

THE BIBLE
FROM THE BEGINNING

BY

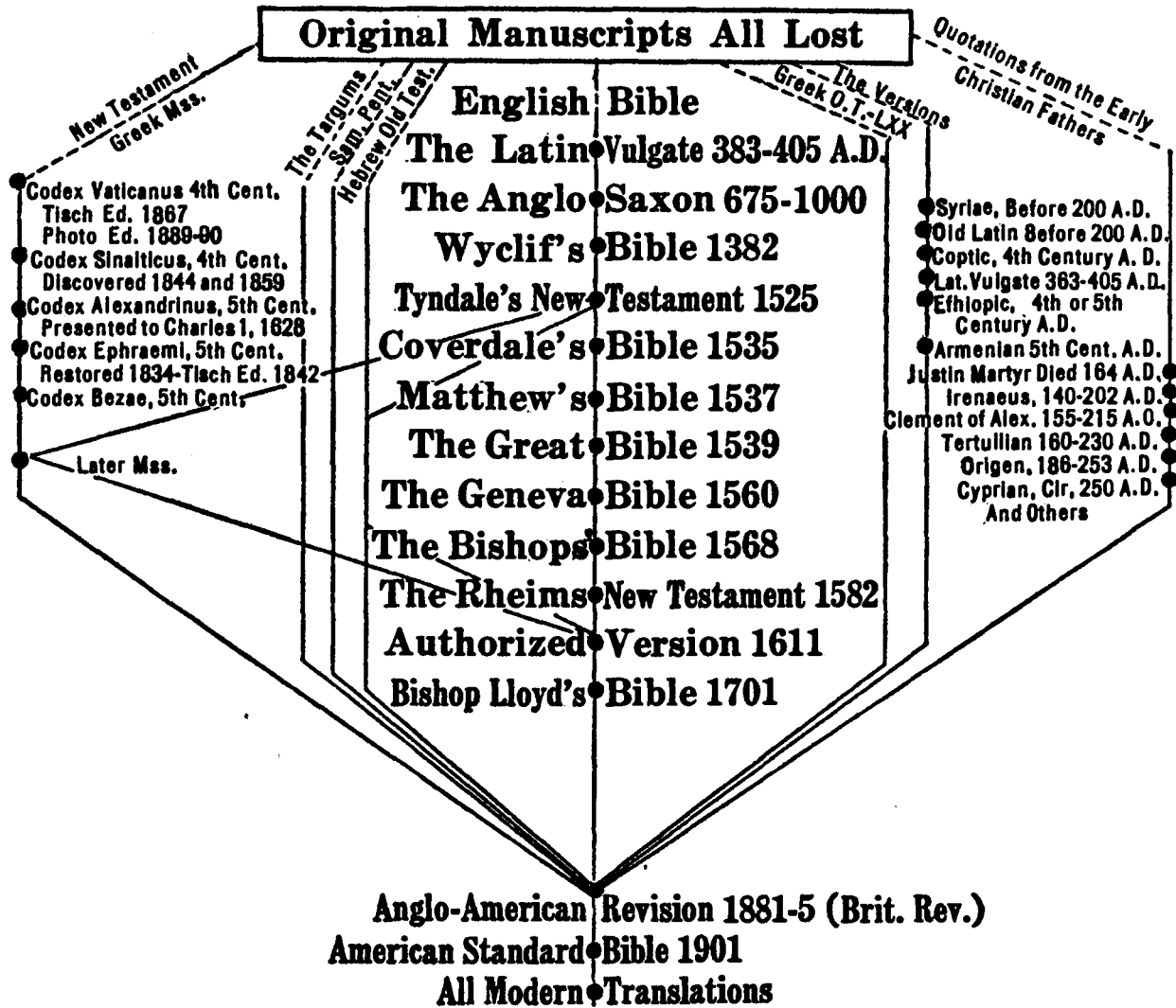
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HOW WE GOT OUR BIBLE



With indebtedness to "How We Got Our Bible," by J. Patterson Smyth.

PREFACE

A QUARTER of a century ago the writer began a rather special study of the origin and history of the Bible; and during all the years since, as opportunity presented, he has been making a collection of translations, especially in English, to which has been added now and then Bibles in other languages. His collection of English translations or revisions of the Bible, as a whole or in part, numbers almost one hundred volumes.

More than two years ago he was invited by the Victor Animatograph Company of Davenport, Iowa, to prepare for their use a series of lectures dealing with the general subject of how we got our Bible. These lectures were to be illustrated with slides and were intended for public rental. The subject being one of profound interest to the writer, and one to which he had already given very considerable attention, he accepted the invitation, and after many months of reading in further preparation and an extensive correspondence with many of the greatest Biblical scholars of the day, prepared six lectures covering the whole field. These lectures were provided with 187 slides, about thirty-one to a lecture. Some are from original photographs; several are tables. These lectures and slides may be rented from the Victor Animatograph Company.

As the work neared completion it occurred to the writer that it would be well to enlarge these lectures for publication. This volume is the result. It contains all the matter of the lectures and much besides. A chapter has been added dealing with "Odds and Ends of Biblical Interest," matters that do not lend themselves well to illustration with slides.

The writer makes no pretension to offering anything new, except the extent of the field covered in one volume, and possibly the method of treatment. Numerous other books would be required to cover the whole field. He has endeavored to gather into one volume such information concerning the whole subject as would appeal both to the student and the common man. He has sought to give the conclusions of the best authorities on all matters treated, and is therefore indebted to sources entirely too numerous to mention.

Even those who have furnished valuable information by correspondence and greatly aided by personal suggestion have been numerous. Chief among these may be mentioned Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed and Dr. Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago, and Dr. Finis King Farr of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio. Dr. Farr read and criticized the manuscript.

Books have been lent without stint by the libraries of the University of Chicago; McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; Union Theological Seminary and the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City; Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati; and several others. Scholars in all these institutions have been consulted.

One important part of the education of the average Christian, it seems to the writer, is generally neglected. Every mature Christian should have a rather extensive knowledge of the various religious opinions which were once entertained by the most godly, and which were considered at the time of their acceptance to be fundamental and essential, but which have long since been universally abandoned. Such knowledge should at least teach us not to be too dogmatic in our opinions, and make us a bit more tolerant of those who differ with us.

That the church has believed and taught many things concerning the Bible and Christianity which later have been found to be untrue, and even in some cases absurd and ridiculous, no one familiar with the subject can deny. The church, of course, has not been alone in this. The scientific world has taught just as much that later proved absurd and ridiculous. That the earth was flat and that the sun actually revolved around it, was once scientific. The Ptolemaic theory, with its now absurd cycles and epicycles, was the most advanced word in scientific thought at one time. Many other things now known to be untrue have been taught by science.

Science to-day is constantly revising its teachings because of the discovery of new facts; and Christian teachers are doing the same thing. Churchmen of the past have generally used the best light they had and with commendable zeal have sought to serve the cause they represented. They are entitled to all honor, as are the scientists who, likewise blunderingly, have served humanity the best they could. The only man who deserves little consideration is he, scientist or theologian, who deliberately closes his eyes to new facts, which an ever advancing civilization accumulates. This book calls attention to some of the universally abandoned religious opinions.

P. M. S.

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**THE BIBLE
FROM THE BEGINNING**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION. HOW THE BIBLE WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN

THE BIBLE is not one Book, but a library of sixty-six books. It is, in fact, a collection of literature of the most varied kind. As such it was written in the Providence of God; as such it has been preserved; and as such it is best understood. The rather general idea that the Bible is one Book is modern. The earliest title to the Bible as a whole is to be found in the writings of Jerome, in the fourth century A.D. He calls it *Bibliotheca Divina*, "the Divine Library." Indeed, the word "Bible" carries the same idea. The word *biblia* from which it comes, and which was borrowed from the Greek, means "the books," and not "the book."

It was not until the thirteenth century that this neuter plural came to be regarded as a feminine singular, which carried with it the idea that the Bible is one Book. We betray a better understanding of the Sacred Writings in speaking, as we do, of the Book of Psalms, the Book of Romans, and the Book of Revelation.

The Bible is a unique library and has had a unique history, because it has satisfied more deeply the religious needs of mankind than any other volume ever written. It offers a religion that has been a means of moral transformation without parallel; a religion, in fact, that both requires and provides the means for a moral regeneration, necessary alike for the best and the worst. It has brought conviction, com-

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fort, courage and strength to millions of needy souls. Princes and peasants, rich and poor, have communed with Jesus as they read its pages, and their hearts have burned within them as he opened to them the Scriptures.

The Bible has a twofold history, internal and external. The internal deals with its character as a record of the revelation of God's will; the external tells when and how the several books of which it is composed were written, how they gained their present position, and how they have been brought down to us. The former treats of the Bible in its divine, the latter in its human, aspect. The former is unique, a history enjoyed by no other volume; the latter the Bible shares with other books. The internal is the vastly more important, of course; and it is this very importance that gives to the external history its profound interest. But with this internal history our discussion is not concerned. We shall deal only with the external.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT

In an effort to make clear the form in which the Bible was originally written, we naturally begin with the Old Testament.

I. WRITTEN IN HEBREW CONSONANTS

The Moabite Stone. The Moabite Stone was found in ancient Moab, east of the Jordan, in 1868. It was erected in the reign of Mesha, King of Moab, about 850 B.C.; and is a tribute to Chemosh, the Moabite god, in celebration of Mesha's victory over Israel at the time of the revolt mentioned in 2 Kings 3:4-5. This is the oldest Hebrew document known, and is now in the Jewish section of the Louvre in Paris. The Old Testament was probably writ-

ten originally in the style of Hebrew found on this stone. It contains thirty-four lines of old Hebrew, and shows the style of Hebrew used at an early period. The characters are all consonants; the vowels were carried in the mind. The words are separated by a dot. The words of the Old Testament were probably separated in this way originally and during its early history.

The Siloam Inscription. The second oldest Hebrew document known to-day is the Siloam Inscription, which was probably cut in the reign of Hezekiah, about 700 B.C. During the summer of 1880 a number of boys were playing about the pool of Siloam in Jerusalem. This pool is fed by a tunnel cut out of solid rock. While one of the boys was wading he slipped and fell into the tunnel, and, in getting out, discovered the inscription on its wall. It is now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. The Siloam Inscription contains six lines. It records that the tunnel was excavated from both ends and met in the middle, and then gives its length. It is written in the same character of Hebrew as the Moabite Stone, only a bit more artistic. Again only consonants are used, and the words are separated by a dot. These two inscriptions furnish our best examples of Hebrew writing of the regal period.

The Samaritan Pentateuch. The Samaritans were the descendants of the people imported into the land of the ten tribes by the king of Assyria in 722 B.C. (2 Kings 17:24-41), when Sargon II captured Samaria, the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel. Sargon tells us that he carried away 27,290 of the inhabitants. To take the place of these deported people he imported others from distant provinces and settled them side by side, thus lessening the danger of revolt. From the Bible and the inscriptions of Sargon we learn that no less than nine different nationalities were thus settled among the remaining Hebrews. These foreigners

adopted the religion of the Hebrews and very naturally intermarried with them. Later, on the return of the exiles, they offered to assist in the rebuilding of the Temple, but were denied this privilege. They resented this. Ezra and Nehemiah, on their return from exile, learned of the intermarriages and adopted drastic and cruel measures to break up all such relations. When it was discovered that "one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballet, the Horonite," Nehemiah expelled him because of his foreign wife. This man, whose name Josephus says was Manasseh, sought and found refuge among the Samaritans, and as a result of the episode the break between the two peoples was made permanent. Manasseh took with him a copy of the Pentateuch, the only Hebrew Bible then existing, and established an independent Samaritan religion with its shrine on Mt. Gerizim and himself as first high priest. This Samaritan Pentateuch first came to light in modern times in 1616, and many copies of it are now known.

The Samaritan Pentateuch is not a translation but a Hebrew text, with the same character of writing as that found on the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Inscription. Once more the characters are all consonants and the words are separated by a dot.

The Old Testament was written originally in this same character of Hebrew, consisting entirely of consonants, and its words were probably separated by a dot; but it has come down to us in a square character of writing, quite different from the original though derived from it. How early the square character of Hebrew came into use we do not know, but it was long before the time of Jesus. And in the manuscripts that have come down to us the words are no longer separated, the dot probably having dropped out when the square characters came into use.

A small part of the Old Testament was written in Aramaic: Daniel 2:4 to 7:8; Ezra 4:8 to 6:18; 7:12-26; and Jeremiah 10:11. The remainder was written in Hebrew, although, here and there, may be found occasional Aramaic words.

Hebrew Scrolls. The earliest copies of the Old Testament were possibly written on papyrus (probably on leather), but the later copies were written on animal skins, more or less carefully prepared.

Papyrus was made from the papyrus plant. The stem of the plant was cut into thin strips and these were laid side by side to form a sheet. A second layer was then laid upon the first, at right angles with it, and the layers were attached by moisture and pressure, with or without glue. The surface was then rubbed and polished until smooth enough for writing. The sheets could be used singly, as for letters, or joined side by side to make rolls of any desired length. One roll still preserved measures 144 feet, but they were generally shorter.

The earlier copies of the Old Testament were made in roll form. The writing was arranged in columns of moderate width, which took the place of the pages in a modern book. The papyrus, or animal skin, was then wound around a stick, or around two sticks, forming a double roll. One of these was unwound as the reading proceeded, the unwound part being immediately wound on a second stick. This two-stick form of roll was stereotyped as a custom in the early Christian times—how much earlier nobody knows—as the essential form for copies of the Law, which were used in the services of the Synagogue. Jesus was accustomed to find such in his day. We read in Luke 4:17, “And there was given to him the book of Isaiah the prophet, and having *unrolled* the book, he found the place.”

The use of rolls only in the Synagogue is the practice

even to-day, while copies for private reading came to be made in the book form. This occurred not before the first century A.D., possibly a little later. Specimens of both kinds have come down to us. Papyrus is extant dating probably 3360 B.C., and certainly as early as 2600 B.C. Leather rolls from Egypt date from 2000 B.C.

2. THE OLDEST HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

Hebrew MS. 9th Century. The word manuscript (often written MS., plural MSS.) will occur frequently in this discussion. By MS. we mean a copy of the Bible, or any part of it, written by hand. The word also applies to handmade copies of other writings.

The original MSS. of the Old Testament have all been lost. What is probably the oldest Hebrew MS. known to the world dates from the ninth century A.D. A few older fragments exist, but they are fragments only. This MS. was written in the book form and not as a roll, and contains the Pentateuch. Each page contains three columns of about twenty-one lines. It is now in the British Museum.

Dots and marks will be found beneath the characters of this text, occasionally within or above the characters. These are the vowels, the characters themselves all being consonants. Since these vowels are generally beneath the text they are called *infralinear*. This is the system of vowel pointing that won universal acceptance and that is found in Hebrew Bibles to-day. The words are not separated. No ancient Hebrew MS. known separates its words, and this fact creates certain difficulties in translating the text.

The St. Petersburg Codex. The St. Petersburg Codex¹ is now in the Imperial Library at Leningrad. It also is writ-

¹ Codex is a Greek word and signifies a MS. arranged in the book form.

ten in the book form. It has two columns to the page, with twenty-one lines in each, and contains the "Latter Prophets."

This MS. is dated 916 A.D., and is the oldest dated Hebrew MS. known, the date of which is trusted. Determining the date of Hebrew MSS. is difficult. Many MSS. contain dates, but sometimes the date is that of the MS. copied, and in many instances they are known to be fraudulent. Sometimes it cannot be determined with certainty whether a date is trustworthy.

Russia has many dated Hebrew MSS. One claims to have been corrected in 580 A.D. Others are dated 489, 639, 764, 781, 789, 798, and still others of later date. These dates are universally discredited; most of them are known to be fraudulent. Cambridge University Library contains a Hebrew MS. dated 856. This date has been accepted by one of the best authorities, but is not generally trusted.

The point of chief interest, in connection with the St. Petersburg Codex, however, is the fact that the vowel points are written above the text. This method of writing the vowels is called supralinear, or the Babylonian system. It failed to gain general acceptance, and it is only within comparatively recent years that any MSS. of this character have been known to exist.

3. HOW AND WHEN THE PRONUNCIATION WAS FIXED

Vowels Added to the Hebrew Old Testament. The Hebrew Old Testament was written originally with consonants only, as we have seen. Vowels were carried in the mind, and handed down from generation to generation. Through Jerome, the Targums, and the Talmud we learn that the written Hebrew text contained no vowels up to the end of the sixth century; and scholars are now generally

VOWELS ADDED TO THE HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT
(Read from right to left)

Words not separated	בראשיתבראאלהיםאתהשמיםואתהארץ
The Vowels added	בְּרֵאשִׁיתבְּרֵאאֵלֵהִיםאֶתהַשָּׁמַיִםוְאֶתהָאָרֶץ
The words separated	בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרֵא אֵלֵהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ
English equivalent	STeBaaH HTeeW MiYaMaSSaH HTe MiHoLe aBaB HTiSeReB
Translation	earth-the and heavens-the God created beginning-the-In

AN EXAMPLE IN ENGLISH (Words not separated)	SAME EXAMPLE IN ENGLISH (Words separated)
THLRDSMSHPHRDISHLLNTWNT	TH LRD S M SHPHRD I SHLL NT WNT
HMKTHMTLDNNGRNPSTRS	H MKTH M T L DN N GRN PSTRS
HLDTMBSDTHSTLLWTRS	H LDTH M BSD TH STLL WTRS
HRSTRTHMSL	H RSTRTH M SL

agreed that they were added about the end of the seventh century. Those in use in Hebrew Bibles to-day represent the traditional pronunciation of the Synagogue of Tiberias at that time. Hebrew as a spoken language was passing, and its teachers felt that the proper pronunciation might be forever lost. To prevent this they added the vowels to the written text.

The accompanying table indicates how the vowels were added. The top line is the first line of the book of Genesis. It is read from right to left. All Hebrew is read that way, beginning at the back of the book. It will be observed that the first line contains no vowels. Dots and marks representing them have been added to the second line; and generally they are beneath the text. This is known as the *infralinear*

system, as we have said. The third line shows the words separated, as they are found in Hebrew Bibles to-day. The fourth line gives an English equivalent for both consonants and vowels of the Hebrew, while the fifth line contains the translation: "In-the-beginning created God the-heavens and the-earth."

Below these lines are given two examples in English of writing with consonants only. In one the words are not separated. The selection is a part of the twenty-third Psalm. In spite of its familiarity it is difficult to read with the words not separated.

The Massoretes. The men who added the vowels to the Hebrew Bible are known as the Massoretes.² Their work was to edit the Hebrew text according to the tradition preserved among the Jews. They added nothing, changed nothing, but simply recorded what tradition, at that time, declared to be true. The importance of the Massoretic text for Christians lies in the fact that it is the standard Hebrew Bible to-day. We have hitherto simply accepted what the Jews gave us.

While the Massoretes changed nothing, might not tradition, in the long lapse of years, have made changes from the vowels and the division of words used originally? The Targums, a free translation of the Hebrew text read regularly in the Synagogue service following the reading of the Hebrew, freely changed the meaning. Might not the same influences have done the same thing with the Hebrew text itself? Certain it is that this might have been done; and there can be little doubt that it was done.

The Work of the Massoretes. Some examples of the possibilities and difficulties in the addition of vowels and the division of words, may help to make the matter clearer.

² See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV, pp. 729-30.

THE WORK OF THE MASSORETES

- (1) Vowels added to the Written Hebrew Bible by the Massoretes (somewhere between the sixth and ninth centuries).
They did not always use the same vowels used by the translators of the Septuagint.
- (2.) An English Example of the Use of Vowels.
Take the consonants B R N. They may be read BaRN, BoRN, BuRN, BaRoNy, BRiNy. Similar possibilities exist in Hebrew.
- (3.) Examples of Biblical Translation:
 - a. "Israel bowed himself upon the *bed's* head." Gen. 47:31.
"Jacob . . . worshipped leaning upon the top of his *staff*." Heb. 11:21.
M T T H are the consonants for the original Hebrew word.
MiTTaH is the word for "bed."
MaTTeH is the word for "staff."
The translators of the LXX. supplied the vowels for "staff," and so translated it. The writer of Hebrews quotes from the LXX., and therefore differs from the Hebrew Old Testament.
 - b. "In their self-will they *digged down a wall*." Gen. 49:6., A. V.
"In their self-will they *hocked an ox*." Am. Standard Bible.
 - c. "Abram *drove them* [birds of prey] *away*." Gen. 15:11.
"Abram *sat down among them*."
 - d. "Jehovah will smite thee . . . *with the sword*." Deut. 28:22.
"Jehovah will smite thee . . . *with drouth*."
The differences above, printed in italics, are simply questions of what vowels should be supplied.
 - e. "And the ravens brought him [Elijah] bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening." 1 Kings 17:6.
The word "ravens" and the word "Arabs" have the same consonants. Did ravens or Arabs feed Elijah? Other such examples might be given.
- (4.) Examples of the Division of Words:
 - a. "Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen?" Amos 6:12.
This is unsatisfactory. Divide one word differently from the Hebrew Bible, and it becomes more intelligible. Moffatt does so, and translates it: "Shall horses race over crags, or oxen plow the sea?"
 - b. "There are no pangs in their death; but their strength is firm." Ps. 73:4.
This reading is unsatisfactory. If the word translated "in their death" is divided, the translation is greatly improved. Thus Moffatt translates: "No pain is theirs, but sound, strong health." Other such examples might be given.
- (5.) Origin of the Word Jehovah (in the time of the Reformation).
"Thou shalt not take the name of J H V H thy God in vain." Ex. 20:7.

The Jew thought this commandment applied to this name only, and lest he violate it he never used this special Divine Name at all. He thought he might use other names of God without danger. It is said that only the high priest used this name, and he only once a year, in the holy of holies.

The Jews always read "LORD" when this Divine Name occurred.

A D N I is the word LORD without vowels.

AeDoNaI is the word LORD with vowels.

J H V H is the Divine Name without vowels.

JeHoVaH is the Divine Name with the vowels of LORD or AeDoNaI.

Since LORD was always read when this Divine Name occurred the vowels that originally belonged to it have been lost, and nobody knows what the name should be. Most probably it should be JaHVeH, pronounced YaHWeH.

Among the Jews a strange reverence and awe developed with reference to this one name among the several applied to God. The LXX. translation, which was the Bible of Jesus and the early Christians, substituted LORD for this word, and this custom was adopted by the New Testament writers. This Divine Name is never used in the New Testament. If Jesus ever used it there is no record. In English translations of the Old Testament the word LORD is practically always used where this name appears, until the American Standard Bible of 1901 restored it uniformly, using the form Jehovah. The Authorized Version had used Jehovah only four times. In fact the word Jehovah was never used until the time of the Reformation.

4. PRINTED HEBREW BIBLES

Psalms First Printed. The first part of the Hebrew Old Testament to be printed was the Psalms, in 1477. With them was printed the commentary of Kimhi, text and commentary alternating at every verse. The book consisted of 153 leaves. The leaves were not numbered and only the

first four Psalms contained the vowel points. Copies are very rare.

The Massoretic Text. The first Rabbinical Bible ever published was that printed by Bomberg at Venice in 1516-17. It was edited by Felix Pratensis, a convert to Christianity, and dedicated to Pope Leo X. Because of the Christianity of its editor a second edition became necessary. This Bible contained full vowel points and all Rabbinic material for the interpretation of the text; and it was the first Hebrew Bible to divide into two books each, Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehe-miah, and Chronicles.

The most important Hebrew Bible ever issued, however, was the second Rabbinical Bible, published by Bomberg at Venice in 1524-25. It was edited by Jacob ben Chayim, who later embraced Christianity. He was the first to collect and arrange the entire Massora. "Massora" means "the tradition," and the men who collected these traditions and reduced them to writing are called Massoretes, as we have previously seen. The Massora deals with the books, sections, verses, words, vowels, accents and such matters. The addition of this material made a greatly enlarged and improved edition, as compared with the first Rabbinical Bible. And the thing that gives this particular Bible its supreme importance is the fact that its text became the standard Massoretic text, and it remains the standard Hebrew Bible.

The Massoretic text in reality contains two distinct texts, the work of different ages and separated by several centuries. The one is the consonantal text of the original; the other is the Jewish interpretation of this text, as found in the vowels and accents added. It is true that this second text is not intelligible without the first, but it is none the less distinct from it. And the first task of the textual criticism of the Old Testament, after the Reformation, was to prove the entire independence of these two texts.

The medieval church believed the vowel points and accents of the Massoretic text to be a part of the originals. The first to question this belief was a Spanish monk, Martinus, in the thirteenth century; but his voice was not heard. Three hundred years later, in the sixteenth century, Elias Levita, a Jew contemporary with Luther, insisted that the vowel points were a later addition to the text, but the time-honored opinion still held.

Louis Capel, a French Protestant, dealt the old-time idea a blow in the seventeenth century, from which it never recovered. His contention, however, was not accepted at once. Many theologians were greatly alarmed at the suggestion that the vowel points were of late origin. They felt that the integrity, sanctity and authority of the Scriptures were endangered. They were fighting to establish the authority of an infallible Bible, in the place of the Roman doctrine of an infallible Pope.

The Buxtorfs, father and son, and their party, defended vigorously the belief that the vowel points and accents belonged to the originals. The controversy waxed hot. They attributed the text of the Old Testament to Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, who, in their opinion, had freed it from all error and had added the vowel points and accents, by an inspiration which amounted to dictation. They even attributed the paragraphs and verses to the same source—all inspired.

The matter was felt to be of such importance that the Calvinists of Geneva, by a special law, declined to receive any minister until he publicly confessed that the vowel points were a part of the original and therefore inspired. But long since it has been universally conceded that they are a late addition; the question is no longer debated.

The absence of vowel points from the original text, however, is not so serious as might be imagined. Synagogue rolls

have never contained them and still do not. Most modern Jewish writings, books and newspapers, contain no vowels; and Hebrew scholars have no trouble whatever in reading them.

Generally only one reading is possible. The context usually is such that only one set of vowels can be supplied and make sense. Now and then a different set of vowels for a certain word or words make equally good sense, and in such cases we cannot be sure as to what the reading should be. But neither faith nor morals is endangered by any such difficulties. The vowels of the Massoretic text represent only the tradition of the Jews, and we are under no obligation to adopt their reading when a different and more reasonable reading is possible.

Modern Hebrew Bible. A modern Hebrew Bible differs in no important respect from the first published editions, especially editions made after the Massoretic text assumed standard form in the Bible of 1524-25. The order of the books differs somewhat from the first printed editions of the Hebrew Bible; and the original twenty-four books are now divided into thirty-nine. Hebrew Bibles may be had with pointed or unpointed text, that is, with or without vowels and accents.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT

The original MSS. of the New Testament, like those of the Old, perished long ago; in fact they must have disappeared in the very infancy of the church, for no reference is ever made to one of them by any Christian writer. This is not difficult to understand, however, when we remember that they were almost certainly written on papyrus, an easily perishable material.

I. WRITTEN IN GREEK

The New Testament books were originally written in Greek, although the common language of Palestine at that time was Aramaic, and it was in that language that Jesus spoke. It may be wondered why the New Testament was not written first in the everyday language of Palestine. Matthew wrote the Logia (sayings of Jesus) in Aramaic, and it is doubtless true that the first three Gospels were based on Aramaic documents. But for the New Testament to have been written in Aramaic would probably have tended to make Christianity only a Palestinian sect.

Fortunately for Christianity, at its birth the world was unified and there was an international language—the Greek. Christianity adopted the international language, and the New Testament was written in Greek.

Its various books were written first in the roll form, perhaps a roll to a book. Just when the book form appeared is not known, possibly not before the third century, though accumulating evidence would seem to indicate that it may have been used by the first century. The oldest scrap of the New Testament known is a papyrus fragment, in the book form, from the third century. Several such scraps exist. But the most extensive specimen of New Testament papyrus is a MS. of Hebrews in the form of a roll. It dates from the late third century, or early fourth. The findings of papyri seem to indicate that the book form was preferred by Christians, perhaps because it greatly facilitated reference to texts.

The New Testament was copied by hand and used in MS. form for about 1400 years, from the first to the fifteenth century. This MS. history is divided into two distinct periods, characterized by the style of handwriting used, the

non-literary and the literary. Both styles of handwriting, however, existed side by side throughout this time, the one for social and business life and the other for professional book production.

2. NON-LITERARY PERIOD OF MS. HISTORY

First Century Handwritings. The New Testament was written during the first century A.D., and the probabilities are that it was written in the non-literary style. Since the autographs have all been lost the particular style used in the original copies cannot be known absolutely, and their character is more or less a matter of conjecture; yet there can hardly be a doubt that the non-literary hand was used chiefly, if not exclusively. Most of the authors probably did their own writing, and such would not be in a literary hand. Paul seems to have dictated much of his writing, possibly all of it. Others may have done so. The best that the writers of the New Testament could command, however, would be the careful writing of more or less educated amateurs, and it is by no means certain that they had even this. And whatever may have been true of the autographs of the New Testament, their transmission from the first to the fourth century was certainly done by private individuals, who could do no better than use a non-literary hand.

Origin of Chief Problems of Textual Criticism. It was the work of these inexperienced writers that greatly corrupted the text and created the chief problems of New Testament textual criticism. The worst corruptions occurred within a hundred years of the completion of the New Testament.

The classical writings of antiquity were composed as literary works, and were reproduced almost entirely by

professional copyists from the very earliest times. The work was therefore carefully done and in a literary hand. The books of the New Testament were not produced as literature but for the substance of the message they contained. Written originally by amateurs in a non-literary hand, they were copied by amateurs, and naturally numerous errors crept into the text.

This fact alone, however, is not sufficient to account for all the variations in the early MSS. of the New Testament. It must be remembered that the New Testament books were not intended by their writers for a place in the Bible; they had no such thought. And while these books were prized highly from the first, and grew more and more precious as they were read in the church services, it was centuries before they attained the full level of the Old Testament. During this early period a copyist had little hesitancy in introducing deliberate changes. And occasionally he incorporated into the text an incident or saying which he considered authentic and pertinent. Thus the work of amateurs who did not think of the New Testament books as sacred created the chief problems of New Testament textual criticism.

Animal skins have played a most important part in the history of the Hebrew Old Testament, which from very early times was written on parchment. Papyrus has played an equally important part in the history of the Greek Scriptures of both Testaments. The LXX. was written largely on papyrus, and the New Testament entirely so, in their early history. At least this is the most probable conclusion. While parchment had long been in use at the time of the writing of the New Testament, it was very expensive and was reserved for the more important documents such as the Hebrew Old Testament. Papyrus was the common writing material for all ordinary purposes and would therefore be

the material used for the New Testament writings when they were not yet regarded as Scripture.

3. THE UNCIAL LITERARY PERIOD

The second or literary period of the MS. history of the New Testament extends from the fourth to the fifteenth century. This history is sub-divided into two periods, the uncial and the cursive. The uncial period extends from the fourth to the ninth century; the cursive from the ninth to the fifteenth century. In uncial writing the letters are large and are all formed separately—all capitals. In the cursive or running hand the letters are smaller, and are often linked together.

In the literary period, beginning with the fourth century, vellum displaces papyrus, as a writing material for copies of the New Testament; and with vellum comes the new style of writing, the uncial. The MSS. are now, in large part, the work of high-grade professionals. The uncial is a larger and more beautiful hand than any previously used; and all our oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament are uncials.

The change is easily accounted for. In the early centuries the Christians were for the most part poor, and suffered numerous persecutions. They produced and copied the New Testament writings as best they could, and most of the work was doubtless poorly done. But the conversion of Constantine and the adoption of Christianity as the state religion for the Roman Empire, in the early fourth century, changed the situation of these poor and despised people. Ample provision could now be made for the transmission of the Scriptures; and the means were at hand to employ professional copyists to do the work. Constantine at once ordered fifty copies of the Scriptures on vellum, for the

churches of Constantinople. They were paid for from the royal treasury and were prepared by professional copyists.

Originally the writings of the New Testament may have been supplied with a very rudimentary punctuation and paragraphing, more or less such being found in the non-literary documents of the day; but the great fourth-century uncials that have been preserved to us are without punctuation or the separation of words.

Codex Vaticanus. Codex Vaticanus is an uncial, written on vellum with three columns to the page and dating from the fourth century. It is generally considered our oldest and best MS. of the New Testament. It contains no punctuation, no separation of words by marks or spaces, no enlarged letters—certain initial letters have been enlarged by a later hand—and no letters projecting into the margins. The absence of punctuation and the failure to separate words create difficulties in determining the meaning of certain passages. This will be discussed later.

Codex Sinaiticus. Codex Sinaiticus is another MS. of the fourth century, which also is an uncial on vellum. It is one of our foremost MS. of the New Testament. It is written in four columns. This MS. has no punctuation, no separation between words, and no enlarged initials or other letters. But the first letter of a new paragraph is drawn into the margin, although not enlarged. The fourth century seems not to go beyond this in its development of writing.

Codex Alexandrinus. The letters of MSS. grow larger in the fifth century and the columns wider, so that we find two to the page, or maybe one. Codex Alexandrinus belongs to the fifth century. It is an uncial and is written in two columns. It was the first of our great MSS. made accessible to scholars.

The only punctuation found in this MS. is a period, at the end of a sentence, which is generally on a level with

the top of the letters. The vacant spaces of the MS. might be supposed to mark paragraphs, but they are sometimes found in the middle of a word. How such occurred it is difficult to explain. Enlarged letters mark the beginning of books and paragraphs, and they stand in the margins outside the columns. The use of enlarged letters in this MS., however, is peculiar. If a new section begins in the middle of a line the enlarged letter is postponed until the beginning of the next line, the first letter of which is enlarged even though it be in the middle of a word. The various steps mentioned above indicate a development in early writing.

In the sixth century writing generally grows heavier and the letters often still larger. By the seventh century the letters begin to slope, and a degeneration in style has clearly set in.

Textual Difficulties. Greek, unlike Hebrew, was supplied originally with vowels; but the oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament, as we have seen, contain no sort of punctuation and no separation of words. To make clear some of the difficulties which such MSS. create, we give some examples of similar writing in English.

TEXTUAL DIFFICULTIES

English Illustration of Uncial Text

INTHEBEGINNINGWASTHE
WORDANDTHEWORDWASWITH
GODANDTHEWORDWAS
GODTHESAMEWASINTHE
BEGINNINGWITHGODALL
THINGSWEREMADETHROUGH
HIMANDWITHOUTHIMWAS
NOTANYTHINGMADETHAT
HATHBEENMADEINHIM
WASLIFEANDTHELIFEWAS
THELIGHTOFMEN

John 1:1-4

The American Standard Bible

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men.

(The American Standard Bible divides it differently in the margin:) All things were made

through him and without him was not anything made. That which hath been made was life in him; and the life was the light of men.

The Twentieth Century New Testament Divides It So

Words in the Greek Order

INTHEHOUSEOFMYFATHER
ABODESMANYTHEREARE
OTHERWISE IWOULD WOULD I HAVETOLD
YOUIGOTOPREPAREAPLACE
FORYOU

John 14:2

Words Separated

In the house of my father
abodes many there are
otherwise I would have told
you I go to prepare a place
for you

a. One Possibility

In the house of my Father
abodes many there are; other-
wise I would have told you. I
go to prepare a place for you.

b. Another Possibility

In the house of my Father
abodes many there are; other-
wise would I have told you I
go to prepare a place for you?

*Moffatt and the Centenary
Translation So Translate It*

Words in the Greek Order

ANDSAIDJESUSTOHIMVERILY
ISAYTOTHEETODAYWITHME
THOUSHALTBEINPARADISE

Luke 23:43.

Words Separated

And said Jesus to him verily
I say to thee to-day with me
thou shalt be in paradise

a. One Possibility

And said Jesus to him, Verily
I say to thee, To-day with me
thou shalt be in paradise.

b. Another Possibility

And said Jesus to him, Verily
I say to thee to-day, With me
thou shalt be in paradise.

With writing of such character it is often impossible to say where one sentence ends and another begins. "God is nowhere" may be read, "God is now here." And this sentence illustrates the difficulty. As a result it is sometimes

difficult to determine the exact meaning of a text. There are three principal interpretations of Romans 9:5 based on different punctuations, any one of which is possible. Abbreviations of certain words are frequently found in the MSS., but these create little trouble.

4. THE CURSIVE LITERARY PERIOD

From the fourth to the ninth century uncials were generally used, as has been said; but the great defect of uncial writing was its cumbrousness. The large heavily formed letters required too much time and space, and were not adapted to the production of cheap and handy volumes. For ordinary uses the cursive hand had existed as far back as there are remains of Greek writing, but professional copyists had never used it. By the ninth century, however, the beauty of uncial writing was largely lost, and a cursive hand was developed and adapted to literary purposes.

Greek Cursives. The cursive period extends from the ninth to the fifteenth century, during which time we find few uncials. Vellum continued in use. In the fifteenth century printing put an end to book production by hand. Although it had long existed in China, paper appears first in Europe in the tenth century. At first it was used along with vellum, but when the printing press came paper took the place of all other materials for book purposes.

It must not be supposed that during the non-literary and the literary periods the use of papyrus and vellum and the use of uncials and cursives were separated by hard and fast lines. They overlapped more or less. Periods are named from their dominant characteristics.

5. PRINTED GREEK NEW TESTAMENTS

First Greek New Testament. The first Greek New Testament printed was that of Cardinal Ximenes, but it was not published until after Desiderius Erasmus, the celebrated Dutch scholar, had published one in 1516. The honor of publishing the first Greek New Testament, therefore, belongs to Erasmus. Since that time about one thousand editions of the Greek New Testament have been issued.

The last half page of Erasmus' Greek Testament is of unusual interest. He could find no Greek MS. containing the last six verses of Revelation, hence, in order to complete his New Testament, he translated these verses from the Latin Vulgate into Greek. In so doing he coined one word, or at least used one word that has never been found in Greek elsewhere. And that word is still in the Textus Receptus, the Greek text from which the New Testament of the Authorized Version was made. A number of words and phrases used by Erasmus in his Greek New Testament were translations from the Latin Vulgate, and are found in no MS. of the Greek. These still stand in the Textus Receptus, and translations from them are found in the King James Version, unsupported by any Greek MS. His New Testament contains two columns; to the left is the Greek, and to the right is a revision of the Latin Vulgate. Copies are very rare.

Modern Greek New Testament. Modern Greek New Testaments differ widely from early issues and are much nearer the originals. Westcott and Hort's Greek New Testament is the text most widely used to-day, and is probably the best now obtainable. Nobody now considers it the final word; scholarship is still at work, and in time this will doubtless be superseded by one greatly improved.

The only danger involved in the dominance of Westcott and Hort's text is that it might become a second Textus Receptus, requiring long years to displace it with something better.

III. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

In the earliest times MSS. of the Bible were written in plain and simple characters, without effort at ornamentation. This is true of the oldest MSS. we possess. But as time passed man's inherent sense of beauty began to bear its appropriate fruit, and ornamentation was added. "Illumination" is the term generally employed. It signifies the embellishment of a written or printed text or design with colors and gold, sometimes with silver.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORNAMENTATION

The art of illumination for Biblical MSS. developed along two lines, that of illustration and that of ornamentation. The illustration of texts by the use of pictures comes from very remote times. The Egyptian ritual known as the Book of the Dead has been preserved in rolls dating back to 1500 B.C., and these rolls contain numerous scenes painted in brilliant colors. The practice was common also in Rome, in the early period of the Empire. Such work is illustrative rather than decorative, though it may contain elements of the latter.

In the earliest examples of such work known we have the germs of the two lines of later development. The earliest illustrative picture is the forerunner of the medieval "miniature," a technical term for a picture in an illuminated MS.

The simplest form of ornamentation was secured by the use of different colored inks for certain lines, or even

words. We have already seen how, in the earliest New Testament MSS., initial letters were first drawn into the margins and then enlarged. Later they were ornamented. The writing was sometimes done with gold and silver. Chrysostom, an early Christian father, in 360 A.D., speaks of the practice of writing MSS. in gold and silver. Drawings for illustrative purposes were introduced. Now and then, the vellum on which MSS. were written was stained purple, which was supposed to give a sort of special magnificence. As early as the fourth century we find Jerome condemning this practice. Finally borders were introduced, to be ornamented later.

2. THE EARLIEST KNOWN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

Codex Rossanensis, Text. Save some Egyptian papyri, the Rossano and Sinope MSS. are the earliest illustrated MSS. known. Codex Rossanensis consists of 188 leaves of vellum, 13½ by 10¼ inches, written in two columns of twenty lines each. It was found in Rossano in Calabria (southern Italy), where it still remains, by Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolph Harnack in 1879. It contains Matthew and Mark only, and they are somewhat fragmentary. Originally it contained the four Gospels. This MS. is of purple vellum, and is adorned with miniatures in water colors. It belongs to the sixth century A.D. The first three lines of each Gospel are in letters of gold, and the remainder in silver. It is remarkable as the oldest Greek MS. known to contain the doxology to the Lord's prayer found in Matthew.

Codex Rossanensis, Illustration. The Rossano MS. contains eighteen illustrations in water colors, among which is one representing the raising of Lazarus. In this illustration we see the two sisters, Martha and Mary, prostrated before Jesus. In the rear is a group led by Peter and James, old

men. In the mouth of the cavern, used for a tomb, stands Lazarus, bound in grave clothes and supported by a servant, with one hand over the lower part of his face to avoid the stench of a dead body. Other witnesses are also present.

Codex Sinopensis, associated with the Rossano as one of the earliest known illustrated MSS., consists of 43 leaves of purple vellum, written in gold in the sixth century. It was discovered in 1899, and is now in the National Library at Paris. It contains only a part of Matthew.

3. IRISH WORK MOST PERFECT ILLUMINATION KNOWN

The Book of Kells, Text. The Book of Kells is so called because it once belonged to the famous monastery of Kells, County Meath, Ireland. This monastery was founded by Columba himself, and tradition fixes the time at 550 A.D. The MS. was stolen from the monastery and finally passed into the hands of Archbishop Usher, who presented it to Trinity College, Dublin, which treasures it as the chief glory of its library.

From the sixth to the seventh century the art of illumination for the Scriptures, and especially the Gospels, reached a perfection in Ireland that was marvelous, and which has been imitated elsewhere but never equaled. The Book of Kells is our best example of this work. The most characteristic ornaments of this MS. are the closely coiled spirals, frequently terminating in what is known as the "trumpet" pattern. The MS. also abounds in zoöomorphic interlacings, colored representations of the most fanciful beings, or of men, animals, birds, horses, dogs, and grotesque gargoyle-like human figures, twisted and hooked together in all sorts of intricate detail. Other designs of geometrical weavings of ribbons in many forms are found. It has been

said that "the versatility and inventive genius of the illustration surpasses all belief. Lines diverge and converge in endless succession and the most intricate figures in lavish abundance and with astonishing variety of ornament are combined and woven into one harmonious design." No two patterns are alike.

It has been said that pages have been studied under the microscope, in search of imperfections and irregularities, without finding them. It is also claimed that modern draftsmen have been unable to copy the most intricate patterns. J. A. Brunn, in *The Book of Kells*, second edition by Sullivan, is quoted as saying:

Mr. Digby Wyatt made the attempt and had to give it up. Prof. J. O. Westwood, who was a great admirer of Irish art, and at the same time a skilled draughtsman, went to work with no better result. And he was assuredly not one to be discouraged by difficulties arising from variety of colors and intricacy of design. . . . The copying of the monogram page of the Book of Kells was, if not beyond his powers, at least too long and serious an affair to be duly brought to completion.

Prof. Westwood's effort to copy the monogram page, the beginning of Matthew's Gospel, has been preserved, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The Book of Kells was long believed to be the work of angels, because such perfection was supposed to be out of the reach of mortal man. But, with all his skill, the artist who did this work could not draw the human form. Human figures are crude.

The Book of Kells is in Latin, contains the Gospels only, and consists of 339 leaves of vellum, 13 by 9½ inches, with from sixteen to eighteen lines to the page. It dates from the seventh century. In its text are found many small illuminated initials and added decorative curiosities.

The Book of Kells, Illumination. The chief characteristic of the Book of Kells is found in the illumination of the first page of each book, the letters of the first few words,

and especially the initial letter, which is always very large and highly ornamented.

The page beginning Luke's Gospel is a splendid example. It is devoted to one word, QUONIAM. Some have thought the word was abbreviated with QNIAM. It is more probable, however, that the U and O are to be seen in the central diamond, where U is given the form of V and O is written in Greek form. Here the trumpet and spiral patterns are particularly fine. The page has been mutilated at the top and at the left. This was done by a bookbinder in years gone by.

4. LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN ORNAMENTATION

The illumination of Biblical MSS. passed from Ireland to England. A most beautifully illuminated copy of the Gospels in Latin was produced at Lindisfarne in the latter part of the seventh century. It is therefore known as the Lindisfarne Gospels. This MS. furnishes the finest example of English illumination known, and the nearest approach to the Book of Kells.

Lindisfarne Gospels. A whole page is devoted to the illumination of Matthew 1:18. The text reads: XPI AUTEM GENERATIO SIC ERAT CUM ESSET DESPONSATA MATER EIUS MARIA JOSEPH. Translated it reads, "The birth of Jesus Christ was in this wise. When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph." XPI is an abbreviation for Jesus Christ commonly used at that time. The colors are red, green, blue, yellow, mauve and pink. XPI is framed in yellow, with black outline. The X is filled with a design of 28 birds, their bodies arranged on alternate sides of the letter. Each bird, except one pair, holds in its beak the lower end of its own neck and the tail of the bird in front. The bodies are generally alternately blue with

red necks and tails, and pink, with green necks and tails. The words AUTEM GENE are unfinished. The frame of the lower border is in green. The twelve birds in it are uniformly colored. The whole border is filled with birds, and its frame is green.

The decoration of the MS. consists of five pages of elaborate designs of crosses, and six pages of ornamented text, one of which has been described. Sixteen pages are devoted to the Eusebian Canons, and there are a number of larger and smaller initials. The MS. contains four full-page miniatures of the evangelists.

Gospels of Canute. The Latin Gospels of Canute consists of 150 leaves of vellum, 13½ by 10½ inches, a full page containing 26 lines. Only the Gospels are included. This MS. dates from the eleventh century, and belongs to the British Museum.

Among its illuminated pages one is devoted to the first words of Luke's Gospel. The first two words, *Secundam Lucam* are in rustic capitals, and the words *Quoniam quidem* are in Roman majuscule characters. The first few words of the Gospel are in gold, the initial being large and enclosed in a magnificent border. No two borders are alike. This is a fine example of the Anglo-Saxon school of illumination, and unlike any other.

The two lines in gold found on the page described indicate the style of handwriting throughout the MS., the first two lines of each Gospel being in gold. Tradition says this MS. once belonged to King Canute, and this may be true; however, it may have been said to have belonged to him because it was fit for any king.

The Armenian Gospels. The Armenian Gospels consists of 311 leaves of vellum, 5½ by 3½ inches, written on both sides in double columns. Capital letters are written in gold, and the initials of chapters are composed of fanciful figures

of various kinds. In the margins are often drawings of birds, beasts, angels, harpies and kings, in gold and colors.

The page found opposite the beginning of John's Gospel is very interesting. The two figures represent John, probably as a young man when writing his Gospel and as an old man when writing the Apocalypse. The hand coming out of the cloud indicates the presence of God, after an eastern method of representation.

The first page of each Gospel is beautifully illuminated with an ornamental heading of a strange device and a marginal arabesque of gold and various colors. The first line of each Gospel is in capital letters formed of birds, placed in grotesque juxtapositions. The MS. dates from the thirteenth century.

Wyclif's Bible. Wyclif's Bible was often beautifully ornamented. Such a copy once belonged to Adam Clark, and is now in the British Museum. It consisted originally of three large volumes, the first of which, containing the first half of the Old Testament, has been lost. It shows the style of illumination of capitals, especially initials, and borders in the latter part of the fourteenth century, from which time the MS. dates.

Psalter of Henry VI. The Psalter of Henry VI is in Latin and consists of 286 leaves of vellum, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with fifteen lines to the page. The illuminated initials of each verse are small. Each page is enclosed in a border, formed of gold leaves wonderfully rich in appearance. The MS. dates from the fifteenth century, and is now in the British Museum.

Henry VI was crowned king in Paris in 1431, when he was ten years of age. His picture is found five times in this MS. The picture found at the head of Psalm 38, is one of the five, and contains a miniature of the young king kneeling before the Virgin and Child, while the angel attendants

are engaged in a concert with musical instruments. The pages with miniatures are further ornamented with little grotesques. One such on the page described represents a child riding a lion and carrying a toy still in use to-day.

Hebrew Manuscripts. Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament were also illuminated most beautifully. Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria* contains the facsimiles of three interesting Hebrew MSS.

Number 5 represents a finely written Pentateuch, 13 by 9 inches, in an Italian hand. The first letters of each book are large and gilt on a square of blue, lilac or green, or written in colored ink in an ornamental square, with the sides and upper and lower margins illuminated in arabesques in Italian style, in opaque colors, with patches and radiated spots of gold.

Number 6 is another Pentateuch, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, written in the Oriental Rabbinical characters called Rashi. The text is in two columns of 21 lines each. Title pages are most beautiful, the illumination of each occupying a whole page. Their first letters are in gold enclosed within a foliated space, formed of lilac lines and surrounded by an arabesque border composed of leaves, birds, etc.

Number 7 shows a remarkably fine MS. of the Old Testament in two folio volumes. The headings of all the books in this MS. are ornamented with arabesques, often grotesque, but destitute of miniatures. It dates from the fifteenth century.

Such illumination as was once common in both Old and New Testaments could have been produced and enjoyed only by those who greatly revered the Scriptures.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF SOURCES OF OUR BIBLICAL TEXT

IN the last chapter we dealt with the writing of the Scriptures in the original Hebrew and Greek languages. In this chapter we shall deal with the principal sources of our present Biblical text.

As we have already seen, the original MSS. of the Old and New Testaments have been lost. The Bible has been preserved to us in MSS., written hundreds of years after the original autographs had been prepared; and these MSS. differ widely, in many respects, in the text which they contain. Some of these differences were accidental, due to the inevitable errors of copyists; in other cases changes were deliberately made. Naturally we desire to get back to the original text as nearly as possible. The principal sources of material for so doing are found in what are known as the leading MSS. of the Old and New Testaments, the early versions of the Bible, and the quotations from the Scriptures found in the writings of the early Christian fathers. Other materials may be helpful, but these are our most important sources of a corrected Biblical text.

I. THE HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT

One feature of the MSS. of the Old Testament, in comparison with the New, requires explanation. The oldest MSS. of the New Testament of chief value were made in

the fourth century A.D., and were therefore made within some 250 years of the original autographs. The New Testament was copied by hand for about 1400 years, and in the extant MSS., we find four distinct types of text, with variations numbering more than 150,000. Many of these differences are of considerable importance.

MSS. of the Old Testament are by no means so numerous as those of the New. The oldest date from the ninth century A.D., fully 1000 years after the Old Testament was complete, and the whole of it was copied by hand fully 1600 years, parts of it considerably longer. Since the Old Testament is much larger than the New, and since it was copied by hand for a much longer period, one would naturally expect to find in its MSS. many important variations and mistakes. But the Old Testament MSS. come down to us in only one type of text, with few variations, none of any real importance. Such facts require an explanation.

I. A STANDARDIZED TEXT—THE MASSORETIC

There can be no doubt that the MSS. of the Old Testament once contained many variations. The explanation of the present uniformity of its text is to be found in the fact that about 100 A.D. the Jews formed the present Hebrew text, eliminating all variations, and adopted it as the standard, to which later the Massoretes added the vowel points.¹ On what principle the standard text was made is not known. But since its formation it has been copied only by professionals, who, working under strict rules and with unusual care, have reduced mistakes to a minimum; and it is only MSS. of this standard text that have come down to us. The New Testament, on the other hand, was copied in

¹ W. Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 69-83.

its early history by amateurs, who had not yet placed it on a level with the Old Testament and who soon corrupted it badly. No standard was ever formed to eliminate the errors and to standardize its text.

It has been suggested that what is known as the Syrian text of the New Testament, from which the Authorized Version was made, was intended as a standardized text. That would help to explain how it came to supersede all others, and to remain dominant so long. But in this case the older texts have been preserved, and with them the numerous variations which the Syrian text, on this theory, sought to eliminate.

One might naturally ask what became of all the early Hebrew MSS. containing the variations that once existed. But it should be remembered that we have no Hebrew MSS. of any kind older than the ninth century A.D., small fragments excepted. And one might as well ask what became of the MSS. of the standard text, from its formation to the ninth century. The earlier and corrupted MSS. may have been deliberately destroyed. The uniform text of the Koran was secured by Caliph Othman, who formed a standard text and then destroyed all copies differing from it. The same may have happened with the Old Testament, but it is more likely that they have been lost or destroyed as the Jews customarily dispose of worn or faulty MSS. Attached to every Synagogue is a "Gheniza," or lumber-cupboard, and into this all MSS., defective from whatever cause, are placed that they may be disposed of reverently and not fall into profane hands. Perhaps this custom of the Jews accounts for the loss of all early MSS. In any case there is abundant proof, without MS. evidence, that the standard Hebrew text that has come down to us with such uniformity differs widely from a text that existed in the earlier history of the Old Testament. Aside from all other

evidence it is simply impossible to believe that it could have escaped corruption from such copyists as must have existed in its early history.

First Hebrew Bible Printed. The first complete Hebrew Bible printed was produced in 1488 at Soncino, Italy. The work was done by Jews. All the earlier Hebrew Bibles, in fact, were published by Jews. This first Bible contained vowels and accents. It is said that there is but one complete copy of this Bible in the United States, and that is now in the Morgan collection. Only nine copies are known to exist. Other editions soon followed. One was issued at Naples, 1491-93; another at Brescia in 1494—the one Luther used to translate the Old Testament into German. A fourth edition appeared at Pesaro in 1511-17. The first Hebrew Old Testament to be issued under Christian direction and authority was that found in the Complutensian Polyglot. This was published in 1522.

Oldest Scrap of Hebrew Known. According to S. A. Cook, a papyrus fragment of Exodus is the oldest scrap of the Hebrew Old Testament known, and it probably belongs to the second century, A.D. It contains no vowel points, having been made before they were added to the text.

We have a total of some 1700 Hebrew MSS.² of the Old Testament, in whole or in part, and these constitute the principal source of its present text. Certain ancient versions provide material for a correction of this text, and to these versions may be added the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Targums.

The Samaritan Pentateuch, as we saw in the last chapter, is written in an old style Hebrew. It is not a version, but a Hebrew text, and one that has been maintained independently since the fifth century B.C. It is, therefore, of con-

² Forty-nine MSS. are described in the *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* by C. D. Ginsburg, 1897.

siderable service in recovering the original Hebrew. It has been vitiated somewhat, however, by deliberate alterations designed to favor the Samaritan religion.

2. EARLIEST TESTIMONY TO THE TEXT

The Targums. The Targums furnish splendid material, in some instances, for a correction of the Hebrew text. After the return of the exiles from captivity the Jews gradually adopted the Aramaic language, and by the time of Christ it had become the common language of all Palestine. Meanwhile the Old Testament remained in Hebrew and continued to be read in the services of the Synagogue. As early as the time of Nehemiah, when one read Hebrew in the Synagogue service another explained or translated it into Aramaic (Neh. 8:8.). Aramaic must, therefore, have been used extensively by the common people at that time. At first this explanation was made orally. In time, however, these interpretations, or paraphrases, were reduced to writing and were read in the services, following the reading of the Hebrew. These interpretations or paraphrases are called Targums. When they were reduced to writing nobody knows, but written Targums were in existence by the first century A.D.—possibly much earlier. We find rules regulating their use by 200 A.D. While the Targums we have were not written earlier than the fourth or fifth century A.D., they had existed orally, and had probably crystallized into permanent form, long before being written. They cover the larger part of the Old Testament, all except Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah.

There are extant to-day seven Targums: three of the Pentateuch, one of the Prophets, and three of the Writings. The most celebrated among them is one on the Pentateuch attributed to Onkelos.

Translations of Targums. That it may appear clearly what the Targums are like, we give a specimen of their text translated into English. To the left is a verse from Genesis. Next to it is the Targum of Onkelos; and in the right-hand column is the Targum of Jonathan.³

TRANSLATIONS OF TARGUMS

<i>Genesis iii. 22</i>	<i>Targum of Onkelos</i>	<i>Targum of Jonathan</i>
And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.	And the Lord God said, Behold, Adam is the only one in the world knowing good and evil: perchance now he might stretch forth his hand, and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live for evermore.	And the Lord God said to the angels that were ministering before him, Lo, there is Adam alone on the earth, as I am alone in the highest heaven, and there will spring from him those who know how to distinguish between good and evil. If he had kept the commandment that I commanded he would have been living and lasting, like the tree of life, for evermore. Now, since he has not kept what I commanded, we decree against him, and expel him from the Garden of Eden, before he may stretch out his hand and take from the fruits of the tree of life, for if he ate therefrom he would live and remain for ever.

The Targums are interesting for more reasons than one. They are an interpretation of an older Hebrew text than the one we possess, and are the oldest testimony to the Hebrew text in existence. These facts give them considerable importance. Then their method of interpretation is also a matter of no little interest.

³ J. Patterson Smyth, *Ancient Documents and the Modern Bible*, p. 142.

Human traits attributed to God are toned down. God does not smell the sweet savor of offerings, he accepts them with pleasure. On the Passover night he does not pass over the Israelites, he spares them. God's feet become his glorious throne. When God meets Moses to slay him (Ex. 4:24.), it is not God, but his angel who does so. In such ways anthropomorphisms are eliminated.

Things uncomplimentary to Israel must not be said. Thus, Rachel does not steal her father's household gods, she simply takes them. Israel does not flee from Egypt, he simply departs. Moses did not marry a Cushite woman, he married a beautiful woman.

Many other changes are made. The Promised Land does not flow with milk and honey, but yields these things. Ezekiel does not eat the scroll, he listens carefully to its contents. Words offensive to refined taste are eliminated. While this feature of the Targums renders them of less value than a literal translation would be, yet they can sometimes be used profitably in recovering the original Hebrew.

II. THE FIRST TRANSLATION—THE SEPTUAGINT

The first translation of any part of the Bible was that of the Old Testament into Greek made in Alexandria, Egypt. It is known as the Septuagint Version, generally abbreviated by LXX., the "seventy," from a tradition that it was made by seventy or seventy-two men.

After the submission of Egypt to Alexander the Great the city of Alexandria became the headquarters of commerce and literature for the East. Its population, mainly Greek, came to have a large colony of Jews. So numerous did they become that a section of the city was set apart for their residence, and they were admitted to full citizenship. They even transformed an old temple at Leontopolis into

a replica of the Temple at Jerusalem, provided a priesthood, and celebrated the Jewish rites, until the coming of the Romans put an end to this. These Jews ceased entirely to speak Hebrew, adopting the common language of that part of the world; hence, that they might have their Bible in a language which they could understand it became necessary to translate it.

I. LEGENDARY STORY OF ITS ORIGIN

Human nature seems prone to the invention of stories of the miraculous, especially in connection with religion, and such a story grew up to account for this translation. An old epistle purporting to have been written in the third century B.C. by one Aristeas, a distinguished officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, tells among other things how seventy-two elders, sent from Jerusalem for the purpose, set about the work of this translation on an island far from the noise of the city. Day after day they translated, working separately, and then they met to compare results and agree upon a final text. The work, embracing the Pentateuch only, was completed in seventy-two sessions.

This simple and plausible story—the above part of it was plausible, if other parts of the letter were not ⁴—grew by means of embellishments until it was said that each translator had worked alone, and that when the work had been completed each translation was found to be identical with every other, so that the inspiration and infallibility of the work were guaranteed. This enlarged story came to include the translation of the entire Old Testament, and thereby the whole translation became known as the LXX.

This embellished story was long current and fully be-

⁴F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, pp. 49-50.

lieved in the church, and to question it was heresy; but we now know that it is mythical, and that even the epistle is a forgery.

2. HOW THE WORK WAS DONE

This version was made at Alexandria, in Egypt, between 285 and 130 B.C., the work covering a period of fully 150 years. Who did the work is unknown. The Pentateuch was, in Jewish estimation, the most important part of the Bible, and was therefore translated first. Certain books of the LXX. had not even been written when the Pentateuch was translated, Ecclesiasticus for example. The work, therefore, was not all done at one time. Moreover, the rendering varies greatly in quality; some books are much more faithfully translated than others, which would not have been the case had the same men made the whole translation.

The book of Daniel was so poorly done that Theodotion's translation, made in the second century A.D., was substituted for it everywhere in copies of the LXX. As a result the original LXX. translation of Daniel became lost to the world until 1772, when a single copy, written in the ninth century A.D., was discovered in the Chisian Library at Rome. This is the only copy known to-day.

Codex Marchalianus. Codex Marchalianus is a MS. of the LXX. It is an uncial of the sixth century, containing only the Prophets, and is now in the Vatican Library at Rome. It is one of the finest MSS. of the LXX. known. It has no punctuation and no separation of words, but it does have enlarged letters projecting into the margins.

3. PECULIARITIES OF THE LXX. TEXT

Some Differences between the LXX. and the Hebrew.
Some differences between the LXX. and the Hebrew Old

Testament will be indicated in the extract that follows. All the words in this quotation in italics are omitted from the text of the LXX. A careful reading of the part not in italics, will reveal the fact that the shorter text makes a complete story.

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LXX. AND HEBREW⁵

Jeremiah 27:5. I have made the earth, *the man and the beast which are upon the face of the earth*, by my great power and outstretched arm, and give it to whom I please. (6) *And now* I have given all these lands [LXX. the earth] into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. . . . (7) *And all nations shall serve him and his son and his son's son, till the time of his land come also, and mighty nations and great kings make him their servant.* (8) And the nation and kingdom which will not *serve him*, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with famine, *and with pestilence*, till I have consumed them by his hand. (9) Therefore hearken ye not to your prophets . . . which say ye shall not serve the king of Babylon. (10) For they prophesy lies to you to remove you from your land, *and that I should drive you out and ye should perish.* . . .

(12) And to Zedekiah, king of Judah, I spake with all these words, saying, Bring your neck *under the yoke of the king of Babylon*, and *serve him and his people, and live.* (13) *Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence, as the Lord hath spoken against the nation that will not serve the king of Babylon?* (14) *Therefore hearken not unto the words of the prophets who speak unto you, saying, Serve not the king of Babylon; for they prophesy lies unto you.* (15) For I have not sent them, saith the Lord, and they prophesy lies in my name.

The question is: Did the translators of the LXX. deliberately omit this matter from the Hebrew text, or has it been added to the Hebrew text since the LXX. was made? One or the other must be the explanation. It is difficult to answer, with entire confidence, but the more probable explanation is that the Hebrew text has received additions since the LXX. was made.

These additions, if such they be, are numerous in some books. In the Pentateuch, the most sacred part of the Old Testament to the Jews, the differences are less than else-

⁵ W. Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 113-14.

where, as would naturally be expected. About one-sixth of Job was not contained in the original translation of the LXX., and there is strong probability that the shorter version represents the full text of the Hebrew at that time. Great differences are found in Samuel and Kings, where additions are frequent. In Jeremiah certain chapters are placed in a different order. The extract above is found in Hebrew in Jeremiah 27, while in the LXX. it is in chapter 34. The books are arranged in an entirely different order. Four books, as found in the Hebrew, are divided each into two books in the LXX. The LXX. contains several books not found in the Hebrew, and additions to other books.

Other Differences between the LXX. and Hebrew. The LXX. differs considerably from the Hebrew also where numbers are involved. The following table will illustrate this difference.

AGES OF THE PATRIARCHS ⁶								
<i>Age of Each When Next Was Born</i>				<i>Age of Each When Next Was Born</i>				
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX.		Heb.	Sam.	LXX.	
Adam	130	130	230	Shem	100	100	100	
Seth	105	105	205	Arpachshad	35	135	135	
Enosh	90	90	190	Cainan			130	
Kenan	70	70	170	Shelah	30	130	130	
Mahalalel	65	65	165	Eber	34	134	134	
Jared	162	62	162	Peleg	30	130	130	
Enoch	65	65	165	Reu	32	132	132	
Methuselah	187	67	187	Serug	30	130	130	
Lamech	182	53	188	Nahor	29	79	179	
Noah	500	500	500	Terah	70	70	70	
Noah 600 years old when flood came	100	100	100	Abraham	—	—	—	
					390	1040	1270	
Creation to flood	1656	1307	2262	Years of Shem's life before flood	100	100	100	
				From flood to birth of Abra- ham	290	940	1170	

⁶Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 695; Vol. I, p. 398.

This table contains two lists of patriarchs, those from the creation to the flood, and those from the flood to the birth of Abraham. They give the age of each when the next following was born, as found in the Hebrew, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX.

These lists are interesting because of the differences which they contain. It will be observed that in the table to the right the LXX. adds a name, Cainan, not found in the Hebrew or the Samaritan Pentateuch. The explanation is not known. Luke's genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:36) includes this name, but Matthew does not give it.

Let us examine the differences in the numbers given. In the table to the left, it will be seen that the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch are generally agreed, though they differ in Jared, Methuselah and Lamech. But the LXX. often adds 100 years to the numbers given in the Hebrew. We have no explanation. These numbers differ sufficiently that the years from the creation to the flood according to the Hebrew are 1656, the Samaritan Pentateuch 1307, the LXX. 2262. Lucian's recension of the LXX. gives 2242 years.

In the table to the right, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX. generally agree, and both nearly always add 100 years to the number found in the Hebrew. No satisfactory explanation is at hand. This table shows more variation than the other. The years from the flood to the birth of Abraham according to the Hebrew are 290, the Samaritan Pentateuch 940, and the LXX. 1170. Quite a difference! And there are many other differences between the Hebrew and Greek Old Testament which we cannot here indicate. The Samaritan Pentateuch differs from the Hebrew in about 6000 places, most of which, however, are trivial. The LXX. agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch in more than 1000 places where it differs from the Hebrew.

One naturally wonders how such differences arose, but no fully satisfactory explanation has been suggested. A few things, however, are certain. The translators of the LXX. often used different vowels from those found in our Hebrew Bible to-day; they sometimes divided words differently from the Massoretic text; and there can be no doubt that the text which they translated differed a good deal from our Hebrew text. And to all this it should perhaps be added that the translators of the LXX. changed things rather freely when they saw fit. We know that they did this in the addition of new books to their Bible.

LXX Papyrus, Oldest Scrap Known. A papyrus fragment of the LXX. from the third century, is the oldest scrap of the LXX. known to-day. It was found at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, in 1903.

Uncial MSS. of the LXX. number about thirty, only two of which are approximately complete, while more than 300 cursive MSS. are known. They contain only parts of the Old Testament: 63 contain the Pentateuch, in whole or in part; 55, the historical books; 128, the Psalms; 62, the Prophets; and 39, the Hagiographa, or Writings. Since the LXX. was made from a Hebrew text more than 1000 years older than our oldest Hebrew MSS., it may be used to recover the original Hebrew in many instances.

4. IMPORTANCE OF THE TRANSLATION

The LXX., with all its differences from the Hebrew, is much the most important translation of the Old Testament ever made. When it appeared the number of people able to read Hebrew was growing less and less, and this translation became the Bible of the Greek-speaking Jews not only of Alexandria but of the Mediterranean region in general. It was the Bible of Jesus and the apostles, and from

them it passed into the early church. Until near the close of the second century, when certain books of the New Testament came to be regarded as Scripture and were added to it, it was the only Christian Bible, and it remained the Old Testament of the Christian Bible for several centuries.

Evidence of its popularity and widespread use may be seen in the fact that nearly all the early versions were made from it—the Old Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, Slavonic, Georgian—all, in fact, except the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate. And both of these soon had the apocryphal books from the LXX. added to their contents, because of the widespread influence of this version. It was from the LXX. that the books of the Pentateuch received their names; in Hebrew they have no names, except the first word of the text of each. Its chief value for us is its use in correcting the Hebrew text.⁷

And the LXX. version is to-day the official Old Testament of the Orthodox Greek Catholic church, the Abyssinian church, the Egyptian church and the Armenian church.

5. OTHER TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT INTO GREEK

About 128 A.D. Aquila, a Jewish proselyte from Pontus, translated the Hebrew into Greek; and the Jews thereafter preferred it to the LXX. Later in the same century another translation of the Hebrew into Greek was made by Theodotion, who was perhaps an Ebionite Christian from Pontus or Ephesus. In any event his version became very popular with Christians. Theodotion's translation of Daniel, as we have already seen, was so much superior to that of the LXX. that it soon came to be substituted for it in the LXX.

⁷ G. L. Robinson, *Where Did We Get Our Bible?*, p. 90; also the Introduction to Moffatt's Bible, p. XIV.

everywhere. A third translation of Hebrew into Greek was made by Symmachus, perhaps an Ebionite. His work was done about 200 A.D. His translation was far superior to that of Aquila or Theodotion, but it exercised less influence than either. Thus at the beginning of the third century A.D., these three translations of the Old Testament into Greek were in use in addition to the LXX.

6. REVISIONS OF THE LXX.

Through years of copying by hand the LXX. had become corrupted, and the multiplicity of translations in use, all differing, was confusing. Origen (186-253), the greatest Biblical scholar of the early centuries, spent twenty-eight years, with assistance, in the preparation of a work known as "The Hexapla." This was an arrangement in six parallel columns of (1) the Hebrew text; (2) the Hebrew put into Greek letters; (3) the Greek translation of Aquila; (4) the Greek translation of Symmachus; (5) the LXX., revised by Origen himself; and (6) the Greek translation of Theodotion. The Hexapla as a whole, excepting fragments, has been lost, but most of the fifth column, Origen's own revision of the LXX., has been preserved. This revision had considerable influence on the LXX. in subsequent ages.

Following the work of Origen several important editions of the LXX. appeared which were more or less affected by his work. Eusebius of Cæsarea (260-340), the first church historian, with assistance, put out Origen's revision of the LXX. as an independent work, to which were added alternative readings from other versions. This work was used in Palestine. Lucian of Samosata produced another edition which was adopted throughout Asia Minor, from Antioch to Constantinople. A third edition was put out by Hesychius, and was adopted in Alexandria and Egypt. These

were all made near 300 A.D. Manuscripts that preserve these revisions are not numerous. They did not supersede the ancient LXX. but they render a distinct service in determining its original text.

7. FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE LXX.

The Complutensian Polyglot. A polyglot is a Bible containing several different versions or translations of the Scriptures. The Complutensian Polyglot contained the first printed edition of the LXX. ever made. It has some remarkable alterations of the text to make it fit the Hebrew and Latin. It was printed in 1514-17, but not actually published until 1522. It was edited by the Spanish Cardinal Francis Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, and consisted of six volumes. It was intended to celebrate the birth of the heir to the throne of Castile, afterwards Charles V. The Old Testament was in four volumes, three columns to the page, except the Pentateuch, which contained five columns. The Hebrew, Latin and Greek were printed in parallel columns throughout the Old Testament. In the Pentateuch, two columns were added at the bottom of the page. In one was printed the Targum of Onkelos, and in the column parallel to it was given a Latin translation of the Targum. Above the LXX. text was added an interlinear translation into Latin. The New Testament contained two columns, one with the Greek and the other with the Latin Vulgate. Volume six was a vocabulary of Hebrew and Aramaic.

The Cardinal cast his own type for this work. Only 600 copies were published, at a total cost of one hundred fifteen thousand dollars. This publication was issued at Alcala, Spain. The Latin name of Alcala is Complutum, hence the name Complutensian Polyglot. This Polyglot became a very important landmark in the story of the beginnings of Bibli-

cal study in modern Europe. It contained the first Hebrew Bible published under the full direction and authority of Christian men, and the first printed edition of the New Testament. Its New Testament was actually printed in 1514, two years before that of Erasmus, but it was not published until 1522, when the Old Testament was ready to accompany it. Meanwhile Erasmus had published his edition in 1516, and it thus gained the honor of being the first published Greek New Testament.

III. LEADING MSS. OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A brief description of the Vatican, Sinaitic and Alexandrian MSS. were given in the previous chapter, where they served to illustrate the style of writing used in the fourth and fifth centuries. These, with Codex Ephraemi, are the oldest and best MSS. of the LXX. which we have; and, of all the Greek MSS. known, only these originally contained the whole Bible. They are also the oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament.

I. NOW IN ITALY

Codex Vaticanus, 4th Century. Having considered the principal sources of the text of the Old Testament, we now turn to the New. Codex Vaticanus is our oldest and best MS. of the New Testament. It is now in Italy, belongs to the Roman church, and is kept in the Vatican Library at Rome. This MS., as has already been said, was written in uncials, on vellum, in the fourth century. It consists of 759 leaves, 10 by 10½ inches. There are three columns of forty-two lines each to the page, except in the poetical parts of the Old Testament, which have only two columns.

This Codex was not accessible to the scholarship of the

world until after the middle of the nineteenth century. A long and hard struggle was made for permission to use it. Tischendorf, one of our greatest scholars, after waiting several months in 1843, was permitted to see it for six hours. Another scholar, De Muralt, was allowed to see it for nine hours in 1844. In 1845, Tregelles, also a great scholar, was accorded the privilege of seeing it, but was not permitted to copy a word. His pockets were searched before he might open it, and all writing material was taken away. Two clerics stood by and snatched the book from him if he looked too long at one passage. Other scholars suffered similar embarrassments. In the meantime Roman Catholic scholars sought to give it to the world. In 1857 Cardinal Mai published an edition, but it was so inaccurate as to be worthless. Finally Tischendorf was permitted to examine the MS. for fourteen days, three hours a day, and to study difficult passages. By this means he was enabled to put out an edition in 1867, which was of very considerable value. A photographic facsimile of the entire MS. was issued in 1889-90, so that now any one may use it.

This MS. has no sections, such as are found in later MSS., but has a system of its own. The Gospels are divided into very short chapters, with titles to each chapter. Matthew contains 170, Mark 62, Luke 152 and John 80. These chapters are found in only one other MS., Codex Zacynthius. Other parts of the New Testament are divided differently. Paul's Epistles are all in one book, an occurrence very unusual.

Codex Vaticanus contains practically all the Old Testament, with additions to three books and with seven books not found in the Hebrew. The New Testament ends with Hebrews 9:14, the remainder having been lost. The last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel (Mark 16:9-20) were never a part of this MS., and the story of the woman taken in

adultery, as found in John's Gospel (John 7:53-8:11), was not included.

The Vatican Library. The Vatican Library is the private library of the Pope, and is probably the oldest in Europe. It is sometimes said to be the first library of the world in the importance of its materials. A few libraries surpass it in the number of MSS. which it contains, and many libraries surpass it in the number of books. The Vatican Library, however, was founded as a distinctly MS. library, and has been maintained as such. In this respect it is unlike any other of the great libraries of the world. It contains some 50,000 MSS., and some 350,000 books. Its books "are intended solely to facilitate and promote the study of the manuscripts." Many of its MSS. are among the most precious in the world. Here is the home of Codex Vaticanus.

2. NOW IN RUSSIA

Codex Sinaiticus, 4th Century. The second best MS. of the New Testament belongs to Russia, and is known as Codex Sinaiticus. It is now in the Imperial Library at Leningrad. It dates from the fourth century.

Constantine Tischendorf discovered this MS. in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mt. Sinai, in 1844 and 1859. On his first visit he obtained forty-three sheets, and the remainder later on his third visit. He thought it probably one of the fifty copies that the Emperor Constantine had ordered in 331 A.D., to be prepared for the churches of Constantinople. The monastery of St. Catherine had been founded by Justinian and Tischendorf's theory was that the manuscript was presented to it by that Emperor.

Codex Sinaiticus is written in uncials, on vellum made from antelope hides, one hide making only two leaves. It contains 346½ leaves, 199 of which belong to the Old Testa-

ment and 147½ to the New. The leaves measure 13½ by 14⅞ inches. It is written in four columns, except the poetical parts which are in two columns, and is the only four column MS. known. Each column contains 48 lines, except that in the Catholic Epistles 47 lines are sometimes found.

The Old Testament is incomplete, but it contains the Apocrypha. It differs somewhat from Codex Vaticanus in the apocryphal books it contains, having certain books additional to those found in the Vatican MS. The New Testament is complete, and this is our only complete uncial MS. of the New Testament. In addition to the usual books of the New Testament it contains the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas, two books that were once a part of the New Testament.

The 43 leaves of this MS., found in 1844, were presented by Tischendorf to his sovereign and patron, Frederic Augustus of Saxony, who immediately placed them in the court library at Leipsic. This part was published in facsimile in 1846, under the name of Codex Frederico-Augustus. On his third trip to the monastery, in 1859, Tischendorf was under the patronage of the Czar of Russia, and he therefore presented the larger part of the MS. to Russia. The two sections together contain 389½ leaves.

Attempted Discredit of Codex Sinaiticus. Constantine Simonides, a Greek born in 1824, was one of the most skilful forgers of all history. He produced quantities of Greek MSS., both classical and Biblical, for which he claimed a fabulous antiquity. His productions enjoyed notoriety for a time, but he was exposed as a forger and finally banished from Saxony.

Among the scholars concerned in his exposure was Tischendorf. Simonides retaliated with a vengeance. Tischendorf had discovered the larger part of Codex Sinaiticus in 1859,

completing his find; and, naturally, he regarded it as an unusually valuable discovery. In 1861, while stoutly maintaining the genuineness of all his other MSS., he boldly asserted that he had forged the Sinaitic MS. Great confusion resulted and an investigation followed at once. When the controversy had ended no cloud rested on the Sinaitic MS.;⁸ and Simonides had only sunk himself lower in the estimation of honorable men.

The Monastery of St. Catherine. It was at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai—often called convent—that Tischendorf discovered Codex Sinaiticus. Later, at this same monastery, Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Mrs. Gibson, found the Sinaitic Syriac, a very valuable old Syriac MS. of the Gospels. Hundreds of manuscripts are owned by this monastery, and while they may be studied by those interested in them they cannot be taken away. The monastery regrets the loss of Codex Sinaiticus. Tischendorf has been accused of having stolen this MS. from the monastery; but this has been disproved by C. S. Gregory.

This monastery belongs to the Orthodox Greek Catholic church, and was built by the Emperor Justinian in 527 A.D. Its library is said to be dark, except for two or three hours of the day, and no light or fire is permitted in it. The monastery stands in a narrow desert valley 4500 feet above the level of the Red Sea, and some 2800 feet below the summit of the mountain.

Many traditions cluster about this spot. Among them are traditions of Moses watering sheep at the well of Jethro; of the rock that gushed with water, as Moses smote it with his rod; of the burning bush, which is said to have stood on a spot covered by the apse of the monastery church; and of the cave, 1000 feet higher, where the ravens fed Elijah.

⁸ See Introduction to Scrivener, *Collation of Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. IX-LXXII, 2nd ed. 1867.

Imperial Library, Leningrad. The Imperial Library at Leningrad is a national institution that ranks as one of the greatest libraries of the world. It was founded in 1714 by Peter the Great. It is rich in bibliographical material, and contains a famous collection of Hebrew MSS. Its MSS. number fully 124,000. Printed books number at least 2,044,000. It contains the library of Voltaire, purchased by Catherine II. This library is the home of Codex Sinaiticus, the second oldest and best of the known MSS. of the New Testament.

3. NOW IN ENGLAND

Codex Alexandrinus, 5th Century. The third best MS. of the New Testament, as also the fifth, belongs to England. Codex Alexandrinus, the third best, is an uncial written on vellum in the fifth century. It was written in two columns of fifty-one lines each, and consists of four volumes, though originally one. It contains 773 leaves, measuring $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It was presented to King Charles in 1628, and is now in the British Museum.

The Old Testament is nearly complete. It contains all the apocryphal books of the Vatican MS., with five additional, and some canticles besides. The New Testament also is nearly complete. The Gospels have a system of chapters of which Matthew contains 68, Mark 48, Luke 83 and John 18. To each is prefixed a title. In addition to the usual books of the New Testament, this MS. contains two Epistles of Clement, and the table of contents indicates that they were considered as Scripture. It also contains a letter of Athanasius and a treatise on the Psalms by Eusebius. It originally contained the Psalms of Solomon, which stood as a sort of appendix following the New Testament.

Codex Bezae, 6th Century. Codex Bezae is an uncial on vellum, belonging to the sixth century, and its 415 leaves measure 8 by 10 inches. It is our fifth best New Testament MS., and is now in the Cambridge University Library. It is written in one wide column of 33 lines to the page; and it is our first two-language MS., containing a Greek page to the left and a Latin page to the right. It consists of the Gospels and Acts only.

Among all the MSS. of the New Testament, none ranks with it in the number of remarkable interpolations, or additions, which it contains. Because of this fact it was distrusted for a long time. In recent years, however, it has come to be regarded as of much more value than was formerly supposed. It is the oldest and best witness in Greek to what is known as the Western text. Theodore Beza, the friend and successor of Calvin at Geneva, obtained this MS. from a monastery at Lyons and presented it to Cambridge; hence its name.

The British Museum. The British Museum, second only to the National Library of Paris in the number of its books and manuscripts, was opened in 1759. It receives a copy of every book published in Great Britain. It contains no less than 3,500,000 books, and adds as many as 50,000 each year. It has some 55,000 MSS., besides papyri. It is the home of Codex Alexandrinus, and of a large number of other valuable Biblical MSS.

4. NOW IN FRANCE

Codex Ephraemi, 5th Century. The fourth best MS. of the New Testament belongs to France. Codex Ephraemi is another uncial on vellum written in the fifth century, and is now in the National Library at Paris. It consists of 64 leaves of Old Testament, and 145 of the New. It is

written in one wide column of forty to forty-six lines on a page that measures $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its uncials are larger than found in previous MSS. Its punctuation resembles that of Codex Alexandrinus, which has been previously described, and the chapters in the Gospels of these two MSS. are identical. Codex Ephraemi has no trace of chapters in the Acts, the Epistles, or Revelation.

The Old Testament is far from complete, although it contains the Apocrypha. The New Testament is also incomplete.

This MS. presents an appearance quite different from any described previously. The reason is that it consists of two writings, the one superimposed on the other. It was originally written in the fifth century, as we have said, and at some time in the twelfth century the Biblical writing was sponged or scraped off, in order that the vellum might be used a second time for other writing. Vellum in those days was very expensive and was often used a second time. The second use in this case was for some writings of one Ephraem, a Syrian. Hence its name. It was brought to France in the early part of the sixteenth century, but attention was first called to the underlying writing at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1834 the lower and dimmer writing was brought out by chemical treatment, so that most of it can now be read. This kind of a MS. is known as a palimpsest,⁹ a word which means "scraped twice." Many palimpsests have been preserved, though the church legislated against them by synodical decree as early as 691 A.D.

National Library, Paris. The National Library at Paris contains the greatest collection of books in the world. It was founded in 1368 by Charles V. Since 1536 one copy of

⁹ On palimpsests see Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Four Gospels from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894.

every book published in France has been deposited in it. Its present building was erected in 1854-75. More than 4,000,000 books are found in this library, and about 70,000 are added annually. It contains more than 110,000 MSS., over 1,000,000 prints, and about 200,000 coins and medals. It is the home of the fifth oldest and best MS. of the New Testament and, of course, many other valuable Biblical MSS.

5. NOW IN THE UNITED STATES

The Washington Codex, 5th Century. The sixth best MS. of the New Testament belongs to the United States. The Washington Codex, sometimes called the Freer Uncial, consists of 187 leaves of vellum, which contain the Gospels only. Brief titles are found at the beginning and end of each Gospel. Paragraphs are noted, with some punctuation and a little abbreviation. The Gospels appear in what is known as the Western order, Matthew, John, Luke and Mark. This MS. was bought in Egypt by Charles Lang Freer of Detroit in 1906, and brought to the United States. Professor Henry A. Sanders of the University of Michigan, who in 1912 edited its publication in facsimile assigns it to the fourth century, while Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed of the University of Chicago places it in the fifth. The bindings of these Gospels are boards, decorated with paintings of the evangelists. They are not earlier, perhaps, than the eighth century. This MS. is now in the Freer Gallery of Art at Washington.

The most remarkable thing about this MS. is a very considerable addition to what is known as the long ending of Mark's Gospel, the last twelve verses as found in the King James Version. This addition will be discussed later.

We have now described the six oldest and best MSS. of

the New Testament known to-day. It may be said that not one of them was used in forming the text of the New Testament of the King James Version. Only in recent years has Codex Vaticanus been accessible to scholarship. Codex Sinaiticus, not discovered until 1844 and 1859, was of course unknown to the King James translators. Codex Alexandrinus was presented to King Charles in 1628, seventeen years too late to be used in making the Authorized Version. The Biblical text of Codex Ephraemi was not discovered until about 1700 and was not chemically treated until 1834. Codex Bezae was known in the time of King James but was distrusted because of its peculiarities. The slight use of it by Stephens, in his New Testament, hardly deserves mention. The Washington Codex was unknown until 1906.

These six oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament rendered no service until recent times, but by means of them and others found since King James' day it is now possible to form a Greek text much nearer the original than was possible previously.

There is another matter, in connection with the oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament, of considerable interest. They are now in the possession of the greatest nations of the world, and are held by representatives of the three great divisions of the church, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Protestants.

The Freer Gallery of Art. The Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. is a part of the Smithsonian Institution, which was established in 1846. It was founded for the increase and diffusion of knowledge, and its achievements have been notable. It is the parent of several government departments, the Weather Bureau, the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Fisheries, and the National Advisory Committee of Aeronautics. It has done much in scien-

tific exploration, especially in North America. Theodore Roosevelt headed one of its expeditions into Africa some years ago.

Charles Lang Freer (1856-1919), in 1905, offered his great collection of paintings and curios to the government, together with one million dollars to provide suitable buildings. The Freer Gallery was opened May 9, 1923. It is the home of the Washington Codex.

Oldest Fragment of the New Testament. A papyrus fragment containing Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20, is generally considered the oldest scrap of the New Testament known. It was found at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, in 1896, and is now at the University of Pennsylvania. It belongs to the third century. Other third century fragments are known, but none equal in age to this.

Uncial MSS. of the New Testament number fully 150, but in this number there is only one complete New Testament. Cursive MSS. number fully 3850, including lectionaries. Among these thirty-five contain the entire New Testament. These MSS. constitute the principal source of the text of the Greek New Testament.

IV. THE EARLY VERSIONS

The second source of material for the reconstruction of the text of the Bible is to be found in the ancient versions.¹⁰ The word "version," as applied to the Scriptures, means a translation into another language than the original. A translation into Syriac, for example, is a Syriac version.

As we have seen, Biblical MSS. in the original languages

¹⁰ Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1894, Vol. II is said to contain the fullest account in English of the versions of the New Testament.

contain many errors due to copyists, some accidental and others deliberately made. The versions were also made by hand, and the same character of errors are found in them. It is therefore sometimes difficult to arrive at the original text of the versions, but it can be done with a measure of success, just as in the case of the manuscripts in the original languages. Versions of themselves are not sufficient to establish a reading; but for furnishing supplementary evidence they are invaluable.

It was the spirit of the early church to give the Bible to every nation and people within its communion, and this was done even when it was necessary to invent an alphabet for the purpose, as was done by Bishop Ulfilas in making the Gothic version.

As Christian missionaries spread abroad from Jerusalem into surrounding countries, in obedience to the Master's command to make disciples of the nations, they necessarily made considerable reference to the history of the nation among which Jesus wrought his ministry, and to the prophets who had prepared the way before him. As a result there grew up a demand for a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the language of every people among whom the Gospel was preached. At that early day the only Bible of the church was the Greek Old Testament. Finally the early church developed a religious literature of its own, and in meeting the demand for translations of the Old Testament for various peoples much of the religious literature of the early church was translated along with it.

I. THE MORE IMPORTANT ONES

The Syriac. The first version made was probably the Syriac, though some scholars would place the Old Latin first. Syriac was the language of Syria and Mesopotamia,

which lie north and northeast of Palestine. With some slight differences of dialect it was the actual language spoken by Jesus and all the Jews of Palestine in his day, and known there as Aramaic.

The Syriac version of the Old Testament was probably made in the second century, perhaps by 150 A.D. Some scholars believe it to have been of Jewish origin and still earlier. When the first version of the New Testament was made, and whether it included more than the Gospels, are questions concerning which scholars are not agreed.

The first reference to a Syriac version of the New Testament is found in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, where it is implied that such version existed sometime between 160 and 180 A.D.; but what the version referred to included and how long it had existed are unknown.

Until recently what is known as the Peshitta has been considered the first Syriac version, and some scholars so contend to-day. But the greater weight of modern opinion seems to favor placing the Peshitta last among the early versions.

Soon after the middle of the second century Tatian, a pupil of Justin Martyr, made a harmony of the Gospels in Syriac, which became known as the Diatessaron. Of this there is no doubt, though it has not survived in its original form. As witnesses to its existence we have quotations in an old commentary and an Arabic translation, two copies of which are in the Vatican Library. It was an arrangement of the four Gospels in one continuous story. Some scholars believe this to have been the first Syriac version of the New Testament.

Two Syriac MSS. are known which are thought to represent a version called the "Gospel according to the Separated (Evangelists)" to follow Burkitt's rendering. This is supposed to have been made about 200 A.D., or possibly

earlier. One of these MSS. is known as the Curetonian Syriac, and was written in the fifth century. It was obtained in 1842 from the Syrian monastery dedicated to St. Mary Deipara, or Mother of God, in Egypt.

The Sinaitic Syriac. The second MS. of the "Gospel according to the Separated" is known as the Sinaitic Syriac. This MS. was written in the fourth century, or possibly the fifth. It is in any case older than the Curetonian. Some scholars think that this MS. represents the very first attempt to translate the Gospels into Syriac. If so the Diatessaron and the Curetonian are probably revisions of it. It is a palimpsest. In fact there is a writing beneath the Gospel text, which means that the material has been used not only twice but three times. This and Codex Ephraemi are our best palimpsests.

The Sinaitic Syriac contains the four Gospels. It was discovered by two enterprising women of Cambridge, England, Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis¹¹ and her twin sister, Mrs. Margaret D. Gibson. In 1892 they visited the monastery on Mt. Sinai, where Tischendorf had found the Codex Sinaiticus. While there they photographed a number of old MSS. and brought the pictures home. The underlying text of this MS. was discovered by two Orientalists of Cambridge University to belong to the same family as the Curetonian Syriac. A second expedition was made to Mt. Sinai in 1893 and the MS. was copied. Thus while it still remains in the monastery of St. Catherine its text is now accessible to the world.

This MS. contains one reading of rather unusual interest. Matthew 1:16 reads: "And Jacob begat Joseph, and Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called Christ." This translation probably was

¹¹ For her own account of the discovery, see *The Four Gospels from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894.

made in the interest of people of that day who believed that Jesus was born in a natural way, and that he became the Son of God at his baptism. It is known that now and then in the early centuries passages of Scripture were altered, in order to favor this or that doctrinal position. But Mrs. Lewis, who discovered the MS. and translated it into English, does not believe that this reading was intended to deny the Virgin Birth. She insists that since the MS. recognizes the Virgin Birth elsewhere, this reading was not intended as a contradiction. This argument has considerable force, yet something may be said on the other side.

The Peshitta. The most important Syriac version, however, is known as the Peshitta. A MS. of the Pentateuch in this version is found in the British Museum, dated 464 A.D. It was secured from a monastery in Egypt, St. Mary Deipara, in 1842. It is the oldest dated MS. of any part of the Bible known. There are MSS. undoubtedly older, but they are not dated.

It would seem that the Peshitta was made later than either Tatian's harmony or the "Gospel according to the Separated." The Peshitta, however, is profoundly interesting for several reasons. It early became the official Bible of the Syrian church, and holds that position to-day. The Old Testament of this Bible is the same as ours except that five apocryphal books are added. The New Testament contains all the books of our New Testament except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. These books have never been admitted into this Bible, hence the New Testament of the Peshitta contains only twenty-two books. The Peshitta is preserved in 177 MSS.

The original version of the Old Testament in Syriac was made from the Hebrew and contained no books of the Apocrypha. Translations from the Hebrew and the omission of the books of the Apocrypha were both quite un-

usual for that day. Every other version, except the Latin Vulgate, was, as regards the Old Testament, made from the LXX., or from a version made from the LXX., and therefore naturally contained apocryphal books. In some way five apocryphal books finally found their way even into the Syriac, and they are now a part of the Syrian Bible.

Originally the Syriac version did not contain any of the Catholic Epistles or Revelation, but later, in some way, the Epistle of James, 1 Peter and 1 John were added, and these are now found in the Peshitta. This means that the original Syriac New Testament consisted of the Gospels, Acts, and fourteen Epistles of Paul (Hebrews being reckoned as Paul's), a total of nineteen books only, that is, only nineteen of those now considered inspired. It is known that at an early day two books, an alleged letter from the church to Paul and his reply, were a part of the Syriac New Testament, but what particular version contained them is not known. These apocryphal epistles were later omitted.

F. C. Burkitt, one of our best authorities, insists¹² that the Peshitta was made by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa in 411-435 A.D., and made for the purpose of displacing the Diatessaron of Tatian. The Diatessaron came to be very extensively used by the Syrians, in fact there was a time when it seems to have been used almost exclusively. It is known that Rabbula issued an edict directing that the Diatessaron be replaced by a version called the "Gospel according to the Separated." It is also known that he was engaged in translating the New Testament. Burkitt thinks that it was the Peshitta he was translating. Accord-

¹² *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

ing to this theory the Peshitta is a revision of the Old Syriac or "Gospel according to the Separated."

Our purpose is, when possible, to record the verdict of the best scholarship; but the question involved here is difficult, and can hardly be said to have been settled. The Peshitta is doubtless the last of the early versions in Syriac, yet it may not have been as late as 411 A.D. It is much smoother and more polished than the other early versions, and this would seem to indicate that it is a revision of them, rather than that they are corruptions of it. It has been argued that since the Peshitta contains only 22 books in its New Testament it must have been made before the canon of the New Testament contained 27 books, and if so it must have appeared before 411. But scholars disagree; some place it in the second century, some in the third, and others in the fifth.

The Old Latin. Christianity reached Rome by the middle of the first century, and by the end of the century the church at Rome had become a leading church. But it was far more Greek than Latin. While the official language of the Roman Empire was Latin, this was not the language in use throughout the provinces. The early church, in the first and second centuries, made Greek its everyday tongue. The books of the New Testament were all first written in Greek, unless Matthew be an exception. Paul's preaching and writing were all done in Greek. Even the early Bishops of Rome were Greek, and the first Roman liturgy was in Greek. Codex Alexandrinus contains an Epistle of Bishop Clement of Rome written in Greek to the Corinthians. Since the LXX. was the Old Testament of the early church all its Scriptures were in Greek.

In time, however, as the influence of Rome increased, Latin came to be used more and more. This fact would naturally call for a translation of the Scriptures into Latin,

and it is generally agreed that a Latin version existed not long after the middle of the second century. This first version, known as the Old Latin, is generally thought to have been made in Africa, a Roman province; but some able scholars maintain that it was made in Syria, probably at Antioch. This version is known in three forms, the African, the European, and the Italian.

Codex Vercellensis. Codex Vercellensis is supposed to have been written by Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, Italy, about 365 A.D. It is therefore equal in age with our best Greek MSS. of the New Testament. Among MSS. of the Old Latin version this is one of the finest, as well as one of the oldest, and it is the best MS. of what is known as the European Latin. Codex Vercellensis is in very narrow columns, written in silver on purple vellum. It contains the Gospels only, in the order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, an order common in the Western church. The MS. is now in the Cathedral at Vercelli, Italy.

In the Old Testament the Old Latin version was made from the LXX. and therefore contains the apocryphal books. Old Testament MSS. exist in fragments only, except certain books of the Apocrypha. The New Testament of this version originally omitted James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Hebrews, but in the fourth century 2 and 3 John were added. The Old Latin version never admitted 2 Peter, James and Hebrews into its canon. MS. of the New Testament, including fragments, number 38.

The Latin Vulgate. Since copying was necessarily done by hand many mistakes crept into the Old Latin version, and by the fourth century there was felt to be a great need for a revised edition. Pope Damasus requested Eusebius Hieronymus, better known to us as Jerome, to make the needed revision, and Jerome undertook the work. For twenty-five years he lived in Bethlehem, where Jesus was

born, and it was during these years that he made his revision and translation, to be known as the Latin Vulgate.¹³

While Jerome was the greatest scholar of his day, elements of varying value make up this version. Five books of the Apocrypha—Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, First and Second Maccabees, and Baruch—were simply lifted from the Old Latin without revision. The Psalter was not revised from the Hebrew, but by the use of the LXX. Jerome finally translated the Psalms from the Hebrew, but this translation was never permitted in the Vulgate. Two books of the Apocrypha, Judith and Tobit, were only a free translation from the originals. The canonical books of the Old Testament, except the Psalms, were translated from the Hebrew, and this is the really valuable part of the Latin Vulgate. In the New Testament most of the work was hastily done. The four Gospels were revised from the Old Latin by use of the Greek, while the remainder of the New Testament was only cursorily revised. Thus its several parts are of very unequal value.

This version, however, proved to be one of the most important ever made; in fact it can be said to have been surpassed in importance only by the LXX. The actual work extended over a period of twenty-two years (383-405 A.D.), fourteen of which were spent in translating the Old Testament from the Hebrew.

Jerome's translation was bitterly assailed, and he died almost heartbroken because of the treatment he received on its account. It required several hundred years to win the place which it deserved. What might be called first place has been given it by the highest authorities of the Roman church since the sixth century, and it was made the official

¹³ For a list of the more important MSS. of the Vulgate, see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV. pp. 886-89. "Vulgate" means "currently received." It was first applied to the LXX. and finally to Jerome's version.

Bible of this church on April 8, 1546. For 1000 years it provided the basis for almost every translation in Western Europe, including practically all the Anglo-Saxon translations and paraphrases, which made only slight use of the Old Latin. It was the source of Wyclif's Bible. Roman Catholic translations have always been made from it.

Codex Amiatinus. Codex Amiatinus is the best MS. of the Latin Vulgate known. It was presented to Pope Gregory II in 716 A.D., having been written a short time before, and it was used by Pope Sixtus V in 1585-90 in his revision of the Vulgate. It contains the whole Bible and the Apocrypha, except Baruch. It is a large volume of 1029 leaves, measuring 19½ by 13½ inches. It was written in the north of England, but is now in the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy. One thing that distinguishes this MS. is the fact that it is the second most magnificent specimen of Latin writing known. Only the MS. of the Lindisfarne Gospels outclasses it in this respect. The Latin Vulgate is extant in no less than 8000 MSS.

Alcuin's Revision of the Latin Vulgate. Two causes led to a corruption of the Latin Vulgate. One was the long years of copying by hand, which inevitably introduced many errors. The other was the fact that the Vulgate circulated for several hundred years side by side with the Old Latin version, and in making copies the texts were often mixed. This was especially true during the fifth and sixth centuries. Thus the Vulgate came to be badly corrupted.

Numerous efforts were made, from time to time, to improve the text. Charlemagne, feeling the need of a revision, put the task into the hands of Alcuin of York in 797. Alcuin was an English scholar whom Charlemagne had invited to France to superintend the education of his people. He accepted the task, and on Christmas day, 801 A.D., he presented Charlemagne with a copy of his completed re-

vision. He used purer copies of the Vulgate, but not the Greek.

A MS. of this revision, sometimes called "Charlemagne's Bible," now in the British Museum, is a fine specimen of a new style of Latin writing which had arisen in France under Charlemagne, and which indirectly aided in forming the model for our present print types. This MS. was written in two columns to the page which measures 20 by 14½ inches.

2. THE LESS IMPORTANT ONES

The Coptic. Coptic was the language used in Egypt by the natives when the Bible was first translated for their use. There are several Coptic dialects and five different versions are known to have been made. All were made from the LXX.

The Bohairic. The most important Coptic versions were the Bohairic and the Sahidic. The Bohairic version was unknown until the end of the seventeenth century. This dialect was the most developed and the most literary and finally superseded all other dialects, so that the Bohairic version came to be the standard Bible of all Egypt. In fact Bohairic is the Coptic of to-day, and this version of the Scriptures is still used in the services of the Christian (Coptic) churches of Egypt. The book of Revelation was not a part of this Bible originally but it was finally admitted.

It is difficult to say when the first version in Coptic was made, but it was probably by the beginning of the third century. The Bohairic was probably not made until the fourth century. Coptic MSS. date from the sixth century. More than 100 Bohairic MSS. are known to exist, some of which contain complete copies of the New Testament. The

text is regarded as particularly pure. Other versions are known only in fragments.

One feature of the Sahidic version is of considerable interest. We have already seen that the LXX. originally lacked about one-sixth of Job, as found in the Hebrew. (This was finally added to the LXX. from Theodotion's translation.) Within recent years copies of the Sahidic version of Job have been found, containing a text that similarly lacks about one-sixth of Job. In fact it omits exactly 376 verses found in the Hebrew. The evidence that this shorter text is the true text of Job, as originally written, seems complete, though some of the best scholars do not admit it. It has long been thought that Job, as found in the Hebrew, cannot be the book as originally written.

The Gothic. The Gothic version was made by Bishop Ulfilas (died 383 A.D.) from the LXX. It first became known in the sixteenth century through Codex Argenteus, which is the best MS. of this version known. It consists of 187 leaves, which is but a fragment of the original. It was probably written in northern Italy, in the fifth or possibly sixth century, and is now in the University Library at Upsala, Sweden. Only fragmentary MSS. of this version have been preserved. However, it is known that the four books of Kings, our Samuel and Kings, were omitted entirely from this Bible. Bishop Ulfilas felt that the Goths were too warlike already, and that to give them the histories contained in these books might do more harm than good.

Codex Argenteus. Codex Argenteus, containing the Gospels only, is written in gold and silver on purple vellum. The work is so well done that it was once supposed that it had been printed, but that has now been disproved. Ornamental arcades at the bottom of the pages contain references to parallel passages in the different Gospels, ar-

ranged thus: St. Matthew, St. John, St. Luke and St. Mark, the order in which the Gospels are placed. The names, in abbreviated form, are inscribed in golden letters beneath the four widest arches.

Codex Argenteus has the distinction of containing the oldest specimen of the Teutonic language, by several centuries, known to-day. Bishop Ulfilas invented an alphabet for the purpose of this translation and thereby reduced the Gothic language to writing. He thus became the founder of Teutonic literature, which blossomed so beautifully afterward in Chaucer, Luther, Goethe and Shakespeare.

The Ethiopic. The Ethiopic version was probably made in the fourth century—possibly the fifth—and is used by the Abyssinians.

The Old Testament of this Bible was made from the LXX. but is peculiar in the apocryphal books which it contains. It has the usual apocryphal books except the Maccabees. What it contains under that title is found nowhere else. And it has additional books: 4 Ezdras, the book of Enoch, Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, and others. The Old Testament is said to contain 46 books, but there is no uniformity in the MSS. The New Testament contains the usual 27 books, to which has been added a book on canon law, which is counted as eight books. This Bible is in use to-day among Abyssinian Christians. More than 100 MSS. of this version are known to exist, the oldest dating from the thirteenth century.

The Armenian. The Armenian version was made about the close of the fourth century, or possibly the beginning of the fifth. In its Old Testament it was made from the LXX. It has been thought to have been revised later by the use of the Syriac and the Hebrew, giving as a result a rather mixed text. Conybeare, however, maintains that the

Armenian version is one of the most beautiful and most accurate of all the versions. Its oldest MS. is dated 887 A.D.

This version also is peculiar in the apocryphal books which it includes. Among them are the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the History of Joseph and Asenath, and the Hymn of Asenath. Copies of the Old Testament differ somewhat in contents. One interesting feature of the New Testament in this version is the ending of Mark's Gospel, as found in a MS. dated 989 A.D. This feature will be discussed later, as will the story of the woman taken in adultery, which does not have the familiar form.

There are several other versions, such as the Arabic, the Georgian, the Persic and the Slavonic, but none of these is of any particular importance in recovering the original text. The versions of most importance for this work are the Syriac, Old Latin and Latin Vulgate. When these all agree in supporting a reading found in ancient MSS. their agreement creates a very strong presumption in favor of that reading. Where even two agree the evidence is strong.

V. QUOTATIONS FROM THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS

The third source of material for the recovery of the original text of the New Testament is found in quotations of the Scriptures by the early Christian fathers. This evidence becomes really valuable about the middle of the second century. The early church produced an abundance of Christian literature and this literature abounds in quotations from the Bible, especially from the New Testament. A very large part of the New Testament might be recovered from these quotations, and they assist materially in determining the text of their day. "There are perhaps as many as a hundred ecclesiastical writers older than the oldest extant codex of the New Testament; while between

A.D. 500 and A.D. 600 (within which limits our five oldest MSS. may be considered certainly to fall) there exist about two hundred Fathers more".¹⁴

NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS BY EARLY FATHERS¹⁵

	Gospels	Acts	Cath. Ep.	Paul's Ep.	Apoc.	Total
Justin Martyr	268	10	6	43	3	330
Irenaeus	1038	194	23	499	65	1819
Clement of Alex.	1017	44	207	1127	11	2406
Origen	9231	349	399	7778	165	17922
Tertullian	3822	502	120	2609	205	7258
Hippolitus	734	42	27	387	188	1378
Eusebius	3258	211	88	1592	27	5176

VI. SOME BIBLICAL ADVANTAGES

All books that have come down to us from the ages before printing was invented have been preserved in MS. form, classical writings as well as Biblical. In the number of ancient MSS. attesting a writing, and in the number of years that had elapsed between the original and the attesting MSS., the Bible enjoys a decided advantage over classical writings. The following tables will indicate something of this advantage.

CLASSICAL MANUSCRIPTS¹⁶

1. MSS. dating 1500 years or more after death of author.
Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) MSS. date from 11th century.
Lysias (cir. 450-380 B.C.) The forensic speeches depend on one MS. from the 12th century.
2. MSS. dating 1400 years or more after death of author.
Sophocles (496-406 B.C.) MSS. date from 11th century.
Catullus (84-54 B.C.) MSS. date from the 14th century.

¹⁴ Dean Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 21.

¹⁵ Kenyon, *Handbook to Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 224.
J. W. Burgon, *The Revision Revised*.

¹⁶ The facts concerning classical writings have practically all been taken from F. W. Hall's *A Companion to Classical Texts*.

3. MSS. dating 1300 years or more after death of author.
Herodotus (480-425 B.C.) MSS. date from 10th century.
4. MSS. dating 1200 years or more after death of author.
Plato (427-347 B.C.) MSS. date from 9th century.
5. MSS. dating 1100 years or more after death of author.
Cornelius Nepos (99-24 B.C.) MSS. date from 12th century.
6. MSS. dating 900 years or more after death of author.
Lucretius (d. 55 B.C.) MSS. date from 9th century.
Depend almost entirely on two MSS.
Aristophanes (448-385 B.C.) MSS. date from 6th century.
Tacitus (b. 62 A.D.) MSS. date from 11th century.
Six Books Annals depend on one MS.
His Histories depend on one MS.
Caesar (102-44 B.C.) MSS. date from 9th century.
7. MSS. dating 800 years or more after death of author.
Horace (b. 65 B.C.) MSS. date from 9th century.
Plutarch (46-120 A.D.) MS. date from 10th century.
8. MSS. dating 700 years or more after death of author.
Homer (cir. 1000 B.C.) MSS. date from 3rd century B.C.
Oldest complete Iliad dates from 10th century, about 1900 years after Homer's death.
Euripides (480-406 B.C.) MSS. date from 4th century.
9. MSS. dating 400 or more years after death of author.
Thucydides (b. 460 B.C.) MSS. date from 1st century.
Cicero (106-43 B.C.) MSS. date from 4th century.
Several of his writings depend on one MS. each.
10. MSS. dating 350 years or more after death of author.
Demosthenes (cir. 383-322 B.C.) MSS. date from 1st century.
Livy (59 B.C.-17 A.D.) MSS. date from 4th century.
11. MSS. dating 150 to 200 years after death of author.
Vergil (b. 70 B.C.) MSS. date from 2nd century.
Vergil is the only classic that approaches the New Testament in age of MSS. compared with original autographs.
Velleius Paterculus (19 B.C.-31 A.D.) His Roman History has only one MS., found in 1515 and lost later.
Hesychius (5th cent. A.D.) His lexicon has only one MS. of the 15th century.
Pliny (b. 62 A.D.) the "Correspondence of Pliny with Trajan" depends on one MS.

BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

- I. The Old Testament, completed by 165 B.C.
MSS. date from 9th century A.D., 1000 years after Old Testament was complete.
Extant 1700 MSS., in whole or in part.
 1. The Samaritan Pentateuch originated about 432 B.C.
MSS. date from 10th century, some 1400 years after its completion, but they testify to the Pentateuch from its acceptance as sacred.

2. The Old Testament translated from the Hebrew.
 - a. The Targums crystallized into form long before the 1st century. MSS. date from the 4th century, but they testify to the Hebrew text by completion of the canon.
 - b. The LXX. was completed by 130 B.C. MSS. date from 3rd century, but they testify to the Hebrew text within 50 years of its completion. Extant 330 MSS., in whole or in part.
 - c. The Syriac Old Testament, made about 150 A.D. MSS. date from 5th century A.D., but they testify to the Hebrew text within 300 years after it was completed.
 - d. The Latin Vulgate, made 383-405 A.D. MSS. date from the 6th century, but they testify to the Hebrew text within 550 years after its completion. Extant 8000 MSS., in whole or in part.
3. The Old Testament translated from the LXX.
 - a. The Old Latin version, made before 200 A.D. MSS. date from 5th century, and they testify indirectly to the Hebrew text within 350 years after its completion.
 - b. The Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian and other versions testify to the Hebrew in the same way. MSS. of the versions number hundreds.
- II. The New Testament, written from 50-110 A.D. MSS. date from the 3rd century A.D. and testify to the Greek text within 150 years of its completion. Extant 4000 MSS., in whole or in part.
 1. The New Testament was translated into many languages:
 - a. The Syriac version, made before 200 A.D. MSS. date from 4th century and testify to Greek text within 50 to 100 years after its completion.
 - b. The Old Latin version, made before 200 A.D. MSS. date from the 4th century, and testify to the Greek text within 50 to 100 years after its completion. Extant about 40 MSS.
 - c. The Latin Vulgate, made 383-405 A.D. MSS. date from the 6th century, and testify to the Greek text within 300 years after its completion. Extant 8000 MSS., in whole or in part.
 - d. The Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian and other versions testify to the Greek text in the same way. MSS. of the versions number hundreds.
 2. The New Testament is referred to and quoted by various writers from the 2nd century on.

Most classical writings have few MSS.; the best attested have but a few hundred. Many books depend on a single MS., as the table indicates. Altogether classical MSS. are but a handful compared with Biblical. No ancient book is so well attested as the Bible.

CHAPTER III

THE CANON OF THE BIBLE

WE come now to discuss the formation of the Biblical canon. The word "canon" originally meant a straight rod, such as a ruler, and from this it came to express that which serves to measure or determine anything. By the canon of the Bible is meant simply the books that properly belong to it, according to the rule or principle by which they were chosen. A book is canonical if it deserves a place in the Sacred Library, and non-canonical if it does not.

It will be well, at the very outset, to make clear just what is meant by the formation of the canon. It has been maintained that the books of the Bible, all being divinely inspired and intended by the Almighty for a place in the Sacred Library, were therefore a part of the canon as soon as written. Whether this be true or not—and we do not question it—such a statement belongs to the internal history of the Bible and is entirely out of place in any history of the formation of the canon. Granted that the various books of the Bible were inspired and intended for a place among the Sacred Writings, the church was left to find out that fact for itself. God certainly gave no revelation conveying such information, and no body of men has been divinely inspired and authorized to determine such matters for the church. A history of the formation of the canon is a history of the slow development of the human recognition of the Divine Message which these various books contain.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON

We begin with the canon of the Old Testament. Admittedly there are many things about the subject that we do not know. But one thing is certain, that much of what has been believed and taught about the formation of the Biblical canon is utterly without foundation in fact.

I. LEGENDARY STORY OF ITS ORIGIN

As we have already seen, a miracle story grew up to account for the translation of the Old Testament into Greek. In like manner a miracle was called into service to account for the canonicity and authority of the Old Testament, including even the vowel points and accents of the Massoretic text.

The early church believed that the books of the Old Testament were destroyed during the Babylonian captivity, from 605 to 536 B.C., and that Ezra, by special divine inspiration, was enabled to reproduce them, including vowel points and accents. We are told that in 40 days, employing five scribes, he dictated 94 books, 24 of which were the books of the Old Testament. This miraculous reproduction of the books—in the view of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Eusebius, Irenaeus and Jerome—guaranteed their canonicity and infallibility, and the church continued to hold this opinion for centuries. We now know that the whole story is based on a legend found in second Esdras, a book written about 100 A.D.

During the sixteenth century a new form of the old theory arose, based on a mere conjecture of Elias Levita, a Jewish scholar contemporary with Luther. According to this new idea, the canon of the Old Testament was authoritatively fixed by a body of men known as the Great

Synagogue, over which Ezra presided. The Reformers accepted Levita's idea, and, being more reasonable than the former theory, it was long held to be true. But it is known to-day that no Great Synagogue ever existed.

2. A GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT

The first step in the formation of the canon of the Old Testament was the growth of a religious literature from which such a canon could be selected. In the history of Israel this growth began early. Much of the Old Testament as we have it to-day was compiled from older books that had long been in circulation. Several such are mentioned, as sources of quotations. For example, we read in the Old Testament of "the Book of the Wars of Jehovah," and "the Book of Jasher." From this latter book is taken the poetical account of Joshua commanding the sun to stand still. We also read of "the Book of Nathan," "the Book of Jehu," "the Book of Iddo the Seer," "the Acts of Solomon," and many others. As many as two dozen such books are mentioned in the Old Testament. Concerning these books, now lost, we know nothing except the little that may be gleaned from the Old Testament. But we learn enough to know that Israel, in its early history, had an extensive religious literature. Doubtless many books were circulated that were not mentioned in the Old Testament. Writing was common in the days of Moses, and that he wrote sections incorporated in the Pentateuch we see no reason to doubt. That the Pentateuch, as we have it, was compiled from four principal sources, now lost, is generally believed by those whose scholarship in this field is most competent.

The canon of the Old Testament, it must be admitted, is involved in considerable obscurity; very little real information about its origin has come down to us. That it

was a gradual process, however, there can be no doubt. The threefold division of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, unquestionably represents stages in that development. On no other theory can these divisions, with their particular contents, be satisfactorily explained.

The second step in the formation of the canon was the recognition of certain books as religiously authoritative. The Old Testament is not simply the surviving remnant of Hebrew literature; nor is it a selection of what were considered the gems of that literature; it is a careful selection of books for a distinctly religious purpose. And it is not until the seventh century B.C. that we find our first unquestioned instance of a book which had come to be regarded by all as invested with sanctity and authority in religion. In some way this book—which was substantially our book of Deuteronomy—had become lost, but during the reign of Josiah, in 621 B.C., it was found. When it had first come to be regarded as sacred is not known.

The next historical glimpse we have of an influence that would tend to fix a canon, or that would recognize one previously formed, is in 444 B.C.

The Law. In 536 B.C. a small band of exiles returned to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple. In 457 B.C. Ezra arrived in the city but for thirteen years, as far as the record goes, he seems to have done little. In 444 B.C. Nehemiah returned as governor and began to rebuild the walls of the city. Ezra now assembled the people for the reading of the Law (Neh. 8:10.), which apparently meant the reading of something that had come to be regarded as sacred and authoritative. And it is generally agreed that what Ezra read was substantially our Pentateuch. It was the Pentateuch and it only which Manasseh took with him when, having been expelled by Nehemiah in 432 B.C. because he had a foreign

wife, he took refuge among the Samaritans and established on Mt. Gerizim a worship in rivalry with that on Mt. Moriah.¹

The Law, therefore, must have been the first canon of the Jews, and it must have been their only Bible when Manasseh took his copy to establish a rival worship. The Samaritans had long before this adopted the Jewish religion and along with it the Jewish sacred books, but after the separation, they not only refused to accept books added to the Jewish canon but even declined to adopt the square characters of Hebrew writing which later came into use. All efforts to date the Samaritan Pentateuch earlier than 432 B.C. have failed, hence we can say that the first canon of the Jews, the canon of the Law, was fixed by 432 B.C. How long these books had been considered sacred at that time remains unknown.

The Prophets. The Prophets constitute the second canon of the Jews, and its formation probably began about 300 B.C. It was certainly completed by 200 B.C.

The Writings. The Writings form the third canon. Its formation began during the Maccabean ascendancy, probably by 160 B.C., and it was completed by the death of John Hyrcanus II in 105 B.C.

At Jamnia, a Rabbinical headquarters in Palestine, the rabbis seem to have given final approval to the Old Testament canon. The date was about 90 A.D., possibly later. But the action at this time could have been nothing more than an official recognition of what had been done 200 years earlier by the private judgment of the pious in Israel. The canon of the Old Testament was not fixed by any authoritative body of men. The great mass of the books of the Old Testament gained their position among the Sacred

¹ See page 5-6, 37-8.

Writings simply because they commended themselves to the spiritual discernment of the godly.

That the Old Testament canon was fixed in stages—as represented by the Jewish divisions of the Law, the Prophets and the Writings—there can be no doubt. The history of the Samaritan Pentateuch would seem to offer conclusive proof, so far as the Law is concerned. There were no other sacred books in the Jewish Bible when Manasseh took his copy of the Pentateuch, otherwise he would have taken them. The divisions of the Old Testament are not according to the subject matter contained in the books, as would doubtless have been the case had the canon all been fixed at one time. Daniel and Lamentations would have found their place among the Prophets; and narrative books—such as Esther, Ruth, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles—would have found their place with Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. The only reason why these books were not placed among their kind was that when the canon of the Prophets was fixed they had not yet received that degree of recognition.

An older theory of the canon, still held by a diminishing number of Bible students, regards Malachi as having been written last of the Old Testament books, not later than 425 B.C., and the canon as having been completed in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Those who hold this view regard Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, substantially at least, as we have it. Early dates, therefore, are necessarily assigned to a large part of the Old Testament.

Date of Old Testament Writings. The great body of modern scholarship places the writing of the Old Testament between the thirteenth and second centuries B.C. During the earlier centuries, from the thirteenth to the eleventh, it is supposed that only certain poetical parts, such as the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:1-31), the Blessing of

Jacob (Gen. 49:2-27), and the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23-24), were written. Without effort at detailed accuracy, the following outline² may be said to represent the position of modern scholarship as to the time of origin of the bulk of the Old Testament literature.

From the tenth to the ninth century the Song of Solomon was probably written, also the sources of Judges and Samuel. The eighth century produced Amos, Hosea, Zechariah in part, Isaiah in part, and Micah. During the seventh century were written Judges, first and second Samuel, Ruth, Nahum, and Zephaniah. The sixth century produced Habakkuk, Jeremiah, first and second Kings, Lamentations, Obadiah, Proverbs, Job, Isaiah in part, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah in part. During the fifth century came Joel, Jonah, Zechariah in part, and Malachi. In the fourth century were written Ecclesiastes, Esther, first and second Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah. During the second century the Psalms, certain of which had been written in various periods, were completed; and Daniel was written last of all. The date of Daniel is supposed to be about 165 B.C.

The sources of the Hexateuch—generally designated as J, E, D, and P—are supposed to have been written, J and E from the tenth to the ninth century B.C., D in the seventh century, and P in the sixth century. Thus the first six books of the Old Testament would necessarily have to be written some time within the sixth century or later.

That Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, in anything like its present form, seems to be as definitely settled as anything can be³; and the modern date of Daniel seems to fit the known facts. But it is entirely possible that

² Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 290.

³ W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 305-387, and Washington Gladden, *Who Wrote the Bible*, pp. 17-70.

the newer school of thought has not reached finality in all details. Moses, for example, may have written more than is generally supposed.

3. TWO DIFFERENT CANONS

Palestinian and Alexandrian Canons. As we saw in the last chapter, the Jews of Alexandria translated the Old Testament into Greek, thus producing what is known as the LXX. We also saw something of the differences between the Greek translation and the Hebrew, the most obvious difference being the addition of certain books to the Greek which are not found in the Hebrew. The following table lists the books contained in these Bibles.

PALESTINIAN AND ALEXANDRIAN CANONS

<i>Hebrew Old Testament</i>	<i>The LXX. Codex Vaticanus</i> ⁴	<i>The LXX. Codex Alexandrinus</i> ⁴
I. The Law	1. Genesis	1. Genesis
1. Genesis	2. Exodus	2. Exodus
2. Exodus	3. Leviticus	3. Leviticus
3. Leviticus	4. Numbers	4. Numbers
4. Numbers	5. Deuteronomy	5. Deuteronomy
5. Deuteronomy	6. Joshua	6. Joshua
	7. Judges	7. Judges
II. The Prophets	8. Ruth	8. Ruth
a. Former	9. 1 Kings (1 Sam.)	9. 1 Kings (1 Sam.)
6. Joshua	10. 2 Kings (2 Sam.)	10. 2 Kings (2 Sam.)
7. Judges	11. 3 Kings (1 Kin.)	11. 3 Kings (1 Kin.)
8. Samuel (one book)	12. 4 Kings (2 Kin.)	12. 4 Kings (2 Kin.)
9. Kings (one book)	13. 1 Chronicles	13. 1 Chronicles
b. Latter	14. 2 Chronicles	14. 2 Chronicles
10. Isaiah	15. 1 Esdras (1)	15. Hosea
11. Jeremiah	16. Ezra	16. Amos
12. Ezekiel	17. Nehemiah	17. Micah
13. The Twelve (one book)	18. Psalms,	18. Joel
	addition (2)	19. Obadiah
	19. Proverbs	20. Jonah
	20. Ecclesiastes	21. Nahum
	21. Song of Songs	22. Habakkuk
	22. Job	23. Zephaniah

⁴Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 111. For the order of the Twelve in the LXX., see Vol. III, article, "Book of Obadiah," p. 577.

PALESTINIAN AND ALEXANDRIAN CANONS (Cont.)

<i>Hebrew Old Testament</i>	<i>The LXX. Codex Vaticanus</i>	<i>The LXX. Codex Alexandrinus</i>
III. The Writings	23. <i>Wisdom</i> (3)	24. Haggai
14. Psalms	24. <i>Sirach</i> (4)	25. Zechariah
15. Proverbs	25. Esther,	26. Malachi
16. Job	<i>additions</i> (5)	27. Isaiah
17. Song of Songs	26. <i>Judith</i> (6)	28. Jeremiah
18. Ruth	27. <i>Tobit</i> (7)	29. <i>Baruch</i> (1)
19. Lamentations	28. Hosea	30. Lamentations
20. Ecclesiastes	29. Amos	31. <i>Epistle of</i>
21. Esther	30. Micah	<i>Jeremy</i> (2)
22. Daniel	31. Joel	32. Ezekiel
23. Ezra-Nehe- miah	32. Obadiah	33. Daniel,
24. Chronicles (one book)	33. Jonah	<i>additions</i> (3)
	34. Nahum	34. Esther,
	35. Habakkuk	<i>additions</i> (4)
	36. Zephaniah	35. <i>Tobit</i> (5)
	37. Haggai	36. <i>Judith</i> (6)
	38. Zechariah	37. 1 <i>Esdras</i> (7)
	39. Malachi	38. Ezra
	40. Isaiah	39. Nehemiah
	41. Jeremiah	40. 1 <i>Maccabees</i> (8)
	42. <i>Baruch</i> (8)	41. 2 <i>Maccabees</i> (9)
	43. Lamentations	42. 3 <i>Maccabees</i> (10)
	44. <i>Epistle of</i>	43. 4 <i>Maccabees</i> (11)
	<i>Jeremy</i> (9)	44. Psalms, with 151
	45. Ezekiel	(12), with 14
	46. Daniel,	canticles, one is
	<i>additions</i> (10)	<i>Prayer of Ma-</i>
		<i>nasses</i> (13)
		45. Job
		46. Proverbs
		47. Ecclesiastes
		48. Song of Songs
		49. <i>Wisdom</i> (14)
		50. <i>Sirach</i> (15)

The Palestinian canon consists of the books found in the Hebrew Old Testament, 24 in number, according to the enumeration of the Jews. The list is given in the left-hand column of the above table. This is the Hebrew Old Testament of to-day, except that certain books have been divided into two or more books each, making a total of 39 books. The contents remain the same.

The Alexandrian, or LXX., canon is represented above by

two of the best MSS. which contain it. Codex Vaticanus, in the center of the table, contains the books of the Hebrew canon, with additions to three of them, and also seven other books. Codex Alexandrinus, to the right, has additions to the same three books and has twelve others. The names of the books added are printed in italics and numbered. It will be seen that MSS. of the LXX. do not agree as to the number of books added. In fact there is no uniformity in the matter. Certain books are always added; others are found in some MSS. and not in others.

Now it seems quite evident that these added books, mixed up as they are among the 24 books of the Hebrew Bible, were considered sacred by the Alexandrian Jews and others who copied and used the LXX. They must have been added because of that fact. Certain of these extra books constitute what is known as the Apocrypha; with these we shall deal more fully later.

It will also appear from the table that the order of the books differs greatly. Chronicles is the last book in the Hebrew, while Daniel is the last book in Codex Vaticanus. Another difference is that Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Neemiah and Chronicles each appear as one book in the Hebrew but are divided into two each in the LXX. Also the twelve (minor prophets) are one book in Hebrew but twelve books in the LXX.

4. THE BIBLE OF THE EARLY CHURCH, THE LXX.

The Bible of the early church was the LXX., with its apocryphal books. Hebrew in that day was known only to a very small class of students, headed by rabbis and scribes. Aramaic was the language of the common people of Palestine and Greek was the literary language. That Jesus was

able to read Hebrew is suggested by the fact that he read Isaiah in the Synagogue service (Luke 4:17). That the LXX. was used in the Synagogue has been maintained but has hardly been proved. In any case there is evidence that Jesus was sufficiently familiar with the Hebrew Old Testament to know its contents and the order of its books. In Matthew 23:35 and Luke 11:51 he uses language that was evidently meant to apply to the Old Testament as a whole, and that language makes reference to things from Genesis to Chronicles. Now Chronicles, as we have seen, was the last book of the Hebrew Old Testament, and Jesus, in this case, made reference to it. The fact that he did so indicates a certain familiarity with the Hebrew Old Testament, on his own part and also that of his hearers, because he would hardly speak in terms that his hearers could not understand.

Source of New Testament Quotations. However, the Bible used chiefly by Jesus and his apostles, and by other writers of the New Testament, was the LXX., the Greek translation. This fact would seem to be well established. The quotations from the Old Testament recorded in the New seem quite conclusive. Of 37 quotations credited to Jesus, 33 are almost identical with the Greek. This seems to indicate what Bible he used. It might be thought that Jesus made his quotations from the Hebrew, and that tradition assimilated them to the Greek before they were reduced to writing, but this is hardly probable.

There are 275 passages of the Old Testament quoted in the New. Of these 53 agree with both the Hebrew and the Greek. In 10 the Greek has been altered into agreement with the Hebrew. The LXX. has been followed in 37 passages where it differs from the Hebrew, and, strangely enough, in 76 passages in which the Hebrew and Greek agree the New Testament reading agrees with neither. In

99 passages where Hebrew and Greek disagree the quotations differ from both. These facts may be tabulated as follows:

NEW TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD ⁵

(Assuming the Hebrew to Be Correct)

Passages in which the LXX. version is correctly accepted	33
Passages in which the LXX. version is correctly altered	10
Passages in which the LXX. version is incorrectly accepted	37
Passages in which the LXX. version is incorrectly altered	76
Passages in which the LXX., the Hebrew and New Testament all differ	99

Many of these variations are doubtless due to the use of LXX. texts differing from ours. In any event it is clear that the writers of the New Testament were not worshipers of the letter of Scripture. In their quotations they are frequently content to give the essential sense, without any effort at the exact words.

Jews Ceased to Use Christians' Bible. In their controversies with the Jews, Christians quoted prophecies from the LXX., the fulfillment of which they found in Jesus. The Jews then began to deny the accuracy of the LXX. Because the early Christians had made the LXX. their Bible the Jews cast it off, though they had used it for several centuries. A new translation of the Hebrew into Greek, for Jewish use, was made by Aquila, a Jewish proselyte from Pontus. This occurred about 128 A.D. Aquila's translation became the official Bible for non-Christian Jews.

The Language of Jesus. Whatever use Jesus may have made of the Hebrew Old Testament, he did not teach in Hebrew. It has been maintained that he usually spoke in Greek, but this has not been proved. Most probably he was

⁵ Farrar, *Life of Christ*, p. 708. Also C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*.

able to speak Greek, but Aramaic was the language of the common people in his day, and it was in that language that he did his teaching. In a few instances the Gospels preserve the Aramaic words actually used:

The Language of Jesus

“And he took him aside from the multitude privately, . . . and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened” (Mark 7:33-4).

The word “Ephphatha” is a Greek transliteration of the Aramaic, the very word Jesus used. Mark quotes it, and then translates it.

“And taking the child by the hand, he saith unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, Arise” (Mark 5:41).

Here “Talitha cumi” is Aramaic.

“And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me”? (Matt. 27:46)

The words “Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani” are Aramaic.

“And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in the Hebrew language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me”? (Acts 26:14)

The word “Hebrew,” as used by Paul, evidently means Aramaic; the word is so used regularly in the New Testament. Josephus also uses it in this sense, which shows that such use was not uncommon. This story, doubtless, represents Jesus as speaking from heaven in the very language which he generally used while on earth. In fact this part of the story is intelligible on no other ground. Nor can the

force of the above quotations be broken by suggesting that they are simply the records of an occasional use of such words on the part of Jesus. That he used Aramaic daily there seems to be no good reason to doubt.

5. THE COMPLETED CANON

The final canon of the Old Testament, among the Jews, consisted of the 24 books known as the Palestinian canon; and while the Old Testament to-day contains 39 books, the contents are the same as the Jewish Bible.

A bit of curious information may be found in connection with the method of numbering the books of the Old Testament. The 24 books of the Jewish canon were obtained by counting Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles each as one book, and the twelve minor prophets as one book.

Certain people, however, made the number to be 22, and this number became very popular among the Christians. Josephus was the first to use this number. The 22 books may be secured by adding Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah, counting otherwise as for 24 books.

Origen was the first to point out the fact that the 22 books of the Old Testament corresponded to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet,⁶ and this coincidence is repeated by Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary of Poitiers, Epiphanius and Jerome. These fathers felt that the number of the books of the Old Testament had been providentially made to correspond to that of the Hebrew alphabet. The number could easily be held to 22, even where the Apocrypha was accepted, by placing under one title two or more books, as had been done with Ruth and Lamentations in order to secure 22 books.

⁶ Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 330-34.

Jerome, in fact, gives two enumerations of the books of the Old Testament, one of 22 books and the other of 27. He probably hesitated between them. He knew also of the enumeration of 24. In the Hebrew alphabet there are five letters used in a different form at the end of a word and known as final letters. By counting these the Hebrew alphabet may be said to contain 27 letters. Jerome made 27 books to correspond with this number by dividing Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles and Jeremiah-Lamentations, counting otherwise as for 22.

Others made 33 books of the Old Testament. This was done by counting the twelve minor prophets as twelve books, and otherwise as for 22. Certain people felt the need of exactly 33 books for the Old Testament since, when added to the 27 books of the New Testament, the total became 60. This number corresponded to the "threescore" queens mentioned in the Song of Songs (6:8), and added one more wonder to this favorite and greatly misunderstood book.

Order of Books in the Hebrew MSS. and Printed Bibles. The order of the books of the Old Testament as found in the printed Hebrew Bibles may be seen from the following tables.

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

*Five Early Printed Hebrew Bibles*⁷

- I. The Law
 1. Genesis
 2. Exodus
 3. Leviticus
 4. Numbers
 5. Deuteronomy
- II. The Megilloth
 6. Song of Songs
 7. Ruth
 8. Lamentations

Modern Hebrew Bible

- I. The Law
 1. Genesis
 2. Exodus
 3. Leviticus
 4. Numbers
 5. Deuteronomy
- II. The Prophets
 - a. Former
 6. Joshua
 7. Judges

⁷ Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 292-94.

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE (*Cont.*)*Five Early Printed Hebrew Bibles*

- 9. Ecclesiastes
- 10. Esther

III. The Prophets

a. Former

- 11. Joshua
- 12. Judges
- 13. Samuel (as one book)
- 14. Kings (as one book)

b. Latter

- 15. Isaiah
- 16. Jeremiah
- 17. Ezekiel
- 18. The Twelve (as one book)

IV. The Writings

- 19. Psalms
- 20. Proverbs
- 21. Job
- 22. Daniel
- 23. Ezra-Nehemiah
- 24. Chronicles (as one book)

Modern Hebrew Bible

- 8. 1 Samuel
- 9. 2 Samuel
- 10. 1 Kings
- 11. 2 Kings

b. Latter

- 12. Isaiah
- 13. Jeremiah
- 14. Ezekiel
- 15. Hosea
- 16. Joel
- 17. Amos
- 18. Obadiah
- 19. Jonah
- 20. Micah
- 21. Nahum
- 22. Habakkuk
- 23. Zephaniah
- 24. Haggai
- 25. Zechariah
- 26. Malachi

III. The Writings

- 27. Psalms
- 28. Proverbs
- 29. Job
- 30. Song of Songs
- 31. Ruth
- 32. Lamentations
- 33. Ecclesiastes
- 34. Esther
- 35. Daniel
- 36. Ezra
- 37. Nehemiah
- 38. 1 Chronicles
- 39. 2 Chronicles

Several MSS. place the books known as the Megilloth immediately after the Pentateuch. This order was followed in the first three editions of the Hebrew Bible, and in the second and third editions of Bomberg's Quarto Bible. The ancient Jewish enumeration of 24 books was used. But all modern Hebrew Bibles, as indicated above, make 39 books, and the books of the Megilloth are placed among the Writings.

The order of books within the Megilloth differs greatly in MSS. where it is placed immediately after the Pentateuch, as the table will indicate.

ORDER OF THE MEGILLOTH FOLLOWING THE PENTATEUCH^a

3. MSS.	3. MSS.	2 MSS.	1 MS.
Song of Songs	Esther	Ruth	Ruth
Ruth	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Song of Songs
Lamentations	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Lamentations
Ecclesiastes	Lamentations	Lamentations	Ecclesiastes
Esther	Ecclesiastes	Esther	Esther

Originally, as has been said, the books of the Hebrew Old Testament were written in the form of rolls, one roll to a book. The unwieldly size of the roll made it impossible to combine many books into one volume. In time, however, more than one book began to be written in a roll, and the Codex form began to supplant the roll for private study. Then arose the question of the order and sequence of the books.

While the Law, the Prophets and the Writings were kept rigidly separate, the order in the last two groups varied greatly. The reasons for the different arrangements of books in these two divisions of the Hebrew Bible can only be conjectured.

The subdivisions of the Pentateuch and their order of succession are always the same; they probably go back to its original formation.

The prophets frequently changed order. The arrangement of the four narrative books called "former prophets"—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings—follows the order of chronological sequence, and probably for that reason has never changed. The order of the "latter prophets" varied considerably, as the accompanying table indicates.

^a Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 292-94.

ORDER OF THE LATTER PROPHETS⁹

<i>Talmud and 3 MSS.</i>	2 MSS.	11 MSS.
Jeremiah	Jeremiah	Isaiah
Ezekiel	Isaiah	Jeremiah
Isaiah	Ezekiel	Ezekiel
The Twelve	The Twelve	The Twelve

That of the twelve minor prophets was probably intended as approximately chronological.

The Writings furnish the largest amount of variation in arrangement of any part of the Hebrew Old Testament. Perhaps this fact is accounted for in some measure by the variety of subject-matter and style in this section. The variations of the Writings may roughly be divided into three groups, the Talmudic, the Spanish and the German. The Talmudic arrangement is probably the oldest, beginning with Ruth and ending with Chronicles. The Spanish arrangement begins with Chronicles and ends with Ezra-Nehemiah. The commonest order is found in the German MSS., and this order was followed in the printed editions. This arrangement gives, first, the poetical books of Psalms, Proverbs and Job; second, the Megilloth consisting of the Song of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations and Esther; third, the other books, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

ORDER OF THE WRITINGS⁹

<i>Talmud and 6 MSS.</i>	2 MSS.	1 MS.	<i>Adath Deborah and 3 MSS.</i>	1 MS.	1 MS.	1 MS.
Ruth	Ruth	Ruth	Chron	Chron	Chron	Psa
Psa	Psa	Psa	Psa	Ruth	Psa	Job
Job	Job	Job	Job	Psa	Prov	Prov
Prov	Prov	Prov	Prov	Job	Job	Ruth
Eccl	Song	Song	Ruth	Prov	Dan	Song

⁹ Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 292-94. Books abbreviated by the author.

ORDER OF THE WRITINGS (*Cont.*)

<i>Talmud and 6</i>			<i>Adath Deborim and 3</i>			
MSS.	2 MSS.	1 MS.	MSS.	1 MS.	1 MS.	1 MS.
Song	Eccl	Eccl	Song	Song	Ruth	Eccl
Lam	Lam	Lam	Eccl	Eccl	Song	Lam
Dan	Esth	Dan	Lam	Lam	Lam	Esth
Esth	Dan	Esth	Esth	Esth	Eccl	Dan
Ez-Neh	Ez-Neh	Ez-Neh	Dan	Dan	Esth	Ez-Neh
Chron	Chron	Chron	Ez-Neh	Ez-Neh	Ez-Neh	Chron

The books of the Megilloth were used for reading in the Synagogue on certain sacred occasions. The Song of Songs was read at the Feast of the Passover; Ruth, at the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost; Lamentations, on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem; Ecclesiastes, at the Feast of Tabernacles; and Esther, at the Feast of Purim. The succession of these sacred days determined the order of the books in certain MSS., and in the printed Hebrew Bible.

The canonicity of the books of Ezekiel, Jonah, Song of Songs, Esther, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs was questioned by some; and the inspiration of several of these was doubted among the Jews long after the death of Christ. These doubts, however, were confined to a small minority of individuals: the great mass of the pious Jews fully accepted these books with the others.

In the LXX., as has been shown in the lists of the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., the tripartite division was ignored and the order of the books was markedly different from that of the Hebrew Bible.

6. HOW CERTAIN BOOKS BECAME KNOWN AS THE APOCRYPHA

Although Jerome accepted the Jewish canon of 24 books, additional books found in the LXX. soon found their way into the Latin Vulgate, where they remain to-day.

In a general sense many books are called apocryphal, but

strictly speaking a definite group is known as "the Apocrypha." The origin of this particular list, so designated, is indicated in the accompanying table.

HOW CERTAIN BOOKS BECAME KNOWN AS THE APOCRYPHA ¹⁰

<i>The Latin Vulgate</i>	<i>The Apocrypha</i>
1. Genesis	1. 1 Esdras (Catholic 3 Esdras)
2. Exodus	2. 2 Esdras (Catholic 4 Esdras)
3. Leviticus	3. Tobit
4. Numbers	4. Judith
5. Deuteronomy	5. The Additions to Esther
6. Josue (Joshua)	6. The Wisdom of Solomon
7. Judges	7. The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus
8. Ruth	8. Baruch
9. 1 Kings (1 Samuel)	Chap. VI the Epistle of Jeremy
10. 2 Kings (2 Samuel)	9. Song of the Three Children
11. 3 Kings (1 Kings)	10. The History of Susanna
12. 4 Kings (2 Kings)	11. The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon (9, 10, 11 are additions to Daniel)
13. 1 Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles)	12. The Prayer of Manasses
14. 2 Paralipomenon (2 Chronicles)	13. 1 Maccabees
15. 1 Esdras (Ezra)	14. 2 Maccabees
16. 2 Esdras (Nehemiah)	
17. <i>Tobias</i> (<i>Tobit</i>) (1)	
18. <i>Judith</i> (2)	
19. <i>Esther, with additions</i> (3)	
20. Job	
21. Psalms	
22. Proverbs	
23. Ecclesiastes	
24. Canticle of Canticles (Song of Songs)	
25. <i>Wisdom</i> (4)	
26. <i>Ecclesiasticus</i> (5)	
27. Isaias (Isaiah)	
28. Jeremias (Jeremiah)	
29. Lamentations	
30. <i>Baruch, with Epistle of Jeremy</i> (6)	
31. Ezechiel (Ezekiel)	
32. Daniel, <i>with additions: The Three Children</i> (7)	
<i>Susanna</i> (8)	
<i>Bel and the Dragon</i> (9)	
33-44. The Twelve (usual order)	
45. 1 <i>Machabees</i> (<i>Maccabees</i>) (10)	
46. 2 <i>Machabees</i> (<i>Maccabees</i>) (11)	

¹⁰ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 110-123.

HOW CERTAIN BOOKS BECAME KNOWN AS THE APOCRYPHA (*Cont.*)*The Latin Vulgate**Following the New Testament*

1. *The Prayer of Manasses* (12)
2. 3 *Esdras* (*Protestant*
1 *Esdras*) (13)
3. 4 *Esdras* (*Protestant*
2 *Esdras*) (14)

The Apocrypha consists, as it will appear, of the books in the Latin Vulgate in excess of those in the Hebrew Old Testament. In the left-hand column of the table will be found a list of the contents of the Latin Vulgate, with the books, and additions to others, not found in Hebrew, printed in italics and numbered. These are arranged in the right-hand column under the title of "Apocrypha," and in the order usually found. The names and manner of spelling given in the Vulgate column are taken from the Gibbons edition of the Roman Catholic Bible in English.

The word "apocrypha" originally meant "hidden," and was applied to certain religious books which were supposed to be kept from the public. Why they were kept from the public we are not sure. It may have been because they contained matters supposed to be too deep or difficult for ordinary people, or they may have been kept "hidden" because they contained secret teachings. The term was frequently applied to apocalypses. Jerome was the first to use the word with the meaning commonly given it to-day.

The most common use of the term "Apocrypha" is distinctly Protestant. Roman Catholics apply the term to an entirely different group of books. They consider all books of the Protestant Apocrypha to be canonical and inspired equally with other books of the Bible, except first and second Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses. These three form an appendix to the Roman Catholic Bible, and are called apocryphal. In addition to these, Roman Catholics

apply the word Apocrypha to a lengthy list of religious books which circulated along with the Old Testament, certain of which were found now and then in copies of the LXX. To this list of books considered apocryphal by Catholics, Protestants apply the term Pseudepigrapha. These will be discussed later.

Character of the Books of the Apocrypha. First Esdras was written somewhere between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. Except for one independent section it is made up of matter from Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles.

Second Esdras originally bore the title of the "Revelation of Ezra." It is now quite commonly known as the "Fourth Book of Ezra." Its original text was probably Greek, from which it was translated into Latin and other languages. Our common English version was made from late Latin MSS. which omit a long passage after chapter 7:35, on the "intermediate state" and the "intercession of departed souls." This omission arose from the accidental loss of a leaf in a ninth-century MS., the text of which has now been recovered, and is translated in the revised Apocrypha. The book consists of angelic revelations and a series of visions having to do with mysteries of the moral world, and the final triumph of the righteous. This is the only book of the Apocrypha not found in the LXX.

Tobit, a romance of the captivity, claims to have been written in the seventh century B.C.; but, outside of Roman Catholic circles, this claim is not accepted. It was probably written in the second century B.C. Luther was the first to question its historicity; and it is now known to contain many historical errors. It was used extensively in the early church.

Judith was written probably 79-70 B.C., and is a work of considerable skill. Much that it contains is historically impossible, but it is a gripping romance, telling how a beauti-

ful widow saved her people by her shrewdness. It is historical fiction intended to revive a spirit of heroism among the Jews.

The additions to Esther consist of several letters, prayers, and visions, inserted at intervals to explain and amplify the story, but in fact contradicting the original story at some points. The original book does not contain the name of God. These additions, made partly to give a more distinctly religious tone to the story, make God the inspiration and source of the events recorded.

The Wisdom of Solomon has exercised very considerable influence. Verbal echoes from it are found in Luke, Romans, Hebrews, 1 Peter and James. Paul's doctrine of predestination finds its most probable source here. In the earliest list of the New Testament canon known this book has a place. Wisdom was written between 150 B.C. and 40 A.D. It contains several interesting features. The author maintains a doctrine of retribution for sin, and seeks to show that the form of retribution corresponds to the sin committed. He makes much of the love of God, and considers that he loves all his creatures, even the wicked. These were both new departures of thought at that time. The book teaches the preëxistence of souls and that immortality is the reward of wisdom. It knows no doctrine of a resurrection.

In many ways Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, is the most important book of the Apocrypha. It has great value to students of the history between the Old and New Testaments; and extensive practical use has been made of it in both ancient and modern times. Reminiscences of it are found in Matthew, Luke, John, Romans, Galatians, 2 Corinthians and 1 Timothy. Augustine, an early Christian father, in preparing a large selection of Scriptures most suitable for guidance in religious life, used this book more than any

other. Lutherans have used it extensively. It is full of instruction for daily living, and has furnished the inspiration for numerous sermons and hymns. Hope of a future life is unknown in it. A good name and grateful remembrance by posterity are the rewards for the righteous. Its chief value is found in the fact that it is a monument to primitive Sadduceism. It was probably written 190-170 B.C.

Baruch is a composite work, some parts written perhaps as early as 250 B.C. and others as late as 118 A.D. Like Sirach it dwells upon the temporal promises of God, and contains no trace of the hope of immortality. Attached to it is an entirely independent epistle attributed to Jeremiah, which contains a warning against idolatry. Baruch has no particular value.

The Song of the Three Children contains a supposed prayer of Azarias for deliverance from the fiery furnace, together with the story of how the three were saved, supplementing the third chapter of Daniel. The hymn of thanksgiving, sung by the three in the fire, has been used in Christian worship since the fourth century A.D. The story bears the marks of an age when any miraculous event was considered possible.

The History of Susanna is a narrative prefixed to the Book of Daniel in the LXX. There are versions in Syriac and other languages differing widely from our English version. It is rather difficult to account for and has no value.

Bel and the Dragon contains the history of the destruction of two objects of Babylonian worship, and an account of Daniel's deliverance from the lion's den. It is legendary and mythological and of no worth.

The Prayer of Manasses is a deeply penitential prayer of one supposed to be in prison. It attracted little notice until Luther's use of it gave it considerable importance.

There are four books bearing the title of Maccabees, but

only the first and second properly belong to the Apocrypha. First Maccabees is our main source of the history of the times from 175 to 135 B.C., a period of forty years. It was written between 105 and 64 B.C. and is generally regarded as trustworthy and valuable. The name God is nowhere found in it.

Second Maccabees, written before 70 A.D., covers a period of only fifteen years, from 176 to 161 B.C., beginning one year earlier than first Maccabees. It is not considered so trustworthy as first Maccabees.

Now it is impossible to read the New Testament in an unprejudiced way without gaining the distinct impression that in the minds of its writers a very definite and fixed canon of Scripture existed upon which they relied as authoritative. "The holy Scriptures," "the oracles of God," and such like expressions, admit of no other interpretation. And that canon of the Old Testament was what is known as the Palestinian canon, having the same books as our Old Testament.

Beyond all doubt the Apocrypha, being contained in the LXX., was a part of the Bible which Jesus and his apostles chiefly used. It has been suggested that the MSS. they used did not contain the Apocrypha, but there is no evidence to support the suggestion. On the other hand the familiarity of the writers of the New Testament with the books of the Apocrypha is proved conclusively by the numerous parallelisms of thought between these books and the New Testament.¹¹

But there is no proof that Jesus or any writer of the New Testament regarded any of these books as inspired. Their knowledge and use of them prove nothing of the kind.

¹¹ For extra-canonical writings that influenced the New Testament, see James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 25-35.

Familiarity with contemporary literature, and even its use, does not elevate it to the level of Scripture. Paul quoted heathen poets, but not because he considered them inspired.

Influence of the Apocrypha. The Apocrypha has exercised very considerable influence in the history of Christianity, and is therefore of corresponding historical interest.

It cannot be denied that the early church, at least after the second century, came to regard the books of the Apocrypha as Scripture, and used them extensively as such. They are quoted freely by the early fathers as "Scripture," "sacred Scripture," "holy Scripture," and "divine Scripture." Westcott, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, gives a table of citations from the Apocrypha by fifteen Greek fathers—Clement of Rome to Chrysostom—and eight Latin fathers—Tertullian to Augustine.

What may have been the position of these books during the second century and earlier is not so easily determined, yet it may be done with reasonable probability. That they were regarded as sacred within this century by some Christians is evidenced by the fact that they found a place in the Old Latin version, and that they were quoted during the century as Scripture at least by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. The source of the addition of apocryphal books to the LXX. has a bearing in the matter.

The suggestion sometimes made that these books were added to the LXX. by Christians is unsupported by evidence, and the probabilities are against it. Rabbinical writings contain many citations from Sirach.¹² One writer enumerates forty such. They are often made in the manner usual only of Scripture. Sirach is quoted twice at least as Scripture in the Talmud.¹³ If one book of the Apocrypha was received as Scripture by non-Christian Jews, other

¹² Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 118.

¹³ Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 195.

books may have been so regarded. There is nothing unreasonable in this if these books were added to the LXX. by the Jews, but if they were added by Christians not even one of them could have been accepted as Scripture by the Jews. The position of these books in the LXX., interspersed as they are with those considered sacred, would most certainly suggest that they were considered of equal rank by those who added them. The fact that all our MSS. of the LXX. are of Christian origin does not prove them Christian additions.

They (MSS. of the LXX.) undoubtedly represent the O[ld] T[estament] which was current among the Gr[reek] Jews and used in the Gr[reek] Synagogues in the apostolic and post-apostolic age. The additions to the Heb[rew] Canon are not only of Jewish origin, but are, as a whole, books which would interest Gr[reek] Jews, but would not specially interest Christians, since the prophetic element in them is conspicuously small. The addition of these books by Christians would be inexplicable.¹⁴

While the early fathers accepted 22¹⁵ or 24 books as constituting the canon of the Old Testament, thus apparently adopting the Hebrew or Palestinian canon, this fact alone is by no means such a guarantee. Origen, for example, in his Commentary on Psalms, gives a list of the 22 books of the Hebrew canon, but under Jeremiah he includes "the Epistle" which means either the Epistle of Jeremiah or Baruch. Elsewhere he makes it clear that he does not regard the Hebrew canon as of final validity for Christians. "His view is that the present is not the original Hebrew canon, since Jewish rulers and elders hid from the people passages that might bring them into discredit. On this ground Susanna is defended."¹⁶ Origen made free use of the apocryphal books as Scripture. Both Cyril of Jeru-

¹⁴ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 117.

¹⁵ Many early fathers, for symbolical reasons, felt the necessity of counting the books of the Old Testament as 22. See pp. 90-1.

¹⁶ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 120.

saalem and Epiphanius added apocryphal books under titles other than their own. Such was a common practice. Therefore, the list of Melito, bishop of Sardis (150-170), the oldest Christian canon of the Old Testament known, sometimes relied on as evidence that the early church held the strict Palestinian canon, is not convincing. His list shows the influence of the LXX. in the order of its books, and it cannot be certainly inferred that no apocryphal additions were included. So with other lists.¹⁷ The Apocrypha circulated in all the early versions, and as a part of them. It was originally omitted from the Syriac, but was soon added. Jerome held that these books were not inspired, yet they soon became a part of the Latin Vulgate. The early fathers, except Origen and Jerome, knew no Hebrew and therefore knew little of the Hebrew canon.

The Apocrypha was pronounced canonical by the Council of Hippo in 393 A.D., and by the Council of Carthage in 397 A.D. These books were declared to be canonical and equally inspired with other books of the Bible by the Roman Catholic church in the Council of Trent in 1546 A.D. Thus they are a vital part of the Roman Catholic Bible to-day. They were also declared to be canonical by the Orthodox Greek Catholic church in the Synods of Constantinople 1638, Jaffa 1642, and Jerusalem 1672. Thus they are a part of the Greek Catholic Bible, though this church inconsistently pronounces them canonical and then declines to use them as such. The Apocrypha, with a varying list of books, is part of the Bible of the Syrian, Egyptian, Abyss-

¹⁷ The canon of Josephus consisted of five books of the Law, thirteen of the prophets, and four of poems and maxims. But he does not name them, and they have never been determined conclusively. Besides "Josephus uses 1 Mac[cabees], 1 Es[dras] and Ad[ditions to] Est[her], without distinction from can[onical] books as historical sources, and even says that he has written his whole history 'as the sacred books record it.'" See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 118.

sinian and Armenian churches to-day. It is also a part of the Bible of the English and American Episcopal churches, and is read regularly in their services, though not regarded as inspired. These books are found in the latest revision of Luther's Bible (1892), though they are not considered canonical.

It was not until the time of the Reformation that the Apocrypha was seriously questioned, and then rejected as Scripture. Previous to that time only certain individuals, here and there, had opposed its use. The first Protestant effort to fix the rank of the Apocrypha was made in 1520 by Carlstadt, who assigned it an inferior place.

Certain sayings common among us came from these books. "My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thyself for temptation," is from Sirach, (2:1) and was made famous by its use in "The Imitation of Christ." "A Daniel come to judgment," spoken by Shylock in the Merchant of Venice, comes from the story of Susanna, an addition to Daniel. "He that touches pitch shall be defiled" is from Sirach, (13:1); and "Truth is mighty and will prevail" comes from first Esdras, (4:41).

Certain of our hymns came from the same source, among which are "Jesus, the very thought of thee," and "Now thank we all our God." "Benedicite," in all our great hymnals, is the Song of the Three Holy Children, an addition to Daniel. "See the conquering hero comes," Handel's great composition, is associated with the hero days of the Maccabees.

Ecclesiasticus is the Latin name of the book generally known as the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, often shortened to Sirach. In German it is called the book of "Jesus Sirach." The protocols of the Meistersinger of Nürnberg mentions about one hundred hymns beginning "Jesus

Sirach," or "Sirach" (the wise man).¹⁸ This indicates something of the tremendous influence of the book. Within recent years fragments of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew have been found.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON

The New Testament is far more important than the Old; it records the life and teachings of Jesus, and brings us the supreme revelation of God's will for which the previous age with its Old Testament had only made preparation. How the various books of the New Testament were finally recognized as Scripture, collected into one volume, and made a companion to the Old, is a matter of profound interest.

I. LEGENDARY STORY OF ITS ORIGIN

There is a type of religious mind that seems to abound in its wealth of faith. Or is it superstition? One Pappus, perhaps such a character, tells how the canon of the New Testament was settled miraculously. He says that at the Council of Nice, having "promiscuously put all the books that were referred to the council for determination under the communion table, they besought the Lord that the inspired writings might get upon the table, while the spurious ones remained underneath, and it happened accordingly."¹⁹

This story—like the stories of the miraculous translation of the LXX., the miraculous rewriting of the Old Testament by Ezra, and the determination of the Old Testament canon—of course is pious fiction. The church, however, believed and handed on these stories for centuries.

¹⁸ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV, p. 539.

¹⁹ *Apocryphal New Testament*, 2nd ed. pub. by Henry Altemus, p. xii.

2. A GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT

The formation of the New Testament canon, like that of the Old, was a gradual process, covering a period of many years. No ancient council had anything to do with it, unless it was to register public opinion. The New Testament, like the Old, consists of those books, selected from a larger group, which were preferred by the deeper instincts of the righteous, who finally chose such books as best nourished their spiritual lives.

Does it seem to lessen the authority of the Bible to learn that the books composing it are the selections of pious, but fallible men? If there is behind the Bible no inspired and authoritative declaration that settles its inspiration and canonicity, what is the source of Biblical authority? Or, is there any such thing as Biblical authority?

To raise such questions—and many do raise them—is to betray the feeling that an external and therefore artificial authority is needed. But the good Lord has nowhere provided such. Authority of this character, to give value to the Bible, does not exist. And is it not man's spiritual poverty and consequent indisposition to trust spiritual assurance that leads him to demand an external guarantee? Rome offers an externally guaranteed religion; Protestantism makes no such offer. If such authority should be claimed it could be done only by those who unwarrantably assumed it.

If the Bible has any authority whatever it is an inherent authority. That it does have a message full of power has been demonstrated throughout its history. It finds the spirit of man, convicts of sin, leads to repentance and reformation, comforts in sorrow and guides in holiness, as no other volume has ever done. No theories of inspiration formulated by men, and no claims to inspiration recorded in the Bible itself, would be of the slightest worth if the Bible did

not produce the fruit it does. Otherwise it would be on a par with the Koran. Its inherent power to produce the fruit it does is its highest credential. He who will not accept it as somehow more than a human production on that ground must reject it, or suffer himself to be deceived. Knowing the fruit it produces, we can well believe what the Bible says about inspiration.

Since God has not himself authoritatively determined the Biblical canon, and since he has authorized no individual, council or other body to determine such, it would seem to be a wise provision for the church officially to register its best judgment in the matter. Such judgment is valuable and worthy of the profoundest respect, but it would hardly seem that any church should assume the authority to bind the individual conscience in the matter. Luther did not hesitate to put Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation at the end of his New Testament, leaving them unnumbered, and to express his doubt of their inspiration and canonicity. Numerous worthy individuals, at various times, have questioned the inspiration of certain books in both Testaments. In fact, several different canons of the Bible are in use among the different Christian peoples to-day, because there is considerable disagreement in the Christian world as to just what books constitute the Bible. However, with all the differences that exist, the great doctrines of Christianity and morality are in no wise endangered. Each different Christian Bible in use contains all that is essential.

The Lutheran church is not committed to any canon, nor do the 39 articles of the church of England commit it to one. The Reformed churches, however, have adopted a specific canon, to which the Westminster Confession of Faith is committed.

The Early Canon of the New Testament. As has already

been said, the Greek Old Testament was the sole Bible of the early church. At first no need was felt for other Scriptures. The apostles felt no immediate need for a written life of Jesus. It was more than forty years after his death that the first Gospel was written. His followers confidently expected Jesus to return in person, in a very short time, and inaugurate a new age; they therefore felt no need for provision for any distant future.

In the most natural way, as time passed, the early church finally developed a religious literature of its own. This was the first step in the formation of the New Testament canon. Paul wrote his letters first, exactly as we write to our friends. Luke wrote his Gospel and the Acts for the benefit of his friend Theophilus, perhaps with others also in mind. Other Gospels and Epistles were written, in each case to meet some need or emergency that arose.

Along with the books of the New Testament, however, were written and circulated numerous other books, such as the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles of Clement, the Epistle of Polycarp, the seven Epistles of Ignatius, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Apocalypse of Peter.

Originally, in popular estimation, nothing separated these from the other books. Nor was there anything strange in this. Writings are rarely assigned the place they deserve in the age that produces them. Contemporaries are slow to recognize genius, and doubtless equally slow in recognizing inspiration. It was the years of superior fruit-bearing, in comparison with other books, that finally enabled the church to assign to the New Testament books the place which they deserved.

At the end of the first century the church had only the Greek Old Testament as its Bible, but by that time it had also developed an extensive religious literature of its own. This literature was highly prized for private reading, but

no writer among those who produced it had thought that his book would ever be regarded as Scripture.

The first step in raising these books to the level of Scripture, and the second step in the formation of the canon, was the reading of them in the church services along with the Old Testament. The first question raised, therefore, concerning these books was not whether they were inspired, and therefore Scripture, but whether they could be read profitably in the churches. The Gospels were so read first, and the other books later.²⁰

Before the books of the New Testament were all put together into one volume they circulated individually and in groups. Usually they were arranged in four groups: the Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Paul's Epistles (Hebrews was reckoned as Paul's), and Revelation. The Acts sometimes circulated alone, and sometimes with the Gospels.

In time the books read in the church services revealed their superior power and consequent religious value, and naturally came to be regarded as Scripture. This development may be said to be the third step in the formation of the New Testament canon. And by about 200 A.D. there had developed a clear conception of a collection of books forming a New Testament, a fit companion for the Old.²¹ But this collection contained several books which were afterwards rejected. They were the Shepherd of Hermas, the first Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Wisdom of Solomon. Perhaps the earliest reference to any part of the New Testament

²⁰ Paul's letters were read to churches first, of course, but not along with the Old Testament and as part of the regular religious service.

²¹ Tertullian was the first to divide the Scriptures into Old Testament and New Testament. See B. W. Bacon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 33, note 3.

as Scripture is found in the Epistle of Barnabas, written about 130 A.D. The passage so referred to is Matthew 22:14.

The Syriac version of the New Testament, made certainly before 200 A.D., possibly soon after the middle of the second century, contained nineteen books of our New Testament, all except James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. In the fourth century the church at Edessa had in its New Testament the "Apocryphal Correspondence of Paul and the Corinthians."

The oldest list of the New Testament canon extant, the Muratorian fragment, written possibly by 170 A.D., includes only twenty-two books of our present New Testament. The books omitted are James, 1 and 2 Peter, Hebrews and an Epistle of John, probably the third. But it includes the Wisdom of Solomon and the Apocalypse of Peter.

The Old Latin Version, made certainly before 200 A.D., possibly by 175 A.D., contained most probably only twenty-two books, all our New Testament except Hebrews, 2 Peter, James, 2 and 3 John.

At the close of the second century the New Testament contained only twenty undisputed books; they were the four Gospels, Acts, 13 Epistles of Paul, 1 Peter and 1 John.

Seven books, Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation were long denied admission to the canon. They were finally admitted, but on less evidence than supported the other books, evidence, however, that proved satisfactory.

3. THE COMPLETED CANON

Canon Settled in the Fourth Century. The formation of the New Testament canon was retarded doubtless, by the limitations of the means of intercommunication in that day. On the other hand the work was assisted and hastened by

the persecutions of the Christians. Such an edict as that of Diocletian, in 303 A.D., ordering all sacred books of the Christians to be burned, no doubt helped to determine which were sacred. In like manner controversies with heretics probably hastened a decision as to which books were authoritative. It was not until the fourth century that the books of the New Testament were all put into one volume, and the canon completed. Up to this time there had been a process of elimination and addition, but in the fourth century the matter was settled.

CANON SETTLED IN THE FOURTH CENTURY
(Christian Fathers Who Give Lists)

<i>Names of Writers</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Opinions</i>
Origen, presbyter of Alexandria	250	<p>Seems to make three classes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Authentic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four Gospels Acts 14 Epistles of Paul (Hebrews so considered) 1 Peter 1 John Revelation Probably also: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shepherd of Hermas Epistle of Barnabas First Epistle of Clement 2. Intermediate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> James Jude 2 Peter 2 John 3 John 3. Not Authentic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various apocryphal books
Eusebius, commissioned by Constantine to make a collection of books for the church	325	<p>Made three classes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acknowledged <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four Gospels Acts 14 Epistles of Paul (Hebrews so considered) 1 Peter 1 John

CANON SETTLED IN THE FOURTH CENTURY (*Cont.*)

<i>Names of Writers</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Opinions</i>
		Revelation
		He makes canonical Hebrews and Revelation, then speaks doubtfully of both
		2. Disputed
		James
		Jude
		2 Peter
		2 John
		3 John
		3. Spurious
		The New Testament apocrypha
Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem	340	Revelation omitted
Council of Laodicea	363	Revelation omitted
Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria	367	Ours exactly, the first time
Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus	370	Ours
Philastrius, Bishop of Brixia in Venice	d. 387	Hebrews and Revelation omitted
Gregory Nazianzen, Bishop of Constantinople	d. 389	Revelation omitted
Third Council Carthage	397	Ours
Rufin, presbyter of Aqueligium	d. 410	Ours
Jerome, translator Latin Vulgate	d. 420	Ours
Augustine, Bishop of Hippo-Regius	d. 430	Ours
Synodically determined by Catholic church of the East and West	691	Ours

The above table gives a list of some of the leading authorities of the fourth century whose information indicates when the canon was completed. As will be seen, Athanasius, in 367, gives the first list corresponding exactly with our own. It is not implied that no questions were raised later concerning the inspiration of certain books because there were. But during the fourth century the great body of the church, scattered widely as it was, came to accept twenty-seven books as composing the New Testament canon. That canon, although questioned occasionally by

individuals as to certain books, has been accepted since by the Christian church almost everywhere. The exceptions are the Syrian church, which accepts only twenty-two books, and the Abyssinian church, which adds a book (counted as eight books) of canon law.

As long as the New Testament circulated in the form of rolls it was impossible to put them all into one volume. Eusebius of Cæsarea was directed by Constantine to provide fifty copies of the Scriptures for the churches of Constantinople. This may have been the first collection of the books into one volume, which the writing on vellum in book form made possible.

Order of the Books in the New Testament MSS. Christian men have often thought that there was something sacred in the order of the books of the New Testament, especially in the position of the Apocalypse, or Revelation, as the last book of the Bible. The position of this book, however, is a mere accident. It was not the last book written, nor did inspiration have anything to do with the position it finally came to occupy.

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT ²²

<i>Decretum Gelasii</i>	<i>Oldest Armenian MS</i>	<i>Catalogus Claromon- tanus</i>	<i>Catalogus Mommsemi- anus</i>	<i>Fleury Palimpsest</i>
Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels
Acts	Acts	Paul's Ep.	Paul's Ep.	Paul's Ep.
Paul's Ep.	Catholic Ep.	Catholic Ep.	Acts	Acts
Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse
Catholic Ep.	Paul's Ep.	Acts	Catholic Ep.	Catholic Ep.

The books of the New Testament, as has been said, circulated first as individual rolls; later they were gathered into groups, as indicated in the table. These groups were arranged in various orders in the completed volume. The

²² James Moffat, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 13-21.

five arrangements given above, differing among themselves otherwise, all place the Apocalypse next to the last. Still other arrangements place Revelation elsewhere than at the end. It would seem that the original order of Codex Bezae was the Gospels, the Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles and Acts.

The Apocalypse was placed last oftener than otherwise, perhaps, because it was in a class entirely by itself, and looked to the future. It is found last in our Bibles only because we followed the Latin Vulgate in the order of the books.

One passage in the book of Revelation is frequently misapplied:

I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto them, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book (Rev. 22:18-19).

This saying applied to the book of Revelation only, and it was probably an addition made by somebody after the original was completed. At least, Dr. James Moffatt so regards it.²³

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

<i>Codex Alexandrinus</i>	<i>Codex Sinaiticus</i>	<i>Council of Carthage</i>	<i>Council of Laodicea</i>	<i>Augustine</i>
Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels
Acts	Paul's Ep.	Acts	Acts	Paul's Ep.
Catholic Ep.	Acts	Paul's Ep.	Catholic Ep.	Catholic Ep.
Paul's Ep.	Catholic Ep.	Catholic Ep.	Paul's Ep.	Acts
Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse

From the above it will appear that the books of the New Testament were arranged in almost every conceivable order. The lists of Jerome and Epiphanius follow that of Codex Sinaiticus. The lists of Rufin and Philastrius follow

²³ James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 496-7. For order of books see pp. 13-21.

that given by the Council of Carthage. Cyril of Jerusalem gives a list of the New Testament books which corresponds exactly with that of the Council of Laodicea. Both omit the Apocalypse.

The arrangement of the books inside these sections is a matter of considerable interest. The Gospels were variously arranged, as the accompanying table indicates. Column A

ORDER OF THE GOSPELS ²⁴

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Jn	Jn
Mk	Lk	Mk	Jn	Jn	Mt	Mt
Lk	Mk	Jn	Lk	Mk	Lk	Mk
Jn	Jn	Lk	Mk	Lk	Mk	Lk

indicates the order found in the Vatican, Sinaitic and Alexandrian MSS. It is also the order of Irenæus, Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius and Augustine. The Muratorian canon, the oldest list known, gives this order. B gives the list of Ambrosiaster; C is the order of Catalogus Mommsonianus; D gives the arrangement of Codex Bezae. Many Old Latin MSS. have this order. E is the order of Claromontanus; Chrysostom follows the arrangement in F. The Bohairic and Sahidic versions give the order found in column G.

Paul's Epistles were arranged as follows:

ORDER OF PAUL'S EPISTLES ²⁴

A	B	C	D
Cor	Rom	Rom	Rom
Eph	Cor	Cor	Cor
Phil	Gal	Gal	Eph
Col	Eph	Eph	Thess
Gal	Phil	—	Gal
Thess	Col	—	Phil
Rom	Thess	Tim	Col
Phlm	Tim	Tit	Tim
Tit	Tit	Col	Tit
Tim	Phlm	Phlm	Phlm

²⁴ James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 13-21.

The Muratorian canon has the order found in column A. The order of B is given by Jerome, Athanasius, the Council of Laodicea, and many others. C is the arrangement found in Claromontanus; D is that of the Decretum Gelasii. Hebrews is given various positions in the Pauline group. Athanasius and the Council of Laodicea, as also the Alexandrian and Sinaitic MSS., insert it between Thessalonians and Timothy.

The Catholic Epistles were arranged variously, as the following table will indicate:

ORDER OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES ²⁵					
A	B	C	D	E	F
Jas	1 Pt	1 Pt	1 Pt	1 Pt	1 Jn
1 Pt	2 Pt	2 Pt	2 Pt	2 Pt	2 Jn
2 Pt	1 Jn	Jas	1 Jn	Jas	3 Jn
1 Jn	2 Jn	1 Jn	2 Jn	Jude	1 Pt
2 Jn	3 Jn	2 Jn	3 Jn	1 Jn	2 Pt
3 Jn	Jas	3 Jn	Jude	2 Jn	Jude
Jude	Jude	Jude	Jas	3 Jn	Jas

Column A gives the arrangement of the Catholic Epistles found in the Vatican, Sinaitic and Alexandrian MSS. It is also the order given by the Council of Laodicea, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen and others. The Council of Carthage followed the order of B. C is the arrangement of Claromontanus and the Decretum Galasii. Augustine and Philastrius follow the order indicated in D; Rufin uses the order of E. Innocent I uses an order found in F.

The above tables and discussion are by no means exhaustive, but only illustrative. All these various orders of books were such as happened to be made by those who put the books into groups, and finally into one volume. In many cases no particular reason can be given for the arrangement.

²⁵ Ibid.

Books Denied a Place in the New Testament. A certain group of books written by the successors of the apostles, and another group professing to be written by apostles, or to contain authoritative records of their teachings, occupied a place of more or less importance in the early church. They were used freely by Christians and often read in the church services, hence it is not to be wondered at that some of them found a place in lists of the New Testament canon, in the ancient versions, and even in MSS. of the New Testament. The more important ones were the following:

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. First Epistle of Clement | 11. Thomas's Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus |
| 2. Epistle of Barnabas | 12. Epistles of Jesus Christ and Abgarus, King of Edessa |
| 3. Shepherd of Hermas | 13. Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus |
| 4. Seven Epistles of Ignatius | 14. Gospel of Nicodemus |
| 5. Epistle of Polycarp | 15. Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans |
| 6. Apocalypse of Peter | 16. Paul and Seneca |
| 7. Gospel of Peter | 17. Acts of Paul and Thecla |
| 8. Second Epistle of Clement | |
| 9. Gospel of the Birth of Mary | |
| 10. The Protoevangelion | |

The Character of the New Testament Apocrypha. The first Epistle of Clement was unquestionably written by Bishop Clement of Rome, perhaps, about 95 A. D., and is therefore one of our oldest Christian books outside the New Testament. It was highly esteemed by early Christians, and was read in the church at Corinth and elsewhere. It is found as a part of the New Testament in Codex Alexandrinus and also in a Syrian MS.

The Epistle of Barnabas is held by some scholars to be a genuine Epistle of the companion of Paul, and on that supposition it is dated early. Lightfoot dated it 70 A.D. However, it would seem that the consensus of opinion among the best scholarship regards it as the work of another, and places its origin about 130 A.D. It first gained credit in Alexandria, where it came to be regarded as

canonical. It is found in Codex Sinaiticus, and in the Sinaitic Syriac, also in an eleventh century MS. Clement of Alexandria comments on it as Scripture, and ascribes it to "the apostle" and "the prophet." Origen cites it in the same manner as Scripture, and the famous Codex Claromontanus includes it in its canon.

The Shepherd of Hermas was written by a brother of Bishop Pius of Rome, probably somewhere between 140 and 155 A.D. Irenæus quotes it as Scripture, as does Clement of Alexandria; and it is found in Codex Sinaiticus as a part of the New Testament. Codex Claromontanus also includes it.

The three books mentioned above were in an early day, supposed to have been written by men honored by direct apostolic testimony (Phil. 4:3, Acts 12:25, Rom. 16:14); hence it is quite natural that they should have been influential.

The seven Epistles of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, are said to have been collected by Polycarp from the numerous writings of Ignatius. Their genuineness is generally conceded. Ignatius seems to have suffered martyrdom between 110 and 115 A.D.

Polycarp, a disciple of John and Bishop of Smyrna, died a martyr, in 155 A.D. His Epistle was extensively used. Its genuineness is undoubted.

Among books claiming apostolic authority, two of the more influential may be mentioned. They are the Apocalypse of Peter and the Gospel of Peter. The Preaching of Peter, not included in the list above, also exercised considerable influence.

The Apocalypse of Peter enjoyed high reputation and was extensively used. It is contained in the Muratorian canon, and in the famous list of Codex Claromontanus. Clement of Alexandria wrote short notes upon it, the Catholic

Epistles and the Epistle of Barnabas. He evidently regarded both apocryphal books as inspired.

It is a Christian apocalypse, and its ruling theme is that of the varying fortunes of souls after death. It is the oldest Jewish-Christian writing with this theme. Through its influence this theme became the ruling subject of apocalyptic speculation of early and medieval Christianity.²⁶ Here we have, for the first time, a detailed description of the appearance of the redeemed in heaven, and the various and appropriate punishments of the wicked in hell. A fragment of about half this book was discovered in Egypt in 1886. It may be read in the Ante-Nicene Fathers.²⁷ It was probably written about 150 A.D. and the author is unknown.

The Gospel of Peter was known only by a few references to it until 1886-87, when a lengthy fragment was found in Egypt, which was published in 1892. It deals with the Passion and resurrection, and was probably written about 150 A.D. This Gospel was used as canonical by the church at Rhossus in Cilicia. The author is unknown.

The so-called second Epistle of Clement, generally considered spurious, was probably written about 140 A.D. It is found in Codex Alexandrinus and in a Syriac MS. It is not an epistle but a Christian sermon, and the oldest known outside the New Testament.

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary is of later date than the Protevangelion, but covers much the same ground and unduly exalts Mary the mother of Jesus.

The Protevangelion was ascribed in early centuries to James, the Lord's brother, and seems to have been used as canonical in some regions. In the East it was highly prized as a book of devotion, and furnished material for homilies.

²⁶ *Messages of the Bible*, Vol. VIII, *Apocalyptic Writers*, edited by F. C. Porter and C. F. Kent, pp. 55, 353-56.

²⁷ Vol. IX.

It unduly exalts Mary the mother of Jesus, and the movement which ended in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception probably began with it. (This dogma, which teaches that Mary was born without contamination with sin, was authoritatively proclaimed by Pope Pius IX in December 1854.) The Protevangelion proved very influential and was translated into Syriac, Coptic and Arabic. Its author is unknown.

The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus was received by the Gnostics a Christian sect of the second century, and later was used by the Nestorians. Thomas' Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus was also received by the Gnostics.

The Epistles of Jesus Christ and Abgarus King of Edessa are interesting documents, containing nothing that might not have been true. Eusebius, an early Christian father, claims to have seen these Epistles in public registers in Edessa in his day. There is no reason to doubt that he saw such Epistles, but they are not accepted as genuine.

The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans has been used extensively by Quakers; and is found in the New Testaments of Wyclif and Purvey; but that it is spurious there can be no doubt. Paul and Seneca, the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the Acts of Paul and Thecla perhaps had little influence.

Among these apocryphal books, the Apocalypse of Peter, the first Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas were the most widely used.

While these books circulated with other books of the New Testament, were often read in the church services, and sometimes were regarded as inspired, they have finally all been rejected as Scripture. No body of Christians accepts one of them as in any sense inspired. They belong to

the Apocryphal New Testament.²⁸ While some of them contain things of interest, nothing of any real value has been lost in rejecting them. It cannot be questioned that the New Testament, as we have it, preserves all that is best in the early literature of the church.

Spurious Gospels. The early church was prolific in its production of spurious writings, especially gospels, which circulated in the names of apostles and other leaders of prominence. The Gospel of Peter and a number of others have already been mentioned. Most of the following list is known to us only by references made by Christian fathers in the first four centuries.

SPURIOUS GOSPELS

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Gospel of Andrew | 14. The Gospel of Judas Iscariot |
| 2. The Gospel of Apelles | 15. The Gospel of Marcion |
| 3. The Gospel of Barnabas | 16. The Gospel of Matthias |
| 4. The Gospel of Bartholomew | 17. The Gospel of Merinthus |
| 5. The Gospel of Basilides | 18. The Gospel According to the Nazarenes |
| 6. The Gospel of Cerinthus | 19. The Gospel of Perfection |
| 7. The Gospel According to the Egyptians | 20. The Gospel of Philip |
| 8. The Gospel of the Ebionites | 21. The Gospel of Scythianus |
| 9. The Gospel of the Encratites | 22. The Gospel According to the Twelve Apostles |
| 10. The Gospel of Eve | 23. The Gospel of Thaddaeus |
| 11. The Gospel According to the Hebrews | 24. The Gospel of Thomas |
| 12. The Gospel of Hesychius | 25. The Gospel of Truth |
| 13. The Gospel of Jude | 26. The Gospel of Valentinus |

Not less than forty other books referred to by the fathers—such as the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of Paul, the Acts of Philip, the Acts of Thomas, etc.—circulated in the church during the first four centuries. Under Peter's name alone no less than six spurious books were circulated. The Apocalypse of Peter, the Gospel of Peter, and the Preaching of Peter have been mentioned already. To these are to

²⁸ See "Gospels (Apocryphal)" by A. F. Findlay in Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. I. pp. 671-85

be added the Acts of Peter, the Doctrine of Peter and the Judgment of Peter.

Some of the so-called gospels mentioned above were modeled after the Synoptic Gospels. So, for example, the Gospel According to the Hebrews, the Gospel According to the Egyptians, and the Gospel of Peter. Others were supplemental to the Synoptics, efforts to throw light on parts of Jesus' life not recorded in the canonical Gospels. Such were the Protevangelion, and 'Thomas' Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus. The Gospel of Nicodemus deals with the Passion and post-resurrection period. Many of them are heretical, such as the Gospel of Marcion, the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip. These books were largely used by heretical sects in the early centuries.

The authority of the Gospels included in both tables above was repudiated by the leading men of the early church. The condemnation of the church itself fell on them under Popes Damasus, 382, Innocent I, 405, and Gelasius, 596; but it had little influence. In fact the history of the apocryphal writings, and especially of the Gospels, shows conclusively how futile is any effort on the part of individuals or organizations to suppress books. The apocryphal writings have made a powerful appeal to popular imagination and have been the source of endless superstitions. In Catholic countries, in fact, they have had vastly more influence than the Biblical narratives themselves.²⁹

From the twelfth century on, these apocryphal writings furnished an inexhaustible mine for poets and minstrels of Germany, France and England. Numerous miracle plays, which abounded in those days, represented incidents related in them. They have profoundly influenced Christian

²⁹ Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. I, pp. 674-75.

art, indeed Christian art cannot be understood apart from them. Sculpture and painting also have owed many of their subjects to them.

4. OTHER BOOKS OF INFLUENCE AND INTEREST

The More Important Pseudepigrapha. A large and rather important religious literature was produced between 250 B.C. and 300 A.D. by pious Jewish and Christian writers who often wrote under false names, choosing to put their words into the mouths of celebrated characters of the past. Whether this type of literature was intended to deceive or not is not known, but these books were profoundly influential and unquestionably contributed considerably to conceptions embedded in the New Testament. That the writers of the New Testament were familiar with some of the Jewish books of this type is proved by the numerous parallelisms of thought between them and the New Testament, and in a few cases by direct quotations.

Considerable attention is given to these writings by modern Biblical students, and it is recognized that no one can fully understand the religious thought and ideas of New Testament times without some knowledge of their contents. By Roman Catholics these books are called apocryphal. Among Protestants they are known as Pseudepigrapha, which means written under false names. They may be classified as in the following table:

THE MORE IMPORTANT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA ⁸⁰

I. *Legendary*

1. The Testament of Adam, extant in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic
2. The Book of Jubilees (Apocalypse of Moses). Extant in the Ethiopic version, partially elsewhere

⁸⁰ Article "Pseudepigrapha," by M. R. James in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

3. The Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, extant in Greek, Slavonic and Roumanian
4. Apocalypse of Abraham, extant in Slavonic
5. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, extant in Greek, Latin and Armenian
6. The Testament of Job, extant in Greek
7. The Testament of Solomon, extant in Greek
8. The Book of Noah, a fragment in Enoch
9. The Life of Asenath (Wife of Joseph), extant in Greek, Latin and Syriac
10. Penitence of Jannes and Jambres, extant in Latin

II. *Apocalyptic*

1. The Book of Enoch (Ethiopic), extant in the Ethiopic version
2. The Secrets of Enoch (Slavonic Enoch), extant in Slavonic only
3. The Sibylline Oracles, extant in Greek and Latin
4. The Assumption of Moses, extant in Latin
5. The Apocalypse of Baruch, extant in Syriac
6. The Rest of the Words of Baruch, extant in the Ethiopic version
7. The Prophecy of Jeremiah, extant in the Ethiopic version
8. The Ascension of Isaiah, extant in the Ethiopic version
9. The Apocalypse of Elijah, extant in Coptic
10. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah, extant in Coptic
11. The Revelation of Moses, extant in Hebrew
12. The Apocalypse of Esdras, extant in Syriac

III. *Poetical*

1. The Psalms of Solomon, eighteen extant in Greek
2. Addition to Psalms and others. Psalm 151, extant in Greek. Three Psalms extant in Syriac

IV. *Didactic*

1. The Magical Books of Moses, extant in papyri from Egypt
2. The Story of Achiacharus

Character of the Pseudepigrapha. We shall discuss only a few of the more important ones. The most influential of the Pseudepigraphical books was that of Enoch.³¹ It is quoted in Jude 14-15. Verbal echoes are found in Matthew, Luke, John, Hebrews, Thessalonians, 1 Peter and Revelation, and probably in other books. It exercised a greater influence on the New Testament, in fact, than all the other non-canonical books together. It was considered sacred by Barnabas, Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria;

³¹ Evidence Summarized in R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 41-49.

and it is found in the Ethiopic version as a part of the Bible. Its various sections were written at different times.

In the oldest section, written probably in the second century B.C., Sheol, for the first time in literature, becomes an intermediate place of moral retribution, and in a later portion Sheol, for the first time, becomes the equivalent of hell. In the Old Testament Sheol is simply the underworld where the dead go. This is the oldest Jewish book to teach a general resurrection of Israel. A section written between 166 and 161 B.C. contains the first reference to the Messiah in apocryphal literature. In a section written between 94 and 64 B.C. the Messiah, for the first time, is represented as a supernatural being, and as judge of men and angels.

Four Messianic titles, used the first time as such, are found in this book. They are "Christ" or "the Anointed One" (Rom. 5:6); "the Righteous One" (Acts 3:14); "the Elect One" (Luke 23:35); and "the Son of Man" (Matt. 12:8). "Son of Man" had been used previously, but not in a Messianic sense, though some have supposed that Daniel so used it. That it was so interpreted in an early day there can be no doubt.

The Book of Enoch was used in writing "the Secrets of Enoch," "Jubilees," "the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," and other such books. In the first century A.D., it was very influential with both Jews and Christians, but in the second century the Jews rejected it. It preserved a high place with Christians until about the third century, and then began to fall into discredit. It was finally banned by the chief teachers and soon ceased to be used, except in Abyssinia, where it became a part of the Ethiopic Bible. Two Ethiopic MSS. were discovered in 1773, and thus it became known to the modern world.

The Secrets of Enoch, or Slavonic Enoch, written from 1 to 50 A.D., has a number of interesting features. There are

numerous echoes from it in the New Testament. It is in this book that the millennium is first mentioned. God's creation of the world in six days, resting on the seventh, is taken to be symbolic. Since a thousand years with God are as one day, this symbolic story indicates that the world is to continue substantially as it is for six thousand years, after which will come the millennium, corresponding to God's day of rest. At the close of the millennium time will end, and the righteous will have eternal bliss. Such an idea has had widespread acceptance in the world, and here is its origin. Here also we first learn of the seven heavens, an idea used later by Paul and the writer of Hebrews. The book was discovered in 1892, and published in 1896. It is preserved only in Slavonic.

Jubilees, written probably 50-60 A.D., is a curious and fanciful book, yet valuable as illustrating the New Testament, both by resemblance and by contrast. Much of it is exactly what the New Testament condemns. This book was recovered in 1844, and is found complete only in the Ethiopic version.

The Life of Asenath, the wife of Joseph, was probably written in the third century A.D., and is a Christian version of a Jewish legend. From a literary point of view it is the best thing found in pseudepigraphical literature. It is a splendid story and well written.

The Assumption of Moses, discovered in 1861, is quoted in Jude 9; and the Apocalypse of Elijah is quoted in 1 Cor. 2:9 and in Eph. 5:14. The Ethiopic Version abounds in these books. Among its contents are found the Prophecy of Jeremiah, the Rest of the Words of Baruch, Jubilees, Enoch, and the Ascension of Isaiah. The Ascension of Isaiah was recovered in 1819. The Sibylline Oracles exerted considerable influence on the apocalyptic ideas of New Testament times.

III. VARYING CANONS OF BIBLES IN USE TO-DAY

We speak of the Bible generally without thinking or perhaps knowing how elastic the term is. By the use of the word "Bible" people generally mean their own Bible, and many are not aware that there are any differences in the Christian Bibles of the World. As a matter of fact there is no such thing as a Christian Bible with uniform contents. There is a Roman Catholic Bible and an Orthodox Greek Catholic Bible, each with a very definite content but differing from each other considerably. Even the Protestant Bible is not uniform in its contents.

Some Protestant bodies have a Bible consisting of the 39 books of the Hebrew Old Testament, and the 27 books of the New Testament, and these only. Other Protestants have a Bible with the same contents, to which is added seven other books, with additions to two more, known as the Apocrypha. While the books of the Apocrypha are not considered as the equal of other books they are regarded as an important part of the Bible, and of sufficient value to justify their being read regularly in the church services.

Two views were held in the early church concerning the books of the Apocrypha. The great majority regarded them as canonical and therefore authoritative, while, here and there only, an individual considered them to be non-canonical and of no worth. Epiphanius and Athanasius, early Christian fathers, introduced an intermediate view. They considered these books to be on a lower plane than the other books of the Bible but good and useful books. Thus they came to be classified as "ecclesiastical" books. This meant that they were of real value for moral and religious instruction and might be profitably read in the

church services. This is the view still held by certain Protestant bodies.

I. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON

The Roman Catholic church is the largest of the three great divisions of Christendom—the Latin, the Greek and the Protestant. The Greek and Roman churches were never organically united. From the beginning they differed in nationality, language and genius; but they grew up together, and worked together, side by side in the ancient conflicts with heresy and Paganism. They coöperated in all the early councils. Controversies broke out in 869 which soon resulted in a complete separation of the Greek and Latin churches.

The only official Bible of the Roman Catholic church is what is known as the Clementine edition of the Latin Vulgate. The Vulgate was made by Jerome, as we have seen. The text was revised several times, in efforts to eliminate corruptions that had crept in through copyists. Cassiodorus made a revision as early as 544 A.D. Alcuin's revision has been mentioned. A group of scholars in the University of Paris, during the thirteenth century, made another; and this revision was of such influence, due to the standing of the University, that by the middle of the fifteenth century it had come to be the most commonly used text for MSS. When printing came it won complete ascendancy.

The first critical edition of the Vulgate ever prepared was that of Robert Stephens, in 1528, and this was again revised in 1538-40. In the first he used three good MSS. and in the second no less than seventeen. The first authoritative edition prepared was that of Pope Sixtus V.

The text of the University of Paris served as the basis for this official revision of the Vulgate. The Pope appointed a

commission for the work, under the presidency of Cardinal Carafa. The Pope himself revised the results of their labor, and issued the work from the Vatican press, which he had founded. This revision was published in 1590 and became the first official edition of the Vulgate.

Sixtus V died, and was succeeded by four Popes within two years. His fourth successor, Clement VIII, immediately recalled the Sixtine edition, probably because of some rivalry, and issued a new revision in 1592, making some 3000 changes and really producing a better text. This Clementine edition is the only official Bible of the Roman Catholic church to-day. From the standpoint of scholarship, it is quite unsatisfactory.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON

I. *The Old Testament*

1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Leviticus
4. Numbers
5. Deuteronomy
6. Josue (Joshua)
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9. 1 Kings (1 Samuel)
10. 2 Kings (2 Samuel)
11. 3 Kings (1 Kings)
12. 4 Kings (2 Kings)
13. 1 Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles)
14. 2 Paralipomenon (2 Chronicles)
15. 1 Esdras (Ezra)
16. 2 Esdras (Nehemiah)
17. *Tobias* (*Tobit*) (1)
18. *Judith* (2)
19. Esther, *with additions* (3)
20. Job
21. Psalms
22. Proverbs
23. Ecclesiastes
24. Canticle of Canticles (Song of Songs)
25. *Wisdom* (4)
26. *Ecclesiasticus* (5)
27. Isaias (Isaiah)
28. Jeremias (Jeremiah)

ROMAN CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON (*Cont.*)I. *The Old Testament (Cont.)*

- 29. Lamentations
- 30. *Baruch*, with *Epistle of Jeremy* (6)
- 31. *Ezechiel* (*Ezekiel*)
- 32. *Daniel*, with *additions* (7)
- 33. *Osee* (*Hosea*)
- 34. *Joel*
- 35. *Amos*
- 36. *Abdias* (*Obadiah*)
- 37. *Jonas* (*Jonah*)
- 38. *Micheas* (*Micah*)
- 39. *Nahum*
- 40. *Habacuc* (*Habakkuk*)
- 41. *Sophonias* (*Zephaniah*)
- 42. *Aggeus* (*Haggai*)
- 43. *Zacharias* (*Zechariah*)
- 44. *Malachias* (*Malachi*)
- 45. *1 Machabees* (*1 Maccabees*) (8)
- 46. *2 Machabees* (*2 Maccabees*) (9)

II. *The New Testament*

The usual 27 books

Following the New Testament, as apocryphal:

- 1. *The Prayer of Manasses*
- 2. *3 Esdras* (*Protestant 1 Esdras*)
- 3. *4 Esdras* (*Protestant 2 Esdras*)

In the above table the books of the Apocrypha, included in the Roman Catholic Bible, are printed in italics and numbered to the right. It will be seen that the canon of the Roman Catholic Bible contains, in the Old Testament, forty-six books. They are the 39 books found in the Hebrew Old Testament, seven other books and additions to two more. The canon of the New Testament is the usual 27 books, but following the New Testament are printed three books considered as a sort of apocrypha. These three books, however, are found also in the Protestant Apocrypha.

Roman Catholic Translations. It will be of interest to compare the translation of a few passages in Cardinal Gibbons' edition of the Roman Catholic Bible with the same passages in the American Standard Bible.

ROMAN CATHOLIC TRANSLATIONS COMPARED

Roman Catholic Bible

Thou has anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly is it! Psalms 22:5.

Why shall I fear in the evil day? the iniquity of my heel shall encompass me. Psalms 48:6.

And he distinguished with his lips. Psalms 105:33.

In those days cometh John the Baptist preaching in the desert of Judea. And saying: Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Matthew 3:1-2.

Give us this day our substantial bread. Matthew 6:11.

Now it was in the days of the Azymes. Acts 12:3.

A certain girl, having a pythonical spirit. Acts 16:16.

And every spirit that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God. 1 John 4:3.

American Standard Bible

Thou hast anointed my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Psalms 23:5.

Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil, when iniquity at my heels compasseth me about? Psalms 49:5.

And he spake unadvisedly with his lips. Psalms 106:33.

In those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

"Give us this day our daily bread."

And those were the days of unleavened bread.

A certain maid having a spirit of divination.

And every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God.

The Clementine edition of the Latin Vulgate is used in all the services of the Roman Catholic church everywhere, and this church has never authorized its translation into any language. But any translation to-day that has received the approval of a Bishop, or other proper authority, may be read by Catholics. Five or six translations into English, differing somewhat in detail, are in use among English speaking Catholics. They are all revisions of the Rheims-Douai Bible, and generally are quite an improvement over that obscure translation.

2. THE ORTHODOX GREEK CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON

The Orthodox Greek Catholic church is the oldest church in Christendom, and occupies to-day the sacred territory of primitive Christianity. She produced the first Christian literature, embracing apologies of the Christian

faith, commentaries on the Bible, sermons, and refutations of heresies. She elaborated the great dogmas of the Trinity and Christology, and she ruled the first seven Ecumenical Councils, which were all held in Constantinople or near by. Her most palmy period was that of the first five centuries, and she has not progressed far beyond the standpoint occupied in the fifth and sixth centuries. She had no middle age and no Reformation.

Instrumental music is not allowed in her churches. She has vocal music by male voices only. Her people pray standing, facing the East; they kneel in prayer only at Pentecost. Bishops do not marry and are therefore drawn from the monastic orders. Priests marry, but second marriage, or marriage with a widow is not permitted. Trine immersion is practiced.

The Bible of the Orthodox Greek Catholic church differs much from the Roman Catholic Bible, even more than appears on the surface. The books of the Old Testament might be thought to be identical with the books of the same name in the Roman Catholic Bible, but such is not the case. The Roman Catholic church uses the Latin Vulgate, and this is a translation of the Hebrew. The Greek church uses for its Old Testament the LXX., with all its differences from the Hebrew. Many of these have been previously pointed out.

GREEK CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON

I. The Old Testament

1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Leviticus
4. Numbers
5. Deuteronomy
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9. 1 Kings (1 Samuel)
10. 2 Kings (2 Samuel)

GREEK CATHOLIC BIBLE AND ITS CANON (*Cont.*)I. *The Old Testament (Cont.)*

11. 3 Kings (1 Kings)
12. 4 Kings (2 Kings)
13. 1 Chronicles
14. 2 Chronicles
15. *Prayer of Manasses* (1)
16. Ezra
17. Nehemiah
18. 1 *Esdras* (2)
19. *Tobit* (3)
20. *Judith* (4)
21. *Esther, with additions* (5)
22. Job
23. Psalms
24. Proverbs
25. Ecclesiastes
26. Song of Songs
27. *Wisdom* (6)
28. *Sirach* (7)
29. Isaiah
30. Jeremiah
31. Lamentations
Epistle of Jeremy (part of Baruch elsewhere)
32. *Baruch* (8)
33. Ezekiel
34. *Daniel, with additions* (9)
35. Hosea
36. Amos
37. Micah
38. Joel
39. Obadiah
40. Jonah
41. Nahum
42. Habakkuk
43. Zephaniah
44. Haggai
45. Zechariah
46. Malachi
47. 1 *Maccabees* (10)
48. 2 *Maccabees* (11)
49. 3 *Maccabees* (12)
- 50 4 *Esdras* (*Protestant 2 Esdras*) (13)

II. *The New Testament*

The usual 27 books

From the above table it will be seen that the Greek Catholic Bible includes eleven apocryphal books (printed in italics and numbered to the right), with additions to

two more, in addition to the 39 books found in the Hebrew Old Testament. The Epistle of Jeremy is not counted since it is a part of Baruch in the Roman Bible, and independent in the Greek. In theory the Greek church makes these apocryphal books equal with other books of the Bible, but in practice it adopts the intermediate position of Athanasius and uses them as "ecclesiastical" books only—for reading in church as a means of moral and religious instruction.

Greek and Roman Bibles Compared. It is a matter of interest to compare further these two Bibles, especially with reference to the apocryphal books.

GREEK AND ROMAN BIBLES COMPARED

Roman Catholic Apocrypha

1. Tobit
2. Judith
3. Additions to Esther
4. Wisdom
5. Sirach
6. Baruch, with Epistle of
Jeremy
7. Additions to Daniel
8. 1 Maccabees
9. 2 Maccabees

Greek Catholic Apocrypha

1. Tobit
2. Judith
3. Additions to Esther
4. Wisdom
5. Sirach
6. Baruch (Epistle Jeremy
independent)
7. Additions to Daniel
8. 1 Maccabees
9. 2 Maccabees

Following the New Testament (not considered inspired)

10. Prayer of Manasses
11. 3 Esdras (Protestant 1 Esdras)
12. 4 Esdras (Protestant 2 Esdras)

10. Prayer of Manasses
11. 1 Esdras (Roman 3 Esdras)
12. 4 Esdras (Protestant 2 Esdras)
13. 3 Maccabees

From the above table it will be seen that there is only one book, 3 Maccabees, which is found in the Greek Bible and not in the Roman. The Greek church, however, uses the entire Apocrypha as a valuable part of the Bible but inferior to other books, while the Roman church regards the first nine of the table (seven books and two additions to other books) as equally inspired with other parts of the

Bible. But the Prayer of Manasses and 3 and 4 Esdras are lightly regarded by the Roman church. They are not even printed in the Gibbons' edition in English.

3. THE SYRIAN BIBLE, OR THE PESHITTA

The canons of the Syrian, Abyssinian, Egyptian and Armenian Bibles present numerous difficulties. Strict accuracy concerning them can hardly be attained. It would seem that these churches have no official canon; custom has not always been uniform. Manuscripts differ. Many books, unfamiliar to us, are found in MSS. of these Bibles, and it is not always easy or possible to determine what value is attached to certain of them. Church dignitaries differ in their opinions.

The Syrian church was cut off from the Orthodox Greek church in 431 A.D., because it refused to yield to the verdict of the Council of Ephesus. The Bible of this church is known as the Peshitta, which is said to mean "the simple." How this name originated is unknown. In its Old Testament the Peshitta is a translation from the Hebrew. This version became to the Syrian church what the Latin Vulgate has been to the Roman church, its standard Bible. It is still in use among the Syrian churches.

Canon of the Syrian Bible. The following table contains a list of the books found in the Syrian Bible.

CANON OF THE SYRIAN BIBLE

<i>Old Testament</i> ³²	<i>New Testament</i>
1. Genesis	1. Matthew
2. Exodus	2. Mark
3. Leviticus	3. Luke
4. Numbers	4. John
5. Deuteronomy	5. Acts
6. Joshua	6. Romans

³² Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol.-IV, p. 650.

CANON OF THE SYRIAN BIBLE (*Cont.*)*Old Testament (Cont.)*

7. Judges
8. Samuel
9. Kings
10. Ruth
11. David (Psalms)
12. Chronicles
13. Job
14. Proverbs
15. Canticles (Song of Songs)
16. Ecclesiastes
17. The Twelve
18. Isaiah
19. Jeremiah
20. Lamentations
21. Daniel (no additions)
22. Ezekiel
23. Esther (no additions)
24. Ezra (Nehemiah included)
25. 1 Maccabees (1)
26. 2 Maccabees (2)
27. Judith (3)
28. Wisdom (4)
29. Sirach (5)

New Testament (Cont.)

7. 1 Corinthians
8. 2 Corinthians
9. Galatians
10. Ephesians
11. Philippians
12. Collossians
13. 1 Thessalonians
14. 2 Thessalonians
15. 1 Timothy
16. 2 Timothy
17. Titus
18. Philemon
19. Hebrews
20. James
21. 1 Peter
22. 1 John

The first 24 books of the Old Testament, in the above table, correspond to the 39 canonical books of our Bible, which is the old Jewish canon. To these have been added five apocryphal books. The additions to Esther and Daniel do not appear. The New Testament contains only 22 books, omitting five books received everywhere else, namely 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. This Bible has been in continuous use in the Syrian church since about the third century.

The version current among the Nestorians lacked Chronicles and Esther. The Jacobite version lacked Chronicles. In this version Esther, Judith, Ruth, Susanna, and Thecla form "the Book of the Women." Complete Syrian MSS., such as Codex Ambrosianus, contain the Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Esdras, and the history of Shamuna, also the Wars of Josephus as 4 and 5 Maccabees.

4. THE ABYSSINIAN BIBLE, THE ETHIOPIC

The Abyssinian church has been independent since the twelfth century. Christianity here is a Judaistic form of religion. Circumcision is practiced, and Saturday is partially observed as the Sabbath. Jewish distinctions of clean and unclean are in use. There are from three to five millions of Abyssinians to-day, located in ancient Ethiopia.

The Ethiopic language is no longer spoken, but the Ethiopic Scriptures are read in the church services and later explained in the common tongue. The Old Testament of this Bible is a translation from the LXX., with the usual differences from the Hebrew. Many canonical books of the Ethiopic Bible have never been published in printed form, namely Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Micah, Amos, Habakkuk and Nahum. Some of the apocryphal books also have not yet been published. Books that have been issued have been put out in different forms and at widely different dates. The Ethiopic Bible has rendered one distinct service peculiar to it. It has preserved several pseudepigraphical books that survived nowhere else, namely Enoch, Jubilees and the Ascension of Isaiah.

There is in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington a fine copy of an Ethiopic Bible which was secured from Theodore, king of Abyssinia, by Lord Napier, and by him presented to General Grant. It came to the Smithsonian along with other Grant relics.

Canon of the Abyssinian Bible. The canon of the Abyssinian Bible differs more widely from what is usual than that of any other Bible. Indeed the Abyssinian church makes no distinction between canonical and uncanonical books. All are supposed to be equally inspired and authoritative.

CANON OF THE ABYSSINIAN BIBLE

I. *The Old Testament*

1. The usual 39 canonical books
2. Books from the Apocrypha
 1. 1 Esdras
 2. 2 Esdras
 3. Tobit
 4. Judith
 5. Additions to Esther
 6. Wisdom
 7. Ecclesiasticus
 8. Baruch, with Epistle of Jeremy
 9. Additions to Daniel
 10. Prayer of Manasses
3. Books additional to those of the Apocrypha
 11. Maccabees, a romance found nowhere else
 12. History of Joseph and Asenath
 13. Rest of the Words of Baruch
 14. The Prophecy of Jeremiah
 15. Enoch
 16. Jubilees
 17. The Ascension of Isaiah

II. *The New Testament*

1. The usual 27 canonical books
2. The *Sinodos*, eight books of a collection of constitutions and canons of the church

From the above table it will be seen that the Abyssinian Old Testament contains the usual 39 canonical books and the usual Apocrypha except the Maccabees. The books of Maccabees here included were evidently prepared especially for this Bible. To the usual Apocrypha, with the exception noted above, is added a number of pseudepigraphical books; among the number, the Rest of the Words of Baruch, Enoch, Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Prophecy of Jeremiah are found in no other Bible.

The number of books in the Ethiopic Old Testament is uniformly said to be 46, but this number can be computed in the MSS. only by placing two or more books under one title or by omissions. Under the title of the book of Jere-

miah are included five additions: Baruch, Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremy, a short prophecy, and the Rest of the Words of Baruch. MSS. and lists of the books differ so widely that one cannot say what order the books should have, and it is difficult to make exact statements about the canon.

The New Testament, as seen above, contains the usual 27 canonical books, to which has been added the *Sinodos*, counted as eight books, making a total of 35 books for the New Testament. The *Sinodos* is found in no other Bible.

5. THE EGYPTIAN BIBLE

The Bible of the Egyptian or Coptic church has been known to the modern world only since the seventeenth century. It is different in several respects from other Bibles.

The church of Egypt was separated from the Orthodox Greek church because it refused to accept the decision of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. In origin it is one of the most ancient national churches, dating back almost to apostolic times.

In its early history the Coptic church was one of the most powerful of the Christian churches, scarcely second to Rome, and this position it continued to occupy down to the fifth century. Athanasius, Origen and Cyril were among its most influential leaders. It was in this church that monasticism originated. Egyptian monks laid the foundation for the vast monastic system which soon spread so far afield.

The Coptic church has the heroic distinction of having suffered more persecution, beginning in the second century and continuing down the ages, than any other church. England, within recent years, has finally put a stop to it. Much of it has been at the hands of Mohammedans. The

census of 1907 indicates that there were in Egypt at that time 767,036 Coptic Christians, in addition to Catholics and Protestants.

Among the various Coptic versions made in the early centuries the Bohairic won complete ascendancy. It became, and still is, the standard Egyptian Bible. It has been translated into Arabic and is most generally used in this form, but the Bohairic is still used in the church services. The priest, in his decorated vestments and surrounded by candles, chants the portion for the day. Few, if any of the audience understand a word of it; so the Arabic translation follows, chanted by a deacon.

The Canon of the Egyptian Bible. The Egyptian Bible, like others, has its peculiarities. The following table will indicate its canon.

THE CANON OF THE EGYPTIAN BIBLE

I. *The Old Testament*

1. The usual 39 canonical books
2. The Apocrypha
 1. 1 Esdras
 2. 2 Esdras
 3. Tobit
 4. Judith
 5. Additions to Esther
 6. Wisdom of Solomon
 7. Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach
 8. Baruch, with Epistle of Jeremy
 9. Additions to Daniel
 10. The Prayer of Manasses
 11. 1 Maccabees
 12. 2 Maccabees

II. *The New Testament*

The usual 27 canonical books

This Bible, it will be seen, contains the limited Protestant Apocrypha, with fewer apocryphal books than the Greek Catholic, Abyssinian and Armenian Bibles. Its contents are exactly the same as the Roman Catholic Bible, except

that its Old Testament has the LXX. peculiarities; and while Rome regards seven of the apocryphal books, with additions to Esther and Daniel, as inspired, the Egyptian church seems to give them an inferior position. On the other hand, the Egyptian church assigns a higher place to the Prayer of Manasses, 1 and 2 Esdras (Catholic 3 and 4 Esdras) than the Roman church does. The New Testament of the Egyptian Bible to-day contains the usual 27 books, but Revelation was originally omitted.

6. THE ARMENIAN BIBLE

The Gregorian or Armenian church refused to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., and that refusal resulted in the separation of the Armenian church from the Orthodox Greek church. This separation became formal in 491. This church has suffered terribly at Turkish hands but is still in existence.

The Canon of the Armenian Bible. The canon of the Armenian Bible differs from that of all other Bibles. While MSS. differ considerably in contents, there is more uniformity in published Armenian Bibles. The following list is taken from the Amsterdam (Holland) edition of the Armenian Bible by Uskan, Archbishop of Erivan, dated 1666.

CANON OF THE ARMENIAN BIBLE

I. *The Old Testament*

1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Leviticus
4. Numbers
5. Deuteronomy
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9. 1 Kings (1 Samuel)
10. 2 Kings (2 Samuel)
11. 3 Kings (1 Kings)

CANON OF THE ARMENIAN BIBLE (*Cont.*)I. *The Old Testament (Cont.)*

12. 4 Kings (2 Kings)
13. 1 Chronicles
14. 2 Chronicles
15. 1 *Ezra* (1 *Esdras*) (1)
16. 2 *Ezra* (*Ezra*)
17. 3 *Ezra* (*Nehemiah*)
18. *Tobit* (2)
19. *Judith* (3)
20. *Esther, with additions* (4)
21. 1 *Maccabees* (5)
22. 2 *Maccabees* (6)
23. 3 *Maccabees* (7)
24. *Job*
25. *Psalms*
26. *Proverbs*
27. *Ecclesiastes*
28. *Song of Songs*
29. *Wisdom of Solomon* (8)
30. *Ecclesiasticus* (9)
31. *Isaiah*
32. *Jeremiah, with Lamentations*
33. *Baruch, with Epistle of Jeremy* (10)
34. *Ezekiel*
35. *Daniel, with additions* (11)
36. *Hosea*
37. *Joel*
38. *Amos*
39. *Obadiah*
40. *Jonah*
41. *Micah*
42. *Nahum*
43. *Habakkuk*
44. *Zephaniah*
45. *Haggai*
46. *Zechariah*
47. *Malachi*

II. *The New Testament*

The usual 27 canonical books

Followed by an appendix:

The Prayer of Manasses

4 *Ezra* (*Protestant 2 Esdras*)

The Venice edition of the Armenian Bible of 1733 contains the same books and order, and declares all to be canonical except 1 and 4 *Ezra* and 3 *Maccabees*. The Ser-

ampore edition, dated 1816, has the same books, except that 4 Ezra is omitted, and declares the same list to be canonical. It has been said that the Amsterdam edition was altered somewhat to conform to the Latin Vulgate, and for that reason was not cordially received among Armenians.

In addition to the list above a number of other books are found in the MSS. of this Bible. Some of them appear in printed Bibles.

OTHER BOOKS FOUND IN ARMENIAN MSS.

1. The Death of Jeremiah
2. The Death of Ezekiel
3. Testaments of the XII Patriarchs
4. History of Joseph and Asenath
5. Hymn to Asenath
6. The Death of Twelve Prophets
7. Rest of St. John
8. Epistle of Corinthians to Paul and His Reply (3 Corinthians)

The above books, except the History of Joseph and Asenath, are found in no other Bible. The History of Joseph and Asenath is found in the Ethiopic Bible. The only other Bible which contains 3 Maccabees is that of the Orthodox Greek church.

An appendix to the New Testament in the Venice editions of the Armenian Bible of 1805 and 1860 consists of 3 Corinthians, the Rest of St. John and the Request of Euthalius. Formerly Tobit, 3 Corinthians and the Request of Euthalius were read in the church services, but that is no longer the case. The Prayer of Manasses, the Death of Zechariah, the Death of Isaiah, and the Death of St. John are still read in the church services.

The canon of the Armenian Bible contains, as the above tables indicate, the usual 39 canonical books of the Old Testament; but its Old Testament is a translation from the LXX., with its differences from the Hebrew. In addition to

these, numerous apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books have been added. The New Testament contains the usual 27 canonical books, with sometimes an apocryphal addition or two.

It is said that Revelation was not admitted to the Armenian canon until the eleventh century, and not read in the services until the twelfth. It is now no longer read in church services. The edition of the Armenian Bible published at Constantinople in 1895 contains only the 39 canonical books of the Old Testament, and the usual 27 of the New.

7. REORGANIZED LATTER DAY SAINTS' BIBLE

Joseph Smith was the founder of the Mormon church, but after his death factions arose. Brigham Young led one faction into Utah and became its leader, adopting polygamy. This group accepts the Authorized Version as its official Bible, but accepts also the Book of Mormon as inspired.

Certain factions, declining to join Brigham Young, formed what they called the "Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints," with headquarters at Lamoni, Iowa, later moved to Independence, Missouri. They rejected polygamy from the beginning. Joseph Smith, the son of the founder of the original church, cast his lot with the "reorganized" group. The family of the elder Smith, after his death, produced a MS. which it was claimed the elder Smith had received by revelation. This MS., published in 1867, contained the Bible, with changes which were mostly additions, and this is the chief Bible of the "reorganized" church. However, it uses the King James Version also.

JOSEPH SMITH'S BIBLE COMPARED

Joseph Smith's Bible

Gen. 1:3. Yea, in the beginning I created the heaven, and the earth upon which thou standest.

Gen. 1:27. And I, God, said unto mine Only Begotten, which was with me from the beginning, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.

Gen. 8:13. And it repented Noah, and his heart was pained, that the Lord made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

Ex. 7:3. And Pharaoh will harden his heart, as I said unto thee; and thou shalt multiply my signs, and my wonders, in the land of Egypt.

Deut. 14:21. Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself; thou shalt not give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest not sell it unto an alien; for thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God.

1 Sam. 16:14. The spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit which was not of the Lord troubled him.

2 Chron. 18:22. The Lord hath found a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy prophets.

Mark 10:26. And Jesus, looking upon them, said, With men that trust in riches, it is impossible; but not impossible with men who trust in God and leave all for my sake, for with such all these things are possible.

John 6:65. No man can come unto me, except he doeth the will of my father who hath sent me.

American Standard Bible

Gen. 1:1. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.

Gen. 1:26. God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.

Gen. 6:6. And it repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

Ex. 7:3. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt.

Deut. 14:21. Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself: thou mayest give it unto the sojourner that is within thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a foreigner: for thou art a holy people unto Jehovah thy God.

1 Sam. 16:14. The Spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him.

2 Chron. 18:22. Jehovah hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy prophets.

Mark 10:27. Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for all things are possible with God.

John 6:65. No man can come unto me, except it be given unto him of the Father.

This much, at least, may be said of many of the changed readings found in the Bible of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints: Its author had the courage deliberately to alter the text, and make it say clearly what many Bible students succeed in getting by theological legerdemain. This Bible contains the usual 39 books of the Old Testament, and the usual 27 of the New. No apocryphal books are admitted, but the Book of Mormon is accepted as inspired equally with other books of the Bible.

8. THE EPISCOPAL AND LUTHERAN BIBLE

The Bible of the English and American Episcopal and Lutheran churches differs from that of other Protestants. Their Bible contains the usual 39 books of the Old Testament, translated from the Hebrew, and the usual 27 of the New; but the Episcopal Bible also includes seven apocryphal books and additions to two others, and Luther's Bible includes five Apocryphal books with additions to the same two. These churches take the intermediate view of the Apocrypha, that while these books are not the equal of other books in authority, nevertheless they are valuable for instruction. They are therefore read regularly in the services of the Episcopal churches, and the latest revision (1892) of Luther's Bible retains them.

When King Edward was crowned in England the British Bible Society sent as a coronation gift a magnificent Bible, beautifully bound; but it was declined, because it did not contain the Apocrypha.³³ This was entirely consistent, because the Bible of the English church contains the Apocrypha and is incomplete without it.

³³ J. Patterson Smyth, *The Bible in the Making*, p. 162.

9. THE BIBLE OF OTHER PROTESTANTS

The Bible of all other Protestant churches contains the usual 39 books of the Old Testament, translated from the Hebrew, and the usual 27 of the New; these and no more. The Apocrypha is considered of not sufficient worth to be included, and is never read in the church services.

Thus it will be seen that there are nine different Bibles in use to-day in the Christian world, each differing from all others in contents, or in the value assigned to certain books. Two other Bibles contain a part of the Christian Scriptures.

10. THE JEWISH BIBLE

Hebrew Old Testament. The Jews use, as their Bible, the 39 books of the Hebrew Old Testament, in that order which makes 2 Chronicles the last book. For use in Synagogue services they continue to have the text in rolls, and without vowels or accents. For many years they have had English translations for use among English-speaking Jews.

11. THE SAMARITAN BIBLE

The Samaritan Pentateuch. There are said to remain about one hundred Samaritans, who continue their worship at modern Nablous, ancient Shechem. Their only Bible is the Pentateuch. All MSS. of their Bible are in the book form, except three rolls kept at Nablous. One of these, the Samaritans claim, was written by a great grandson of Moses, in the thirteenth year after the settlement in Canaan. This tradition is not to be trusted, but this MS. is probably the oldest Biblical MS. in the world.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS DIVIDED DIFFERENTLY

The different division and numbering of the Ten Commandments is a matter of no little interest.³⁴ They are divided in four different ways by the different religious peoples. This illustrates the fact that mankind can hardly agree about anything. In the table below we use the translation of the Standard American Bible.

FOUR DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Protestants Generally

Preface. I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image . . .
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain . . .
4. Remember the sabbath day . . .
5. Honor thy father and thy mother . . .
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness . . .
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife . . .

Lutherans

Preface. I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image . . .
2. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain . . .
3. Remember the sabbath day . . .
4. Honor thy father and thy mother . . .
5. Thou shalt not kill.
6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
7. Thou shalt not steal.
8. Thou shalt not bear false witness . . .
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . .
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife . . .

³⁴ See Article "Decalogue" by W. P. Paterson in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.

FOUR DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS (*Cont.*)*Roman Catholics*

Preface. I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image . . .
2. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain . . .
3. Remember the sabbath day . . .
4. Honor thy father and thy mother . . .
5. Thou shalt not kill.
6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
7. Thou shalt not steal.
8. Thou shalt not bear false witness . . .
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife . . .
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . .

Jews

1. I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
2. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image . . .
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain . . .
4. Remember the sabbath day . . .
5. Honor thy father and thy mother . . .
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness . . .
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife . . .

It will be observed that all Christians recognize a preface to the Ten Commandments, while what they regard as a preface becomes the first commandment of the Jews. Having thus made a commandment of the preface, the Jews reach the same total of ten by making one commandment of what Protestants generally regard as commandments one and two. The remainder of the commandments, as divided by the Jews, are the same as among the majority of Protestants.

Lutherans and Roman Catholics agree with the Jews in

making one commandment of what most Protestants consider commandments one and two. The number ten is then preserved by making two commandments of what Protestants generally consider commandment ten. But an interesting difference occurs. Lutherans make commandment nine read, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house," and number ten, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife." Roman Catholics reverse this order.

On one thing, at least, all agree, and that is that the keeping of the commandments is of more importance than the particular numbers that shall be given them.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH

THE beginnings of Christianity in England are shrouded in darkness. Early traditions are not to be trusted. It is entirely possible that during the first century tidings of the new faith may have reached Britain; but when the first missionaries came, how they were received, and what their success, are unknown. Tertullian expressly alludes to places in Britain inaccessible to the Romans which had been won for Christ, so that in his time Christianity would seem to have gained a considerable foothold. The monk Augustine visited England at the close of the sixth century, and his labors profoundly influenced the whole country. Soon the Gospel had been preached everywhere and Christianity firmly established. As early as the sixth century Saxon monks, in monasteries in Ireland and Scotland, were freely copying the Latin Bible. Latin was the language of the church, but most of the common people spoke Anglo-Saxon.

I. THE BIBLE BEFORE THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

From the earliest translations into Anglo-Saxon to the publication of Tyndale's New Testament, the English Bible existed in MS. form only.

I. TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH COMPARATIVELY LATE

The Bible in English is, comparatively speaking, a late product. The early church gave the Bible freely to all

within her communion, evidently under the impression that its reading was an important means of grace. Thus the Bible was early translated into Syriac, Latin, Egyptian, Armenian, and other Oriental languages, and the Eastern church continued to take this attitude.

The Western or Roman Catholic church, however, has until recent times denied the Bible to the common people as far as possible. The Waldenses, a party of medieval dissenters from Rome which has maintained itself down to our own time, made the first vernacular translation of the Scriptures which was prohibited by ecclesiastical authority. Their translation, made from the Old Latin and Latin Vulgate, was known as the Romaunt version; and it was prohibited by the Council of Toulouse in 1229. This action was not taken because the translation was corrupt but because it was a vernacular translation. This policy of prohibition was continued, being confirmed by the Council of Trent, in 1564, and by later papal decrees. Until quite recent times Roman Catholics could read the Bible in their own tongue only when they obtained special permission. This church dominated England in its early history, and naturally vernacular translations were slow in appearing.

In spite of the influence of the Roman church several vernacular translations were issued in European countries before the Reformation.

"Prior to the discovery of America, no less than twelve grand patriarchal editions of the entire Bible, being of several different translations, appeared from time to time in the German language; to which add the two editions by the Otmars of Augsburg of 1507 and 1518, and we have a total of no less than fourteen distinct large folio pre-Reformation and Ante-Lutheran Bibles." Two translations in Italian appeared at Venice in 1471: a French Testament in 1477, and in the same year a Dutch Old Testament: a Bohemian version was printed at Prague in 1488.¹

Vernacular translations in Italian appeared before the in-

¹ John Stoughton, D.D., *Our English Bible*, p. 57.

vention of printing. Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522 and a French New Testament in 1523.

The Roman Catholic church claims the right to alter doctrines and practices, and even to make additions to doctrines contained in the Bible, by virtue of an infallible authority which it claims to possess; and this church knows well that much that it teaches and practices has no foundation in the Scriptures. This fact, doubtless, has had its influence in creating opposition to vernacular translations. It must be admitted that Bible translations have often gone hand in hand with efforts to break down this very authority of the church by an appeal to the Bible, and it is but natural that Rome would defend herself. In opposing vernacular translations Catholics have been justified from their standpoint, a standpoint, however, which no Protestant can allow.

Roman Catholics finally gave the world a translation into English, but it was not until 1582, when the Rheims New Testament was issued. The Old Testament was published in 1609-10. This was not done because the church of Rome had come to desire that its membership might be permitted to read the Bible in their own tongue, but because such conditions had arisen that Catholics dared not longer decline to yield to the popular demand.

In justice to the Roman church, however, it may be said that in the past at least she has not regarded Bible reading as a means of grace, but rather as an unnecessary and dangerous practice. And she has pointed to the numerous divisions and endless interpretations of the Bible, among Protestants, as proof of her position. Hence while to-day she permits her membership to read the Bible in their own tongue, she denies the right to private interpretation of any part of it.

The Protestant idea makes Christ the central fact of the

Bible, and Protestants find Christ everywhere in the Scriptures. With Roman Catholics Christ is found in the mass: it is only through the sacraments that the soul can approach God. The mass and the confessional are the chief means of grace and these, quite apart from the Scriptures, are within the reach of every Catholic. From the Roman Catholic standpoint that is sufficient.

2. SOURCES OF THE FIRST TRANSLATIONS

The source of the first translation of the whole Bible into English was the Latin Vulgate. It will be remembered that this version was made by Jerome. The Old Latin which Jerome revised provided a source for certain early Anglo-Saxon translations and paraphrases, but their chief source was the Vulgate. It was the only source of Wyclif's Bible and Purvey's revision.

The Mazarin Bible. The first book ever printed was the Latin Vulgate, at Mayence or Mainz, Germany, probably in 1456. Authorities are not agreed on the date, but all agree that it could not have been before 1450 or later than 1456. It is generally known as the Mazarin Bible because it was first found in modern times, about 1760, in the library of Cardinal Mazarin of Paris. It is also known as the Gutenberg Bible, because it was published by John Gutenberg, the inventor of printing. It is also known as the 42 line Bible, because all the known copies on paper have 42 lines to the page.

A small edition was first issued on vellum, twelve copies of which are known to-day, besides some fragments. Of these vellum copies only three are perfect and complete. The first nine pages of the vellum edition have 40 lines to the page, the tenth page has 41 lines, and thereafter the pages have 42 lines. The type was rearranged in 42 lines

uniformly for the paper edition, 33 copies of which are known to-day. It was published in two volumes of 641 leaves, the pages not being numbered. Its ornamentation was by hand.

The National Library of Paris and the British Museum each own a perfect copy of this Bible on vellum. In 1926 Dr. Otto H. F. Vollbehr of Berlin paid \$305,000 for the only three volume copy known. It is on vellum and perfect. It was bought from the Carinthian Monastery of St. Paul, located in the Alps. This is the highest price ever paid for a Bible. It is predicted on good authority that paper copies will soon be worth over a million dollars.

It is said that in the first fifty years of printing, 124 editions of the Latin Bible were published. Throughout the Middle Ages (500-1500 A.D.) Latin was the language of international communication, also that of the monasteries and of literature. In 663 Pope Vitalian ordered that all the services of the Roman church should be in Latin.

3. FIRST TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

English translations of the Scriptures were made long before the invention of printing, as has been said. The English Bible, in its earliest origin, took its first permanent root in Anglo-Saxon soil. Anglo-Saxon is English, in its earlier and rougher form. The first work in this direction cannot be called a translation, but rather a paraphrase.

Caedmon was an ignorant farmer of Northumbria, who worked for the abbey of the Lady Hilda at Whitby. At certain festive gatherings in the great hall it was customary to pass around the harp, requiring each in turn to play and sing. For several years Cædmon left the hall in time to escape this duty, because he could not sing. In his slumber one night he had a dream, in which he was called to

sing, words came to his lips, and he sang a hymn of praise. Thereafter portions of the Bible were translated for him, and he immediately sang them to the accompaniment of the harp. So it was said of this ignorant farmer that he was "transformed from a cowherd into a prophet and became a minstrel-herald of the Bible story." Bede has preserved to us all we know of Cædmon's work, but it is rather extensive, and may be said to have constituted the first Anglo-Saxon Bible. Cædmon lived in the latter part of the seventh century.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Psalter was the favorite book of England, and was translated oftener than any other book of the Bible. The first translation of any book of the Bible into English—Cædmon's poetical paraphrases not considered—was the Psalter by Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709. He was, therefore, the first translator of any part of the Bible into English. His translation has been lost.

The Venerable Bede, the father of English history (674-735 A.D.) did some translation work, completing a translation of the Gospel of John just before his death. But no part of his work has come down to us. King Alfred is said to have been engaged in a translation of the Psalms at the time of his death, but none of his work has been preserved.

The oldest extant translations of the Bible into English are called glosses, that is, a word for word interlinear translation of the Latin into Anglo-Saxon.

The Psalter of St. Augustine. The so-called Psalter of St. Augustine is Jerome's first revision of the Psalter of the Old Latin, using the LXX. and not the Hebrew. Immediately on its completion it was adopted by Pope Damasus, and it is in use to-day in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome and in St. Mark's in Milan. It is known as the Roman

Psalter. Elsewhere in the church of Rome this version has been superseded by a second revision of Jerome's, known as the Gallican Psalter. It was so-called because it was first adopted in Gaul. Jerome revised the Psalter a third time. His last effort was a translation from the Hebrew, and is known as the Hebrew Psalter, but it has never been permitted in the Latin Vulgate. The Vulgate has the Gallican Psalter, which displaced the Roman Psalter in 1566.

The Latin text of this MS. is of the late seventh century or early eighth; the Anglo-Saxon interlinear is of the ninth. This interlinear is the earliest extant translation of any part of the Bible into English.

The Lindisfarne Gospels. The Lindisfarne Gospels is Jerome's version of the Latin, and was written by Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne shortly before 687 A.D., in honor of St. Cuthbert. Hence the name Lindisfarne Gospels. Since it was written in honor of St. Cuthbert it is also known as the "Gospels of St. Cuthbert."

The MS. consists of 259 leaves, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and is written in double columns of 24 lines. It was preserved along with the body of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne. When an invasion of the Danes in 875 drove the monks from Lindisfarne, to wander for years in northern England, they carried with them the body of the Saint and this MS. For greater safety it came to be placed upon the inner lid of the coffin of St. Cuthbert, and there it was found in 1104 when the monks ended their wanderings at Durham, where they built a Cathedral. The MS. is often called the "Book of Durham." In time it was carried back to Lindisfarne, and when the monasteries were dissolved it was cast abroad in the world, stripped of its jeweled covers. Finally it came into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and then passed to the British Museum.

The Lindisfarne Gospels is the most magnificent speci-

men of Latin writing known in the world to-day. Codex Amiatinus, the best authority we have for the Vulgate text, is the second finest specimen known, as we have already seen. The text of the two MSS. agree closely.

The interlinear Anglo-Saxon of the Lindisfarne Gospels, written about 950 A.D. by one Aldred, a priest, is the earliest extant version of the Gospels in English. It is in the Northumbrian dialect.

These interlinear translations of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon were perhaps made chiefly to assist the preachers and missionaries who, in giving instruction, found it necessary to translate the Latin Bible into the language of the people. With these interlinear translations the task was much less difficult. During the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period, however, even preachers were often unable to read Latin, hence required translation for their own use.

The Wessex Gospels. Early in the tenth century there was made about Wessex, in the southern part of England, the first independent translation of the Gospels into Anglo-Saxon, or English, that has been preserved to us. An independent translation is one that stands alone, without the Latin. Of this translation only six MSS. are known. One of the six, written in the twelfth century, is now in the British Museum. The Gospels are in the order, Mark, Matthew, Luke, John. This MS. is interesting not only because it is a copy of the first independent translation of the Gospels into English extant, but also because it once belonged to the great monastery of St. Augustine, and then to Archbishop Cranmer and other notables, before it found its place in the Royal Library, and later in the British Museum.

The Lord's Prayer. It may be of interest to compare a translation of the Lord's Prayer in Anglo-Saxon made in King Alfred's day, 871-901 A.D., with one in Wyclif's time,

about 1380, and another by the American Revision Committee in 1901. The translations, therefore, are about 500 years apart.

THE LORD'S PRAYER ²

Uren Fader dhic art in heofnas
Our Fadir that art in heuenes
Our Father who art in heaven

Sic gehalyed dhin noma
Halewid be thi name
Hallowed be thy name

To cymedh dhin ric
Thi kingdom comme to
Thy kingdom come

Sic dhin willa sue is in heofnas and in eardhs
Be thi wille done as in heuen so in erthe
Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth

Vren hlaf ofer wirthe sel us to daeg
Gyve to us this dai oure breed ouer other substance
Give us this day our daily bread

And forgef us scylda urna
And forgive to us oure dettis
And forgive us our debts

Sue we forgefan sculdgun vrum
As we forgyven to oure dettouris
As we also have forgiven our debtors

And no inleadh vridk in costung
And leede us not in to temptacioun
And bring us not into temptation

Als gefrig vrich fro ifle
But delyvere us fro yvel
But deliver us from the evil one

Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon. Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1006, A.D., made a translation of much of the Old Testament into Anglo-Saxon. Only two MSS. of

² Ira M. Price, *Ancestry of Our English Bible*, p. 228.

this revision are known to be extant. One is in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The other, in the British Museum, is illustrated with pictures in colors. One interesting page contains a representation of Adam and Eve being driven from the garden of Eden, and an angel teaching them to till the soil. The early translations into Anglo-Saxon had no influence on the later translations into English.

4. FIRST WHOLE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

Wyclif's Bible (1308). John Wyclif³ was educated at Oxford, receiving the best training the time afforded; and no man of his day was better fitted than he to translate the Bible. Assisted by Nicholas Hereford, one of his supporters at Oxford, he translated the entire Bible, including the Apocrypha; and this was the first whole Bible in English. The New Testament was finished probably in 1380, and the Old Testament in 1382. The entire translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, as has been said. Wyclif's authorship of any part of this Bible has been questioned, but the statement above is generally accepted.

Wyclif's Bible was at once in great demand. How greatly it was appreciated is illustrated by the story of one Alice Collins, who was often asked to little gatherings of the people, "to recite the Ten Commandments and parts of the Epistles of Paul and Peter, which she knew by heart."

This Bible, however, provoked bitter opposition, and it became necessary for the people to meet in secret to read it, as they often did. Persecution did not begin at once, but it finally became widespread and bitter. Many suffered and it has been said that some, for daring to read the Bible, were burned with copies of it about their necks. The per-

³ Wyclif's name has been spelled twenty-eight different ways, of which the most common are Wyclif, Wiclif, Wycliffe, Wicliffe,

secution on account of this Bible has been denied by Roman Catholics, but it seems to be well authenticated. It may be true that reports of persecution were sometimes exaggerated, but naturally the church did not welcome a vernacular translation at this time, especially since a law forbidding such translations had existed since 1229.

In 1229 the Synod of Toulouse forbade the laity to have any books of the Bible except the Psalter. In 1234 the Synod of Tarrangona ordered all vernacular versions to be brought to the Bishop to be burned. James I reaffirmed this decision of Tarrangona in 1276. His order was renewed by later kings and confirmed by Paul II in 1464-71. The third Synod of Oxford in 1408 determined that

no unauthorized person shall translate any part of the holy Scriptures into English, or any other language, under any form of book or treatise; neither shall any such book, treatise, or version, made either in Wiclif's time, or since, be read, either in whole or in part, publicly or privately, under penalty of the greater excommunication, till such translation shall be approved. . . .

This act of 1408 is known as Arundel's Constitutions. It was a powerful weapon in the hands of the enemies of vernacular translations. In 1410 the doctrines of Wyclif were condemned at Oxford and his writings publicly burned. An English law was enacted in 1414 providing that all who read the Scriptures in their mother tongue should "forfeit land, catel, lif, and goods from their heyeres for ever." In 1415 the Council of Constance granted authority for the removal of the bones of Wyclif from burial in a churchyard, and in 1428 his bones were actually dug up, burned, and the ashes scattered on the stream that flows by Lutterworth. These things indicate the spirit of the church in that age.

If Fox, writing near the time of the events, can be trusted, six men and one woman, and she a widow, were executed at Coventry in a place called Little Park, on April

4, 1519, the charge against them being that they had taught their children and families the Lord's prayer and the Ten Commandments in English.⁴ This statement of Fox has been challenged, but it is useless to deny persecution on account of Wyclif's Bible.

It is said to have required ten months to complete a copy of this Bible. It was therefore high priced, costing from one hundred fifty to two hundred dollars. A load of hay is said to have been given for the privilege of reading it an hour a day for a certain period.

Wyclif's work exercised a small influence on later translations. Certain expressions in our Bibles came from him, such as "strait is the gate and narrow is the way" (Matt. 7:14), "enter thou into the joy of thy Lord" (Matt. 25:21, 23), "compass sea and land" (Matt. 23:15), "son of perdition" (John 17:12), and many others. This first whole Bible in English used the chapters which we know. Wyclif found them in the Latin Vulgate from which he translated. Prologues were provided for the various books. Wyclif's New Testament, as also that of Purvey, contains the apocryphal epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans. These are the only New Testaments in English that ever included it.

John Wyclif. Wyclif⁵ is known as the morning star of the Reformation, and he deserves the appellation. The highest dignitaries of the English church of his day were largely Italian absentees, whom the Pope had appointed to occupy the clerical offices. Bishops were ambitious politicians, and not spiritual overseers. In fact the church had fallen into a bad condition, and Wyclif sought to improve it. He was thoroughly out of harmony with much in the

⁴ S. P. Tregelles, *An Historical Account of the English Versions of the Scriptures*, p. 39.

⁵ See Lechler, *John Wycliffe and His English Precursors*, translated and edited by Lorimer.

church of Rome. Papal supremacy had come to be regarded by many as a foreign usurpation, and considerable resistance was offered. Wyclif preached and wrote pamphlets freely against the evils of the day. The freedom of the individual conscience from all foreign control was one of his fundamental principles. Very naturally he was disliked, his Bible opposed, and his doctrines condemned. He finally became rector of Lutterworth, and continued to hold this position even after having been excommunicated. The authorities knew how to use discretion. But his writings were burned in large numbers, so that to-day only fifteen MSS. of his Old Testament and eighteen of the New remain.

Purvey's Revision. Wyclif's work as a translator was far from perfect. John Purvey, one of his most intimate friends and ardent supporters, revised his Bible about 1388. Wyclif had died in 1384. It is possible that Purvey had assisted in the first translation. His revision rapidly supplanted its predecessor and became the current form of Wyclif's Bible during the fifteenth century. Purvey's part in this revision has been questioned, but is generally accepted. While only 33 MSS. of Wyclif's translation are known, about 140 of Purvey's revision have been preserved.

It is only recently that Wyclif's Bible has been identified. Forshall and Madden spent twenty-two years, and examined about 170 MSS., in the preparation of the Wyclif and Purvey Bibles for publication. They determined conclusively which was Wyclif's Bible and which belonged to Purvey. Both were published at Oxford in 1850. Wyclif's Bible was not printed therefore until nearly 500 years after it was made.

As early as 1731 Rev. John Lewis, minister of Margate, in the county of Kent, published Purvey's New Testament under the name of Wyclif. This was reprinted in 1810 by Rev. Henry Baber, a librarian of the British Mu-

seum, still under the impression that it was Wyclif's. Bagster's Hexapla, published in 1841, contains Purvey's New Testament under the name of Wyclif, but a different MS. was used from that of Lewis. Wyclif's New Testament was first published in 1848 by Lea Wilson.

Nicholas Hereford translated Wyclif's Old Testament to the middle of Baruch, as appears from a MS. in the Bodleian library. He was accused of heresy, thrown into prison, and later excommunicated. Unfortunately for the fame of Hereford he later became a persecutor of the very persons who held opinions similar to his own at the time of his excommunication.

John Purvey lived with Wyclif and continued in his house to the day of his death. He was born at Olney, in Buckinghamshire, and after Wyclif's death he removed to Bristol. His zealous preaching here involved him in serious trouble. He was accused of heresy and thrown into prison. Alarmed at the recent burning of a heretic he retracted his opinions at St. Paul's Cross in 1400. Later he was again accused of heresy and cast into prison, where he disappears from history. It is supposed that he ended his days in prison.

II. PRINTED BIBLES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Following Wyclif's Bible it was almost 150 years before the next translation into English was made. During this interval three momentous events occurred which thoroughly revolutionized the history of the Bible in Western Europe—the fall of the Eastern Empire, the invention of printing from movable types, and the Renaissance and Reformation.

Revolutionary Events Preceding. In May 1453 the Turks stormed Constantinople, and in November 1454 the first

product of the printing press in Europe was given to the world. The Turkish invasion resulted in the fall of the Eastern Empire, which in turn drove large numbers of scholars into England, where one of their activities was the teaching of Greek to those who would learn it. Greek had become almost forgotten in the West, while it had remained a living language in the East.

The Renaissance had come with its general intellectual advance. The West welcomed the opportunity the refugees provided, and soon the New Testament was studied in its original tongue. Greek was first taught at the University of Paris in 1458. Caxton introduced printing into England in 1470. The first Greek grammar was published in 1476, and the first Greek lexicon in 1480. The first Hebrew Bible was published in 1488. Greek first began to be taught at Oxford in 1492. The first Hebrew grammar was published in 1503; the first Hebrew lexicon in 1506. The first Greek New Testament, as has been said, was published by Erasmus in 1516.

The Reformation had begun. For two or three centuries there had been a feeling of discontent, a rebellion against the authority of the church. Moral conditions in the church had become intolerable. The sale of indulgences, especially, had incensed Luther. He had nailed his 95 theses to the church door in 1517, and had been excommunicated in 1520.

Thus, just as the Reformation, which found its only authority in the Scriptures and thereby greatly increased the demand for Bibles, had begun, and just as the new learning was providing the means of giving the Bible to the world in greatly improved translations, the printing press was ready to spread instruction everywhere. And the printing press put an end to the progressive corruption of the Biblical text at the hands of copyists.

I. TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT, 1525

William Tyndale is the real father of the English Bible. He was of Gloucestershire birth, born probably in 1484, the exact place unknown, and received the Master's degree at Oxford in 1515. Perhaps it was the fame of Erasmus, the great Greek scholar, teaching at Cambridge, that drew him there from Oxford. While at Cambridge, or soon after, he resolved to translate the Bible into English, a work which he felt to be the mission of his life. He sought to do this work under the patronage of the church, but finding this to be an impossibility he left England in 1524 and went to Hamburg, where, in 1525, he finished his New Testament. He began at Cologne the printing of a quarto edition with notes, but an anti-Lutheran controversialist, Johann Dobneck, better known as Cochlaeus, persuaded the magistrates to interfere. Thus in the midst of his work he was compelled to seize the printed sheets and flee to Worms. Cochlaeus had sent a description of the book to England to prevent its importation, so at Worms Tyndale first put out an octavo edition without notes, and then finished the quarto begun at Cologne. Both were printed in 1525.

Printing the Bible in England, in the early part of the sixteenth century, would have been dangerous, and for that reason Tyndale had the work done abroad. The books were then shipped clandestinely into England.

Tyndale's New Testament met fierce opposition from the clergy, statesmen, and scholars, and was ordered burned wherever found. The people were commanded to give their copies up on penalty of excommunication, and many were arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of harboring them. Tunstall, Bishop of London, preached against the translation and Sir Thomas More wrote against it. He called

Tyndale "this blessed apostle of the apostates." The bishops subscribed money to buy up copies to be burned. In 1526 and 1530 Tyndale's New Testament was publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross.

Tyndale published his version of the Pentateuch in 1530, and that of the book of Jonah in 1531. He revised the New Testament three times. The revision of 1534 is considered his masterpiece.⁶ He was the first to translate the Bible into English from original texts. His texts were late and therefore faulty, but they were the original languages. His chief sources were Erasmus' Greek New Testament, the Latin Vulgate and Luther's Bible. In the Old Testament he used the Hebrew. Tyndale's was the first printed Bible in English, and the beginning of Bibles in the sixteenth century.

He had difficulty in financing the publication of his New Testament. The Bishop of London bought up all the copies he could find and burned them. A friend of Tyndale's arranged with the Bishop to buy them for him, and thus provided Tyndale with an easy market. The profits enabled him to improve the work and publish even greater numbers for the public.

William Tyndale. Tyndale⁷ suffered the extremest privations. He was both exile and fugitive, had no certain home, was reviled as a heretic and traitor, and hunted like a wild beast. In 1535 he was living in Antwerp, a free city where he was supposed to be safe, when Henry Phillips, a rabid Roman Catholic, traitorously won his confidence and betrayed him into the hands of officers of Charles V, who kidnaped him and carried him out of the city. On the very morning of the betrayal Phillips had borrowed forty shillings from Tyndale. After a long imprisonment at Vil-

⁶ Reprinted in Bagster, *Hexapla*, 1841.

⁷ See R. Demaus, *William Tyndale, a Biography*, new ed. by Lovett, 1886.

vorde Castle, Brussels, he was strangled and burned at the stake in 1536. Tyndale's unpublished manuscripts fell into the hands of his friend John Rogers, who used them later in Matthew's Bible.

Tyndale, in his translation, abandoned the use of certain important ecclesiastical terms. "Priest" became "senior" and afterward "elder"; "church" gave place to "congregation"; "grace" became "favor"; and "penance" was replaced with "repentance." In excluding these words he had struck a vital blow at the system of popery. His translations, in the minds of many, were associated with Lutheranism, and Lutheranism was a term of bitter reproach. Anonymous bitter attacks on the church were unjustly attributed to Tyndale, to his injury. His Bible would perhaps have been more popular had he not, in certain editions, placed controversial notes which aroused resentment. The church, however, was opposed to any Bible for the common people, and doubtless would have sought to destroy it in any event. It is estimated that between 1525 and 1528 no less than 18,000 copies of his New Testament were published, but of his early editions only three fragments are known to-day. While every effort possible was made to destroy his New Testament and his writings, the demand for the Scriptures in England grew rapidly.

Of the quarto edition,⁸ begun in Cologne and finished at Worms, only one fragment is known. This is the edition begun first and finished second. The fragment consists of thirty-one leaves, or sixty-two pages, and contains a translation of Matthew up to chapter 22:12. It was accidentally found by a London bookseller some years ago and was purchased by Thomas Grenville, who later bequeathed it to the British Museum. It is known as the Grenville Frag-

⁸ Published in facsimile with a valuable introduction by Edward Arber in 1871.

ment. This fragment contains eight of the sheets printed at Cologne, which Tyndale took in his flight.

The octavo edition, the first finished, is represented by one copy, now in the Baptist College at Bristol.⁹ It is perfect, except that the title page is lost. There is a very imperfect copy—seventy-one leaves missing—in St. Paul's Cathedral. Nothing else remains of all that Tyndale published before 1530. The only known copy of Tyndale's *Jonah*, and the only known perfect copy of the first edition of his *Pentateuch*, are in the British Museum. Lenox library in New York owns a copy of Tyndale's *Pentateuch*.

At exactly whose instigation Tyndale was hounded to his death is not known. Doubtless enemies in England had much to do with it. Numerous efforts were made to decoy him back to England, but he steadfastly declined to return. Henry VIII hated him because he had opposed Henry's divorce from Catherine, but there is no evidence that the king had any personal responsibility for his death. His chief friend in his last days was Thomas Poyntz, an English merchant, at whose house he was living when he was kidnaped. Poyntz deserves great honor for his efforts to save Tyndale's life at the risk of his own. He was imprisoned three months but escaped from prison and returned to England.

Tyndale's Influence. Tyndale's influence on all later translations was enormous; no man has influenced English Bible history so much as he.

In the two following extracts from Tyndale's work the words in italics are found in the Authorized Version.

⁹ This copy was discovered in 1740 by an agent of the Earl of Oxford. He bestowed an annuity of twenty pounds upon the discoverer. It was reproduced in facsimile in 1862 by F. Fry, having been previously reprinted by G. Offor in 1836. It was reprinted again in America by J. P. Dabney in 1837.

TYNDALE'S INFLUENCE ON THE BIBLE¹⁰

Num. 16:28. *And Moses sayed: Hereby ye shall knowe that the Lorde hath sent me to doo all these workes, and that I have not done them of myne own mynde:*

29. *Yf these men dye the comon deth of all men, or yf they be visyted after the visitacion of all men, then the Lorde hath not sent me.*

30. *But and yf the Lorde make a new thinge, and the erth open hir mouthe and swallowe them, and all that pertayne unto them so that they goo doune quycke into hell: then ye shall understode that these men haue rayled upon the Lorde.*

31. *And as soone as he had made an ende of speakynge all these wordes, the grounde cloue asunder that was vnder them.*

32. *And ye erth opened hir mouthe and swallowed them and their houses and all the men that were with Corah and all their goodes.*

33. *And they and all that pertayned vnto them, went doune alyue vnto hell, and the erth closed upon them, and they peryshed from amonge the congregacion.*

The American Standard Bible contains 14 words fewer from Tyndale than the Authorized Version; but eight of these are due to the use of the name Jehovah instead of Lord.

Eph. 2:13. *But nowe in Christ Jesu, ye whych a while agoe were farre off, are made nye by the bloude off Christ.*

14. *For he is oure peace, whych hath made off both wone, and hath broken doune the wall in the myddes, that was a stoppe bitwene vs,*

15. *and hath also put away thorowe his flesshe, the cause of hatred (thatt is to saye, the lawe of commaundemente, contayned in the lawe written).*

16. *for to make of twayne wone newe man in hym silfe, so makynge peace: and to reconcile bothe vnto god in one body throwe his crosse, and slewe hattred therby:*

17. *and cam and preached peace to you which were afare of, and to them that were nye.*

18. *For thorowe hym we bothe have an open waye in, in one sprete vnto the father.*

19. *Nowe therfore ye are no moare strangers and foreners: but citesyns with the saynctes, and of the housholde of god:*

20. *and are bilt upon the foundation of the apostles and prophetes, Jesus Christ beyng the heed corner stone.*

The American Standard Bible contains 16 words fewer from Tyndale than the Authorized Version, in the section

¹⁰ Westcott, *History of the English Bible*.

just quoted, but it includes two of Tyndale's words not found in the King James. These sections indicate Tyndale's tremendous influence on the Bible. It has been said that in the Authorized Version eighty per cent of the Old Testament, (as far as translated by Tyndale) and ninety per cent of the New Testament reproduce Tyndale's work.

2. COVERDALE'S BIBLE, 1535

Tyndale's Bible included the New Testament and a part of the Old only. Myles Coverdale must be credited with the first whole Bible printed in English. It was published in 1535.¹¹ His work was little more than a compilation, for he was an editor rather than a translator, yet he added some valuable and permanent elements.

Where he published his first Bible is not known, but it was most probably at Zurich. If so, the first English Bible was printed at Zurich. Some, however, think it was printed at Antwerp. Folio and quarto editions were reprinted in England, with the title revised, and this is said to have been the first complete Bible in English printed in England. These reprints occurred in 1537, the folio probably being published first. The quarto edition of 1537 was licensed by the king.¹² Some authorities say both editions were so licensed.¹³

Coverdale's Bible was based chiefly on Tyndale, Luther's Bible, the Zurich Bible and the Latin Vulgate. His work is preëminent in qualities of melody and beauty. Since 1662 the larger part of the Scriptures found in the English Prayer Book have been taken from the King James Ver-

¹¹ A splendid reprint of this Bible was issued by Bagster in 1838.

¹² See *Holy Bible, a Reprint of the edition of 1611*, Bibliographical Introduction by A. W. Pollard, 1911, p. 13.

¹³ See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV. p. 857.

sion, but the Psalter was taken from the Great Bible, and it is Coverdale's revision, which is the Gallican Psalter with slight alterations. Several efforts have been made to revise Coverdale's Psalter but all such efforts have failed. It is said that no other translation sings so well. Coverdale's contribution was in rhythm, happy turns of expression, and a language that was wonderfully musical. Next to Tyndale no man has so much influenced the English Bible as Coverdale.

Myles Coverdale. Myles Coverdale was a Yorkshireman of lovable character, born in 1488, and educated at Cambridge, where he received a degree in Canon Law in 1531. While he was not lacking in scholarly attainments, he knew little or no Greek and Hebrew.

Quaint and Beautiful in Translation. In these early translations there were both the beautiful and the quaint. Some of the golden coinage of Coverdale's mint may be seen in the following expressions:

Seke the LORDE while he maye be founde, call vpon him while he is nye. Isa. 55:6.

My flesh and my herte fayleth, but God is the strength of my hert, and my porcion for euer. Psa. 73:26 (Psa. 72 in Coverdale's Bible).

Thou LORDE in the begynnyng hast layed ye foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy hondes. They shal perishe, but thou shalt endure: they all shall waxe olde as a doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou chaunge them, and they shalbe chaunged. But thou art the same, and thy yeares shal not fayle. Psa. 102:25-27 (Psa. 101 in Coverdale's Bible).

Tyndale used many quaint expressions well worthy of reproduction, as the following examples will indicate:

I was in the sprete on a sondaye. Rev. 1:10.

Which for one breakfast solde his right. Heb. 12:16.

Taken with divers diseases and gripinges. Matt. 4:24.

When ye pray, bable not moche. Matt. 6:7.

The whelppes eate of the crommes. Matt. 15:27.

The Lord was with Ioseph, and he was a luckie fellowe. Gen. 39:2.

The feaste of swete breed drue nye whych is called ester. Luke 22:1.

I longe after you all from the very herte rote in Jesus Christ. Phil. 1:8.

Coverdale's quaint expressions are worthy of reproduction also, as a few examples will show:

She had broken of a leaf of an olyue tree, and bare it in hir nebb.
Gen. 8:11.

Oure hert hath failed vs, nether is there a good stomacke more in eny man. Joshua 2:11.

A woman cast a pece of a mylstone vpon Abimelechs heade, and brake his brane panne. Judges 9:53.

It is man, that is borne vnto mysery, like as the byrde for to fle. Job 5:7.

Shot the kynge of Israel betwene the mawe and the longes. 2 Chron. 18:33.

Which for one meate sake sold his byrthe righte. Heb. 12:16.

Their wyddowes were not loked vpon in the daylie handreachinge.
Acts 6:1.

3. MATTHEW'S BIBLE, 1537

John Rogers was chaplin to an English congregation in Antwerp, and became acquainted with Tyndale during his residence there. He was educated at Cambridge and was a scholar of no mean ability. The opposition to Tyndale was such that for the time being his Bible could have but little circulation in his own name. Therefore, John Rogers, using Thomas Matthew as a pen name, put out a Bible in 1537 which was little more than Tyndale's work completed. It was Tyndale's from Genesis to Chronicles inclusive, Coverdale's for the remainder of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. Why he did not use Tyndale's Jonah is unknown; possibly because copies were so scarce that he was unable to obtain one. The New Testament was Tyndale's last revision, that of 1535. The whole was only slightly revised. Rogers could publish such a Bible because the unpublished manuscripts of Tyndale, covering the Old Testament from Joshua to second Chronicles inclusive, had fallen into his hands.

Where this Bible was published is unknown, but it is generally supposed to have been in Antwerp. It contained

many notes and became quite popular. Both Matthew's and Coverdale's Bibles were sold with the king's approval; which was licensed first is uncertain. While these Bibles were licensed, they were not ordered to be read in the churches: this honor was reserved for the Great Bible.

Matthew's Bible received its name from the title page, which reads; "The Bible, which is all the Holy Scriptures, in which are contayned the olde and newe Testaments truely and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew." The dedication to Henry VIII is also signed by Thomas Matthew.

Just who was Thomas Matthew? Is this the name of some man vitally connected with this Bible, or the pen name of John Rogers? It must be admitted that the matter presents certain difficulties, no matter what conclusion one reaches.

Since the scholarly work of Drs. Westcott and Eadie there can be no question as to the sources of this translation. It is only a slight revision of the work of others preceding, and beyond all doubt John Rogers had a vital connection with it. Some have supposed Thomas Matthew to have been a merchant who paid the expenses of the publication, who furnished Tyndale's unpublished manuscripts, or who in some way assisted in the work.

Following the dedication, which is signed by Thomas Matthew, is found an Exhortation to the study of the Scriptures, and this is signed with the initials, J. R., which undoubtedly mean John Rogers. The use of the name Thomas Matthew on the title page and at the end of the dedication, and of the initials J. R. at the end of the Exhortation, naturally suggests that two different persons are referred to. If one person is responsible for everything, why two different signatures? This, however, is not the only puzzling thing about this translation. At the end of the

Old Testament are found the initials W. T., which undoubtedly mean William Tyndale. Why are these initials affixed to that part of the Old Testament which was undoubtedly an original translation by Coverdale? Nobody knows.

Such matters are perplexing at this distant day; they may not have been so when this Bible was published. It would seem that the contemporaries of John Rogers would most likely have known the facts in the case. They considered Thomas Matthew a pen name for John Rogers. The sentence pronounced on him before his martyrdom contains, four times, the expression "Johannes Rogers *alias* Matthew." The Council Register of Mary's reign says, "John Rogers *alias* Matthew, is ordered to keep his house at Paul's"; and we know that he was for some time a prisoner in his own house.

If Thomas Matthew is not a pen name, we have a man vitally connected with one of the most important early translations of the Bible into English, and said on the title page to have been the translator, concerning whom the world knows absolutely nothing.

Just how Henry VIII could be induced to license Matthew's Bible is difficult to understand. Tyndale's New Testament had been condemned and burned publicly. His Prologue to Romans, the most ultra-Protestant of all his prologues, had been condemned separately and specially. The most superficial examination of the Matthew Bible would have revealed the presence of this same Prologue and many of Tyndale's boldest notes, yet, strangely, Henry gives it his license. Perhaps the pen name Matthew helped the king to save his face. In any case this translation served as a foundation for subsequent versions, and is thus the basis of our present Bible.

John Rogers returned to England from the Continent

in the reign of Edward VI, and became canon of St. Paul's and a lecturer on divinity. But under Mary he was tried and condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake in 1555. His request that his wife be permitted to visit him before his death was brutally denied. But on his way to execution he met her and their eleven children, one a babe at the breast. Thus Providence gave him what the Bishops had denied.

4. THE GREAT BIBLE, 1539

The Great Bible, so named from its size—nine by fifteen inches—enjoyed a reign of some thirty years. It remains to this day the only really Authorized Version ever issued in England, no other having had the formal sanction of the king. Certain other revisions, as we have seen, sold with the king's permission. What we know to-day as the Authorized Version was favored by King James, who appointed the committee to make the translation, but was never officially authorized by him or by any state or church authority. Or if it was, no record of the fact has been preserved.

The Great Bible was chiefly the work of Coverdale,¹⁴ but it was a compilation rather than a new translation. He is said to have employed experts in Greek and Hebrew, in which perhaps he was deficient. The Great Bible was Matthew's Bible, which was chiefly Tyndale's, revised by the use of Münster's Hebrew-Latin version of the Old Testament, and, in the New Testament, by the use of Erasmus' Latin version and the Vulgate. Considerable additions were made to the text from the Vulgate, and for that reason this

¹⁴ S. P. Tregelles takes the very unusual position that the Old Testament of this revision was made by John Rogers, and the New Testament a revision made under the supervision of Cranmer. See *An Historical Account of the English Versions of the Scriptures*, pp. 79-86.

Bible was never very popular with the Reformers. Thus it came about that Tyndale's Bible was circulated extensively for many years in the name of others, and with the king's formal authorization, and became the basis for subsequent translations. Marginal notes which by this time had become common in Bibles, were omitted from the Great Bible, though it was planned originally to use them and they were promised in the prologue. The Great Bible appeared in 1539. An edition appeared in 1540 with a preface by Cranmer, hence this version is often called Cranmer's Bible. Several editions were printed by Whitchurch, and therefore the Great Bible was often called Whitchurch's Bible.

Thomas Cromwell was King Henry's chief officer, under such titles as Privy-Councillor 1531, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1533, Secretary of State 1534, Vicar-General 1535, and Lord Great Chamberlain 1539. His character was a strange admixture, but he exercised a tremendous influence. It was through his influence that Coverdale's and Matthew's Bible were licensed, and to him is due the patronage, financial assistance, and royal license that enabled Coverdale to bring out the Great Bible.

Tyndale had devoted all his energies to giving the world a Bible in English, and he won his fight, though he lost his life in the effort. His New Testament had been burned in 1526. Twelve years later, in 1538, Cromwell ordered that within a specified time after its publication a copy of the Great Bible should be placed in every parish church in England. The people might read it freely. Edition after edition poured from the press, and it is from the time of the Great Bible that we must date the origin of the love and knowledge of the Bible which has so long characterized the English people. This Bible profoundly influenced the whole nation.

While the Great Bible was ordered in the churches and the people might read it freely, a royal declaration was issued warning the people against any private judgment as to the meaning of the Scriptures.¹⁵

In this declaration is revealed the real secret of all opposition to vernacular translations, so bitterly manifested against those of Wyclif and Tyndale, and at stories of which we stand aghast—the fear that people might interpret them for themselves. Thinking for oneself was then supposed to be dangerous. But is the idea not still prevalent?

The idea of Henry VIII remains to this day the position of the Roman Catholic church. The people may have the Scriptures in their own tongue, but no private interpretation is permitted. Openly, boldly and unashamed they proclaim it. But was opposition to vernacular translations ever more than a symptom of a malady that is widespread and deep-seated, one that often afflicts those who least suspect it in themselves? It seems a monstrous inconsistency to permit possession of the Bible freely, as Catholics do, and then to forbid its use. But who shall cast the first stone? Is progress not always a prodigal son? Are not the words of Shakespeare appropriate: "Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all"?

The printing of the Great Bible was begun in Paris. The relations between France and England were rather critical at this time. Francis I had, at the request of Henry VIII, authorized Regnault to print the book, but the French Ambassador, on learning of Cromwell's interest in the Bible being printed in Paris, wrote home and suggested that it be seized. Shortly thereafter the Inquisitors were let loose on the printing office. An edition of 2500 copies was

¹⁵ John Stoughton, *Our English Bible*, p. 157.

under way. The parts not already sent to England were seized, and the sheets ordered burned. But for the sake of a small sum of money they were sold to a haberdasher to pack hats in, and many of the confiscated sheets were later recovered. Coverdale and Grafton, who were seeing the book through the press, fled. The printers and equipment were removed to London and the work resumed. Begun in Paris the Great Bible was finished in London.

Henry VIII reigned from 1509 to 1547. In 1531 he was declared the head of the church, but this was only a threat. In 1534 the final and complete break with Rome came, and Henry became, in fact, the head of the church. At the opening of 1535 he formally took the title, "on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England." He was never very favorably disposed toward Protestantism; he was only politically Protestant. His inclination led him to Rome, his interests in the opposite direction. After the fall of Cromwell his distrust of Protestant leaders increased. No Bibles were published under Henry VIII. after 1541. In 1543 all Testaments bearing the name of Tyndale were ordered destroyed, and in 1546 every Bible and separate New Testament except the Great Bible received the same condemnation. A great burning of Bibles resulted. Bible reading was greatly restricted, prohibited in fact, among the lower classes. The conduct of Protestants who abused the privilege they enjoyed probably influenced Henry in his reaction. Unseemly conduct in church, even during church services, had become common.

5. RICHARD TAVERNER'S BIBLE, 1539

Richard Taverner, a London lawyer, undertook an independent revision of Matthew's Bible at the same time that Coverdale was preparing the first edition of the Great

Bible under Cromwell's auspices. His Bible was published in 1539, the year that the Great Bible appeared. Taverner was a good Greek scholar and a man of literary ability. His best work was done in the New Testament. His version, however, was overshadowed at once by the official edition, known as the Great Bible, and exercised little influence on later translations. Yet some of his choice words and phrases have been preserved in our Bible. To him we owe the word "parable." Previously "similitude" had been used. From him we also get "ninety and nine" (Matt. 18:12), "the love of many shall wax cold" (Matt. 24:12) and "the Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16). Taverner was a layman but became a preacher by royal license under Edward VI. He often appeared in the pulpit strangely garbed for a preacher in his day.

Edward VI succeeded to the throne at ten years of age. During the first part of his reign the Duke of Somerset managed the Government; later Edward fell under the influence of the Duke of Northumberland. Henry VIII had made the church of England independent of the Pope; Edward VI, his son, took the next step and made its doctrines Protestant. At his request Archbishop Cranmer compiled a Book of Prayer, and all the churches were required to use it. The Psalms for this book, as we have seen, were taken from the Great Bible and were Coverdale's revision of the Gallican Psalter.

A royal injunction removed all pictures and images from the churches. Priests were permitted to marry by formal statute. The Bible was again ordered in the churches. Not less than thirteen editions of the whole Bible and thirty-six editions of the New Testament came from the press during Edward's reign. In 1548 a new communion service displaced the mass, and English displaced Latin in the church services.

Edward VI died in 1553, and Mary succeeded him. She directed all her efforts to the restoration of Catholicism. The laws of Henry VIII and Edward VI, as far as they favored Protestantism, were repealed. The old relations with Rome were restored. Reading the English Bible and offering Protestant prayers were forbidden under penalty of death. To accomplish her purpose the queen resorted freely to the rack and the fagot, and as a result came to be known as Bloody Mary. But her very fierceness defeated itself. The burning of such men as Archbishop Cranmer reacted against her among her own supporters. She died in 1558.

Coverdale, who gave the world the first complete printed Bible in English, found himself seriously embarrassed under Mary. Thomas Cromwell had early become his friend and had rendered him great assistance. It was probably the influence of Cromwell that had saved Coverdale from trouble when he first openly combatted papal errors. In Essex he had distinguished himself as a preacher against transubstantiation and other doctrines of the Roman church, but no embarrassment had resulted. Under Edward VI he was made Bishop of Exeter. On the accession of Mary he found himself endangered, and was saved only through the intercession of the king of Denmark, whose chaplain was Macalpine, Coverdale's brother-in-law. At this time he saved himself further trouble by exile. Under Elizabeth he returned and was made rector of St. Magnus, but his want of conformity cost him this position. He dearly loved to preach, and continued to do so even when burdened with the infirmities of age. Father Coverdale, as he was familiarly known, had a warm place in the hearts of the common people. He died in 1569 at the age of 81.

6. THE GENEVA BIBLE, 1560

The persecutions of Mary drove hundreds of Protestants from England to the Continent; from 800 to 1000 learned men are said to have escaped. The Puritan followers of John Knox separated from the more moderate group and went to Geneva, where John Calvin and Theodore Beza lived. There they produced a revision of the Bible in English that proved to be the best yet made.

The Geneva New Testament issued in 1557¹⁶ was the work of William Whittingham, senior student of Christ Church, Oxford. He had been chosen minister of the English congregation at Geneva and was later made Dean of Durham. He was a brother-in-law of Calvin's wife. This New Testament has been supposed to have been very influential in making the Authorized Version, but such was not the case. It was the New Testament of the Geneva Bible issued in 1560 that proved so valuable. This second New Testament was a thorough revision of the first.

The Geneva New Testament of 1557, with an introduction by Calvin, was the first to be printed in Roman type instead of the old black-letters. Tyndale had used Roman type in Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy. It was the first to use italics to indicate words not actually found in the original, in imitation of Beza's New Testament of 1556; and it was the first in English to use verse numbers. These were taken from Stephens' Greek New Testament of 1551. The verses were so printed as to make of each one a separate paragraph. Previously this had not been done. All these features were repeated in the Geneva Bible of 1560, in which verse numeration was extended to the Old

¹⁶ Reprinted in Bagster, *Hexapla*.

Testament, and they have all been used regularly in English Bibles since.

The Geneva Bible was probably chiefly the work of Whittingham, but he had associated with him Anthony Gilbey, a Cambridge man, and Thomas Sampson, who, like Whittingham, was an Oxford man. Coverdale spent some time among the exiles in Geneva, but he probably did little or nothing in the work. Among other exiles of prominence in Geneva was John Knox, of Scotland. Some have thought that he aided in the work.

The Geneva Bible was based, in its Old Testament, on the Great Bible, and in the New, on the Geneva New Testament, which was itself a revision of Tyndale's last revision. Beza's Latin translation was used, as well as original texts. The most sweeping changes were made in the prophetic and Hagiographical books, which had not been revised by Tyndale.

This revision soon became the people's Bible of both England and Scotland, and it remained very popular with the common people for fully 75 years. It was the most scholarly and accurate translation yet produced, and it exercised great influence on Bible history. The notes in this Bible were Calvinistic, and made it the Bible of a party. As time passed it became more and more identified with the bolder and freer party of the church, those who were struggling against a rigid uniformity. It was the Bible of Cromwell's army (used in the form of extracts), of Shakespeare and of Bunyan. It ran through more than 160 editions, at least 40 appearing after the publication of the King James Version. Its value had been enhanced by maps, woodcuts, elaborate tables, and an appendix of metrical Psalms, and finally, by an interpolation, in all editions after 1579, of a catechism pronouncedly Calvinistic.

The dedication of this Bible to Queen Elizabeth is char-

acterized by the spirit of religious intolerance that was a part of the age. She is exhorted to execute the Papists, as enemies of religion. Unfortunately both Catholics and Protestants thought they did God service when they put to death those whom they regarded as enemies of the true faith. But it must be remembered that the idea of religious tolerance was not yet born.

In 1576 Laurence Tomson published in London a translation of the Greek New Testament of Beza, and this translation was substituted for the regular New Testament in certain editions of the Geneva Bible, until it became the popular form.

The Geneva Bible, edition of 1561, was the first Bible ever published in Scotland. The Scotch edition was known generally as the Bassandine Bible, from its printer's name, Thomas Bassandine.

7. THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568

With the accession of Elizabeth to the throne in 1558 a new day dawned for the Bible. While she remained a devout Catholic to the end, and prayed to the Virgin as devoutly as her sister Mary had ever done, she favored Protestantism for personal and political reasons. The public reading of the Scriptures was restored, and the clergy were once more required to have the Great Bible in the churches everywhere.

The Geneva Bible was far more popular than the Great Bible and was recognized as its superior. This superiority discredited the official Bible of the church, but since the Genevan version was the Bible of only one section of the church, it could not well be made the official Bible for the whole church. Therefore the leaders of the church prepared another revision to compete with it. Archbishop

Parker was at the head of the movement, and edited the whole work himself. It was published in 1568. Some eight or nine of the translators were bishops, and thereby it came to be known as the Bishops' Bible. This Bible contained no dedication, a thing quite unusual. Convocation in 1571 ordered its use in the churches but the order was largely ignored.

The principal sources of the Bishops' Bible were the Great Bible, the Geneva, Castalio's Latin translation of 1551, and original texts. It held a high place among ecclesiastics for forty years, displacing the Great Bible at once, but it never became the Bible of the common people. In the forty-three years that elapsed before the appearance of the King James Version, the Geneva Bible had 120 editions, while the Bishops' Bible had only twenty. This Bible was issued by Episcopal and not by royal authority.

8. THE RHEIMS NEW TESTAMENT, 1582

Protestants, to save their lives, had fled from England to the Continent under queen Mary, and had produced the Geneva Bible. Roman Catholics did the same under Elizabeth, Mary's successor, and produced the Rheims-Douai Bible. These Catholic refugees had their headquarters at one time in Flanders and at another time in France.

In 1568 there was founded at Douai, then a city of Flanders, an English college. Its founder was William Allen, who had been a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. It was here that Catholic refugees from England, under the direction of Gregory Martin, once a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, translated the entire Bible into English. The work was then revised by Allen and Richard Bristow. The translation was made from the Latin Vulgate.

Allen's college was removed to Rheims between 1578 and

1593, as a result of some political disturbances. The first section of this translation to be published was the New Testament, printed at Rheims in 1582, and hence generally known as the Rheims New Testament.¹⁷

This New Testament was in many respects a very unsatisfactory translation. It was scarcely intelligible to the common people, because of the large number of ecclesiastical terms used. It was extremely literal, stiff, formal, and often meaningless. It was such a work as required the priesthood for its understanding. And no Catholic was permitted to read it until a license in writing had been obtained. With such restrictions Catholic use was greatly limited. And, as a matter of fact, the New Testament was reprinted by Catholics only three times, and the Douai Old Testament, published later, only once, between 1582 and 1750—a period of 168 years.

Strangely enough the chief popularity of the Rheims New Testament came from a Protestant source. This New Testament contained numerous intolerant and controversial notes, after the fashion of the day. In 1583 one William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, published it and the Bishops' New Testament in parallel columns, appending to each chapter a refutation of the Catholic notes. This publication gained wide popularity, and through it the Rheims New Testament came to be widely known among Protestants. It exercised considerable influence in the making of the King James Version. This publication of Fulke's, for more than forty years, was regarded as a standard Protestant work.

The Catholic version adopted the verses of Stephens' Greek New Testament, but the verse numbers were placed in the margins, and not permitted to interfere with the text,

¹⁷ Reprinted in Bagster, *Hexapla*.

as was the case in all Protestant Bibles. In this particular the makers of this version displayed a wisdom wanting elsewhere.

There is one pathetic story in connection with the Rheims New Testament that deserves to be told. Mary Queen of Scots, on the evening before her execution, in Fotheringay Castle, swore a last solemn oath of innocence upon a copy of this version which she chanced to find on her work table. The Earl of Kent rudely interrupted her, swearing what he termed a valueless oath on a false book. With becoming dignity the queen replied, "Does your lordship think my oath would be better if I swore on your translation, in which I do not believe?"

III. BIBLES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I. THE RHEIMS-DOUAI BIBLE, 1609-10

The publication of Bibles in the seventeenth century began with the Douai Old Testament. In 1593 Allen's college was again removed to Douai. Almost thirty years after the publication of the New Testament, the Old Testament was published at Douai in 1609-10. The complete Bible took its name from the latter place, and is generally known as the Douai Bible, though it is often called the Rheims-Douai. The delay in the publication of the Old Testament, actually translated at the time of the New, was said to be due to the want of money.

2. THE KING JAMES VERSION, 1611

The translation known as the Authorized Version had its origin in a quite unpremeditated fashion, in what may be said to have been a mere accident. The Puritan section

of the English church petitioned the king concerning the Prayer Book, asking certain changes in the church services. The Hampton Court conference was called in 1604, ostensibly to consider this petition, although the king had no intention of giving the Puritans anything. In arguing the matter, the leader of the Puritans, Dr. Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, urged that they could not subscribe to the Prayer Book because it maintained a most corrupt translation of the Bible. He cited certain mistranslations in the Great Bible, from which the Prayer Book had been made.

King James immediately saw himself the royal leader of a great national enterprise, in producing a new translation of the Bible. His vanity was touched, and so it was soon ordered. He probably thought he saw a chance to be rid of the Geneva Bible which he disliked. The conference met in January, and by July 22 following the chief preliminaries had been arranged and the work ~~launched~~ launched, although it was not until 1607 that the actual translation was formally begun.

Just whom the king consulted with reference to the matter is not known, but a singular broadmindedness governed his choice of men for the work. The most capable men of the nation were chosen, including Anglican churchmen, Puritans and laymen. Previous to this time revisions of the Bible had been made by one man, or at most by a very few. King James appointed 54 men for the work, 47 of whom took actual part. In this respect this version was far in advance of any that had gone before. Two years and nine months were occupied in the translation. It was published in 1611.¹⁸

The translators of the King James Version, however,

¹⁸ The original edition was reprinted by the Oxford Press in 1833, and again in 1911 with a Bibliographical Introduction by A. W. Pollard.

knew very little Hebrew, and for that reason the translation of the Old Testament was often poor. They knew Greek well, but they had only late and corrupted texts to translate. Yet, notwithstanding its shortcomings, theirs proved to be by far the best translation of the Bible made up to that time. Its English was such that it deservedly became a classic. No controversial notes were permitted.

The English sources of this version were the Bishops' Bible, of which it was a revision, the Geneva Bible, and the Rheims New Testament. The Latin sources were Tremellius' translation of the Old Testament, and his translation of the Syriac New Testament. The source in Greek was Beza's Greek New Testament. Four current Hebrew Bibles furnished the source in Hebrew, to which may be added the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots. Tyndale's influence is to be seen in the fact that the King James Version was a revision of the Bishops' Bible, which had been a revision of the Great Bible, which had been a revision of Matthew's Bible; and Matthew's Bible had been little more than Tyndale's work completed. Tyndale set the standard of Biblical language, that dignified and antique style with which the English peoples are so familiar.

This version, however, met with bitter opposition. It required a hundred years to win the position which should have been accorded it at once.

King James, though widely credited with all honor for the undertaking, probably deserves little. One thing about which he was profoundly concerned was that no part of the expense should fall on the sovereign. He suggested that the translators be rewarded by giving them church livings, as they became vacant. That cost him nothing. Money was raised by the bishops to meet expenses. Robert Barker, the printer, advanced some of it. Those who did the work and met the expense deserve the chief credit.

The dedication to the King might not unjustly be termed a literary curiosity, but it is utterly unworthy the prominent place it retains in our Bibles. The translators' introduction, an eminently worthy and useful document, is omitted from ordinary editions and is unknown to most Bible readers.

While this version is known as the "Authorized Version" we have seen that there is no evidence that it was ever officially authorized. The expression, "Appointed to be read in the churches," found on its title page, was once supposed to afford some evidence of its official authorization, but this contention has now been exploded.

Influence of the Rheims New Testament. The Rheims New Testament, popularized among Protestants by Fulke's publication, exercised considerable influence in making the King James Version. While often obscure it contained many excellent renderings, and James' translators adopted many of its words and phrases. Carleton, in his *The Part of Rheims in Making the English Bible*, says that the Rheims New Testament influenced the Authorized Version in about 3000 places.

WORDS TAKEN FROM THE RHEIMS NEW TESTAMENT

Romans 1:1 separated

1:32 consent, in margin
2:5 impenitent
2:18 approvest
3:25 propitiation, remission
4:4 grace
5:3 glory
5:8 commendeth
7:8 concupiscence

Romans 8:18 revealed

8:19 expectation
8:29 conformable (con-
formed)
10:10 confession
11:14 emulation
11:32 concluded
12:2 conformed
12:12 instant
15:26 contribution

The Rheims New Testament had encouraged a better acquaintance with Jerome's Latin Vulgate. Although a composite work, the Vulgate must ever be recognized as one of the most remarkable books of the world. It is as-

tonishing that a humble monk in his cell in Bethlehem should have been able to perform such a task at that time.

Nearly all the distinctive words of our theological vocabulary are from Jerome's version; such as, person, essence, Scripture, lecture, sermon, text, grace, adoption, spirit, repentance, satisfaction, glory, conversion, sacrament, regeneration, justification, sanctification, redemption, privilege, election, eternity, communion, predestination, congregation, discipline, salvation and propitiation.

The Presbyterian church especially owes many of its most familiar terms to Jerome's translation. The presiding officer of the General Assembly, synod, presbytery and session is called "moderator"; its elders form a "session"; the pastor is the "minister"; and the house in which he lives is the "manse." The Lord's Supper is a "sacrament," and the bread and wine are "elements." Young preachers are "licensed," and they are "probationers" until ordained. Misconduct may lead to "suspension," and "deposition." Presence at worship is "attendance upon ordinances." It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Jerome's work.

Bishop Lloyd's Bible. It is generally agreed that Bishop Lloyd, under the patronage of Archbishop Tenison, undertook to prepare an improved edition of the King James Version, and that this Bible appeared in 1701. But authorities are not agreed as to the identity of Lloyd's Bible. An Oxford folio of that date has been ascribed to him. Other authorities, Scrivener included, think a London folio is Lloyd's Bible, and this is probably correct. The Oxford folio of 1701 is little different from issues of the same press during the previous twenty years.

Chronological dates began to appear in the margins of Oxford Bibles as early as 1679, the years being at first reckoned from the creation. The London edition, however,

made the Nativity the central event of history, and for the first time in any English Bible the years were reckoned as either "Before Christ" or "Anno Domini." The system which Lloyd worked out was based on the chronology of Archbishop Usher. Thus it may be said that Lloyd's Bible was the first to contain this chronology. This has remained the standard Biblical chronology until recent times, but it is now thought to be faulty.

IV. MATTERS OF RELATED INTEREST

Curiosities in Misprints. Mistakes were often made in multiplying copies of the Scriptures by hand, and mistakes in printed copies of the Bible have also been numerous. The most famous misprint of all literature is found in the Authorized Version. Matthew 23:24 reads: "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel." The text originally read: "strain out a gnat." This misprint was corrected in some editions but soon reappeared, and stands in the text to-day. An edition of the King James Version of 1638 reads: "They vex you with their wives" (Num. 25:18). Here "wives" is a misprint for "wiles." Another edition of 1682 makes an old divorce law, recorded in Deut. 24:3, read: "If the latter husband ate her." "Ate" is a misprint for "hate."

Many Bibles are named because of certain misprints, while others are named from peculiarities of translation. The following are the best known examples.¹⁹

CURIOSITIES IN MISPRINTS

1. *The Bug Bible, 1549 (Matthew)*

"Thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for eny bugges by night." Psa. 91:5. (This is found in Coverdale (1535) and several others; but it was Matthew's Bible that came to be known as the "Bug Bible.")

¹⁹ For a lengthy list of misprints in the English Bible, see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. II, p. 318f.

2. *The Breeches Bible, 1560 (Geneva)*

"They sewed figge tree leaues together and made themselues breeches." Gen. 3:7. (Wyclif's Bible had it so, but the original and later editions of the Geneva were known as the "Breeches Bible.")

3. *The Placemaker's Bible, 1562 (Geneva)*

"Blessed are the placemakers [peacemakers] for they shall be called the children of God." Matt. 5:9. (This is also known as the "Whig Bible" because of this misprint.)

4. *The Treacle Bible, 1568 (Bishops')*

"Is there no Tryacle in Gilead?" Jer. 8:22. (Coverdale (1535) and several others had it so, but the Bishops' Bible is known as the "Treacle Bible.")

5. *The Rosin Bible, 1609-10 (Douai)*

The original Douai Bible used in this same text (Jer. 8:22) "rosin." More modern Bibles speak of "balm in Gilead."

6. *The "He" and the "She" Bibles, 1611 (Authorized)*

"He [Boaz] went into the city." Ruth 3:15. "She [Ruth] went into the city." (The first edition of the Authorized Version is known as the "He" Bible and the second edition as the "She" Bible. The second was supposed to correct the error of the first. The Vulgate and Syriac have it "she," while the American Standard Bible reads "he.")

7. *The Wicked Bible, 1631 (Authorized)*

"Thou shalt ["not" omitted] commit adultery." Ex. 20:14. (The printers are said to have been fined 300 pounds for this offence, and the money was used to purchase Greek type for Oxford.)

8. *The Servant Bible, 1640*

"Now the servant [serpent] was more subtil than any beast of the field." Gen. 3:1.

9. *The Printer's Bible, 1653*

"Printers [princes] have persecuted me without a cause." Psal. 119:161.

10. *The Unrighteous Bible, 1653*

"Know ye not that the unrighteous shall ["not" omitted] inherit the kingdom of God?" 1 Cor. 6:9.

11. *The Vinegar Bible, 1717*

Heading of Luke 20, "The Parable of the Vinegar."

12. *The Murderer's Bible, 1801*

"There are murderers [murmurers], complainers, walking after their own lusts." Jude 16.

13. *Standing Fishes Bible, 1806*

"The fishes [fishers] shall stand upon it [the river]." Eze. 47:10.

14. *Ear to Ear Bible, 1810*

"Who hath ears to ear [hear], let him hear." Matt. 13:43.

15. *The Wife-Hater's Bible*, 1810

"If any man come after me and hate not his father . . . yea, and his own wife [life] also." Luke 14:26.

16. *Rebekah's Camels Bible*, 1823

"And Rebekah arose, and her camels [damsels]." Gen. 24:61.

17. *The Wife-Beater's Bible*, 1548 (*Tyndale's New Testament*)

In Tyndale's New Testament with Matthew's notes, issued in 1548, the notes were for the first time placed at the end of the chapters. At the end of 1 Peter 3 was placed what is known as the "wife-beater's note." Matthew's Bible of 1549, often called the "Bug Bible," placed this same note at the end of 1 Peter 3, as a comment on the words, "to dwell with a wife according to knowledge." The note read, "And yf she be not obedient and healpful vnto hym endevoureth to beate the feare of God into her heade, that thereby she may be compelled to learne her duitie and do it." A Bible issued in 1551—claiming in the title to be Matthew's Bible, but in reality being Taverner's Old Testament and Apocrypha and Tyndale's New Testament—contains the same note.

The Order of Books in Printed New Testaments. The order of the books of the Bible in MSS. are many and varied, as we have already seen. And the order of books in the printed New Testament has not always been uniform. The following lists will indicate the printed orders:

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE PRINTED NEW TESTAMENT

<i>Tyndale, 1525</i>	<i>Coverdale, 1535</i>	<i>The Great Bible, 1539</i>
1. Matthew	Matthew	Matthew
2. Mark	Mark	Mark
3. Luke	Luke	Luke
4. John	John	John
5. Acts	Acts	Acts
6. Romans	Romans	Romans
7. 1 Corinthians	1 Corinthians	1 Corinthians
8. 2 Corinthians	2 Corinthians	2 Corinthians
9. Galatians	Galatians	Galatians
10. Ephesians	Ephesians	Ephesians

ORDER OF BOOKS IN THE PRINTED NEW TESTAMENT (*Cont.*)

<i>Tyndale, 1525</i> (<i>Cont.</i>)	<i>Coverdale, 1535</i> (<i>Cont.</i>)	<i>The Great Bible, 1539</i> (<i>Cont.</i>)
11. Philippians	Philippians	Philippians
12. Colossians	Colossians	Colossians
13. 1 Thessalonians	1 Thessalonians	1 Thessalonians
14. 2 Thessalonians	2 Thessalonians	2 Thessalonians
15. 1 Timothy	1 Timothy	1 Timothy
16. 2 Timothy	2 Timothy	2 Timothy
17. Titus	Titus	Titus
18. Philemon	Philemon	Philemon
19. 1 Peter	1 Peter	Hebrews
20. 2 Peter	2 Peter	James
21. 1 John	1 John	1 Peter
22. 2 John	2 John	2 Peter
23. 3 John	3 John	1 John
Hebrews	Hebrews	2 John
James	James	3 John
Jude	Jude	Jude
Revelation	Revelation	Revelation

Tyndale numbered the books in his New Testament, except the four at the end.²⁰ In this he followed Luther, whose New Testament contained the same arrangement. Luther doubted the canonicity of these four, declined to number them, and spoke his doubts concerning them. Tyndale accepted Hebrews, James and Jude. Concerning Revelation he did not commit himself. Coverdale followed the order of Tyndale, but he omitted all numbers. Matthew's Bible of 1537 did the same thing, as did also Taverner's Bible. The Great Bible of 1539 changed the order, for the first time in printed Bibles, placing Hebrews and James immediately after Philemon. This order has been maintained since, except in certain private translations which have sought to give a chronological arrangement. The order of our New Testament, as first found in the Great Bible, is that of the Latin Vulgate.

The Apocrypha in Printed Bibles. The Apocrypha

²⁰ See Edward Arber, *The First Printed English New Testament—Facsimile Texts*, p. 15 of facsimiles.

formed a part of every English Bible, and others as well, from Wyclif's translation to the King James Version. Previous to the Reformation, as we have seen, it was almost universally regarded as an essential part of the Bible. The leading Reformers rejected it as inspired, but continued to regard its books as valuable for reading. In fact the Apocrypha continued to hold quite a sacred place, in the minds of the masses, for a considerable time, and there can be no doubt that many Protestants regarded it as Scripture. No great change is made quickly.

The following table will indicate the use made of the Apocrypha in the various Bibles published by Protestants.

THE APOCRYPHA IN PRINTED BIBLES ²¹

I. *Bibles Other Than English*

1. The Zurich Bible (French) 1529-30. (The Apocrypha was placed as an appendix after the New Testament, with a non-committal preface. Third Maccabees was included while the Three Holy Children, the Prayer of Manasses and the additions to Esther were added in a later addition.)
2. Luther's Bible (German) 1534, and its revision in 1892. (First and second Esdras omitted.)
3. The French Bible of Calvin, 1535. (Luther's and Calvin's Bibles printed the Apocrypha between the Testaments. It was not considered inspired.)

II. *The Bible in English*

1. Wyclif's Bible, 1382, and Purvey's Revision, 1388. (The Apocrypha included, but not as inspired.)
2. Tyndale's Bible, 1525-31. (Tyndale did not translate the whole Bible. However, he did translate part of the Apocrypha, for readings in church services.)
3. Coverdale's Bible, 1535. (The Apocrypha was printed between the Testaments, except Baruch which followed Jeremiah. It is made a fourth part of the Bible, but was not considered inspired. The Prayer of Manasses and the Three Children were omitted.)
4. Matthew's Bible, 1537. (The Apocrypha was printed between the Testaments, but not considered inspired. It contained the Three Children and the Prayer of Manasses, not found in Coverdale's Bible.)

²¹ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 122-3.

5. The Great Bible, 1539. (The Apocrypha was made the fourth part of the Bible, with no distinction indicated between it and the other books.)
6. The Geneva Bible, 1560. (The Apocrypha was printed between the Testaments, but not considered inspired. This Bible began to omit the Apocrypha in copies dated 1599. They may have been published later, but in any event this was the first Bible to omit these books.)
7. The Bishops' Bible, 1568. (The Apocrypha was included, without distinction between it and other books, except that 3 and 4 Esdras alone were pronounced apocryphal.)
8. The King James Version, 1611. (Originally the Apocrypha was printed between the Testaments, without any qualification as to its value. In the table for lessons, at the beginning, it is included under the Old Testament.)
9. The British Revision, 1885. (The Apocrypha was omitted.)
10. The American Standard Bible, 1901. (The Apocrypha was omitted.)

From the foregoing it will appear that the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the King James Bible, all Episcopal in origin, gave a more favorable place to the Apocrypha than any other Bibles.

The translators of the Authorized Version evidently regarded the books of the Apocrypha very highly. The absence of words of qualification as to their value is an indication of that fact. Archbishop Abbot, one of the translators, issued an order in 1615 forbidding the sale of Bibles without the Apocrypha, on pain of a year's imprisonment. While this was probably a blow aimed at the Geneva Bible for omitting it, it shows something of how valuable the Apocrypha was considered by men who had helped to make the King James Version. That it was originally a vital part of this version cannot be denied. It was first omitted from certain editions of the Authorized Version in 1629. It was not until 1827 that the British and American Bible Societies, after two years of sharp debate, both ceased to publish the Apocrypha.

The Apocrypha was omitted from the British Revision of 1885, as has been said. It was translated separately, how-

ever, by a committee appointed by the University Presses, and published in 1895. The committee was made up of men who had assisted in the work of the British Revision. This revised Apocrypha was published in an edition of the British Revision in 1898, and Convocation authorized the use of the British Revision in the churches in 1899.

The Apocrypha is not now considered the equal of other books of the Bible by any group of Protestants, yet it remains a part of the Bible of the Episcopal church and, as we have seen, is also found in the last revision of Luther's Bible.

CHAPTER V

BIBLES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH REVISION AND AMERICAN STANDARD

WE come now to discuss the Bibles of the nineteenth century. The first that will engage our attention will be the Anglo-American Revision of 1881-85, usually called the British Revision, and the American Standard Bible of 1901.

I. BIBLES OF THE PREVIOUS CENTURIES

All translations of the Bible previous to the nineteenth century were based on late and therefore faulty texts. This is true of the Old Testament as well as of the New.

I. KING JAMES VERSION UNSATISFACTORY AT FIRST

The King James Version, so revered to-day, was not very popular in its early history, though a decided improvement over any previous revision. It was difficult to sell it. In order to encourage purchasers it was felt necessary to publish it with the appearance of the Bibles then in common use. "The figure, for instance, of Neptune with his trident and horses, was borrowed from the Bishops' Bible, while the general ornamentation of its title page was borrowed from the Geneva Bible."¹ In 1649 an edition was

¹ See Hoare, *Evolution of the English Bible*, p. 246.

actually published with the Geneva notes, evidently for the purpose of popularizing it.

Three Revisions Forced Early. Criticism and opposition forced three revisions of this work within thirty-seven years of its original publication. The first occurred in 1615, only four years after this version first appeared. A second revision was made in 1629, and a third in 1638. These, however, made no great changes. But a movement toward a drastic revision, intended to displace the version entirely, was well under way when the Commonwealth collapsed and the Stuarts were restored in 1660.

The Long Parliament in 1653 brought in a bill for a revision. In 1657 a sub-committee was appointed to take the matter in hand, and several meetings were held. But the dissolution of the Parliament and the restoration of the Stuarts ended the matter entirely. No further effort at revision was made, because the period that followed the restoration was the darkest in the entire religious history of England. Puritanism had sought to make people righteous by force, and with the Stuarts came liberation which soon became license. The Court became corrupt, the nobility dissolute and the clergy worldly. Conditions almost unbelievable resulted. All interest in Biblical revision in the church of England ceased, and an authoritative revision was not possible without the leadership of this church. The Authorized Version was simply left undisturbed until hallowed by time. By the eighteenth century it had become so very sacred from long continued use that any sort of revision was out of the question.

2. KING JAMES VERSION BASED ON FAULTY TEXTS

The Old Testament of the Authorized Version was based on four current Hebrew Bibles, containing the stand-

ard Massoretic text. The New Testament was made substantially from what is known as the *Textus Receptus*.

Textus Receptus. A brief history of the *Textus Receptus* will indicate something of its worth. Erasmus, as we have seen, published his Greek New Testament in 1516. It was based on a very few Greek MSS. from the tenth to the fifteenth century. Later he revised and improved his first edition, but he never used more than eight MSS. in all, and they were all late. His Greek text became the basis of all later editions, yet it was prepared in the greatest possible haste in order to prevent another from having the honor of publishing the first printed Greek Testament. And we have already seen how parts of this text were translated from the Latin Vulgate, unsupported by any extant Greek MS. Stephens² slightly improved the text of Erasmus by the use of the Complutensian Polyglot and fifteen MSS., among which were one from the sixth century and one from the eighth. Stephens published his third edition in 1550.

The Elzevir brothers published an edition of the Greek New Testament at Leyden in 1624, based chiefly on Beza, whose work had introduced some slight changes. A second Elzevir edition, appearing in 1633, contained the claim that its text was that universally received. From this statement, which was nothing more than the clever advertisement of an enterprising publisher, came the term *Textus Receptus*. Since that time Stephens' third edition of 1550 has been known as the *Textus Receptus* for England, and the Elzevir edition of 1633 as the *Textus Receptus* on the Continent.³ According to Scrivener the differences between the two texts number 287. None are of any importance.

² French, Estienne; Latin, Stephanus. Both forms frequently used.

³ M. R. Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 61.

This text became the standard for two hundred years. And yet it was essentially the text of Erasmus, made from a few late and inferior MSS., together with the Complutensian Polyglot, in the very infancy of textual criticism. An almost idolatrous reverence became attached to it, so that efforts at criticism and emendation have often been regarded as little less than sacrilege.

For the preparation of a Greek text to-day we have fully 4000 Greek MSS., including fragments and lectionaries, some of them dating from the third and fourth centuries and therefore hundreds of years older than any used in the formation of the Textus Receptus. In addition, we have hundreds of copies of the various early versions, made from the second century on, and finally the quotations of the early Christian fathers. The makers of the Textus Receptus had none of these important source materials.

3. DISCOVERY OF AN OLDER AND PURER TEXT

Within seventeen years after the appearance of the Authorized Version, Codex Alexandrinus, a fifth century MS., came into England and scholars began to discover how much it differed from the text generally received. This was one influence that suggested a revision of the King James Version. As time passed large numbers of Greek MSS. were discovered or became accessible to scholars, some reaching back to the fourth century. These revealed numerous and important divergences from the received text. Men devoting their lives to Biblical study and textual research also became familiar with the ancient versions and the quotations of the early fathers, which were found to reveal an older and purer text. Other important discoveries made further contributions. Thus weighty reasons were being accumulated for a new Biblical revision.

4. CONTROVERSIES THAT LONG HINDERED REVISION

Authorized Version Dignified as an Original Revelation. Other influences, however, served to postpone revision. The Reformation had dethroned the Pope, with his infallibility, and had set up an infallible Bible in his stead. A doctrine of inspiration that guaranteed this Biblical infallibility was increasingly felt necessary. Therefore, in the exigencies of the times, the Reformers came finally to teach a theory of inspiration that extended to every word of the printed page, and thus the Authorized Version was raised to the dignity of an original revelation. Pressed by Roman Catholic opponents who sought to destroy the sole authority of the Bible, Protestant theologians finally came to insist on an errorless transmission of the originals. The accepted texts of both Old and New Testaments were declared to be infallible, the veritable Word of God, and to question this was considered a dangerous heresy. Advocates of revision were not heard, since to admit the very need of revision, in the theological mind, was to surrender the one Protestant authority.

How deep-seated and unreasoning prejudice against a revision may become is illustrated by an experience of the American Bible Society about the middle of the nineteenth century.

A Revision Rejected. Through long years of printing by numerous firms and with no copyright to protect its text, the King James Version came to be greatly altered, some changes being introduced purposely by irresponsible persons while others were entirely accidental. This fact was called to the attention of the board of managers of the Society in 1847. A committee was appointed in 1848, looking toward a revision that would eliminate the accumulated alterations. An edition recently published by the

Society was compared with others published in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, and these were compared with an original edition of 1611. Some 24,000 variations were disclosed.⁴

A revised text was prepared. In some cases the text was altered to agree with the Hebrew and Greek. Obsolete spellings were changed. Punctuation was improved. Numerous small blunders were eliminated, but in only five changes was the sense affected. Altogether it was a much more satisfactory text.

Things went well for a few years, and then a storm broke, which threatened the very existence of the old Society. In the heat of passion it was charged with being controlled by German rationalism! In order to continue to serve the world it had to bend to the storm. The matter was referred to another committee, which provided a text modeled after previous publications by the Society, and this text has since been used. Even accidental blunders and deliberate changes made by the irresponsible had become sacred, and must not be disturbed!

5. CONTINUED PROGRESS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Robert Stephens, the Parisian printer, had been the first to collate fresh MSS. His third edition of the Greek New Testament, issued in 1550, gave the readings of fifteen MSS., together with the Complutensian Polyglot. The variant readings numbered 2194. This New Testament was the first to contain a critical apparatus. All his MSS. were late except Codex Bezae of the sixth century and Codex Regius of the eighth.

⁴ Report of the History and Recent Collation of the English Version of the Bible, presented by the Committee on Versions to the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society, and adopted May 1st, 1851.

The London Polyglot. Brian Walton, later Bishop of Chester, published the London Polyglot in 1657. Many of the ablest scholars of the day aided in the work, which was the greatest Biblical undertaking of the seventeenth century. The set of six volumes sold for ten pounds; they were the first books brought out in England by subscription. Oliver Cromwell showed his interest in the work by permitting the paper to be imported without duty. The original preface contained compliments to Cromwell, but the work was later dedicated to Charles II. It contained nine languages; Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian and Latin. Several years were required for the printing.

Walton was the first among English scholars to point out the numerous discrepancies and variations of the MSS. of the New Testament. The New Testament of Walton's Polyglot contained the Greek text of Stephens, the version of Arias, the Vulgate, Syriac, Ethiopic and Persic versions, and for the four Gospels the Arabic as well. Each version was accompanied by a literal translation into Latin. At the foot of the page was given the readings of Codex Alexandrinus, which Walton was the first to use. And to all this he added the readings of fifteen other authorities, in addition to the sixteen given by Stephens.

This Polyglot, with its various readings, threw consternation into the ranks of the Protestants and it was made the subject of bitter attack. It was felt that the infallibility of the Bible, so essential to Protestant success, was endangered.

Mill's Greek New Testament. John Mill published a Greek New Testament in 1707, after thirty years of research. It was finished only fourteen days before his death. The text was that of Stephens, but Mill gave the readings of 78 MSS. in addition to the 16 given by Stephens. He

also made good use of the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Peshitta, and patristic quotations. His New Testament exhibited variations in the Greek MSS., as pointed out by Mill himself, to the number of 30,000. He was the first to give a definite statement as to the number of various readings. This publication produced a crisis. Mill's work was bitterly attacked. It furnished Roman Catholics with exactly what they regarded as sufficient to destroy forever the Protestant doctrine of an infallible Bible; and they were not slow to seize their apparent advantage. Deists shouted with great glee; Protestants were in a state of panic.

At this juncture Richard Bentley rose to the occasion, and rendered a noble service to sane Christianity. He made it clear that the problems created by the "various readings" were matters of textual criticism, and that problems of textual criticism were not theological but purely literary. He pointed out quite effectively that neither faith nor morals were in the slightest degree endangered. Thereby he did much to allay the fears of many good people. But with so large a number of men, knowing nothing about textual criticism, advocating the infallibility of the generally received text, and with such tension as existed between Catholics and Protestants, there was no chance for an authoritative revision of the King James Version for more than a century and a half longer.

Bentley rendered a further valuable service in preparing the way for his successors in textual research. He planned a Greek New Testament to represent the text of the fourth century, in which he proposed, as he said, to remove 2000 errors from the Pope's Vulgate, and as many from the text of the Protestant Pope (Stephens), without using any MS. under 900 years old. He proposed to do this by the formation of a text, in both Greek and Latin, that would agree exactly and would represent the text in use in the fourth

century. He never issued the proposed revision, most probably because he discovered that what he had promised could not be done. But his researches proved valuable.

The accumulation of materials for a thoroughly revised text continued. Study of the new sources of information finally revealed the fact that the MSS. of the New Testament fall into four distinct groups, or types of text, of varying value; and it had happened that the Authorized Version was made from that type of text that had been developed last and was therefore the most faulty of the four. This modern discovery marks an important epoch in the history of New Testament criticism.

The Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targums, and certain ancient versions—especially the LXX., the Syriac, and the Old Latin—were found to furnish material for a considerable correction of the Hebrew text, and thus it ceased to be relied on as implicitly as formerly. And as men came to understand the Hebrew better, the faulty translations, in many instances, in the King James Version became apparent.

Revision Finally Launched. The imperfections of the text of both the Old and the New Testaments from which the Authorized Version had been made, and the fact that it had come to contain some 200 words now obsolete or completely changed in meaning—these with other considerations finally led to a complete revision of this version. The movement was launched in 1870.

II. THE SUPERIORITY OF MODERN TRANSLATIONS

The British and American revisions both mark a great advance in Biblical translation. The British Revision was launched by the southern Convocation of the church of England, a fact which gave it official distinction. America

was asked to assist in the work. England appointed 52 men, representing the various religious opinions; America appointed 27 men, equally representative of the various churches. These two committees spent fourteen and a half years in producing the Anglo-American Revision of 1881-85, or, as we shall call it, the British Revision. The American Committee continued its work sixteen years longer and produced the American Standard Bible of 1901, a revision which is an improvement upon the British Revision, especially for American use.

Nobody can read the Bible in editions with marginal notes, and especially the New Testament, without seeing that there is doubt, in many instances, as to the exact words used in the original. On nearly every page of the American Standard New Testament there are notes in the margin, often several, saying, "Many ancient authorities read" so and so. What this means should be fully understood by every Biblical student.

I. DIFFERENCES IN MSS.

Some examples of the differences in MSS. that have come down to us will make the matter clear and will illustrate the problems of textual criticism. Take for example our fifth oldest and best MS. of the New Testament, Codex Bezae.

*Peculiarities of Codex Bezae.*⁵ Codex Bezae, written in the sixth century, belongs to a very ancient type of text, current probably by the middle of the second century. This MS. seems to represent the text most widely used by the ante-Nicene fathers and, as we have already seen, none ranks with it in the number of remarkable interpolations

⁵ See M. R. Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, pp. 157-74.

and omissions which it contains. Many passages occur, especially in Luke and Acts, where it differs strikingly from all other Greek MSS. known.

After Matthew 20:28 we find, in Codex Bezae, one Greek uncial and in the Old Latin and Syriac versions, also in certain copies of the Latin Vulgate, the following interpolation:

But seek ye to increase from that which is small, and to become less from that which is greater. When ye enter into a house and are summoned to dine, sit not down in the highest places, lest perchance a more honorable man than thou shall come in afterwards, and he that bade thee come and say to thee, Go down lower; and thou shalt be ashamed. But if thou sittest down in the worse place, and one worse than thee come in afterwards, then he that bade thee will say to thee, Go up higher; and this shall be advantageous for thee.

Following Luke 6:4 we find, in Codex Bezae only.

On the same day, seeing one working on the sabbath day, he said unto him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.

In Acts 10:25 we read in Codex Bezae only:

When Peter drew near unto Cæsarea, one of the slaves ran forward and announced his arrival. And Cornelius jumped up.

Another interesting interpolation is found in Acts 12:10. The words printed in Italics are an addition found only in Codex Bezae.

And when they [Peter and the angel] were past the first and second guard, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth into the city; which opened to them of its own accord: and they went out, *and they descended the seven steps*, and passed on.

The omissions of this MS. are numerous. The words in italics in the following quotations from the usual texts are all omitted from Codex Bezae.

Luke 24:5. Why seek ye the living among the dead?

v. 6. *He is not here, but is risen:* remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee.

v. 12. *But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths by themselves; and he departed to his home, wondering at that which was come to pass.*

v. 36. And as they spake these things, he himself stood in the midst of them, *and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.*

v. 40. *And when he had said this, he showed them his hands and his feet.*

v. 51. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them, *and was carried up into heaven.*

v. 52. And they *worshipped him, and* returned to Jerusalem.

The Old Latin Version also omits all of the italicized matter above. The American Standard Bible has a marginal note in each case, saying, "Some ancient authorities omit."

In Acts alone, Codex Bezae, contains 600 additions to the text, not found in the more common Greek MSS. Many of these indicate a familiarity in detail so remarkable that they could have been added only by a resident of the country, acquainted with local traditions. Some have supposed that this MS. represents a separate edition of Acts, equally authentic but of different date. Notwithstanding its differences from other MSS. Dr. Hort says: "The text of D [Codex Bezae] presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the third, and probably the greater part of the second century, than any other Greek manuscript."

Various Endings of Mark's Gospel. As a further example of the differences in the MSS. that have come down to us may be cited the threefold ending of Mark's Gospel.⁶

The Short Ending. First, there is what is known as the short ending. This ends the Gospel with Mark 16:8, leaving off the last twelve verses generally found in our Bibles.

⁶ See Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. II, pp. 131-33.

Codex Sinaiticus, one of our oldest and best MSS. ends here, as does the Sinaitic Syriac, and other MSS. of less importance.

Codex Vaticanus, which is our oldest and best MS. of the New Testament, ends the chapter with verse eight also; but it leaves more than a whole column blank at this point. It would seem that the writer knew that an ending existed and he may have intended to add it later. But he did not.

The Intermediate Ending. Second, there is what is known as the intermediate ending. Translated into English it reads: "But they reported briefly to Peter and his companions all they had been told. And afterwards Jesus himself sent out by them from east to west the sacred and incorruptible message of eternal salvation."⁷ With slight variations this ending is added after Mark 16:8 in four uncials, a cursive, an Old Latin MS., and certain versions.

Codex Regius is one of the uncials containing the intermediate ending. It is there given as one of three endings. The text first breaks off at Mark 16:8. Then it gives the intermediate ending, and after another break is given the long ending. This MS. is from the seventh century, or possibly the eighth, and is on purple vellum, written in silver and gold. It contains the Gospels only, with gaps, and is now in the National Library at Paris. It consists of 257 leaves, 9 by 6½ inches, with two columns of 25 lines each.

In all the four uncials referred to above the intermediate ending of Mark's Gospel is given as an alternative to the longer ending; in other words, these uncials give a double ending. In one Old Latin MS. the intermediate ending appears alone.

⁷ Goodspeed, *New Testament*.

The Long Ending. Third, there is what is known as the long ending, consisting of the last twelve verses usually found in the Gospel. This ending, and it alone, is found in all the best uncials except those referred to above, and in most of the cursives.

It has long been thought that Mark could not have written the long ending to his Gospel, and this opinion has been strengthened within recent years. In 1893 Conybeare found an Armenian MS., dated 989 A.D. and known as Codex Edschmiadzin, in which this long ending is preceded by a note saying that it had been written by one "Ariston an elder."

The Ariston referred to is probably one who lived in the first century and is mentioned by Papias as a disciple of the Lord. A possible theory then is that Mark's Gospel was originally left unfinished for some reason, or that it was mutilated at an early date, and that a summary of the events following the resurrection, written by Ariston, was substituted to fill the gap. If so, we have another witness to the Lord's life on earth.

Addition to the Long Ending—Washington Codex. In the Washington Codex there is a large section added to the long ending of Mark. It is placed between verses 14 and 15, and reads:

But they excused themselves, saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief lies under the sway of Satan, who will not allow what lies under the unclean spirits to understand the truth and power of God; therefore," they said to Christ, "reveal your righteousness now." Christ answered them, "The term of years for Satan's power has now expired, but other terrors are at hand. I was delivered to death on behalf of sinners, that they might return to the truth and sin no more, that they might inherit that glory of righteousness which is spiritual and imperishable in heaven."⁸

This added section evidently belonged originally to the long ending, but in some way came to be omitted. It has

⁸ Moffatt, *New Testament*.

long been surmised that some such section existed, since Jerome quoted a part of it, but this is the only known MS. that contains it.

It is generally thought that Mark can not have intentionally ended his Gospel with 16:8. How it lost its original ending is a matter of speculation, but most probably it was through accident.

The Story of the Woman Taken in Adultery Revised. There is another matter of interest in connection with Codex Edschmiadzin. It is the oldest Armenian MS. that contains the story of the woman taken in adultery, and has it in a different form from that found in our Bibles. This version is as follows:

A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer, and said, "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones, and stone her to death." But he himself, bowing his head, was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And, filled with shame, they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Saith Jesus, "Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written."⁹

How such revisions of this story arose will be discussed later.

2. THE CORRUPTION OF THE TEXT

How Mistakes Crept into Biblical MSS. Before the invention of printing books were multiplied solely by the hands of fallible copyists. A slip of the pen, an error of sight or hearing, would be recorded and repeated in succeeding copies, to which each new copyist would inevitably add his own mistakes. He who will copy a few pages of any written matter, with all possible care, and then count his

⁹ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 154

blunders, will be in a position to understand how mistakes crept into Biblical MSS.

The Old Testament was completed by 165 B.C., so that the whole of it was copied by hand for more than 1600 years. The New Testament was completed about the close of the first century A.D., hence was copied by hand for more than 1400 years. Within such periods of time the Bible would naturally come to contain many errors.

It is calculated that in the extant MSS. of the New Testament alone there are more than 150,000 variations¹⁰, of which about 400 affect the sense though only about 50 are of real significance. But even of these fifty not one, says Dr. Philip Schaff, president of the American Revision Committee, "affects an article of faith or a precept of duty, which is not sustained by other and undoubted passages, or by the whole tenor of Scripture teaching." The mistakes of copyists therefore need not disturb us. They may be classified as follows:

A. Accidental. Under this head come many repetitions and omissions. Letters were often transposed by accident, sometimes changing the sense. Some mistakes seem to have been due to ignorance and carelessness. In 1 Samuel 13:1 we read: "Saul was . . . years old when he began to reign." The Hebrew is a blank here. Our Bible supplies "forty" conjecturally. Again, we read in 2 Samuel 3:7: "Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah: and . . . said to Abner." The Hebrew is blank. But Ishbosheth is found in the LXX., the Syriac and the Vulgate, and is supplied in our Bible from these. Doubtless this name once stood in the Hebrew text. It was apparently carelessness or ignorance that caused such blanks.

B. To Correct a Supposed Error. A good example is

¹⁰ For causes of errors see Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th ed., and Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*.

found in Mark 1:2-3, where we read in the most ancient text: "Even as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way [Mal. 3:1]. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make ready the way of the Lord, make his paths straight [Isa. 40:3]."

Now this is really a quotation from two prophets, Malachi and Isaiah. Seeing the two quotations put together and credited to Isaiah alone, a copyist, wishing to correct the apparent error, changed the introduction to read, "As it is written in the prophets." The copyists' correction is found in the King James Version, but the older reading is restored in the American Standard Bible and all other modern translations.

C. To Soften a Saying. Occasionally a saying seemed rather harsh, and copyists sought to tone it down. A good example is found in Matthew 5:22: "Every one who is angry with his brother *without cause* shall be in danger of the judgment." The words in italics are not found in the oldest extant MSS., from which we conclude that some copyist has sought to qualify the saying.

D. To Strengthen A Saying. While copyists softened some expressions they strengthened others. An example may be seen in Mark 11:26: "And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also who is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. *But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father who is in heaven forgive your trespasses.*"

A copyist added the words in italics. They are not found in the best MSS. and are therefore omitted from all modern translations. They occur in Matthew (6:15), and may have been added to Mark for harmonistic purposes. Whether this is a case of strengthening a statement or not, such cases occurred occasionally.

E. Doxological and Rubrical Additions. Doxological and rubrical matter, which may have first appeared in the margins, has sometimes found its way into the text. The close of the Lord's prayer, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." (Matt. 6:13) is an example. It is not found in the oldest MSS.

Acts 8:37 probably represents an early form of confession at baptism. It reads: "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." This is absent from the best texts; and neither this nor the close of the Lord's prayer is found in modern translations.

F. Explanatory. A copyist sometimes added what he felt to be needed explanation. One of the best examples is found in John 5:2-7:

Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, withered, *waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.* And a certain man was there, who had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity. When Jesus saw him lying, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case, he saith unto him, Wouldst thou be made whole? The sick man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool.

Omit the words in italics and the story is complete. But the sick man speaks of the water being "troubled," and a copyist felt that readers, not familiar with this pool and its peculiar history, would not understand the reference. So he added the explanation. He did not hesitate to say that what happened to the water was caused by an angel. Such no doubt was the common opinion. But this explanation is omitted from all modern translations because it is not found in the oldest and best MSS.

G. Partisan Changes of Scripture. Other errors occurred for which there appears no satisfactory explanation; and

our treatment of the subject is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive. However, one class of errors remains which should not be omitted, and that is errors due to party spirit. Men sometimes deliberately altered the text of Scripture to support their theological position.

There has been a most charitable disposition among textual critics, who have sought to minimize if not deny deliberate tinkering with the text for doctrinal purposes. Matter suspected of such origin has often been accounted for otherwise. But, with all the facts, it seems impossible to doubt or deny it. Several texts are under suspicion, for example John 1:18, Acts 20:28 and 1 Tim. 3:16. In these cases variations were doubtless created by doctrinal tinkering. Rendel Harris finds many others.

In the early centuries men were often accused of such tinkering.¹¹ Origen charged the Valentinians with altering the Scriptures for doctrinal reasons, and Eusebius made similar charges against Tatian. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian all accused heretics of tampering with texts. The case of Marcion, in his treatment of Luke and the Epistles of Paul, is well known.

That efforts were early made to strengthen the teachings of the New Testament as to the deity of Christ there can be no doubt. Take John 1:18. In the best texts it reads, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared Him." Someone substituted "God" for "Son," which made it read, "God only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." The MS. evidence supporting this reading was sufficient to induce Tregelles to adopt it for his New Testament.

¹¹ See G. Salmon, *Some Criticisms of the Text of the New Testament*, pp. 61, 78, also M. R. Vincent, *History of Textual Criticism of The New Testament*, pp. 43-5.

Acts 20:28, in the Authorized Version, reads: "Take heed unto yourselves . . . to feed the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." This is clearly a case of the substitution of "God" for "Lord," which the original text doubtless had. Westcott and Hort still have the word "God" in their text, but Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles all used "Lord," as does the more modern text of Von Soden. The American Standard Bible also uses "Lord."

The King James Version, in 1 Tim. 3:16 reads, "God was manifested in the flesh." Here the word "God" was substituted for the relative pronoun "Who," as will be seen in modern translations.

Efforts were also made to add support to the doctrine of the Trinity. 1 John 5:7-8, in the Authorized Version, reads: "For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one.*"

Some partisan added the words in italics; they are not found in any Greek MS. of worth, nor in any modern translation.

Erasmus did not include these words in the first edition of his Greek New Testament. They were in the Latin Vulgate, and its adherents demanded their admission to the Greek. He agreed to add them provided a single Greek MS. could be found containing them. Codex Montfortianus, now in Trinity College, Dublin, was produced, containing the words; and Erasmus, though he did not believe they should be admitted, added them to his text in his third edition, in 1522. For 200 years no edition of the Greek New Testament appeared without them.

This Greek MS., however, had evidently been deliberately prepared to deceive Erasmus. It contains 455 leaves, and the

one on which this text is found is very different from any other in the MS. It is glazed and no other is. Evidently it was a fraud. The words had no Greek original but had been added to the Latin text some centuries earlier than Erasmus' time.

The doctrine of the Virgin Birth was similarly treated. In Westcott and Hort's text Matthew 1:16 reads: "And Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ." Now, the Curetonian Syriac reads: "And Jacob begat Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, who bare Jesus Christ." This reading probably owes its origin to interest in the Virgin Birth. It adds "Virgin," and declines to speak of Joseph as "husband."

Luke 2:33, in the best text, reads: "And his father and his mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning him." But some MSS. read: "And Joseph and his mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning him." This can be nothing but an effort to add support to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, by declining to speak of Joseph as "his father," even as reputed.

Luke 2:41, in the best text, reads: "And his parents went every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover." But certain MSS. read: "And Joseph and Mary went every year to Jerusalem at the feast of passover." This change also was made by those who would strengthen the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. In some MSS. of the Romaunt Version, used among the Waldenses in the middle ages, the Messianic title, "Son of Man" is uniformly rendered, "Son of the Virgin."

While some would emphasize the Virgin Birth, others, it would seem, sought to refute it by changing texts. In the Sinaitic Syriac Matthew 1:16 reads: "Jacob begat Joseph,

and Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called Christ."

This can only mean that Jesus was born in a natural way, despite the fact that this MS. was probably made from the same source as the Curetonian Syriac, which we have seen contains the added word "Virgin," and omits the word "husband." Indeed this MS. itself elsewhere recognizes the Virgin Birth. Yet its reading in Matt. 1:16 is supported by some Old Latin MSS. and H. von Soden has it in his text. Such are some of the difficulties of textual criticism.

Very unusual care was exercised in copying the Old Testament, following the formation of the standard Hebrew text about the close of the first century A.D., hence comparatively few mistakes occur in its MSS. This fact, however, is offset by the accumulating evidence of extensive corruption of the Hebrew text previous to the formation of the standard text.

It may shock some people to learn that numerous variations and mistakes occur in the MSS. of the Bible. Some would suppress such information, but it would be a very poor compliment to Christianity to admit that men's faith depended on keeping them in ignorance of important facts concerning the Bible that are the common property of those informed in such matters everywhere. That would be an admission that the strength of Christianity is found in ignorance. Had God thought it necessary to preserve the Bible from all error he could have done so. But he did not do so; and it can never be wise to conceal the facts.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

We have now seen something of the mistakes that crept into the MSS. of the Bible. In translation the first necessity is a text to translate, and this text should be the most perfect

that scholarship can provide, one as near the original as may be. To provide such a text is the work of textual criticism. Manuscripts made in different ages and from different sources are manifestly not all of equal value; some are much nearer the original than others. The first task of the textual critic, therefore, is to determine the value he will place on each MS. he expects to use in the formation of his text.

What Makes Certain MSS. Superior? Several factors have their influence in determining the value of a MS. Its age is important. Let us suppose that an original MS. has been copied once, and each new copy transcribed in regular succession to the eighth copy, within a period of five hundred years of its origin. Now the first copy will contain certain inevitable mistakes, which will be repeated and added to in the second copy. By the time the eighth has been reached many mistakes will have occurred. Therefore, the older the MS. the more trustworthy it will be, because it will be nearer the original and fewer mistakes will have entered. This principle would be invariable if copies were always made in regular succession from an original source.

Age, however, is not the only factor in determining the value of a given MS. Let us suppose the same original MS. is copied once, five hundred years after its origin. The eighth copy, referred to above, and this first copy will then be of the same age. The first copy, however, would contain few mistakes, while the eighth would contain many. Hence, while generally speaking the older MS. will be the more trustworthy, because nearer the original, this is not always true. The character of the MS. from which another is made is also very important.

To determine such matters is the task of the textual critics. In the case of the New Testament they must also

consider the type of text to which a MS. belongs, for four distinct types of varying value exist, all of them formed early.

Hebrew Old Testament and its Versions. The text of the Old Testament may be revised by the use of the versions made from it. The Samaritan Pentateuch, a text maintained independently since the fifth century B.C., may be used in many instances. The Targums are valuable. The LXX. was completed in the second century B.C., and therefore represents a Hebrew text 1000 years earlier than the oldest Hebrew MS. And we have MSS. of the LXX., dating 500 years earlier than the oldest Hebrew MS. By the use of the LXX., therefore, the Hebrew text may be corrected in many instances. The other versions may be used in the same way.

The Greek New Testament and its Versions. Our oldest MSS. of the New Testament of any real worth come from the fourth century. But the Syriac version was made very much earlier, not later than the second century, and the Old Latin version was certainly made during the second century. These two versions represent the text of the New Testament perhaps within fifty to seventy-five years after it was completed, and almost two hundred years before our oldest valuable Greek MS. was made. Hence these versions may be used to correct the Greek text, and other versions, though less valuable, are used in the same way.

While we have no MSS. of these versions older than MSS. of the Greek they nevertheless indicate much as to the condition of the Greek text long before our New Testament MSS. were written; and the Old Latin has been preserved in MSS. equal in age with the best Greek MSS. of the New Testament.

The plate used as a frontispiece illustrates how, for the first time in history, all the valuable sources which we

have been considering have made their full contribution, and by means of their use scholars have been able to produce a Biblical text much nearer the originals than was ever provided previously. And it is the improvement of the text from which they were made that gives the chief value to the British and American revisions. In fact, superiority of the underlying text is the chief value of all modern translations.

A Lesson in Textual Criticism. How this corrected text is arrived at is a matter of interest, and we are now ready for a lesson in textual criticism.

We may take first the doxology to the Lord's prayer, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen" (Matt 6:13).

This doxology is found in most of the ancient versions—the Syriac, Gothic, Armenian and Ethiopic. In these, however, its form varies. But it is not found in the oldest and best Greek MSS.; Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, both of the fourth century, omit it. Nor does it appear in Codex Bezae of the sixth century. This is our fifth best Greek MS. As has already been said, Codex Rossanensis of the sixth century is the oldest known Greek MS. to contain it. It is not found in the Latin Vulgate. The early Christian fathers, in their expositions on the Lord's prayer, never quote or refer to it.

For these reasons the American Standard Bible omits it, with a note, saying, "Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add, 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.'"

The last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel (Mark 16:9-20) will serve as a second example. These verses are not found in the two oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament, Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, nor in the Sinaitic Syriac. Some other sources of less importance also omit them. Tregelles remarks that "Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa,

Victor of Antioch, Severus of Antioch, Jerome, as well as others, especially Greeks, testify that these verses were not written by Mark, or not found in the best copies."¹² A tenth century Armenian MS. gives these words with a heading saying that they were written by one "Ariston, an elder." Moreover their style is not that of Mark. These twelve verses contain seventeen words found nowhere else in the Gospel. This fact alone suggests that Mark did not write them. And, to complicate matters still further, certain MSS. contain an entirely different ending.

The most weighty thing that can be said in favor of these verses is the fact that Irenæus quotes from them, without misgiving, in the second century, but this by no means proves Mark's authorship.

Hence the American Standard Bible sets them apart, with a note saying, "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit ver. 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel." Westcott and Hort bracket these verses as an interpolation.

Again, we may cite the story of the woman taken in adultery, as recorded in John 7:53-8:11. This story is not found in any of the oldest and best MSS. of the New Testament, nor in the Syriac or other ancient versions. It is marked as if doubtful in many MSS. that do contain it, and it is given in varying forms. It seems to have been unknown to the early Christian fathers. It has no connection with the context where it stands, and is not written in John's style. It is found in Codex Bezae, a sixth century MS., but not in the usual form. Jerome, in the fourth century, says it was in many MSS. in his day. Augustine, about the same time, tells us that "some of weak faith, or rather enemies of the true faith," expunged it from their copies of the New Testa-

¹² Alex. Roberts, *Companion to the Revised Version of The New Testament*, pp. 61-62.

ment because they feared it might encourage sin. It appears from Eusebius that Papias, in the early part of the second century, was familiar with it. In some of our best cursive MSS., it is found at the end of Luke 21, where some critics think it belongs. There can be no question that it is out of place in John's Gospel, but it breathes the spirit of Jesus so thoroughly that the genuineness of the incident cannot well be doubted.

Therefore, the American Standard Bible sets it apart, with a note, saying, "Most of the ancient authorities omit John 7:53-8:11. Those which contain it vary much from each other."

Augustine's statement that certain people expunged the story because they feared it might encourage sin, suggests the probable explanation for its MS. history. The version found in an Armenian MS., which has been quoted, and other forms found in other MSS., are probably revisions of the story by people who would not expunge it entirely but were unwilling to use it in its original form. The revisions were perhaps thought to remove the dangerous element. This is the most plausible explanation of its absence from some MSS. and its varying forms in others.

This matter, however, is interesting from another angle. Expunging the story in Augustine's day, is the earliest known instance of the expurgation of Scriptures on moral grounds. A much later example, already referred to, may be seen in the deliberate omission of the books of Samuel and Kings from the Old Testament of the Gothic Bible by Bishop Ulfilas, who thought that the Goths were already too warlike, and that to give them the histories contained in these books would do more harm than good.

1 John 5:7-8 will serve as a final illustration. Two hundred and fifty Greek MSS. contain this section of John's Epistle, but do not contain the words referring to the "three

heavenly witnesses." Only four known Greek MSS. contain them, and these were all made after 1400 A.D. The words are not found in any ancient version nor in any MS. of the Latin Vulgate before the seventh century. None of the early fathers quote them in their arguments on the Trinity.

So conclusive is this evidence that the American Standard Bible omits these words without note or comment.

In the course of this discussion we have enumerated many difficulties in procuring a correct text of both the Old and the New Testaments. The writing of the Old Testament originally in consonants only; the oldest MSS. of both Testaments coming down to us without punctuation or the separation of words; the mistakes of copyists; and the deliberate tinkering with texts for doctrinal reasons: these and other difficulties render uncertain the precise reading of many words and passages. Of this there can be no doubt, and it would be useless and foolish to deny it. The Lord has given us the Bible in this form only, and we must accept it as it is or not at all. The thing which needs to be stressed, however, is that not a single important doctrine of Christianity, and not a single moral truth, is endangered in the slightest degree by these textual uncertainties. The vital and essential truth of God's Word we have in unquestioned form. More we do not need.

4. SOME SUPERIOR RESULTS IN TRANSLATION

Advantages of the British Revision. The British Revision¹⁸ was a great improvement over any previous translation. The committee which made it had every facility

¹⁸ "The Doctrinal Significance of The Revised Version," three articles in *The Expository Times*, VII, 377, 452; VIII, 171. Also Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*, p. 395.

that the King James translators had, and, in addition, the accumulated knowledge of 300 years. The science of textual criticism had been born since the Authorized Version was made, and a wealth of ancient source materials had become available. Biblical study had made tremendous progress; so that scholars had become far better acquainted with the sacred languages.

The translators first made a Greek text, changing the text underlying the Authorized Version in 5788 places, according to Dr. Scrivener. Only about one-fourth of these represent any material difference. The Old Testament text was slightly revised by means of the LXX., the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate.

The improved text is of fundamental importance, but the revision has also other valuable features.

The chapter divisions are so indicated as not to interfere with the sense. Poetry is differentiated from prose. Obsolete words, of which a few examples are given below, are replaced by their modern equivalents.

Habergeon	coat of mail	Quick	living
Wimples	shawls	Leasing	lying
Cracknel	cake	Carriage	baggage
Besom	broom	Neesing	sneezing
Usury	interest	Botch	boil

The fabulous "unicorn," found nine times in the King James Version, becomes the wild-ox (e.g., Num. 23:22).

Advantages of the American Standard Bible. The makers of the American Standard Bible had every advantage of the British Revision, and much more. The revised text, from which the British Revision was made, was still further improved, especially in the New Testament.

The British Revision had used many words not in common use in America. This necessitated such substitutions as the following:

Diminish for minish
 Settings for ouches (in jewelry)
 Distress for straitness

Patched for clouted
 Delicacies for delicates
 Drag for hale (in the sense "to drag forcibly")

The Divine Name, Jehovah, is found only four times in the Authorized Version, and the British Revision used it very little more. The American Standard Bible uses it uniformly wherever this Divine Name occurs.¹⁴ "Sheol" is a Hebrew word that means the underworld where the dead go, with no reference to punishment of any character. The New Testament idea of hell was entirely unknown to the writers of the Old Testament. The Authorized Version translates "sheol" with "hell" 31 times, with "grave" 31 times, and with "pit" 3 times. All are incorrect translations. The British Revision makes a slight improvement, using "sheol" 29 times; but the American Standard Bible thus transliterates the word wherever it is found. It has no equivalent in English. "Hades," for the same reason, displaces "hell" ten times in the American Standard New Testament. The fabulous "dragon" of the Old Testament, found frequently in the Authorized Version and the British Revision (e.g. Isa. 27:1; Psa. 74:13), disappears, as does the equally fabulous "arrow-snake" (Isa. 34:15 in the British Revision).

"Holy Spirit" is used uniformly for "Holy Ghost." "Demon" is used instead of "devil," in the translation of certain Greek words. The Bible knows but one devil, but many evil spirits. "Demoniac" or "possessed with a demon" is used instead of "possessed with a devil." "Saint" is eliminated from the titles of certain books, it being an addition made long since the days of the New Testament writers.

Examples of Translation. A comparison of some trans-

¹⁴ Julia E. Smith of Glastonbury, Connecticut (1876) and Mrs. Helen Spurrell of Brighton, England (1885) had both used Jehovah as the uniform translation of the Divine Name.

lations of the King James Version with those of the American Standard Bible, will indicate something of the superiority of the latter.

TRANSLATIONS COMPARED

Authorized Version

He that believeth not shall be *damned*. Mark 16:16.

He that eateth and drinketh *unworthily*, eateth and drinketh *damnation* to himself, not discerning the Lord's body. 1 Cor. 11:29.

Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, etc. Matt. 6:25.

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not *charity*, etc. 1 Cor. 13:1.

I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes, I purposed to come unto you (but was *let* hitherto). Rom. 1:13.

We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not *prevent* them which are asleep. 1 Thess. 4:15.

And from thence we *fetch*ed a *compass*, and came to Rhegium. Acts 28:13.

American Standard Bible

He that disbelieveth shall be *condemned*.

He that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh *judgment* unto himself, if he discern not the body.

Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, etc.

If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not *love*, etc., and so throughout the chapter.

I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (and was *hindered* hitherto).

We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise *precede* them that are fallen asleep.

And from thence we *made a circuit* and arrived at Rhegium.

The words "damned" and "damnation" have completely changed their meaning since King James' day, and modern equivalents of the originals have been substituted. "Unworthily," in the quotation above, is not in the best Greek texts, and therefore is omitted. "Charity" has completely changed its meaning. In fact, the above quotations all include words and expressions that have changed meaning since King James' day.

Offensive Terms Removed. It is greatly to the credit of the American Standard Bible that terms offensive to modern taste have been removed.

OFFENSIVE TERMS REMOVED

My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart. Jer. 4:19.

My anguish, my anguish! I am pained at my very heart.

Behold, O Lord; for I am in distress: my bowels are troubled. Lam. 1:20.

Behold, O Jehovah; for I am in distress; my heart is troubled.

Martha . . . saith . . . Lord, by this time he stinketh. John 11:39.

Martha . . . saith . . . Lord, by this time the body decayeth.

I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung.
Phil. 3:8.

I suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but refuse.

God trieth the hearts and reins. Psal. 7:9.

God trieth the minds and hearts.

The first line of quotations is from the Authorized Version and the second from the American Standard Bible.

“Reins” means kidneys. The ancients located feeling and thinking in the kidneys and bowels; we locate them in the heart and mind. Translations should be made accordingly.

Many improved features of the American Standard Bible belong to the British Revision also. The total changes made in the British Revision from the King James Version, in the New Testament, are said to number 36,191. The American Standard Bible increased this somewhat. The number of differences in the Old Testament is unknown.

Chapter Divisions that Interfere. The division of the Bible into chapters was not done by its authors, and while a great convenience it often results in an illogical and confusing division of an author's thought. Many instances might be mentioned, such as Mark 9, Luke 7 and 24, Acts 22, Romans 14, 1 Cor. 11 and 2 Cor. 6. Chapter numbers in the American Standard Bible are printed in the margin, with a type arrangement that does not break a proper paragraphing.

Headings of Chapters that Interpret. Chapter headings of the King James Version sometimes interpret, and in a most misleading fashion. The Christian church, under the influence of Origen, came universally to regard the Song of Solomon as an allegory, in which the church is the Bride

and Christ the Lover. While it was so considered this book held a high place in the estimation of Christian teachers. Bernard of Clairvaux preached 86 sermons on this book, and this took him only to chapter 3:1. So important was this allegorical method of interpretation considered that Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned by the Council of Constantinople (533 A.D.) for insisting on a literal interpretation. When Sebastian Castellio was expelled from Geneva (1544) one of the counts against him was his rejection of the allegorical interpretation of this book. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scholars like Grotius and Michaelis met violent opposition for the same reason. But this allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon is now universally abandoned; nobody believes it to-day. The King James' translators, however, believed it, and their chapter headings so interpret it.

The Differentiation of Poetry. Much of the Bible is poetry, a fact unknown until recent times, and should be printed in such fashion as to indicate its character. This the American Standard Bible does.

III. MATTERS OF RELATED INTEREST

I. SOME MEN WHO AIDED IN THE WORK

Brooke Foss Westcott, D. D. Among the eminent individuals connected with this work of revision was the Rev. Brooke Foss Westcott, D. D., a member of the British Committee. He was canon of Peterborough, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and later Bishop of Durham. It will be remembered that he and Dr. Hort collaborated in editing one of the best of the modern Greek New Testaments.

Fenton John Anthony Hort, D. D. The Rev. Fenton John Anthony Hort, D. D., was another of the most valuable

members of the British Committee. He was Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Drs. Westcott and Hort were the chief sources of information in the preparation of the text of the revised New Testament, gladly making available for the committee the materials to be embodied in their then forthcoming Greek New Testament.

Many outstanding scholars served on this committee. Among them were Payne Smith, the Syrian scholar; Driver, Davidson and Cheyne, experts in interpretation; the Arabic scholar, W. Robertson Smith; Field, the master of Greek versions; Sayce, the great Orientalist; and David Ginsburg, of Jewish birth and the greatest Hebrew scholar of his day.

Philip Schaff, D. D. The American Committee, which first assisted in making the British Revision and then engaged in further labors which bore fruit sixteen years later in the American Standard Bible, was composed of the greatest Biblical scholars of the United States. Among their number were such men as T. J. Conant, William Henry Green, James Strong, Ezra Abbott, H. B. Hackett, Charles Hodge, Henry B. Smith, J. H. Thayer, Theodore D. Woolsey, and Philip Schaff. Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., of German-Swiss birth and education and for many years a professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York, was president of the American Revision Committee, which was organized in 1871. He took part in the work of the New Testament sub-committee, and it was in his office in the Bible House, New York, that the work was done.

William Henry Green, D. D. Rev. William Henry Green, D. D., for many years a professor in Princeton Theological Seminary, was a member of the American Committee, and served as chairman of the Old Testament sub-committee.

Theodore Dwight Woolsey, D. D. The Rev. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, D. D., at one time president of Yale University, was a member of the Revision Committee and chair-

man of the New Testament sub-committee. Other able American scholars had a part in the work. Dr. Charles Marsh Mead was the youngest member of the committee. To him chiefly belongs the credit for the exacting work of carrying the American Standard Bible through the press, which he accomplished with extraordinary skill and accuracy.

The Bible in English, of which the American Standard is a splendid example, differs from all other vernacular translations in at least two respects. First, it is circulated more widely than any other book in the world. It has proved the world's best seller. Copies have been multiplied to an extent absolutely unparalleled. Second, it is to-day the work of a succession of the greatest Biblical scholars of the world, covering a period of several hundred years. It has only by slow degrees arrived at its present perfection. Most other versions, both ancient and modern, have been produced by individuals who generally undertook the task single-handed. In only a few instances did more than one individual work. And all other versions have remained much as they were at first. Many translations were accomplished with considerable speed; while the English Bible is a growth of the centuries, taking on new and better forms as Biblical scholarship has registered new advances. As recent examples of such improvements we have the modern-speech translations.

2. SOME INSTITUTIONS COÖPERATING

Thomas Nelson and Sons. Naturally considerable expense was involved in producing the American Standard Bible, though the translators received no compensation and wished none. The expense was borne by the publishers, Thomas Nelson and Sons of New York, who consequently were per-

mitted to hold the copyright of the work. This also prevented its publication by the irresponsible, who might have introduced endless changes into the text, as happened with the King James Version.

American Bible Society. The first Bible society in America was organized in Philadelphia in 1808, and soon Bible societies sprang up almost everywhere. By June, 1816, there were reported 128 such societies. The wisdom of uniting these into one great work soon became evident, and on May 8, 1816, sixty delegates, representing twenty-eight societies, met in New York and organized the American Bible Society. These delegates were representative of the various denominations, and the new organization proposed to serve them all.

The present Bible House was completed in 1853, and has served as headquarters for the society since. When it was first completed there was a serious question in the minds of certain members of the board as to the advisability of erecting a building of such character "so far uptown." At present it is so far downtown that members of its board would be glad to have it move uptown at least forty blocks, so as to be in the center of the retail and business life of the city. This Bible House at Astor Place is one of the landmarks of the city of New York, and is the oldest office building in the city which has been continuously used for office purposes.

Originally the charter of this Society permitted it to publish the King James Version only, but the charter has been amended and since 1904 the Society has published certain editions of the American Standard Bible also. This makes it possible for this version to be had at the lowest possible expense.

3. RAPID POPULARITY OF THE AMERICAN STANDARD BIBLE

Unfortunately there has always existed a deep-seated prejudice against a revision or retranslation of the Bible, no matter how unsatisfactory the version in use might have come to be to the better informed. The people become attached to the old, often losing sight of the fact that what they have is itself a revision, and resent any change. There is told the story of an English deacon who bitterly attacked the advocates of a revision of the King James Version, declaring that if the Authorized Version was good enough for the apostle Paul, it was good enough for him. Most of the opposition to new revisions and translations proceeds from such a background as that of the English deacon.

Jerome's version (383-405 A.D.), although made at the request of the Pope, was bitterly resented, and declared to be revolutionary and heretical, subversive of all faith in the Scriptures and an impious tampering with the inspired Word of God. Hundreds of years passed before it won the place it deserved. But by the time of the Council of Trent, in 1546, it had become so sacred in Catholic estimation that men seemed to forget that it was itself a translation, and to this day Roman Catholics rank it higher than the original Hebrew and Greek.

So sacred had the Vulgate become by 1522 that in the Complutensian Polyglot, in which the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek are printed in parallel columns, the Latin was printed in the center, as the place of honor, the Hebrew and Greek being placed on either side. The editors, in speaking of this arrangement, compared the position of the Latin to that of our Lord, who was crucified between two

What bitter opposition was encountered by the versions of Wyclif, Tyndale, and the King James translators, we thieves.

have had occasion to note. Prejudice against revisions and new translations of the Bible is not dead yet, but the growing intelligence of the modern world may be seen nowhere better than in its attitude toward revisions of the Bible.

The British Revision of the New Testament (1881) had its critics but it received a generous welcome nevertheless. In fact it created the greatest sensation of any book in history. The Oxford University Press had orders for a million copies in advance of publication, and the Cambridge University Press had almost as many. In New York City streets were blocked with wagons waiting for copies sent over from England. The Clarendon Press sold 365,000 copies in less than a year. Other agents at Philadelphia sold 110,000 copies within a short time. It is estimated that in England and America at least three million copies were sold in one year. The Chicago *Tribune* and the Chicago *Times* published this entire New Testament, in their issues of May 22, 1881. One hundred and eighteen thousand words were telegraphed from New York, and the remainder was set up from copies received on the evening of May 21.

The American Standard Bible (1901) in turn had its critics but received a generous welcome. The welcome, however, did not compare with that accorded to the British New Testament. There was no occasion for such demonstration, since it was known that the American Revision was not greatly different from the British.

The American Standard Bible, now only a little more than a quarter of a century old, has won its way into general use very rapidly as compared with previous revisions.

It has been adopted by more than 75 per cent of the denominational Sunday school periodicals in the United States. It is now used exclusively by the Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodists, United Brethren, Unitarians, Episcopalians, Disciples, Methodist Protestants, Baptists, the

Reformed Board, the Friends, Christian Reformed, Universalists, the Evangelical church, the Christian church, and by the Presbyterian church in its graded courses. No version of the Bible in the world's history has won such wide recognition in so short a time.

CHAPTER VI

REMAINING BIBLES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MODERN-SPEECH TRANSLATIONS

WE come now to discuss the remaining Bibles of the nineteenth century, the modern-speech translations.

The American Standard Bible, as has been said, marked a great improvement over the King James Version; but the work was done for the most part by very conservative men, who declined to accept the full benefit of the revised text of their day. In the British Revision, to which the American Standard added many valuable changes but which constitutes the real body of the work, the basic text was adopted by a vote of the revision committee; and while the joint committee contained some textual critics of the highest rank, the majority of its members, though scholarly men, were not trained in the weighing of textual evidence. And while the text adopted represented fairly well that best Greek text of its day, it could not bring the New Testament abreast with our times. Scholarship has continued its researches; and much very valuable information concerning the Greek New Testament has been acquired within some thirty years. The Massoretic text of the Old Testament, in most instances, was accepted without change, but scholarship is constantly accumulating material for improvement here. The materials for a correction of this text, accessible to the American committee, were used with extreme caution.

That the American Standard Bible retains the antique style of Tyndale, a language of more than 400 years ago, is not strange when we remember that the character of New Testament Greek was hardly known when it was made. Doubtless there will long continue a demand for this style, but it is foreign to the modern world and much of it is difficult for the common man to understand, so that modern-speech translations read almost like a new revelation and bristle with interest on every page.

Unfortunately many people are still prejudiced against new translations of any kind, not knowing that the Bible has been translated again and again throughout its history. The changes in language alone would make this necessary. The early English translations, such as Tyndale and Coverdale, are now very difficult for us to read, and we read the Authorized Version easily only because it has been modernized in type and spelling.

Since the whole Bible was first put into English by Wyclif in 1382 it has been revised or retranslated into English no less than 45 times, while the New Testament, independently of the Old, has been revised or retranslated some 85 times. The entire Bible has been revised or retranslated in America eleven times, and the New Testament, independently of the Old, as much as 40 times. In addition to these, many revisions of parts of the New Testament, such as the Gospels or the Epistles, have been made; and the Old Testament alone has been revised or retranslated several times.

I. SOME FIRST THINGS

The First Chapters in English. The division of the Bible ¹ into chapters, as has been said, is no part of the originals.

¹ For divisions of the text before our verses and chapters, see Article "Bible Text" by O. von Gebhardt, *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia*, revised by Ezra Abbott.

The chapter divisions, which first appeared in the Latin Vulgate, probably owe their origin to Stephen Langton, of the University of Paris and later Archbishop of Canterbury, who lived in the thirteenth century. They have sometimes been attributed to Hugo de Sancto Caro of the thirteenth century, and also to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1098 A.D. These chapters were first introduced into the Hebrew Bible in the two editions of Bomberg, a folio and a quarto, of 1518.

Wyclif took over the chapter divisions from the Vulgate, and thus they appeared in the first whole Bible in English. The verse divisions were of later origin. Hugo de Sancto Caro, in 1248, preparatory to making a concordance, adopted the chapters of Langton and divided them into sections of somewhat equal length which he indicated with the letters A B C D E F G. Rarely were more letters than seven used, but in some lengthy Psalms more were required. These markings served the purpose of verses for a time. They may be seen in the margins of the Coverdale Bible, the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible and others.

First Verses in Greek. The familiar verse divisions of the New Testament were devised by Robert Stephens, the Parisian printer, who did most of the work of arranging them in the course of a journey on horseback, between Paris and Lyons, marking off the chapters of the New Testament into 7959 divisions. The arrangement of the verses is little more than haphazard.

It seems highly probable that Stephens used a copy of the Latin Vulgate in marking his verse divisions. This text then was used as printer's copy, for the verse divisions, in setting up his fourth edition of the Greek New Testament, published in 1551, in which verse numeration is first printed in the Greek. This conclusion is based on the fact that Stephens gives double numbers to two different verses

in Acts (Acts 23:25, 26; 24:19, 20). Glosses are found in these sections in certain copies of the Latin Vulgate in use at that time. It is supposed that Stephens used such a copy and numbered the glosses, and since these glosses were not in the Greek there would be left two verse numbers not represented in Greek by any text. Verse numeration in the New Testament, therefore, was first placed in the Latin Vulgate and first printed in Greek.

The division of the Old Testament into verses has been said to have been of Christian origin, as were the chapter divisions and to have been adopted from Robert Stephens' edition of the Latin Vulgate of 1555. This however was not the case. The division of the Old Testament into verses is of ancient Jewish origin, so old that they are found in the oldest known Hebrew MSS. They are even carefully enumerated in the St. Petersburg Codex of 916 A.D. The present numeration of these verses was introduced into Bomberg's great Bible of 1447-48. In this Bible every fifth verse (1, 5, 10, etc.) is designated with Hebrew numerals, while Arabic numerals for the intervening verses (2, 3, 4; 6, 7, 8, 9; etc.) were first used in an edition by Athias in 1661. Previous to this, however, certain Polyglots and interlinear translations had the verses indicated in Arabic numerals. Thus it will appear that Stephens was not the first to use numeration for the Old Testament verses. The Latin version of Pagninus in 1528, long before Stephens, contains numeration for every verse of the Bible, though his verses for the New Testament are much longer than those in use to-day.

Stephens' Latin Vulgate of 1555, however, was the first whole Bible divided into the present verses, and the first in which they were introduced into the Apocrypha. The verses are continuous, not separated into paragraphs, but indicated by a ¶ and the verse number.

Chapters and verses have no element of sacredness, except to those who know nothing of their origin. While they have served as a convenience for reference the manner in which they have been printed has made them a handicap to Biblical study. The work was poorly done, and makes a number of needless breaks in the sense.

Two great evils, at least, have resulted from the invention of verses. They have made the Bible to consist of thousands of detached fragments, or coördinate paragraphs, which seemed to be so many independent statements of truth, each complete within itself, which might be pieced together at will, irrespective of their connection. Then, the breaking of the Bible into thousands of unmeaning paragraphs dealt a terrible blow to the continuous and coherent reading of the individual books. Each book of the Bible was written as a continuous whole, and must be so read if it is to be rightly understood. Chapters have not caused as much confusion as verses, only because they are less numerous.

First Verses in English. The first verses in English are found in the Geneva New Testament of 1557. The Geneva Bible of 1560 was the first to extend the numeration of verses to the Old Testament in English. Hence, as we have seen, this was the first whole Bible in English to contain verses.

One great advantage of modern-speech translations is that most of them abolish chapters and verses, indicating them in the margins, if at all. Thus the Bible is restored to its original form.

II. FINAL DETHRONING OF THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS

In the last chapter we recounted briefly the history of the origin of what is known as the Textus Receptus, the once

generally received text of the Greek New Testament. We also saw something of the accumulation of material for the revision and correction of this text, and something of the great progress of Biblical scholarship in general.

In the formation of a Biblical text as free from error as possible two things are necessary: first the accumulation of evidence, and second the use of this material.

I. ACCUMULATION OF MATERIAL FOR CORRECTION

Codex Alexandrinus. We have already seen how the study of Codex Alexandrinus, which came into England seventeen years after the appearance of the King James Version, resulted in serious questioning of the Textus Receptus; also how other MSS. were soon brought to light, the ancient versions and quotations from the fathers studied, and deviation of these sources from the generally received text noted.

Work of Brian Walton and Others. Brian Walton, one of the committee appointed by the Long Parliament to revise the King James Version, and later Bishop of Chester, led the procession in the gathering of evidence of an older and better text of the Greek Testament. The London Polyglot of 1657, previously mentioned, proved conclusively the need of a revision of the Textus Receptus. John Mill of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1707, furnished further proof with his publication of a Greek New Testament, adding the readings of almost 100 MSS. J. J. Wetstein of Basle, who had worked with Richard Bentley in the preparation of his Greek Testament which was never issued, published a Greek New Testament in 1651-52, giving the readings of more than 300 MS. It represented forty years of labor. C. F. Matthaei (1744-1811), a Professor at Wittemberg and later

at Moscow, added the readings of about 70 additional Greek MSS.

John Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), Superintendent of the Evangelical Lutheran church of Württemberg, was the first to propose the classification of MSS. into families. He made two groups, the African and the Asiatic. The first real working out of this principle, however, was done by J. J. Griesbach (1745-1812), who made three classes, or types—the Alexandrian, the Western and the Byzantine—and by this means sought to determine the relative values of the MSS. This principle of classification has shaped the whole subsequent development of textual criticism.

But up to this time nobody had dared actually to revise the Textus Receptus; each Greek New Testament had been a reprint of the generally received text, to which had been added the “various readings” of the MSS. Editors had contented themselves with the gathering of material for a revision. Their hesitancy to undertake actual revision of the text is not difficult to understand. Erasmus had been bitterly assailed, both in England and on the Continent, for the publication of his Greek New Testament. Stephens, who improved Erasmus’ edition “had to flee from the wrath of the doctors of the Sorbonne to Protestant Geneva.” And now the text had become so sacred that those who gathered material that indicated its imperfections were bitterly denounced. Walton, Mill, Bentley, Wetstein, Matthaei, Bengel and Griesbach had all suffered for their efforts to improve the Greek text. Wetstein was deposed from the pastorate (1730) and driven into exile. Editors doubtless felt that discretion was the better part of valor. What a pity that in the Christian world it is so often costly to be honest, and to do the thing for which there is a crying need!

2. USE OF THE MATERIAL AND OVERTHROW OF THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS

Work of Carl Lachmann and Others. Carl Lachmann, professor of Classical Philosophy in Berlin, was not a theologian but a philologist, who had distinguished himself by publishing critical editions of Latin and German classics. To him belongs the honor of the first supplanting of the Textus Receptus. In his Greek New Testament published in 1831 he threw the Textus Receptus completely overboard, basing his text wholly on ancient authorities. But he realized the danger to himself in so doing, and, to appease the wrath of the opposition as much as possible, he added the variations of the generally received text at the end of the volume, not daring to ignore it completely. And he, like others, suffered for his services. He made two classes of MSS., the Oriental and the Occidental.

Lachmann was followed by Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815-1874), a graduate of Leipsic, who published no less than eight editions of the Greek New Testament, each with an increasing quantity of critical material. No man ever toiled over the Greek text as did he, and he also suffered persecution for it. In 1840 he began a series of journeys for the purpose of collecting and examining sources for the Greek text. He went through France, England, Holland and Italy, examining MSS. in every great library. He published trustworthy editions of many MSS., and finally discovered Codex Sinaiticus in 1844 and 1859, and published it. This was his most important discovery. He discovered many other MSS. Among the other MSS. which he published was the first complete edition of Codex Ephraemi, our fourth best New Testament MS., issued in 1843-45. Part of this MS. proved undecipherable.

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813-1875) likewise rendered a valuable service in the same field. He ranked next to Tischendorf in the importance of his work. He and Tischendorf finished the work begun by Lachmann, and completely exploded the pretensions of the Textus Receptus to be the original text. But neither Tischendorf nor Tregelles classified the MSS. into families.

Westcott and Hort. After twenty-eight years of textual research and preparation, Westcott and Hort published their Greek New Testament in 1881. They revived Griesbach's principle of classification and assigned the known Greek MSS. to four distinct groups or types—the Syrian, the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Neutral.

The Syrian text, the latest type, is supposed to have originated in Syria before 300 A.D. Subsequently, issuing from Constantinople, it became the prevailing type of text for later MSS. It was so fully established by the middle of the fourth century that it displaced all other texts. It is of mixed character, borrowing from all the other types, and was made with a view to producing an easy, smooth and attractive text. It has no support in the most ancient MSS., in the ancient versions, or in the quotations of the earliest Christian fathers. It is best represented in Codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels, but not in the Acts and Epistles), in the Peshitta, in the quotations of the fathers from the latter part of the fourth century and later, and in the great body of cursive MSS. It was this text that furnished the basis for the Textus Receptus, from which the New Testament of the King James Version was made.

The Western text originated in Syria also, at a date before the books of the New Testament were so sacred as to guarantee strict faithfulness in copying. "Words, clauses, and even whole sentences, were changed, omitted, and inserted with astonishing freedom." This text reached the

West before 200 A.D. and is found essentially in Codex Bezae and the Old Latin version. It is an independent text, distinct from all others. And it was the text most widely used by the ante-Nicene fathers, so far as present evidence indicates. The ancient versions also were influenced by it. But toward the close of the third century it waned and then disappeared in the East, and later, disappeared in the West.

The Alexandrian text dates from the beginning of the third century or possibly earlier. Its chief characteristic is a tendency to polish the language by correcting the forms, syntax, etc. It is found more or less in many MSS. and in the writings of the Alexandrian fathers.

The neutral text is the oldest of all, preserving best the original and free from the characteristic peculiarities of the other groups. It is best represented in Codex Vaticanus, and often also in Codex Sinaiticus. It was this neutral text that governed Westcott and Hort in the formation of their Greek New Testament. Their text was vigorously opposed, especially by F. H. A. Scrivener and Dean J. W. Burgon, two Biblical scholars of the period; but it may be said to be the standard in our time. The Textus Receptus had long since been dethroned when Westcott and Hort's New Testament appeared; and their work served to discredit it still further, for they departed more widely from it than any previous editor.

Other scholars have been at work, however, and further progress is being made. B. Weiss (1894-1905) and Eb. Nestle (1908) published Greek New Testaments which differ little from the Westcott and Hort edition. The most pretentious effort at further revision in recent years, has been that of H. von Soden, who has sought, on new principles, to provide the oldest text obtainable. His Greek New Testament was published in 1913. Whether his theories

are to be accepted remains to be seen. In any case his text differs only in minor particulars from that of Westcott and Hort. However, no one acquainted with the situation supposes any present day text to be final, and what the future holds remains to be seen.

No age in the world's history has been so well equipped as this, for the translation of the Bible. Thousands of MSS., some of them very ancient, are available, and perhaps a thousand copies of the various versions. Many printed editions of the early versions have appeared, and modern scholarship is well acquainted with their languages. Comparative philology has rendered valuable service in the study of languages. Lexicons, commentaries, grammars, and other scientific aids abound.

3. DISSATISFACTION REGISTERED IN PRIVATE TRANSLATIONS

Notwithstanding the extensive accumulation of material for a revision of the Textus Receptus, within a century after the appearance of the King James Version, and the general dissatisfaction with that version that developed among the better informed, no revision was successfully launched until 1870. In the mean time the existing dissatisfaction expressed itself in private translations. Since the Authorized Version was made in 1611 there have appeared no less than 38 revisions or retranslations of the entire Bible and 76 of the New Testament.

Following the King James Version nothing of much importance was done in translation during the seventeenth century. Early in the eighteenth century, however, private translations began to appear. The first really important work was done by W. Mace, who published in London in 1729, the Greek New Testament with an original translation into English. His work anticipated many of the re-

sults of later criticism, but he was not in a position to obtain recognition and his work was overlooked. His English translation in any case was hardly acceptable.

William Whiston. William Whiston published in London in 1745, what he called "The Primitive New Testament." The work was done from a Greek text of Whiston's own formation. The Gospels and Acts were translated from Codex Bezae, Paul's Epistles, with which Hebrews is reckoned, from Codex Claromontanus, and the Catholic Epistles and Revelation from Codex Alexandrinus. The gaps in these were supplied from the Latin. This was the first attempt that had been made to use the Western text as a standard. Whiston was the successor of Sir Isaac Newton as professor of mathematics at Cambridge University.

John Wesley. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, published a revised New Testament in London in 1755. This translation was overburdened with notes, which served to obscure the work. Wesley was familiar with the Greek New Testament from his university days, and his translation was an expression of his dissatisfaction with the King James Version.

Numerous other translations of the Bible were made during the eighteenth century. In 1764 Anthony Purver, after thirty years of preparation, published in two volumes what he called, "A New and Literal Translation . . . with notes Critical and Explanatory."

Edward Harwood, D. D., published a translation of the New Testament in two volumes in London in 1768. He formed his own Greek text, relying upon Codex Bezae, Codex Claromontanus, and Codex Alexandrinus.

Gilbert Wakefield, at one time fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, published a translation of the New Testament in London in 1798. He used several of the ancient versions and his translation was of more than ordinary importance.

In 1798 Nathaniel Scarlett, with assistance from others, published in London a translation of the New Testament. Still other translations of importance were made within the century.

Charles Thomson. Charles Thomson of Philadelphia was secretary of the Continental Congress and the first secretary of the Congress of the United States. It was he who notified General Washington of his election to the presidency. He had a Master's degree and was for some years a tutor in the College of Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. At an auction sale in Philadelphia which he happened to attend the crier offered a book which he said contained outlandish letters. Thomson bought it and it proved to be a part of the LXX. By this means he was led to study Greek. Being a man of linguistic ability he was soon able to read it. He became anxious for the remainder of the LXX., but did not know where to find it. Two years later, in passing the store where the auction had been held, he saw the remainder of the work, and bought it.

Thomson published a translation of the whole Bible in Philadelphia in 1808. This translation was of unusual importance for several reasons. In his work of translation he had been influenced by a letter from Thomas Jefferson. Then this was the first translation of the Bible into English made in America, and the first translation of the LXX. into English ever made. And finally it was published by a woman, Jane Aitken, who succeeded her father in the publishing business on his death in 1802. Robert Aitken, her father, is entitled to the honor of issuing the first English New Testament (1777) and the first English Bible (1782) which were published openly in America.

Alexander Campbell. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples church, published a revision of the New

Testament in 1826 at Buffaloe, Virginia, first under the name "Sacred Writings" and later as "Sacred Oracles." It was used extensively in his ministry.

This translation, however, was not made by Alexander Campbell, but consisted of the work of others, reëdited. Principal George Campbell of Aberdeen had published a new translation of the Gospels in 1788. James Macknight of Edinburgh, in 1795, had published a translation of the Epistles. Philip Doddridge translated the remainder of the New Testament. These were combined and published in London in 1818. It was this New Testament that Alexander Campbell reëdited and published.

Noah Webster. Noah Webster is well known as the maker of a famous dictionary, and as the maker of a once even more influential speller; but it is not generally known that he was interested in Biblical revision. He published, in 1833, at New Haven, Connecticut, a complete revision of the King James Version. His purpose was to eliminate words and expressions that had become obsolete, and to remove grammatical errors and expressions repugnant to modern taste. After enumerating certain needs for revision, he says, in his preface, "To these may be added many words and phrases very offensive to delicacy, and even decency. . . . Language which cannot be uttered in company without a violation of decorum, or the rules of good breeding, exposes the Scriptures to the scoffs of unbelievers, impairs their authority, and multiplies and confirms the enemies of our holy religion."

Other Important Translations. Granville Penn published a rather pretentious translation of the New Testament in two volumes in London in 1836-37. According to the title page the work was done "with the aid of the most ancient MSS., unknown to the age in which the version was last put forth authoritatively." George Townsend published at

Boston and Philadelphia, in 1837, the New Testament "arranged in chronological and historical order." In 1840 Samuel Sharpe published in London the New Testament from the text of Griesbach; and in 1841 J. T. Conquest published in London the Authorized Version of the whole Bible "with twenty thousand emendations."

Perhaps the most important and scholarly translation of the New Testament of this period was that of Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, published in 1870, the same year in which the British revision movement was launched. Numerous other private translations were made on both sides of the Atlantic. In America L. A. Sawyer published a new translation of the New Testament at Boston in 1858 and H. T. Anderson another at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1864. The American Bible Union published a New Testament in New York in 1865, parts of which had been published earlier; and Nathaniel Folsom and G. R. Noyes each published a translation of the New Testament in Boston in 1869.

One American translation of this period deserves special mention. Julia E. Smith, a learned woman of Glastonbury, Connecticut, published at Hartford a translation of the whole Bible in 1876. This was the first translation of the Bible into English ever made by a woman, probably the first into any language.

The influence of private translations had much to do, finally, in forcing the British Revision of the King James Version, which was made in 1881-85 and which culminated in the American Standard Bible of 1901.

A number of private revisions or translations have been made by Roman Catholics. As we have already seen, the first translation of the Bible into English by Catholics was the Rheims-Douai Bible of 1582 and 1610. Dr. Challoner published in London, in 1749, a revision of the Rheims

New Testament. In 1816 the Rheims-Douai Bible was revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, which had been officially issued in 1592, the New Testament having been so corrected previously in 1750. The revision of 1816 had the approval of Dr. Troy, and the work was published at Dublin. In 1846-51 Bishop F. P. Kenrick published in New York a revision of the Rheims New Testament, but Challoner's revision of 1749 is more generally used. In 1898 the Very Rev. Francis A. Spencer published in New York a new translation of the Gospels, with a preface by Cardinal Gibbons. It was made from the Greek, with reference to the Vulgate and ancient Syriac version, and is thus far the only Catholic effort at modern-speech translation.

Jewish Translations. It is little known among Christians that the Jews have several times translated the Old Testament into English. One revision of the Pentateuch and two revisions of the King James Version of the whole Old Testament were published in England, beginning as early as 1789. In 1851 A. Benisch made the first Jewish translation into English, which was also published in England. Isaac Leeser made a translation which was published in Philadelphia in 1853. For more than half a century it was the accepted version in the synagogues and homes of the United States and was reproduced in England. It imitated the style of the King James Version.

The progress made in every department of Biblical study in recent years, however, led to the desire among Jews for a revision and improvement of Leeser's translation.

The Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia was organized in 1888, and at its second biennial meeting in 1892 steps were taken to provide such a revision. The work was begun by the Jewish Publication Society of America, but arrangements were later entered into which secured the

coöperation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the work which began as a revision of Leeser's version, ended in a new translation. It was published in Philadelphia in 1917.

Its preface tells us that "it aims to combine the spirit of Jewish tradition with the results of Biblical scholarship, ancient, medieval and modern. It gives to the Jewish world a translation of the Scriptures done by men imbued with the Jewish consciousness, while the non-Jewish world, it is hoped, will welcome a translation that presents many passages from the Jewish traditional point of view."

It is a splendid translation of the Massoretic text, and it was the first translation ever made by a group of men representative of Jewish learning, among English-speaking Jews. Since the Old Testament was produced originally by the Jews, who treasured and preserved it for the world, a scholarly Jewish translation ought to be of profound interest to all students of the Sacred Writings.

Very naturally it differs in certain respects from Christian translations, as the following illustrations will show.

Isa. 7:14. The Jewish version here reads: "Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." In the King James Version the reading is: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." The American Standard Bible translates, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive"; but in the margin it gives an alternative reading, "maiden" for "virgin," and "is with child" for "shall conceive." Moffatt translates, "There is a young woman with child." The "Improved Edition" of the Bible, published by the American Baptist Publication Society of Philadelphia in 1912, reads, "a young woman will conceive." "The Old Testament, An American Translation," edited by J. M. Powis

Smith and published in 1927, reads, "a young woman is with child."

Zech. 12:10. The Jewish version reads: "And they shall look unto Me because they have thrust him through." The American Standard Bible reads: "And they shall look unto me whom they have pierced." Moffatt and J. M. Powis Smith translate substantially alike, "They shall look at him whom they stabbed," while the Baptist "Improved Edition" reads: "They will look to him whom they have pierced."

Isa. 9:5. The Jewish version reads: "For a child is born unto us, a son is given unto us; and the government is upon his shoulder." The American Standard Bible reads: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a child is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder."

The great difference, however, between the Jewish and non-Jewish Bibles is not one of translation but one of interpretation.

III. DISCOVERY OF THE CHARACTER OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

The character of New Testament Greek, for many centuries, occasioned the most lively discussion and difference of opinion, but the problem has at last been solved. It has long been known that the Greek of the New Testament was not classical Greek; nor is it exactly the Greek of the LXX. For centuries it was known simply as New Testament Greek—unlike any other known in the world.

This fact was seized upon and erected into a virtue, being pointed to as a special proof of the inspiration of the New Testament. In the estimation of many devout men this isolation of the New Testament Greek meant that it was a special dialect created by inspiration for recording

God's revelation, the "language of the Holy Ghost" it was frequently called. But that day is completely and forever gone.

Dr. Lightfoot, a great English scholar, remarked to his students in Cambridge in 1863, when only a young man, that if we could recover letters written by the common people to each other in New Testament times, they might prove of the greatest assistance in understanding the language of the New Testament. This guess has proved to be true.

We have seen that papyrus was for centuries the chief writing material of Egypt, and the Eastern Mediterranean world, and it was probably the material on which the New Testament books were originally written. Papyrus is a frail material, and it is only in the interior of Egypt that climatic conditions have been such as to preserve it in any considerable quantities. And it is the findings of papyrus documents in Egypt, within recent years, that have revealed to us the character of the Greek of the New Testament.

I. PAPYRI FINDINGS

Papyri were first found in Egypt in 1778 by natives. Other discoveries were made in 1820 and 1877. It was not until 1889-90, however, that archæologists made their first discoveries, Professor Flinders Petrie of London being an early pioneer. Among other leading workers have been Dr. Bernard P. Grenfell and Dr. Arthur S. Hunt, who for many years have spent their winters in excavations in Egypt and their summers in Oxford editing their findings for publication. Some thirty volumes have been published. Among the papyri found are letters, receipts, leases, bills,

marriage contracts, wills, bills of divorce, decrees, notes, diaries, horoscopes and other such things. Many of these findings belong to the New Testament times.

A Prodigal Son's Letter. Personal letters from this early period are interesting. Among those found in Egypt is the papyrus of a pathetic letter written by a prodigal son to his mother. Antonius Longus has quarreled with his mother Nilous, who is perhaps a widow, and has left home. The cause of the trouble is probably the boy's loose living and running into debt. He fares ill elsewhere, comes to rags, and finally realizes that he alone is to blame for his plight. He meets an old acquaintance and learns from him that his mother has recently made a trip to the metropolis, hoping to see him there. The acquaintance lets him know, too, that he has gossiped to the mother concerning the boy's condition. So Antonius writes his mother a letter, begging for reconciliation and incidentally taking a dig at the gossip.

TRANSLATION OF PRODIGAL SON'S LETTER

Antoni(u)s Longus to Nilous his mother many greetings. Continually I pray for your health. Supplication on your behalf I direct each day to the lord Serapis. I wish you to know that I had no hope that you would come up to the metropolis. On this account neither did I enter the city. But I was ashamed to come to Karanis, because I am going about in rags. I wrote you that I am naked. I beseech you, mother, be reconciled to me. But I know what I have brought upon myself. Punished I have been in any case. I know that I have sinned. I heard from Postumos who met you in the Arsinoite nome, and unreasonably related all to you. Do you not know that I would rather be a cripple than be conscious that I am still owing anyone an obolus . . . come yourself . . . I have heard that . . . I beseech you . . . I almost . . . I beseech you . . . I will . . . not . . . otherwise . . .

The letter is mutilated at the end, but it is evident that the prodigal is making a desperate appeal for reconciliation.

A Soldier's Letter. Another interesting papyrus is that of a letter from a soldier to his father. Apion, son of Epimachus, has entered the Roman army. He has said good-

by and sailed, accompanied by several other young men of the town. The voyage has proved rough and, in danger, he has called upon his god for help. He arrives in Misenum and receives his traveling expenses—also a new name. Immediately he has his portrait painted to send home and then writes a letter to tell his people of his adventures.

TRANSLATION OF A SOLDIER'S LETTER

Apion to Epimachus his father and lord, heartiest greetings. First of all I pray that you are in health and continually prosper and fare well with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank the lord Serapis that when I was in danger at sea he saved me. Straightway when I entered Misenum I received my traveling money from Caesar, three gold pieces. And I am well. I beg you therefore, my lord father, write me a few lines, first regarding your health, secondly regarding that of my brother and sister, thirdly that I may kiss your hand, because you have brought me up well, and on this account I hope to be quickly promoted, if the gods will. Give my greetings to Capito, and to my brother and sister, and to Serenilla, and my friends. I send you a little portrait of myself at the hands of Euctemon. And my (military) name is Antoni(u)s Maximus. I pray for your good health.

Company Athenonike.

Serenus the son of Agathos Daemon greets you . . . and Turbo the son of Gallonius and . . .²

The closing of this letter with its salutations reminds us of Paul's custom of adding to his letters salutations from various individuals.

2. NEW TESTAMENT GREEK VERNACULAR GREEK

The letters which you have just read and hundreds like them, and numerous other papyrus findings, reveal the character of New Testament Greek. The Greek of the papyri is identical with that of the New Testament, and there is no mystery about its character. It is simply vernacular Greek: the popular language of conversation and

² This and above extract from George Milligan, *Selections from Greek Papyri*.

commerce, used daily by unlearned people. Adolph Deismann and Albert Thumb in Germany and J. H. Moulton and George Milligan in Great Britain have been pioneers in establishing this fact.

The peculiarities of New Testament Greek, of which so much has been made in the past, therefore, are not providential creations of inspiration, but the normal characteristics of the language of the common people. Thus we see that the New Testament was written originally in what was in the strictest and fullest sense a living tongue.

The discovery of this fact marks a new chapter in the understanding and the translation of the New Testament. If it was originally written in colloquial style, it must be translated into the same style, because any other misrepresents it. Translating it into colloquial language is simply reproducing it as it was originally written; and it is this discovery that is chiefly responsible for the numerous modern-speech translations.

Many people imagine that the solemn and antique style of the King James Version is a peculiar "Bible language," about which there is something sacred. But this idea is quite mistaken. The style of the Authorized Version is simply an English style of more than 400 years ago, used in the modern world only in the Bible and often difficult to understand. It misrepresents the Old Testament as truly as it does the New, for the Old Testament was also written in the language of the common people.

Newly Discovered Sayings of Jesus. Among the findings of papyri none have excited so much interest as those of Oxyrhynchus, Egypt; and the Sayings of Jesus found here are probably the most famous of all these discoveries.

In 1897 Grenfell and Hunt discovered at Oxyrhynchus a leaf of a papyrus book containing eight sayings of Jesus. It dates from early in the third century.

In 1903 the same men found at Oxyrhynchus a papyrus containing five more sayings of Jesus, which are referred to as the "New Sayings." These are preceded by a prologue, and are written on the back of a land-survey list which has the form of a roll. The writing is in cursive hand, belonging to the third or possibly the end of the second century.

TRANSLATION OF NEW SAYINGS OF JESUS³

These are the life-giving Sayings which Jesus spake who liveth and was seen of the Ten and of Thomas. And he saith to them: Whosoever heareth these Sayings shall not taste death.

Jesus saith:

Let not him who seeketh cease from seeking until he hath found;
And when he hath found, he shall be amazed;
And when he hath been amazed, he shall reign;
And when he hath reigned, he shall have rest.

Jesus saith:

The kingdom of heaven is within you;
And whosoever shall know himself shall find it.
And when ye have found it,
Ye shall know that ye are sons and heirs of the Almighty Father;
And ye shall know that ye are in God and God in you.
And ye are the city of God.

Jesus saith:

Shall a man who has found the way not fear to ask . . .
determining all things concerning the place of his seat?
Ye shall find that many first shall be last,
And the last first,
And they shall inherit eternal life.

Jesus saith:

Every thing that is not before thine eyes,
And that which is hidden from thee, shall be revealed unto thee;
For there is nothing hid that shall not become manifest;
And buried that shall not be raised up.

Jesus saith:

Ye shall not be as the hypocrites.
Do not these things openly, but cleave to the truth;
And let your righteousness be concealed.
For I say: Blessed is he that doeth these things in secret,
For he shall be rewarded openly by the Father who is in heaven.

³ H. G. E. White, *Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*.

IV. MODERN-SPEECH TRANSLATIONS

I. THE WORK OF WOMEN

As one of the recent modern-speech translations is the work of a woman, we may digress for a moment to treat of the general subject of women as Bible translators.

Julia E. Smith's Bible. Julia E. Smith of Glastonbury, Connecticut, enjoys the distinction of being the first woman to translate any part of the Bible into English, and the only woman to translate the whole Bible into English. She spent seven years at the task, translating the Hebrew twice, the Greek twice, and the Latin Vulgate once. Until after her work was finished she had no thought of publishing any part of it. Her translation is very literal. In style she imitates the King James Version, but unlike that version she renders a particular word of the original with the same English word whenever possible. She translates the Divine Name, Jehovah, wherever found, as does the American Standard Bible. The order of books in the Old Testament is the Hebrew order. Poetry is not differentiated. She published her work at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1876, at her own expense.

Julia E. Smith. Julia E. Smith lived most of her life at Glastonbury. Her father, Zephaniah Hollister Smith, an early abolitionist, was successively a minister, a doctor and a lawyer. Religiously he and his family were of the Sandemanians, an obscure sect that arose in Scotland. There were five girls in the family, who were known far and wide as the five "Glastonbury Sisters." They were all well educated in ancient and modern languages.

Politically, Julia was active and prominent as a member of the Woman's Suffrage party and an interesting and conspicuous figure at their conventions. She and a younger

sister resisted the payment of taxes, because they were denied suffrage, and submitted to the sale of a fine herd of Jersey cattle by the town authorities rather than to obey the law. This gave rise to a contest in the newspapers and courts for several years. Soon after the death of her younger sister—all the other members of the family being dead—she was married to the Hon. Amos Parker, a prominent lawyer of New Hampshire. He was eighty-six years old at the time of the marriage and she was eighty-seven.

Mrs. Helen Spurrell. Mrs. Helen Spurrell was reared in London, where she was educated by governesses and attended lectures at the Royal Institution. She was married to James Spurrell, who later became a minister in the English church. She was an exceptionally gifted woman, displaying talents in music, painting, and sculpture. She taught herself Hebrew after her fiftieth birthday, and published in London, in 1885, a translation of the Old Testament made from the unpointed Hebrew, which she occasionally revised and supplemented rather freely from the LXX. and Samaritan Pentateuch. She used Jehovah as the uniform translation of the Divine Name, and differentiated poetry from prose. In style her work is an imitation of the King James Version. She is the second woman to translate any part of the Bible into English.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis. As we have seen previously, Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and her sister Mrs. Gibson, of Cambridge, England, visited the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai in 1892 and there found the Sinaitic Syriac MS. After a second visit to Mt. Sinai Mrs. Lewis published a translation of this MS. in 1894, and thus became the third woman to translate any part of the Bible into English. The MS. contained the Gospels only, with a number of gaps.

Mrs. Lewis was a woman of profound learning and indefatigable industry. She had traveled extensively in Egypt,

the Holy Land, Greece, and Cyprus before her marriage. Her husband was S. S. Lewis, fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, a distinguished archæologist. She was the author, often with the aid of her sister, of numerous publications. Her services to learning were recognized by British and Continental Universities.

The Twentieth Century New Testament. The Twentieth Century New Testament was the work of about twenty scholars, among whom was at least one woman. Three women rendered service in the preparation of this work, but only one seems to have served as a translator. The translation owed its beginning to this woman, who had previously translated parts of the Bible for use with her children. No names can be obtained. The work was published anonymously and more definite information than that given above cannot be had. This was the first modern-speech translation in the making of which a woman had a part.

The Centenary Translation. The Centenary Translation of the New Testament was published at Philadelphia in 1924, to signalize the completion of the first hundred years work of the American Baptist Publication Society. The translation was made by Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, of Rochester, N. Y.

In most modern-speech translations chapters and verses are abolished, and the numbers indicated in the margins, if at all. Mrs. Montgomery, however, accentuates the chapters by announcing subjects for each. The page is broken frequently by sub-heads. This feature is well done, and the translation as a whole is attractive. Quotations from the Old Testament are printed in italics.

Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery. Mrs. Montgomery was licensed as a Baptist minister in 1892. She has been a prominent worker in the Baptist denomination, and has lec-

tured extensively on foreign missions. She is the author of several books, and is the only woman who has made a modern-speech translation of the New Testament.

So far as we are able to learn this completes the number of women who have worked as translators of any part of the Bible into English. The American Bible Society reports that five women have made, or assisted in making, missionary translations into other languages. The British and Foreign Bible Society reports about twenty such.

2. THE WORK OF MEN

The British Revision committee were directed to "introduce as few alterations as possible" into the text of the Authorized Version, and their revision was by no means satisfactory to the best scholarship. Hence private translations continued to appear.

In 1885, the year the British Revision was published, W. D. Dillard put out a New Testament in Chicago, "dedicated to the poor, illiterate and unlearned"; but it failed to receive any particular recognition. Ferrar Fenton published a translation of the New Testament into modern English, made from the text of Westcott and Hort, in London in 1895. His revision of the whole Bible appeared in 1900. Robert D. Weeks published a translation of the New Testament in New York in 1897. The Twentieth Century New Testament began to appear in 1899, and was completed in 1900. The final revision, aided by numerous outside criticisms, occurred in 1904.

The American Standard Bible appeared in 1901, as we have seen, and though it was a decided improvement over the King James Version and superior to the British Revision, its appearance in no way interfered with the stream of private translations. One of the most serious blunders in

printing it was the scattering of verse numbers through the text.

Since the publication of the American Standard Bible, a period of less than thirty years, the whole Bible has been revised or retranslated into English three times, twice in America and once elsewhere. During this time the New Testament alone has been subjected to almost twenty revisions or retranslations, all but three of which have been made in America. The Old Testament, within the same period, has been retranslated in America twice.

In 1901 James Moffatt published in Edinburgh what he entitled a "Historical New Testament." W. B. Godby, in 1902, published a translation of the New Testament at Cincinnati, Ohio. Weymouth's New Testament appeared in London in 1903; and S. A. Worrell published one at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1904. The University New Testament was published in Philadelphia in 1909 by S. Townsend Weaver.

In 1912 the American Baptist Publication Society of Philadelphia issued an "Improved Edition" of the Bible, based in part on the Bible Union version. Its New Testament is the fourth edition of the American Bible Union New Testament, originally issued in 1865. The work of revision and translation was done by some of the best Biblical scholars of America.

James Moffatt, in 1913, published in New York a new translation of the New Testament. Ivan Panin, a champion of verbal inspiration, published a translation of the New Testament at New Haven, Connecticut in 1914. H. T. Anderson, who had published a translation of the New Testament at Cincinnati in 1864, published a new translation at the same place in 1918, using as a text for the latter Codex Sinaiticus. Chaplain F. S. Ballentine published at Jersey City, New Jersey in 1922, a modern-speech trans-

lation of the New Testament, part of which had appeared earlier. In 1923 William G. Ballantine published the Riverside New Testament at Boston. In the same year there appeared in Chicago a translation of the New Testament by Edgar J. Goodspeed. Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, as has been said, published the Centenary Translation of the New Testament at Philadelphia in 1924.

The Concordant Version of the New Testament appeared at Los Angeles in 1925-26. It was the work of A. E. Knoch, assisted in details by others, and is a unique publication. The text from which it is made is one formed for the purpose, using Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Sinaiticus, the three oldest and best MSS. For the book of Revelation Vaticanus 2066, containing Revelation only, was also used. The text is formed on new principles and restores many things omitted from modern texts. The Greek text is printed in a type that reproduces the uncial writing, and without punctuation or separation of words. The translation, prepared by earnest Christian men, is very literal, aiming "at truth and accuracy rather than literary elegance." It appeared first in installments but was issued complete in one volume in 1926.

Arthur E. Overbury, of Monrovia, California, published a translation of the New Testament in 1925. It is called in the preface, "The People's New Covenant (New Testament) Scriptural Writings Translated from the Meta-Physical Standpoint . . . and recognizes healing as well as teaching as a component part of Christianity." Numerous references to the writings of Mary Baker Eddy are found in the notes appended.

James Moffatt published in New York a new translation of the whole Bible in 1926, the parts of which had been issued earlier.

Moulton's Modern Reader's Bible. One virtue of modern-

speech translations is that generally the method of printing is conducive to clearer understanding. The best example of what may be done with type, to aid the understanding of the Bible, is found in *The Modern Reader's Bible*, published by Professor R. G. Moulton. In 1885 he began the publication, one volume at a time, of a twenty-one volume edition. The work has proved to be a notable contribution towards methods of printing that make the Bible both intelligible and attractive. It was issued complete in one volume in 1907.

The Modern Reader's Bible is not a modern-speech translation. Its text is that of the British Revision of 1881 and 1885, with the marginal reading sometimes preferred. Its distinctiveness lies in the recognition that the Bible is composed of a variety of literary forms—lyrics, dramas, essays, sonnets, treatises—and the effort to print it in such fashion as to indicate that fact. *The Modern Reader's Bible*, therefore, gives an intelligent paragraphing, with chapter and verse numbers in the margins, and such a typographical arrangement of the text as will indicate the character of the various types of literature. Headings and notes are added where required. The arrangement is wonderfully helpful, and no student of the Bible can afford to be without this work.

The Songs of Songs furnishes a splendid example of its value. The arrangement and headings involve a modern interpretation of the book, displacing the antiquated and no longer accepted interpretation found in the King James Version. With such aids one can easily understand the book. Psalm 118 furnishes another illustration. The Psalm is recognized as a processional hymn, with separate parts taken by different singers. With this arrangement every word of the text has a meaning, whereas read in the King James Version it is little more than a jumble of

words. Moulton's *Literary Study of the Bible* contains a little more detail in the arrangement of this Psalm than is found in his *Modern Reader's Bible*.

We shall now describe in more detail those modern-speech translations which have won the widest recognition. The crowning glory of modern-speech translations is to be found in three things. First, they are made from the most perfect texts that modern scholarship has been able to produce. Second, sensible paragraphs displace chapters and verses. Third, they once more put the Bible into the language of everyday life in which it was written. Even children can understand them. This is true of the Old as well as of the New Testament.

The Twentieth Century New Testament. This translation had a rather humble origin, but it justly takes high rank. A busy housewife, the mother of five children—two under five years of age—and a railroad engineer, both able to read Greek, enlisted sufficient helpers from various denominations to form a group of about twenty. This was done by means of a letter published in *The Review of Reviews*, of which W. T. Stead was then editor.

This group of volunteers contained a sufficient number of men of proved scholarship to provide leaders for each of the groups among which the work was divided. It was an earnest effort to put the New Testament into language that the common man could understand, and nobody received compensation. The necessary expense involved, and it was not inconsiderable, was provided freely by the translators, often at considerable personal sacrifice. The work was published anonymously, and the public has never known the names of its translators. The publication for England was finally turned over to the National Sunday School Union of London in 1912. The text of Westcott and Hort was used. Chapters and verses are indicated in the

margins. The text is freely interspersed with announcements of subjects, most of them in the margins. Quotations from the Old Testament are set apart and printed in smaller type.

Weymouth's New Testament. Richard Francis Weymouth published a modern-speech translation in London in 1903. It is one of the best and has been widely used. Its language is somewhat nearer that of the King James Version than is the case with any other modern-speech translation. The text used was that of Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament*, which gives the readings in which the majority of editors are agreed. The readings are from Stephens, Lachmann, Tregelles, Lightfoot, Alford, B. Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and the text of the Revision Committee of 1881. A text so formed can have no critical value.

In the use of chapters, the free announcement of subjects, and the manner of setting apart quotations from the Old Testament, his work resembles the Twentieth Century New Testament. His quotations, however, are printed in capitals, instead of small letters.

The Riverside New Testament. The Riverside New Testament, an excellent translation by William G. Ballantine, is more literal than most modern-speech translations.

In the story of Jesus eating at the Pharisee's house (Luke 7:36-38), this version, rendering the Greek literally, says that Jesus "reclined" at the table. So also in the accounts of the feeding of the 5,000 and the last supper. The woman in the Pharisee's house who began to wash Jesus' feet (Luke 7:36-38), is said to have "rained" tears on his feet, again a literal rendering of the Greek. These examples are sufficient. Whether such literalness is a virtue is a matter we leave to those who would debate it.

The Riverside New Testament was made from Nestle's text of 1901, which agrees closely with that of Westcott

and Hort. Chapters are retained, but the verses are omitted entirely. No subjects are announced. Quotations from the Old Testament are simply enclosed in quotation marks.

William G. Ballantine, D. D. Dr. Ballantine is an educator and was president of Oberlin College from 1889 to 1896. He had previously been a professor in Oberlin Theological Seminary for ten years. He has taught in various institutions, and now lives in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Goodspeed's New Testament. The Twentieth Century, Weymouth's, and Moffatt's translations contain many terms distinctly English, with which Americans are not entirely familiar. The Riverside and the Centenary Translation though made in America, both retain English terms and both are comparatively close to the King James Version. Goodspeed's New Testament is distinctly an American translation. He has done for America what the Twentieth Century, Weymouth and Moffatt have done for England. It was published in Chicago in 1923, and among the various translations offered to-day none takes higher rank. It was made from Westcott and Hort's text.

Chapters and verses are enumerated in the margins in certain editions only. The "solemn style" is abandoned even in prayers. No subjects are announced. Quotations from the Old Testament are set apart and appropriately enclosed.

Parables of Vineyard and Talents. The Americanism of Dr. Goodspeed's New Testament may be seen in the parables of the Vineyard and the Talents.

PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD

For the Kingdom of Heaven is like an employer who went out early in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard. He agreed with the laborers to pay them twenty cents a day, and sent them to his vineyard. He went out about nine o'clock and saw others standing in

PARABLE OF THE TALENTS

For it is just like a man who was going on a journey, and called in his slaves, and put his property in their hands. He gave one five thousand dollars, and another two thousand, and another one thousand; to each according to his ability. Then he went away. The man

PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD (*Cont.*)

the bazaar with nothing to do. And he said to them, 'You go to my vineyard, too, and I will pay you whatever is right.' So they went. He went out again about twelve and about three, and did the same. About five he went out and found others standing about, etc. Matt. 20:1-6.

PARABLE OF THE TALENTS (*Cont.*)

who had received the five thousand dollars immediately went into business with the money, and made five thousand more. In the same way the man who had received the two thousand made two thousand more. But the man who had received the one thousand went away and dug a hole in the ground and hid his master's money, etc. Matt. 25:14-18.

In the parable of the Vineyard the laborers are each to receive "twenty cents" a day. In all other modern-speech translations of the better grade, as also in the American Standard Bible, this is expressed in "shillings," which is English. In the parable of the Talents, again, the currency familiar to Americans appears. One slave receives "five thousand dollars, and another two thousand, and another one thousand." Weymouth, the Riverside and the Centenary all express this in "talents," while the Twentieth Century and Moffatt use "pounds."

Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, Ph. D. Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed has been a professor in the University of Chicago since 1915, where he occupies the chair of Biblical and Patristic Greek. He is the author of numerous books, and is recognized as one of the best Biblical scholars of the day.

Moffatt's Bible, Old Testament. Modern-speech translations previously considered contained the New Testament only. James Moffatt published a translation of the entire Bible in one volume in 1926, the parts having appeared earlier. Among modern translators he is the most fearless and daring, and his work is often brilliant. This applies particularly to the treatment of the Massoretic text.

The Massoretic text, until recent times, has been accepted practically without question by Christians everywhere, and

unrevised it has hitherto formed the basis of all translations of the Old Testament. The King James Version departed from it almost never. The British and American Revision Committees often doubted the Hebrew text, and occasionally made corrections by means of the early versions, but their treatment of the text was very timid and cautious.

Evidence that the Massoretic text is often corrupt is overwhelming.⁴ The Hebrew is occasionally so obscure that it has no meaning at all. Even the Authorized Version departed from it in Ex. 14:20, 1 Sam. 13:21 and 1 Sam. 27:10. Much of 1 Kings, chapters six and seven, is meaningless. The shorter form of Job has already been mentioned. Often the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX. agree against the Hebrew, as do also the Syriac and the Vulgate. In such cases there can be little doubt of the corruption of the Hebrew. Even the Book of Jubilees, a modified form of Genesis, frequently supports the LXX. and the Samaritan Pentateuch against the Hebrew.

It may require long years to convince Bible readers of the need of a thorough revision of the Massoretic text, but it will probably be done in the end. It is well known that certain sections of both Old and New Testaments have become displaced in transmission. Dr. Moffatt has had the courage to revise the text where he had the material for such revision, and so has made a splendid beginning. He has sought also to restore all displaced sections of both Testaments to their original positions. His Old Testament is remarkably readable and easily understood, as well as being a superior reproduction of the original. Unfortunately, however, adequate material for a thoroughgoing revision of the Massoretic text is not yet to be had.

⁴ See the Introduction to Moffat's Bible, pp. xvii-xix.

In his Old Testament no subjects are announced. Chapters and verses are indicated in the margins. Poetry is differentiated from prose. In the earliest historical books he has endeavored to separate much of the matter according to its sources.

Moffatt's Bible, New Testament. The New Testament of Moffatt's Bible is outstanding among the modern-speech translations. It was made from von Soden's text of 1913, which differs from that of Westcott and Hort only in minor particulars. Chapters and verses are indicated in the margins. No subjects are announced. Quotations from the Old Testament are set apart, and printed in italics.

One interesting feature of Moffatt's New Testament is found in the translation of 1 Peter 3:18-19, which in the American Standard Bible reads:

Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, that aforetime were disobedient, when the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing.

This passage has always offered difficulties of interpretation. It seemed to teach that Jesus, after his death, went and preached to antediluvians imprisoned somewhere. Naturally the question arose, What did he preach? Some replied that he went to announce the irretrievable doom of these miserable souls; but that seemed a poor sort of preaching. Preaching is supposed to be the proclaiming of good news. Others suggested that he went to offer them salvation; but that was quite unsatisfactory in the more orthodox circles.

Dr. Rendell J. Harris, in one of his boldest conjectures, suggests that the name "Enoch" has been dropped out of the text at this point by some copyist. We must remember that the oldest Greek MSS. of the New Testament that have been preserved to us, have the letters all in capitals,

and without the separation of words. The Greek text then, using English equivalents, would originally read, according to Dr. Harris: ENOKAIENOK. Separating the words we would have EN O KAI ENOK, which translated gives, "In which also Enoch." Dr. Harris suggests that a copyist, seeing the second ENOK in the unseparated text, imagined it an accidental repetition by some former scribe, and so omitted it, with the result that the text coming down to us makes Jesus, instead of Enoch, preach to the spirits in prison. Dr. Moffatt accepts the suggestion of Dr. Harris and translates as follows: "It was in the spirit that Enoch went and preached to the imprisoned spirits who had disobeyed." Dr. Goodspeed also accepts the emendation and translates accordingly.

The Book of Enoch, well known in New Testament times, contains a lengthy story of Enoch preaching to the spirits in prison. They were the spirits of giants that were supposed to have lived before the flood and to have corrupted the world, and it is quite probable that the words in 1 Peter are simply a reference to that story.

James Moffatt, D. D., D. Litt. Dr. James Moffatt is a Scotchman. He was professor of Greek and New Testament Exegesis, Mansfield College, Oxford, from 1911 to 1915, and professor of Church History, United Free Church College, Glasgow, 1915-27. He is now Washburn professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York. He is recognized as one of the best Biblical scholars of the day, and is the author of numerous books.

The Old Testament, an American Translation. The latest translation of the Old Testament is one edited by J. M. Powis Smith, of the University of Chicago, and was published in Chicago in 1927. Its translators were Professor Alex R. Gordon of the United Theological College of McGill University, Montreal; Professor Theophile J. Meek

of the University of Toronto; Professor Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan; and the editor.

The reason assigned for the new translation is the great advance in Hebrew scholarship within the last forty years, resulting in a better knowledge of Hebrew, a fuller understanding of the fundamental textual problems involved, and a clearer recognition of poetic structure.

It is well known that Jehovah is a hybrid word, originating from the use of the vowels of "Lord," with the consonants of the Divine Name. It has been in use only since the time of the Reformation, and was used very little until the American Standard Bible appeared in 1901. Many have not become accustomed to it yet. "Yahweh," the probable Hebrew original, is impossible. Moffatt rendered this Divine Name with "The Eternal," which is hardly satisfactory. The translators of the J. M. P. Smith Old Testament have followed the Jewish example of substituting the word "Lord" wherever the Divine Name is found, as did the Authorized Version. This, at least, will give readers what they have been accustomed to.

The Massoretic text is used generally, but the translators do not hesitate to revise it when they feel that revision is imperative. They are more conservative in this respect than Moffatt. An appendix of some 90 closely printed pages indicates the textual changes made. They are largely changes in the vowels used.

This work is called "An American Translation." Its preface says, "It tries to be American in the same sense that the writings of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson are American." Its language is much nearer the language of the King James Version than is that of Moffatt's translation, although "thee," "thou," and "thy" are omitted, except in language addressed to God. The work is well done: clear, dignified and scholarly.

This translation has the appearance of a modern book, in this respect surpassing Moffatt's Bible. The paragraphing is better. Headings for various subjects are added. Each Psalm has a title. Poetry is differentiated from prose. Chapters and verses are indicated in the margins.

J. M. Powis Smith, Ph. D. Dr. J. M. Powis Smith has been a professor in the University of Chicago since 1915. He has been associate editor, at various times, of the *Biblical World*, the *American Journal of Theology*, and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*. Since 1915 he has been editor of the last named periodical. He is the author of several books, and a scholar of recognized ability.

Translations Compared with Authorized Version. The superiority of modern-speech translations may be seen more clearly by a comparison of some of their translations with those of the King James Version.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION

When I kept silence, my bones waxed old through my roaring all the day long. For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: my moisture is turned into the drouth of summer. *Psa. 32:3-4.*

Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. *Matt. 6:34.*

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. *Hebrews 11:1.*

We know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose. *Romans 8:28.*

One of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he

MODERN-SPEECH TRANSLATIONS

So long as I refused to own my guilt, I moaned unceasingly, life ebbed away; for thy hand crushed me night and day, my body dried up as in summer heat. *Moffatt.*

Therefore do not be anxious about to-morrow, for to-morrow will bring its own anxieties. Every day has trouble enough of its own. *Twentieth Century.*

Now faith is a confident assurance of that for which we hope, a conviction of the reality of things which we do not see. *Weymouth.*

We know that in everything God works with those who love him, whom he has called in accordance with his purpose, to bring about what is good. *Goodspeed.*

One of the Pharisees kept asking him to dine with him. Entering the

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (*Cont.*)

went into the Pharisee's house and sat down to meat . . . a woman in the city . . . began to wash his feet with tears. Luke 7:36-38.

Moses said, Honor thy father and thy mother; and Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free. And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his father or his mother. Mark 7:10-12.

I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Job 19:25-26.

Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Matt. 6:24.

MODERN-SPEECH TRANSLATIONS
(*Cont.*)

house of this Pharisee, he reclined at the table . . . a certain woman in the city . . . her tears began to rain down on his feet. Riverside N. T.

Moses said, Honor your father and mother, and he who curses his father or mother is to suffer death. But you say that if a man tells his father or mother, 'This money might have been at your service, but it is Korban' (that is, dedicated to God), he is exempt, so you hold, from doing anything for his father or mother. Moffatt's. N. T.

I know, my Vindicator lives and hereafter he will rise up upon the dust; and after my skin has been torn off, . . . like this! . . . and from my flesh I shall see God. J. M. Powis Smith's O. T.

You cannot be the slaves both of God and of gold. Centenary Translation.

These examples speak for themselves.

CHAPTER VII

ODDS AND ENDS OF BIBLICAL INTEREST

I. SOME INTERESTING BEGINNINGS

First Use of "Bible" as a Title. Ancient books were written upon byblus or papyrus reed, and from this custom came the Greek word *biblos*, meaning "book." The Greek fathers used the plural *Ta Biblia*, "The Books," as a designation of the Holy Scriptures. When this word was taken into the Latin language the neuter plural came to be regarded as a feminine singular, and from "Biblia" came our "Bible." Purvey, in his writings, uses the word Bible as a designation of the Holy Scriptures, but neither he nor Wyclif use the word as a title, since they used no title page in their translations. Title pages had not come into use in their day. The first Bible with a separate title page was a Latin Bible of 1487, from the Venetian press. The Saxons had used the word "*Ge-Writ*," and not "*Bible*," as a designation of the Sacred Writings. Chaucer uses the word "bible" in his "House of Fame" to describe any book: "Men might make them a bible twenty foot thick."

Coverdale, who published the first complete Bible in English, used as a title the Latin word, *Biblia*. John Rogers used the word "Bible" as a title for the Holy Scriptures for the first time in Matthew's Bible, published in 1537, and it has been so used ever since.

Origin of Expression "Old and New Testaments." In

the Septuagint a Hebrew word signifying "covenant" was translated by the Greek word *diatheke*. Paul speaks of the Jewish Scriptures as "the old covenant" (2 Cor. 3:14, American Standard Bible), and the ministers of Christ as "ministers of a new covenant" (2 Cor. 3:6, American Standard Bible). By the end of the second century, in obedience to a true instinct for the proper meaning of the terms employed, the old *diatheke* (Old Covenant) and the new *diatheke* (New Covenant) had become established expressions for the two great divisions of the Bible. Origen, in the early third century, speaks of "the divine Scriptures, the so-called Old and New Covenants."

"Testament" is derived from the Latin word *testamentum*, which signifies a "will" or "disposition (of property)." Through the influence of the Vulgate the word *testamentum*, though a mistranslation,¹ came to be used for *diatheke*, and the idea of covenant was lost.² The American Revision Committee thought at first of suggesting to the English Committee that a change should be made in the titles of the two great divisions of the Bible, calling them the "Old and New Covenants," but the idea was abandoned. It was felt that the terms "Old and New Testaments" were so well established from long use that the change could hardly be made.³

Beginning of Page Numbering. Books were printed originally with the leaves unnumbered, as many an old Bible indicates. Printing the first word of a leaf at the foot

¹ For covenant Paul uses, in the above quotations, the Greek word *diatheke* which may also mean a "will" or "testament," but to translate it so except where there is undoubted reference to our modern Roman-law testament (Heb. 9:16-17) is inaccurate.

² For a discussion of the matter, see articles "Covenant" and "Testament" in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* and in Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.

³ Alexander Roberts, *Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament*, p. 203.

of the preceding page, said to have been begun as a guide for the arrangement of the sheets, was first employed by Vindelinus de Spira of Venice in a copy of Tacitus, which was published about 1469. This custom was continued long after the pages were numbered. The King James Version of 1611 was so printed.

Pagination—that is, the numbering of pages—was first introduced by Arnold ter Hoernen in a book entitled, *Sermo ad Populum Predicabilis*, published at Cologne in 1470. This book was also the first to contain any sort of a title page. Full title pages were not adopted, however, until some fifty years later. When pagination was first introduced into the Bible we have not learned.

The First Printed Psalter. Among books published by Fust and Schoeffer of Mayence, Germany, was a folio edition of the Psalter in Latin issued in 1457. This became a very celebrated publication. It is noted as (1) the first Psalter ever published, (2) the first printed book with a date, (3) the first example of printing with colors, (4) the first book to contain a printed colophon, and (5) the first printed book containing musical notes, though these were added by hand in spaces left for them. There has been much controversy as to how the large initials were printed in red and blue. Most probably this was done with stamps, after the printing had been done, a stamp for each color. Only nine copies are known to exist. The first whole Bible to contain a date was a Latin Bible published by the same firm in 1462.

Beginnings of Bible Publication in America. The first book printed in America is known as "The Bay Psalm Book," published at Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1640. Its title was, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Faithfully Translated into English Meter*. It was the work of John Eliot,

the missionary to the Indians, assisted by Richard Mather and Thomas Welde.

The first Bible published in America was the Indian Bible translated by John Eliot. The New Testament was published at Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1661, and the whole Bible in 1663. This is the earliest example in history of the translation and printing of the entire Bible in a new language as a means of evangelization. It is said that no one now living can read it. Copies are very rare.

The first German Bible published in America was printed at Germantown, Pa., in 1743 by Christopher Sauer. This was the first Bible published in America in a continental European language. The first Rheims-Douai Bible was Challoner's revision, published in Philadelphia in 1790. The first Greek New Testament was printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1800, and the first Hebrew Bible at Philadelphia in 1814.

II. THE FIRST BIBLE IN ENGLISH PRINTED IN AMERICA

The first Bible in English published in America was probably one put out in imitation of a London edition by Kneeland and Green of Boston. The date was probably 1752, possibly a little earlier. The work bore a London imprint and sold as a genuine London Bible. It has been called a "bootleg" Bible. The first New Testament in English was probably issued by Fowle and Rogers of Boston between 1740 and 1750, just previous to the publication of the first Bible in English. This edition may be supposed to have been issued with a London imprint for the same reason as the other.

Aitken Bible Long Considered First in English. For many years, however, it was believed almost universally that the Bible published by Robert Aitken of Philadelphia

in 1782 was the first whole Bible in English published in America. Aitken had published the New Testament in 1777, and this has been supposed to be the first English New Testament printed in America. But both opinions are probably erroneous.

Isaiah Thomas' Report of a Kneeland and Green Bible. Isaiah Thomas, an early American printer, published in 1810 a *History of Printing in America*. He visited and examined all the libraries within his reach and gathered newspapers, books, tracts and pamphlets from all parts of the country to aid him in his researches. In his history he tells of the publication of a Bible in English by Kneeland and Green of Boston, which he says bore a London imprint, viz: "London: printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." The purpose of the false imprint, he says, was to prevent prosecution by those who had the right to publish Bibles in England and Scotland. His words are, "When I was an apprentice I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact." This is first-hand information. He heard about it not once only but "often," and from those who had worked on the book as typesetters and at the press. Such a statement from a witness who can at all be trusted should not be lightly set aside. And Thomas' history is regarded as a valuable work to-day.

It is easy enough to understand why a Bible should be published secretly at that time. No one had the privilege of publishing Bibles in America, or could obtain it. The English king sold the right to the highest bidder, and those who secured it declined to share the right with others. The spirit of liberty was abroad and the tension between England and the colonies was great. There is nothing surprising in the clandestine publication of a Bible.

Thomas Baskett of London was the official printer at

this time. Why Kneeland and Green gave Mark Baskett as printer we do not know. Mark was Thomas' son and was living in 1752. He inherited the printing monopoly and from 1761 to 1769, after his father's death, published Bibles in his own name.

Collectors' Failure to Recognize a Kneeland and Green Bible. The question naturally arises, If Isaiah Thomas, a creditable witness, reported such a publication as early as 1752, why has the opinion prevailed so extensively that the Aitken Bible of 1782 was the first?

The answer is simple enough. From 1830 through the years that followed, collectors were unable to find a copy that was recognized as a Kneeland and Green Bible. Since nobody could find a copy, after years of searching, it was concluded that no such Bible had ever existed. Isaiah Thomas had simply been mistaken. Such men as George Bancroft, the historian, after investigation, decided against the existence of such a Bible. The world generally accepted the judgment of the experts.

Claims of Rev. Acton Griscom. Banquo-like the ghost of a Kneeland and Green Bible refuses to down. Now and then, somebody has thought to have located a copy, but the experts remained unconvinced.

Recently, the Rev. Acton Griscom of New York has claimed that several Kneeland and Green Bibles are in existence, and while it is too early to say with certainty just what the final outcome of the matter may be, it would seem that he makes good his claim.

If Mr. Griscom be correct, the failure of the experts to locate a copy earlier is easily explained. Isaiah Thomas had said that the imprint gave Mark Baskett as printer, and it was known that Mark Baskett did print Bibles in London from 1761 to 1769. The task then seemed to be to locate a genuine London Mark Baskett Bible, and by comparison

determine the spurious. The experts located what they thought to be a genuine London copy, and comparing all other Mark Baskett Bibles known with this one they came to the conclusion that all were genuine. So no Kneeland and Green Bible could be found. But Mr. Griscom believes that these experts simply compared one Kneeland and Green Bible with another, and naturally concluded that they all had a common origin.

Mr. Griscom claims to have located a genuine London copy of a Mark Baskett Bible, and also a copy of the Kneeland and Green publication. A comparison of the title pages of these Bibles shows clearly that there are a number of differences. "Original Greek," in the genuine London Bible, is composed of capitals and lower case letters, while in the other it is in capitals wholly. "Most Excellent" in the genuine edition will be found on one line, while in the other the words appear on different lines. Other differences may be noted.

These two Bibles do not come from the same type, though the dates are the same. Mr. Griscom concludes that one is a genuine Kneeland and Green Bible. It fulfills all the requirements of Isaiah Thomas' description.

The date of both Bibles is 1767. Kneeland and Green are said to have published their Bible not later than 1752. The discrepancy in dates is explained as due to the practice, sometimes followed, of dating books not at the time of publication but when sold. It is not unreasonable to assume that Kneeland and Green did this. There is no evidence that Mark Baskett of London ever followed the practice, however.

If Mr. Griscom be correct, and there seems a strong probability that he is, there is a copy of the Kneeland and Green Bible in the library at Harvard, one in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts,

and several copies in the New York public library. At least four copies are owned privately.

Dr. Nichols Concedes the Existence of a Kneeland and Green Bible. Dr. C. L. Nichols of the American Antiquarian Society, a recognized expert in such matters, in a paper read before the Society in 1927, concedes that Kneeland and Green did print the first Bible in English in America, as reported by Isaiah Thomas. He believes also that the first New Testament in English was published by Fowle and Rogers of Boston, as reported by Thomas. But he declines to believe that a copy of this Bible has yet been located. What he does concede, however, is a long step from the hitherto established position of the experts, that no such Bible ever existed.

Distinction of the Aitken Bible. To Robert Aitken of Philadelphia remains the distinction of being the first in America to publish openly both a New Testament (1777) and the whole Bible (1782) in English. Because of the Revolution Bibles were difficult to secure, and Congress passed a resolution commending Aitken for the publication of his Bible.

III. ECCENTRIC TRANSLATIONS

Many efforts at Biblical translation and explanation can hardly be classed otherwise than as freaks. A word about some of them with suitable quotations may be worth while, if for no other reason than that we may know what we have escaped.

The Lord's Prayer by Samuel Mather. The first effort at translation from the Greek into English made in America was that of Rev. Samuel Mather, who published in Boston in 1766 a translation of the Lord's prayer as found in Mat-

thew. It was issued by Kneeland and Adams. Only thirteen copies are known to exist. His translation follows:

Our Father, who art in the Heavens; sanctified be thy Name: Thy Kingdom come: Thy Will be done, as in Heaven, so upon Earth: Give us to Day that our Bread, the supersubstantial: And forgive us our Debts, as we forgive them who are our Debtors: And introduce us not into afflictive Trial; but deliver us from the wicked One: Because thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory for the Ages. Amen!

Comment is unnecessary.

W. Mace's New Testament. W. Mace published a Greek New Testament in London in 1729, and it possessed considerable value. Accompanying it he published a translation into English; but this was rather lacking in dignity, as the following quotations will indicate:

When ye fast don't put on a dismal air as the hypocrites do. Matt. 6:16.
And the domestics slapt him on the cheeks. Mark 14:65.

If you should respectfully say to the suit of fine clothes, Sit you there, that's for quality . . . James 2:3.

The tongue is but a small part of the body, yet how grand are its pretensions! A spark of fire! What quantities of timber will it blow into a flame. James 3:5-6.

Edward Harwood's New Testament. Edward Harwood, whose New Testament was published in London in 1768, has been termed the Beau Brummel of translators and he probably deserves it. A few specimens of his rare work will be sufficient. His version of part of the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55) is interesting:

My soul with reverence adores my Creator, and all my faculties with transport join in celebrating the goodness of God, my Savior, who hath in so signal a manner condescended to regard my poor and humble station.

His style elsewhere is similar. For example:

A gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons. Luke 15:11.

We shall not all pay the common debt of nature, but we shall by a soft transition be changed from mortality to immortality. 1 Cor. 15:51-2.

The daughter of Herodias . . . a young lady who danced with inimitable grace and elegance. Matt. 14:6.

David Macrae's Bible. In 1799 David Macrae, a licensed preacher in the church of Scotland, published in Glasgow a translation of the whole Bible. One quotation, from Ecclesiastes 12:1-7, will indicate its character. As will be seen, he introduces frequent parenthetical explanations.

1. Remember thy Creator in the days of youth, before the days of affliction come, and the years of old age approach, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. 2. Before the sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars, become dark to thee, and the cloud return after rain, or one trouble come upon another. 3. When (the arms) the keepers of the (corporeal) house shall shake, and the strong ones (the limbs) be feeble, and (the teeth) the grinders shall cease, as being few (and unfit for use); and they that look out at the windows (the optic nerves of the eyes) become dim. 4. And the doors be shut in the streets (the lips fall in, the teeth being gone), and the sounding of the grinding (in eating) be low; and they shall rise up at the sound of the bird (sleep being diminished, and easily broken); and all the daughters of music (the accents of the voice, and acuteness of the ear) fail. 5. They shall also be afraid of (ascending) the place which is high (being weak and breathless); and fears (of stumbling) shall be in their way; and (gray hairs like) the almond tree's leaves shall flourish; and the grasshopper shall be a burden (small matters being troublesome, as being crooked and fretful); and the desire of enjoyment shall fail; for man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets. 6. Before the silver cord (the marrow of the backbone, with its root and branches) be contracted; or the golden vial (the brain's membranes) be cracked, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain (the cavities and conveyers of the blood from the heart), or the wheel be broken at the cistern (the returners of it from the lungs, liver, head, hands and feet); the double, yea, quadruple, circulation (galal and ruts), being repeated, be interrupted and cease. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.

The above is the finest specimen of its kind we have found in all our reading. The examples given, except the first, have all been from abroad. Lest it might be concluded that America was entirely outclassed in such efforts, we give a few more examples from home talent.

Rodolphus Dickinson's New Testament. Rodolphus Dickinson, the rector of St. Paul's parish in the district of Pendleton, South Carolina, published a New Testament in Boston in 1833. A few extracts follow:

Beware, that you do not disdain one of the least of these; for I apprise you, that their attendant messengers in the heavens, incessantly survey the face of my heavenly Father. Matt. 18:10.

Except a man be reproduced, he cannot realize the reign of God. Nicodemus says to him, How can a man be produced when he is mature? Can he again pass into a state of embryo, and be produced? John 3:3-4.

And [Judas] falling prostrate, a violent, internal spasm ensued, and all his viscera were emitted. Acts 1:18.

Dickinson appended notes to his translation, gathered from a wide field. One, on the Logos (John 1:1), is from Thomas Jefferson. Other notes contain sayings from John Quincy Adams and Chancellor Kent. The Free Enquirer, an infidel paper published in New York, serves as a source for several short comments.

Johnathan Morgan's New Testament. Johnathan Morgan, a lawyer living in Portland, Maine, published a translation of the New Testament in Portland in 1848. A few examples of his renderings follow:

And the angel said unto them, Fear not, for, behold, I gospelize unto you great joy, which shall be unto all people. Luke 2:10.

And an ecstasy came, upon all, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, We have seen paradoxies, today. Luke 5:26.

And, approaching, they awoke him, saying, Governor, governor, we are perishing. Luke 8:24.

Having their consciences cauterized. 1 Tim. 4:2.

In the presence of the throne, was a vitriolic sea like crystal. Rev. 4:6.

Morgan freely revised the orthography of his day. Synagog, thru, lik, bro't, and similar attempts at phonetic spelling, are common.

Hezekiah Woodruff's New Testament. Hezekiah Woodruff published a translation of the Gospel of Matthew in Auburn, New York, in 1852, and the entire New Testament except Mark, Luke and John in 1853. Why three gospels were omitted is not explained. A few quotations will suffice:

His food was small animals and vegetable honey. Matt. 3:4.

Happy are they who hunger and thirst for correctness. Matt. 5:6.

Unless your correctness shall exceed the correctness of the clergy, etc. Matt. 5:20.

The Son-of-Man maketh his exit, in the manner, in which it was written of him. Matt. 26:24.

Immediately he [Judas] came to the Savior and said, Your most obedient, Preceptor, and kissed him. Matt. 26:49.

These are sufficient to illustrate the unacceptable moulds into which certain men would have cast the Scriptures. Such translations made little impression in their time, and they have present interest only because of their eccentric character.

IV. SECTARIAN TRANSLATIONS

Partisan prejudice has had its influence on Biblical translation from the very beginning. The LXX., the first translation ever made, was the Bible of a party. It was made by the Alexandrian Jews who added several books to the Hebrew canon, creating the Alexandrian canon.

Partisan Notes in Early English Translations. Early English translations were nearly all rendered partisan by the use of controversial notes, which were often narrow and sometimes bitter. Charges of partisan translation were hurled back and forth freely between Catholics and Protestants, in an early day; but the partisan character of practically all of these translations is to be seen in the controversial notes rather than in the text.

Wyclif appended no notes, though he used prologues. Tyndale used notes in certain editions. Coverdale omitted them altogether. Matthew's Bible had them in abundance. The Great Bible contained no annotations, though they were originally planned and were promised in the prologue. Taverner's Bible contained numerous notes, a sort of running commentary. The Geneva Bible abounded in strongly Calvinistic notes. The annotations of the Bishops'

Bible reflected the theology of its translators. The Rheims-Douai Bible contained many partisan notes, as do most Catholic translations of more recent date.

In 1534 Dutch printers brought out an edition of Tyn-dale's New Testament, edited or revised by George Joye, an English refugee. For the word "resurrection" he substituted "the life after this." This is said to have been "the first attempt in English to pervert the Word of God for the purpose of upholding false doctrine," though just what heresy Joye favored is not clear. This was done in such way as to cause the mistranslation to be ascribed to Tyn-dale. He was of course indignant at such treatment.

The King James Version was the work of a large committee, representative of various religious opinions, whose instructions were that no controversial notes should be appended. The British Revision and the American Standard Bible also were made by committees widely representative, thus guaranteeing unprejudiced work.

Questionable Accusations. While partisan prejudice has unquestionably played a part in Biblical translation throughout its history, men have been accused of such prejudice who were most probably innocent.

W. Mace, who published a Greek New Testament with an English translation in London in 1729, was accused of favoring Unitarianism. He was the boldest deviator from the Textus Receptus of his day, frequently anticipating the verdicts of modern scholarship. This was most likely his only real offense.

Anthony Purver was a Quaker and his translation of 1764 has been called a "Quaker Bible," but whether it has any actual bias we do not know. Edward Harwood's New Testament of 1768 was made from a text of his own formation, which was a near approximation to that of William Whiston. Harwood was accused of favoring Socinianism.

Gilbert Wakefield's New Testament of 1789 has been said to favor Unitarianism. He made considerable use of several ancient versions, and often revised the text. Among other changes he revised 1 Tim. 3:16 and omitted the "three heavenly witnesses" from 1 John 5:7-8. Modern scholarship has vindicated him in both cases, but either of these revisions was sufficient in his day to call forth the charge of Unitarianism.

Nathaniel Scarlett's New Testament of 1798 has been said to favor Universalism. The words "hades" and "gehenna," both translated "hell" in the Authorized Version, were both transferred into English by Scarlett. "Hell" is now known to be an entirely inaccurate translation of the Greek word "hades." Again, according to the Authorized Version (Matt. 25:46) Jesus said, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment," while Scarlett's translation reads: "These will go away into æonian punishment." The Greek word "æonian" is transferred, or transliterated, rather than translated. "Everlasting" is now known to be an unsatisfactory translation for the Greek, and is not found in the American Standard Bible. Scarlett had, at one time in his life, been a Universalist, and the transliterations here mentioned coupled with that fact naturally led to the charge of Universalism.

While the present author has not been able to examine all the translations mentioned above, and has made no very extensive examination of any of them, he takes the charges against these men with a good big grain of salt. It was common in the day of these publications to charge unorthodoxy against all men, who, on thoroughly competent evidence, sought to correct the Greek text. Any deviation from the Textus Receptus was regarded with grave suspicion.

Charges made under such circumstances are not to be trusted.

Numerous Sectarian Bibles. We reach more certain ground, however, when we come nearer our own time. The Rev. Thomas Belsham, an English Unitarian, published an "Improved Version" of the New Testament in London in 1808, and in Boston in 1809, on the basis of Archbishop Newcome's translation. This drew fire from many sources, and seems really to have had a Socinian bias.

What might be termed a "Swedenborg Bible" was published in Boston by Otis Clapp in 1837. This contained only the books regarded by Swedenborg as having what he was pleased to call "an internal sense." The books of Ruth, first and second Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon were all omitted from the Old Testament. Acts and all the Epistles were omitted from the New Testament.

N. N. Whiting published a New Testament in Boston in 1849 which has been called a "Millerite" translation. We fail to find any sectarian bias in it. A New Testament copyrighted by Leonard Thorn was published in New York in 1861. It claims to have been "revised and corrected by the spirits." It imitates the King James Version, but omits much of the New Testament. Revelation has only six chapters and the Epistles are much shortened. Its bias is spiritualistic, Jesus being the great Medium through whom God has spoken.

One of the most puzzling Bibles in print is that published in 1867 by the Reorganized Latter Day Saints, at Lamoni, Iowa. The Utah Mormons do not use it. It has many additions to the usual text, Joseph Smith having claimed a special revelation for the changes he made. Had these additions favored the doctrinal position of his church

the explanation would have been easy, but they do not seem to serve any denominational or sectarian purpose.

Christian Spiritual Bible is the title of a book published in Philadelphia in 1851 by R. R. Hare. It contains a translation of the four Gospels and part of the first chapter of Acts. These are made into one continuous story. The book contains much other matter, and is intended for those who believe in reincarnation.

J. W. Hanson, D. D., published a translation of the New Testament in Boston in 1883-85, under the title of "The New Covenant," with brief notes added. It is clearly Universalistic, especially in its notes, and was published by the Universalist Publishing House.

Arthur E. Overbury published at Monrovia, California, in 1925, a New Testament under the title of *The People's New Covenant*. It professedly favors divine healing. In its numerous notes Mary Baker Eddy is quoted frequently.

"Immersion" Versions. By far the most important of the sectarian translations have been made by those who believe that the proper mode of Christian baptism is immersion. To understand the history of these translations it is necessary to go back to the beginnings of New Testament translation.

The New Testament was translated into Latin in the second century A.D., this being the first or second version made. In this translation the Greek word *baptizo* and its cognates were simply transliterated, that is, not translated at all but lifted from the Greek and made into Latin words. Jerome followed this precedent in the Latin Vulgate, which proved to be the most influential of all versions, except the LXX.

Wyclif and Tyndale set the same precedent for English translators, and all the standard versions have followed it. This course has had great practical advantage. Christian people have been left to any mode of baptism they pre-

ferred, and the same Bible could be used by both immersionists and sprinklers.

The American Bible Society was organized as the servant of all denominations. Trouble between this Society and the Baptists, however, arose in 1835. Adoniram Judson, a great missionary in India, had translated the New Testament into Burmese. He had departed from the custom in English translations, and translated *baptizo* with "immerse." Its derivatives were similarly translated. The Bible Society had used its funds, gathered from everywhere, to assist in the publication of this New Testament. When the character of the translation got abroad protests began to be filed with the Society. People who believed in sprinkling objected to having the Society's money used to publish what they regarded as a sectarian translation which only immersionists could use. The Baptists were contributors to the Bible Society, and they could see no impropriety in using its money to publish this character of New Testament.

The American Bible Society found itself in a serious predicament. In fact, its very existence was threatened. It was simply impossible to please both parties. Immersionists demanded one thing and sprinklers another. The Society was under the necessity of making a choice and taking the consequences. It finally decided that in the future it would use none of its money to publish translations that did not follow the time-honored custom of transliterating the Greek word *baptizo* and its cognates rather than translating them. It proposed to provide only such translations as both immersionists and sprinklers could use.

The sprinklers were pleased, of course, but immersionists were not. A controversy followed. The outcome of the matter was the organization by the Baptists of the American and Foreign Bible Society, a rival organization. This new

Society immediately aided in the publication of "immersion" translations in foreign languages, while continuing to use the Authorized Version in English. But a beginning having been made many Baptists began to insist that the Authorized Version should be made into an "immersion" version. Baptist opinion on this matter, however, was divided.

Those who insisted on such a revision of the Authorized Version organized the American Bible Union in 1850. It was recognized among Baptists that the King James Version was antiquated, and in need of a general revision; and this organization proposed to make a general revision. But the great purpose of the Bible Union was to provide an "immersion" version of the New Testament in English.

The revision of the whole Bible began at once. Job was published in 1856. The New Testament was completed in 1865. Genesis was published in 1868; Psalms, in 1869; Proverbs, in 1871; Joshua, Judges and Ruth, in 1878, and Isaiah, in 1879. The Bible Union, however, found itself heavily in debt by 1878, and sought to unite with the new Baptist Bible Society. This effort failed and after this date the Bible Union did little.

The New Testament published by the Bible Union in 1865 translated *baptizo* and its derivatives and provided an "immersion" version in English which has proved the most influential version of its kind ever issued. It was revised in 1891, and again in 1912, the last revision being included in an "Improved Edition" of the Bible published by the American Baptist Publication Society. The Bible work of the Baptists had been committed to this society in 1883, together with the duty of continuing the revisions of the Bible Union. The "Improved Edition" which resulted, including both Testaments, was the work of Baptist scholars of recognized ability. In this last revision *baptizo* is again

transliterated as "baptize," after the usual English custom, and "immerse" follows immediately in parentheses. Cognate words are similarly treated.

Perhaps the second most influential "immersion" version published in America was that of Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples church, published first in 1826. It has been discussed in another connection.⁵

Among other "immersion" versions may be mentioned the New Testament of Nathaniel Scarlett, published in 1798, and which has been said to favor Universalism. Scarlett was successively a Methodist, a Universalist and a Baptist. His translation reflects his Baptist opinions. This New Testament has yet another peculiarity. Much of the New Testament is dialogue, and Scarlett exaggerates this by placing before every utterance, in italics, the name of the speaker as is done in editions of Shakespeare. Historical matter is indicated in the same way.

David Bernard published a Bible at Philadelphia in 1842, the New Testament of which was an "immersion" version made by A. C. Kendrick. The New Testament published by N. N. Whiting in 1849, often called "Millerite," was an "immersion" version, as was that of H. T. Anderson published at Cincinnati in 1864. Joseph B. Rotherham published in London in 1872 an "Emphasized" New Testament, which is an "immersion" version and has been used extensively among immersionists. The Bible of Julia E. Smith, published at Hartford in 1876, was an "immersion" version. Samuel Williams, at one time pastor of the First Baptist church of Pittsburgh, published in New York in 1881 an edition of the New Testament based on the British Revision. Williams introduced into this text the readings preferred by the American Revision Committee and added

⁵ See page 251-2.

such emendations as were necessary to make it an "immersion" version. The New Testament of J. W. Hanson, published in 1883-85, in addition to its Universalistic bias translated *baptizo* with "immerse." A. S. Worrell published another "immersion" version in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1904.

The Christian world has long differed as to the proper mode of baptism and will probably continue to differ. But the bitterness of the past is gone, let us hope forever. We are learning more and more to respect each other's convictions, and to grant to others the same rights we claim for ourselves. And in a world of growing unity, fraternity and coöperation, sectarian translations will probably have a small place.

Our story is now ended. One thing we would repeat with emphasis and that is that through all the variations in detail the Divine Library has ever contained unchanged and uncorrupted the essentials of God's Word. The substantial and vital truths of Christianity have been and still are there, and no other book or books have exercised such profound influence for the spiritual and moral betterment of the world. Many little systems have had their day and ceased to be, but the Word of the Lord abides forever.

No other book has ever been associated in the same way with the joys and sorrows of human life, with births, marriages and deaths; and no other would we care to have read over the casket of our beloved dead.

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