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viously to convey false impressions, some effort ought to be made to counteract it. In the Service Book prepared by Archbishop Laud for use in Scotland, the word "presbyter" was, at least in the communion service, always substituted for the word "priest," and the communion office of the Scotch Episcopal Church retains the change to this day. The true expression for the minister's position is, not that he is in an especial sense "the priest," but that he is "the servant of the priesthood"; and, in one way or another, this ought to find better expression than it does in the language in common use. When it does, it will both help to raise the people to a higher sense of their privileges, and to put down that tendency to presumption in the Ministry against which, so deeply is it rooted in human nature, we cannot too carefully guard.

W. MILLIGAN.

A MÆDIÆVAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

THE question of the origin and mode of composition of our synoptic gospels is admittedly one of the most perplexing in the whole sphere of New Testament criticism. How are we to account for the striking resemblances, and no less striking differences, which exist between them?

The theory that the former are due to the use of some common document or documents is one which has been vigorously maintained, and still more vigorously attacked. The supporters of the theory have often injured their own cause by attempting to define with a precision not justified

by the present state of our knowledge the exact relation of the synoptics to one another, and to the documents which they are supposed to have used. In this way the documentary theory has been exposed to discredit which it does not in itself deserve. On the other hand, the opponents of that theory have always seemed to me to base their arguments far too much on *à priori* considerations. Many of the assertions which they make as to what a serious writer will do, or will not do, in the way of dealing with the documents which he embodies in his work could never have been made by any one who has worked at history from original sources. Any one, for instance, who has used the mediæval chroniclers, and knows how each one makes use of his predecessors, epitomising the earlier part, which has less interest for him, copying the part nearer his own time more or less exactly, and adding a continuation of his own,—only to be in turn epitomised, copied, and continued by others;—any one, I say, who is familiar with these phenomena will hesitate to lay down *à priori* canons as to what a writer may or may not do in the treatment of his materials.

As a specimen of this *à priori* style of criticism, I will take the following passage from M. Godet, one of the most vigorous and most able of the opponents of the documentary theory :

“The chief reason for which it is thought necessary to regard Matthew as one of Luke’s sources is the identical expressions and parts of phrases which occur both in the discourses and in the parallel narratives. But whence comes it that this resemblance is . . . intermittent, and that not only in the same narrative, but in the same paragraph and in the same phrase? Did Luke slavishly copy Matthew for a quarter of a line, and then in the next quarter write independently of him? But this is child’s play if the sense is the same; it is still worse if the change alters the sense. We know the answer which is again given here: he had not Matthew only, but other documents as well before him; he combines together those various texts. Behold

our author, then, borrowing three words from one document, two from another, four from a third, and that in every phrase from beginning to end of his gospel! Who can admit the idea of such patchwork? . . . Let the parable of the sower be reperused in a synopsis, comparing the two texts, and it will be felt that to maintain that the first of those texts is derived from the other, in whole and [P] or in part, is not only to insult the good faith, but the good sense of the second writer."—Godet, *Commentary on St. Luke*, Eng. trans., vol. ii., p. 425.

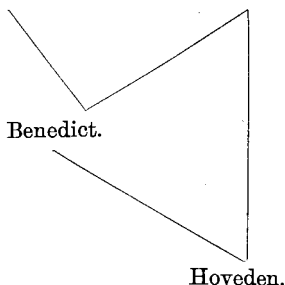
Now I am not concerned with the question whether St. Luke did or did not copy St. Matthew, but only with the general assumptions contained in the above passage.

A little while ago it occurred to me to test assumptions of this kind by reference to two mediæval chroniclers whom I knew to be closely related, Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hoveden. Owing however to the marginal references given in the Bishop of Oxford's admirable editions of those chronicles, I was enabled to carry the investigation a step farther back, and to consider not merely the relation of Hoveden to Benedict, but also the relation of both of them to certain earlier authorities. The inquiry proved instructive beyond anything which I had dared to hope, and I now proceed to give specimens of the results obtained.

The first passage which I have been led to select is one which relates the return of Thomas Becket to England towards the end of the year 1170. Benedict's account of this event is founded in part on two earlier narratives: one, a life of Becket by John of Salisbury, the other, a *Passion* of the saint by an anonymous writer; but he makes much more use of the former than of the latter. Hoveden's account is based partly on Benedict, partly on an independent and ampler use of the *Passio Anonyma*. The life by John of Salisbury he only knew so far as it was embodied in Benedict. The table of relationship stands therefore thus:

John of Salisbury.

Passio Anonyma.



I now proceed to give the passages from the different authors. And first John of Salisbury :

“Instabatque peremptorius dies, ut sententia ulterius differri non posset. Arctatus itaque rex severitate canonica, tandem acquievit ut pax Anglicanæ ecclesiæ reformaretur. Regna itaque gavisa sunt, cunctis credentibus negotium potius veraciter agi quam concipi simulate : sed quid ageretur a quibusdam rei exitus declaravit. . . . Et licet multi dissuaderent ne redire præsumeret, nisi pax certius firmaretur, periculum tamen metuens animarum, ad ecclesiam suam rege sibi præstante conductum, septimo exilii anno reversus est, et a clero et populo receptus tanquam angelus Domini. Quum vero dominus papa præfatam jam dicti Eboracensis et episcoporum qui ei adstiterant præsumtionem sancto Thoma conquirere audiisset, tam Eboracensem archiepiscopum quam faventes ei episcopos ab episcopali suspendit officio, et Gilbertum Londoniensem et Jocelinum Saresberiensem in sententiam anathematis revocavit. Quæ severitas in sancti Thomæ ingressu publicata regem amplius exacerbavit, et linguas toxicatas detrahentium efficaciores reddidit ad nocendum. Iterum ergo damnis, iterum atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico prohibitus ecclesiæ suæ septa exire. Quisquis ei vel alicui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei in multa patientia sufferebat, malens non modo rerum sed et salutis subire jacturam quam justitiam Dei et ecclesiæ libertatem absque subventionem vel saltem reclamacione periclitari.”—Giles, *St. Thomas Cantuariensis*, vol. i., pp. 332, 333.

The *Passio Anonyma* runs as follows :

“[Rex] ergo . . . archiepiscopum recepit in gratiam, et ad suam redire concessit ecclesiam. Inchoante autem anno septimo

quam jam Deo vir esset amabilis, spiritualibus exercitiis sanctificatus, et septiformi spiritus sancti gratia perfectior, ad sedem suam quantocius repedare festinabat. Noluit enim pater pius Cantuariensem ecclesiam diutius desolatam relinquere, vel quam, ut creditur, in spiritu viderat certaminis sui gloriam protelare, aut alibi moriendo sedem propriam martyrii sui honore privare. Transito itaque mari archipræsul et futurus martyr in magna gloria et honore præcipue a monachis cum solenni processione quasi angelus Domini susceptus est, in ecclesia sua omnibus præ gaudio illacrimantibus et cum gratiarum actione clamantibus: ‘Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.’ Omnibusque in pacis osculo receptis familiariter commorans inter eos, conversatione sua et exhortationis verbo omnes edificabat.

“Acceptis post modicum in mandatis ne officium suum exsequendo Angliam peragraret, resedit in sua pontifex ecclesia intrepidus expectans horam qua a Deo perciperet martyrii coronam. Præmunitus siquidem a multis sciebat quod brevis foret ejus vita et mors in januis. Ibi quasi tunc vivere cœpisset, exactum vitæ tempus spiritualibus exercitiis redimere satagebat. Sciensque quod vita præsens via est et militia, ut esset sanctus corpore et spiritu vitiis expeditus, succinxit se ad cursum virtutibus armatus, accinxit ad pugnae conflictum. Cursum ergo consummando cucurrit non quasi in incertum, bene certando non quasi aërem verberans. Prodiat tunc fere ejus cogitatio et sermo de fine hujus viæ et vitæ miseria.”—Giles, *ut supra*, ii., 142, 143.

Benedict’s account is as follows (I print in smaller type the parts of his narrative which are taken from John of Salisbury, and in italics the parts which are taken from the *Passio Anonyma*. Where the order has been altered I use in addition spaced type):—

“Instabat itaque dies peremptorius ut sententia ulterius differri non posset. Arcatus ergo rex Anglorum severitate canonica, tandem adquevit, ut pax Anglicanæ ecclesiæ reformaretur, et . . . *recepit . . . in gratiam et amorem suum prædictum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. . . .* Regna itaque gavisæ sunt de adventu et consolatione patris sui Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Nam ipse periculum metuens animarum ad ecclesiam suam, rege sibi præstante conductum septimo exilii sui anno reversus est in Angliam. Cum vero Cantuariam venisset, a clero et populo tanquam angelus Domini receptus est, *omnibus clamantibus et dicentibus, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.* Ipse autem tanquam bonus pastor *omnibus in osculo pacis receptis*, illos paterna exhortatione monuit et docuit fraternitatem diligere, et si necesse fuerit, animas ponere, et certare usque ad mortem pro lege Dei.

Cum vero dominus papa præfatam jam dicti Eboracensis et episcoporum qui ei

astiterant, præsumtionem, conquerente beato Thoma, ut supradictum est, audisset; Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum et Walterum Rofensem episcopum ab omni episcopali suspendit officio, et Gillebertum Lundoniensem et Joscelinum Salesbiriensem in sententiam anathematis revocavit. Quæ severitas in Sancti Thomæ ingressu publicata, regem amplius exacerbavit, et linguas toxicatas detrahentium ad nocendum efficaciores reddidit. Nam Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Joscelinus Salesbirensis episcopus, et Gillebertus Lundoniensis episcopus . . . ipsum regem . . . magis ac magis adversus illum in iram commoverunt. Iterum ergo damnis, iterum atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico præceptus ecclesiæ suæ septa non exire. Quisquis ei vel alicui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferabat, et *familiariter inter suos commorans conversatione sua omnes ædificabat.*—*Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. Stubbs, i. 8-10.

Before going on to give Hoveden's version, it will be well to analyse the relation of Benedict to his predecessors. And first of all let us notice the minute changes which he makes in his authorities. Thus in John of Salisbury he alters *itaque* into *ergo*, *sancto* into *beato*, *prohibitus* into *præceptus non, in* into *cum*. He changes "receptus tanquam angelus Domini" into "tanquam a. D. r.," "efficaciores reddidit ad nocendum" into "ad n. e. r.," "Sancto Thoma conquerente" into "c. beato T." He adds *Anglorum rex, sui* to *exilii, in Angliam* to *reversus est* for the sake of clearness, *omni* to *officio* for the sake of emphasis. So in the *Passio* he changes *eos* into *suos*, "archiepiscopum recepit in gratiam" into "r. . . . in g. . . . a.," "in pacis osculo" into "in o. p.," adds *Cantuariensem* to *archiepiscopum*, *amorem* to *gratiam*, and *dicentibus* to *clamantibus*, and so on. But according to M. Godet "this is child's play if the sense is the same." More important however is it to notice the way in which Benedict combines his authorities. He begins by copying Salisbury, then, after some details of his own which I have omitted, he inserts four words from the *Passio*. Then after more details of his own he borrows four words from Salisbury, "regna . . . sunt," but applies them quite differently, and

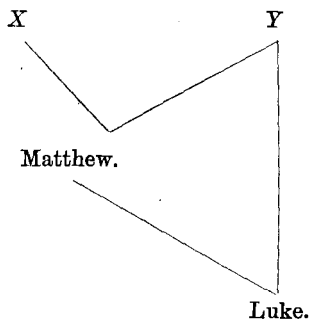
after following Salisbury for a while, suddenly, *in the middle of a sentence*, passes to the *Passio* at the word *omnibus*. The next paragraph is taken in the main from Salisbury, with additions by Benedict himself (thus he gives the exact names of the suspended prelates, etc.). But suddenly at the end of it he passes once more to the *Passio* at the word *familiariter*, positively using up here the second half of a sentence, the former half of which he had inserted more than half a page above. "Behold our author then" literally "borrowing three words from one document . . . four from another." Let M. Godet notice that "the resemblance is intermittent . . . in the same paragraph and in the same phrase," that Benedict *does* "slavishly copy" his authority "for a quarter of a line, and then in the next quarter write independently of him."

I pass on now to give Hoveden's version of the same facts. (Here, as before, I indicate the parts taken from the *Passio* by italics, using the small type in this case to show what is taken from Benedict.)

"[Rex] *ergo* . . . (exactly as in the *Passio* down to) . . . *concessit ecclesiam*. (Then comes a passage peculiar to Hoveden on the reconciliation of Henry and Becket, after which he continues from the *Passio*) *Inchoante autem anno septimo exilii sui cum jam esset vir*, etc. . . . *honore privare*. (Next comes a long passage peculiar to Hoveden on Becket's habits and modes of life. Then) *Transito itaque mari, archiepiscopus et futurus martyr in magna gratia, gloria et honore, præcipue a monachis cum solemnî processione quasi angelus Dei susceptus est in ecclesia sua, omnibus præ gaudio illacrymantibus, et cum gratiarum actione clamantibus, Benedictus . . . Domini*. Ipse autem tanquam bonus pastor omnibus in osculo pacis exceptis illos paterna exhortatione monuit et docuit fraternitatem diligere, Deo obedire, in bonis perseverare, ad (pet) certare pro lege Dei usque ad mortem. (A paragraph peculiar to Hoveden on Becket's banishment from the court.) *Ergo damnis iterum, et atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico præceptus ecclesiæ suæ septa non exire. Quisquis ei, etc., . . . censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferebat, et familiariter inter suos commorans, conversatione sua et exhortationis verbo omnes edificabat. Reseditque in sua, etc., . . . vita ejus, etc., . . . viæ miseria.*"—Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, ii. 10-13.

Here the same phenomena recur. We have, comparing the original *Passio*, the change of *archipræsul* into *archiepi-*
scopus, of *Domini* into *Dei*, the addition of *exitii sui* and
gratia, for the sake of clearness and emphasis. Comparing
Benedict, we find the change of *receptis* into *exceptis*; we
find "pro lege Dei usque ad mortem" instead of "u. ad m.
pro l. D.," "ergo damnis iterum" for "i. e. d.," etc. We
find too the change from one authority to another in
adjacent sentences, and even in the same sentence. As the
passage beginning "ergo damnis iterum" occurs in both
authorities, it is not certain where the change from the one
to the other takes place. But the words *præceptus . . .*
non show clearly that the first part is taken from Benedict,
the insertion of the words *et exhortationis verbo* proves
equally that the latter part is derived from the *Passio*.

And this last phenomenon reminds us that in discussing
the mutual relations of the synoptists, we must bear in
mind the possibility that an evangelist may have known
a document both in its original shape, and also as incor-
porated in the work of some brother evangelist. If we
suppose X and Y to be two lost evangelic documents, the
following is a perfectly possible case. I am not concerned
to try and prove that it actually occurs.



Now Benedict and Hoveden were not of course inspired.
But they are conspicuous among mediæval writers for in-

telligence and trustworthiness. M. Godet must not therefore tell us that to suppose that one evangelist made use of another in the way here illustrated is "to insult the good faith and the good sense of the second writer."

The next illustration which I shall take is a much simpler one. We have here only to do with the relation of Hoveden to Benedict. The earlier authorities on which they may have based their narratives have not, so far as I know, been identified. The events here described are the penance of Henry II. at the tomb of Becket, and the almost contemporary capture of the Scotch king, William the Lion, at the siege of Alnwick, in July, 1174. (I print in small type the parts which Hoveden has apparently borrowed from Benedict. Some passages in Benedict, which Hoveden has not copied, and some in Hoveden which are not derived from Benedict, are, for brevity's sake, omitted.)

"Duces . . . cum audissent quod rex Scotiæ recessisset de Prudehau et obsedisset Alnewicum . . . cum festinatione secuti sunt eum, . . . et statim ceperunt illum, et milites sui relicto illo fugerunt. Et capti fuerunt cum eo Ricardus Cumin, Willelmus de Mortemer, Willelmus de Insula, Henricus Revel, Radulfus de Ver, Jordanus Flandrensis, Waldevus filius Baldewini de Biere, Ricardus Malus Juvellus. Et sciendum est quod Rex Scotiæ, captus fuit apud Alnewic tertio idus Julii, feria septima."—Stubbs' *Benedict*, i., 66, 67.

"Et in crastino iter arripuit in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem; et cum appropinquasset, statim ex quo ecclesiam vidit, in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum in quo sedebat deseruit, et extractis calceamentis suis, nudus pedes, in paunis laneis processit usque ad sepulcrum beati martyris, in tanta humilitate et cordis compunctione, ut credatur, Illius operis sine dubio exstitisse, Qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere. Peracta itaque peregrinatione sua, rex in crastino, scilicet die Sabbati summo mane inde recessit versus Landoniam.

"Eadem vero die, scilicet tertio idus Julii, captus fuit rex Scotiæ apud Alnewic," etc. (*ib.*, p. 72).

Hoveden's account is as follows :

"Et in crastino peregre profectus est ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem

martyrem. Et cum appropinquasset ex quo ecclesiam videre potuit, in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum, etc. . . . laneis, per tria milliaria profectus est usque ad sepulcrum, etc. . . . tremere. Vestigia autem ejus in via qua ambulabat . . . sanguinolenta erant; sanguis enim plurimus a teneris pedibus ejus, lapidibus duris incisus, profuebat in terram. . . . In crastino autem summo mane, missa audita inde recessit, tertio idus Julii; Sabbato Lundonias iturus. Et quoniam memor fuit Domini in toto corde suo, dedit illi Dominus victoriam de inimicis suis et tradidit eos captivos in manu sua.

Nam eodem die Sabbati quo ipse a Cantuaria recessit, captus est Willelmus rex Scottorum apud Alnewic a præfatis militibus . . . qui secuti fuerant eum, post recessum de Prudehou. Sic, sic rare antecedentem scelestum deserit pœna pede claudo. Captique sunt cum eo Ricardus Cumin, etc. . . . Ricardus Malluvel et alii multi qui sponte sua se capi permiserunt ne viderentur in captione domini sui consensisse." —Stubbs' *Hoveden*, ii., 61, 63.

Now here I would call attention to three points :

1. The capture of the king of Scots is told at much greater length by Benedict, while the penance is more dwelt upon by Hoveden. Evidently the penance had more interest for Hoveden, the capture for Benedict. May we compare, *e.g.*, the greater interest which St. Matthew seems to take in our Lord's sayings and discourses, as compared with St. Mark?

2. It will have been noticed that, although the capture of the Scotch king took place after Henry's penance, it is narrated by Benedict before the latter, though he refers again briefly to the capture after describing the penance. Hoveden reverses Benedict's order, and thus not only restores the true chronological sequence of the two events, but also brings out what was believed to have been the causal connexion between them, it being held that the Deity, appeased by Henry's penance, had given him the victory over his enemies. We instinctively compare the way in which St. Luke restores the imprisonment of St. John the Baptist to its proper chronological position, which had been narrated out of its place and retrospectively by Matthew and Mark.

3. It is impossible not to be struck by the number of precise details given by Hoveden as compared with Benedict; *e.g.* the name of the Scottish king (Willelmus), the exact distance traversed by Henry (tria milliaria), his hearing mass the morning after his penance, the picturesque touches of the bleeding feet of the royal penitent, and the voluntary surrender of the Scottish nobles. And whether we account for these by supposing that Hoveden had special sources of oral information, or that he had access to documents not accessible to Benedict, or that while both had the same authorities before them, Hoveden made the better use of them, we can hardly fail to be reminded of the many similar vivid touches which meet us in St. Mark, and of the theories which have been or may be framed to account for the presence of those touches.

The third and last case which I shall mention is one in which Hoveden is not compiling from authorities, but professes to give the actual text of a legal document; *viz.* the Constitutions of William the Conqueror. I quote the enacting words of the first three clauses.

“(i.) In primis quidem super omnia unum Deum vellet . . . venerari, etc.

“(ii.) Statuimus etiam ut omnis liber homo . . . affirmet, etc.

“(iii.) Volo autem quod omnes homines . . . sint in pace mea,” etc.—Stubbs’ *Hoveden*, ii., 216.

Now here we have no means of comparing Hoveden with his original, because no copy of these Constitutions earlier than Hoveden is known to be in existence. But internal evidence shows us that even in this case changes have crept in. In clause (i.) it is plain that the direct oration “volo” has been changed into the indirect “vellet.” As to clause (ii.) the regal “we,” the *pluralis majestatis*, was not in use in William I.’s time. It is clear therefore that Hoveden has

transferred the usage of his own day to an earlier period. Clause (iii.) is probably unaltered. (Contrast clause (v.) "Interdicimus" with (x.) "interdico," (ix.) "prohibeo," (vii.) "præcipio"). Thus we see that even in documents given textually, changes—unimportant no doubt, but still changes—may be made more or less unconsciously by a perfectly honest and scrupulous writer. (Compare the case cited by Salmon, *Introduction*, ed. 3, p. 134.)

It must be borne in mind that in all that has been said above I am not professing to give proofs of what *did* take place in the composition of the synoptic gospels, but only illustrations of what *may* have taken place.

I have deliberately left out of sight the question of inspiration, because I believe that in a discussion of this kind it need exercise no disturbing influence. We have no right to assume that an inspired work must necessarily differ from an uninspired work in its mode of composition, any more than in regard to the material instruments, the paper, pens, and ink used in its production. If it can be shown that honest and intelligent writers have, as a matter of fact, composed their works in a particular way, no one has a right to assert that inspired writers could not possibly have composed their works in a similar way. The documentary theory is not hereby proved; it *is* vindicated from the charges of absurdity and impossibility which M. Godet brings against it.

Christians and believers in the inspiration of the gospels will of course exclude peremptorily the idea of changes introduced from any unworthy motive, such as vanity, jealousy, party spirit, prejudice, desire of concealment, exaggeration, and so forth; all, in fact, or nearly all the motives which German theologians are wont to sum up in the word *tendenz*. But changes which spring from perfectly innocent motives, such as love of variety, differences in taste

and feeling, in aim and object, these may be found in inspired just as much as in uninspired writings. "A number there are," wrote Hooker, "who think that they cannot admire, as they ought, the power of the word of God, if in things Divine they should attribute any force to man's reason." "A number there are" even now, who seem to "think" that "the word of God" will be robbed of its "power," if in the composition of it "they should attribute any force to man's" tastes and feelings. *"Ἐχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίοις σκεύεσιν,"* "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." And the more we realize the heavenly nature of the "treasure," the more reverent no doubt, but at the same time the more eagerly interested, will be our scrutiny of the "earthen vessels" in which it has been handed down to us.

CHARLES PLUMMER.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XI. THE TEACHER'S CHARITY (CHAP. VI. 9-20).

At this point the writer suddenly and decidedly changes his tone. He will not let his last word be one of complaint and despondency. He refuses to believe that the apostate's doom is in store for the Hebrew Christians. Therefore he hastens to assure them that he cherishes hopeful thoughts of their present and future state, calling them, in this solitary instance, "beloved," as if to make amends for the severity of his rebuke, and declaring that he expects to see realized in their experience the better alternative of the foregoing contrast—fruitfulness connected with, nigh to salvation—instead of the cursing and perdition appointed for the land that bears only thorns and thistles.

So the teacher's complaining gives place to the charity