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CATHOLIC—THE NAME AND THE THING.

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THERE is probably no word that is more misused in modern times than "Catholic." It is a name used to conjure with, and it stands for things which excite the passions of men to an extraordinary degree. It is, indeed, one of the great words of Christianity, ripe with historic meaning, and pregnant with all-important consequences. It is important, therefore, that we should know what the name really means, and what things are actually embraced under it. There is only one pathway to this knowledge. We must, so far as practicable, divest ourselves of every form of provincial, sectarian, and partisan prejudice, and trace the word in the lines of historic investigation from its origin until it gained a stereotyped meaning.

The word "Catholic" had its origin in the Greek language; and the things it stands for in Christianity originated at a time when the Greek language was the religious language of Christians in the West as well as in the East, in Rome and Africa and Gaul, as well as in Alexandria, Asia, and Antioch. The word is not found in the Greek Bible of the Old Testament, or the New Testament. It is an adjective compounded of the preposition *κατά*, meaning in this connection "throughout," and the adjective *ἅλος*, "whole," properly in the accusative, *ἅλον* or *ἅλην*, in

1633, but there were four also of Fulke's volume, in which he printed this version in parallel columns with the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible, with refutations of the arguments. We may suppose, then, that the circulation of this Rhemish version was larger among the Protestants than among the Catholics. They seized it as a patent demonstration of the purpose of the Roman church to obscure and obstruct the reading of the Scriptures, and, if we may judge from the number of these editions, no stronger weapon for the Protestants could have been devised. Here was a truth which could be understood by the simplest, that the Church of Rome was not willing to put the simple Scripture before the people; and, in those days of the increasing strength of the Puritans, the number of middle-class readers to whom such a proof would have appealed must have been large. This version, then, is another striking example of the blindness with which the Roman Catholics of England were afflicted at this crucial time in the history of English religion.

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'THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.'

THE significance of the volumes before us lies not so much in what they are as in the mere fact that they are. They contain the *Confessions* of Augustine, printed in good, well-led type, the original Latin on the odd pages, while the even pages are occupied by a French translation. This text is accompanied by a copious series of notes, printed in smaller type on the lower portion of the pages. These notes are of two kinds: the mass of them are designed to expound the text in a popular style; but at the close of each chapter a number of "practical considerations" are added. A somewhat rambling preface occupies the first forty-five pages of the first volume; an analytical index, something more than the last hundred pages of the fourth volume; and just before the index a few pages are given to a "résumé of the life and works of St. Augustine in chronological order."

No hint is given of the source of the Latin text here printed, and we have not thought it worth while to trace its origin by means of comparisons. As we have cursorily read it, however, we have

¹ *Œuvres choisies de Saint Augustin: Les Confessions.* Traduction française et commentaires, d'après MGR. PÉRONNE, évêque de Beauvais, par M. PIHAN. Avec texte latin. Quatre tomes. Paris: Maison de la bonne Presse. xlviij + 296, 327, 383, 375 pages.

noted a number of bad readings which advise us that it can make no claim to critical excellence. Thus, for instance, near the end of I, i, we have *es enim nobis*; at III, iv, 7, we have the obviously conflated reading *in librum quemdam cujusdam Ciceronis*; at the beginning of II, 3, we have *moderaretur* for *modularetur*.

The French translation is spoken of (Vol. I, p. xlvii) as new. Though not ignorant of the Italian proverb *traduttore traditori*, and having no illusions as to the difficulty of rendering into French "the concrete language of Augustine—this Latin so expressive, with its subtle antitheses, so savory, so eloquent," M. Pihan tells us he has nevertheless tried to "make a version serious rather than original." He tells us nothing, however, after this hint, of the utilization of former versions, except that he has "used and reproduced the chapters so excellently translated" by M. Clair in his *La jeunesse de Saint Augustin, d'après ses Confessions* (Paris, 1883). As the suggestion of the work was taken from an unfulfilled plan of the late Bishop Péronne (who died in 1892), and as it is intended as a monument to his memory, it may be conjectured that M. Péronne's version of the *Confessions*, incorporated in the great French edition of Augustine's works published from 1870 on, by the house of Vivés,* has not been neglected in the preparation of this translation. But no hint is given that such is the fact.

With respect to the "notes" the case is different. The idea and plan of these have been taken, under Mgr. Péronne's leading, from Wagnereck's seventeenth-century work (Vol. I, p. xi), with the utilization also (Vol. I, p. v) of "the notes which Mgr. Péronne made in translating the works of Augustine." M. Pihan says: "Seeking to edify the soul as much as to instruct it, we have freely translated both the *notae* and the *usus* of Wagnereck, at the same time modifying and augmenting them according to our own critical researches." The reference is to Wagnereck's completed edition of 1846 (repeated in 1847), in which to the "notes" of his earlier edition (1830 and again 1832) he added the *usus*, or practical considerations. As Wagnereck commented on the first ten books only, M. Pihan has been left to his own resources in compiling notes to the last three books. A glance at the notes will show, however, that throughout the whole treatise they are much more M. Pihan's than Wagnereck's. The practical and

* *Œuvres complètes de Saint Augustin, évêque d'Hippone*. Traduites en français et annotées par MM. PÉRONNE, ÉCALLE, VINCENT, CHARPENTIER, H. BARREAU, renfermant le texte latin et les notes de l'édition des bénédictines. (30 vols.)

polemical interests dominate them throughout, and the distinction drawn between the "notes" and "practical considerations" is not very strict.

We have to turn over only one page to meet this note:

Bearing with him everywhere his mortality as witness of his sin, that is to say, concupiscence or the law of the members, which holds us captive under the law of sin (Rom. 8 : 23). This law attests that we are the children of Adam, born in original sin, the effects of which are rebellion of the flesh and the senses against the spirit.

St. Augustine calls concupiscence the witness of sin, because it is the consequence of original sin, and just as a scar recalls the wound which produced it, and the emaciated face a disease of long standing, so concupiscence recalls the ancient fault of our first parents. This idea of the holy doctor destroys from top to bottom the erroneous system of the Protestants; for, if concupiscence is the witness of sin, it is certainly not sin's self. This is what has been taught by all the Fathers and what has been defined in the council of Trent (Sess. V, *Decret. de peccato origin.*). If we may use this comparison, original sin is hidden in concupiscence as in a nest, as in an envelope. Baptism makes sin disappear, but the nest, the envelope, remains; that is to say, concupiscence or the hearth of sin.

Needless to say, Augustine makes no allusion in this passage to concupiscence at all; and is far from teaching anywhere that concupiscence is not of the nature of sin.

On VIII, ii, the whole body of notes consists of the following: First, on the mention of Victorinus, Jerome's account of him is quoted, to the effect that his Christian works lacked force and clearness, because of his absorption in profane studies, and the sage remark is added: "Now, nobody, no matter what his eloquence, can reason well on things he is ignorant of." Then there is a short note on the crowd of deities adored at Rome *à propos* of their mention in the second section. On the fourth section, at the mention of Victorinus's baptism, we have this note: "*To be regenerated*, to be born again in the holy water of baptism, whence one emerges like an infant newly born, so as to become a new man." Then follows only the "practical consideration," which is confined to the single remark: "Victorinus teaches us, by this memorable example, not to be ashamed to confess the faith publicly, and to fear *God rather than man.*" Surely this is the very exemplification of perfunctory annotation.

The extent to which the polemic interest dominates these notes may be observed in, say, the "practical considerations" adjoined to I, xi. The "notes" proper on this chapter are just three. One of

these explains very properly that by being marked with the sign of the cross Augustine means initiated into the number of the catechumens. Another usefully brings together a number of notices of Augustine's frequent sicknesses, illustrating the fact that he had a very delicate constitution. The third, which is misplaced after the end of the "practical considerations," is a perfectly blind note on the closing words of the chapter which tell us that Augustine's mother postponed his baptism because she preferred to commit to the floods of coming temptation rather the clay out of which he was afterward to be formed than the already formed image. This means simply, of course, that Monnica fancied, in accordance with a prevalent opinion of the time, that post-baptismal sinning was of far more consequence than pre-baptismal; that, to follow the figure, pre-baptismal sins only temporarily deformed the soft clay and were all obliterated when the image was molded by the subsequent baptism, but post-baptismal sins shattered the hardened image itself—for the repairing of which there was no adequate remedy. Our commentator would have us think that the more probable meaning is: "My mother preferred to abandon to divine providence those waves of temptation of which she foresaw that I should be the toy, and which would serve to form in me the new man and afterward to instruct me in the principles of the true faith and virtue, rather than to deliver to them that divine form which would be given me by the profession of the Catholic faith." And he suggests that Monnica was not after all free to do anything else in the presence of the will of her husband. These three "notes" occupy altogether, now, little more than half a page. The "practical considerations" interjected among them fill the greater part of some eight pages. These begin with a brief reminder of the antiquity of the use of the sign of the cross and of salt in the initiation of a catechumen, but proceed at once to remark on the "touching example given here by St. Monnica to Christian mothers of the care with which they ought to bring up their children in the Catholic religion, when their husbands neglect this sacred duty." Thence they wander off into nearly six pages of polemic against "the anarchists and socialists," on the sole excuse that these are such probably only because they were not as carefully nurtured as Augustine was by Monnica! This is "going off at a word" with a vengeance; and at this rate one does not see why a "commentary" on Augustine might not readily be swelled to the bulk, say, of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and made also about as comprehensive in its contents.

We have felt bound to enter so far into details in order to justify the verdict with which we started out—that the volumes now before us are without significance to the student of the *Confessions*. They give us a commonplace text of the *Confessions*, along, no doubt, with a sufficiently clear and flowing French translation, accompanied by a mass of “notes” which have for their end less to explain Augustine than to provide a vehicle for confirming the modern French Catholic in his faith. We are not saying that the volumes have no reason for existence and no sphere of usefulness. We are only saying that their reason for existence and sphere of usefulness lie outside the limits of the study of Augustine; and it is but just to remind ourselves at this point that M. Pihan himself represents his purpose to have been above all “to edify” the soul—of course from his own point of view as a good Catholic. It is nothing but matter of congratulation that the means by which he seeks to attain this end of edification are primarily to put the *Confessions* of Augustine into the hands of the Catholics of France in an attractive form—in Latin and French—and with a body of “notes” which, amid much else no doubt, yet do smooth many hard places, provide much necessary information for the ready understanding of the text, and apply many of its lofty teachings with point and insistence to the ordering of the practical life. When we so conceive it, we are conceiving M. Pihan’s enterprise in the light in which he would have us conceive it; and when we so conceive it, it is very far from having no significance.

And thus we come around to the second member of the remark with which we started out—that the significance of these volumes lies not so much in what they are as in the simple fact that they are. Consider what meaning is involved in this simple fact, that after a millennium and a half it is still worth while to publish and republish the *Confessions* of Augustine *in usum populi*—not as a text-book for the study of ingenuous youth, mind you, perhaps under the compulsion of the rod; not merely as the cherished treasure of a narrow guild of scholars; not even as the delight of the hours of ease that come to the refined and cultured classes; but distinctly as a handbook on pious living and a guide to holy thinking and conduct for the people of God scattered through the nations. Mr. Glover has recently told us, in the essay on the *Confessions* which he has incorporated in the delightful series of studies that he has published under the title of *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, that “among all books written in Latin” this book “stands next to the *Æneid* for the width of its popularity and the hold it has upon mankind.” Possibly even this exception need not be

insisted upon. Possibly, among all books written in Latin, the *Confessions* is the book that is absolutely the most widely read for its own sake and that exercises in its own right the widest influence upon mankind. From the moment of its first publication down until today, men have read it, and continue yet to read it, simply because they have found and still find in it a voice which expresses their deepest religious emotions and calls them to higher stretches of religious endeavor.

At first this motive was mixed, no doubt, with a literary one; and throughout the Middle Ages, when Latin was still the language of literature, the book appealed to men as literature; and, as Mr. Glover says, stood second in its popularity as such only to Vergil. But this motive has long since become practically inoperative. Our classical scholars in their engrossment with classical forms have permitted this post-classical treatise to fall into neglect; it is not read in our schools; it is read scarcely at all by our scholars; it has lost all the adventitious aid that might be given its popular circulation by the familiarizing of our youth with its modes of speech and forms of thought in the process of their education, or by the zealous study of it by our professed exponents of Latin letters. Nor has it been put into our modern languages in a manner which has really given it a place in our vernacular literatures. Harnack has recently pointed this out as regards German literature, and it is equally true of our other modern literatures. The *Confessions* may be included in our "Universal Libraries," "Libraries of Theological Classics," "Libraries of Devotion," "Best Hundred Books" (recommended, *e. g.*, by Sir John Lubbock); but it has not really entered into our "literatures" and is not read from the purely literary motive. Despite all this, it is published and republished, is translated and retranslated, and remains one of the most widely circulated and one of the most widely read of books. The popularity of the *Confessions*, in other words, is independent alike of extraneous recommendation and inherent form; it is due to its contents alone.

It may repay us to remind ourselves in some detail of the facts indicatory of its perennial popularity. This began, as we have said, from the moment of its first publication. Augustine himself tells us that he had been made aware that this book was particularly pleasing to many of the brethren, and, indeed, that among all his *opuscula* it was both most widely and most gladly read (*Retract.*, II, 6; *De dono persever.*, 20 (53)). From that beginning on, throughout the whole period of the reign of Latin letters, it stood next to Vergil in the extent of its circulation and the depth of its influence. Naturally,

therefore, when the art of printing began to be utilized for popular purposes, it was early put through the press, and frequently reprinted.

The fullest list of the early editions seems still to be that given by Schönemann in the second volume of his *Biblioth. historico-literaria Patrum Latinorum* (Lips., 1794), reprinted in Vol. XLVII (XII) of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (coll. 134-41). The earliest edition he records is a Milan quarto of 1475, which has been attributed to John Wurster de Campidonia; and to this he adds three others—one of 1482 and the other two undated—which appeared before the end of the fifteenth century. From the sixteenth century he gives nine editions: Cologne, 1531, 1569; Louvain, 1563, 1575; Antwerp, 1567, 1568; Basle, 1578; Würzburg, 1581; Tours, 1588.

From the seventeenth century he is able to enumerate no less than twenty-eight editions, scattered pretty evenly through the century. These begin with a 12mo edition published in 1604 in Cologne, *opera et studia theologorum Lovaniensium*; followed by another 12mo, published in 1606 at Lyons, *juxta Lovaniensium correctionem*. This text was afterward more than once reprinted, but the popular text of the seventeenth century was that prepared by Henry Sommalius, a learned and pious Jesuit who published editions of many books of devotion, including not only the *Confessions*, but also the *Soliloquies* of Augustine and the *Imitatio Christi*. Sommalius's first edition seems to have appeared in 1607 at Douay. It would be rash to say how frequently it was reprinted during the seventeenth century. Schönemann explicitly notes the following issues: 1619, 1628, 1629, 1631, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1650, 1652, 1679, 1685; and it would not be difficult to add more. In 1630 there appeared at Dillingen the first issue of Wagnereck's edition of the first ten books, accompanied with a commentary. This was reprinted in 1632 (Cologne), and in an enlarged form in 1646 and again in 1647 (both Cologne). Henry Wagnereck was a German Jesuit of wide learning, who served as professor of philosophy and theology at Dillingen, and died in 1664, leaving behind him many works, metaphysical, polemical, and devotional—among them a curious redaction of the *Imitatio Christi* "in locos communes," and this extended commentary on the *Confessions*. Toward the end of the century (1687) there appeared from the Paris press of Jo. Bapt. Coignard a 12mo edition, "emendatissima et notis illustrata, cum novis in singula capita argumentis," edited by the academician Philippe Goibaud, sieur du Bois, which became the basis of many of the best nineteenth-century editions, such as those by

Pusey and von Raumer. It was admirably annotated with illustrative notes drawn from the other writings of Augustine — notes which are still perpetuated to our profit in later editions.

Only three editions are brought together by Schönemann from the eighteenth century—a Sommalius in 8vo, published at Antwerp in 1740; an annotated edition published at Florence in 1757 by “Fr. Archangeli a Praesentatione;” and a pretentious edition published at Paris in 1776 by L. St. Rondet. We have noted also a Vienna edition of 1770.

The nineteenth century has again, however, been rich in editions. We have noted at least sixteen, without making any particular search for them. These begin with an excellent edition published in 1823 at Berlin, with a preface by Neander. A manual edition appeared at Ingolstadt in 1824. The beautiful little stereotyped edition of Tauchnitz, edited by Bruder, appeared at Leipzig first in 1837, and has been frequently reissued since—most lately in 1894. Dr. Pusey’s edition, based in part on the Paris edition of Du Bois (1687), appeared first at Oxford in 1838 and again in 1848. On Dr. Pusey’s foundation was built in turn the admirable edition of Karl von Raumer, which first appeared at Stuttgart in 1856 and again at Gütersloh in 1876. Von Raumer was accustomed to read the *Confessions* yearly with his students at Erlangen and poured his mind out in his notes and a preface in which he draws a comparison between the *Confessions* and Rousseau’s *Confessions* and Hamann’s *Gedanken über meinen Lebenslauf*. Meanwhile at least three good Paris editions had been issued: in 1844, with the French version of Saporta; in 1863, and 1889. There had also appeared the admirable edition of Martin at Regensburg in 1863, repeated in 1894. In 1891 an edition appeared at Turin repeating Wagnereck’s notes. But the great novelty of the century was reserved to its end: the appearance in 1896 of the new critical text framed by Pius Knöll for the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. This new text has been placed within the reach of all by its incorporation into the well-known Teubner series of Latin texts (Leipzig, 1898). By it, it is to be hoped, the textual presentation of the *Confessions* has been lifted to a new plane. The French edition which now lies before us is the first issue of the *Confessions* in Latin which has reached us from the newly opening century; it is innocent of any relation to Knöll’s new text. But it is probable that few editions will subsequently be published which do not take their start from Knöll.

The *Confessions* of Augustine belongs to that small class of books which have been circulated as much in translation as in their original form. A German translation of it was made as early as the fourteenth century, fragments of which have been recovered and published by C. Hofmann ("Bruchstücke einer mittelhochdeutschen Uebersetzung der Confess. d. Aug.," printed in the *Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akademie*, 1861, I, pp. 314 ff.). But the history of the translation of the *Confessions* does not really begin until the middle of the sixteenth century. The Latin races were first in the field, and by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century there were versions in circulation alike in Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and French. We hear of a translation into English only in 1624, and into German not until 1673. The earliest version listed by Schönemann is a Portuguese one, the work of Sebast. Toscano or Tuscanus, an Augustinian monk; two editions of it were printed, at Antwerp and Cologne respectively, in 1555 and 1556. Next in time come the Italian versions. The earliest of these was published in 1564 at Venice, the translator being "l'eccellente medico M. Vincenzo Buondi." A new annotated translation, "per il S. Giulio Mazzini, nobile Bresciano," appeared at Rome in 1595, and was reprinted at Milan in 1620. Finally, the Carmelite P. Giangiuseppe da S. Anna issued a new translation at Venice in 1760, accompanied (says Schönemann) with "an immense mass of notes," for which all preceding annotators had been put under contribution, especially Wagnereck. A Spanish version by Petrus Ribadeneira of several of Augustine's treatises, including the *Confessions*, appeared at Madrid in 1598 and again in 1604. These are all that Schönemann is able to cite from the sixteenth century.

The earliest French translation of the *Confessions* seems to have appeared at Paris in 1609, with notes by Hernequinius. A new version by René de Ceriziers (Rhenatus Ceriserius)—the well-known Jesuit translator of Boetius's *Consolations of Philosophy* (to which he added a *Consolation of Theology*), and author of that odd spiritual romance which he called *L'Innocence Reconneue, ou Vie de Sainte Geneviève de Brabant*—appeared at Lyons in 1649 and again in 1650, and was reprinted at Paris as late as 1709. But the two versions which really divided the suffrages of the French public down to our own century were those of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly and of Philippe Goibaud du Bois. The former of these scholars, the eldest brother of the great Antoine, after an honorable public career, retired at the age of fifty-two to the convent at Port Royal, where he gave himself to literary

labors. His works, in eight folio volumes, were published posthumously in 1675. His version of the *Confessions* seems to have appeared first, at Paris, in 1649, in 12mo. It was reprinted in 1651, 1653, 1656, 1659 (the seventh edition, with the Latin text of Antoine Arnauld), 1660, 1665, 1671, 1675, 1675 (at Brussels), 1676, 1691 (at Brussels), 1695, 1717, and so on, even as late as 1861, with an introduction by M. Charpentier. It is this version that is elegantly reprinted also in M. J. A.-C. Buchon's *Choix d'œuvres mystiques* (Paris, 1852) "as reproducing most faithfully the ideas and the flow of the style of the author." "Arnauld," M. Buchon adds, "had too pious a respect for the book and its author not to strive conscientiously to reproduce it in its true forms; and the French language, which had not yet been affected by the concise genius of Pascal, conserved in the march of its prose something of the slight heaviness and obscurity which recall the Latin forms." We are bound to confess that we have found Arnauld's version anything but attractive reading, and are inclined, prior to any examination of Du Bois's, to acquiesce in Brunet's preference for the latter. Du Bois was an academican and served as Latin tutor to Louis Joseph de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. He translated, says his biographer in Migne's *Dict. de biog. chrét.*, somewhat grimly, "many of Augustine's and Cicero's works, two very different geniuses to whom he gave the same style." His translations are enriched with many learned notes; those that accompanied the *Letters* of Augustine were supplied by Tillemont; those that accompanied his Latin edition of the *Confessions* (though not his translation) formed the mine out of which Dr. Pusey drew his admirable annotations. The first edition of Du Bois's translation seems to have appeared at Paris in 1686; it was repeated in 1688, 1700, 1715, 1716, 1722, 1743, 1758, 1776, and so on, down at least as late as 1820. Meanwhile certain parts of the *Confessions* had also been printed separately in French; e. g., Books VIII and IX were issued in Brussels in 1690 under the title, *La Conversion de S. Augustin décrite par lui même*; and in 1703 there appeared an abridged translation of the *Confessions* by Simon Michel Treuvé; to these may be added the *Confessions de Saint Augustin en forme de prières*, published in 1697 and 1701, and the appropriation to the exercises of the sacraments of penance and the eucharist of parts of the work (1750). Brunet mentions also as appearing at Paris, 1741, in two volumes, "*Les Confessions de S. Augustin*, trad. en franç. avec le lat. (par D. Jac. Martin)."

During the nineteenth century, in the case of this version too, naturally, a new activity began to manifest itself. We have noted about

a dozen new issues of the *Confessions* in French during that century. In 1822 and again in 1844 (Paris) there appeared a new translation by M. de Saint-Victor, with a preface by M. l'abbé de La Mennais and a historical note on the Manichees. In 1844 (Paris) was published, along with the Latin text, a translation by Léonce de Saporta. In 1845 (Tours) an edition cared for by l'abbé T. Boulangé appeared. A new translation, by L. Moreau, appeared first in 1854 (Paris) and was republished in 1858 and 1865. In 1854 a new translation "by G. A." is listed. In 1857 was published yet another new translation, by Paul Janet—which, by the way, is the only one thought worth mentioning in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*. A new issue of the translation by Arnauld d'Andilly "very carefully reviewed and adapted for the first time to the Latin text, with an introduction by M. Charpentier," was published in 1861. Yet another new translation, by "l'abbé Gabriel A.—," appeared at Lyons in 1862. The version of Monseigneur Péronne, included in the *Œuvres complètes* cared for by MM. Péronne, Écalle, Vincent, Charpentier, and H. Barreau, appeared in 1870. A luxurious edition, illustrated by eight etchings by A. Laluze, the translation being by Edouard Saint-Raymond, appeared in 1883. Still another new translation was published by the abbé Barral in 1884. Last of all we have the new translation by M. Pihan which lies before us.

Although, as we have seen, a German version of the *Confessions* existed in the fourteenth century, Germany was late in providing itself with the printed *Confessions* in its own tongue. Only a single issue was known to Schönemann—a 12mo, published at Cologne in 1673 with a title so verbose that Schönemann prints it only in contracted form. The next issue known to us is an 8vo, published at Frankfurt in 1760. A new issue, *aus d. Latein. von Friederici a Jesu* was published in 8vo at Augsburg in 1783. The translation of Adolf Gröninger, which is still in use, seems first to have appeared at Münster in 8vo in 1798; second edition, 12mo, 1841; third edition, 1853; fourth edition, 1859. Another (anonymous) translation, which is still in use, *mit einem Anhang seiner fernern Lebensgeschichte*, seems first to have appeared at Munich, in 8vo, in 1815; fourth edition, improved, in 18mo, at Passow, 1849; fifth edition, 1853; sixth edition, 1856; seventh edition, 1866. Georg Rapp's translation, which has remained until today, probably, the most widely circulated Protestant version, seems first to have appeared at Stuttgart, in 8vo, in 1838; subsequent issues appeared in 1846, 1847, 1856, 1863; fifth edition, 1868; sixth edition, 1871; seventh edition, 1878; eighth edition, Bremen, 1889.

The rival Romanist translation by H. Kautz appeared at Arnsberg, in 12mo, in 1840-41. Another version, professing to be *nach der besten Ausgabe aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, mit einem kurzen Ueberblick des Lebens und Wirkens dieses Heiligen*, seems to have appeared first at Regensburg in 1853; it was repeated in 1890; third edition, 1898. Still another, *für Leser jeden Standes neubearbeitet auf Grund der von Raumer'schen Ausgabe*, appeared at Reutlingen in 1858; and again in 1859 and 1883. The fifth edition of a translation by J. P. Silbert, *aus dem Latein. der Mauriner-Ausgabe*, appeared at Vienna in 1860 or 1861; we have not traced its earlier or later issues. The version of M. M. Wilden appeared at Schaffhausen in 1865; and that of Merschmann at Frankfurt in 1866.

All of these earlier versions, however, have recently been antiquated by the appearance of two new German translations of high character, provided with a modern apparatus of notes and introductions for the better understanding of the text. The best of these is probably *Augustins Bekenntnisse, in neuer Uebersetzung und mit einer Einleitung dargeboten*, by W. Bornemann, which constitutes Vol. XII of the Gotha "Sammlung theologischer Klassiker" and was published in 1888; the introduction extends to thirty-eight pages and is a valuable document. Its companion is *Des heiligen Augustins Bekenntnisse, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, by Otto F. Lachmann, which constitutes two volumes of the "Universalbibliothek" published by Ph. Reclam at Leipzig; it appeared in 1891. Still more recently there has appeared an abridged translation in German from the skilful pen of Fräulein E. Pfeiderer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902; 8vo, pp. viii + 160), which Harnack greets (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1903, No. 1, col. 12) as really the first German translation which is truly German literature. There were, of course, earlier essays at the translation of portions of the *Confessions*—as, e. g., the *Jugendgeschichte d. heil. Aug., aus seinen Bekenntnissen gezogen*, by F. P. Sticke, Munich, 1800; but we shall not pause to collect them. It is quite clear that latter-day Germany has not neglected to put this incomparable volume within the easy reach of her people.

What has been done toward the circulation of the *Confessions* in the other languages of continental Europe we have not had occasion to observe. We have incidentally noted only a Dutch version of the first ten books, published at Amsterdam in 1829: *De belijdenis v. d. H. Aug. in tien boeken*. There is also a Dutch abridgment published at Amsterdam in 1857, and again in 1865: *De biecht van God van een*

groot man, op de bekentenissen van Aurelius Augustinus. Naar het oorspronk. bekort; met een levensschets van Augustinus en ophelderingen, voorzien door W. Francken Azn.

We regret that we are without the materials for tracing the circulation of the *Confessions* in English. It appears to have been four times turned into English, in whole or in part, during the seventeenth century. The first of these versions was published in 1624, with the title, *The Confession of the Incomparable Doctor, S. Augustine, translated into English: Together with a Large Preface, which it will much import to be read over first; that so the book itself may both profit and please the reader more.* It was the work of the notorious Sir Toby Matthew (son of the well-known archbishop of that name), whose defection to Romanism was, it was said, "begun by an imposture and perfected by wit and humour." The story of his checkered life can now be read comfortably by all at sufficient length in the article by Thomas Seccombe in Sidney Lee's *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXVII (1894), pp. 63-8. Pusey (*The Conf. of St. Aug.*, preface, p. xxx) says this translation was both Romanizing and full of inaccuracies; and refers us to the *Biogr. Brit.* for "a saying of the time indicative of its badness." This reference is probably to a remark of John Gee's, who said, *à propos* of the price of the book, which was 16 shillings, that "Sir Toby's translation might have been afforded for half a crown" (*Biographia Britannica*, VI, i (1763), p. 4049, side note 91 in second column). "It was very sharply answered," Mr. Seccombe tells us, "by Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, in his vituperative *Unmasking of a Masse Monger*, London 1626, in which formal allusion is made to the alleged libertinism of Tobias's youth." The best answer to a bad translation, however, is a good translation; and that soon came in a new version by "Dr. William Watts, Rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street," 1631, and again 1650, published with the title: *Saint Augustines confessions translated and with some marginal notes illustrated*, by William Wats. Mr. Pilkington (*Post-Nicene Fathers*, New York, 1886; Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 32) speaks of Watts's version as "one of the most nervous translations of the seventeenth century;" and Dr. Pusey (*loc. cit.*) as energetic, but containing "a good many vulgarisms." It at all events laid the foundation for the English *Confessions*, and most subsequent editions to a greater or less extent base on it. A biographical sketch of Watts may be found in Sidney Lee's *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LX, p. 75. Mr. Pilkington (*op. cit.*, p. 140, note) gives us a notice of another English version of the first ten books of the *Confessions*, described on the title-page as "Printed by J.

C., for John Cook, and are to be sold at the sign of the 'Ship,' in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1660." And in 1679 a new translation of the biographical portions of the *Confessions* was issued, the work of another distinguished Romanist pervert, Abraham Woodhead (see for him *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 398-400). Dr. Pusey says of it: "The former translation [presumably Watts's] was used as its basis, but it is more diffuse." The only one of these versions that had life in it was Watts's, and when the nineteenth century opened it was found holding the field.

The earliest nineteenth-century issue we have noted was an abridgment by Bickersteth, published in 32mo form at London by Seeley, in 1836. Two years later Dr. Pusey's version first appeared (Oxford: Parker; London: Rivington, 1838; in 8vo). Watts's translation was adopted as its basis, but "the work," says Dr. Pusey (preface, p. xxx), "has in fact been retranslated." New issues of Dr. Pusey's version were put forth both in the original 8vo form and in an 18mo form in 1848; a fourth edition in 1853; and often subsequently, as, *e. g.*, 1883. The unrevised Watts was meanwhile also being reprinted. American editions, for example, are noted at Boston, 1843; New York, 1844, and especially Andover, 1860, "preceded by a thoughtful introduction" (pp. v-xxxvi) by Rev. Dr. W. G. T. Shedd. Dr. Shedd's edition has been several times reprinted, as, *e. g.*, 1871 (Andover) and 1876 (both Andover and Boston). A new translation was made by Rev. J. G. Pilkington for the series of select works of Augustine edited by Dr. Marcus Dods, and published at Edinburgh by T. & T. Clark. This was published first in 1876, and republished in the American *Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series I, Vol. I, in 1886. An edition is credited to the printing house of James Pott & Co., of New York, in 1876. The Rivingtons in 1883, and again in 1889, issued what they call a new edition, under the care of W. H. Hutchings. An edition described as a "new translation" was issued by Sutlaby in 1883, and again in 1887. A London edition of 1885 has fallen into our hands. A "revised translation" of the first ten books was issued by the London house of Griffith in 1887, and again in 1894, and again in 1898, as one volume of its "Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature." Similarly a "revised translation" of the first ten books was issued in 1895 by Routledge, as one volume of the collection of "One Hundred Best Books" recommended by Sir John Lubbock. An issue of 1897, by Melrose, appears as a volume in a series called "Books for the Heart." The character of these issues we do not know. Apparently something better begins

with the issue in 1898 of an edition described as "newly translated with notes and introduction by C. Bigg," as one volume of the "Library of Devotion" published by Methuen. In the same year an edition appeared in the "Scott Library" published by Walter Scott, "edited with an introduction by Walter Symonds." And in 1900 the Messrs. Richards published an edition "edited by Temple Scott, with an introduction by Alice Meynell." Finally, in the same year, an edition of the first ten books was published by Paul, of London, with four illustrations by Paul Woodroffe. The *United States Catalog of Books in Print in 1899* names editions published by Messrs. Longmans, Draper (Shedd's), Stokes (Bigg's), Whittaker, Kennedy, Dutton, and Routledge, to which may be added one published by Sadlier.

The confusion of the foregoing account will not prevent it suggesting the wideness of the demand for the book and the popular character of its circulation among English-speaking readers. And it must not be imagined that we have enumerated in these hasty lists anything like all the editions in which the *Confessions* has been published throughout the world. Enough have been enumerated, however, to give some conception of the continuous use of the book as a manual of piety throughout the whole period of its existence, and to give point to our remark that the new French edition now before us is not without its significance, even though it is of no importance from the scholarly point of view. It indicates the continued usefulness of a book of religion which has already measured its usefulness by centuries and millenniums. It might well have been a better book. It is nevertheless a good enough book to serve its professed purpose. It will carry these lofty religious meditations—the story of this noble life of struggle and of this final conversion of a great soul to God—into the minds and hearts of, let us hope, hundreds of French-speaking people. May it prosper in this mission! And may its tribe continue to increase!

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THE SEPTUAGINT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR JAHN and Wellhausen have fallen out and use not the gentlest terms about each other and their respective writings. To begin with, Professor Jahn published an edition of Esther.¹ Well-

¹ *Das Buch Esther, nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kurz erklärt.* Leiden: Brill, 1901. xv + 67 pages. M. 3, net.