remote from man and his uses; and, lastly, man himself when all was ready. When the farm was stocked, the farmer came.

Thus I think you cannot "harmonize," except in the widest and most general sense, the Scripture account with that of science; but I also think that the former is so vague, so obviously popular in form, so concerned only about the central truth, that to talk of contradiction is useless. A child or uneducated person might give us an account of some complicated process, which was true in the main, yet full of small inaccuracies and mistakes in sequence and in theory.

Of course I am aware of the correspondences between the early Chaldwan cosmogony and that in Genesis, but to dwell on this subject is beside my purpose. I will merely add that the former, as it has been well said, is saturated with polytheism, and that the expurgation of such an element, at this epoch of the world's history, is to me a mark of inspiration.

J. T. MARSHACT. G. BONNEY.

THE ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

THE NEW CRITERION.

There are two facts which, as we have seen from our preliminary paper of last month, are almost universally conceded: (1) that our Lord ordinarily spoke Aramaic; and (2) that Matthew wrote the Logia $\tau \hat{y}$ $E\beta pai\delta i$ $\delta ia\lambda \acute{e}\kappa\tau \phi$. But when we step beyond this, we come into the arena of debate. If we ask, In what language did Matthew write? or, What did he write? we receive very discordant replies. It might be supposed that all who admitted that Christ spoke Aramaic would also admit that, if His words were originally written in any Semitic tongue, they would be written precisely as spoken. But this is not the case.

SWEETGOSPELHARMONY, COML PART IT

Even so high an authority as the late Dr. Franz Delitzsch believed that the Saviour spoke in the vernacular, yet maintained that the literature of the period existed only in New-Hebrew; and in commenting on the words of Papias, though he admits that the word $E\beta\rho a\ddot{\imath}\sigma\tau\dot{\imath}$ was sometimes used for $Xa\lambda\delta a\tilde{\imath}\sigma\tau i$, he yet holds that "it is very improbable that Matthew wrote Aramaic." Having been for some years a devoted student of Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament, it was a wrench to me to doubt his accuracy. There was however this grave difficulty. If Delitzsch be correct, the words of Jesus, as we know them in the Greek Testament, have undergone a twofold translation: first from Aramaic into New-Hebrew; then from this into Greek. That is not a view one would prefer to adopt, if one might choose. It is therefore a point worth considering, whether the Aramaic fragments embedded in our present Greek Gospels may not be words transliterated from a primitive document—words which were felt too precious to translate. May not these words be samples of the dialect in which the whole of the Logia was written? If so, since these specimens are uniformly Targumic Aramaic, Matthew wrote in the same language as Onkelos. Should the theory advocated in these papers prove to be of permanent value in the solution of the problems of the Gospels, we have "the moment of its genesis" in the surmise, which gradually deepened into a fixed conviction, that the Urevangelium was written in the language of the Jewish Targums—not however without sundry dialectal peculiarities found in the Samaritan Targum. Delitzsch tells us that one of his friends suggested that he should translate the New Testament, not into Hebrew, but into Aramaic, since that was the language spoken in Palestine in the days of Christ; but he adds, "dieser Wunsch beruht auf einer Illusion." 1 Perhaps not. At all events we are willing to hinge the

¹ Quoted in Kautzsch's Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramiischen, p. 5.

matter here: That language which best explains the verbal divergences in our present Gospels must be voted to be the one in which the *Logia* was written.

Even more discordant are the views as to what Matthew originally wrote, what would be included in the Logia. Was it the entire Gospel known to us; or simply the discourses of our Lord; or the discourses plus some narratives which gave occasion to the discourses? Several methods have been devised by which to arrive at the contents of the Logia. We can but enumerate them here, but will give them a fuller investigation by-and-by.

- 1. There is what we may call the harmonistic method. Those pericopæ which three—or in some cases two—of the synoptists possess in common were, in the judgment of Eichhorn, to be assigned to the Syro-Chaldaic Urevangelium; except those passages which, though found even in all three Gospels, are scattered in different connexions (Einleitung, vol. i., § 56).
- 2. We have the mathematical method. Thus we may designate the method of Weisse, who arrived at the contents of the Logia by subtracting the canonical Mark from Matthew iii.—xxviii.; or, by subtracting from Luke, (1) what he possesses in common with Mark, and (2) what is found in Luke only. The residue is almost the same in both cases; and as Matthew and Luke were independent of each other, they must, in these passages, have been indebted to a common "source"; and since this residue consists almost exclusively of discourses, it was proclaimed to be the long-lost Logia. The canonical Mark and the Logia are thus two original, independent documents.
- 3. We have the *subjective* method. We apply this designation to the ingenious theories of Dr. Bernhard Weiss. He has proved very satisfactorily (a) that the

¹ Weiss' Manual of Introduction in Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton's "Foreign Biblical Library," vol. ii., pp. 225, 247.

Logia did not contain discourses merely, but also some narratives which served as a setting to the precious gems; and (b) that Mark was in some passages indebted to the Logia, while in other passages our present Greek Matthew was indebted to Mark. The consideration which directed Weiss in threading his way through this maze, and in deciding how many of Mark's narratives belonged to the Logia, and how many were original to him, was this: In what cases does Mark show "an inferior text"? Taking it for granted that all borrowers amplify, he proceeded thus: when Matthew (or Luke) gives a "short, sketchy, and withal polished and condensed" form of a narrative, whereas Mark "gives a richer and freer embellishment of the same, and yet seems ever going back to this simpler form, so familiar to him that his adherence to it often disturbs the flow of his own description," such parts are borrowed by Mark from the Logia. With whatever scholarship and sobriety of judgment this method may be applied, it is evident that it affords too much scope for the play of subjectivity. What two men would always agree on what constitutes "an inferior text"? The method lacks objective certitude—even though in some hands it may lead to correct results: a more tangible dividing-rod is eminently desirable.

4. As supplying to some extent this desideratum, we would respectfully submit for consideration a linguistic method. We venture to think that it yields more objective certitude than the foregoing, and leaves less room for caprice and egoism. If the method be accepted, all who are conversant with Greek and Aramaic are well-nigh certain to come to the same conclusions; and thus some degree of scientific accuracy will be attainable. Besides this, although our investigations were conducted in ignorance, or forgetfulness, of the results of Dr. Weiss, it is gratifying to find how nearly our table of contents of the Logia corresponds

with his (Matthäusevangelium, pp. 18-35). When the same answer is obtained to a mathematical problem by two distinct modes of working, each confirms the other; and the attainment of closely similar results by the totally independent use of two different methods is a confirmation of both. We proceed now therefore to the exposition of

THE LINGUISTIC METHOD.

A careful and minute study of a Greek harmony of the Gospels reveals a threefold classification of their contents.

A.—There are numerous passages—sections, verses, or phrases—in which each of the evangelists stands alone.

B.—There are many instances in which two, or sometimes three, evangelists agree verbatim; or at all events the differences are not greater than may have taken place in process of transcription from a Greek text, nor than are actually found in different MSS, of the same Greek author.

C.—There are other instances where the parallel passages agree in thought, but not in words. Verse after verse, thought corresponds with thought, phrase with phrase; and yet there is far from a verbal identity. The passages are tantamount, but not identical; the resemblance is substantial, but not verbal. It is these portions which we shall claim for the Logia, and shall try to show that in many instances these verbal divergences are traceable to a variant translation of a common Aramaic original. The distinction between classes B and C is, for our present purpose, radical. Do the parallel passages resemble each other substantially or verbally? That is our criterion. And taking this dividing-rod in our hands, we shall use it calmly and firmly. We shall allow no preconceptions to influence us as to what a primitive Gospel might be expected to contain. We shall be guided solely by linguistic considerations. Those sections or verses which bear marks of being translation work we shall claim for

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the Logia; and those in which the agreement is verbal we shall not claim, except in some instances to be afterwards specified.

The question we would now therefore ask is this: What are the indications of translation work? What are the phenomena which present themselves regularly, in college life, for instance, in connexion with productions that are known to be translations from the same foreign author?

May we be forgiven if we first mention an abnormal phenomenon? It is said that occasionally in the schools on the Continent and clscwhere, it has been observed that there is a remarkable similarity in some few examination papers: line after line is the same, not only in thought, but in the minutest details of words. The attention of the ever-unsuspecting examiner is at last aroused to this resemblance, and he feels obliged to attribute it to one or other of two causes: either these men sat near each other during the examination, and copied in succession from some one paper; or each of them has in his possession the same "crib," and has committed it to memory. In the latter case we have no bonû fide translation work at all; in the former, we have one translation and several transcriptions. In accordance with these phenomena, when, in our microscopic study of the harmony of the Gospels, we come upon passages where, for one or more verses, the agreement is verbal, we shall feel justified in saying: "This is not translation work." Those passages where the verbal identity is evident we shall, with few exceptions, relegate to class B, and shall not claim them for the Logia. The exceptions referred to are those cases in which, embedded in a narrative which we take to be Aramaic, we find the words of the Lord Jesus given in two or three evangelists in rerbal agreement; and we shall then raise the question, whether these identical Greek words may not (since the narrative setting is Aramaic) be the words actually spoken

by our Lord, transmitted with faithful, literal accuracy exactly as they were uttered. Whether the longer sections and narratives, which present verbal agreement in the Greek, ever formed part of one and the same primitive document; whether there is any affinity or thread of connexion between these detached fragments, may furnish a theme for other investigators; but the task will be much simplified when the Logia has been eliminated.

In seeking now to classify the ordinary indications of translation work, we intend in almost every case to give illustrations from the two translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, presented respectively in the Septuagint and the New Testament quotations. The wisdom of this procedure will appear more clearly later on, but some advantages may be mentioned now. (1) The circumstances are precisely similar. On the one hand, we have two translations from the Hebrew; and, on the other, we have presumably two, or three, evangelists translating from the Aramaic Logia. (2) Both primary documents are in a Semitic language, and hence the points of resemblance are closer than if our illustrations were drawn from a European language. will curb our imagination. We shall escape any danger into which an exuberant fancy might fall, in the selection of "indications of translation"; for we shall rigorously confine ourselves to those which are actually present in the existing records. (4) When we have arranged our classes of the discrepancies actually occurring in the two extant Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, we might argue from analogy that the same kinds of variations would occur in the work of two Greek scholars translating from an Aramaic exemplar; and it is no slight confirmation of the soundness of our hypothesis, that there is an exact correspondence. (5) The analogy goes further. When we are exhibiting the verbal discrepancies between the New Testament quotations and the Hebrew text, we are dealing

with two inspired records. We have thus a most instructive study as to what extent verbal divergences are compatible with inspiration. And ever bearing in mind that the evangelists were inspired of God, we shall have a safe guide as to how far it is reverent to suppose these inspired men capable of verbal inaccuracy in their translations from the Aramaic, if we confine ourselves strictly to those kinds of divergence which do actually occur between the Old Testament and the New. We shall not adduce one species of discrepancy between the evangelists which has not been shown to exist in the New Testament as compared with the Hebrew. (6) Inasmuch as the New Testament quotations have not been classified in this manner heretofore, our labour will incidentally serve as a small contribution to that important subject.

And now we will re-state our question: What are the well recognised indications of translation work?

I. The surest indication of good, honest work in translating from a foreign author is when the different members of a class express the thought of the original in diverse ways. corresponding to the idiosyncrasy of each student. No one knows so well as an examiner of papers translating from some foreign classic, into how many ways the same thought may be thrown; and if each man translates independently, there will be agreement in substance, but not in words. We cannot illustrate this point very well from the translations of the Hebrew as presented in the LXX, and New Testament, because confessedly they are not independent translations. Whether the New Testament writers translated directly from the Hebrew, or used a recension of the LXX. slightly differing from that which we at present possess, it is apparent that the translator of our New Testament quotations had in mind a familiar Greek text, and only deviated from it when the Hebrew MS, from which he was translating seemed to him to demand an emendation.

II. A desire to be literal leads a translator to introduce idioms into his work which are foreign to his native tongue. The Latin scholar is in danger of falling into a Latinized style, even when he is not translating. When the student of the Greek classics passes from the study of Xenophon and Thucydides to that of the Septuagint, he is struck by the deviations from classical propriety; and if he is at the same time familiar with Hebrew, he observes that these are in most cases distinctly traceable to an imitation of the Hebrew idiom. The Septuagint became a sort of model for Greek-speaking Jews; and thus some of its peculiarities became stereotyped into a dialect known as Hellenistic Greek. Winer, in his Grammar of New Testament Greek, has a valuable chapter on "the Hebrew-Aramaic colouring of New Testament diction." It is quite unnecessary to quote instances of what occurs often on every page of the LXX. and New Testament.

III. Every examiner knows that it is very difficult to secure uniformity in the strict rendering of a verb; even when the meaning of the verb is correctly given, there is diversity in giving the precise voice, tense, and mood. We find the same freedom in the rendering of Hebrew verbs in the LXX. and New Testament. For instance:

Ps. exvii. 1: Praise Him, all ye people (so Heb.). ἐπαινέσατε. Rom. xv. 11: Let all the people praise Him. ἐπαινεσάτωσαν

Compare Matt. xv. 4, τελευτάτω, with Exod. xxi. 16, τελευτήσει. Isa. xxv. 8, κατέπιεν ὁ θανατος, with 1 Cor. xv. 54, κατεπόθη.

IV. When the translation is made from a Semitic text without points, translators may differ as to what *vowels* should be supplied. The insertion of different vowels

among the same consonants may cause a great difference in the translation.

Ps. ii. 9; Rev. ii. 27 & LXX.;	Thou shalt break them with a red of irou Thou shalt shepherdise them (\pioupaveis).	ָתְּרְעֵם. הִּוּרְעֵם,
	Justified when thon speakest. Justified in thy sayings.	בְּרָבְּכֶף. בִּרְבְכֵיף.
Gen, xlvii, 31; Heb, xi, 21 & LXX.;	Israel bowed on the head of the bed. Israel bowed on the head of his staff.	ָהַכִּיּטְּה. הַכִּיּטָּה.
Prov. iii. 12:	Even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.	יַנְבָאָב.
Heb. xu, 6 & LAX.:	And scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.	וְכֵאֵב.

V. It is a well known fact that very few words in any language are univocal. We scarcely notice this in our native tongue until we try to translate it into another language; but we are very sensitive as to how equivocal the words in any foreign language are. The first few weeks with a Latin dictionary mark a period of pain and suffering in the life of a young student, remembered ever afterwards. The long list of meanings which every Latin verb seems to possess is at that stage most bewildering, and the difficulty of selecting the meaning which seems to suit the chaotic context most distressing. This remains a difficulty even when men become proficient in a language; men will always differ as to which word best represents the original. The following are some of the instances of diverse rendering of the same Hebrew word:

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Ps. Ixaviii. 2: I will atter dark sayings of old.

The word το means (1) to pour or gash forth;

(2) to utter, speak. Each is appropriated by the translators: Matt. xiii. 35, ἐρεύξομαι; LXX., φθέγξομαι.

Ps. xxii. 23 (22): I will declare Thy name unto my brethren.
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הַפְּבְּרָה becomes διηγήσομαι in LXX.; ἀπαγγελῶ in Heb. ii, 12.

Job v. 13: He taketh the wise in their own evafeiness.

τος is καταλαμβάνων in LNX.; δρασσόμενος in 1 Cor.

iii. 19

The word ὑζὑ vacillates between "prudence" and "cunning." Accordingly LXX, gives φρώτησες;

1 Cor. iii. 19 πανουργία.

Mal. iii. 1: And he shall prepare thy way before thee.

חְבְּּבָּ means to turn, look, overhaul, clear out, get ready. So LXX, gives ἐπιβλέψεται; Matt. xi. 10,

κατασκευάσει.

Jer. xxxi. 32: And Lwas a husband to them (בְּעַלֶּהִי).

Since 527 means both to marry and to divorce, LXX, (chap, xxxviii, 32) and Heb, viii, 9 have ημέλησα

I regarded them not.

VI. There may be discrepancies in the exemplars from which the translation is made; and thus, through no fault of the translators, their work may vary. Classical scholars know well how difficult it is to secure a correctly printed text of the classic authors; and how much worse off we should be, if the work were, without revision, stereotyped as it comes from the compositor, is very evident. Equally liable to error, if not more so, were the MSS. When men of imperfect education took the trade of transcriber, and with imperfect tools and weary eyes wrote on from morn till night a text of unjoined capital letters, without vowels and usually without any space between the words, we can well imagine what "errors of the scribe" would creep into the text. And when we bear in mind that the translator in perusing a MS, is liable to the same blunders as the scribe, and may fail to read his MS. accurately, we see that the possibility of variant translations is thereby almost doubled.

The sources of error may be classified thus:

1. One letter may be mistaken for another, or two words which at a cursory glance closely resemble each other may be confounded.

Isa, xlii, 1: The isles shall hope in His law, LXX, & Matt, xii, 21: The nations shall hope in His name, DM.

2. The scribe or translator may err in the omission or insertion of a letter.

3. In transcription or translation two letters may be transposed.

אהי. Hos. xiii, 14: O death. I will be thy plagues. איה. 1 Cor. xv. 55: O death, where is thy vietory? איה. Hab. ii. 4: Behold, his soul is lifted up, it is not upright in him. Heb. x. 38: If he shrink back, my soul has not pleasure in him. Hebrew text has אהה עפלה לא יישרה נפיעו בו הה אהה עפלה לא יישרה נפיעו בו הן עלף לא יישרה נפיעו בו הן עלף לא ירצה נפיעו בו הן.

4. In a text which does not always leave a space between the words, it is likely that different translators would divide the letters differently into words. There are several instances in which the Jewish scribes were themselves doubtful as to the correct division of letters into words. In the Massoreth Ha-massoreth of Elias Levita, as edited by Dr. Ginsburg, there are (p. 193) fifteen cases specified in which a word given entire in the printed text is in the Massoretic margin divided into two; and eight instances in which the text has two words, while the margin runs the two into one. One illustration of each will suffice. In Psalm x. 10 the word Drack, "the helpless ones," occurs

in the text; but the Qeri divides it into two words, הלכאים,
"the lost of weary ones." In Isaiah ix. 6 Kethibh has
לם רבה,
"to them the government shall be great";
whereas the Qeri has למרבה, "as for the increase of His
government."

There is one instance of this in the New Testament quotations:

Isa, liii, 8: By oppression and a judgment he was taken away.

LXX, & Acts viii, 33: In His humiliation His judgment was taken away. (In many MSS, the word "His" is omitted.)

Hebrew is מעצר וממיבפט לקה

Acts viii, 33 requires לקה

5. There are other cases in which it is impossible by a simple re-arrangement or substitution of letters to account for the rendering of the Hebrew text found in the New Testament. One is obliged in such cases to say, either that the text of the Hebrew exemplar was very corrupt, or that we have a "free" quotation. The number of these is not so great as some suppose, but they do exist; c.q.—

Gen. xv. 14: Afterward they shall come out with great substance.Acts vii. 7: Afterward they shall come out, and serve Me in this place.

Ps. lxviii. 18 (19): Thou hast received gifts among men. Eph. iv. 8: He gave gifts to men.

Compare also Amos v. 26 with Acts vii. 43, and Isa, x. 23 with Rom, ix, 28.

VII. If the translator write two copies of his work, there may be some points in which, in his second copy, he may see cause to make some slight alterations; and thus we may have "various readings" in a work, which are not due to subsequent scribes, but can be traced back to the translator himself, and are due to an uncertainty as to the reading of the original exemplar.

Let us now reverse the conditions. We have thus far

been investigating the phenomena which ordinarily occur in connexion with work known to be a translation from some foreign author. But suppose it to be a disputed point whether the writing of some three men is translation work from an unknown foreign author, how should we proceed to detect it? Suppose we have a passage in three English authors which we surmise is not in any one case original. It savours of Germany. There is that indefinable quality about it which marks all German-English translations. The authors cannot have used each other's books. How should we proceed to confirm or disprove our surmise that each has been translating from a German author who is unknown to us? This, I need not say, is precisely the position in which my hypothesis places us. There are certain passages in our synoptic Gospels which have a strong Aramaic colour. We have very insufficient external evidence as to the subject. Papias and Pantanus and others tell of a Gospel written in Aramaic, but they tell only of Matthew as having written such a work, whereas we think we notice the Aramaic colour in some passages in all the three Gospels. Besides this, many scholars have thrown serious doubts on the trustworthiness of Papias. He had peculiar views on the millenarian question. Eusebius regarded him as a "noodle"; σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν is his blunt estimate of him. Papias collected some very silly stories about the Saviour, and apparently regarded nothing unworthy of Christ, if it favoured his pet doetrines. Therefore some eminent scholars, as Erasmus and Calvin, have distrusted his evidence altogether: though it is but fair to say that most scholars would endorse the words of Meyer, that "a simple historical remark, which stood in no connexion either with millenarianism or fabulous miracles, cannot à priori be regarded as suspicious; especially if, as in the present case, there is added the confirmation of the whole subsequent tradition of the Church." But some of my readers may be sceptical of Church traditions, and insist still on doubting the accuracy of the statement of Papias as to the Aramaic Logia. Be it so. Our position is not in the slightest affected. We are grateful to Papias for the suggestion, but if the reader insists, we will proceed as though the Church were silent on the subject. The fact still remains, there are certain passages in the synoptists which impress us as being translations from a common Aramaic document. How shall we proceed to prove our surmise well founded? Which of our indications of translation work will be of most use to us now? Let us see.

I. If in the parallel passages in the synoptic Gospels we find "resemblance in substance, but not in words," this is the indication that first places us on the alert. If, e.g., one evangelist says $\pi o \rho \epsilon \acute{o} o v \epsilon \acute{e} s \epsilon \acute{e} \rho \acute{p} \eta \eta v$, while the other says $\ddot{v}\pi a \gamma \epsilon \epsilon \acute{e} s \epsilon \acute{e} \rho \acute{p} \eta \eta v$; if one says $\dot{u} v \acute{e} \sigma \tau \eta$, and another $\dot{\eta} \gamma \acute{e} \rho \theta \eta$, our attention is aroused. We shall not feel secure to build on such superficial cases; but it is in such passages that we begin to dig for deeper indications of the fact that the evangelists are translating from some common document—whether in absolute independence, or with a memory dominated by some current Greek translation of the Logia, we must afterwards investigate.

II. If in such parallel passages we notice an unusually rich Aramaic colouring, and, III., if the verbs differ in voice or tense, we have confirmatory evidence. This evidence is much increased if IV. be also present: that is, if two divergent Greek words in the several Gospels can be shown to be derived from the same Aramaic consonants, only differently vocalized. But No. V. is our main support. If in homologous passages which possess some or all of these marks we come across two Greek words, in two several Gospels, which are unlike in meaning, but these meanings can be shown to belong to one and the same Aramaic word, we may then with confidence affirm that

the two Greek words have been translated from the same Aramaic original. For instance, Matthew vi. 12 says: "Forgive us our debts," ὀφειλήματα; Luke xi. 4: "Forgive us our sins," ἀμαρτίας. Why this disagreement in so peculiarly sacred a passage? If the prayer had originally been given by our Lord in Greek, such a diversity would be impossible. When we remember however, that the Aramaic word אוֹם means (1) a trespass, (2) a debt, we perceive that the two evangelists were translating the same word אוֹם word. We intend to adduce about thirty clear cases like this.

Our most numerous instances will, as in our illustrations, fall under VI. If in those parallel passages in the synoptists which are redolent with Aramaisms, and present a substantial, but not verbal agreement, we note that the verbal differences can, by re-translation, be shown to be due to a mistake between two Aramaic letters, or to a confusion between two Aramaic words, alike in sound or appearance; or to the transposition of two letters, or the omission of a letter in the original, we may with almost equal confidence affirm that the evangelists were translating from the same Aramaic source.

VII. We hope also to show that some of the most ancient of the "various readings" in the New Testament are traceable to a variant translation of a primitive Aramaic document, or perhaps a "various reading" in different copies of the document itself.

There are several deeply interesting and important ramifications of our theory into which we hope to enter, but upon which we cannot now expatiate. Suffice it to say that we are hopeful that our theory will establish its claims to be regarded as a demonstration by satisfying the test to which every valid hypothesis should conform—that it gives a fairly "satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena in question."

J. T. Marshall.