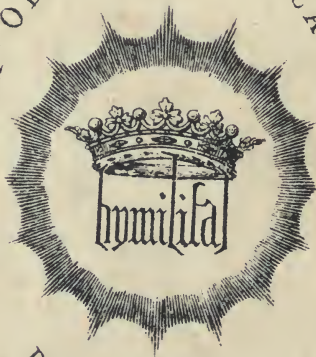


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TWO LETTERS

ON SOME PARTS OF THE CONTROVERSY

CONCERNING

1. JOHN. V. 7.

CONTAINING ALSO AN ENQUIRY INTO
THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST LATIN VERSION OF SCRIPTURE,
COMMONLY CALLED
THE ITALA.

BY

NICHOLAS WISEMAN D. D.

ROME
JOSEPH SALVIUCCI AND SON
M. DCCC. XXXV.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN MACKAY

Author of the History of the Empire of Russia, and of the History of the Russian Empire

ESQ.

LONDON

1790

Printed by W. Miller

at the Shakespeare and Stationers

and Booksellers

in Pall Mall

near the Theatre Royal

and Strand

in London

The following letters, originally appeared, divided into a series of short articles, in an English periodical. This circumstance both injured the train of argument they pursue, and made it difficult for the author to submit them to the perusal of friends desirous to see them. He has therefore been induced to print a few copies, chiefly for private circulation. Here however, for the first time, is given an engraving of 1. Jo. V. 7. as quoted in a valuable MS. which forms a principal topic of these enquiries.

English College, Rome, May. 1. 1835.

The following table, containing a list of
the names of the persons who have been
admitted to the office of Justice of the Peace
for the County of Middlesex, during the
year ending on the 31st day of December
1851, is hereby published, in pursuance
of an Act of Parliament, bearing date
the 23rd day of July, 1845, in that behalf
enacted.

English College, London, 1851.

TWO LETTERS

ON

1. JOHN. V. 7.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.

LETTER THE FIRST.

MY DEAR SIR

A periodical, like yours, is the most appropriate channel of information, upon such points of sacred literature as, from their partial and detached nature, may not deserve a separate publication. Hence I shall make no apology to you, or your readers, for transmitting to you a few remarks upon some parts of the important controversy regarding the celebrated verse, 1 Jo. v. 7: though I shall rather throw them together in the form of loose notes, than arrange them as a complete dissertation. Indeed, I foresee, at the outset, that my letter will be extremely desultory, and that I shall probably be led to give my humble opinion upon several points not immediately connected with the principal object of my enquiries.

Perhaps the strongest portion of the evidence in favour of this long controverted passage consists in the authority of Latin testimonies, the Vulgate and the Latin Fathers. The adversaries of the verse have been compelled to acknowledge that the majority of Latin manuscripts contain it;

but have, in reply, contended that it is wanting in the most ancient. Dr. Porson insists upon this argument in the following terms. "To which side shall we give credit, to age or to numbers? On the one side, the witnesses are grave, elderly persons, who lived nearer the time when the fact happened which they assert, and they are all consistent in their testimony, while the other party, vastly superior in numbers, yet lived too late to be competently acquainted with the cause."(1) And what is the respective antiquity attributed by this learned writer to each class of testimonies? From his observations upon the two Harleian MSS., he seems to consider the verse as not existing in any Latin manuscript anterior to the *tenth* century. For he says: "In the Harleian catalogue, N.º 7551 contains three copies of the first Epistle of St. John. The first copy seems to be of the tenth century, the second of the ninth, and both omit the heavenly witnesses."(2) On the other hand, the oldest manuscript which he mentions, as wanting the verse, is the celebrated Lectionary published by Mabillon, held to be about 1200 years old, or of the seventh century.(3) With the dates thus fixed by Porson the sentiments of Griesbach appear to coincide. These are his words: "Codices latini ante sæculum *nonum* scripti versum septimum plane non habent a prima manu... Invenitur in nonnullis sæculo *decimo* exaratis; fortasse etiam (a prima manu) in uno et altero saec. mono scripto, siquidem de eorum aetate recte judicarunt, qui eos tractaverunt."(4)

(1) Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis, in answer to his defence of the three heavenly witnesses. Lond. 1790, p. 154.

(2) p. 152.

(3) p. 153.

(4) Nov. Testam. ed. Lond. 1818; vol. ii. p. 640.

Dr. Horne in treating this subject commits a singular oversight, easily accounted for in a compiler, not always careful to reconcile together the jarring passages he has collected from different writers. He says: "the passage does not appear in any (latin) manuscripts *written before the tenth century.*" After a few lines, in the same page and paragraph, he proceeds to say. "*After the eighth century, the insertion becomes general.* For manuscripts written after that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text." (1) The latin manuscripts of the period intervening between these two dates, or written in the ninth century, must be exceedingly curious documents. Do they contain or omit the verse? If they contain it, his first assertion is incorrect; if they omit it, his second.

It is obviously a matter of the greatest importance that all accessible evidence upon this important question should be laid before the public, and my principal object in now addressing you, is to communicate my observations upon two latin manuscripts of a date anterior to any hitherto attributed to those containing the verse, by the opposers of its genuineness; which however, will be shown to contain it.

The first document to which I beg the attention of critics is a beautiful manuscript of the Vulgate, preserved in the venerable Benedictine monastery of La Cava, situated between Naples and Salerno. The archives of this ancient house contain upwards of 30,000 parchment rolls, commencing at a very early period; the library also possesses several valuable manuscripts. One of these is the vulgate

(1) Introduction to the critical Study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. 6th ed. Lond. 1828, vol. iv. p. 468.

I have alluded to, and when visiting that part of Italy some years ago, I turned aside to the monastery, chiefly for the purpose of inspecting it. I have however found still more favourable opportunity to study its text. For, the indefatigable librarian of the Vatican, Monsignor Mai, considered this MS. of sufficient value to deserve an exact transcription. This was ordered by Pope Leo XII, and, in the course of last summer, the last sheets were deposited in the Vatican Library by Father Rossi, the archivist of La Cava. It will be difficult, at a distance, to estimate the accuracy and trouble with which this transcript has been effected. It contains the Old and New Testaments, copied line for line and word for word, with an exact imitation of its painted and ornamental parts. Besides making two such exact copies of the manuscript, the industrious archivist has, in two years, classified the entire archives, and drawn up, in eleven columns, a descriptive catalogues of 9000 documents.

The inspection which I made of the original manuscript was too hurried to authorise me to draw any conclusions regarding the antiquity to which it may aspire. It is written on a beautiful vellum in large quarto; each page like the celebrated Vatican MS. (1209) contains three columns. There is no division between the words except by an occasional point. The character is exceedingly minute; the initial letters of paragraphs are somewhat larger and stand out of the lines; the marginal notes are written so small as to require a good lens in order to decypher them. A very detailed description has however been published of our manuscript by the Abbé Rozan, who has carefully collected all those characteristics which can have any weight in de-

cing its age.(1) I will give the result of his investigation.

Of the thirty one characteristics noticed by him, *thirteen* are mentioned in the *Traité de Diolomatique* as decisive of *very high antiquity*; *five* as designating a period *anterior to the ninth century*; *three* as indicative of *at least the eighth*; *four* as decisive of the *seventh at latest*; and *four* as characteristic of the *sixth*. The two remaining ones are too vague to be of any use.(2) It is true that the Abbé Rozan himself suggests some difficulties against attributing an excessive antiquity to this manuscript, grounded principally upon the small size and minuscular form of some of the letters. But he solves these objections by citing examples of similar letters in manuscripts of the fifth century: and it is with extreme surprise that his readers find him concluding, that this MS. is only one thousand years old. This conclusion seems, from his expressions, to proceed, not so much from his premises, as from his fear to be thought extravagant in his praise.(3) Indeed it may not be out of place to remark, that many mistakes may be committed through the idea, too prevalent since the promulgation of the Maurist diplomatic canons, that majuscular letters exclusively were prevalent in the early centuries. Some more current character must have been in ordinary use, and a strong evidence of this is to be found in a most valuable manuscript of St. Hilary preserved in the Archivium of the Chapter of St. Peter's: at the end of which is a note in a character as connected and rapid as any modern could be supposed to write, to the

(1) Lettre a M. le Bibliothécaire de la Bibliothèque du Roi a Naples.

Ib. 1822.

(2) Pp. 136-144.

(3) p. 148.

following effect. "Contuli in nomine domini Jesu Christi apud Kasulis constitutus, anno quartodecimo Transamundi regis."(1) This note was therefore written in the year 509, and consequently the manuscript, whose *recensor* added it, must be still more ancient. Now the forms of the letters in this valuable manuscript resemble much those of the La Cava manuscript; and upon the strength of this similarity the learned and experienced Monsignor Mai has no hesitation in considering the latter as of the seventh century at latest; it may be even more ancient. The antiquity of this document is still farther confirmed by the peculiarities of its text, which however is that of St. Jerome.

I will now proceed to give the portion of the first Epistle of St. John which contains the verse of the three heavenly witnesses, commencing at the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, and preserving the exact order and orthography of the words, and its marginal annotations.

*Et arius prae
dicat creaturam

*Si veritas quo
modo creatura quum
creatura vera es
se possit. denique
de nullo angelo
rum legitur quod
veritas sit.

*Audiat hoc arius
et ceteri.

Quoniam homine quod natum est ex deo vincit mundum
Fides n̄ra. Quis est autem qui vincit mundum nisi
qui credit quia* Ihs filius dei est. hic est qui venit
per aquam et sanguinem et sp̄m Ihs xp̄s
Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et sp̄u.
Spiritus* est qui testificatur. q̄m Ihs est veritas.
Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.
Spiritus et aqua et sanguis: et hii tres unum sunt.
in xp̄o Ihu. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt
in caelo. Pater. verbum. et sp̄s. et* hii tres unum
sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus etc.

A few simple observations will close my account of this interesting document.

(1) A fac-simile of the MS. of St. Hilary and of this valuable inscription may be seen in Monsignor Mai's *Symmachus*, Rome, 1823.

1. In the fourth verse we have a very remarkable example of the power of that "all-devouring monster *omoioteleuton*" as I think Porson somewhere facetiously calls it. To my less experienced readers, it may be necessary to mention, that, in sacred as in profane criticism, one of the most fertile sources of omission in manuscripts is a similarity of words occurring near to one another. The transcriber's eye is taken from his original at the first passage, and upon returning to it, catches by mistake the same word lower down, and thus the whole intermediate portion is omitted in the transcript. This similarity of termination constitutes what is technically called an *omoioteleuton*. It is generally supposed, by the writers in defence of our verse, that it has been lost in Greek manuscripts by a mistake of this sort, in consequence of the passage immediately preceding it, ending with the same words. Now, as I just remarked, our manuscript, in the two first lines I have transcribed, affords us an interesting illustration of the facility of such a mistake. Before *Fides nostra* are omitted the words, *et haec est victoria quae vincit mundum*; doubtless because the preceding clause ended likewise with *vincit mundum*, so that the copyist's eye was misled. How easily might a similar mistake have been committed at the seventh verse.

2. In this manuscript, the eighth verse comes before the seventh; and Griesbach has in fact remarked, that this is the case in the most ancient manuscripts. "Antiquiores fere anteponunt comma octavum septimo." (1)

3. The dogmatical use made of this text in the margin is likewise worthy of very particular attention. The very

(1) Ubi sup.

earnest manner in which every argument for the Divinity of Christ seems urged by the writer of the notes, would almost lead us to suppose that they were written during the Arian controversy. The energetic and pithy annotation, *audiat hoc Arius et ceteri*, demonstrates better than the longest commentary could have done, the force which the writer attributed to our verse, and the total absence from his mind of any doubt of its genuineness. The second note may appear a little obscure, from the omission of the second member of an antithesis. It says that a creature might indeed be said to be *true*, but could not with propriety be called *the truth*.

To conclude, we have here a latin manuscript which contains the verse, anterior by at least three centuries to the age allowed by its adversaries, for its admission into the text: and the document shows, at the same time, the dogmatical use made of the passage.

The second authority to which I wish to call the attention of critics is of still greater interest; it is that not merely of a scriptural manuscript, but of an ancient author quoting it for the express purpose of demonstrating the Trinity.

In the Library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is preserved a manuscript containing two ecclesiastical treatises. The second is the work of St. Cyprian *ad Quirinum*. The first bears no title at the commencement, by the original transcriber; but its termination is as follows. *Explicit liber testimoniorum*. It was this circumstance which probably led to a much later hand's prefixing the title, *De testimoniis Scripturarum Augustini contra Donatistas et ydola*. But from the account which St. Augustine himself

gives us of the work written by him under that title, this is not the one. In his *Retractationes*, he speaks of his book, "*Probationum et testimoniorum adversus Donatistas, as confuting those heretics, sive de ecclesiasticis, sive de publicis gestis, sive de scripturis canonicis.*"(1) There can be no doubt that this is the same work as his diligent biographer Posidius denotes by the title of *De testimoniis scripturarum, contra supra scriptos, et idola.*(2) Now our work is altogether composed of scriptural quotations only, and is in no way directed to a confutation of the Donatists.

An earlier hand had before given a much more probable title to the treatise, having written on the first page, *Libri de Speculo*. This leads us into an interesting discussion, of great importance towards the object of our researches, have we here the real work of St. Augustine entitled *Speculum*, or is this title altogether supposititious? I will be as impartial as possible in conducting the enquiry. My order will be as follows. First I will give an account of the work as it exists in our manuscript; secondly, I will state the arguments *against* its being the work of St. Augustine; thirdly I will propose the arguments which seem to suppose him its author. I will afterwards proceed to examine the degree of authority which, in any hypothesis, this document possesses towards proving the genuineness of the verse.

1. The work of which I am treating consists of upwards of one hundred heads, including the most important points of christian belief and practice. Upon each of these

(1) *Retract.* l. ii, cap. 27. tom. i. p. 51. ed Maur.

(2) *Indical. opusculor.* ib. tom. X. p. 284.

subjects all the text of the Old and New Testaments are given, without a single remark or illustration. In the main, the work is nearly the same as was published under the title of St. Augustine's *Speculum* by Jerome Vignier.(1) But it differs in one most important particular, that the text used in our manuscript is not the version of St. Jerome in the Old, nor his correction in the New Testament, but the old vulgate found in the quotations of the Fathers, and collected in the great works of Nobilius, Bianchini and Sabbatier. It in fact supplies many *lacunae* in the latter invaluable work, and is therefore a precious addition to our stores of sacred criticism. Indeed, the active and intelligent librarian of Santa Croce is preparing the entire work for publication, chiefly with a view to amending and improving our text of the ancient vulgate.(2)

The manuscript itself is a quarto on vellum: the character is uncial and square, resembling in form and size the latin of the Codex Bezae or Cambridge MS. of the New Testament. It is, on the whole, beautifully written, and I must caution my readers against judging, of it from the specimen given by Bianchini,(3) whose facsimiles, from not being traced, I have invariably found incorrect.(4) There can be no danger

(1) S. Aur. Augustini operum omnium supplem. Par. 1655, tom. i. p. 517.

(2) I regret to say that the death of this promising ecclesiastic has, for the present, interrupted this undertaking.

(3) Evangelior. Quadrup. Romae, 1748. tom. ii, fol. 595. pl. 2. no. 2.

(4) This is the case with most of the old facsimiles, which were only drawn by the eye. The specimen of the Codex Vatican. made by Zacagni for Grabe, and published by Horne, does the greatest injustice to that beautifully written MS. which bears a much closer resemblance to the Bankesian Homer, published in the first number of the *Museum Philologicum*.

in attributing to the sixth or seventh century. A fac-simile of it is prefixed to this essay. | 0 or 7 con

To come now to the most important point, this work quotes the text of the heavenly witnesses, as a dogmatical proof of the Trinity. In the second chapter, which is entitled, *De distinctione Personarum*, fol. 49, *ver.* we have the following passage. *Item Johannis in aepistula... Item illic Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo pater, (1) verbum et spiritus. et hii tres unum sunt.* I need hardly point out to my readers the coincidence between this manuscript and the one above-quoted, in the use of the word *dicunt* instead of *dant*. It is the reading of Idatius Clarus, the oldest ecclesiastical writer who quotes this portion of the text.(2)

2. Is the more ancient title attributed to this work in our manuscript correct, and have we here the genuine *Speculum* of St. Augustine? It must be a matter of the greatest interest, in the history of this text, to ascertain whether it is quoted by this great luminary of the Church; and I will commence by the arguments which appear to be against his being the author of this treatise. Two perfectly distinct works have been published under the title of St. Augustine's *Speculum*. The first was the one already mentioned as edited by Vignier, to which our treatise

Having mentioned this valuable relic of antiquity I may take the opportunity to state that in the Vatican collection of papyri exists a very small fragment of the Iliad, which I would almost venture to say, formed originally part of the same manuscript as Mr Bankes's.

(1) This word was first written by mistake PARTER, but a stroke was afterwards drawn through the first R by the transcriber himself.

(2) This name was assumed by Vigilus Tapsensis. Op. ed. Chifflet. p. 306. St. Eucherius is more antient, but his text is open to much controversy.

bears a close resemblance. This was rejected as spurious by the Maurists, who substituted for it another work of a totally different form.(1) It consists merely of select texts of Scripture, in the order of the sacred Books, beginning with Exodus, but reduced to no heads or distinct subjects. But it has one decided advantage over the other work and consequently over ours, that it has prefixed to it a preface, which ours has not. Posidius informs us that the *Speculum* had a preface prefixed to it. I will give his words at length, as I may have occasion to refer to them more than once. “*Quique prodesse omnibus volens, et valentibus multa librorum legere et non valentibus, ex utroque divino testamento, vetere et novo, premissa praefatione, praecepta divina seu vetita ad vitae regulam pertinentia excerpit, atque ex his unum codicem fecit; ut qui vellet legeret, et in eo vel quam obediens Deo inobediensve esset agnosceret, et hoc opus voluit Speculum appellari.*”(2) St. Augustine’s *speculum* had therefore prefixed to it a preface, and if the preface given in the Benedictine edition be genuine, then is the entire work genuine also. For the preface concludes with these words; “*Ab ipsa igitur lege quae data est per Moysen, divinorum praeceptorum, qualia nos commemoraturos esse promisimus, aggrediamur exordium.*” The Benedictine editors give another reason for rejecting Vignier’s *Speculum* and preferring their own; that a work, in which the scriptural authorities are reduced to certain heads, seems rather intended to instruct the mind than to form a code of morals. From this opinion I think most will dissent. It is much easier

(1) Op. tom. iii. P. i, p. 684.

(2) Vita Aug. ubi sup. p. 277.

to inspect the scriptural standard upon any point of morality and reduce our conduct to it, by having all that is written upon the subject brought together, than by seeking out the various passages bearing on it that lie dispersed through the sacred volume, mingled with other and heterogeneous materials. Such are the only arguments whereby the Benedictine editors support the preference they give to their text. The only one which possesses any strength is the circumstance of the preface, mentioned by Posidius.

3. In favor of the genuineness of the S. Croce text, we may draw a very strong argument from the fact that its quotations are all taken from the old latin version, and not from St. Jerome's. It is well known that St. Augustine was peculiarly adverse to the design formed by his friend of translating the scripture from the Hebrew, and that he never approved of his version. "I would indeed rather," thus he writes to him, "that you would translate the canonical scriptures as they are authorized by the version of the seventy. For it would be a hard case, if your version come to be adopted in many churches; since the latin and greek churches would thus be placed at variance." (1) "I desire to have your version from the Septuagint, that those who decry your useful labours may at length understand, that my reason for not wishing your translation from the Hebrew to be read in churches is the fear that, by producing something new at variance with the Septuagint, one may cause great scandal and disturbance among the faithful, whose ears and hearts are accustomed to that version: which moreover

(1) Ep. lxxi, (ol. x.) Op. Tom. ii. p. 160.

has been approved by the Apostles.”(1) In fact, he gives an instance of much scandal having been actually caused by the attempt to introduce the new version into a neighbouring church. “When a certain brother bishop endeavoured to make use of your version in the church over which he presides, a passage in Jonas attracted notice, which you have rendered in a manner totally at variance with what had been long familiar to the senses and memories of all, and consecrated by the use of successive ages. Such a tumult arose among the people, especially from the reasoning of the Greeks, who warmly pressed a charge of falsification against you, that the bishop, (for it happened in a city) was obliged to appeal to the testimony of the Jews... What was the consequence? why, that after considerable danger, rather than be abandoned by his flock, he was compelled to reprobate your rendering as false.”(2) With such manifest proof of St. Augustine’s attachment to the old version, of his conviction how imprudent, not to say profane, it was to attempt the introduction of the new, of his conscientious persuasion that the testimony of antiquity, the authority of the apostles, the unity of the church were all compromised by its adoption, in possession too of the fact that in not one of his undisputed writings does he ever quote from any but the old, we cannot for an instant hesitate to conclude that the *Speculum* published by the Benedictines, and consisting entirely of quotations from the version of St. Jerome, cannot as it stands, be the genuine production of St. Augustine.

The learned editors have indeed attempted to remove

(1) Ep. lxxxiii, (ol. xix.) ib. p. 203.

(2) Ib. p. 161.

this difficulty, by supposing that our Father afterwards overcame his prejudices against the new version, and may have used it, especially in a work intended for the use of the people. They appeal to his quoting this translation in some of his later works, particularly in the fourth book of Christian Doctrine, which he composed towards the close of his life. To this I would reply; first, that his writing especially for the people would be rather an additional reason for preferring the old version. Even in Rome, the ancient version was used by St. Leo in the fifth century, and even in the sixth St. Gregory used either indifferently, thus clearly showing the moment of transition from one to the other. Secondly, an inspection of the passage alluded to by the Maurists will be sufficient to convince any reader, that St. Augustine deemed an explanation necessary, if on one extraordinary occasion he made use of the new version: and even that he did not suppose all his readers necessarily acquainted with the translation made by "the priest Jerome, a man skilled in the two languages." (1)

There is still, it is but fair to remark, one way of removing the difficulty, by supposing that a later hand altered the text and remodelled the work upon the version of St. Jerome. I must acknowledge that this might easily have been done: and the existence of two types of our Speculum, the one with the old, and the other in Vignier's edition with the new text, proves that persons were found, who thought it worth their while to undertake the task. Still when applied to the Benedictine text this is only an unsupported hypothesis. We have no proof of

(1) De Doct. christ. l. iv, c. 7, t. iii. Pa. i. p. 71.

their book having ever existed in any but its modern form, and as such it could not possibly be the work of St. Augustine; of the other, we have positive proof that it did consist originally of the text used by that Father.

There is another argument for the genuineness of our copy, which has been noticed by the person engaged in preparing it for publication. He informs me that he has noticed a very marked resemblance between the titles of some of the sections, and St. Augustine's mystical interpretation of the corresponding passages. It would not be difficult to give a few instances, as I have also noted some, but it will be more fair and satisfactory to leave in his hands the full development of this important argument.

Before proceeding farther in my essay, I have to encounter a serious difficulty, involving a long and delicate investigation. It may be objected to me, with great semblance of truth; does not the very existence of the verse of the three Witnesses in this work, prove it spurious? Is it credible that St. Augustine should here quote this verse in proof of the Trinity, and yet totally pass it over in his Commentary upon St. John's Epistle, and in his works upon the Trinity, where the series of the text, or the expediency of his argument imperatively called upon him to notice it? To reconcile this apparent contradiction becomes a part of my task, and let not my reader be startled, if I appear to retire to a great distance the better to effect my object; for the artificer must often attach at a very distant point the threads upon which he will gradually raise a compact and durable texture.

I suppose it to be well known to my readers that St. Augustine is the only ancient writer who mentions any latin

text of the scriptures under the title of the Itala. His words are; "In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris praeferatur; nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiae."(1) This passage has given rise to one of the most difficult problems in sacred criticism; and it is to the solution of this problem that I propose to address myself. This will be immediately necessary to remove the difficulty I have just raised. But at the same time, it will be eminently useful and important for clearing the entire controversy of the three Witnesses from some important difficulties, for explaining some striking anomalies in the evidences in its favour, and preparing the way for additional proof. Independently of these motives, and of my having at the outset given my reader fair notice of my digressive intentions, I trust the hope of loosing a serious and complicated knot in biblical literature will be a sufficient apology for a long digression.

Two hypotheses have been built upon the passage just quoted. First, that there existed in the early western church one authentic version called the Itala, which St. Augustine here preferred to all others. This hypothesis has been almost universally received. Upon its supposed certainty, Flaminus Nobilius, Bianchini and Sabbatier have laboured to reconstruct this version indifferently from the quotations of all the Fathers, without regard to country; and most biblical and theological writers have attributed to it an undoubted existence, under the name of the *Vetus Itala*. This appellation may be considered as almost irrevocably sanctioned.

The second hypothesis is partly grounded upon another

(1) *Ib.* l. ii, c. 15, p. 27.

passage of St. Augustine, where he speaks of a multiplicity of latin versions being in existence. This passage will be given and discussed just now. The advocates of this system, generally attributed to Mosheim,(1) but started many years before by Dr. Whitby,(2) suppose the *Itala* to be only one of the *many* translations in ordinary use, which our Father, for reasons now impenetrable, happened to prefer.

The difficulties of these two hypotheses are so obvious, that some bolder critics abandoned both, and, instead of attempting to explain the text of St. Augustine, resolved upon its emendation. Bentley proposed to change *Itala* into *illa*, and *nam* into *quae*; Ernesti, no mean name in these pursuits, warmly supported his conjecture; but Casley, with some countenance from a single manuscript, ventured to correct them in their turn. This attempt to alter the text of the passage may be now considered destitute of supporters.

I have said that both the hypotheses above quoted are attended with insurmountable difficulties.

As to the first; if *Itala* were the name of a version universally adopted in the western church, is it possible that this name never should have been recorded in all antiquity, save only in this single passage of St. Augustine? Is it credible that St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Isidore, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, and others who have written concerning the old version, should never have given its name? That no manuscript containing the ancient text

(1) Comment. de rebus Christian. ante Constant. Helmsst. 1753, p. 225.

(2) Observat. philolog. crit. cum præf. Havercamp. Lugd. Bat. 1733, p. 84.

should be found to bear the title? All will acknowledge that this difficulty cannot be satisfactorily removed.

And with regard to the second, it may be said to rest upon almost the sole authority of one very equivocal passage which I shall presently discuss. The collection of various readings made from the Fathers by several writers, for the express purpose of supporting this hypothesis, is far from doing so. The Fathers indeed often differ from one another in their quotations, in a manner to explain which defies all the ingenuity of conjecture. But then, it not unfrequently happens that one Father in quoting the same passage upon different occasions, differs from himself as widely as he does from the rest; are we therefore to suppose that he was in the habit of using distinct versions upon these various occasions? In fact, there are just as glaring anomalies of this sort to be found in the Greek Fathers; and Christian Bened. Michaelis, in his celebrated controversy with Bengel, has produced as extraordinary instances of unaccountable discrepancy in their various readings, as can be cited from Latin writers.(1) Yet no one has ever suspected that they had so many independent texts or versions. On the other hand, though numerous examples of such marked diversity may be collected, though it may baffle all critical ingenuity to reconcile the occasional variety of readings adduced to prove a multiplicity of versions, even by recurring to supposed quotation from memory, or accommodation, or forgetfulness, yet I am convinced that a rapid examination of the quotations of the Latin Fathers in general, would convince

(1) *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis et judicandis.* Halle 1749, p. 20.

any critic of common experience and discernment, that their agreement in many extraordinary readings can spring only from the use of an identical version, however altered by ordinary causes. But what seems to me to place this beyond any doubt, is the tone and style which pervade the scriptural quotations of the Fathers. The general rudeness of the phrase, the repeated recurrence of words not in use among classical writers, the consistent degree of approximation to the original preserved throughout, in short the uniform moulding of the features of their text, shows that in all it is the same type, the offspring of one country, almost of one man. And if there was in the Church, the liberty of translating inferred by some writers from St. Augustine's text, and the custom of using such various translations deduced by them from the various readings of the Fathers, can we suppose that the more elegant writers and accomplished scholars would have invariably selected, from such a variety, a rude and unpolished version? Or are we to suppose that the privilege of making a new version was entirely reserved to less skilful pens? Again, if such a multiplicity of versions were in use, and at the same time, as we have seen from St. Augustine, the introduction of a new word shocked and scandalized the hearers, how could a bishop or priest of one diocese have preached or instructed in another without mischief or confusion? But these arguments will be much strengthened in my second letter.

But does the text of St. Augustine authorise the conclusions drawn from it by so many able writers, even in our own times? These are his words. "Qui enim scripturas ex hebraea lingua in graecam verterunt, numerari possunt:

latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique, primis fidei temporibus, in manus venit codex graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.”(1) At first sight, the words *interpretari* and *verterunt* seem clearly to express an actual translation. But we must be cautious in pressing such words too much. Among the ancients they are often used in a less rigorous sense, to signify nothing more than a correction or *recension* of a version already existing. I have proved this on another occasion as far as regards Greek and Syriac writers,(2) nor will it be difficult to prove as much regarding St. Augustine. For instance, he thus writes to St. Jerome. “Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quod evangelium ex graeco *interpretatus es*.”(3) The expression here is precisely the same as occurs in the passage above quoted. Yet it is certain that St. Jerome never translated the New Testament, but only emended it. For his words are, “N. Testamentum graecae fidei reddidi auctoritati.”(4) And it is certain that he understands St. Augustine’s phrase, *interpretatus es*, only in this limited sense. For his reply to it is as follows. “Et si me in *emendatione* Novi Testamenti suscipis.”(5) Indeed St. Augustine himself explains the phrase on another occasion. He thus writes to his friend. “Ego sane te mallem graecas potius canonicas nobis *interpretari* scripturas, quae LXX interpretum auctoritate perhi-

(1) De Doct. Christ. ubi sup. c. xi, p. 25.

(2) Horae Syriacae, Rome 1828, p. 94.

(3) Epist. lxxi. ut sup. p. 161.

(4) De Viris illustribus. Cap. cxxxv. to. ii. p. 941. ed. Vallars.: ep. ad Lucin. lxxi, (ol. 28.) to. i. p. 432.

(5) In op. S. Aug. ep. lxxv. to. ii, p. 178.

bentur.” Then after a few lines, he thus explains himself. “Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam graecam Scripturam quam LXX operati sunt, *latinae veritati reddideris.*”(1) The word *vertere* hardly presents any greater difficulty. St. Jerome in his letter to Sunnias and Fretela says. “Ea autem (the version of the LXX) quae habetur in Hexaplis, et quam nos *vertimus.*”(2) Yet in other places he assures us that he only emended the existing version. “Septuaginta interpretes... quos ante annos plurimos, diligentissime *emendatos* meae linguae studiosis dedi.”(3) “Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime *emendatam* studiosis tradidi.”(4)

Thus it appears, that the great, and only historical, argument for the multiplicity of versions in the Church necessarily proves no more than a variety of recensions or corrections of the text. Hence the Itala need not be considered as the name of some specific version, in contradistinction to other translations. And we have seen that it cannot be considered as the name of the *one* received version. In addition to these arguments, the analogy of other churches suggests that only one version was used in the western, subject to numerous modifications from accident or design, but remaining every where, in substance the same. The great tendency of these alterations would necessarily be to produce certain great varieties naturally determined by greater geographical divisions, or circumscribed by the limits of different ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

(1) *Ib.* p. 160. (2) *Ad Sunniam et Fretel*, ep. cvi. to. i. p. 637.

(3) *Adv. Rusin.* lib. ii, to. ii. p. 518.

(4) *Ep. ad Lucin.* ubi sup.

These varieties are well known in biblical criticism, under the name of *families or recensions*. In the East, the Greek text will occur to my readers as a full illustration of this remark; the Syriac version has followed the same law, and the Catholics, Nestorians and Jacobites have their respective texts of the Peshito. Not only the Scripture, but any other work frequently transcribed will naturally present the same phenomenon. Thus M. Gence, in his critical edition of the Imitation of Christ, has clearly pointed out Flemish, French, and Italian recensions, of which the manuscripts of the Abbey of Moeck, of the Chartreuse of Villeneuve, and of Arona, may be considered as the types, and which embrace numbers of MSS. agreeing essentially among themselves, but exhibiting a line of critical as well as geographical circumscription.(1)

Such then would be the case with the latin version, and the texts of Gaul, Italy, and Africa would naturally present distinct traits, characteristic of recensions; and these traits would be more clearly discernible to those who possessed not merely fragments, but entire texts. For we may doubt whether even Griesbach or Scholz would have discovered the Greek recensions however marked, had they been left to work merely on the dismembered quotations of the Fathers.

Now, from both historical and critical evidence it appears to me perfectly clear, that in the passage about the *Itala*, St. Augustine meant nothing more than to specify the preference he gave to the text in *Italian* codices; in other

(1) De imit. Christi lib. iv. ad pervetustum exemplar, nec non ad codd. complures ex diversa regione, variis nunc primum lectionibus subjunctis, recensiti. Par. 1826.

words, that the term *Itala* is not an appellative, but a mere relative term, adopted by him because living in Africa.

1. When an individual, whether from accident or choice, has himself adopted a certain text or edition, he will naturally continue its use and give it the preference. From the history of St. Augustine, it is morally certain that the copy or copies of scripture which he used, must have been Italian. He informs us, that when at Carthage before his conversion, he utterly despised and neglected the scriptures on account of the rudeness of their style.(1) He went to Milan, without the slightest religious object, and there at length began to view them in a totally different light.(2) From listening to St. Ambrose, he discovered that many things in them which had appeared to him absurd and ignoble were full of meaning and dignity. He remained for some time in a state of doubt and wavering; and strong obstacles presented themselves to his complete search after truth. One of these I must give in his own words. “*Ecce jam non sunt absurda in libris ecclesiasticis quae absurda videbantur, et possunt aliter atque honeste intelligi. Figam pedes meos in eo gradu, in quo puer a parentibus positus eram, donec inveniatur perspicua veritas. Sed ubi quaeretur? quando quaeretur? Non vacat Ambrosio, non vacat legere. Ubi ipsos codices quaerimus? unde aut quando comparamus? a quibus sumimus?*” (3) Up to this time therefore, he had to provide himself with a copy of scripture. Immediately upon his miraculous conversion, he retired to Cassiciacum, the villa of Vere-

(1) *Confess. lib. iii, c. 5. to. i. p. 91.*

(2) *Ib. l. vi, c. 3. 4. p. 118, 122.*

(3) *Ib. c. 11. p. 123.*

cundus, and thence wrote to ask St. Ambrose what books of scripture he should read. This holy hishop recommended Isaiah, and St. Augustine read it, evidently for the first time. "Veruntamen, ego primam hujus lectionem non intelligens, totumque talem arbitrans, distuli repetendum, exercitator in dominico eloquio." (1) Here also he began to read the psalms.(2)

After his baptism, St. Augustine proceeded to Rome. Between his conversion and his return to Africa, he wrote and published several works, as his soliloquies, his treatises De beata vita, De ordine, De libero arbitrio, De immortalitate animae, De moribus Manichaeorum, and De moribus Ecclesiae. Several of these, especially the last, demonstrate, by his facility in quoting scripture, that he had already completely impressed it on his memory, and studied it deeply. This brief historical sketch must prove that St. Augustine learnt the sacred books entirely from the *Italian* text; and it is highly improbable that upon his return to Africa, he cast it aside and adopted another. On the contrary, it is more probable that he would give the preference through life, to the text which he had first studied.

2. But there is a passage, in one of his polemical works, which seems to me completely to explain his sentiments and expressions regarding the *Itala*. Writing against Faustus, he gives a critical rule for deciding among conflicting various readings. "Ubi, cum ex adverso audieris 'proba', non confugas (a) ad *exempla veriora*, vel (b) plurium codicum, vel (c) antiquorum, vel (d) linguae

(1) Ib. l. ix, c. 5. p. 162.

(2) Ib. c. 4. p. 160.

praecedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est.”(1) His order therefore is 1st, (a) to consult MSS. containing a more true or genuine text, 2dly (b) to weigh the number, 3dly (c) to examine the antiquity of the testimonies; and 4thly (d) if the point still remain undecided, to recur to the originals. After a few sentences, he proceeds thus. “Quid agis? quo te convertes? quam libri a te prolati (a) *originem*, quam (c) *vetustatem*, quam (d) *seriem successionis testem citabis.*” By comparing this text with the preceding, and remembering that *number* of MSS. (b) is omitted in it, because it treats of the examination of *one* codex, we see that the *exempla veriora* are to be discovered by their *origin*; for, this is substituted for the other, in the series of critical authorities. After a few more lines, St. Augustine explains what the *origin* is which has to determine a manuscript to be sincere and authoritative. For he repeats the same series, with a new and important substitution, and in the form of a conclusion from his previous reasoning. “Itaque si de *fide exemplarium* quaestio verteretur... vel (a) *ex aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina commeavit*, nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur; vel si ibi ipsi quoque codices variarent, (b) *plures paucioribus*, aut (c) *vetustiores recentioribus praeferrerentur*; et si adhuc esset incerta varietas, (d) *praecedens lingua*, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur.” On this passage I may be allowed a few remarks. First, St. Augustine by *codices aliarum regionum etc.*, certainly means latin copies; for he places a reference to the greek, the *praecedens lingua*, as the last, and a distinct, resource. Secondly this passage au-

(1) Adv. Faust. l. x. c. 2. to. viii. p. 219.

thorises us to conclude, that different churches did not use distinct versions; for it would be absurd, in a question on a difference of reading, to refer a critic to a totally different and perfectly independent translation.

Thirdly, St. Augustine's critical rule is, that in a doubt regarding the correctness of a reading, recourse must be had in the first instance to the copies of that country whence the faith had come. St. Augustine is writing in Africa; we have therefore only to enquire whence did he consider the faith to have been brought into that country; and from my first observation, it follows that it must be from some latin church. The belief of the African Church was undoubtedly that Italy, and particularly Rome, was the fountain of its Christianity. St. Gregory writes as follows to Dominicus Bishop of Carthage. "Scientes praeterea unde in Africanis partibus sumpserit ordinatio sacerdotalis exordium, laudabiliter agitis quod, sedem apostolicam diligendo, ad officii vestri originem, prudenti recordatione recurritis, et probabili in ejus affectu constantia permanetis." (1) And St. Augustine was manifestly of the same opinion, as will appear from the following passage. "Erat etiam (Carthago) transmarinis vicina regionibus, et fama celeberrima nobilis, unde non mediocris utique auctoritatis habebat episcopum, qui posset non curare conspirantem multitudinem inimicorum, cum se videret et Romanae ecclesiae, in qua semper apostolicae cathedrae viguit principatus, et ceteris terris unde evangelium in ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum." (2) "The Roman Church and *other*

(1) Epist. l.viii, no. 33. Ed. Maur. to. ii. p. 922.

(2) Ad Glor. et Eleus. ep. xliii, (al. clxiii.) vol. ii. p. 91.

countries from which the gospel had come to Africa," is a phrase sufficiently clear. But I may farther remark, that the transmarine countries to which Carthage is near, and those *other* churches are manifestly identified in this passage; for, the bishop's reputation with the former and his being in communion with the latter are given as an identical motive of security. Now, there can be no doubt that by the *transmarine* churches he meant those of Italy. For alluding to the trial of Cecilianus, he says; "an forte non debuit Romanae ecclesiae Melchiades episcopus, cum collegis *transmarinis* episcopis, illud sibi usurpare iudicium?" (1) But, we learn from St. Optatus that the colleagues of Pope Melchiades were all Italians, except three Gallican bishops expressly petitioned for by the Donatists. (2) St. Augustine therefore considered the African church as descended from the Italian.

We have thus a clear critical rule laid down by this Father, that when, in Africa any doubt should arise concerning a various reading, a reference to Italian codices, or the Italian recension should be the first critical operation. Let us now compare with this rule the passage in which the *Italia* is mentioned, and see if it receives any light from it. First, St. Augustine is speaking there, just as in his work against Faustus, entirely about various readings and the correction of the text. The sentence immediately preceding is; "Plurimum hic quoque juvat interpretum numerositas, *collatis codicibus*, inspectaque atque discussa, tantum absit falsitas; nam *codicibus emendandis* primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum qui scri-

(1) *Ib.* p. 94.

(2) *Adv. Parmen.* l. i. c. 23. Ed. Dupin Par. 1702, p. 23.

pturas nosse desiderant, *ut emendati non emendatis cedant, EX UNO DUNTAXAT INTERPRETATIONIS GENERE VENIENTES.*"(1) Secondly, after thus saying that the more correct *codices* must be preferred, *provided they descend from the same original version*, he proceeds to state which is the text to be preferred; and this he does in the form, not of an assertion but of a critical canon. "In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris *praeferatur.*" Thirdly, he then goes on, just as in the passage of the work against Faustus, to say that the Greek is still to be considered a last appeal, even from this. "Et latinis *quibuslibet* emendandis, Graeci adhibeantur."

An impartial consideration of the two passages will, I am sure, convince any one that they are perfectly parallel, that the preference of the Itala is only the preference of the more authentic records of the same version, preserved in the country whence the gospel had come to Africa; it is a question of manuscripts and recensions, and by no means of versions.

3. Nothing farther seems wanting to complete the solution of the proposed difficulty regarding the Itala, but that it should be critically or practically verified. If St. Augustine brought his manuscripts from Italy, and used them in Africa, does his text present the appearances naturally consequent to such a supposition? Does he, though using essentially the same version as the African Fathers, still on some occasions depart from them in a marked manner when they agree among themselves, and then coincide with the Italian Fathers? The discussion of this point would involve us in a long examination

(1) De Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 14. to. iii. pa. i. p. 27.

of various readings, which could not possibly prove interesting to the generality of readers, even should the preceding details have proved so. I must therefore be brief. Several years ago, when pursuing the critical study of the Scriptures with more leisure, I paid some attention to this point. Though soon interrupted, I discovered sufficient to satisfy me to such a degree, that the theory of the Vulgate here presented to the public has been repeatedly delivered by me in the theological courses of this establishment. I will give a few examples of the various readings of the Italian and African Fathers, from some of the first psalms; whence it will appear most manifestly, that St. Augustine clearly departs from the African Fathers, and classes with the Italian, wherever the writers of the two nations decidedly range themselves upon opposite sides.

Ps. i. *Psalt. rom., et mediol., codd. corbej. sangerm. Amb. Hil. Cassiod. etc.* read "In lege Domini fuit voluntas ejus." *Tert. Cyp. Opt. opus imperf. in Mat.* omit the *fuit*. St. Augustine agrees with the former; and this reading is *tenacior verborum*, the Greek having ἐστὶ, and has also greater perspicuity.

ii. Tertullian and St. Optatus consider it as the first; St. Augustine, with the Italian Fathers, treats it as the second.

ii. 1. *Cod. sangerm. Amb. Hil.* "Quare fremuerunt gentes." *Tert. Cyp.* always *tumultuatae sunt*. St. Aug. with the former.

2. *Sangerm. Amb. Hil.* "convenerunt." *Tert.* (generally) *Cyp. congregati sunt*. St. Aug. with the former.

vi. 6. *Psalt. rom., cod. sangerm. Amb. Hil. Leo,*

Cassiod. Philast. etc. have "in inferno:" *Tert. Lucif. Calar.*(1) *apud inferos.* St. Aug. with the former.

xviii. 6. *Psalteria, cod. sangerm. Amb. Hil. Cassiod. Maximus Taur. Philast.* "sponsus procedit." *Tert. Cyp. egrediens.* St. Aug. with the former.

I must leave the farther prosecution of this examination to some critic possessed of more leisure than falls to my lot. It is a toilsome, and often an ungrateful, task: for in general, the various readings are a mass of irregularity and confusion, referable to no law, and hardly open to plausible conjecture. Still, in the portion I have examined, I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, where the African writers stand in united opposition to those of Italy, without St. Augustine siding with the latter. This is sufficient to clear up all difficulties. For while the Fathers of different countries agree sufficiently to prove that they all used the same version, their occasional separation into national classes proves the existence of distinct geographical recensions. And the fact that St. Augustine always agrees with the Italians, added to the historical proofs already given, demonstrates that he used the Italian recension, and not the African; and that he forms a testimony, not of the African but of the Italian church, in all critical questions regarding scripture. The important consequences which will be deduced from this conclusion will justify the length of the discussion. To have at length given to the words of

(1) I consider him an African writer, because Sardinia was really considered as forming the seventh province of Africa, and was part of its Diocese. The connection too of the two countries is sufficiently marked in Ecclesiastical history.

St. Augustine on the *Itala* a sense consistent with facts, with his own history and his quotations, and with the total silence of all other ancient writers, will I trust be also considered a sufficient apology for want of discretion in the present disquisition.

But excusable as it may be, I feel that my readers have acquired a right to forget what originally led to it, and to expect to be brought back to the point whence we started. It was simply this; St. Augustine, in all his other works, omits the verse of the Three witnesses; is not the circumstance of its being found in the Santa-Croce manuscript a sufficient proof that the work was not written by that Father? It was to answer this objection that this long discussion was primarily undertaken; and the answer which it furnishes is this. St. Augustine in his ordinary works, used the Italian recension from which the verse had been lost at an early period. His *Speculum*, as we learn from Posidius, was written for the unlearned, and hence he made use in it of the African recension, which universally contained the verse. I requested the gentleman who has undertaken the publication of the work, to pay particular attention to its various readings with this view; and he has assured me that they generally agree with the African Fathers in a very remarkable manner.

In my next letter, I will examine the testimony of this manuscript, on the hypothesis that St. Augustine is not its author, and proceed to notice some other points connected with this celebrated controversy. I remain etc.

N. WISEMAN.

English College, Rome, June 26, 1832.

LETTER THE SECOND.

MY DEAR SIR

Having discussed the question, whether St. Augustine be the author of the treatise contained in the Santa-Croce manuscript, I must now proceed according to my promise, to investigate what degree of authority it possesses in the controversy of the Three witnesses, on the supposition that it is the production of a more obscure author. I will premise a few words on its age and country.

Perhaps a more minute examination of the treatise than it is at present in my power to make, might give more clues than I have gathered from hasty observation: these however, will I think prove sufficient for my purpose. The exact manner in which several propositions are laid down regarding the Trinity, shows that it was composed after the controversies upon that great dogma had arisen in the Church. The chapter from which I have quoted the verse of St. John is headed, “De distinctione *personarum*.” Now the word *persona* does not seem to have been used in the marked sense which it here bears, until the third century. Dr. Waterland has remarked, that it is applied by Tertullian, to the *hypostases* or persons of the Trinity.(1) And in fact, in the work of that writer against Praxeas, the word occurs frequently, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth chapters.(2) But still, it hardly

(1) Waterland's Works, by Van Mildert, vol. iii. p. 200.

(2) Tert. adv. Prax. pp. 505-508, ed. Rigalt.

seems to have become so early a defined theological term. Facundus Hermianensis says that it only began to be used in the Church upon occasion of the Sabellian heresy, in 257. His words are, "Personarum autem nomen non nisi cum Sabellius impugnaret Ecclesiam, necessario in usum praedicationis assumptum est, ut qui semper tres crediti sunt.... communi personarum nomine vocarentur." (1) But this assertion stands in direct opposition to that of St. Gregory Nazianzen, that Sabellianism arose in the west from the use of this word. The Latins, he says, were compelled,

" Propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem, "

to apply the word person to the B. Trinity, and the consequence was, that Sabellianism arose from a misapplication of the term. (2) To reconcile these conflicting testimonies, we have only to say that the word was indeed in use from the time of Tertullian, though it had not yet acquired that decided, definite, theological determination, which the Sabellian controversy, and later, the disagreement at the Council of Alexandria necessarily gave it. But the manner in which it is used in our treatise shows this to have been composed at a time when this determination had been given.

(1) Def. trium capit. l. ii. p. 19.

(2) Ἄλλ' οὐ δυναμένοις (τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς) διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλῶττης, καὶ ὀνομάτων πενίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀντεισαγοῦσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ἵνα μὴ τρεῖς οὐσίαι παραδειχθῶσι, τί γίνεται; ὡς λίαν γελοῖον ἢ ἔλαεινόν; — εἶτα Σαβελλιανισμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐπενοήθη τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις. Greg. Nazian. De laud. Athan. Op. Paris, 1609, to. i. p. 395.

There is another circumstance, which brings this treatise to a later period. After the section which we have quoted for the text of St. John, is another directed expressly to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost. This gives reason to suppose, that the controversy upon that important dogma, as distinct from the general question of the Trinity, had already commenced. This will bring down the age of this treatise to the time of the Macedonians, or the middle of the fourth century. The use of the old version in it will not allow us to assign it a much later age, nor indeed could we be justified in doing so, by any single consideration drawn from the work itself.

There can be no difficulty in deciding the country to which the treatise belongs. The circumstance of its being united in the same volume with a work of St. Cyprian, which follows it immediately, gives a *prima facie* evidence in favour of its being African. But this point is completely decided by the marked coincidence of its readings with those of the African Fathers. The publication of the original will place this important point beyond dispute.

Perhaps to some of my readers it will appear of little consequence to have gained the testimony of an unknown African writer of the fourth century, in favour of the verse. I am however of quite a different opinion. I must consider the additional testimony of any African writer of greater authority than that of one from any other part of the western church. And the reason for this preference may appear to many still farther paradoxical; it is because all the authorities hitherto discovered may be said to be African.

Every one versed in biblical pursuits will be acquainted

with that great critical principle, first laid down by Bengel, but not fully established and acted upon till the publication of Griesbach's recensions; that the testimonies in favour of a various reading have not an individual force independent of the recension or family to which they belong; and that a reading must be decided, not by the number of distinct authorities, but by the weight of the recension which contains it.

It is plain that the same principle will apply to any other text as well as the Greek, in which recensions can be recognised. Having shown that this is the case with the old vulgate, we may fairly try the evidence in favour of the contested verse of St. John, upon this principle. Now it has been sufficiently observed by all writers upon the controversy, that almost all the testimonies in favour of the verse are African. St. Cyprian, Marcus Celedensis, St. Fulgentius, Victor Vitensis, the four hundred bishops assembled under Hunneric at Carthage, were all members of the African church. Maximus the Confessor learnt the passage from the same country,(1) Eucherius was a Spaniard, and his text is too uncertain to be quoted, Phebadius was a monk of Lerins; both therefore probably in communication with the African church. But while so many authors have observed this consent of writers belonging to one church, they have not placed their testimony in its proper light. They have spoken of them as so many African writers, or even as the body of the African church, bearing witness to the existence of a passage, but not as the representatives of the African *recension* or *text*, as the voice of a great critical family, whose antiquity and autho-

(1) See Nolan's Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek vulgate. p. 302.

rity, as compared with that of other texts, must be critically ascertained.

Bearing in mind these facts, and especially the one established in my former letter, that the African and Italian Fathers separate into distinct classes, not merely upon this verse, but in many other passages sufficient to prove the difference of their recensions, I proceed to make such observations as I think bear upon the general controversy, in connection with the Santa-Croce manuscript.

1. The existence of an African recension containing the verse, gives us a right to consider as quotations, passages of African writers, which, in the works of Italian authors, might be considered doubtful. It is by insisting upon the incomplete form of the citations in Tertullian and St. Cyprian, that Griesbach and others have endeavoured to convert them into mere mystical interpretations. Now, the certainty, acquired by the examination of later testimonies, that the entire church to which they belonged knew and quoted the verse, gives us just critical grounds for assuming theirs to be real quotations. The system followed by the opposers of the text, of attributing to respect for St. Cyprian and Tertullian, first the allusion to the preceding verse, and then its conversion into a new text, is utterly untenable. These two writers were held in equal, perhaps in greater, veneration in Italy, and there is no reason why their writings should have influenced other African authors more than their admirers beyond the sea. And at any rate, why did not St. Augustine follow the same course; why was he not led to *argue*, as the other African writers are said to have done, from the eighth verse allegorically explained. Why is he said never to have quoted the verse?

2. But if, instead of an argument, we consider these passages as quotations, if instead of African writers, we will only speak of the African text, we remove a difficulty which has appeared insoluble to all parties, the silence of St. Augustine. It has been observed, with great appearance of strength, by a late writer,⁽¹⁾ that this Father, who has written so much upon this Epistle, has furnished Sabatier with materials for restoring the whole of it up to this point, and returns to his assistance immediately after it; but totally fails him in this verse. This, at first sight, appears a negative argument of considerable strength. I would even allow that upon the ordinary view of the controversy, it is unanswerable. But the positions already laid down remove every difficulty. The verse belongs essentially to the African text, and this writer used the Italian. All anomaly, all difficulty is at an end. I would indeed almost venture to say, that were the verse to be found in St. Augustine's works, the circumstance would require an explanation. This could indeed be easily found, and I have suggested it on a former occasion, from his connection with the African church, and the propriety he might occasionally find, of adopting a less favourite text, to consult the feelings or utility of the people. But still, in all classifications or distributions into families, it is the sporadic varieties, as they are called by naturalists, which perplex and disarrange. The more rounded and decidedly pronounced the limits of each class, the more defined the laws and circumstances by which they are regulated, the freer they are from exceptions, the more determinate

(1) *Horae Biblicae*, by C. Butler, Esq. Works. Lond. 1817, vol. i. p. 396.

likewise the extent and value of each: so much the more satisfactory is all reasoning upon them. So far then from St. Augustine's silence being a difficulty in proving the text, it rather removes an embarrassment.

3. From these remarks it follows, that the discovery of an early African writer, however insignificant in other respects, who quotes the disputed verse, goes farther to strengthen the real evidence in its favour than the testimony of an Italian writer of far greater celebrity; because the former would always tend to consolidate and complete the authority of a *text*, while the other would only give an individual and an *anomalous* voice. And this principle defines the weight of the testimony afforded by the Santa-Croce manuscript. It is a new addition to the combined evidence of the African writers, in favour of the verse having existed in the text or recension of that church.

Having thus reduced the controversy to a contest between two recensions, the African and Italian, it remains to enquire which of these has claims to greater authority, which can justly be considered the true representative of the original version. For if it should appear highly probable or even certain, that the Latin translation was really made in Africa, and that consequently the African text, preserved by the writers of that church, ascends to a higher antiquity not only than the Italian, but than any Greek manuscript in existence, we gain an argument much more compact, defined, and solid for the authenticity of the controverted verse, than by the usual balancing of quotations and texts.

Mr. Nolan has given several reasons why the authority of the African church should be considered grave and

weighty on this point; (1) but never enters upon the only true means of deciding the controversy, the determination of which is the original text.

It is but justice, not so much to myself as to the cause which I am upholding, to premise that the examination which follows was undertaken, like that in my former letter, without reference to this controversy, being the result of enquiries made for academical purposes, when treating of the vulgate in a course of theological lectures.

A palimpsest of a Latin antehieronyman version having been discovered some years ago at Wurtzburg, Dr. Feder transcribed all that was legible, comprising Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. These fragments he transmitted to the late learned Dr. Münter, Bishop of Seeland, who published an account of them in a letter addressed to the well-known M. Grégoire. This appeared in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for March 1819, p. 545. The letter is dated Copenhagen, February 7. In this letter he supposes these fragments to be of African origin; he says they cannot belong to the Itala, because they want the "perspicuity of sentence.,, He promises to publish them: and if I remember right, they have been given in the third number of the *Miscellanea Hafnensia*; but not having that journal at hand, I cannot ascertain it at present. I have certainly seen them in some such publication.

Eichhorn however, was the first author who hazarded a general conjecture that the Latin vulgate was originally made in Africa. This is strictly a conjecture, for he attempts no demonstration of his grounds. The principal, or rather the only real one is, the barbarism of the lan-

(1) *Inquiry*, p. 295.

guage in which it is written. (1) Against the term barbarism we must protest, and we have the suffrage for so doing of the celebrated lexicographer Gesner, who used to say that he considered the vulgate as a classical author, since it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its full extent. (2)

Instead of such vague conjecture I will endeavour to lay before biblical critics some specific proofs, tending in my humble opinion, to demonstrate that Africa is the birth-place of the Latin version.

First, I would remark that Greek literature was brought into such repute in Italy under the Cæsars, but especially under Trajan and the Antonines, that a version of the scriptures would be hardly necessary. It is singular that almost all the names which occur in the history of the early Roman Church are Greek, as Cletus, Anacletus, Soter, Eleutherius, Linus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Hyginus. Several of these were in fact Greeks by birth, and their election to the Pontificate indicates the preponderance of that nation in the Roman Church, and the acquaintance of their flock with the Greek language. But this is much better demonstrated by the fact, that for the two first centuries, and even later, we have hardly a single instance of an ecclesiastical writer belonging to the Italian Church, composing his works in any language but Greek.

The epistle of St. Clement, or Clemens *Romanus* as he is emphatically called, was written about the year 96, in Greek. (3) He was really a Roman by birth, but there is

(1) Einleitung in das A. T. ed. 4. Götting. 1823. vol. ii. p. 406.

(2) Michaelis's Introd. by Marsh. vol. ii. p. 116.

(3) Eusebius H. E. L. iii. c. xvi. p. 107. ed. Reading.

nothing in his writings to indicate either that he used a translator, or wrote that language with an effort. I might add, that the letter is written in the name of the whole Roman Church.

I need not mention St. Justin and Tatian; as neither can be said to have been a member of the Italian Church, though both published their Greek writings in Rome.

Modestus, who is placed by Cave about the year 176, seems by his name to have been a Latin, and yet appears to have written in Greek; for St. Jerome says, "Feruntur sub nomine ejus et alia *συντάγματα*." (1) Eusebius mentions him in conjunction with St. Irenæus. (2)

There seems no reason to doubt that the correspondence between the churches of Rome and Corinth under Soter was carried on in Greek. (3)

St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in 178, wrote his works entirely in the same language. The celebrated letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, is likewise in Greek.

St. Jerome says that Tertullian is the oldest Latin writer after Victor and *Apollonius*. (4) The first is undoubtedly the Pope of that name: the history of the second is more obscure. In St. Jerome's catalogue two writers of this name are mentioned. The second of these was a Roman Senator who composed an apology, and certainly wrote in Greek. (5) For in another place he is mentioned among Greek writers, (6) and there is no doubt but he is the same person whose apology Eusebius published. (7) He probably

(1) De Viris. Illust. c. xxxii. To. ii. p. 858. ed. Vallars.

(2) L. iv. c. 25, p. 188. (3) Ib. l. v. c. xxi. p. 239.

(4) Lo. cit. c. liii. p. 875. (5) Ib. c. xlii. p. 869.

(6) Ep. ad Magn. lxx. to. i. p. 427. (7) H. E. L. v. c. 21, p. 189.

wrote some other works in Latin: it is sufficient for my present purpose, that he should have indifferently used either language.

Caius, the celebrated Roman priest, about 242, is generally acknowledged to have drawn up his numerous treatises in the Greek language. This is solidly established by Tillemont, followed by Lardner. (1)

The dialogue against Artemon, the author of which is unknown, appears manifestly, from the fragments given by Eusebius, (2) and from other circumstances, to have been written at Rome, by some ecclesiastic; and yet it seems undoubtedly to have been composed in Greek.

Asterius Urbanus seems by his name to have been an Italian; and yet appears to have written and disputed in Greek. His work was dedicated to Abercius Marcellus. By Eusebius's account, it was accident that led him to Galatia where his conferences took place. (3)

St. Hippolytus Portuensis is supposed by some to have been bishop of Portus Romanus, or Adan, in Arabia, by others of Portus, now Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber. The grounds for both opinions may be seen in Lardner; (4) who however has omitted the circumstance that the church of Porto, and a well there held in great veneration, bear his name. The question is immaterial; Hippolytus lived and wrote in Rome. His paschal cycle may be seen engraved on his chair in the Vatican Library. It is in Greek, as were all his works.

From these instances, the only ones on record, it appears

(1) Works. Lond. 1827, vol. i. p. 396.

(2) L. v. c. 28, p. 195, seqq. (3) Ib. c. 16, p. 182.

(4) Ubi sup. p. 426.

that Victor was the only author belonging to the Roman, Italian, or Gallic Church, who is recorded to have written in Latin, before A. D. 230: and there are not wanting grounds to conjecture that he likewise understood Greek. In the mean time, not a Greek ecclesiastical writer appears in Africa, while, on the other hand, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix, who are the earliest Latin fathers, were of that nation. Add to this that St. Mark's gospel is acknowledged by ancient writers to have been drawn up for the instruction of the Roman church, and yet was written in Greek; and that St. Paul addressed his epistle to that church in the same language. It would be strange that they should have acted thus, if a translation into Latin had been necessary; and we must therefore conclude that Greek was perfectly understood by the faithful there, and so it would continue for some time. This in fact appears from the proofs given above.

From these reflections results a strong ground of historical probability that the first Latin version was not made in Italy, but in Africa. And this is more than a mere conjecture. For we have positive proof, in the quotations of African writers, that such a version did exist in their country before the fourth century; while the whole historical evidence which we possess regarding Italy, leads us to conclude that the Greek text was used there till the commencement of that age. Now, having in my former letter shown that the version used in the two countries was identical, it will follow that the Italian text was imported from Africa.

But the most satisfactory method of determining the country of the vulgate must be by an examination of its

words and phrases. The result of such an examination will be two-fold. First, we shall discover that it abounds in archaisms, or antiquated forms of expression, only found in writers anterior to the Augustan age. This will plead strongly for the provincial origin of the version; since such peculiarities would be longer preserved at a distance than in the vicinity of the capital. And all who have made any study of the African writers of the first centuries will have remarked how many of these are preserved by them.(1) In the examples I shall produce, this will sometimes appear. Indeed it is probable that the old vulgate may have originally contained more of these archaisms, than now remain in consequence of its various corrections. For instance, the old copy of St. Matthew, published by Mansignor Mai, in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, tom. iii. Rome, 1828, has Matt. iv. 18, (p. 257,) the word *retiam* for *retem*. Now this confirms the same reading in Plautus, quoted by Priscian:(2) “Nam tunc et operam ludos fecisset et *retiam*.”(3) Secondly we shall discover many decided Africanisms, or expressions found

(1) Arnobius, for instance, often uses words and grammatical forms manifestly antiquated. It would be easy to give many examples, were they necessary. Thus, Lib. i. *adv. Gent.* p. 35, (Lugd. Batav. 1651) he uses the word *Stribiligines*. Of this word Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* Lib. v. cap. xx. p. 341, (ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1706) says; “*Soloecismus. . . vetustioribus Latinis stribiligo dicebatur, quasi sterobiligo quaedam.*” In the passage referred to of Arnobius, he is excusing the rude style of scripture; probably of the original. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* Again Arnobius often uses the old form of the passive infinitive, as p. 160, *velarier* and *coronarier*, p. 186, *convestirier*. See note, p. 5.

(2) P. 759, ed. Putsch. This is the edition, which I shall always quote of the grammarians.

(3) Rud. Act. 4, Sc. I. 9.

in none but African writers, nearest in age to the old version. (1) The principal of these is of course Tertullian. In the examples which I am going to give, and which may at least suffice to turn the attention of more skilful philologists to the subject, I shall almost confine myself to the New Testament, the Psalms, and Ecclesiasticus, which have been preserved from the old vulgate in the version used by the church. I will also place the references to authors in the text, not to confuse and fatigue the reader by referring him every moment to the foot of the page.

A common archaism, or as it is often erroneously called, solecism in the old version, is the use of deponents with a passive signification. Priscian expressly tells us that this is an archaism. "Ex his multa *antiqui* tam passiva quam activa significatione protulisse inveniuntur." (p.790.)

(1) Whoever has read the early Christian writers belonging to the African church, must be struck with the family air, which prevails through them, chiefly in the use of particular words and forms, not commonly found, except perhaps occasionally in old writers. Thus the word *striculus*, or as I believe some editions write it, *hystriculus*, for a boy, occurs only in Arnobius, (lib. v. p. 174) and Tertullian, (*De Pallio* c. iv.) The older editions have *ustricolas*, which makes no sense. Arnobius often uses *qu* instead of *c*, as "*arquata* sella, (Lib. ii. p. 59) *arquitenens*, *hirquinus*, (p. 165) etc. This arises from a confusion common in old writers. We find the contrary practice in Tertullian, who for example, has *licet* for *liquet*, (*De Poenit.* c. vi. I quote here accidentally from the old Paris ed. of 1545; in other places from Rigaltius's edition.) Plautus and Terence make the same confusion. Heraldus, (*Ani-madv. ad Arnob.* p. 77.) seems to consider this an Africanism: but from Gellius's remarks on *Insece* and *inseque*, it seems to have been common to old writers. (Lib. xiii. c. 9, p. 282) I could bring together many other instances; several will occur in the text. I could also point out other resemblances of phraseology between Tertullian and Lactantius or St. Cyprian; but this is not necessary.

Again, "Multa similiter ancipiti terminatione, in una eademque significatione praetulerunt *antiqui*." (p. 799.) Whence it appears that these deponent verbs were antiently active. In another place (p. 797,) he says of deponent verbs; "Praeterea plurima inveniuntur *apud vetustissimos* quae contra consuetudinem, activam pro passiva habent terminationem." Among these he enumerates *consolo* and *horto*. Aulus Gellius (L. xv. c. 13, p. 681) says precisely the same of these two verbs. Both words occur passively, 2 Cor. i. 6. The first is also used, Psalm cxviii. 52; Luke xvii. 25.

A similar instance is Heb. xiii. 16. "Talibus enim hostiis *promeretur* Deus." That *mereo*, in the past tenses, was often used, will be obvious to every one acquainted with the classics. *Promereo*, however, does not appear to have been used by writers of the golden age, with the same facility. Nonius (*De cont. gen. verb.*, opp. p. 475 ed. Par. 1641) has an article on *promeres*, for *promereris*: and quotes Plautus, (*Trinum.* A. 3. Sc. 2. 15.) for it. It occurs often in him (as *Amphit.* A. 5, Sc. 2, 12,) and Terence. (*And.* A. 2. Sc. 1, 30. *Adelph.* A. 2. Sc. 1, 47.) It is also used by Ovid and perhaps some others. But besides the evident archaism of the word, it seems to merit notice from its signification of *propitiating by sacrifice*, which it does not bear in any classical writer; and as far as I know occurs no where but in Arnobius an African, who says: "Ita nihil prodest *promereri* velle per hostias Deos laevos" (*Adv. Gent.* lib. vii. p. 229.)

The passive *ministrari* often occurs in the New Testament, as, Mat. xx. 28; Mark x. 45; 2 Cor. viii. 19, 20; 2 Peter, i. 11. This is hardly to be found in true Ita-

lian writers. Plautus is quoted by Nonius as having "*Boni ministrantur, illum nunc irrident mali.*" The older editions, however, as the one quoted above (p. 438) have "*Boni immiserantur, illhunc irrident mali.*" Columella also, a native of Cadiz, though an elegant writer, uses the word. (Lib. xii. 4.)

The termination of the future of verbs of the fourth conjugation in *ibo* is preserved occasionally by the translator of the vulgate, as Psalm lix. 8, *partibor* and *metibor*, and is set down by the old grammarians as an antiquated form. Nonius gives many examples, always from the oldest writers, as Ennius, Accius, Novius. These are, *red-dibo*, *expedibo*, (p. 476) *esuribo*, *invenibo*, (p. 479) *audibo*, (p. 505) *aperibo*, (p. 506) *operibo*, and *oboedibo*, (p. 506) etc. It is singular that Charisius (*Instit. Gram.* p. 222, ed. Putsch) should give *feribo* as the regular future of *ferio*. Yet Horace has (*Od.* ii. 17. v. 32) "*Nos humilem feriemus agnum.*" He has however (*Od.* iii. 23. v. 19.) "*Mollibit adversos Penates.*" The form nevertheless always remains a decided archaism.

In the old vulgate, the verb *odio* was used even more markedly than now appears; though as yet some tenses not used in the classics remain, as *odientes*. So in the fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel before referred to, in c. v. v. 44 (p. 259) we have *odiunt*, and again, vi. 24. (p. 260) *odiet*. Tertullian quotes: "*Non odies fratrem tuum,*" from Levit. xix. 6. (*Adv. Marcion.* lbi. iv. c. 35) where St. Augustine reads *odio habebis*. (Quaest. lxx. in Levit. tom 3. p. 520) Festus (*sub voce*) says the ancients used the verb *odio*, but examples are hardly to be met, except in Tertullian, who has *odientes*, (*Ib.* c. xvi) *oditur*.

(*Apolog.* c. iii.) It is once attributed to Petronius Arbitrator, but *audientes* is the better reading. Were it not for the authority of Festus, I should consider this an Africanism.

Mat. xxii. 30, we have the word *nubentur*. Nonius tells us, that, “*nubere, veteres, non solum mulieres sed viros dicebant.*” (p. 143.) The expression may thus be considered an archaism; however it is used this way almost exclusively by African writers. Tertullian says, (*Ad. Uxor.* lib. i. c. 1.) “*Apud Patriarchas, non modo nubere, sed etiam multifariam matrimoniis uti fas fuit.*” (Cf. c. 7.) Again; (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 38) “*Praestruxit hic quidem nubri, ubi sit et mori.*” So Plautus (*Persae.* Act. iii. Sc. i. 58) “*Cujusmodi hic cum fama facile nubitur.*” St. Jerome also, who often seems to imitate the African writers whom he so much admired, uses it; but perhaps he alludes to the text of St. Mat. (Ep. xxii. no. 19.)

Ps. lxi. 7. “*Emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo.*” A manifest archaism. It is quoted by Nonius from Titimius (p. 2.) “*Quot pestes, senia, jurgia sesemet diebus emigrarunt;*” corrected by later critics into “*sese meis aedibus emigrarunt.*” Gellius uses it; (1) “*Atque ita cassita nidum migravit.*” (Lib. ii. c. xxx. p. 204.) Thysicus in his commentary remarked that it is an obsolete phrase. Grono-

(1) Of course, the occurrence of a phrase in A. Gellius can be no argument of its not being an archaism. On the contrary, his constant study of the older writers familiarized him with their expressions, and led him to use them. Hence Salmasius says of him; “*Antonianorum aevo Agellius (A. Gellius) politissime et elegantissime scripsit, et prorsus ἀρχαϊκῶν dicendi modum imitatus est.*” (*De Hellen.* p. 37.) Hence we shall often see him in the text confirming alone expressions found in Tertullian, or other writers of his class.

vius denies it, and appeals to Cicero. (*De offic.* lib. i. c. 10) But though he uses it there and elsewhere, (as *De fin.* lib. iii. c. 20. *De Leg.* lib. iii. c. 4) it is always in the sense of transgressing a law or duty; in which Tertullian also has; (*De cor. mil.* c. 48) "Nec dubita quosdam scripturas emigrare." But the meaning of these words is very obscure.

I hardly know whether I should instance the phrase *contumeliam facere*, which occurs often, as 2 Mac. 27, Luke xi. 47, Heb. xi. 29, and once in St. Jerome's version, Mic. vii. 6. Many readers will probably remember Cicero's severe criticism on the expression, when used by Antonius. (*Phil.* iii. § 9) "Quid est porro *facere contumeliam*? quis sic loquitur?" This however does not apply to our phrase; as Quintillian (*Inst.* lib. ix. c. 3.) tells us it had been there used passively, in the same manner as we may say, *facere jacturam*. The passage of Cicero has nevertheless been a fruitful field for ingenious critics, as my readers may satisfy themselves by consulting Muretus, (*Var. Lec.* lib. vi. c. 48) or the elder Gronovius. (*Observat.* lib. iii. c. 8. ed. 2. p. 488) However, I believe the phrase even actively, will hardly be found in any but the oldest writers. It occurs in a fragment of a speech by Q. Metellus Numidicus, preserved by A. Gellius, (Lib. xii. c. ix. p. 564) "Tanto vobis quam mihi majorem *contumeliam facit*." It is remarkable how Gellius, having to repeat the sentiment in his own name, carefully avoids this turn, and explains it by "majori vos contumelia affecit quam me." It is also found in Plautus (*Asin.* Act. ii. Sc. iv. 82) and Terence. (*Hecyr.* Act. iii. Sc. v. *Phorm.* Act. v. Sc. vii.)

Thus far I have given a few specimens of the archaisms of the old vulgate, many of which are to be found principally in African writers. I will now proceed to give what I consider examples of its Africanisms.

We cannot fail to be struck with the the extraordinary number of words compounded with *super*, which occur in the parts of the vulgate belonging to the old version. I will give a list of those which are not to be found in any profane writer; and it is singular to observe in contrast, that St. Jerome in his part has not one which is not sanctioned by classical authorities, except *superexaltatus*, which he preserved from the old version. Ps. xxxiv. 19, 24, xxxvii. 17, *supergaudeo*; xxxvi. 35, Jac. ii. 13, *superexalto*; Ps. lvii. 9, *supercado*; lxxi. 16, *superextollo*; cxviii. 43, etc. *superspero*; Eccles. xliii. 32, *supervaleo*; 4 Esd. (apocrypha) vii. 23, *superdico*; xv. 6, *superpolluo*; 29, *superinvalesco*; vi. 20, *supersignor*; Matt. vi. 11, *supersubstantialis*; xiii. 25, *supersemino*; xxv. 20, *superlucror*; Luc. vi. 38, *supereffluens*; x. 35. *supererogo*; 1 Cor. vii. 36, *superadultus*; 2 Cor. v. 4, *supervestior*; xvi. 15, *superimpendor*; Jud. 3, *supercerto*. I have given this long list because it seems decidedly to point out a class of words indicative of a dialectic tendency. To it I may add the word *superaedifico*, which occurs seven times in the New Testament, though no where among classical writers. Perhaps these words abounded even more in older copies; for Tertullian, (*adv. Gnostic. c. 13*) quoting Rom. viii. 37, has the verb *supervenio*; whereas our copies have *supero*. Now it is singular to observe precisely the same tendency in the writings of this African, nearest in age to the Latin version; and I will therefore

give a list of words of the same form found in no other ancient writer but himself. *Superinduco*; (*adv. Hermog. c. 26,*) *superargumentor*; (*ib. c. 37*) *superacervo*; (*adv. Nat. lib, i. c. 15*) *superfrutico*; (*adv. Valent. c. 39,*) *superinductitius*; (*adv. Marcion. lib. 5, c. 3,*) *superordino*; (*ib. c. 5,*) *superindumentum*; (*ib. c. 12,*) *De resur. car. c. 42,*) *superextollo*; (*De resur. c. 24,*) *superterrenus*; (*ib. c. 49,*) *supercaelestis*; (*ib. et De anima. c. 23,*) *superinundo*; (*ib. c. ult.*) *supermundialis*; (*De anima, c. 18,*) *supersapio*; (*ib.*) *superseminator*; (*ib. c. 16,*) *supermetior*; (*ib. c. 38,*) *supernomino*; (*Apol. c. 18,*) *superscendo*; (*De poenit c. 10,*) *supervecto*; (*De Baptis. c. 4.*) And to come to one specific comparison, Tertullian has also the word *superaedificatio*, (*Adv. Marcion. lib. v. c. 6,*) which is likewise used by Victorinus, no less an African. (*Mai. Scriptor. vet. ut. sup. p. 112.*) Certainly it would be difficult, or rather impossible to cull from any other two such small collections of writings as those I have cited, such a number of compound words of the same form, not to be found elsewhere. For both in the Vulgate and Tertullian, or rather the small portions of each which I have quoted, I have passed over many compounds of this form which they respectively have in common with other writers.

Another no less striking class of words, peculiar to the Vulgate and African writers, consists of verbs terminating in *ifico*; many of which were afterwards received as established ecclesiastical words. The following instances may suffice to illustrate this point.—*Mortifico* is often used for *to kill*. Ps. xxxvi. 42; xliii. 22; lxxviii. 11; Rom. viii. 36, &c. St. Jerome has once or twice adopted it into his version.

Even in those passages, where from the ecclesiastical use of the word, we translate it by *mortify*, as Rom. vii. 4; viii. 13, it in reality signifies *to kill*; as *mortificatio*, 2 Cor. iv. 10, undoubtedly signifies *death*, or as the Douay version renders it, *dying*. But upon these renderings I may have occasion to speak more at length on another occasion. Suffice it to say that this verb *mortifico* with its derivatives is nowhere found in classical authors, but is most common in Tertullian, who uses it without the least reference to these texts. Thus, (*De resur. c. 57.*) “Caro non prodest quidquam, *mortificatur* enim.” Again; (*Adv. Marc. lib. v. c. 9.*) “Quod si sic in Christo vivificamur omnes, sicut *mortificamur* in Adam, quando in Adam corpore *mortificamur*, sic necesse est et in Christo corpore *vivificemur*. Caeterum similitudo non constat, si non in eadem substantia *mortificationis* in Adam, *vivificatio* occurret in Christo.” It may be proper to notice a passage in Festus, (*De verb. signif. Amst. 1700, lib. ix. p. 253.*) who explains the word *munitio* by *mortificatio ciborum*. Scaliger proposes to read *morsificatio*. Meursius however prefers retaining the usual reading, but deriving the word from *mortare conterere*, which is not, I believe, to be found in any ancient writer.—*Vivifico* is another scriptural word not used by profane writers. It is almost superfluous to cite examples, as it occurs in almost every book. St. Jerome was driven to the necessity of often adopting it, as the idea of giving or restoring life is so essentially Christian, that no heathen word could have been found to express it. I have given examples from Tertullian both of the verb and substantive. He also has the word *vivifactor*, (*De resur. c. 37. adv.*

Marc. ii. 9.)—*Glorifico* occurs as frequently as the last word, and has been likewise received into the second vulgate. The oldest authority for it is once more Tertullian. (*Idol.* c. 22. *adv. Prax.* c. 25. *saepius*)—*Clarifico* is found only in the old version as, 3 *Esd.* viii. 28, 82, ix. 53, *Jo.* xii. 18, 23. 28, &c. *Gal.* i. 24, and elsewhere. The older editions of Pliny had the word, (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xx. c. 13,) in the sense of *clearing*, “*visum clarificat*” ,but F. Hardouin from MSS. restored *compurgat*. The oldest authority for its biblical sense is Lactantius; (*Lib.* iii. c. 18) and the noun *clarificatio* is first met with in St. Augustine, (*De div. Quaest.* c. lxii. to vi. p. 37,) both Africans.—*Sanctifico* is another verb unknown to profane writers, yet found in almost every page of the vulgate. It is used by Tertullian, in commenting on the Lord’s prayer, (*De orat.* c. 3,) and in other places; (*Exhort. ad castit.* c. 7.) as also *sanctificator*, (*Adv. Prax.* c. 2. *S. Aug. Conf.* lib. x. c. 34,) and *sanctificatio*. (*Exhort.* c. 4.)—*Salvifico* belongs to the same class, and occurs *Jo.* xii. 27, 47. Sedulius uses it, but evidently in allusion to this passage (*Lib.* vi. 7). Tertullian according to some editions has the word *salvificator*. (*De pudicit.* c. 2.) “*salvificator omnium hominum maxime fidelium.*” The older editions however have *salutificator*.—*Justifico* is another common scriptural term unknown to the classics, and is to be found in almost every book of Tertullian, in every possible form. (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 19, iv. 17. *De orat.* c. 13, &c.)—*Magnifico* too is often used in a sense unknown to classical writers, for to *make great*, as *Ps.* xvii. 54, lvi. 11. I do not know that it is found in this sense in Tertullian. We have thus eight examples

of words of a peculiar form, perfectly unknown to the classics, but almost all in common use among African writers, nearest to the age of the vulgate. But were it to be urged that even these may have derived them from this version, and that if inventions, they may equally be the productions of Italy, I would reply that decidedly this cannot be the case. For I have noted that besides these words, others of the very same form are constantly to be found in these African writers, known to no other authors; and therefore it seems probable that they were in the habit of using or coining such words, and that with them this was a favourite form. To give a few instances; Tertullian has the extraordinary word *angelifico* (*De resur. car.* c. 25) "quae illam (carnem) manent in regno Dei reformatam et *angelificatam*;" he has also the derivatives *salutificator* (*Ib.* c. 47. *De car. Christi*, c. 14,) and *vestificina*, (*De Pallio*, c. 3,) and *deificus* (*Apol.* c. 11.) In like manner Arnobius often uses the word *auctifico* for to *honour*, especially the Gods by sacrifice; (*Adv. Gent.* pp. 224, 233,) a word peculiar to himself, as the others are to Tertullian.

Ephes. v. 4, we have the word *stultiloquium*; Mat. vi. 7, *multiloquium*, preserved also in Prov. x. 19. These words are I believe, found in no ancient writer but Plautus, who has *stultiloquium*, (*Mil. glor.* Act ii. Sc. iii. 25) *stultiloquus*, (*Pers.* Act. iv. Sc. iii. 45,) and *stultiloquentia*: (*Trinun.* Act. i. Sec. ii. 185,) in like manner, *multiloquium*, (*Mercat.* prolog. 31,) *multiloquus*, (*Pseud.* Act iii. Sc. ii. 5, *Cistel.* Act i. Sc. iii. 1.) What strongly confirms the Africanism of these compounds is the recurrence of similar forms in Tertullian, as *turpiloquium*,

(*De Pudicit.* c. 17.) *spurciloquium* (*De resurrec. car.* c. 4,) and even *risiloquium*. (*De poenit.* c. 10.) The words *vaniloquus* Tit. i. 40, and *vaniloquium* 1 Tim. i. 6, belong to the same class; the first is used in the sense it has in the text only by Plautus; (*Amph.* Act. i. Sc. i. 223) though in a different sense, occasionally by others. The second is found in no ancient author.

The text just quoted has brought another under my eye, Tit. i. 7; where we have the Greek compound *αἰσχροκερδῆ* rendered by *turpis lucri cupidum*. Plautus uses this very phrase, but in a compound form. "*Turpilucricupidum* vocant te cives tui." (*Trinunc.* Act. i. Sc. ii. 63.)

Condignus is a favourite word with the translator of the old vulgate. We have it for instance, 2 Mac. iv. 38; Rom. viii. 18. It is often used by Plautus, (*Amph.* Act. i. Sc. iii. 39, see also *Cass.* Act. i. v. 42, *Bacch.* Act. iii. Sc. ii. 8) and once or twice by A. Gellius. (pp. 54, 222.) It is a common word with Arnobius, (Lib. i. p. 4, 15, ii. 55.)

Minoro and its derivative *minoratio* are entirely confined to the old parts of the vulgate, where they very frequently occur. The verb for instance, Ps. lxxxviii. 46; Ecclus. xxxi. 40; xli. 3; 2 Mac. xiii. 49; 2 Cor. viii. 15; Heb. ii. 9; and often elsewhere: the noun, Ecclus. xx. 44; xxxix. 23; xl. 27. These words are only to be found among African writers. Tertullian often uses the verb; "Perit anima si *minoratur*;" (*De anima*, c. 43.) "a quo et *minoratus* canitur in psalmo modicum quid citra angelos." (*Adv. Prax.* c. 7. repeated in *De cor. mil.* c. 14.) The noun I have only met in Ferrandus Carthaginiensis, who has; "Æqualitas quippe ejus secundum divinitatem

non accepit initium, *minoratio* secundum carnem accepit initium. (*Script. vet. ubi sup.* p. 172.) Tertullian also has the verb *diminoro*. (*De anima*, c. 33. *adv. Prax.* c. 15, where *minoro* is repeated.)

Levit. xx. 20, the old version had, "Non accedat ad ministerium Dei si fuerit...*ponderosus*," for which word St. Jerome substituted *herniosus*. Probably the only passage in which this adjective occurs in the same sense is one of Arnobius; (*Lib. vii.* p. 240,) "Ingentium herniarum magnitudine *ponderosi*."

A word often used in the old vulgate, and once adopted by St. Jerome, (*Zac. xiii.* 7) merits our notice from the peculiar signification it bears. This is *framea* in the sense of a *sword*, which it always has in the vulgate, as, *Ps. ix.* 7; *xvi.* 7; *xxi.* 21; *4 Esd. xiii.* 9, &c. Tacitus informs us of the origin of this word. "*Hastas*, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas* gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum belli habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel *eminus* pugnent." (*De mor. Germ.* c. 6.) Wachter derives the word from the old Teutonic *frumen*, to *throw*. (*Glossar. Germ.* Lips. 1737, to. i. p. 471.) But St. Augustine (*Epist.* 140. to. ii. p. 437. cf. to. v. p. 1259.) expressly tells us that the word meant a *sword*; and thus gives us an African testimony for the meaning it has in the vulgate, though quite at variance with the signification it bears in the classics.

Improperium is a word of frequent recurrence in our version, and confined, as well as its verb *impropero*, to the old parts. It is doubtful whether any classical authority exists for either; certainly not for the noun. Some editions have the verb in Plautus; (*Rud.* Act iii. Sc. iv.

48) but perhaps *opprobrias* is the better reading. We meet both words in some Arian sermons published by Mai, which I should consider decidedly of African origin. "Ne ab aliquo super eo *improperium* accipiat." (Script. vet. p. 219.) A few lines lower the verb occurs.

The noun *pascua*, as a feminine, comes often in the old vulgate, as Ps. xxii. 2; lxxviii. 13: and has been even preserved in the new. This form is unknown to the classics, but found in Tertullian; "Quae illi accuratior *pascua* est." (*Apol.* c. 22.)

The adjective *linguatus* occurs in the book of Ecclesiasticus, viii. 4; xxv. 27. Tertullian once more is the only authority in whom it has been found. "Apostolus Athenis expertus est *linguatam* civitatem." (*De anima*, c. 3.)

I do not know whether I should mention the words *salvo*, *salvator*, *salvatio*, for which the earliest authorities are African: as Tertullian, (*adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 18) Lactantius, Victorinus, (*Scriptor. vet.* p. 24 et alibi) who has *salvatio*. These words are essentially christian: hence St. Augustine says; "*Salvare* et *salvator* non fuerunt haec latina, antequam veniret salvator, quando ad latinos venit, et haec latina fecit." (*Serm.* ccxcix. sec. 6. to. v. p. 1243) In fact, Cicero tells us that the Greek word σωτηρ "latino uno verbo exprimi non potest." (*In Ver.* 4. c. 63.)

Evacuare often occurs in the New Testament, for the Greek καταργέω, to *render useless*, *destroy*, &c. 1 Cor. xiii. 8, 10; xv. 24; Gal. v. 11, and often elsewhere. Occasionally it corresponds to the verb κενόω, as 1 Cor. i. 17. Tertullian quoting 1 Cor. vi. 13, has, "Deus autem et hunc et hanc *evacuabit*," (*Ep. de cibis jud.* post. med.)

where we now read *destruet*. Thus also he has in the old editions, "hanc *evacuationem* et subjectionem bestiarum pollicetur." (*Adv. Marcion*, lib. iv. c. 24, al. 40.) He has just quoted Is. xxvii. 4, and consequently means *killing* or *destruction*. I think I have met with these words in him oftener; but cannot find the places. *Vacuus* is often used by him in the sense of *unsubstantial*, *not solid*, as, "phanasma res *vacua*;" (*ibid.* c. 20) as it is by Arnobius, "periculum cassum et *vacuum*." (Lib. ii. p. 44.) In the first passage of Tertullian, Rigaltius, it is fair to add, has *erogationem* instead of *evacuationem*.

The word *intentator* (Jac. i. 13,) is excessively harsh, and it will be impossible to find any word of that form that equals it, in the rudest writers. Yet it is impossible not to be struck with the number of strange compounds with the negative *in*, that occur in every page of Tertullian, and writers of that school. Thus we have in him, *imbonitas*; (*Ad. Martyr.* c.3) *immisericordia*; (*De Spectac.* c.20) *incriminatio*; (*De resur. car.* c. 23) *ingratia*; (*De pœnit.* c. 1, 2) *insuavitas*; (*ibid.* c 40) which is found also in Gellius; (lib. i. c. 21. p. 107) *impræscientia*; (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 7) *illaudandus*; (*ib.* lib. iii. c. 6) *invituperabilis*; (lib. ii. c. 40. iv. 1) *incontradicibilis*; (lib. iv. 59) *ininventibilis*; *ininvestigabilis*; (*adv. Hermog.* c. 45) *innascibilis*; (*De præscript.* c. 49) *incontemptibilis*; (Apol. c. 45) *illiberis*; (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 34) *întestis*; (*De pallio*, c. 3, according to Salmasius's reading) found also in Arnobius; (lib. v. p. 160) *investis*; (*Ad. Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 9) *incommunis*; (*De pall.* c. 3) *inunitus*; (*Adv. Valent.* c. 29) read also in Apuleius; *inemeribilis*; (*De resur.* c. 18) Lactantius also has *illiba-*

bilis; (Lib. ii. c. 2) Arnobius *incontiguus*, (lib. i. p. 7) and other peculiar words of that form. A. Gellius too peculiarly delights in this form; as may be seen from the catalogue, imperfect as it is, of words peculiar to him, given by Fabricius on Censorinus, (*Biblioth. Lat.* Lips. 1774, tom. iii. p. 77.) Apuleius too, an African writer, and occasionally agreeing in the use of words with Tertullian, has often this form. Indeed the phrase most nearly approaching that of the vulgate, "Deus enim intentator malorum est," is one of Apuleius, where he calls God "malorum improbator." (*De Deo Socr.* Lug. Bat. 1823, to. ii. p. 156.) This word *improbator* is likewise found in Tertullian. (*De patient.* c. 5.)

I will now give a few examples of grammatical construction, which seem to indicate an African origin.

The verb *dominor* is almost always construed with a genitive, as for instance, Ps. x. 5; xxi. 29; Luc. xxii. 25, &c.; and so has passed even into the new vulgate. This construction is found only, as far as I know, in African writers. Thus Tertullian has; "nunquam *dominaturi ejus*, si Deo non deliquisset." (*Apol.* c. 26.)

Ps. xxxvi. 4, we have *zelare* with an accusative case; so Eccles. ix. 4. 16; and in other places. St. Jerome has used the form twice, though he generally says, *zelatus sum pro*. This construction likewise is confined to African authors. Thus the author of the poem against Marcion, whether it be Tertullian or St. Cyprian, has (*Carm. adv. Marc.* lib. iv. v. 36, in *Opp. Tertul. Rigalt.* p. 636)

"Qui *zelat populum*. summo pietatis amore."

So likewise St. Augustine; (*De civit. Dei*, lib. iii. c. 3.)

“Dii credo non *zelant conjuges suas.*” And again, *cont. Faust.* lib. xxii. c. 79.

The use of an *active* or *passive* infinitive after *facio* is a harsh form of expression; as *Mat.* iv. 19; “*Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum.*” *Act.* viii. 45; *Figuras quas fecistis adorare.*” Among the classics this construction is hardly to be seen, unless *facio* signifies to *imagine* or *suppose*, as Cicero: “*Plato construi a Deo atque aedificari mundum facit.*” (*De nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 8.) Arnobius however often uses this rude form; as, “*Fecit oppidum claudi.*” (*Lib.* v. p. 159.) “*Fecit sumere habitum priorem.*” (*lb.* p. 174.)

Jo. xix. 40; “*Potestatem habeo crucifigere te, et potestatem habeo dimittere te.*” The poets do indeed use the infinitive after *potestas*; as Lucan, (*Phars.* lib. ii. 40.)

. . . “*Nunc flere potestas,
Quum pendet fortuna ducum.*”

and Statius, (*Theb.* lib. iv. 249.)

“*Neque enim haec juveni foret ire potestas.*”

Yet even these poetical turns cannot be compared with the words quoted from the vulgate: as in them the verbs are not used actively after the word *potestas*, which is thus, in a manner, equivalent to the impersonal *licet*. Victorinus however, the African writer already quoted, has the expression, “*potestas dare vivere.*” (*Apud Mai, praef. ad Script. vet.* p. xvii.)

Ps. xliv. 14, we have the expression *ab intus*. This is likewise found in a commentary on St. Luke, published by Monsignor Mai, (*lb.* p. 192) the latinity of which seems to indicate an African origin.

Enallage of tenses often occurs in the old version. Thus the imperfect subjunctive is put for the pluperfect, as Act. ii. 4. "Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes," for *completi essent*: many other examples might be brought. I will quote a note of Heraldus upon the following words of Arnobius, "Nunquam rebus ejusmodi credulitatis suae commodarent assensum." (Lib. i. p. 33.) His annotator writes thus: "Afri utuntur saepissime praeterito imperfecto pro plusquam perfecto, ut loquuntur grammatici. Extat haec ἐναλλαγή apud Arnobium et Tertullianum, locis quamplurimis; quin et apud antiquos scriptores, ut apud Plautum non raro. Hinc igitur Augustini celebre dictum illud 'Non crederem evangelio, nisi me Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas.' Id est, *non credidissem*, tum quum eram Manichaeus. Sic hoc loco *commodarent* pro *commodassent*." (*Desid. Heraldus animadvers. ad Arnob. Lib. i. p. 54.*)

I will give the judgment of the same learned critic upon another construction not unfrequent in our vulgate, a sudden change from an indirect construction to the infinitive. For instance, Luc. i. 72: "*Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti.*" Arnobius has (Lib. ii. p. 64) "*Illibatum necesse est permaneat et intactum, neque ullum sensum mortiferae passionis assumere.*" On these words his commentator observes: "Proba lectio. Nam qui scribendum existimant, *assumat*, plane falluntur. His modorum mutationibus delectantur Afri scriptores. Infra; '*causam convenit ut inspiciatis, non factum, nec quid reliquerimus opponere.*'" (ib. p. 83.) I may observe that the change of moods I have cited from the vulgate was manifestly the result of the translator's taste, and no ways suggested by the ori-

ginal, which preserves through the sentence a consistent construction; ποιῆσαι ἐλέως καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης.

Perhaps some will not consider the preceding enquiry into the origin of the vulgate sufficiently extensive to prove definitively that it was composed in Africa. I will however observe that the best writers upon the latin language agree in considering the African authors as composing a peculiar family, distinct from those of other nations. Thus for instance, Walchius says. "Afri propria dicendi ratione latinum sermonem omnino corruperunt, constat id idem de Tertulliano, Cypriano, Arnobio, aliisque." (1) Now I doubt whether it would be possible to bring as many definite points of resemblance between any two African writers, as I have brought to show the similarity of words and constructions between the vulgate and Tertullian, or Arnobius. And if it be said that the classification of these writers has been suggested more by the general features of their style, and the rudeness of their diction than by marked approximations of phraseology, I would reply that the resemblance of style, for example between Arnobius and St. Cyprian, is by no means so decisive as to warrant their being so associated: and that even in this view, the vulgate, taking into account that it is only a translation, may well enter into the same class. To me this investigation has brought complete conviction, that the version was made in Africa; and that Tertullian is the author nearest to it in age, and country.

And in the foregoing discussion I have laid before my readers the strongest proof, to which I alluded in my

(1) *Johannis Georgii Walchii Historia critica latinæ linguæ, Ed. nova. Lips. 1729. p. 188.*

first letter,(1) that the version used throughout the Western church was one in origin, however subsequently modified. For in the quotations of all the Fathers, whether Italian, Gaulish or Spanish, we find these extraordinary words. If each church used a different version, still more if every one who thought himself qualified presumed to translate, is it credible, nay is it possible that all, of whatever country, of whatever abilities or education, would have used the same words, and adopted similar forms, and these most unusual, found only in writers of one province, some in no writer except these several versions? Can any one believe for instance, that the verbs, *glorifico*, *clarifico*, *salvifico*, *magnifico*, *justifico*, *mortifico*, *vivifico* should have been invented or adopted by a variety of authors translating independently, when we consider that they are to be found in no Italian author before the vulgate came into general use? Why did no one among the supposed innumerable translators say *justum reddere*, *vitam dare*, or any other such phrase? Only one solution it seems to me can be given to these queries, to suppose the version to have been the production of one man, or of several in the same country and age, who gave to it that uniform character and colour which it has in all the fragments we possess of it.

But in one respect I fear I may have been too diffuse; for I feel that I have once more to lead back my reader to the point whence this digressive enquiry started. I had endeavoured to reduce the question of the authority of the Latin Fathers in favour of 1. Jo. v. 7, to one of recensions.

(1) See p. 24.

This led me into the investigation of the origin of the vulgate; which being a point hitherto untouched, and of importance to the general interest of biblical criticism, I have carried on at a length more becoming a separate treatise than a digression. The result is, that Africa was the birth place of the vulgate, and consequently the African recension represents its oldest type, and is far superior in authority to the Italian. Thus it gives us the assurance that in the primary translation the verse existed, and that if the Italian Fathers had it not, it was from its having been lost in their recension. We are thus led to conclude that the manuscripts used in making this version possessed the verse; and these were necessarily manuscripts of far greater antiquity than any we can now inspect.

And now, having had so frequently to refer to Tertullian, I will observe that it has struck me that justice has not been done to the passage commonly quoted from him as a reference to our text. (*Adv. Prax.* c. 25.) I think that to see the full force of his expression, we must read farther till we come to the following words, "Nam et spiritus substantia est sermonis, et sermo operatio spiritus, *et duo unum sunt.*" Tertullian certainly does not here refer to the passage he has already discussed so fully, "ego et Pater unum sumus;" for it could never prove that the Son and Holy Ghost are one God. Yet he seems to allude to some text of equal force, where *the Word* and *the Spirit* are mentioned as being one, and this text can only be the one which he had already, in the passage commonly quoted, compared with that regarding the Father and the Son. He says, "*duo unum sunt,*" because his argument, at that moment, required not the mention

of all, and he was only alluding, not quoting. But I must hasten to my conclusion.

I promised only to give an account of some manuscripts found to contain the disputed verse of St. John: and in this I principally had in view the two Latin manuscripts, which I described in my first letter. I have however endeavoured to connect the private evidence of one of my witnesses with the general mass of testimony in favour of the cause; and I trust proved, that its weight is greater than its individual volume might seem to indicate. I have attempted by this means, to place the favourable evidence upon a footing of greater authority among critics than that of dispersed testimonies, and removed some objections from the silence of St. Augustine, which used triumphantly to be urged against it. I will however detain my readers a few moments longer to make some observations upon Greek manuscripts said to contain the verse.

In the *Preface to the second edition of a letter to Mrs. J. Baillie*, by the Bishop of Salisbury, to which I cannot refer more particularly, as it was forwarded to me in a separate form by his Lordship, mention is made of the evidence existing of a manuscript having once been seen at Venice, which contained the verse. It consists of the testimony of Harenberg, in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, (1) that a valuable Greek manuscript, "auctoritatis non modicae codicem graecum," was shown by a Greek at Venice to F. Antoine. This was singularly confirmed by a marginal reference of one of the *Canonici MSS.* now

(1) *Biblioth. Brem. Nova* Brem. 1762. Class. ii. p. 428.

in the Bodleian. A still more extraordinary coincidence was a third reference, which I discovered here, to a Greek manuscript at Venice. This I had briefly communicated to his Lordship, who gave an extract from my letter, in an Appendix on Sir Isaac Newton's suppression of his Dissertation on 1 Jo. v. 7, etc. kindly forwarded to me on a separate sheet. I will now, however, state more at length the nature of this reference. In the Angelica Library, belonging to the Augustinians of this city, and so called from its founder, F. Angelo Rocca, is preserved the copy of the bible used by him, as secretary of the Congregation appointed by Clement VII. for the correction of the vulgate. It is the Roman edition of 1592, the second of Sixtus V. Prefixed to the volume are minutes of the acts of the congregation; and on the margin are noted such passages as the secretary wished to submit to discussion, with the arguments briefly stated upon which he grounded the rejection, retention, or alteration of each. Upon the text of St. John, p. 1114, is the following marginal annotation, written with numerous contractions. "Haec verba sunt certissime de textu et allegantur contra haereticos ab Athanasio, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Cyrillo et Cypriano, et Hieronymus in prologo dicit ab infidelibus scriptoribus fuisse praetermissa. *In graeco etiam quodam antiquissimo exemplari quod habetur Venetiis leguntur; unde colligitur graeca, que passim feruntur, in hac parte esse mendosa, et omnia latina manuscripta in quibus non habentur illa verba signata.*" This testimony, confirmed as it is by the two already cited, must be allowed considerable weight: the occasion too, on which it is given, renders it still farther worthy of our attention.

I have now to mention the supposed existence of two manuscripts containing the verse, towards which I wish to turn the attention of critics and travellers. I had frequently heard from a gentleman well known in the literary world as a Greek and oriental scholar, that he had seen manuscripts in the East which contained the verse. He had in fact, travelled over great part of Greece expressly with the view of collating manuscripts of the New Testament, for a latin version of it, which he afterwards published. Anxious to collect with greater accuracy the information he had to give upon the subject, I asked him more particularly to state to me what he had seen in reference to it. I took a note of his observations within a few minutes of our conversation; and as more than a year has since elapsed, I will content myself with transcribing it here.

“His statement is that he has seen several manuscripts with the verse erased, and two in which it is written, *prima manu*, in the margin. One was at Nicosia in Cyprus, in possession of a Greek of abilities, a merchant as I understood him. It was in uncial letters, large; on the margin by the same hand, although in smaller characters, was the verse, with an annotation that it belonged to the text. — From his manner and character, I could have no reason whatever to doubt that he was perfectly sincere in his statements.” I will add no comment upon this testimony; perhaps some traveller may be able to verify it.

There are several other points on which I should have been glad to touch, especially upon the objection frequently brought against the free discussion of this controversy from the decree of the Council of Trent. Some

writers have given very false views of this subject, which it would be easy to confute, from the acts of the different Congregations appointed to correct the text of the vulgate. In one of these, the arguments for the rejection of 1 Jo. v. 7. seem to have been seriously taken into consideration. In the bible used by one of these congregations, now in the library of the Barnabite Fathers, the following note by the secretary is written in the margin.

*“in grae. cod. vati. et
al. grae codd. necnon et
in aliquibus latinis non habentur
verba virgula signata.”*

The letters printed in italics are supplied, having been cut off in binding the volume. But a valuable and interesting account of the corrections of the vulgate, almost entirely from inedited sources may be shortly expected from the pen of my learned friend, F. Ungarelli. Many errors on this subject will be then corrected. But while, from an unwillingness to prolong a letter already of unwieldy dimensions, I refrain from entering more fully upon this important discussion, I cannot help cautioning my reader against the erroneous conclusions to which the work of a late learned Catholic seems to lead, that the decree of the council of Trent and the critical evidence stand in direct opposition. He observes that “here the communicant with the See of Rome takes a higher ground.... those therefore in communion with the See of Rome, who now reject the verse, fall within the council’s anathema.”(1) The answer to this objection are urged with little strength or feeling

(1) *Horae Biblicae*. Lond. 1817. Appendix p. 383.

of interest, yet the whole of the dissertation is so constructed as to prove, that on critical grounds, the verse has to be rejected! Such an opposition cannot, and here certainly does not exist.

I remain, etc.

N. WISEMAN.

English College, Rome, March 27, 1833.

REIMPRIMATUR

Fr. D. Buttaoni O.P.S.P.A.M.

REIMPRIMATUR

A. Piatti Arch. Trapez.

Vicesg.

