverunt, et qui abstulerunt labores eorum.” etc.

Idem. Epist. LXXXI. 2.

Et iterum ubi loquitur *Scriptura divina* de tormentis quae Martyres Dei consecrant, et in ipsa possessionis probatione sanctificant: ‘Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes eorum immortalitate plena est. Et in paucis vexati in multis bene disponentur—.’”

De Habitu Virginum I.

“Et denuo legimus: ‘Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.’”

Ibid. X.

“— cum dicat *Scriptura divina*: ‘Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut quid divitiarum jactatio contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra.’”

De Oratione Dominica XXI.

“Sic Danieli in leonum lacu jussu regis incluso prandium divinitus procuratur, et inter feras esurientes et parcentes homo Dei pascitur.”

Ibid. XXXIII.

“Sic et Raphael angelus Tobiae oranti semper, et semper operanti testis fuit dicens: ‘Opera Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est—.’”

De Idolorum Vanitate.
XXIV.

“Et iterum (dicit *Sancta Scriptura*): ‘Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt,’” etc.

Eccli. II. 1-4, 5.

“Fili, accedens ad servitutum Dei, sta in justitia et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem. Omne quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe, et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe: quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.”

Tob. II. 16.

“Ubi est spes tua, pro qua eleemosynas, et sepulturas faciebas?”

Tob. XII. 11-15.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. III, 33.

“Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua, et eleemosyna resistit peccatis—.”

Tob. XII. 8.

“Bona est oratio cum jejuniis, et eleemosyna magis quam thesauros auri recondere—.”

Tob. XIV. 10, 11.

“Audite ergo, filii mei, patrem vestrum: Servite Domino in veritate, et inquirete ut faciatis quæ placita sunt illi: et filiis vestris mandate ut faciant

De Mortalitate, IX.

“Docet et præmonet *Scriptura divina* dicens: ‘Fili, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in justitia et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.

Et iterum: ‘In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe, quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.’ ”

Ibid. X.

“Et Tobias post opera magnifica . . . quem et ipsum uxor depravare tentavit dicens: ‘Ubi sunt justitiæ tuæ? Ecce quæ pateris.’ ”

Ibid.

“Quem postmodum Raphael Angelus collaudat, et dicit: ‘Opera Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est—.’ ”

De Opere et Eleemosynis II.

“Item denuo dicit: ‘Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic eleemosyna extinguit peccatum.’ ”

Ibid. V.

“Raphael quoque Angelus . . . hortatur dicens: ‘Bona est oratio cum jejuniis et eleemosyna, quia eleemosyna a morte liberat et ipsa purgat peccata,’ ”

Ibid. XX.

“Et nunc, filii, mando tibi: ‘servi Deo in veritate et fac coram illo quod illi placet: et filiis manda ut faciant justitiam et eleemosynas, et sint mem-

justitias et eleemosynas, ut sint memores Dei, et benedicant eum in omni tempore in veritate, et in tota virtute sua."

Tob. IV. 2-16.

"—dixitque ei: Audi, fili mi, verba oris mei, et ea in corde tuo, quasi fundamentum construe. . . . Omnibus autem diebus vitæ tuæ in mente habeto Deum: et cave ne aliquando peccato consentias, et prætermittas præcepta Domini Dei nostri, etc."

Eccli. II. 4.

"Omne, quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe: et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe—."

Tob. Passim.

Sap. XV. 15-17.

"—quoniam omnia idola nationum deos æstimaverunt," etc.

Sap. XIII. 1-4.

"Vani autem sunt omnes homines, in quibus non subest scientia Dei: et de his, quæ videntur bona, non potuerunt intelligere eum, qui est, neque operibus attendentes agnoverunt quis esset artifex: sed aut

ores Dei, et benedicant nomen ejus omni tempore.' "

Ibid.

"Et iterum: 'Omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, fili dilectissime, in mente habeto Deum: et cave ne aliquando peccato consentias, et præcepta Domini Dei nostri,' " etc.

De Dono Patientiæ XVII.

"—sicut scriptum est: 'In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe, quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum.' "

Ibid. XVIII.

"Tobias quoque post justitiæ et misericordiæ suæ opera magnifica, luminum amissione tentatus, in quantum patienter cæcitatem pertulit, intantum granditer Deum patientiæ laude promeruit."

De Exhortatione Martyrii I.

"In Sapientia Salomonis: 'Omnia idola nationum æstimaverunt deos—.' "

Ibid.

"Item apud Salomonem de elementis: 'Neque opera attendentes agnoverunt, quis esset artifex: sed aut ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum aërem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lu-

ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum ærem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lunam, rectores orbis terrarum deos putaverunt. Quorum si specie delectati, deos putaverunt: sciant quanto his dominator eorum speciosior est; speciei enim generator hæc omnia constituit. Aut si virtutem, et opera eorum mirati sunt, intelligant ab illis, quoniam qui hæc fecit, fortior est illis—.”

Eccli. II. 5.

“—quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.”

Dan. XIV. 4.

“Qui respondens, ait ei: Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit cælum, et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Tob. XIII. 6.

“Aspicite ergo quæ fecit nobiscum, et cum timore et tremore confitemini illi: regemque sæculorum exaltate in operibus vestris.”

II. Mac. VII. 9.

“—et in ultimo spiritu constitutus, sic ait: Tu quidem sceleratissime, in præsentī vita nos perdis: sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in æternæ vitæ resurrectione suscitabit.”

nam, rectores orbis terrarum deos putaverunt. Quorum si specie delectati deos putaverunt, sciant, quanto his dominator eorum speciosior est: speciei enim generator hæc omnia constituit. Aut, si virtutem et opera eorum mirati sunt, intelligant ab illis, quoniam qui hæc fecit, fortior est illis.’ ”

Ad Fortunatum IX.

“Et iterum apud Salomonem: ‘Vasa figuli probat fornax homines justos, tentatio tribulationis.’ ”

Ibid. XI.

“Et Daniel, Deo devotus et Sancto Spiritu plenus, exclamat et dicit: ‘Nihil colo ego nisi Dominum Deum meum, qui condidit cælum et terram.’ ”

Ibid.

“Tobias quoque . . . prædicat dicens: ‘Ego in terra captivitatis meæ confiteor illi, et ostendo virtutem ejus in natione peccatrice.’ ”

Ibid.

“At ille (Martyr Maccabæus) in martyrio suo fidens, et resurrectionis sibi præmium de Dei remuneratione promittens, exclamavit et dixit: ‘Tu quidem impotens, ex hac presenti vita nos perdis, sed mundi rex

II. Mac. VII. 1-41.

I. Mac. VI. 30.

“Sed, cum plagis perimeretur, ingemuit, et dixit: Domine, qui habes sanctam scientiam, manifeste tu scis, quia, cum a morte possem liberari, duos corporis sustineo dolores: secundum animam vero propter timorem tuum libenter hæc patior.”

Sap. III. 4-8.

“Etsi coram hominibus,” etc.

Sap. V. 1-9.

“Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos, qui se angustiaverunt,” etc.

Tob. XII. 15.

“Ego enim sum Raphael Angelus, unus ex septem, qui adstamus ante Dominum.”

Eccli. XXIV. 5-20.

“Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi primogenita ante omnem

defunctos nos pro suis legibus in æternam vitæ resurrectione suscitabit.”

Prosequitur et refert mortem septem Fratrum et matris eorum.

Ibid.

“Atille (Eleazar) ingemiscens ait: ‘Domine, qui sanctam habes scientiam, manifestum est quia cum possem a morte liberari, durissimos dolores corporis tolero, flagellis vapulans; animo autem propter tui ipsius metum libenter hæc patior.’”

Ibid. XII.

“Per Salomonem Spiritus Sanctus ostendit, et præcinit dicens: ‘Et si coram hominibus,’” etc.

Ibid.

“Item apud eundem vindicta nostra describitur . . . : ‘Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt,’” etc.

Ad Quirinum (Vocantur quoque hi tres libri, Testimonia adversus Judæos)

Lib. I. XX.

“—ut angeli septem qui assistunt et conversantur ante faciem Dei, sicut Raphael angelus in Tobia dicit.”

Ibid. Lib. II. I.

“Item apud eundem Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Ego ex

creaturam: ego feci in cœlis," etc.

Sap. II. 12-17.

"Circumveniamus ergo justum," etc.

Tob. II. 2.

"—dixit filio suo: Vade, et adduc aliquos de tribu nostra, timentes Deum, ut epulentur nobiscum."

Tob. IV. 5-11.

"Cum autem et ipsa compleverit tempus vitæ suæ, sepelias eam circa me. Omnibus autem diebus vitæ tuæ, in mente habeto," etc.

II. Mac. XI. 12.

"—et cum nec ipse jam foetorem suum ferre posset, ita ait: Justum est, subditum esse Deo, et mortalem non paria Deo sentire."

I. Mac. II. 62, 63.

"Et a verbis viri peccatoris ne timueritis, quia gloria ejus stercuset vermis est. Hodie extollitur, et cras non invenietur: quia conversus est in terram suam, et cogitatio ejus periit."

ore Altissimi prodivi, primogenita ante omnem creaturam. Ego in cœlis feci,' " etc.

Ibid. Lib. II. XIV.

"In Sapientia Salomonis: 'Circumveniamus justum,' " etc.

Ibid. Lib. III. I.

"De hoc ipso apud Tobiam: 'Et dixit Tobias filio suo: Vade et adduc quemcumque pauperem inveneris ex fratribus nostris, qui tamen in mente habeat Deum ex toto corde suo. Hunc adduc, et manducabit pariter meum prandium hoc. Ecce sustineo te, fili, donec venias.' "

Ibid.

"Item illic: 'Omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, fili, Deum in mente habe,' " etc.

Ibid. IV.

"De hoc ipso in Maccabæis: 'Justum est subditum Deo esse, et mortalem non paria Deo sentire.' "

Ibid.

"Item illic: 'Et verba viri peccatoris ne timueritis, quia gloria ejus, in stercora erit, et in vermes. Hodie extollitur, et cras non invenietur: quoniam conversus est in terram suam, et cogitatio ejus periit.' "

Eccli. XXVII. 6.

“Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis.”

Tob. II. 22.

“Ad hæc uxor ejus irata respondit: Manifeste vana facta est spes tua, et eleemosynæ tuæ modo apparuerunt.”

Eccli. XXIII. 11.

“Sicut enim servus interrogatus assidue, a livore non minuitur, sic omnis jurans, et nominans, in toto a peccato non purgabitur.”

Sap. III. 4.

(Oft quoted.)

I. Mac. II. 52.

“Abraham, nonne in tentatione inventus est fidelis, et reputatum est ei ad justitiam?”

Sap. V. 1-9.

(Oft quoted.)

II. Mac. VII. 9-19.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. I. 16.

Initium sapientiæ, timor Domini; et cum fidelibus in vulva concreatus est, cum electis feminis graditur, et cum justis et fidelibus agnoscitur.”

Ibid. VI.

“Apud Salomonem: ‘Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis.’ ”

Ibid.

“De hoc ipso in Tobia: ‘Ubi sunt justitiæ tuæ? Ecce quæ pateris.’ ”

Ibid. XII.

“Apud Salomonem: ‘Vir multum jurans replebitur iniquitate, et non discedet a domo ejus plaga; et si vane juraverit, non justificabitur.’ ”

Ibid. XV.

“De hoc ipso in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Et si coram hominibus,’ ” etc. (Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

“De hoc ipso in Maccabæis: ‘Abraham, nonne in tentatione inventus est fidelis, et deputatum est ei ad justitiam?’ ”

Ibid. XVI.

“Item (Salomon) illic: ‘Tunc stabunt justi in magna,’ ” etc. (Oft quoted.)

Ibid. XX.

“De hoc ipso in Maccabæis: Domine, qui sanctam habes scientiam,’ ” etc. (Oft quoted.)

Ibid. XX.

“De hoc ipso in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Initium Sapientiæ metuere Deum.’ ”

Dan. XIII. 1-3.

Ibid.

“Item in Danieli: ‘Fuit vir habitans in Babylonia cui nomen erat Joachim, et accepit uxorem nomine Susannam, filiam Helciæ, formosam valde ac timentem Deum, et erant parentes ejus justi et docuerunt filiam suam secundum legem Moysi.’ ”

Eccli. X. 29.

“Noli extollere te in faciendo opere tuo, et noli cunctari in tempore angustia.”

Ibid XLI.

“Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Noli te extollere in faciendo opere tuo.’ ”

Sap. I. 1.

“Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum—.”

Ibid. LIII.

“Item apud Salomonem in Sapientia: ‘Et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum.’ ”

I. Mac. II. 60.

“Daniel in sua simplicitate liberatus est de ore leonum.”

Ibid.

“Item in Maccabæis: ‘Daniel in sua simplicitate liberatus est de ore leonum.’ ”

Sap. IV. 11-14.

“—raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius. Placita enim erat Deo, anima illius,” etc.

Ibid. LVIII.

“Item in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus. Placita enim erat Deo anima illius.’ ”

Sap. XV. 15-17.

“Omnia idola nationum,” etc.

Ibid. LIX.

“In Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Omnia idola nationum,’ ” etc. (Oft quoted.)

Sap. XIII. 1-4.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid.

“De hoc ipso: ‘Neque opera attendentes cognoverunt,’ ” etc. (Already quoted.)

Tob. IV. 12 (juxta Græcum.)

“Uxorem accipe ex semine parentum tuorum, et noli sumere alienam mulierem quæ non est ex tribu parentum tuorum.”

Sap. III. 11.

“Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.”

Eccli. IX. 22.

“Viri justi sint tibi convivæ, et in timore Dei sit tibi gloriatio.”

Eccli. VI. 16.

“Amicus fidelis, medicamentum vitæ et immortalitatis: et qui metuunt Dominum, inveniunt illum.”

Eccli. IX. 18.

“Longe abesto ab homine potestatem habente occidendi, et non suspicaberis timorem.”

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.”

Eccli. IV. 34.

“Noli citatus esse in lingua tua: et inutilis, et remissus in operibus tuis.”

Ibid. LXII.

“Apud Tobiam: ‘Uxorem accipe ex semine parentum tuorum, et noli sumere alienam mulierem quæ non est ex tribu parentum tuorum.’ ”

Ibid. LXVI.

“Item in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.’ ”

Ibid. XCV.

“Item apud eundem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Viri justi sint tibi convivæ.’ ”

Ibid.

“Et iterum: ‘Amicus fidelis, medicamentum vitæ et immortalitatis.’ ”

Ibid.

“Item illic: ‘Longe abesto ab homine potestatem habente occidendi, et non suspicaberis timorem.’ ”

Ibid.

“Item illic: ‘Beatus qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti—.’ ”

Ibid.

“Item illic: ‘Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.’ ”

Ibid. XCVI.

“Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Noli citatus esse in lingua tua, et inutilis et remissus in operibus tuis.’ ”

Eccli. V. 8, 9.

“Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem; subito enim veniet ira illius, et in tempore vindictæ disperdet te.”

Eccli. VII. 39.

“Non te pigeat visitare infirmum: ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 15.

“Susurro et bilinguis maledictus: multos enim turbabit pacem habentes.”

Eccli. XXXIV. 23.

“Dona iniquorum non probat Altissimus,” etc.

Sap. VI. 6, 7.

“Horrende et cito apparebit vobis: quoniam iudicium durissimum his, qui præsunt, fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Eccli. IV. 10, 11.

“Esto pupillis misericors ut pater; et pro viro matri illorum, et eris velut filius Altissimi, si obedieris.”

Eccli. II. 1.

“Fili, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in justitia, et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.”

Ibid. XCVII.

“Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Ne tardes converti ad Deum, et ne differas de die in diem. Subito enim venit ira illius.’ ”

Ibid. CIX.

“Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Ne pigriteris visitare infirmum. Ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.’ ”

Ibid. CX.

“In Ecclesiastico apud Salomonem: ‘Susurro et bilinguis maledictus. Multos enim turbabit pacem habentes.’ ”

Ibid. CXI.

“Apud eundem: ‘Dona iniquorum non probat Altissimus.’ ”

Ibid. CXII.

“Apud Salomonem: ‘Iudicium durissimum in his qui præsunt fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.’ ”

Ibid. CXIII.

“Apud Salomonem: ‘Esto pupillis misericors ut pater; et pro viro matri illorum; et eris velut filius Altissimi si obedieris.’ ”

De Laude Martyrii XIV.

“Fili, inquit Dominus, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in justitia et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.”

Eccli. II. 4.

“Omne, quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe: et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe—.”

Ibid. XVI.

“Scriptum est et legimus: ‘In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua habe patientiam, quoniam per ignem probatur aurum et argentum.’ ”

Sap. III. 4.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

“—sicut per Prophetam suum dixit: ‘Et si coram hominibus,’ ” etc. (Oft quoted.)

These numerous quotations evince that the Church, for the first three centuries, received as Divine Scripture all the books which later, in the Council of Trent, she solemnly canonized. These quotations were a product of the life of the Church. The Fathers incorporated into their works these numerous quotations, not by means of Concordances of Holy Writ, or other easy method of reference, but because their Christian education had been mainly derived from the Holy Books. They spoke from the fund that they had assimilated from the spiritual food of the Church; and, hence, in these quotations, they are exponents not of their own opinions, but of the unanimous belief of a Church daily baptized in the blood of her martyrs.

Against this harmonious array of evidence from tradition, our adversaries bring certain objections, based upon the same source of information. Their Achilles to break the chain of tradition is Meliton, Bishop of Sardis.* The celebrated passage, a fragment from his *Ἐκλογών*, is as follows: “Meliton sends greeting to his brother Onesimus. As you have frequently desired, in your zeal for the Scriptures, that I should make selections for you both from the Law and the Prophets, respecting our Saviour and our whole faith; and you were moreover desirous of having an exact statement of the Old Testament; how many in number, and

*St. Meliton was bishop of Sardis in Lydia in the second half of the second century, under Marcus Aurelius. He presented to this prince in 171 an Apology for the Christians, remarkable for candor and truth. Of his numerous writings but small fragments have come down to us.

in what order the books were written, I have endeavored to perform this; for I know your zeal in the faith, and your great desire to acquire knowledge, and that especially by the love of God you prefer these matters to all others, thus striving to gain eternal life. When, therefore, I went to the East, and came as far as the place where these things were proclaimed and done, I accurately ascertained the books of the Old Testament, and send them to thee here below. The names are as follows: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, (Joshua), Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomena, Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, which is also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Job, the Prophets Isaias, Jeremias, and of the twelve prophets one book, Daniel, Ezechiel, and Esdras. From these I have made six books of Selections."

This list omits Esther and all the deuterocanonical books. The omission of Esther has been variously explained. Some have attributed it to a lapse of memory; others to an error of the copyist. It is far more probable that such omission is due to the uncertainty and discussions that then existed among the Rabbis concerning this book. Meliton depends on the Jews entirely for his canon. He finds it necessary to go to their country to ascertain the true canon of the Old Testament. His exclusion, however, of the deuterocanonical books is not equivalent to their condemnation. In his *Clavis in S. Scripturam*, he employs Wisdom and a deuterocanonical fragment of Esther.

Sap. VIII. 1.

"Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter," etc.

Esther X. 12.

"—et recordatus est Dominus populi sui," etc.

Ibid.

"—et in Salomone: 'Sapientia Domini attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter.' "

Ibid.

"—et alibi: Recordatus est Dominus populi sui.' "

There seems to have been in vogue at that time a distinction of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, founded more on their origin than on any internal difference. The

books which the Church had received from the Jews, and which were recognized by all, were termed *ὁμολογούμενοι*. The others were those that the Church had received from the Septuagint, and which the Jews rejected; these were the *ἄμφιβαλλόμενοι*. Now there is no voice in tradition, with the sole exception of St. Jerome, that ever rejected these books. As witnesses of tradition, they make no discrimination between these two classes; but as critics, in which capacity they are of least worth, they sometimes omit these from the official list of the Holy Scriptures. It may be that some one among them doubted of the divinity of the writings. We are not seeking of them what they individually held, but what the Church of their day taught and believed.

In the growth and development of doctrine this has always been verified, that certain truths were less clearly conspicuous in the deposit of faith in the beginning, which afterwards grew to their full life in the body of the Church's doctrines. Meliton may have doubted; he does not deny. Other truths, which have been defined on the warrant of tradition, have encountered stronger opposition. St. Thomas strenuously denied the Immaculate Conception, and yet that truth triumphed, and finally entered among the defined dogmas. In tradition, we must lose sight of the individual, and of his private opinions, and seek only the faith of the Church reflected in his writings. Again, Meliton's position may be explained as only an indication of the greater extrinsic authority of the protocanonical books. The question in his day had not been defined by the Church. The protocanonical books could claim a sort of official promulgation, inasmuch as they were transmitted by the old custodians of Yahveh's law. The deuterocanonical books had only the *usage of the Christian people* in their favor. Now, in such case, a man, even though revering the second class as God's word, could rightly restrict the word canonical to the first class. All Catholics receive and honor all of Mary's prerogatives, but no one can place among the dogmas of faith her Assumption, and it is only in our own times that we may incorporate among the dogmas the Immaculate Conception. But even were we to concede the worst, that

Meliton rejected the deuterocanonical books, our thesis is not weakened. His would be the critical error of one man, availing naught against the voice of the Church of truth reverberating through the practical usage of the "pars docens" and "pars discens" of the Church.

The value of this proof from tradition is not impaired by the Fathers' occasional references to the Apocryphal books.

Tertullian, [*De Cultu Fœminarum* Lib. I. 3.] approves the Book of Henoch. "I know," he says, "that the work of Henoch which gives such order to the Angels is by some not received, because it is not admitted in the Jewish deposit. I believe that they judge that the book written before the deluge could not endure after such universal abolition of all things. If that is their plea, let them remember that the great grandson of Henoch survived the cataclysm of Noah; and he, forsooth, had heard and memorized in the domestic tradition his ancient progenitor's favor with God, and all his noted deeds; since Henoch commended naught else to his son, except that he hand down these things to posterity. Therefore, without doubt, Noah could succeed in the line of the tradition; and, moreover, he (Noah) would not have kept silent the disposition of God, his preserver, and the glory of his house. Moreover, by the Holy Spirit he (Noah) could have restored the Scripture that perished in the deluge, in the manner that Ezra restored the Jewish literature that was destroyed in the Babylonian captivity. Wherefore, since Henoch in that same Scripture announces concerning the Lord, in our judgment, nothing is to be rejected. And we read [II. Tim. III. 16.]: 'All Scripture having power to edify is divinely inspired.' It may rightly be thought that it is rejected by the Jews in the same manner as the other things which treat of Christ. Nor is it surprising that they reject the Scriptures which treat of him whom they rejected when he spoke in person to them. We add that Henoch has a testimony in the Epistle of Jude the Apostle, (Jude I. 14.)."

We shall see later on that Tertullian errs in saying that St. Jude quotes from Henoch. The sentence of Jude was taken from a tradition, which afterwards formed the basis

of the Apocryphal book of Henoch. The Epistle of Barnabas [IV. 3; XVI. 6.] quotes as divine Scripture the Book of Henoch; Clement of Alexandria quotes the IV. Book of Ezra as "Ezra the prophet." [III. Strom. 16.]

III. Ezra IV. 41.

"Et desiit loquendo. Et omnes populi clamaverunt, et dixerunt: Magna est veritas, et prævalet."

Ibid. IV. 37-41-47.

"Et omnes populi clamaverunt, et dixerunt: Magna est veritas, et prævalet."

St. Athanasius, Apolog. Ad Imp. 11.

"Hanc cum Zorobabel sapiens ille vir ceteris anteferet, alios superavit, universusque populus in hanc vocem prorupit: 'Magna est veritas et prævalet.' "

Idem Sermo Major de Fide, 35.

"Quemadmodum et Ezra prophético spiritu dicit ex persona Zorobabelis, idque de Filio Dei; 'Vivit veritas, et vincit, et roboratur, manetque in sæcula sæculorum.' "

Origen quotes from the same book:

Orig. Comment. in Josue, VI. Ex præfatione.

"Quia Ezræ tempore cum vinum et inimicum, regem ac denique mulieres vincit veritas, reædificatur templum Dei."

Orig. In Lib. Josue, Hom. IX. 10.

III. Ezra IV. 59, 60.

"—et dixit: Abs te est victoria, et abs te est sapientia et claritas. Et ego servus tuus sum. Benedictus es, qui dedisti mihi sapientiam, et tibi confitebor, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum."

"—ita ut et nos dicamus, sicut in Ezra scriptum est: 'Quia a te, Domine, est victoria, et ego servus tuus: benedictus es, Deus veritatis.' "

The chain of tradition is not broken by these few isolated references to some of the Apocrypha. In these few cases, the Fathers are exponents of their individual opinions, and

are to be valued only as mere individuals. They do not quote the Apocrypha as *witnesses of the belief of the Church*. The absolute line between the Canonical and Apocryphal books had not been promulgated by any definite authority, and, using their liberty as individuals, some few erroneously extended inspiration to certain books which never were factors in the life of the Church. This critical error then of the Fathers in these rare cases, prevails not against the solemn universal witness that the writers of these early ages bear to the approbation of the deuterocanonical books, in the practical usage of the Christian people.

Relying upon the certain data that we have adduced, we assert that if tradition be taken as the criterion of inspiration, and if the traditions are most valued that go back closest to the Apostolic age, then the deuterocanonical books of Holy Writ rest on a solid foundation.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CANON OF THE FATHERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY AND FIRST YEARS OF FIFTH CENTURY.

In this period the unanimity which prevailed for the first three centuries is somewhat broken, especially by Jerome. The doubts which arose in this age concerning the deuterocanonical books prevailed more especially in the East. We find, however, that not one of the Fathers of this epoch, excepting Jerome, rejected the deuterocanonical books. Their opposition to them never passed beyond a mere doubt concerning them. We find, also, in this period, many in the East and in the West, who defend a canon identical with the Canon of Trent. Lastly, we find that "the very men who give a list of the Jewish books, evince an inclination to the Christian and enlarged Canon." Thus, we see, that the practical tradition of the Church was so powerful that it overcame in the life of the Church the doubts of individual men and isolated churches.

As we come down from the first ages of the Church the patristic data multiply, and, hence, we could not set forth here every particular writer's views and use of Holy Scrip-

ture. Neither is such now necessary. No one will deny that in this period Jerome is the only positive opponent of the deutero-canonical books. All likewise recognize that the most and the greatest of the Fathers of this epoch received these books as divine Scripture. Many adduce here the authority of the Council of Nice, 325. They believe that in that council there was formulated a catalogue of books which included the deutero-canonical Scripture. The proofs for the assertion of this are so feeble that we pretermit it here as worthless to establish our theory.*

The Council of Hippo A. D. 393, the Council of Carthage A. D. 397, and the second Council of Carthage in 419 A. D. officially promulgated canons of Scripture which included all the deutero-canonical books.

Council of Hippo, Can. 36:

“The Synod defines that besides the canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the name of

*Cornely defends the genuineness of the canon of Scripture of the Council of Nice. Among his proofs are the following:

1. St. Jerome in his preface to Judith declares that the Nicene Synod is said to have included the book of Judith among the canonical Scriptures. The proving force of this testimony is not very great, for any approbation of the book in the deliberations of the Council, would justify Jerome's statement. We believe that the Nicene fathers recognized the deutero-canonical books as divine Scripture, but we hold that it is not sufficiently substantiated by historical data, that they drew up an official list of the Holy Scriptures. Had they done so, it would have had a greater influence on the trend of thought of the Greek fathers. St. Athanasius would not have declared that it was a bold and difficult thing to fix the list of the Holy Books, had there been promulgated a catalogue of the same by a council of which he was an important factor, and whose decisions he venerated.

2. Cornely quotes some obscure words from Cassiodorus, reproduced from Hefele Conciliengesch. II. p. 486; but they form no forcible proof.

3. Cornely also adduces the 36th canon of the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393: “Ut præter Scripturas Catholicas, nihil in Ecclesia legatur. Capituli XXIV. Nicæni Concilii. Item ut præter Scripturas Catholicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem Canonice Scripturæ,” etc. The books of both canons are there mentioned. This Canon exists but in one sole codex in the Vallicellian library, in Rome. We are not disposed to detract from what force it may have, but we do not feel warranted to refer the Council of Nice among the proofs of the Canon in the fourth century. Hefele accords no certain authority to the aforesaid Canon

divine Scripture. The Canonical Scriptures are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings (Regnorum), Paralipomena two books, Job, the Davidic Psalter, the *five books of Solomon*, the twelve (minor) Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, Ezra two books, *Maccabees* two books." The first Council of Carthage, 397 A. D., confirms the same canon.

The second Council of Carthage, 419 A. D., has the following: "It is decreed that nothing but the canonical Scriptures may be read under the name of divine Scripture. The canonical Scriptures are the following: Of the Old Testament, Genesis, . . . Job, the Psalter, *five books of Solomon*, the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, (Ezekiel is wanting) the Twelve (minor) Prophets, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, two books of Ezra, *two books of Maccabees*. . . . This decree shall be made known to our brother and fellow priest Boniface, the Bishop of Rome, or even to the other bishops for its confirmation; for we *have received from the Fathers, that thus (the Scriptures) should be read in the Church.*"

Some have found it strange that the three African Councils were held at such short intervals. The reason of the repetitions of the Canon seems to be the fact that Catholic thought had been disturbed in those days by Jerome, who in his Prologus Galeatus to the Books of Kings, rejected out of the Canon the deuterocanonical books, A. D. 390. Repeatedly in his subsequent labors, he inveighs against the deuterocanonical books and fragments, and it was to retain the Catholics faithful to their old traditions that these three councils repeat their Canons in such quick succession.

No doubt can reasonably exist regarding St. Augustine's attitude towards the deuterocanonical Scriptures. He was an important factor in the three councils just mentioned; and repeatedly in his works he declares himself clearly for the deuterocanonical books. It would be a long and needless task to set forth Augustine's use of deuterocanonical Scripture. It will not be contradicted by any patristic scholar that Augustine held in equal veneration the proto-canonical and deuterocanonical books. He gives his views

of Scripture and a complete canon in the Enchiridion of Christian Doctrine, Book II. VIII.:

“But let us now go back to consider the third step here mentioned, for it is about it that I have set myself to speak and reason as the Lord shall grant me wisdom. The most skillful interpreter of the sacred writings, then, will be he who in the first place has read them all and retained them in his knowledge, if not yet with full understanding, still with such knowledge as reading gives—those of them, at least, that are called *canonical*. For we will read the others with greater safety when built up in the belief of the truth, so that they will not take first possession of a weak mind, nor, cheating it with dangerous falsehoods and delusions, fill it with prejudices adverse to a sound understanding. Now, in regard to the canonical Scriptures, he must follow the judgment of the greater number of Catholic Churches; and among these, of course, a high place must be given to such as have been thought worthy to be the seat of an Apostle and to receive epistles. Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standards: to prefer those that are received by all the Catholic Churches to those which some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer such as have the sanction of the greater number and those of greater authority, to such as are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. If, however, he shall find that some books are held by the greater number of churches, and others by the churches of greater authority (though this is not a very likely thing to happen), I think, that in such a case, the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal. Now the whole Canon of Scripture on which we say this judgment is to be exercised is contained in the following books:—Five books of Moses, that is: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; one book of Joshua the son of Nun; one of Judges; one short book called Ruth, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of Kings; next, four books of Kings and two of Chronicles—these last not following one another, but running parallel, so to speak, and going over the same ground. The books now mentioned are history,

which contains a connected narrative of the times, and follows the order of the events. There are other books which seem to follow no regular order, and are connected neither with the order of the preceding books nor with one another, such as Job, and Tobias, and Esther, and Judith, and the two books of Maccabees and the two of Ezra, which last look more like a sequel to the continuous regular history which terminates with the books of Kings and Chronicles. Next are the Prophets, in which there is one book of the Psalms of David; and three books of Solomon, viz.: Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For two books, one called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that they were written by Jesus, the son of Sirach. Still they are to be reckoned among the prophetic books, since they have attained recognition as being authoritative. The remainder are the books which are strictly called the Prophets: twelve separate books of the Prophets which are connected with one another, and having never been disjoined, are reckoned as one book; the names of these prophets are as follows:—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micha, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; then there are the four greater Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel. The authority of the Old Testament is contained within the limits of these forty-four books. That of the New Testament, again, is contained within the following:—Four books of the Gospel, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John; fourteen epistles of the Apostle Paul— one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Colossians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; one book of the Acts of the Apostles, and one of the Revelation of John.”

St. Augustine's practical use of the deutero-canonical books may be judged from his *De Civitate Dei* and *Contra Manichaeos* taken as specimens. In the former work, he has fifteen quotations from Wisdom, fourteen from Ecclesi-

asticus, two from Baruch, Judith, and Tobias respectively, and one from the "Benedicite" of Daniel. In his work against the Manicheans he has twenty-three quotations from Wisdom, six from Ecclesiasticus, two from Tobias, one from Baruch and one from the Maccabees. In his work *Contra Faustum* XXXIII. 9, he promulgates the Catholic criterion of the canonical Scriptures: "I admonish briefly you, who hold the execrable error (of the Manicheans), if ye wish to follow the authority of that Scripture which is to be preferred to all others, that ye follow that Scripture which from the time of Christ, through the dispensations of the Apostles, and of the Bishops, who succeeded them in their sees by certain succession, has come down even to our day, preserved throughout the whole earth, approved and explained." Chemnitz, objected against Augustine's authority for the deuterocanonical Scripture, citing a passage from his *Contra Gaudentium*, XXXI. 38: "And indeed the Scripture which is called the Maccabees the Jews have not, as they have the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord bears testimony as to his witnesses saying: 'That all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me' (Luke XXIV. 44); but it (Maccabees) is received by the Church not *unprofitably*, if it be soberly read or heard." This is a direct testimony that the Church, to whom Augustine directed all who would receive the genuine Scripture, had received and sanctioned a book not contained in the Jewish Canon, and that such book was not without profit to readers and hearers. Later on in the same chapter he explains what he means by the restrictive clause: "if it be soberly read or heard." "For we should not," he says, "assenting approve all things that we read in the Scriptures that men did, even though they be praised by the testimony of God; but we should consider and discern, using the judgment not of our own authority, but of the divine and holy Scriptures, which does not permit us to approve or imitate all the deeds of those to whom it bears a good and excellent testimony." Augustine's words restrict not the authority of Maccabees beneath divine Scripture, but regulate its use.

The same words might have been applied by him to the Gospel of Matthew.

There are sometimes alleged against us the words of Augustine which occur *Lib. Retract. X. 3*: "Thus also I appear not to have rightly called the words prophetic in which it is written: 'Quid superbit terra et cinis?' *Eccli. X. 9*, since they are not written in the book of one whom we certainly know to have been a prophet." We believe that it is not the intention of Augustine here to throw doubt on *Ecclesiasticus*, but to be accurate in drawing a distinction between prophets and hagiographers. Such subtlety leaves intact a book's divinity.

In the first book of his *De Predestinatione Sanctorum XIV.* against the Pelagians, who rejected the book of Wisdom, Augustine argues thus: "These things being so, there should not be rejected a sentence from the book of Wisdom, which has merited to be read by the order of lectors in the Church of Christ for so many years (*tam longa annositate*), and which has merited to be listened to with the veneration of divine authority by all Christians, from bishops to the extreme lay faithful penitents and catechumens." *Iterum ibidem*: "But those who wish to be taught by the works of the Fathers (*Tractatorum*) must needs prefer the book of Wisdom to all the Fathers; for the celebrated Fathers nearest in time to the Apostles preferred it to their own opinions; and they, using it as an authority, believed that they were making use of nothing short of a divine testimony.

"It is evident, that with Augustine, the condition of all the deuterocanonical books was the same; hence by applying this testimony to the entire collection we have not alone the view of Augustine, but a succinct statement of the belief and usage of the Church from the Apostles to his own day.

A document which sets forth the official attitude towards the deuterocanonical Scripture in this age is the Decree of Pope Gelasius, A. D. 492—A. D. 496.*

*This decree is not found the same in the different codices. It is by some ascribed to Damasus (A. D. 366—A. D. 384); by others to Gelasius (A. D. 492—A. D. 496); and by others to Hormisdas (A. D. 514—A. D. 523). Cornely believes that it was originally a decree of Damasus which was afterwards enlarged by Gelasius. All agree that it was an authentic promulgation from the Roman see in that period. [*Hefele Conciliengesch. II. 620.*]

“Nunc vero de Scripturis divinis agendum est quid universalis recipiat Ecclesia, vel quid vitare debeat. Incipit ordo Veteris Testamenti, Genesis liber I. Exodi liber I. Levitici liber I. Numeri liber I. Deuteronomii liber I. Jesu Nave liber I. Judicum liber I. Ruth liber I. Regum libri IV. Paralipomenon libri II. Psalmorum CL. liber I. Salomonis libri III. Proverbia liber I. Ecclesiastes liber I. Cantici Cantorum liber I. Item *Sapientiæ* liber I. *Ecclesiastici* liber I. Item ordo Prophetarum: Esaiæ liber I. Jeremiæ liber I. cum Chinoth, id est, Lamentationibus suis, Ezechielis liber I. Danielis liber I. Osea liber I. Amos liber I. Michaæ liber I. Joel liber I. Abdiæ liber I. Jonæ liber I. Nahum liber I. Abacuc liber I. Aggæi liber I. Zachariæ liber I. Malachi liber I. Item ordo historiarum: Job liber I. ab aliis omissus. *Tobiæ* liber I. *Hesdræ* libri II. *Hesther* liber I. *Judith* liber I. *Machabæorum* libri II.”

In the year 405, St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse (†417) wrote to Pope Innocent I. asking among other things “what books should be received in the Canon of Holy Scripture.” The Pontiff responds: “The subjoined brief will show what books should be received into the Canon of Holy Scripture. These are therefore (the books) concerning which thou hast wished the admonition of a longed for voice. The five books of Moses. . . . The book of Jesus, son of Nave, one book of Judges, the four books of Kings and Ruth, sixteen books of Prophets, *five books of Solomon*, the Psalter; also of historical books, one book of Job, one of *Tobias*, one of Esther, one of *Judith*, *two of Maccabees*, two of Ezra and two of Paralipomenon.” In all these canons Baruch is considered an integral part of Jeremiah. The canons of Gelasius and Innocent *are not ex cathedra definitions*, but plain statements *of the belief and usages of the Church from her central authority*.

The testimony of the fourth and fifth centuries to the divinity of the deutero-canonical Scriptures is evinced in the four great codices of that period: the Vatican and Sinaitic of the fourth century, and the Alexandrian and Codex of St. Ephrem of the fifth century. An accurate description of these codices will be given in the course of our treatise.

Suffice it to say here that they all make no discrimination between the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books.

The Ethiopian version of Scripture, made in the fourth century, and the Armenian version, made in the beginning of the fifth century, contain all the books canonized by the Council of Trent. At what time the deuterocanonical books were placed in the Syriac translation known as the Peshito is not known, but they were there in the time of St. Ephrem (†379), as we shall see in the course of the present work; hence, we may add the testimony of the Syriac Peshito to the data for the deuterocanonical books.

Sacred archæology also affords proofs for the divinity of the deuterocanonical books. In the Catacombs, we find frequent representations from the deuterocanonical books, proving that those books were a part of the deposit of faith of the Church of the Martyrs. The recent researches in subterranean Rome have clearly demonstrated this proof, as can be seen in the works of Vincenzi (*Sessio IV. Conc. Trid.*); Malou (*Lecture de la Bible II. 144*); Garrucci (*Storia dell' Arte Christiana*), and others. The constant and universal tradition and usage of the first three centuries are corroborated in the fourth and fifth century by the express declarations and praxis of Fathers, by solemn decrees of Councils and Popes, and by the preserved evidences of the practical life of the Church.

The adversaries of the deuterocanonical books bring against us the authority of the Fathers who have edited canons in which the deuterocanonical books find no place. Preeminent for age and authority among these is St. Athanasius, the decus orthodoxiæ.*

We reproduce here the entire quotation from which the opposition of Athanasius is inferred: "Since many have

*St. Athanasius was descended of an illustrious family of Alexandria. He was ordained deacon by St. Alexander, whom in 326 he succeeded in the see of Alexandria. He was the Charles Martel against the Arians in the Council of Nice, and combated this dreadful heresy throughout his life. His long episcopate of more than forty years was a perpetually troubled one. Many times he was forced to fly to the exile of the desert to escape his insidious foes. He is the great patristic authority on the Trinity and the Incarnation.

indeed tried to place in order those books which are called Apocrypha, and mix them with the divinely inspired Scripture which we have received upon certain testimony *as the Fathers handed down to us*, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it has seemed good to me also, the brethren exhorting, to compute in the Canon, as I have learned, from the beginning, and in order, the books that have been handed down and are believed to be divine, that everyone that has been seduced may convict the seducers, and he who has persevered incorrupt may joyously remember these. The books of the Old Testament are in number *twenty-two*; for so many, as I have heard, are the elements (of speech) with the Hebrews. In this order, and by these names, they are severally enumerated: The first is Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua son of Nun, Judges and Ruth follow; then the four books of Kings, of which the first and second are considered as one, and, in like manner, the third and fourth. Following these the two books of Paralipomenon are also considered as one, as also the first and second of Ezra. Then come the book of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles and Job; then the Prophets, of whom twelve are considered as one book. Then Isaiah, Jeremiah and with him *Baruch*, the Lamentations, and the *Epistle*; then follow Ezechiel and Daniel, thus far the books of the Old Testament."

After enumerating the complete Canon of the New Testament, he continues: "These are the fountains of salvation, so that who thirsts may be filled by their discourses; in these alone, the Christian doctrine is taught. Let no one add to them or take anything from them. But for greater accuracy, I deem it necessary to add this also, *that there are, forsooth, other books besides these, which, indeed, are not placed in the Canon, but which the Fathers decreed should be read to those who have lately come into the fold, and seek to be catechized, and who study to learn the Christian doctrine.* (These are): The Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Esther, Judith, Tobias, the so-called Doctrine of the Apostles, and Pastor. Therefore, while the former are in

the Canon, and these latter are read, *there is no mention of the Apocrypha*, which are the figment of heretics who arbitrarily write books, to which they assign dates, that by the specious semblance of antiquity they may find occasion to deceive the simple." [Ep. Fest. 29.]

To judge rightly St. Athanasius' attitude towards Holy Scripture, we must recall what has been said respecting Meliton. We must readily admit that in these ages a *distinction was made between the two classes of books, but it did not deny divine inspiration to the deuterocanonical works*. A greater dignity was given by some Fathers to the books that had come down to the Church from the Jews; but these same Fathers testify to the veneration in which the deuterocanonical works were held by the Church, and to the part they played in the life of the faithful. It must also be borne in mind that Athanasius flourished in Alexandria the fertile source of Apocrypha, and in his zeal to repel the inventions of heretics he was most conservative in treating the Canon. His location of Esther among the deuterocanonical books is unique, and was probably caused by the sanguinary character of the book, which also led some Jews to doubt of its divine inspiration.

His omission of Maccabees seems to be an oversight since he adverts to their history in his writings. We do not seek to establish that the status of the two classes of books was the same with Athanasius; but we judge it evident from his writings that he venerated these same books as divine, although not equal in extrinsic authority to the books officially handed down from the Jews. The testimony of Athanasius that the Fathers of the Church had decreed that these books should be read in the Church manifests clearly the Church's attitude towards these books; and the following passages taken from the writings of Athanasius show how deeply he also had drunk from these founts.

Sap. XIV. 12.

"Initium enim fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum: et ad inventio illorum corruptio vitæ est—."

Athanas. Oratio Contra Gentes, 9.

"—quod et Dei sapientia his verbis declarat: 'Initium fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum.' "

Sap. XIV. 12-21.

"Initium fornicationis," etc.

Sap. XIV. 21.

"Et hæc fuit vitæ humanæ deceptio: quoniam aut affectui, aut regibus deservientes homines, incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis imposuerunt."

Sap. XIII. 5.

"—a magnitudine enim speciei, et creaturæ cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri."

Sap. VI. 19.

"Cura ergo disciplinæ dilectio est: et dilectio custodia legum illius est: custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est—."

Sap. II. 23, 24.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—."

Sap. I. 11.

"Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, quæ nihil prodest, et a detractioe parcite linguæ, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam."

Ibid.

"Hæc . . . jam olim *Scriptura* his verbis complexa est: 'Initium fornicationis,' etc. Pergit usque ad Vers. 21.

Ibid. 17.

"—sed cum incommunicabile, ut loquitur *Scriptura*, Dei nomen et honorem iis qui non dii sed mortales homines fuere ascribere studuerunt—."

Ibid. 44.

"Ex magnitudine et pulchritudine rerum creatarum convenienter Creator conspicitur."

S. Athanas. De Incarnatione Dei, 4.

"—sicuti Sapientia ait: 'Observatio legum confirmatio est incorruptionis.'"

Ibid.

"—ut et Sapientia his verbis testatur: 'Deus creavit hominem ut incorruptus esset, et imaginem propriæ æternitatis; invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in mundum.'"

Ath. Apolog. et Contra Arianos, 3.

"—nec timeant illud quod in Sacris Litteris scriptum est . . . 'Os quod mentitur occidit animam.'"

Tob. XII. 7.

“Sacramentum regis abscondere,” etc.

Ibid. 11.

“—cum oporteat, ut scriptum est: ‘Sacramentum regis abscondere.’ ”

This quotation is not made use of by Athanasius, but is found in an apologetic treatise directed to him by a synod held at Alexandria, of the bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis. It is thus the testimony of the East to the divinity of the deuterocanonical works.

In the letter of St. Alexander of Alexandria to his co-laborer we find the following:

Eccli. XXX. 4.

“Mortuus est pater ejus, et quasi non est mortuus: similem enim reliquit sibi post se.”

Ibid. 66.

“Mortuus est enim, ait quodam in loco S. Scriptura, pater ejus et quasi non est mortuus.”

Baruch III. 12.

“Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ—.”

St. Ath. De Decretis Synod. Nicenæ, 12.

“Verbum item Israellem objurgans ait: ‘Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ.’ ”

Ibid.

Ibid. 15.

“Hujus porro sapientiæ fontem esse Deum nos docet Baruch, ubi videlicet redarguitur Israel fontem sapientiæ dereliquisse.”

Sap. VIII. 25.

“Vapor est enim virtutis Dei,” etc.

S. Ath. De Sententia Dionysii, 15.

“—congruenter rursus Christus vapor dictus est: ‘Est enim,’ inquit, ‘vapor virtutis Dei.’ ”

Eccli. XV. 9.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.”

Idem, Epist. ad Episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ, 3.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.”

Sap. I. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Idem Apolog. ad Const. Imp. 5.

“Nam os quod mentitur occidit animam.”

Tob. IV. 19.

“Consilium semper a sapiente perquire.”

Sap. III. 5.

“In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur, quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se.”

Sap. II. 21.

“Hæc cogitaverunt, et erraverunt: excæcavit enim illos malitia eorum.”

Eccl. XIX. 26.

“Ex visu cognoscitur vir, et ab occurso faciei cognoscitur sensatus.”

Baruch IV. 20-22.

“Exui me stola pacis, indui autem me sacco obsecrationis, et clamabo ad Altissimum in diebus meis. Ego enim speravi in æternum, salutem vestram et venit mihi gaudium a sancto,” etc.

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.”

Baruch III. 12.

“Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ—.”

Ibid. 17.

“Scriptum est: ‘Ab omni sapiente consilium accipe.’”

Idem, Apolog. De Fuga Sua.
19.

“Nam sicut aurum in fornace probatos, ut ait Sapientia, ‘invenit illos Dominus dignos se.’”

Ibid. 71.

“In his itaque eorum mentem excæcavit malitia.”

Idem, Contra Arianos Orat.
I. 4.

“—sapientia ait: ‘Ex verbis suis cognoscitur vir.’”

Ibid. 12.

“Susanna quoque aiebat: ‘Deus sempiternæ.’ Baruch item scripsit: ‘Clamabo ad Deum sempiternum in diebus meis.’ Et paulo post: ‘Ego enim speravi in sempiternum salutem vestram et venit mihi gaudium a sancto.’”

Ibid. 13.

“Et apud Dan.: ‘Exclamavit voce magna Susanna et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.’”

Ibid. 19.

“—item apud Baruch scriptum est: ‘Dereliquistis fontem sapientiæ.’”

Eccli. XXIV. 12.

“Tunc præcepit, et dixit mihi Creator omnium: et qui creavit me, requievit in tabernaculo meo.—”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri.”

Judith XIII. 15.

“—non enim quasi homo, sic Deus comminabitur, neque sicut filius hominis ad iracundiam inflammabitur.”

Baruch III. 12.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. IX. 2.

“—et sapientia tua constituisti hominem, ut dominaretur creaturæ, quæ a te facta est.—”

Baruch III. 36.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum.”

Sap. VI. 26.

“Multitudo autem sapientum sanitas est orbis terrarum: et rex sapiens stabilimentum populi est.”

Eccli. I. 10.

“Et effudit illam super omnia opera sua, et super omnem carnem secundum datum suum et præbuit illam diligentibus se.”

Idem Contra Arianos, Orat. II. 4.

“—vel si ipse de seipso ait: ‘Dominus creavit me.’”

Ibid. 32.

“Siquidem ex magnitudine et pulchritudine rerum creatarum, illarum Creator convenienter conspicitur.”

Ibid. 35.

“‘Deus autem non ut homo est, quemadmodum testatur Scriptura.’”

Ibid. 42.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 45.

“Et in libro Sapientiæ legitur: ‘Et sapientia tua constituisti hominem ut dominaretur creaturis quæ a te factæ sunt.’”

Ibid. 49.

“Et Baruch: ‘Hic est Deus noster, non æstimabitur alius adversus eum.’”

Ibid. 79.

“Vel si nulla est sapientia, cur multitudo sapientum in Scriptura memoratur?”

Ibid.

“—ut hisce verbis testatur filius Sirach: ‘Effudit illam in omnia opera sua cum omni carne, secundum donationem suam, et præbuit illam diligentibus se.’”

Dan. XIV. 4.

“Qui respondens, ait ei: Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit cælum, et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Dan. XIII. 45.

“Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum sanctum pueri junioris, cujus nomen Daniel—.”

Baruch III. 1.

“Et nunc, Domine omnipotens, Deus Israel, anima in angustiis, et spiritus anxius clamat ad te.”

Dan. III. 86.

“Benedicite spiritus, et animæ justorum, Domino: laudate et superexaltate eum in sæcula.”

Baruch III. 10, 12.

“Quid est, Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ.”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quæ sunt sine intellectu.”

Sap. XII. 1.

“O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus!”

Idem Contra Arianos, Orat. III. 30.

“Item Daniel Astyagi dixit: ‘Ego idola manufacta non colo, sed Deum viventem qui cælum et terram creavit, et in omnem carnem dominatum habet.’ ”

S. Athanas. Epist. I. ad Serapionem, 5.

“Et apud Danielelem: ‘Suscitavit Deus Spiritum pueri junioris cujus nomen Daniel, et exclamavit voce magna: Mundus ego sum a sanguine hujus.’ ”

Ibid. 7.

“Baruch item his verbis precatur: ‘Anima in angustiis et spiritus anxius clamat ad te,’ et in *Hymno trium Puerorum*. ‘Benedicite spiritus et animæ justorum Domino.’ ”

Ibid. 19.

“Et iterum apud Baruch: ‘Quid est Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ.’ ”

Ibid. 26.

“‘Spiritus sanctus,’ inquit, ‘disciplinæ fugiet dolum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quæ sunt sine intellectu.’ ”

Ibid. 25.

“—iterum in Sapiencia legitur: ‘Tuus enim incorruptus spiritus est in omnibus.’ ”

Dan. III. 57.

“Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino,” etc.

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum,” etc.

Dan. XIV. 4.

“Qui respondens, ait ei: ‘Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit cœlum, et terram et habet potestatem omnis carnis.’”

Eccli. I. 32.

“—exsecratio autem peccatori, cultura Dei.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: ‘Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.’”

Baruch III. 36–38.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Sap. II. 24.

“Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—.”

Idem, Epist. II. ad Serap. 6.

“Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino.”

Idem, Epist. III. ad Serap. 4.

“Ita enim scriptum est: Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.’”

Idem, Epist. IV. ad Serap. 21.

“Ita quoque Daniel libere Darius affatus est: ‘Non veneror idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum qui creavit cœlum et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.’”

S. Ath. Vita S. Antonii, 28.

“—nam ‘exsecratio peccatori est pietas erga Deum.’”

Ibid. 31.

“—solusque Deus novit omnia antequam fiant.”

St. Athan. De Incarnat. et contra Arianos (In fine).

“—quemadmodum et Jeremias dicit: ‘Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam scientiæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est.’”

St. Athanas. Contra Apollinarium, Lib. I. 7.

“Invidia autem diaboli mors intravit in mundum.”

Ibid. 15.

Repetit idem.

Dan. III. 57-62; 88.

Baruch III. 12.

(Already quoted.)

Baruch III. 12, 13.

“Derelinquisti fontem sapientiae; nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna.”

Sap. V. 3.

“—dicentes intra se, pœnitentiam agentes, et præ angustia spiritus gementes: Hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem improperii.”

Eccli. XXXVIII. 9.

“Fili, in tua infirmitate ne despicias te ipsum, sed ora Dominum, et ipse curabit te.”

Eccli. XV. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Dan. III. 50.

(Already quoted.)

St. Ath. De Trinitate et S. Spiritu, 2.

“Tres quoque sancti martyres, Ananias, Azarias, et Misael, in fornace ignis positi in terra Chaldæorum, cum admirabiliter Deus calorem ignis ad temperatum refrigerium convertisset, universam creaturam adhortantes secum laudare Deum sic incipiunt: ‘Benedicite,’” etc. Citat majorem partem Cantici Trium Puerorum.

Ibid. 19.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 20.

—“dicit: ‘Derelinquisti fontem sapientiae; viam Domini si fuisses ingressus, utique habitares in pace in æternum tempus.’”

St. Ath. Sermo Major De Fide, 28.

“Hic est quem habuimus aliquando in derisionem—.”

St. Ath. Fragment De Amuletis.

“—cœlesti sapientiae obsequens dicenti: ‘Fili, in tempore infirmitatis tuæ ne despicias, sed ora Dominum, et ipse curabit te.’”

Idem, Epist. VII. 4.

(Already quoted.)

Idem, Epist. X. 3.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 27.

“Et cum sit una, omnia potest: et in se permanens omnia innovat, et per nationes in animas sanctas se transfert, amicos Dei et prophetas constituit.”

Sap. II. 12.

“Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis,” etc.

Eccli. XXVII. 29.

“Et qui foveam fodit, incidet in eam,” etc.

Sap. II. 12.

(Already quoted.)

Dan. XII.

Eccli. XV. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Baruch II. 35.

“Et statuam illis testamentum alterum sempiternum, ut sim illis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in populum,” etc.

Eccli. II. 1.

“Fili, accedens ad servitutum Dei, sta in justitia, et timore, et præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.”

Ibid. 4.

“—prout de Sapientia testatur Salomon ‘quæ cum una sit, omnia potest, et in se manens omnia renovat, et cum ad sanctas animas accedet, tunc Dei amatores et prophetas efficit.’”

Idem. Epist. XI. 5.

“Circumveniamus justum, quia nobis minime placet.”

Ibidem.

“Qui foveam proximo suo fodit in eamdem incidet.”

Idem, Epist. XIX.

(Already quoted.)

Idem, Epist. ad Marcellinum, 9.

“Spiritu edoctus quisque sermonem administrat ita ut . . . aliquando historias præscribant ut Daniel Susannæ—.”

Ibid. 29.

(Already quoted.)

S. Ath. Expositio in Ps. LXXVII. 10.

“Novam Evangelii traditionem dicit atque illud: ‘Ecce dies venit, et disponam cum eis testamentum novum.’”

Idem, in Ps. CXVII.

“—juxta illud: “Accedis ad serviendum Domino, præpara animam tuam ad tentationem.’”

Eccli. XVIII. 6.

“Cum consummaverit homo,
tunc incipiet,” etc.

Baruch III. 38.

“Post hæc in terris visus est,
et cum hominibus conversatus
est.”

Dan. XIII. 20.

“Ecce, ostia pomarii clausa
sunt, et nemo nos videt et nos in
concupiscentia tui sumus,” etc.

Eccli. XXIII. 22.

“Anima calida quasi ignis
ardens non extinguetur, donec
aliquid glutiat.”

Dan. XIII.

Eccli. VI. 36.

“Et si videris sensatum, evi-
gila ad eum, et gradus ostiorum
illius exterat pes tuus.”

Eccli. XLIII. 7.

“A luna signum diei festi,”
etc.

Idem, Ps. CXVIII. 60.

Repetit idem.

Ibidem 96.

—“juxta illud: ‘Cum con-
summatur homo, tunc incipit.’”

St. Ath. De Titulis Psalm-
orum, De Ps. LXXVII.

137.

“Et in terra visus est, et cum
hominibus conversatus est.”
(Repetit idem in Ps. XCIII.)

St. Athan, Fragmenta in
Math.

“Eodem quoque modo senes
duo cum Susannæ dixissent:
‘Ecce in concupiscentia tui su-
mus—.’”

Ibid.

—“juxta Sapientiæ verbum:
‘Anima calida est ut ignis ac-
census.’”

Ibid.

“Daniel vero lascivos senes
sycophantiæ causa a se damna-
tos juxta legem Moysis ultus
est.”

Ibid. De Falsis Prophetis.

“Si videris sapientem ali-
quem, ex consilio Sapientiæ,
mane vigila ad illum, stationes
portarum ejus terat pes tuus,
ut ab eo ediscas legis umbras et
gratiarum dona.”

Ibid. De Lunaticis.

—“Sapientia ita loquente:
‘A luna, signum diei festi.’”

Maccab. Passim.

Expositio in Ps. LXXVIII.

“*Carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terræ. Quomodo enim sancti non fuerunt quorum sanguis effusus est pro legis observantia, ex quorum erant numero Maccabæi?*”

No man can say that St. Athanasius simply considered these books as pious productions, somewhat like to our Imitation of Christ. Quoting a text from Judith, as we have seen above, *Contra Arianos* II. 38, he explicitly adds “*ut testatur Scriptura.*”

His insertion of *Pastor* and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* among the books of the second canon is a critical error of his own, and not warranted by the usage of the Church. Canonicy and divinity were not in the mind of Athanasius convertible terms. There had been no official promulgation of a canon, and hence he applied the term to the list of books which of old had received the sanction of the Synagogue. We feel warranted, then, in saying that as a witness of tradition in his practical use of Scripture the weight of Athanasius' authority is with us, while, in his capacity of critic, he accords to the deuterocanonical books in general a veneration which the Church never gave to any but divine books.

We omit the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, formerly falsely ascribed to Athanasius, since it covers the same ground as the testimony already quoted.

Another Father whose authority is invoked against us is St. Cyril of Jerusalem.*

*St. Cyril of Jerusalem was born about the year 315 A. D. He was ordained deacon by St. Macarius of Jerusalem and priest by St. Maximus, whom he succeeded in the see of Jerusalem in the year 350 A. D. His episcopate was troubled by the opposition of the Arians, then powerful in the East. He was often exiled by the intrigues of these, and was marked for death by Julian the Apostate; but the death of Julian prevented the execution of his project. Cyril died in his see in 386. In one of his letters to Constans he testifies of a marvelous luminous apparition of a cross which extended from Mt. Calvary to Mt. Olivet which was witnessed by many for several hours. His chief works are his *Catecheses* to the *Catechumens* and *Neophytes*. Although some of Cyril's opinions are strange, he was a staunch defender of the faith, and he merits to be considered a coryphæus in patristic theology.

The testimony upon which his authority is invoked against us is found in his fourth *Catechesis*, Chapters 33, 35, and 36. The following excerpts will illustrate his position:

“Studiously also learn *from the Church* what are the books of the Old Testament, and what of the New. Read to me nothing of the Apocrypha. For thou, who art ignorant of those books which are recognized and received by all, why dost thou wretchedly lose thy labor about those which are doubtful and controverted? Read the *divine* Scriptures, the *twenty-two* books of the Old Testament, which the seventy-two interpreters translated . . . Read these *twenty-two books*, and have naught to do with the Apocrypha. These alone studiously meditate and handle, which we also read in the Church with certain confidence. Much more prudent and more pious were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rectors of the Church, who handed them down. Thou, therefore, being a child of the Church, overstep not the established laws.” Continuing, he gives the same canon as that of Athanasius, except that he conjoins Ruth with Judges, and includes Esther, thus preserving the number twenty-two. And he adds: “But let all the other (books) he held outside (the canon) in a second (inferior order). And whatever are not read in the churches, do thou not read these even privately.”

In truthfully weighing this testimony, we find in the first sentence the adoption of our criterion of inspiration: “*Studiously also learn from the Church what are the books of the Old Testament, and what of the New.*” In the enunciation of this eternal verity, Cyril spoke in the name of the whole Church. It was always believed, and always will be believed by those of the faith of Christ, that it was the province of the Church to regulate the code of Scripture. This every Father believed and taught. Neither does Cyril characterize as apocryphal the deuterocanonical books. He considered them doubtful and of an inferior rank, and hence, exhorts the catechumens to make use of those concerning which there was no doubt. In forbidding the converts to read privately the books which were not read in the Church, he tacitly allows such private reading of the deuterocanonical books.

The spirit of the Church at Jerusalem was extremely conservative, tinged with Judaism. Naturally for such the books which the Synagogue did not recognize would be regarded with some disfavor. Cyril was influenced by the trend of religious thought reigning at Jerusalem. He sacrificed nothing by his strict views on the canon. The protocanonical books are the most useful; the Church had not defined the Canon; and Cyril safeguarded the rights of the Church by bidding everyone go to her for the Canon. The protocanonical and deuterocanonical books were not made absolutely equal until the decree of the Council of Trent. The Fathers considered the latter as useful, edifying, and most of the Fathers considered them of divine origin, but they, in general, accorded them a less dignity and veneration than that given the protocanonical books. The slight doubt that reigned in some churches regarding their divine origin induced Cyril to place them in an inferior rank. In the uncertainty of religious thought of his time, he judged it better that the neophytes should devote their study to the absolutely certain sources of divine truth. Were Cyril alive to-day, he would *learn from the Church to receive the complete Canon.*

In his practical use of Scripture, Cyril follows the usage of the Church, and often quotes the deuterocanonical books, as the following examples will show:

Dan. III. 27, 29.

“—quia justus es in omnibus quæ fecisti nobis, et universa opera tua vera, et viæ tuæ rectæ, et omnia judicia tua vera. Peccavimus, et inique egimus,” etc.

Catech. II. XVI.

“—illicque pro malorum remedio dicebant: ‘Justus es, Domine, in omnibus quæ fecisti nobis: peccavimus enim et inique egimus.’”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quæ præcepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus.”

Catech. VI. 4.

“Profundiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne investiges: quæ tibi præcepta sunt, ea mente agita.”

Sap. XIII. 2.

“—sed aut ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum aërem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lunam, rectores orbis terrarum deos putaverunt.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ, cognoscibiliter poterit creator horum videri.”—

Eccli. XLIII. 2.

“Sol in aspectu annuntians in exitu, vas admirabile opus excelsi.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri.”

Baruch III. 36–38.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Ibid. 8.

“Deum nonnulli ignem esse senserunt.”

Catech. IX. 2.

“juxta Salomonem qui ait: ‘nam ex magnitudine et pulchritudine creaturarum, proportione servata, Procreator earum conspicitur.’”

Ibid. 6.

“—nonne admirari oportet eum qui in solis fabricam inspexerit? nam modici vasis apparens vim ingentem complectitur; ab oriente apparens et in occidentem usque lumen emittens.”

Ibid. 16.

“—et ex his quæ dicta lectaque sunt, quæque ipse reperire aut cogitare poteris, ex magnitudine et pulchritudine creaturarum, proportione servata, Auctorem earum conspicias.”

Catech. XI. 15.

“—audi Prophetam dicentem: ‘Hic est Deus noster, non reputabitur alius adversus eum. Invenit omnem viam scientiæ, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto a se. Post hæc in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’”

Eccli. II. 22.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. II. 24.

“Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—.”

Eccli. IV. 36.

“Non sit porrecta manus tua ad accipiendum, et ad dandum collecta.”

Dan. XIV. 35.

“Et apprehendit eum Angelus Domini in vertice ejus, et portavit eum capillo capitis sui.”

Sap. VI. 17.

“Quoniam dignos se ipsa circumquærens, et in viis ostendit se illis hilariter, et in omni providentia occurrit illis.”

Dan. XIII. 42-45.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant, tu scis, quoniam falsum testimonium tulerunt contra me, et ecce, morior, cum nihil horum fecerim, quæ isti malitiose composuerunt adversum me. Exaudivit autem Dominus vocem ejus. Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum sanctum pueri junioris, cujus nomen Daniel--”

Ibid. 19.

“Ne extollas te ipsum, ne cadas. Quæ tibi mandata sunt ea sola meditare.”

Catech. XII. 5.

“At maximum hoc opificiorum Dei in paradiso choros agens *inde diaboli ejecit invidia.*”

Catech. XIII. 8.

“Nec enim ad accipiendum tantum porrecta, verum etiam ad operandum prompta tibi sit manus.”

Catech. XIV. 25.

“Si enim Habacuc ab angelo translatus est, per comam sui capitis portatus,” etc.

Catech. XVI. 19.

“—tantum illi ostia aperimus; *circumit* enim *quærens dignos.*”

Ibid. 31.

“Idem (Spiritus Sanctus) sapientem effecit Danielis animam ut seniorum judex esset adolescens. Damnata fuerat casta Susanna tamquam impudica; vindex nullus; quis enim eam a principibus eripuisset? Ad mortem ducebatur, in manibus lictorum jam erat. . . *scriptum est enim:* ‘Suscitavit Deus Spiritum sanctum in puero juvenculo.’”

Eccli. XXXIV. 9.

Catech. XXIII. Mystagogia, V. 17.

“Qui non est tentatus, quid scit?”

“—et quomodo alicubi dictum est: ‘Vir non tentatus, non est probatus.’ ”

We must admit that Cyril's use of deuterocanonical Scripture is more restricted than that of other writers, but it is sufficient to show how the general belief and usage of the Church overcame the critical views of the individual. The force of such general acceptance of the Church may easily be judged from this alone, that in the very catecheses in which he recommends to the catechumens the use of only the protocanonical books, he himself employs the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

There is also alleged against us the authority of Epiphanius.*

The passage upon which his opposition to the deuterocanonical works is founded, occurs in the fourth chapter of the treatise on Weights and Measures. In this chapter he endeavors to make the number of canonical books of the Old Testament accord with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Of course, he only enumerates the books of the Jewish Canon. The closing words of the chapter are:

*St. Epiphanius was born in Palestine, about the year 310 A. D. His youth was spent in the life of a solitary in the desert. He founded at the age of twenty a monastery in the desert, and devoted himself to the study of sacred and profane writers. The result of his continued application to reading is apparent in his works. In 366 he was made Bishop of Salamina the metropolis of Cyprus. In the capacity of bishop, he was a sturdy bulwark against the teeming heresies of that age. He bitterly opposed the theories of Origen, and, in his zeal to anathematize him, was discourteous to John Chrysostom. His imprudent zeal often led him to encroach on the jurisdiction of other bishops. He died on a return voyage by sea from Constantinople to Cyprus in 403. The works of Epiphanius exhibit a vast erudition, marred by a lack of criticism and by the insertion of many fables. He was a compiler more than an original thinker. His style is harsh, negligent, obscure and often without logical sequence. He lacked the power and discerning mind to master and order the vast amount that he had read. His chief works are his Panarium or Treatise against the Heresies, the Anchorage, the Treatise of the Weights and Measures of the Jews, and a treatise concerning the twelve precious stones of the rational of the High Priest of the Jews

“Regarding the two books that are written in verse, that is, the Wisdom of Solomon, which is called Panaretus, and the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, the grandson of Jesus, who wrote this book of Wisdom in Hebrew, which his grandson Jesus translated into Greek, although they are useful and profitable, they are by no means placed in the *Canon of Scripture*. Hence, they were not placed in the Ark of the testament.” The obscurity and lack of critical acumen of the writer appear in this short extract. It is evident that he supposes that the divine books of the Jews were placed in the Ark of the covenant, whereas only the Decalogue was therein placed. The term canonical with Epiphanius, signified the official approbation by the Synagogue. Being a native of Palestine, his mind was in a measure tinged by Judaizing theories. In his day, the deuterocanonical books were not officially canonized by any universal authority. They had the sanction of usage and the veneration of the Church, but this did not make them equal in extrinsic authority to the books that Jew and Christian had always considered divine. Although Epiphanius speaks only of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus his words equally apply to the other deuterocanonical books, since their history has always been the same. The reason that Tobias, Judith and Maccabees receive no recognition from Cyril and Epiphanius is most probably that they are not so useful to impart dogmatic truths. Cornely and others think that Epiphanius, in giving in this place the restricted Jewish Canon, tacitly infers the existence of an enlarged Christian Canon. We fail to find this opinion credible. Everything seems to demonstrate that the canonization spoken of in those days was simply the official sanction of the Synagogue. This was the one and only Canon that these Fathers recognized, but in excluding the other books from it they did not deny them divinity, although many accorded them an inferior dignity. All the books were read; all were venerated by the faithful; but the books of the first Canon had the external sanction of the Synagogue, which raised them theoretically above the others. It was only in the Council of Trent, that the official declaration of the Church made the two classes perfectly

equal. Now, such official declaration being wanting, it is not strange that these Fathers, theoretically treating the question should not place these books in the Canon. Neither is it strange that individuals should have doubted concerning the divinity of these books. It shows the need of the Magisterium of the Church, which entered at the appropriate time, and took away all doubt by her authoritative voice.

That Epiphanius, at least, considered Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as divine Scripture appears from the following passage from *Adversus Hæreses*, Hæres. LXXVI. 5: "For if thou wert begotten of the Holy Ghost, and taught by the Apostles and Prophets, this shouldst thou do: Examine all the sacred codices from Genesis to the times of Esther, which are *twenty-seven* books of the Old Testament, and are enumerated as twenty-two; then the four Holy Gospels. . . the *Books of Wisdom, that of Solomon, and of the Son of Sirach*, and in fine *all the books of Scripture.*" Hence, Epiphanius, as it were, made two classes of the Old Testament Scriptures; the books canonized by the Jews, and those adopted and used by the Church as Holy Writ. In favor of the former was the authority of the Synagogue; while all used and venerated the latter, as, individuals, they did not feel warranted in according them a prerogative that the Church had not yet given.

Epiphanius' use of the deuterocanonical books will appear from the following passages:

Eccli. VII. 1.

"Noli facere mala, et non te apprehendent."

Sap. III. 14.

"—et spado, qui non operatus est per manus suas iniquitatem," etc.

Adversus Hæreses, Lib. I.

Hæres. XXIV. 6.

"--quemadmodum *Scriptura* testatur: 'Qui quærunt mala, mala eos apprehendent.'"

Ibid. Hæres. XXVI. 15.

"Ad hæc alio in loco Spiritus Sanctus . . . hoc modo vaticinatus est: 'Beata sterilis incoinquinata, quæ nescivit torum in delicto, et spado, qui non operatus est manibus suis iniquitatem.'"

Maccab. I. 1

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna. et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant—.”

Eccli. XIII. 20.

“Omnis caro ad similem sibi conjungetur. et omnis homo simili sui sociabitur.”

Eccli. XLIII. 26.

“Qui navigant mare, enarrent pericula ejus; et audientes auribus nostris admirabimur.”

Eccli. XIV. 5.

“Qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit?”

Sap. VII. 2.

“Decem mensium tempore coagulatus sum in sanguine,” etc.

Baruch III. 36–38.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo.

Ibid. Hæres. XXX. 25.

“Quæ causa est cur in Maccabæorum libris scriptum sit: ‘—e Cittiensium terra genus quodam esse propagatum.’ ”

Ibid. 31.

“Novit enim omnia Deus antequam fiant, ‘*ut est Scriptum.*’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. XXXII. 8.

“Quoniam avis omnis secundum genus suum congregatur, et omnis homo simili sui sociabitur ‘*ait Scriptura.*’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. XLII. 9.

“— ut hæc in nobis vera sit Scripturæ sententia: ‘Qui navigant mare, virtutes Domini narrent.’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. XLII. Refut.
70.

“Quis seipsum in præceptis impellit, impletque quod scriptum est: ‘Qui sibi nequam est, cui bonus erit?’ ”

Ibid. Lib. II. Hæres. II. 29.

“In quo ad Salomonis dictum illud alluisse videntur: ‘Decem mensium spatio concretus in sanguine.’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. LVII. 2.

“— ut Scriptura declarat: ‘Hic est Deus tuus: non reputabitur alius ad ipsum. Invenit omnem viam scientiæ et dedit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel

Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Baruch III. 36.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XX. 2.

"Concupiscentia spadonis devirginabit juvenulam—."

Eccli. XXVII 2.

"Sicut in medio compaginis lapidum palus figitur sic et inter medium venditionis et emptionis angustiabitur peccatum."

Sap. I. 13.

"Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum."

Sap. I. 14.

"Creavit enim, ut essent omnia: et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra."

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum."

dilecto suo. Post hæc in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.' "

Ibid. 9.

"Scriptum est, inquit: 'Iste Deus est noster, et non æstimabitur alius.' "

Ibid. Hæres. LVIII. 4.

"—a Sapiente dicitur: 'Concupiscentia spadonis devirginabit juvenulam.' "

Ibid. Hæres. LIX. 7.

"Atque 'ut palus,' inquit, inter duos lapides conteritur, sic peccatum in medio ejus qui emit et vendit.' "

Ibid. Hæres. LXIV. 19.

"Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditione viventium. Invidia vero diaboli mors introivit in mundum, ut per *Salomonem Sapientia testatur.*"

Ibid. Hæres. LXIV. 31.

"—id quod Sapientia confirmat his verbis: 'Creavit enim ut essent omnia Deus; et salutare sunt mundi generationes. Nec est in illis medicamentum exitii.' "

Ibid. 34.

"Creavit enim, ait Sapientia, hominem in incorruptione; ad imaginem æternitatis suæ fecit illum."

Sap. III. 1-4.

“Justorum autem animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori: et æstimata est afflictio exitus illorum: et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium: illi autem sunt in pace. Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est.”

Sap. VII. 2.

“—decem mensium tempore coagulatus sum in sanguine, ex semine hominis, et delectamento somni conveniente.”

Eccli. X. 13.

“Cum enim morietur homo, hæreditabit serpentes, et bestias, et vermes.”

Sap. III. 4-6.

“Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur: quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum.”

Ibid. 36.

“Idem vero per Salomonem in eo libro qui Sapiencia inscribitur ostendit ubi: ‘Justorum,’ inquit, ‘animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et æstimata est afflictio exitus illorum, et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium. Illi autem sunt in pace, et spes illorum immortalitate plena est.’ ”

Ibid. 39.

“—Christi corpus non ex voluntate viri, ac voluptate somnique congressione in iniquitatibus esse susceptum.”

Ibid.

“Quam ob causam sapiens ille Sirach ita pronuntiat: ‘Cum enim morietur homo, hæreditabit serpentes, et bestias, et vermes.’ ”

Ibid. 48.

“Quam vero consentanea iis de martyribus a Salomone pronuntiata sint, attendite. Neque enim *aliarum Scripturarum testimonio* caremus. ‘Deus,’ inquit, ‘tentavit eos, et invenit eos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos; et sicut holocaustum suavitatis accepit illos; et in tempore visitationis illorum,’ etc. Cum antea dixisset: ‘Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis correpti magna beneficia consequentur.’ ”

Sap. I. 4.

“—quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Sap. IV. 12.

“Fascinatio enim nugacitatis obscurat bona, et inconstantia concupiscentiæ transvertit sensum sine malitia.”

Sap. IV. 8-12.

“Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna etc.”

Sap. IV. 13, 14.

“Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa, placita enim erat Deo anima illius: propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatum; populi autem videntes, et non intelligentes, nec ponentes in præcordiis talia.—”

Baruch III. 36.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum.”

Ibid. 37.

“Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo.”

Ibid. 38.

“Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Ibid. 54.

“Præterea Salomon: ‘In malevolam,’ inquit, ‘animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore obnoxio peccato.’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. LXV. 1.

“Nam in illo *Scripturæ dictum* illud impletur: ‘Fascinatio enim nugacitatis obscurat bona, et inconstantia concupiscentiæ transvertit mentem sine malitia.’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. LXVII. 4.

“Hic igitur: ‘Senectus,’ inquit, ‘venerabilis non longæva,’ ” etc.

Ibid.

“Ut autem de pueris loqui illum appareat statim adjicit: ‘Consummatus in brevi (quasi dicat: mortuus juvenis) implevit tempora multa. Placita enim erat Domino anima illius: propterea festinavit eum educere de medio malitiæ.’ ”

Ibid. Hæres. LXIX. 31.

“Alter cum ipso minime comparabitur.”

Ibid.

“Quid porro? Ut de Filio sermonem esse cognoscas, deinceps ista subjecit: ‘Invenit omnem viam scientiæ et dedit illam.’ ”

Ibid.

“Tum postea: ‘In terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

Ibid. 37, 38.

Ibid. 38.

Esther XIII. 9.

“—et dixit: Domine, Domine, rex omnipotens, in ditione enim tua cuncta sunt posita, et non est, qui possit tuæ resistere voluntati, si decreveris salvare Israel.”

Baruch III. 37, 38.

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum: et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Eccli. XIV. 5.

“Qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit? et non jucundabitur in bonis suis.”

Sap. IX. 14.

“Cogitationes enim mortaliū timidæ, et incertæ providentiæ nostræ—.”

Ibid. 53.

Ibid. 55.

Ibid. Lib. III. Hæres. LXX.

7.

“Sed et illud proinde certum, posse illum quæ velit efficere: ‘Nullus est enim qui ejus voluntati resistat.’”

Ibid. Hæres. LXXI. 3.

“Qui invenit omnem viam scientiæ. Exstitisse vero divina Scriptura non dubitat. Nam quæ sequuntur ante illum exstitisse declarant. Velut quod omnem viam scientiæ reperisse dicatur, deinde in terris visus esse.”

Ibid. Hæres. LXXIV.

“Spiritus enim Domini replevit orbem terrarum.”

Ibid. Hæres. LXXVI. Confut. VIII.

“Ecquis igitur illius miserebitur, qui sibi ipsi malus, nemini alteri bonus est?”

Ibid. LXXVI. Confut. XXXI.

“—siquidem divina majestas, Patris inquam et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, angelorum mentes omnes longo intervallo superat, nedum *hominum quorum timidæ cogitationes.*”

Baruch, III. 38.

“Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

St. Epiph. *Expositio Fidei XVI.*

“— ac denique verus ut appareret Filius, et illud *Propheta vaticinium expleret*: ‘Et post hæc enim in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

The frequency with which this passage is quoted by the Fathers manifests that they considered it a *classic text* to prove the Incarnation.

Sap. XIV. 20.

“Initium enim fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum—.”

St. Epiph. *Ancoratus II.*

“‘Initium quippe fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum,’ ut ait *Scriptura*. ”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quæ præcepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus.”

Ibid. XII.

“Etenim cum nos *Scriptura* reprehendit his verbis: ‘Quæ præcepta tibi sunt, hæc cogita; neque arcanis et occultis tibi opus est: et altiora te ne quæsieris, ac profundiora te ne inquiras.’ ”

Dan. III. 57.

“Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino—.”

Ibid. XXIV.

“—et creaturas a Creatore discernentes, hunc in modum (tres pueri in fornace) locuti sunt: ‘Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino.’ ”

He repeats this passage and other portions of the Canticle in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Chapters.

Sap X. 21

“—quoniam sapientia aperuit os mutorum, et linguas infantium fecit disertas.”

Ibid. XXXI.

“—quique balbutientium linguam disertam præstitit,” etc.

Sap. VIII. 2

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsivi spon-

Ibid. XLII.

“Ad hæc Salomon aliam quamdam sapientiam appellat:

sam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius."

Baruch III. 38.

"Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Esther XIII. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum."

'Amavi,' inquit, 'pulchritudinem ejus et eam mihi sponsam duxi.' "

Ibid. LXXVIII.

"Christus autem Deus e cælo, verbum e Maria caro factum est hominemque suscepit, et nobiscum, ut ait Scriptura, versatus est."

Ibid. XCVI.

(Already quoted.)

St. Epiph. Epist. ad Joan. Episcopum Hieros. Cap. VI.

"Dicit enim (Salomon) in Sapientia quæ titulo ejus inscribitur: 'Creavit Deus incorruptum hominem, et imaginem suæ proprietatis dedit ei.' "

Here, in the clearest terms, Epiphanius makes known that his exclusion of a book from the list of those called canonical, was not equivalent to denying it the authority of divine Scripture. He certainly believed that he was quoting the revealed word, when he introduces these passages in the solemn formulæ, "ut ait Scriptura," "Scriptum est," etc. Neither did he quote these passages at random, not advert- ing to the fact that they were not in the Canon. He often *specifies the book, and speaks of the authors.* We believe that had the other deuterocanonical books been equally service- able for dogmatic argument, he would have drawn also from them as from Scriptural sources. At least, our adversaries must admit that Epiphanius is a staunch supporter of the divinity of at least three deuterocanonical books, and also of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, and that his exclusion of the deuterocanonical books from the list then termed canonical, cannot be construed to signify non- inspiration of the same.

Among the adversaries of the deuterocanonical books is placed Gregory Nazianzenus.*

Two passages in Gregory's works form the basis of his pretended opposition to the deuterocanonical books. The first passage occurs in *Carmen I.* 13:

"Accipe a me selectum hunc, amice, numerum,
Sunt quidem historici libri omnes duodecim,
Antiquioris Hebraicæ sapientiæ:
Primus Genesis, deinde Exodus et Leviticus;
Postea Numeri, tum Deuteronomium,
Deinde Josue et Judices: Ruth octavus est.
Nonus decimusque liber, res gestæ Regum,
Et Paralipomena; Esdram habes ultimo loco.
Quinque versibus scripti sunt, quorum primus Job,
Postea David, tum Salomonis tres,
Ecclesiastes, Canticum, et Proverbia.
Similiter quinque Spiritus prophetici;
Ac uno quidem continentur libri duodecim:
Osee, et Amos, et Micheas tertius;
Deinde Joel, postea Jonas, Abdias,
Nahum, Habacuc et Sophonias,
Aggæus, deinde Zacharias, Malachias,
Uno hi continentur libro: secundo Isaias,
Tertio qui vocatus est Jeremias ab infantia,
Quarto Ezechiel, quinto Danielis gratia.
Veteres quidem numeravi duos et viginti libros
Hebraeorum elementorum numero respondententes."

*Gregory Nazianzenus, takes his distinctive title from Nazianzus, a small town in the south-west of Cappadocia, which is not known to the early geographers, and owes its chief importance to its connection with our author. It is impossible to fix with exactness the date of his birth; according to the Bollandists it should be placed before the year 300. His father, at first an infidel, was converted by his wife Nonna, and afterwards was Bishop of Nazianzus; his mother St. Nonna, considered the infant Gregory as given her in answer to her prayers.

Gregory studied at Casarea, Alexandria and Athens, and became proficient in Greek oratory and poetry. He contracted in youth a friendship for St. Basil which lasted through life. The two sought together the solitude of the desert, whence Gregory was afterwards summoned to assist his aged father in the cares of the Episcopate. He was soon after ordained priest by his father, and then bishop, by St. Basil. Gregory, however, soon after abandoned his see for the solitude, but emerged thence again at the instance of his decrepit father, and executed the episcopal functions in Nazianzus without assuming the name of bishop. After the death of his parent, he again sought the desert, but was brought thence by his friends, and placed in the see of Constantinople. He was favored by Theodosius the Great, and resisted the swarming heresies of the time, chief among which was the heresy of Arius.

After enumerating in succession all the books of the New Testament, excepting the Apocalypse, he concludes:

"Si quid est extra hunc numerum non est ex germanis Scripturis."

In the celebrated *Carmen ad Seleucum*, a Canon occurs differing from the foregoing only in this, that he admits in it Esther, which did not appear in the first *Carmen*, and also the Apocalypse with the qualification:

"Apocalypsim autem Johannis
Quidam vero admittunt, pars vero major
Spuriam asserunt."

Basing their judgment on this difference in the Canons, and on the testimony of some codices, some have denied to Gregory the authorship of the *Carmen ad Seleucum*, and have attributed it to Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium (344-394), the friend of Gregory, called by him the "irreproachable pontiff," the "angel," and "hero of truth." The opinion rests principally on the authority of Combefis, the editor of Amphilochius' works, and in my judgment has little foundation. I see no good reason for denying to Gregory this *Carmen*, since the presence of Esther and the Apocalypse therein would simply show that Gregory, in endeavoring to follow the trend of religious thought, could not be consistent in excluding books which the Church considered divine.

Gregory concludes his canon in the *Carmen ad Seleucum* with these words:

— "His certissimus
Canon tibi sit divinarum Scripturarum."

It would seem, at first sight, that these testimonies manifest a certain opposition to the deutero-canonical books. However, in the *Carmen ad Seleucum*, 252-257, Gregory

The perfidy and envy of his enemies induced him to resign again the see of Constantinople, and he finally sought the solitude of the desert again, where he died in 389 A. D.

Gregory was by nature severe and inclined to the life of an ascetic. His vast erudition caused Jerome to journey to Constantinople to hear him. His writings are at times excessively ornate, and sometimes uncritical. His chief works are fifty-five orations, a great number of letters, and many poems.

declares that he allows to the deuterocanonical books a sort of middle place between uninspired and inspired Scripture:

“Non omnis liber pro certo habendus
 Qui venerandum Scripturæ nomen præfert.
 Sunt enim, sunt (ut nonnunquam fit) inscripti falsi nominis
 Libri: *nonnulli quidem intermedii sunt ac vicini,*
Ut ita dixerim, veritatis doctrina;
 Alii vero spurii et magnopere periculosi.”

Gregory accorded to the deuterocanonical books a middle rank. He made a distinction much like that made of old by the Jews in assigning an inferior degree of inspiration to the products of the “Filia vocis.” This was an erroneous explanation of a fact. The fact was that these books bore the name of divine Scripture; they entered into the deposit of faith of the Church; the faithful learned them by memory; Gregory himself, as we shall see by numerous passages from his writings, had drunk deeply from these fountains.

On the other hand, they were not in the official list of the Synagogue. This alone was sufficient to cast such doubt upon them with the extremely conservative Cappadocian school, of which Gregory is a representative exponent, that they stopped short of inserting them in the Canon; at the same time they honored them as sources of divine truth.

The other Cappadocian Fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Cæsarius, frequently cite Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as they are the books most fitted for dogmatic argument.

Basil quotes Judith:

Judith IX. 4.

“Tu enim fecisti priora, et illa post illa cogitasti, et hoc factum est quod ipse voluisti.”

II. Maccab. VII. 1.

“Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flagris, et taureis cruciatos.”

Lib. De Spiritu Sancto VIII.

19.

“Sicuti Judith: ‘Cogitasti,’ inquit, ‘et præsto fuerunt omnia quæ cogitasti.’”

Epist. VI. ad Nectarii uxorem, 1.

“Maccabæorum mater septem filiorum mortem conspexit, nec ingemuit, nec ignobiles lacrymas effudit, sed gratias agens Deo quod videret eos igne et ferro et acerbissimis verberibus e vinculis carnis exsolvi,

Deo quidem probata fuit, celebris vero habita est apud homines."

How deeply Gregory had been influenced by the practical usage of the Church can be learned from the following collated passages:

Dan. XIII. 5.

"Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno: de quibus locutus est Dominus: Quia egressa est iniquitas de Babylone, a senioribus iudicibus, qui videbantur regere populum."

Eccli. III. 11.

"Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum—."

Sap. V. 15.

"—quoniam spes impii tamquam lanugo est, quæ a vento tollitur," etc.

Sap. XVI. 13.

"Tu es enim, Domine, qui vitæ et mortis habes potestatem, et deducis ad portas mortis, et reducis.—"

Eccli. XXXVIII. 16.

"Fili, in mortuum produc lacrymas, et quasi dira passus, incipe plorare," etc.

Sap. III. 15.

"Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus," etc.

Sap. V. 10, 11.

"—et tamquam navis, quæ pertransit fluctuantem aquam: cuius, cum præterierit, non est vestigium invenire, neque semitam carinæ illius in fluctibus:

St. Greg. Naz. Orat. II. 64.

"—nempe quod egressa est iniquitas ex Babylone a senioribus iudicibus qui populum regere videbantur."

Ibid. 96.

"Benedictio enim Patris firmat domos filiorum."

Orat. V. 28.

"—tamquam lanugo quæ a vento disjicitur—."

Ibid. 29.

"Ecquis novit num Deus qui solvit compeditos, gravemque et *'humis vergentem a portis mortis in altum subvehit—.'*"

Orat. VII. 1.

"Super mortuum plora, et quasi dira passus, incipe plorare."

Ibid. 14.

"Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus."

Ibid. 19.

"Insomnium sumus, minime consistens, spectrum quoddam, quod teneri non potest, avis prætereuntis volatus, navis in mari vestigium non habens,

aut tamquam avis, quæ trans- pulvis, vapor, ros matutinus,
volat in aëre, cujus nullum in- flos momento nascens et mo-
venitur argumentum itineris," mento marcescens."

etc.

Sap. I. 4.

"—quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis."

Orat. IX. 2.

"In malignam enim animam non ingressuram sapientiam recte dictum est."

Eccli. VI. 14, 15.

"Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis: qui autem invenit illum, invenit thesaurum. Amico fidei nulla est comparatio, et non est digna ponderatio auri et argenti contra bonitatem fidei illius."

Orat. XI. 1.

"Amico fidei nulla est comparatio; nec ulla est digna ponderatio contra bonitatem illius. Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis."

Eccli. I. 2.

"Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies sæculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem cœli, et latitudinem terræ, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?"

Orat. XIV. 30.

"Sed quis arenam maris et pluviae guttas et abyssi profunditatem metiri . . . queat?"

The fifteenth oration of St. Gregory is in praise of the Maccabees, whose feast the Church celebrated in his day. Frequently in the course of the oration he adverts to data taken from the first and second Books of Maccabees. The very fact that he composed such an oration shows clearly that he recognized the books. Cornely's animadversion here that Gregory has in mind only the fourth book, is erroneous. [Cornely, *Introduc. Gen.* p. 98, note 18.] Gregory in the second paragraph speaks of a book, *qui rationem perturbationibus animi imperare docet*, which evidently refers to the apocryphal fourth book of Maccabees, but this would only show that he united the fourth with the others in collecting his argument. Most of the data of the oration are taken from the first and second Books of Maccabees.

Eccli. XI. 30.

“Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir.”

Baruch II. 12.

“—peccavimus, impie egimus, inique gessimus, Domine Deus noster, in omnibus justitiis tuis.”

Dan. XIV. 33.

“Dixitque angelus Domini ad Habacuc: Fer prandium, quod habes, in Babylonem Danieli, qui est in lacu leonum.”

Sap. XI. 21.

“Sed et sine his uno spiritu poterant occidi persecutionem passi ab ipsis factis suis, et dispersi per spiritum virtutis tuæ: sed omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuisti.”

Dan. XIII.

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Orat. XVI. 3.

“Nam si, ut ego cum Salomone sentio, hominem ante mortem beatum prædicare non oportet.”

Ibid. 12.

“—adjungam: Peccavimus, inique egimus, impietatem fecimus.”

Orat. XVIII. 30.

“—aut per prophetam in sublimem raptum satians, ut Daniel em, antea cum fame in lacu premeretur.”

Orat. XXIV. 1.

“—atque ut hinc initium ducamus, quam commode, pulchrisque Dei mensuris, qui omnia cum pondere et mensura constituit ac moderatur,” etc.

Ibid. 10.

“(Deus) qui et Susannam mortis periculo liberavit, et Theclam servavit; illam a sævis senioribus, hanc a tyranno ipsius proco et a matri adhuc crudeliori.”

Orat. XXVIII. 8.

“—ait Scriptura . . . ‘Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.’”

Orat. XXIX. 17. He calls the Son of God “Imago bonitatis,” evidently assuming the phrase from Wisdom, VII. 26.

Baruch III. 36-38.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius adversus eum.

Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Sap. VII. 22.

“Est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiæ, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis,” etc.

Sap. I. 4.

“Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Sap. III. 11.

“Sapientiam enim, et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est: et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum.”

Eccli. V. 14.

“Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo: sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum, ne capiaris in verbo indisciplinato, et confundaris.”

Eccli. VII. 15.

“Noli verbosus esse in multitudine presbyterorum.”

Eccli. XI. 27.

“In die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum, et in die malorum ne immemor sis bonorum.—”

Orat. XXX. 13.

“‘Hic Deus tuus, et non æstimabitur alius præter eum.’ Et paucis interjectis: ‘Post hæc in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

Orat. XXXI. 29.

“Spiritus intelligens, multiplex, apertus, clarus, incontaminatus, minimeque impeditus,” etc.

Orat. XXXII. 12.

“—quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia.”

Ibid. 20.

“—ac Deus faxit ne quid unquam huic occupationi prævertendum ducam, ne alioqui ab ipsa Sapientia miser appeller, ut sapientiam et eruditionem spernens ac pro nihilo ducens.”

Ibid. 21.

“Si est tibi sermo prudentiæ, inquit ille, nec quisquam prohibebit: sin minus, hæreat vinculum labiis tuis.”

Ibid.

“Noli celer esse in verbis, admonet Sapiens.”

Orat. XXXV. 3.

“In die enim lætitiæ, inquit, malorum oblivio est.”

Dan. XIII. 5.

“Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno, de quibus locutus est Dominus: Quia egressa est iniquitas de Babylone a senioribus iudicibus, qui videbantur regere populum.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.”

Eccli. III. 11.

“Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum: maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta.”

Eccli. III. 12.

“Ne glorieris in contumelia patris,” etc.

Eccli. I. 16.

“Initium sapientiæ, timor Domini, et cum fidelibus in vulva concreatus est, cum electis feminis graditur, et cum iustis et fidelibus agnoscitur.”

Sap. III. 7.

“Fulgebunt iusti, et tamquam scintillæ in arundineto discurrent.”

Eccli. XXXII. 3.

“—ut læteris propter illos, et ornamentum gratiæ accipias coronam, et dignationem consequaris corrogationis.”

Orat. XXXVI. 3.

“—juxta Danielem egressa est iniquitas a senioribus Babylonicis, qui Israelem regere existimabantur.”

Ibid. 7.

“—imo non videor, sed perspicuus atque manifestus sum ei qui omnia priusquam oriantur novit.”

Orat. XXXVII. 6.

“Item alio loco: ‘Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum; maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta.’ ”

Ibid. 18.

“Quod si hoc etiam probas: ‘Fili, ne glorieris de ignominia patris.’ ”

Orat. XXXIX. 8.

“Unde Salomon nobis legem statuit: ‘Principium sapientiæ,’ inquit, ‘posside sapientiam.’ Quidnam vocat hoc principium sapientiæ? ‘Timorem.’ ”

Orat. XL. 6.

“—quo tempore nimirum iusti fulgebunt sicut sol.”

Ibid. 18.

“Honore eum complectere ut te ornet, capitique tuo gratiarum coronam nectat.”

Sap. IV. 8.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: canis autem sunt sensus hominis."

II. Maccab. VII. 1.

"Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flagris, et taureis cruciatos."

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit," etc.

The reference to Judith V. 6, in Orat. XLV. 15: "quod et semen Chaldaicum sublatum atque oppressum Scriptura vocat," is somewhat uncertain.

Eccli. III. 11.

"Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum: maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta."

Baruch III. 38.

"Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Eccli. IV. 32.

"Noli resistere contra faciem potentis, nec coneris contra icum fluvii."

Eccli. XXXI. 32.

"Æqua vita hominibus vinum in sobrietate: si bibas illud moderate, eris sobrius."

Orat. XLIII. 23.

"Quis prudentia perinde canis erat, etiam ante canitiem? Quandoquidem hac re senectutem Salomon quoque defini- vit."

Ibid. 74.

"Mitto septem Maccabæorum dimicationem qui cum sacerdote et matre in sanguine atque omnis generis tormentis consummati sunt."

Orat. XLIV. 4.

"Quoniam autem invidia diaboli mors in mundum introivit," etc.

St. Greg. Epist. LXI.

"Ita fiet ut ab ea non modo pecunias habeatis, sed mater- nam etiam benedictionem, filiorum domos fulcientem, consequamini."

Epist. CII.

"—atque ad hæc verba confugientes: 'Post hæc in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.'"

Epist. CLXXVIII.

"Porro non esse vi cohibendum fluminis cursum, parœmia quoque ipsa docet."

Epist. CLXXXI.

"Sin autem tibi præstantiore monitore opus est, illud quidem monet Salomon ut cum consilio vinum bibas, ne mundi hujus temulentia et vertigine agaris."

These references leave no doubt that Gregory believed that he was there quoting divine Scripture. The whole Church used them, committed them to memory, proved and illustrated their dogmas by them. This influence was so powerful that even the most conservative came under it, and as we shall see, even those who wished to turn the tide of this tradition were inconsistent. Another Oriental authority of this period that is objected against us is the sixtieth canon of the Council of Laodicea. This canon explicitly defines that the books to be read in the Church are those which we now comprehend in the protocanonical class. The date of the Council of Laodicea is uncertain, but it is generally believed to have been celebrated about the middle of the fourth century. Some have doubted the genuineness of the sixtieth canon [Herbst, Vincenzi, Malou, Danko], but as it is recognized by Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* I. p. 749-751, we shall not base our treatment of it upon its doubtful character. Admitting all its claims, it simply establishes that some bishops of Phrygia in a particular council refused to allow to be read publicly in the Church any book excepting those that were absolutely certain. We are not endeavoring to prove that the position of protocanonical and deuterocanonical books were equal in the early ages of the Church. Their equality was wrought by the Council of Trent. What we wish to show is that these books were known to the early Christians, venerated by them, committed to memory by them, and considered by them as the inspired word of God.

The Council in Trullo, which the Greeks hold to be ecumenical, received the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, but, as they also received the Canons of the Council of Carthage, they evidently intended that the decree concerning the canonical Scriptures should be modified in accordance with the complete Canon of the Council of Carthage.

The Greeks also in the Council in Trullo received various Apocryphal documents of the fifth century called the Canons of the Apostles. The eighty-fifth canon of this collection is sometimes cited against us, as it does not contain any of the deuterocanonical books, save the books of Maccabees. This canon can have no weight, since it embraces three books of

Maccabees, two epistles of St. Clement of Rome, and the eight books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

The Council in Trullo in receiving this Canon could not have excluded the Canon of the Council of Carthage, whose decrees and canons it ratified. In fact, the Council in Trullo expressly stated that the *Constitutiones Apost.* were adulterated, and hence not to be read. It seems, however, due to this canon that the Greeks, even to this day, recognize as canonical three books of Maccabees.

We can scarcely expect the guiding hand of the Holy Ghost in the members who composed the Council in Trullo.

One who candidly examines the data here presented must admit that the Oriental Church during the fourth and fifth centuries recognized and used the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

Turning now from the East to the West, we meet the first objection taken from the writings of St. Hilary.* The objection is found in the fifteenth paragraph of his Prologue on the Book of Psalms. After seeking mystic reasons for the number eight in the Scriptures, he proceeds as follows:

“And this is the cause that the law of the Old Testament is divided into twenty-two books, that they might agree with the number of letters. These books are arranged according to the traditions of the ancients, so that five are of Moses,

*St. Hilary was born in Poitiers in France in the opening years of the fourth century. His parents were pagans of noble rank. They procured for their son every educational advantage, and the youth, applying himself with diligence, soon came to be regarded as the most learned man of his age. His reading of the Holy Scriptures brought him to recognize the truth of the Christian faith, which he, his wife, and child Abra embraced. He was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers in 350 or 355 and became the staunch defender of the Church against Arianism. The Arian Saturninus of Arles banished Hilary to Phrygia. He was called from his exile to be present at the Council of Seleucia; in which council he made such head against the Arians that to rid themselves of such a powerful antagonist they sent him back to France. The people received him as a hero from the arena, victorious over the heretics. He set in order his diocese, and there passed the remaining years of his holy life. He died in 367 or 368. His most celebrated work is his *Twelve Books on the Trinity*, composed during his exile in Phrygia. This treatise is a classic work on the Trinity. He has left also Commentaries on the Psalms and Gospels, a treatise *De Fide Orientalium*, and numerous other shorter works.

the sixth is of Jesus Nave, the seventh is Judges and Ruth, the first and second of Kings form the eighth; the third and fourth (of Kings) form the ninth; the two books of Paralipomenon form the tenth; the discourses of the days of Ezra form the eleventh; the book of Psalms, the twelfth; Solomon's proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticle of Canticles form the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth; the twelve Prophets form the sixteenth; while Isaiah, then Jeremiah, the Lamentations and the Epistle, Daniel, Ezechiel, Job, and Esther complete the number of twenty-two books." Hilary gives only the protocanonical works, and then continues:

"To some it has seemed good to add Tobias and Judith, and thus constitute twenty-four books according to the Greek alphabet," etc.

We see here an excessive mysticism impelling a man to reject or admit a book for the sole purpose of completing a mystic number. This tendency had been brought into patristic thought by Origen and the Alexandrian school. Hilary does not reject the deuterocanonical books, but considers the protocanonical as forming a class by themselves. Hilary's weak, unsubstantial arguments are attributable to the man impressed by the spirit of his age. The great current of tradition was greater than any one man, and drew Hilary with it, so that we find him ranking the deuterocanonical books on an equal footing with the others, as the following quotations will show:

Eccli. I. 33.

"Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva justitiam, et Deus præbebit illam tibi."

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Dan. XIII. 56.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda," etc.

St. Hilary Prol. in Ps. 20.

"—secundum id quod dictum est: 'Desiderasti sapientiam? Serva mandata, et Dominus præstabit tibi eandem.'"

Tract. in XIV. Ps. 14.

"Idcirco apud Salomonem omnis laus in exitu canitur."

Tract. in LII. Ps. 19.

"Sed et Daniel presbyteros condemnans ita dicit: 'Non semen Abraham, sed semen Chanaan, et non Juda.'"

Eccli. I. 16.

"Initium sapientiæ, timor Domini," etc.

Baruch III. 38.

"Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Sap. XVII. 1.

"Magna sunt enim judicia tua, Domine, et inenarrabilia," etc."

Sap. VII. 27.

"Et cum sit una, omnia potest: et in se permanens, omnia innovat, et per nationes in animas sanctas se transfert: amicos Dei et prophetas constituit."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum," etc.

II. Maccab. VI. 18 VII. 1. et seqq.

Judith XVI. 3.

"Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi."

Tract. in Ps. LXVI. 9.

"Et per Salomonem: 'Initium sapientiæ timor Domini est.'"

Tract. in Ps. LXVIII. 19.

"—postea in terris visus sit, et inter homines conversatus sit."

Tract. in Ps. CXVIII. 8.

"—et rursum *propheta*: 'Magna enim sunt judicia tua, et inenarrabilia.'"

Ibid. Littera V. 9.

"Si Apostoli docent, prior ille docuit: 'Constituit enim Sapientia amicos Dei et prophetas.'"

Ibid. Littera XIX. 8.

"Et Spiritus Dei, secundum Prophetam, replevit orbem terrarum."

Tract. in Ps. CXXV. 4.

"Testes sunt mihi tres pueri inter flammam cantantes (Dan. III. 24 et seqq.), testis Daniel in fame leonum prophetæ prandio saturatus (Dan. XIV. 35); testis Eleazar inter jura dominorum patriis suis legibus liber; testes cum matre sua martyres septem, Deo gratias inter nova mortis tormenta referentes."

Tract. in Ps. CXXV. 6.

"—et cantantes *ex Lege*: 'Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi.'"

Certainly Hilary denied not inspiration to a book which he honored by the august name of the "Law."

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.”

Ibid. 3.

“Generositatem illius glorificat contubernium habens Dei: sed et omnium Dominus dilexit illam—.”

Ibid. 8.

“Et si multitudinem scientiæ, desiderat quis, scit præterita, et de futuris æstimat,” etc.

Ibid. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Tob. XII. 12.

“Quando orabas cum lacrymis et sepeliebas mortuos, et derelinquebas prandium tuum, et mortuos abscondebas per diem in domo tua, et nocte sepeliebas eos, ego obtuli orationem tuam Domino.”

II. Maccab. VI. 21.

“Hi autem, qui astabant, iniqua miseratione commoti, propter antiquam viri amicitiam, tollentes eum secreto, rogabant afferri carnes, quibus vesci ei licebat, ut simularetur manducasse, sicut rex imperaverat de sacrificii carnibus—.”

Tract. in Ps. CXXVIII. 9.

“Salomon itaque ait: ‘Quæsivi sapientiam sponsam adducere mihi ipsi.’”

Ibid.

“—hujus sponsæ suæ opes memorat dicens: ‘Honestatem glorificat convictum Dei habens, et omnium Dominus dilexit eam.’”

Ibid.

“—et si multam quis cognitionem desiderat, novit et quæ a principio sunt, et quæ futura sunt conspicit.”

Ibid.

“—de qua et rursus ait: ‘Judicavi igitur hanc adducere ad convivendum mecum, et amator factus sum pulchritudinis ejus.’”

Tract. in Ps. CXXIX. 7.

“Sunt, secundum Raphael ad Tobiam loquentem, angeli assistentes ante claritatem Dei, et orationes deprecantium ad Deum deferentes.”

Tract. in Ps. CXXXIV. 25.

“Sanctus etiam Eleazar, cum a principibus populi sui degustare ementitum sacrificium coereretur, gloriam martyrii sub hac eadem voce consummat, sciens,” etc.

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum,” etc.

Eccli. XXVIII. 28, 29.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras. Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—.”

Sap. II. 12, 13.

“Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, . . . et filium Dei se nominat.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus æterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant—.”

II. Maccab. VII. 28.

“Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad cælum et terram, et ad omnia quæ in eis sunt, et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus—.”

Tract. in Ps. CXXXV. 11.

“—docet *propheta* dicens: ‘Spiritus Dei replevit orbem terrarum.’ ”

Tract. in Ps. CXL. 5.

“—ita monemur: ‘Ecce circumvalla possessionem tuam spinis; argentum et aurum tuum constitue, et ori tuo fac ostium, et seram, et verbis tuis jugum et mensuram.’ ”

Tract. de Ps. XLI. 12.

“Vox cataractæ fuit: ‘Opprimamus justum, quia inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et filium Dei se nominat.’ ”

De Trinitate Lib. I. 7.

“—hunc de Deo pulcherrimæ sententiæ modum prophetis vocibus apprehendit: ‘De magnitudine enim operum et pulchritudine creaturarum consequenter generationum Conditor conspicitur.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. IV. 8.

“—sicut beata Susanna dicit: ‘Deus æterne, absconditorum cognitor, sciens omnia ante generationem eorum.’ ”

Ibid. 16.

“Omnia enim *secundum Prophetam* facta ex nihilo sunt.”

II. Maccab. VII. 9.

“—et in ultimo spiritu constitutus, sic ait: Tu quidem, scelestissime, in præsentī vita nos perdis: sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in æternæ vitæ resurrectione suscitabit.”

Eccli. XXI. 1.

“Fili, peccasti? non adjicias iterum: sed et de pristinis deprecare, ut tibi dimittentur.”

Sap. II. 23.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem,” etc.

Sap. VI. 8.

“Non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus, nec verbitur magnitudinem cujusquam; quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et æqualiter cura est illi de omnibus.”

Hilary has here explicitly canonized every deuterocanonical book. He sought the mystic number in the books that the Hebrews received, not with the view to exclude the others from divine inspiration but only classifying the Scriptures of the Old Testament in two general categories which existed down to the time of the Council of Trent.

The next objection which is urged against us is taken from the fragmentary writing of Rufinus.* The objection is

Lib. Contra Const. Imp. 6.

“—sciat a martyre esse dictum regi Antiocho: ‘Tu quidem, iniquus, de presenti vita nos perdis, sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in æternam vitam in resurrectione suscitabit.’”

Ex Operibus Historicis Frag.
III. 24.

“Nec Dominum audiunt dicentem: ‘Peccasti? quiesce.’”

Epistola VIII.

“Salomon clamat dicens: ‘Deus condidit hominem ad immortalitatem.’”

Ibid. IX.

“Clamat Propheta dicens: ‘Et pauperem et divitem ego feci, et pro omnibus æqualis cura est mihi.’”

*Rufinus was born at Concordia, a small village of Italy, towards the middle of the fourth century. He early devoted himself to the acquisition of knowledge, for which cause he took up his abode at Aquileja, whose renown as a seat of learning had merited for it the name of the second Rome. A desire for sanctity drew him into a monastery in this city wherein St. Jerome first met him. There was formed between Jerome and Rufinus the closest friendship, so that when Jerome left Aquileja to journey through France and Germany, Rufinus, inconsolable by the separation, went in search of him.

taken from the *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* 36-38: "And therefore it seems apposite to clearly enumerate, as we have received from the testimonies of the Fathers, the books of the Old and New Testaments, which, according to the tradition of the ancients, are believed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to the Church." Then follows a list of only the protocanonical works. Continuing, he says: "It is to be known, however, that there are other books which have been called by the Fathers not canonical but ecclesiastical. Such are the Wisdom which is called of Solomon, and the other Wisdom which is called of the Son of Sirach, which book in the Latin tongue is called by the general term of *Ecclesiasticus*, by which term not the author but the quality of the Scripture is designated. Of the same order are the books of Tobias and Judith and the books of Maccabees, and in the New Testament the book which is called the Pastor of Hermas, and the Two Ways or

Rufinus visited Egypt, and there formed a lasting friendship with the celebrated St. Melania. He suffered many persecutions from the Arians. He was sent into exile, from which Melania ransomed him, and both retired to Palestine.

The esteem in which Jerome at this time held Rufinus may be known from the following, written to a friend in Jerusalem: "You will see shine in Rufinus the character of sanctity, while I am but dust. My feeble eyes can scarce bear the effulgence of his virtues. He comes even now from the cleansing crucible of persecution, and is now whiter than snow, while I am stained by all sorts of sins."

Rufinus built a monastery on Mt. Olivet, and there labored zealously and fruitfully in apostolic work. Having become conversant with Greek while in Alexandria, he translated into Latin various works of the Greek tongue. Among others, he translated the Principles of Origen. This led to a rupture with St. Jerome, and there is nothing so bitter in patristic literature as Jerome's subsequent invective against Rufinus. This division was a cause of much scandal in the Church. That Rufinus led a saintly life can not be doubted, but it seems quite certain that he became in his later years infected with the errors of Origen. Rufinus declared that he had acted as a mere translator of the works of Origen, and Pope Anastasius, before whom he was cited, declared that he would leave to God to judge of his intention. We must do the same, but in justification to St. Jerome, it must be said that his zeal for orthodoxy caused him to repudiate the man whom he had once called friend.

The most important of Rufinus' works are: *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, *Historia Monachorum*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* and an *Apologia ad Anastasium Papam*. He died in Sicily in 410.

Choice of Peter. All these books, they (the Fathers) wished to be read in the churches, but not to be used for the confirmation of dogma."

The testimony of Rufinus well illustrates the position of the deutero-canonical books in that age. The Church, as the divine institution of Christ, used them, and the faithful drew their spiritual teaching from them. At the same time, some of the Fathers induced a scientific distinction between them and the books of the first canon. This scientific distinction was purely a *critical judgment of the Fathers*, and was not aimed at denying to these books divine inspiration. There had been no decree of the Church, and these books had not as much *extrinsically* in their favor as the others. The extremely conservative spirit of the Fathers was content to use them as divine Scripture in their practical use of Scripture; while, in drawing up official lists of Scriptures, they hesitated to make them equal with the books which the Church had received from the Synagogue. In the growth and development of doctrine, this hesitancy has been excluded by the vital power in the Church. In the few writings of Rufinus which remain to us, we find the following quotations of deutero-canonical Scripture:

Eccli XXXIV. 9.

"Qui non est tentatus, quid scit? Vir in multis expertus, cogitabit multa; et qui multa didicit, enarrabit intellectum."

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Baruch III. 36-38.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, et

Benedictio Gad 3.

"—ita enim *Scriptura* dicit: 'Qui non est tentatus, non est probabilis.'"

Benedictio Joseph 3.

"—sed et *sanctæ Scripturæ sententia* est: 'Ne laudaveris quemquam ante obitum.'"

Comment. in Symbolum Apost.

5.

"Quod et Propheta prædixerat ubi ait: 'Hic Deus noster, non reputabitur alter ad eum. Invenit omnem viam disciplinæ, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo; post hæc in

cum hominibus conversatus terris visus est et inter homines
est.” conversatus est.”

Sap. III. 7.

Ibid. 46.

“Fulgebunt justi, et tamquam scintillæ in arundineto discurrant.” —non erit difficile credere etiam illa quæ *Prophætæ prædixerant*: ‘Quod justi scilicet fulgebunt sicut sol, et sicut splendor firmamenti in regno Dei.’”

Certainly the man who quoted these lines believed that he was employing Holy Scripture.

In his *Apologia Contra Hieronymum*, Lib. II. from the thirty-second to the thirty-seventh paragraph, Rufinus bitterly inveighs against St. Jerome for having dared to cut off the deuterocanonical books.* Hence in justice and right, Rufinus must be considered in every way favorable to the deuterocanonical works. We now come to the Achilles of our adversaries, St. Jerome, a man more versed in the Scriptures than any other of the Fathers up to his day. He has in many places, in no dubious terms, expressed his opposition to the deuterocanonical books. As Jerome is inseparably linked with the Latin Vulgate, we deem it not amiss to insert here an abstract of his life.

Jerome was born about the year 342 at Stridon, on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia, in the midst of a semi-barbaric population [*De viris illustribus*, cap. CXXXV.]

*An ut divinarum Scripturarum libros, quos ad plenissimum fidei Instrumentum Ecclesiis Christi Apostoli tradiderunt, nova nunc et a Judæis mutata interpretatione mutares? . . . Quis præsumserit sacras Sancti Spiritus voces et divina Volumina temerare? Quis præter te divino muneri et Apostolorum hæreditati manus intulerit.

Et quidem cum ingens copia fuisse ex initio in Ecclesiis Dei, et precipue Jerosolymis eorum, qui ex circumcissione crediderant, referatur, in quibus utique linguæ utriusque perfectam fuisse scientiam, et legis peritiam probabilem, administrati pontificatus testatur officium. Quis ergo in ista eruditorum virorum copia ausus est Instrumentum divinum, quod Apostoli Ecclesiis tradiderunt, et depositum Sancti Spiritus compilare? An non est compilare cum quædam quidem immutantur, et error dicitur corrigi? Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna, quæ castitatis exemplum præbebat Ecclesiis Dei, ab isto abscissa est et abjecta atque posthabita. Trium puerorum hymnus, qui maxime diebus solemnibus in Ecclesia Dei canitur, ab isto e loco suo penitus erasus est. Et quid per singula com-

His parents, however, were wealthy Christians, and in a letter to Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, he testified to the pious care which from his earliest childhood had nourished him with the milk of the Catholic doctrine. [Epist. LXXII. ad Theophilum, 2.] He was called Eusebius after his father, for Hieronymus or Heirome was merely a surname, or what in Latin is termed cognomen. His mother's name we do not know. Besides an aunt, Castorina, who seems to have shown him small affection, [Epist. XIII. ad Castorinam Materteram] Jerome had a sister, a cause of many anxieties, and one brother, Paulinian, whom he later took with him to Palestine from Rome.

The young Dalmatian began his studies at Stridon, and at the age of eighteen he went with Bonosus, a friend of his childhood, to continue them at Rome, where he attended the lessons of Donatus, the grammarian, and possibly those of Victorinus, whose humble and courageous conversion has been immortalized in the Confessions of St. Augustine. [Confession, lib. VIII., cap. 11.]

Reading, in which his eager soul found its outlet (he tells us himself that he studied Prophyry's Introduction, Alexander of Aphrodisias' Commentaries upon Aristotle, and Plato's Dialogues), completed his masters' teaching; and his passion for books, which he confesses were indispensable to him, enabled him to acquire, at the cost of the most arduous

memoro de his, quorum comprehendere numerum nequeo? De quo ut omittam illud dicere, quod Septuaginta duorum virorum per cellulas interpretantium unam et consonam vocem, dubitandum non est, Spiritus Sancti inspiratione prolata, et majoris id debere esse auctoritatis, quam id quod ab uno homine, sibi Barraba aspirante, translatum est. Ut ergo hoc omittam, vide quid dicimus, verbi causa. Petrus Romanæ Ecclesiæ per viginti et quatuor annos præfuit: dubitandum non est, quin sicut cætera, quæ ad instructionem pertinent, etiam librorum Instrumenta Ecclesiæ ipse tradiderit, quæ utique jam tunc, ipso sedente et docente, recitabantur? Quid ergo? Decepit Petrus Apostolus Christi Ecclesiam, et libros ei falsos et nihil veritatis continentes tradidit, et cum sciret, quod verum est haberi apud Judæos, apud Christianos volebat haberi quod falsum est? Sed fortasse dicit, quia sine literis erat Petrus, et sciebat quidem Judæorum libros magis esse veros, quam istos, qui erant in Ecclesia: sed interpretari non poterat propter sermonis imperitiam? Et quid? Nihil in isto agebat ignea lingua per Spiritum Sanctum cælitus data? Non ergo omnibus linguis loquebantur Apostoli? . . .

labor, that is by copying them with his own hand, an extensive library. Epist. XXII ad Eustochium, 30.] Thus was Jerome unconsciously preparing himself for the great works which were to fill his life.

He was as yet only a catechumen, for in those early centuries they frequently waited until the perilous ways of youth had been safely traversed before conferring baptism, and the Christian initiation was sometimes deferred from reasons of prudence. To know, however, that this prudence was liable to terrible mistakes one has only to recall the anguish of Gregory Nazianzen and of Satirus, St. Ambrose's brother, who both, when overtaken by a tempest at sea, were terrified at the thought of dying unbaptized. It was especially the fear of the restraints imposed by the Christian life which deferred for years the baptism of many, and we are told by St. Augustine that the deviations of the unbaptized were freely excused by a spirit of general tolerance. [Confession, lib. I., cap. XI.]

More fortunate in this respect than the son of Monica, Jerome, as he wrote to Theophilus of Alexandria, never fell into error. He used often to interrupt his studies in order to visit the basilicas of the saints or to descend into the catacombs, and when an old man he thus described these pilgrimages in his "Commentaries upon Ezekiel." "In my youth, when I was studying literature in Rome, it was my custom to visit on Sundays, with some companions of my own age and tastes, the tombs of the martyrs and apostles. I often wandered into those subterranean galleries whose walls on either side preserve the relics of the dead, and where the darkness is so intense that one might almost believe that the words of the prophet had been fulfilled: 'Let them go down alive into hell.' A gleam of light shining through a narrow aperture, rather than a window, scarcely affected the awful obscurity, and the little band, shrouded in darkness and able only to proceed one step at a time, would recall this verse of Virgil's 'Everywhere horror and even the very silence appal me.' " [Comment, in Ezech., lib. XII., CXL.]

In his youth Jerome witnessed the attempts made by Julian to restore paganism, and he saw also the utter failure

in which they resulted. "While I was attending the schools of the grammarians," he wrote, "when every town was stained with the blood of idolatrous sacrifices, suddenly at the very height of the persecution Julian's death was announced to us. 'How,' exclaimed a pagan, and not unreasonably, 'do the Christians say that theirs is a patient and a merciful God? There is nothing more terrible, nothing more swift than His wrath. He could not even for an instant defer His vengeance.'" [Comment in Habacuc. Lib. II. cap. III.]

The faith which had so early been instilled into Jerome and which was so precious to him, did not, however, shield him from the seductions of Rome, but unlike Augustine, who wrote the humble confession of his protracted sins, he only alludes to his in passing. "You know," he wrote Chromatius, "how slippery are those pathways of youth where I succumbed." In a letter to Heliodorus, whom he wished to take with him into the desert, and whom he rebuked for his delay, he was more explicit: "Why linger in the world, thou who hast already chosen solitude? If I give thee this advice it is not as if my ship and my cargo were undamaged, not as if I were ignorant of the deep, but rather as one shipwrecked and just cast up upon the shore, in feeble tones I warn the navigators of their peril." [Epist. XIV. ad Heliodorum, 6.]

There is another difference between Augustine and Jerome worthy of notice. It is evident that after the supreme struggles of which Augustine has given us a dramatic account he experienced no further aggression of the vanquished foe. The luring voices which made one final effort to woo him to excess were silenced, and no doubt remained so forever, for after his conversion Augustine seems to have inhabited serene heights inaccessible to any disturbing memories of the past; but Jerome, who was by nature more ardent and perhaps less gentle than the son of Monica, could not forget so quickly. Beguiling visions followed him to the desert of Chalcis, and he succeeded in exorcising them only through ceaseless work and penances.

From Rome the young Dalmatian, with Bonosus, passed into Gaul and repaired to Trèves, where Valentinian I. then

resided, and it was in Gaul that Jerome determined to renounce the world which had so wounded him and devote himself to the service of Jesus Christ. He accordingly returned to Rome and was baptized there by Liberius. This Pope having died on the twenty-fourth of September 366, Jerome's baptism could not have taken place at a later date. Leaving Rome he started for Aquileia, where religious studies and monastic discipline flourished, and which was at that time an important town and the capital of its native province.

His stay at Aquileia was only the first halt in a life of travel. From that time forth trials beset him. "He was already beginning," says Tillemont, "to make enemies whose persecutions were sufficiently violent to oblige him to move from place to place, and serious enough to reach the ears of the Pope Damasus." [Memoirs, etc., St. Jerome. Article V.] One of his adversaries was the Bishop Lupicinus. Finally he determined to go to the East and, following Baronius' example, before leaving the Western Hemisphere he paid a visit to his native town and there bade farewell to his own people forever. He did not attempt to conceal the painful effort the breaking of these family ties cost him. "Whenever the impress of your familiar hands recalls your dear faces to me, then am I no longer where I am, or rather you are there with me." [Epist. VII. ad Chromatium Jovinum et Eusebium.] The man who sent such a message, a message perhaps more touching than well expressed, to those from whom he was separated, the man who appreciated so keenly the bonds of friendship, was certainly not insensible to those of blood. "Full do I know," he wrote to Heliodorus, "what fetters hold thee back. My heart is not of stone nor my bowels of iron, I was not begotten by rocks nor suckled by the tigresses of Hyrcania; I also have gone through the anguish which thou darest." [Epist. XIV. ad Heliodorum, 3.] Jerome probably had as travelling companions this same Heliodorus, and also Innocentius and Hylas, whom we again meet at his side in the East when, as Tillemont, who translated the works of the Saints, tells: "He set out carrying with him the library he had collected in Rome, travelled over many provinces, passed through

Thrace, Pontus and Bithynia, crossed the whole of Galatia and Cappadocia, suffered the intolerable heat of Cilicia . . . and finally in Syria found the peace which he sought as a safe harbor after shipwreck."

Before retiring into the desert, however, he spent a few days at Antioch with Evagrius, a priest of that city, whom Jerome had known in Italy, whither he had gone to lay the discords in his Church before the Western bishops, and who on his return became the guide and sponsor of Jerome and his companions in Antioch.

Jerome, inflamed with an ardor for study which never cooled, wished to hear the men most learned in the Scriptures, and especially Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, who at that period had not yet fallen into his later notorious heresy. It was probably about this time that Jerome knew the hermit Malchus, but it was not until long after that he related his wonderful history, which Lafontaine has translated into graceful verse.

Jérôme, however, had left Aquileia, not for Antioch, but bound for the wilderness. He plunged into the heart of the desert of Chalcis, where, under burning skies and amid vast tracts of sand out of which sprang here and there a few scattered convents, he had gone to seek repentance, and where he found fresh sorrows awaiting him. Heliodorus returned to the West, and Jerome's friendship for Innocent and Hylas was ruthlessly severed by their death. But the memories of his libertine youth, which troubled the peace of his soul and threatened to sully a chastity so dearly bought, caused him a still keener grief than the loss of his friends, and he has left us a description of his anguish, of his almost desperate but finally victorious struggles, in pages of striking eloquence and immortal beauty. "How often," he wrote, "buried in this vast wilderness, scorched by the rays of the sun, have I imagined myself in the midst of the pleasures of Rome. I sat alone because my heart was filled with exceeding bitterness. My limbs were covered with unsightly sackcloth, and my blackened skin gave me the appearance of an Ethiopian. I wept and groaned daily, and if in spite of my struggles sleep overcame me, the bones in my emaciated body, which sank

to the naked earth, barely clave together. I do not mention my nourishment or drink, for in this desert even the sick monks scarcely dare touch fresh water, and to eat cooked food would be considered an excess. And I, who, through the fear of hell, had condemned myself to this prison inhabited by scorpions and serpents, imagined myself transported into the midst of the dances of the young Roman maidens. My face was pallid with fasting, my body cold as ice, yet my soul burned with sensual emotion and in flesh already dead only the fire of the passions was still capable of kindling. Debarred from all help I threw myself at the feet of Jesus, watered them with my tears, wiped them with my hair, and strove to subdue my rebellious flesh by weeks of abstinence. I do not blush to own to my misery, rather do I weep that I am no longer as I once was. I remember having often spent the entire day and night in crying aloud and in beating my breast, until, at the command of God, who rules the tempest, peace crept back into my soul. I even dreaded my cell as if it had been an accomplice to my thoughts. Angry with myself I penetrated alone further into the desert, and if I discovered any dark valley, any rugged mountain, any rock of difficult access, it was the spot I fixed upon to pray in, and to make into a prison for my wretched body. God is witness that sometimes, after having long fixed my eyes upon heaven and after copious weeping, I believed myself transported among the choir of angels. Then in a trusting and joyful ecstasy I sang unto the Lord: 'We pursue Thee by the scent of Thy perfumes.' " [Epist. XXII. ad Eustochium, 7.]

In order to subdue his flesh and curb his imagination, Jerome had recourse to other means besides corporal punishment. "When I was young," he wrote, "although buried in the desert, I could not conquer my burning passions and ardent nature, and in spite of my body being exhausted by perpetual fasts my brain was on fire with evil thoughts. Finally, as a last resource, I put myself under the tutelage of a certain monk, a Jew who had become a Christian, and, forsaking the ingenious precepts of Quintilian, the floods of eloquence poured forth by Cicero, the grave utterances of Fronto, and the tender words of Pliny, I began to learn the

Hebrew alphabet, and to study this language of hissing and harsh-sounding words. I who have suffered so much, and with me those who at that time shared my life, can alone testify to the efforts I wasted, the difficulties I went through, and how often I despairingly interrupted my studies, which a dogged determination to learn made me afterwards resume; and I give thanks unto God that from such a bitter sowing I am now able to gather such sweet fruit." [Epist. CXXV. ad Rusticum monachum, 12.]

It was probably at this period, that is in 374, that the mysterious dream of which Jerome has left us a dramatic account came to him. Imbued with the works of classic antiquity, he cherished a love for them. "Miserable wretch," he wrote, "I fasted before reading Cicero; after nights spent in vigil, after tears wrung from me by the memory of my sins, I would take up Plautus, and when, on coming to my senses, I read the Prophets, their speech seemed to me uncouth and unfinished. Blind, I blamed the light instead of condemning my own eyes." A vision cured him, for a while at least, of this passion. "Towards the middle of Lent (probably the Lent of 375), while Satan was thus mocking me, I was seized with a fever which, finding my body exhausted by want of rest, consumed it to such an extent that my bones barely clave together. My body was becoming cold, a faint remnant of warmth however still enabled my heart to beat. They were preparing my funeral obsequies, when suddenly my soul was caught up from me and carried before the Tribunal of the Supreme Judge. The light was so dazzling, those who surrounded Him shed such a blaze of splendor, that, falling back upon the ground, I dared not gaze aloft. They asked me who I was and I answered a Christian. 'Thou liest,' said the Judge, 'thou are a Ciceronian and not a Christian, for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also.' I was silent; and whilst the blows rained down upon me, for the Judge had commanded that I should be scourged, suffering even more from the torment of my bitter remorse, I repeated to myself this verse on the Psalms: 'Who will render thee glory in hell?' Then I cried out weeping: 'Have pity on me, Lord, have pity.' This cry rang

out in the midst of the blows, and at last those who were present, throwing themselves at the feet of the Judge, entreated Him to have mercy upon my youth, to grant me time to work out my repentance, and to punish me severely if I should again peruse a pagan book. I, who, to escape from the terrible straits in which I found myself would have promised far more, swore to Him and said, calling His name to witness: 'Lord, if hereafter I harbor or read any secular books, may I be treated as if I had renounced Thee.' After this oath I was released and I returned to earth. Those present were astonished to see me reopen my eyes, which were bathed in such a flood of tears that my grief convinced the most sceptical. That it was not one of those vain dreams by which we are deceived, I attest the Tribunal before which I lay prostrate and the sentence which so appalled me. Please God that I may never again be submitted to such an ordeal. When I awoke my shoulders were bruised and I could still feel the blows. From that moment I studied religious books with far more ardor than I had ever read profane ones." [Epist. XXII. ad Eustochium, 30.]

Did Jerome abide by this oath throughout his life? Although making allowances for the saint's vigorous memory, to which reminiscences of Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Virgil and Seneca were continually recurring (Augustine, at Hippo, preserved the memory of his classical education in the same tenacious manner), we have reason to believe that Jerome more than once opened the works of these pagan authors whom he had renounced. To Rufinus, whose insidious hatred accused him of the crime of perjury, he replied that the keeping of a promise made in a dream could not be exacted of him. However, even if Jerome did not deem himself irrevocably bound by his pledge, he applied himself more and more to the study of the Bible, and his classical reading and recollections were exclusively devoted to defending and embellishing the truth. This is what he pointed out in a celebrated letter to Magnus, the orator, in which, with skilful and weighty arguments he cited the example of all his predecessors, reminding him that according to Deuteronomy the Israelite must needs cut the nails and hair of his slave

before marrying her. "Is it astonishing that profane literature should have seduced me by the grace of its language and by the beauty of its form, or that I should wish to convert a slave and a captive into a daughter of Israel? If I come across anything dead, any passage breathing idolatry, sensuality, error, or evil passions, I suppress it, and from my alliance with a stainless spouse are born servants of the true God; thus do I increase the family of Christ." [Epist. LXX. ad Magnum, oratorem urbis Romæ, 2.]

The questions of discipline and dogma which were agitating the Church of Antioch, disturbed Jerome afresh in his retreat. Four bishops were contending for the Patriarchal See of the East. In 361, after the death of Eustathius, the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith, the Arians and many Catholics had agreed to elect Meletius of Sebaste, whose orthodoxy, already attested at the time of Constantine's persecution, asserted itself at Antioch from the very first, with the result of alienating the Arians, who chose Euzoïus as their leader. Those Catholics, however, who were most devoted to Eustathius' glorious memory, refused to give their support to a bishop who had counted Arians among his electors. Towards the end of 379 Lucifer of Cagliari, on his return from the exile to which he had been banished by the son of Constantine, appointed the priest Paulinus, who was recognized by Alexandria and the West, as Bishop to the *Eustathians*. At the beginning of 376, to support his heresy in introducing the Bishop of Laodicea into Antioch, Apollinaris had the audacity to assign the government of this great Church to his disciple Vitalis, whom he had consecrated. Quite outside of all this, the inhabitants of Antioch and of the monasteries at Chalcis were discussing whether they should recognize in God three hypostases or three persons. In the theological language of to-day the two terms are synonymous, but in the fourth century they were not considered so by all. At Antioch the Meletians preferred the term hypostasis to that of person, as being more explicit against the heresy of Sabellius; the partisans of Paulinus, on the other hand, conforming themselves to the Latin custom which understood hypostasis and substance to be synonym-

ous, considered it an Arian impiety to say that in God there were three hypostases. Urged by the monks amongst whom he lived to pronounce upon the legitimate vicar and the orthodox expression, Jerome addressed himself in two famous letters to Pope Damasus. Certainly these letters are sufficient proof that he disliked the word hypostasis, which seemed to him equivocal or erroneous. Meletius too, the champion of this word, was especially displeasing to him, and his sympathies were entirely drawn towards Paulinus, the patriarch favored by Latin Christianity. Upon these points he asked the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, which he valued above everything, and to which he was willing to submit. "I thought," he wrote, Damasus, "that I ought to consult the Apostolic See and the Roman Faith which St. Paul the Apostle extolled. I crave spiritual nourishment from the Church where I received the baptismal robe. . . . You are the light of the world, the salt of the earth, in your possession are the vessels of silver and gold, elsewhere are the vessels of clay and of wood destined for the iron rod which shall shatter them, and for the eternal fires which shall consume them."

In terms which succeeding centuries have freely quoted Jerome proclaimed the Roman pre-eminence and the obligation imposed upon all to conform to it. "I know that on that stone the Church was built; he who eats of the Paschal Lamb outside of its walls is an impious man. He who has not sought refuge in the Ark of Noah will be overtaken by the deluge." He then asked Damasus to inform him which vicar he was to follow and which term he was to employ. "I do not know Vitalis, I repudiate Meletius, I ignore Paulinus. Whoever reaps not with thee, scatters; whoever belongs not to Christ belongs to Antichrist." It is evident that Jerome could not accept the term hypostasis with enthusiasm; he declares as much in bitter, almost haughty tone; nevertheless he was willing to accept it should Damasus pronounce its usage to be legitimate. "I pray you decide this matter for me, and I will not shrink from saying that there are three hypostases in God. . . . I implore your Holiness by the crucified Lord, by the consubstantial Trinity,

to write and authorize me either to suppress or use this word." [Epist. XV. ad Damasum papam.]

Jerome left Chalcis, probably driven from the desert by some foolish persecution, and joined Evagrius in Antioch, where Paulinus compelled him to enter the priesthood; but so strong was his love of solitude, so jealous was he of his liberty that he stipulated that his ordination should not bind him to any one particular church. By a peculiarity which the Jansenists willingly proposed as a model, Jerome never ascended to the altar. In virtue of this liberty which was justly dear to him, he contended, in a dialogue written at Antioch, against the heterodox rigorism of Lucifer of Cagliari, the bishop who had consecrated his friend Paulinus.

Towards 380 we meet the indefatigable traveller at Constantinople, where St. Gregory of Nazianzus, placed against his will upon the episcopal throne of that town, was re-establishing the true faith in the hearts of a people who for forty years had been given over to Arianism, and with poetic and touching eloquence was distributing the treasures of his irreproachable doctrine among them. It was to the tuition of such a master that Jerome submitted himself, and in after years he took pleasure in evoking his reminiscences of him, and in repeating his lessons.

In 381, Jerome left Constantinople and passing through Greece came to Rome.

Jerome arrived in Rome accompanied by two Eastern bishops, Paulinus to whom he adhered, and Epiphanius of Salamis. Important work, illustrious friendships, struggles, and also bitter trials, awaited him in the capital of the Christian world. At the Council which Damasus convoked Jerome gave evidence of his erudition and of the soundness of his doctrine in defending, with the authority of St. Anthonasius a name ascribed to Christ (*homo dominicus*), the orthodoxy of which was contested by the Apollinarists. The Pope, impressed by the talent he was well fitted to appreciate, made Jerome his secretary, empowered him to reply in his name to the inquiries of the Synods, and often referred to the wisdom of the learned exegete on his own account. Further, Damasus forcibly influenced the whole

life of his collaborator. Pope Damasus had seen Jerome's tendency to omnivorous reading, and he roused him from his beguiling torpor by urging him to useful work. At his request Jerome translated two of Origen's Homilies on the Song of Solomon, and began to translate the treatise upon the Holy Ghost by Didymus, the blind sage of Alexandria. Was it St. Ambrose's work on the same subject which Jerome criticized in such severe terms in his Preface? ("Nihil ibi dialecticum, nihil virile atque districtum . . . sed otum flaccidum, molle. . .") Rufinus in his *Invectives* pretended that it was, but the Benedictines who edited the Bishop of Milan's work, disputed this assertion, which Tillemont, however, seems inclined to believe. [*Memoirs, etc., St. Ambrose, note XI.*] From the pen of such a censor as Jerome the harshest criticisms are by no means surprising, and this was especially a criticism of a literary order.

Damasus exacted a task of still greater importance from Jerome. The Gospel had at an early date been translated into Latin for the benefit of Western Christianity, but the primitive version, the ancient *Itala*, had suffered in the manuscripts in circulation corrections and also innumerable alterations and additions. Moreover, through the need of a concordance, in order to make the copy already owned as complete as possible, the various narratives of the Evangelists were frequently united in a single text. Alarmed at the danger introduced by these divergencies, Damasus entreated Jerome to revise the New Testament according to the original Greek. Jerome, who was by nature intolerant of contradiction, had no illusions as to the criticism to which this task would expose him. He was about to disturb old ways of thought, and possibly startle timid consciences; nevertheless, strong in the support afforded him by the Pope, he began and successfully terminated the work demanded of him, suppressed the interpolations, re-established the inverted sequence of the sacred text, and presented this meritorious achievement to Damasus, having added to it the ten canons or tables of concordance translated from Greek into Latin, in which Eusebius of Cæsarea, and also Ammonius of Alexandria, had shown what was special to each Evangelist and what was common to all four.

Jerome undertook another revision, that of the Psalter. The translation current in the Latin Church had been made from the Greek text of the Septuagint, but owing to the numerous alterations which had crept into the manuscript copies, it was incorrect in many places. From the Hieronymian revision sprang the *Psalterium Romanum*, which was in use in Rome up to the reign of St. Pius V., and to which the *Venite Exultemus* in the Invitatory and the passages of the Psalms cited in the missal still belong. "This first work was in its turn soon altered by the copyists, and at the urgent desire of St. Paula, Jerome decided to make a second revision, which this time he based upon Origen's *Hexapla*. This was the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (anno 389), so called because it was first adopted in Gaul. . . . The Gallican Psalter is the one inserted in our Vulgate and used in our Breviary." Somewhat later, about 392, he translated the Psalms from the Hebrew.

These works, and the austerity of Jerome's life while accomplishing them, drew much attention upon the secretary of Pope Damasus, and won him many illustrious and priceless friendships.

In a palace on the Aventine, some noble-hearted women of earnest faith, gathered together and confronted the paganism which was still general, and the immorality of an all too large number of Christians, with the humble and courageous exhibition of their virtue. The mistress of this noble dwelling was Marcella, who had consecrated her premature and irrevocable widowhood to God, to the poor, and to the study of holy works. With her were also her mother, Albina, Asella, whose meekness was extolled by Palladius the historian of St. John Chrysostom; Furia, the heiress of the Camilli, Fabiola, who, although less strong in righteousness than her pious comrades, eventually atoned for the sins of her youth by penance and charity, Lea, the widow and Principia.

We must especially mention three women who were more cherished by Jerome than all the others, and whose names are closely linked with his in history, namely Paula and two of her daughters, Blesilla and Eustochium.

It is unnecessary here to give an account of Paula's early history. By her mother she was authentically connected with the Scipios and the Gracchi, and her father, Rogatus, a wealthy proprietor of Nicopolis, claimed descent from Agamemnon, the king of kings. At the age of thirty-five, after the death of her husband, Julius Toxotius, a reputed descendant of Æneas, for in the genealogy of patrician Rome legend blends easily with history, Paula was inspired by Marcella's example to adopt the ascetic life, in which she soon equalled her heroic friend. Her eldest daughter, Blesilla, left a widow after seven months of marriage, re-entered the narrow path from which the world had momentarily tempted her, and died in the flower of her youth, lamented in pathetic accents by Jerome.

Eustochium, another of Paula's daughters, was reserved for a longer career than Blesilla, the tenderly-mourned. She followed her mother to the East, where she succeeded her in the direction of the convents in Palestine, and, always calm, always invincible to temptation, she retained Jerome as consoler and guide until the end.

The love of the Scriptures glowed in the hearts of these Christian women who, in order to acquire a deeper knowledge of the holy books, resolutely began the study of Greek and Hebrew. In these researches, where the knowledge of truth and not the elusive joys of vainglory were sought, they were directed by Jerome; and Marcella, whose guest he had become, outstripped all her companions in this arduous pursuit. Later on, the recluse of Bethlehem, in his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians," wrote of her: "Whenever I picture to myself her ardor for study, her vivacity of mind and her application, I blame my idleness, I who, retreated in this wilderness, with the manger whither the shepherds came in haste to adore the wailing Christ-child constantly before mine eyes, am unable to accomplish what a noble woman accomplishes in the hour she snatches from the cares of a large circle and the government of her household."

Jerome was reproached for teaching only women. He answered what too often, alas, the priest of the present day

would have the right to reply: "If men questioned me more about the Scriptures I would speak less to women." He added: "I rejoice, I am filled with enthusiasm, when in Babylon I meet Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael." [Epist. LXV. ad Principiam virginem, 2.] He found Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael in a few chosen friends who frequented the Aventine and attended the religious school. They were Pammachius, Marcella's cousin, who was to marry Paulina, Paula's second daughter; Oceanus, a learned man who later visited Jerome at Bethlehem; Marcellinus, who in Africa, in the time of Augustine, was the most conscientious of magistrates; and Domnion, a priest advanced in years, the praises of whose charity were sung by all.

In spite of the austere sweetness of these friendships, in spite of the substantial support which the protection of Damasus secured for him, Jerome did not taste peace in Rome. Was peace, however, what he sought? Jerome surely did not shrink from contention. He had defended the incomparable benefits of perfect chastity against Helvidius, a contemner of the dogma of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and, without denying the legitimacy of marriage, he pointed out its drawbacks, I was about to say its evils. He encouraged young girls, for whom honorable or brilliant marriages were in contemplation, in their desire to lead a monastic life, and at the sight of the Roman virgins who, through his advice, thus renounced their families, there were many who would readily have accused him of murder, more especially after the death of Blesilla, whom he was reported to have killed by dint of the fasts he imposed upon her. That was not the only grudge harbored against him. He denounced with eloquent indignation and inexhaustible fervor the licentiousness, avarice, intemperance and hypocrisy which had crept in among the priests and the monks at Rome and it may easily be imagined that those stung by his powerful satire, and those who recognized themselves or were recognized by others in his portraits, became incensed, and that anger and resentment broke out against him on every side. Calumny soon came to the aid of spite, and at the expense of all justice as well as truth the relations between

Paula and her spiritual director were incriminated. The death of Damasus, which took place on the 11th of December 384, deprived Jerome of his protector, excluded him from the Apostolic Chancery, and completed his severance from Rome. His thoughts turned once more to the desert, but this time it was the Biblical desert in which he wished permanently to establish himself, and he left Rome forever, taking with him his brother Paulinian, the priest Vincent, and a few monks. From Ostia, on the point of embarking, he wrote a letter to Asella, in which his affectionate and saddened soul reveals itself. "If I believed myself capable of thanking thee worthily," he wrote, "I should be incensed. But God can reward thy saintly soul for me for the good thou has done me. As to me, I am unworthy of it, and I never had any right to hope or even to wish that thou wouldst grant me in Jesus Christ so great an affection. And even if certain persons believe me to be a vile wretch overwhelmed by the weight of my sins—in comparison to my sins that is but little—yet thou art right in letting thy heart distinguish for thee between the righteous and the unrighteous. . . ." Jerome then proceeded to exonerate himself from the calumnies which had assailed him and invoked the memory and testimony of Asella and of all those who lived on the Aventine. "Many a time have I been surrounded by a flock of virgins, and to the best of my ability expounded the divine books to several of them. Study creates assiduity, assiduity familiarity, and familiarity a mutual understanding. Call upon those virgins to answer if they have ever had any thought from me other than those one should receive from a Christian. Have I ever taken money from any of them? Have I not always repulsed every gift large or small? Has my neighbor's lucre ever soiled my hand? Have I ever uttered a dubious word or cast too bold a glance?"

Jerome journeyed to Rhegium thence to Cyprus, and thence to Antioch; St. Paula leaving Rome forever joined him here. She brought with her her daughter Eustochium and a band of Roman virgins who had consecrated themselves to God. In the middle of winter St. Jerome and St. Paula and her companions set out for the Holy Land.

In *praef. 2 ad Paralip.* he describes the *finis* of this journey: "As those who have seen Athens better understand Grecian history; and as he, who has traveled from Troas through Leucadia and the Acroceraunian mountains to Sicily, and thence to the mouth of the Tiber, will better understand the third book of Virgil, thus a man will more clearly understand the Scriptures, if he shall have seen Judæa with his own eyes, and shall have examined the memorials of the old cities, and the names of places whether unchanged or changed. Hence we took the pains to undergo this labor with most learned Hebrews, that we might journey through the country of which all the churches of Christ speak. Coming to Cæsarea, Jerome came upon the Hexapla of Origen, and from this copied all the books of the Old Testament. He descended into Egypt and listened at Alexandria to Didymus, the celebrated teacher of Scripture: "My head was now sprinkled with gray hairs," he says, "and seemed more fit for the master than the disciple; but I went to Alexandria, I heard Didymus, and for many things, am thankful to him."

Jerome now returned to Palestine and established himself at Bethlehem, where, out of the wreck of his inheritance, consisting of farms partially destroyed by the barbarians, which Paulinian was commissioned to sell, and with the aid of Paula's bounty, he erected a monastery which he fortified with a tower of refuge. He selected for his cell a cave close to the one where our Lord was born. Paula, meanwhile, after having built some temporary cells, was engaged in constructing convents, and her indefatigable charity endowed as a hospice for pilgrims the hamlet where, as Jerome observed, Mary and Joseph had been without shelter.

In Palestine Jerome was once more thrown with Rufinus, a friend of his youth, who had left Rome in 371 and after six years spent in Egypt had settled at Jerusalem not far from the widow Melania, celebrated for her austere sacrifices and her continual journeys. The intimacy which absence had interrupted without destroying, was renewed between the two friends. Jerome used even to have the manuscripts of secular literature needed for his disciples copied by monks

belonging to the convent of the Olive Trees, which Rufinus directed.

The early days of Jerome's sojourn in Bethlehem were most serene; everything charmed and satisfied him, and a tremor of joyous admiration, a breath of spring, one might almost say, seems to vibrate through the pages which he wrote or inspired during that period. "The most illustrious Gauls congregate here, and no sooner has the Briton, so remote from our world, made any progress in piety, than he abandons his early setting sun to seek a land which he knows only by reputation, and through the Scriptures. And what of the Armenians, the Persians, the nations of India and Ethiopia; of Egypt herself, so rich in monks, of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cœlesyria and Mesopotamia? All these Eastern countries send us hordes of monks . . . they throng here and set us the example of every virtue. The languages differ, but the religion is the same, and one can count as many different choirs singing the psalms as there are nations. Yet in all this—and this is the triumph of Christianity—there is no vainglory, none prides himself upon his chastity; if they quarrel it is as to who shall be the humblest, for the least is here counted first. . . They do not judge one another, for fear of being judged by the Saviour, and slander, so prevalent in many districts where they malign each other outrageously, is here completely unknown. Here is no luxury, no sensuality. . . ." Either Jerome or Paula closes this description with a few lines of idyllic grace. "In this land of Christ's all is simplicity, and except when the Psalms are being sung all is silence. Wherever you may go you hear the laborer, with his hand upon the plough, murmuring Alleluia. The reaper, with the sweat pouring from his brow, finds relaxation in singing the Psalms, and the vintager recites some passage from David while pruning his vines. They are, so to speak, the love songs of the country; the shepherds' lilt, the laborers' accompaniment." [Epist. XLVI.—Paulæ et Eustochii ad Marcellam, 9, 10, 11.]

These peaceful years were also years of toil for Jerome. The direction of the convents which had sprung up about the cave of Bethlehem, the active correspondence he main-

tained with his friends in the outer world, even the grammatical instruction he gave to the young men, which brought back to him those secular works of antiquity he had vainly striven to hate or to forget, would have been sufficient in themselves to fill his life. They were, however, but a minor portion of his work. He had undertaken the study of the Scriptures at the advice of Damasus, but the Providential attraction which also drew him to them, was continually stronger and surer. Everything seemed to lead him to the Bible.

Sulpicius Severus, who spent six months with him at Bethlehem, thus describes his life: "He is wholly absorbed in reading, he takes no rest by day or by night; he is ever reading or writing something." Jerome was a man of great physical endurance. His literary activity at Bethlehem may be compared to that of Origen. He translated the book of Tobias in a single night, and even, when ill, he dictated from his couch to an amanuensis.

To perfect his knowledge of Hebrew, he employed a Jew to teach him, and, as this preceptor feared the fanaticism of his race, the lessons were given by night. Jerome speaks of these things in his *Epist. ad Pammachius*, 84, 3: "With most great labor, and great price did I have Baranina by night as preceptor. He feared the Jews, and was to me another Nicodemus." Coupled with this, he assiduously studied the Fathers and writers of the Church. Villarsi declares that no one, Greek or Latin, read more authors than Jerome. In the year 389 Jerome began the great work of his life, a translation of the protocanonical books of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. He was not able to devote all his time to the great work, but it was the chief object of his labors for fifteen years. He also translated the deuterocanonical books of Tobias and Judith from Chaldean exemplars. This translation of Jerome forms our Vulgate, concerning which we shall speak later. His translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew was not received into the Vulgate; its place was occupied by the Psalter which he revised from the Hexaplar text of Origen at Cæsarea.

A long and painful ordeal was about to disturb what St. Augustine called "the peaceful joy" which Jerome tasted in his work. It arose from the most unexpected quarter, his adversary being no other than Rufinus, with whom he engaged in a fratricidal conflict over the writings of Origen.

Jerome had first met Rufinus at Aquileia, and they had contracted one of those friendships which seem eternal. It was to this friend of his youth, who had left him to visit the Egyptian Thebaides, that Jerome, isolated in the desert of Chalcis, wrote from a bed of sickness: "Oh! if the Lord Jesus Christ would grant that I might suddenly be transported to thy side as was Philip to the minister of Candacia, and Habakkuk to Daniel, how tenderly would I clasp thee in my arms!" He closed this letter with the following words, which subsequent events so cruelly belied: "I beseech thee, let not thy heart lose sight, as have thine eyes, of a friend so long sought, with such difficulty found, and so hard to retain! Let others gloat over their gold! Friendship is an incomparable possession, a priceless treasure, but the friendship which can perish has never been a true one." [Epist. III. ad Rufinum monachum.]

This last is a somewhat bold assertion, and one which fails to take into account the inconstancy of the human heart which is liable to take back what it once gave in all sincerity. St. Augustine, who was the most devoted and faithful of friends, the mere mention of whose name recalls those of so many beings dear to him whose lives were inseparably interwoven with his own, in speaking of this rupture between Rufinus and Jerome has deplored in touching accents the frailty which undermines or menaces our affections. "What hearts will hereafter dare open themselves to one another: is there any friend to whom one may freely unbosom oneself; where is the friend one does not fear some day to count an enemy, if this rupture which we deplore could have taken place between Jerome and Rufinus? Oh! wretched plight of mankind, and worthy of pity! How can we put faith in what we see in our friend's souls when we cannot foresee what may change them? Yet why lament thus over others when we do not know what we may be ourselves? Man

barely and imperfectly knows what he is to-day; he has no conception of what he may be to-morrow." [Epist. CX. inter Epist. Hieronymi, 6.]

A famous writing of Origen's gave rise to a stormy quarrel and an irrevocable rupture between the two friends. It was curious that the timid writer, who took exception to the most legitimate of Jerome's innovations and behind whose watchful orthodoxy lurked a conservative and moody spirit of distrust, should have been the champion of the brilliant and audacious Alexandrian, who seems to us one of the most dazzling and in certain respects one of the most sympathetic personalities of the Christian school of Alexandria.

Jerome had proclaimed Origen the master of the Churches after the apostles. But he tells us that he praised Origen as an interpreter, not as a dogmatist. [Epist. LXXXIV ad Pam.] This is an awkward apology. A false dogmatist can not be a good interpreter. The fact of the matter seems to be that Jerome himself was deceived by the views of Origen. The vehemence and intolerance of Jerome's nature can be gleaned from the following passage, Epist. XXXIII. 4. It was written concerning the condemnation of Origen: "Rome consents to his condemnation; it brings together its senate against him, not because of the novelty of his doctrines, not because of heresy, as the *dogs who are mad against him* now pretend, but because they could not bear the glory of his eloquence and his knowledge, and because when he spoke they were made to appear as mutes."

A few years later he abused Rufinus in a similar manner because he sustained the defense of Origen. Like violent changes of opinion characterize his whole life. His judgments are not uniform and consistent, and this is to be taken into account when adducing him as an authority.

Rufinus died in Sicily in 410, and Jerome thus speaks of his death in the opening chapter of his Commentary on Ezechiel: "The scorpion lies underground between Enceladus and Porphyron, and the hydra of many heads has at last ceased to hiss against me." "Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?"

Rufinus also was a bitter foe. Anyone who has read his Apology, his "Invectives against Jerome," for such is the name which has clung to this work, will be fully persuaded of this. "He devoted three years to this work," says Amédée Thierry, "which appeared fragment by fragment; he divided it into two books to which he later added a supplement. He had a double aim, first to exonerate himself from the crime of heresy by casting upon Jerome the accusation directed towards himself, and then to dishonor Jerome and to throw odium on his name by personal imputations, lamenting the while being forced to such measures." [St. Jerome, Lib. IV.] Indeed no pamphlet has ever been composed with more cunning hatred, nor has ever struck the adversary more surely. According to him, Jerome was the enemy of mankind; a traducer of the faithful, whose customs he had calumniated in his book upon Virginité, at the risk of justifying and even magnifying the calumnies of the pagans; a traducer of the works of Ambrose the great bishop; a traducer of Rome, the capital of the Christian world; and a traducer of all authors, either Greek or Latin, who had preceded him. One grievance which Rufinus put forward with malignant insistence, was the important part the pagan authors played in Jerome's works and in his thoughts. In vain had Jerome after a famous vision sworn never to reopen any secular book. "Peruse his writings and see if there is a single page which does not point to his having again become a Ciceronian, and in which he does not speak of 'Our Cicero,' 'Our Homer,' 'Our Virgil'; he even boasts of having read the works of Pythagoras, which according to the erudite are no longer in existence. In almost all his works quotations from secular authors are far more numerous and lengthy than those from the Prophets and Apostles. Even when writing to women or maidens, who in our holy books seek only subjects for edification, he intersperses his letters with quotations from Horace, Cicero or Virgil." [Rufinus Apol. Lib. sec. 7.]

A controversy arose between St. Jerome and St. Augustine between the years 395 and 405. The origin of the controversy was St. Jerome's commentary of Galatians II. 11—14.

“I have read,” Augustine wrote Jerome, “a commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul which is ascribed to you, and I came across the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, where the Apostle Peter is reprovèd for the deception into which he had been drawn. I confess with no small sorrow that in it you, even you, or the author of this writing who-soever he may be, have defended the cause of untruth. I consider it a fatal error to believe it possible to find anything in the Scriptures which is untrue, in other words, to believe that the men to whom we are indebted for the sacred works could have inserted therein any falsehood. Once admit any officious untruth in the Holy books, then, in accordance with this pernicious principle, in order to escape from a moral which imposes too much restraint upon us, or from dogmas which are beyond our comprehension, we may attribute any part of these works to the artifice of an author who has not told the truth.” Having pursued his urgent argument pointed by illustrations from the Bible, Augustine, scarcely hoping that his request would be acceded to, demanded an explanation which would dispel his doubts. In conclusion he claimed a fraternally severe criticism of which he had just given an example, for those of his works which Profuturus was to offer to Jerome.

Meanwhile Profuturus, who had been made Bishop of Cirta in Numidia, instead of starting for Palestine took possession of his see, where he very shortly died. The letter, therefore, which had been given to him never reached its destination, but unfortunately fell into indiscreet hands, and the copies of it which were circulated in Dalmatia and Italy, encouraged Jerome’s enemies in their criticisms. Augustine had also been raised to the episcopacy in 395, and amid new cares and duties had no doubt forgotten not only his letter, but the commentary which had provoked it, when a note which the deacon Presidius brought him from Jerome, recalled them to his mind. As Jerome’s missive did not in any way answer the questions Augustine had put to him, the latter thinking that his letter had gone astray wrote another, which was longer but not less peremptory and no less aggressive. After having again tried to demonstrate

the dangers of the Hieronymian explanation, Augustine exhorted the aged historian to a courageous retraction of it, reminding him of the fable of Stesichorus who, struck with blindness by the demi-gods Castor and Pollux for having decried the chastity and beauty of Helen in a satire, did not recover his sight until he had sung the praises of the grace and virtue he had outraged, upon his lyre.

"I implore you," he wrote Jerome, "gird yourself with a sincere and Christian severity, correct and amend your work, and so to speak sing its recantation. The truth of Christians is incomparably more beautiful than the Helen of the Greeks, for it indeed, have our martyrs fought more bravely against the Sodom of their century, than did the Greek heroes against Troy. I do not urge you to this disavowal, so that you may recover your mental sight, for God forbid that I should think that you had lost it, yet suffer me to tell you that through I know not what inadvertency you have turned aside your eyes, sound and far-sighted though they may be, and have failed to see the disastrous consequences of a system which would admit that one of the authors of our sacred books, could once, in some part of his work, have conscientiously and piously lied." [Epist. LXVII. Augustini ad Hieronymum, inter Epistolas Hieronymi, 7.]

The man, by name Paul, to whom this letter had been confided, overcome by his terror of the sea, did not embark for Palestine, and another messenger chosen by Augustine also failed to deliver the missive to Jerome. The letter, however, spread abroad, and with it a report that Augustine had composed and sent to Rome a book against Jerome. The deacon Sisinius, a friend of the hermit, found Augustine's letter, together with some other writings by the same doctor, on an island in the Adriatic, and lost no time in sending it to its destination.

This certainly was enough to rouse a soul less ardent, and a writer less harassed by envy, or less surrounded by admirers quick to take alarm and even to be angered at all criticisms directed against their master; yet Jerome controlled himself and refrained from answering. He explained his silence in the letters which later he wrote to the Bishop of Hippo. It

seems that, although he unmistakably recognized Augustine's familiar style and manner of argument, the material evidences of authenticity were wanting. Besides which, the veteran soldier of orthodoxy shrank from opening hostilities with a bishop of his own communion whom he had loved before even knowing him, and who had sought him in friendship; one, who already illustrious, was to continue his Scriptural works, and one in whom he gladly welcomed a legitimate heir.

When at last Augustine heard of the pain his letters, divulged in such an unaccountable manner, had caused in the solitude of Bethlehem, he wrote to Jerome: "A rumor has reached me which I have difficulty in believing, yet why should I not mention it to you? It has been reported to me that some brothers, I know not whom, have given you to understand that I have written a book against you, and that I have sent it to Rome. Rest assured that this is false; God is witness that I have written no book against you" (the book in question was the letter, or letters, of which Jerome's enemies had taken a perfidious advantage). "If there be anything in my works contrary to your views, know or believe that it was written not to antagonize you, but to explain what seemed to me the truth. Point out to me anything in my writings which could offend you; I will receive your counsels as from one brother to another, glad to make any corrections, glad also of such a token of your affection. I ask and entreat this of you." Then followed one of those effusions in which Augustine's soul so often found its outlet. "Oh, why, if I may not live with you, may I not at least live in your vicinity, and hold sweet and frequent intercourse with you. But since that has not been granted me, consent at least to uphold and draw closer the ties which render us present to one another in the Lord; disdain not the letters which I will sometimes write you." [Ep. ci. Augustini ad Hieronymum, 2, 3.]

Sincere and touching as were the tones of this letter, it failed to disarm Jerome, who did not think it sufficiently explicit. Moreover the advice, and even the appeals, which it contained offended the somewhat proud susceptibility of

the aged Biblical student. After evincing his doubts, which we have already mentioned, upon the authenticity of Augustine's letter, he proceeded to add these words: "God forbid that I should dare to censure the works of your Beatitude; let it suffice me to defend my own, without criticising those of others. Your wisdom knows full well that every man is wedded to his own opinion, and that it were childish boasting to imitate the youths of old who, by slandering famous men, sought to become famous themselves. Neither am I foolish enough to be offended by the divergences which exist between your explanation and mine. You yourself are not hurt at my holding different opinions. But where our friends have really the right to reprove us is when not perceiving our own wallet, as Persius says, we look at that of another.

"I have still one thing to ask of you, which is that you should love one who loves you, and that being young, you challenge not an aged man upon the battlefield of the Scriptures. We too have had our day, and we have run our race to the best of our abilities, and now that it has come to be your turn to do likewise, and that you are making great strides, we have a right to rest. To follow your example in quoting the poets, remember Dares and Entellus, think also of the proverb which says, 'As the ox grows weary he plants his foot more firmly.' I dictate these lines with sadness; would to God I might embrace you, and that in brotherly intercourse we might have instructed one another. . . . Think of me, saintly and venerable pontiff! See how much I love you, I who, although challenged, have been unwilling to reply, and who do not yet resign myself to ascribe to you what in another I should blame."

To this letter, which was brought him by the subdeacon Asterius, Augustine made a modest and touching answer. He vindicated himself of having, so to speak, defied the aged athlete upon the field of the Scriptures, and merely asked to be enlightened. "Far be it from me that I should take offence, if by sound reasons you will and can prove to me that you understand the Epistle to the Galatians or any other like part of the Scriptures better than I. Far from resenting it, I

should deem it a privilege to be instructed or corrected by you. But, beloved brother, you would not think that your answer could have hurt me had you not thought that I had been the first to wound you. My best course is to acknowledge my fault, and to confess that I offended you in writing that letter which I cannot disown. If I offended you, I conjure you by the meekness of Jesus Christ do not render me evil for evil by offending me in your turn. Now, to dissimulate what you find to alter or correct in my writings or my discourses would be to offend me. . . . Reprove me with charity if you deem me in the wrong, innocent though I may be, or treat me with the tenderness of a father if you think me worthy of your affection. . . . Innocent, I will receive your reproaches in a spirit of gratitude; guilty, I will acknowledge both your benevolence and my own error."

The unbiased judge of this controversy must feel that St. Augustine was entirely right in his criticism and that Augustine's magnanimity and meekness prevented a bitter controversy. St. Jerome manifests here that sensitiveness to criticism which was a prominent characteristic in him. Jerome died at Bethlehem, according to the Chronicle of Prosper, in the year 420, and was interred close to the Grotto of the Nativity of Our Saviour. His body was afterwards brought to the Church of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

His sanctity and austerity is of the kind that awes rather than attracts, and is provocative of admiration rather than of imitation. For this reason he has been looked at with cool, temperate eyes; and since, moreover, he has so fully written himself down for us, there is little difficulty in discerning the broad outlines of his personality.

A strange, strong man, strenuous and intense even to the verge of ferocity, as was the fashion of his day with the the champions of orthodoxy. In him is exemplified the sort of antagonism that exists between delicacy of perception and strength of execution, and renders their equal development so rare in one and the same character. With great capacity in both directions, St. Jerome seems alternately to sacrifice one of these interests to the other. In his zealous self-hatred it never occurred to him apparently that the difficulties he

was contending with were more probably the effect of mental strain and nervous exhaustion than of an overplus of animal energy, and therefore were rather augmented than alleviated by his violent methods. In the feverish vision of his judgment before Christ's tribunal—embodying no doubt the state of his conscience at the time—the whole apparatus of secular learning by which he himself was subsequently enabled to become so acute an exponent and defender of the faith, and which the later Church blessed, sanctified, and consecrated to the service of religion, was condemned without qualification as repugnant to Christianity; even as the body and all natural affections were indiscriminately condemned as inimical to virtue and sanctity.

It is mainly to the gigantic force of his intellect, to his stupendous power of work, to his prodigious scholarship—as scholarship went in those days—that he owes his prominence in the history of Christianity. When we think of what he did, and did single-handed, for Scriptural criticism and exegesis: how he created order and coherence where previously there had been wild chaos and confusion, how he expanded and applied the critical principles then in vogue as far as the material to hand would permit we cannot help wondering what he would do, what he would be allowed to do, were he among us now, and were he master—as doubtless he would be—of the rich harvest of learning and information that has been accumulating during the intervening centuries.

Jerome's attitude towards the deuterocanonical books was not consistent. At times he bitterly attacks them, as in the following passages.

In his celebrated *Prologus Galeatus*, after the enumeration of the protocanonical books, he continues: "Whatever is outside of these is to be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore the Wisdom which is commonly ascribed to Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and Pastor are not in the Canon. The first Book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew, the second is originally Greek, as appears from the diction."

Again in the Preface to *Ezra*: "What is not received by them, (the Hebrews) and what is not of the twenty-four

Ancients (the protocanonical books) *is to be repulsed far from one.*"

In his Preface to the Books of Solomon: "There exist also Panaretus, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and another of the pseudepigrapha which is called the Wisdom of Solomon. The first I found in Hebrew, not called Ecclesiasticus, as with the Latins, but Parables: the second is nowhere with the Hebrews, and the very style savors of Greek eloquence, and some of the old writers have ascribed it to Philo the Jew. As, therefore, the Church reads Judith, Tobias, and the books of Maccabees, but does not hold them canonical, thus let her read these two volumes for the edification of the people, not for the confirmation of ecclesiastical dogmas."

In his Praef. in Esther: "To this book the received Latin version has added various ragged patches of words, adding the things which might be suggested by the theme." Here is an evident condemnation of the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther.

Writing to Laeta, Epist. 107, 12, on the mode of instructing her daughter, he says: "Let her shun all Apocrypha (the deuterocanonical books), and if ever she should read them, not for confirmation of dogmas, but out of reverence for the words, let her know that they are not of those who appear in the titles, *and that there are many false things intermingled in them*, and that one has need of great prudence to seek the *gold in the slime.*" In his Commentary on Daniel, although he comments the deuterocanonical fragments, he is inclined to think that they are fables of Greek origin. It does not increase our esteem of Jerome's *critique* to find that one cause of his doubt of the fragments is that in the fourteenth chapter, first verse, the King of Babylon is said to cry out with a loud voice; whereas Jerome had maintained that only the saints are said in Scripture to cry out with a loud voice.

In his prologue to Daniel, he justifies himself for having fixed an obelus to the fragments of Daniel, alleging that "Origen, and Eusebius, and Apollinaris and other church-writers and doctors of Greece declare that these visions have

o place with the Hebrews, and that they needed not to respond to Porphyrius in defense of those things to which the Holy Scriptures gave no authority."

In his prologue to Jeremiah he declares that he has omitted the book of Baruch, and the pseudepigraphic Epistle of Jeremiah, "setting at naught the rage of his calumniators." We have no wish to minimize Jerome's opposition to the deuterocanonical books. At times it was pronounced and violent. But he could, at most, only be termed a violent doubter. He never was calm and constant in his rejection of those books. The fact that, in such strange opposition, he was at variance with all his contemporaries, made him waver, and *we find more quotations from deuterocanonical scripture in Jerome, than in any other writer yet quoted.* Often when opposed by his adversaries for his Scriptural views he vented his resentment upon the books themselves. Then, when asked by a friend, he would calmly discuss the merits of these same writings. He translated Tobias from the Chaldaic at the instance of Chromatius and Heliodorus, the bishops, "judging it better to displease the Pharisees, in order to grant the requests of the bishops." Praef. in Lib. Tob.

In Jerome's mind there was ever a conflict between two principles. By conviction and education he was a Christian, moulded by Christian tradition. His higher studies had made him in a certain sense a Jew. The weird quaint beauty of the Hebrew tongue, the deeper insight into the substance of the Old Law which only Hebraists can have, the conviction that of all the Christian writers of his time, he alone knew Hebrew, made him look with disfavor upon the books which the Jews rejected. It is an evidence in favor of the deuterocanonical books that they retained their place in the list of Scripture after the many tests to which they were subjected. The genius of Jerome was not able to draw even one Father to entertain his views on the deuterocanonical works. He fluctuated between his reverence for the Christian tradition, and his respect for the Synagogue till his death, and contradicted himself many times in his views on the books in question.

Dan. XIII. 61

“Et consurrexerunt adversus duos presbyteros (convicerat enim eos Daniel ex ore suo falsum dixisse testimonium) feceruntque eis sicut male egerant adversus proximum.”

Dan. XIV. 35

“Et apprehendit eum Angelus Domini in vertice ejus, et portavit eum capillo capitis sui, posuitque eum in Babylone supra lacum in impetu spiritus sui.”

Sap. I. 11.

“Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, que nihil prodest, et a detractatione parcite linguæ, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam.”

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Dan. XIII. 51.

“Et dixit ad eos Daniel; Separate illos ab invicem procul, et dijudicabo eos.”

Judith XII. 10.

“—et percussit bis in cervicem, et abscidit caput ejus, et abstulit conopeum ejus a columnis, evolvit corpus ejus truncum etc.

St. Jerome, Epist. I. 9.

“Nunc Susanna nobilis fide omnium subeat mentibus, quæ iniquo damnata judicio, Spiritu Sancto puerum replente, salvata est. Ecce non dispar in utraque misericordia Domini. Illa liberata per judicem, ne iret ad gladium; hæc a judice damnata, absoluta per gladium est.”

Epist. III. 1.

“O si nunc mihi Dominus Jesus Christus. . . Habacuc ad Danielem translationem concederet!”

Epist. XIV. 6.

“Os autem quod mentitur occidit animam.”

Ibid. 9

“Potenter potentes tormenta patientur.”

Ibid.

“Presbyteros puer Daniel judicat.”

Epist. XXII. 21.

“Tunc Holofernus caput Judith continens amputavit.”

Esther XIV. 11.

“Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt,” etc.

Sap. II. 23.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum.”

Judith VIII. 6, et XIII. 9, 10

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti.”

Certainly Jerome does not wish to say that Paul committed to memory Apocryphal Scripture.

Eccli. III. 33.

“Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua, et eleemosyna resistit peccatis—.”

Eccli. IV. 25.

“Est enim confusio adducens peccatum, et est confusio adducens gloriam et gratiam.”

Eccli. XI. 27.

“In die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum: et in die mal-

Epist. XLVIII. 14

“Ne tradas, inquit Esther, hereditatem his qui non sunt, idolis scilicet et dæmonibus.”

Epist. LI. 6

“Dicit enim (Salomon) in Sapientia quæ titulo ejus inscribitur: ‘Creavit Deus incorruptum hominem, et imaginem suæ proprietatis dedit ei.’”

Epist. LIV. 16.

“Legimus in Judith (si cui tamen placet volumen recipere) viduam confectam jejuniis et habitu lugubri sordidatam, quæ non lugebat mortuum virum sed squalore corporis, Sponsi quærebat adventum. Video armatam gladio manum cruentam dexteram. Recog-nosco caput Holophernis de mediis hostibus reportatum.”

Epist. LVII. 1.

“Legerat enim (Paulus) illud Jesu: ‘Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientis.’”

Epist. LXVI. 5.

“—sciens scriptum; ‘Sicut aqua extinguit ignem; ita eleemosyna peccatum.’”

Ibid. 5.

“Est confusio quæ ducit ad mortem, et est confusio quæ ducit ad vitam.”

Epist. LXXVII. 6.

“—scilicet in die bona malorum non oblita est.”

orum ne immemor sis bonorum. .—.”

Sap. IV. 11.

“—raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius.”

Sap. IV. 8.

“Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum,” etc.

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea et quæsivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.”

A testimony that can be joined with those of Jerome is that of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, which was translated by Jerome. It is designated as Epist. C. in Migne's Works of Jerome. In the ninth paragraph Theophilus speaks of the Maccabees as follows:

II. Maccab. Passim.

Epist. LXXIX. 2.

“Raptus est ne malitia mutaret mentem ejus, quia placita erat Deo anima illius.”

Ibid. 6.

“Cani enim hominis sapientia ejus.”

Epist. XCVIII. 13.

“Et alibi legimus: ‘Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.’ Quod nunquam *Scriptura* memoraret nisi irrationalia quæque et inanima illius nomine complerentur.”

Ibid. 19.

“—et in illius perseverantes amore cantabimus, ‘Amator fui pulchritudinis ejus.’”

“Quid memorem insignes Maccabæorum victorias? qui, ne illicitis carnibus vescerentur et communes tangerent cibos, corpora obtulere cruciatibus: totiusque orbis in *ecclesiis Christi* laudibus *prædicantur*, fortes poenis, ardentiores quibus comburebantur ignibus.”

Could the universal Church give such honor to Apocryphal martyrs?

Sap. IX. 15.

“—corpus enim, quod cor-
rumpitur, aggravat animam, et
terrena inhabitatio deprimit
sensum multa cogitantem.”

Eccli. XXII. 6.

“Musica in luctu importuna
narratio.”

If words can express thoughts, the man who penned these lines believed that he was quoting the inspired word of God.

Eccli. XXVII. 28

“Qui in altum mittit lapid-
em, super caput ejus cadet; et
plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vul-
nera.”

Esther XIV. 16.

“Tu scis necessitatem meam,
quod abominer signum super-
biæ et gloriæ meæ, quod est su-
per caput meum in diebus os-
tentationis meæ, et detester
illud quasi pannum menstrua-
tæ,” etc.

Eccli. IV. 28.

“—nec retineas verbum in
tempore salutis.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, lin-
guam nequam noli audire, et
ori tuo facito ostia et seras.”

Epist. CVIII. 22.

“Si non erit sublata diversi-
tate sexus eadem corpora non
resurgent: ‘Aggrava etnim ter-
rena inhabitatio sensum multa
cogitantem.’ ”

Epist. CXVIII. 1.

“*Divina Scriptura loquitur:*
‘Musica in luctu, intempestiva
narratio.’ ”

Epist. CXXV. 19.

“Et alibi: ‘Qui mittit in al-
tum lapidem, recidet in caput
ejus.’ ”

Epist. CXXX. 4.

“Oderat ornatum suum et
cum Esther loquebatur ad Do-
minum: ‘Tu nosti quod ode-
rim insigne capitis mei, et tan-
tæ ducam immunditiæ velut
pannum menstruatæ.’ ”

Epist. CXLVIII. 2.

“—illud mecum Scripturæ
reputans: ‘Tempus tacendi, et
tempus loquendi.’ Et iterum:
‘Ne retineas verbum in tem-
pore salutis.’ ”

Ibid. 16.

“Noli.” *inquit Scriptura,*
‘consentaneus esse, etc.’ Et
alibi: ‘Sepi aures tuas spinis, et
noli audire linguam nequam.’ ”

Eccli. XXVIII. 29-30.

“Aurum tuum et argentum tuum conflu, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos : et attende, ne forte labaris in lingua—.”

Eccli. III. 20.

“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam—.”

Eccli. X. 10.

“Quoniam a Deo profecta est sapientia,” etc.

Sap. VI. 26.

“Multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum; et rex sapiens stabilimentum populi est.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi,” etc.

Sap. XI. 27.

“Parcis autem omnibus, quoniam tua sunt, Domine, qui amas animas.”

Dan. XIII. Passim.

Ibid. 18.

“Unde *Scriptura dicit*: ‘Argentum et aurum tuum conflu, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos: et attende ne forte labaris lingua.’ ”

Ibid. 20.

“Unde *Scriptura dicit*: ‘Quanto magnus es; humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam.’ ”

St. Jerome Interpretatio Lib. Didymi, 10.

“‘Dominus,’ inquit, ‘dabit sapientiam, et a facie ejus sapientia et intellectus procedit.’ ”

Ibid. 21.

“Multitudo quippe sapientium, salus mundi.”

Ibid. 39.

“Quod tibi non vis fieri,” etc.

Ibid. 46.

“—juxta illud quod alibi scribitur: ‘Parces autem omnibus, Domine amator animarum, quia tuæ sunt, neque enim odies quos fecisti.’ ”

Adversus Jovinian, 25.

“Erat igitur Daniel adhuc puer, et notus populo vel propter interpretationem somniorum regis vel propter Susannæ liberationem et occisionem presbyterorum.”

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Sap. I. 4-5.

“Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quæ sunt sine intellectu, et corripietur a superveniente iniquitate.”

Sap. I. 11.

“Custodite ergo vos a muratione, quæ nihil prodest, et a detractone parcite linguæ, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur occidit animam.”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris,” etc.

II. Maccab. V. Passim.

Adversus Jov. Lib. II. 25.

“—quanto majoris criminis, tanto majoris et pœnæ. ‘Potentes enim potenter tormenta patientur.’ ”

Apologia Adversus Rufinum

17.

“Loquitur et Sapientia quam sub nomine Salomonis legimus: ‘In malevolam animam nunquam intrabit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Spiritus enim Sanctus eruditionis fugiet dolum et recedet a cogitationibus stultis.’ ”

Adversus Rufinum Lib. III.

26.

“Os quod mentitur occidit animam.”

Adversus Pelagianos Lib. I.

33.

“Respondet stultæ interrogationi tuæ liber Sapientiæ: ‘Altiora te ne quæsieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris.’ ”

Adversus Pelagianos Lib. II.

30.

“Antiochus Epiphanius rex crudelissimus subvertit altare, ipsamque justitiam fecit conculcari, quia concessum erat a Domino, causasque reddit propter peccata plurima.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est.” etc.

Eccli. I. 33.

“Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva justitiam, et Deus præbebit illam tibi.”

Eccli. XXVII. 29.

“Et qui foveam fodit, incidet in eam: et qui statuit lapidem proximo, offendet in eo: et qui laqueum alii ponit, peribit in illo.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. II. 12.

“Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis” etc.

Dan. XIII. Passim.

Sap. IV. 8.

“Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis.”

Comment. in Eccles. Cap. VIII.

“Et hoc est quod in libro Tobiae scribitur: ‘Mysterium regis abscondere bonum est.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. IX.

“Dato nobis itaque præcepto quod dicit: ‘Desiderasti sapientiam, serva mandata, et Dominus ministrabit tibi eam.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. X.

“Siquidem et alibi ipse Salomon ait: ‘Qui statuit laqueum, capiatur in illo.’ ”

Comment. in Isaiam, Cap. I.

Vers. 24.

“—de quibus *scriptum est*: ‘potentes potenter tormenta patientur.’ ” (Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. III. Vers.

1.

“—cogitastis consilium pessimum dicentes: ‘Alligemus justum, quia inutilis est nobis.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 2.

“Et inveteratos dierum malorum duos presbyteros juxta Theodotionem in Danielis principio legimus.”

Ibid.

“—de qua scriptum est: ‘Canities hominum, prudentia est.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 3.

“Unde et illud in *nostris libris* legimus: ‘Amici tibi sint plurimi, consiliarius autem unus de mille.’ ”

- Eccli. VII. 6.
 "Noli quærerere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumperere iniquitates," etc.
- Eccli. XI. 30.
 "Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."
- Eccli. XIII. 1.
 "Qui tetigerit picem, inquinabitur ab ea," etc.
- Esther. Passim.
- Dan. XIII. 56.
 "Et amoto eo, jussit venire alium et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te," etc.
- Sap. IV. 8.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Eccli. I. 33.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Sap. VI. 7.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Ibid. Vers. 7.
 "—aliudque mandatum: 'Ne quæras iudex fieri: ne forte non possis auferre iniquitates.' "
- Ibid. Vers. 12.
 "—nec prævenit sententiam iudicis sui, *dicente Scriptura sancta*: 'Ne beatum dicas quemquam hominem ante mortem.' "
- Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. VI.
 Vers. 5.
 "Ex quo ostenditur noxium esse vivere cum peccatoribus: 'Qui enim tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea.' "
- Ibid. Lib. V. Cap. XIV.
 Vers. 2.
 "Potest et in Assueri temporibus intelligi, quando, occiso Holopherne, hostilis ab Israel est cæsus exercitus." "
- Ibid. Lib. VII. Cap. XXIII.
 Vers. 12.
 "Unde et ad senem aduulterum dicitur: 'Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te.' "
- Ibid. Lib. VIII. Cap. XXIV.
 Vers. 21.
 (Oft quoted.)
- Ibid. Cap. XXVI. Vers. 4.
 "Unde et in alio loco scribitur: 'Desiderasti sapientiam, serva mandata, et Dominus tribuet tibi eam.' "
- Ibid. Lib. IX. Cap. XVIII.
 Vers. 23. et. seqq.
 (Oft quoted.)

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Eccli. X. 9.

“Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis?”

Sap. III. 13, 14.

“Maledicta creatura eorum, quoniam felix est sterilis, et incoinquinata, quæ nescivit thorum in delicto, habebit fructum in respectione animarum sanctarum: et spado, qui non operatus est per manus suas iniquitatem, nec cogitavit adversus Deum nequissima: dabitur enim illi fidei donum electum, et sors in templo Dei acceptissima.”

Sap. I. 1.

“Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate,” etc.

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“—beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti—.”

Sap. I. 4.

“Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Ibid. Cap. XXIX. Vers. 15,
16.

“—cum scriptum sit de Dei Sapientia: ‘Si enim quis perfectus fuerit in filiis hominum absque tua sapientia, in nihil reputabitur.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. XIV. Præf.

“De quo scribitur: ‘Quid gloriatur terra et cinis?’ ”

Ibid. Lib. XV. Cap. LVI.

Vers. 4, 5.

“Qui sint eunuchi supra diximus. . . quibus loquitur et Sapientia quæ titulo Salomonis inscribitur: ‘Beata sterilis immaculata quæ, non cognovit stratum in delicto; habebit fructum in visitatione animarum. Et eunuchus qui non est operatus manu iniquitatem, neque cogitavit contra Dominum mala. Dabitur enim fidei ejus electa gratia et pars in templo Domini delectabilis.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. LVI. Vers. 10–12.

“—et audiamus Scripturam monentem: ‘Sapite de Domino in bonitate.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. XVI. Præf.

“Ac ne a profanis tantum sumere videor exemplum, nimirum hoc illud est aliis verbis Propheta demonstrat: ‘Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientium.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 15.

“Et quomodo in perversam animam non ingreditur sapientia, neque habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.’ ”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim Sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus,” etc.

Eccli. XVI. 18.

“Ecce cœlum, et cœli cœlorum, abyssus, et universa terra, quæ in eis sunt, in conspectu illius commovebuntur.”

Esther. XIV. 16.

“Tu scis necessitatem meam, quod abominer signum superbiæ et gloriæ meæ, quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentationis meæ, et detester illud quasi pannum menstruatæ, et non portem in diebus silentii mei—.”

Esther XIV. 11.

“Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt,” etc.

Eccli. XI. 27, 29.

“In die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum, et in die malorum ne immemor sis bonorum. Malitia horæ oblivionem facit luxuriæ magnæ, et in fine hominis denudatio operum illius.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. XVII. Cap. LXIII.

Vers. 10.

“De quo et in Sapiencia reperimus quæ nomine Salomonis scribitur: ‘Sanctus enim Spiritus disciplinæ fugiet dolum, et recedet a cogitationibus stultis.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 15.

“Denique Salomon qui ædificavit domum Dei, ad eum precans loquitur: ‘Cœli cœlorum et terra non sufficiunt tibi.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. XVII. Cap. LXIV.

Vers. 6.

“—cui et Esther diadema suum quod erat regie potestatis insigne comparat quod nequaquam voluntate sed necessitate portabat: ‘Tu scis necessitatem meam: quoniam detestor signum superbiæ meæ, quod est super caput meum in diebus ostensionis meæ: abominor illud sicut pannum menstruum: nec porto in diebus quietis.’ ”

Ibid. Lib. XVIII. Cap. LXV.

Vers. 3.

“Unde et Esther loquitur ad Dominum: ‘Ne tradas hæreditatem tuam his qui non sunt.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 17, 18.

“—juxta illud quod scriptum est: ‘In die bona, oblivio malorum, et alibi: Afflictio horæ oblivionem facit deliciarum.’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 20.

(Oft quoted.)

- Ibid. Comment. in Jerem. Lib. III. Cap. XII. Vers. 13.
- Sap. I. 4. Ibid. Lib. IV. Cap. XVIII. Vers. 18.
 (Already quoted). “—dicente Scriptura: ‘In perversam animam non intrabit Sapientia.’ ”
- Eccli. XXII. 11. Ibid. Cap. XXI. Vers. 14.
 “Modicum plora supra mortuum, quoniam requievit.” “—juxta illud quod scriptum est: Mors viro requies cui clausit Deus viam suam.”
- The same quotation appears in the twenty-third Chapter, fifth and following verses.
- Sap. VIII. 2. Ibid. Lib. V. Cap. XXIX. Vers. 1 et seqq.
 Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsvi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.” “Et in alio loco (scribit Salomon): ‘Hanc exquisivi sponsam accipere mihi, et amator factus sum decoris ejus.’ ”
- Dan. XIII. 56, 57. Ibid. Cap. XXIX. Vers. 21 et seqq.
 “Et amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum: sic faciebatis filiabus Israël, et illæ timentes loquebantur vobis, sed filia Juda non sustinuit iniquitatem vestram.” “—quorum uni loquitur Daniel: ‘Inveterate dierum malorum. Et alteri: Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum. Sic faciebatis filiabus Israël et illæ metuentes loquebantur vobiscum, sed non filia Juda sustinuit iniquitatem vestram.’ ”
- Eccli. XXII. 6. Comment. in Ezechiel, Præf.
 “Musica in luctu importuna narratio.” etc. “—nec putavi illam sententiam negligendam: ‘Musica in luctu, importuna narratio.’ ”
- Sap. VI. 7. Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. V. Vers. 8, 9.
- Dan. XIII. 32. Ibid. Cap. VI. Vers. 9, 10.
 “At iniqui illi jusserunt ut discooperiretur (erat enim co-

“Quam ob causam et in Daniele duo presbyteri præceperunt

operta) ut vel sic satiarentur
decore ejus."

Dan. XIII. 56.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. VII. 22.

"—est enim in illa spiritus
intelligentiæ, sanctus, unicus,
multiplex, subtilis, disertus,
mobilis, incoinquinatus, certus,
suavis, amans bonum, acutus,
quem nihil vetat, benefaciens —.

In the fifth book Jerome quotes frequently the sentence
of Wisdom VI. 7: "Potentes potenter tormenta patientur."

Eccli. XV. 9.

"Non est speciosa laus in ore
peccatoris."

Eccli. III. 22.

"Altiora te ne quæsieris, et
fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris:
sed quæ præcepit tibi Deus, illa
cogita semper, et in pluribus
operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus."

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

"Rectorem te posuerunt?
noli extolli: esto in illis quasi
unus ex ipsis."

Eccli. X. 9.

"Avaro autem nihil est scelestius.
Quid superbit terra
et cinis?"

revelari Susannam ut nudati
corporis decore fruereentur."

Ibid. Lib. IV. Cap. XVI.
Vers. 3.

"Mirabilis Daniel qui ad presbyterum delinquentem, et adulterio jungentem homicidium puer ausus est dicere: 'Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te.'"

Ibid. Vers. 10.

"Nam et in libro Sapientiæ qui a quibusdam Salomonis inscribitur, spiritus sapientiæ unigenitus et multiplex tenuis et mutabilis appellatur."

Lib. V. Cap. XVI. Vers. 59,
et seqq.

"Non est pulchra laudatio
in ore peccatoris."

Ibid. Lib. VI. Cap. XVIII
Vers. 6. et seqq.

"Sed et illud quod alibi dicitur: 'Majora te non requiras, et fortiora te non scrutaris.'"

Ibid.

"De quibus scriptum est: 'Principem te constituerunt ne eleveris: esto inter eos quasi unus ex ipsis.'"

Ibid.

"—cui illud convenit: 'Quid gloriatur terra et cinis?'"

Esther XIV. 11.

“Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt,” etc.

Ibid. Lib. VIII. Cap. XXVII.

Vers. 19.

Unde et Esther contra idola loquens: ‘Ne tradas,’ inquit, ‘sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt.’ ”

The same quotation occurs again in the thirty-third verse of the same chapter of the commentary.

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Ibid. Lib. IX. Cap. XXIX.

Vers. 8. et seqq.

Ibid. Cap. XXX. Vers. 20 et seqq.

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies sæculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem cæli, et latitudinem terræ, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?”

“Et in alio loco: ‘Abyssum et sapientiam quis investigabit?’ ”

Eccli. XXVII. 29.

“Et qui foveam fodit, incidet in eam,” etc.

Ibid. Lib. X. Cap. XXXII.

Vers. 17. et seqq.

“Qui enim fodit foveam incidet in eam.”

Eccli. XX. 32.

“Sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus: quæ utilitas in utrisque?”

Ibid. Cap. XXXIII. Vers. 1 et seqq.

“De magistris negligentibus Salomon loquitur: ‘Sapientia abscondita, et thesaurus occultus, quæ utilitas in utrisque?’ ”

Eccli. VII. 6.

“Noli quærere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates: ne forte extimescas faciem potentis, et ponas scandalum in æquitate tua.”

Ibid. Lib. XI. Cap. XXXIV

I.

“Unde magnopere cavendum est et observanda illa præcepta: ‘Ne quæras iudex fieri, ne forte non possis auferre iniquitates, et iterum: quanto major es, tanto magis te humilia, et in conspectu Domini invenies gratiam.’ Et rursum ‘Ducem te constituerunt, ne

Eccli. III. 29.

“Cor nequam gravabitur in doloribus, et peccator adjiciet ad peccandum.”

- Eccli. XXXII. 1. eleveris: sed esto inter eos quasi
 "Rectorem te posuerunt? unus ex illis.' "
- noli extolli: esto in illis quasi
 unus ex ipsis.' "
- Eccli. I. 2. Ibid. Lib. XIII. Cap. XLIII.
 (Already quoted.) Vers. 13. et seqq.
 "Scriptum est: 'Abyssum et
 sapientiam quis investigabit?'"
- Eccli. XXXII. 1. Ibid. Cap. XLV. 9.
 (Already quoted.)
- Eccli. XXVIII. 29. Ibid. Vers. 10 et seqq.
 "—et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos." "——dicente Scriptura: 'Sermonibus tuis facies stateram et appendiculum.' "
- Sap. I. 4. Comment. in Daniel, Cap. II.
 (Already quoted.) Vers. 21.
 "In perversam autem animam non introibit sapientia."

In this same chapter he inveighs against the deutero-canonical fragments of Daniel. In the twenty-third verse he says: "And observe that Daniel is of the sons of Juda, not a priest as the *fable of Bcl* declares." Coming to the Canticle of the youths in the fiery furnace, he prefaces his commentary on it as follows: "Hitherto the Hebrews read: what follows even to the end of the Canticle of the three youths is not contained in Hebrew; concerning which, lest we may seem to have passed it by, a few words are to be said." He then proceeds to comment it in the same manner as the other portions of the book.

- I. et II. Maccab. Passim. Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 14.
 "Legamus Maccabæorum libros et Josephi historiam." Ibid. Cap. XI. Vers. 34, 35.
 "Lege Maccabæorum libros." Ibid. Cap. XII. Vers. 1 et seqq.
 "Ponit quoque historiam de Maccabæis in qua dicitur mul-

Sap. IV. 8.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. III. 13.

“Maledicta creatura eorum, quoniam felix est sterilis, et incoinquinata, quæ nescivit thorum in delicto,” etc.

Sap. III. 16.

“Fili autem adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt, et ab iniquo thoro semen exterminabitur.”

He quotes again Sap. VI. 7. in Lib. III. Cap. XI. Vers. 8 and 9.

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum—.”

Eccli. XVI. 19.

“—montes simul, et coiles, et fundamenta terræ; cum conspexerit illa Deus, tremore concutientur.”

In Lib. III. Cap. VI. Vers. 7 et seqq., he quotes again Sap. VI. 7.

Ibid. Vers. 12 he repeats Esther XIV. II.

Eccli. XV. 9.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.”

tos Judæorum sub Mathathia et Juda Maccabæo ad eremum confugisse, et latuisse in speluncis et in cavernis petrarum, et post victoriam processisse.”

Comment. in Osee Lib. II.

Cap. VII. 8, 10.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. X. Vers. 14.

“Beata sterilis immaculata quæ non cognovit cubile in peccato.”

Ibid.

“Ex iniquo enim concubitu semen peribit.”

Ibid. Cap. XII. Vers. 7, 8.

“Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te.”

Comment. in Amos, Lib. II.

Cap. IV. Vers. 12, 13.

“Iste est qui firmat tonitruum, sive montes confirmat, ad cujus vocem *cælorum cardines et terræ fundamenta quatiuntur.*”

Ibid. Cap. V. Vers. 25.

“—quia non est pulchra laudatio in ore peccatoris.”

Tob. XIV. 5-6 (juxta LXX.)

“Magnopere autem senuit: et vocavit filium suum et filios ejus, et dixit ei: fili, accipe filios tuos: ecce senui, et ad exeundum e vita sum: abi in Mediam, fili, quoniam credidi quaecumque locutus est Jonas Propheta de Ninive quia subvertetur.”

In Jonam, Prologus.

“Liber quoque Tobiaë, licet non habeatur in Canone, tamen quia usurpatur ab Ecclesiasticis viris, tale quid memorat, dicente Tobia ad filium suum: ‘Fili, ecce senui, et in eo sum ut revertar de vita mea: tolle filios meos, et vade in Mediam; fili, scio enim quæ locutus est Jonas propheta de Ninive, quoniam subvertetur.’”

When Jerome speaks of the Canon, he evidently means the collection of the Jews. He clearly testifies here that tradition favored Tobias, although it was not received by the Jews, and he is disposed to give a certain reverence to the book on account of its use by the Fathers.

Judith XVI. 3.

“Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi.”

Comment. in Michæam, Lib.

I. Cap. II. Vers. 6, 8.

“Recedente autem pace et auxilio Dei, quia restiterant Domino, de quo dicitur: ‘Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen ei.’”

Eccli. XX. 31.

“Xenia et dona excæcant oculos judicium, et quasi mutus in ore avertit correptiones eorum.”

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 9 et seqq.

“Munera excæcant oculos etiam Sapientium, et quasi frenum in ore avertunt increpationem.”

Eccli. VI. 7.

“Si possides amicum, in tentatione posside cum,” etc.

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. VII. Vers.

5, 7.

“Unde dicitur: ‘Si habes amicum, in tentatione posside eum.’”

Eccli. IV. 25.

“Est enim confusio adducens peccatum, et est confusio adducens gloriam et gratiam.”

Ibid. Vers. 14 et seqq.

“—et erunt in confusione quæ ducit ad vitam.”

In Nahum, Cap. III. Vers. 8 seqq., he quotes again the oft-quoted sentence from Dan. XIII. 56.

Dan. XIV. 35.

“Et apprehendit eum Angelus Domini in vertice ejus, et portavit eum capillo capitis sui, posuitque eum in Babylone supra lacum in impetu spiritus sui.”

Eccli. I. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XX. 32.

“Sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus: quæ utilitas in utrisque?”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda,” etc.

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXVII. 28.

“Qui in altum mittit lapidem, super caput ejus cadet: et plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vulnera.”

Judith. Passim.

Prologus in Habacuc.

“—Daniel docere te poterit, ad quem in lacum leonum Habacuc cum prandio mittitur.”

Comment. in Habacuc, Lib. I. Cap. III. Vers. 11, seqq.

“Et pulchre opinionem phantasie altitudinem vocat juxta Jesum filium Sirach, qui ait: ‘Abyssum et sapientiam quis investigabit?’ ”

Comment. in Sophoniam, Cap. II. Vers. 3, 4.

“—hoc est, alios doceant: ‘Sapientia enim abscondita et thesaurus non comparens, quæ utilitas in ambobus?’ ”

Ibid. Vers. 8 et seqq.

“Et ad presbyteros cupientes sub figura Susannæ Ecclesiæ corrumpere castitatem dicat Daniel: ‘Hoc est judicium Dei, Semen Chanaan et non Juda.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 8, 9.

Ibid. Vers. 19, 20.

“—et de Jesu filio Sirach testimonium proferamus: ‘Qui mittit lapidem in excelsum, super caput suum mittit.’ ”

Comment. in Haggai, Cap. I. Vers. 5, 6.

“Similiter qui penitus non bibit, siti peribit, sicut et in Ju-

dith (si quis tamen vult librum recipere mulieris) et parvuli siti perierunt.”

Comment. in Zachariam, Lib. II. Cap. VII. Vers. 8 et seqq.

“Vidua quoque et pupillum de quibus nobis præceptum est: ‘Esto pupillis pater, et pro viro matri eorum, iudicans pupillum et justificans viduam.’”

Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 21, 22.

“Appropinquat enim Dominus his qui non tentant eum, et ostendit faciem suam his qui non sunt increduli.”

Ibid. Cap. IX. Vers. 15, 16.

“—quia aggravat terrena habitatio sensum multa curantem.”

Ibid. Cap. X. Vers. 1. et seqq.

“Ita felicitas Maccabæorum tempore promissa est, quando sancti lapides elevati sunt super terram,” etc.

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. XII.

Vers 9.

“Unde in Sapiencia quæ Salomonis inscribitur (si cui tamen placet librum recipere) scriptum reperimus: ‘Creavit ut essent omnia, et salutares generationes mundi, et non erit eis venenum mortiferum.’”

Ibid.

“Et in supradicto volumine continetur: ‘Quæ in cælo sunt

Eccli. IV. 10.

“In iudicando esto pupillis misericors ut pater, et pro viro matri illorum—.”

Sap. I. 2.

“—quoniam invenitur ab his qui non tentant illum: apparet autem eis, qui fidem habent in illum—.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Maccab. Passim.

Sap. I. 14.

“Creavit enim, ut essent omnia: et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra.”

Sap. IX. 16–18.

“Quæ autem in cælis sunt quis investigabit? Sensum au-

tem tuum quis sciet, nisi tu deris sapientiam, et miseris spiritum sanctum tuum de altissimis: et sic correctæ sint semitæ eorum, qui sunt in terris, et quæ tibi placent didicerint homines? ”

Sap. IV. 8.

“Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. I. 6.

“Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiæ, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis, quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguæ ejus auditor.”

Judith V.

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide, ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

quis investigabit? nisi quod tu dedisti sapientiam, et Spiritum Sanctum misisti de excelsis, et sic correctæ sunt semitæ eorum qui versantur in terra; et quæ tibi placent eruditi sunt homines.’ ”

Ibid. Cap. XIV. Vers. 9.

“—de quo *scriptum est*: ‘Cani hominis sapientia ejus.’ ”

Comment. in Malach. Cap. II. Vers. 1, 2.

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 7. et seqq.

“—et consequetur illud de quo scriptum est: ‘Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientium.’ ”

Comment. in Evang. Math. Lib. I. Cap. V. Vers. 13.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. VI. Vers. 7.

“Deus enim non verborum sed cordis auditor est.”

Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 18.

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. XXI. Vers. 28.

“—hoc est: ‘Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.’ ”

Sap. XII. 1.

“O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.”

II. Maccab. VI. et VII. Passim.

Sap. XI. 25.

“Diligis enim omnia quæ sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti: nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti, aut fecisti.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“—corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol; nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. I. 11.

“Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, quæ nihil prodest, et a detractione parcite linguæ, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam.”

Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas Lib. I. Cap. III. 2.

“—de quo (Spiritu Sancto) alibi scribitur: ‘Incorruptus Spiritus est in omnibus.’”

Ibid. Lib. II Cap. III. 14.

“Eleazarus quoque nonagenarius sub Antiocho rege Syriæ, et cum septem filiis gloriosa mater, utrum maledictos eos æstimaturi fuerint, an omni laude dignissimos?”

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephesios Lib. I. Cap. I. 6.

“Dicitur quippe ad Deum: ‘Diligis omnia, et nihil abjicis eorum quæ fecisti. Neque enim odio quid habens condidisti.’”

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. IV. 2.

“Corruptibile enim corpus aggravat animam, et terrenum hoc tabernaculum sensum opprimit multa curantem.”

Ibid. 4.

“—neque in morem stulti quasi luna mutetur.”

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. V. 30.

Breviarium in Psalmos, Ps. IV.

“Os enim quod mentitur occidit animam.”

Sap. VII. 27.

“Et cum sit una, omnia potest, et in se permanens omnia innovat, et per nationes in animas sanctas se transfert; amicos Dei et prophetas constituit.”

Eccli. I. 16.

“Initium, sapientiæ timor Domini,” etc.

Maccab. Passim.

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol; nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Eccli. XIV. 18.

“Omnis caro sicut foenum veterascet, et sicut folium fructificans in arbore viridi.”

Eccli. X. 9.

“Avaro autem nihil est scelerius. Quid superbit terra et cinis?”

Eccli. III. 17.

“—et in justitia ædificatur tibi, et in die tribulationis commemorabitur tui, et sicut in sereno glacies solventur peccata tua.”

Sap. I. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. Ps. IX.

“Et alibi (ipse Deus ait): Anima justi sedes sapientiæ.”

Ibid. Ps. XXXIII.

“Ut illud: ‘Initium sapientiæ, timor Domini.’”

Ibid.

“Filiis Maccabæorum vel modo unusquisque sanctus clamaverunt, et illos et modo unumquemque ex omnibus tribulationibus liberat.”

Ibid. Ps. LXVII.

“Inspiciens enim sicut luna mutatur.”

Ibid. Ps. LXXXIII.

“Illa autem caro de qua dicitur: Omnis caro foenum, non desiderat Dominum.”

Ibid. Ps. CXII.

“Quia de terra et putredine peccatorum nostrorum erexit nos, ut illud: ‘Quid superbis, pulvis et terra?’—fiat nobis illud quod scriptum est: ‘Sicut glacies in sereno solvuntur peccata tua.’”

Ibid. Ps. CXIX.

“—nostras interficimus animas quod mentimur: ‘Os

enim quod mentitur occidit animam.'''

Liber De Expositione Psalmorum, Ps. CXXVII.

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quæsi spon- sam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formæ illius.”

“Dicit Salomon quia voluerit sapientiam ducere scilicet sponsam.”

These are the quotations which a cursory examination of Jerome's works reveals. We see in them that he quoted with great frequency the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

Three causes are usually assigned for the doubts that prevailed among some Fathers concerning the deuterocanonical books.

1.—Disputations between Jew and Christian were frequent in those days. The chief intellectual adversaries of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries, were Jews, and the works of the Fathers of this period are filled with refutations of their attacks. As the Jews rejected the deuterocanonical books, the Fathers were obliged to draw Scriptural materials from the protocanonical writings. Hence, gradually these were preferred in authority to the deuterocanonical books; and, as they furnished all that was needed from a source accepted by both sides, the deuterocanonical works were often given a secondary place, and sometimes left out altogether.

2.—A second cause is found in Origen's critical edition of the Hexapla. In this work, which we shall describe more fully in the progress of this work, Origen compared the Septuagint text with the Hebrew and other Greek texts, then existing, marking the passages which were in the Septuagint, and not found in the Hebrew by an *ὀβελός*. Copies made from this text, reproducing the diacritic points, soon filled the East. Now the Alexandrian grammarians were wont to use the *ὀβελός*, to denote a spurious passage. Origen's intention was evidently not to brand these books and fragments as spurious, but the error arose in the East especially to distrust what was denoted by this sign.

3.— Finally, the fourth and fifth centuries were an age fertile in heresies, apocryphal productions, absurd fables, and fictitious revelations, and in their caution against what was spurious, the Fathers sometimes erred in slowness to receive those books which have in their favor all the evidence that is necessary, and that we have a right to expect. It was by them judged safer to refuse the quality of canonicity to an inspired book, than, by excessive credulity, to approve an Apocryphal work. These causes operated principally in the East, and thence the most of the opposition came. The status of the deuterocanonical books might be compared to the growth of a healthy tree. It lost now and then a branch, in whose stead it acquired new ones, and grew to perfection because there was in it a Divine vigor, which came not from the branches, nor was impaired by their occasional dropping off. There never was any conflict between the Fathers on this point, for in practice, they were a unit. The lists they drew up were mere disciplinary opinions, which never entered to change their practical use of the Scripture.

We find at first the most doubt in the East. This line of thought was brought into the West by Jerome; and while the doubt gradually passed away in the East, we find the influence of Jerome, in the subsequent centuries, engendering some doubts in the minds of Fathers and theologians of the Western Catholic world. We shall pass in brief review the centuries from the fifth down to the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The Hexaplar version of Syriac Scriptures made by Paul of Tella, in 616, contains all the deuterocanonical works.

DIONYSIUS, surnamed the Little, approved the catalogue of Scriptures promulgated by the Council of Carthage in 419, which embraced all the deuterocanonical works.*

CASSIODORUS, writing for his monks a sort of introduction to the Holy Scriptures, sets forth three catalogues of Holy Books.†

The first list is that of *Prologus Galeatus*, the helmeted prologue of Jerome. The second list is the Canon of St. Augustine from his *Doctrina Christiana*, which we have already reproduced in full. The third list of Cassiodorus is identical with the catalogue of the Vulgate, except a slight variation in the order of the books.

Cassiodorus was more reverential than critical. He plainly received all the deuterocanonical books, and failed to see any repudiation of them in the celebrated Prologue of Jerome. He certainly can be claimed as a witness of a tradition in the sixth century, which accorded to the deuterocanonical books the quality of divinity.

It is evident that, in the East, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the deuterocanonical books were held to be canonical, since the schismatic churches of the Chaldean Nestor-

*Dionysius, surnamed the Little, on account of his low stature, was a native of Scythia. He came to Rome, and was abbot of a monastery in that city. He was the inventor of the mode of reckoning the years of the Christian era since the birth of Christ, which method is erroneous by several years. He is the author of a "Codex Canonum" and other minor works. His death is placed about the year 540, in the reign of Justinian.

†Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator belonged to a family most probably of Syrian origin, who were established at Scylaceum in Bruttium in the fifth century. His father was administrator of Sicily in 489, when Theodoric took Italy, and he filled high positions under Theodoric. Cassiodorus was born about 490 or perhaps a little later. He filled important public offices under the Gothic sovereigns, Theodoric Athalaric, Theodahat and Witiges. About the year 537, Cassiodorus renounced his public charges and retired to the Monasterium Vivariense, founded by himself at Scylaceum, where he devoted his life to study and prayer. His death is placed about the year 583. He was a prolific writer. He devoted much time to Scriptural studies, and gave thought that the monks of Vivarium should have good texts of Scripture. The monastery possessed an excellent library and many choice manuscripts. Many excellent manuscript texts of the Vulgate of Jerome were copied by the monks of Cassiodorus, and spread through the world.

ians, the Jacobite Monophysites, Syrians, Ethiopians, Armenians and Copts, all have the deuterocanonical Scriptures in equal place with the other divine books.*

It is needless to attend to the absurd catalogue of Junilius Africanus, an obscure bishop of Africa in the sixth century. This list places Chronicles, Job, and Ezra with Tobias, Judith, Esther, and Maccabees among the *non-canonical* books.†

His opinion represents the tradition of no church or sect, nor is it found in any writer of note, and is rejected by everybody.

An unfavorable testimony is found in the work "De Sectis" of Leontius of Byzantium, a priest of Constantinople in the sixth century. He drew up a canon of only the protocanonical books excepting Esther, and declared that, "these are the books which are held canonical in the Church." Leontius lived many years in the monastery of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, and the ideas of the Church of Jerusalem are reflected in his works. It can be said of him, as of Cyril, that exclusion from *canonicity* was not with him exclusion from *divinity*. With them the *divine* books of the Old Testament were arranged in two classes *canonical* and *non-canonical*. They used the latter as divine Scripture without according them the pre-eminence of canonicity. Leontius used in several places quotations from deuterocanonical works as *divine Scripture*.

The opponents of our thesis cite at this juncture St. Gregory the Great.‡

*Assemanni, Bibliotheca Orientalis, III.

†Junil. Afric. De part. div. Legis I. 3-7. Migne 68, 16 et seqq.

‡St. Gregory, surnamed the Great, was born of an illustrious Roman family, and was prætor of Rome in 573. Despising the inanity of worldly grandeur, he retired into a monastery which he had built under the patronage of St. Andrew. Pope Pelagius II, drew him from his retreat and made him one of the seven deacons of Rome. He then sent him as Nuncio to Constantinople, to implore the succour of Tiberius II. against the Lombards. At his return, he was made secretary to Pelagius. After Pelagius' death, by unanimous consent of people and clergy, he was created Pope. He strove to avoid the papal dignity, but in vain; he was created Pope in

In the Moral Treatises XIX. 21, citing a passage from Maccabees, he prefaces the citation by saying: "We shall not act rashly, if we accept a testimony of books, which, although not *canonical*, have been published for the edification of the Church."

In the phraseology of St. Gregory *canonical* signified something over and above divine. It signified those books concerning which the whole world, with one accord, united in proclaiming the word of God. The other books were divine, were used as sources of divine teaching by the Church, but there was lacking the authoritative decree of the Church making them equal to the former in rank. The Jews of old made such distinction regarding the Law and the Hagio-grapha. All came from God, but the Law was pre-eminent. The influence of St. Jerome was strong upon St. Gregory. The tradition of the Church drew him with it to use freely, as divine Scripture, the deuterocanonical books; while the doubts of Jerome moved him to hesitate in his critical opinion to accord to these books a prerogative of which Jerome doubted. Had the Church not settled the issue in the Council of Trent, there would, doubtless, be many Catholics yet who would refuse to make equal the books of the first and second Canons. Christ established a Church to step in and regulate Catholic thought at opportune times, and her aid was needed in settling, once for all, the discussion of the Canon of Scripture. This isolated doubt from St. Gregory reflects merely a critical opinion, biased by Gregory's esteem for St. Jerome. To show what was St. Gregory's opinion as a witness of tradition, we need only examine the following references:

590. His reign was characterized by great ability and holiness. He, by divine aid, checked a pestilence that ravaged Rome, extinguished the schism of the *Three Chapters*, evangelized England through means of St. Austin, reformed the divine office, reformed the clergy, checked the ambition of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and upheld the rights of the Holy See. Gregory died in 604. His principal writings are his Moral Treatises, his Dialogues, and exegetical Treatises on Holy Scripture. He had more piety than learning, and his exegesis is excessively mystic.

Eccli. II. 14.	Com. on Job. Bk. I. 36
Eccli. II. 16.	Ibid. 55.
Sap. I. 7.	Ibid. Bk. II. 20.
Eccli. XXIV. 8.	Ibid.
Eccli. XXXII. 26.	Ibid. Bk. III. 13.
Eccli. XI. 27.	Ibid. 16.
Sap. XII. 15.	Ibid. 26.
Eccli. IV. 24.	Comment. on Job, Bk. IV. 32.
Eccli. XXI. 1.	Ibid. 39.
Eccli. II. 1.	Ibid. 42.
Eccli. I. 33.	Ibid. 61.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. 68.
Sap. IX. 16.	Ibid. Bk. V. 12.
Sap. IV. 11.	Ibid. 34.
Eccli. V. 4.	Ibid. 35.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. 58.
Sap. VII. 26.	Ibid. 64.
Sap. XII. 18.	Ibid. 78.
Sap. II. 24.	Ibid. 85.
Sap. V. 21.	Ibid. Bk. VI. 14.
Sap. XVI. 20.	Ibid. 22.
Tobias IV. 16.	Ibid. 54.
Eccli. XII. 8.	Ibid. Bk. VII. 29.
Eccli. II. 16.	Ibid. 45.
Sap. XI. 24.	Ibid. Bk. VIII. 31.

Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. 12.
Eccli. XXXIV. 7.	Ibid. 42.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. 50.
Eccli. XL. 1.	Ibid. 55.
Sap. V. 6.	Ibid. 70.
Eccli. I. 13.	Ibid. 88.
Sap. II. 12.	Ibid. Bk. IX. 89.
Eccli. VII. 40.	Ibid. 92.
Sap. VI. 7 et 9.	Ibid. 98.
Tob. IV. 16.	Ibid. Bk. X. 8.
Eccli. VII. 15.	Ibid. 28.
Eccli. I. 13.	Ibid. 35.
Eccli. XXXIV. 2.	Ibid. Bk. XI. 68.
Sap. III. 2	Ibid. Bk. XII. 6
Sap. XII. 18.	Ibid. 14.
Sap. XVII. 10.	Ibid. 46.
Eccli. XI. 27.	Ibid. Bk. XIII. 48.
Eccli. X. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XIV. 19.
Eccli. XXII. 2.	Ibid. Bk. XV. 5.
Sap. I. 4.	Ibid. 9.
Eccli. III. 22.	Ibid. Bk. XVI. 8.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XVII. 39.
Eccli. XXII. 6.	Ibid. Bk. XVIII. 2.
Sap. I. 11.	Ibid. 5.
Sap. V. 8, 9.	Ibid. 29.
Eccli. II. 5.	Ibid. 40.

Eccli. XXXVIII. 25.	Ibid. 68.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. 71.
Eccli. XV. 3	Ibid. Bk. XIX. 9.
Sap. IV. 8, 9.	Ibid. 26.
I. Maccab. VI. 46.	Ibid. 34.
Eccli. XXX. 24.	Ibid. 38.
Eccli. XIV. 5.	Ibid.
Sap. XII. 18.	Ibid. 46.
Eccli. V. 4.	Ibid.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XX. 8.
Eccli. II. 11, 12.	Ibid. 51.
Eccli. IV. 18, 19.	Ibid.
Eccli. I. 13.	Ibid. 56.
Eccli. XVIII. 15, 17.	Ibid. Bk. XXI. 29.
Eccli. XX. 32.	Ibid. Bk. XXII. 7.
Sap. VII. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XXIII. 31.
Eccli. X. 15.	Ibid. 44.
Sap. III. 5.	Ibid. 52.
Eccli. II. 1.	Ibid. Bk. XXIV. 27.
Sap. III. 7.	Ibid. 49.
Eccli. XXXII. 1.	Ibid. 52.
Sap. VI. 5.	Ibid. 54.
Eccli. V. 4.	Ibid. Bk. XXV. 6.
Sap. XIII. 5.	Ibid. Bk. XXVI. 17.
Sap. VI. 17.	Ibid

Eccli. III. 22.	Ibid. 27.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XXVII. 45.
Sap. XVII. 10.	Ibid. 48.
Eccli. III. 17.	Ibid. 53.
Sap. II. 24.	Ibid. Bk. XXIX. 15.
Sap. VII. 24.	Ibid. 24.
Eccli. V. 7.	Ibid. 54.
Sap. IX. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XXX. 15.
Eccli. XV. 9.	Ibid. 74.
Eccli. X. 15.	Ibid. Bk. XXXI. 87.
Sap. XII. 18.	Ibid. Bk. XXXII. 9.
Eccli. X. 15.	Ibid. 11.
Eccli. XXIX. 33.	Ibid. 19.
Sap. III. 7.	Ibid. Bk. XXXIII. 7.
Eccli. V. 6, 7.	Ibid. 23.
Eccli. XXI. 10.	Ibid. 55.
Sap. V. 6.	Ibid. Bk. XXXIV. 25.
Eccli. XXVII. 12.	Ibid.
Eccli. XXXII. 1.	Ibid. 53.
Eccli. X. 9.	Ibid.
Sap. II. 8, 9.	Ibid. 55.

It is needless to go through the entire works of St. Gregory. These passages, taken from the books of his Exposition of Job, are a good specimen of his use of deutero-canonical Scripture. And no man can say that Gregory considered these books as merely pious treatises. He introduces his frequent quotations from them by the solemn formulas: "It is written," etc., and oft declares them the *Scripture of*

God. Gregory received the Scriptures, where he learned his faith, from the Catholic Church; hence, in drawing from his fund of Scriptural knowledge, he made no distinction in practice between the books of the first and second Canon. The fact that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are most used by him, results from the richness of their moral teaching; they were adapted to his scope. Quotations from all the deuterocanonical books except Judith and Baruch are found in his works; but the proving force of these quotations covers all these books, because it gives evidence that he received the edition of Scripture, in which they all stood on equal footing. The question of canonicity was to him more of a question of discipline. He was willing to receive all the books since the Church used them; but he did not essay to decide the exact degree of inspiration of the several books.

In the seventh century, three celebrated Fathers flourished in Spain. First among these is St. Isidore of Seville.*

We find the following valuable testimony in the sixth book of the Etymologies of St. Isidore, 3-9: "The Hebrews, on the authority of Ezra, receive twenty-two books of the Old Testament, according to the number of their letters; and they divide them into three orders, The Law, The Prophets, and The Hagiographa. The first order, The Law, is received in five books, of which the first is Beresith, that is, Genesis; the second is Veelle Semoth, that is, Exodus; the third is Vaicra, that is Leviticus; the fourth is Vajedabber, that is Numbers; the fifth is Elle hadebarim, that is Deuteronomy. The second order is that of The Prophets, in which is contained eight books, of which the first is Josue ben Nun, which is called in Latin, Jesus Nave; the second is Sophtim,

*The biography of Isidore of Seville is involved in obscurity. His father was Severianus, of the province of Cathagena, in Spain. By some he is placed as governor of that province, but this is doubted by others. The precise year of Isidore's birth is uncertain, but we know that he was Archbishop of Seville for nearly forty years, and that he died in 636. He was undoubtedly the greatest man of his time in Spain. He was versed in all the learning of his age, and was well acquainted with the classic and sacred languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The Council of Toledo in 653 called him the Doctor of his age and the Ornament of the Church.

His works are many, and embody all the science of his age.

that is Judges; the third is Samuel, that is the first of Kings; the fourth is Melachim, that is the second of Kings; the fifth is Isaiah; the sixth, Jeremiah; the seventh, Ezechiel; the eighth, Thereazar, which is called the twelve prophets, who on account of their brevity are joined to one another, and considered as one book. The third order is of the Hagiographers, that is the writers of holy things, in which order are nine books, of which, the first is Job; the second, the Psalter; the third, Misle, that is the Proverbs of Solomon; the fourth is Coheleth, that is Ecclesiastes; the fifth is Sir Hassirim, that is the Canticle of Canticles; the sixth is Daniel; the seventh, Dibre hajamim, that is the Words of the Days, that is Paralipomenon; the eighth is Ezra; the ninth is Esther. These taken together, five, eight, and nine, make twenty-two books, as were computed above.

“Some enumerate Ruth, and Cinoth which is called in Latin, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, with the Hagiographa, and make twenty-four books, according to the twenty-four Ancients, who assist before the Lord.

“*There is a fourth order with us of those books of the Old Testament, which are not in the Hebrew Canon. The first of these is Wisdom; the second, Ecclesiasticus; the third, Tobias; the fourth, Judith; the fifth and sixth, the Maccabees. Although the Jews separate these and place them among the Apocrypha, the Church of Christ honors them and promulgates them as divine books.*” In this list Baruch is not explicitly mentioned, being considered a part of Jeremiah.

In his treatise *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Bk. I. XI. 4, 5, 7, St. Isidore writes thus: “In the first place, the books of the Law, that is of Moses, are five, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Sixteen historical books follow these, viz., Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, two of Ezra, *Tobias*, Esther, *Judith*, and the two books of *Maccabees*. Then there are sixteen prophetical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor Prophets. After these come eight books in verse, which are written in various kinds of metre in Hebrew. They are Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, the *Book of Wisdom*, *Ecclesi-*

asticus, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and thus there are made up forty-five books of the Old Testament. . . . These are the *seventy-two canonical books*, and on this account Moses elected the elders, who should prophesy. For this cause, the Lord Jesus sent seventy-two disciples to preach."

The number here agrees with the number of the Council of Trent, but there is a slight variation, in that St. Isidore considers Baruch a part of Jeremiah, and detaches Lamentations as a separate book. Excepting this slight variation, the testimony of Isidore well represents the belief of the Church of his age. The first testimony quoted also explains the writings of preceding Fathers, in constituting a two-fold order of books of the Old Testament: those that were in the *Canon of the Hebrews*, and those that were not, *but which by the Church were honored and promulgated as divine books*. The first were often called by the Fathers the canonical books of the Old Testament, and in excluding the deuterocanonical works from this order, they left them in the second order of Isidore.

In his prologue to the books of the Old Testament, I. 7, 8, we find the following: "Of these (the historical books), the Hebrews do not receive Tobias, Judith, and Maccabees, but the Church ranks them among the Canonical Scriptures. Then follow also those two great books—books of holy teaching, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; which, although they are said to be written by Jesus the son of Sirach, nevertheless, on account of the similarity of diction, are called of Solomon. And these are acknowledged to have, in the Church, equal authority with the other Canonical Scriptures."

ST. ISIDORE does not represent tradition, when he states that Wisdom is said to be the work of Sirach. He was there explaining a fact, and had only the warrant of his own critical knowledge on which to rely; but the fact itself he received from the Church, and this was that the Church of his day made equal those books that she afterwards proclaimed equal by solemn decree in the Council of Trent.

The second witness for the Church of Spain, in ST. ILDEFONSUS, the disciple of St. Isidore, afterward Archbishop of

Toledo, who died in 669. In his Treatise on Baptism, Chapter LXXIX. he received the Canon of St. Augustine, in St. Augustine's identical words, with perhaps the addition of one word to strengthen the authority of the deuterocanonical books.

ST. EUGENE, bishop of Toledo, who died in 657, sets forth the Canon of St. Isidore in Latin verse.*

There is sometimes invoked against us the authority of St. JOHN DAMASCENE, a priest of Damascus, who flourished about 730 A. D. He has drawn up a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testaments: concerning the former he says: "It is to be observed that there are twenty-two books of the Old Testament, according to the letters of the Hebrew language." The only deuterocanonical works which he mentions are Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, of which he declares that "they are excellent and useful, but are not numbered, nor were they placed in the Ark."

The Damascene is evidently simply stating the status of the deuterocanonical books with the Jews, and in this he is influenced by the extravagant ideas of St. Ephrem. His own judgment of the books is set forth in his declaration that they are excellent and useful, and one could legitimately make the inference from his testimony: Therefore, the Church receives them, because they are excellent and useful, even though not in the Canon of the Jews. His practice warrants the inference, for he quotes both Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as divine Scripture.

At the beginning of the ninth century NICEPHORUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, drew up (in his *Stichometry*) a catalogue of books, which contains twenty-two books. In this

*"Regula quos fidei commendat noscere libros,
 Hos nostra præsens bibliotheca tenet:
 Quinque priora gerit veneranda volumina Legis;
 Hinc Iosues, optimaque hinc Ruth Moabitica gesta
 Bisbis Regum nectuntur in ordine libri
 Atque bis octoni concurrunt inde prophetæ;
 En Iob, Psalterium, Solomon et Verba dierum,
 Esdræ consequitur Esther, Sapientia, Iesus,
 Tobi et Iudith; concludit hæc Machabæorum;
 Hic Testamenti Veteris finisque modusque."

list, Baruch finds place, while Esther is passed over in silence. After the list of the canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments, there is placed a list of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* which comprises The Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, The Psalms of Solomon, Esther, Judith, Susanna and Tobias. This list has a close affinity to the Synopsis of the Pseudo-Athanasius, and is of no worth in establishing the tradition of the Church of Constantinople, for at that very time, in virtue of the decree of the Council in Trullo, the Canon of the Carthaginian Council was adopted by the Greek Church. Nicephorus, like many of his time, held in great veneration the ancient documents, which had been preserved. He most probably reproduced here some old writing without essaying to judge its critical value.

PHOTIUS has placed in his *Syntagma Canonum*, the eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles, the sixtieth Canon of Laodicea, and the twenty-fourth Canon of Carthage.*

*Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, was descended from one of the most illustrious and richest families of that city. His brother Sergius married one of the sisters of the Emperor Photius made use of his splendid advantages to acquire a vast and varied education. Bardas, the restorer of letters, was his tutor. Photius became eminent in all the departments of human knowledge. His birth and his talents elevated him to the highest dignities, even to become Secretary of State to the Court of Constantinople. After passing through these civil posts, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and became a great theologian. The character of Photius was proud and cunning. By intrigue, he deposed Ignatius the legitimate patriarch of Constantinople, and placed himself on the throne. By flattery, he kept his usurped post by favor of the Emperor Michael. By similar means, he corrupted the legates of Pope Nicolas I., so that they assisted at the Conciliabulum in 861, and confirmed Photius in the See. On hearing these acts, Pope Nicolas declared null and void the said acts, and anathematized Photius. Photius in turn, convoked a council at Constantinople in 866, and pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against the Pope. When Basil, the Macedonian, succeeded Michael in the empire, he deposed Photius, and restored Ignatius. At this juncture was celebrated at Constantinople the VIII. Œcumenical Council, in which Photius and his partizans were anathematized. Photius composed a chimerical history, in which he made Basil descend from Tiridates, the Armenian King. Basil was, in fact, low-born, and this coup won his favor for Photius, whom he restored in 877. Pope John VIII. deceived by Basil and Photius, at first received him into the communion of the Church of Rome, but afterwards, ascertaining the falsehood of Photius, excommunicated him. The successive Popes, Martin, Adrian

From the fact that he receives the decree of the Council of Carthage, it is evident that he is at one with us on the question of the Canon. He evidently believed that the curtailed canons were completed by the decree of Carthage.

Even after its defection from Rome, the Greek Church has always received the deutero-canonical books. To this Zonaras and Balsamon testify.*

When, in the seventeenth century, CYRIL LUCAR endeavored to introduce protestant ideas into the Greek Church, he failed to expel from the Canon the deutero-canonical books.† Against him the members of the Council of Jerusalem decreed that, "following the rule of the Catholic Church, we call Holy Scripture all those books which Cyril received from the Council of Laodicea, and in addition those books which Cyril, unwisely, ignorantly, or rather maliciously called Apocryphal, viz., Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobias, the History of the Dragon (deutero-canonical fragment of Daniel), The History of Susanna (idem), The Maccabees, and The Wisdom of Sirach. We judge that these should be

and Stephen, anathematized him. It was at this point that Photius brought against the Church of Rome the charge of heresy, in having joined the "Filioque" to the Creed. This was the origin of the Greek schism, which divided the East from the West, and drew from the Church of Christ the Greek world. Photius was finally imprisoned in a monastery by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher; and he died in his retreat in 891. Fleury gives a good resumé of the character of Photius in these words: "He was the greatest mind and most learned man of his time; but he was, at the same time, a perfect hypocrite: while acting like a villain, he spoke like a saint." The works of Photius are many, characterized by great erudition.

*Zonaras, and Balsamon's Explanation of the Council in Trullo, Chap. II. See Synod. Beveregii, Migne, 137, 524; 138, 122.

†Cyril Lucar was born in the Isle of Candia in 1572. He studied in Venice, Padua and in Germany; and in the latter place became imbued with Lutheran ideas. He was placed in the See of Alexandria, and afterwards in that of Constantinople. As it became clear that he embraced the tenets of Lutheranism, the clergy rose against him, and he was exiled to Rhodes. He was soon afterwards restored to his see, and subsequently for six or seven times he was deposed and restored. He was finally strangled, while returning from exile. He had the real qualities of a heretic presumption and intrigue.

enumerated with the other genuine books of Holy Scripture, as genuine parts of the same Scripture.”*

In the council which Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople held in 1638 at Constantinople, in which sat two other patriarchs and one hundred and twenty bishops, a synodical letter was drawn up and sent to the provincial synod convened at Jassy, in which the opinion of Cyril Lucar, who expunged from Holy Scripture holy and canonical books, and as such received by the holy synods, is declared to be heresy, breathing forth from all parts, and utterly contrary to the orthodox faith.† In later centuries, protestant ideas have invaded in some part the Russian Church to the extent that Philaretes (†1868) authorized the following catechismal text, and this was approved by the Synod.

“Q. How many are the books of the old Testament?

A. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Athanasius the Great, and St. John Damascene reckon them at *twenty-two*; agreeing therein with the Jews, who so reckon them in the Hebrew tongue. Athanas. Ep. XXXIX. de Test. [Fest.]; J. Damasc. Theol. l. IV. c. 17.

Q. Why should we attend to the reckoning of the Hebrews?

A. Because, as the Apostle Paul says, *unto them were committed the oracles of God*: and the sacred books of the Old Testament have been received from the Hebrew Church of that Testament by the Christian Church of the New.

Q. How do St. Cyril and St. Athanasius enumerate the Books of the Old Testament?

A. As follows: 1. The book of Genesis: 2. Exodus: 3. Leviticus: 4. The book of Numbers: 5. Deuteronomy: 6. The book of Jesus the son of Nun: 7. The book of Judges, and with it, as an appendix, the book of Ruth: 8. The first and second books of Kings, as two parts of one book: 9. The third and fourth books of Kings: 10. The first and second books of Paralipomena: 11. The first book of Esdras, and the second, or, as it is entitled in Greek, the book of Nehe-

* Cfr. Kimmel, Monumenta Fidei Orientalis, Jenæ, 1850, I. 42.

†Kimmel l. c., page 415.

miah: 12. The book of Esther: 13. The book of Job: 14. The book of Psalms: 15. The Proverbs of Solomon: 16 Ecclesiastes, also by Solomon: 17. The Songs of Songs, also by Solomon: 18. The book of the Prophet Isaiah: 19. Of Jeremiah: 20. Of Ezekiel: 21. Of Daniel: 22. Of the twelve Prophets.

Q. Why is no notice taken, in this enumeration of the books of the Old Testament, of the book of Wisdom, of the Son of Sirach, and certain others?

A. Because they do not exist in Hebrew.

Q. How are we to regard these last named books?

A. Athanasius the Great says, that they have been appointed by the fathers to be read by proselytes, who are preparing for admission into the Church."

Philaretus was a disciple of Cyril Lucar, and introduced many protestant ideas into the Russian Church; but in the days when the tradition of that Church was worth aught, it was not so. All the Churches of the East were in accord in accepting the deuterocanonical books.

Up to recent times the *CODEx AMIATINUS*, was believed to date back to the middle of the sixth century. M. de Rossi has demonstrated that this manuscript was copied in the first years of the eighth century in the Monastery of Wearmouth, in Northumberland, by the monks of the Anglo-Saxon Ceolfrid.*

It was given to Pope Gregory II. in 716. It is considered the finest Codex in all this world of the Vulgate of St. Jerome. *It contains all the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books, uniting Baruch with Jeremiah, and making explicit mention of the same.* This is important in proving force, since it represents the text of Scripture brought into England by the missionaries of Gregory the Great.

In the first years of the ninth century, *ALCUIN*, by order of Charlemagne, made an edition of the Scriptures.†

*Vide infra.

†Alcuin, surnamed Flaccus, was born, towards the year 735, of a noble Anglo-Saxon family in Northumberland. His education was placed under the care of Egbert, Archbishop of York, and he had for tutor Æl-

The *CODEX PAULINUS* or *Carolinus*, preserved at the Basilica of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome, executed in the ninth century, contains Alcuin's recension, *in which we find all the deuterocanonical books except Baruch*. The *CODEX STATIANUS* or *VALLICELLIANUS* in the Vallicella Library at Rome, and other manuscripts called the *Bibles of Charlemagne*, at Zurich, Bamberg, and in the British Museum, contain the same list of Alcuin's revised books. Moreover, Alcuin has drawn up a complete Canon of both protocanonical and deuterocanonical books in the following verses:

*"In hoc quinque libri, retinentur Codice Mosis,
 Bella ducis Josue, seniorum et tempora patrum.
 Ruth, Job, et Regum bis bini namque libelli;
 Atque Prophetarum sancti bis octo libelli;
 Carmina præclari Christi patris hymnica David,
 Et tria pacifici Salomonis opuscula regis.
 Jungitur his Sophiæ Jesu simul atque libellus,
 Et Paralipomenis enim duo nempe libelli.
 Hinc Ezræ, Nehemiæ, Hester, Judith atque libelli
 Et duo namque libri Machabæa bella tenentes.

bert of the ecclesiastical school of York. Aelbert took him on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, on the return, visited with him Charlemagne. Ælbert was elected to the See of York in 766, and thereupon, placed Alcuin director of the school of the diocese. Alcuin held this post till 780. In 781, he was sent to Rome to bear thence the pallium for Eanbald, successor of Ælbert in the see of York. On his return, he again visited Charlemagne, who invited him to fix his abode in his dominions. Having sought and obtained the authorization of his archbishop and king, he arrived in France in 782, and took the post of teacher in the royal school. Charlemagne became his pupil, and, later on, conferred on him the abbey of Ferrières, St. Loup de Troyes, St. Josse in Ponthieu, and St. Martin of Tours. In 790, Alcuin revisited England, but Charlemagne soon summoned him into France to combat the heresy of Adoptionism. In opposing this heresy, Alcuin's principal theological works were written. Towards 796, Alcuin retired to St. Martin of Tours, and devoted himself there to teaching, whereby the school became famous. By his orders, a rich library was collected, and many manuscripts copied. Alcuin remained through life a deacon of the Catholic Church. His last years were troubled by a dispute with Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, regarding a priest who had been condemned to imprisonment by Theodulf, and who had sought refuge at Saint Martin. In this affair, Charlemagne treated him with severity. He died in 804, at the age of sixty years, and was interred in the Church of St. Martin. He is the author of many works, mostly treating of scriptural subjects. One of the most important of his works was his correction of the Bible, by order of Charlemagne.

*P. L. Migne, 101, pag. 731-734.

Matthæi et Marci, Lucæ liber, atque Joannis
 Inclyta gesta tenens salvantis sæcula Christi.
 Sanctus Apostolicos Lucas conscripserat Actus;
 Bis septem sancti per chartas dogmata Pauli,
 Jacobi, Petri, Judæ et pia dicta Joannis:
 Scribitur extremo Joannis in ordine tomus.
 Hos lege, tu lector felix, feliciter omnes,
 Ad laudem Christi propriamque in sæcla salutem "

"Tres Salomon libros mirabilis edidit auctor,
 His duo junguntur per paradigma libri;
 Quorum quippe prior Sapientia dicitur alma,
 Notatur Jesu nomine posterior
 Hinc *Paralipomenonis* adest sacer ille libellus,
 Qui veteris Legis dicitur epitome
 Hinc *Ezræ Nehmiæ, Judith, Hesterque* libelli;
 Tunc Tobiæ pietas, angelus, actus, iter.
 Inclyta nam binis Machabæa bella libellis
 Scribuntur, victis gentibus et populis.
 Hæc est sancta quidem Legis Scriptura Vetusta,
 Divinis tota que titulis redolet."

Some endeavor to shake Alcuin's authority for the deuterocanonical books by citing a passage from the eighteenth paragraph of his first book against Elipandus. This Elipandus had cited, in support of Adoptionism, the text from Ecclesiasticus XXXVI. 14: "Miserere, Domine, plebi tuæ, super quam invocatum es nomen tuum, et Israel quem cœquasti primogenito tuo." Alcuin replies: "In the book of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, the aforesaid sentence is read, of which book blessed Jerome and Isidore positively testify that it is placed among the apocryphal, that is to say, the doubtful books."

In relation to this testimony, we must first observe that Alcuin errs in stating that Isidore placed Ecclesiasticus among the Apocrypha. A close examination of his works reveals no such statement; he is a plain advocate of Ecclesiasticus and all the other deuterocanonical works. We know what was the opinion of Jerome, and what were its causes. The present question, therefore, is: did Alcuin adopt the opinion of Jerome? We answer this question in the negative, *on the clearest evidence*. To say nothing of the complete lists of Scripture in the verses already quoted, to say nothing of the recension of all the books of the Catholic

Canon, in the edition prepared by Alcuin for Charlemagne, we have clear and express statements from Alcuin that Ecclesiasticus is divinely inspired Scripture. We select the following passages:

Eccli. V. 8.

“Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day.”

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, XIV. XVIII.

“The saying is read in the divinely inspired Scriptures, ‘Son, delay not to be converted to the Lord; because thou knowest not what the coming day may bring forth.’..... These are the words of God, not mine.”

In the fifteenth chapter of the same treatise, he quotes Ecclesiasticus three times as authoritative Scripture. In the eighteenth chapter this passage occurs:

“Eccli. XVIII. 30—31.

“Go not after thy lusts, but turn away from thy own will. If thou give to thy soul her desires, she will make thee a joy to thy enemies.”

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, XVIII.

“Holy Scripture, therefore, admonishes us, saying.” “Go not after thy lusts, but turn away from thy own will. If thou give to thy soul her desires, she will make thee a joy to thy enemies.”

If words mean anything, Alcuin's position was that Ecclesiasticus was divinely inspired Scripture, and the word of God. The Council of Trent asks no more than this for the book. In practical usage Alcuin made no difference between the two classes of books. The passage objected to by our adversaries relates only to Ecclesiasticus, and we honestly claim to have shown that Alcuin did not make his own the opinion of St. Jerome. To reconcile the aforesaid passage with Alcuin's real belief, we must observe that it occurs in a controversial work directed against Elipandus, the heretical Archbishop of Toledo. In that treatise, his aim was to obtain victory over his opponent, and to that purpose, he was willing to use every argument that would have any

weight, even though it did not express his personal conviction. Elipandus had quoted a passage from Ecclesiasticus that seemed to make for Adoptionism. Alcuin first endeavors to weaken the adversary's position by throwing the doubt of St. Jerome on the book, and then directly meets the objection by explaining the passage. Such mode of dealing with adversaries characterizes the writings of many of the Fathers. In the treatise, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Alcuin speaks as a calm exponent of the Church's doctrine, and draws his materials from the commonly received deposit of Holy Scripture of that time.

In face of all this, it is nauseating to find the protestant writer Horne placing Alcuin among those *who testify that the apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books form no part of the Canon of divinely inspired Scripture.**

THE CODIX TOLETANUS, of Toledo in Spain, which, according to critics, dates back to the eight century, contains all the deuterocanonical books except Baruch.

THE CODIX CAVENSIS, of the Abbey of La Cava near Salerno, contains all the deuterocanonical books. This manuscript is probably of Spanish origin, of the end of the eighth or beginning of ninth century. It contains the text of Jerome.

THEODULF, Bishop of Orleans, contemporary with Alcuin, made a recension of the books of Scripture, of which two copies are in the National Museum at Paris, and another is preserved in the Cathedral at Puy. In the Bible of Theodulf all the deuterocanonical books find place.

VENERABLE BEDE wrote an allegorical exposition of the book of Tobias, and in his use of Scripture makes no distinction between protocanonical and deuterocanonical books.†

*Horne's Introduction to the Study of Scripture, Vol. I. Appendix I 484.

†Bede was born at Jarrow, on the confines of Northumberland and Scotland in 673. His parents were Anglo-Saxons who had embraced the Catholic religion. At the age of seven years, they centred the child Bede, which means in their tongue *prayer*, to the ALBERT BENOIT BISHOP, who was a second father to the child. After three years passed with Benoit, Bede

Against the authority of Bede two objections are raised. In his treatise, *De Temporum Ratione*, he writes as follows: "Thus far divine Scripture contains the series of events. The subsequent history of the Jews is exhibited in the book of Maccabees, and in the writings of Josephus and Africanus, who continue the subsequent history down to the time of the Romans."*

According to our adversaries, Bede here draws a sharp distinction between divine Scripture and the mere profane history of the books of Maccabees. In dealing with this objection, we place first of all that it leaves the canonicity of all the deuterocanonical books, except the Maccabees, intact. This is self evident since he is speaking of historical books alone. In the second place, we must interpret the obscure passages of a writer according to his certain position, revealed in his other works. Now Bede has quoted all the deuterocanonical books in the solemn formulas, customary in introducing divine Scripture. Did he therefore reject Maccabees, he would disagree with himself, and be absurdly inconsistent. We believe, therefore, that in distinguishing Maccabees from the other historical books of divine Scripture, he merely wishes to point out that it does not alone continue the series of historical events from Ezra to the era of the Romans. Up to the time of Ezra, indeed, not all historical events were written, but enough was written to form a continuous chain of chief events, and no other writings contain the events of those times except the Holy

was placed with the famous Ceolfrid, who taught him the elements of sacred and profane literature. As disciple of Ceolfrid, Bede acquired all the science of his times. At the age of nineteen, he became deacon and at the age of thirty, priest. He began to write at the age of thirty, and has left extended commentaries on nearly all the books of Holy Scripture. Excepting Augustine and Jerome, no Father has wrought such a vast exegetical work. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was wont to term Bede the wisest of the exegetes of Holy Scripture. Full oft, however, he drifts away from the literal sense into an excessive mysticism. The whole life of Bede was passed in the cloister. He died in 735. Bede and Isidore of Seville were the chief sources of Christian education during the Middle Ages.

*P. L. Migne 90, 539.

Books, which follow each other in a certain historical series. But after Ezra a great lacuna occurs in the history of the Jews down to the time of the Romans, which is only partly bridged over by the combined data of Maccabees, Africanus, and Josephus. The second book of Maccabees covers a period of only about sixteen years; the first, of about forty. They are partly synchronous, and combined would not cover a period of over fifty years. Hence Bede could not say that divine Scripture contained the series of events down to the Roman epoch. He, therefore, drew a distinction between Maccabees and the preceding historical books, not from the nature of the books, but from the fact that the Scriptural history of the Jews became broken at Ezra, and the fragment of it which existed in Maccabees had to be supplemented by the two cited authors.

The second objection is taken from Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse, Chapter IV. Therein he states: "The six wings of the four animals, which are twenty-four, signify so many books of the Old Testament, in which the authority of the evangelists is confirmed, and their truth is corroborated."*

It is pitifully absurd to make Bede, who throughout his vast works has quoted the deuterocanonical books side by side, and in equal place with the protocanonical Scriptures, reject them on the warrant of this one passage. It is Bede's evident opinion here to consider the protocanonical books as a class by themselves, without detracting from the divinity of the deuterocanonical works. The classing of the protocanonical works in a distinct class, was warranted by patristic literature, and this diligent student of patrology drew therefrom a mystic argument, without throwing doubt on the deuterocanonical books, which formed a class by themselves. The last factor in removing this class distinction, and making the two classes perfectly equal, was the decree of the Council of Trent.

In our review of these centuries, we can not notice every writer who has written, relating to the books of Holy Scrip-

*P. L. Migne 93, 144.

ture. We shall content ourselves with adducing representative men as the exponents of the Church's belief through these ages.

RHABANUS MAURUS follows on the question of the Canon St. Isidore of Seville.* As Rhabanus was a faithful follower of the Fathers of the Church, his Canon may be called the Canon of tradition of this century. In his work, *De Institutione Clericorum*, Chap. LIII. he formulates the following Canon: "These are, therefore, the books of the Old Testament; in love of doctrine and piety *the chief men of the Churches have handed down that these should be read and received.* The first are of the Law, that is, the five books of Moses, viz., Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. There follow these fifteen historical books, viz., Josue, and the books of Judges, or Ruth (as one of them is called), the four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, *Tobias*, Esther and *Judith*, two of Ezra and *Two of Maccabees.* With these are sixteen prophetic books. There follow eight books in verse, which are written in different kinds of metre with the Hebrews, that is the book of Job, the book of Psalms, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah." After giving the complete Canon of the New Testament, he continues: "These are the seventy-two *canonical* books and on this account Moses elected seventy elders as prophets; and Jesus, Our Lord, sent seventy-two disciples to preach." The testimony of Rhabanus is identical with that of Isidore of Seville, and is valuable inasmuch as it evidences that the teachers of the Church found in St. Isidore a concise statement of the Church's belief. Rhabanus

*Rhabanus Maurus was born at Fulda in 788 of one of the first noble families of the country. At the age of six years, he was offered by his parents to the monastery of Fulda, wherein his childhood was passed. He was sent later on to Tours, and studied under Alcuin. On his return to Fulda, he was elected abbot, and distinguished himself by reconciling Louis the debonnaire, with his sons. He was elected Archbishop of Mayence in 847, and, as such, was distinguished for learning and zeal in guarding the faith. He died in 856 at the age of sixty-eight years. His works, printed at Cologne in 1627, form six tomes in folio, bound in three volumes. His works on Scripture are mostly extracts from the Fathers, which was the mode of the study of theology of that time.

wrote commentaries on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith and the two books of Maccabees.

WALAFRID STRABO, must also be added to the advocates of the Catholic Canon.*

In his *Glossa Ordinaria*, he has adopted the commentaries of his master Rhabanus Maurus, on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, and the Maccabees; he has adopted Bede's commentary on Tobias, and reproduces the text of Baruch without commentary with this preface: "The book which is called Baruch is not found in the Hebrew Canon, but only in the Vulgate edition, as also the Epistle of Jeremiah. For the knowledge of the readers, they are written here, for they contain many things relating to Christ, and the last times."

The influence of St. Jerome was strong in Walafrid. He has inserted in his *Glossa* the prefaces of St. Jerome concerning the deuterocanonical books. That these prefaces find place in his work, would not prove that he adopted Jerome's views, for the prefaces are printed in the Clementine edition of our own day. In the obscurity of the age when Walafrid lived, men, with reverence, accepted the writings of the great saints, suspending judgment when they were in contradiction with other approved data. He testifies that Baruch is in the Vulgate of his time, and that it contains much that is good. It is equivalent to say: "The Church receives this book, but I know not what degree of divinity she accords it."

With full right, therefore, Pope Nicolas I., writing to the bishops of Gaul in 865, speaks of the catalogue of Scripture of Innocent I. as the law of the universal Church: "—if the Old and New Testaments are to be received, not because they are to be found in a code of Canons, but *because there exists a sentence of Holy Pope Innocent, concerning their reception*, it follows that the decretal letters of Roman Pontiffs are

*Walafrid, surnamed Strabo, the squint-eyed, was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus. He was born in 806, and was reared in the monastery of Fulda under Rhabanus. He joined the Benedictine order, became Dean of St. Gall, and afterwards Abbot of Reichenou in the diocese of Constance. He was a man renowned for piety and profound learning. He died in 849. His chief works are *De Officiis*, and *Glossa Ordinaria in Sacram Scripturam*.

to be received, even though not embodied in the code of Canons." We have before seen that the decree of Innocent I. is identical with the catalogue of the Council of Trent. Nicolas here places as a truth conceded by all that the decree of Innocent was the law of the Church on Scripture.

In the tenth century, doubts again arose in the Western Church, founded solely on the authority of St. Jerome. On one side stood the use of the Church and the testimony of tradition; on the other, the declarations of Jerome, the "doctor of doctors." Hence doubt arose and uncertainty in many minds, and many were the attempts to reconcile Jerome with the belief and usage of the Church. These doubts endured down to the time of the Council of Trent.

It would be impossible to pass in review over all the writings of these ages. We can only signalize some representative men of both sides. We find that the great body of the Church's teachers preserved the old belief and tradition, and the few who, through an excessive adhesion to St. Jerome, broke away from the common belief suffice not to break the consensus of tradition. We find that most of those who follow the opinion of Jerome try to reconcile him with the Church, by according to the deutero-canonical books a place among the Holy Books, just short of certain canonicity. By this, they strove to harmonize the universal usage of the Church with Jerome's rejection of these books from the Canon.

NOTKER BALBULUS opens the tenth century with an unfavorable testimony.* In his work, *De Interpretibus Divinæ Scripturæ*, Chap. III., he has the following obscure statement: "Of the book which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, I have found no author's exposition, except some testimonies (therefrom) explained in relation to other books. The book is totally rejected by the Hebrews, and is by Christians considered *uncertain, nevertheless, since on account of*

*Notker, surnamed the Stammerer, from his defective speech, was a monk of St. Gall who died in 912. His life was passed in the retirement of the cloister, and little of it is known to us. His chief works preserved to us are: *De Interpretibus Divinæ Scripturæ*, *Liber Sententiarum*, and a *Martyrology*.

the utility of its doctrine, our forefathers were accustomed to read it, and the Jews have it not, it is called with us Ecclesiasticus. What thou believest of this, it behooveth thee to believe also of the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, except that this latter is possessed and read by the Hebrews. . . . The priest Bede wrote some things on Tobias and Ezra, more pleasing than necessary, since he has striven to convert simple history into an allegory. What shall I say of the books of Judith, Esther and Paralipomenon? By whom, or how shall they be explained, since their contents are not intended for authority, but only as a memorial of wonderful things? This thou mayest also suspect of the Books of Maccabees.” (Patrol. L. Migne, 131, 996.)

There is no precedent in the writings of Jerome, or of any one else for the opinion of this monk. It is the sole testimony of one man against the Church. Any testimony that places Paralipomenon among the deutero-canonical books may well be set aside without further argument. It is simply the case of a man, admirable in other things, who erred on this subject.

In the collections of the decrees of Councils and Popes, collected in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the Canon of Innocent I. or of Gelasius always finds place. *The collection of Canons of the Church of Spain*, published by Gonzalez from a Codex of 976 contains the decree of Pope Innocent. BURCHARD OF WORMS (†1025), IVES OF CHARTRES (†1117), and GRATIANUS (†1155) have received the decree of Gelasius. These collections formed the basis of the discipline of the Church, and show us plainly the place given to the deutero-canonical books to have been, in fact, not inferior to that accorded them in the Church to-day.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, ST. STEPHEN HARDING, Abbot of Citeaux, made a recension of the Latin Vulgate. In this recension of the year 1109 we find all the books of the Catholic Canon.

GISLEBERT, Abbot of Westminster (†1117), in his “Dispute of A Jew with A Christian,” defends the authority of Baruch: “Although that which the book contains is not found in the book which bears the name of Jeremiah, never-

theless, Jeremiah has produced the data; for he who wrote this book wrote not otherwise than under the dictation of Jeremiah." (P. L. Migne, 159, 1026-1027.) Although there is here an error of fact, nevertheless, the abbot is true in his defense of the authority of the book, which Catholic belief of his day adopted.

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER of the middle of the twelfth century, writing upon the reading of the Bible, expresses himself thus: "Besides the aforesaid (the protocanonical books), there are five books which are called by the Hebrews apocryphal, that is to say hidden and doubtful, *but the Church honors these and receives them.* The first is Wisdom; the second, Ecclesiasticus; the third, Tobias; the fourth, Judith; the fifth, Maccabees." (P. L. Migne, 213, 714.)

This is the exact Catholic position, which endured and lived down every opposing agency.

ÆGIDIUS, deacon of Paris (†1180?) sets forth the Catholic position on the Canon in the following Latin verses:

Qui tamen excipit hos: Tobi, Judith, et Machabæus,
 Et Baruch, atque Jesum, pseudographumque librum
 Sed licet excepti, tamen hos authenticat usus
 Ecclesiæ, fidei regula, scripta Patrum.
 Scito quod ista Dei digito digesta fuerunt.
 Altus hic est puteus, grandis abyssus inest.

Patrol. Lat. Migne, 212, 43.

PETER OF RIGA, the friend of Ægidius, endorses the Catholic Canon in the following verses:

"Lex antiqua tenet cum quater octo decem.
 Isti terdeni libri sunt et duodeni
 Antiquæ legis, si numerando legis.
 Quinque Moys; Josue; Judex; Paralipomenon; Job
 Bis bini Regum; Ruth; David; et Salomon;
 Ezechiel; Daniel; Isaias; Jeremias;
 Esdras; Philo; Sirach; plena vigore Judith;
 Hester amœna genis; Tobias; et Macchabæi;
 Scripta prophetarum sunt duodena simul;
 Nempe Neemiæ dedit hospitium liber Esdræ;
 Et Ruth iudicibus hospita facta subest;
 Scriptorisque sui Baruch librum Jeremias
 Post libri recipit posteriora sui."—P. L. Migne, 212, 23.

In this testimony, Peter adopted the erroneous opinion of some that Wisdom was written by Philo, the Jew; but the

value of his opinion is not impaired by this error since, in such opinion, he is not a witness of the Church's belief.

PETER OF BLOIS (†1200) adopts the following testimony verbatim from St. Isidore of Seville: "There is a fourth order with us of the books of the Old Testament, of the books that are not in the Hebrew Canon, the first of these is Wisdom; the second, *Ecclesiasticus*; the third, *Tobias*; the fourth *Judith*; the fifth and sixth, *Maccabees*. These books, the Jews place apart among the apocrypha; but the Church of Christ honors them among the divine books and promulgates them." (P. L. Migne, 207, 1052.) This may be called the *common opinion* of the time. It is always enunciated with the certainty and boldness of men conscious that they have no adversary among the teachers of the Church. It is never challenged, never denied: those who depart from it, at most, only try to pare away a little of the equality of the books of the second Canon, to be in line with Jerome.

HONORIUS, the celebrated theologian of Autun (†1120?) in his *Gemma Animae*, Chap. cxviii, establishes the mode in which the Holy Books are to be read in the divine office, in which testimony, he has the following: "These books are authentic, and these are to be read in the divine offices. . . . From the Kalends of August up to September, let there be read the Parables of Solomon, *Ecclesiastes*, The Cantic of Canticles, and The Book of *Wisdom*, all of which Solomon wrote, and *Ecclesiasticus*, which Jesus the Son of Sirach composed. From the Kalends of September, for two weeks, let there be read the book of *Job*, which he composed; then for a week the book of *Tobias*, which he wrote. Then for a week, let there be read the book of *Judith*, which she or Achior wrote. . . . From the Kalends of October to the Kalends of November, let there be read the books of *Maccabees*; the first of which, Simon the pontifex wrote, and its last part John his son is said to have written; but the second book, Philo, the Jew, taught by the Greeks, is known to have written." (P. L. Migne, 172, 736, 737.)

In these testimonies Baruch is not explicitly mentioned, because it was always considered a part of Jeremiah. It is evident that this theologian is not advancing an individual

opinion here, but practically ordering the reading of books which the Church read as Holy Scripture. His opinion of the authorship of the second book of Maccabees is worthless, since there he is not a witness, but a critic, and a very poor one in this case.

JOHN BELETH, the theologian of Paris (1180), in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, establishes the same order of reading of the Scriptures.*

PETER COMESTOR († 1178) has a testimony favorable to us.† In the history of the book of Joshua, Praef., he has the following: "Job, David, three books of Solomon, Daniel, Paralipomenon, Ezra, Esther, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, Maccabees are called the Hagiographa (al. Apocrypha), because their author is unknown; but since there is no doubt of their truth, they are received by the Church." (P. L. Migne, 198, 1260.) Great confusion exists in this age in the use of Hagiographa and Apocrypha. Many confounded these terms, as this author did here, if the text of Migne is right. They seem to have wished to reconcile Jerome with the Church by attributing to the word apocryphal, the sense of a book, whose message was received by the Church, but whose author was unknown.

A peculiar testimony is found in that part of Peter's history which treats of the history of the Book of Daniel. In the XIII. Chapter he states: "There follows the history of Susanna, which the Hebrew (text) does not contain in the

*Novem quæ deinceps sequuntur, reputantur hagiographa, ita tamen ut sint authentica, nimirum liber Psalmorum, liber Jobi, tres libri Salomonis, scilicet Parabolæ, sive mavis dicere Proverbia, Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, liber Paralipomenon, Judith et Esther. Quatuor tandem enumerant apocrypha, librum videlicet Tobiae, Machabæorum, Philonis, cujus principium est: *Diligite justitiam*, et Jesu filii Sirach, qui sic incipit: *Omnis sapientia a Domino*, etc., appellaturque etiam Ecclesiasticus. Verum hos quatuor quidam non recipiunt, Ecclesia tamen eos approbat, quod argumentum fere habeant librorum Salomonis, etiamsi eorum auctores pro certo ac vere non sciat. (P. L. Migne, 202,66.)

†Peter, surnamed Comestor, low latin for an eater, a gourmand, was of Troyes in France. He was called Comestor, the eater, to signify that he had devoured all the erudition of his time, or from the fact of his prodigious memory of Scripture. His best work is his *Scholastic History*, from which he merited to be called the Master of History.

Book of Daniel. It calls it a fable, not that it denies the history, but because it is falsely stated there, that the priests were stoned, whom Jeremiah testifies to have been burned; and because we *fable* it to have been written by Daniel, whereas it was written by a certain Greek." The loose ideas of inspiration then prevailing, made it possible for this uncritical mind to believe that historical falsehood could exist in Scripture.

A testimony unfavorable to the Book of Wisdom is found in the writings of RUPERT, Abbot of Deutz.* In his Commentary on Genesis, Chap. XXXI., he denies the canonicity of Wisdom: "Concerning whom (Adam), whether he ever obtained through Christ mercy, by which we are saved and freed, certain ones in these days discuss, for the reason that *nowhere does the canonical Scripture* testify that he did penance. Only in the book, which bears the title of *Wisdom*, it is thus written concerning him: 'She (Wisdom) preserved him, that was the first formed by God, the father of the world, when he was created alone, and she brought him out of his sin, and gave him power to govern all things. (Sap. X. 1-2). *But this Scripture is not of the canon, nor is that sentence taken from canonical Scripture.* . . . What, therefore, is therein said: 'She brought him out of his sin, and gave him power to govern all things,' is more readily rejected than received." (P. L. Migne, 167, 318.)

In his Commentary on Jeremiah, Rupert mentions not Baruch (Ibid.); and he omits all the deutero-canonical fragments from Daniel, (Ibid.). In his work *De Divinis Officiis*, he renders clear testimony that all the deutero-canonical books were read side by side with the books of the first Canon *as divine Scripture*, and then throws a doubt on Tobias and Judith: "These two volumes are not in the canon with the Hebrews, but, on the authority of the Nicene Synod, they

*Rupert of Deutz was born in the territory of Ipres. He entered the Benedictine Order in the Abbey of St. Lawrence near Liege. He passed thence to the Abbey of St. Lawrence of Oosbourg, near Utrecht. His great piety and deep knowledge of the Scriptures moved Frederic, Archbishop of Cologne, to make him Abbot of Deutz near Cologne, where he died in 1135. He has left numerous works, principal of which is his Commentary on Holy Scripture.

are adopted for the instruction of the Church." (P. L. Migne, 170, 332.)

In his work, *De Victoria Verbi Dei*, speaking of the causes of Aman's wrath, as set forth in the deuterocanonical Twelfth Chapter of Esther, he contrasts the data with the protocanonical Third Chapter of the same book, saying: "But a greater and more certain cause of this hate and great wrath is that which the truth of Scripture asserts thus: 'Mardochai alone did not bend the knee and adore Aman.'" (P. L. Migne, 169, 1384.)

It is evident, therefore, that the deuterocanonical data are not ranked as the truth of Scripture. In the same work, from the Seventh to the Twenty-sixth Chapter, Rupert discourses on the books of Maccabees, which he clearly recognizes as divine Scripture. (P. L. Migne, 169, 1428-1442.)

We find in Rupert a man strongly imbued with the opinions of Jerome, of whose writings he had been an assiduous reader. Jerome was the classical authority of those days on Scripture, and it is not strange that Rupert, his disciple, should have adopted some of his opinions. Like his master, he is not consistent, and in his practical use of Scripture regularly quotes the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture. He breaks away from the common voice of tradition, when he denies the divinity of the same. It was only the safeguarding power of the Holy Spirit, acting through the Church, that saved these books against the authority of Jerome, who was the great authority on Scripture in the middle age. This protection of God permitted an occasional word against the divinity of the aforesaid books.

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR also adopts the opinions of the *Prologus Galeatus*.* In his prefatory remarks, *De Scripturis et Scriptoribus Sacris*, after giving the list of the protocanonical books, he continues: "All, therefore, make twenty-two. There are besides certain other books, as the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, The *Book of Judith*,

*Hugh of St. Victor was Canon regular of St. Victor at Paris. His origin is controverted. So great was his fame in theology in Paris that men called him the second Augustine. He died in 1140 at the age of forty-four years.

Tobias, and the Maccabees, which are read, but are not written in the Canon."

After enumerating the books of the New Testament, the decretals of Popes, and the writings of the Fathers, among whom the first in place is Jerome, he continues: "But these writings of the Fathers are not computed in the text of the divine Scriptures, just as we have said that there are books which are not embodied in the Canon of the Old Testament, and yet are read, as the Wisdom of Solomon and other books. The text, therefore, of Holy Scripture, as one body, is principally made up of thirty books. Of these twenty-two books are comprised in the Old Testament, and eight in the New. (Hugh made one book of the thirteen Epistles of Paul, and another book of all the Catholic Epistles). The other writings are, as it were, adjuncts, and deductions from the foregoing." (P. L. Migne, 175, 15, 16.)

In his Prologue, *De Sacramentis*, he manifests the same views: "There are, besides, in the Old Testament certain other books, which are read, indeed, but are not within the *Corpus Scripturarum*, or in the authentic Canon. These are Tobias, Judith, Maccabees, and that which is inscribed the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus."

Hugh is also a *Jeromist* of a pronounced type. All that the Church had done up to his time was to place these books before the faithful as Scripture. She had not defined the exact degree of their inspiration. It is only concerning this degree of inspiration that Hugh errs. He testifies to the presence of the books in the divine deposit. The degree of their inspiration was yet an open question; in judging of this degree, he went with his great master Jerome, and excluded the books of the second Canon from an equality with the first. The authority of Hugh of St. Victor was great in the Church; and, doubtless, he contributed much to keep up the uncertainty which was finally removed by the Council of Trent. It was not with those writers a question of the rejection of the deutero-canonical books—these books had a place in the deposit of the sacred literature of the Church—but it was a *question of equality* with the other books; and on this point some limited the authority of the books to something less than canonicity.

RUDOLPH OF FLAVIGNY (†1155), divides the books of Scripture into four classes, historical, prophetic, books of proverbs, and books of simple doctrine. He places Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus with protocanonical books in the fourth class, but declares that "Tobias, Judith and Maccabees, although read for the instruction of the Church, have not perfect authority."*

That the books should be *read in the Church*, was the Church's work, infallible and uniform; she preserved them for her children, because they were divine: the fluctuation of individual opinions regarding their exact degree of inspiration was the work of man. As long as the main point, the deliverance of the message of these books to the people, was safeguarded, the Church could permit the conflict of individual opinions in the speculative order, till, in her own good time, she declared authoritatively what character she had always given to these books.

PETER OF CLUNY, surnamed the Venerable, is by some quoted as an adversary of the deutero-canonical books.† In his letter against Peter of Bruys and his sect, called the *Petrobrusiani*, after enumerating the protocanonical books, he continues: "There remain besides these authentic books of Holy Scripture six other books which are not to be passed over in silence, viz., *Wisdom, the Book of Jesus Son of Sirach,*

*Radulphi Flaviacensis in Levit. XIV. I. (Biblioth. Max. Patrum Lugduni, 1667, Tom. VII. 177) (The work is not in Migne's collection)

†Peter the Venerable, entered the order of the monks of Cluny and in 1121 became general of the order. His great piety and learning placed him in this post at the age of twenty-eight years. Abelard found an asylum with him, and was moved by him to retract his errors. Peter was indefatigable in combating the errors that arose in France at that time. He merits to be named with St. Bernard as one of the foremost churchmen of that age. In defense of his order, he opposed St. Bernard, who reproached the order for their worldliness and sumptuousness in their buildings and table. These vices wrought their downfall, and they shamelessly bartered the rights of the Church to the revolutionists for secularization. Peter died at his monastery in 1156. There are preserved of his writings six books of Letters, a Treatise on The Divinity of Christ, a Treatise against the Jews, a Treatise on Infant Baptism against Peter of Bruys, a Treatise on The Authority of the Church, Treatises on The Basilicas, The Churches and The Altars, etc.

Tobias, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees. Although these do not reach the sublime dignity of the preceding, nevertheless, *on account of their laudable and very necessary doctrine, they have merited to be received by the Church.* There is no need that I should labor in commending these to you. For if ye value the Church in any wise, ye will receive something, at least a little, on her authority. But if (as Christ said of Moses to the Jews) ye will not believe Christ's Church how will ye believe my words?" (P. L. Migne, 188, 751.)

Viewed in a proper light, this text has nothing unfavorable to the complete Canon. Peter is arguing with men who boasted that they received only the Gospels, and he asks them to receive the other books on the *authority of the Church.* There is a perfect accord in all these exponents of Catholic thought in stating that the *Church received the deuterocanonical books.* The only difference of opinion that existed regarded the *rank and dignity* of these books. They received and used them; some of these writers hesitated to pronounce the last word regarding the canonicity of these books, *because the Church had not yet defined the question.* That Peter, the Venerable, in limiting the dignity of these books, did not deny their divine inspiration, is evident from his copious quotations from all of them, *as divine Scripture.* Witness a few examples. In the aforesaid treatise, speaking of the Book of Maccabees, he declares: "But of Judas Maccabæus, the excellent leader of the Hebrews, *the truthful Scripture* commemorates that, after the destruction of the pagan army, he took the sword of the general Apollonius whom he had slain, and fought with it all his days." I. Maccab. III.

In the same treatise, he establishes from the II. of Maccabees, "that it is a holy thought to pray for the dead, that they may be released from their sins." II. Maccab. XII. 46.

In his Thirty-fourth Epistle, quoting the sixth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Ecclesiasticus, he says: "That *divine* philosopher saith: 'A tale out of time is like music in mourning.'"

In his treatise against the Jews, Chapter II., he proves the divinity of Christ from the authority of Baruch: "And

although these things should suffice to prove the divinity of Christ to even brute beasts, let the Prophet or prophetic man come forth, Baruch the notary or colleague of Jeremiah. Let him come forth, and, although he draws his spirit from another, nevertheless it is from the prophetic heart of Jeremiah, and therefore as of one spirit with the Prophet, let him state, not in enigmas, but lucidly and openly, what he thinks of the divinity of Christ. This man manifestly, after many things said of God, adds: 'This is our God, and there shall be no other be accounted of in comparison of him. He found out all the way of knowledge, and gave it to Jacob, his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterwards, he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.' " Baruch III. 36-38.

In the same treatise, Chapter IV., he declares thus: "Who is it that in a certain one of your books speaks by the wise man: 'My memory is unto everlasting generations' (Eccli. XXIV. 28?) Is it not God? *Verily it is God.*" The Council of Trent asks no more than is substantially declared in these passages, and by its everlasting sanction, it has made *canonical* the books that Peter considered *divine*.

JOHN OF SALISBURY follows Jerome on the Canon.* In Epistola CXLIII. he declares thus: "Since, therefore, concerning the number of the books, I read many and different opinions of the Fathers, following Jerome, a doctor of the Catholic Church, whom I hold most approved in establishing foundations of Scripture, I firmly believe that, as there are twenty-two Hebrew letters, thus there are twenty-two

*John of Salisbury receives his name from his birthplace in England. The date of his birth is about 1110. He was sent to France to study, and was afterwards sent by the King of England to the papal court to manage the interests of England there. Recalled to England, he was advanced to high offices by the High Chancellor, Thomas à Becket. John became inseparably attached to Becket, and went with him when Becket was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He tried to defend him against the murderers sent by Henry II., and parried the first blow aimed at Becket's head by receiving it on his arm. John was subsequently made Bishop of Chartres, which charge he filled faithfully and well. He was one of the finest spirits of his age, a man of deep piety and learning. He died in 1180. He has left many works, principal among which is *Polycraticus or the vanities of the Court*.

books of the Old Testament, arranged in three orders . . . And these are found in the Prologue to the Book of Kings which Jerome called the *Galeatum Principium* of all Scripture. . . . But the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and Pastor, as the same Father asserts, are not in the Canon, neither is the book of Maccabees, which is divided in two." (P. L. 199; 125, 126.)

In the same work, he speaks again of the deuterocanonical books thus: "Concerning Tobias, Judith, and the Book of Maccabees, which are not received in the Canon, by whom they were written, the common opinion does not teach us, neither do the followers of Philo mention them; but *since they build up faith and religion, they are piously admitted.* Philo wrote the Book of Wisdom, and it is called *Pseudographus*; not that he wrote falsely, but because he falsely entitled it; for it is called the Wisdom of Solomon, whereas, it was not written by Solomon, but is called of Solomon, on account of its style and excellent moral teaching. Jesus Son of Sirach wrote Ecclesiasticus, which also, from the similarity of its style and moral teaching, is called Solomon's."

The practice of John of Salisbury is in direct opposition to his theory here announced. His works are full of quotations from the deuterocanonical Scriptures *as divine Scripture*. He was infected by a sort of hero worship towards St. Jerome, somewhat similar to that which in our day set in towards St. Thomas, which is in itself neither to the glory of the saint, nor conformable to the truth. Without sufficient depth or critical acumen to penetrate the question and form a comprehensive judgment of it, John paid a blind allegiance to his master, and, at the same time, made much use of these very same books as Scripture. *Jurare in verba magistri* was the motto of these schoolmen, and often they extolled the opinions of the master over the voice of tradition. The error of John, then, is due to defect of proper investigation, and to an excessive addiction to the opinions of St. Jerome.

CHAPTER X.

THE CANON OF THE CHURCH FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Throughout this epoch, the Bible of the Church contained the protocanonical and deutero-canonical books, without any indication of difference in them. This truth is clearly proven by the many manuscripts existing of this period. Whether the work of chaptering the Bible was done by Hugh of St. Carus or by Stephen Langton is uncertain, but it extended to all the books of the Catholic Canon, and the *Correctoria* of this period also embrace the books of both classes.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in his exposition of the Prologue of St. Jerome on Baruch, manifestly defends the divinity of the book.* Commenting the words of Jerome: "The Book of Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah, which is not read by the Hebrews, nor possessed by them," etc., Albert endeavors by scholastic subtlety to benignly interpret Jerome: "Nevertheless, the truth of the book is not thereby called in question, because it is joined to canonical Scripture. For it contains nothing except what was enunciated by Jeremiah, and for this reason, it is united *in the same truth* with the Prophet Jeremiah. For the Hebrews compute twenty-two books in the Canon of Scripture, in accordance with the twenty-two letters of their alphabet; or twenty-four books, corresponding to the twenty-four ancients. But the added

*Albert was born at Lauingen, in Swabia, about the close of the twelfth century. He was descended from the Counts of Bollstaedt. He studied at Padua, and in 1223 entered the Dominican Order at Cologne. His life was given to teaching in the schools and to preaching. In 1254, he was made provincial of the Dominicans of Germany; and in 1260, Bishop of Ratisbon. He renounced the bishopric for the monk's cell, and died at Cologne in 1280. The saying of Cicero could be applied to Albert, that he had left writings enough to cremate his body. But his works are more vast than solid; they manifest indefatigable toil in reading and collating the works of others, rather than profundity of personal thought: the pompous verbiage of the schoolmen, and excessive mysticism characterize them throughout. It was remarked of Albert by a French writer, that he was called *great*, only because he lived in an age when men were *little*. He is withal a good witness of the tradition of his times.

books they reckon in the same number, as Baruch is added to Jeremiah, for the reason that he received from Jeremiah whatever he wrote, . . . so that the whole truth of this Scripture rests on the revelation of God made to Jeremiah."

Whatever be the defects of this data, it is evident that Albert is an avowed advocate of the deutero-canonical books. He quotes from all of them in his works, assigning them equal place with the books of the first Canon.

ST. BONAVENTURE comprises all the proto-canonical and deutero-canonical books in twenty-six books.†

He evidences in many ways that he held the books in equal esteem. In the preface to his Commentary on *Wisdom* he says: "The efficient cause of the book is threefold: *God who inspired it*, Solomon who produced it, and Philo who compiled it." His works evince that he held the like opinion of the other deutero-canonical books.

ALEXANDER NECKAM, professor at the University of Paris at the commencement of the thirteenth century, wrote a commentary on the difficult passages of Holy Scripture and includes the books of both classes in the same category.

ROBERT HOLKOT († 1340), a learned Dominican of Northampton in England, is bold in favor of the deutero-canonical books. "St. Augustine," he says, "expressly declares in his Christian Doctrine (II. 8) that the Book of *Wisdom* should be enumerated in the Sacred Scriptures; for, enumerating the books of the Canon and the Bible, he says thus of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*: 'Wisdom and *Ecclesiasticus*, since they have merited to be received in authority, are reckoned among the prophetic books.' *Wherefore, it is evident that the book (Wisdom) is counted among the Canonical Scriptures in*

†The secular name of St. Bonaventure was John Fidanza. He was born at Bagnorea, in Italy, in 1221. He entered the Franciscan Order at the age of seventeen years. He studied at the University of Paris under the celebrated Alexander Hales. Bonaventure rose by his merit to be called the Seraphic Doctor, one of the greatest doctors of the Church. In 1257, he was made general of his order, and in 1272, Gregory X. created him Cardinal and Bishop of Albano. He was one of the first theologians of the Council of Lyon, but he died after the first session in 1274. He has left voluminous works, more than twenty of which treat of sacred Scripture. His works are characterized by a moderation and wisdom, resembling that found in the works of John Chrysostom.

the Church, though the contrary is held by the Jews . . . and therefore, although by the Jews rejected, the books are of great authority among the faithful."*

THOMAS NETTER, better known as Thomas Waldensis, from his birthplace Walden in England, a Carmelite of such learning that he was sent by Henry IV. of England to the Councils of Pisa and Florence, maintains stoutly in his *Doctrinale Fidei* that the canonicity of a book must be determined by the authority of the Church. He appeals against the followers of Wicklif to the *Decree of Gelasius*, to establish the *books that are to be held in full authority*.

JOHN OF RAGUSA (†1450) a Dominican doctor of the Sorbonne, who was president of the Council of Basle, announces in no doubtful terms, in the aforesaid council, the doctrine of the Church: "Moreover, it is manifest that there are many books in the Bible, which are not held in authority with the Jews, but are by them reckoned apocryphal, which, nevertheless, by us are held in the same veneration and authority as the others, and our acceptance of them rests on nothing but the tradition and acceptance of the whole Catholic Church, which it is not lawful pertinaciously to contradict."† The voice of the Church speaks through this man, which spoke again through the Fathers of the Council of Trent.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (†1274) does not treat the question of the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books *ex professo*. He is falsely, however, placed by some protestants as an adversary of these books.

A just way to judge of a man's opinion of Scripture is by his practical use of it. In his *Summa Theologica* St. Thomas has quoted Baruch twice: I. Maccabees, more than twelve times; II. Maccabees more than fifty-two times; Judith, more than nineteen times; Tobias, more than seventy times; Wisdom, more than one hundred and twelve times; and Ecclesiasticus, more than one hundred and thirteen times.

*Postilla super Lib. Sapientiae, Cap. I. Sect. 2.

†Mansi, Coll. Concil. XXIX., p. 885

The protestant Hody endeavors to shake St. Thomas' authority in favor of the deutero-canonical books by the three following testimonies. In his seventh opusculum, Chapter IV., commenting the work of the pseudo Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, St. Thomas speaks of a quotation from Wisdom thus: "From which it is evident that Wisdom was not yet held (*nondum habebatur*) among the canonical Scriptures." That this testimony is not unfavorable to our case is evident from a mere reading. But we hope to show that it is a direct testimony in favor of the books. If there is any point to the declaration, in saying that at a certain time a book was not yet, *nondum*, in the canonical Scriptures, the writer supposes that *at his writing it was there*.

The second text objected against us is from the *Summa Theologica*, I. Q. 89, art. 8, ad 2. There, commenting on the apparition of Samuel to Saul (I. Sam. XXVIII. 11 et seqq. et Eccli. XLVI. 23), he answers the objection first by the authority of Ecclesiasticus, and then subjoins: "Whence it can be said of Samuel that he appeared by divine revelation, as it is stated in Eccli. XLVI., 'that he slept and made known to the King the end of his life.' Or the apparition was procured by demons, *if the authority of Ecclesiasticus is not received, for the reason that it is not among the canonical Scriptures with the Jews.*" This proposition is of a man who himself receives the book but grants to his opponent the right to doubt it. It is also of a man little interested in the question of the canonicity of Scripture.

In saying that the book was not received by the Jews, he does not establish that it is not received by the Christians; in fact, he seems to imply that it was received by them, but not in such manner as to preclude all doubt. The mind of St. Thomas was not much given to these critical questions. He used the Scriptures as the Church used them, and this is the sole passage in all his works, where he allows any place for doubt concerning them.

The third objection is urged by Hody that St. Thomas speaks of the *Fable of Bel and the Dragon*, Dan. XIII. But all critics now agree that this work is supposititious. The learning of that time consisted chiefly in a command of

what the Fathers had written, and often we find conflicting statements made by the same writer, due to the fact that he had drawn from different sources, without weighing the question *in se*. So this unknown writer of this supposititious work had probably read Jerome and adopted his phraseology.

Among the works of St. Thomas is found a commentary on the books of Maccabees, in the preface of which it is stated, "that these books have no authority with the Jews, as have the twenty-four which compose the Canon according to Jerome, but they have authority in the Latin Church, which approved them in a certain council, and ordered them to be read." The authenticity of this work is rejected by many critics, and the work is believed to belong to an English writer named Thomas, and to date from about the close of the fourteenth century, but it still remains a testimony of that time to the Catholic Canon.

HUGH OF ST. CARUS (†1260) follows Jerome on the Canon.*

After enumerating the protocanonical books in verse, he continues thus in Latin verse:

Restant apocrypha: Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor,
Et Machabæorum libri, Judith atque Tobias,
Hi quia sunt dubii, sub canone non numerantur;
Sed quia vera canunt, Ecclesia suscipit illos.

—(Postil. in Jos., Prol.)

That he does not reject these books from the Scriptures, appears from his prologues in Judith and Ecclesiasticus, wherein he says: "The palace of the king is made up of four things: the foundation, the walls, the roof, and the interior ornaments. The foundation is the Law; the walls are the Prophets and the Epistles; the roof is the Gospels, and the ornaments are the Hagiographa and the Apocrypha."

*Hugh was called of St. Carus, because the place of his birth was close to the church of this name in the environs of Vienne in Dauphiné. He entered the Dominican Order, and was made doctor of the Sorbonne, and afterwards Cardinal. He was a man of commanding genius, both in the speculative and practical order. He was the first to invent a concordance of the Bible. By his suggestion the Dominican *Correctorium* was started, and it was finished by his own personal labors. He is also the author of Commentaries on the Scriptures.

Hugh was hard pressed to keep with the Church, and follow in everything St. Jerome. He called the deutero-canonical books *dubii*, not that their message was uncertain, but because their authors were unknown, and he admitted them into the deposit of Scriptures because, as they contained the inspired truth, the Church received them. The most extreme of the *Jeromists* are forced always to confess that the Church received these books, and that is what we are seeking. We wish to know what the Church held in these ages, not what were the personal leanings of the theologians. Hugh declares in his preface to Ecclesiasticus that the Church receives these books, not to prove doctrine, but for moral instruction, but this is a mere fiction borrowed from Jerome. The Church received them as Scripture, and "all Scripture is divinely inspired." Hugh has commented all the deutero-canonical books.

WILLIAM OCCAM (†1347) appeals to Jerome and Gregory the Great in asserting that "Judith, Tobias, Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom are not to be accepted to confirm that which pertains to faith. . . . The Church reads them, but does not receive them among her Canonical Scriptures."*

When Occam testifies that the Church receives the deutero-canonical Scriptures, he testifies to the fact which we are seeking to establish, and is in line with the whole course of tradition; when he limits the authority which the Church accorded these books he is advancing a mere personal criticism on a fact which the Church had not decided. To be sure, the Church up to that time had not canonized these

*Occam was a native of Surrey, in England. He entered the Order of Gray Friars, and became an ardent follower of Duns Scotus. His unquiet spirit soon revealed itself in a radical departure from Scotus, and in his advocacy of opposite subtilities. He was so powerful in dialectics that men called him the *doctor invincibilis*. In Occam we find an extreme representative of that scholastic hair-splitting of dialectics which did much to make men distrust and despise the schoolmen. Occam sustained the part of Louis of Bavaria against Pope John XXII., who excommunicated him. He was the author of many other bizarre opinions. He died at Munich in 1347, according to general opinion absolved of ecclesiastical censures.

books by formal decree; whereas, the first books had been received by her, canonized by the approbation of the supreme authority of the first covenant; so that the denial of canonicity was not the denial of inspiration. In saying that the Church did not use these books to confirm faith, Occam speaks against the plain evidences of fact, for we have seen that the representative men in the Church from the beginning made equal use of these books to teach doctrine and to confute error.

NICHOLAS OF LYRA (†1340) is unfavorable to the deutero-canonical books.*

According to him the canonical books are of such authority that anything that is contained in them should be firmly and without discussion held as true, as also that which follows directly from them . . . but the books, which according to Jerome, are not of the canon *are received by the Church*, to to be read for moral instruction, although their authority seems less fitted to decide those questions concerning which there might be discussion.

In his commentary on Ezra he says: "I intend, for the present, to pass over the books of Tobias, Judith, and Maccabees, although they are historical; because they are not in the Canon of the Jews or Christians. Jerome indeed, says they are reckoned among the apocrypha." He afterwards commented all the deutero-canonical books, except the fragments of Esther, "because they are not in the Hebrew nor in canonical Scripture, but seem to be invented by Josephus and other writers, and inserted in the Vulgate, as Jerome says." In his preface to Tobias he says: "Since by God's assistance, I have written on the canonical books of

*Nicolas, called of Lyra from his birthplace in Normandy, was by birth a Jew. He had studied under the Rabbis, but became converted to the faith of Christ, and entered the order of the Friars Minor in 1291. He received the degree of doctor at Paris, where he taught Scripture for many years with great success. He wrote commentaries on all the Scriptures, except some of the deutero-canonical fragments. He was much versed in Hebrew and Chaldaic, which gave to his commentaries of the Old Testament a solidity unlike that found in the other writers of his time. He founds all on the literal sense, and thus is not marred by that excessive mysticism, which has so much prevailed in past ages. He died in 1340.

Holy Scripture . . . trusting in the same assistance, I purpose to write upon the other books, which are not in the canon, viz., Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias and Maccabees." In these testimonies we find two elements, first what the Church held, and second what Nicolas held. He bears witness that the Church receives the books, and she in her subsequent councils tells us in what sense she received them. Nicolas certainly doubted of the divinity of the deuterocanonical books; perhaps he fully judged that the fragments of Esther were spurious. He was a Jew, and like causes moved him and Jerome whom he follows. It would be unreasonable to say that the mere doubts of one man or of a few men on a question not yet defined by the Church should overthrow the weight of tradition.

On the 4th of February, 1441, Pope Eugene IV., by and with the approbation of the Council of Florence promulgated the following bull respecting Holy Scripture: "The holy Roman Church . . . professes that one only and the same God is the author of the Old and New Testament, that is to say, of the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels, because under the inspiration of the same Holy Ghost, spoke the holy men of both Testaments whose books the Church receives and venerates, which are contained under the following titles: The five books of Moses . . . Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemias, *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Esther*, Job, The Psalms of David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Isaiah, Jeremiah with Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, twelve Prophets, . . . and the two *Books of Maccabees*."*

*Labbe Coll. Concil. XVIII. 1222. Concilio Florentino perperam hoc decretum attribui asserit Hodus (De text. orig. 659 col. III.) et post eum *Bleek* (Einl. Ed. 2. p. 705), etc. Contra omnes hos illa transcribere sufficit, quæ Card. de Monte, primus Conc. Trid. præses, ad similem objectionem repondit: "Bulla illa Eugenii, in qua recipiuntur libri sacri et est super unione Iacobitarum, et eius data est Prid. Non. Febr. 1441, vere edita est in Conc. Florentino ante eius dissolutionem. Falsum enim est, et ab omni veritate alienum, quod concilium illud dissolutum fuerit an. 1439 statim post unionem Græcorum, hallucinanturque maxime, qui putant finem dicti concilii fuisse unionem Græcorum, quum longe post, per tres sc. fere annos, perduraverit, usque videlicet ad an. 1442, quo anno 6. Kal. Mai. celebrata 10. sessione, concilium ipsum Romam translatum fuerit . . .

We see here that the Church attributed no importance to the individual doubts and theories of the writers whom we have cited in opposition to the books of the second Canon. With no evidence of uncertainty, she announces here what she had held in practice from the beginning. The dogmatic import of this decree is incontestable, but still it did not absolutely settle the question. The Council promulgated a list of inspired books which the Church received as the work of God, but it did not use the word canonical. Now perhaps none of those who had opposed the full authority of the deuterocanonical books had denied their inspiration. No one of them had studied the exact concept of inspiration or canonicity, but they had made use of vague distinctions to restrict the dignity and value of the deuterocanonical books somewhat below that of the books of the first Canon. Moreover, the bull of Eugene IV. did not define the Catholic notion of canonicity, neither did it define the question of the absolute equality of all the books. It seems also that the decrees of the Council of Florence were not diffused much through the Western Church in the first years after its celebration. Its legislation affected more especially the Eastern world, and the art of printing had not yet effected the general diffusion

Præterea, quod bulla unionis Iacobitarum data 1441, in qua ipsi libri recipiuntur, edita fuerit in ipso concilio, potest sciri ex originali manu propria ipsius Eugenii et Cardinalium ibi præsentium subscripta et plumbeo sigillo obsignata, quam ego ipse his oculis vidi Romæ una cum aliis actis concilii ab eisdem Eugenio et Cardinalibus subscriptis et plumbeo sigillo obsignatis. quæ nunc in arce molis Adriani inter alias scripturas Sedis Apostolicæ conservantur. . . . Verba autem: 'sacro approbante concilio,' in principio bullæ unionis Iacobitarum non ponuntur, quia dictum principium totum pertinet ad proœmium; ubi autem incipit dispositiva, ponuntur quidem, ut in aliis bullis in concilio editis. Ibi enim sic habetur: 'veram necessariamque doctrinam hodie in hac solemnî sessione, sacro approbante Œcumenico Concilio Florentino in nomine Domini tradimus, etc.' " (*Theiner Acta genuina SS. œcumen. Conc. Trident. Zagrabia* 1847 I. p. 79, sq. Cfr. etiam Prænotata ad bullam unionis in *Labbe* l. c.) Quod si *Bleek* (l. c.) post *Keerl* (*Die Apocryphen des A. T.* 1852, p. 150 sq.) asserit, ante Concilium Tridentinum neminem quidquam de decreto isto audivisse, ad eos refutandos sufficiet testimonium Caietani ante primam Concilii Tridentini indictionem demortui, quod sic se habet: "Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris et dicta Augustini . . . et scripta in Concilio Florentino sub Eugenio IV." etc. (Cajetani Com. in script., Lugd. 1639.) (Cornely. op. cit.)

of knowledge. Hence we find writers after this decree doubting of the divinity of these books.

Such a one is TOSTATUS,* Bishop of Avila (†1455). Tostatus gives evidence that he knew nothing of the decree of Florence. He is thoroughly at sea on the question of the Canon, and from his conflicting statements it appears evident that he had not mastered the question, and knew not clearly what either himself or the Church held on the subject. Commenting the Prologus Galeatus of Jerome, he says: "It is said that the Book of Wisdom is not in the Canon, because the Jews expunged it thence; in the beginning they received it, but after they had laid hands on Jesus and slain him, remembering the evident testimonies concerning him in the same book . . . taking counsel, lest we should impute to them the evident sacrilege, they cut the book off from the prophetic volumes, and interdicted its reading. *But we on the Church's authority, receive the book among the authentic Scriptures, and read it at stated times in the Church.* Again, the Book of Jesus, the son of Sirach, is not in the Jewish Canon . . . and although the Jews never received it into the Canon of Scriptures, the *Church receives it and reads it.*" Of the Book of Judith he speaks in a confused manner, and concludes: "These things are true according to the Jews; but with us it is otherwise, for the *Book of Judith is received among the authentic Scriptures, for the reason that the Church approved it in the Council of Nice, and received it into the Canon of Scriptures; otherwise the Church would not read it in her divine liturgy, as she reads the other authentic books.*" Continuing, he asserts the very same of Tobias and Maccabees. Had he remained consistent in these views, no one could have written better on the question than he. This was the Church's position clearly and definitely enunciated. But in trying to reconcile this position of the Church with Jerome,

*Tostatus was one of the most noted of the doctors of Salamanca in Spain. He filled with credit the highest offices in Church and State. His works reveal a vast erudition, but his *critique* is often defective, and his judgment does not correspond to the vastness of his erudition. Bellarmine styled him the wonder of the world. He died in 1455. This is his epitaph:

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

he becomes oblivious of his former position and assails the authority of the books which he here calls authentic Scripture. Commenting the first preface of Jerome on Chronicles, he speaks thus of the deuterocanonical books: "There is a difference between them (deuterocanonical books) and the canonical books that are called authentic (in his former testimony he called all the deuterocanonical books *authentic*); from the authentic books we may receive a proof of doctrine, and validly argue against both Jew and Christian to prove truth: but from the apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books we may receive doctrine, because they contain holy doctrine, wherefore they are called at times *hagiographa*; but their authority is not sufficient to adduce in argument against anyone, nor to prove things which are in doubt, and in this they are inferior to the canonical and authentic books. . . None of these apocryphal books, even though it be included among the other books of the Bible, and read in the Church, is of such authority that the Church may from it prove doctrine and in this regard the Church does not receive them, and thus is to be understood the declaration of Jerome, that the Church receives not the apocrypha." Again, in explaining the prologue on the Gospels, he states: "The Church knows not whether writers inspired by the Holy Ghost wrote these (deuterocanonical) books . . . When, therefore, there is doubt concerning the writers of certain books, whether they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, their authority is taken away, and the Church does not place them in the Canon of Scriptures. Furthermore, regarding these books, the Church is not certain whether or not heretics have not added to, or taken from that which was written by their proper authors. The Church, therefore, receives such books, permitting every one of the faithful to read them; the Church also reads them in her offices on account of the many devout things which are contained in them; but she obliges no one to believe what is contained therein, as is the case with the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Judith and Tobias. For though these books are received by Christians, and proof derived from them in some degree may have weight, because the Church retains those books, yet they are not effectual to

prove those things that are in doubt against heretics and Jews, as Jerome says in his prologue upon Judith."

We must agree with Tostatus that up to the Florentine Council the deutero-canonical books were not of *absolute authority* in doctrine, because there existed no definitive decree, and therefore one who rejected these books could not be branded with heresy. He errs greatly, however, in saying that the Church was ignorant of the inspiration of the books. The contradictions in Tostatus result from the fact that he tried to keep in line with the Church and St. Jerome. In saying that the Church received these books as *authentic Scriptures into the Canon of Scriptures*, he is with the Church: in doubting of the inspiration of the same books, he is with Jerome against the Church. We are building our Canon on what the Church held, and to this his testimony serves.

The authority of ANTONINUS, Archbishop of Florence (†1459) is sometimes invoked against us. He knew but vaguely of the decree of Florence.* According to him, "the Church receives these books as true, and venerates them as useful, moral treatises, though, in the discussion of those things which are of faith, not conclusive in argument. . . . Wherefore, perhaps, they have such authority as have the sayings of holy doctors approved by the Church."

The opinions of Antoninus are often strange and uncritical. His piety moved him to an excessive veneration of the opinions of St. Jerome, in explaining the fact of the Church's approval of the deutero-canonical books. His testimony is of no avail, since against him stands the authentic decree of Florence, making known to us, that the Church received these books as divine Scripture. St. Antoninus quotes St. Thomas, II. 2., as authority for his strange opinion, but a close examination fails to disclose any such text in the *Summa*.

*Chron. III. 11, 2, Lugd. 1586. III. p. 551: "In aliquibus vero, in quibus a fide vera discrepabant (Jacobitæ et Armenii) prohibentur, uti quod sacramentum confirmationis non habebant in usu conferendi illi nationi, declarato eis, quod illud, sicut et cetera sacramenta deberent accipere credere et conferre, *et aliqua alia, quæ nunc non occurrunt menti.*"

DENIS OF CHARTREUX (†1471) declares, that the Church receives the deutero-canonical books as true, but not canonical. He does not regard the fragments of Esther as divine *Scripture*.

CARDINAL XIMENES (†1517), in the preface of his Complutensian Polyglott Bible, says: "The books, indeed, without the Canon, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than as an authoritative confirmation of the doctrines of the Church, are only found in the Greek."

We see that the old theory of Jerome endured in some minds, who, while they received the books with the Church, in defect of any absolute decree of the Church, inclined much to the great Scriptural doctor of the Church. The decree of Florence, though it defined the issue *in se*, failed to establish the absolute equality of the books, first because it was not widely disseminated in those obscure times, and secondly because it did not employ the term *canonical*.

ERASMUS (†1536) finds "that it is not unreasonable to establish different degrees of authority among the Holy Books, as St. Augustine has done. The books of the first rank are those concerning which there has never existed a doubt with the ancients. Certainly Isaiah has more weight than Judith."*

The great humanist evidently considered the books as divine *Scripture*, though of less importance in doctrine.

We close the list of the *antetridentine* writers with CAJETAN (†1524). At the close of his commentary on Esther he concludes: "The Church receives such books, permitting the faithful to read them; the Church also reads them in her offices, on account of the many devout things which they contain. But the Church *obliges no one necessarily to believe what is contained therein*, which is the case with the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Judith, and Tobit. For though these books are received by Christians, and proof derived from them may, in some way or other, have weight, because the Church retains those books; yet they are not

*Apud Malou, II. 108.

effectual for proving those things which are in doubt, against heretics or Jews. We here terminate our commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament: for the rest (*viz.*, the books of Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees) are reckoned by Jerome *without the canonical books, and are placed among the apocrypha, together with Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus*, as appears in his 'Prologus Galeatus' (or Helmeted Prologue). Nor should you be disturbed, O novice, if you should anywhere find those books reckoned among the canonical books, either in the holy councils, or in the holy doctors. For the words of the councils, as well as of the doctors, are to be submitted to the correction of Jerome; and according to his judgment [expressed] to the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus, those books (and if there be any similar ones in the Canon of the Bible) are NOT *canonical*, that is, they are not those which are given as a rule for the confirmation of the faith. They may, however, be called canonical (that is, given as a rule) for the edification of the faithful; since [they are] received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible for this purpose."

Cajetan was not a strong independent thinker. He gave himself up to study in two great departments of the Church's science, dogma and Scripture. In both, he simply followed the master. In dogma he followed St. Thomas, absolutely; in Scripture he followed in the same manner St. Jerome. Study for him simply meant to find out what these two men held. He paid slight heed to the other theologians of his time. Thomas and Jerome for him were supreme. His writings are characterized by a certain self-assurance and contempt for the opinions of others, indicative of a narrow mind. The compass of his knowledge had been narrowed by exclusive devotion to the *Summa*. Cajetan is the author of many strange opinions, some of them directly opposed to faith. Certainly when he says that the decrees of general councils must be submitted to the correction of Jerome, the statement is false. It was placing Jerome above the Church. And yet this extreme *Jeromist* had to confess that the deuterocanonical books *were received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible*.

CHAPTER XI.

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The necessity for the decree of Trent arose from two quarters. Within the fold of the Church there was some uncertainty produced by the opinion of Cajetan; and the sect of protestants which arose at this time rejected the deuterocanonical books. To make head, therefore, against the great apostasy and to make known to Catholics the absolute position of the Church, the Council of Trent, was opened on the 15th of December, 1545. The first deliberations of the Council were concerned with the question of Holy Scripture. An evidence of the views of the protestants on the Scripture may be learned from the following statement of Luther: "That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even if Peter or Paul said it; on the contrary, that which announces Christ is apostolic, even though uttered by Judas, Annas, Herod or Pilate."

In the famous dispute of Leipsic in 1519, when John Eck invoked the authority of Maccabees to defend the doctrine of Purgatory, Luther made answer: "There is no proof of Purgatory in any portion of sacred Scripture, which can enter into the argument, and serve as a proof; for the book of Maccabees not being in the Canon, is of weight with the faithful, but avails nothing with the obstinate." In the spread of these extreme ideas, men looked to the Church for a definition, and she responded to the need.

A Council held at Sens, in 1528 declared, that he who held not the tradition of the Church, and rejected the decrees of the Third Council of Carthage, and those of Popes Innocent and Gelasius, should be condemned as a schismatic, and inventor of all heresies; but this body was only local, and could not command all men's faith; wherefore a decree from the supreme authority in the Church was necessary. On the 14th of February, 1546, the members of the Council, who had been divided into three particular congregations, assembled. The subject of deliberation respecting the Canon was:

1.—Whether the Council should receive the books of Scripture simply, or after a previous examination by the theologians.

2.—Whether two classes of books should be constituted, so that some should be declared authoritative to prove doctrine; others useful for instruction. (*Acta Genuina*, Theiner.)

Cardinal Cervini, president of the Council, afterwards Pope Marcellus II., proposed the questions in all their bearings to the Fathers.* Certain Fathers were of the mind that it would be well to examine, at least summarily, the objections of the adversaries against the deutero-canonical books, but the majority decided “to receive the books simply and entirely as the Church had done in other councils, and especially in the Council of Florence.” (Theiner l. c.)

We see here that there was no new legislation in this regard in the Council of Trent. The Council simply reiterated and confirmed what had been believed and promulgated in the Church from the earliest times.

The question was then submitted by the general of the Augustinians, and Seripando, legate of Paul IV., “that a distinction should be made between those books which are authentic and canonical, and upon which our faith rests, and those which are merely canonical, and useful to be read for instruction in the Church, as St. Jerome places in the Prologus Galeatus.” (Theiner l. c.) This proposition found no favor and was straightway abandoned.

In the Council of Trent, we find often a lack of precision in the views of individual members; but the conclusions arrived at are always clear and profound.

**Duo ego subiiciam, quæ in mea particulari congregatione tractata fuerunt; unum est, utrum simpliciter facienda sit approbatio Scripturæ, prout factum fuit per Cone. Florent. et iuxta etiam antiquiora concilia, an potius distinguendum: qui sint libri sacri ex quibus fundamenta nostræ fidei et doctrinæ eruantur, et qui sint quidem canonici, sed non eiusdem auctoritatis, ut priores illi, sed ideo ab Ecclesia recepti, ut ex his multitudine instrui possit, quales sunt libri Sapientiæ, Proverbiorum, et alii similes; idque forsitan non abs re esset, quoniam videtur ambiguum ab Ecclesia determinatum, quamvis et Augustinus et Hieronymus et alii veteres de iis nonnulla tradiderint. Alterum est, utrum sicco pede approbatio ista*

So here, it is not evident just what distinction this man wished to induce. But in every case, his proposition was useless. If he wished merely to say that the import of some divine books is more important in Christian doctrine than others, the truth is understood by all Christians, and needs no definition. The Council was not about to define that Maccabees was as valuable to use as Matthew. But if he wished to say that the relation which God bore to any book was less than inspiration as we have defined it, the proposition is false. The Council simply extended proper inspiration to all the books, and left the question of their respective dogmatic and moral values intact.

On the 12th of February, 1546, Cardinal Cervini moved on the part of his particular congregation that the Council set forth in brief the motives why it receives the books contested by the protestants; but it was decided by common accord "that the Holy Books should be simply approved according to the decree of the Council of Florence." (Theiner, I. 52.)

The next question was whether the books of both classes should be received with the same reverence, (*pari pietatis affectu*). This was for a long time discussed, the majority being in favor of the affirmative, but no conclusion was then reached. The following meetings, both particular and general, were given up to various questions regarding Scripture and tradition. On the 22d of March the secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, proposed to reject the decree of the Council of Florence as of doubtful authenticity, but he was refuted by the president of the Council. Cardinal Del Monte, legate of the Pope, had, on the 26th of February, refuted the same objection.

facienda sit, an vero additis rationibus et solutis argumentis, quibus adversarii maxime innituntur ad eorum nonnullos impugnandos et confringendos. Ab ipsis enim, ut omnes vos scitis, infringitur imprimis *liber Machabæorum*, quem penitus reiiciunt, item Epistola Pauli ad Hebr., una Iacobi et altera Petri ac etiam Apocalypsis et alia pleraque." *Acta genuina* p. 52.—Quod *Proverbiorum* liber cum Sapientia coniungatur, lapsum calami diceres, nisi etiam Pallavicini (l. c. I. p. 220) haberet: "Proverbiorum et Sapientiæ libri." (Cornely, op. cit.)

A detailed list of fourteen propositions was at this juncture drawn up to be examined and voted on in detail. Not all these regard our question. The tenth contains the pith of our present theme. This was whether the deuterocanonical books should be approved as *sacred and canonical*. This was resolved in the affirmative by forty-four votes, against three negative votes and five doubtful ones. (Theiner, I. 77.)

The thirteenth proposition submitted the question, whether to make a distinction between the two classes of books, or enumerate them according to the Council of Florence. It was decided to receive the deuterocanonical books without examination or discussion by forty-one votes, against four in opposition and eight doubtful ones. The Council also unanimously decided that the things carried by a majority vote should not be subject to further discussion.

On the 3rd of April, the corrected Schema was placed before the Fathers. The Cardinal of Trent moved that the deuterocanonical books be placed after the protocanonical ones, "because Tobias, which Jerome held to be apocryphal, is placed in the decree ahead of other books whose authority no one has ever questioned." The motion was lost, since it was against the former vote that they should approve the decree of the Council of Florence.

The Bishop of Castellamare remarked that the words *sacred and canonical* were objectionable on account of Judith, and some others which are not in the Hebrew Canon. He moved to substitute: "in the Canon of the Church." Cardinal Cervini, the president, responded: "It is true what thou sayest, but we follow the Canon of the Church, not of the Jews. When we say *Canonical*, therefore, we understand of the Canon of the Church." And the Bishop of Castellamare responded: "Placet."

On the 8th of April, 1546, two months after the question of the Scriptures had been submitted to the Council, after mature deliberation and discussion, the Council promulgated its famous decree:

"The thrice holy, œcumenical, general Council of Trent . . . following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives

and venerates with equal piety and respect all the books of the Old and New Testament, because one and the same God is the author of both. . . . The Council judges good to join to this decree a list of books, so that no one may doubt concerning the books received by the same Synod. These are the books: Of the Old Testament, the five books of Moses, that is to say: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles, the first of Ezra; and second which is called Nehemiah, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, Job, the Davidic Psalter of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*, Isaiah, Jeremiah with *Baruch*, Ezechiel, Daniel, the twelve minor Prophets, viz., Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micha, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Haggai, Zachary, Malachi, the two books of *Maccabees*, first and second. . . . If anyone shall not receive these same books as sacred and Canonical with all their parts, as they are read in the Catholic Church, and contained in the Latin Vulgate; and shall knowingly and wilfully reject the aforesaid traditions, let him be anathema.”*

The clause, *with all their parts*, was inserted primarily to include certain passages of the Gospels, concerning which doubt had existed. In the general congregation on the 27th of March, 1546, Cardinal Pacheco asked that these portions of the New Testament should be specially mentioned. The words of the decree are of such comprehension that they include all parts, annulling all doubts that had existed both concerning the Old and the New Testaments.

In virtue of this decree, every Catholic must accept as divinely inspired, the deutero-canonical books and fragments as they are read in the Latin Vulgate. The Council did not treat this as an open question, but added corroboration and precision to preceding documents. The history of the Council by Pallavicini might induce one into error. He states that the question was submitted, whether all the books of both Testaments should be approved. This would imply that the Council felt itself not bound by the Council of Flor-

*Conc. Trid. Sess. IV. De Can. Script.

ence. The authentic acts by Theiner give an entirely different sense to the deliberation. The proposal was couched in these terms: That in the proximate session, the books of Holy Scripture should be received, and the way and manner determined, in which they should be received. To be sure, the discussion of the project revealed much lack of clearness in the ideas of certain Fathers, but the great body of the Council always treated the question as decided by the existing documents of the Church. The Council of Trent admitted no different degrees of inspiration in the Holy Books, because inspiration has no degrees. A book is either the product of God's authorship, or it is not. The Council accepted the deuterocanonical books as having God for their author. The old distinction of greater and less degrees of inspiration had some ardent supporters in the Council. The ground of their opinion seems to have been an imperfect understanding of the nature of inspiration. The vast majority of the Council announced to them: "All the books of our Bible, whatever be their contents, and the profit one may draw from them, have been regarded as inspired by Christian tradition, and for us, they are canonical." The opponents finished by adding their *placet*. The absolute equality of all the books in their inspiration is assured by the Council; for if a book be *sacred* and *canonical*, and have God for its author, it cannot be inferior to the others of which the same is asserted. Some theologians still confuse the issue by declaring that the question of equality was not explicitly defined *on account of its difficulty*; and *the question was left as the Holy Fathers left it*. (Loisy, l. c). This is nothing. The Council did not deem it necessary to promulgate an explicit decree, making the book equal in inspiration, because such was *equivalently* contained in the main decree; the Council did not declare the books equal in value, because they are not thus equal: God spoke in divers manners in the Scriptures, and some truths therein contained are more valuable than others, though these latter are no less the inspired writing of God.

The decree of Trent was definite, final and clear but yet it took some time for it to take absolute hold upon all the rep-

representatives of Catholic thought. If men's minds were always clear and virtuous, there would be far less confusion in the world. But often from lack of intellectual penetration, or from excessive addiction to some theory, men of note give utterance to false opinions. Especially is this true in the harmonizing of schools of theology, with some definitive sentence of the Church. Those who have assimilated some theory in conflict with the new decree, will retreat from their position slowly, and will endeavor, by restricting the decree, to cling to as much as possible of the old opinion. Thus Cajetan tried to conform the decree of Florence to his own opinion. With time these struggles and gasps of dying error cease, and the authority of the rock-built Church remains the absolute guide of the faithful of Christ.

Thus, for a few years after the Council of Trent, there was some slight friction between its decree and certain theologians. This was augmented by the fact that the precise concepts of inspiration and canonicity were not then well understood. The Council gave us the text, and, as men examined the precise significance of its words, this looseness of opinion vanished from Catholic schools of theology, so that every Catholic holds to-day that the deuterocanonical books are as much inspired and as canonical as the Pentateuch or the Gospels.

An intentional falsehood is contained in Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. p. 489, where he places Bellarmine (†1621) against the deuterocanonical books, by taking certain passages out of their proper context in the works of the great controversialist. Bellarmine in his works clearly declares: "That the deuterocanonical works are not only good and holy, but they are sacred and of infallible truth. The Church has never doubted of their canonicity in the sense that she lacked testimonies to attest the divinity of their origin, but simply certain persons doubted, and the Church did not wish to define the question at that time."*

From this it appears that Bellarmine's opinion was that the deuterocanonical books always had the right to canon-

*De Verbo Dei. I. 1, Cap. IV.

icity; they came into actual enjoyment of this right by the timely decree of Trent.

The aforesaid Horne also falsely adduces the testimony of SIXTUS OF SIENNA.*

In his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Tom. I. pag. 18), Sixtus distinguishes two classes of books. There he invented the terms *protocanonical* and *deutero-canonical*, and speaks of them thus: "The first class is formed of those books, which may be called protocanonical, regarding which there has never been doubt or controversy in the Catholic Church. The second class comprises the books which were formerly known as *ecclesiastical*, but which are now by us called deutero-canonical. These latter were not recognized by all since the times of the Apostles, but long afterward, and for this reason Catholic opinion concerning them was, at first uncertain. The early Fathers regarded them as apocryphal and non-canonical, and only permitted them to be read to the catechumens; then with time they permitted them to be read to the faithful, not for proof of doctrine, but for edification of the faithful; and since these books were read publicly in the Church, they were called ecclesiastical. Finally, they have been placed among the Scriptures of *irrefragable authority*."

Sixtus exaggerates the doubts that existed concerning the books. He was probably more conversant with Jerome than with the other Fathers, and takes him as a representative of the opinions of his time. Against his testimony stands the united testimony of the Council of Trent, composed of the greatest body of theologians ever assembled, declaring that the *Church, relying on tradition, receives these books as sacred and canonical*. The Council promulgated officially what had been always implicitly held. But Sixtus

*Sixtus was by birth a Jew. He became converted to Christianity, and entered the Franciscan order. He was afterwards convicted of having taught heresies; and as he obstinately refused to abjure them, he was condemned to be burned at the stake. Just as the sentence was to be executed, Cardinal Ghisleri, the Inquisitor-General, afterwards Pope Pius V., overcame his obstinacy, and transferred him from the Franciscans to the Dominican order. He consecrated his life to the study of the Scriptures, and died at Genoa, in 1560. His greatest work is his *Bibliotheca Sancta*. Many of his opinions are excellent, but, at times, his *critique* is defective.

is disposed to accord these books a place among the canonical Scriptures on the authority of the Church. He accepts the decree, *as he understands it*. But the opinions of St. Jerome moved him still to reject the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther. Thus, in the aforesaid reference, he discourses of it: "The appendix of the Book of Esther, which comprises the seven last chapters, consists of various rags and patchwork, of which we find nothing in the Hebrew exemplars . . . But it occurs to me here to admonish and entreat the good reader not to accuse me of temerity, that I cut out these seven chapters from the canonical Scriptures and place them among the apocrypha, as though I were unmindful of the decree of Trent, which, under pain of anathema, commands that *all the books entire* should be received, as they are read in the Church, and as they exist in the old Latin Vulgate edition.

"But that Canon is to be understood, of true and genuine parts of Scripture, pertaining to the integrity of the books, and not of certain ragged appendages, and patches rashly and disorderly tacked on by some unknown author, such as are these last chapters, which not only Cardinal Hugh, Nicolas of Lyra, and Denis the Carthusian deny to be canonical; but also St. Jerome cuts off from the volume of Esther as a spurious part, to use his own words, 'made up of ragged fragments of words, which could be said and heard in the (several) occasions, just as it is customary for scholars to take a theme, and excogitate what words one would use, who received or wrought an injury. Origen, also, in his letter to Julius Africanus, rejects these appendages.' "

Sixtus knew more of the opinions of Jerome, than of the value of œcumenical decrees. No part of the deuterocanonical books is treated so severely by Jerome as the fragments of Esther. As it was hopeless to make Jerome agree on this point with the Council, as generally understood, this avowed disciple of Jerome sought by his strange distinction to maintain the old opinion of his master. But anyone can see the flimsiness of the attempt. In fact, in the subsequent centuries, there is not found one to endorse such opinion. The words of the Council were too explicit. Every part that

was in the Vulgate and read in the Church was declared sacred and canonical; the fragments of Esther fulfill both these conditions. The only way to reject deuterocanonical books and fragments is to reject the Council of Trent. In fact it is a remarkable fact, that, in the ages following the Council, Sixtus' is the only voice raised in opposition to the equal canonicity of the books, and he only aims at these fragments. It is an evidence of the universal obedience of faith, among the children of the Church, to the voice of authority.

Among the authors of the seventeenth century Bossuet has expressed the position of the Church with the most force and precision. In a letter to Leibnitz in 1700, he resumes as follows:

“Nous dirons donc, s'il vous plaît, tous deux ensemble, qu'une nouvelle reconnaissance de quelque livre canonique dont quelques-uns auraient douté ne déroge point à la perpétuité de la tradition. . . . Pour être constante et perpétuelle, la vérité catholique ne laisse pas d'avoir ses progrès: elle est connue en un lieu plus qu'en un autre, en un temps plus qu'en un autre, plus clairement, plus distinctement, plus universellement. Il suffit, pour établir la succession et la perpétuité de la foi d'un livre saint, comme de toute autre vérité, qu'elle soit toujours reconnue; qu'elle le soit dans les plus grand nombre sans comparaison; qu'elle le soit dans les Eglises les plus éminentes, les plus anciennes et les plus révérees; qu'elle s'y soutienne, qu'elle gagne et qu'elle se répande d'elle-même, jusqu'à tant que le Saint-Esprit, la force de la tradition et le goût, non celui des particuliers, mais l'universel de l'Eglise, la fasse enfin prévaloir comme elle a fait au concile de Trente.”

He insists on the practical usage of the Church in reading the books, and on the constant quotations of the Fathers;

“Ajoutons . . . que le terme de canonique n'ayant pas toujours une signification uniforme, nier qu'un livre soit canonique en un sens, ce n'est pas nier qu'il ne le soit en un autre; nier qu'il soit, ce qui est très vrai, dans le canon des Hébreux, ou reçu sans contradiction parmi les chrétiens, n'empêche pas qu'il ne soit au fond dans le canon de l'Eglise, par l'autorité que lui donne la lecture presque générale et par l'usage

qu'on en faisait par tout l'univers. C'est ainsi qu'il faut concilier plutôt que commettre ensemble les Eglises et les auteurs ecclésiastiques, par des principes communs à tous les divers sentiments et par le retranchement de toute ambiguité."

The abbé Dupin, a contemporary of Bossuet, had at first held loose opinions concerning the deuterocanonical books, but under the influence of Bossuet, he modified his position to the following clear and just statement:

"Toutes ces raisons et ces considérations jointes ensemble sont suffisantes pour établir l'autorité de ces livres, dont la définition du concile de Trente ne laisse aucun lieu de douter. Car, quoiqu'il ne se fasse point de nouvelle révélation à l'Eglise, elle peut après bien du temps être plus assurée de la vérité d'un ouvrage qu'elle ne l'était auparavant, quand, après l'avoir bien examiné, elle a trouvé un légitime fondement de n'en plus douter et une tradition suffisante dans quelques Eglises pour le juger authentique. C'est la raison pour laquelle saint Jérôme dit que la seconde épître de Saint Pierre avait acquis de l'autorité par l'antiquité et par l'usage, et méritait d'être mise au rang des livres sacrés du Nouveau Testament.*

BERNARD LAMY (†1715), of the Congregation of the Oratory, has a singular opinion concerning the deuterocanonical books. In his *Apparatus Biblicus*, after setting forth the opinions of Rufinus and Jerome, he concludes: "Therefore the books which are in the second Canon, though joined to those of the first Canon, are not of the *same authority*." He evidently accords to these books canonicity, but believes that the degree of inspiration is not so intense in them. Loisy (*Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, pag. 235) favors this opinion, and cites Ubaldi in support of it.† But

*Dissert. prelim. ou Prolég. sur la Bible, I. 52, 53.

†"Verum in specie et in concreto nihil vetat quominus in quibusdam locis intensiorem veluti gradum inspirationis admittamus, atque ita diversos modus inspirationis distinguamus. Imo hoc omnino faciendum videtur: siquidem diversa rerum natura, et diversa Scriptoris conditio hoc requirere videtur. Itaque, ut aliquid magis in specie dicamus, distinguere possumus loca Scripturæ *prophetica*, *moralia* et *historica*, et in his rursus substantiam historiæ a minutis quibusdam adiunctis. Ad loca prophetica quod attinet, duo casus distinguendi sunt: vel enim vaticinium

it is plainly evident that Ubaldi there means to distinguish between revelation, designated by him as the more intense mode of inspiration, and inspiration proper, which permitted the acquisition of knowledge by natural means. There is nothing in Ubaldi in support of this vainly imagined distinction of degrees of canonicity.

A greater departure from the decree of the Council of Trent was made by Jahn (†1816) who declares: "That by the testimony of the Fathers of Trent, the difference between protocanonical and deuterocanonical books has by no means been removed, and the Fathers well understood that it could not be removed, no more than the fact upon which it stood, namely: that the deuterocanonical books had not been received everywhere, and by all in past times." [Einleitung in Die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes. (2 edit.) I. 140.]

There is evidence of exceeding shortsightedness here. The Fathers did not change the external facts concerning the Scriptures. They could not change the past. They did not reverse the opinion of Jerome; they did not declare that the deuterocanonical books had never been doubted, neither did they declare that the doctrinal import of these books was equal to that of the first Canon. But they did declare that they were all sacred and canonical having God for their author. By this definition they added nothing *intrinsically* to the books; but they infallibly declared that, in virtue of their inspired character, they always had a *right* to canonicity, which they now officially recognized; and they right-

a propheta antea editum fuit, et postea scripto consignatum, ut sunt pleraque vaticinia S. Scripture, vel in ipso scribendi actu vaticinium editum est: in primo casu sufficit communis et ordinaria inspiratio ut Scriptura prophetica etiam formaliter, seu quatenus scripta est, divina et inspirata dici possit; in altero vero casu non solum inspiratio, sed vere ac proprie dicta *revelatio* necessaria fuit, cum futurorum cognitio non nisi ex divina revelatione haberi possit. Talia sunt quedam Ieremie vaticinia, ut colligi videtur ex Jer. XXXVI, 17, 18, ubi Ieremias dicitur dictasse Baruch tamquam amanuensi suas prophetias. Quod pertinet ad partes didacticas et historicas, generatim loquendo non amplius quam communis inspirationis ratio requirebatur: siquidem tum moralis doctrina, tum historia Agiographis nota erat sive ex naturali lumine cum revelatione coniuncto, ut in Libris Sapientialibus, sive ex audita predicatione, ut in Evangelis et Epistolis Apostolorum, sive ex scriptis documentis, vel etiam ex propria experientia, ut generatim fiebat in scriptoribus sacre historie utriusque Testamenti." Ubaldi II 111.

fully based their action on the mighty preponderance of the tradition of all times.

The opinions of Jahn have always been characterized by error.* It is not to be expected that one with such pronounced rationalistic views would accept the decree of the Council of Trent.

The decree of Trent formed a new starting point for Catholic opinion. No longer did one question whether or not certain Fathers held these books, but, accepting the definition of the Church, they interpreted it to have extended divine inspiration to all the books of the Catholic Canon, and the Council of Vatican has ratified this consensus of Catholic opinion by defining: "If anyone shall not receive all the books with all their parts, as the Tridentine Synod enumerates them, as sacred and canonical; or shall deny that they are *divinely inspired*, let him be anathema."†

Protestant opinion has been consistent in nothing since its beginning; it has varied much regarding the Canon. The Gallican Confession of 1559, the Anglican Confession of 1562, the Confession of Geneva of 1564, declare that the apocrypha (deuterocanonical books) are useful for pious reading, but not available to prove doctrine. The conciliabulum of Westminster, in 1648 declared: "That the so-called apocryphal books, being not divinely inspired, by no means belong to the Canon, wherefore they have no authority in the Church of God (?), and are to be treated as merely human writings."

The Biblical Society of London, declared in 1826, that no edition of Scripture was to be circulated which contained the apocrypha, and no aid was to be given to anyone circulating such edition. What they hold to-day on the Canon, it is hard to say.

*Jahn was born in Moravia in 1750. He devoted his early years to the study of Oriental languages and the Scriptures. In 1789 he held the chair of Oriental languages, Introduction to the Old Testament, and Archæology in the University of Vienna. In 1813, he was also made professor of dogma in the same university. He was a man of much erudition, but thoroughly infected with rationalism. His greatest work is his Introduction to the Old Testament. This was prohibited by the Congregation of the Index in 1822. Several other of his works have also been prohibited. He died in 1816.

†Constit. dogmat. de fide Cath. Can. 4, De Revel.

The New Testament

CHAPTER XII.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The formation and preservation of the Canon of the New Testament is certainly due to the direct influence of divine Providence moving second agents to execute the will of God. Still it was not the primary design of Christ to deliver to the world a written code of his doctrines. He inaugurated the great work of the Kingdom of God by *oral preaching*. He wrote nothing; neither did He impose any precept on those whom He had chosen to write. He bade them preach. He redeemed the world from sin; taught it his Gospel by word of mouth, and founded a living, teaching agency to carry on His work forever. These were principal. Out of these came the divine Scriptures in the designs of Providence: not to supersede Christ's way of teaching the world, but to be a means, a deposit, whence the Church should draw, and give to the people.

In fact, all the terms which Christ used in enunciating his design of teaching the world, demonstrate that the principal and ordinary means of teaching mankind was ever to be the living word by preaching. No other means would be adequate to accomplish that which Christ willed. The world of that day could not be reached through the medium of letters. Since the invention of printing, and the general diffusion of literature, ideas may be rapidly spread by the press; but the message of Christ was given to man before such means existed for the communication of thought. Moreover, the message of Christ was for the poor and the illiterate, as well as for the savant; for busy toilers who had not time nor philo-

sophical depth to draw the Message from the written instrument, and Christ established the only means capable of teaching all nations—the magisterium of the Church. The children of men were lambs who had need to be fed, and Christ gave them an eternal succession of shepherds.

The Apostles adopted the method of their Master. “Aided by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, and relying on the sole power of Christ, which wrought many miracles by them, they announced the Kingdom of Heaven throughout the world; neither did they take thought to write books, for they fulfilled a far greater and sublimer office. Paul, who is pre-eminent among all the Apostles in richness of diction and depth of thought, wrote nothing except a few epistles, although he could have expounded many mysteries. . . . And the other co-laborers of the Lord, the twelve Apostles, the seventy disciples, and many others, were by no means ignorant (of these mysteries). Nevertheless, of all the disciples of the Lord, only Matthew and John left us a written word; and we are told that they were moved to write by a particular need.” (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 24.)

“What,” says Irenaeus, “if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures? Would it not be necessary to follow the traditions of those to whom they committed the Churches? Verily this method many barbarous nations adopt, who believe in Christ without ink and paper, having the law of salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit, and faithfully holding to the old tradition, believing in one God, etc.” (Irenaeus, Migne 7, 855.) Again: “The tradition of the Apostles, manifested in the whole world, may be learned in every Church by those who wish to know the truth, and we can enumerate the bishops constituted by the Apostles and their successors even to our day.” (Irenaeus, Migne, 7, 848.)

Wherefore, they err greatly who constitute the Scriptures the sole means of teaching Christ’s message; for many churches were flourishing before any of the N. T. existed. The dates of the Gospels can not be fixed with precision. For the Gospel of Matthew, Catholic opinion ranges over the period included between the years 36 and 67 of the Christian era; the period for Mark is from the year 40 to the year 70;

Luke's Gospel is variously placed from the year 47 to the year 63, while the Gospel of St. John is assigned to the closing years of the first Christian century. Many concur in the opinion which places the Acts of the Apostles in the year 64 of our era.

The dates of some of the Epistles of Paul may be assigned with a good degree of certitude. The Epistles to the Thesalonians were written about the year 53; the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in the first months of the year 57; the second Epistle, in the autumn of the same year. The Epistle to the Romans was written toward the close of the year 57 or in the beginning of 58; the Epistle to the Galatians preceded that to the Romans, and ranges between the year 55 and 57. The Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Epistle to Philemon are by Loisy placed during the captivity of Paul, from the year 61 to 64. It is more difficult to assign the proper date of the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Modern exegetes are of accord in placing them at a later date than the preceding. The Epistle of St. James is later than the Epistle to the Romans, and internal evidence is therein that St. James was conversant with the Epistle to the Romans. Its probable date might be placed about the year 60. The Epistles of St. Peter are ascribed to the last years of his life. According to Eusebius and Jerome, the prince of the Apostles was martyred in the third year of Nero's reign, about the year 67. The Epistle of St. Jude has a close affinity with the second Epistle of St. Peter, but whether Peter drew from Jude, or Jude from Peter is not clear. They who defend the first hypothesis assign the year 65 as the date of St. Jude's Epistle; while the advocates of the second hypothesis assign a later date. The first Epistle of St. John may be considered as a sort of preface to his Gospels, and written at the same time; the second and third Epistles are of a little later date. The Apocalypse according to the most ancient testimonies, and particularly that of St. Irenaeus, was written toward the close of the reign of Domitian, about the year 95.

Though these are approximate dates, they are precise enough to establish the fact that several years of intense

Apostolic work had elapsed before the first writing appeared. And in that period churches had been founded in Palestine, and other parts of the Eastern world, and probably also at Rome. The Church and the apostolic priesthood was principal; the Scriptures were a means which the Church was to use. But as God wished to provide adequately for the propagation and preservation of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, he also brought it about that there should be preserved in writing some of the most important truths of the New Dispensation. The spirit of truth who was sent to suggest all things necessary in the new economy, moved the holy men to commit certain things to writing. But these writings owe their origin to special occasions, and particular circumstances. Primarily they were intended for some one or few individuals or churches. Gradually they became interchanged and disseminated among the churches, and it is only in the third century that we find any church having a complete list of the Holy Books of the New Law.

We place, therefore, as a leading proposition, that the writers of the New Law wrote with no design to compile a code of Scripture. They wrote to supply some particular need that which they knew to be the Word of God; the future destiny of their writings to form a sacred deposit was hidden from them. The mode of the formation of the body of Scriptures of the New Law was by gradual accession. Documents written to some individual person or Church were copied and sent to others. Paul recognizes and makes use of this method in his Epistle to the Colossians: "And when this Epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea." [Coloss. IV. 16.]

That it was likewise characteristic of the early Christians to carefully preserve writings of doctrinal import may be inferred from a passage in the writings of St. Polycarp. "The Epistles," he says, "of Ignatius (Martyr), which were sent us by him, and others, as many as we had, we have sent to you, as you requested; they accompany this letter, and from them you will receive much profit." (S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 13.) If such diligence and care were bestowed on the

⁸³- Epistles of Ignatius Martyr, much more would be bestowed on the writings of the Apostles and Founders of Christianity. We see also in the testimony an evidence of the method of communicating writings among the churches. Both agencies combined brought it about that the several churches soon had their sacred deposit of the New Law; though many years elapsed before we find the list complete in any church; and many more, before all the churches had the complete Canon.

Even in the writings of the authors of the New Testament, we find allusions to certain collections of the Scriptures of the New Law. In his second Epistle, Peter speaks of the Epistles of Paul as of writings generally known to the Christians: "Wherefore, dearly beloved, waiting for these things, be diligent . . . as also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given to him, hath written, as also *in all his Epistles*, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and the unstable, wrest, *as also the other Scriptures*, to their own perdition." (II. Peter III. 14-16.)

"In this place," says Estius, "Peter canonizes, so to speak, Paul's Epistles. For in saying '*as also the other Scriptures*,' he, in truth, declares that he placed them among the Holy Scriptures."

Cornely adduces a proof from the First Epistle to Timothy to prove that Paul was conversant with the Gospel of Luke. Paul speaks thus: "For the Scripture saith, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn'; and, 'The laborer is worthy of his hire.'" (I. Tim. V. 18). The first sentence of Paul's quotation is taken from Deuteronomy XXV. 4. From the context, it is plainly evident to him who reads that the second sentence is also adduced as Holy Scripture. The passage exists in Luke X. 7, and the illation is just that Paul quotes here as divine Scripture a passage of the Third Gospel. Hence we infer that, at the writing of the Epistle to Timothy, Luke's written Gospel existed, and was known to the Christians as Holy Scripture.

Up to our times, the universal belief of Christians held that the disciples and first successors of the Apostles placed

the works of the authors of the New Testament with the books of the Old Testament, as of equal divinity and authority. The rationalistic plague which infected the world in our times, first essayed to overthrow this universally accepted truth, claiming that the writings of the Apostles are never quoted in the solemn formulas used of the Old Testament, and that the words of the Lord are quoted from oral traditions.

To meet this opposition, we must first set forth some of the characteristics of those early times.

It is true that oral communication prevailed in those times. Not every one could have a manuscript of the written word, but all heard the voice of those "who preached peace." The intense activity of the first teachers of the New Law made Christ and his Law a living reality in every land. The Gospel was not so much a *written reality* as a *living reality*. The events had taken place in no remote age; the first Christians received their doctrine from those who announced that "which they had heard, which they had seen with their eyes—which they had looked upon, and their hands had handled." Therefore, it is not to be expected to find numerous explicit quotations from the written deposit in those early days. The early teachers preached much, and wrote little. Much of what they wrote has succumbed to the ravages of time. They used the Gospel of Christ, not so much as a written deposit, but as a present living reality, and part of the life of the people. Men of those days received the doctrine of Christ not from books, but by the living word of preaching; they handed it down to others in the same manner in which they had received it. But yet there is evidence that when one of the Books of the New Testament did come into existence, it was recognized as the word of God. Those who received it did not make an analysis of the concept of inspiration to canonize it. It came from the men who had brought them the message of peace; it embodied what they had received from those who preached Christ to them, and this was its perfect warrant. Thus the Books of the New Law first came into the churches as individual instruments; then as groups; and, lastly, a complete list was formed by communication between the churches.

HENCE, IN THE AGE IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING THE APOSTLES, WE FIND SEVERAL OF THE BOOKS OF OUR CANON RECOGNIZED AS DIVINE SCRIPTURE.

In the Epistle vulgarly attributed to St. Barnabas, we find a quotation from St. Matthew in the solemn formula "sicut scriptum est," (*ὡς γέγραπται*).*

In the final sentence of the IV. Chapter of this Epistle is as follows: "Let us pay heed lest we be found as it is written: 'Many called, few chosen.'" Now, the only place where it is thus written is the Gospel of Matthew XX. 16.; XXII. 14.

Some of the older rationalists considered this quotation as an interpolation of the Latin interpreter. After the Codex Sinaiticus had overthrown this hypothesis, Volkman, Renan and Strauss, advanced the opinion that the quotation came from IV. Ezra, VIII. 3: "Multi quidem creati sunt; pauci autem salvabuntur." But a comparison of the two texts clearly evinces Matthew as the authority. Wherefore, Mangold attempted to destroy the force of the quotation by showing that the pseudo Barnabas quotes Henoah in the formula: "As it is written." But this would not prove

*The Epistle of Barnabas was first published in Paris in Greek, and Latin by Ménard and d'Achery 1645 but not complete. The entire Greek text was first found by Tischendorf in his famous Codex Sinaiticus in 1859. The contents of the letter show plainly that it is not the work of the companion of Paul. Before his conversion, the author of the letter was a pagan, for he declares, XVI. 7, that "before believing in God, his heart was full of idolatry." Barnabas was a Jew, and worshipped the true God. Again, the author is not conversant with Jewish rites, and obligations. Moreover, the letter speaks of the punishment of the Jews in the destruction of their Temple; whereas, critics conclude that Barnabas did not live to see the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. But the value of the letter is considerable, even though not the writing of Barnabas. There is in it elevation of ideas, and logical presentation of truth. Whoever be the author, he touches the apostolic age, and cannot be placed later than the first years of the second century. The work is marred by excessive allegory, which makes the writer forget that Greek is not the tongue of Abraham. He sees a prophecy of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in the number of Abraham's servants who were 318 (Gen. XIV. 14). The numerical value of I (Greek) is 10; of II, 8; and T, 300. IH signifies Jesus, and T (by its form,) his cross. Therefore, that Abraham took 318 men with him in pursuit of Chedorlahomer, was prophetic that Jesus Christ was to be crucified!

that he did not consider Matthew divine Scripture but that he also placed Henoah among the Holy Books. We admire the honesty of Hilgenfeld, who concedes that the author quotes Matthew, and also that the Epistle is of the year 97.

St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, Chapter XII., has this testimony: "As it is written in *these Scriptures*: 'Be angry and sin not,' and: 'Let not the sun go down on your wrath.'" It is evident that Polycarp here unites two passages of *written Scripture*. The second passage is from the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, IV. 26. As the proving force of this passage is cogent, the rationalists try to weaken it by denying its authenticity. But its authentic valor is sufficient to satisfy all just criticism. This short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, contains according to Funk (op. cit.) sixty-eight allusions to the New Testament. The verbal parallelism is so exact, that it is evident that they were drawn from the written deposit. We here exhibit some of the clearest ones:

Act. II. 24.

"— quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni, juxta quod impossibile erat teneri illum ab eo."

I. Pet. I. 8.

"— quem cum non videtis, diligitis: in quem nunc quoque non videntes creditis; credentes autem exultabitis lætitia inenarrabili et glorificata—."

Epist. II. 8, 9.

"Gratia enim estis salvati per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis: Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur."

I. Pet. I. 13.

"Propter quod succincti lumbos mentis vestræ, sobrii perfecte sperate in cam, quæ of-

St. Polycarp. Epist. ad Philip 1.

"— quem resuscitavit Deus, solutis doloribus inferni. In quem non videntes creditis, credentes autem exultatis lætitia inenarrabili et glorificata."

Ibid.

"— scientes, quod gratia estis salvati, non ex operibus—."

Ibid. II.

"Propter quod succincti lumbos vestros servite Deo in timore—."

fertur vobis, gratiam, in revelationem Jesus Christi —”

I. Cor. VI. 14.

“Deus vero et Dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit per virtutem suam.”

I. Pet. III. 9.

“—non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto.”

Math. VII. 1, 2.

“Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini. In quo enim iudicio judicaveritis, iudicabimini: et in qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.”

Luke VI. 36-38.

Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare, et non iudicabimini: nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini. Dimittite, et dimitemini. Date, et dabitur vobis: mensuram bonam et confertam, et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.”

Math. V. 3.

“Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.”

Ibid. 10.

Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.”

Ibid.

“Is vero, qui ipsum suscitavit e mortuis, et nos suscitabit —.”

Ibid.

“— non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto—.”

Ibid.

“— memores autem eorum, quæ dixit Dominus docens: ‘Nolite judicare, ne judicemini; dimittite, et dimittetur vobis; miseremini, ut misericordiam consequamini; qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis’; et: ‘Beati pauperes, et qui persecutionem patiuntur, quoniam ipsorum est regnum Dei.’”

Gal. IV. 26.

“Illa autem, quæ sursum est Jerusalem, libera est, quæ est mater nostra.”

I. Tim. VI. 10.

“Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas.

Ibid. 7.

“Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum: haud dubium, quod nec auferre quid possumus.”

Gal. VI. 7.

“Nolite errare: Deus non irridetur.”

I. Pet. II. 11.

“— carissimi, obsecro vos tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis, quæ militant adversus animam—.”

Rom. XIV. 10, 12.

“Tu autem, quid iudicas fratrem tuum? aut tu, quare spernis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal Christi. Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo.”

Ibid. III.

“Neque enim ego, neque alius mei similis beati et gloriosi Pauli sapientiam assequi potest; qui cum esset apud vos, coram hominibus tunc viventibus perfecte ac firmiter verbum veritatis docuit; qui et absens vobis scripsit epistolas, in quas si intueamini, ædificari poteritis in fide, quæ vobis est data, quæque est mater omnium nostrum—.”

Ibid. IV.

“Principium autem omnium malorum est habendi cupiditas.”

Ibid.

“Scientes ergo, quod nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre quid valemus—.”

Ibid. V.

“Scientes ergo, quod Deus non irridetur—.”

Ibid.

“—quia omnis cupiditas militat adversus spiritum—.”

Ibid. VI.

“— omnes ante tribunal Christi stare, et unumquemque pro se rationem reddere oportet.”

I. Jo. IV. 3.

“—et omnis spiritus, qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est; et hic est Antichristus, de quo audistis, quoniam venit, et nunc jam in mundo est.

Math. VI. 13.

“Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen.”

Ibid. XXVI. 41.

“Vigilate, et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.”

I. Pet. II. 22-24.

“— qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus: qui peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum—.”

I. Pet. II. 12.

“—conversationem vestram inter gentes habentes bonam.—”

I. Cor. VI. 2.

“An nescitis, quoniam sancti de hoc mundo judicabunt? Et si in vobis judicabitur mundus, indigni estis, qui de minimis judicetis?”

Ibid. VII.

“Omnis enim qui non confessus fuerit Jesum Christum in carne venisse, Antichristus est—.”

Ibid.

“—rogantes omnium conspectorem Deum, ne nos inducat in tentationem, sicut dixit Dominus: ‘Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.’”

Ibid. VIII.

“— qui peccata nostra in corpore suo super lignum pertulit, qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus—.”

Ibid. X.

“Omnes vobis invicem subiecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus—.”

Ibid. XI.

“An nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt? sicut Paulus docet. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio Epistolæ ejus.”

Among the genuine works of St. Clement of Rome are two Epistles to the Corinthians, and two on Virginity. The two latter were assailed by some rationalists, but they have

been defended by such an excellent critic as Wetstein. The following schema exhibits Clement's use of the New Testament.

Luke VI. 36—38.

“Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare, et non judicabimini: nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini. Dimittite, et dimittentini. Date, et dabitur vobis: mensuram bonam et confertam, et cogitatum et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.’ ”

Math. XXVI. 24.

“Filius quidem hominis vadit, sicut scriptum est de illo; vae autem homini illi, per quem Filius hominis tradetur: bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.’ ”

Luke XVII. 2.

“Utilius est illi, si lapis molaris imponatur circa collum ejus, et projiciatur in mare, quam ut scandalizet unum de pusillis istis.’ ”

I. Paul, I. Cor. 12.

“Hoc autem dico, quod unusquisque vestrum dicit: Ego quidem sum Pauli: ego autem Apollo: ego vero Cephæ: ego autem Christi.’ ”

St. Clementis Epist. I. ad Corinthios, XIII.

“Sic enim dixit: ‘Estote misericordes, ut misericordiam consequamini; dimittite, ut dimittatur vobis; sicut facitis, ita vobis fiet; sicut datis, ita dabitur vobis; sicut judicatis, ita judicabimini; sicut indulgetis, ita vobis indulgebatur; qua mensura metimini, in ea mensurabitur vobis.’ ”

Ibid. XLVI.

“Recordamini verborum Jesu Domini nostri. Dixit enim: ‘Vae homini illi: bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset, quam ut unum ex electis meis scandalizaret: melius erat, ut ei mola circumponeretur, et in mare demergeretur, quam ut unum de pusillis meis scandalizaret.’ ”

Ibid. XLVII.

“Sumite Epistolam beati Pauli Apostoli. Quid primum vobis in principio Evangelii scripsit? Profecto in Spiritu ad vos litteras dedit de seipso et Cepha et Apollo, quia etiam tum diversa in studia scissi eratis.’ ”

I. Peter IV. 8.

“Ante omnia autem, mutuan in vobismetipsis caritatem continuam habentes, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum.”

Math. IX. 13.

“Euntes autem discite, quid est: Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium. Non enim veni vocare justos, sed peccatores.”

Ibid. X. 32.

“Omnis ergo, qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui in cœlis est—.”

Ibid. VII. 21.

“Non omnis, qui dicit mihi: Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum cœlorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cœlis est, ipse intrabit in regnum cœlorum.”

Ibid. VII. 23.

“Et tunc confitebor illis: Quia nunquam novi vos: discedite a me, qui operamini iniquitatem.”

Math X. 28.

“Et nolite timere eos, qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed

Ibid. XLIX.

“Charitas nos Deo agglutinat: charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum: charitas omnia sustinet—.”

St. Clementis Epist. II. ad Corinthios, II.

“Alia quoque Scriptura dicit ‘Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores—.’”

Ibid. III.

“Ait vero etiam ipse: ‘Qui me confessus fuerit in conspectu hominum, confitebor ipsum in conspectu Patris mei.’”

Ibid. IV.

“Non modo igitur ipsum vocemus Dominum; id enim non salvabit nos; siquidem ait: ‘Non omnis qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, salvabitur: sed qui facit iustitiam.’”

Ibid.

“Ideirco, nobis hæc facientibus, dixit Dominus: ‘Si fueritis mecum congregati in sinu meo, et non feceritis mandata mea, abjiciam vos, et dicam vobis: Discedite a me; nescio vos unde sitis, operarii iniquitatis.’”*

Ibid. V.

“Ait enim Dominus: ‘Eritis velut agni in medio luporum.’ Respondens autem Pe-

*Clement is wont to unite passages from the several Gospels into one quotation. In the present instance, he has taken the first part of the quotation from some apocryphal gospel.

potius timete eum, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam.’

Math. VI. 24.

“Nemo potest duobus dominis servire:”

Math. XVI. 26.

“Quid enim prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua?”

This passage is also quoted by Irenæus, *Lib. II. 64*, as a saying of the Lord. Grabe believes it to be from the apocryphal gospel according to the Hebrews.

Math. XII. 50.

“Quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cœlis est, ipse meus frater et soror, et mater est.”

trus ei dicit: ‘Si ergo lupi agnos discerpserint?’ Dixit Jesus Petro: ‘Ne timeant agni post mortem suam lupos: et vos nolite timere eos qui occidunt vos, et nihil vobis possunt facere; sed timete eum, qui postquam mortui fueritis, habet potestatem animæ et corporis, ut mittat in gehennam ignis,’†

Ibid. VI.

‘Dicit autem Dominus: Nullus servus potest duobus dominis servire.’

Ibid.

“Si nos volumus et Deo servire et mammonæ, inutile nobis est. Nam ‘quæ utilitas, si quis universum mundum lucretur, animam autem detrimento afficiat.’”

Ibid. VIII.

“Ait quippe Dominus in Evangelio: ‘Si parvum non servastis, quis magnum vobis dabit? Dico enim vobis: Qui fidelis est in minimo, et in majori fidelis est.’”

Ibid. IX.

“Etenim Dominus dixit: ‘Fratres mei sunt ii qui faciunt voluntatem Patris mei.’”

†Most of the passage is taken from some apocryphal gospel. The test of time and judgment of the Church had not yet distinguished between the genuine and the apocryphal books of Holy Scripture. But the citation of some apocryphal books weakens not Clement’s testimony to prove that the books of our Canon existed then as written instruments, though some apocrypha were mingled with them.

Math. V. 16.

“Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, et videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui in cœlis est.”

St. Paul ad Ephes. V. 6.

“Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis: propter hæc enim venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae.”

II. Tim. III. 5.

“—habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes. Et hos devita.”

I. Cor. VII. 34.

“Et mulier innupta et virgo cogitat, quæ Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Quæ autem nupta est cogitat quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro.”

Luke. VII. 28.

“Dico enim vobis: Major inter natos mulierum propheta Joanne Baptista nemo est: qui autem minor est in regno Dei, major est illo.”

Phil. IV. 3.

“Etiam rogo et te, germane compar, adjuva illas, quæ mecum laboraverunt in Evangelio cum Clemente, et ceteris adjutoribus meis, quorum nomina sunt in libro vitæ.”

St. Clementis Epist. I. ad Virgines, II.

“—sicque adimplentur Christi verba: ‘Videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in cœlis est.’”

Ibid. III.

“Itaque nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis—.”

Ibid.

“—de talibus enim scriptum est: ‘Habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes.’”

Ibid. V.

“Solicita sit necesse est quæ Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.”

Ibid. VI.

“Angelus fuit Joannes: talem esse decebat Domini nostri præcursorem, quo major non fuit inter natos mulierum.”

Ibid.

“Eamdem viam amplexati sunt et Paulus, et Barnabas, et Timotheus, quorum nomina sunt in libro vitæ—.”

Heb. XIII. 7.

“Mementote præpositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem.”

I. Cor. IV. 16.

“Rogo ergo vos: Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi.”

In the Eighth Chapter of this First Epistle of Clement to Virgins, ten phrases occur bearing on them clearest evidence that they are taken from the Pauline Epistles, such as for instance, “avarice which is the serving of idols.” (Ephes. V. 5.)

Jo. III. 6.

“Quod natum est ex carne, caro est, et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est.”

Ibid. 31.

“Qui desursum venit, super omnes est. Qui est de terra, de terra est, et de terra loquitur. Qui de cœlo venit, super omnes est.”

Rom. VIII. 7.

“—Quoniam sapientia carnis inimica est Deo; legi enim Dei non est subjecta, nec enim potest.”

Rom. VIII. 9.

“—Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus.”

I. Cor. V. 11.

“—cum ejusmodi nec cibum sumere.”

Ibid.

“Scriptum est enim: ‘Mementote præpositorum vestrorum, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem.’ ”

Ibid.

“Et alibi dictum est: ‘Imitatores mei estote, fratres, sicut et ego Christi.’ ”

Ibid. VIII.

“Carnales sunt isti omnes eorumque similes: ‘quod enim natum est de carne caro est; qui est de terra, de terra est, et de terra loquitur, et terrena sapit:’ ‘quæ sapientia inimica est Deo: legi enim Dei non est subjecta, nec enim potest—.’ ”

Ibid.

“—si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus.”

Ibid. X.

“Cum ejusmodi suademus ne cibum quidem sumere.”

II. Thess. III. 11, 12.

“Audivimus enim, inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes. Iis autem, qui ejusmodi sunt, denuntiamus, et obsecramus in Domino Jesu Christo, ut cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducent.”

I. Tim. I. 7.

“—volentes esse legis doctores, non intelligentes neque quæ loquuntur, neque quibus affirmant.”

I. Cor. XII. 28.

“Et quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia primum Apostolos, secundo Prophetas, tertio Doctores—.”

St. Jac. III. 2.

“In multis enim offendimus omnes. Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir; potest etiam freno circumducere totum corpus.”

I. Pet. IV. 11.

“Si quis loquitur quasi sermones Dei—.”

Coloss. IV. 6.

“Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis, quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere.”

Rom. XVI. 18.

“Hujuscemodi enim Christo Domino nostro non serviunt,

Ibid.

“Sed reipsa sola ducuntur otiositate, cum sint ipsi non solum otiosi, sed et verbosi, et curiosi, loquentes quæ non oportet. Hi, per dulces sermones, quæstum venantur in nomine Christi. Hos sinistra præfigit nota divinus Apostolus multa mala in eis redarguens.”

Ibid. XI.

“Sed sunt inquieti, non intelligentes quæ loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant.”

Ibid.

“Hanc autem viam multi sequuntur, quia non animadvertunt quod scriptum est: ‘Non multos in vobis, fratres, positos esse doctores et prophetas’; et iterum: ‘Si quis in verbo non offēdit, hic perfectus est vir. Potest etiam freno circumducere totum corpus. Si quis loquitur, quasi sermones Dei—.’”

Ibid.

“—et iterum: Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere—.”

Ibid.

“Quidam tandem beatum populum dicunt, et per dulces

sed suo ventri; et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium.”

Math. XV. 14.

“Sinite illos: cæci sunt, et duces cæcorum: cæcus autem si cæco ducatum præstat, ambo in foveam cadunt.”

This is a scriptural mosaic made up of Galat. V. 10; Jas. III. 15; I. Cor. II. 4; and Ephes. II. 2:

“—in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum sæculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aëris hujus, spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae.”

Math. XVII. 20.

“Hoc autem genus non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.”

Math. X. 8.

“Infirmos curate, mortuos suscite, leprosos mundate, dæmones ejicite: gratis accepistis, gratis date.”

Math. XXV. 36.

“—nudus, et cooperuistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me: in carcere eram, et venistis ad me.”

sermones et benedictiones, seducunt corda innocentium.”

Ibid.

“Hi sunt veluti cæcus qui cæco ducatum præstat, quique ambo in foveam cadunt.”

Ibid.

“Hi portabunt iudicium, quia sapientiam animalem vanumque mendacium garruli inanique scientia inflati prædicant in persuasibilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, secundum sæculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aëris hujus, spiritus qui operatur in filios diffidentiae, et non secundum doctrinam Christi.”

Ibid. XII.

“—non enim agunt cum recta fide, et juxta doctrinam Domini qui dixit: ‘Hoc genus dæmoniorum non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.’”

Ibid.

“Vos igitur quibus dictum est: ‘Gratis accepistis, gratis date—.’”

Ibid.

“Præclarum ac utile est ut servi Domini morem gerant, inter cætera similia, huic præcepto divino: ‘Infirmus eram, et visitastis me.’”

II. Cor. XI. 29.

“Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?”

Math. IX. 37, 38.

“Tunc dicit discipulis suis: Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.”

Jo. VI. 27.

“Operamini non cibum, qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam—.”

Luke I. 75.

“—in sanctitate et justitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris.”

Coloss. I. 10.

“—ut ambuletis digne Deo per omnia placentes—.”

II. Cor. VIII. 21.

“Providemus enim bona non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus.”

I. Tim. II. 3.

“Hoc enim bonum est et acceptum coram Salvatore nostro Deo—.”

II. Cor. VI. 3.

“Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum—.”

Ibid.

“—memores verborum Apostoli: ‘Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et non uror?’”

Ibid. XIII.

“Memores enim esse debent messem quidem esse multam, operarios autem paucos: ideoque rogent Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam—.”

Ibid.

“—operarios qui operentur non cibum qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam—.”

Ibid.

“Sic Domino serviemus in sanctitate et justitia coram ipso, per omnia placentes, providentes bona, non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus: hoc enim bonum est et acceptum—.”

St. Clementis Epist. II. ad Virgines, III.

“—solliciti quippe sumus ne quis in nobis offendatur aut scandalizetur: Nemini dan-

II. Cor. V. 11.

“Scientes ergo timorem Domini hominibus suademus, Deo autem manifesti sumus.”

I. Tim. V. 10.

“—in operibus bonis testimonium habens, si filios educavit, si hospitio recepit, si sanctorum pedes lavit, si tribulationem patientibus subministravit, si omne opus bonum subsecuta est.”

I. Cor. x. 33.

“—sicut et ego per omnia omnibus placeo, non quærens, quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant.”

Rom. XIV. 15.

Si enim propter cibum frater tuus contristatur, jam non secundum caritatem ambulas. Noli cibo tuo illum perdere, pro quo Christus mortuus est.”

I. Cor. VIII. 12.

“Sic autem peccantes in fratres, et percutientes conscientiam eorum infirmam, in Christum peccatis.”

Math. X. 16.

“Ecce, ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ.”

tes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum.”

Ibid.

“Scientes ergo timorem Domini, hominibus suademus; Deo autem manifesti sumus.”

Ibid. IV.

“Hæc autem præ aliis senescens mulier eligitur quæ diu probata est assiduitate meditationum, hincque perspecta si filios educavit, si hospitio recepit, si sanctorum pedes lavit.”

Ibid. V.

“—nec quærimus quod nobis utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant.”

Ibid.

“Hinc Paulus: ‘Noli cibo tuo, inquit, illum perdere pro quo Christus mortuus est;’ et alibi: ‘Sic autem peccantes in fratres, et percutientes conscientiam eorum infirmam, in Christum peccatis.’”

Ibid. VI.

“—debemus esse prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes—.”

Ephes. V. 15, 16.

“Videte itaque, frates, quomodo caute ambuletis: non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes.”

Math. VII. 6.

“Nolite dare sanctum canibus: neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos—.”

I. Cor. X. 12.

“Itaque, qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat.”

I. Tim. V. 11.

“Adolescentiores autem viduas devita: cum enim luxuriatæ fuerint in Christo, nubere volunt—.”

Joa. IV. 27.

“Et continuo venerunt discipuli ejus et mirabantur, quia cum muliere loquebatur,” etc.

Therefore the Fourth Gospel *scriptum est*, and was recognized as Holy Scripture in Clement's time.

Jo. XX. 17.

“Dicit ei Jesus: Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum: vade autem ad fratres meos, et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum.”

Ibid.

“—ne demus sanctum canibus, mittamusque margaritas ante porcos—.”

Ibid. XIII.

“Et iterum: Qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat.”

Ibid. XIV.

“Nullum porro sanctum animadvertetis frequenter fuisse conversatum cum virginibus aut adolescentioribus virorum uxoribus vel viduis, quas devitandas esse divinus docet Apostolus.”

Ibid. XV.

“De ipso Domino Jesu Christo scriptum est, quod venientes discipuli, et videntes eum prope fontem seorsim cum Samaritana sermocinantem mirabantur quia cum muliere loquebatur.”

Ibid.

“Insuper, postquam Dominus a mortuis surrexit, cum Maria ad sepulcrum properasset, eumque adorans, ipsius pedes tenere voluisset: ‘Noli, inquit, me tangere: nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum.’”

Phil. III. 16.

“Verumtamen ad quod per-
venimus, ut idem sapiamus,
et in eadem permaneamus
regula.”

I. Jo. IV. 6.

“Nos ex Deo sumus. Qui
non est ex Deo, non audit
nos,” etc.

Ibid. XVI.

“Idcirco, fratres, rogamus,
vos in Domino, ut idem sapia-
mus, et in eadem permanea-
mus regula—.”

Ibid.

“Qui novit Deum, audit nos:
qui non est ex Deo, non audit
nos.”

We have only selected some of the clearest quotations from our books. Many more allusions to New Testament books exist in Clement's works.

Eusebius testifies that Clement, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, “gives many sentiments taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and also literally quoting the words, he most clearly shows that this work is by no means a late production. Whence it is probable that this was also numbered with the other writings of the Apostles.” (Hist. Eccles. III. 38.) More than twenty texts, some of them of considerable length, are found in Clement's Epistle, which in the sense and order of the words agree with the Epistle to Hebrews.

Those who would still contend that these quotations come from oral tradition, merit to be classed with those of whom divine Dante sings: “Non ragioniam di loro, ma guarda e passa.” “Let us not speak of them, but look, and pass.” (Inferno III. 51.)

The works of Clement show that at Rome, toward the close of the first century, at least the Four Gospels, Eleven Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of Peter, the First Epistle of John, and the Epistle of St. James were known and recognized as Holy Scripture.

The testimony of BASILIDES, a heretic of the first part of the second century, confirms the existence of the written Gospels, and certain of Paul's Epistles. According to Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. IV. 7., Basilides edited a commentary on the *Evangelium*. In the *Philosophumena*, VII. 20, we find this testimony: “Basilides said that out of nothing (*ἐκ οὐκ ὄντων*) was made the germ of the universe, the

word, as it is said: 'Let there be light'; and this is what is said in *the Gospels*: 'He was the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.'" Quotations from the Pauline Epistles are often used by Basilides with the formulas: "It is written," "The Scripture saith." According to Origen, Basilides commented the Epistle to the Romans. In Origen's Commentary on Romans, Lib. V. 1, we find the following:

"Sed hæc Basilides non advertens de lege naturali debere intelligi, ad ineptas et impias fabulas sermonem apostolicum traxit, et in *μετεσσωματώσεως* dogma, id est, quod animæ in alia atque alia corpora transfundantur, ex hoc Apostoli dicto conatur astruere. Dixit enim, inquit, Apostolus, quia 'ego vivebam sine lege aliquando': hoc est, antequam in istud corpus venirem, in ea specie corporis vixi, quæ sub lege non esset; pecudis scilicet, vel avis. Sed non respexit ad id quod sequitur, id est: 'Sed ubi venit mandatum, peccatum revixit.' Non enim dixit se venisse ad mandatum, sed ad se venisse mandatum; et peccatum non dixit non fuisse in se, sed mortuum, fuisse, et revixisse. In quo utique ostendit quod de una eademque vita sua utrumque loqueretur. Verum Basilides, et si qui cum ipso hoc sentiunt, in sua impietate relinquuntur."

The works of IGNATIUS, (Martyr) reveal that he was conversant with a written code of the New Law. However, not all the texts that are usually brought forward from Ignatius' works are valid to prove that he spoke of a written Gospel. The first text is taken from the fifth chapter of his Epistle to those of Smyrna: "Fools deny him (Jesus Christ) . . . whom the prophets could not convince, nor the Law of Moses, nor the *Gospel*, even to this day." Although I believe that Ignatius here speaks of a written Gospel, nevertheless, in controversy it could be maintained that the words would be apposite, even though the oral teaching of Christ alone existed.

The next passage is from the seventh chapter of the same Epistle: "It behooves us . . . to pay heed to the Prophets, and especially to the Gospel wherein the Passion is taught us, and the Resurrection perfectly demonstrated." This is

somewhat cogent, but not apodictic. It is certainly far more probable that Ignatius, in placing together these two sources of doctrine in the present phrase, spoke of two things of similar nature, both being written instruments.

The next testimony of Ignatius is taken from Ignatius' Epistle to those of Philadelphia, VIII.—IX.: "I hear certain ones saying: 'Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὔρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω'. And when I say to them that it is written, they answer: this is to be demonstrated. But my archives are Jesus Christ, my spotless archives are his cross, his death, his resurrection, and the faith which comes from him. . . . The priests are good, but the High Priest is better . . . through whom the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church enters (into the Holy of Holies). But the Gospel has something of special excellence, to wit: the advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, his Passion and Resurrection. The beloved Prophets announced him; but the Gospel is the perfection of eternal life."

The key to this testimony consists in the Greek passage. Some expunge the comma after the τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, and translate it: Unless I find evidence in the ancient writings, I will not believe the Gospel. This version is approved by Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. III. p. 37. This version is rejected by Funk, (*Patres Apost.* 1, 230), Cornely (*Introduction I.* 159), and Loisy (*Canon du Nouveau Test.*, 28). They insist on the fact that the laws of the Greek language permit no such sense. They instead place τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ in apposition to τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, in which case it would certainly refer to a written Gospel. Though the Greek construction is somewhat rough, I am disposed to accept the first opinion. The context and line of argument evince that Ignatius was arguing against those who demanded an excessive verification of prophecy for faith in the Gospel. The τὰ ἀρχαία were the prophecies of the Old Law. Against them he first responds, that the doctrines of the New Law are founded on the prophecies. And then to their cavils, he exclaims that for him there is no need of prophecy to substantiate New Testament teaching. For Christ and the Cross merit faith, irrespective of prophecy. Finally, he says,

as Jesus Christ is greater than the Prophets, so the Gospel is better than the Prophecies. Although the mere textual structure of the sentence does not necessarily imply a written Gospel the context and sense of the testimony plainly point to such. Not so much in any one word as in the whole passage does it become evident that Ignatius is speaking of a written instrument which he is comparing, like with like, to the Prophets, and extolling above them. This sense is corroborated by a testimony in his Epistle to those of Philadelphia, Chapter V.: "Let us turn to the Gospel, as to Christ corporally present, and to the Apostles as to the priesthood of the Church. Let us love also the Prophets, because they announced Christ." This testimony evidently speaks of the Gospels, and the other writings of the New Law which perpetuated Christ and his Apostles on earth.

In his practical use of Scripture, in his genuine Epistles, Ignatius assimilates the truths of Scripture, and then adduces them in his own words, so that exact quotations are not therein found, but many places evidence that he drew largely from the New Testament writings. Such allusions are very frequent in the Apostolic Fathers. This the rationalists themselves concede.*

*Reuss (Hist. du Canon Strasb. 1863, p. 23): "A la vérité on ne découvre pas encore dans ces épîtres (Patrum apostolicorum) des citations nominatives à de rares exceptions près. . . et surtout les textes des apôtres ne sont nulle part invoqués expressément et littéralement comme des autorités (Cfr. tamen Polyc. ad Philip. 13). Mais ils sont quelquefois exploités tacitement de façon qu'il est impossible de s'y tromper; en certains endroits, les exhortations revêtent les formules employées par ces illustres prédécesseurs, et l'on se convainc facilement que *les écrivains de cette seconde génération faisaient déjà une étude des autres de la première*. C'est ainsi que la lettre de Clément offre des réminiscences assez précises de quelques passages des épîtres aux Romains et aux Corinthiens et surtout de celle aux Hébreux; celles d'Ignace, plus nombreuses (quæ tamen simul sumtæ vix priorem Clementis longitudine æquant) et en tout cas beaucoup plus récentes, en présentent d'autres qui nous ramènent aux épîtres aux Corinthiens et aux Galates ainsi qu'à l'Évangile de Jean; enfin la toute petite épître de Polycarpe contient de fréquentes allusions à des passages apostoliques, notamment aux Actes, à la première épître de Pierre, à celles aux Rom., aux Cor., aux Gal., aux Éphés., et à la première à Timothée. Encore une fois, cet usage est purement homilétique ou rhétorique; nulle part un nom d'apôtre, une formule de citation (?), un avis quelconque n'avertit le lecteur que les paroles, que nous reconnaissons immédiatement comme des éléments d'emprunt, aient une valeur particulière et différente de celles de l'entourage." (Cornely, op. cit. pag. 160).

We may also adduce here the testimony of Papias, who, according to Irenæus, was a disciple of St. John, and a companion of Polycarp. The testimony as preserved to us by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. III. XXXIX.) is as follows: "That priest (St. John) was wont to say that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, *wrote down* diligently whatever he remembered, but he followed not the order of the Lord's words and deeds. For he had never heard the Lord, or followed him . . . Wherefore, Mark erred in nothing, writing certain things as he remembered them."

Of Matthew, Papias writes thus: "Matthew, he said, wrote the discourses (of the Lord) in the Hebrew tongue; men translated them as every one was able." The Gospel of Matthew is termed the *λόγια (κυριακά)*, since it contains more of the Lord's discourses than any other Gospel. Though it is impossible to fix the certain date of Papias' writing, we are sure that he touches the Apostolic age, and records that which he received from those of the Apostolic age. His testimony is conclusive for the existence in the first century of the written Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Eusebius also, in the same place, declares that "the same Papias made use of testimonies taken from the first Epistle of St. John and the first of Peter." The Gospel of Matthew has also in its favor the testimony of Eusebius concerning St. Pantæus, "who moved by divine zeal, and fired by the example of the Apostles . . . is said to have penetrated even to the Indies, and to have found there the Gospel of Matthew, which had preceded him, and was held by certain ones who had embraced Christianity. It is said that Bartholomew, one of the twelve preached to these, and left them the Gospel of Matthew, written in Hebrew."

We find, therefore, that at the end of the first century the Canon of the four Gospels was in universal acceptance in all the Christian communities. In the first quarter of the second century we find the Epistles of St. Paul in all the great Churches. Certainly Clement of Rome, Ignatius (Martyr) and Polycarp had a collection of Pauline Epistles, and supposed the same to exist with those to whom they wrote. The whole fourteen Epistles may not have been equally

known, but Loisy (op. cit.) who is not disposed to be too favorable to the Catholic position, admits thirteen in the collection then received.

The Acts of the Apostles are used by Ignatius, Polycarp and Clement of Rome. The Epistle of James, the First Epistle of Peter, and First of John, have clearest testimonies. St. Irenaeus (*Contra Hæreses* V. 30) declares that those who saw John face to face bear witness to the Apocalypse. He evidently means by such phrase, Papias and Polycarp. There is no clear testimony of the Apostolic age for the Epistle of Philemon, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, and the Epistle of Jude. It would not be just to infer from this that they were not known then. But little of the literary product of that age has come down to us; and besides, the character of these writings was less useful for the scope for which the early Fathers employed the Scriptures.

Passing from the Apostolic Fathers to their immediate successors, the testimonies increase in number and clearness.

ST. JUSTIN (†163) testifies (*Apologia* I. 66): "For the Apostles in their *Memorabilia* (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) which are called Gospels, declare that Jesus thus commanded them; that he took bread, and, having given thanks, said: 'Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body'; and also taking the chalice, and giving thanks, he said: 'This is my blood.' "

Justin's peculiar term for the Gospels is, nevertheless, apt; for they wrote down the principal words and deeds of the Lord, *as they remembered them*.

In paragraph 67, he again speaks of the Gospels: "On what is called the day of the sun, all the dwellers of the cities and the fields gather in one place, and the *Memorabilia* of the Apostles, or the writings of the Prophets are read, as time permits."

Again in his dialogue against Tryphon, 103: "For in the *Memorabilia*, which I place to have been written by his Apostles and their disciples, it is stated that sweat like drops of blood flowed from him, when he prayed and said: 'If it be possible, let this chalice pass.' " There is an evident allusion to St. Luke's Gospel here, for only Luke speaks of the sweat like drops of blood.

Again in the same paragraph we find: "Immediately after Jesus ascended from the River Jordan, where the voice came upon him: 'Thou art my son; to-day have I begotten thee,' it is written in the Memorabilia of the Apostles, that Satan approached him, and tempted him, saying: 'Adore me.' And Christ answered: 'Begone from me, Satan; the Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and him only shalt thou serve.'"

We find an allusion to the fourth Gospel in Paragraph 105 of the Dialogue: "I have before demonstrated, as we learn from the Memorabilia, that the Only-begotten of the Father of the universe is properly the WORD, and power begotten of him, and afterwards born a man of the Virgin." Only John calls Christ the *Word*:

St. Justin in his Dialogue against Tryphon the Jew, 81, has a clear testimony for the Apocalypse: "And in addition to these things, a man from among us, John by name, a disciple of the Lord, in an APOCALYPSE made known to him, prophesies that those who have believed in Christ will dwell at Jerusalem for a thousand years, and then will be the general, in a word, the eternal resurrection, and the future judgment."

The few works that remain of Justin are filled with passages taken from the Gospels, without acknowledgment of source.

St. Justin, in *Apologia pro Christianis*, I. 63, speaking of Christ, says: "He is called an angel and an APOSTLE." It is only in the Epistle to the Hebrews, III. 1, that Christ is called an Apostle.

In his Treatise against Tryphon, 33, he draws a comparison between Christ and Melchisedech, clearly revealing knowledge of Epistle to Hebrews, V. 8-10. Traces also are found in his works of all the other books of the New Testament, except the Epistle of St. Jude, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, and the Second and Third of St. John.

One of the disciples of St. Justin was the famous Tatian. According to the most probable critical data, Tatian was by origin a Syrian. He visited Rome with Justin, and then returned to his native country and fixed his domicile at

Edessa. He composed there his famous Diatessaron, or harmony of the four Gospels in Syriac. This work was, in 1888, translated into Latin by Cardinal Ciasea, from the Arabic version of Abul-Pharag. The Diatessaron was a harmonized account of the Gospel data taken from the four Gospels. It remained the official Gospel of the Syrian Church, through the time of St. Ephrem, even to the fifth century, when it was superseded by the individual Gospels.

It is certain, therefore, that the Church of Edessa, in the first half of the second century, possessed the written Gospels in the form of the Diatessaron. It is not easy to fix what other books entered into their collection.

In the "Doctrina Addai," which reflects the old tradition of the Church of Edessa on the Canon of Scriptures, the following declaration is placed in the mouth of the dying Addai:* "The Law, the Prophets and the Gospel, which you read daily to the people, and the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from Rome, and the Acts of the Apostles which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus—these are the Scriptures that ye should read in the Church of Christ, and ye should read naught else." (Doctrina of Addai ed. Phillips, 1876, p. 46).

This testimony is valuable only in its affirmative sense. It makes known that in the Church of Edessa, the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, and the Acts had been canonized. The omission of the other books is due to the strange genius of Tatian, which moved in independent lines. The Canon of the early Church of Edessa, was, doubtless, formed by him, and he excluded those books which his caprice found less acceptable.

*The name Addai seems to be a Syriac approximation to the name of Thaddeus the Apostle. The "Doctrina Addai" is the apocryphal acts of this Apostle. This work was published in the Syriac original by Cureton. (Ancient Syriac Documents, London, 1864.) It has more recently been studied by Lipsius (*Die edessenische Acten—lage*, Brunswick, 1880) and the Abbé Tixeront (*Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse*, Paris, 1888).

It is a work ranging between the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. Its source is a legend known to Eusebius, and extending back to the first half of the third century. Though the work is apocryphal it is founded on the tradition of the Edessene Church of that period.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS speaks of the Gospels in the *plural number* as a body of writings existing side by side with the Law and the Prophets.* “The reverence of the Law is chanted, and the grace of the Prophets is known, and the *faith of the Gospels is built up*, and the teaching (*παράδοσις*) of the Apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults.”

Melito of Sardis, according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. IV. 26) wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John. The work has not been preserved for us.

MARCION rejected the Old Testament, and mutilated the New.† He found a fundamental repugnance between the Law and the Gospel. Since the New Testament endorses in many places the Old Testament, Marcion expurgated it. Of the Gospels, he took only that of Luke, mutilated to suit his scope. Out of Paul’s Epistles, he constituted the *Apostolic Book*, containing the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Ephesians (called by him the Epistle to those of Laodicea), the Epistle to the Colossians, the Epistle to the Philippians and that to Philemon.

“Et super hæc, id quod est Evangelium secundum Lucam circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; Semetipsum esse veraciorem quam sunt hi qui Evangelium

*The Epistle to Diognetus was formerly attributed to Justin the Martyr. Many critics reject the authorship, but a conservative opinion will place it as early as 170, A. D.

†Marcion was born in Sinope, in Pontus. His father was bishop of that city. Marcion, being cut off from the Church for having offered violence to a virgin, came to Rome between the years 140 and 165. He there became attached to the party of Cerdon, the heretic. But later he extended the system by new errors. The system of Marcion has this in common with the Manichean heresy, that it constitutes two principles, the one good and the other evil, the first causes of everything. According to Marcion, the flesh was the creation of the evil principle, and therefore, Christ had only an apparent body.

tradiderunt Apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evangelium, sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli Epistolas abscidit, auferens quaecumque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quaecumque ex propheticis memorans Apostolus docuit, prænuntiantibus adventum Domini." (Tertullian, Adv. Marc. IV. 2. P. L. 2, 364.)

Marcion did not question the authenticity of the books which he rejected. He simply placed his theological system above Holy Writ, and selected only those books which by his mutilation could be made to conform to his placita. Tertullian, Irenæus, and others of that age, who refuted Marcion, always fix upon him the charge of having mutilated the Scriptures, which of old time had been received by the Church. This is valuable to us in establishing that before the time of Marcion the written deposit of the New Testament included many more books than he accepted in his list.

The opponents of the Canon of the New Testament sometime allege that those who received and used the books of the New Testament never regarded them as divine Scripture. This is sufficiently disproven by the data already adduced. A certain tendency did exist, for the first two centuries, to perpetuate the method of Christ in the mode of speaking of Scriptural data. Christ speaks of the Old Testament as the Scriptures; of his Gospel, as the living reality. Now, the early Christians, while extolling the data of the New Law above that of the Old, often reserved the name of *Scripture* for the books of the Old Testament, considering the books of the New Law as expressions of the living teachings, which lived after Christ. The name Scripture seemed to throw it too far back into antiquity. Gradually, however, as the realization of the actual presence of Christ and his lieutenants on earth passed into a realization of a past historical fact the name of Scripture was universally given to the books of the New Covenant.

Another objection is made, that many apocryphal books, at first, enjoyed equal favor with the books of the New Testament. This also is found to be false. Certain ones

which contain no falsity, and were written with good intent, enjoyed a certain favor in private reading, but never in the official usage. There was lacking to them the endorsement of those who spoke in Christ's name. They never received the approbation of an Apostolic Church. Even from the first, the line of demarcation between them and the Holy Scriptures, is fixed and clear. Certainly the power of the Holy Spirit aided in keeping the Scriptural deposit clear of the vast mass of Apocrypha, which came into being at that time. The causality of Divine Providence in the production and preservation of the Scriptures is such that no man can reason rightly of them without taking account thereof.

In the authentic works of St. Hippolyte, are found quotations from the New Testament books. His manner of quoting leaves no doubt that he spoke of them as Holy Scripture. He quotes Math. IV. 15, 16, in the formula, "declarat nobis Evangelium." (Fragmenta in Genesim) Ibidem, he says: "For the Lord, in keeping the precepts of the Law, did not abrogate the Law and the Prophets, but perfected (them), *as he says in the Gospels.*" The plural number proves clearly that he spoke of several written Gospels.

Again, he says: "And Nephthalim is taken as a type of our affairs, as the Gospels teaches: 'Land of Zabulon and land of Nephthalim, the way of the sea across the Jordan,' *and that which follows.*" He could only call attention to *that which follows* in a written text. Excepting the Epistle to Philemon, he employs all Paul's Epistles as Holy Scripture. In *loco citato*, we find the following: "For verily the only-begotten Word of God, being God of God, emptied himself (*ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*) according to the Scriptures . . . and appeared in the form of a slave, becoming obedient to God the Father, even to death; for which cause, we read that he is henceforth highly exalted . . . and hath received a name above every other name, according to the words of St. Paul." This is a paraphrase on the Scripture found in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, II. 7-9.

St. Hippolyte defended the Apocalypse of St. John in a special work against Caius.*

He had a certain predilection for the Apocalypse, and the fourth Gospel. In his treatise against Noetus, VII., he argues as follows: "We who have the mind of the Father believe thus; they who have not, deny the Son. If they say, as Philip said, questioning concerning the Father: 'Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us;' to whom the Lord replied: 'Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' and if they dare say that in these words their dogma is confirmed from the Lord's confession, that he is in the Father, let them know that they greatly contradict themselves, for the Scripture confutes them and convicts them."

The greatest part of Hippolyte's arguments are drawn from the New Testament; and in the IX. Chap. against Noetus, he describes his sources: "Just as one who would know the wisdom of the world, must study the doctrines of philosophers; thus we, who would have the religion of God, can learn not elsewhere than in the Holy Scriptures. Let us know, therefore, what the Holy Scriptures proclaim, and let us study what they teach."

Hippolyte refuted Noetus principally from the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.

St. Theophilus, who, according to Jerome, was the sixth bishop of Antioch, and who governed the Church of Antioch from 168 to 186, has a clear testimony in favor of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: "Moreover, concerning the justice which the Law commands, the statements of the Prophets and the Gospels are found consonant since they all spoke in the inspiration of the same Spirit of God . . . Regarding chastity, the Holy Scripture teaches us not only not to sin in deed, but also not in thought . . . and the

*Catalogue of Ebed Jesu, c. 7 (ap. Assemani, Biblioth. orient. III., 1 15): "Sanctus Hippolytus martyr et episcopus composuit. . . capita adversus Caium et apologiam pro Apocalypsi et Evangelio Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ."

voice of the Gospels, commands more earnestly of chastity: 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart (Math. V. 28); and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery, and whosoever putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery.' " (Ibid. 32. Ad Autolyicum III. 13.)

Again in *opere citato*, 14: "This also doth the Holy Scripture enjoin, that we be subject to *magistrates and powers, and pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life.* (I. Tim. II. 2) And it teaches to render all things to all persons: 'Honor to whom honor; fear to whom fear; tribute to whom tribute; and to owe no man anything, but to love one another.' " (Rom. XIII. 7, 8).

In Book II. ad Autolyicum 22, he canonizes the fourth Gospel: "These things the Holy Scriptures teach us, and whosoever were inspired by the Holy Ghost, among whom is John, saying thus: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.' "

According to Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. IV. 24) Theophilus also "composed a treatise against the heresy of Hermodogenes, in which he makes use of testimony from the Apocalypse of John."

We come now to examine the famous document commonly known as the Canon of Muratori.*

This document was discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library, and published by him in the "Antiquitates

*Louis Antony Muratori, was born at Vignola, in the province of Modena, on the 21st of October, 1672. He was highly endowed by nature, and received a liberal education. At the age of 22, he was called to Milan, by Charles Borromeo, and placed over the Ambrosian College, and the vast Ambrosian Library. In 1700 the Duke of Modena recalled him as his subject, made him his librarian, and placed him over the archives of his dukedom. He was undoubtedly the greatest archæologist of his age. His friendship was sought by the most celebrated savants of Italy and France. Academies vied with each other for his patronage. But Muratori, with that deeper wisdom which accompanies true learning, shrank from all ostentation, so coveted by petty minds.

His erudition was vast and varied. At times, his judgments are defective, even in matters of faith. He died in 1750. His published works fill 46 volumes in folio; 34 in 4to; 13, in 8vo, and several in 12mo.

Italicæ," in 1740. The document is mutilated at the beginning and end. It is written in barbarous Latin. Bleek, Wieseler, Reuss and others maintain that it was originally written in Latin. Hilgenfeld, Volckmar, Zahn, Lightfoot, Cornely, Loisy and Muratori himself consider it a translation from the Greek. Its author is unknown. Muratori conjectured that it was written by Caius, a priest of Rome, disciple of St. Irenæus; Simon de Magistris believes Papias to be the author; Bunsen ascribes it to Hegesippus; Lightfoot believes it to be the work of Hippolyte.

While we remain in uncertainty as to its author and original tongue, we may not doubt that the document is a product of the second half of the second century. This makes it of first importance in establishing the Canon of Scripture of the Church of Rome in that age. It is highly probable that its original language was Greek, the liturgical tongue of Rome of that day.

The age of the Codex found by Muratori is not more remote than the eighth century; and the barbarisms seem to have originated from the ignorance and negligence of the copyist.

The original author evidently wished to draw up a canon of Scripture, and distinguish the genuine from the apocryphal books. We here produce the document after the facsimile published by Tregelles at Oxford, in 1867. It is not our intention to enter into the world of conjecture which has been created by the learned interpreters of this document. It suffices us to show only its import in its relation to the New Testament Canon.

quibus tamen Interfuit et ita posuit.*

Tertio [tertium] Evangelii librum secundo [secundum]
Lucan†

*It seems to me vain to conjecture what was contained in the mutilated beginning. It is certain that it must have related to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The very fact that the Gospel of Luke is called the third leaves no room to doubt that the first and second, which must have preceded, were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. We see in the document evidences of the transition from low Latin to Italian in the placing of "tertio" for "tertium," "secundo" for "secundum," etc.

†Notwithstanding all the barbarisms of the next seven lines, these data result clearly from them: That Luke is the author of the third Gospel.

Lucas Iste medicus post ascensum [ascensum] XPI,
 Cum eo [eum] Paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum
 Secundum adsumsisset, numeni [nomine] suo
 ex opinione concribset [conscripsit]; dnm tamen nec Ipse
 dvidit [vidit] in carne, et ide prout assequi [assequi] potuit;
 ita et ad [ab] nativitate Iohannis incipet [incipit] dicere.
 Quarti Evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis [discipulis]*
 Cohortantibus condescipulis et eps [episcopis] suis
 dixit: conieiunate mihi odie [hodie] triduo [triduum], et
 quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum
 nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte reve-
 latum andreae ex apostolis, ut recognis-
 centibus [recognoscentibus] cuntis [cunctis] Iohannis [Ioan-
 nes] suo nomine
 cunta [cuncta] describeret [describeret] et ideo licit [licet]
 varia†
 singulis [singulis] evangeliorum libris principia
 doceantur, Nihil tamen differt creden-

that the physician Luke wrote it after the Ascension of Our Lord; that Luke was a companion and pupil (iuris studiosus) of St. Paul; that Luke wrote the Gospel in his own name, though from Paul's data (ex opinione); that Luke had not seen the Lord in the flesh, and wrote after diligent research (prout assequi potuit); and that he began his Gospel with the Nativity of John the Baptist. This is the exact history of the third Gospel.

*Zahn is of the opinion that the legend contained in the lines from the tenth to fifteenth inclusively, comes from the Acta Apocrypha of St. John. There may be a grain of truth in it, as Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and St. Jerome testify that John wrote his Gospel at the request of the bishops of Asia. John certainly received by direct revelation the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Word. But the legend was the author's explanation of a fact, and the fact was that the Gospel of St. John was in the deposit of the Church of Rome, at the time of his writing. Thus we have a clear testimony for the four Gospels.

†From the sixteenth to the twenty-sixth line inclusively, the author explains that although every Evangelist has a different point of departure (varia principia) they all are moved by the same grand motive, and all conspire to build up the fulness of the message. Every one has his own plan, and something proper to himself, but one completes the other, and one Gospel exists in four books, the work of the Holy Spirit.

tium fidei, cum uno ac principali spu [Spiritu] de-
 clarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativi-
 tate, de passione, de resurrectione,
 de conversatione cum decipulis [discipulis] suis,
 ac de gemino eius advento [adventu],
 Primo In humilitate dispectus [despectus], quod fo-
 tu [fuit], secundum potestate regali pre-
 clarum quod fotuum [futurum] est. quid ergo†
 mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter
 sincula [singula] etia In epistulis suis proferat
 dicens in semeipsu [semetipsum]: Quæ vidimus oculis
 nostris et auribus audivimus et manus
 nostra palpaverunt, hæc scripsimus vobis;
 Sic enim non solum visurem [visorem], sed et auditorem,
 sed et scriptore omnium mirabiliu dni [Domini] per ordi-
 nem profetetur [profitetur]. Acta aute omniu apostolorum‡

*The designation of the Holy Ghost as "principalis" is also used in the
 Lt. (Vulg. L.) Psalm.

†The passage included between the last words of the twenty-sixth
 line and first half of the thirty-fourth establishes that John wrote more
 than one Epistle (in Epistolis, plural number): that he wrote from per-
 sonal experience (in semetipsum): and that the first Epistle of John is
 one of the *epistolæ*, for its opening sentence is literally quoted. Later
 data of the document leave no doubt that its author included the three
 Epistles of John in his Canon.

‡The passage from the second half of the thirty-fourth line down to the
 close of the period in the thirty-ninth, clearly establishes the canonicity
 of the Acts of the Apostles. It seems to be the mind of the author, that
 excepting the martyrdom of Peter (Semota passione Petri) Luke wrote
 down the acts which he had personally witnessed. The closing words of
 the period are most difficult and have received many interpretations.
 Cornely believes that the author speaks of the journey of Paul from Rome
 to Spain, which, like the martyrdom of Peter, has been omitted by him.

Cornely corrects the reading as follows: Sed et profectionem Pauli ab
 urbe, Spaniam proficiscentis." Thus it would become a testimony of the
 second century of the voyage of Paul to Spain. We can not receive this
 conjecture of Cornely. The writer of Muratori's Canon, is there describing
 what Luke wrote. Now, nowhere does Luke give us the departure of
 Paul from Rome for Spain. I would venture the correction: Sed et pro-
 fectionem Pauli ad urbem (Romam) ad Spaniam proficiscentis. "The
 voyage to Rome of Paul, who had set out for Spain." Now, Luke did
 write the account of Paul's journey to Rome, who had in a general way set
 out for Spain.

sub uno libro scribta [scripta] sunt, Lucas obtime theofilē comprindit [comprehendit], quia sub præsentia eius singula

When Paul wrote to the Romans of his contemplated visit to them he had in mind to go from them into Spain: "When therefore I have accomplished this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will go on by you unto Spain." (Rom. XV. 28.) Though Paul came to Rome not in the manner which he had contemplated when he wrote to the Romans, but as a prisoner, nevertheless the writer of the Muratorian fragment connects Paul's wish to visit Spain with his coming to Rome.

There is no doubt that Paul had in mind to visit Spain, but we are persuaded that this purpose was not fulfilled. There is no trace of Paul's visit to Spain in any ancient document, nor in the traditions of Spain.

When Paul left Miletus for his last journey to Jerusalem, he was moved by the Holy Spirit to declare: "And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem not knowing the things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But I hold not my life of any account as dear to myself, so that I may accomplish my course, and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." (Acts. XX. 22-25).

Those who believe that Paul was freed from his first Roman imprisonment are forced to entertain the opinion that Paul here gave expression to an erroneous impression. The context however does not permit such view for it clearly manifests a testimony of the Holy Ghost. Paul clearly spake the aforesaid words in a spirit of prophecy, and the faithful of Miletus accepted them as such.

The evidence seems to warrant that Paul never left Rome again after being brought there a prisoner. In the abrupt close of Acts, Luke simply tells us that Paul was allowed to live in his own house at Rome, under military surveillance, and that he taught all that came to him for two years. The rest of his life is hidden. The date of his martyrdom is uncertain. St. Jerome (De Vir. Ill. 5) places St. Paul's death in the fourteenth year of Nero, which is generally accepted to correspond with the year 67 A. D.

Some endeavor to prove that Paul was freed from his first imprisonment, and again visited the East, from II. Philipp. II. 24, where in commending his messenger Timothy to the Philippians Paul declares: "—but I trust in the Lord that I myself also shall come shortly."

Of a like tenor is his declaration to Philemon, 22; "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I hope that through your prayers, I shall be granted unto you."

These statements written in his imprisonment at Rome are not of the positive tenor of the statement made to the Christians of Miletus. Neither do they conflict with it; for Paul could have visited the Church of Philippi and Philemon at Colossæ without revisiting Miletus.

Hence Paul may have entertained a hope of freedom at this time; which hope seems not to have been realized. To the Christians of Miletus Paul expresses a prophecy; to the Philippians and to Philemon, he expresses a mere human hope.

gerabantur, sicut et semote passione Petri evidenter declarat, Sed et profectionem pauli ad urbes [urbem] ad spania proficescentis. Epistolæ autem* Pauli, quæ, a quo loco, vel qua ex causa directe [directæ] sint, volentatibus [volentibus] intellegere Ipse [ipsæ] declarant.

Primu omnium corintheis scysmæ [schisma] hæresis Interdicens, deinceps B callatis [Galatis] circumcissione, Romanis autem ornidine [ordinem] scripturarum sed et principium earum esse XPM Intimans, prolexius [prolixius] scripsit, de quibus sincolis [singulis] necesse est [a] nobis desputari. Cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus sequens prodecessoris [prædecessoris] sui Iohannis ordine nonnisi comenati [nominatim] semptæ [septem] eccleses [ecclesiis] scribat, ordine tali: a [ad] corenthios
prima; ad efesios secunda, ad philippinses tertia, ad colosensis quarta, ad calatas [Galatas] quinta, ad tensaolenecinsis [Thessalonicenses] sexta, ad romanos

*The passage from the close of the thirty-ninth line down to the close of the period in the sixty-third, establishes the canonicity of all the Epistles of Paul except the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to the author's method of computation, Paul, after the manner of John in the Apocalypse wrote letters to seven churches, in this order: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, and Romans. Two of these are repeated: that to the Corinthians, and that to the Thessalonians. From the fifty-fourth line to the middle of the fifty-ninth the construction is very involved, and the text, perhaps, corrupt: but the sense is evidently that, though Paul and John wrote to seven different individual churches, the Catholic Church was one and the same throughout the whole world. The thought is too plain to need our commentary. In terming John the predecessor of Paul, the author refers to the date of John's calling to the Apostolate, not to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse. The list of Paul's Epistles closes with the Epistle to Philemon, that to Titus, and the two to Timothy, whose pastoral scope (in ordinationem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ) is clearly signified. This is the first clear testimony that we have for the Epistle to Philemon. It is not strange that the Epistle to the Hebrews finds no place therein. St. Clement of Rome had used the Epistle to the Hebrews as Holy Scripture. But after the rise of the Novatian heresy, which denied forgiveness to certain sins, the Epistle to the Hebrews, which seemed to favor that heresy, was omitted in the public use of the Church of Rome, and was rarely employed by any writer during the second and third century. It was not rejected, but simply passed over in a sort of religious silence.

septima, Verum corintheis et thessaolecensibus, licet pro correptione [correctione] Iteretur, una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia deffusa [diffusa] esse denoscitur [dignoscitur]; Et Iohannis [Ioannes] eni

In apocalpsy [Apocalypsi] licet septe eccleseis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit. Veru ad filemonem una; et ad titu una, et ad tymotheu duas [duæ] pro affecto et dilectione, In honore [honorem] tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ [catholicæ], in ordinationem ecclesiasticæ [ecclesiasticæ] descepline [disciplinæ] scificate [sanctificatæ] sunt. Fertur etiam ad*

Laudecenses [Laodicensis], alia ad alexandrinos Pauli nomine fincte [fictæ] ad heresem Marcionis, et alia plura, quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recepi [recipi] non potest: Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit [congruit]. epistola sane Iude [Iudæ] et superscriptio [suprascripti]†

*In the period extending from sixty-third to sixty-eighth line, the author rejects the supposititious letters to the Laodiceans, and to the Alexandrians. In the Apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans, there is nothing favorable to Marcionism, hence, we believe that he spoke of that heresy only in relation to the lost letter to the Alexandrians. Some have without reason, believed that by the letter to the Alexandrians Paul meant the Epistle to Hebrews. This is plainly unfounded, as Hebrews was never known in antiquity by that name, and a catalogue of the Church of Rome could not assign it such a place.

†In the sixty-eighth line the Epistle of St. Jude is canonized. The sense of the statement concerning St. John is obscure. We advance a probable explanation of it. The author may have considered the preceding notice of lines 26-34 sufficient for the first Epistle, and may here receive the two remaining ones among the Catholic Epistles (in Catholica). This conjecture is more probable since the fate of the Second and Third Epistles of John was always the same. Whoever received one received the other. It seems to have been the usage of those times to speak of the Second and Third Epistle of St. John apart from the first, since John's authorship of them was not by all acknowledged. Hence the author follows the usage of his time in classing them by themselves, while he at the same time maintains their authenticity. Another conjecture endorsed by many is that the author is of the opinion mentioned by Jerome, "that the Second and Third Epistles are not of John the Evangelist, but of another John, a priest whose sepulchre is shown at Ephesus." This seems to us erroneous, from the *suprascripti* of the document, evidently referring these Epistles to the Evangelist. The advocates of this second opinion change

Iohannis duas [duæ] In catholica habentur. Et sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honore ipsius scripta. apocalapse [apocalypsim vel apocalypses] etiam Iohannis et Pe.*

tri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi In ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem verof nuperrim et [nuperrime] temporibus nostris In urbe roma herma conscripsit, sedente [in] cathetra [cathedra] urbis romæ ecclesiæ Pio eps frater [episcopo, fratre] eius; et ideo legi eum quidem Oportet, se publicare [publicare] vero in ecclesia populo Neque inter

the "et" preceding "Sapientia" to "ut", and believe the sense to be that the author likens these two Epistles to the Book of Wisdom, inasmuch as they bear John's name, though not written by him. This seems to me gratuitous and far-fetched. Loisy rightly rejects it, and maintains that the presence of Wisdom here is due to its late origin, so that by some it was considered to belong more properly to the New than to the Old Testament.

*The period comprised between the seventy-first and seventy-third line contains a clear approbation of the Apocalypse of St. John, but the rest of its import is obscure. The most obvious sense is that with the Apocalypse of John, which all received, was an Apocalypse of Peter to which the author was favorably inclined, although it was controverted in the Church of Rome. Others believe the text to be corrupt, and that the genuine text contained mention of the Epistles of St. Peter. Zahn restores the text thus: "Apocalypsim etiam Iohannis et Petri unam tantum recipimus epistolam: fertur etiam altera quam quidem ex nostris legi in Ecclesia volunt." The conjecture is ingenious, but must remain in the realm of conjecture. I am the more inclined to hold with Cornely, that the author spoke of the Epistles of Peter in the mutilated beginning, where he treated of Mark's Gospel. In its present state, the document can not be considered a proof for the existence of St. Peter's Epistles, neither is their omission from the mutilated exemplar an argument against them. We must seek other data for their canonicity.

†Pastor receives its true place, a pious book, read in the churches, but not considered Holy Scripture. There is also in these lines an indication of the date of the document. He says Pastor was written recently, in our times, by Hermas, while his brother Pius occupied the episcopal chair. Now, St. Pius reigned from 142 to 151 or 156. To justify the author's expression it could not have been long after this epoch that the document was written; hence, Cornely rightly infers that it should not be placed later than the year 170. The close of the document is obscure; but, since it bears no relation to the Canon of Scripture, we pass it over in silence.

profetas [prophetarum] completum numero [numerum]
 neque Inter
 apostolos In fine temporum potest.
 Arsinoi autem seu valentini, vel miltiadis
 nihil In totum recipemus [recipimus]. Qui etiam novu
 psalmodum librum marcioni conscripse-
 runt una cum basilide assianum catafry-
 cum constitutorem.

The Epistle of St. James finds no place in the document. That Epistle had been used as divine Scripture by the author of Pastor, but doubts remained in some minds concerning it. Thus, Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. II. 23) speaks concerning it:

“These accounts are given respecting James, who is said to have written the first of the Epistles general, (catholic); but it is to be observed that it is considered spurious. Not many indeed of the ancients have mentioned it, and not even that called the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven called catholic Epistles. Nevertheless we know, that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the churches.”

Funk (Patres Apost.) found eight references to St. James' Epistle in the I. Epistle to the Corinthians of Clement of Rome. He found five references in the II. Cor. by some attributed to the same author; and six references in Clement's Epistles to Virgins. References are also found in Justin and Irenæus. It is not clear whether certain passages in the works of Clement of Alexandria were taken from James' Epistle or from the Gospels. Origen is the first among the Fathers who quoted the work as Holy Scripture under the name of James the Apostle.

One of the strongest proofs of its early approbation by the Church is its presence, under its proper name, in the Peshitto, which dates from early times.

We here compare two passages from the Pastor of Hermas with the Epistle of St. James, having in mind to prove that he drew material from the same Epistle.

St. Jas. V. 4.

Pastor, Lib. I. Vis. III. 9.

“Ecce, merces operariorum,
 qui messuerunt regiones ves-

“Videte ergo vos, qui gloria-
 mini in divitiis, ne forte inge-

tras, quæ fraudata est a vobis, clamat; et clamor eorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introivit."

Jas. IV. 7.

"Subditi ergo estote Deo: resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a vobis."

miscant ii qui egent, et gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum—."

Pastor, Lib. II. Mand. XII. 5.

"—Potest autem diabolus luctari, sed vincere non potest. *Si enim resistitis illi, fugiet a vobis conjusus.*"

Toward the close, therefore, of the second century the Canon of the New Testament in the Church of Rome contained all the books of the Catholic Canon, excepting the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably the Second Epistle of St. Peter.

The Canon of the Church of Gaul of the same age is sought in the works of Irenæus.

A splendid testimony for the four Gospels is found in the Third Book of his Treatise against Heresy, XI. 7, 8: "So great is the certitude of the Gospels that the heretics themselves render testimony to them, and every heretic that comes forth strives to prove his doctrine from them. For the Ebionites, who use only the Gospel of Matthew, are confuted by it, that their presumption concerning the Lord is not well founded. Marcion, who mutilates St. Luke, by that which he retains of it, is shown to be a blasphemer against the Lord. Those who separate Jesus from Christ, and who, selecting the Gospel of Mark, say that Christ remained impassible, and that Jesus suffered, if they read it with the love of truth can be corrected of their error. The Valentinians, who exclusively use the Gospel of John for the ostentation of their unions, are by it shown to be false in everything, as we have shown in the first book. Since, therefore, our opponents render testimony for us, and use these (Gospels), our demonstration regarding them is shown to be true and firm. For the Church receives neither more in number nor fewer in number than these Gospels. For of the world in which we live, there are four great regions; and there are four principal winds; and the Church is spread over the whole earth; and the pillar and ground of the Church (I.

Tim. III. 15) is the Gospel, and the spirit of life; therefore it follows that the Church has four columns blowing forth in all directions incorruption, and vivifying men. From which it is manifest that the divine Architect of all things, the Word who is borne upon the Cherubim, and rules all things, who was made manifest to men, gave us the fourfold Gospel, which is actuated by one Spirit." Continuing, he applies the vision of Ezekiel to the four Evangelists, which interpretation has continued in the Church since that time. The conclusion of Irenæus is better than his reasoning. His mysticism avails naught, but his conclusion is independent of it. The conclusion was the faith of the Church of his time, which he strove to illustrate. We could add nothing to this testimony by adducing the numberless quotations of the Gospels in the works of Irenæus. It is sufficient in itself to establish the status of the Gospels in the Church of Gaul of the second century. Irenæus was a disciple of the disciples of St. John. The voice of Apostolic times is perpetuated by them to him. He speaks in the tone of a man who was sure of his point, knowing that he had back of him the faith of the Catholic Church. The Church from the Apostolic times received four Gospels, and only four. Irenæus wrote, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of this same third book, a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. In the beginning of the fourteenth chapter, he vindicates their authorship to St. Luke.

No mention is found in Irenæus of the Epistle to Philemon, but this fact is not strange, considering that the nature of the book did not bring it within the scope of his writing. Eusebius testifies (Hist. Eccles. V. 26) that Irenæus, in a book of various disputes, quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Lib. II. contra Hær. XXX. 9, he uses the phrase: "*Deus omnia fecit verbo virtutis sue*"; the form of expression, so eminently Pauline, is evidently taken from Hebrews I. 3.

All the other Epistles of St. Paul are used with equal frequency with the Gospels. All the works of Irenæus are rich in quotations from them. Paul's pastoral Epistles are received with equal favor with the others. He begins his great work against the heresies with a quotation from Tim-

othy, I. 4. In Lib. II. XIV. 1, he says: "And Paul himself has manifested in his Epistles, saying: Demas has left me, and gone to Thessalonica; Crescens, into Galatia; only Luke is with me." (II. Tim. IV. 10, 11). In op. cit. Lib. IV. XVI. 5, he quotes the first Epistle of St. Peter: "And for this cause, Peter says: That we have not liberty for a cloak of maliciousness." I. Pet. II. 16.

In op. cit. Lib. V. XXIII. 2, he has the following allusion to the Second Epistle of St. Peter: "Certain ones place the death of Adam in the thousandth year, *for a day with the Lord is as a thousand years.*" Loisy believes that Irenæus here draws from Psalm XC. (Vulg. LXXXIX.); but the phraseology and the context plainly point to II. Peter, III. 8: "But, beloved, be not ignorant of one thing that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years."

Again in op. cit. Lib. IV. XIII. and XVI. Irenæus speaks of Abraham as the *friend of God*. In the latter place, he quotes the passage: "Credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est." Now, although the first part of the expression is found in Genesis, XV. 6, and in the Epistles of Paul, the whole expression is found only in James II. 23.

In Lib. V. I. 1, Irenæus calls the Christians, "the first fruits of his (God's) creatures," which peculiar expression is only found in James I. 18.

No mention is found in the works of Irenæus of the Epistle of Jude. But I believe with Loisy that it was in the collection of the Church of Gaul at the time. The Canon of Muratori shows us that it had a secure place in the Canon of Rome, and the Church of Gaul was in strict conformity with Rome.

St. Irenæus directly quotes from the First and Second Epistles of St. John.

In op. cit. Lib. III. 5, he writes: "Wherefore, also in his Epistle, he (John) has testified to us: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that antichrist cometh: even now there are many antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour."—I. Jo. II. 18.

A little farther on in the same work in Paragraph 8, he has this testimony: "And these are the ones whom the Lord bade us avoid, and also his disciple John in the *afore-said Epistle*, bade us fly from them saying: 'Many seducers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ, is come in the flesh. This is a seducer and is antichrist. Look to yourselves, that ye lose not those things which ye have wrought.' And again in his Epistle he says: 'Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

By this is the spirit of God known: every spirit which confesseth Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh, is of God:

And every spirit, that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God, and this is antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh, and he is now already in the world.' "

The first quotation is literally quoted from John's Second Epistle. Irenæus was familiar with them both, and, quoting from memory, it is due to a fault of memory that he refers the passage to the First Epistle.

In *op. cit.* Lib. LXVI. 3, he again quotes the Second Epistle: "For John, the disciple of the Lord, places damnation upon them, not allowing us to bid them God speed: 'For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.' "—II. JO. I. 11.

These data leave no doubt that Irenæus received and employed as Holy Scripture, at least the First and Second Epistles of John. But since the history of the Second and Third has always been the same, it is highly probable that he received also the Third, though he had no occasion to quote it.

Irenæus made great use of the Apocalypse. In *op. cit.* Lib. IV. XXVI. 1, Irenæus speaks thus of the Apocalypse: "And yet more evidently, of the last age, and of the ten kings, among whom will be divided the Empire which now exists, has John the disciple of the Lord made known in the Apocalypse," etc.

In the same book, Chap. XIV. 2, he testifies: "And for this cause, John in the Apocalypse says: 'And his voice was as the voice of many waters.'"—Apoc. I. 15.

Ibidem, Chap. XVII. 6: "Incense, saith John in the Apocalypse, is the prayers of the saints."

In Chapter XVIII. 6: "There is an altar in Heaven (for thither our prayers and oblations are directed) and a temple, as John says in the Apocalypse: 'And the temple of God was opened'; and there is a tabernacle: 'For behold,' he saith, 'the tabernacle of God in which he dwells with men.'"—Apoc. XI. 19; XXI. 3.

Equally clear quotations are found in op. cit. Lib. IV., XX. 11; XXI. 4; XXX. 4; Lib. V., XXVIII. 2; XXX. 2, 4; XXXIV. 2; XXXV. 2, etc.

From these researches, we are led to believe that the church of Gaul in the second century possessed the entire Canon.

The Canon of the church of Proconsular Africa at the close of the second century, is made known to us from the works of Tertullian, whose literary activity ranges from 195 to 220.

Tertullian defends against Marcion the four Gospels, Lib. II. *adversus Marcionem*, Cap. II.*

Again in Chapter V. he asserts the authorship of Matthew, Luke, Mark and John.† The chapter opens with a clear testimony of the greater Pauline Epistles:

"In summa, si constant id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, id ab initio, quod ab Apostolis; pariter utique constabit, id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud

*Constituimus in primis, evangelicum Instrumentum Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus Evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et Apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum Apostolis, et post Apostolos. Quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloria studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, imo Christi, qui magistros Apostolos fecit. Denique, nobis fidem ex Apostolis Joannes et Matthæus insinuant; ex Apostolicis, Lucas et Marcus instaurant, etc.

†Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum cæteris quoque patrocinabitur Evangeliiis, quæ proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus Joannis dico et Matthæi, licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur. cujus interpres Marcus: nam et Lucæ Digestum Paulo adscribere solent.

ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recens, in Joannem stabit auctorem."

Tertullian certainly received thirteen Epistles of Paul. In Lib. V. adv. Marcion, XXI. he speaks thus of the Epistle to Philemon:*

"Soli huic Epistolæ brevitatis sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum Epistolarum interpolare."

In Lib. V. adv. Marcion, Cap. I. he defends the Acts of the Apostles: "Hæc figurarum sacramenta, si tibi displicent, certa Acta Apostolorum (Act. IX.) hunc mihi ordinem Pauli tradiderunt, a te quoque non negandum."

In Lib. de Pudicitia, Cap. XX. Tertullian cites the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the work of Barnabas.

"Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viri, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore: 'Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem.' Et utique receptior apud Ecclesias Epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum. Monens itaque discipulos, omissis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursus fundamenta pœnitentiæ jacere ab operibus mortuorum: Impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati sunt, et donum cœleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt Spiritum Sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustav-

*We quote Tertullian in the original Latin, as his genius appears to better effect in the original.

erunt, occidente jam ævo cum exciderint, rursus revocari in pœnitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos Filium Dei et dedecorantes. Terra enim quæ bibit sæpius devenientem in se humorem, et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur, benedictionem Dei consequitur: proferens autem spinas, reprobæ et maledictioni proxima, cujus finis in exustionem. Hoc qui ab Apostolis didicit et cum Apostolis docuit, nunquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab Apostolis norat; optime enim legem interpretabatur, et figuras ejus jam in ipsa veritate servabat."

In introducing this passage, Tertullian shows clearly that, though not personally certain of its inspiration, he considered the Epistle to the Hebrews of great authority.

He made much use of the Apocalypse, and of the First Epistle of St. John. I found no direct references to the other two in his works, but in Chapter XIX. De Pudicitia, he says: "Shall we, forsooth, say that John erred, who *in his first Epistle* denies that we are without sin." It was certainly in contradistinction to *other Epistles* that he calls this the first. The Second and Third of John are brief, and written to private individuals. For this reason, they have never been quoted as much as the First. This was the evident cause, also, why they are not expressly quoted by Tertullian.

In Chapter III. De Cultu Feminarum, Tertullian wishes to obtain endorsement for the Book of Henoch: "And moreover, Henoch has a testimony in Jude the Apostle." (Jude V. 14.) Though he erred in explaining the passage of Jude, he is a competent witness that the Church of Africa possessed in that day the Epistle of Jude among the Holy Books.

Tertullian often quotes the First Epistle of St. Peter. I found no quotations from the Second Epistle in his works. This argues nothing against its reception by the Church of Africa; Tertullian may have had no occasion to quote it.

In Lib. adversus Judæos, II. he used the expression, "Abraham amicus Dei deputatus," which seems to be taken from James, II. 23.

The Second Epistle of Peter is the only book of the New Testament which has nothing in the works of Tertullian; the

First and Second of John, and the Epistle of James have but probable approbation; the Epistle to the Hebrews with him stops a little short of canonicity, but all the other books, both by direct declaration and practical use are endorsed as undoubted Holy Scripture.

In the works of St. Cyprian, who succeeded Tertullian as chief representative of the African Church, abundant quotations are found of all the *homologoumena*, including the Apocalypse, but he is silent concerning the *antilegomena*. It would be absurd to interpret this silence as a condemnation of the books. At most, we may say that the exceedingly conservative spirit of Cyprian drew him more strongly to the books of which no one doubted.

The tradition of the Church of Alexandria of the second century is made known to us by Clement. Among all the early Fathers, Clement is the most favorable to apocryphal writings. There is no evidence that he made them equal to Holy Scripture, but he was willing to treat with consideration any work which had a claim to respectability. In Lib. III. Stromatum, XIII. he shows that he admitted four and only four Gospels. Replying there to an objection taken from an apocryphal gospel, he says: "In the first place, in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us, we have not this saying, but in the Gospel according to the Hebrews."

Clement's position regarding the books of Scripture may be learned from Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. VI. 14.

"In the work called Hypotyposes, to sum up the matter briefly, he has given us abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed, (The Antilegomena), I mean the book of Jude, and the other general Epistles. Also the Epistle of Barnabas, and that called the Revelation of Peter. But the Epistle to the Hebrews he asserts was written by Paul, to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew tongue; but that it was carefully translated by Luke, and published among the Greeks. Whence, also, one finds the same character of style and of phraseology in the Epistle as in the Acts. 'But it is probable that the title, Paul the Apostle, was not prefixed to it. For as he wrote to the

Hebrews, who had imbibed prejudices against him, and suspected him, he wisely guards against diverting them from the perusal, by giving his name.' A little after this he observes: 'But now as the blessed presbyter used to say, since the Lord who was the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not subscribe himself an Apostle of the Hebrews; both out of reverence for the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews, as a herald and Apostle of the Gentiles.' Again, in the same work, Clement also gives the tradition respecting the order of the Gospels, as derived from the oldest presbyter, as follows: He says that those which contain the genealogies were written first; but that the Gospel of Mark was occasioned in the following manner: 'When Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel under the influence of the spirit; as there was a great number present, they requested Mark, who had followed him from afar, and remembered well what he had said, to reduce these things to writing, and that after composing the Gospel he gave it to those who requested it of him. Which, when Peter understood, he directly neither hindered nor encouraged it. But John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the Gospel of our Saviour, was sufficiently detailed, and being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the spirit, he wrote a spiritual Gospel.' Thus far Clement.'

The commentaries of Clement on the First Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. Jude have been preserved to us by Cassiodorus in a Latin translation (Cassiod. De Inst. Div. Lit. VIII.).

In the works of Clement that remain to us, I found no certain reference to II. Peter. Some allusions to St. James' Epistle exist (Strom. V. 14; VI. 18); but the testimony of Eusebius leaves no doubt that Clement received these works. Eusebius' testimony is corroborated by Photius, who testifies that Clement commented the Epistles of Paul and the Catholic Epistles. (Biblioth. 109. Patrol. G. 103, 384)

In II. Strom. XV. Clement speaks of I. John, as the *greater Epistle*, Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ. This shows

shows plainly that he recognized at least one of the others, and, as we have said before, the history of the two is the same. We believe, therefore, that Clement received them both. The defect of explicit quotations would be unjustly invoked against those short books, which are of secondary importance from a doctrinal standpoint.

The greater part of Clement's Hypotyposes, was devoted to the exegesis of the New Testament. Only fragments of the work remain in the Latin translation of Cassiodorus. Hence, it is explained that in those fragments we find not Clement's commentary on the Epistle of St. James, on II. Peter, and III. John. Without doubt, they had place in the complete work according to the explicit testimony of Eusebius.

We find, therefore, at the close of the second century, that all the churches concur in receiving the four written Gospels. These were sometimes called the "Writings of the Lord." Thus Dionysius of Corinth in Epistle to Romans: "It is not, therefore, matter of wonder if some have also attempted to adulterate the *sacred writings* of the Lord, since they have attempted the same in other works, that are not to be compared with these."

The writers of this period also give evidence that they already of old time received these Gospels, and only these Gospels were received by all the churches.

Certain allusions to the Acts of the Apostles are found in the writings of Clement of Rome, Ignatius Martyr, and St. Justin; but the testimony of the Canon of Muratori is explicit for their canonicity. The faith of Irenæus, as we have seen, was the same. Tertullian inveighs bitterly against those (the Manicheans) who rejected the Acts:

"—et utique implevit repromissum, probantibus Actis Apostolorum, descensum Spiritus Sancti. Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discentibus missum, sed nec Ecclesiam defendere, qui, quando et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent."

Clement of Alexandria also makes great use of this Scripture, and attributes it to Paul. All things warrant that it

had a place in the Canon in all the churches, before the close of the second century, and no doubt has since been raised in the Catholic Church concerning it.

From a conspectus of the preceding data, it is evident that, excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews, all the Epistles of Paul were universally accepted as Holy Scripture. It is not the place here to answer the objections of F. Chr. Baur against the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Those objections, or rather cavils, are sought from the nature of the books themselves, and will be answered in the exegesis of the books. We are here dealing only with the belief of the Church regarding the books of Scripture and the evidence of this, as regards thirteen Epistles of Paul, is convincing. Even the short Epistle to Philemon finds its place in Muratori's Canon: in the words of Tertullian (*loc. cit.*), it escaped the mutilation of Marcion. In the words of St. Jerome: "It would never have been received by all the churches throughout the whole world, unless it was held to be Paul's Epistle." (*Prol. in Philem.*)

In this period, the Epistle to the Hebrews was received with more favor in the East than in the West. We know from Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) that Clement of Alexandria received it. Clement's testimony is confirmed by that of Pantænus (the blessed presbyter). (*Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. 14.*) All the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church have accepted and used the Epistle.

Its presence, as fourteenth among Paul's Epistles, in the Peshitto, is sufficient guarantee of its reception by the ancient Syrian Church.

In reviewing the works of Irenæus, we have pointed out his references to this Epistle. Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) confirms our belief that Irenæus received it.*

The testimony of Tertullian, while it does not place the book beyond the possibility of doubt, recognizes the book as widely known and respected. The status of the book grew

*The statement of Gobar in *Biblioth. of Photius*, that Irenæus rejected Paul's authorship of the Epistle, may simply mean that he doubted of the author, but not of the divine character of the book. Such a view was held by more than one.

constantly more favorable in the Western Church from this time forth.

Rome seems to have been the center of the doubts of that period regarding the divine authority of the book. We have seen that it is omitted from the Canon of Muratori, and Eusebius testifies also in *Hist. Eccles.* VI. 20, that Caius of Rome and other Romans did not receive the Epistle.

The testimony of the first two centuries in favor of St. James' Epistle might be summed up as follows: Clear references in the works of Clement of Rome; allusions in the works of Justin and Irenæus; quotations in the *Pastor of Hermas*; and a place among the canonical Scriptures in the *Peshitto*.

The testimonies of this period in favor of the First Epistle of Peter are clear and explicit. Eusebius testifies, *Hist. Eccles.* III. 39, that Papias made use of testimonies from it. At least eight quotations from it are found in the short Epistle of Polycarp that is preserved for us. The finest testimonies for it exist in the works of Clement, Irenæus and Tertullian. We have already explained its omission from Muratori's Canon.

For the Second Epistle of St. Peter, we have nothing clearer in the first two centuries, than the references already adduced in the works of Irenæus. With Origen the data becomes more convincing.

The Epistle of Jude has a secure place in the Canon of Muratori. Tertullian (*loc. cit.*) uses it as an authority acknowledged by all. Clement of Alexandria commented it. St. Jerome declares that: "Jude left a short epistle, which is one of the seven Catholic Epistles; since he assumes a testimony from the apocryphal book of Henoah, it is rejected by several; nevertheless, it merits authority by its antiquity and use, and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures." (*S. Hier. De. Vir. Ill. M.* 23, 645.)

The First Epistle of John was known and used by Papias and Polycarp. Irenæus quotes it frequently, often naming its author. The Canon of Muratori places it among the canonical Scriptures. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria make it equal to the Gospel of St. John. The *Peshitto*

of the Syriac places it among the canonical Scriptures, and no reasonable doubt has ever been raised concerning it.

The other two Epistles of John have not equal endorsement in these two centuries. In the testimony of Jerome (De Vir. Ill. IX. 18), John's authorship of these two Epistles was rejected by many (*plerisque*). Investigation into patristic literature fails to make known who these many were.

The Epistles have an indirect approbation in Tertullian, De Pudic. 19, where he speaks of the First Epistle of John as *prima*. Had he admitted only two, he would undoubtedly have used, *in priore*. We have before shown that Irenæus received the Second Epistle of John, and as the history of the two is intimately bound up together, we believe that he received also the Third. The same can be said of Clement of Alexandria, who in Strom. II. 15, speaks of I. John as the greater Epistle. Fragments of his commentary on II. John are preserved for us by Cassiodorus, (*op. cit.*). Finally Muratori's Canon leaves no reasonable doubt that the three Epistles were received in the Church of Rome.

There is scarcely a book in the New Testament, which received so many clear testimonies in the second century as the Apocalypse. On the testimony of Irenæus, we know that the book was written toward the close of the reign of Domitian, therefore, about the year 95 A. D. Wherefore no testimonies of the first century are to be sought. But in the following age St. Justin, St. Hippolyte, Tertullian, Irenæus, Papias, Melito of Sardis, St. Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria and the Canon of Muratori, testify to its authenticity and divine character. Opposition and doubt arose in the following century concerning it. Certain heretics arose at that time who abused its authority to acquire favor for Millenarianism. Hence, though we find none who reject it, the Fathers made less use of it, as its deep mysterious sense perplexed the minds of these who were defending Catholic truth against the error of the Chiliasts. St. Dionysius the Great, one of the leading Fathers, in combating this heresy, thus speaks of the book:

"Some, indeed, before us, have set aside, and have attempted to refute the whole book, criticising every chapter.

and pronouncing it without sense and without reason. They say that it has a false title, for it is not of John. Nay, that it is not even a revelation, as it is covered with such a dense and thick veil of ignorance, that not one of the Apostles, and not one of the holy men, or those of the church could be its author. But that Cerinthus, the founder of the sect of Cerinthians, so called from him, wishing to have reputable authority for his own fiction, prefixed the title. For this is the doctrine of Cerinthus, that there will be an earthly reign of Christ; and as he was a lover of the body, and altogether sensual in those things which he so eagerly craved, he dreamed that he would revel in the gratification of the sensual appetite, *i. e.* in eating and drinking, and marrying; and to give the things a milder aspect and expression, in festivals and sacrifices, and the slaying of victims. For my part I would not venture to set this book aside, as there are many brethren that value it much; but having formed a conception of its subject as exceeding my capacity, I consider it also containing a certain concealed and wonderful intimation in each particular. For, though I do not understand, yet I suspect that some deeper sense is enveloped in the words, and these I do not measure and judge by my private reason; but allowing more to faith, I have regarded them as too lofty to be comprehended by me, and those things which I do not understand, I do not reject, but I wonder the more that I cannot comprehend."

At the opening of the third century, we find the Canon of the New Testament well established, not by official decree but by traditional usage. Certain divergencies existed regarding a few books. Muratori's Canon omits the Epistle of St. James while Clement of Alexandria uses it as though all the churches recognized its divine authority.

The two great representatives of Catholic thought of the third century are Origen and Eusebius.

The capacious mind of Origen examined the different collections of Scripture of the different churches, and compared them. His views respecting the Gospels are manifested in his Homily on Luke: "The Church has four Gospels; heresy has many. . . . Only four Gospels are approved,

out of which as representing our Law and Saviour, dogmas are to be proven. . . . In all these we admit naught else than is admitted by the Church, that only four Gospels are to be received."

Some recur to a testimony from Origen in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. VI. 25, to establish Origen's Canon:

"As I have understood from tradition, respecting the four Gospels which are the only undisputed ones in the whole Church of God throughout the world. The first is written according to Matthew, the same that was once a publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in the Hebrew. The second is according to Mark, who composed it, as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his general Epistle, saying, 'The elect church in Babylon, salutes you, as also Mark my son.' And the third, according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles, and last of all the Gospel according to John." And in the fifth book of his Commentaries on John, the same author writes as follows: "But he (Paul) being well fitted to be a minister of the New Testament, I mean a minister not of the letter but of the spirit; who, after spreading the Gospel from Jerusalem and the country around as far as Illyricum, did not even write to all the churches to which he preached, but even to those to whom he wrote he only sent a few lines. But Peter, upon whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one Epistle undisputed. Suppose, also, the second was left by him, for on this there is some doubt. What shall we say of him who reclined upon the breast of Jesus, I mean John? who has left one Gospel, in which he confesses that he could write so many that the whole world could not contain them. He also wrote the Apocalypse, commanded as he was, to conceal, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders. He has also left an Epistle consisting of very few lines; suppose, also, that a second and third are from him, for not all agree that they are genuine, but both together do not contain a hundred lines." To these remarks he also adds the following observation on the Epistle to the Hebrews,

in his homilies on the same: "The style of the Epistle with the title, 'To the Hebrews,' has not that simplicity of diction which belongs to the Apostle, who confesses that he is but common in speech, that is in his phraseology. But that this Epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases, every one will confess who is able to discern the difference of style. Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic. Every one will confess the truth of this, who attentively reads the Apostle's writings." To these he afterwards again adds: "But I would say, that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and phraseology belong to some one, who has recorded what the Apostle said, and as one who noted down at his leisure what his master dictated. If, then, any church considers this Epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended for this, for neither did those ancient men deliver it as such without cause. But who it was that really wrote the Epistle, God only knows. The account, however, that has been current before us, is, according to some, that Clement who was bishop of Rome wrote the Epistle; according to others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."

The Epistles of James and Jude are omitted; II. Peter and II. and III. John are considered doubtful. It would be erroneous to accept this as Origen's position on the Canon. The passage is found in the beginning of the fifth tome of his Commentary on St. John. He is there justifying himself for not writing more, and cites the example of some of the writers of the New Testament. To make the argument forcible, he restricts the works in the narrowest compass, and uses for this scope the occasional doubts that existed in some churches. In fact, Origen, through display of erudition, mentions these doubts which he did not personally entertain. There was no need of a complete list of the writers, and he has not drawn up a complete list. He took the more prominent. It is evident that it was not his intention to enumerate all the books of the New Testament.

Origen quoted II. Peter in his XII. Homily on Exodus, 4: "I know that it is written: 'For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.' " (II. Pet. II. 19).

Again in Hom. IV. on Levit. 4: "And again Peter saith: 'Ye are become partakers of the divine nature.' " (II. Pet. I. 14).

Hom. XIII. on Num. 8: "*—as the Scripture saith in a certain place: '—the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet.'* " (II. Pet. II. 16.)

Origen reveals his personal opinion of the Epistle of Jude in "Comment. in Math." Tom. X. 17: "And Jude wrote an Epistle, of few verses, indeed, but full of efficacious words of divine grace; which he begins by saying: 'Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, brother of James.' " Nevertheless, Origen was not ignorant that some doubted of this Epistle, and he takes account of this doubt in op. cit. Tom. XVII.: "If any one receives also the Epistle of Jude, let him consider what follows from this doctrine, for the reason that. 'The Angels who kept not their first estate, but left their first habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.' " (Jude, I. 6.)

In this citation Origen simply shows his comprehensive knowledge of the thought of his day. He received the Epistle, but in arguing therefrom, he had to take into consideration that its authority would not have equal weight with all. It required a great deal in those days to secure for a book immunity from doubt: a slight cause was sufficient to raise some doubt, which "*cresebat eundo,*" concerning some of the minor books of the Testament.

Equally certain are Origen's views on St. James Epistle. In "Hom. VIII. in Exod." 4, he says: "But the Apostle James says: 'A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways.' " (James, I. 8.)

In "Hom. II. in Levit." 4: "Thus saith Holy Scripture: '—who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.' " (James, V. 20.)

In "Hom. XIII. in Genesim" 2, Origen likens the books of the New Testament to the wells which Isaac and his servants dug, and he places James and Jude in the number. In this simile, Isaac represents the Lord. The servants of Isaac represent the other authors of the New Testament: "Isaac, therefore, dug new wells; the servants of Isaac dug new wells also. The servants of Isaac are Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. His servants are Peter, James and Jude, and also Paul, for they all dug the wells of the New Testament."

Upon this data we believe that Origen's Canon is that which he makes known to us in his Seventh Homily on the Book of Joshua, 1, wherein he compares the authors of the New Testament to Joshua and the priests who besieged Jericho: "The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom that first Joshua was a type, coming, sends priests, his Apostles bearing trumpets of rams' horns, the grand and heavenly doctrine of the Gospel. Matthew sounded first the sacerdotal trumpet in his Gospel; Mark follows; then Luke and John blow their proper trumpets. Peter sends forth blasts from the trumpets of his *two Epistles*; *James* and *Jude* do likewise. John joins in with the trumpet-blast of his *Epistles* and *Apocalypse* and Luke with the Acts of the Apostles. And lastly comes he who said: 'For I think that God hath set forth us, the Apostles, the least of men,' and thundering through the trumpets of his *fourteen Epistles* completely overthrows the engines of idolatry and the dogmas of the philosophers."

In ascribing a plurality of Epistles to John, the Second and Third of his Epistles are virtually approved, for they are inseparably linked together in their history.

Origen is not there formulating a new theory. He is here the oracle of two centuries of Catholic belief and practice.

The place in the Catholic Church which the Holy Books had acquired in Origen's time, they have retained ever since.

The sporadic doubts which in the course of the centuries arose and fell, availed naught to shake their credit in the Church. The books were a part of the mighty life of the

Church, and the occasional doubts of individuals only served to bring out more clearly the doctrine which was the same from the beginning.

The documents which we shall henceforth adduce will be chosen out of the universal testimony of tradition, on account of their special bearing on the deuterocanonical books.

DIONYSIUS THE GREAT, the disciple of Origen, cites the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul. He employs the Epistle of James (Fragment on Luke XXII.), and recognizes the First and Second Epistles of John. (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VII. 25).

METHODIUS OF TYRE, cites the Apocalypse as inspired by Christ, and makes the Epistle to the Hebrews equal to the other Epistles of Paul. (Conviv. Or. I. 5; Or. VIII. 4).

Eusebius of Caesarea, who was a diligent searcher into the traditions and documents of his times, has treated the question of the Canon of the New Testament *ex professo* in his Hist. Eccles. III. 25:

“This appears also to be the proper place, to give a summary statement of the books of the New Testament already mentioned. And here, among the first, must be placed the holy Quaternity of the Gospels; these are followed by the book of the Acts of the Apostles; after this must be mentioned the Epistles of Paul, which are followed by the acknowledged First Epistle of John, as also the First of Peter, to be admitted in like manner. After these, are to be placed, if proper, the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall offer the different opinions in due time. These, then, are acknowledged genuine. Among the disputed books, although they are well known and approved by many, are reputed that called the Epistle of James and that of Jude. Also the ‘Second Epistle of Peter,’ and those called ‘The Second and Third of John,’ whether they are of the Evangelist or of some other of the same name. Among the spurious must be numbered both the books called ‘The Acts of Paul,’ and that called ‘Pastor,’ and ‘The Revelation of Peter.’ Beside these, the books called ‘The Epistle of Barnabas,’ and what are called ‘The Institutions of the Apostles.’ Moreover, as I said before, if it should appear right, ‘The Revela-

tion of John,' which some, as before said, reject, but others rank among the genuine. But there are also some who number among these, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have received Christ are particularly delighted. These may be said to be all concerning which there is any dispute. We have, however, necessarily subjoined here a catalogue of these also, in order to distinguish those that are true, genuine, and well authenticated writings, from those others which are not only not embodied in the Canon, but likewise disputed, notwithstanding that they are recognized by most ecclesiastical writers."

Eusebius has not passed definite judgment on the question of the Canon. As a faithful historian he records the historical status of the books. The echo of the doubts which had their origin in the preceding ages could not be stilled except by the authoritative voice of the Church.

Eusebius arranges the books in three classes. First came τὰ ὁμολογούμενα, the books of which no one ever doubted. These are the four Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, the I. of Peter, the I. of John, and, if one judges well, (εἰ φανεῖη) the Apocalypse. It is evident that Eusebius includes the Epistle to the Hebrews in Paul's Epistles, since it was universally known in his day, and he places it in no other class. Moreover, in lib. cit. III. he had declared, "that the fourteen Epistles of Paul were manifestly known to all."

The second class is made up of the ἀντιλεγόμενα, γνώριμα δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, the books which had been doubted of by some, but received by the many. These are the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, II. Peter, and II. and III. of John.

The third class he calls spurious, νόθα, composed of the Acts of Paul, Pastor, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and, if it seems well, the Apocalypse of John. In an inferior place he ranges the impious books, the inventions of heretics.

This document contains not so much the present status of the books, as their past history; Eusebius fills the role of a chronicler, not a critic.

The peculiar position of the Apocalypse is the effect of the causes before mentioned. Up to the middle of the third century the work had been received by all. In virtue of this universal acceptance Eusebius gives it its place among the books of the first Canon. The rise of the Millenarian heresy drew opposition upon the book. Its mysterious sense was abused by the Millenarians; and the defenders of the faith, being hard pressed, began by casting doubt upon the authenticity of the book, and later, upon its divine character. Hence, some rejected the book as spurious. As Eusebius rightly says, it was accepted by all in one period of history; it was rejected by some in another. He does not decide the issue; he adduces the historical data, and allows the reader to decide.

In op. cit. Lib. 3, Eusebius speaks thus: "As to the writing of Peter, one of his Epistles called the First, is acknowledged as genuine. For this was anciently used by the ancient Fathers in their writings, as an undoubted work of the Apostle. But that which is called the Second, we have not, indeed, understood to be embodied with the sacred books, *ἐνδιαθηχόν*, yet as it appeared useful to many, it was studiously read with the other Scriptures .

Again, *ibid.*: "The Epistles of Paul are fourteen, all well known and beyond doubt. It should not, however, be concealed, that some have set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying, that it was disputed, as not being one of St. Paul's Epistles; but we shall in the proper place, also subjoin what has been said by those before our time respecting this Epistle."

Eusebius is inclined to magnify the importance of the individual doubts, lest he should be thought to have been ignorant of them. The fact that a book was not mentioned by many ancient Fathers, though explainable from the nature of the writing, was often taken by him as an evidence of doubt. And yet, the testimony of tradition even at his hands is most favorable to our books.

The Church of Alexandria seems to have cleared itself from all doubt in the fourth century.

ST. ATHANASIUS, its oracle in that age, thus manifests its faith: "The books of the New Testament are the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John respectively; the Acts of the Apostles; Seven Epistles, which are one of James, two of Peter, three of John and one of Jude. The Fourteen Epistles of Paul follow in this order: Romans, two to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus and one to Philemon. Lastly comes the Apocalypse of John.

These are the fountains of salvation, where the thirst of those who thirst for the living words is slaked. Through these alone the doctrine of faith is delivered. Let no one add to them or take from them." (Epist. Fest. XXXIX) There is an air of security in these words that indicates that the faith of the Church of Christ was back of the speaker. The Canon of Athanasius is the Canon of Trent, because the faith of the Church in whose name he spoke was the same then as when she pronounced her definitive decree.

Cyril of Jerusalem formulates the same canon with the exclusion of the Apocalypse, (Cyril, Cat. IV. 36). In the fourth century this book encountered severe opposition in the East, on account of its abuse by the Chiliasts.

ST. EPIPHANIUS enumerates the books of the Canon: The Four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. (Haer. 76)

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS has the same Canon, with the exception of the Apocalypse, which is placed among the books that are not authentic. (P. G. 41. 892.)

The Canon of Amphilochius is the same. He defends the Epistle to the Hebrews against those who term it apocryphal. "It is," he says, "verily inspired."

His testimony is rather unfavorable for the Apocalypse, which he says "is judged apocryphal by the greater number." (P. G. 37, 1595-1598.)

The doubts of these doctors seem to have regarded more the authorship of the Apocalypse than its divine inspiration. It was an echo of the opinion of Dionysius the Great, who

called in question not the divine character of the book, but John's authorship of it. In fact, Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa have employed the Apocalypse as divine Scripture.

The Council of Laodicea in its sixtieth Canon receives all our books except the Apocalypse of John. (Mansi II. 573.)

No clear reference is found in the works of John Chrysostom of the II. and III. of John, the II. of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. But this is not an indication that he rejected them. It was due to the minor doctrinal importance of the four Epistles that he found no occasion to employ them, and most probably the peculiar mysterious character of the Apocalypse moved him to seek his materials from other sources.

His temper of mind always favored the literal interpretation of Scripture, and there is little in the Apocalypse that appeals to such a mind. However, Suidas in his Lexicon, at the word *Ἰωάννης* declares that St. John received the Apocalypse as canonical.

In the works of St. Ephrem we find commentaries on all the books of our Canon of the New Testament. He seems to have paid slight heed to the doubts of some concerning the Apocalypse. As St. Ephrem knew not Greek, his use of all the books is an evidence that they then existed in Syriac.

The testimony of the four great Codices is favorable to the Catholic Canon.

Codex **Σ**, of Mt. Sinai, contains all the books.

Codex B, of the Vatican, undoubtedly did contain all the books, but as it is now mutilated, a portion of Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse are wanting.

Codex A, Alexandrinus, contains all the books.

The palimpsest Codex C, of St. Ephrem, originally contained all the books.*

The Bohairic version of Scripture contains all the books of the Catholic Canon. The Sahidic version, also, though existing now only in fragments, plainly shows that it contained the same Canon.

*An accurate description of these Codices will be given later on in this work

The same Canon is found in the Ethiopian version, and in the Armenian version. The Peshitto, as it exists now in the Nestorian Church, contains not II. Peter, II. and III. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, but it is certain that St. Ephrem recognized these books, as frequent quotations from all of them are found in his works. This gives us cause to suspect that the Nestorians, after the time of St. Ephrem, expunged these books from the Canon of Scripture.

In the Western Church, as time goes on, we find continued evidences that the Catholic Canon of to-day was then the practical Canon of the Church.

HILARY OF POITIERS cites Hebrews, and attributes it to Paul. (De Trin. IV. II.) He cites also II. Peter (De Trin. I. 17), and the Epistle of St. James (De Trin. IV. 8).

LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI, (†371) cites the Epistle to Hebrews, and the Epistle of Jude (De non conv. cum. Haer. 10, ed. Hartel).*

ST. AMBROSE (†397) also employs often in his works the Epistle of the Hebrews and the Epistle of Jude.

ST. PHILASTRIUS OF BRESCIA (Haeres. 88) formulates this Canon: "It has been established by the Apostles and their successors, that nothing should be read in the Catholic Church except the Law, the Prophets, the thirteen Epistles of Paul and the seven Catholic Epistles." The omission of Hebrews and the Apocalypse is due to some shade of doubt that possessed his mind at that time. In other portions of his works he characterizes as heretics those who do not receive the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews.†

*Lucifer was Bishop of Cagliari, metropolis of Sardinia, about the middle of the fourth century. He vigorously defended Athanasius in his combat against Arianism, and for this was exiled by the Arian Emperor, Constance. In his exile, he wrote his work against Constance, whereupon the Emperor sent him into upper Egypt. After the death of Constance, he was recalled by Julian in 361. He went to Antioch where the church was rent by the discussion between Paulinus and Meletius. He consecrated Paulinus bishop of the see, and thus augmented the schism. The saddest act in his whole career was his refusal to hold communion with the Pope after his restoration of the fathers of the Council of Rimini. He had many followers who took the name of Luciferans. He died in 371 at Cagliari.

†Philaster was Bishop of Brescia in Italy, about the year 374. He was with Ambrose in the Council of Aquileia in 381. His death is placed about the year 387. In his work on heresy he reveals much piety, but there is there great lack of critique.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA (*Expos. Symbol.* 37) has formulated the complete Catholic Canon, and terminates his list with these words: "These are the books which the Fathers have placed in the Canon, and upon which they build our faith."

The history of the New Testament has this advantage over that of the Old Testament, that it has not St. Jerome as an adversary. The works of Jerome are vast, and his references to the New Testament many. We can only adduce here some representative passages to show forth what was his mind on our Canon. In his *Epistle to Paulinus* (*Migne, Patrol. Lat.* 22, 548) he has the following testimony: "I will touch briefly upon the New Testament, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the 'quadriga' of the Lord and the true Cherubim. . . . Paul wrote to seven Churches: the eighth to the Hebrews is placed by many outside the Canon. He exhorts Timothy and Titus, and entreats Philemon for the fugitive slave Onesimus. . . . The Acts of the Apostles seem to contain but dry history, and to portray the infancy of the Church, but when we know that the writer was Luke, the physician, 'whose praise was in the Gospel,' we will understand that all his words are medicine for a sick soul. James, Peter, John, and Jude wrote seven Epistles, brief but deep, in mystery: brief in words, but long in the sense, so that many stumble in the understanding of them. The Apocalypse contains as many mysteries as words. This is insufficient praise; the book is above all praise."

Though made in an oratorical way, and somewhat lacking in precision, this list contains Jerome's views on the Canon. He receives all the books, but records the doubts concerning the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. We shall now examine a few special references in the works of Jerome to the books of the New Testament, concerning which there existed doubt.

In his treatise *de Viris Illustribus* (*Migne Pat. L.* 23, 615 *Cap. V.*) he enumerates Paul's Epistles thus: "Paul wrote nine Epistles to seven churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the

Thessalonians two, and besides two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. The Epistle which is styled, 'To the Hebrews,' is not believed to be of his authorship, on account of the difference in style and diction. By Tertullian it is ascribed to Barnabas; others attribute it to Luke the Evangelist; and some believe it to be of Clement of Rome, afterwards Pope, who, they say, was associated with Paul, and ordered and embellished Paul's teaching in his own language, or to speak more precisely, since Paul wrote to the Hebrews, and on account of their hatred of his name, he omitted it in the salutation in the beginning. He wrote as a Hebrew in Hebrew, eloquently in his own tongue, and what was eloquently spoken in Hebrew, was more eloquently translated in Greek, and for this cause the Epistle differs from the other Epistles of Paul."

Jerome estimated the thought of the Eastern world above that of the Western. The doubts concerning Hebrews were nearly all centered in the West, and moved him little. Though he is ready to adopt any plausible theory to explain the absence of the Pauline style in Hebrews, he, in no uncertain terms, vindicates to Paul the formal creation of the work.

In his Epistle to Dardanus (Migne, 22, 1103), he is even more explicit in favor of the Hebrews. "The Epistle which is entitled: To the Hebrews, is received as the Epistle of Paul, not only by all the churches of the Orient, but also by all the Greek writers up to the present time; although many claim that the words were written by Barnabas or Clement. It matters not who the writer was, since he was an ecclesiastical man, and the Epistle is promulgated by the daily reading of the churches. And if the Latin usage does not receive it among the canonical Scriptures, neither do the Greek churches receive the Apocalypse with full sanction; but we receive them both, following not the usage of our time, but the authority of the old writers."

Jerome has exaggerated the doubts of the Western Church in regard to Hebrews. It was received by that Church, and the doubts were only scattering and individual. No doubt had properly invaded the corporate belief of the

Church. Jerome rises above these doubts, and receives the book on the warrant of tradition and the usage of the Church. Wherever he mentions elsewhere in his works these doubts, it is simply to historically state that which he did not personally entertain.

In his Commentary on Ezekiel, VIII. (Migne, 25, 1465), he introduces a quotation from Hebrews, with the remark: "If, in receiving the Epistle, the Latin people do not reject the authority of the Greeks." I believe this to be a rhetorical figure to belittle the importance of the occasional doubts of the West. It was equivalent to saying: Against the few doubts of the West is arrayed the authority of the whole Greek world.

Jerome also records a doubt which regarded not the divine character, but the authorship of II. Peter. "Peter," he says, "wrote two Epistles which are called Catholic. The second of these is not believed to be his by many, on account of its difference from the first in style." The statement of Jerome's own views is clear enough, namely, that Peter wrote two Epistles; but it was inexact to say that many rejected the second. The doubt of Peter's authorship of the Second Epistle only existed in some Greek churches, who strove thus to justify its omission from their incomplete Canon.

In his Epistle to Hedibia, (Migne, 22, 1002) he sets at naught this doubt, and ascribes the difference in style to different amanuenses: "The two Epistles ascribed to Peter differ in tenor and style, whence we understand that he used different scribes."

In the before-mentioned treatise, *De Viris Illustribus*, II. (Migne, P. L. 23, 607), Jerome delivers the following testimony concerning the Epistle of James: "James, who is called the brother of the Lord, wrote one Epistle which is one of the seven Catholic Epistles. It is said that it was published under his name by another, and that gradually, with the course of time, it acquired authority." The evident reason why Jerome does not deal with the opinion which he here notices is that it left intact the divine inspiration of the book.

In *op. cit.* (Migne, 23, 613) he makes a similar statement respecting Jude's Epistle: "Jude, the brother of James, left a short Epistle, which is one of the Catholic Epistles. For the reason that he employs a testimony from the Apocryphal book of Henoch, it is rejected by many, but it has merited authority by its antiquity and usage (in the Church), and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures." There is a lack of precision, a lack of critical weighing of data, in these testimonies that has drawn from the Bollandists the just declaration: "Il convient le peser avec la défiance que doit inspirer un écrivain qui se montre plutôt publiciste de talent, écrivant au courant de la plume qu' historien consciencieux."

In the same work, (Migne P. L. 23, 623, 637), Jerome inserts a loose testimony concerning the Epistle of St. John: "John . . . has written one Epistle which is approved by all the ecclesiastical writers and learned men. The two others are attributed to John the Ancient, of whom they show the tomb at Ephesus, distinct from that of the Apostle, although others believe that both monuments belong to the Evangelist." As we have said before, these theories in the mind of Jerome left intact the divinity of the books. He separated the authorship of the books from their inspiration. He accepted their inspiration on the warrant of the Church; the other question interested him but little. He was willing to record every legend concerning it, and suspend judgment. Much of Jerome's erudition is crude and uncritical.

Traces of the last mentioned opinion of Jerome are found in the DECREE OF GELASIUS. That decree contains all the books of the Catholic Canon, although the II. and III. of John are in some manuscripts ascribed to John the Ancient. Its evidential force is independent of this detail, for it plainly receives all the books as divine Scripture.

THE CANON OF POPE INNOCENT sent to Exuperius is identical with the Canon of the Council of Trent.

We have before adduced the Canon of ST. AUGUSTINE (Christian Doctrine, Chap. VIII.) which also is identical with that of the Council of Trent. He was not ignorant of the scattering doubts in the Western Church. "The Epistle

to the Hebrews," he says "has been doubted by some; but I prefer to follow the authority of the Eastern churches which receive it as canonical." (Migne, P. L. 44, 137).

The authority of St. Augustine is not shaken by the least shadow of doubt. He received all the books as divinely inspired Scripture.

The three African Councils held in 393, 397, and 419, formulated a canon identical in substance with that of the Council of Trent.

In the writings of representative men of the churches of Gaul and Spain of that period, we always find evidences of the complete Canon. Thus we see that at the end of the fourth century, all the great churches of the world possessed complete Canons. Some of the books had entered into their estate easier than others, but the energy of the divine character finally placed there those which, considered from a doctrinal standpoint, were unimportant.

It is needless to attempt to record the data of the following centuries in favor of these books. The whole Christian world was unanimous in adopting them. The Syriac Version made in the sixth century contains them all. The Council in Trullo which is authority for the Greeks approved them all. In the West, the Bible of Cassiodorus contains all the books. The great doctors of the Latin Church are unanimous in receiving the complete Canon. In fact the complete Canon enjoyed a period of undisturbed peace up to the fifteenth century.

We have before mentioned the peculiar views on the Canon held by John of Salisbury. His views on the New Testament are also strange. "The Epistles of Paul," he says, "are fifteen, comprised in one volume, although the common and almost universal opinion is that there are only fourteen, ten to the churches, and four to individuals, if the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be enumerated with the Epistles of Paul, which the doctor of doctors, Jerome, endeavors to prove in his Preface, where he refutes the cavils of those who contend that it was not of Paul. The fifteenth is that written to the Church at Laodicea, and although, as Jerome says, it is rejected by all, nevertheless it was written by the

Apostle. Neither is this judgment founded on the opinion of others, but rests on the testimony of the Apostle who makes mention of such Epistle, in his Epistle to the Colossians."

The uncritical mind of Salisbury failed to advert that his argument does not conclude. Paul wrote a letter to the Church of Laodicea, but that fact can not be alleged to prove that the letter of which Salisbury spoke was that letter of Paul. Salisbury had no followers; his opinion died with him.

Toward the middle of the fifteenth century POPE EUGENE IV., in his Bull of Union with the Jacobites, enumerated the complete Canon of all our books as the Holy Scriptures. The definition awakened no word of discussion, for it was but promulgating in official form what the whole Christian world believed.

In the general upheaval of the settled status of things, which came with the great apostasy of the sixteenth century, doubt and error also invaded the thought of the age concerning Holy Scripture.

In the first edition of his Greek New Testament, which he dedicated to Leo X., Erasmus outlined certain doubts concerning the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, II. Peter, II. and III. John, and the Apocalypse. The faculty of the Sorbonne rose up against him and censured him. One must confess, however, that the arguments of the Sorbonne are not conclusive, and their action inconsiderate.

Erasmus protested that he held to the divinity of the books; he only doubted of the authors. "There has always been doubt," he says, "regarding the author of Hebrews; and I confess candidly that I doubt yet." The faculty responded by affixing to the opinion the note of temerity and schism. Erasmus appealed to history. "Doubt was entertained for a long time," he says, "regarding the Apocalypse, not by heretics, but by orthodox men, who, though uncertain of the author, received the book as coming from the Holy Ghost." Though Erasmus adduces here a fact, he does not deal justly thereby. The mere fact that certain scattering doubts arose in some churches concerning the

author of this book was not sufficient data to cast a doubt upon its author. The Sorbonne would have acted more wisely in pointing out the weakness of the great humanist's position than in condemning him *in toto* for that which was more against a sound critique than against faith.

Erasmus at length sent to the faculty the following response, which does honor to the man: "According to the mind of man, I believe not that the Epistle to the Hebrews is of Paul, or of Luke, nor that II. Peter is of the Apostle, nor the Apocalypse of John. . . . Only this doubt holds my mind, whether the Church receives the titles of the books, so that she not only bids us hold as infallible what is written in the books, but also commands us to hold as infallible that the books came from the authors whose names they bear. If she has canonized the titles, I renounce my doubt. A clear judgment of the Church moves me more than all the arguments of men."

Issues are mixed here. The Church has certainly canonized some titles, and some she has not. But regarding the books of which Erasmus spoke, the mind of the Church is now clear, since she mentioned them in the decree of Trent as belonging to their respective authors.

The most notable opposition to the antilegomena in this period came from Cajetan.*

*Thomas de Vio is surnamed Cajetanus, from the village of Gæta or Cajeta, in the old kingdom of Naples, where he was born on the 20th of February, 1469. At the age of fifteen, he entered the Dominican order. He studied theology at Bologna, and made brilliant progress in the sacred sciences. He took the degree of doctor of theology in a general assembly of the order held at Ferrara, in 1494. He taught theology for some years at Brescia, Pavia, and at Rome. In 1500 he was made procurator general; and in 1508, General of the Order by the express recommendation of Julius II. In 1517 he was created Cardinal by Leo X., and soon after was sent by the Pope into Germany to move the Emperor Maximilian against the Turks, and to make head against Luther. In the latter project, he was entirely unsuccessful. In fact it seems unfortunate that Cajetan should have been selected for this mission. He was but the echo of the excessively elaborate speculativism of the scholastics. It required living thought, the comprehension by a master mind of the peculiar causes that were influencing men's minds, to stop the tide of that dreadful sea which broke over Europe through the breach made by Luther's defection. A man like Philip Neri would have accomplished more by his clear call to the supernatural than the subtle dialectician.

We have before reviewed his position on the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. His views on the anti-legomena are focalized in the following statement: "From these and other words of Jerome, the prudent reader will know that Jerome was not absolutely certain of the author of this Epistle, and since we have taken Jerome for our rule, lest we should err in the discernment of the canonical books, and those which he delivered to be canonical, we hold canonical, and those which he cut off from the Canon, we place outside the Canon; therefore, from the fact that the author of this Epistle is doubtful with Jerome, the Epistle becomes doubtful, for if it be not of Paul, it is not clear that it is can-

In 1519 Cajetan was made Bishop of Gæta. After several other missions in state affairs, in 1523 he fixed his domicile at Rome, and devoted his life to the study of theology and the Holy Scriptures. In dogmatic theology, Cajetan was an absolute "Thomist"; in Scripture, an absolute "Jeromist." This led to a sort of disdain for all the resources of sacred science outside the writings of these alone. This led him to enunciate many strange and dangerous opinions, especially in regard to the Scriptures. There is in his works a certain display of arrogance in the way he essays to solve every question by his understanding of those two doctors.

In 1527 Rome was taken by the army of the Emperor, and Cajetan was made prisoner. He regained his liberty only by a ransom of fifty thousand Roman crowns. The remaining years of his life were consecrated to study till his death in 1534.

Cajetan is undoubtedly the greatest commentator of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas. This is also the greatest of his works. He commented all the Old Testament, except the Canticle of Canticles and the Prophets. He has a commentary on the first three chapters of Isaiah. He commented all the New Testament, except the Apocalypse. His method was to bring out the literal sense, and for this cause he declared himself unable to explain the Apocalypse. Cajetan's disregard for the Fathers, Jerome excepted, appears in his statement that one may hold that which is not contrary to the express doctrine of the Church, even "against a torrent of holy doctors." (Praef. in Lib. Moysis.). It would be better to deny even the supposition of Cajetan on this point.

The Dominican Catharinus moved the Sorbonne to censure sixteen propositions taken from Cajetan's commentaries on the Gospels. After Cajetan's death the same Catharinus wrote a work filled with bitter criticism and severe accusations against him.

Melchior Canus also attacks Cajetan in his celebrated work *De Locis Theologicis*. He has been defended by Sixtus Sennensis, and by Richard Simon. Though the errors of Cajetan were not formal, it must be held in truth that his works on Scripture are defective in many places, and his temper of mind is far from laudable

onical. Wherefore, from the authority of this Epistle alone, questions of faith cannot be decided."

Regarding Jude's Epistle he says: "From which things (the statements of St. Jerome) it appears that the Epistle is inferior in authority to Holy Scripture." He repeats in effect this statement in regard to II. and III. John and the Epistle of James. He says naught of the Apocalypse, but he defends the canonicity of II. Peter. In regard to this Epistle, there was no choice between authenticity and a literary forgery, for the author claims to be Peter. (II. Peter, I. 1). Cajetan shrank from characterizing a book, which the Church had used for centuries, as a literary fraud.

In examining the testimonies of Cajetan, we find him more of a "Jeromist" than Jerome himself. Jerome had noted certain doubts regarding the antilegomena, but he had never admitted that the books were of doubtful inspiration. The great doctor rightly separated the question of authorship from that of divinity. He incidentally mentioned doubts regarding the former question, the other question with him was fixed and sure. It is a lamentable lack of logic in Cajetan's reasoning to say, that if the author of a book be uncertain, the book itself is of inferior authority. The two questions were distinct in Jerome's time, and in Cajetan's time.

The prerogative given to Jerome by Cajetan in the matter of the Canon is absurd. The Church, and the Church alone merits such authority. The whole testimony is like much that Cajetan wrote, an intense expression of himself. He had a perfect confidence in his heroes and himself, he cared little for what other men thought.

It is generally stated that the opinion of Cajetan was one of the disposing causes which drew from the Church the defined Canon of the Scriptures. The protestants had already set forth similar views in Germany. The great credit of Cajetan would tend to draw Catholics towards the new opinions. The juncture had come for the Church to act, and she in her Decree of Trent defined the faith which she had held from the beginning: "The books of the New Testament are the four Gospels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John: the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke: the fourteen

Epistles of the Apostle Paul, viz., Romans, two to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, one to Philemon, and one to the Hebrews; two Epistles to Peter the Apostle, three Epistles of John the Apostle, one of James the Apostle, one of Jude the Apostle, and the Apocalypse of John the Apostle. If any man will not receive as sacred and canonical all these books entire, with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they exist in the old Latin Edition of the Vulgate, . . . let him be anathema." (Council of Trent, Sess. IV.)

In the Council of Trent, the discussion of the Canon of the New Testament was less extensive and intense, than that which had come upon the Canon of the Old Testament. Not a voice opposed the canonicity of the antilegomena of the New Testament; Luther and his supporters were recognized as their sole opponents.

Regarding the last verses of the Gospel of Mark; Luke's account of the sweat of the Lord in Gethsemane; and the section relating to the adulteress in the Gospel of John, some discussion was moved. Cardinal Pacheco demanded in the general assembly of the Council on the 27th of March, that these portions should be expressly indicated in the decree. Cajetan had placed that the final verses of Mark were of less authority in matters of faith. (Mark. XVI. 9-20).

The Fathers believed that it was inopportune to even notice the doubts concerning these passages. The question was put to vote whether express mention should be made of these passages, and it was decided in the negative by thirty-four votes against seventeen. Some discussion followed till finally the point raised by Pacheco was safeguarded by the clause: "the books *with all their parts.*"

The next point of discussion regarded the authors of the books.

The question was submitted: Whether the books should be received together with the authors. Forty-four of the assembly voted on the 1st of April, that the authors should be received as well as the books.

In consequence of this the schema was modified, so that the author of every book of the New Testament is most clearly mentioned with the respective books. Hence the question which had been open up to that time was settled.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE SECTS.

The Canon of the schismatic Greek Church is the same as that of the Roman Catholic Church.

In Syria, the Nestorians receive only the Gospels, the Acts, Fourteen Epistles of Paul, I. Peter, I. John, and the Epistle of James. Ebed Jesu, the Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibe, (†1318), does not mention the four shorter Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse in his catalogue of the New Testament.

The schismatic Armenians receive all our books, and add two letters of the Corinthians to Paul, and Paul's response.

The Ethiopian Canon contains all the books, and adds the Apostolical Constitutions.

Calvin and his sect received the full Canon.

The Anglican Church also received all the books of the Catholic Canon.

In the Lutheran Church there was much fluctuation of opinion. Luther had doubted of the Epistles of James Jude, Hebrews and the Apocalypse; his followers went farther, and rejected II. Peter, and II. and III. John. But the Lutherans were not constant in this opinion. The lack of support of the other sects, and the feebleness of their position brought it about that Bossuet was able to write in 1700 to Leibnitz: "Nous convenons tous ensemble, protestants et catholiques, également des mêmes livres du Nouveau Testament; car je ne crois pas que personne volut suivre encore les emportements de Luther contre l'Épître de saint Jacques. Passions donc une même canonicité à tous ces livres, contestés autrefois ou non contestés; après cela, Monsieur permettez moi de vous demander si vous voulez affaiblir l'autorité ou de l'Épître aux Hébreux, si haute, si théo-

logique, si divine, ou celle de l'Apocalypse, ou reluit l'esprit prophétique avec autant de magnificence que dans Isaïe et dans Daniel?"

The Lutherans have abandoned their theory, but in many of their Bibles the preface of Luther was long after printed. It is for this cause that Richard Simon ridicules them for such an apparent contradiction. Finally, these prefaces were expunged, and the opinions of their founder on this point consigned to oblivion.

The rise of rationalism has changed the estate of the books of both Testaments in the protestant church. It is now no longer a question of the divinity of any particular book, but belief in the divinity of the whole collection is fast dying in all the sects.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE APOCRYPHAL AND LOST BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

The radical signification of apocryphal *ἀπόκρυφος* from *ἀποκρύπτειν*, is that of hidden.

In our judgment the first signification of the term as applied to our books, was to denote that the origin and authorship of the book were unknown. By its etymological force it would extend to all books of unknown authorship. But language is a living growth, and can not be bound by etymology.

The books which, though of an uncertain author, were certainly of an inspired author, were thus preserved immune from this appellation. So that the term became exclusively applied to books whose *real character* was *hidden*.

At all events the use of the term to-day is to signify a book which by its title seems to lay claim to divinity, but which has no sufficient data to substantiate this claim. Perhaps we could not better the definition of Origen: "Books which were produced under the names of the saints (biblical personages), but which are outside the Canon."

Not all the Apocrypha are of the same character. Some are impious; others are composed of legends and pious reflections intended for the edification of the faithful.

The Apocrypha are of two great classes, those of the Old Testament, and those of the New. We know from the testimonies of the Fathers that a vast multitude of Apocrypha existed in the early ages of the Church. The pious fictions of Christians, the fictions of the Jews, and the forgeries of the heretics conspired to augment the number.

The first official enumeration of the Apocrypha is in the following Canon of Gelasius, sanctioned in a council at Rome in 495-496.

List of apocryphal books which are not received

The Itinerary under name of Peter the Apostle, which is entitled of Clement, eight books, apocryphal.

The Acts of Andrew the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Acts of Thomas the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Acts of Peter the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Acts of Philip the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Acts of Thaddæus the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Thaddæus, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Mathias, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Peter the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Gospel of James the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Barnabas, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Thomas, used by the Manicheans, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Bartholomew the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Gospel of Andrew the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Gospel corrupted by Lucian, apocryphal.

The Book of the Infancy of the Saviour, apocryphal.

The Gospels corrupted by Hesychius, apocryphal.

The Book of the Nativity of the Lord and Mary and the Wise Woman, apocryphal.

The Book called Pastor, apocryphal.

All the books made by Lucius, the disciple of the devil, apocryphal.

The Book called The Foundation, apocryphal.

The Book called The Treasure, apocryphal.

The Book of the Daughters of Adam, or the Little Genesis, apocryphal.

The Book called the Acts of Thecla and Paul, apocryphal.

The Book called of Nepos, apocryphal.

The Book of Proverbs, written by heretics, and circulated under the name of S. Sixtus, apocryphal.

The Apocalypse, which bears the name of Paul the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Apocalypse which bears the name of Thomas the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Apocalypse which bears the name of Stephen the Apostle, apocryphal.

The Book called "Transitus", that is the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, apocryphal.

The Book called the Penance of Adam, apocryphal.

- The Book of Ogias, who is supposed by the heretics to have combated with the dragon after the deluge, apocryphal.
 The Book called the Testament of Job, apocryphal.
 The Book called the Penance of Origen, apocryphal.
 The Book called the Penance of St. Cyprian, apocryphal.
 The Book called the Penance of Jamne and Mambre, apocryphal.
 The Book called The Lots of the Holy Apostles, apocryphal.
 The Book called The Praise of the Apostles, apocryphal.
 The Book called The Canons of the Apostles, apocryphal.
 The Letter of Jesus to King Abgar, apocryphal.
 The Letter of Abgar to Jesus, apocryphal.
 The Book called The Contradiction of Solomon, apocryphal. (Mansi. Coll. Conc. Tom. VIII.)

A minor list of apocryphal books appears in the works of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (†828).

- Psalms and Canticles of Solomon, 2,100 verses.
 Apocalypse of Peter, 300 verses.
 Epistle of Barnabas, 1,360 verses.
 Gospel according to the Hebrews, 2,200 verses.
 Henoch, 4,800 verses.
 The Patriarchs, 5,100 verses.
 The Prayer of Joseph, 1,100 verses.
 The Testament of Moses, 1,100 verses.
 The Assumption of Moses, 1,400 verses.
 Abraham, 300 verses.
 Eldad and Modad, 400 verses.
 Elias, the Prophet, 316 verses.
 Sophonias, the Prophet, 600 verses.
 Zachary, the father of John, 500 verses.
 Baruch, Habacuc, Ezechiel, and Daniel, Pseudepigrapha.
 The Itinerary of Peter, 2,750 verses.
 The Itinerary of John, 2,600 verses.
 The Itinerary of Thomas, 1,700 verses.
 The Gospel of Thomas, 1,300 verses.
 The Doctrine of the Apostles, 200 verses.
 The I. and II. Epistle of Clement, 2,600 verses.
 Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Pastor. of Hermas.—(Opusc. Hist. ed. Boor.)

A list of apocryphal books published from different manuscripts by Montfaucon, Cotelier, Hody and Pitra contains the following:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Adam. | Apocalypse of Ezra. |
| Henoch. | History of James. |
| Lamech. | Apocalypse of Peter. |
| Patriarchs | Voyage and Doctrine of the Apostles. |
| Prayer of Joseph. | |
| Eldad and Modad. | Epistle of Barnabas. |
| Testament of Moses. | Acts of Paul. |

Assumption of Moses.	Apocalypse of Paul.
Psalms of Solomon.	Doctrine of Clement.
Apocalypse of Elias.	Doctrine of Ignatius.
Vision of Elias.	Doctrine of Polycarp.
Vision of Isaias.	Gospel of Barnabas.
Apocalypse of Sophonias.	Gospel of Matthew.
Apocalypse of Zachary.	

(Pitra Jur. Eccles. Graec. Hist.)

It is not within the scope of our work to give an extended notice of all these apocryphal books. We shall only speak of those of greater importance in their bearing upon the Holy Scriptures, We shall first speak of those which the Church permitted to be printed outside the Canon in the Vulgate.

Outside the Canonical books in the edition, of the Vulgate, are found the third and fourth Books of Ezra, and the Prayer of Manasses.

The Third Book of Ezra, sometimes called "Ezra Græcus," is largely made up of passages taken literally from the canonical I. Ezra and II. Chronicles. It has only the third, fourth, and six first verses of the fifth chapter original. In many codices of the Greek text, it precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are comprised in one volume. It also occupies the same place in the old versions derived from the Septuagint.

Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Prosper have quoted the third and fourth chapters, but the quotations are scattering, and feeble in mode of enunciation. It gradually lost credit, till after the fifth century it disappears in the recorded use of Scripture in the Church.

The book was not absolutely rejected by the Church in the Council of Trent, and she permits its reading. There would be no difficulty in approving its portions wherein it accords with the aforesaid canonical books, but there are internal defects in its original chapters in point of doctrine, which will probably forever prevent it from entering upon the estate of canonical books.

Though less entitled to credit than the former, the **FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA** had more influence on early tradi-

tions. It was upon the data of this book that the role of Ezra as promulgator of the Canon was founded.

Up to the eighteenth century, the Greek text of the book was not known, and the Latin text alone was in the possession of the world.

Since then Whiston published a translation of the Arabic text (*Primitive Christianity Revived*, London, 1711); Ewald, in 1863, published the Arabic text; Lawrence, in 1820, published the Ethiopian text; Ceriani published, in 1860, a Latin translation of the Syriac text; and the Armenian Bibles of Venice, 1805, contain the Armenian translation.

These show that the Latin work has suffered mutilations and interpolations. The aforesaid versions do not contain the two first and two last chapters of the text as found in the Latin, and they insert a long passage between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses of the seventh chapter. It is evident from the context, and the references of the Fathers, that these versions are more in accord with the original.

The original book consisted of seven visions, in which the last judgment is said to impend, and men are exhorted to prepare for it. The original work seems to have been the work of a Jew, writing soon after the fall of Jerusalem. The first two chapters and also the last two are, doubtless, the interpolations of a Christian.

Aside from the influence that the book had on the traditional role of Ezra, the only certain evidence that the book was known to the Greek Fathers, is in *Strom.* III. 16, of Clement of Alexandria:

IV. Ezra. V. 35.

“And I said: ‘Why, O Lord? For what was I born? or why did not the womb of my mother become my tomb, that I might not see the affliction of Jacob and the travail of my people, Israel?’ ”

Clem. Strom. III. 16.

“ ‘Why was not the womb of my mother my tomb, that I might not see the affliction of Jacob, and the tribulation of Israel?’ saith Ezra, the Prophet. ”

Among the Latin Fathers, Ambrose often quotes it as Scripture.

The Latin Church also has incorporated certain passages from it into its Liturgy.

IV. Ezra II. 37.

“Commendatum donum accipite et jucundamini, gratias agentes ei, qui vos ad cœlestia regna vocavit.”

In the Sixth Responsorium in the Office of the Apostles, we find the following:

IV. Ezra II. 45.

“Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt, et immortalē sumpserunt, et confessi sunt nomen Dei; Modo coronantur, et accipiunt palmas.”

IV. Ezra II. 35.

“Parati estote ad præmia regni quia lux perpetua lucebit vobis per æternitatem temporis.”

Introit of Feria III. after Pentecost.

“Accipite jucunditatem gloriæ vestræ, alleluja; gratias agentes Deo, alleluja; qui vos ad cœlestia regna vocavit.”

“Isti sunt triumphatores et amici Dei, qui contemnentēs, jussa principum meruerunt præmia æterna: modo, coronantur et accipiunt palmam.”

Responsorium IV. of Paschal Office of Martyrs.

“Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis, Domine, et æternitas temporum.”

These extrinsic data for the approbation of the book, in nowise, effect an argument in its favor. It never entered into the sacred literature of the Church. I found only this one reference in Clement's works, and it is not strange that he should have given some notice to the book; for he browsed on every pasture where he could feed his hunger for knowledge. Ambrose is more pious than critical, and the visions of the pseudo Ezra pleased him.

The reception of a passage into Missal or Breviary adds but little to its historical claim to authenticity. Both Missal and Breviary could very profitably be revised again. Moreover, the passages quoted are in themselves true, and well expressed, and appropriate to the theme for which used.

Although the book is not absolutely condemned by the Church, it is certainly not of divine origin. In fact it is not free from doctrinal errors regarding the state of the souls after death, and contains many Rabbinic fables.

We know upon the authority of II. Chronicles XXXIII. 12, 18, that Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, when a captive in Babylon in punishment for his sins, was moved to penance, and prayed to God. But we have no means of knowing whether the prayer of Manasseh of the Latin Vulgate be that authentic prayer. There is very little in its favor; the work is unimportant, and it probably will always remain one of the unsettled points of history.

In editions of the Greek text of the Old Testament, we find the CLI. Psalm attributed to David. St. Athanasius (Epist. ad Marcell. 15) and Euthemius (In Ps. Proem.) regarded it as authentic. The import of the Psalm is to celebrate David's victory over Goliath. It was never received in the Latin version, but it has place in the Ethiopian, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic. It is not lacking in grace of thought and diction, but no good authority warrants its inspiration.

In some good codices of the Septuagint, Eighteen Psalms are found entitled *Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ Σαλομῶντος*. They were unknown in the West, till de la Cerda in 1626, published them from a Codex of Constantinople, which had been brought into Germany. The burden of the Psalms is the fallen estate of Israel, and the cry for the Messiah. It is evident that the original was Hebrew or Aramaic. As it is natural for parents to love their children, de la Cerda stoutly advocated the cause of his work, claiming that these Psalms were either of Solomon or some one who, with pious intent, wrote in Solomon's name. But the very nature of the argument precludes the authorship of Solomon. Under him Israel reached the zenith of her glory. They were probably written by some Jew, after Israel had begun to suffer the subjugation of foreign foes.

In the Alexandrian, Sinaitic, and other good codices, there is found a work which is known as the Third Book of Maccabees. It narrates a persecution of the Alexandrine Jews by Ptolemy IV., Philopator. Other history is silent concerning this persecution. The book is in no way connected with the Maccabees or their history, and seems to have acquired its name from its position immediately after the books of Mac-

cabees. The Eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles enumerates it among the canonical books, and it finds an occasional mention from some anonymous or obscure Greek writer, but it is but little known in the West, and never found its way into a Latin codex. Its apocryphal character is an assured fact.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is a sort of essay to prove that reason should rule the movements of the soul. It appeals to the history of Eleazar, and the seven martyr sons of the woman mentioned in II. Maccabees. It is evident from a marked similarity that the author used the Second Book of Maccabees in the construction of his work. Eusebius, Jerome, and Philostorgius attribute the work to Flavius Josephus. The book obtained some slight recognition from Gregory Nanz. and Ambrose. There is nothing either extrinsic or intrinsic to prove its divinity. In fact, it seems to favor the errors of the Stoics and other errors, and is placed as apocryphal by all.

We mention now in the second class, the apocryphal books to which allusions are said by some to be found in the New Testament. The most notable of these is the Book of Henoch.

In Gen. V. 24, it is said of Henoch that he walked with God. This expression was interpreted to mean not only that he led a godly life, but also that he had been vouchsafed the privilege of divine intercourse, and of receiving divine revelations. Jewish antiquity regarded him therefore as a prophet, equally familiar with heavenly things and the future fortunes of the human race. These views of his character gave occasion for attributing to Henoch the apocryphal writing which constitutes one of the principal monuments of the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism.

The Book of Henoch acquired much of its fame from a supposed reference made to it by Jude in his Epistle, V. 14: "Prophetavit autem et de his septimus ab Adam Henoch dicens: 'Ecce venit Dominus in sanctis millibus suis.'" The words of the Book of Henoch are: "Et ecce venit cum decem millibus sanctorum, ut iudicium exerceat de iis et disjiciat improbos," etc.

Moved especially by this passage of Jude, Tertullian was much inclined to receive the book. His words, however, show that he was conscious that tradition was not with him. The joint basis of Catholic faith in tradition does not consist of the stray voices of men, who, through the frailty of human reason, at times lapsed into unsupported vagaries. No man representing the Christian thought of the time ever said that the Book of Enoch was divine. Augustine and Jerome forcibly repudiate it.

It was conceded by those two Fathers and by many others that the Apostle Jude quoted this book in his Epistle. The Fathers argue that such use of the book did not necessarily canonize the book. Provided the apocryphal book did, in the referred passage, contain a real statement by Enoch, I am not disposed to either affirm or deny this position. But there is no sufficient evidence for the application of such theory to the matter in question. It is far more probable that both the reference of Jude and the apocryphal book are based upon some common traditional or documentary data, available in that early age, or perhaps the apocryphal book took its passage from the Epistle of Jude, since much moves us to ascribe to the book a later origin than the date of the Epistle. In fact the passage in the Ethiopian exemplar seems like an interpolation, being not in harmony with the context.

All things considered, we must conclude that the book is evidently a spurious product of unknown causes.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES according to Origen, Didymus, and Oecumenius is cited by St. Jude, I. 9. (Orig. De Prin. III. 2; Didym. et Oecum. in Epist. Jud.) It is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria and others. The original, which seems to have been Aramaic Hebrew, is lost, as also the Greek translation. All that is preserved to us is a fragment of the Latin translation, found by Ceriani in a palimpsest of the Ambrosian Library, and published by him in his *Monumenta Sacra* in 1861.

There is no foundation for the opinion that Jude cited this book. Certain data respecting the death of Moses

existed with the Jews, and these formed the common source from which both authors drew.

THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES is a small book first published by Tischendorf, in Greek, in 1866. The work is a Jewish romance of the fifth century. It is unimportant, and almost unknown to the older writers. Certain later Greek writers have tried to find in it one of the sources of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. V. 6; VI. 15). If there be any resemblance between the two documents, it must have resulted from the use which the author of the spurious document made of Paul's Epistle.

In 1819 Lawrence published the Ethiopian text of the ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. In 1828 Card. Mai discovered and published two fragments of an ancient Latin version of the same work. A third Latin fragment was brought out in 1878 by Gebhardt.

St. Jerome narrates (in Is. 64, 4) that some derived what Paul writes, I. Cor. II. 9, from this apocryphal book, while others derive them from the APOCALYPSE OF ELIAH. Origen conjectured that Math. XXVII. 9, was derived from an apocryphal book of Jeremiah. Both these works and these opinions are unimportant, and have no influence on Christian thought, and we turn to more important things.

Chief among the apocryphal books of the New Testament are the Letter of Abgar, King of Oshroene, to Jesus Christ, and Jesus' response. The two documents, as preserved for us by Eusebius, are as follows:

"COPY OF THE LETTER WRITTEN BY KING ABGARUS TO
JESUS, AND SENT TO HIM, AT JERUSALEM,
BY ANANIAS, THE COURIER.

"Abgarus, prince of Edessa, sends greeting to Jesus, the excellent Saviour, who has appeared in the borders of Jerusalem. I have heard the reports respecting thee and thy cures, as performed by thee without medicines and without the use of herbs. For as it is said, thou causest the blind to see again, the lame to walk, and thou cleansest the lepers, and thou castest out impure spirits and demons, and thou

healest those that are tormented by long disease, and thou raisest the dead. And hearing all these things of thee, I concluded in my mind one of two things: either that thou art God, and having descended from heaven, doest these things, or else doing them, thou are the Son of God. Therefore, now I have written and besought thee to visit me, and to heal the disease with which I am afflicted. I have, also, heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and are plotting to injure thee; I have, however, a very small but noble state, which is sufficient for us both."

THE ANSWER OF JESUS TO KING ABGARUS, BY THE
COURIER, ANANIAS.

'Blessed art thou, O Abgarus, who, without seeing, hast believed in me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me will not believe, that they who have not seen, may believe and live. But in regard to what thou hast written, that I should come to thee, it is necessary that I should fulfill all things here, for which I have been sent. And after this fulfilment, thus to be received again by Him that sent me. And after I have been received up, I will send to thee a certain one of my disciples, that he may heal thy affliction, and give life to thee and to those who are with thee.' "

The continuation of the account in Eusebius narrates that after the resurrection of Jesus, Thaddeus the Apostle, went to the king, healed him of his infirmity and converted his people. The celebrated historian of Armenia, Moses of Khorene, testifies to the substantial facts of Eusebius' account.

Several other accounts of the legend are in existence, some of them containing additional data. According to Moses of Khorene, the ambassador sent to Jesus by Abgar brought back a portrait of the Lord which was venerated at Edessa up to the fifth century. The Syriac account of the correspondence affirms that the answer of Jesus was not by writing, but by oral declaration delivered to the ambassador of the king. The whole legend appears in the celebrated Doctrine of Addai. It is, of course, legendary; a curious

monument of Oriental literature. It is, as we have seen, declared apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius, *De Recipiendis Libris* (Migne, Patrol. Lat. 59, 164).

St. Ephrem fully believed in the authenticity of the recital, and Baronius declared that the recital was worthy of a certain veneration, but a critical examination of the history reveals a certain element of the impossible and the incredible, which plainly stamps it as fiction.

Fabricus, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Tom. I. p. 843 et. seqq., exhibits three letters of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The first is addressed to St. Ignatius of Antioch, and is as follows:

“The letter of the Blessed Virgin Mary to St. Ignatius of Antioch.

“The humble handmaid of Jesus Christ salutes Ignatius, the beloved disciple. What things you have heard of John concerning Jesus, and believed, are true. Believe them; cleave to them, and firmly cling to the doctrine of Christianity, which thou hast received, and conform thy acts and thy life thereto. I shall come with John to visit thee and those that are with thee. Stand fast in faith, and work manfully. Let not the acerbity of persecution move thee, but let thy spirit wax strong, and exult in God, thy Saviour. Amen.”

The second is to the people of Messina, the text of which is as follows:

“The Virgin Mary, daughter of Joachim, the most humble handmaid of God, the mother of the crucified Jesus, of the tribe of Juda, of the line of David, sends greeting and the blessing of the Almighty God to all of Messina.

“It is attested by public document that ye in great faith sent to us messengers and legates, (vos omnes fide magna legatos et nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos misisse constat). Being taught the way of truth through the preaching of Paul, ye confess that our Son is the begotten of God, God and man, and that after his resurrection, he ascended into Heaven. Wherefore, we bless you and your city, and profess ourselves its perpetual protector.

“In the year of our Son forty-two, the Nones of July, the seventeenth moon, the fifth day of the week, at Jerusalem,
THE VIRGIN MARY.”

Any one that has ever read the Magnificat, or Mary's history in the Gospel, has no need of other proof than the mere reading to pronounce this a forgery. Critics wisely concur in placing these letters as supposititious, and assign to them a quite recent date.

In the Cathedral Church in Messina, there exists an exemplar of this letter, and on the fifth of June, the yearly commemoration of it is celebrated, called by the people “Festa della Sacra Lettera.” Rev. Father Inchofer published in 1631 an erudite defense of the authenticity of the letter. It is an evidence of the strange uses to which a man may devote talents of a high order.

A third letter of the Blessed Virgin is directed to the Florentines: “Florence, dear to the Lord Jesus Christ, my Son, and to me. Hold to the faith, be instant in prayer, be strong in patience, for by these will you obtain eternal salvation with God.” In some texts there is added: “and glory with men.”

This letter is of the same character as the former, and its origin is similar.

The same Fabricus and Sixtus of Sienna, have preserved for us six letters of the Apostle Paul to Seneca, and eight letters of Seneca to Paul. They at least have the credit of antiquity, since Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.*) and Augustine (*Epist. 54 ad Maced.*) praise them. The drift of the letters is moral, and they contain nothing contrary to doctrine, but, from internal evidence critics agree that they are supposititious. They contain nothing of Paul's vigor of thought. The opinion is well founded, however, that relations of esteem existed between Seneca and Paul, and some have held that there did exist some letters of their correspondence, of which these are forged imitations.

Liturgies exist of St. Peter, St. James, St. Matthew and St. Mark. That they are not of the authorship of these is

plain. It is probable, however, that they were written during the Apostolic epoch or soon after, but have suffered later interpolations and additions.

In the founts of tradition we find mention of the "Doctrine of the Apostles," "The Constitutions of the Apostles," "The Canons of the Apostles," and "The Two Ways or Judgment of Peter." These seem to be different forms of one composite work, composed of the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles. Concerning these, we find the following facts.

About 500 A. D., Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk of great learning, at the request of Stephen, Bishop of Salona, made a collection of Greek Canons, translating them into Latin. At the head of this collection he placed fifty canons, with this title, "Incipiunt Regulæ Ecclesiasticæ sanctorum Apostolorum, prolatae per Clementem Ecclesiæ Romanæ Pontificem." At the same time, however, Dionysius says in the preface to his work, "In principio itaque canones, qui dicuntur Apostolorum, de Græco transtulimus quibus quia plurimi consensum non præbuere facilem, hoc ipsum vestram nolimus ignorare sanctitatem, quamvis postea quædam constituta pontificum ex ipsis canonibus assumpta esse videantur."

These words obviously point to a difference of opinion prevailing in the Church, though it has been doubted by some whether the dissentients spoken of rejected the Canons altogether, or merely denied that they were the work of the Apostles. And with regard to the last clause, it is much disputed whether previous popes can be shown to have known and cited these Canons. Hefele denies that "Pontifices" means popes, and would understand it of bishops in their synodical constitutions.

About fifty years after the work of Dionysius, John of Antioch, otherwise called Johannes Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople, set forth a *σύνταγμα κανόνων*, which contained not fifty but eighty-five Canons of the Apostles. And in the year 692 these were expressly recognized in the decrees of the Quinisextine Council, not only as binding

Canons, but (it would seem) as of Apostolic origin. They are therefore in force in the Greek Church.

How it came to pass that Dionysius translated only fifty does not appear. Some writers have supposed that he rejected what was not to be reconciled with the Roman practice. But, as Hefele observes, this could hardly be his motive, inasmuch as he retains a canon as to the nullity of heretical baptism, which is at variance with the view of the Western Church. Hence it has been suggested that the MS. used by Dionysius was of a different class from that of John of Antioch (for they vary in some expressions, and have also a difference in the numbering of the Canons), and that it may have had only the fifty translated by the former. And an inference has also been drawn that the thirty-five later Canons are of a later date. Indeed, according to some, they are obviously of a different type, and were possibly added to the collection at the same time that the Canons were appended to the Constitution.

Both in the collection of John of Antioch, and in that of Dionysius they are alleged to have been drawn up by Clement from the directions of the Apostles. In several places the Apostles speak in the first person, and in the eighty-fifth canon Clement uses the first person singular of himself :

“For you, both clergy and laity, let these be, as books to be revered and held holy, in the Old Testament—five of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy—of Jesus the son of Nun, one; of Judges, one; Ruth, one; of Kings, four; of Paralipomena the book of days, two; of Esdras, two; of Esther, one; of Maccabees, three; of Job, one; of the Psalter, one; of Solomon, three—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs; of the Prophets thirteen; of Isaiah, one; of Jeremiah, one; of Ezekiel, one; of Daniel, one. Over and above is to be mentioned to you that your young men study the Wisdom of the Learned Sirach. But of ours, that is of the New Testament, let there be four gospels, Matthew’s, Mark’s, Luke’s, John’s; fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the regu-

lations addressed to you bishops through me, Clement, in eight books, which it is not right to publish before all, on account of the mysteries in them; and the Acts of us, the Apostles."

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS is often spoken of in early tradition. Its origin appears from the following data. Out of the Judaizing tendencies of the first century arose the sects of the Nazirites and the Ebionites. Both these sects strove to bring the rites of the Old Law into the Christian dispensation, and it is quite certain that the Ebionites rejected the divinity of Jesus Christ. Both sects used a Gospel in Hebrew, which each mutilated and adapted to their theories.

The existence of this Gospel of the Hebrews as a distinct work, differing from our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, is first put on record by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* II. 9; p. 453 Potter) and by Origen who makes several citations from it (*in Joann.* Tom. II. 6; *in Jerem.* XV. 4; *in Matt.* Tom. XV. 14). Hegesippus is also reported to have borrowed some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22). According to Origen (*Hom.* I. *in Luc.*) and Jerome (*in Matth. præf; c. Pelag.* III. 1.) it also bore among the Ebionites the title of *Gospel according to the Apostles*.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE LAODICEANS is mentioned in Muratori's fragment, and by Jerome and Theodoret. (Hier. *De Vir.* Ill. V.; Theod. *in Coll.* IV. 16.) Both these Fathers repudiate it. In the Codex of Fulda, the text of such a letter exists. From Colossians, IV. 16, it is highly probable that Paul wrote to the Church of Laodicea, but it is evident from an inspection of the text of Fulda that it is supposititious. The same judgment must be passed on the third letter to the Corinthians, which the Armenians retain in their bibles.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABUS, before mentioned, was in much favor in the early Church. Clement of Alexandria and Origen considered it authentic. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* III. 25,) places it among the spurious books. It is found in the Codex of Mt. Sinai. Some of those who have denied

the inspiration of the book have maintained that it was of Barnabas' authorship. But the internal evidence disproves its divinity and its authorship. The matter is trifling and excessively allegorical, ill fitting the "son of consolation," the co-laborer of Paul. The writer reveals complete ignorance of the Jewish Law and rites; whereas Barnabas was a Levite, who had lived long in Jerusalem. Moreover, the writer is opposed to the Jewish Law, even to deal with it unjustly. These reasons moved Hefele to reject the authorship of the Epistle, and we believe them conclusive. As to date, though we may not be certain, it is most probably a product of the first century.

In the latter half of the second century there was in circulation a book of visions and allegories, purporting to be written by one Hermas, and which was commonly known as *The Shepherd*. This book was treated with respect bordering on that paid to the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament, and it came into the public reading of different churches. A passage from it is quoted by Irenaeus (IV. 20, p. 253) with the words, "Well said the Scripture," a fact taken notice of by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 8). That Irenæus did not place the book on a level with the canonical Scriptures may be inferred from his having quoted it but once, not appealing to it in his discussion of Scripture testimonies in his third book. The mutilated commencement of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, opens in the middle of a quotation from *The Shepherd*, and about ten times elsewhere he cites the book, always with a complete acceptance of the reality and divine character of the revelations made to Hermas, but without any explanation of his opinion, who Hermas was or when he lived. In the next generation Origen, who frequently cites the book, says (*in Rom.* XVI. 14, Vol. IV. p. 683) that it seems to him very useful, and he gives it as his individual opinion that it was divinely inspired. He further makes a guess, which was repeated by others after him, but which appears to rest on no earlier authority, that it was written by the Hermas mentioned at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. His other quotations show that less favorable views of the

book were current in his time. His quotations from *The Shepherd* are carefully separated from those from the canonical books; he generally adds to a quotation from *The Shepherd* a saving clause, giving the reader permission to reject it; he speaks of it (*in Matt.* XIX. 7, Vol. III. p. 644) as a writing current in the Church, but not acknowledged by all, and (*De Princ.* IV. 11) as a book despised by some. Eusebius (II. 25), places the book among the *νόθα* with the Acts of Paul, Revelation of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, etc. Elsewhere (III. 3), while he is unable to place it among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* as being rejected by some, he says that it had been publicly used in churches, that some of the most eminent writers had employed it, and that it was judged by some most necessary for those who have particular need of elementary instruction in the faith. Athanasius, too (*Ep. Fest.* 39, Vol. I. pt. II. p. 963), classes *The Shepherd* with some of the canonical books of the Old Testament and with "the teaching of the Apostles," as not canonical, but useful to be employed in catechetical instruction. *The Shepherd* is found in the Sinaitic MS. following the Epistle of Barnabas, as an appendix to the books of the New Testament. After the fourth century the book rapidly passed out of ecclesiastical use in the East.

External evidence shows Rome to have been its place of composition. Foremost comes the writer of the MURATORIAN FRAGMENT on the Canon, who tells us that the book had been written during the episcopate of Pius, by Hermas, a brother of that bishop, in a period which the writer speaks of as within then living memory. He concludes that the book ought to be read, but not to be publicly used in the Church among the prophetic writings, the number of which was complete, nor among the apostolic.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LOST BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

It is the common opinion of theologians that an inspired book may perish, and that some *de facto* have perished. As authorities for this opinion we may cite Origen, Chryso-

stom, St. Thomas, Bellarmine, Serarius, Pineda, Bonfrere, and nearly all the later theologians.*

Salmeron strove to set aside this opinion by the following arguments: "The Providence of God, which gave a book to teach men, will preserve that book. Moreover, if the Church, even in its preparatory state in the Old Law, should allow a book to perish, which had been committed to her care, she would be unfaithful to her trust." In response we say first that two questions are confused here. It is one thing that a book divinely inspired, not yet canonized by the Church, should perish; another that a book delivered to the Church by canonization should perish. This latter fact has never happened. Franzelin, in response to Salmeron, argues that it is possible that even a canonical book should perish, for the reason that such book is not the sole or absolutely necessary means of teaching men the truth. The Church is only infallible and indefectible in furnishing an adequate means to impart truth to man, and her teaching power would not be hampered by the loss of a book, or portion thereof, of Holy Scripture. The argument of Salmeron that God, who gave the book, would preserve it is feeble, for the book may be superseded by another, or it may not be necessary for succeeding ages.

The common opinion is, therefore, that an inspired book may perish, and that some have perished. Many proverbs and canticles of Solomon and writings of prophets, spoken of in the Scriptures, have certainly perished, and some, at least, of these were inspired.

In the Old Testament we find mention of the following works: The Book of the Wars of the Lord (Num. XXI. 14); The Book of the Just (Jos. X. 13); The Book of the Words of the Days of Solomon (II. Sam. XI. 41); The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Juda (III. Kings, XIV. 19); The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Israel (III. Kings. XIV. 20); The Book of Samuel the

*Orig. in Cant. Prol. c. fin. (M. 13, 84); S. Chrys. in 1. Cor. hom. 7, 3 (M. 61, 58); S. Thom. Comm. in ep. S. Paul. ad 1 Cor. 5, 4 et Col. 4, 16; Bellarm. de verbo Dei IV. 4; Serar. Proleg. c. VIII. qu. 14, 15; Pineda. Salom. præv. I. 1; Bonfrer. Præloq. VI. 2, etc.

Prophet (I. Chron. XXIX. 29); The Words of Nathan, the Prophet (l. c.); The Book of Gad, the Prophet (l. c.); The Books of Ahiah (II. Chron. IX. 29); The Vision of Addo, the Prophet (l. c.); The Book of Semcia, the Prophet (II. Chron. XII. 15); The Book of Jehu, the Son of Hanan (II. Chron. XX. 34); The Discourse of Hosai (II. Chron. XXXIII. 19); The Deeds of Oziah by Isaiah (II. Chron. XXVI. 22); three thousand Parables of Solomon (III. Kings IV. 22); five thousand Canticles of Solomon (l. c.); the treatise of Solomon on Natural History (l. c.); certain writings of Jeremiah (II. Maccab. II. 1); The Book of the Days of John Hyrcanus (I. Maccab. XVI. 24); The Book of Jason, the Cyrenean (II. Maccab. II. 24).

We hold it undoubted that a person inspired, in one production, may write another without such influence of the Holy Spirit. We admit that some of the mentioned works were not inspired; but there are others whose titles clearly prove that they were inspired works, and we no longer possess them.

Of the New Testament, nearly all admit that one of Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (I. Cor. V. 9), and the Epistle to the Church of Laodicea (Coloss. IV. 16), have perished. Who will deny that in these Paul also was inspired?

Wherefore, we conclude that the opinion which maintains the possibility and the actuality of the loss of inspired writings, rests on convincing data.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

All the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, except some Chaldaic fragments of Ezra and Daniel, were written in Hebrew.*

Numerous appellations have, at different times, been given to the Hebrew language. In the Scriptures it is

*Of Daniel, the portion from the fourth verse of second chapter, to the twenty-eighth verse of seventh chapter, was written in Chaldaic. Of Ezra the portions from I. Ezra IV. 8, to VI. 18, and from the twelfth to the twenty-sixth verse of seventh chapter were written in Chaldaic.

nowhere called Hebrew. This term, as it is used in John V. 2, and in several other passages in the New Testament, does not refer to the Biblical Hebrew, but to the Syro-Chaldaic dialect prevalent in Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ. In II. Kings XVIII. 26. it is called the *language of the Jews*. In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament, the appellation—*holy tongue*—is first applied to it: but the name, by which it is usually distinguished, is *Hebrew*, as being the language of the Hebrew nation.

The period from the age of Moses to that of David has been considered the *golden* age of the Hebrew language, which declined in purity from that time to the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, having received several foreign words from the commercial and political intercourse of the Jews and Israelites with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This period has been termed the *silver* age of the Hebrew language. In the interval between the reign of Hezekiah and the Babylonian captivity, the purity of the language was neglected, and so many foreign words were introduced into it, that this period has, not inaptly, been designated its *iron* age. During the seventy year's captivity, though it does not appear that the Hebrews *entirely* lost their native tongue, yet it underwent so considerable a change from their adoption of the vernacular languages of the countries where they had resided, that afterwards, on their return from exile, they spoke a dialect of Chaldee mixed with Hebrew words. On this account it was, that, when the Hebrew Scriptures were read, it was found necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldæan language. When Ezra, the scribe, brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because *they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, AND GAVE THE SENSE, AND CAUSED THEM TO UNDERSTAND THE READING.* (Neh. VIII. 9.) Some time after the return from the great captivity, Hebrew ceased to be spoken altogether: though it continued to be cultivated and studied, by the priests and Levites, as a learned language that they might be

enabled to expound the law and the prophets to the people, who, it appears from the New Testament, were well acquainted with their general contents and tenor; this last-mentioned period has been called the *golden age* of the language. How long the Hebrew was retained, both in writing and conversation; or in writing, after it ceased to be the language of conversation, it is impossible to determine. At the time of Maccabees, Hebrew was probably understood, at least, as the language of books: perhaps, in some measure, also, among the better informed, as the language of conversation. But soon after this, the dominion of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, over the Jewish nation, uniting with the former influence of the Babylonian captivity in promoting the Aramæan dialect, appears to have destroyed the remains of proper Hebrew, as a living language, and to have universally substituted, in its stead, the Hebræo-Aramæan, as it was spoken, in the time of our Saviour. From the time when Hebrew ceased to be vernacular, down to the present day, a portion of this dialect has been preserved in the Old Testament. It has always been the subject of study among learned Jews. Before and at the time of Christ, there were flourishing Jewish academies at Jerusaem; especially under Hillel and Shammai. After Jerusalem was destroyed, schools were set up in various places, but particularly they flourished at Tiberias, until the death of R. Judah, surnamed *Hakkodesh* or *the Holy*, the author of the Mishna, about A. D. 230. Some of his pupils set up other schools in Babylonia, which became the rivals of these. The Babylonian academies flourished until near the tenth century. From the academies at Tiberias and in Babylonia, we have received the Targums, the Talmud, the Masora and the written vowels and accents of the Hebrew language. The Hebrew of the Talmud and of the Rabbis has a close affinity with the later Hebrew; especially the first and earliest part of it, the Mishna.

Previously to the building of Solomon's Temple, the Pentateuch was deposited by *the side of the Ark of the Covenant* (Deut. XXXI. 24--26.), to be consulted by the Israelites; and after the erection of that sacred edifice, it was deposited

in the treasury, together with all the succeeding productions of the inspired writers.* On the subsequent destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the autographs of the sacred books are supposed to have perished: but some learned men have conjectured that they were preserved, because it does not appear that Nebuchadnezzar evinced any particular enmity against the Jewish religion; and in the account of the sacred things carried to Babylon (II. Kings XXV., II. Chron. XXXVI., Jer. LII.), no mention is made of the sacred books. However this may be, it is a fact that copies of these autographs were carried to Babylon, for we find the prophet Daniel quoting the Law, (Dan. IX. 11. 13.) and also expressly mentioning the prophecies of Jeremiah (IX. 2.), which he could not have done if he had never seen them. We are further informed that, on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of Darius, the Jewish worship was fully re-established according *as it is written in the book of Moses* (Ezra VI. 18.); which would have been impracticable if the Jews had not had copies of the Law then among them. But what still more clearly proves that they must have had transcripts of their sacred writings during, as well as subsequent to, the Babylonian captivity, is the fact, that when the people requested Ezra to produce the law of Moses (Nehem. VIII. 1.), they did not entreat him to get it dictated *anew* to them; but that he would bring forth *the book of the Law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel*. Further, long before the time of Jesus Christ, another edition of the Pentateuch was in the hands of the Samaritans, which has been preserved to our time; and though it differs in some instances from the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch, yet upon the whole it accurately agrees with the Jewish copies. And in the year 286 or 285 before the Christian era, the Pentateuch was translated into the Greek language; and this version, whatever errors may now

*That the Law was placed by the side of the Ark of the Covenant, and not in it, rests on clear evidence. The Hebrew expression in Deut. XXXI. 26, is שְׂמַתֶּם אֹתוֹ מִצֵּד אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה "Ye shall place it (the Law) by the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord." This interpretation is supported by the Greek and Samaritan texts.

be detected in it, was so executed as to show that the text, from which it was made, agreed with the text which we now have.

As the Jews were dispersed through various countries, to whose inhabitants Greek was vernacular, they gradually acquired the knowledge of this language, and even cultivated Greek literature: it cannot therefore excite surprise that the Septuagint version should be so generally used as to cause the Hebrew original to be almost entirely neglected. Hence the Septuagint was read in the synagogues: it appears to have been exclusively followed by the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and it was most frequently, though not solely, consulted by Josephus, who was well acquainted with Hebrew.

In the second century, both Jews and Christians applied themselves sedulously to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides the Peshitto or Old Syriac version (if indeed this was not executed at the close of the first century), which was made from the Hebrew for the Syrian Christians, three Greek versions were undertaken and completed; one for the Jews by Aquila, an apostate from Christianity to Judaism, and two by Theodotion and Symmachus. The Hebrew text, as it existed in the East from the year 200 to the end of the fifth century, is presented to us by Origen in his Hexapla, by Jonathan in his Targum or Paraphrase on the Prophets, and by the Rabbis in the Gemaras or Commentaries on the Mishna or Traditionary Expositions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The variants are scarcely more numerous or more important than in the versions of the second century. But the discrepancies, which were observed in the Hebrew manuscripts in the second or at least in the third century, excited the attention of the Jews, who began to collate copies and to collect various readings; which, being distributed into several classes, appear in the Jerusalem Talmud about the year 280.

The state of the Hebrew text, in the west of Europe, during the fifth century, is exhibited to us in the Latin version made by Jerome from the original Hebrew, and in his commentaries on the Scriptures. From a careful examin-

ation of these two sources, several important facts have been collected, particularly that

(1.) The Old Testament contained the same books which are at present found in our copies.

(2.) The form of the Hebrew letters was the same which we now have, as is evident from Jerome's frequently taking notice of the similar letters, beth and caph, resh and daleth, mem and samech, etc.

(3.) The modern vowel-points, accents and other diacritic signs were utterly unknown to Jerome. Some words were of doubtful meaning to him because they were destitute of vowels.

(4.) The divisions of chapters and verses did not exist in any Hebrew MSS; but it seems that both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint Greek version were divided into larger sections, which differ from those in our copies, because Jerome, in his commentary on Amos VI. 9., says that what is the beginning of another chapter in the Hebrew is in the Septuagint the end of the preceding.

(5.) The Hebrew MS used by Jerome for the most part agrees with the Masoretic text, though there are a few unimportant various readings.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, and the consequent dispersion of the Jews into various countries of the Roman empire, some of those who were settled in the East applied themselves to the cultivation of literature, and opened various schools, in which they taught the Scriptures. One of the most distinguished of these academies was that established at Tiberias, in Palestine, which Jerome mentions as existing in the fifth century. The doctors of this school, early in the sixth century, agreed to revise the sacred text, and issue an accurate edition of it; for which purpose they collected all the scattered critical and grammatical observations they could obtain, which appeared likely to contribute towards fixing both the reading and interpretation of Scripture, into one book, which they called **מסורה** (*Masorah*), that is *tradition*, because it consisted of remarks which they had received from others. Some rabbinical authors pretend that, when God gave the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, he

taught him first its *true meaning*, and secondly its *true interpretation*; and that both these were handed down by oral tradition, from generation to generation, until at length they were committed to writing. The former of these, viz., the true reading, is the subject of the Masorah; the latter or true interpretation is that of the *Mishna* and *Gemara*, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter of the present volume.

The Masoretic notes and criticisms relate to the books, verses, words, letters, vowel points and accents. The *Masorites*, or Masorets, as the inventors of this system were called, were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses. They marked the number of all the verses of each book and section, and placed the amount at the end of each in numeral letters, or in some symbolical word formed out of them; and they also marked the middle verse of each book. Further, they noted the verses where something was supposed to be forgotten; the words they believed to be changed; the letters which they deemed to be superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; what letters are pronounced, and what are inverted, together with such as hang perpendicular, and they took the number of each, for the Jews cherish the sacred books with such reverence that they make a scruple of changing the situation of a letter which is evidently misplaced; supposing that some mystery has occasioned the alteration. They have likewise reckoned which is the middle of the Pentateuch, which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures.

Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. At first, it did not accompany the text; afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin. In order to bring it within the margin, it became necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridgement was called the *little Masora*, *Masora parva*; but.

being found too short, a more copious abridgment was inserted, which was distinguished by the appellation of the *great Masora*, *Masora magna*. The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and called the *final Masora*, *Masora finalis*.

The age when the Masorites lived has been much controverted. Some ascribe the Masoretic notes to Moses; others attribute them to Ezra, and the members of the great synagogue, and their successors after the restoration of the temple worship on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Ussher places the Masorites before the time of Jerome; Cappel, at the end of the fifth century; Marsh is of opinion that they cannot be dated higher than the fourth or fifth century; Walton, Basnage, Jahn, and others, refer them to the Rabbis of Tiberias in the sixth century, and suppose that they commenced the Masora, which was augmented and continued at different times, by various authors; so that it was not the work of one man, or of one age. In proof of this opinion, which we think the most probable, we may remark that the notes which relate to the variations in the pointing of particular words, must have been made *after* the introduction of the points, and consequently after the Talmud; other notes must have been made before the Talmud was finished, because it is from these notes that it speaks of the points *over* the letters, and of the variations in their size and position. Hence it is evident, that the *whole* was not the work of the Masorites of Tiberias; further, no good reason can be assigned to prove the Masora the work of Ezra, or his contemporaries.

On the whole, then, it appears that what is called the Masora is entitled to no greater reverence or attention than may be claimed by any other human compilation.

Concerning the *value* of the Masoretic system of notation the learned are greatly divided in opinion. Some have highly commended the undertaking, and have considered the work of the Masorites as a monument of stupendous labor, and unwearied assiduity, and as an admirable invention for delivering the sacred text from a multitude of equivocations and perplexities to which it was liable, and for putting a stop to the unbounded licentiousness and rash-

ness of transcribers and critics, who often made alterations in the text on their own private authority. Others, however, have altogether censured the design, suspecting that the Masorites corrupted the purity of the text by substituting, for the ancient and true reading of their forefathers, another reading, more favorable to their prejudices, and more opposite to Christianity, whose testimonies and proofs they were desirous of weakening as much as possible.

Without adopting either of these extremes, Marsh observes, that "the text itself, as regulated by the learned Jews of Tiberias, was probably the result of a collation of manuscripts. But as those Hebrew critics were cautious of *too many* corrections into the text, they noted in the margins of their manuscripts, or in their critical collections, such various readings, derived from other manuscripts, either by themselves or by their predecessors, as appeared to be worthy of attention. This is the *real* origin of those marginal or Masoretic readings which we find in many editions of the Hebrew Bible. But the propensity of the later Jews to seek mystical meanings in the plainest facts, gradually induced the belief that both textual and marginal readings proceeded from the sacred writers themselves; and that the latter were transmitted to posterity by *oral* tradition, as conveying some mysterious application of the *written* words. They were regarded therefore as materials, not of *criticism*, but of *interpretation*." The same critic elsewhere remarks, that notwithstanding all the care of the Masorites to preserve the sacred text without variations, "if their success has not been complete, either in *establishing* or *preserving* the Hebrew text, they have been guilty only of the fault which is common to every human effort."

In the period between the sixth and the tenth centuries, the Jews had two celebrated academies, one at Babylon in the East, and another at Tiberias in the West, where their literature was cultivated, and the Scriptures were very frequently transcribed. Hence arose two *recensions* or editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were collated in the eight or ninth century. The differences or various readings observed in them were noted, and have been transmitted to

our time under the appellation of the Oriental and Occidental, or Eastern and Western readings. They are variously computed at 210, 216 and 220, and are printed by Walton in the Appendix to his splendid edition of the Polyglot Bible. It is worthy of remark that not one of these various readings is found in the Septuagint: they do not relate to vowel points or accents, nor do any of them affect the sense. Our printed editions vary from the Eastern readings in fifty-five places.

Shortly after the invention of the art of printing, the Hebrew Scriptures were committed to the press; at first in detached portions, and afterwards the entire Bible. The principal editions are:

Psalterium Hebraicum, cum commentario KIMCHII. Anno 237 (1477). 4to.

The *first* printed Hebrew book. It is of extreme rarity.

Biblia Hebraica, cum punctis. Soncino, 1488, folio.

The first edition of the *entire Hebrew Bible* ever printed. It is at present of such extreme rarity that only nine or ten copies of it are known to be in existence. One of these is in the library of Exeter College, Oxford.

Biblia Hebraica, 8vo. Brixiaë, 1494.

This edition was conducted by GERSON, the son of Rabbi Moses. It is also of extreme rarity.

Another primary edition is the Biblia Hebraica Bombergiana II. folio, Venice, 1525, 1526, folio.

This was edited by Rabbi Jacob Ben CHAJIM.

Biblia Hebraica cum utraque Masora, Targum, necnon commentariis Rabbinorum, studio et cum præfatione R. Jacob F. Chajim, Venetiis, 1547-1549, 4 tomes in 2 vols. folio.

This is the second of Rabbi Jacob Ben Chajim's editions.

Biblia Hebræa, cum utraque Masora et Targum, item cum commentariis Rabbinorum, studio Johannis Buxtorffii, patris; adjecta est ejusdem Tiberias, sive commentarius Masoreticus. Basileæ, 1618, 1619, 1620, 4 tomes in 2 vols. folio.

This great work was executed at the expense of Louis Kœnig, an opulent bookseller at Basle. On account of the

additional matter which it contains, it is held in great esteem by Hebrew scholars, many of whom prefer it to the Hebrew Bibles printed by Bomberg.

Biblia Hebraica Magna Rabbinica. Amstelodami 1724-27, 4 vols. folio.

This is unquestionably the most copious and most valuable of all the Rabbinical Bibles, and was edited by Moses Ben Simeon, of Frankfort. It is founded upon the Bomberg editions, and contains not only their contents, but also those of Buxtorf, with additional remarks by the editor.

Biblia Hebraica, cum Latina Versione Sebastianæ MÜNSTERI. Basileæ, 1534, 1535. 2 vols. folio.

Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina Interpretatio, operâ olim Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis: nunc verò Benedicti Ariæ Montani, Hispalensis, Francisci Raphelengii, Alnetani, Guidonis et Nicolai Fabriciorum Boderianorum fratrum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Christ. Plantinus Antwerpiae excudebat, 1571. Folio.

This is the first edition executed by Plantin, and is reputed to be the most correct.

Biblia Sacra Hebræa correctæ, et collatæ cum antiquissimis exemplaribus manuscriptis et hactenus impressis. Amstelodami. Typis et sumtibus Josephi Athiæ. 1661, 1667, 8vo.

An extremely rare edition of a most beautifully executed Hebrew Bible. The impression of 1667 is said to be the most correct.

Biblia Hebraica, cum notis Hebraicis et Lemmatibus Latinis, ex recensione Dan. Ern. JABLONSKI, cum ejus Præfatione Latina. Berolini, 1699, large 8vo.

De Rossi considers this to be one of the most correct and important editions of the Hebrew Bible ever printed. It is extremely scarce.

Biblia Hebraica, edente Everardo VAN DER HOOHT. Amstelodami et Ultrajecti, 8vo. 2 vols. 1705.

A work of singular beauty and rarity. The Hebrew text is printed after Athias' second edition, with marginal notes pointing out the contents of each section. The characters,

especially the vowel points, are uncommonly clear and distinct. At the end, Van der Hooght has given the various lections occurring in the editions of Bomberg, Plantin, Athias and others.

Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis, et Versione Latina ad notas criticas facta. Accedunt Libri Græci, qui Deuterocanonici vocantur, in tres Classes distributi. Autore Carolo Francisco HOUBIGANT. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1753, 4 vols. folio.

This text of this edition is that of Van der Hooght, without points; and in the margin of the Pentateuch, Houbigant has added various readings from the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis Lectionibus. Edidit Benjaminus KENNICOTT, S. T. P. Oxonii, 1776, 1780, 2 vols. folio.

This splendid work was preceded by two dissertations on the state of the Hebrew text, published in 1753 and 1759, the object of which was to show the necessity of the same extensive collation of Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament as had already been undertaken for the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. The utility of the proposed collation being generally admitted, a very liberal subscription was made to defray the expense of the collation, amounting on the whole to nearly ten thousand pounds, and the name of his Majesty King George III. headed the list of subscribers. Various persons were employed both at home and abroad; but of the foreign literati, the principal was Professor Bruns, of the University of Helmstadt, who not only collated Hebrew manuscripts in Germany, but went for that purpose into Italy and Switzerland. The business of collation continued from 1760 to 1769, inclusive, during which period Kennicott published annually an account of the progress which was made. More than six hundred Hebrew manuscripts, and sixteen manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were discovered in different libraries in England and on the Continent, many of which were wholly collated, and others consulted in important passages. Several years necessarily elapsed, after the collations were finished, before the materials could be arranged and digested for publication.

The variations, contained in nearly *seven hundred* bundles of papers, being at length digested (including the collations made by Professor Bruns), and the whole, when put together, being corrected by the original collations, and then fairly transcribed into *thirty* folio volumes, the work was put to press in 1773. In 1776 the first volume of Kennicott's Hebrew Bible was delivered to the public, and in 1780 the second volume.

The text of Kennicott's edition was printed from that of Van der Hooght, with which the Hebrew manuscripts, by Kennicott's direction, were all collated. But, as variations in the points were disregarded in the collation, the points were not added in the text. The various readings, as in the critical editions of the Greek Testament, were printed at the bottom of the page, with references to the corresponding readings of the text. In the Pentateuch, the deviations of the Samaritan text were printed in a column parallel to the Hebrew; and the variations observable in the Samaritan manuscripts, which differ from each other as well as the Hebrew, are likewise noted, with references to the Samaritan *printed* text.

To Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, M. de Rossi published an important supplement at Parma (1784-1787), in four volumes 4to of *Varia Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*. This work and Kennicott's edition form one complete set of collations. Of the immense mass of various readings which the collations of Kennicott and M. de Rossi exhibit, multitudes are *insignificant*, consisting frequently of the omission or addition of a single letter in a word, as a vau, etc.

Closely allied in history with the Hebrew text is the Samaritan Codex.

When the ten tribes seceded from the central government under Rehoboam, and set up an independent government under Jeroboam at Samaria, they were always regarded by those who had remained faithful to Solomon's issue in the kingdom of Juda, as prevaricators. Many fierce and bloody wars were waged between the two kingdoms, till the Assyrians overthrew the kingdom of Israel, and took her sons captive (721 B. C.). To inhabit the land of Israel thus made

desolate, the Assyrian monarchs sent thither colonists from the provinces of Babylon, from Cutha, Ava, Hamath, Sepharvaim. The remnants of Jews that had been left in the land intermarried with these foreign colonists, and thus a mongrel race was formed that was termed Samaritans, from the name of the chief city of their land. Samaria, Heb. Shomeron, was thus called because it was built on a hill purchased from one Shomer. At first they brought with them their heterodox idolatry, which ignored Yahveh. It would be dangerous to allow such a people to entrench themselves so close to Judah, and carry on a false worship of the Assyrian gods, so Yahveh sent upon them lions to ravage their land, to show that they must recognize him. Moved by this scourge, Assarhaddon, [Assur-ah-iddin] the Assyrian monarch, sent to them one of Israel's priests, that had been taken captive, to teach them the religion of Yahveh. The polytheism of the Assyrians admitted of any number of gods, and it was thought by them that the punishment had come upon the colonists simply because they ignored the god of the land. That is, they believed that the land had a particular deity, who was to be united in worship to the other particular deities which they worshiped. The knowledge that the captive priest gave them of Yahveh did not, in effect, exclude the worship of their own deities. They recognized Yahveh only as a particular god of the land, and though they built temples to him, his worship was held in an inferior rank, for they chose as Yahveh's priests the lowest of the people. They neglected the supreme and exclusive character of Yahveh's worship, and must have considered such demands by Yahveh as a jealous exclusiveness, which they could not sanction. So that at the same time that they maintained a sort of worship of Yahveh every nation worshiped its own particular deity. For the men of Babylon made Succoth Benoth, and the Cuthites made Nerghal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the men of Ava made Nibhaz and Thartack, and they that were of Sepharvaim burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim (II. Kings XVII. 30, 31). Such was the origin and religion of the Samaritans. They have a copy of the Pentateuch, in

which the Hebrew words are inscribed in Samaritan characters. The date of this is uncertain, but it certainly must go back to the time of the captive priest, sent thither to instruct them. He could not well do this without a copy of the Law. It is not improbable that its date would go back even further, to the founding of the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam.

Although the Samaritan Pentateuch was known to and cited by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus of Tarsus, Jerome, Syncellus, and other ancient writers, yet it afterwards fell into oblivion for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence began to be questioned. Joseph Scaliger was the first who excited the attention of learned men to this valuable relic of antiquity; and M. Peirese procured a copy from Egypt, which, together with the ship that brought it, was unfortunately captured by pirates. More successful was Ussher, who procured six copies from the East; and from another copy, purchased by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy (then ambassador from France to Constantinople, and afterwards Archbishop of St. Maloes), Father Morinus printed the Samaritan Pentateuch, for the first time, in the Paris Polyglot. This was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglot by Walton, who corrected it from three manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Ussher.

The Samaritans refuse to marry into any other tribe of men, and they are now reduced to less than two hundred souls.

There are three scrolls preserved at Nabulus of the Samaritan Codex. One of these is regarded with great reverence and rarely shown to travellers. We were able to see it in 1905. It is kept behind a veil in a case of solid silver and has marks of great antiquity.

Of the Samaritan Pentateuch two versions are extant; one in the proper Samaritan dialect, which is usually termed the Samaritan Version, and another in Arabic.

We here reproduce on the following page a specimen of the Samaritan Codex, and its Samaritan translation from Walton's Polyglot. The passage is from Genesis, I. 1-14.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

IN Principio creavit
 us caelum & terram. T
 ra autem erat inanis
 vacua, & tenebrae erant
 super faciem abyssi: sicut
 tus quoque Dei (a) factus
 batur super aquas. Et
 dixitque Deus, fiat lux,
 facta est lux. Et vidit
 us lucem quod bona esset.
 Et separavit Deus in
 lucem & inter tenebras.
 Vocavitque Deus lucem
 diem, & tenebras vocavit
 noctem: Et factum est
 vespere, factumque
 mane, dies unus. Et dixit
 Deus, fiat firmamentum
 in medio aquarum: separet
 que aquas ab aquis.
 fecit Deus firmamentum
 separavitque aquas quae
 erant super firmamentum
 ab aquis quae erant
 super firmamentum: factum
 est ita. Vocavitque
 Deus firmamentum caelum:
 Et factum est vespere,
 factumque est mane,
 dies secundus. Et dixit
 Deus, congregentur
 aquae quae sub caelo sunt
 locum unum, & appareat
 arida: & factum est
 ita. Et vocavit Deus aridas
 terram, & congregationem
 aquarum, vocavit mare.
 dixitque Deus quod bonum
 esset. Et dixit Deus, germinet
 terra herbam viventem,
 facientem sibi semen,
 & arborem fructiferam,
 facientem sibi fructum
 secundum speciem suam,
 cuius semen sit ea
 super terram. & factum
 est ita. Produxitque
 terra herbam viventem
 facientem sibi semen
 secundum speciem suam,
 & arborum fructiferarum
 facientium sibi fructum
 secundum speciem suam:
 Et dixit Deus quod bonum
 esset. Et factum est
 vespere, factumque est
 mane, dies tertius.
 Et dixit Deus, fiat
 luminaria in firmamento
 caeli, ut luceant super
 terram, & separent diem
 a nocte: sintque in signum
 & tempora, & in dies,
 & annos.

VERSIO SAMARITANA.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Justin (martyr), Origen, Chrysostom, the pseudo Athanasius, Tertullian, Jerome and others accused the Jews of corrupting the Scriptures.*

Martianay, Nicolas of Lyra, Paul of Burgos, Salmeron, Melchior Canus, Morini, and others also have laid this accusation upon them.†

Jerome, in another place, stoutly defends the integrity of the Hebrew text. Augustine, Sixtus of Sienna, Bellarmine, Genebrard, Mariana, Richard Simon and others have also defended its integrity.‡

In studying the question, we are led to the following conclusions: 1.—They err greatly who believe that any extensive corruption was wrought into the Hebrew text in hatred of the Messiah. That such corruption could not have been wrought before the time of the Christ is self-evident. There was lacking the motive for such movement, and, moreover, had it been done in hatred of the Messiah, he would have charged them with this great crime. That such corruption were wrought after the advent of Christ is disproven first from the impossibility of the work. There were many codices scattered abroad through the world, several of which were in possession of those who would not conspire in such undertaking. No system would suffice to reach them all. And, moreover, some of the sublimest of the Messianic prophecies never arrive, in their translations, at the grandeur that they have in the original. We believe, also, that the Providence

*S. Justin. c. Tryph. 71, 72, etc. (M. 6, 644); S. Iren. c. hæ. III. 21; IV. 12 (M. 7, 946, 1004); Origen. Ep. ad Afric. 9; in Ierem. hom. 16. 10 (M. 12, 65 sqq.; 13, 449 sqq.); S. Chrys. in Matth. hom. 5. 2 (M. 57); Ps. Athan. Synops. S.S. 78 (in textu latino tantum; M. 28, 438); Tertull. de cultu fem. I. 3 (M. 1, 1308); S. Hier. in Gal. 3, 10 (M. 26, 357).

†Raym. Mart. Pug. fid. II. 3, 9 p. 277; Lyran. et Paulus Burg. in Os. 9; Salmer. Proleg. 4; Cani Loci theol. II. 13; Morin. Exercit. bibl. I. 1, 2 p. 7 sqq. eorum et aliorum multorum testimonia recitat.

‡S. Hier. in Is. 6, 9 (M. 24, 90); S. Aug. De Civ. D. XV. 13 (M. 41, 452). Bellarm. De verbo Dei II. 2; Sim. de Muis Triplex assertio pro veritate hebraica. Opp. II. p. 131 sqq.; Genebrard in Ps. 21, 10; Sixt. Sen. Biblioth. s. VIII. hæ. 13; Ioan. Mariana Pro Vulgata c. 7; Rich. Sim. Hist. crit. du V. T. III. 18; Marchini De divin. et canonic. libr. sacr. I. 6; Lamy Introd. in S. S. I. p. 83 sqq.; Reinke Beitrage VII. p. 292 sqq., etc. etc.

of God would not permit that code to be essentially corrupted in which he had first covenanted with the chosen people. But it is not our mind to deny that an occasional corruption has been wilfully fastened upon the Hebrew text. Hatred of the Messiah is bound up in the heart of the Jew. Now, as they were the chief custodians of the Hebrew text, it is quite probable that, wherever the reading or the sense was doubtful, they would incline to that reading or interpretation which was less favorable to the Messiah. Again, some certain texts may have been deliberately corrupted in some codices, whence the corruption spread, and gradually invaded them all. This we admit, but it is in so small a part that it does not rob the great text of its value.

The corruption of one passage, or the attempt to obscure the sense of a passage, would have sufficed to bring upon the Jews the accusations spoken of in the Fathers. Moreover, it is not clear that the Fathers charged them with changing the the Hebrew text, but rather with obscuring the sense, or that they rejected the Septuagint. Justin, it is true (l. c.), accuses them of deliberate mutilations, but an examination of the passages does not substantiate his charge. The rejection by the Jews of the deuterocanonical books might also have been taken by the Fathers as a corruption of Scripture.

We believe, therefore, that the way of truth lies in a middle course. We admit that some passages of the Hebrew text are corrupted, but we believe that in the main it is authentic, and of the greatest value for him who would arrive at the deeper sense of the message of the Old Law.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

We have before spoken of the evidence of the Providence of God in bringing about a state of peace in the civilized world, preceding the advent of Christ. It is also attributable to this benign Providence that one universal tongue was the medium of thought in this vast extent of the habitable globe. When, therefore, the Apostles entered upon the execution of the mandate of Christ to teach all nations, they adopted the

Greek language which was the great medium of thought among the nations.

After the Macedonians had subjugated the whole of Greece, and extended their dominion into Asia and Africa, the refined and elegant Attic began to decline; and all the dialects being by degrees mixed together, there arose a certain peculiar language, called the *Common*, and also the *Hellenic*; but more especially, since the empire of the Macedonians was the chief cause of its introduction into the general use from the time of Alexander onwards, it was called the (later) *Macedonic*. This dialect was composed from almost all the dialects of Greece, together with very many foreign words borrowed from the Persians, Syrians, Hebrews, and other nations who became connected with the Macedonian people after the age of Alexander. Now, of this Macedonian dialect, the dialect of Alexandria (which was the language of *all* the inhabitants of that city, as well of the learned as of the Jews,) was a degenerate progeny far more corrupt than the common Macedonian dialect. This last mentioned common dialect, being the current Greek spoken throughout Western Asia, was made use of by the writers of the Greek Testament.

“The *materials* on which writing has been impressed at different periods and stages of civilization are the following: Leaves, bark, especially of the lime (*liber*), linen, clay and pottery, wall-spaces, metals, lead, bronze, wood, waxen and other tablets, papyrus, skins, parchment and vellum, and from an early date amongst the Chinese, and in the West after the capture of Samarcand by the Arabs in A.D. 704, paper manufactured from fibrous substances. The most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament now existing are composed of vellum or parchment (*membrana*), the term vellum being strictly applied to the delicate skins of very young calves, and parchment to the integuments of sheep and goats, though the terms are as a rule employed convertibly. The word parchment seems to be a corruption of *charta pergamena*, a name first given to skins prepared by some improved process for Eumenes, king of Pergamum, about B. C. 150. In judging of the date of a manuscript on

skins, attention must be paid to the quality of the material, the oldest being almost invariably written on the thinnest and whitest vellum that could be procured; while manuscripts of later ages, being usually composed of parchment, are thick, discolored, and coarsely grained. Thus the Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century is made of the finest skins of antelopes, the leaves being so large, that a single animal would furnish only two (Tischendorf, Cod. Frid. August. Prol.) Paper made of cotton (*charta bombycina*, called also *charta Damascena* from its place of manufacture) may have been fabricated in the ninth or tenth century, and linen paper (*charta proper*) as early as 1242 A.D.; but they were seldom used for Biblical manuscripts sooner than the thirteenth, and had not entirely displaced parchment at the era of the invention of printing, about A.D. 1450.

“All manuscripts, the most ancient not excepted, have erasures and corrections; which, however, were not always effected so dexterously, but that the original writing may sometimes be seen. Where these alterations have been made by the copyist of the manuscript, (*a prima manu*, as it is termed,) they are preferable to those made by later hands, or *a secunda manu*. These erasures were sometimes made by drawing a line through the word, or what is tenfold worse, by the penknife. But, besides these modes of obliteration, the copyist frequently blotted out the old writing with a *sponge*, and wrote other words in lieu of it; nor was this practice confined to a single letter or word, as may be seen in the Codex Bezae. Authentic instances are on record in which whole books have been thus obliterated, and other writing has been substituted in place of the manuscript so blotted out; but where the writing was already faded through age, they preserved their transcriptions without further erasure.

“These manuscripts are termed *Codices Palimpsesti* or *Rescripti*. Before the invention of paper, the great scarcity of parchment in different places induced many persons to obliterate the works of ancient writers, in order to transcribe their own, or those of some other favorite author in their place; hence, doubtless, the works of many eminent

writers have perished, and particularly those of the greatest antiquity; for such as were comparatively recent were transcribed to satisfy the immediate demand, while those which were already dim with age were erased.

“In general, a Codex Rescriptus is easily known, as it rarely happens that the former writing is so completely erased, as not to exhibit some traces; in a few instances, *both* writings are legible. The indefatigable researches of Cardinal Angelo Mai (for some time the principal keeper of the Vatican Library at Rome) have discovered several valuable remains of biblical and classical literature in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.”

The Scriptures were not formerly as now divided into chapters and verses. The mode of designating particular passages was by specifying the theme. Thus Jesus Christ designates to the Sadducees the passage from Exodus treating of the resurrection of the dead, Mark XII. 26: “And as concerning the dead that they rise again, have you not read in the book of Moses, how *in the bush*, God spoke to him saying: ‘I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?’ ” This method presupposed those to whom the discourse was directed to be much versed in the Scriptures. The first attempt at fixed divisions of Scripture seems to have been made by Ammonius of Alexandria, the contemporary of Origen. The first attempts were rude and imperfect.

Ammonius (A. D. 220), selected as his standard the Gospel of Matthew, and arranged in parallel columns by its side passages from the other Gospels; thus of necessity dividing the text into sections which have been called the Ammonian sections. Eusebius was perhaps influenced by the labors of Ammonius in dividing the Gospel text into sections which have been called the Eusebian Canons.

In the thirteenth century Cardinal Hugh of S. Carus, the inventor of the Concordances of Scripture, is believed to have been the first to divide the Scriptures into chapters. Some, however, attribute this work to Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the same century. This mode of division passed from the Vulgate to the primal texts, and

later even the Hebrew text was thus divided. The subdivisions of the chapters were in this system marked by the letters of the alphabet. The distinction and enumeration of the verses is due to Robert Etienne, the celebrated printer of Paris, who first thus divided the Holy Scriptures in his edition of the Vulgate in 1548. This system was also soon applied to all the texts of Scripture. The division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses is the pure work of man, and subject to critical analysis, and may be altered if good data warrant a different division. In fact, in many cases it is expedient to change the divisions of Robert Etienne, as also the chapter divisions.

The Scriptures were also in the beginning written without any elements of punctuation or accentuation. By this mode of writing the page presented one compact mass of characters, and their division and construction into words were left to the reader's judgment. See plate on page 647.

This mode of writing remained in vogue till about the ninth century of the Christian Era. As by different groupings, and combinations of characters, different meanings resulted from the text this was a fertile cause of error, and many of the variantia are traceable to this cause.

A system of accentuation had been invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the second century before Christ, which was employed by the Greek grammarians in the works of profane argument. Its application to the Sacred Codices was rare. St. Epiphanius testifies that certain ones have thus written copies of the Alexandrine Codex of the Old Testament, but Tischendorf affirms that no Codex anterior to the eighth century is written with accents. It is only after the tenth century that accentuation becomes general. This was also a source of variantia, as the different positions of the accents oft induced a different meaning. In some of the old codices, as for instance the Codex Sinaiticus the spiritus lenis and gravis are indicated, but this is judged by Tischendorf to be the work of a later hand. More ancient than the use of either accents or signs of punctuation is the use of the lineola,—, to designate the abbreviation of certain words of more frequent occurrence. Thus: Θ̄C for Θεός, Κ̄C for κύριος,

ΠΙΝΑ for πνεῦμα. The iota subscript is never found in the old Codices of Holy Writ, hence another cause of error. How these different factors effected many divergencies in the Sacred text may be inferred from the following examples.

The group of letters αυτη became αὔτη or αὐτῆ or αὐτή; every one of different import by modifications which can only be based upon the fallible, varying, judgments of men. The opening verses of St. John's Gospel form a good specimen of the difference in interpretation which may result from different insertion of the sign of punctuation.

The Vulgate and its dependent versions insert the period after γέγονεν. "Without him was made nothing that was made. In him was life." etc. St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Athanasius, and others close the period after οὐδὲ ἐν; whence would result: "Without him was made nothing. What was made was life in him."

To remove this cause of error Origen in his Hexapla divided the text into στίχοι, and this mode of writing was termed στιχομετρία. In this stichometric arrangement of the text, every complete phrase occupied a separate line.

St. Jerome wrote in this manner his version of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. In the middle of the fifth century Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, employed this mode of writing in his successive editions of the Pauline Epistles, of the Catholic Epistles and the Acts, and of the Gospels. As this served well the convenience of the reader it became quite general in those early codices, although but few thus written are extant to-day. Principal among those that remain are the Codex Bezae of Cambridge (D) of the Gospels and Acts; the Codex of Clermont (D) of the Pauline Epistles; the Codex of St. Germain (E) of the Pauline Epistles; and the Codex Coislinianus (H) of the Pauline Epistles.

This mode of writing, though very convenient to the reader, required much material upon which to be written, as large portions of the superficies remained blank.

We reproduce on the following page a specimen of stichometry from the Codex of Beza; Math. XXIV; 51-XXV. 6, with English translation in same form of writing.

ΚΑΙ Ο ΒΥΓΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΟΜΟΙΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ· Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ
 ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΓΘΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΛΑΒΟΥΣΑΙ
 ΤΑΣ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΣ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ
 ΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΗΣΙΝ ΤΟ ΥΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΗΣ
 ΠΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΗΣΑΝ ΜΩΡΑΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΙ
 ΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΜΩΡΑΙ ΛΑΒΟΥΣΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ
 ΟΥΚ ΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΜΕΘΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΛΑΙΟΝ
 ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΙΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΙ ΔΕ ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΙ
 ΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΙΟΙΣ
 ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ
 ΧΡΟΝΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΥΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ
 ΕΝΥΣΤΑΖΑΝ ΠΑΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΘΕΥΔΟΝ
 ΜΕΧΡΙ ΔΕ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ· ΚΡΑΥΓΗ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ

AND GNASHING OF TEETH
 THEN SHALL THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN BE LIKENED UNTO
 TEN VIRGINS WHO TOOK
 THEIR LAMPS
 AND WENT FORTH TO MEET THE BRIDEGROOM
 AND BRIDE
 AND FIVE OF THEM WERE FOOLISH
 AND FIVE WERE WISE
 THEY THAT WERE FOOLISH TOOK THEIR LAMPS
 AND TOOK NO OIL WITH THEM IN THEIR VESSELS
 BUT THE WISE
 TOOK OIL IN THEIR VESSELS
 WITH THEIR LAMPS
 WHILE THE BRIDEGROOM TARRIED
 THEY ALL SLUMBERED AND SLEPT
 AND AT MIDNIGHT THERE WAS A CRY MADE

Hence, it was modified so that the *στίχοι* were separated by points. From the seventh century the custom began to prevail to indicate the greater or less textual division by different location of the point. The *κόμμα* or briefest division was indicated by locating the (.) punctum at the base of the line; the *κῶλον* (-) or middle division, by interposing it midway between the base and top; while the full period was terminated by the punctum (·) at the top of the line. Although this was the most ordinary mode in those times, sometimes the point at the base designated the full period, and vice versa. Our modern mode of punctuation did not come into use till after the invention of printing in the fifteenth century.

The autographs of the New Testament perished in the first centuries of the Christian era. There is almost a complete silence in tradition concerning any such original writings. Some adduce a passage from Tertullian to prove that the autographs were preserved in his day.

“Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsent, apud quas ipsæ Authenticæ Literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et representantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proximè est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longè es a Macedoniâ, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaees, habes Romam.” (*De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, c. 36.)

Attempts have been made, indeed, and that by very eminent writers, to reduce the term “*Authenticæ Literæ*” to mean nothing more than “genuine, unadulterated Epistles,” or even the authentic Greek as opposed to the Latin translation.

Others defend that he evidently speaks of the autographs. But the weight of evidence is clearly in favor of the former opinion. Tertullian was not ignorant that the sacred writers did not commit their thoughts to writing with their own hands; and, therefore, faithful copies of the original documents, if faithfully executed, would be as authentic as the

first documents. And for this cause also, greater care was not bestowed on the autographs, for the faithful copies were held in equal veneration.

The dissemination of the writings of the Apostles began immediately, by means of manuscript copies, and a great number of these was soon spread abroad through the churches. Owing to various causes, errors crept into the copied texts. Hence Origen complains: "Even now, through the inattention of certain transcribers, and the rash temerity of those who would amend the Scriptures, and the arbitrary additions and suppressions of others, a great diversity has come into our Scriptures." As time went on the evil grew. In fact, those early Christians, attending mainly to the sense, were not deterred by an excessive reverence from slight textual changes, which affected not the sense. By comparative criticism, many of these variants have been brought to light. The English critic Mill estimated that the discovered different readings of the New Testament in his day amounted to thirty thousand; they probably to-day are four times that number. But the great mass of these variants leave intact the substantial correctness of the sacred text, so that the remark of Bentley is just:

"The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any MS or edition, but is dispersed in them all. 'Tis competently exact indeed in the worst MS now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings.' Or again: 'Make your 30,000 [variations] as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same.'" Thus God's Providence preserved pure the substance of His written word.

Perhaps the gravest variants in the New Testament are in regard to Mark XVI. 9-16, and John VII. 53, VIII. 11.

Various causes have conspired to bring the various readings into the text of holy Scripture.

Sometimes spurious additions have been made in accordance with the copyist's dogmatic prepossession.

Passages are interpolated from one writer into another to bring the text into a fancied agreement.

Marginal notes have been incorporated into the text. The interpolation of the Lord's Prayer as found in King James' Version is an example of this.

Genuine clauses are lost by homœoteleuton (*ὁμοιοτέλετον*), when two clauses end in the same word or words. The transcriber's eye wanders from one clause to the other, and omits one, since its ending is identical with what immediately preceded.

Such minor changes as a change in the order of the words are often found.

One word is taken for another from the fact that it is similar, or one letter is mistaken for another, thereby changing the sense of words.

Sometimes the copyist has written at another's dictation, and has mistaken the other's pronunciation. This is rare in the better MSS.

Sometimes the copyists have changed the New Testament quotations from the Old Testament to bring them into closer conformity with the original.

Synonyms are sometimes employed.

Readings have been altered to avoid dogmatic difficulty: others have been omitted for the same reason.

The copyist may be tempted to forsake his proper function for that of a reviser, or critical collector. He may simply omit what he does not understand (e. g. τὸ μαρτύριον I. Tim. II. 6.), or may attempt to get over a difficulty by inversions and other changes. Thus the *μυστήριον* spoken of by St. Paul I. Cor. XV. 51, which rightly stands in the best codices πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάνες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα was easily varied into πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, as if in mere perplexity.

It is very possible that some scattered readings cannot be reduced to any of the above-named classes, but enough has been said to afford the student some general notion of the nature and extent of the subject.

As early as the third century attempts were made to restore the text to its original purity. It was thought that by critical collation of the best manuscripts and by selecting the best readings, a correct exemplar might be had as a fount for correct copies. Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, martyred under Diocletian, wrought a recension of the Greek text of both Testaments. The text was adopted in the churches of Egypt, and became the basis of the Alexandrine family of codices. About the same time, Lucian, a priest of Antioch, martyred in the same persecution, executed a recension of the text of both Testaments, which was received in all the Eastern churches, from Constantinople to Antioch. Of the nature of the labors of Hesychius and Lucian we can form no secure judgment. Jerome accuses them of adding to the Scriptures (*Ad. Dam. Præf. in Evang.*), and Gelasius, in the decree, "*De recip. et non recip. libris,*" rejects "the Gospels which Hesychius and Lucian falsified."

Hug believes that Origen made a recension of the New Testament, but proof is lacking to support the statement.

Though fragments of Greek Scriptures had been printed by Aldus Manutius at Venice in 1497 and again in 1504 the first complete New Testament printed in Greek was that of the complutensian Polyglot the munificent work of Ximenes (1437-1517) Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. The New Testament was published in 1514. The Old Testament was finished about six years later. The work is estimated to have cost £23,000. The protocanonical books are printed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, the deuterocanonical books and the New Testament in Greek and Latin.

While Ximenes was laboring on his great work, Erasmus, that scholarly vagabond, hastened an edition of the New Testament for John Froben a publisher of Basle. Froben's object was to forestall the Spanish work, and the character of Erasmus' work may be judged from his declaration that the volume "*precipitatum fuit verius quam editum.*" He

employed no valuable MSS, and sometimes translated portions from the Latin into Greek to supply lacunæ.

Thus in Acts ix. 5, 6, the words from *σκληρόν το πρὸς αὐτόν* are interpolated from the Vulgate, partly by the help of Acts xxvi.

The result is that the text of Erasmus' Greek Testament has no critical worth. And yet so strong is prejudice that this corrupt text was received by the protestants as the received text instead of the far better text of the Complutensian Polyglot. This fact is regretted by Mill who declares (Proleg. p. 111. Oxford 1707) that it would have been far better for all if the Complutensian were with some few corrections accepted as the received text. Delitzsch (Handschr. Funde I. p. 5.) also declares:

“Es wäre in der Glück gewesen, wenn nicht der erasmische Text, sondern der complutensische die Grundlage des spätern textus receptus geworden wäre.”

In 1518 appeared the *Græca Biblia* at Venice, from the celebrated press of Aldus, which professes to be grounded on a collation of the most ancient copies.

The editions of Robert Etienne, mainly by reason of their exquisite beauty, have exercised more influence than those of Erasmus; and Etienne's third or folio edition of 1550 is by many regarded as the received or standard text.

In the folio or third edition of 1550 the various readings of the Codices, obscurely referred to in the preface to that of 1546, are entered in the margin. This fine volume derives much importance from its being the earliest ever published with critical apparatus.

Robert Etienne in these editions first divided the New Testament into verses.

The brothers Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir set up a printing press at Leyden which maintained its reputation for elegance and correctness throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century.

Their undeservedly popular Greek New Testament of 1642 was considered the *received* text on the Continent. It is based on Erasmus' corrupt text. Robert Etienne also

took Erasmus' text for the standard. His edition was the *received* text in England.

In 1657 Brian Walton published his great Polyglot, in 6 vols. sometimes called the London Polyglot.

In the Old Testament it contains the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text, the Chaldean Paraphrase, the Septuagint, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Latin Vulgate. The fifth of his huge folios is devoted to the New Testament in six languages, viz. Etienne's Greek text of 1550, the Peshitto-Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Ethiopic, Arabic, and (in the Gospels only) the Persian. None of Walton's texts are of special critical worth.

It is evident from what has been written, that the Greek text has not been preserved to us in all its pristine integrity, as it came from the inspired writers' hands. But neither has corruption so invaded it that it should be considered an unreliable fount of Scripture. The Hebrew, Greek, and Vulgate Latin, remain three authentic founts. At times, one is more correct than another, and the collation of all three is useful to the understanding of any one. But it must always be considered that in far greater part the fulness and richness of the sense can only be received from a perusal of the original texts.

In the last century arose what may properly be called the science of TEXTUAL CRITICISM, which may be defined as A METHOD OF STUDY WHEREBY WE SEEK TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER, VALUE, AND MUTUAL RELATION OF THE AUTHORITIES UPON WHICH THE TEXT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IS BASED. The mode of procedure is to examine first the age of the documents, the circumstances of their origin, the causes that may have produced certain readings and the accord of one document with another.

Robert Etienne was the first to collect and collate MSS with the purpose of emending the N. T. Brian Walton (1600--61) in his great Polyglot employed the edition of N. T. prepared by Etienne in 1550, and added an *apparatus criticus* collected by Ussher. The first really great work of textual criticism is that of Dr. John Mill of Oxford which appeared in 1707. Mill labored through thirty years on his critical

edition of the New Testament, and died a fortnight after it appeared. Mill's contribution to the science of Biblical Criticism places him in the first rank.

Bentley (†1742) believing that the oldest MSS of the Greek original agreed almost exactly with Jerome's Latin version, contemplated a critical text wherein the Greek of the fourth century and Jerome's version should be critically compared. Bentley was diverted to other work, and died without accomplishing his Scriptural design.

Bengel (1687-1752) published a critical edition of the New Testament in 1734. He collated sixteen codices, but so negligently that most of them have needed examination from those who followed him. He deserves credit for having first contemplated the grouping of the codices into *families* or *recensions* a theory which was subsequently skilfully developed by Griesbach.

Bengel divided all codices into two families: the *Asiatic* written chiefly at Constantinople, which he inclined to disparage, and the *African*, fewer in number, but better in character.

The next step in advance was made by Wetstein (1693-1754) who published a critical edition of the New Testament with a Prolegomena prefixed. He was the first to cite the MSS under the notation by which they are generally known. The character of the man is revealed in his "Prolegomena." He was an assiduous student, audacious, rebellious, full of contempt and hate for others; a man tinged with Socinian errors, arrogantly intolerant of all men, while demanding full liberty of thought for himself. The product of his impetuous labors forms a chaos where men may find much that is good amid the mass of conjectures.

Matthæi (1744-1811) is more valuable as a collector than as a collator. While professor at Moscow he found many Greek MSS both patristic and Biblical brought thither from Mt. Athos. The manner in which he examined these has been severely criticised. The justice of the severity of the criticism which Matthæi encountered may be judged from the fact that he assigned to the Uncial Codex

50 of a Greek Lectionary a value above all the codices which were known in Europe in his day.

Hence it results that Matthæi's text, which of course he moulded on his own views, must be held in slight esteem: his services as a collator comprehend his whole claim (and that no trifling one) to our thankful regard. To him solely we are indebted for Evan. V. 237-259; Act. 98-107; Paul. 113-124; Apoc. 47-50; Evst. 47-57; Acts Apost. 13-20: nearly all at Moscow: the whole seventy, together with the citations of Scripture in thirty-four manuscripts of Chrysostom, being so fully and accurately collated, that the reader need not be at a loss whether any particular copy supports or opposes the reading in the common text.

Matthæi annexed the Latin Vulgate to his Greek text, as this was the only version which he valued.

Francis Karl Alter (1749-1804) a Jesuit, professor at Vienna published in 1786-87 a critical text of the New Testament. He accepted as his standard good MSS of the Imperial library at Vienna, (Evan. 218, Acts 65, Paul 57, Apoc. 83) and collated with these twenty-one other MSS of the same library together with readings from the Old Latin, Coptic, and Slavonic versions. The labors of Alter were of a very high order, but religious prejudice has prevented him from the recognition which is his due.

Birch, Moldenhawer, and Tychsel were sent into various countries in 1783-4 by Christian VII. of Denmark to examine MSS. Moldenhawer and Tychsel visited Spain, while Birch traveled in Germany. The first result of their combined labors was an edition of the Four Gospels published in 1788.

As much of this edition and the rest of the New Testament prepared by the collators were destroyed by fire in 1795. Birch later collected and published the fragments.

Moldenhawer and Tychsel were so filled with hatred of Spain and its religion and so puffed up by a vain arrogance that the "Prolegomena" contributed under the name of Moldenhawer are worthless. Birch was more temperate, but his examination of many authorities was superficial.

John James Griesbach (1745-1812) is the next name in the history of Biblical textual criticism. He was intensely

hated by Matthæi who declares that though he had never "*ut credibile est*," collated a MS even of the tenth century, he yet presumes to sit in judgment on those who have collated seventy.

Though Griesbach did some original collating of MSS, his great work was to select readings from the great mass collected by those who had gone before him.

He is famous for his theory of families or recensions of codices. At the outset he was disposed to group all extant materials in five or six families. He afterwards limited these to three, the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine. He assigned to the Alexandrian family the pre-eminence. Of course Griesbach's theory would simplify the science, for then one would not need examine the great mass of codices, but only some worthy representatives of the different families. But for the lack of evidence to support this theory it is now quite generally abandoned.

John Leonard Hug (1765-1846) merits a place among the Biblical textual critics on account of his *De Antiquitate Cod. Vat. Commentatio* published at Freiburg in 1810.

Hug was a Catholic, a professor of Scripture at Freiburg. He published in 1808 an *Einleitung in Die Schriften Des Neuen Testaments* which has great critical value.

It was Hug who first placed the date of origin of Codex B in the fourth century, a judgment which has been generally accepted, although Tischendorf declares that he holds it "non propter Hugium sed cum Hugio."

John Martin Augustine Scholz (†1852) was a pupil of Hug, and afterwards professor at Bonn. He was a Roman Catholic. The labors of Scholz in the cause of the Greek text of the New Testament were stupendous. The results of his great labors were embodied in an edition of the Greek New Testament.

This work, which forms two volumes in quarto, has been published at Leipsic. The first volume, containing the four Gospels, made its appearance in 1830, and the second, containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, in 1836. The prolegomena prefixed to the work consists of one hundred and

seventy-two pages. In it the learned editor gives ample information respecting the codices, versions, Fathers, and councils, which he used as authorities, together with a history of the text, and an exposition or defence of his peculiar system of classification of MSS. Scholz spent twelve years in preparing the materials for his work. He visited the libraries of the principal cities of Europe, and in addition to these, the libraries of the Greek monasteries of Jerusalem, of St. Saba, and the Isle of Patmos. He collated, either entirely or in part, six hundred and six manuscripts not previously collated by any editor of the New Testament. Scholz refers all the MSS to two recensions or families—the Alexandrian or African, and the Asiatic or Constantinopolitan—in other words, the Occidental (same as African), and Oriental.

In 1831 Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) published his *Novum Testamentum Græce* at Berlin. In this work Lachmann enters on a new road in textual criticism. His predecessors had taken as a *point de depart* the *textus receptus* of the Greek testament. Lachmann recognized the well-nigh critically worthless character of this text, and therefore directed his labors to restore the ancient text from MSS and the works of the Fathers. Lachmann founded his system upon the principles of St. Jerome and those of Richard Bentley, who acknowledged St. Jerome as a leader. In fact, Bentley had projected a work entitled “Proposals for Printing a New Edition of the Greek Testament and St. Hierom’s Latin Version.” The Anglican theologians opposed Bentley’s work on account of the just place it accorded St. Jerome, and this opposition prevented the execution of Bentley’s purpose. Lachmann entertained the same estimate of Jerome. He declares that the “excellent” and “very reasonable” principles of St. Jerome “should always be the rule which one should follow in determining the reading of the New Testament.”

In 1842 Lachmann published the first volume of his *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine* at Berlin: in 1850 the second volume appeared at Berlin. Lachmann’s *apparatus criticus* is unfortunately restricted.

The Vatican Codex, Codex of St. Ephrem, the Codex Claromontanus, the Amiatinus of the Vulgate, and of course the Sinaitic were not available to him. He had the true principles and the true temper of mind of a critic. His work is sound and just as far as it goes. He was the first to establish the principle that an array of codices is not an array of authority. He rejected en masse a great number of codices, and any unbiased competent judge who will examine these must admit that in this he has done the world a service. The Vulgate and the Fathers he rightly considers as primary authorities. He was a true scholar both in spirit and in execution.

He restored the Latin versions to their rightful place and established the principle that to ascertain a true reading one must consider, not the number of codices but the character of codices.

The next great name in the science of Biblical textual criticism is that of Tischendorf (1815-1874). This scholar declares that when he set out on his first literary journey he could not pay for his coat.

His first labors were editions of the New Testament, for booksellers, of no great value. He traveled extensively in the interest of scholarship. He visited Italy twice, England four times, and went four times into the East, where on Mt. Sinai he discovered the great Codex of which an account will be given later. In fact the fame of Tischendorf rests not so much on his critical editions of the New Testament, as on the uncial codices which he has published. His eighth and last edition of the Greek testament is the most complete edition existing. His death prevented him from adding the "Prolegomena" to this edition. Speaking of his predecessors Tischendorf declares that "instead of deriving a history of the text from documents, they had created a history of the text in their own minds." (Tischendorf N. T. Græce, ed. 7.) It is amazing what Tischendorf accomplished during thirty years of unremitting toil.

In 1843 was published the New Testament; in 1845 the Old Testament portion of "Codex Ephræmi Syri rescriptus" (Cod. C), 2 vols. 4to. in uncial type, with elaborate Prole-

gomena, notes, and facsimiles. In 1846 appeared "Monumenta sacra inedita," 4to, containing transcripts of Codd. F^aLNW^aYΘ^a of the Gospels, and B of the Apocalypse; the plan and apparatus of this volume and of nearly all that follow are the same as in the Codex Ephræmi. In 1846 he also published the Codex Frederic-Augustanus in lithographed facsimile throughout, containing the results of his first discovery at Mount Sinai: in 1847 the Evangelium Palatinum ineditum of the Old Latin; in 1850 and again in 1854 less splendid but good and useful editions of the Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate. His edition of Codex Claromontanus (D of St. Paul), 1852, was of precisely the same nature as his editions of Cod. Ephraemi, &c., but his book entitled "Anecdota sacra et profana," 1855 (second and enlarged edition in 1861), exhibits a more miscellaneous character, comprising (together with other matter) transcripts of O^a of the Gospels, M of St. Paul; a collation of Cod. 61 of the Acts *being the only cursive copy he seems to have examined*; notices and facsimiles of Codd. IΓΑ tisch. or Evan. 478 of the Gospels, and of the lectionaries tisch.^{ev} (Evst. 190) and tisch.^{6. f.} (Apost. 71). Next was commenced a new series of "Monumenta sacra inedita" (projected to consist of nine volumes), on the same plan as the book of 1846. Much of this series is devoted to codices of the Septuagint version, to which Tischendorf paid great attention, and whereof he published four editions (the latest in 1869) hardly worthy of him. Vol. I. (1855) contains transcripts of Codd. I, ven^{ev}. (Evst. 175); Vol. II. (1857) of Codd. N^bRΘ^a; Vol. III. (1860) of Codd. QW^c, all of the Gospels; Vol. IV. (1869) was given up to the Septuagint, as Vol. VII. would have been to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript of Chrysostom, of the sixth century; but Cod. P of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse comprises a portion of Vols. V. (1865) and of VI. (1869); while Vol. VIII. was to have been devoted to palimpsest fragments of both Testaments, such as we have described amongst the uncials: the Appendix or Vol. IX. (1870) contains Cod. E of the Acts, etc. An improved edition of his system of Gospel Harmony (Synopsis Evangelica, 1864) appeared in 1864, with some fresh

critical matter, a better one in 1871, and the fifth in 1884. His achievements in regard to Codd. \aleph and B we shall speak of in their proper places. He published his "Notitia Cod. Sinaitici" in 1860, his great edition of that manuscript in 1862, with full notes and Prolegomena; smaller editions of the New Testament only in 1863 and 1865; "an Appendix Codd. celeberrimorum Sinaitici, Vaticani, Alexandrini with facsimiles" in 1867. His marvellous yet unsatisfactory edition of Cod. Vaticanus, prepared under certain unavoidable disadvantages, appeared in 1867; its "Appendix" (including Cod. B of the Apocalypse) in 1869; his unhappy "Responsa ad calumnias Romanas" in 1870. To this long and varied catalogue must yet be added exact collations of Codd. EGHKMUX Gospels, EGHL Acts, FHL of St. Paul, all made for his editions of the New Testament.

He reduces all the codices to four great families. 1.--The Alexandrian, used by the Jewish Christians. 2.--The Latin family, used by the Latin race, who, in those days, used Greek in liturgy. 3.--The Asiatic family, used by the Greeks, both in Asia and their own country. 4.--The Byzantine family, used by the Churches of the Byzantine realm. He states that there is great affinity between the Alexandrian and Latin on one side, and between the Asiatic and Byzantine on the other. He cautions all not to put too much trust in the systems of recensions.

It is an evident fact that the Scriptural codices of the world bear such relation to one another that they have in them foundation for grouping them into certain families. The very mode of their origin demonstrates this. But the actual assigning of the codices to their different families, and the determining of the number of the recensions, is an extremely difficult work, one that has not been accomplished. Tischendorf groups the codices in two pairs of recensions: the Alexandrian and Latin forming one pair, and the Asiatic and Byzantine forming the other pair. But he wisely cautions that the theory of these recensions is but a theory, and that it would be rash to make it the supreme norm in criticism.

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813-1875) merits a place with the foremost critics. He traveled in Europe collecting materials for several years.

In 1857 appeared, for the use of subscribers only, the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, as the first part of his "Greek New Testament" (pp. 1-216); early in 1861 the second part, containing SS. Luke and John (pp. 217-488), with but a few pages of "Introductory Notice" in each. In that year, paralysis, *mercurialium pestis virorum*, for a while suspended Tregelles' too assiduous labors: but he recovered health sufficient to publish the Acts and Catholic Epistles in 1865, the Epistles of St. Paul down to Second Thess. in 1869. Early in 1870, while in the act of revising the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, he was visited by a second and very severe stroke of his fell disease. The remaining portion of the Pauline Epistles was sent out in 1870 as he had himself prepared it; the Apocalypse without the Prolegomena in 1872, as well as the state of Tregelles' papers would enable his friends S. J. B. Bloxside and B. W. Newton to perform their office. The stricken author could contribute nothing save a message to his subscribers, full of devout thankfulness and calm reliance on the Divine wisdom. The text of the Apocalypse differs from that which he arranged in 1844 in about 229 places.

Except Codd. OΞ, which were published in 1861 (see under those MSS), this critic has not edited in full the text of any document, but his renewed collations of manuscripts are very extensive: viz. Codd. EGHKMN^bRUXZΓΑ 1, 33, 69 of the Gospels; HL 13, 31, 61 of the Acts; DFL 1, 17, 37 of St. Paul, 1, 14 of the Apocalypse, *Am.* of the Vulgate.

Tregelles is a most accurate collator; he followed the excellent principles of Lachmann, and his opinions are sound and useful. He gave no importance to the received text, neither to the great mass of the cursive MSS. He acted on the principle that only the ancient authorities have a voice in determining the text. In 1879 Dr. Hort published an appendix to Tregelles' New Testament in which he collected the Prolegomena left by Tregelles.

In 1881 Westcott and Hort published "The New Testament in the original Greek" at Cambridge and London. In the same year Hort published an "Introduction" and "Appendix" to the same. The Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort was the result of twenty-five years' labor. They depart more from the *textus receptus* than any previous editor had done, and the best authority is adduced to justify most of their different readings. As they had the labors of all those who preceded to draw from, their Testament is the most correct Greek Testament yet published. The excellence of the Revised Edition of Oxford is due to the fact that the revisers followed the same principles.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE UNCIAL CODICES.

Greek characters naturally divide themselves into "majuscules" and "minuscules." The former class is subdivided into capitals proper, square in form, suited for lapidary inscriptions; and modified capitals somewhat rounded which we call uncials. The minuscules are employed in the cursive MSS. The term "uncial" may be derived from *uncia* an inch referring to the size of the letter. In uncial MSS the letters are not joined, and marks of punctuation are very few. In general no greater space separates word from word than separates letter from letter. Uncial letters prevailed up to the tenth century, and some specimens are found in liturgical books in the eleventh century. The cursive mode of writing began in the ninth century, and continued until the invention of printing.

It is conventional among scholars to designate the uncial codices of Scripture by the Roman and Greek capital letters. One is designated by the Hebrew. The cursives are generally designated by Arabic numbers.

According to Scholz's enumeration, the whole number of codices of the New Testament, which had been wholly or partially collated up to his time, amounted to six hundred and seventy-four. The whole number known up to the present day would exceed two thousand. Many have not

yet been examined. Only a small number of these contain all the books. Some exist only in scattered fragments; others contain some particular book, or class of books. About one hundred are written in uncial characters, and are older than the tenth century. Of these, only the Codex of Sinai contains the complete New Testament. The others are written in small letters, and are of date more recent than the tenth century. About three hundred of these contain all the books. The uncial codices receive their name either from the place where they are preserved, or from the person to whom they have belonged. In classifying the codices of the New Testament the Testament is divided into the Gospels, The Acts, The Pauline Epistles, The Catholic Epistles, and The Apocalypse. Some codices originally contained the whole Bible, some the whole New Testament, others some section or sections of the New Testament. Thus Codex D of the Gospels and Acts is Beza's Codex in the University Library of Cambridge; Codex D of the Pauline Epistles is the Codex Claromontanus 107 of the Royal library of Paris.

In the collation of MSS the editors have indicated the various corrections which have been written in the codex by later hands. A correction by the original copyist is called the reading *prima manu*. The corrections are sometimes indicated by asterisks thus C* would be the Codex of St. Ephrem as corrected by the first hand; C** as corrected by the second corrector; a third corrector is indicated by three asterisks. Other collators use the Arabic numbers in the same manner: Tischendorf sometimes uses the small capital letters as exponents.

Codex Vaticanus B is perhaps the oldest and certainly the most valuable codex of Scripture, Its early history is not known. It seems to have been brought into the Vatican library by Pope Nicholas V. in the fifteenth century. It was taken to Paris by Napoleon I., where it was partially examined by Hug. It was afterwards restored to the Vatican where it has since been jealously preserved.

It is a quarto volume, arranged in quires of five sheets of ten leaves each, like Codex Marchalianus of the Prophets written in the sixth or seventh century and Cod. Rossan-

ensis of the Gospels to be described hereafter, not of four or three sheets as Cod. **8**, the ancient, perhaps the original numbering of the quires being often found in the margin. The New Testament fills 142 out of its 759 thin and delicate vellum leaves, said to be made of the skins of antelopes: it is bound in red morocco, being ten and one-half inches high, ten broad, four and one-half thick. It once contained the whole Bible in Greek, the Old Testament of the Septuagint version (a tolerably fair representation of which was exhibited in the Roman edition as early as 1587), except the books of the Maccabees and the Prayer of Manasses. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis (the manuscript begins at *πολι*, Gen. XLVI. 28) and Psalms CV—CXXXVII, also the books of the Maccabees, are wanting. The New Testament is complete down to Heb. IX. 14 *καθα*: the rest of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, being written in by a later hand.

In 1533 Sepulveda writing to Erasmus declared of the Codex Vaticanus that it is most carefully written and agrees in great part with the Latin Vulgate against the received Greek text, and to support his statements he furnished Erasmus with 365 readings. In 1669 Bartolucci the Librarian of the Vatican made a collation of the MSS, but it was never published. Scholz and Tischendorf have used his collation. Bentley made an imperfect collation of it through Mico. Birch examined it superficially about 1780. Hug examined it in 1810 and published the result of his incomplete examination under the title, "De Antiquitate Cod. Vat. Commentatio." He was the first to assign its date as the fourth century, a judgment generally accepted. In 1843 Tischendorf obtained the privilege of examining it for two days, three hours each day. In 1844 Edward de Muralt examined the Codex Vat. nine hours a day for three days. He published the result of his labors in an edition of the New Testament in 1846. Tregelles saw the MS in 1845, but was not allowed to transcribe any of its readings.

The care which the Vatican authorities bestowed on this great codex is just and reasonable. It is one of the greatest treasures on earth. To men having any just right to see it,

the Vatican authorities accorded every just and reasonable right. One of the tendencies of protestantism was to depreciate the Latin text, and extol the Greek text; and precisely the so-called *textus receptus* which has been proven to be of little worth. They were anxious to be the first to collate the greatest Greek codex, and as this was not granted them, they manifest their spleen. The Vatican authorities contemplated publishing this codex in a worthy manner; and they have accomplished this through the great Cardinal Mai, and Charles Vercellone. This edition appeared in 1857 three years after Cardinal Mai's death. It is in five volumes; the fifth contains a preface by Vercellone. Even the great fame of Mai did not save him from the calumny of those who have always invoked the aid of falsehood in attacking the Catholic Church. While no human work is absolutely perfect, the true estimate of Cardinal Mai's work will place it above any other codex of Scripture thus far collated. This is to be expected. The great learning and sound judgment of the man, the unlimited resources at his command, the length of time expended, from 1823 to 1854, all persuade of the excellence of the work. It is urged against him that he has taken certain liberties with the codex. One can judge of the animus of such an objection, when we find the great critic blamed for *having supplied from other sources portions omitted in the Vatican manuscript, although the fact is duly notified*. Again he is blamed for having selected what in his judgment was the more probable of the readings of the first and second hands.

The Pharisees who impugned the known truth find real successors in these envious hypocrites whose name is legion.

In 1867 Tischendorf published an edition of the Vatican Codex under the title: "Novum Test. Vat. post Angeli Mai aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit Ae. F. C. Tischendorf." In his *Prolegomena*, p 143 he confesses that he had the Codex on two occasions for six hours in his hands. It is clear that such rapid collation could be of but little avail. The fact is that Tischendorf has employed the labors of others, and claimed them for himself. He was most intolerant of all rivals, and unfair in his judg-

ment concerning them. And yet Tischendorf's edition is by Scrivener preferred to the great work of Mai.

Another great edition of the Vatican Codex has been published by Vercellone and Cozza. The first volume containing the New Testament appeared in 1868. Vercellone died in 1869. The work was carried on by Cozza and Sergius and completed in 1881. Another splendid edition appeared in 1889-1890 under the care of the Abbot Cozza-Luzi in which the original text is reproduced by photography. The envious Tischendorf continued to calumniate the labors of these great scholars in terms so injurious and false that even Scrivener cannot praise his pamphlet. On the contrary when Tischendorf published the Sinaitic Codex Fabian who had taken Sergius' place in editing Codex B, hails Tischendorf's discovery with unfeigned absence of all jealousy, "*Quorum tale est demum par, ut potius liber Vaticanus gaudere debeat quod tam sui similem invenerit fratrem quam expavescere quod æmulum*" (Præf. p. VIII.).

All men must feel grateful to the Vatican authorities for giving to the world such editions of the greatest Codex of Scripture. A specimen page of the Vat. Codex is shown on page 668.

The second in importance of the great Codices is undoubtedly the Codex Sinaiticus **Σ** of Tischendorf.

The history of this great Codex is related by its discoverer in his preface to his great edition of 1863:.

"Through the particular favor of Frederic Augustus, the excellent King of Saxony, I spent most of the year of 1844 in exploring the countries of the Orient; chiefly those in which the old monasteries exist.

It is well known that this Oriental journey has become famous through some Greek fragments of the Old Testament which I sent to my native country, dedicated to my royal and noble patron as a pledge of love and fidelity. They were deposited in the library of Leipzig, and shortly afterwards published.

I discovered these fragments of a very old Codex of the Septuagint in the month of May, 1844. While investigating old books in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, I

+ Κατὰ Γωγγύων +

+ + + 1399



ἩΝ ΑΡΧΗ Ἡ ΝΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΛΟΓΟΣ Ἡ ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝ ἩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ἘΣ Ἡ ΝΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΥΤΟ
 Ἡ ΝΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝ ἩΝ
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕ
 ΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΓΕ
 ΝΕ ΤΟ ΟΥΔΕ ἘΝ ΟΓΕΓΟΝ
 ἘΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΖΩΗ Ἡ ΚΑΙ Ἡ
 ΖΩΗ ἩΝ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ
 ΦΩΣ ἘΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΤΗΣ ΑΙ
 ΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΚΟΙΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΟΥΚ ΑΤΕΛΑ ΔΕ ΔΕ ΕΓΕΝΕ
 ΤΟ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΑΠΕΣΤΑ
 ΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΘΥΟΝΟΜΑ
 ΑΥΤΩΙ ΨΑΛΗΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ
 ΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΝ
 ἵΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣ Ἡ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ
 ΦΩΤΟΣ ἵΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΙ
 ΣΤΕΥΣΩΣΙΝ ΔΙΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΟΥΚ ἩΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΦΩ
 ΑΛΛ ἵΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣ Ἡ ΠΕ
 ΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ἩΝ ΤΟ Φ
 ΤΟ ΑΛΛ ἘΣΙΝ Ὁ ΝΟ ΦΩΤΙ
 ΖΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ
 ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ Κ
 ΣΜΟΝ ἘΝ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ἩΝ
 ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΔΙΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΕΓΕΝΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 ΔΥΤΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΓΝΩΕΙΣ
 ΤΑ ἵΔΙΑ ἩΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ἵΜ
 ΟΙ ΔΥΤΟΝ ΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟ
 ΟΣ ΟΙ ΔΕ ἘΛΑΒΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΟΕΣΟΥ
 ΣΙΑΝ ΤΕ ΚΝΑΘΥ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ
 ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΤΟ ὌΝΟΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ὁ ἸΟΥ
 ΚΕΣ ΔΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕ ἘΚ
 ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ

Γωγγύων

chanced upon a basket, containing remnants of various torn and destroyed codices. Many of these fragments had already found their way to the fireplace. As these fragments were considered worthless and were about to be destroyed, I easily obtained possession of them. I was refused, however, other larger parts of the same Codex, which were rescued from the same neglect, and in which the whole of Isaiah and the Books of the Maccabees were written. I exhorted that these portions should be preserved with greater care, hoping to afterwards agree upon the terms of their surrender to me.

Being disappointed, contrary to my expectation, in such negotiation, I determined, in my second journey to the East in 1853, to accurately transcribe all that remained of the aforesaid Codex for a future edition.

But when I visited Sinai's Mount and St. Catherine's Monastery the second time, I neither saw the treasure which I sought nor learned whither it had gone. I concluded from this that it had been carried to Europe, and that there was no hope left of my possessing it. In 1855 when I published the first volume of my *Monumenta Sacra*, I edited therewith the last page of the text of Isaiah (which I had already transcribed in 1844), and I made known that this Codex Frederico-Augustanus, and also the remaining fragments of the same ancient book, wheresoever found, had been saved by me from destruction.

Having maturely thought of the project, toward the close of 1856, with the consent of Paul of Falkenstein, one of the chief ministers of the King of Saxony, I delivered letters to the Russian Legate at Dresden, asking for the authority of the Emperor Alexander II. to set out for the East to investigate and acquire possession of old codices, both Greek and Oriental, chiefly those of the Sacred Books. . . . The most renowned Emperor, a man indeed upright and good, in the middle of September 1858, bade me execute my proposal.

But at this time my seventh edition of the New Testament claimed my attention. This edition was finished at the close of 1858, and in the beginning of 1859, I started on

my journey to the East. I made my third visit to the monastery of St. Catherine on the last day of January, and was most kindly welcomed by the brothers.

The venerable bishop expressed a wish that by my studies, I might find new proofs for the divine truths.

I had already sent one of the servants to procure camels, intending to set out for Egypt on the 7th of February, when, on the 4th of the same month, I was walking with the econome of the monastery, and conversing of the Septuagint. I had brought to the monks several copies of my edition of this, and some copies of my New Testament.

On returning from the walk, we entered the econome's room. Thereupon he said he had a copy of the Septuagint, and he placed it before me, wrapped in a cloth. I opened the cloth and saw something beyond my hopes. For there before me, I saw very numerous fragments of the Codex which I had long declared to be the most ancient of the Greek codices extant in parchment. Among these fragments I perceived, still in preservation, not only many books of the Old Testament (including those taken from the waste basket in 1844), but also, which was by far the most valuable, the whole New Testament in perfect condition, and augmented by the entire Epistle of Barnabas, to which was added the first part of Pastor. I could not disguise the astonishment wrought by such a discovery. With the consent of the steward, I transferred to my room the book, or rather the fragments of the book; for each leaf was rent into many parts and was covered only by the cloth. The steward himself had taken the fragments from the cell of the *σκευοφύλαξ*, which contained written and printed books, the greater part liturgical with varied *liturgical apparatus*. He had collected all the extant fragments of the Codex shortly after my first Eastern journey. I took them all to my room and then I fully realized how great a treasure I held in my hands, and I praised and thanked God, the author of so great a benefit to the Church, to letters, and to myself. I spent the first night in transcribing the Epistle of Barnabas, for to sleep at such a time seemed unlawful, "quippe dormire nefas videbatur." The day following I arranged with the

monks, that if the superiors at Cairo should so order, they should send the Codex thither to me to be transcribed. Setting out on the appointed day with the kind letters of the monk Cyril, the learned librarian of the monastery, we reached Cairo the thirteenth day of February, where, through the favor of Agathangelus, the venerable prior of the cloister, the enterprise so prospered, that, a thing seemingly incredible, a messenger traversed the deserts of Arabia and Egypt twice, within nine days, and I received from the hands of the Superiors the ancient parchments, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month. As had been agreed upon, the transcription of the whole Codex was undertaken without delay, and with the help of two natives, one a doctor of medicine, the other a pharmacist, it was finished within two months.

Although I revised, letter by letter the work of my associates, and also that which I transcribed with my own hand, I plainly perceived that the method of the *old correctors* was greatly defective, and that the Codex needed a revision, in order that I might confidently undertake an accurate edition of it.

In the meantime, I proposed to the venerable brethren of Sinai that they should send the Codex through me, as a pledge of their special affection to Alexander II., the ornament and defender of the orthodox faith. They heartily approved of my proposition.

But now Constantius, the Archbishop, who had formerly been patriarch, died. The administrator of the college in the interim, an eminent man, had, by unanimous vote, been chosen to succeed the deceased prelate, but had not yet been consecrated. At this juncture a certain one, who arrogated to himself authority, opposed me, but the venerable college conceded what I greatly urged, that I might bring the Codex to St. Petersburg to prepare from it a correct edition. It was only loaned me for a time, till the Archbishop should ratify in the name of the college its perpetual transfer. On this condition the Codex was delivered to me at Cairo, on the 28th of September, 1859."

Tischendorf arrived in St. Petersburg in November, where he was received with great respect by the Emperor. The Codex was exposed to public view in the Imperial library for two weeks. By the aid of the Emperor, type was cast by which the great Codex was faithfully reproduced. The labor expended on this edition can scarcely be realized. In 1861 the great work was accomplished, and on the 11th of September of that year the splendid edition was presented to the Emperor. In 1863, Tischendorf published an edition of the New Testament for popular use, in which he has reproduced the exact form of the original Codex in modern Greek characters.

The Codex Sinaiticus, as we learn from Tischendorf's *Notitia*, consists of 345½ leaves of beautiful vellum, of which 199 contain portions of the Septuagint version. 147½ leaves contain the whole New Testament, Barnabas' Epistle, and portions of Hermas' *Shepherd*. Each page comprises four columns, with forty-eight lines in each column, of continuous, noble, simple uncials. The poetical books of the Old Testament however, being written in *στίχοι*, admit of only two columns on a page. The order of the sacred books is remarkable, though not unprecedented. St. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts, and among them, that to the Hebrews follows II. Thess., standing on the same page with it. Breathings and accents there are none; the apostrophe, and a single point for punctuation, are entirely absent for pages together, yet occasionally are rather thickly studded.

Although there are no capitals, the initial letter of a line which begins a sentence generally stands out from the rank of the rest. The annexed plates exhibit Heb. XII. 27.—XIII. in original characters reproduced by Tischendorf, and in cursive characters.

The vellum of the manuscript is very thin and smooth. According to Tischendorf it was made of the skins of antelopes or asses. The fleshy side of the skin, being softer, has not preserved the writing so plainly as the other side. Every skin was folded so as to form eight pages.

Many corrections of later hands appear in the Codex.

Historical data are wanting to determine its age. From internal evidence Tischendorf refers it to the fourth century

and his judgment is acquiesced in by nearly all critics. Tischendorf exalts its value above that of any other Codex in the world, but perhaps the highest tribute compatible with truth would be that it ranks next in excellence to the Vatican Codex.

The Codex contains all the books of the New Testament; and adds Pastor and Barnabas' Epistle. The old Testament is mutilated so that nearly all the historical books are wanting.

The Codex is preserved in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

C. CODEx EPHRAEMI, No. 9, in the Royal Library of Paris is a most valuable palimpsest containing portions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament on sixty-four leaves, and fragments of every part of the New on 145 leaves, amounting on the whole to less than two-thirds of the volume. This manuscript seems to have been brought from the East by Andrew John Lascar (d. 1535,) a learned Greek patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici; it was brought into France by Queen Catherine de' Medici, and so passed into the Royal Library at Paris. The ancient writing is barely legible, having been almost removed about the twelfth century to receive some Greek works of St. Ephraem, the great Syrian Father (299-378). A chemical preparation applied at the instance of Fleck in 1834, though it revived much that was before illegible, has defaced the vellum with stains of various colors, from green and blue to black and brown. The older writing was first noticed by Peter Allix nearly two centuries ago; various readings extracted from it were communicated by Boivin to Kuster, who published them (under the notation of Paris 9) in his edition of Mill's N. T., 1710. A complete collation of the New Testament was first made in 1716 by Wetstein.

Tischendorf brought out an edition of the New Testament of Cod. C in 1843, and the Old Testament in 1845. In Cod. C. there are no breathings or accents by the first hand; the punctuation consists of a single point nearly always on a level with the preceding letter. Correctors have occupied

themselves with Cod. C. They are designated by Tischendorf as C*, C**, and C***. Dr. Hort has the highest regard for the first corrector who is supposed to be of the sixth century. The Codex itself is assigned to the fifth century, and is of great critical value.

See plate on page 676,

A. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS is in the British Museum, where the open volume of the New Testament is publicly shown in the Manuscript room. It was placed in that Library on its formation in 1753, having previously belonged to the king's private collection from the year 1628, when Cyril Lucar, sent this codex by the English Ambassador in Turkey, Sir Thomas Roe, as a royal gift to Charles I. An Arabic inscription, several centuries old, at the back of the Table of Contents on the first leaf of the manuscript, and translated into Latin in another hand, which Mr. W. Aldis Wright recognizes as Bentley's (Academy, April 17, 1875), states that it was written by the hand of Thecla the Martyr. It is now bound in four volumes of which three contain the Septuagint almost entire. The fourth volume contains the New Testament considerably mutilated.

This manuscript is in quarto, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and consists of 773 leaves (of which 639 contain the Old Testament), each page being divided into two columns of fifty or fifty-one lines each, having about twenty letters or upwards in a line. These letters are written continuously in uncial characters, without any space between the words.

The punctuation consists of a point at the end of sentences usually but not always on a level with the top of the preceding letter. The most favorable judgment can not place its date earlier than the fifth century. It is carelessly written, and far inferior in critical value to B, \aleph , and C.

In 1786 Woide, Assistant Librarian of the British Museum published the New Testament, in folio. In 1816-28, Rev. Henry Baber of the British Museum published the Old Testament. Both editions were published in uncial type. The New Testament was again published in 1860 by Cowper in modern type. An autotype edition of the whole Codex has since been made by Mr. E. Maunde Thomson.

We shall now enumerate some of the principal uncial codices of the several parts of the New Testament.

CODEx D OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS, CALLED CODEx BEZÆ GRÆCO LATINUS belongs to the University of Cambridge. It was presented to the University in 1581 by Theodore Beza. The great veneration which the aforesaid University cherished for Beza and his master Calvin appears in the University's letter of acceptance, in which they declare: "Know therefore that, the Holy Scriptures alone excepted, there are no writers in the history of mankind whom we prefer to the renowned John Calvin and thee."

Beza says that he obtained it from the Monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons during the civil war in 1562. This city was sacked in that year by the infamous Des Adrets who espoused the cause of the Huguenots. It is quite probable that the no less infamous Beza obtained this Codex as a share of the plunder.

Beza declares in his letter that, owing to the great discrepancy between this Codex and the oldest authorities, to avoid giving offense, he judged it better to preserve the Codex than to publish it.

It has been collated by Young, (1633), Ussher (1657), Mill (1707), Wetstein (1716), Bentley (1716), Dickinson (1732), Kipling (1793), and Scrivener (1864).

The Codex is mutilated. Of its original 534 leaves only about 406 remain, and some of these are mutilated; and several are added by a later hand.

Codex Bezae and Codex D. of St. Paul are the earliest specimens of stichometric writing.

Scrivener assigns a date to the original Latin text not more remote than the fifth century; but he believes that the present Latin text is a later correction of the original Latin.

He believes that the Greek text is a copy of an exemplar as ancient as the third century.

Mr. Rendel Harris (A Study of the Codex Bezae 1891) believes that the Greek text is a translation of a Latin Codex of the second century. Of course in the supposition its critical worth is small. *Sub judice lis est*. It seems certain however that Scrivener has overestimated the value of the Codex.

The following judgment has been passed upon the Codex by Westcott and Hort: That it is substantially a Western text of the second century, with certain additions of the fourth century. That notwithstanding a vast number of errors, it is valuable in the reconstruction of the original text. And that it gives a more faithful representation of the manner in which the Gospel and Acts were read in the third century, and, probably, in the second, than any other existing Greek Codex.

E. CODEx BASILIENSIS, of the public library of Basle, is of the eighth century. It was given to the Library by Cardinal John de Ragusio. It contains the Four Gospels, except Luke III. 4-15; XXIV. 47-53. It has been collated by Bengel, Wetstein, Tischendorf, Müller and Tregelles.

F. CODEx BOREELI, now in the public library at Utrecht once belonged to John Boreel, Dutch Ambassador at the Court of James I. It is badly mutilated. The best collation of it was made by Prof. Heringa of Utrecht, published in 1843. Its date is the ninth or tenth century. Wetstein's collation of it is sometimes cited as F.

F^a CODEx COISLIN I. In the Coislin Library is preserved a Greek Codex of the Septuagint under the above title. It was first published by Montfaucon (Biblioth. Coislin. 1715).

In the margin *prima manu* Wetstein found Acts ix. 24, 25, and so inserted this as Cod. F in his list of MSS. of the Acts. In 1842 Tischendorf observed nineteen other passages of the New Testament, which he published in his *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1846, p. 400, &c.) with a facsimile. The texts are Matt. v. 48; xii. 48; xxvii. 25; Luke i. 42; ii 24; xxviii. 21; John v. 35; vi. 53, 55; Acts iv. 33, 34; ix. 24, 25; x. 13, 15; xxii. 22; I Cor. vii. 39; xi. 29; I Cor. iii. 13; ix. xi. 33; Gal. iv. 21, 22; Col. ii. 16, 17; Heb. x. 26.

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| G. COD. HARLEIAN, 5684 | } These two copies were brought from the East by Andrew Erasmus Seidel, purchased by La Croze, and by him presented to J. C. Wolff, who published loose extracts from them both in his "Anecdota Græca" (vol. iii. 1723), and barbarously mutilated them in 1721 in order to send pieces to Bentley among whose papers |
| or WOLFH A. | |
| H. COD. WOLFH B. | |

in Trinity College Library (B. xvii. 20) Tregelles found the fragments in 1845. (Account of the Printed Text, p. 160) Subsequently Cod. G came with the rest of the Harleian collection into the British Museum; Cod. H, which had long been missing, was brought to light in the Public Library of Hamburg, through Petersen the Librarian, in 1838. Codd. G, H have now been thoroughly collated both by Tischendorf and Tregelles. Cod. G appears to be of the tenth, Cod. H of the ninth century.

COD. I. COD. TISCHENDORF. II. at St. Petersburg, consists of palimpsest fragments found by Tischendorf in 1853 "in the dust of an Eastern library," and published in his new series of *Monumenta sacra*, Vol. I. 1855. On twenty-eight vellum leaves (eight of them on four double leaves), Georgian writing is above the partially obliterated Greek, which is for the most part very hard to read. They compose fragments of no less than seven different manuscripts; the first two, of the fifth century, the third fragment seems of the sixth century, the fourth scarcely less ancient. The fifth fragment, containing portions of the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles (I. Cor. XV. 53; XVI. 9; Tit. I. 1-13; Acts XXVIII. 8-17), is perhaps of the sixth century. The sixth and seventh fragments are of the seventh century.

COD. CYPRIUS K, or No. 63 of the Imperial Library at Paris, shares only with Codd. M, S, U, the advantage of being a *complete* uncial copy of the Four Gospels. It was brought into the Colbert Library from Cyprus in 1673. Mill inserted its readings from Simon. It was re-examined by Scholz. The independent collations of Tischendorf and Tregelles have now done all that can be needed for this copy. It is an oblong 4to, in compressed uncials, of about the middle of the ninth century.

COD. REGIUS L, No. 62 in the Imperial Library at Paris, is by far the most remarkable document of its age and class. It contains the Four Gospels, except the following passages: Matth. IV. 22; V. 14; XXVIII. 17-20; Mark X. 16-30; XV. 2-20; John XXI. 15-25. It was written about the eighth century. Wetstein collated Cod. L but loosely. Griesbach, who set a very high value on it, studied it with

peculiar care; Tischendorf published it in full in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1836.

COD. CAMPIANUS M, No. 48 in the Imperial Library at Paris, contains the Four Gospels complete in a small 4to form, written in very elegant and minute uncials of the end of the ninth century, with two columns of twenty-four lines each on a page. Its readings are very good.

COD. PURPUREUS N. Only twelve leaves of this beautiful copy remain, and its former possessor must have divided them in order to obtain a better price from three purchasers than from one; four leaves being now in the British Museum (Cotton C. XV.), six in the Vatican (No. 3785), two at Vienna (Lambee. 2). These latter two are found at the end of a fragment of Genesis in a different hand.

Cod. N^b or in Tischendorf's edition I^b is a palimpsest of four leaves containing fragments of St. John's Gospel. A Syriac work had been written over these, and this again had been obliterated to write thereon the hymns of St. Severus in Syriac. They were brought from the Nitrian desert and are now in the British Museum. They have been deciphered by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

Several small fragments have been designated by O. The most important are the fragment Luke XVIII. 11-14, examined by Wetstein, and O of Moscow the latter of the ninth century.

P. COD. GUELPHERBYTANUS A. } These are two
Q. B. } palimpsests, discovered by F. A. Knittel, Archdeacon of Wolfenbüttel, in the Ducal Library of that city, which (together with some fragments of Ulphilas' Gothic version) lie under the more modern writings of Isidore of Seville. They have been deciphered and published by Tischendorf (1866-69.) He assigns P to the fifth century, and Q to the sixth.

The letter R is employed to represent different fragments by various editors, a very inconvenient practice. Thus R of Griesbach and Scholz is a fragment of one leaf containing John I. 38-50 now at Tübingen. Tischendorf repudiates this leaf as a portion of an Evangelistary of the tenth century; and in his New Testament of 1849 he employed R

to designate fourteen leaves of a palimpsest of the eighth century now in the Library at Naples. In 1859 he designated the Neapolitan fragment by *W*^c, and employed *R* to designate the Codex Nitriensis of the British Museum, Additional 1721. This latter is a palimpsest of 25 fragments containing about 516 verses of St. Luke. It may be as ancient as the end of the sixth century. It is one of 550 MSS brought to England in 1847 from the Syrian Convent of St. Mary in the Desert seventy miles N. W. of Cairo.

S. CODEx VATICANUS 354 contains the four Gospels entire, and is among the earliest dated manuscripts of the Greek Testament. This is a folio of 234 leaves, written in large oblong or compressed uncials: It bears the date A. D. 949. In 1866 Tischendorf collated it.

Codex *T*, or Borgianus I, in the Propaganda at Rome contains thirteen or more quarto leaves of SS. Luke and John. A Sahidic version is parallel to the Greek text. They are referred to the fourth century by Giorgi O. S. A., who ably edited the portion of St. John in 1879. Tischendorf places them a century later. *T*^s or *T*^{woi} are used to indicate a few leaves of Luke and John in Greek and Sahidic, which once belonged to *Woide*. It has been suspected that they are a part of *T*. *T*^b at St. Petersburg contains six leaves of St. John. The date of its writing is judged to be not later than the sixth century.

T^c is a fragment of about twenty-one verses between Matt. xiv. 19 and xv. 8, also of the sixth century, and at St. Petersburg."

T^d is a fragment of a Lectionary Greek and Sahidic, found by Tischendorf in 1866 among the Borgian MSS at Rome. It contains twenty-four verses, a few verses from every one of the Gospels.

T^e is a fragment of Matthew (III. 13-16) taken from a Lectionary of the sixth century. It is at Cambridge.

CODEX NAÑIANUS U. I, so called from a former possessor, is now in the Library of St. Mark, Venice. It contains the four Gospels entire, carefully written. Its date is not before the tenth century. Tischendorf in 1843 and Tregelles in 1846 collated Cod. U. It is now mutilated.

CODEx MOSQUENSIS V. of the Holy Synod, is known almost exclusively from Matthæi's Greek Testament: he states, no doubt most truly, that he collated it "bis diligentissimè" and gives a *facsimile* of it, assigning it to the eighth century.

Some scattered leaves are classed under W but they are not of sufficient importance to enter here.

CODEx MONACENSIS X in the University Library at Munich is a valuable folio manuscript of the end of the ninth, or early in the tenth century, containing the Four Gospels with serious defects.

CODEx BARBERINI Y, 225 at Rome (in the Library founded by Cardinal Barberini in the seventeenth century) contains on six large leaves the 137 verses John XVI. 3–XIX. 41, of about the eighth century. Tischendorf obtained access to it in 1843, and published it in his first instalment of *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846.

CODEx DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS, Z, one of the chief palimpsests extant, contains 290 verses of St. Matthew's Gospel in twenty-two fragments. It was discovered in 1787 by Dr. John Barrett, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, under some cursive writing of the tenth century or later, consisting of Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, extracts from Epiphanius, etc. In the same volume are portions of Isaiah and of Gregory Nazianzen, in erased uncial letters, but not so ancient as the fragment of St. Matthew. All the thirty-two leaves of this Gospel that remain were engraved in copper-plate *facsimile* at the expense of Trinity College, and published by Barrett in 1801, furnished with Prolegomena, and the contents of each *facsimile* plate in modern Greek characters on the opposite page. He ascribes the Codex to the sixth century.

In 1853 Tregelles, by subjecting the MS to a chemical mixture, deciphered 200 more letters. In 1880 Abbot, of the University of Dublin, published the Codex, with 400 more letters which he deciphered. Abbot places its date in the fifth century.

CODEx TISCHENDORFIAN. IV. was brought by Tischendorf from an "eastern monastery," and was bought for the

Bodleian Library in 1855. It consists of 158 leaves in large quarto, of the ninth century.

CODEx SANGALLENSIS Δ was first inspected by Gerbert (1773), named by Scholz (N. T. 1830), and made fully known to us by the admirable edition in *lithographed facsimile of every page*, by H. Ch. M. Rettig, published at Zurich 1836, with copious and satisfactory Prolegomena. It is preserved and was probably transcribed in the seventh century in the great monastery of St. Gall in the North-east of Switzerland. It is rudely written on 197 leaves of coarse vellum 4to, in a very peculiar hand, with an *interlinear* Latin version. It contains the four Gospels complete except John XIX. 17-25. Rettig thinks that Cod. Δ is part of the same book as the Codex Boernerianus, G of St. Paul's Epistles.

CODEx Θ TISCENDORF I. was brought from the East by Tischendorf in 1845, published by him in his *Monumenta sacra inedit.*, 1846, and deposited in the University Library at Leipsic. It consists of but four leaves (all imperfect) 4to, of very thin vellum, almost too brittle to be touched, so that each leaf is kept separately in glass. It contains about forty verses; viz., Matth. XIII. 46-55 (in mere shreds); and XIV. 4-14. Tischendorf conjectures it to be of the end of the seventh century.

Other small fragments collected by Tischendorf which death prevented him from publishing are indicated as:

Θ^b, six leaves in large 8vo, of the sixth or seventh century, torn piecemeal for binding and hard to decipher, contains Matt. xxii. 16-xxiii. 13; Mark iv. 24-25; v. 14-23.

Θ^c, one folio leaf, of the sixth century, much like Cod. N, contains Matt. xxi. 19-24. Another leaf contains John xviii. 29-35.

Θ^d, half a leaf in two columns, of the seventh or eighth century, with accents by a later hand, contains Luke xi. 37-41; 42-45.

Θ^e, containing fragments of Matt. xxvi. 2-4; 7-9; Θ^f, of Matt. xxvi. 59-70; xxvii. 44-56; Mark i. 34-ii. 12 (not continuously throughout): Θ^g, of John vi. 13, 14; 22-24; are all of about the sixth century.

Θ^h, consisting of three leaves, in Greek and Arabic of the ninth or tenth centuries, contains imperfect portions of Matt. xiv. 6-13; xxv. 9-16; 41-xxvi.

Α CODEX TISCHENDORFIAN. III. whose history, so far as we know it, exactly resembles that of Cod. Γ, and like it is now in the Bodleian (Auct. T. Infra 1. 1). It contains 157 leaves, of the ninth century. It has the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John complete, with the subscription to St. Mark.

CODEx ZACYNTHIUS Ξ is a palimpsest in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, which, under an Evangelistarium written on coarse vellum of the thirteenth century, contains large portions of St. Luke, down to Chap. XI. 33, in full well-formed uncials, but surrounded by, and often interwoven with large extracts from the Fathers, in a hand that cannot be earlier than the eighth century.

II. CODEX PETROPOLITANUS consists of 350 vellum leaves in small quarto, and contains the Gospels complete except Matt. iii. 12-iv. 18; xix. 12-xx. 3; John viii. 6-39; seventy-seven verses. A century since it belonged to Parodus, a noble Greek of Smyrna, and its last possessor was persuaded by Tischendorf, in 1859, to present it to the Emperor of Russia. Tischendorf, states that it is of the age of the later uncials (meaning the ninth century), but of higher critical importance than most of them, and much like Cod. K in its rarer readings.

Σ, COD. ROSSANENSIS, like Cod. N described above, is a manuscript written on thin vellum leaves stained purple, in silver letters, the first three lines of each Gospel being in gold. Like Cod. D it probably dates from the sixth century, if not a little sooner, and is the earliest known copy of Scripture which is adorned with miniatures in water colors, seventeen in number, very interesting and in good preservation.

Τ CODEX BLENHEIMIUS, Brit. Mus. Additional 31919, formerly Blenheim 3. D. 13, purchased from the Sunderland sale in 1882. Professors T. K. Abbott and J. P. Mahaffy of Trinity College, Dublin, discovered at Blenheim in May.

1881, *palimpsest* fragments of the Gospels of the eighth century, being seventeen passages scattered over thirty-three of the leaves: viz. Matt. i. 1-14; v. 3-19; xii. 27-41; xxiii. 5-xxv. 30; 43-xxvi. 26; 50-xxvii. 17; Mark i. 1-42; ii. 21-v. 1; 29-vi. 22; x. 50-xi. 13; Luke xvi. 21-xvii. 3; 19-37; xix. 15-31; John ii. 18-iii. 5; iv. 23-37; v. 35-vi. 2: in all 484 verses. In 1883, Dr. Gregory discovered two more leaves, making thirty-six in all.

Φ. CODEX BERATINUS. This symbol was taken by Herr Oscar von Gebhardt to denote the imaginary parent of Cursives 13, 69, 124, 346, of which the similarity has been traced by the late W. H. Ferrar and Dr. T. K. Abbott in "A Collection of Four Important MSS." (1877). But it is now permanently affixed to an Uncial MS. seen by M. Pierre Batiffol on the instigation of Prof. Duchesne in 1875 at Berat or Belgrade in Albania. It may date back to the end of the fifth century.

A fragment in the Monastery of Laura at Mt. Athos is designated as Ψ; and another in the Monaster of St. Dionysius on Mt. Athos is cited by the sign Ω. Ω designates a fragment in the Monastery of St. Andrew on Mt. Athos.

We shall only mention a few of the most valuable uncials of Acts and Paul's Epistles.

CODEX LAUDIANUS E, 35 is one of the most precious treasures preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford. It is a Latin-Greek copy, with two columns on a page, the Latin version holding the post of honor on the *left*. It is written in very short *στίχοι*, consisting of from one to three words each, the Latin words always standing opposite to the corresponding Greek. The character of the writing points to the end of the sixth century as its date. The Latin is not of Jerome's or the Vulgate version; but is made to correspond closely with the Greek, even in its interpolations and rarest various readings. This manuscript contains only the Acts of the Apostles, and exhibits a remarkable modification of the text. This manuscript, with many others, was presented to the University of Oxford in the year 1636, by its Chancellor, Laud. Thomas Hearne, the celebrated antiquary, published a full edition of it in 1715, which is now very scarce, and is known to be far from accurate.

Tischendorf collated it in 1854 and 1865 and published it in his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* in 1870.

COD. MUTINENSIS H, 196, of the Acts, in the Grand Ducal Library at Modena, is an uncial copy of about the ninth century, defective in Act. I. 1 V. 28; IX. 39—X. 19; XIII. 36—XIV. 3 (all supplied by a recent hand of the fifteenth century); and in XXVII. 4—XXVIII. 31 (supplied in uncials of about the eleventh century). The Epistles are in cursive letters of the twelfth century, indicated in the Catholic Epistles by h, in the Pauline by 179. Scholz first collated it; then Tischendorf in 1843, and Tregelles in 1846.

P, COD. PORPHYRIANUS is a palimpsest containing the Acts, all the Epistles, the Apocalypse, and a few fragments of 4 Maccabees, of the ninth century, found by Tischendorf in 1862 at St. Petersburg.

D, COD. CLAROMONTANUS, No. 107 of the Royal Library at Paris, is a Greek-Latin copy of St. Paul's Epistles, one of the most ancient and important in existence. Like the Cod. Ephraemi in the same Library it has been fortunate in such an editor as Tischendorf, who published it in 1852 with complete Prolegomena, and a facsimile traced by Tregelles. This noble volume is in small quarto, written on 533 leaves of the thinnest and finest vellum. See following plate.

Beza declares that he found it at Clermont near Beauvais—hence its name. It's judged to be of the second half of the sixth century.

COD. SANGERMANENSIS E. is Greek-Latin manuscript, and takes its name from the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés near Paris. In 1895 Matthæi found this copy, at St. Petersburg, where it is now deposited. Wetstein thoroughly collated it; and not only he but Sabatier and Griesbach perceived that it was, at least in the Greek, nothing better than a mere transcript of Codex Claromontanus, made by some ignorant person about the tenth century.

COD. AUGIENSIS F, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (B. 17. 1), is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the ninth century.

COD. BOERNERIANUS G, so called from a former possessor, now in the Royal Library at Dresden.

Herr Corssen believes that F and G are independent of each other, and that they are translations from the Latin. The date is uncertain.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SEPTUAGINT AND ITS VERSIONS.

The Septuagint is the first authentic Greek version of the Old Testament. It is called the Septuagint from the fact, that it was supposed to be the work of seventy or seventy-two interpreters. Of its origin we have many accounts all of them more or less legendary in nature. Aristæus gives us the first account of its origin. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century B. C., wishing to found a great library in Alexandria, and hearing much of the Jewish Law sent messengers to Eleazar, the high priest, desiring a copy of the Books of the Jewish Law for his library. The high priest, Eleazar, choosing six interpreters from every tribe, sent the seventy-two interpreters to translate the books into Greek. These, after being kindly received by the King, betook themselves to the Isle of Pharos, to a great hall, where for nine hours each day they labored for seventy or seventy-two days, conferring with one another in difficult passages. The work was transcribed with care by men employed by Ptolemy, and was pronounced authentic, and an anathema was pronounced against all who should question its authority. This in brief is the story of Aristæus as related by Flavius Josephus, *Antiq.*, Bk. XII. II. *passim*. Philo, the Alexandrine Jew, has an account much similar, giving to the interpreters divine inspiration. He does not, however, mention Aristæus, who according to his own story, had a great part in the translation. Nor does he mention Demetrius Phalereus who, according to Aristæus, was the Librarian of Ptolemy. St. Justin the Martyr (†163 or 167 A. D.), has a different version of the origin of the work. According to him, the interpreters were sent to the Isle of Pharos in separate cells, so all mutual communication was cut off. There they executed every one a translation of the Hebrew text, which versions were afterwards found to agree in the most minute details, even to the number of

ΔΙΥ ΜΕΙΣ ΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΤΕΙΤΟΜΟ ΜΩ
 ΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥΛΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ
 ΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ ΤΥ ΜΑΣΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΔΕ ΚΗΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΤΕΤΕΡΘΕΝΤΙ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΙΑ ΚΑΡΤΙΟ ΦΟΡΗΣΩ ΜΕΝΤΩ ΟΩΤΙ Μ
 ΕΓΑΡ ΗΑΙΕΝ ΗΝ ΤΙΣ ΑΡΚΙ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΠΛΑΘΗ ΜΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΥΤΟΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΣΙΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΕΤΟ ΚΑΡΤΙΟ ΦΟΡΗΣΑ ΤΩ ΟΑΝΑΤΕΡΩ
 ΥΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΗΡΓΗΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΝΔΙΟΥ Ο ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΙΩ ΚΑΤΕΙΧΟΜΕΘΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΣΤΕ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΟΝΟΤΗΤΗ
 ΙΟΥ ΠΑΛΙΟΤΗΤΗ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΥΝΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΙΟ ΜΟΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΤΟ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΑΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΟΥΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΝΟΥ ΙΟΝ ΑΕΡΗ ΤΑ
 ΙΗΘ ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΛΕΠΘΗ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΑ



letters. The King, overcome by this miracle, caused the Jews to be treated with great honors, and sent them back loaded with gifts to their own country.

St. Justin avows that he saw with his own eyes the cells of these interpreters. Mention of the seventy cells occurs also in the works of Irenæus, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Augustine. St. Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth century A. D., varies the legend somewhat. According to him, there were but thirty-six cells, and two interpreters in every cell.

Many of the Fathers of the Church considered this version inspired. Thus St. Augustine says, that when the seventy departed from the Hebrew text, they did so at the instigation of the Holy Ghost. St. Jerome rejecting the fable of the seventy cells believed, that only the Pentateuch was made under Ptolemy. Hence, the origin of the Septuagint is shrouded in obscurity.

Without doubt the interpreters from Judæa under Ptolemy translated at least the Pentateuch; and other unknown authors at unknown dates added the others at subsequent periods. The legend of the seventy cells is critically absurd, and the testimony of Aristæus of no worth. The varied style of the books of the Septuagint proves that they are not the work of one translator. However legendary be these accounts, we must recognize in the origin of the Septuagint the special providence of God, ordaining that a version of the Holy Scriptures, a complete version of all the books, should exist at the advent of Christ, that the universal kingdom of Christ might be the more easily diffused far and wide through the assistance of the Holy Writ existing in the Greek tongue, which at that time had become the universal medium of communication of thought in the civilized world. The Septuagint has the highest approbation, that of the writers of the New Testament, who quoted the Old Testament chiefly not from the Hebrew, but according to the Greek version of the Septuagint.

The legendary origin of the Septuagint caused many of the old Fathers to believe in the inspiration of the seventy interpreters. St. Jerome inveighs forcibly against this

absurdity. When the earlier Fathers in their controversy with the Jews alleged passages from the Septuagint against them, the Jews responded that these were not in the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. Hence, the Fathers, to defend their position invoked the inspiration of the Septuagint. From the Septuagint was made the first Latin translation called the *Vetus Itala*, and to defend this, St. Augustine asserted the inspiration of the Septuagint.

“For the same Spirit who was in the Prophets when they spoke these things was also in the seventy men when they translated them, so that assuredly they could also say something else, just as if the Prophet himself had said both, because it would be the same Spirit who said both; and they could say the same thing differently, so that, although the words were not the same, yet the same meaning should shine forth to those of good sense; and they could omit or add something, so that even by this it might be shown that there was in that work not human bondage, which the translator owed to the words, but rather divine power, which filled and ruled the mind of the translator.” (S. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, XVIII. 43). And indeed a strong motive which induced the Fathers to defend the inspiration of the Septuagint was the need of some explanation of the “variantia” in the texts. St. Augustine’s explanation, admitting the inspiration, filled that need. Many Catholic writers hold with St. Jerome that only the Pentateuch was translated by the seventy interpreters, and the other books added at a later date.

S. Hilary appeals for the authority of the Septuagint to its great antiquity, and to the fact that its translators had the oral tradition of the synagogue. This is the only reasonable motive for its great value.

S. John Chrysostom speaks of the great authority of the Septuagint, but never hints at its inspiration. Hence, we conclude that the Church has never recognized the inspiration of the Septuagint, and the Fathers who defended it were deceived by the legend of Aristæus, while the most illustrious among them do not insist on the inspiration of the Septuagint for its great authority, but on its great antiquity.

The different books of the Septuagint differ greatly in excellence. The Pentateuch is pre-eminent in accuracy and grace of diction. The version of Proverbs is also excellent. The version of Ezekiel is the best of the prophetic works. Job is very imperfectly rendered; many things are omitted, and other things plainly do not reproduce the sense of the original. The Psalms and Ecclesiastes are very defective, and so poor was the version of Daniel, that the Church discarded it, and substituted the version of Theodotion.

The Jews of Palestine at first held in high esteem the Septuagint, but as the Christians, in the rise of Christianity, used it effectively against them, they conceived a great hatred against it. In detestation of it, they compared the day on which it was completed to the day on which the golden calf was set up in the desert, and decreed a fast to take place yearly on that day. (Talmud Tr. Sopher, Meg. Thaanith.) As this hatred was shared by the Hellenist Jews, who were ignorant of Hebrew, they desired other Greek versions; hence arose other Greek versions of the Old Testament.

Of the post-Christian versions, that of Aquila is the first in order of time, and it is in the closest agreement with the letter of the Hebrew text. The traditions relating to 'Ακύλας, in Christian and Jewish writings, are so far in agreement that they may be assumed to refer to one and the same person. By Epiphanius he is described (*De Mens. et Pon!*, §§ 13-15) as of Sinope in Pontus, and as *πενθερίδης* of the Emperor Hadrian, in whose twelfth year, and 430 years after the LXX., he flourished, and by whom he was commissioned to superintend the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Seeing the faith and miracles of the disciples of the Apostles, he is led to embrace Christianity, but still clings to his faith in the vain *ἄστρονομία*, and is, in consequence, excommunicated. Filled with resentment, he becomes a pervert to Judaism, and is thenceforth known as Aquila the *Proselyte*. He devotes himself to the Jewish learning, and renders the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.

Aquila, as a translator, aimed at an extreme literal exactness, for which he is, on the whole, fairly praised as *ὁ κυριώτ-*

ατα ἐρμηνεύειν φιλοτιμούμενος Ἀκύλας (Origen, *Comment. on Genesis*, I. 16), and, on the other hand, in places censured, as δουλεύων τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει (Origen *ad Africanum* § 2). His method is, at times, the *reductio ad absurdum* of a literal rendering; and yet where he is most useless as an exegete he may be an important witness on questions as to the form of the Hebrew text which lay before him.

Jerome, in his Epistle to Pammachius (§11, Vol. I. 316), comparing Aquila with the LXX, writes as follows: "Aquila autem proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba sed ETYMOLOGIAS quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro *frumento* et *vino* et *oleo* possit vel legere vel intelligere χεῦμα, ὄπωρισμόν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere, *fusionem*, *romationemque*, et *splendentiam*? Aut quia Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα sed et πρόσθρα ille κακοζήλως et SYLLABAS interpretatur et litteras, dicitque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Graeca et Latina lingua non recipit." But elsewhere he compares him favorably with the LXX, describing him as a translator who "non contentiosus, ut quidam putant, sed studiosius verbum interpretatur ad verbum" (*Ep. ad Damasum*, §12, Vol. I. 167). The former passage aptly indicates the two leading principles of Aquila, which were to give a Greek or quasi-Greek equivalent for every fragment of the original, and to maintain a rigid consistency by rendering each root with its real or apparent derivatives by one and the same root in Greek; new forms being freely coined as the occasion demanded, and the Greek idiom being sacrificed to the Hebrew. The peculiar etymological rendering of קַרְנֵי, in Ex. XXXIV. 29, which, through the Vulgate, gave rise to the popular representation of Moses with horns on his forehead, is found to have originated with Aquila: "Unde et in Exodo juxta Hebraicum et Aquilæ editionem legimus, *Et Moyses nesciebat quia CORNUTA ERAT species vultus ejus, qui vere dicere poterat, In te inimicos meos cornu ventilo.*"

Aquila has been accused by Epiphanius of changing the Messianic testimonies. Not enough of his work remains to examine if this charge be true. Jerome declares in an Epistle to Marcella, that he had examined his work with

especial attention to this charge, and had found instead many things most favorable to Christian faith. I am disposed to believe, however, that at times he drew some passages to the Jewish position.

The second Greek version which deserves special mention is that of Symmachus.

Eusebius relates that Symmachus was an Ebionite, and that in certain of his writings which were still extant, he alleged arguments from St. Matthew's Gospel in support of his heresy. Jerome likewise, in his Commentary on Habakuk (III. 13, Vol. VI. 656), describes Symmachus and Theodotion as Ebionites: "Theodotio autem, vere quasi pauper et Ebionita, sed et Symmachus ejusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti Judaice transtulerunt;" and in his preface to Job he speaks of them as "judaizantes hæretici, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in Ἐξαπλοῖς habentur apud ecclesias et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris" (Vol. IX. Col. 1142). "Epiphanius" writes Montfaucon, "Conspecto hexaplorum ordine, ubi Symmachus ante Theodotionem positus secundum locum in Græcis editionibus occupabat, putavit Symmachum prius Theodotione editionem suam concinnasse." He assigns the version of Symmachus, perhaps rightly, to the reign of Severus (A. D. 193-211) — the *Chronicon Paschale* specifies the ninth year of this reign — but this account of the author is at variance with the statements of Eusebius and Jerome. Symmachus (he tells us) was a Samaritan, who, from disappointed ambition, became a proselyte to Judaism, and set to work to compose his Greek version of the Scriptures with a specific anti-Samaritan bias.

The version of Symmachus was distinguished by the purity of its Greek and its freedom from Hebraisms. Jerome (following Eusebius) several times remarks: "Symmachus more suo *apertius*," or "*manifestius*"; and he praises him as an interpreter, "qui non solet verborum *κακοζηλίαν* sed intelligentiæ ordinem sequi" (*Comment. on Amos*, III. 11, Vol. VI. 258). In his preface to Lib. II. of the *Chronic. Euseb.* (Vol. VIII. 223-4), he writes: "Quamobrem Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio incitati diversum pæne opus in

eodem opere prodiderant; *alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare.*" Jerome not only commends Symmachus as above, but frequently adopts his renderings, as may be shown by a comparison of their versions.

Symmachus shows his command over the Greek language by his use of compounds, where the Hebrew can only represent the same ideas by a combination of separate words; and no less by his free use of particles to bring out subtle distinctions of relation which the Hebrew cannot adequately express. In like manner, his rendering of the name of Eve by *Ζωογόνοσ* preserves the word-play in Gen. III. 20; but other names are less happily rendered.

The last column of Origen's Hexapla contained the version of Theodotion. St. Epiphanius states that Theodotion was of Pontus, of the sect of the Marcionites, which he abandoned to embrace Judaism. St. Irenæus affirms that he was an Ephesian, who became a proselyte to Judaism. His epoch is very probably the second half of the second century.

Jerome writes of Theodotion: "Qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit, licet eum *quidam dicant* Ebionitam, qui altero genere Judæus est;" but elsewhere he seems to adopt the tradition of his Ebionism. Montfaucon argues from his rendering of Dan. IX. 26 that he was a Jew. His aim as a translator being (again in the words of Jerome) "*non multum a veteribus discrepare,*" not so much to make a new translation as to revise the old, correcting its errors and supplying its defects, it not unnaturally came to pass that Origen made free use of his version in constructing the Hexaplar recension of the LXX; and that, in the case of the Book of Daniel, even the recension of Origen was popularly discarded in favor of Theodotion's version in its entirety. His style does not present such marked peculiarities as those of Aquila and Symmachus. Suffice it to notice that he is more addicted to *transliteration* than they or the LXX; and that, on account of the number of the words which he thus leaves untranslated, he has been regarded as an *ignorant* interpreter. The charge, however, cannot be sustained.

Besides the aforesaid versions, three others were in existence of which but little is known. They are designated as Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, from the position which they occupied in Origen's Hexapla. It is probable that they did not contain all the books. The old writers so differ in describing where they were found, that nothing definite can be known of them. Of the seventh no trace remains, and we only know of its existence from the fact that Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. VI. 16) declares, that Origen added it to the other in the edition of the Psalms, thereby making the edition *Enneapla*.

The great use which had been made of the Septuagint by the Jews previously to their rejection of it, and the constant use of it by the Christians, naturally caused a multiplication of copies, in which numerous errors became introduced, in the course of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of transcribers, and from glosses or marginal notes, which had been added for the explanation of difficult words, and which had crept into the text. In order to remedy this growing evil, Origen, in the early part of the third century, undertook the laborious task of collating the Greek text, then in use, with the original Hebrew, and with other Greek translations then extant, and from the whole to produce a new *recension* or revision. Twenty-eight years were devoted to the preparation of this arduous work, in the course of which he collected manuscripts from every possible quarter. Origen commenced his labor at Caesarea, A. D. 231, and, it appears, finished his Polyglot at Tyre, but in what year is not precisely known.

This noble critical work is designated by various names among ancient writers, as *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*.

The *Tetrapla* contained the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, disposed in four columns; to these he added two columns more, containing the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek letters. These six columns, according to Epiphanius, formed the *Hexapla*. Having subsequently discovered two other Greek versions of *some parts* of the Scriptures, usually

called the fifth and sixth, he added them to the preceding, inserting them in their respective places, and thus composed the *Octapla*; and a separate translation of the Psalms, usually called the seventh version, being afterwards added, the entire work has by some been termed the *Enneapla*. This appellation, however, was never generally adopted. But, as the two editions made by Origen generally bore the name of the Tetrapla, and Hexapla, Bauer, after Montfaucon, is of opinion that Origen edited only the Tetrapla and Hexapla; and this appears to be the real fact.

The accompanying plates will give some concept of Origen's great work.

Aquila's version is placed next to the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew text; that of Symmachus occupies the fourth column; the Septuagint, the fifth; and Theodotion's, the sixth. The other three anonymous translations, not containing the entire books of the Old Testament, were placed in the three last columns of the *Enneapla*. Where the same words occurred in all the other Greek versions, without being particularly specified, Origen designated them by Λ or ΛO , $\Lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\iota$, the rest;— $\text{O}\iota$ Γ , or the three, denoted Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion;— $\text{O}\iota$ Δ , or the four, signified Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and Π , $\Pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, all the interpreters.

Where any passages appeared in the Septuagint, that were not found in the Hebrew, he designated them by an *obelus* ÷ with two bold points (:) also annexed. This mark was also used to denote words not extant in the Hebrew, but added by the Septuagint translators, either for the sake of elegance, or for the purpose of illustrating the sense.

To passages wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, and supplied by himself from the other Greek versions, he prefixed an asterisk $\cdot\dot{\times}$ with two points (:) also annexed, in order that his additions might be immediately perceived. These supplementary passages, we are informed by Jerome, were for the most part taken from Theodotion's translation; not unfrequently from that of Aquila; sometimes, though rarely, from the version of Symmachus; and sometimes from two or three together. But, in every case, the initial letter of each

translator's name was placed immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence such supplementary passage was taken. And in lieu of the very erroneous Septuagint version of Daniel, Theodotion's translation of that book was inserted entire.

Further, not only the passages wanting in the Septuagint were supplied by Origen with the asterisks, as above noticed, but also where that version does not appear accurately to express the Hebrew original, having noted the former reading with an obelus, ÷, he added the correct rendering from one of the other translators, with an asterisk subjoined.

In the Pentateuch, Origen compared the Samaritan text with the Hebrew as received by the Jews, and noted their differences.

Since Origen's time, Biblical critics have distinguished two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint—the *Koinē* or common text, with all its errors and imperfections, as it existed previously to his collation, and the Hexaplar text, or that corrected by Origen himself. For nearly fifty years was this great man's stupendous work buried in a corner of the city of Tyre, probably on account of the very great expense of transcribing forty or fifty volumes, which far exceeded the means of private individuals; and here, perhaps, it might have perished in oblivion, if Eusebius and Pamphilus had not discovered it, and deposited it in the library of Pamphilus the Martyr, at Cæsarea, where Jerome saw it about the middle of the fourth century. As we have no account whatever of Origen's autograph, after this time, it is most probable that it perished in the year 653, on the capture of that city by the Arabs; and a few imperfect fragments, collected from manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Catenæ of the Greek fathers, are all that now remain of the work.

As the Septuagint version had been read in the Church from the commencement of Christianity, so it continued to be used in most of the *Greek* churches; and the text, as corrected by Origen, was transcribed for their use, together with his critical marks. Hence, in the progress of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of copyists, numerous

errors were introduced into this version, which rendered a new revisal necessary; and, as *all* the Greek churches did not receive Origen's Biblical labors with equal deference, three principal recensions were undertaken nearly at the same time, of which we are now to offer a brief notice.

The first was the edition, undertaken by Eusebius and Pamphilus about the year 300, from the Hexaplar text, with the whole of Origen's critical marks; it was not only adopted by the churches of Palestine, but was also deposited in almost every library. By frequent transcriptions, however, Origen's marks or notes became, in the course of a few years, so much changed, as to be of little use, and were finally omitted; this omission only augmented the evil, since even in the time of Jerome it was no longer possible to know what belonged to the translators, or what were Origen's own corrections; and now it may almost be considered as a hopeless task to distinguish between them. Contemporary with the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus, was the recension of the *Kouρη*, or Vulgate text of the Septuagint, conducted by Lucian, a presbyter of the Church at Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 311. He took the Hebrew text for the basis of his edition, which was received in all the Eastern churches from Constantinople to Antioch. While Lucian was prosecuting his Biblical labors, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a similar work, which was generally received in the churches of Egypt. He is supposed to have introduced fewer alterations than Lucian; and his edition is cited by Jerome as the *Exemplar Alexandrinum*. All the manuscripts of the Septuagint now extant, as well as the printed editions, are derived from the three recensions above mentioned, although Biblical critics are by no means agreed what particular recension each manuscript has followed.

There are four principal printed editions of the Septuagint. The first in time was that of Cardinal Ximenes, printed in his Polyglot, in 1517.

The second principal edition is called the ALDINE EDITION, published in Venice in 1518. It was called Aldine from the printer Aldus Manutius, though it did not appear till two years after his death, and was executed under the

care of Andreas Asulanus, the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius.

The third principal edition in order of time, though first in excellence, is that called the SIXTINE EDITION. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Cardinal Montaltus, during the reign of Gregory XIII., and when, at the death of Gregory, Montaltus ascended the papal throne under the name of Sixtus V., he brought the work to completion and hence it bears his name. Its full title is Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη, κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα δι' αυθεντίας Ξυστου Ἰ. Ακρου Αρχιερεως εκδοθεισα..—Vetus Testamentum Græcum, juxta LXX Interpretes, studio Antonii Cardinalis CARAFÆ, ope virorum doctorum adjuti, cum prefatione et scholiis Petri Morini. Romæ ex Typographia Francisci Zannetti, 1586, folio.

It is a beautiful edition, of great rarity and value. It contains 783 pages of text, preceded by four leaves of preliminary matter, which are followed by another (subsequently added), entitled *Corrigenda in notationibus Psalterii*. This last mentioned leaf is *not* found in the copies bearing the date of 1586, which also want the privilege of Pope Sixtus V. dated May 9, 1587, at whose request and under whose auspices it was undertaken by Cardinal Antonio Carafa, aided by Antonio Agelli, Peter Morinus, Fulvio Ursino, Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal Sirleti, and others. The celebrated Codex Vaticanus 1209 was the basis of the Roman or Sixtine edition, as it is usually termed. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis, together with some of the Psalms, and the book of Maccabees, being obliterated from the Vatican manuscripts through extreme age, the editors are said to have supplied this deficiency by compiling those parts of the Septuagint from a manuscript out of Cardinal Bessarion's library, and from another which was brought to them from Calabria. So great was the agreement between the latter and the Codex Vaticanus, that they were supposed to have been transcribed, either the one from the other, or both from the same copy. Various readings are given to each chapter. This edition contains the Greek text only. In 1588, Flaminio Nobili printed at Rome in folio, *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX. Latine redditum*.

The fourth of these principal editions is that published by Grabe, at Oxford. This edition exhibits the text of the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus, now deposited in the British Museum. Though Grabe prepared the whole for the press, yet he only lived to publish the Octateuch, forming the first volume of the folio edition, in 1707, and the fourth volume containing the metrical books, in 1709.

CHAPTER XX.

VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THE SEPTUAGINT.

While the Covenant of God was restricted to the Jewish race, the Hebrew and Septuagint texts sufficed for the world. But when the Message of Christ spread abroad through the nations there arose a need for other versions of Scripture.

Among these old versions, one of the most important is the old Latin version commonly called the *VETUS ITALIA*.

The origin of this version is involved in obscurity, and like many questions of its kind, furnishes a theme for many different learned conjectures. We shall be content to briefly set forth the most probable data.

The language in which the message of Christ was first presented to the Roman world, was Greek. Sufficient evidence warrants the conclusion that the liturgical language of Italy for the first two centuries was Greek. De Rossi believes that it was not till toward the close of the third century that Greek was superseded by Latin in the Western Church.* But in Pro-Consular Africa, though the language of the masses was Punic, the liturgical language must have been Latin from the earliest times. This has led many to assign Africa as the place of origin of the "Itala." Wiseman, Hug, Maier, Hagen, Lehir, Himpel and Cornely support such opinion. Reithmayr, Gams and Kaulen place the origin of the version in Italy. The supporters of the

**G. B. de Rossi* (Roma Sotteranea, Roma 1867, II. p. 236 sq.): "L'uso costante della lingua greca in quegli epitaffi (dei romani pontefici). é prova manifesta, che greco fu il linguaggio ecclesiastico della chiesa romana nel secolo terzo. . . . Circa la fine del secolo terzo, o volgendo il quarto, la greca lingua ecclesiastica cedette in Roma il luogo alla latina."

first opinion allege that the version would originate where it was needed, and it would be assigning too late a date to the version, to place it in the epoch of the decline of the Greek language in the West. They say, moreover, that the diction of the *Vetus Itala*, is like to that of Tertullian. Against this it may be urged that Greek never was the language of the masses in Italy, and that the low, humble diction of the *Vetus Itala* shows that it was not the work of savants; and it bears evidence that it was especially intended for the humbler classes, and was most probably made by men of limited literary ability. Its Latinity is exceedingly barbarous, so that Arnobius felt called upon to defend it against the ridicule of the pagans. This very fact proves that it was not made by the principal men in the Church, but by private individuals for private use, while Greek held the post of the authentic Scripture of the Church. Moreover, the barbarisms of the *Vetus Itala*, are by no means simply *Africanisms*, but are found in all the low Latin of the first centuries. It seems that if the edition were made in Africa, where Latin was the liturgical language, as they contend, it would be made by the chief men of the Church, who certainly could write better Latin than the text of the *Vetus Itala*. We believe, therefore, that in this question, which does not admit of a certain answer, the greater weight of probability stands for Italy as the place of origin of the first Latin translation. Regarding the mode of its origin, it seems quite certain that it was the work of many private individuals. St. Augustine, a most competent judge in this matter, declares the manner in which the early translations were made:

“For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all number. For in the early days of the faith, every man who happened to get his hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it never so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation.” (Enchirid. of Christ. Doct. Bk. II. XI.)

It is evident that the numerous translators did not translate the whole Bible, but certain books, so that there were

many different translations of the several books made by different authors. Jerome complains bitterly of these numerous translators: "With the Latins there are as many different versions as there are codices, and every one arbitrarily adds or takes away what he pleases." (Hier. Praef. in Josue.)

In this multiplicity of versions of the different books it soon resulted that the whole Bible existed in Latin with considerable diversity in the different codices. It must have been also that some of the books were more faithfully translated than others. The next step seems to have been that the churches collected these various translations of the individual books into complete catalogues of Scripture. Here, also, diversity resulted, for the different churches collected different versions, and the works of the *librarii dormitantes* and the *imperiti emendatores*, was continued. Such was the condition of the Latin text when Jerome took it up and revised it according to the Greek. Now, among the various complete versions thus brought together, Augustine designates one as the Italian version: "Now among the translations themselves the Italian is to be preferred to the others, for it keeps closer to the words, without prejudice to clearness of expression." (op. cit. 15.) It is certain, therefore, that in Augustine's time, out of the various translations of the individual books, there had resulted several complete versions, among which, in his judgment, the *Vetus Itala* was pre-eminent. It is probable that a beginning was made to translate the Scriptures into Latin even in the Apostolic age. As in that age intense activity was manifested in all things that pertained to religion, without doubt several translations of the different books were soon in existence. It is quite probable that one of these complete versions, at a very early age, obtained a place of eminence in the churches of Italy; perhaps it was in a certain sense authorized by the authorities in those churches. Thus it came to be termed the "Itala," and, as Jerome called it the *old* in contradistinction to his version, it thus became known as the Old Latin Version.

Its language was ruder than the ordinary Latin of the period. It coined many new words, adopted many Greek words and idioms, and confounded genders, declinations, and conjugations.

The condition of the Latin text in the beginning of the fourth century was deplorable. Innumerable codices existed widely differing from each other. Translators, correctors, and transcribers had rendered the text in a great measure uncertain.

To remedy this evil Pope Damasus (†384), commissioned St. Jerome to revise the Latin text. Jerome began his labors at Rome in 383, and first revised the Psalter "juxta septuaginta interpretes, licet cursim, magna tamen ex parte." This emendation is called the Roman Psalter. It was immediately adopted in liturgical use at Rome, and remained in use in the churches of Italy, till the time of St. Pius V. (†1572). The same year he also corrected the Gospels, "Evangelia ad Graecam fidem revocavit." The norm of Jerome in this emendation was to depart as little as possible from the usual reading; therefore, "ita calamo temperavit ut, his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateretur ut fuerant." (Hier. Praef. in Evang.) We find no prefaces of Jerome, relating to the other books of the New Testament, for which cause, some have doubted whether he extended this emendation beyond the Gospels. As he speaks in several places in his writings of his *emendation of the New Testament*, and declares that he restored the New Testament to the purity of the Greek, it is highly probable that he revised the whole New Testament.

When Damasus died in 384, Jerome returned to the East, and, happening upon the Hexaplar Text of Origen, at Cæsarea, he made from that text a second emendation of the Psalter, retaining Origen's diacritic signs. This emendation was immediately received into liturgical use in the churches of Gaul; hence, it came to be called the Gallican Psalter. It gradually came into use in other churches, and St. Pius V. authorized it for the text of the Roman Breviary. An exception was made in the case of the Psalm called the

Invitatorium, XCIV. of the Vulgate, which was retained from the Roman Psalter. The Vatican Basilica, the Duomo of Milan, and the Chapel of the Doges of Venice, by special privilege, retained in their liturgy the Roman Psalter.

The Roman Psalter is also retained in the Roman Missal. The *Psalterium Gallicanum* is placed in the Vulgate. St. Jerome next revised Job by the Hexaplar text, which revision was received with much favor by St. Augustine. We are certain from Jerome's prefaces that he emended in the same manner Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles and Chronicles.

It is probable that Jerome also corrected, at this time and in this manner, the remaining books of the Old Testament, though explicit data are wanting to prove it.

Jerome soon after entered upon the greatest work of his life, the translation of the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, from the original Hebrew.

Of this great version we shall treat in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here, that forth from the sixth century, the great translation of Jerome displaced the *Vetus Itala*, so that the greater part of this old version perished. Certain portions of it are preserved in the Vulgate, and in the writings of the Fathers. The New Testament of the *Vetus Itala* as emended by Jerome, the second emendation of the Psalter, the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, I. and II., Maccabees, and the deuterocanonical parts of Esther and Daniel, are retained from the *Vetus Itala* in the Vulgate.

Various collections have been made of the other fragments of the *Vetus Itala* from codices and works of Fathers. Flaminius Nobilius and Agellius were the first to collect and publish these fragments in 1588. Since that time fragments have been collected and published by Martianay, Thomas Hearne, Sabatier, Blanchini; and in more recent times by Vercellone, Ranke, Haupt, and Muenther.

The Codices of the Old Latin version are designated by minuscule Italic and Greek letters the most important of the New Testament are:

a. COD. VERCELLENSIS, at Vercelli. A tradition asserts that this was written by Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli, who died in 370. Other scholars place it much later.

b. COD. VERONENSIS of the IV. or V. century.

c. COD. COLBERTINUS at Paris (Lat. 254) of the XII. century.

d. COD. BEZÆ of the VI. century, the Latin parallel of Cod. D.

e. COD. PALATINUS of IV. or V. century at Vienna (Pal. 1185).

f. COD. BRIXIANUS of the VI. century at Brescia.

*ff*¹. COD. CORBEIENSIS I. of the VIII. or IX. century at St. Petersburg.

*ff*². COD. CORBEIENSIS II. of the VI. century at Paris. Both these formerly belonged to the monastery of Corbey, near Amiens.

*g*¹. COD. SANGERMANENSIS I. of the IX. century now at Paris (Lat. 11,553).

*g*². COD. SANGERMANENSIS II. of the X. century at Paris. (Lat., 13,169).

h. COD. CLAROMONTANUS of the IV. or V. century now in the Vatican (Lat. 7,223).

i. COD. VINDOBONENSIS of the VII. century at Vienna (Lat. 1,235).

j. COD. SARETIANUS of the V. century, discovered in 1872 in the church of Sarezzano near Tortona. It is being collated at Rome.

k. COD. BOBBIENSIS of the V. or VI. century in the National Library at Turin.

THE COD. BOBBIENSIS is more ancient than any of these. It belongs to the National Library of Turin; it is designated in the Latin Apparatus Criticus by the minuscule letter *k*.

The Codex forms a quarto volume of 96 leaves of fine parchment. The leaves measure 185 millimeters by 105. The pages contain one column of 14 lines. The script is uncial, without ornament. Its date is placed in the fifth century; and it must thus be considered as one of the most ancient of the New Testament. Traces of two correctors

are recognizable in the text. One of these was contemporary with the original scribe; the other more modern, is believed from the Irish characters used to be S. Columban.

The Codex in its present state only contains the following fragments of Matthew and Mark; Math. I. 1 to III. 10; IV. 2 to XIV. 17; XV. 26-30; Mark VIII. 8-11, 14-16, and from VIII. 19 to XVI. 9.

It is estimated that the MS. originally consisted of 415 leaves. The first 256 leaves are lost. The fragment that remains is believed to be a portion of the 33d cahier; the following 20 are lost. It originally contained only the Gospels, written in the following order: John, Luke, Mark, Matthew. This order also obtains in the Codex Monacensis X of the Gospels.

A modern note that Tischendorf read on the Codex, but which has since disappeared, made known that the Codex, according to tradition was one that St. Columban used to carry in his wallet. St. Columban was born about the year 543, in Leinster. In 613 he passed the Alps, and founded at a short distance from Piacenza, the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615. The Irish pilgrims were wont to carry the Scriptures in leathern wallets, "sacculi pellicei," and the celebrated Irish Bible known as the Book of Armagh is enclosed in its leathern case. The identification of the Codex Bobbiensis with St. Columban is a possible hypothesis but not an established fact. After the Renaissance, the MSS of Bobbio were distributed in the great libraries of Europe, and this Codex found its resting place at Turin. It was edited by Fleck in 1837; by Tischendorf in 1847; and by Wordsworth and Sanday in 1886.

The Latin versions before the time of Jerome can be reduced to three groups: 1.—The African, conformable to the citations of Scripture of St. Cyprian; 2.—The European, which circulated in Western Europe during the fourth century; 3.—The Italian, whose use is represented by St. Augustinè. The Codex of Bobbio is a faithful exemplar of the African text. See Codex Bobbiensis in Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible.

l. COD. *Rhedigeranus* of the VII. century in the Rhedigeran Library at Breslau.

m. This letter indicates fragments extracted by Cardinal Mai from the "Liber de divinis scripturis" ascribed to St. Augustine.

n. FRAGMENTA SANGALLENSIA of the V. or VI. century in the Stiftsbibliothek at St. Gall.

o. Another fragment at St. Gall, perhaps of the VII. century.

p. A fragment at St. Gall perhaps of the VIII. century.

q. COD. MONACENSIS of the VII. century, at Munich (Lat. 6,224).

r. COD. USSERIANUS I. of the VII. century. formerly belonging to Ussher, now at Trinity College, Dublin.

*r*². COD. USSERIANUS II. of the IX. or X. cent. also at Trinity College, Dublin.

s. FRAGMENTA AMBROSIANA of the VI. century, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

t. FRAGMENTA BERNENSIA of the V. century, palimpsest, at Berne.

v. FRAG. VIND. of the VII. century at Vienna.

aur. COD. AUREUS of the VII. or VIII. century now at Stockholm.

z. COD. SANGALLENSIS the interlinear Latin of Cod. D.

Besides these there are many fragments of the several books of the New Testament.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TARGUMS

The Chaldee word תרגום TARGUM signifies, in general, any version or explanation; but this appellation is more particularly restricted to the versions or paraphrases of the Old Testament, executed in the East Aramæan or Chaldee dialect, as it is usually called. These Targums are termed paraphrases or expositions, because they are rather comments and explications, than literal translations of the text. They are written in the Chaldee tongue, which became familiar to the Jews after the time of their captivity in Babylon, and was more known to them than the Hebrew

itself; so that, when the law was "read in the Synagogue every Sabbath day," in pure Biblical Hebrew, an explanation was subjoined to it in Chaldee, in order to render it intelligible to the people, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. This practice, as already observed, originated about the epoch of the Maccabees. As there are no traces of any written Targums prior to those of Onkelos and Jonathan, who are *supposed* to have lived about the time of our Saviour, it is highly probable that these paraphrases were at first merely oral; that subsequently, the ordinary glosses on the more difficult passages were committed to writing; and that, as the Jews were bound by an ordinance of their elders to possess a copy of the law, these glosses were either afterwards collected together and deficiencies in them supplied, or new and connected paraphrases were formed.

There are at present extant ten paraphrases on different parts of the Old Testament, three of which comprise the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses: 1.—The Targum of Onkelos; 2.—That falsely ascribed to Jonathan, and usually cited as the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan; 3.—The Jerusalem Targum; 4.—The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel (i. e., the son of Uzziel) on the Prophets; 5.—The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa; 6.—An anonymous Targum on the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 7, 8, 9.—Three Targums on the book of Esther; and, 10.—A Targum or paraphrase on the two Books of Chronicles. These Targums taken together, form a continued paraphrase on the Old Testament, with the exception of the Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (anciently reputed to be part of Ezra). These books being partly written in Chaldee, it has been conjectured that no paraphrases were written on them, as being unnecessary.

THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

According to the Babylonian Talmud Onkelos was a proselyte who lived in the first Christian century; but there is no confirmation of this in the Jerusalem Talmud. Indeed,

it seems probable that the name is a corruption of Aquila the translator. The Targum seems rather a progressive work, the work of several hands, which may have originated during the second and third Christian centuries. It is first quoted as the Targum of Onkelos by Gaon Sar Shalom in the ninth Christian century. It is sometimes called the Babylonian Targum, as it was revised at Babylon in the fourth and fifth centuries and officially authorized.

Though at times paraphrase takes the place of translation, and there are *halakha* and *haggada* in it, the translation has merit.

The first edition of it was published at Bologna in 1482. The other targums are of secondary importance.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE SYRIAC.

One of the most important of the ancient versions of Scripture is the Syriac; some of the Syriac Bible MSS appear to be the oldest in any language. One in the British Museum is dated in the year 464.

The Aramæan or Syriac (preserved to this day as their sacred tongue by several Eastern Churches) is an important branch of the great Semitic family of languages, and as early as Jacob's age existed distinct from the Hebrew (Gen. xxxi. 47). As we now find it in books, it was spoken in the north of Syria and in Upper Mesopotamia about Edessa, and survives to this day in the vernacular of the plateau to the north of Mardin and Nisibis. It is a more copious, flexible, and elegant language than the old Hebrew (which ceased to be vernacular at the Babylonian captivity) had ever the means of becoming, and is so intimately akin to the Chaldee as spoken at Babylon, and throughout Syria, that the latter was popularly known by its name (2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11; Dan. ii. 4). As the Gospel took firm root at Antioch within a few years after the Lord's Ascension (Acts xi. 19-27; xiii. 1, &c.), we might deem it probable that its tidings soon spread from the Greek capital into the native

interior, even though we utterly reject the venerable tradition of Thaddaeus' mission to Abgarus, toparch of Edessa, as well as the fable of that monarch's intercourse with Christ while yet on earth (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, i. 13; ii. 1). At all events we are sure that Christianity flourished in these regions at a very early period; it is even possible that the Syriac Scriptures were seen by Hegesippus in the second century (Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 22); they were familiarly used and claimed as his national version by the eminent Ephrem of Edessa in the fourth. Thus the universal belief of later ages, and the very nature of the case, seem to render it unquestionable that the Syrian Church was possessed of a translation, both of the Old and New Testament, which it used habitually, and for public worship exclusively, from the second century of our era downwards.

The great heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius in the middle of the fifth century rent the Syrian Church, and drew great numbers into one or the other of these sects, but they seem not to have induced any difference of opinion among them regarding the Holy Scriptures.

THE PESHITTO.

The greatest of their versions is the Peshitto or "simple." Some derive this name from the fact that it was unprovided with the diacritical signs employed by Origen in his Hexaplar edition of the Septuagint. Others derive it from its faithful literal character.

The Syrians say that a part of the O. T. was translated in the days of Solomon at the request of King Hiram. Another tradition dates it from the advent of the priest sent by the King of Assyria into Samaria.

It seems reasonably probable that at least a part of the Syriac Old Testament is pre-Christian. Though the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon were the first translated, at a very early date the deuterocanonical books were embodied in the Canon, as appears from an inspection of the most ancient MSS. The value of this version differs in the different books, as it is not all of a single hand.

The Peshitto was the only recognized Syriac version up to the sixth century.

A tradition prevails among the Syrians that St. Mark the Evangelist translated the New Testament into Syriac. Jacob of Edessa († 701) derived the version from King Abgar and Thaddaeus (Addai) the Apostle. Without accepting these legends we believe that at a very early age the New Testament existed in Syriac.

Tatian's Diatessaron, made in the middle of the second century presupposes a very early Syriac translation.

THE PHILOXENIAN AND HARKELEIAN VERSIONS.

In the year 508 Aksenaya or *Philoxenus*, bishop of Mabogh (485-519) with the help of his Chorepiscopus, Polycarp undertook a literal translation of the Bible. Besides the New Testament the Psalms of this version are mentioned by Moses of Aggel (between 550-570). A portion of Isaiah is in the British Museum (17106 Additional). This has been edited by Ceriani.

A hundred years later Paul of Tella in Mesopotamia revised it in Alexandria from MSS which were derived from Origen's Hexaplar text. Hence it is often called the Syro-Hexaplar text. The New Testament of this version was made by Thomas of Harkel, as the following subscription attests: "This book of the four holy Gospels was translated out of the Greek into Syriac with great diligence and labour...first in the city of Mabug, in the year of Alexander of Macedon 819 (A.D. 508), in the days of the pious Mar Philoxenus, confessor, bishop of that city. Afterwards it was collated with much diligence by me, the poor Thomas, by the help of two [or three] approved and accurate Greek Manuscripts in Antonia, of the great city of Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonians. It was again written out and collated in the aforesaid place in the year of the same Alexander 927 (A.D. 616), Indiction IV. How much toil I spent upon it and its companions the Lord alone knoweth...&c." It is plain that by "its companions" the other parts of the N. T. are

meant, for a similar subscription (specifying but one manuscript) is annexed to the Catholic Epistles.

This version contains all the N. T. except the Apocalypse.

In 1627 L. de Dieu published at Leyden a MS of the Apocalypse which is now proven by the labors of Gwynn to be of the hand of Thomas of Harkel. An earlier MS of the Apocalypse of St. John was published by Gwynn in 1897.

The *perikope* of the Adulteress (John VIII. 2-11) is wanting in many Syriac texts; but numerous ancient MSS of it have been found and published.

THE KARKAPHENSIAN VERSION.

Assemani (Biblioth. Orient., tom. ii. p. 283), on the authority of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, mentions what has been supposed to have been a Syriac "version" of the N. T., other than the Peshitto and Harkelian, which was named "Karkaphensian" whether, as he thought, because it was used by Syrians of the *mountains*, or from *Carcuf*, a city of Mesopotamia. Adler (Vers. Syr., p. 33) was inclined to believe that Bar-Hebraeus meant rather a revised manuscript than a separate translation. Cardinal Wiseman, (*Horae Syriacae*, Rom. 1828), discovered in the Vatican (Ms. Syr. 152) a Syriac manuscript of readings from both testaments, with the several portions of the New standing in the following order; Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, and then the Gospels.

According to the subscription it is of the year A. D. 980.

CURETON'S VERSION.

In 1842 Tattam brought from the convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert a mass of MSS. Out of these Dr. Cureton one of the officers of the British Museum picked eighty leaves and a half. Cureton published these in 1858 with an English translation, and a beautiful facsimile by Mrs. Cureton. In his preface Cureton declared that he had here a most ancient Syriac translation whose antiquity is proved by the fact that the fragments of Matthew's Gospel were made from Matthew's original. The MSS contain fragments of the Four Gospels. Cureton succeeded in per-

suading few of the great age of his MSS. Scholars are divided on the question of its age and value; but few agree with its discoverer regarding the same.

The Abbé Martin believes that Cureton's Syriac is a recension of the Peshitto dating from the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth, and that it never had much vogue.

THE SINAITIC SYRIAC PALIMPSEST.

In 1892 Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis discovered in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai some palimpsest leaves of a Syriac text of the Gospels. This was published in 1894 by Bensley Harris and Burkitt, with an introduction by Mrs. Lewis. She has supplemented this work by a translation of the Syriac text published in 1896. This is usually spoken of as the Sinaitic palimpsest.

The greatest divergency exists among scholars regarding its date, and in the present unsettled state of the question it is useless to venture a judgment.

THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC.

There exists in the Vatican Library a Syriac Evangelistary called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*. This was first described by Assemani and Adler in 1789. P. Lagarde published it in 1892. It is of secondary importance.

The Syriac printed editions are in a deplorable state, being all derived from the uncritical Paris Polyglot of Michael le Jay (1645). Walton's Polyglot reproduced this text without any important emendations. The best edition up to date is that of the Dominicans of Mosul. (3 vols. 1887-92).

THE EGYPTIAN OR COPTIC VERSIONS.

The Coptic language is derived from the old Egyptian tongue with numerous Greek words intermingled. This language did not cease to be spoken in Egypt, until towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The study of the Coptic literature is at present in a very imperfect state. Learned men have been studying the language for over two centuries, but much of that study was given to the hiero-

glyphs, and the importance of studying the Coptic Bible has only recently been realized. The great decadence of learning among the Copts, the neglect into which their sacred books had fallen, rendered the study difficult, and its results uncertain, and unsatisfactory. The Coptic MSS are in a very bad condition, and we can not hope to give a full treatise on this subject in the present condition of the science.

The Coptic language existed in several important dialects, of which the first is the BOHAIRIC. This name is derived from Bohairah, the Arabic name for Lower Egypt. It was spoken principally in the Delta of the Nile, and at Alexandria, and, for a time, was the only Egyptian language known to Europeans, who called it simply the Coptic tongue. Later, it was called the Memphitic, in contradistinction to the Thebaic dialect. The term Memphitic applied to this language, is incorrect; for it was only in later times, when the Coptic patriarchs transferred their seat from Alexandria to Cairo, that it spread at Memphis. The usage of the best scholars is to call it Bohairic.

THE SAHIDIC DIALECT is derived from Es-Sahid, the Arabic designation of Upper Egypt. It was at one time spoken through all Upper Egypt. It has been called Thebaic from Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, but it is uncertain, whether the tongue originated at Thebes, and it is more scientific to call it Sahidic, until new discoveries may bring forth a more correct appellation.

Much uncertainty prevails regarding the third dialect, which current usage calls the FAYOUMIAN. It was discovered by Giorgi (Frag. Evang. Joh. Græco-Copto-Thebaicum, Rome, 1789). He termed it Ammonian, believing that it had been spoken in the Oasis of Ammon. According to Quatremère, it was spoken in the greater and minor Oasis. Zoega calls it the Bashmuric, while Stern denies the identity between the Fayoumian and the Bashmuric.

There was a dialect spoken in middle Egypt in the province of Memphis, when this city had a certain importance, to which the name of Memphitic would rightly belong, were it not for fear of confounding it with the Bohairic. It was

first made known by the publication in 1878 in Paris, by M. Revillout of some documents on papyrus coming from the old monastery of St. Jeremias, near Serapeum.

The fifth dialect is made known from some fragments found in the excavations of the cemetery of Akhmim, the ancient Chemmis or Panopolis; M. Bouriant who first published these fragments has termed this dialect the Bashmurić.

By strong proper characteristics we can divide these dialects into Northern and Southern. The Northern dialect is represented by the Bohairic, the other four dialects are grouped in the Southern family, of which the Sahidic bears the greatest divergency from the Bohairic.

Concerning the antiquity of these dialects the data is very uncertain.

Athanasius, Bishop of Kos, in the eleventh century testified, that the Bohairic and Sahidic alone possessed literary importance in his age. In that epoch, the monophysite patriarchs moved their seat from Alexandria to Cairo, through which cause their tongue, the Bohairic dialect, began to prevail over the Sahidic, which latter receded further southward. The Sahidic had at that date absorbed the other Southern dialects, but was itself in a state of decadence owing to the ascendancy of the Arabic in all Egypt. Thus the Bohairic became the sole sacred tongue of all Egypt. The Arabic has now almost entirely supplanted it as the spoken language of the people.

Quatremère (*Recherches*, pp. 118) testifies that Marcel possessed a copy of a complete version made at Cairo, by the Patriarch of the See from old Coptic MSS. After the death of Marcel, this copy was bought by J. Lee Hartwell. This copy was seen in Hartwell's Library in 1847 by Bardelli, professor of Sanskrit and Coptic, in the University of Pisa. It was then incomplete, containing only Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the Psalms, the twelve Minor Prophets, the four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle of St. James, and the first Epistle of St. Peter; in all, forty-one volumes in 4to. The missing volumes perished in the burning of Marcel's house at Cairo. The books bear an Arabic

translation opposite the Coptic text. These books are somewhere in England, though, thus far, they have not all been located.

The ruin of the Sahidic literature is greater. Only fragments remain of the several books which have been dug out of the ruins of convents, and sold by the Arabs to explorers and tourists. These are scattered through the libraries of Europe.

Before speaking of the date and nature of the Coptic Scriptures, we shall first briefly notice some of the principal publications of this version in Europe.

In 1731 Wilkins published at London the Bohairic Pentateuch. In 1837, de Lagarde published a complete edition of the Pentateuch, but in neither of these editions was use made of the Vatican MS, the most ancient and best of all known Coptic MSS.

Of the other historical books we have only fragments gathered from Coptic liturgical books. De Lagarde collected these and published them in 1879. In 1846 Tattam published the Book of Job. The Bohairic Psalter was published in 1744 by Tuki from MS 5 of the Vatican. Other editions of the Psalter have been given by Ideler, Schwartz, de Lagarde, and F. Rossi.

The fragment of Proverbs I. 1 – XIV. 26, were published in 1875, in Latin characters. The same chapters were published again by Bouriant in 1882. The last named savant has also published fragments of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

In 1836, Tattam published at Oxford the Bohairic text of the Minor Prophets.

Baruch was published in 1870 at Rome from a MS of Cairo by Mgr. Bsciai.

In 1849, Bardelli published the Bohairic text of Daniel, which contains all the deutero-canonical fragments. In 1852 Tattam published a second edition of the same text, with a Latin translation.

In 1852, the Coptic text of Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezechiel was published by Tattam at Oxford.

This is the only edition yet published of these three Prophets.

In 1716, David Wilkins published the entire Bohairic New Testament. He made use of excellent MSS, and his work is the *editio princeps* of the Bohairic Version of Scripture.

In 1846, appeared the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Coptic, by Schwartz; and in 1847, the Gospels of Luke and John, by the same editor. He had a better knowledge of Coptic than Wilkins, though his edition does not show it. Schwartz was prevented by death from finishing the edition of the complete New Testament. P. Boetticher, better known as Paul de Lagarde, completed it in 1852, on a more critical plan.

The first specimens of the Sahidic version published in Europe, were by R. Tuki in his *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae*, in 1778. In 1785, Mingarelli published fragments from SS. Matthew and John from MSS furnished him by Cav. Nani. Mingarelli, left the third part of the MSS unpublished at his death. In 1789, A. Giorgi published a fragment of St. John, with a Greek translation. About the same time, Münter, the Dane, published several fragments at Copenhagen. In 1778, Woide was commissioned by the University of Oxford to publish the Sahidic New Testament. Materials accumulated, and he died in 1790, without finishing the work. Henry Ford brought it to completion in 1799. It is enriched by excellent notes. In 1801 or 1802, Zoega was employed by Cardinal Borgia to edit the Coptic Scripture from MSS then in the Cardinal's possession. In 1804, the Cardinal died, and left his library to the Propaganda. Zoega continued his work from the Propaganda's deposit. The work went to press in 1805. Litigation with Cardinal Borgia's heirs delayed it so that the edition did not appear till 1810, nearly a year after Zoega's death. It is the best collection of Coptic literature ever published. In the collection there are several Sahidic fragments.

Nothing more was done in Coptic publication, till in 1875 Peyron published the Sahidic Psalter. Since that time, important Coptic publications have been published by de Lagarde, Agapio Besciai, Ciasca, Hermann, Bouriant, Amelineau, and Maspero.

Passing over some isolated and feeble testimonies of certain ones who would make the Coptic a version derived directly from the Hebrew, we look for the proofs of its real date in the rapid spread of Christianity in Egypt. The first Christians of Egypt were probably Hellenist Jews, who made use of Greek Scriptures, but from the advent of St. Mark the religion of Christ spread rapidly among the native people, so that at his death in 62, or at the latest, in 68, Egypt had many bishops.

During half a century after his death, peace reigned, and the faith of Christ was allowed to fix its roots deeply in Egypt. At the end of the third century, Egypt was solidly and universally Christian; it had bishops in every place, and monasticism, inaugurated by St. Anthony, was a strong and growing institution. The first evangelists of Egypt, doubtless, made use of the Greek tongue. In fact, for centuries, Greek remained the official liturgical and Scriptural tongue. This is clearly proven by several Græco-Coptic MSS which have been preserved for us. But it is probable that, at the same time, Coptic translations of Scripture were made in the second century. At that epoch, the native population formed the body of Christian laity and clergy. Now the common people knew no Greek. What is a probability in the second century, is a certainty in the third century.

Many passages in the life of St. Anthony (251-256) (*Patr. Græca*, Tom. XXVI. Col. 841, 944 et seqq.) prove that the saintly hermit knew no tongue but the native Egyptian; and yet he was moved to leave the world by hearing the reading of the passage concerning the rich young man (*Matth. XIX. 16*). St. Athanasius informs us that Anthony was well versed in Scripture, and, therefore, it must have been in the Coptic Scriptures. In fact, in the writings that have come down to us of St. Anthony, frequent quotations of both Testaments appear.

History bears record of a great number of bishops and monks of that epoch who were well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and yet they knew no Greek. The tongue of the monasteries was Coptic. St. Pacomius (292-348) did not learn Greek till at an advanced age (*Rosweyde*); and in the

rules of his monastery (Patr. Lat. Migne, 23, Col. 70) it was established that the study of the Scriptures was one of the chief employments of the monks. Postulants were required to memorize the Psalter. Epiphanius informs us that Hierax, the heretic, being well versed in Greek and Coptic and in the Scriptures, seduced certain monks of Egypt by arguments drawn from the Scriptures. Hence we place the date of the Coptic Scriptures about the close of the second century.

Wetstein and Stern denied the antiquity of the Coptic version, but the former was ably refuted by Woide, and the latter by Headlam.

It is evident from these data that the Coptic version was made from the Septuagint, except in the Book of Daniel, where the text of Theodotion is taken for the basic text. The Bohairic and Sahidic versions are independent from each other, and seem to have been made from different recensions of the Greek text.

The Coptic versions are of great worth in textual criticism. They exhibit a reproduction of the Greek text before it had suffered the numerous modifications that came into it, after the issue of the Hexapla of Origen. The learned Catholic, A. Schulte, has given us a critical edition of the Prophets. The celebrated reference of Matthew XXVII. 9-10, is found in both the Bohairic and Sahidic texts of Jeremiah.*

The Bohairic New Testament is purer than the Sahidic, which gives indication of its remoter date.

Mgr. Ciasca has made a critical study of the Sahidic version. He finds that it has felt the influence of the hexaplar text, and it is probable that the version as we have it.

*Iterum dixit Jeremias Pashori: Eritis aliquando cum patribus vestris repugnantes veritati, et filii vestri venturi post vos, isti facient iniquitatem magis abominandam quam vos. Nam ipsi dabunt pretium pro eo cui nullum est pretium. Et nocebunt ei qui sanat morbos, et in remissionem peccatorum. Et accipient triginta argenteos in pretium ejus quem tradent filii Israelis. Et ad dandum id, pro agro figuli, sicut mandavit Dominus. Et dicent: Veniet super eos judicium perditionis in æternum et super filios eorum quia condemnauerunt sanguinem innocentem.

is a later recension, made to accord with some recension of the Greek text.

The Sahidic New Testament, has been studied by Muen-ter. It is inferior to the Bohairic version.

The fragments of the Akmimian version, commonly called the Bashmuric fragments, were published by Bouriant. Krall has also given us a specimen of a fragment of the Minor Prophets. But it has not been studied sufficiently to judge of its critical value. The Fayoumian version and the version of Middle Egypt, which once were identified with the Sahidic version, must be considered as separate groups, but our knowledge of them is very imperfect.

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

Concerning the evangelization of Ethiopia, Rufinus gives us the following data. Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, set out on a voyage, having in mind to visit that region which in those days was called India. He brought with him two youths, Edesius and Frumentius, for whose education he was providing. Having concluded their observations, they set sail for their own country, and while passing the coast of Abyssinia, they touched at a certain port for water and other necessary articles. The natives were at that time incensed against Rome, and they set upon Meropius and his crew and slew them. They spared the two youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom they brought to the King. Edesius was appointed his cup-bearer; and Frumentius, his secretary. Forthwith the King held them in high honor, and love. At his death, he left the kingdom to his Queen and infant son. He gave Edesius and Frumentius their liberty. The Queen besought them, that they would remain and administer the kingdom till her son should come to that estate in which he could sustain the burden of the office. She especially required the help of Frumentius, whose prudence all recognized. They remained, and Frumentius became regent of the realm. As they were both Christians, Frumentius began to make use of his great power by favoring the Christian merchants, who came to the kingdom to trade; and by his exhortation and active help, many churches were con-

structed, and many natives converted to Christianity. When the Prince came to his majority, Edesius and Frumentius set out for their own country. Edesius came to Tyre, and was made Bishop of that See. Frumentius went to Alexandria and laid before St. Athanasius, the Patriarch, the condition of the land, which he had left, and its need of a bishop and priests.

Athanasius, in a council of priests, elected Frumentius himself to be bishop of the strange country. He soon after received ordination and consecration from St. Athanasius, and returned to the scene of his first labors. The richest fruits rewarded his apostolic labors, and an immense number of the natives received the faith of Christ. Rufinus declares that he received these data from Edesius himself. (P. L. Migne, 21, 478.)

This would bring the evangelization of Abyssinia in the beginning of the fourth century. In that time Abyssinia formed the old kingdom of Auxuma.

When Constantius succeeded Constantine, he endeavored to move the King of Auxuma to expel Frumentius, and receive Arianism. This attempt failed, but in the sixth century, through the influence of the Monophysite Patriarchs of Alexandria, the Copts fell into the Monophysite heresy, and there is little of orthodox Catholicity left in the country now.

The Ethiopians call Frumentius, Abba Salama. It is evident that he could make little progress in evangelizing the country by means of Greek Scriptures, of which the people knew nothing. The data seem to warrant that Frumentius chose the Ghez dialect, which was spoken at the court and among the upper classes, and translated into this the Holy Scriptures. We believe, therefore, that the Ethiopic liturgy and version of Scripture go back to the fourth century. The Ghez dialect no longer prevails in Abyssinia. In 1300 the Amharic dialect began to supplant the old Ghez, and now the Amharic is spoken throughout the country. In the years between 1810 and 1820, Asselin de Cherville, the French consul at Cairo, translated, by the aid of Abou-Roumi, the Scriptures into Amharic. His version was purchased by the

British Bible Society. J. P. Platt revised it, and published the Gospels in 1824. He published the whole New Testament in 1829, and the whole Bible in 1842. In 1875 the society published a new edition, under the supervision of Krapf and several Abyssinians.

An inspection of the Ethiopic text, clearly reveals that it was made from the Greek. Many difficult Greek words are left untranslated. Certain errors also are explained from a misapprehension of the Greek text. Evidences are found that more than one interpreter labored in the translation. The original interpreters followed the Greek text closely, and the edition would be of much critical worth in restoring the Greek text of that age, if it had come down to us uncorrupt; but great freedom was used by later hands in interpolating many passages, so that a critical edition is necessary before the book will be of any critical worth.

No complete edition of the ancient text has ever been published. In 1513 John Potken published the Psalter and some canticles from the New Testament. In 1518 he published the Canticle of Canticles. In 1548 the New Testament was published at Rome. Some other unimportant and modern editions have been wrought, but the codices anterior to the fifteenth century have not been examined, and the outlook for the old text seems dark.

THE GOTHIC VERSION.

The Goths were a Germanic gens who, in the second century, spread from the Vistula to the Danube. Some of them were converted in the third century to Christianity. Theophilus, the Gothic bishop, sat in the Council of Nice, and signed the decree of the Consubstantiality of the Son of God. In the fourth century, they were expelled from their lands by the Huns. They receded Eastward, and took up their abode within the realm of the Byzantine Empire. As Arianism was in the ascendancy at the court of the Emperor Valens, and in the realm, they soon lapsed into that heresy.

The Gothic version is inseparably associated with Ulfilas. According to Philostorgius his contemporary Ulfilas was born of Christian parents in Dacia between 310 and 313. He was

consecrated bishop about the year 340. It seems probable that it was after the retreat of the Goths into Moesia that Ulfilas translated the Scriptures. It is probable that at that time he had embraced the Arian heresy.

The Goths in that age had no alphabet. Ulfilas adopted the old Runic characters with some additions from the Greek.

Philostorgius testifies: "that Ulfilas translated into his mother tongue, all the books of Holy Scripture except the books of Kings, for the reason that these contain the account of wars, and the Goths naturally delight in warfare, and have more need to be held back from battles than to be spurred on to warlike deeds." (Hist. Eccles. XI. 5.) This seems improbable, and is disproven by the discovery by Mai, in 1817, in the Ambrosian Library, of a palimpsest fragment of the Gothic text of Kings.

The version of Ulfilas was in universal use among the Goths, while they retained their individuality as a race but later their language, and their version passed into oblivion.

In 1669, the Chancellor of Queen Christina of Sweden, Gabriel de la Gardie, presented to the University of Upsal several MSS, among which was one which is since known as the Codex Argenteus. Investigation proved it to be a Codex of the Gothic Gospels. It is called *Argenteus*, either because its binding is of massive silver, or because its letters are of silver.

In 1817 Cardinal Mai discovered among some palimpsest Codices in the Ambrosian library at Milan fragments of Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah of the Gothic version. By the help of Carolo Ottavio Castillionei five other fragments were deciphered under other writings.

The portions of the Gothic version of the Old and New Testament, printed by Signors Mai and Castillionei, are I. Nehemiah, Chap. V. verses 13-18; Chap. VI. 14-19, and VIII. 1-3; II.; a Fragment of Saint Matthew's Gospel, containing Chap. XXV. 38-46; XXVI. 1-3; 65-75, and XXVII. 1; III.; part of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Chap. II. 22-30, and III. 1-16; IV.; Saint Paul's Epistle to Titus,

Chap. I. 1-16; II. 1.; and V. Verses 11-23 of his Epistle to Philemon.

It is to be regretted that we have no critical edition of the Gothic Scriptures.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

The evangelization of Armenia was wrought by Gregory the Illuminator, in the first years of the fourth century. Sozomen informs us that Tiridates was first converted, and then by public edict bade Armenia receive the faith of Christ. (Hist. Eccles. II. 8.)

For more than a century the Armenians had no proper version of Scripture nor liturgy. They made use of the Syriac text. At that time they had no alphabet.

When Isaac became patriarch (390-440), St. Mesrob, his co-laborer, gave himself to invent an alphabet. He traveled much and consulted many learned men, and finally, in 406, he perfected an alphabet of thirty-six letters, by which all the sounds of the Armenian language are expressed.

When Mesrob had arranged the Armenian alphabet (406 A. D.) he undertook, under the direction of the Patriarch Isaac, and with the aid of his principal disciples, John Egueghiatz and Joseph Baghin, a translation of "the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament and a translation of the New Testament." This work was finished in 411. Cfr. Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, in Langlois' *Collection of Ancient and Modern Histories of Armenia*, 2 vols. in 4mo, Paris, 1839, t. II. p. 10; T. Néve, *Christian Armenia and its Literature*, in 8mo, Paris, 1886, p. 13, 22. Cfr. Moses of Khorene, III. 53. This first version was made by Saint Isaac from the Syriac, says Moses, the historian, III. 54, because no one possessed the Greek text, and the more, because the Syriac tongue had been, for different reasons, the liturgical language in certain countries of Armenia, up to the time of the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob. Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11; Lazare de Pharbe, *Histoire X.* in Langlois' *Collection*, t. II. p. 226. Cfr. Saint Martin, *Historical and Geographical Memoirs of Armenia*, 2 in 8mo, Paris, 1819, t. I. p. 11; Tchamitchian,

History of Armenia Translated by Avdall, 2 in 8mo., Calcutta, 1827, t. I. p. 239; R. Simon, *Critical History of the Versions of the New Testament*, in 4mo, Rotterdam, 1690, p. 196. This first work, made in haste, from indifferent exemplars doubtless was defective in many things. Some years later, Isaac and Mesrob sent John Baghin with Eznik, another of their disciples, to Edessa, that they might translate the Holy Scriptures from the Syriac into the Armenian. [Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11-12.] These two young men repaired from Edessa to Byzantium, where they were rejoined by other disciples of Mesrob, among whom was Gorioun, the author of the *Biography of Mesrob*. They passed several years at Byzantium, and were still there at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431). Their labors ended, they returned to Armenia, having among their literary effects the Acts of the Council, and authentic copies of the Holy Scriptures in Greek. [Gorioun, *ibid.*] Isaac and Mesrob immediately sought to turn these latter to good account, and retouch the old version made from the Syriac, by exactly comparing it with the authentic copies which had been brought to them. But the translators who worked under their orders did not have a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language, and their labor was judged very imperfect. They, therefore, sent other young men to study Greek at Alexandria. Moses of Khorene was among this number. (Moses of Khorene, III. 61) They doubtless brought back from Egypt, other Greek exemplars of the Bible, which they used to perfect the work of their predecessors in faithfully translating the text of the Septuagint from the Hexapla of Origen; because the same signs and asterisks are found in the old Armenian manuscripts of the Bible. Cfr. P. Zohrab, *Armenian Bible*, 4 in 8mo, Venice, 1805, Introd. p. 6, 7. See Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11, 12. Moses of Khorene, III. 61; Tchamitchian, *History of Armenia*, I. 1. p. 239. Langlois, (*Collection*, t. II. p. 168, note), says that this version was officially adopted by the Fathers of the Council of Ashdishad, in 434. If the fact and the date are correct, the approbation of the Fathers can refer only to the first version made from the Greek. Vide P. Donat Vernier,

Histoire du Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, in 8mo, Paris, 1891, p. 128-129.

The Armenian version follows very closely the Greek text for the Old Testament as well as for the New. The Greek text which it follows can not be reduced to any known recension, which is explained, perhaps, by the fact mentioned above, that some of the Greek manuscripts which the translators used, came from Constantinople, or Ephesus, while others came from Alexandria. Bertholdt, *Einleitung*, t. II. p. 560, believes that the former belong to the recension of Lucian, and the latter to that of Hesychius.

The Armenian version is very little known. The majority of scholars who have occupied themselves with the criticism of the Greek text of the Bible, did not know the Armenian language.

In 1662, the Armenian Patriarch James IV. sent Bishop Uscan to Europe to manage the publication of an Armenian Bible. He came to Rome, and sojourned five months.

As the Propaganda was not certain of his orthodoxy, he was unable to realize his project at Rome; whereupon, he withdrew to Amsterdam, where he published a complete Old Testament in 1666, and the New Testament complete in 1668. The edition of Uscan was not approved by Rome. It is very imperfect.

The work of Uscan was perfected by the Armenian religious, called the Mekhitarists at Venice.

In 1805 appeared the complete edition of the Scriptures by Zohrab, one of the Mekhitarists. At first, the book of Ecclesiasticus was placed in the appendix with certain apocryphal books. They discovered later a Codex of Ecclesiasticus of the fifth century, and in a later edition in 1859, restored Ecclesiasticus to its proper place. The verse of I. John V. 7, is omitted in this edition.

Many editions have been published since that time, of which there is no need to speak.

The people living about Iberia and the region about Mt. Caucasus, who are termed Georgians, or Grusians, are said to have been converted in the fourth century by Armenians. In the life of St. Mesrob, it is stated that he also gave an alpha-

bet to this people. They received their Scriptures from the Armenians, and it is uncertain whether the translation into their proper tongue was made in the sixth or eighth century. It is also uncertain whether it was made from the Greek or Armenian text. The Georgian tongue is but little known, and no scholar has given us the resources of the aforesaid version of Scripture.

There was printed at Moscow, in 1743, an edition of Georgian Scripture, based upon the Russian text, whence it is evident that it is of no critical worth.

The other Eastern versions are late and unimportant. In the ninth century, SS. Methodius and Cyril gave to the Slavs a Slavonic translation of Scripture, most probably made from the Greek text.

The Arabic translations, some of which appear in Walton's Polyglot, were made in the tenth and twelfth centuries and are of no critical worth.

The Persian text of the Gospels which appears in Walton's Polyglot, was made from the Syriac Peshitto. Its date is uncertain, but it is later than the eighth century.

Saadias Haggaoon, a Jew living in Egypt in the tenth century, translated the Pentateuch from the Masoretic text into Arabic. In many places the work assumes the nature of a paraphrase. Translations by Saadias also exist of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, the Psalter and Job.

The Arabic text of the Pentateuch by Saadias is published in Walton's Polyglot.

In 1662, Erpenius published an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch from a MS belonging to Joseph Scaliger. This is called the *Arabs Erpenii*. It was made from the Masoretic text by a Jew in the eighth century, and is of no critical value.

We know not the date or the author of the Arabic text of Joshua published by Walton. There are also Arabic fragments of Kings, and of Ezra whose origin is uncertain.

There is also a version of the Pentateuch made by Abou Said, a Samaritan, at an uncertain date ranging between the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was made from the Hebrew text of the Samaritan Codex in Samaritan characters.

The Arabic text of the Prophets which appears in Walton's Polyglot, was made from the Septuagint, and Theodotion's version of Daniel. The Arabic text of the other books which appears therein was made also from the Greek at uncertain dates, but all later than the tenth century.

The Arabic text of the New Testament was made directly from the Greek. Its date is unknown, but the eighth century would be the earliest possible date.

The Persian Pentateuch of Walton was made by a Jew of the sixteenth century. It follows the Masoretic text servilely, and is of small critical worth. The Persian text of the Gospels which was made from the Greek, is assigned to the fourteenth century. Other versions may exist, but they have not been studied.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE VULGATE.

We have sufficiently discoursed of the causes and movements which led up to Jerome's great translation, which, from its constant and universal use in the Church of God, has been aptly called the *VULGATE*.

It was in his cell at Bethlehem, about the year 389, that Jerome began his great work. His design was not favored by the clergy of Rome, who accused him of endeavoring to set aside the Septuagint and the *Vetus Itala*. He declares that such was not his intent, but only to furnish a translation that the Jews could not reject in controversy with the Christians. Jerome never foresaw the great results that were to follow from his labors. He began with the books of Samuel and Kings. In 393 he had completed these, together with the sixteen Prophets, the Psalter and Job. The work was then intermitted for some time. In 395 he translated Ezra and Chronicles. These were followed by a translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the *Canticle of Canticles*. The work of translating the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Ruth was begun in 398 and terminated in 404. Some time in this period, Jerome translated Tobias and Judith from the Chaldaic text.

Jerome's version of the Psalter was never received into common use by the Church. The probable cause was the danger of scandal to the common people, who committed much of the Psalter to memory. Had Jerome's translation been substituted for the old text, the simple people would have been unable to reconcile the wide divergency of the two texts with their reverence for Holy Scripture.

Jerome was guided in his method of translation by two norms. 1.—The great and principal norm was to reproduce the sense, not binding himself to text, word for word. What ever may be Jerome's declaration concerning his work, an examination of the Vulgate will reveal this general design running all through it. Thus, at times, he changes completely the order and form of the Hebrew sentence; again, he avoids the excessive minuteness of description and frequent repetitions of the same text. The following two examples will illustrate this:

Genesis XXXIX. 19-20.
(Literal Hebrew.)

“And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying: After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the King's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison.”

Exodus XL. 12-15. (Hebrew.)

“And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tabernacle of the covenant, and wash them with water. And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the

Genesis XXXIX. 19-20
(Vulgate.)

“His master hearing these things, and giving too much credit to his wife's words, was very angry, and cast Joseph into the prison, where the King's prisoners were kept, and he was there shut up.”

Exodus XL. 12-15. (Vulgate.)

“And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the door of the tabernacle of the covenant, and having washed them with water, thou shalt put on them the holy vestments, that they may minister to me, and that the unction of them may pros-

priest's office. And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats: And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations." per to an everlasting priesthood."

Jerome omits two whole verses, and condenses their import in the other two.

This is praised by some as a certain elegance in Latin diction, but I must confess I prefer the quaint simplicity of the old text with no abridgment.

At times Jerome has failed to apprehend the sense of the Hebrew. The following is a notable example:

| | |
|--|--|
| Gen. XLIX. 22. (Hebrew.) | Gen. XLIX. 22. (Vulgate.) |
| "Joseph is a fruitful son (bough), a fruitful son (planted) by the fountain whose branches run over the wall." | "Joseph is a growing son, a growing son and comely to behold: the daughters run to and fro upon the wall." |

It is evident that the holy text likens Joseph to a vine planted in well irrigated soil; and Joseph's prosperity is likened to the healthy growth of this vine which sends forth its shoots over the wall. It is easy to see that this is more congruous to the grave sense of Scripture, than the picture of maidens running about on an eminence to see the beautiful Joseph.

Again when Jerome essays to translate proper names into their supposed signification, he sometimes errs.

The following text will illustrate this assertion:

| | |
|---|---|
| Joshua XIV. 15. (Hebrew.) | Joshua XIV. 15. (Vulgate.) |
| "And the name of Hebron before was Kiriath-Arba (the city of Arba) who was a great man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war." | "The name of Hebron before was called Cariath-Arbe; Adam, the greatest among the Enacim was laid there; and the land rested from wars." |

The sense is simply that Hebron was called the city of Arba, who had been a great hero of the Anakim. How far Jerome has departed from this sense we leave the reader to judge. Again:

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>II. Ezra IX. 7. (Vulgate.)
 "Thou, O Lord God, art he who chosest Abram, and broughtest him forth out of the fire of the Chaldeans, and gavest him the name of Abraham."</p> | <p>II. Ezra IX. 7. (Hebrew.)
 "Thou art the Lord God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur, of the Chaldeans, and gavest him the name of Abraham."</p> |
|---|--|

It is plain that the inspired text wishes to state, that Abram was called by God out of the Chaldean city Ur. Jerome's love for Hebrew led him to accept much from the Rabbis, and here they have deceived him.

Sometimes, in things relating to the substantial sense, he has failed to catch the meaning. An example of this is the following passage:

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Exodus XXIII. 13. (Literal Hebrew.)
 "And in all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of your mouth."</p> | <p>Exodus XXIII. 13. (Vulgate.)
 "Keep all things that I have said to you. <i>And by the name of strange gods thou shalt not swear</i>, neither shall it be heard out of your mouth."</p> |
|--|---|

The precept is against idolatry, not against profanity.

A similar serious defect occurs in the well-known passage of Isaiah XI. 10, wherein Jerome translates the close of the verse: "—and his peace will be glorious," by "—and his sepulchre will be glorious." The Prophet predicted the glorious reign of Christ, which succeeded to his period of suffering, and not, as the Vulgate leads some to believe, the honor that is paid to the Holy Sepulchre.

Although these and certain other such defects occur in the Vulgate of Jerome, it remains, in the main, the best of all

the versions of Scripture. This is even admitted by rationalists and protestants.*

A translator is not an inspired agent, and these few defects simply show that the translation was a human work. The world has been studying languages, studying the Scriptures, thinking, and writing for a decade and a half of centuries since Jerome lived, and it is not strange that in a few cases some slight betterment could be now wrought in his translation, but considering the time and circumstances in which it was done, the translation of Jerome must ever remain one of the great works of man.

The labors of Jerome met with much opposition, both during his life and after his death. Jerome's character was one to antagonize a certain element of mankind. He was a man of power, high-minded, noble, intolerant of baseness and pettiness. By his talents he had outstripped his fellows, and then had to look down upon the envy of those of a lower plane. His prefaces to the several books, and his letters to friends, show that he was not of a temper of mind to conciliate his opponents by bland words.

These opponents decried Jerome and his work on the plea that he was attacking the Septuagint, which had been practically adopted by the Church. But there was another element in the opposition, composed of good men, who, actuated by zeal for the Church, feared that the people would be scandalized by this new presentation of the truths of Scripture, with which, in the old form, they were now familiar. St. Augustine was of this number, but towards

**Haeavernick* Einl. I. p. 444: "Seine im Ganzen sehr wahren hermeneutischen Principien . . . Machen seine Arbeit zu *einer der ausgezeichnetsten Leistungen* des kirchl. Alterthums." *Keil* Einl. p. 572: "Seine Uebersetzung . . . übertrifft alle alten Versionen an Genauigkeit und Treue." *Uti* "orthodoxi," ita rationalistæ quoque, inter quos *De Wette-Schrader* Einl. p. 137: "Vermæge seiner Sorgfalt . . . brachte er vielleicht *das Vortrefflichste* zu Stande, was in dieser Art das ganze Alterthum aufzuweisen hat." *Bleek-Wellhausen* Einl. p. 598: "Die Arbeit im Ganzen ist von unbefangenen Richtern allezeit als *sehr gelungen* anerkannt." *Distel* Gesch. des A. T. p. 93: "Unmittelbar aus dem Hebr. Text geschöpft, meist in moeglichst gewandter Sprache, mehr auf die Wiedergabe des rechten Sinnes als auf sklavische Woertlichkeit gerichtet, *erhielt sie mit vollem Recht den Rang einer Vulgata,*" etc. (Apud Cornely, op. cit.)

the end of his life, he was more favorably disposed to Jerome's translation, which he commended and used.

There was no sudden transition from the old to the new version. It was a gradual movement, sustained by the intrinsic excellence of the Vulgate.

The earliest and most universal endorsement of Jerome's translation came from Gaul. Cassian (†432), during Jerome's life, called it the more correct edition. Soon after his death, Eucherius of Lyon (†454), Vincent of Lerins (†450), Prosper (†450), Sedulius (†450), Avitus (†532), and Cæsarius of Arles (†542) adopted it as the received text of Scripture.

At Rome, during the fifth and sixth centuries, the drift was decidedly in favor of the *Vetus Itala*, against the Vulgate. St. Leo the Great (440-461) and Pope Hilary (461-468) made some use of the Vulgate. With John III. (560-578) the tide set in strongly towards the Vulgate, and St. Gregory the Great (590-604), who considered the Vulgate the *truer* translation, is witness that only small use was made in his day of the *Vetus Itala*. From that time forth the *Vetus Itala* was neglected, and Jerome's translation became, in very deed, the Vulgate. St. Isidore of Seville (†636) declares that Jerome's translation "is universally used, for the reason that it is truer in its sense, and clearer in its diction." (*De Off.* I. 12). Ven. Bede. (†735) made almost exclusive use of the Vulgate. Rhabanus Maurus and Walafred Strabo declare, that "in the principal books the whole Church of Rome uses the translation of Jerome." (*Instit. Cler.* II. 54). The ascendancy of the Vulgate was accomplished, not by any official decree, but by the steady growth of the recognition of its excellence.

The mode of diffusion of written data of those days made them greatly liable to corruption. When a book is printed, it is fixed and unchangeable. But in the old days, when the publishing of a book was by means of manuscripts written by men who were ever prone, either by ignorance or negligence, to permit errors, or by active, arbitrary design to insert certain judgments of their own into the text, the more a book was copied the more it was corrupted; for it was made

to reflect something of every one through whose hands it had passed. This was augmented, in the case of the Vulgate, by the contemporaneous existence for centuries of the two Latin versions. Passages were copied from one into the other. There was much revision, and re-revision, remodeling, and sciolism, till the two texts were well mixed and corrupted. Hugh of St. Victor, testifies of this state as follows: "It has come about by a perverse usage, since different ones follow different translations, that both are now so mixed that no man knows what is proper to each text." (Pat. Lat. Migne, 175, 17.)

Learned men arose in the Church and strove to remedy this evil. CASSIODORUS emended the text for his monks. Alcuin, at the bidding of Charlemagne, revised the entire Latin version, and presented the corrected copy to Charlemagne in 801. From this text were made the *Bibles of Alcuin*, or of Charlemagne, as they are sometimes called. They were much in use up to the thirteenth century. Many of the codices of the Vulgate are of this recension.

Other corrections were made by St. Peter Damian (†1072), St. Lanfranc of Canterbury (†1089), and the Cistercian St. Stephen (†1134).

As the corruption was universal in character, these private efforts were inadequate to remedy the evil. Hence, in the thirteenth century, theologians formulated a design for an APPARATUS CRITICUS, which should serve as a norm to correct all texts. The data of the Apparatus Criticus were taken from the old codices, from the writings of the Fathers, from the commentaries of Jerome, from the Glossary of Strabo, and the interlinear Glossary of Stephen Langton. Some collation was also made of the original texts. The results of these labors were, in 1226, embodied in the *Correctorium of Paris*.

This work afterwards received the approbation of the Archbishop of Sens, Primate of Gaul, for which cause it is sometimes called the *Correctorium Senonense*. This work of the University of Paris in nowise benefitted the text. It was simply the multiplication of a poor text, with some additional corruption, so that Roger Bacon said of it:

“Textus pro majori parte horribiliter corruptus est . . . et ubi non habet corruptionem, habet tantam dubitationem quæ merito cadit in omnem Sapientem.” (Apud Hody, De Text. Orig.)

The method employed by those who wrought the *Correctoria* of the thirteenth century was to note down on the margin of a manuscript copy of the text the judgments concerning individual passages. Hence, we find in the margin: “est de textu,” “non est de textu,” “vera est litera,” “falsa est litera,” etc. Sometimes, also, the margins contain different readings from other manuscripts. The critical worth of these *Correctoria* is to us considerable.

The Dominican Chapter of France in 1256, condemned the *Correctorium* of Sens, and proscribed its use in the Order.

Some efforts had been made by the Dominicans to have a corrected and uniform text, and the first work worthy of note was executed by Hugh de St. Cher, general of the Order. As Hugh knew Hebrew, he essayed to remove all glosses from the Vulgate, and restore it to its pristine state. He made no use of old MSS, but corrected it according to the Hebrew and Greek. It is more a second translation than a critical recension of the Vulgate.

There were some other minor *Correctoria* executed by the Dominicans, of which but little is known. Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, and other theologians employed the texts of Scripture as found in the *Correctorium* of the Dominicans. Although great erudition and labor was expended on this work, it failed through a defective critique. They had, in a measure, substituted their work for the work of Jerome, and Jerome's work was the better. They had also placed in the margin many readings judged to be erroneous, underlining them in red, or affixing to them some other sign, that readers might be warned against them. In time the indications were unobserved, and the readings crept into the text. Roger Bacon, said of this text: “Eorum correctio est pessima corruptio, et destruitur textus Dei; et longe minus malum est uti exemplari Parisiensi non correcto quam eorum correctione.” (Apud Hody, l. c.)

The Correctorium of the Franciscans has been erroneously termed the Correctorium of the Sorbonne, from the fact that it became known from a manuscript of the Sorbonne, which is at present in the National Library in Paris (Latin 15554). Its method was similar to that of the Dominicans, but of its value little is known. The Correctorium of the Vatican, so called from its MS in the Vatican, was executed about the beginning of the fourteenth century by William de Mara, a Franciscan of Oxford. The man was a disciple of Bacon, and his work shows much erudition and critique. He made use of Hebrew and Greek, not to supplant the version of Jerome, but to perfect it. His Correctorium is the best of all. He fails sometimes, especially in Greek, of which he knew less than of Hebrew.

Many other Correctoria existed which merit no mention here.

We insert here some mention of a few of the principal manuscripts of the Vulgate.

Chief among these is the *CODEx AMIATINUS*.

This manuscript, the most celebrated, if not the oldest of the Vulgate of Jerome, belongs to the Laurentian Library at Florence. It is registered *Amiatinus I.*, because it is one of the manuscripts, which were brought from the Abbey of Mount Amiato, near Sienna, to the aforesaid monastery, at the time of the Abbey's suppression in 1786. The script is the uncial lettering of Italian caligraphy. The parchment is divided in cahiers of sixteen pages each. Every page has two columns of text, and each column forty-four lines. The whole width of the initial letters of the verses or stichs is displayed on the margin of the MS. There is no punctuation. The text is divided into stichs. It has no adorned initials, such as the beautiful ones we see in the manuscripts of the Carolingian epoch. Its height is fifty centimeters, its width thirty-four. The manuscript forms only one volume of one thousand and twenty-nine leaves. It contains the whole text of the Vulgate, every book prefaced by an introduction or prologue by St. Jerome.

On the back of the first page of the manuscript is read the following inscription in verse:

"Cœnobium ad eximii merito venerabile Salvatoris,
 Quem caput Ecclesiæ dedicat alta fides,
 Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finib. abbas
 Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
 Meque meos optans tanti inter gaudia patris
 In coelis memorem semper habere locum."

The Abbot Peter is unknown. The expression, head of the Church, applied to the monastery of Mt. Amiato is very strange. Moreover, the words "Cœnobium," "Salvatoris," and "Petrus Langobardorum" are words written by a second hand upon an erasure. Evidently the dedication of the manuscript was defaced at the time of the change of ownership. The question has engaged many to ascertain for whom the manuscript was originally intended. Bandini of the last century, in drawing up a catalogue of the Laurentian manuscripts, proposed to correct the first verse as follows: "*Culmen ad eximii merito venerabile Petri.*" The hexameter is restored at the same time, and the first verse is made to agree with the second: "*Quem caput Ecclesiæ dedicat alta fides.*"

Thus it would result that the manuscript were one offered to the Roman Church, *Caput Ecclesiæ*. For the "Petrus Langobardorum," Bandini proposed to substitute "*Servandus Latii.*" In fact, at the beginning of Leviticus, we read the name of such copyist, who labored at the production of the manuscript. We know of an Abbot Servandus of the sixth century, a friend of St. Benedict of the neighborhood of Alatri, on the boundaries of Latium. The Codex Amiatinus was thus considered a manuscript of the sixth century, of Italian origin: it has been accepted as such by Tischendorf.

The finding of the authentic original, and the age of the Codex Amiatinus, is one of the most brilliant discoveries of M. de Rossi. In a memoir on the sources of the library of the Holy See, published in 1886, which memoir is used as a preface to the catalogues of the Vatican library, he relates how in the seventh or eighth century, the bishops and the abbots outside of Italy desired much to receive manuscripts from the Popes, so that Pope Martin (649-653) could write: "*Codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, unde ei*"

(the carrier of the letter) dare nullatenus habuimus; transcribere autem non potuit, quoniam festinanter de hac civitate egredi properavit."

Benedict Biscop, the founder of the Abbeys of Wearmouth and Yarrow, was one of those prelates of the seventh century, devout to the things and books of Rome. Five times (in 653, 658, 671, 678 and in 684), he made pilgrimages to Rome, bringing back every time, according to Bede's testimony, "innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam." At his death he left to his two Abbeys "bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat."

His successor was Ceolfrid, who was the master of Bede, of whom Bede tells us, that he took a great care of Benedict Biscop's library, and had three manuscripts of the Holy Scripture executed according to a copy brought from Rome, and that he gave a copy to each of his two Abbeys, Wearmouth and Yarrow, and then, when he started for Rome, he took the third copy, in order to offer it to the Holy See. Ceolfrid died on the way, at Langres, Sept. 25, 716. But the monks, who accompanied him, proceeded towards the Eternal City, and it is to be supposed that they accomplished their Abbot's intentions, thus expressed by Bede: "Inter alia donaria quæ afferre disposuerat misit Ecclesiæ sancti Petri pandectem a Beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebræo vel Græco fonte translaturam."

M. de Rossi based a conjecture upon those facts, that we should read in the dedicatory of the Codex Amiatinus, neither "*Petrus Langobardorum*" nor "*Servandus Latii*," but "*Ceolfridus Britonum*." The two words proposed by M. de Rossi fitted exactly the place of the erasure. The poetical quantity only was still defective. M. Samuel Berger proposed "*Ceolfridus Anglorum*." While the English reviewers were theorizing for and against this conjecture, which brought down to the eighth century the most important manuscript of Jerome's Vulgate, and made of it an Anglo-Saxon work. M. Hort pointed out in an anonymous *Life of Ceolfrid*, very likely Bede's work, published for the first time in 1841, a passage in which it is related, in the

same terms as above, how Ceolfrid had made three copies of the Roman Bible in his possession; that he intended to offer one of those three copies to the Church of St. Peter at Rome; that he died during his pilgrimage; and that the Bible destined for St. Peter's bore the following verses:

"Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat Ecclesie quem caput alta fides,
 Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,
 Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei," etc.

We could not wish for a conjecture a more perfect verification. The Codex Amiatinus, therefore, was executed between 690, date of Benedict Biscop's death, and 716, and rather about 690 than towards 716, in Northumberland, either at Yarrow, or at Wearmouth, and it is the copy of a manuscript of Jerome's Vulgate brought from Rome.

The Codex Amiatinus is at present held to represent the most ancient condition of Jerome's Vulgate, that is to say, it approaches closest to the text executed by Jerome. It played a considerable part in the history of the Vulgate in the middle age.

"It is from Northumberland that the good texts of the Vulgate have been spread, not only in Italy, to whom England paid thus its debt, but moreover, in France, for Alcuin came from York and was selected by Charles the Great (Charlemagne), for correcting the text of the Bible."—Samuel Berger, *De l' Histoire de la Vulgate en France*, Paris, 1887, p. 4.

Tischendorf published the text of the New Testament of the Codex Amiatinus, C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino*, Leipzig, 1890–1894. See Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*, Florence, 1891, t. I., p. 701–732; Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, p. XI., Oxford, 1889; De Rossi, *La Biblia offerta da Ceolfrido abbate al sepolcro di S. Pietro*, Rome, 1888; J. White, *The Codex Amiatinus and its birthplace in the Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1870, t. II, p. 273–308. (P. Batiffol in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.)

The next great Codex of the Vulgate is the *CODEx FULDENSIS*. It contains only the entire New Testament, and

can not be made equal to Codex Amiatinus. Its colophon declares that it was made under the supervision of Victor, Bishop of Capua. Victor ascended the episcopal throne in 541. From the Roman dates affixed to the instrument, chronographers establish that it was finished in 546.

St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, is believed to have carried the Codex into Germany, and it is not improbable that he had the Codex with him when he was martyred in Frisia in 755.

The Codex bears certain explanatory notes from the hand of Boniface.

It is preserved at Fulda. It has been published and accurately described by E. Reinke, Marbourg, 1868.

THE CODEX TOLETANUS contains all the books of both Testaments, except Baruch. It is written in Gothic capital characters, hence it is sometimes called the Gothic Codex. It was used in the Sixtine and Clementine correction of the Vulgate. Its date is placed in the eighth century. It is the present property of the Metropolitan Church of Toledo.

THE CODEX CAVENSIS is a MS of Jerome's Vulgate, the property of the Abbey of La Cava, near Salerno. It consists of 303 leaves, in three columns of 54 and 55 lines. The titles and prologues are in uncial characters; the body of the text is in minuscule Roman characters. M. Berger advances the theory that the Codex is a production of the Visigoths of Spain, in the ninth century, if not of the end of the eighth. It contains all the books of both Testaments.

THE CODEX FOROIULIENSIS of the sixth century, formerly contained the four Gospels, but now is mutilated in Mark.

THE CODEX OTTOBONIANUS contains the Octateuch complete.

THE CODEX PAULINUS or CAROLINUS, and THE CODEX STATIANUS or VALLICELLIANUS of the ninth century, contain all the books of both Testaments of the recension of Alcuin. They were much prized by Sirleti and others in the emendation of the Vulgate.

After the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, the first book ever printed was the Vulgate printed at Mainz, in 1450. From that time up to the close of the century,

great activity was exercised in the printing of the Latin Vulgate, and more than a hundred different editions were printed in that period.

But little critical care was bestowed on these early editions, and the best MSS were not employed, so that they are of no critical worth.

The Dominican Castellanus issued an edition at Venice in 1506, in which he printed some marginal readings, collected principally from other printed editions. The first real critical edition of the Vulgate text was the Complutensian, whose text was excellent for that time.

After the rise of protestantism, the protestants threw off all reverence for the Vulgate. They changed its readings at will, and made for themselves new editions from the original texts.

The Dominican Sanctes Pagninus (†1541) and Cajetan made new Latin versions. Augustine Steuchus, and Isidore Clarius, revised the text of the Vulgate in conformity with the original texts. Hittorp endeavored, in his edition of Cologne in 1530, to restore the text of Jerome to its original purity.

Robert Etienne collected at Paris a considerable number of codices and spent upwards of twenty years, from 1528 to 1548 and beyond, in emending the text of the Vulgate. His labors were profitable to the study of the text, but he unwisely inserted certain of Calvin's annotations in some of his editions, and drew upon his work the censure of the University of Paris. The best of Etienne's editions is that of 1540, and the faculty were unwise in extending their censure to this excellent text, wherein was naught of Calvinism or other error.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE VULGATE BY THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

On the 17th of March, 1546, in the general session, the Fathers who had been charged to investigate the status of the Latin text of Scripture reported four abuses. Only the first two are relevant to our present theme.

The first abuse was the existence of many Latin versions of the Scriptures, which were used as authentic in public readings, disputations, and discourses. The remedy suggested was to have the old Vulgate as the sole authentic edition which all should use as authentic in all public reading, and in the exposition and preaching of Holy Scripture; and that no one should reject it or impugn its truth; and not thereby to detract aught from the genuine and true version of the Seventy Interpreters, which the Apostles sometimes used, nor to reject other editions which help to find the source of the authentic Vulgate.

The second abuse was the corruption of the codices of the Vulgate.

The remedy was to expurgate and amend the codices and restore to the Christian world the genuine text of the Vulgate, free from error. And the Fathers petitioned the Pope to cause this great work to be done and also to bring it about that the Church of God might also have a correct Greek and Hebrew text.*

Several particular assemblies and three general sessions discussed this proposition, and finally, the Council promulgated its famous decree.

“The same thrice holy Synod, believing that much benefit may accrue to the Church of God, if from among all the Latin versions of the Holy Scriptures which are in circulation, an authentic one be recognized, decrees and declares

*“*Primus abusus* est: habere varias editiones S. Scripturæ, et illis velle uti pro authenticis in publicis lectionibus et prædicationibus. Remedium est: habere unam tantam editionem, veterem scilicet et Vulgatam, qua omnes utantur pro authentica in publicis lectionibus, expositionibus et prædicationibus, et quod nemo illam reiicere audeat aut illi contradicere; non detrahendo tamen auctoritati puræ et veræ interpretationis Septuaginta interpretum, qua nonnunquam usi sunt Apostoli, neque reiiciendo alias editiones, quatenus authenticæ illius Vulgatæ intelligentiam iuvant. —*Secundus abusus* est corruptio codicum qui circumferuntur Vulgatæ huius editionis. Remedium est, ut expurgatis et emendatis codicibus restituatur christiano orbi pura et sincera Vulgata editio a mendis librorum, qui circumferuntur. Id autem munus erit S. S. Synodus humiliter exorabit, ut pro ovibus Christi Suae Beatitudini creditis hoc onus ingentis fructus et gloriæ sui ipsius animi magnitudine dignum suscipiat; curando etiam, ut unum codicem Græcum unumque Hebræum, quoad fieri potest, correctum habeat Ecclesia sancta Dei.”

that the old edition of the Vulgate, which has been approved by the Church by the usage of so many centuries, shall be held authentic in all public readings, disputations, and in the public exposition and preaching of Scripture, and that no man may reject it upon whatever pretext. . . . And having in mind to establish also a rule for printers . . . the Council decrees and establishes that, hereafter, the Holy Scripture, especially this old Vulgate, shall be most carefully printed."*

Some believe that the Council of Trent established two conditions that a book be judged canonical: 1. the fact that it had been read in the church,—“*prouti in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt;*” 2. its presence in the Vulgate—“*et in Veteri Vulgata Editione habentur.*” Thus they judge that the mere presence of a book in the Vulgate edition is not sufficient; but there must be present the constant reading in the Church.

This seems to us unfounded. The Council did not contemplate a possible discrepancy between the Vulgate and the Church's traditional use of Scripture. In fact the reason of the Vulgate's authority is the fact that it was constantly read in the Church. The test of Canonicity is one, that is the constant reading of all the books in the Church's text of Scripture. The presence of the books in the Vulgate is not a second condition but an explanation of the first. The Vulgate is the concrete expression of the constant use of the Church. This is clear from the Acts of the Council wherein we find that the clause concerning the Vulgate was added simply to determine what was the Church's use of Scripture.

What the Council of Trent decreed for the Vulgate could have been decreed of the Old Latin Version.

*“Eadem sacrosancta Synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur et ut nemo illam reiicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat. . . . Sed et impressoribus modum in hac parte, ut par est, imponere volens, . . . decernit et statuit, ut posthac S. Scriptura, potissimum vero hæc ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur.”

The decree of the Council of Trent set in motion a turbulent movement especially in Spain. The power was in the hands of those who defended the absolute infallibility and absolute sanction of the Vulgate. These by violence and the power of the law prevented any expression of honest thought which came short of adoration of the Vulgate. Men were cast into prison for attempting to explain the legitimate sense of the great Council's decree. Others, through fear of the Inquisition, either adopted the views of the party in power or kept a prudent silence. "I know," says Bannez, "what I would respond by word of mouth, if asked by the Church; meanwhile, I maintain a prudent and religious silence." (In I. S. Thom.)

The position of these extremists was that the Council had defined the absolute infallibility of the Vulgate, even in the least details; that no error of whatever nature was to be found in the Latin Vulgate; that since the Greek Schism, the Latin Church had remained the sole depository of the truth, and hence her Scriptures alone were authentic, and absolutely authentic. Of this movement Richard Simon truly wrote: "There were but very few persons who accurately comprehended the sense of the decree of Trent which pronounced the Vulgate authentic. . . . The greater number of those who agitated this question scarcely understood anything of it, and they were moved more by prejudice and passion, than by sense and judgment. "*Periit iudicium postquam res transiit in affectum.*" (Hist. Crit. du V. T. II. 14.)

We find an accurate and dispassionate description of these causes and effects in the Disputation on the Vulgate of John Mariana.* What he has written of Spain, could be affirmed in less degree of other countries in that period.

*John Mariana, S. J. was born in the diocese of Toledo in Spain, in 1537. He was endowed with great mental power and uprightness of character. He studied in the Complutensian Academy, and in 1554 entered the Society of the Jesuits. In 1561, he came to Rome and taught Scripture for four years. In 1569, he went to Paris and expounded the Summa of St. Thomas, in the great Academy for five years. His character was honest and severe, and his insight into truth profound. Through failing health he was forced to remit some of this study, and in 1574 he returned

“Opus molestum suscipimus, multâque difficultate impeditum, periculosam aleam, ac quâ nescio an ulla disputatio his superioribus annis inter theologos, in Hispaniâ præsertim, majori animorum ardore et motu agitata sit, odioque partium magis implacabili, usque eò, ut à probris et contumeliis, quibus se mutuò fœdabant, ad tribunalia ventum sit; atque quæ pars sibi magis confidebat, adversarios de Religione postulatò gravissimè exercuit, quasi impios, superbos, arrogantes, qui divinorum librorum auctoritatem, atque ejus interpretationis fidem, quâ Ecclesia utitur passim, et quæ *vulgata editio* nuncupatur, audacter elevarent, novis interpretationibus prolatis invectisque contrà divinas leges et humanas, concilii Tridentini decreta non ità pridem promulgata. Tenuit ea causa multorum animos suspensos expectatione, quem tandem exitum habitura esset, cum viri eruditionis opinione præstantes, è vinculis cogentur causam dicere, haud levi salutis existimationisque discrimine: miseranda virtutis conditio, quandò pro laboribus, quos susceperat maximos, compellebantur eorum à quibus defendi par fuisset, odia, accusationes, contumelias tolerare, quo exemplo multorum præclaros impetus retardari, viresque debilitari atque concidere necesse erat. Omninò fregit ea res multorum animos alieno periculo considerantium, quantum procellæ immineret liberè affirmantibus quæ sentirent. Itaque aut in aliorum castra transibant frequentes, aut tempori cedendum judicabant. Et quid facerent, cum frustrà niti neque fatigando (ut ille ait) aliud quàm odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ sit? Plerique inhærentes persuasioni vulgari, libenter in opinione perstabant, iis placitis faventes, in quibus minus periculi esset, haud magnâ veritatis curâ. Quidam enim editionem vulgatam sugillant, quasi multis vitiis fœdam, ad fontes identidem provocantes.

to Spain, and in a studious retirement at Toledo, he lived to an extreme old age, dying in 1624. Mariana was a man of unblemished life, and intolerant of evil. He was no timeserver, and attacked evil wherever he found it. Having attacked some abuses of the State, in a treatise *De Monete Mutatione*, he was judged guilty of *læsæ majestatis*, and in his seventy-second year was imprisoned in a Franciscan monastery. His writings consist of numerous short treatises on various subjects, several being on the Scriptures.

undè ad nos ii rivi manârunt, ac contendentes Græcorum Hebraicorumque codicum collatione castigandam videri, quoties ab illis discrepârît, linguarum peritiâ tumidi, ecclesiasticam simplicitatem ludibrio habentes; quorum profectò audacia ac temeritas pronuntiandi meritò frænanda est. E contrario, alii majori numero adversariorum odio nefas putant vulgatam editionem attrectare, atque in impiorum numero habent, si quis vel levem vocem castigare tentet, si locum aliquem aliter explicare contendat, quàm vulgata interpretatio præ se ferat (quos imitari profectò non debemus) pusillo homines animo, opletis tenebris, angustèque sentientes de Religionis nostræ majestate, qui dùm opinionum castella pro fidei placitis defendunt, ipsam mihi arcem prodere videntur, fraternam charitatem turpissimè violantes. Ergò extremâ et deviâ vitatâ, quæ in præcipitia desinit, mediam viam tenere constituimus, quâ ferè in omni disputatione vitatis erroribus ad veritatem pervenitur."

The protestants, taking the statements of the Spanish theologians for the position of the Church, loudly proclaimed that the Council had bound Scriptural science with chains of iron, and condemned it to a sterile immobility.*

The labors of Catholic theologians in establishing the real sense of this decree, have removed the cause for this calumny, and it is only the presence of a dense veil of ignorance, that in our days permits a repetition of this old falsehood.

The Church was not responsible for the course of thought in Spain. The best institutions of God and man have been, and will be abused. The Council spoke the truth, and men, in an inconsiderate zeal, misunderstood its words. Some misunderstand them yet, but the current of thought in this regard is better now than then.

We place, therefore, as a thesis: That the Council of Trent, in declaring the Vulgate the authentic text of Scrip-

*Cfr. ex. gr. *Kiel* Einl. p. 579: "Mit diesem Decret war zwar der Grundtext nicht ausdrücklich verworfen, aber doch für ganz überflüssig erklärt und die Uebersetzung kanonisirt worden." *De Wette-Schrader* Einl. p. 145: "Was man auch zur Milderung dieses Decretes sagen mag, immer ist damit der exegetischen Forschung der Eingang in die öffentliche Kirchenlehre verschlossen." Alii alio modo eadem repetunt. (Cornely op. cit.)

ture, did not place the excellence of the Vulgate above the original texts of Scripture, nor above the old versions of Scripture which had been in use in the Church, neither did it deny the authenticity of these texts.

A sufficient argument for this position is in the very words of the decree, and in the nature of the abuse which it was intended to remove. There was no mention of original texts or versions other than the Latin. A multiplicity of Latin versions created confusion, and the Council chose one Latin version, which should be the official text of Latin Scriptures for the Latin Church. The original texts and old versions have the same merit as before, and are as authentic as when they formed the Scriptural basis of the decisions of councils, prior to the Council of Trent. Cardinal Pole and others demanded that a text in Greek and Hebrew might also be declared authentic. Although this was not done, we have every reason to believe that it would have been done if the need existed. In the Greek Church no great variety of translations existed. The Greeks used their authentic text, which had been always sanctioned by the Church's use, even before the Latin existed. No one denied its authenticity, and the Council left it in the peaceful possession of what it always had. The Hebrew text was not in use as a practical text of Scripture by any Christian Church, and there was no need to declare it authentic. It is characteristic of the Catholic Church not to indulge in superfluous legislation. Her decisions are few, and framed to meet actual needs.

The deliberations of the Fathers, as related to us by Pallavicini (*Storia del Conc. di Trento*), show plainly that the Fathers wished to save the credit of the original texts and the old versions: "It was the common opinion that the Vulgate edition should be preferred to all other (Latin) editions; but Pacheco petitioned that these others should be also condemned, especially those made by heretics; and he extended this afterwards to the Septuagint. Bertram opposed this, maintaining that there was always a diversity of versions in use with the faithful, which usage the Fathers had approved. And who would dare, he said, condemn the

translation of the Septuagint which the Church uses in her psalmody? . . . Let one version be approved, and the others be neither approved nor condemned."

After the expression of these views, Card. Del Monte, one of the presidents of the Council, closed the disputation in these words: "The matter has been discussed and prepared. We come now to the form. The majority holds that the Vulgate should be received, but care must be taken lest the others should be thought to be tacitly rejected." The "others" are evidently the original texts and the old versions. Could anything be clearer? The Fathers took thought lest their action might seem to be the tacit repudiation of the other texts.

This sense is confirmed by the express declarations of some of the principal theologians of the Council. Salmeron, S. J., who was one of the Pope's theologians in the Council, declares: "We shall show that the approbation of Jerome's translation imported, in no way, the rejection of the Greek or Hebrew texts. There was no question of Greek or Hebrew texts. Action was only taken to determine which was the most excellent of the many Latin versions. The Council left every man free to consult the Greek and Hebrew texts, that he might thereby emend its errors, or elucidate its sense, hence, without infringement on the authority of the Council, where the texts differ, we may make use of the text from the Greek or Hebrew copy, and expound it as a text of Scripture. We may use such text, not alone for moral instruction, but also use it as a Scriptural basis for the dogmas of the Church."

The same testimony is rendered by the Franciscan, Andrea Vega, whose wisdom was held in great repute by the Fathers of Trent. In his work, *De Justificatione* XV. 9, he thus addresses Calvin: "Lest thou shouldst err, O Calvin, regarding the approbation of the Vulgate, give ear to a few things, which I would wish Melancthon also might hear, who also, before you, arraigned the Fathers for this. The Synod did not approve the errors which linguists and those moderately versed in Holy Scripture find in the Vulgate. Neither did they ask that it be adored as though it had

descended from Heaven. The Fathers knew that the interpreter was not a prophet, . . . and, therefore, the Synod did not restrain, nor wish to restrain, the labors of linguists, who teach us that certain things might be better translated, and that the Holy Ghost could signify many things by one and the same word, and, at times, a sense more apt than can be obtained from the Vulgate. But considering the Vulgate's age, and the esteem in which it was held for centuries by Latin Councils which used it, and in order that the faithful might know—which is most true—that no pernicious error can be drawn therefrom, and that the faithful can read it safely without danger to faith, and to remove the confusion caused by a multitude of translations, and to modify the tendency to continually produce new versions, the Council wisely enacted that we should use the Vulgate in all public readings, disputations and expositions of Scripture. And it declared it authentic in this sense, that it might be known to all that it was never vitiated by any error from which any false doctrinal or moral teaching might result; and for this reason it decreed that no one should reject it on whatsoever pretext. And that this was the mind of the Council, and that it wished to decree nothing further than this, you may draw from the words of the Council. And lest you should doubt of this, I am able to invoke a veracious witness, his Eminence the Cardinal of Holy Cross (Card. Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II.), who presided over all the sessions. Both before and after the decree, more than once, he testified to me that the Fathers wished nothing more for the Vulgate. Hence you are not hindered neither is anyone else by the approbation of the Vulgate from recurring, in doubt, to the original texts, and one may bring forth out of them whatever he may find, in order that the sense of the Latin may be cleared and enriched, and that he may purge the Vulgate from errors, and arrive at those things most consonant with the sense of the Holy Ghost and the original texts." (Mariana, l. c.)

We come in possession of two truths in this testimony: first, that Vega has the mind of the Council of Trent, and,

secondly, that the action of the Fathers was just and temperate. While Mariana was teaching at Rome, question arose relating to the real sense of the decree of Trent. The General of the Jesuit order at that time was James Laynez, a man of great erudition and judgment, who had himself taken part in every session of the Council of Trent. He was petitioned to explain to the Order the real sense of the decree, and on the testimony of Mariana, his response was substantially the same as the testimony of Vega.

Didacus de Andrada deserves to rank among the first theologians of the Council.*

He was not in the fourth session, in which the Vulgate was approved, but as a subsequent member of the Council he certainly knew the mind of the Fathers. He approves the declaration of Vega and declares "that we are to so defend the excellence and dignity of the Vulgate, that we in no way obstruct the Hebrew founts whence the saving streams of truth have flown forth to us. And on the other hand we are so to venerate the old Hebrew text that we reject not the authority and majesty of the Vulgate." (Andrada, *Defens. Trid. Fidei IV.* p. 257).

The excellence which the Fathers of Trent attested of the Vulgate is well expressed by Sixtus of Sienna: "Although errors are found in the Vulgate, it is certain that neither in the old edition nor in the new was anything ever found which is dissonant from Catholic faith, or false or contrary

*Didacus de Pavia de Andrada, was born at Coimbra in Portugal, in 1528. He entered the Church at the age of thirty, was sent by King Sebastian of Portugal to the Council of Trent. He was both profound and eloquent. While at Trent he wrote the following edifying words: "While in the Council of Trent, I was wont to say that even if the authority of the Councils were not authorized and confirmed by Christ, I could easily give assent to their definitions, being moved by such an excellent method of ascertaining truth." While at Trent he wrote "An Explanation of the Orthodox Faith," an excellent polemic apologetic work. It was especially directed against Chemnitz. The heretic responded, and Andrada wrote against him his most celebrated work, "A Defense of the Tridentine Catholic Faith." This work has now become very rare. The work was much esteemed by the Roman theologians and by the Pope himself. In this work he defends the Council's decree concerning the Vulgate. He died in 1578.

to doctrine or morality, or interpolated, or changed to disagree with truth, or omitted to the prejudice of truth, or so corrupted that it would furnish occasion of pernicious error, or occasion and incite to heresy, or thus obscurely and ambiguously translated that it would obscure the mysteries of our faith, or in which the saving truth is not sufficiently explained." (Sixt. Sen. Biblioth. Sancta.)

The opponents of the Catholic faith sometimes allege as the Catholic position, the opinion of Basil Poncius (†1626), the Chancellor of the University of Salamanca. He declares: "In my judgment it must be affirmed according to the Council's decree, that not only are all things in the Vulgate true, but that they are also in strict conformity with the original text, and their sense faithfully rendered by the interpreter, so that he has, neither by ignorance nor negligence, erred in the least thing, but that all things, even the most minute, are, as regards the sense, faithfully translated. . . . And this is the common opinion of our time." (Migne, *Cursus S. S. I.*, p. 878).

From the fact that Poncius prefaced this declaration by a long chapter wherein he gives numerous examples of erroneous translations of the Vulgate, we are led to suspect that he is here defending the current opinion of Spain somewhat after the manner that Galileo defended the Ptolemaic system in his dialogues. It is a certain fact that the fear of the Inquisition in Spain was unduly reactionary on theological opinion in Spain in those days. At all events, the common opinion of Spain could not have been what he says, for we have adduced the testimonies of her best theologians, which are directly opposed to his position. The only argument which he adduces in support of his opinion is, that the Council declared the Vulgate authentic. Now, in the first place, we deny that the Council promulgated a dogmatic definition that the Vulgate was authentic. It made it of faith, that the Books of the Catholic Canon with all their parts, as they were found in the Vulgate, were sacred and canonical. This is of faith, and an anathema was fulminated against any one who should gainsay such truth. This certainly implies that the Vulgate has preserved the substance of all these books.

so that the element which made them sacred and inspired as they came from the writer's hand has persevered in them. This is of faith. But the decree concerning the use of the Holy Books is DISCIPLINARY.

The fixing of the Canon was a dogmatic fact—the decree that the text of Scripture which the Church used is substantially the word of God was also dogmatic; but the selection of the Vulgate as the official version was an act of discipline, and though directed by the Holy Ghost only demanded that the Vulgate contain the substance of God's word without pernicious error. The very words of the decree warrant this. When a council binds men's faith by dogmatic decree, the words clearly imply such design. But here, on the contrary, in the clearest terms the Council maps out the discipline of the Church, as regards the reading of the Latin Scripture. Of course in this matter dogma and discipline are correlated. The Council, acting by the Spirit of God, could not and did not, authorize a substantially defective version of Scripture. So that this disciplinary decree rests on the dogmatic status of the books, established in the preceding decree. Now the Fathers, in making the books authentic in the discipline of the Church, based their action on a dogmatic authenticity, which they by former decree had declared of the books. The motive of this declaration of authenticity was not the strict conformity between the Vulgate and the original text. The Fathers never examined such conformity. The motion to do so was submitted, but it was lost. The Fathers based their action on the fact that the Church had used for well nigh a thousand years this edition of the Latin Scriptures. It had, for all these ages, been the great Scriptural deposit of the Church, and the Fathers infallibly judged that it was not compatible with God's relation to the Church, that he should allow her to thus adopt a version of Scripture, which did not accurately contain the substance of God's written message to man. The Fathers, therefore, understood by authenticity that the version contained the substance of that message.

This clear and well warranted position at once does away with the opinion of Poncius, and it establishes the real basis upon which we may examine the actual state of the Vulgate.

The truth of our position is corroborated by the history of the decree. When, during the existence of the Council, the decree was sent to Rome for the Pope's approbation, the Roman theologians protested against it, affirming that there were many errors in it that could not be attributed to the copyists, but which were certainly due to the translator himself. In fact, such a storm was raised, that there was thought of delaying the printing of the decree till changes might be made. When this was made known to the Papal legates in the Council they made answer that nothing was alleged by the Roman theologians that the Council had not maturely weighed. The Tridentine Fathers had adverted to the errors of the Vulgate, but they were warranted in declaring it not substantially erroneous. (Pallavic. Hist. Conc. Trid. VI.)

The dullest mind must see that there was no question of absolute conformity with the original text, or of immunity from errors which affected not doctrine and morals.

Our position is strengthened by this final consideration. The Council approved the then existing Latin Vulgate, at the same time that it was informed by the particular congregation that all the Latin texts were defective, though the Vulgate was the best of them. And the work of emending this same approved Vulgate was taken up immediately by the authority of the Pope himself. This shows clearly that the Council merely declared that the truths of God had persevered in the Latin version with all its faults, and that it was the mind of the Church that these errors should be reduced to a minimum. And even in the preface to the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, we are told that certain things which deserved to be changed were left, to avoid the scandal of the people.

Even during the authorized revision of the Vulgate, Salmeron, who was one of the theologians of the Council, declared: "In the meantime, while the Vulgate is being revised, nothing prevents one from correcting the evident errors, either by means of the Hebrew and Greek text, or from the various readings of the Fathers, or by a clearer

understanding of the text itself, provided that such a one in such a grave matter is prepared to submit himself to the Church if she should decide otherwise." (Salmeron, *Proleg.* III. p. 24.) This is the golden rule for all theologians. Relying on this, a theologian can freely conduct any research, sustained by the thought that if he speaks true things, the Church will commend him, and she will safeguard him from error.

The opponents of our position are of two classes. The protestants insist on an absolute approbation of the Vulgate that they may thence move an objection against the Church. Some Catholics interpret the Council's word in a like manner through mistaken zeal for orthodoxy. From one or the other of these motives they adduce the three following arguments:

1. Richard Simon (*Hist. Crit. du V. Test.* 7, p. 268) cites the following decree: "On the 17th of January, 1576, the General Congregation, through S. L. A. S. Montald. Sixt. Carafa, declares that nothing can be asserted which is not in conformity with the Vulgate, even though it be one sentence, or a phrase or clause, or a word, or a syllable, or even an iota." Richard Simon found this declaration reproduced by Leo Allatius. It appears to be a plain forgery. Its original was never found, though diligent search was made in the archives of Rome. Franzelin declares that Father Perrone had informed him that Pius IX. had declared, by word of mouth, that even if the declaration did exist, nothing more was commanded thereby than that one should not reject the Vulgate in matters of faith and morals. (*Franz. De Trad.* p. 563.)

In a manuscript in the Vatican (Lat. 6326) there is a commentary on the Canons of Trent by the hand of Card. Carafa, who was first Prefect of the Council of Trent. Commenting the words "cum omnibus suis partibus" he declares: "Wherefore the Sacred Congregation of the Council judges that one incurs the censure if he changes a single sentence, or clause, or phrase, or word, or syllable, or an iota; and Vega (*De Justific.* IV. 9) is to be severely censured for having spoken rashly in this matter."

This has no dogmatic force: it was the exaggerated theory of a theologian, and there were many such.

And in any case, this Congregation had naught to do with matters of faith. The decree is either a forgery, or a disciplinary ruling of a council, and avails naught in the present question.

2. They insist on the former decree, which binds us to receive the books with all their parts. Now, they say, every word is a part.

The very enunciation of this proposition shows its absurdity. Every word is a mathematical part of the books, but it is not a moral part in the sense that the Council spoke. They were legislating against those who rejected the deuterocanonical parts of the Holy Books and certain passages of the Gospels, and, in virtue of their decree, every integral part of the books is sacred and canonical. And they meant not by this to imply that there was an absolute conformity between these parts and the original inspired text, but that the inspired truths had substantially endured in all the parts of the books. The Holy Ghost only guided them in the truth of the proposition, and in a general supervision of the words of their decree, so that in clothing their thoughts with words, the Fathers spoke as human agents, and their diction may at times come short of absolute clearness. The history of the several decrees and the scope of their legislation aid us in seizing the real sense of the decrees. Hence, we hold simply the divinity and canonicity of *the parts*, as that term was taken in the mind of the Fathers. Hence, the decree only contemplates the substantial integrity of all the books. This allows that even whole sentences should be wanting from the Vulgate that are genuine in the original, and that there may be whole sentences in the Vulgate which never were in the original, provided no error is in them contained. And there may be sentences in the Vulgate of dogmatic import, whose sense is not that of the original, provided in the same way that nothing contrary to faith or morals could result therefrom. The Vulgate reproduces sufficiently the substance of God's written message, and leaves a legitimate field to the science of textual criticism.

Hence, we are not prevented by the decree of the Vulgate from correcting the Latin of the Vulgate: "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur," (I. Cor. XV. 5.), in accordance with the Greek, to "Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur."

The text is dogmatic, and although the Vulgate has not brought out Paul's idea, it contains no error, for all men shall arise, and all shall not put on the incorruption of the elect. We maintain also that the character of the famous verse I. Jo. V. 7. must be treated independently of the Council's decree. That it contains no error we know from the authority that they gave to the book. Whether it was in the genuine Epistle of St. John or not, must be decided by means of the data of textual criticism.

3. The third argument of the adversaries hardly deserves mention. They maintain that if we are not to reject the Vulgate on any pretext, it results that we can not reject any verse or word of it.

This is mere cavil. The Council's decree here is only disciplinary, and relates to the rejection of passages wherein is contained some substantial truth of Scripture. The very conception of the argument of the opposition is an insult to the intelligence of the Fathers of Trent.

We shall not speak of the many errors recognizable in the Vulgate. We have built a basis, and in our exegesis of the Holy Text we shall judge the several passages in accordance with the data here explained.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CORRECTION OF THE VULGATE.

The second abuse which the Council of Trent was to remedy was the corruption of the Latin codices, and the remedy was that, by the authority of the Pope, a correct edition of the Vulgate might be submitted to the Council and approved by the Pope. The work of emending the Vulgate was judged by the Fathers of Trent to be so easy in execution that a corrected copy might be sent to them while yet assembled in council. On the 24th of April, 1546, Card. Cervini had written to Rome: "Staremo adunque aspettando

che voi ci mandiate presto una bella Bibbia corretta et emendata per poter stamparla." (Vercellone, l. c. p. 84.) But it took forty years to execute the correction recommended by the Council of Trent.

In the present work we can only treat briefly of the immense labor that was expended on this emendation. Ungarelli and Vercellone have ably written the history of the correction of the Vulgate.

The first movement to execute the Council's recommendation was made by the University of Louvain. The Dominican, John Henten (†1566) was appointed by the faculty to revise the Vulgate. Henten brought to the task a fair knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. The work appeared at Louvain in 1547, under the title: *Biblia Latina ad Vetus-tissima exemplaria recens castigata*. Henten collated about twenty codices in the preparation of this work, but none of his codices go back beyond the tenth century, so that the edition can not be considered a great critical work. The work of Henten was very favorably received, and many editions of it were issued by the press at Louvain.

After the death of Henten, the faculty of Louvain selected Lucas of Bruges to revise the work. He was assisted by Molanus, Hunnæus, Reinerius and Harlem. Henten's text was allowed to stand, but the revisers added an *Apparatus Criticus* from upwards of sixty codices. The edition was printed by Plantin. These Bibles enjoyed great authority, and were of service to the Roman correctors of the Vulgate.

The Council of Trent closed on the 4th of December, 1563. Immediately after its close, Pius IV. commissioned four Cardinals to restore the text of the Vulgate to its pristine purity. The Cardinals were Mark Antony Colonna, William Sirleti, Louis Madrutius, and Antony Carafa. Sirleti was considered the greatest linguist of his age.*

*Sirleti was born in Calabria in Italy in 1514. He studied at Naples, and acquired such a command of Hebrew, Greek and Latin that they became as his mother tongue. He studied mathematics, philosophy and theology in Greek, and was considered one of the most learned men of his age. He was held in great esteem by Pope Marcellus II. Pius IV.

The first of their labors was the accurate collation of the Codex Paulinus, which Sirleti held in high esteem.

Under Pius V. the correction of the Vulgate was hindered for the reason that the learned men were occupied in correcting the Breviary, Missal and Martyrology. Pius V. was by no means negligent in the great work of correcting the Vulgate, and for this reason appointed the most learned men of Rome to co-operate in the work. Principal among the theologians were Antonio Agellius and Emmanuel Sa. The commission proceeded slowly, and with great labor. From the 28th of April to the 7th of December of the year 1569, they spent in revising Genesis and Exodus. The theologians had held twenty-six general conferences before the Cardinals to confer on this portion of their labors. The fundamental error of the time was to consider the work easy, and to be performed quickly. Without doubt those men had selected the right method, and if vexation over the delay had not obstructed their labors we might have had a much better text.

Card. Buoncompagno succeeded Pius V. in 1572, and took the name of Gregory XIII. He was one of the first canonists of his age, and as such had sat in the Council of

thought so highly of him that he committed to his care his nephew Charles Borromeo, and at Charles' request he created Sirleti cardinal. After the death of Pius IV., there was thought of creating Sirleti Pope, but the judgment prevailed of those who thought that the drift of his mind was too much given to letters, to permit a strong practical administration in those stormy times. He was chosen as one of the revisers of the Vulgate by Pius IV. and continued on that Congregation under his successor Pius V. He assisted in revising the Missal and Breviary under Paul V. and was also at the head of the Vatican Library. He enriched the library by many valuable works in the Oriental, Greek, and Latin languages. He was beneficent in character, and greatly assisted needy students. He died in 1583. His contemporaries, without reserve, place him as the first Scriptural scholar of his age. One of them declared "that the dreams of Sirleti were more learned than the waking creations of many learned men; for often in sleep he was heard to discourse in Greek and Latin of some difficult theme." (Eggs, *Purpura Docta*, I. 5, 11). Latinus Latinus declared in a letter to Masius (*Op. Latinii* Tom. II. p. 134) that from personal knowledge he judged Sirleti alone to equal all the others who were associated with him in correcting the Vulgate. This remarkable man has left nothing of importance in writing.

Trent. He brought to completion the correction of the liturgical books, and then turned his attention to the correction of the Calendar and the revision of the Corpus Juris. His claim to immortality in history rests mainly on the correction of the Calendar, a work much needed and well wrought.

At this juncture a remarkable man came into important relations in the Church. This was Card. Peretti.*

He moved Gregory XIII. to add to the body commissioned to revise the Vulgate, certain consulting theologians, chief among whom were Robert Bellarmine, Peter Morini, and Flaminius Nobilius. The design of Peretti was to correct first the Septuagint, which was then to be used to revise the Vulgate. When Peretti succeeded Gregory XIII., he prosecuted this design with his usual energy, and in the second year of his pontificate (Oct. 8, 1856), published the best edition of the Septuagint that we have ever received. See page 697. With equal energy, he next took up the revision of the Vulgate. He placed at the disposition of the

*Felix Peretti was born in 1521, in a small village of the Marches of Ancona. His father was a vine-dresser, and being unable to rear the boy, gave him to a farmer, who set him to herd sheep and swine. While thus engaged, a Franciscan monk passed that way, who was at a loss to find the road to Ascoli. Felix directed him and accompanied him to the convent. The Franciscans, recognizing the natural endowments of the youth, instructed him. He entered the Order, and became an able philosopher and theologian. He was ordained priest in 1545, and soon after was created doctor and appointed professor at Sienna. It was at this juncture that he took the name of Montaltus, by which he is sometimes known. He became famous as a preacher, was made consultor of the Inquisition and procurator-general of his Order. Pius V. made him general of his Order and then Cardinal. We are informed by Gregory Leti that during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Peretti aspired to the Papal throne, and that to promote his design, he withdrew somewhat from public affairs, affected feeble health, and seemed intent only on preparing for death. On the death of Gregory XIII. there was a deadlock in the conclave, and they finally agreed on Card. Peretti and elected him Pope on the 24th of April, 1585. He took the name of Sixtus V.

As soon as he was assured of his election, he threw away his cane, stood erect, and intoned the *Te Deum* in a voice that shook the chapel walls. Whether we accept this account or not, it is certainly true that often, when men are called to elect a man for an office which they themselves ambition, in their inability to place themselves in the coveted place, they will be disposed to favor the candidacy of one whose condition of health and

commission the best codices that he could obtain. He even took active part in the collation of these codices. The number of the members of the commission was increased. Antonio Agellius (†1608) who was very capable in Hebrew and Greek, compared dubious readings with the Greek and Hebrew texts. Card. Carafa presided over the whole work, and at the end of two years of assiduous labor, the completed correction was delivered to the Pope. The scope of the revisers was simply to restore the text of Jerome to its pristine state. They did not contemplate the removal of the errors which Jerome committed. At times, however, where the reading of Jerome could not be determined with certainty, they employed the original text to establish the genuine sense of Scripture. The method of these men, their reputation for learning and the care and labor that they bestowed on the Vulgate, warrant that the result of their labors was excellent. But the action of the Pope entered to frustrate, in large part, this result. The commission had made much use of the Codex Amiatinus which the Pope held

period of life promise a short incumbency, for the reason that they may thus again be allowed to contend for the coveted place. It is certain that such causes have been active in the election of more than one pope.

The election of Sixtus V. was providential. He was a man of great energy of character, and a man of action. The land was a prey to libertinage, brigandage, and all sorts of violence. Sixtus met this state of things by a terrible rigor. He caused to be erected special gallows to punish immediately those guilty of licentiousness during the carnival. Before his time a maiden dared not walk the streets without fear of violence. The nobles had been unrestrained in their treatment of the daughters of the plebeians. Sixtus made adultery punishable by death. Even a husband who refused to denounce an adulterous wife was condemned to death. Brigands and robbers of every sort were hunted down and hanged. By these measures, Sixtus restored the sanctity of law among a people who can only be held to law by fear. He erected the famous obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's, enlarged and embellished the Vatican Palace, enriched the Vatican Library, re-organized the Congregation of the Holy Office and the Congregation of Rites, and decreed that the number of cardinals should not exceed seventy. This number has been observed by his successors. Excess of labor wore him out, and he died in 1590, after a pontificate of five years. The Roman people broke his statue in pieces in testimony of their hatred of his severity, but this very fact entitles him to our greater commendation. By his very rigor, he was able to disband the soldiers, and uphold the law by the force of his own character. All things considered, Sixtus V. must be considered as an honor to the Papacy.

in little esteem. Moreover, the corrected text differed much from the Bibles of Louvain which Sixtus prized. He, therefore, read carefully their work, approved what he pleased of it, and rejected a great part. Card. Carafa protested, but in vain.

Sixtus, to his energy of character, added a certain stubborn, excessive trust in his own judgment. His action here is inexcusable, and rendered void the conscientious labors of the best talent of Italy. After thus inducing these changes, Sixtus committed the printing of the work to Aldo Manuzio, who had succeeded his father as printer at the Vatican press. The Augustinian Angelo Bocca and Francis Toleti, S. J. were appointed to see the work through the press. The Pope himself read every page as it came from the press. The work appeared in a magnificent volume in 1590.

The text is preceded by the famous bull, "Æternus ille," of Sixtus V. The text of the bull is given in full in Cornely, *op. cit.*, p. 465, et seqq.

Protestant's allege the bull as an evidence of the Pope's fallibility in doctrine. Wherefore, we shall examine some of its salient points. The bull bears the date of the Kalends of March, 1589, and, as Sixtus testified to the Venetian legate on the third of the following July that the Book of Wisdom was then in press, and as numerous typographical errors were corrected before the edition was given to the public, we must infer that Sixtus wrote the bull in view of a future fact, and it is probable that the bull never was promulgated. But our defense of papal infallibility rests not on this data. The bull contains doctrinal import and disciplinary measures. These latter were unwise, and were prudently set aside by his successor. But in matters doctrinal, no man can find aught that is repugnant to Catholic faith in the bull. The constitution opens with a prolix description of the origin, and history of the Holy Scriptures. The Pope speaks of the various readings of the codices and their causes. And then declares that in these many various readings nothing was ever found which could injure faith or morals. This position no man can shake. The pontiff commends the Council of Trent for its remedial measure, and

regrets that its execution has been deferred. He next speaks of the active part which he had taken in the revision, in which he states that he had expended many hours every day in judging of the labors of others, and selecting what seemed good. He had founded a fine printing press for the express work of printing these editions, and he had read the press proofs of the work. He declares, moreover, that it was not his mind to edit a new translation of the Vulgate, “sed ut Vulgata Vetus ex Tridentinæ Synodi præscripto emendatissima, pristinæque suæ puritati, qualis primum ab ipsius interpretis manu styloque prodierat, quoad fieri potest, restituta imprimatur.” He declares that, at times, where the Latin text was hopelessly defective, the sense had been sought from the Hebrew and Greek text. Sixtus testifies of his great veneration for Jerome, and insists repeatedly that care was taken not to change that which had grown venerable in the Church. He also declares that he had cut off the Third and Fourth Book of Ezra, the Third of Maccabees and the prayer of Menasseh, and certain other passages which were interpolated in the Vulgate.

At length the pontiff comes to this point: “With certain knowledge, and in plenitude of our apostolic authority, we establish and declare that the Latin Vulgate which was received by the Council of Trent is without doubt or controversy this very edition which we have now corrected as best we were able and caused to be printed in the Vatican press, and we publish it to be read in the universal Christian world, and in all the Christian churches, declaring that this edition, which was sanctioned by the use of the Christian people, by the consensus of the holy Fathers, by the decree of Trent, and which is now approved by the authority of the apostolic power given us by the Lord, is to be received as true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted, in all public and private disputations, and in the public reading, preaching, and exposition of Scripture. And we strictly forbid for all future times any one to print the text of this edition of the Vulgate without the express permission of the Holy See; and let no one even privately make for himself another edition; and let no one during the next ten years dare to

print this our corrected Vulgate elsewhere than in the Vatican press. And after the lapse of ten years, we order that no one shall dare print the Holy Scriptures except in accordance with the exemplar from the Vatican press, and having the authorization of the Inquisitor, or, if there be no deputy of the inquisition in the place, of the ordinary of the place, and we order that there shall be no change in anything."

The pontiff then forbids all marginal readings in the text, orders that all liturgical books be corrected in accordance with his edition, and declares to be without authority all other Latin texts. The constitution closes with the usual formula of promulgation, with an excommunication upon those who should dare infringe the bull, and is signed: "Rome, at S. Maria Maggiore, A. D. 1589, the Kalends of March, the fifth year of our pontificate."

The only affirmation that is here contained is that his edition was the Vulgate of Trent. This is true, and could have been made of faith. The Vulgate, even before he or any other man corrected a word of it, was the Vulgate of Trent, and contained the substantial word of God. God had not permitted the Latin Scriptures to become substantially corrupt. He did not permit them to become thus corrupt in the Sixtine edition. While we deny that the bull was ever promulgated, and though it finds no place in the Roman *Bullarium*, there is no doctrinal falsehood in it.

As to its disciplinary enactment, all must agree that it was unwise and excessive. It was never imposed on the faithful, and the Providence of God brought it about that the Church suffered not from this pope's unwise use of power. In fact, it seems that Pope Sixtus V. was unduly prone to exercise his power.

Sixtus' work was done when order had been restored, and the law upheld in Italy. It times of peace he was not equally valuable to the Church. He died before his edition of the Vulgate was given to the public. After his death, by universal consent, it was judged necessary to correct the edition. The typographical part was poorly done. Waxed paper was pasted over certain errors, and in other places cancellations in ink were apparent.

The immediate successor of Sixtus V., Urban VII. died thirteen days after his election. Gregory XIV. succeeded in 1590, and immediately consulted with the Congregation as to what action was to be taken on the Vulgate of Sixtus. The tide of feeling ran high against Sixtus V., and the members of the Congregation moved that the work of Sixtus be proscribed. Bellarmine more wisely moved that the edition be corrected with all possible haste, and then published, that the credit of the defunct pope might be saved, and the scandal of the people averted.

The counsel of Bellarmine prevailed and Gregory at once instituted a congregation of seven cardinals and twelve theologians to revise the Sixtine edition. Card. Mark Antony Colonna presided over all the deliberations of the Congregation; and principal among the theologians were Agellius, Bellarmine, Morini, Toleti, and Rocca. The Pope was consulted on the most difficult passages.

The Congregation proposed as a leading canon in the work not to make a change from the accepted reading unless necessity required it.

The Congregation spent forty days in the examination of Genesis.

It became evident that, in this mode of procedure, years would be required for the revision.

Moved by this consideration Pope Gregory dissolved the Congregation, and organized a new body. He placed at the head of the new organization two cardinals, Antony Carafa Sr. and William Allen.*

*William Allen was born at Rossal in England in 1532. He completed a brilliant course of study at Oxford, but was exiled from England for adherence to the Catholic faith. He fled to Louvain, and thence to Malines, where he was ordained priest in 1565. After a journey to Rome in 1567, he fixed his abode at Douay, where he founded the English Catholic College to prepare priests for England. He was ever intent in aiding his exiled compatriots, and in laboring for the conversion of England. His biographer, Fitzherbert, declares of him: "Homo natus ad Angliæ salutem."

He executed the famous Catholic translation of Scriptures, called the Douay version. He was created Cardinal in 1587 by Sixtus V., and appointed a member of the Sixtine Congregation to revise the Vulgate. He died at Rome in 1594.

Under the direction of these two cardinals, eight theologians worked, principal among whom were Bellarmine, Morini, Agellius, Rocca, and Valverde. They withdrew to the palace of the Colonna at Zagarolo, and, according to the inscription placed in the palace in 1723, they finished their labors in nineteen days. The great work had been done by those who had labored before them in the correction, and they had only to select the best of what others had collected. In October of 1591 they offered the corrected copy to Gregory XIV. In the same month Gregory XIV. died. Innocent X., who succeeded him, died on the 30th of the following December.

In January of 1592, Clement VIII. was created Pope, and his first care was to complete the correction of the Vulgate. He appointed the two Cardinals, Frederick Borromeo and Augustus Valerius, to supervise the work, and commissioned Toleti, S. J., to co-operate with them. The cardinals confided the whole work to Toleti. This eminent man wrote upon the wide margins of the Sixtine edition, the corrections which had been recommended by the Gregorian Congregation, and also, in certain places, recommended certain readings which he had approved by collation of the best MSS. On the 28th of August, 1592, Toleti's work was submitted to the cardinals and approved by them, and Rocca was commissioned to write them on the margin of a copy of the Sixtine edition for the printer.

At this point Valverde interposed an objection. Being an able Hebraist, he bore it ill that the Vulgate had not in all places been rendered conformable to the Masoretic text. He presented to the Pope a libellus, wherein were over two hundred passages in which the Vulgate differed from the Hebrew. The Pope took counsel, and after mature deliberation, forbade Valverde ever, in word or writing, to treat of this difference. Such treatment of a man seems to us harsh, and subversive of human liberty, but we must consider the nature of the fact and the circumstances. The proposition of Valverde was against the first design in all the corrections, which was not to re-translate the Scriptures from the Hebrew, but to restore the pristine text of the Vulgate. The

divergencies were not in matters of faith or morals; in many cases the Masoretic text has no more claim to purity than the Vulgate; the people were waiting for the Bible, and prone to ugly rumors regarding the delay; to put into execution Valverde's proposition, would have necessitated a long period of toil, for they could not adopt his readings on his sole authority; scholars can always collate the two texts, so that no real necessity existed for the changes; and finally, had Valverde been allowed to speak his views to the public, an ignorant cry would have been raised against the Latin text of the Catholic Church, and faith would have suffered thereby. There were but two ways, either to do what he advised, or restrain him from speaking. The former was not possible at that time; the latter was wisely adopted.

Clement VIII. appointed Toleti to supervise the printing of the Vulgate; and Angelo Rocca to correct the proofs. The edition was pushed rapidly forward, and completed before the end of 1592. And thus, at last, the design formulated in 1546 by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, and approved by the Pope, was put in effect, and the Church received an authentic version of Scripture.

The edition differed not in external form from the Sixtine edition. It was printed by Aldo Manuzio, who had printed the edition of Sixtus. Moreover, it bore at first the name of Sixtus in its title: "Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita." It was not till 1641 that the name of Clement VIII. was placed in the title page, and the honor of the work was given to whom it by right belonged. Since that time it is called the Clementine edition. It differs from the Sixtine edition in over three thousand texts.

The preface of the Clementine edition, which is supposed to have been written by Bellarmine and Toleti, candidly admits that certain things "quæ mutanda videbantur" were left unchanged to avoid the scandal of the people, and because there was some doubt whether the original texts had remained in such passages free from corruption.

The edition, therefore, does not lay claim to absolute perfection, but it is, without doubt, the best translation of the

Scriptures in any language. Yet, we still think that the Church with her immense resources, human and divine, could prepare a better edition, and we look forward to future times to add this glory to the works of the Catholic Church.

The difference between the Sixtine and Clementine editions was made the subject of a fierce attack on papal infallibility by Thomas James, in a work entitled "Bullum Papale," London, 1600. He has been ably refuted by Henry Bukentop, in the excellent work "אור קיאר, Lux de Luce," Brussels, 1710. The line of defense is the same as we have pointed out in treating of Pope Sixtus' work.

In the preface to the Clementine edition it is frankly admitted that certain things which ought to be corrected were left unchanged lest the people might take scandal on account of too many changes, Lucas of Bruges examined and noted over four thousand places in the Clementine Vulgate which demanded correction. This long deferred work is now in some measure to be done. Pope Pius X. has entrusted to the Benedictines the first work, that of collating the MSS of the Hieronymian version. What the next move in the work of correction will be one can not say. It is to be hoped that a more thorough revision will be effected than that of the Council of Trent. To make a competent revision is a labor whose magnitude can scarcely be realized. Jerome's own labors must be revised, and this necessitates the collation of the MSS of the ancient versions, and the revision of their texts. In the New Testament the Revised Edition of Oxford effected a very creditable revision, because the Greek MSS had been collated by many eminent scholars; but the Old Testament of the same edition is merely a servile translation of the Masoretic text, with conjectures where the sense is defective. Such a translation of the Masoretic text for a revision of the Vulgate would be of no avail. The Catholic Church can command the coöperation of many scholars; the times demand a thorough and complete revision; and the labors now auspiciously begun will be watched with interest.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MODERN ENGLISH VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE

One of the calumnies often brought against the Catholic Church is that she withheld the Bible from the people, by preventing its being translated into the vernacular. It is commonly said and believed that Wyclif was the first to give to the English people the Bible in English.*

The most hard-lived of all lies, is a controversial lie, and the so-called Reformation has found in such its most powerful ally. The Church recognized that in the Scriptures "are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they also do the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction." (II. Pet. III. 16.)

The Church therefore regulates the vernacular reading of Scriptures according to what she judged best for the people. The wisdom of this policy is acknowledged by candid protestants. Mr. Karl Pearson (*Academy*, Aug. 7. 1886) declares: "The Catholic Church has quite enough to answer for . . . but in the fifteenth century it certainly did not hold back the Bible from the folk, and it gave them in the vernacular a long series of devotional works, which for language and religious sentiment have never been surpassed. Indeed, we are inclined to think it made a mistake in allowing the masses such ready access to the Bible. It ought to have recognized the Bible once for all as a work absolutely unintelligible without a long course of historical study; and, so far as it was supposed to be inspired, very dangerous in the hands of the ignorant."

*John Wyclif was born in York in 1324. He studied at Oxford, and by intrigues afterwards obtained the position of master in Balliol College from which post the friars had been ousted. The friars appealed to the Pope, and he restored them. Wyclif then raised his voice against Rome and the temporal power.

The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned Wyclif to defend himself before a Council held at London in 1377. The powerful Duke of Lancaster defended him, and he was absolved by the Council. Wyclif was in grace with the State because he advocated the giving of church property to the State. He was again summoned to a Council at Lambeth, and escaped condemnation. The bishops of England, servile to the State, winked at heresy. Those were the days of the schism at Rome between Urban VI.

To the same end in 1530 a royal proclamation was made in England which decrees as follows:—

“Having respect to the malignity of this present time, with the inclination of the people to erroneous opinions, (it is thought) that the translation of the New Testament and the Old into the vulgar tongue of England would rather be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors among the said people than any benefit or commodity towards the weal of their souls, and that it shall be now more convenient that the same people have the Holy Scriptures expounded to them by preachers in their sermons as it hath been of old time accustomed.”

For these reasons all are ordered to deliver up the copies of the printed Testament “corruptly translated into the English tongue,” the king promising “to provide that the Holy Scripture shall be, by great learned and Catholique persons, translated into the English tongue, if it shall then seem to his Grace convenient to be.” (Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, footnote pp. 132 and 133.)

The Church was rightly hostile to unauthorized translations of Scripture especially as many in those days made these the means of propagating the most dangerous errors. This is frankly acknowledged by the protestant Dean Hook. (*Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury*, III. p. 83). “It was not from hostility to a translated Bible, considered abstractedly, that the conduct of Wiclif in translating it, was condemned.

and the anti-pope, Clement VII. The time was apt for the theories of Wyclif. He preached much, and his writings were spread through the realm. In 1382 the Archbishop of Canterbury condemned, in a Council held at London, twenty-four propositions of Wyclif, in which among other errors he denied the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; affirmed that priest or bishop in state of mortal sin could not baptize, consecrate or ordain; declared that confession was useless to a contrite man; denied that Christ instituted the Mass; declared that, if the Pope were in sin, he had no authority over the faithful; that it was against the Scriptures for the ecclesiastics to have property; and declared that after Urban VI. the primacy of Peter had failed, and the nations should be free in the government of the national church. Wyclif died at Lutterworth in 1384.

The opinions of Wyclif invaded Bohemia and gave rise to the heresy of John Huss. The remarkable success of these heresiarchs is due to the fact that they extend the power of the State, and flatter the pride and independence of the human heart

Long before his time there had been translators of Holy Writ. There is no reason to suppose that any objection would have been offered to the circulation of the Bible, if the object of the translator had only been the edification and sanctification of the reader. It was not till the designs of the Lollards were discovered, that Wicliff's version was proscribed."

Maitland (*Dark Ages* p. 252) a writer who will not be suspected of being too friendly to the Catholic Church declares that he found no evidence that the Catholic Church "strove to prevent the reading, the multiplication, the diffusion of the Word of God."

In the British Museum alone there are eleven German editions of the Bible ranging from 1466 to 1518; three Bohemian editions of between 1488 and 1506, one Dutch edition of 1477. There are five French versions from 1510 to 1531, and seven Italian versions of between 1471 and 1532. These are all Catholic versions. It has been conclusively proven that in Germany in the Middle Ages there were seventy-two partial versions of the Scriptures, and fifty complete versions. These all emanated from Catholic sources. Seventeen of such versions were made before the time of Luther. And yet many still believe that Luther was the first to give to the Germans the Bible in the vernacular tongue. The Library of St. Gall contains many fine Bibles in the vernacular made before Luther's time. §

The explanation of the fact that no complete English Bible existed before the time of Wyclif is thus given by Dom Gasquet:

"We are apt to forget the fact that till past the middle of the fourteenth century French was actually the tongue of the Court and of the educated classes generally. Only in 1363, for the first time, was the sitting of Parliament opened by an English speech, and in the previous year only had it been enacted that the pleadings in the courts of law might be in English in place of the French which had hitherto been the legal language; but even then the record of the proceedings was still to be in Latin. French, however, continued for almost a century longer to be the language of the upper classes, and in it were written the rolls of Parliament, and

such wills and deeds as were not in Latin. An explanation of this retention of the French language is of course to be found in the circumstances of the time. Before the era of Wycliff consequently, the reading public, that is to say, the higher classes or the clergy, found in the Latin version of the Holy Scriptures, or in such French versions as existed in England, what they required.

“Such, then, is the very simple explanation of the non-existence of any English translation of the entire Bible before the time when Wycliff came upon the scene. In the first half of the fourteenth century probably the only entire book of Scripture which had appeared in English prose was the book of Psalms translated by Richard Rolle, who died in 1349. This work he undertook at the request of Dame Margaret Kirby, a recluse at Hampole. At the same time, probably about 1320, another translation of the Psalms was made by William de Schorham, a priest of Chart Sutton, near Leeds, in the county of Kent.

“Besides these, however, there were the metrical paraphrases of Genesis and Exodus, the *Ormulum*, or poetical version of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, the work of an Augustinian canon called Orm, and more than one metrical translation of the Psalms, approaching almost to a literal translation, all productions of the thirteenth century. It is, moreover, of interest to remark that after the Norman Conquest, whilst the wants of the educated class were satisfied by the Norman-French translations, the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels was copied as late as the twelfth century.” (*The Old English Bible*, London 1897).

It is very doubtful whether the entire Scriptures have ever been translated into Anglo-Saxon. We have no traditional account of a complete version, and all the Biblical MSS. in Anglo-Saxon now in existence contain but select portions of the sacred volume. The poems on sacred subjects usually attributed to Cædmon, afford the first feeble indications of an attempt being made by the Saxons to convey the truths of Scripture in their vernacular tongue. Cædmon lived in the seventh century; he was a monk in the monastery of Streonshalch in Northumbria. His poems

have been strung together so as to form a sort of metrical paraphrase on some of the historical books of Scripture. He commences with the fall of the angels, the creation and fall of man, and proceeds to the history of the deluge, carrying on his narrative to the history of the children of Israel, and their wanderings in the desert. He also touches on the history of Nebuchadnezzar and of Daniel. The authenticity of this work has been doubted, some writers being of opinion that it was written by different writers at different periods; the striking similarity between some of the poems and certain passages in Milton's *Paradise Lost* has been repeatedly noticed. Two editions have been printed; the first by Francis Junius at Amsterdam in 1655, and the second, with an English translation and notes, by Mr. Thorpe in London, in 1832.

The literal versions of such portions of the Scripture as have been translated into Anglo-Saxon have chiefly been transmitted to us in the form of interlineations of Latin MSS. A Latin Psalter, said to have been sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine, is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS, and contains an Anglo-Saxon interlinear version, of which the date is unknown. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, and Guthlac, the first Anglo-Saxon anchorite, translated the Psalms soon after the commencement of the eighth century, but their MSS are lost, and nothing is known with certainty respecting them. The same may be said concerning the portions of Scripture reported to have been translated by the Venerable Bede. At the time of his death, this renowned historian was engaged in a translation of the Gospel of St. John, and almost with his latest breath he dictated to his amanuensis the closing verse of the Gospel. Alfred the Great also took part in the translation of the Scriptures. He translated the commandments in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and part of the three following chapters, which he affixed to his code of laws. He likewise kept a "hand-boc," in which he daily entered extracts from various authors, but more especially verses of Scripture translated by himself from Latin into Anglo-Saxon.

There are three different versions of the Four Gospels at present known to be in existence, The most ancient of these is the famous Northumbrian Gloss, or Durham Book, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. This MS. is one of the finest specimens extant of Saxon writing. The Vulgate Latin text of the Four Gospels was written by Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, about A. D. 680; his successor in the see adorned the book with curious illuminations, and with bosses of gold and precious stones; and a priest named Aldred added an interlinear gloss or version, probably about the year 900. The second Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels belongs to the tenth century, and was written by Farmen and Owen at Harewood, or Harwood, over Jerome's Latin of the Four Gospels. The Latin text was written about the same period as that of the Durham Book, having been made during the seventh century. This valuable MS. is in the Bodleian Library, and is called the Rushworth Gloss, from the name of one of its former proprietors. The other translation of the Gospels was made by an unknown hand, apparently not long before the Norman conquest, and is thought to have been translated from the Latin version which was in use before Jerome's time.

Two editions of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter have been published. The first appeared in 1640; it was printed in London under the care of Spelman, from an ancient MS. by an unknown translator, and collated with other MSS. of equal antiquity. This version was undoubtedly made from the Latin Vulgate, which interlines with the Anglo-Saxon. A splendid edition of the Psalms was published in 1835 at Oxford: the MS. which forms the text formerly belonged to the Duc de Berri, the brother of Charles V., king of France, and was preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. Mr. Thorpe, the editor attributed this MS. to the eleventh century; and by some it is supposed to be a transcript of the version executed by Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, in the early part of the eighth century. It is, however, rather a paraphrase than a version, and is written, partly in prose, and partly in metre.

A partial interlinear translation of a Latin version of Proverbs, made in the tenth century, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS in the British Museum. To the same century belong the celebrated translations of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury: they consist of the Heptateuch, or first seven books of the Bible, and the Book of Job. An edition of this version was published by Mr. Thwaites, at Oxford, in 1699, from an unique MS. belonging to the Bodleian Library; the Book of Job was printed from a transcript of a MS. in the Cottonian Library. Ælfric in some portions of his version adheres literally to the text; but in some parts he appears to aim at producing a condensation, or abridgment, rather than a translation of the events related by the inspired historian. Like the other Anglo-Saxon fragments, his translation was made from the Latin version.

A few MSS. of the Psalms, written shortly before, or about the time of the Norman conquest are extant, and show the gradual decline of the Anglo-Saxon language. The history of the language may still farther be traced in three MSS. yet in existence, which were made after the arrival of the Normans. They are MSS. of the same translation, and two of them are attributed to the reign of Henry the Second: but the language in which they are written is no longer pure Anglo-Saxon; it has merged into what is designated the Anglo-Norman.

The exact period of the transmutation of Saxon into English has been disputed, but it seems most reasonable to believe that the process was gradual. A fragment of the Saxon Chronicle, published by Lye, and concluding with the year 1079, exhibits the language in the first stage of its transition state, no great deviation having then been made from Anglo-Saxon. But in the continuation of the same chronicle, from 1135 to 1140 A. D., the commencement of those changes may be distinctly traced, which subsequently formed the distinctive peculiarities of the English language. The principal change introduced about this period was the gradual substitution of particles and auxiliary words for the terminal inflections of the Anglo-Saxon. The English has happily retained the facility of its parent language in com-

pounding words, the only difference in this respect being, that, in the formation of its compound terms, the Anglo-Saxon drew only from its own resources, whereas the English has had recourse to the Latin, the Greek, the French, the Italian, and other languages. It has been remarked by a distinguished foreigner, that "everywhere the principle of utility and application dominates in England, and constitutes at once the physiognomy and the force of its civilization." This principle is certainly legible in its language, which although possessed of remarkable facility in the adaptation of foreign terms and even idioms to its own use, is at the same time free from the trammels with which the other languages of its class are encumbered. In the gender of nouns, for instance, we meet with no perplexity or anomaly, every noun being masculine, feminine or neuter, according to the nature of the object or idea it represents; and as the adjectives are all indeclinable, their concordance with the noun is at once effected without the apparently useless trouble of altering the final letters. This perfect freedom from useless encumbrance adds greatly to the ease and vigor of expression.

After the gradual disappearance of the Anglo-Saxon and evolution of the English language, the Anglo-Saxon versions became useless from the alteration in the language, and until the fourteenth century the efforts made to produce a new translation were few and feeble. An ecclesiastic named Orm, or Ormin, supposed from his dialect to have been a native of the North of England, composed a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts, in lines of fifteen syllables, during the latter part of the twelfth century. This work is entitled the *Ormulum*, from the name of its author, and is preserved in the Bodleian Library. A more extensive metrical paraphrase, comprising the Old and New Testaments, is to be found amongst other poetry of a religious nature in a work entitled *Sowle-hele* (Soul's health), belonging to the Bodleian Library: it is usually ascribed to the end of the twelfth century. Another metrical version, probably of the same date, is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: it comprises only the first two books of the Old

Testament, and is written in the dialect then spoken in the north of England. In the same college, a metrical version of the Psalms, apparently written about the year 1300, has been deposited: this version adheres to the Latin Psalter, corrected by Jerome, as closely as the nature of the composition will admit. Several other MSS. of the old English Psalter, preserved in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, are supposed to be exemplars of the same version, with the orthography altered in conformity with the state of the language at the periods in which they were written. A translation of the Psalms from the same text (the corrected Latin of Jerome), was executed by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster, during the early part of the fourteenth century. This version is remarkable as being the first portion of the Scriptures ever translated into English prose. Rolle, or Hampole as he is more generally called, also wrote a paraphrase in verse of a part of Job. Two other versions of the Psalms, belonging to the same period, are likewise extant. In Bene't College, Cambridge, there is a version of Mark, Luke and the Pauline Epistles, but the translator and the date are unknown; and in the British Museum there is a translation of the Gospels appointed to be read on Sundays, written in the northern dialect.

A version has been commonly ascribed to John de Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley in Gloucestershire, who flourished toward the close of the fourteenth century; but he only translated a few detached passages, which he introduced in certain parts of his writings. Some texts translated by him were painted on the walls of the chapel belonging to Berkeley Castle.

A popularly believed error is that Wyclif made a complete translation of the whole Bible between the years 1378 and 1382. As Blunt (*Plain Account of the English Bible* p. 17) says: "The name of Wyclife has been used as a peg to hang many a work upon with which the owner of the name had nothing whatever to do." Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*Wycliff Exhibition British Museum* p. XX) says that only the New Testament portion can be said probably to be due to the hand of Wyclif himself. Of the other portions of the

version the same eminent authority declares that "Wyclif may have commenced the work of revision but he did not live to see it accomplished." Blunt, *op. cit.*, declares: "There is scarcely any contemporary evidence, except that of his bitterest opponent, that Wyclife was really the author of this translation, but there can be no doubt that tradition is to be believed when it associates his name with it. . . . The popular idea of Wyclife sitting alone in his study at Lutterworth, and making a complete new translation of the whole Bible with his own hands is one of those many popular ideals which will not stand the test of historical inquiry."

Dom. Gasquet believes that many of the versions popularly credited to Wyclif were made by Catholics. (*The Old English Bible*)

Certain it is that the rôle of Wyclif has been exaggerated. That the Bible, at least portions of it, were in use in the vernacular tongue in England is attested by the best evidence.

Sir Thomas More [*Dyalogues* (ed. 1530,) p. 138] is a most competent witness:

"As for old translations, before Wycliffe's time (he writes), they remain lawful and be in some folks hands. Myself have seen and can show you, fair and old Bibles, in English which have been known and seen by the Bishop of the Diocese and left in laymans hands and womens."

Again, in another place he says:—

"The whole Bible was long before his (*i.e.*, Wycliffe's) days by virtuous and well learned men, translated into the English tongue and by good and godly people with devotion, and soberness, well and reverently read."

Cranmer himself in his prologue to the second edition of the "Great Bible." says:

"If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm, and many hundred years before that, it was trans-

lated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue, and when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."

Foxe the Martyrologist in his dedication to Archbishop Parker of his edition of the Saxon Gospels writes:

"If histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wickliffe was born as since, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue."

Finally it is proven that the opposition to the protestant versions was not for the reason that they translated the Scriptures into the vernacular, but that they brought in false opinions into doctrine.

When one alleged against Sir Thomas More that the ecclesiastical authorities burned all the protestant versions, More answered: "if this were done so, it were not well done; but," he continues in reply to one who had asserted this, "I believe that ye mistake it." And taking up one case objected against him in which the Bible of a Lollard prisoner named Richard Hun, a London merchant, was said to have been burnt in the Bishop of London's prison, he says:

"This I remember well, that besides other things framed for the favour of divers other heresies there were in the prologue of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did abhor to hear and that gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that the book was written after Wyclif's copy, and by him translated into our tongue, and that this Bible was destroyed consequently not because it was in English, but because it contained gross and manifest heresy."

"In some editions of Tyndale's *New Testament*," writes the Protestant historian Blunt, "there is what must be regarded as a wilful omission of the gravest possible character, for it appears in several editions, and has no shadow of justification in the Greek or Latin of the passage (1 Peter ii. 13, 14)." (Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, p. 514).

“Green in his *History* (vol. ii., pp. 127-8,) though by no means unfriendly to Tyndale on this point, writes as follows:—‘We can only fairly judge their action by viewing it in the light of the time. What Warham and More saw over the sea might well have turned them from a movement which seemed breaking down the very foundations of religion and society. Not only was the fabric of the Church rent asunder, and the center of Christian unity denounced as ‘Babylon,’ but the reform itself seemed passing into anarchy. Luther was steadily moving onward from the denial of one Christian dogma to that of another; and what Luther still clung to, his followers were ready to fling away. Meanwhile the religious excitement was kindling wild dreams of social revolution, and men stood aghast at the horrors of a peasant war which broke out in Germany. It was not, therefore, as a mere translation of the Bible that Tyndale’s work reached England. It came as part of the Lutheran movement, and it bore the Lutheran stamp in its version of ecclesiastical words. “Church” became “congregation”; “priest” was changed into “elder.” We can hardly wonder that More denounced the book as heretical, or that Warham ordered it to be given up by all who possessed it.’” (Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, footnote pp. 130-131.)

In 1850 a complete edition of both testaments of the version commonly called Wyclif’s was published at Oxford under the editorship of J. Farstall and Sir F. Madden.

In 1388 John Purney revised Wyclif’s translation. These translations were based on the Latin Vulgate.

In 1525 or 1526 Tyndale published a translation of the New Testament at Worms. He published also portions of a translation of the Old Testament. Miles Coverdale continued Tyndale’s work, and in 1535 the first printed English Bible was published.

Other translations now followed rapidly, the best known of which is Matthew’s Bible. Its real author was John Rogers, *alias* Thomas Matthew. From Matthew’s Bible all later revisions of the protestant Bible have been formed.

In 1539 Richard Taverner published a translation of the Bible.

As none of these translations pleased Cromwell, he commissioned Coverdale to bring out a new translation. This is called "The Great Bible," published in 1539.

Cranmer's Bible was published in 1540, and five other editions followed in the next eighteen months.

As Mary's accession had arrested the progress of heresy in England, some of the protestants fled to Geneva. There in 1557 Wm. Whittingham brought out the N. T. Principally by his labors a translation of the whole Bible was published at Geneva in 1560. This is called the Genevan Bible.

This version is sometimes called the "Breeches Bible," because the translators rendered the **תְּנָרוֹת** of Genesis III. 7, by "breeches."

As Cromwell and Cranmer were opposed to the Calvinism of the authors of this edition, in 1568 several protestant bishops revised Coverdale's version. This is known as the Bishops' Bible.

In 1604 King James of England convened a conference to reform things amiss in the Church. In the second day's conference Dr. Reynolds declared that the translations of Scripture made in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. "were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original." King James immediately ordered a new translation. It was begun in 1607, and in 1611 the work was published. Forty-seven revisers were appointed for the work. We know but little of the history of their work.

This edition is the authorized edition of the protestant English Bible. None of these versions have any critical value.

In May 1870 the work of revising this translation was begun. The revision of the New Testament was completed in about ten years and a half, and was published in 1881. The revision of the Old Testament was completed in 1885. A revised translation of the deuterocanonical books was published in 1895. The New Testament differs from the edition of 1611 in 5788 places, besides numberless minor differences.

In the year 1582, William (afterward Cardinal) Allen, Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow made a translation of the New Testament at the English Catholic college of Rheims under the following title:

The New Testament of Iesvs Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke, and other editions in diuers languages: Vvith Argvments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the Corrvptions of diuers late translations, and for clearing the Controversies in religion, of these daies: In the English College of Rhemes. Printed at Rhemes by Iohn Fogy. 1582. 4to.

Thomas Worthington affixed the notes to the text. From the place of its origin it was called the Rheims version. After the college was removed to Douay, the same scholars translated the Old Testament under the title:

The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English out of the Avthentical Latin. Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other Editions in diuers languages. With Argvments of the Bookes, and Chapters: Annotations: Tables: and other helpes for better vnderstanding of the text: for discouerie of corrvptions in some late translations: and for clearing Controversies in Religion. By the English College of Doway by Lavrence Kellam. 1609-10. 2 vols. 4to.

These being united form the Rheims-Douay Bible, the "editio princeps" of all English Catholic versions. In 1750 it was revised by Dr. Challoner, and this revision is the one usually in use.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

In the acquisition of all knowledge, man should order all its different branches to one grand scope: namely, to develop the powers of the soul, and make the being of man God-like. Now in that cultivation of the soul, the science of Holy Scripture is most immediate to the end of all study. The other

departments of human knowledge contain but the faint and broken accents of human reason; the Holy Scriptures contain the clear voice of God from Heaven. Hence there should also be this order in the human knowable, that all the sciences should be subservient to the study of God in the Holy Scriptures.

Man should study the different sciences with the view of coming closer to the Creator through the consideration of his works. The man, then, who essays to interpret the word of God, should bring to his task the possession of vast and varied knowledge, that truth may beget truth, and the message of the Creator may be received in its fulness, in the mind made receptive by careful preparation. The student of Scripture takes up the grandest and sublimest system of philosophy, the truest and best system of ethics, and the grand basis of dogmatic truth. The human mind is limited, the compass of its cognitions is never vast, and it would be presumption in it to undertake to find the sense of the Holy Code without much laborious preparation. A man with some happy faculty of expression may treat of many themes of human knowledge without great mental application. But if a man would draw anything more than pious generalities out of the Scriptures, he must *study*.

In the words of Jerome: "Agricolæ, cæmentarii, fabri, metallorum lignorumve cæsores, lanarii quoque et fullones, et ceteri, qui variam supellectilem et vilia opuscula fabricantur, absque doctore, esse non possunt quod cupiunt. Quod medicorum est,

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri.

Sola Scripturarum ars, quam sibi omnes passim vindicant:

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant. Alii adducto supercilio grandia verba trutinantes inter mulierculas de sacris literis philosophantur. Alii discunt, proh dolor! a feminis, quod viros doceant: et ne parum hoc sit, quadam facilitate verborum, imo audacia edisserunt aliis, quod ipsi non intelligunt. . . . Puerilia sunt hæc et circulatorum ludo similia, docere quod ignores, imo, ut cum

stomacho loquar, ne hoc quidem scire, quod nescias." (St. Hier. ad Paulin. Ep. 53, 6, 7, Migne, P. L. 22, 544.)

The student of Scripture should study natural science to see the design of the Creator in his works, and the evidence of his wisdom in Nature's laws; and also to defend the truths of God against the inflated sophists, who speak in the name of science. He should study philosophy that by the possession of the truths of one order, the mind may expand and rise by the right laws from one order of truth to another, in its upward course towards the Infinite Truth.

He should study the languages, for the resources of human thought are expressed in the different languages of the races of man. No man can well come at the thought of the world through the knowledge of any one tongue.

He should study the tongues in which the holy men of God spoke, for the fulness and the clearness of the thought remains in the original tongue in which it was first delivered. It will not suffice to say: "Jerome translated the Hebrew for me, and as I can not equal Jerome's knowledge of Scripture, I shall desist from fruitless toil." Neither Jerome nor any other man, put into the translation the fulness and the clearness of the original.

He should study dogmatic theology, that he may be guided by the analogy of faith in all interpretations. It may be safely stated that no man ever became an able interpreter of Scripture, who was not a profound dogmatic theologian.

He should study archæology, that he may know the customs and modes of life of ancient people; for a knowledge of these will throw light on certain expressions of such people.

It is an evident fact that the science of archæology has made remarkable progress in our times. Remarkable discoveries have been made on the sites of Babylon, in Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, and these monuments bear a most important relation to Holy Scripture. It is a source of satisfaction to every believer to know that the testimony of the monuments has confirmed the truth of the Scriptures.

The student of Scripture should study textual criticism,

that he may be able to judge of the sense of various readings, and, may intelligently use the different codices.

Finally, he should read and ponder much upon the Holy Text, for it does not reveal its depths of truths to the casual reader.

In proper degree the common laws of interpretation for all written documents are applicable to Holy Scripture; but inasmuch as the Scriptures form a unique transcendent class of literature, they have also laws proper to themselves.

The argument or occasion of the writing of a document often determines the peculiar sense given to words by an inspired writer. Thus a knowledge of the gnostic heresies gives us the key to St. John's anathema against the man who should divide Jesus Christ.

The grammatical and logical context must be weighed; for both the words and the ideas of a writer are connected in a manner affecting the sense. Attention must also be paid to the character of the writing; for in impassioned discourse the ideas may be somewhat disconnected.

The hermeneutical laws proper to the Holy Scriptures are based on the fact that God is the Author of the Scriptures. God must therefore guide the interpretation of his writings.

The first great law therefore in the interpretation of Scripture is the teaching of the Church.

It is clear that the nature of the writings demands in the soul of the interpreter certain virtues to fit it to receive God's message.

Prayer, an honest teachable heart, and humility are necessary: "When as a youth I sought the sense of the Scriptures by the power of the intellect rather than by pious petition, by my perverse method I closed against myself the door leading to the Lord. When I should have knocked that it might be opened, I caused it to be closed. I sought in pride what only the humble can find. . . . Wretched man! When I thought myself able to fly, I left the nest, and I fell before I flew." (Aug. Sermon 51, 5).

All the Fathers have recognized that there are many things difficult to understand in the Scriptures. To deal

with these Origen counsels: "Being assiduous in the reading of Scripture, with a true firm faith in God seek the sense of the Holy Scriptures, which is often hidden." (Ep. ad Greg. Neoc.)

A most useful counsel is that of St. Augustine: "For I confess to your charity that I have learned to yield this respect and honor only to the canonical books of Scripture: of these alone do I most firmly believe that the authors were completely free from error. And if in these writings I am perplexed by anything which appears to me opposed to truth, I do not hesitate to suppose that either the MS. is faulty, or the translator has not caught the meaning of what was said, or I myself have failed to understand it."

As St. Paul says: "The natural man receiveth not the things that are of the spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him, and he can not understand them, because they are spiritually examined."

This fact underlies rationalism and modernism; men have brought in false theories of inspiration and interpretation to reduce the supernatural character of the Scriptures which the natural man finds it hard to understand. The whole tendency is to make the Scriptures more acceptable to the natural man. Many of these theories have been treated of in our tract on Inspiration. The Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" which we have produced in full is an excellent treatise on the interpretation of Scripture. Hence we shall refrain from repeating here what has been treated of in the first part of our work.

The Council of Trent in its famous decree of the fourth session, "with a view to restrain the petulance of human minds, decreed: That no one relying on his own judgment, in the doctrinal and moral parts of Scripture, should distort the Holy Scriptures to conform to his opinions against the sense which our Holy Mother the Church has held and holds, whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture; and that no one shall dare interpret the same Holy Scriptures contrary to the unanimous consensus of the Fathers.

Though this decree is formally disciplinary it presupposes a dogmatic truth.

The Vatican Council repromulgated the decree of the Council of Trent, and authentically interpreted it: "Since therefore that which the Council of Trent wisely decreed to restrain rash minds in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, has by some men been falsely interpreted, we renew the aforesaid decree, and declare its meaning to be that in matters of faith and morals pertaining to Christian teaching that is to be held as the true sense of Holy Scripture which holy Mother the Church has held and holds; for her office it is to judge of the sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore it is not allowed to any man to interpret the Holy Scriptures against the sense (of the Church) or against the unanimous consent of the Fathers." (Const. de Fide. II.)

The Fathers of the Vatican have here brought into the decree the dogmatic fact on which the disciplinary ruling of the Council of Trent was based, and have promulgated a dogmatic decree. A long series of discussions preceded the definition, and it is made evident from these that the decree does not contemplate two disparate criterions; but held the unanimous consent of the Fathers to be a competent witness of what the Church held.

The sense of some texts has been directly defined by the Church. It was defined by the Council of Trent, that Paul spoke of original sin, Rom. V. 12. (Conc. Trid. Sess. V. 2-4.) It was defined in the same session, and again in the seventh session, that the sense of the text, John III. 5, establishes the necessity of baptism by natural water. In the thirteenth session it is established, that the words of institution of the Blessed Eucharist prove the real presence of Christ in the Host. In the fourteenth session it is defined that the words of Christ in John XX. 23, convey the power of binding and loosing sin; and that James V. 11 promulgates the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

The indirect force of the Church's definitions pervades the whole body of the Scriptures. In condemning heresies, she shows us indirectly what is the sense of many passages;

and her authentic teaching forms a general norm of interpretation which we call the analogy of faith.

We may define the analogy of faith to be *the constant and perpetual harmony of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and practice*, deduced from those passages, in which they are discussed by the inspired writer, either directly or expressly, and in clear, plain, and intelligible language. Or, more briefly, the analogy of faith may be defined to be that *proportion which the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures bear to each other, or, the close connection between the truths of Revealed Religion.*

The *analogy of faith* is an expression borrowed from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (XII. 6.) where he exhorts those who *prophesy* in the church (that is, those who exercise the office of authoritatively expounding the Scriptures), to *prophesy according to the analogy of faith*.

The clause, "*in rebus fidei et morum,*" occasioned much discussion in the Council, and has occasioned much since. By this clause the Fathers did not restrict inspiration to the doctrinal parts; but only declared that in these parts, the sense was vital to the religious life of the people, and consequently in these things the Church fulfilled her commission of teaching all peoples.

As Bishop Gasser of Brixen, one of the leading bishops of the Council declared, the Church has the right of regulating the interpretation of all the things in Scripture, but, "regarding the historical parts, either the interpretations are not against the dogma of the inspiration of Holy Scripture and of all its parts, or they are against this dogma. In the first hypothesis it is a free ground of discussion; in the second hypothesis, if the interpretation of the historical truth violates the dogma of inspiration, certainly it becomes a matter of faith, and hence the Church has the right to pass judgment on it." (Coll. lac. VII. 226.)

Hence all the parts of the Holy Scripture are inspired, but the inspired sense of all is not so clearly known by us. In the necessary things of faith and morals, the Church exercises a special care to help us to come at the inspired sense. In other things, though they are equally inspired,

she leaves the interpretation free, on condition that it conflict not with the fundamental dogma of the inspiration of the whole Scriptures. When the Church explicitly interprets a passage, we call it an authentic interpretation.

While therefore we recognize that there is a wide range of truths of Scripture where men may freely exercise their scientific methods, we see at the same time that the great fundamental truth must underlie all these interpretations, namely that all parts of the Holy Scriptures as they came from the inspired writers are divinely inspired. We have already discussed in the treatise on Inspiration the false argument of those who wished to establish non-inspired parts in Holy Scripture.

Concerning the sense of Scripture a few principles will suffice.

When we speak of the sense of a writing, we mean not the mere signification of the words. The signification of a word is the power that it has from its own nature, and the institution and use of man to convey a determinate idea. Hence one term can have many significations. But the sense of a word is the actual value that the term has in a particular predication; and the sense in a right ordered proposition can be but one.

The first and main sense of Scripture is the literal sense. Usage prevails to class under this head the historical sense, and the metaphorical sense. "By the literal sense a thought may be expressed in two ways: that is, either according to the ordinary force of the words, as when I say, 'the man laughs'; or according to a simile, as when I say, 'the meadow laughs.' We use both manners of expression in Scripture, as when we say according to the first mode, 'Jesus ascended': we say, 'he sits at the right hand of God,' according to the second mode. And therefore under the literal sense is included the metaphorical." (St. Thomas in Gal. 4. 7).

Now the sense of Scripture is that thought which the Holy Ghost has expressed by written words.

The historical sense is that, which results immediately from the ordinary force of the words, as when I say: "The

Word was made flesh." This is the basic sense in all Scripture, and in all the expressions of the creations of mind.

The metaphorical sense of Scripture is a deviation from the ordinary application of words, in which we predicate concepts of objects, not proper to them in their essential nature, but founded in some wide general similarity. Thus we speak of the "arm of the Lord" not to predicate the corporal member of God, but to assert of him the power of action.

We include under the heading of metaphorical sense of Scripture, all figurative sense, whether it consist in simile, parable, personification, allegory, synecdoche, metonymy, apostrophe, irony, hyperbole, or other figure. The main office of figurative speech in Scripture is to heighten the force of the enunciation, to give clearness to abstract ideas, and to express ideas with something of the fulness and vividness of the objects of sense.

The state of a man perplexed by many thoughts, could scarcely be better expressed than by saying:

"I scarcely understand my own intent;
But silkworm like, so long within have wrought,
That I am lost in my own web of thought."

The allegory is a common form of Scriptural figure. ³ It is a form of expression in which the real subject is not mentioned but described by a consistent, intelligible statement, and the subject is left to be inferred by the aptly suggestive likeness. A fine allegory is in Isaiah V. 1-2:

"My beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill; and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes."

The parable was much used by the Lord. This figure of speech is properly a species of allegory, in which a religious truth is exhibited by means of facts from nature and human life. The statements are not historically true, but are offered as a means of conveying a higher general truth. But the propositions are always true to nature; the laws of the nature of the different beings introduced, are strictly

observed, and the events are such as might have taken place. The Prodigal Son, The Sower, The Ten Virgins, Lazarus and Dives, are good examples of this form of expression.

The knowledge of the sense of Scripture, has been much obscured by the addition of what is called the *sensus consequens*.

Such is the nature of the mind, that it evolves truth from truth by logical process. The truths which are by logical deduction drawn from other truths of Scripture, are by some writers classed under the *sensus consequens*. Since God endowed man with the reasoning faculty, it is natural and right for him to proceed in syllogistic process from truth to truth. And if the fundamental position be the sense of the Holy Ghost, and the logical process be legitimate, the conclusion will be equally the sense of the Holy Ghost. While, therefore, we justify the process, we see no need of multiplying entia by placing this division of the sense of Scripture.

As the infinite knowledge of God comprehends all future things and events, he alone can order a being or event to prefigure some future being or event. This prefiguring of future beings, actions, and events is called the typical or spiritual sense of Scripture. It is evident that it can only be properly verified in inspired writings, for no other being can thus comprehend and describe the future.

THE TYPICAL SENSE is therefore verified when some being, action, or event which has its own proper mode of being, is taken to signify some future ens. Therefore the typical sense is founded upon the literal sense. It leaves to the sentence its proper literal sense, and is formed upon it by applying the great leading concept of the present reality to future being. It is evident that it differs from the metaphorical sense, though it comes close to allegory. But it is distinguishable from allegory in this, that it imports as its basis some real existing being, whereas allegory is the application of an imaginary ens to signify present or future truth. Thus the ten virgins can not be called a type of the kingdom of Heaven, but an allegorical description of the different religious conditions of human life, in its journey towards eternity.

The typical sense is also different in nature from the sense of the symbolic actions of prophetic vision. The vision of Ezekiel, I. 4-28, for example, was not a type of the Almighty, but a symbol of some of his attributes. Thus also the Woman seen by John in the Apocalypse, XII., is not a type of the Church, but the life of the militant Church there portrayed by symbolic vision.

The type is properly built on some ens in *rerum natura*; the symbol is only a creation of the mind.

Usage has determined that the ens adumbrating the future verity should be called the TYPE, while the future verity thus prefigured is called the ANTOTYPE.

The old writers here again induce useless divisions, dividing types into prophetic, which relate to Christ, anagogic which regard man's supernatural destiny, and tropologic, which contain laws of morality. These divisions serve no useful purpose.

The existence of types in the Scripture is self-evident from the reading of the Holy Books. Adam is called a type of Christ, *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*, Rom. V. 14; the sacrifice of Melchisedech is a type of the Eucharist; Sara and Hagar are types of the Old and New Testaments, Gal. IV. 24; the Paschal Lamb was a type of the Crucifixion, Exod. XII. 46, compared with Jo. XIX. 36; the Brazen Serpent was a type of the Vicarious Atonement, Num. XXI. 9; the Manna was a type of the Eucharist, Exod. XVI. 15, compared with Jo. VI. 49-50; Israel in the Exodus was a type of Christianity, *ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις*, I. Cor. X. 11. Such evident proofs render the existence of the typical sense as well founded as the existence of inspiration.

From the express declarations of the inspired writers, and from the nature of the truths themselves, it is evident that the entire Old Testament with its history and its rites is a type of the New. Thus Moses and Joshua are types of Christ, the Ark of Noah a type of the Church, the old sacrifices a type of the Eucharist, etc., but it is absurd to seek this typology in every individual proposition. This has been done even to the extent of finding a typical signification in the snuffers used to remove the snuff from the candles

in the temple. The vanity of such position is very evident. There is much in the first Code that has only its plain historical sense, such as, for instance, the Decalogue.

The question has been moved by some, whether there are types in the New Testament. This question admits of a definite and certain answer.

There are no Messianic types in the New Dispensation as there were in the Old, which was but the shadow of the perfect covenant. But still, as the Church was a future ens in the time of Christ, there were typical actions in his life; and certain events connected with his first coming are typical of their counterparts in his second coming. Thus St. Paul finds a typical *ratio* in the fact that Christ suffered death outside the gate; the bark of the Apostles, tossed by the tempest, is a type of the Church, and the destruction of Jerusalem is most certainly a type of the dissolution of the world.

Now of the senses of Scripture, the greatest and most valuable is the literal sense. This should be first sought in every passage of Scripture.

In every enunciation of Holy Scripture there is a literal sense, whether it be historical or metaphorical. This law of interpretation is now received by all. It was opposed by Origen in his excessive mysticism; but the Fathers repudiated his extravagant theories as "old women's fables," "*aniles fabulæ.*" (St. Basil) The very nature of human speech demands that words be used in their historical or metaphorical literal sense. In no other supposition is human speech intelligible; and it is not to be supposed that God violated the nature of human speech in his message to man.

A question of more difficult solution is whether a sentence of Holy Scripture may have more than one literal sense. Augustine (Conf. 12, 30, 31, 32.) concedes the possibility of a multiplex sense of Scripture. St. Thomas seems to have contradicted himself in his treatment of this question. In the Summa (I. q. 1. a. 10) he places the objection "that a multiplex sense of Scripture would create confusion and error, and destroy the certitude of the argument:" he answers

that such results can not follow, since "all the senses are founded on the one literal sense." Nevertheless a little farther on he writes: "Since the literal sense is that which the author intends, and the Author of the Holy Scriptures is God, who comprehends all things in his knowledge, it is not unfitting, as St. Augustine says, that there may be a multiplex literal sense of Scripture." In his treatise *De Potentia*, q. 4, he is still more explicit in defending a multiplex sense. A multiplex literal sense is also taught by Melchior Canus, Catharinus, Bellarmine, Bonfrere, Serarius, Salmeron, Molina, Valentia, and Vasquez.

The tendency of later writers has been quite generally opposed to admitting a multiplex sense, for internal reasons. Thus Schmid (*De Insp.* 248) declares that the greater weight of authority is for it; the stronger internal evidence is against it. He leaves the question undecided.

Those who hold the negative opinion argue that it is the nature of human speech that there be but one literal sense in a proposition, and the inspired writers acting under the influence of the Holy Ghost, are not to be supposed to have changed the nature of human discourse. In fact the understanding of the Scriptures would be much impeded, if more than one literal sense was contained in them, for one, after receiving one certain literal sense, would be ever uncertain whether there were not others yet to be explored.

Now it must be understood that the advocates of a multiplex sense of Scripture, Augustine excepted, admit it only in rare cases, especially in prophetic utterance where God directly speaks. They believe that his infinite comprehension of truth may give a comprehensive meaning to expressions, which might in a certain sense, be called a multiplex sense of Scripture. There is a certain relation between these senses, but it is not clear in every case that they can be reduced to the relation of type and antitype. We have no wish to insist on the name "multiplex sense"; but there seem to be a few places in prophecy where two entities alike in nature are contemplated in one proposition. In such cases the declaration of St. Thomas seems to be applicable: "A term is ambiguous, and furnishes an occasion of decep-

tion when it is used to signify many things of which one is not coördinated to the other; but when it signifies many things which by a certain order are contemplated as one, then the term is not ambiguous but certain." Summa Th. III. q. 60, a. 3).

A remarkable instance of the mode in which the same proposition may have two senses is furnished in the Gospel of St. John XI. 50: "Ye know nothing at all, nor do ye take account that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."

Caiaphas gave a counsel that it was a wise political expedient to put Jesus to death to please Rome. The Holy Ghost made use of him as the high priest to prophesy that Jesus must die for the redemption of men.

Now it is true that Caiaphas was not in the real sense a prophet, but this passage at least shows that it is compatible with the laws of human speech, as the Holy Ghost used it, that one proposition should have a multiplex sense. There is only one sense here intended by the Holy Ghost; but we can conceive a similar case where a human writer might express a holy and true thought, and one inspired by the Holy Ghost, and yet unconsciously utter a deeper prophecy.

The sublime passage of Isaiah LII., 4-6, certainly refers to our redemption from sin; but Matthew (VIII. 16-17) applies it also to Jesus' healing of the sick. The only just explanation here is that the comprehensive sense of prophecy contemplated both Jesus' redemption of the world from sin, and his merciful healing of the sick. The two effects are essentially related. This theory may be applied to other prophetic places.

Care must be taken not to receive the error of Origen, who defended that at times only the typical sense was intended. The typical sense stands not alone, but is always built upon the literal. The Fathers have at times extolled the typical sense above the literal, on the assumption that it treated of higher concepts. This is erroneous. The typical sense is more sublime in those passages in which it is found than its type, but it is not more sublime than the literal sense in general. The typical sense of the passage relating to

the Paschal Lamb is more sublime than its type, but it is not more sublime than the declaration of St. John: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us," or the Beatitudes; and these are to be accepted in their literal sense. Therefore, where there is a typical sense it is to be principally sought, because it was in such passage principally intended by the Holy Ghost; but the great body of the Scriptures especially of the New Testament contain their truths in the literal sense. The excessive looking wide of the literal sense in search of types is one of the great defects of pulpit use of Holy Scripture.

Finally the typical sense of any passage can only be certainly known, by some authentic declaration of the Holy Ghost. The ordering of one ens to signify another is the work of God, and can only be fully known to us through some manifestation of the mind of God. Therefore, we can only find things which are of faith on those types, whose typical signification has been opened up to us by some inspired writer. When this is done, it is evident that the sense is as certain as the literal sense.

In the liturgical offices of the Church, and in the writings of the Fathers, often a passage of Scripture is applied to an object, which was not in the mind of the inspired writer, nor comprehended in the scope of the Holy Ghost in the inspired writing. This is called the accommodated sense. It is based upon some resemblance between the two themes.

To speak properly, it is not a sense of Scripture, but the adaptation of the sense of Scripture to another theme of similar nature. This accommodation takes place in two different ways.

The first species occurs where the passage retains its real signification, but is extended to another theme, which is analogous in nature and circumstances. Thus a man who falls in temptation may say: "Serpens deceptit me." Thus, the Breviary applies to the Holy Pontiffs, what was said by the Siracida of Noah: "Inventus est justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio." In the same manner, the Breviary extends to Holy Pontiffs, what was said of Moses: "Similem fecit illum in gloria Sanctorum;" and of Aaron: "Statuit ei testamentum æternum."

This use of Scripture is legitimate and useful, provided always the first sense is not obscured, and the application is justly made, but it is never to be taken as the sense of Holy Writ; it can never prove a dogma. Even the material words of Holy Scripture possess a sort of divine virtue. And when they become the vehicles of even human thoughts, they are capable of moving the soul of man to piety.

The second species of accommodation is founded in no real similarity in nature or circumstances of the two themes, but in a mere ignorant distortion of Scriptural words to express some human thought. Thus, when Yahveh showed visible signs of his majesty in certain places, the Psalmist cried out: "Deus mirabilis in Sanctis suis (in Sanctuario suo)." "O God, thou art terrible in thy holy places." It is not uncommon to apply this to the mysterious ways of God to his elect, or even to the idiosyncrasies of holy people. Again in Psalm XVIII. 26, (Hebrew) the Psalmist declares the action of God towards man to be fashioned by the qualities of a man's own life: "Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum perverso perverteris." It is lamentable to hear a man tear this text to tatters, to prove the ill effect of evil associations.

It is related that after the Duke of Montmorency was executed by the order of Cardinal Richelieu, the sister of the Duke, passing the tomb of the Cardinal, directed to him an apostrophe in the words of Martha, the sister of Lazarus: "Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus." It was much in vogue in the sixteenth century to apply the sacred words to profane subjects.

When St. Francis de Sales lay ill, his physician in compounding some medicine for him, addressed him thus: "Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo; scies autem postea." Jo. XIII. 7. St. Francis reprehended him saying: "You profane the Scripture of God in applying it to profane things. The Scripture should only be used of holy themes, and with profound respect." So great was the abuse, that the Council of Trent in its fourth session formally forbade that the Scripture be applied to profane subjects.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

Through defect of documents, we know nothing of the exegetical systems of the Jews before the time of Christ.

Flavius Josephus declares (War I. 5, 2.) that the Pharisees interpret the Law accurately. We can only come at a knowledge of their system through the Talmud, which reflects the Jewish thought of the early ages.

The Talmud is a composite form of the Mishna and the Gemara. The Mishna, from **שְׁנָה**, has the radical signification of *Deuterosis*, a repetition of the Law, it being a repetition and explanation of the Law. In the Mishna itself we read:—"Why is it called the Mishna? Because it is the second Law. For the first Law which Israel received on Sinai, is the written Law. But Moses received the Mishna from the mouth of the Almighty the second time, and it is the oral Law. It is called Mishna because it is second to the first Law." It is certain that the Mosaic origin of the Mishna is a fable. It is simply a collection of the opinions and legal decisions of the ancient Rabbis. Chief among those who collected the data of the Mishna, was Rabbi Jehuda Hak-kadosh, or *the Holy*, born about the middle of the second century. The Mishna summed up all previous rabbinical labors, and moulded all the subsequent philosophy and theology of Judaism. Rabbinic interpretation is called by the generic term of **מִדְרָשׁ** Midrash from **דָּרַשׁ**, to enquire. These Midrashim are of two kinds, the Haggadah, **הַגְּדָה** from **נָגַד**, to narrate, was a free exposition, inclining to allegory and mysticism, and generally aimed to console the saddened spirit. This was preferred by the Jews in the dreadful calamities which befell them. The other species is **הַלְכָה**, Halakah, from **הִלְךְ** to proceed. This interpretation keeps more strictly to the traditional acceptance of the Law.

"These traditional ordinances, as already stated, bear the general name of the *Halakah*, as indicating alike the way in which the fathers had walked, and that which their chil-

dren were bound to follow. These *Halakoth* were either simply the laws laid down in Scripture; or derived from it, or traced to it by some ingenious and artificial method of exegesis; or added to it, by way of amplification and for safety's sake; or finally, legalized customs. They provided for every possible and impossible case, entered into every detail of private, family, and public life; and with iron logic, unbending rigor, and most minute analysis pursued and dominated man, turn whither he might, laying on him a yoke which was truly unbearable. The return which they offered was the pleasure and distinction of knowledge, the acquisition of righteousness, and the final attainment of rewards.

The *Halakah* indicated with the most minute and painful punctiliousness every legal ordinance as to outward observances, and it explained every bearing of the Law of Moses.

Altogether, the Mishna comprises six "Orders" (*Sedarim*), each devoted to a special class of subjects. The first "Order" (*Zeraim*, "seeds") begins with the ordinances concerning "benedictions," or the time, mode, manner and character of the prayers prescribed. It then goes on to detail what may be called the religio-agrarian laws (such as tithing, Sabbatical years, first fruits, etc.). The second "Order" (*Moad*, "festive time") discusses all connected with the Sabbath observance and the other festivals. The third "Order" (*Nashim*, "women") treats of all that concerns betrothal, marriage and divorce, but also includes a tractate on the Nasirate. The fourth "Order" (*Nezikim*, "damages") contains the civil and criminal law. Characteristically, it includes all the ordinances concerning idol-worship (in the tractate *Abodah Zarah*) and "the sayings of the Fathers" (*Aboth*). The fifth "Order" (*Kodashim*, "holy things") treats of the various classes of sacrifices, offerings, and things dedicated to God, and of all questions which can be grouped under "sacred things" (such as the redemption, exchange, or alienation of what had been dedicated to God.) It also includes the laws concerning the daily morning and evening service (*Tamid*), and a description of the structure and arrangements of the Temple (*Middoth*, the "measure-

ments"). Finally, the sixth "Order" (*Toharoth*, "clean-nesses") gives every ordinance connected with the questions of "clean and unclean," alike as regards human beings, animals, and inanimate things.

These "Orders" are divided into tractates (*Massiktoth*, *Massketyoth*, "textures, webs"), of which there are sixty-three (or else sixty-two) in all. These tractates are again subdivided into chapters, (*Perakim*)—in all 525, which severally consist of a certain number of verses, or *Mishnas* (*Mishnayoth*, in all 4, 187). The language is Hebrew, though of course not that of the Old Testament. The words rendered necessary by the new circumstances are chiefly derived from the Greek, the Syriac, and the Latin, with Hebrew terminations. But all connected with social intercourse, or ordinary life (such as contracts), is written, not in Hebrew, but in Aramæan, as the language of the people.

But the traditional law embodied other materials than the *Halakoth* collected in the Mishna. Some that had not been recorded there, found a place in the works of certain Rabbis, or were derived from their schools. These are called *Borailhas*—that is, traditions *external* to the Mishna. Finally, there were "additions" (or *Tosephtoth*), dating after the completion of the Mishna, but probably not later than the third century of our era. Such additions are added to fifty-two out of the sixty-three Mishnic tractates. When speaking of the *Halakah* as distinguished from the *Haggadah*, we must not, however, suppose that the latter could be entirely separated from it. In point of fact, one whole tractate in the *Mishna* (*Aboth*: The Sayings of the "Fathers") is entirely *Haggadah*; a second (*Middoth*; the "Measurements of the Temple") has *Halakah* in only fourteen places; while in the rest of the tractates *Haggadah* occurs in not fewer than two hundred and seven places. Only thirteen out of the sixty-three tractates of the *Mishna* are entirely free from *Haggadah*.

In course of time the discussions, illustrations, explanations, and additions to which the Mishna gave rise, whether in its application, or in the Academies of the Rabbis, were authoritatively collected and edited in what are known as

the two *Talmuds* or *Gemaras*. If we imagine something combining law reports and notes of a theological debating club—all thoroughly Oriental, full of digressions, anecdotes, quaint sayings, fancies, and legends, and too often of what, from its profanity, superstition, and even obscenity, could scarcely be quoted, we may form some general idea of what the Talmud is. The oldest of these two Talmuds dates from about the close of the fourth century of our era. It is the product of the Palestinian Academies, and hence called the *Jerusalem* Talmud. The second is about a century younger, and the outcome of the Babylonian schools, hence called the *Babylon* (afterwards also “our”) Talmud. We do not possess either of these works complete. The most defective is the Jerusalem Talmud, which is also much briefer, and contains far fewer discussions than that of Babylon. The Babylon Talmud, which in its present form extends over thirty-six out of the sixty-three tractates of the Mishna, is about ten or eleven times the size of the Mishna, and more than four times that of the Jerusalem Talmud. It occupies (in our editions), with marginal commentations, 2,947 folio leaves (pages *a* and *b*). Both Talmuds are written in Aramæan; the one in its western the other in its eastern dialect, and in both the Mishna is discussed *seriatim*, and clause by clause.

Opposed to the Talmudists were the KARAITES, a sect formed in the seventh or eighth century. They rejected the oral traditions of the Talmud, and while seeking the literal sense, rejected the literalism of the Talmudists.

The ESSENES and the ALEXANDRIAN JEWS adopted a purely mystical interpretation of the Scripture. We may judge of the system of the Alexandrians from their representative Philo. According to him, although at times the literal sense must be developed for rude minds incapable of higher wisdom, the real sense of the Scripture was the occult understanding of the symbols which were contained in the letter. Thus Abraham is the symbol of the learning of virtue; Isaac, of the acquisition of virtue; Jacob, of its exercise. Adam, is a symbol of man in his rude state; Cain, of selfishness; Noah, of justice; Sara, of womanly virtue; Rebecca, of wisdom; Egypt, is a symbol of the body; the dove, of the

divine wisdom, etc. Philo compares the literal sense to the body; the allegorical, to the soul, and in many places rejects entirely the literal sense. His work is worthless in exegesis.

THE CABALISTS surpassed Philo in mystic jugglery. The Cabalists derive their name from קַבַּל, to receive, since they fable that their system was secretly delivered to the elders on Sinai.

Of the Cabalistic theosophy, we shall say nothing. We shall only briefly indicate some of their artifices, by which they find foundation for their vain theories and beliefs.

The first artifice is called Gematria, in which occult senses are drawn from the text, by the numerical value of the letters. For example, the first verse of Genesis and the last verse of the Hebrew Bible, II. Chron. XXXVI. 23. contain six א. The letter א is the first letter of אֶרֶךְ, a thousand; therefore, the world will endure six thousand years. The first two words of Genesis בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא by the numerical value of the letters, make 1,116; the same number, results from the numerical value of the phrase הַשָּׁנָה נִבְרָא הַשָּׁנָה בְּרֵאשִׁית, "in the beginning of the year it was created": therefore, the world was created at the autumnal equinox, which is the beginning of the Jewish year.

By another artifice, they accept the several letters of a word for signs of complete words, and thus build a sentence from the letters of one word. For example the first word of Genesis בְּרֵאשִׁית is by this method made to signify the sentence: ב = בָּרָא, he created, ר = רָקִיעַ, the firmament, א = אֶרֶץ, the earth, ש = שָׁמַיִם, the heavens, י = יָם, the sea, ת = תְּהוֹמוֹת, the abyss: he (God) created the firmament, the earth, the heavens, the sea and the abyss.

Some Christians have resorted to Cabalistic methods to find the mystery of the Trinity in the same term: ב = בֵּן, the Son, ר = רוּחַ, the Spirit, א = אָב, the Father, ש = שְׁלֹשָׁה, three, י = יְחֻדָּה, unity, ת = תְּמִימָה, perfect; the

Son, the Spirit, and the Father, the threefold perfect unity.

By adopting just the reverse, from the initial letters of **מִי יַעֲלֶה-לָנוּ הַשְּׁמַיִמָּה** who shall lead us to Heaven? They formed **מִוִּלָּה**, the rabbinic form of **מוֹלָה**, circumcision.

The third artifice, called *Themurah* from **מִזֶּר** to change, is founded in a metathesis of the letters.

This may be wrought in various ways. 1.—The transposition may be wrought of the letters themselves of any word, so that it may change its signification. Thus the **מַלְאָכִי**, my angel, of Exod. XXIII. 23, by the *Themurah* becomes **מִיכָאֵל** Michael, the name of the angel.

The second species of the *Themurah* consists in a substitution of letters, and may be wrought in two ways. It is **אֶתְבֵּשׁ**, where the last letter of the alphabet is substituted for the first letter, **ת** for **א**; the second last letter for the second, **שׁ** for **ב**, hence its name **אֶתְבֵּשׁ**. The second species is called **אֶלְבֵּם**, and differs from the preceding only in that they divide the alphabet in two equal halves, and substitute the first letter of the second half, **ל**, for the first letter of the first half, **א**, and so through both halves. Some believe that the Masoretic text has suffered an interpolation from the Cabalists in Jer. XXV. 26, and LI. 41, where we read **מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**

No such kingdom is known in history. Jerome informs us that we should read by Athbasch **בְּבַל**, and he believes that Jeremiah with design concealed the real name, leaving it to the Cabalists to interpret. It is far more probable, that if **בְּבַל** should be read there, that the text has been corrupted from **בְּבַל** to **שְׁשֵׁךְ** by the Cabalists.

The most famous Cabalistic treatise is the Book of Sohar, *i. e.* the Book of Splendor. Though the Cabalists assign its origin to the second century, it is most probably not more ancient than the thirteenth century.

Though purporting to explain the Law, it is simply a Cabalistic treatise on their occult doctrines concerning God, the Messiah, the Angels, etc. Two minor works of similar argument are the Books Bahir and Jezira.

After the eleventh century of our era a new school of Scriptural interpretation arose among the Jews. The doctors of Judaism began to discard the old fables, and to seek the literal sense of the Scripture. Of course, as they refused to recognize Christ as the Messiah, they could not come at the full sense of the Old Testament. But still their labors are useful to us in giving us a fuller knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The following are the most famous among these late Talmudists:

RABBI SALOMON BEN ISAAC, frequently called Jarchi, or Rashi, was born at Troyes in Champagne in 1040. He commented the entire Scripture and the Talmud. He obtained great fame among the Jews, and the first Hebrew book ever printed was his commentary on the Pentateuch. His hatred of Christianity is evident in many places in his works. His style is obscure, and he has received many of the fables of the early Talmudists. He died in 1105.

RABBI ABRAHAM BEN MEIR BEN EZRA, commonly called ABENEZRA, was born at Toledo, in Spain, in 1093. He distinguished himself in philosophy, astronomy, medicine, poetry, mathematics, the languages and exegesis. He traveled much, visited the principal cities of Europe, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He died in 1167, on his way from Rhodes to Rome.

He is one of the greatest of the Talmudists. He commented the entire Old Testament except Chronicles. In this commentary he seeks the literal sense of the text, and breaks away from the old fables. He was infected with a certain rationalistic turn of mind, and was most inconstant in his opinions. Though his commentary on the Scriptures is free from the fables of the Cabalists, in other works he indulges his genius in this species of jugglery. He was endowed with prodigious memory, which made him easy master of the Jewish thought of his time.

RABBI MOSES BEN MAIMON, commonly called Maimonides, and sometimes Rambam, was born at Cordova, in Spain, in 1135. Cordova was at that time a Mussulman stronghold, and the vernacular tongue of Maimonides was Arabic. He is styled Rabbi Abram, the last of the sages as regards

time, and the first in worth. His life is enveloped in a web of fable. The few certain data attainable are, that he studied medicine, and made such progress in it, that he was made court physician to Saladin of Egypt. He was versed in the Arabic philosophy, and in mathematics, but his greatest claim to fame, is founded on his Talmudic labors. He wrote partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic. His greatest work is his "Mishnah Thorah," a systematic codification of the whole Jewish Law, as found in the Bible, the Mishnah, the Talmud, and minor books. The Jews have held this book in great esteem, and declare that by it Maimonides merits a place next to Moses the Lawgiver. It remains a great source of rabbinic learning, even to this day. Some Jews have even neglected the Talmud, to concentrate their study on Rambam. It forms a sort of tournament for all later Talmudists, and to explain a difficult "Rambam," is a test of learning with the Talmudists. A MS. of the work is in the library of Cambridge. Various editions have been printed of it; the last and most complete is that of Leipsic in 1862.

The most important of Maimonides' other works is the "Dalalat'u l-Hairin" in Arabic; in Hebrew מוֹרֵה הַנְּבוֹקִים, "The Guide of the Perplexed."

This work essays to explain the difficult passages of the Bible. Maimonides was conversant with Aristotle, and made much use of his philosophy in this work. The work is a curious medley of symbolism, mysticism, Greek philosophy and rationalism. Maimonides left several other works, which merit no special mention here. He died at Cairo in 1204.

The next great Talmudist of the Middle Ages is RABBI DAVID KIMCHI, sometimes called Radak. He was born at Narbonne after 1155, and died probably in the same city about 1235. His father Rabbi Yoseph, or his grandfather Rabbi Isaac (Yishak) Ibn Kimchi, had immigrated into Provence from Spain, whence Arab fanaticism had compelled the Jews to flee. In Provence the family took the Gentile surname of *Petit*. Rabbi David lost his father (who

was himself a grammarian, Bible commentator, and poet of no mean order) very early; but his elder and only brother, Rabbi Mosheh (a fair scholar, but famous chiefly through his younger brother), was his principal oral teacher. The valuable literary treasures of his father, however, falling into his hands, Radak grew strong by studying them, and, as we know, eclipsed them completely, although he lacked his father's originality. But, if Rabbi David lacked originality, he had abundance of instinct for finding out the best in the works of his predecessors, and abundance of genius for digesting and assimilating it till it became his own in a peculiar way. Although preceded by Hayyuj, Ibn Janah, and others, and succeeded by Abraham de Balmes, Elias Levita, and others, Kimchi has maintained the position of the greatest Jewish grammarian and lexicographer. And, although much inferior as a Biblical scholar and Talmudist to Rashi, and as a critic and philosopher to Abraham Ibn Ezra, he has outstripped both in the eyes, not only of the Christians, but to some extent even of the Jews, and thus reigned supreme for more than five hundred years, as a commentator on the Bible. From the fact that he was master of the Targums and Haggadoth as few before or after him, that he had Hebrew, Arabic and Greek philosophy at his fingers' ends, and that he was endowed with a truly poetical soul, the mystery is explained how the merely reproductive scholar could cause original scholars of the highest eminence, but who were one-sided, to be all but forgotten. Not only have his works, in whatever field they are to be found, been printed and reprinted, but the most important of them are translated into Latin, into Judeo-German, and even into English.

Kimchi has commented all the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, and of that he commented the greater part of Genesis. His most valuable contribution to Hebrew literature is his Grammar and Lexicon. All subsequent Hebrew lexicographers have drawn from his **סֵפֶר יְסוּדוֹת** the Book of Roots. Of course comparative philology has amplified these data, but it has by no means superseded the work of this Rabbi. He died at Narbonne about 1235.

ISAAC BEN JUDA ABARBANEL, or ABRAVANEL, was born at Lisbon in 1437. His family was opulent, and he received a liberal education. He entered the political career, and became Minister of Finance to Alphonsus V. of Portugal, and afterwards to Ferdinand the Catholic of Castile. A decree of expulsion in 1492 forced him to leave Spain, and he withdrew to Naples, where he occupied an eminent post at the Court of Ferdinand I. and his successor Alphonsus II. At the French invasion, he fled to Sicily, and finally fixed his domicile at Venice, where he died in 1508.

During his wanderings, he composed numerous works treating of Holy Scripture. The principal works are Commentaries on Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings, on the other four books of the Law, on Daniel, Isaiah, on the other Prophets, and two Dissertations on the Messiah. He has also other treatises on special passages of Holy Scripture. Richard Simon regards him as the most useful of the Rabbis, and makes him equal in Hebrew to Cicero in Latin. This is excessive praise. Like all his class, he hated the Christians, and gives evidence of this hatred in his use of Scripture. At times he is more of a rhetorician than an exegete. Long digressions are often found in his works, made up chiefly of dry, stupid subtilities, and attacks on Christianity.

Other Jewish doctors of minor note are R. Levi ben Gerson, R. Elias Levita, R. Salomon ben Melech, R. Moses Nachmanides, called Ramban, R. Chajim, R. Jacob ben Reuben, R. Aaron ben Joseph, R. Aaron ben Elia, R. Abraham de Balmes ben Meir, R. Abraham Halévi, and Abraham Usque.

THE END OF THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

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